Minority Language Dubbing for Children: Screen Translation from German to Irish

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Go raibh míle maith agaibh go léir!

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Abbreviations

The following abbreviations are used in the text:

CD	=	Compact Disc
CD-ROM	=	Compact Disc Read Only Memory
CLAR	=	Committee on Irish Language Attitudes Research
CPID	=	*Collins Pocket Irish Dictionary* (1997) *S. Mac Mathúna and A. Ó Corráin (eds)*
DIN	=	Deutsche Industrie-Norm
DTS	=	Descriptive Translation Studies
EC	=	European Community
EID	=	*English Irish Dictionary* (1959) T. de Bhaldraithe (ed)
EU	=	European Union
FGB	=	*Foclóir Gaeilge Béarla* (Irish/English Dictionary) (1977) N. Ó Dónaill (ed)
LGP	=	Language for General Purposes
LSP	=	Language for Specialised/Specific Purposes
RTÉ	=	Radió Teilifís Éireann (The Republic of Ireland's National Broadcasting Organisation)
SL	=	Source language
ST	=	Source text
TG4	=	TnaG's name since September 1999
TL	=	Target language
TnaG	=	Teilifís na Gaeilge (Irish language television station *founded in 1996. Changed name to TG4 in 1999)*
TT	=	Target text
TV	=	Television
UK	=	United Kingdom
US	=	United States of America
WDR	=	West Deutsche Rundfunk *(German regional television station)*
WDW	=	*Wahrig Deutsches Wörterbuch* (1984) G. Wahrig (ed)

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Introduction

The relationship of minority languages to translation is essentially paradoxical. On the one hand, these languages must continually translate from major languages in order to retain 'their vitality and relevance as living languages' (Cronin 1995: 89). On the other hand, the practice of translation can pose a threat to 'the very specificity of those languages that practise it, particularly in situations of diglossia' (ibid). The Irish language, over the last four hundred years, has become a minority language, which is predominantly source language-intensive in its translation activity, i.e. the main direction of its translations is from other, usually major, languages into Irish. According to Niranjana (1992: 1), there is something fundamentally unbalanced about the dynamic of this kind of translation activity between major and minority languages, due to the 'asymmetry and inequality of relations between peoples, races, languages', and this fact distinguishes this kind of translation in some regards from translation between languages of similar status such as French and German, for example.

Because of its crucial importance in terms of language planning and maintenance, children's literature is one area where, typically, considerable translation activity occurs in source language-intensive minority languages. While the study of the translation of children's literature is slowly emerging as a growing area of interest for scholarly investigation by translation theorists, the fact that many children now spend considerably more time watching television than they do reading books has not yet resulted in a corresponding shift of the focus of research to the field of screen translation and the linguistic adaptation of children's audiovisual material. This is particularly regrettable in the case of television programmes translated into minority languages as this type of broadcasting has the potential to play a

crucial role in the survival and growth of these languages through the maintenance and development of children's linguistic skills.

High-quality animation aimed at an audience of children is expensive to produce but can be bought and rebroadcast in a revoiced version to a second audience for a fraction of the original production cost. Minority-language broadcasters frequently apply screen translation techniques such as narration, voice-over and dubbing to adapt programmes, which originated in a dominant language, for their younger viewers. Frequently, the provision of a target-language voice track is viewed as a largely technical challenge with the result that the totality of the linguistic and language planning implications of the dubbing script translations are overlooked. In general terms, the lack of formal, strategic, coordinated interaction between broadcasters, language planners, terminologists and teachers, on the one hand, and translators, on the other, means that a very valuable opportunity to harness the language development potential of children's programmes is rarely fully exploited.

As one reads this book, it will become clear that an ad hoc approach to the dubbing of scripts for children, i.e. one which does not involve input from relevant personnel, e.g. educational consultants and terminologists, can result in translations which may be entertaining on a certain level but do not reach their pedagogical potential, especially with regard to the development of more advanced linguistic and cognitive skills. In this context, it should be remembered that delight derived specifically from the clever, original or extravagant use of language can be a major contributory factor to children's enjoyment of books and television. Consequently, a blandly translated children's television programme is unlikely to be considered highly entertaining, no matter how competent the translation is in terms of basic narration and plot development.

Constrained translation

The primary focus of this book is an investigation of the main constraints which apply to a quintessentially interdisciplinary project, namely the dubbing of animation for children from a major language (German) to a minority language (Irish). The main disciplines drawn upon are translation studies, screen translation, children's literature, terminology and minority language studies. By considering the main constraints exercised by the specific, and sometimes competing requirements of translating (a) into a minority language, (b) for the screen (dubbing) and (c) for children, it is hoped to identify the main challenges posed by this type of translation for children and pinpoint the particular constraints within which the screen translator must operate when translating from a dominant to a minority language such as Irish. Of particular interest is the establishment of the interaction of the various competing constraints, which apply in this instance. By observing the translation of LSP terms in the Irish language versions of German children's animation programmes, it is possible to illustrate the operation of these constraints in an empirical manner. It is hoped that an increased awareness of the hierarchy of constraints relevant to screen translation for children into Irish will contribute to improved standards, both of translation and translation criticism in this area.

The corpus

The corpus used in Chapter Five to illustrate the constraints which apply to dubbing for children into a minority language is what is known as a bilingual, parallel corpus, i.e. a corpus comprising 'original source texts in language A and their trans-

lated versions in language B' (Baker 1995: 230). In this case, language A is German and language B is Irish. The source and translated texts are programmes from two series of children's animation, *Janoschs Traumstunde*.[1] The series were based on the work of the renowned German author and illustrator, Janosch, otherwise known as Horst Eckert.[2] Born in 1931 in German-speaking Poland, he has authored and/or illustrated more than 190 picture books, as well as a few novels for adults, and has been translated into 147 languages (Stoyan et alia 1998: 122–127). The corpus comprises six source language programmes and their translated versions, making twelve audiovisual texts in all, each with a duration of approximately 27 minutes and amounting to a total of almost six hours of television viewing (see Appendix). The main attraction of parallel corpora over multilingual corpora, i.e. sets of two or more monolingual corpora in different languages, built up on the basis of similar design criteria (Baker 1995: 232), is explained by Shuttleworth (1997: 120) as their capacity to yield information not about the patterns of the target-language but rather of the target language texts under scrutiny, thus providing insight into practices and procedures used by the translator.

Structure

Chapter One deals with Irish as a minority language and highlights the fact that while Irish is still spoken as the first language of a small minority within Ireland, it exists side by side with English, which is now a world language. The chapter shows how

1 Between 1986–1990, the German regional television station WDR broadcast a highly successful home-produced series of children's animation entitled *Janoschs Traumstunde* in 26 episodes, which was later sold to many other countries including Japan and the USA (Heidtmann 1990: 423).

2 The life and works of *Janosch* are the subject of a critical study by Dietrich (1992).

native speakers' use of the Irish language continues to decline as industrial development brings English into areas that were traditionally Irish-speaking. It is argued that in such a situation, Irish is only likely to be passed on to the next generation of native speakers if all available means are harnessed and utilised to stop the trend towards language shift and if the use of Irish can be stabilised in certain domains. Particular attention is paid to the traditional and contemporary importance of translation in maintaining the vitality of Irish and other minority languages while the inherent dangers of reliance on such forms of language mediation are also discussed. The pressing need for Irish to attempt to keep abreast of new developments through the systematic coinage and dissemination of new terminology is stressed and some of the obstacles which frustrate this process are described. Finally, the crucial importance for the maintenance and development of the Irish language of strengthening the younger generation's grasp of the language, through both the translation of foreign children's books and the dubbing of children's television programmes, is underscored.

Chapter Two provides a comprehensive introduction to the field of revoicing while concentrating, in the main, on aspects of dubbing. The various approaches and technologies involved in dubbing are described. The traditions and practices adopted in different countries and the range of choices and constraints which apply to screen translation are presented and discussed in the context of such factors as target audience, genre and language pair. This information provides the background required to understand why dubbing is the method of screen translation used in Ireland to supplement the provision of home-produced programmes for children in Irish. Finally, the specific procedure used in the dubbing of the corpus into Irish is described.

In Chapter Three, dubbing synchrony is reviewed critically. Too often literature on dubbing emphasises the importance of lip synchrony as if it were always of paramount importance. But here consideration is also given to other kinds of visual synchrony such as syllable synchrony, isochrony or kinetic synchrony.

Attention is also drawn to the importance of audio and semantic synchrony which are frequently glossed over in research on dubbing. The synchrony issues discussed in this chapter provide a context in which the types of challenges posed and procedures adopted by the dubbers of *Janoschs Traumstunde* described in Chapter Five can be situated. It is argued that a higher standard of dubbing could be achieved if screen translators were to receive formal training in aspects of screen writing, especially the drafting of convincing dialogue.

Chapter Four is devoted to issues relating to translating for children. Taking research on children's literature as the starting-point and moving on to recent work on the translation of both written and audiovisual texts for children, the relatively low esteem in which works for children are held is highlighted. The main distinctive features of texts written specifically for children are described and the importance of their reproduction in translation is emphasised. The power and impact of new text types communicated via television, cinema and video is underscored and it is asserted that children's programmes have become partial substitutes for storybooks. As such, they have acquired an importance in relation to language development and maintenance, especially in minority-language cultures, which may not be fully appreciated and understood, even by the translators of such material.

In Chapter Five, a selection of passages from six original episodes of the German *Janoschs Traumstunde*[3] and the corresponding Irish-language translated versions from *Scéalaíocht Janosch*[4] are presented together with a commentary. The main focus of the linguistic commentary in this chapter is the extent to which lexical features of the source text are simplified and/or normalised in the corresponding target text translation in line with claims made by some Descriptive Translation Studies

3 These episodes were first broadcast in Germany in 1988–90 by West Deutsche Rundfunk (WDR).

4 These episodes were first broadcast in Ireland in 1989–90 by Radio Teilifís Éireann (RTÉ), Ireland's national broadcasting organisation.

scholars concerning the existence of distinctive features of translation. The commentary is intended as an illustration of the way in which the various types of constraints discussed in Chapters One, Two, Three and Four influence the translation outcome in this instance. Of particular interest is the extent to which these constraints can account for the pronounced lexical simplification of the target text.

Research of the kind outlined above has the potential to add to our knowledge regarding the particular translation practices and procedures used by the translators of audiovisual texts into minority languages. In recent years, the scope for the exploitation of parallel corpora using specially designed software has become obvious (Shuttleworth and Cowie 1997: 120) but manual investigation of the kind described here, however modest, can in itself still yield valuable insights as well as pointing to other worthwhile objects of further investigation. As Toury (1978: 93) observes, whether manual or computerised techniques are used, there is little point in comparing source and target texts in an attempt to determine whether some idealistic notion of equivalence through translation has been achieved. What is of real interest to DTS scholars is rather to discover what type and/or what degree of equivalence actually pertains between specific source texts and their translations. This can be assisted through the kind of focused small-scale study of limited corpora undertaken here until it eventually becomes possible to combine research findings across cultures and languages to create an informed picture of what, if any, are core features of translation activity.

Theoretical frameworks

Since the 1970s, a new trend has emerged within the discipline of translation studies, which emphasises the importance of an empirical, descriptive approach and is primarily target text-

orientated. The name commonly given to this new strand is Descriptive Translation Studies. DTS has its origins in a paper of seminal importance delivered by James S. Holmes at the Third International Congress of Applied Linguistics held in Copenhagen in 1972. The paper, entitled 'The Name and Nature of Translation Studies', proposed a model of the discipline that distinguished between Theoretical Translation Studies, on the one hand, and Descriptive Translation Studies, on the other. According to Holmes (1988: 71),[5] the aim of DTS should be to describe 'the phenomenon of translating and translation(s) as they manifest themselves in the world of our experience'. This emphasis on the examination of real translations, as opposed to the pursuit of idealistic translation goals, was soon taken up by a number of scholars, most notably Gideon Toury (1995: 1), who argues that detailed studies of actual translations and well-defined corpora constitute 'the best means of testing, refuting and especially modifying and amending the very theory, in which terms research is carried out'.

Within this new framework, identifying examples of untranslatability becomes redundant as researchers' attention turns to investigations of the ways in which each individual target culture influences and places constraints on the task of the translator at any given time (Øverås 1998: 572). From the outset, DTS acknowledged that its goals could only be achieved by modest means over time, i.e. as a result of the gradual accumulation of descriptive research based on bodies of authentic translated texts (Toury 1995: 11).

A colleague of Toury's, I. Even-Zohar (1978a, 1978b, 1990) is credited with developing the idea of literature as a polysystem and first applying it to translation. A polysystem is, in effect, an open, dynamic system of heterogeneous, interrelated systems which are constantly transforming themselves and shifting their

5 The paper did not appear in print until 1988 when a posthumous collection of papers by James S. Holmes entitled *Translated! Papers on Literary Translation and Translation and Translation Studies* was published by Rodopi in Amsterdam.

positions in relation to each other. In any polysystem, there is constant tension between 'the *center* (which dictates norms and models to the entire polysystem) and the *periphery*, between the *canonized* system (which usually occupies the center of the polysystem) and *non-canonized*, between the systems of adult and children's literature, between translated and non-translated literature' (Weissbrod 1998: 36, her emphasis). From this perspective, the importance of studying not just texts but also the range of factors that govern their production, promotion and reception becomes clear (Aaltonen 1996: 56).

The interest of polysystem theorists in such factors as the relative position and status of particular translations within the polysystem has helped to counteract the traditional view of translations as inherently inferior and peripheral in relation to original literature. Indeed, the polysystem approach shows that while translations generally occupy a marginal position within a literary system, this position can shift, since the overall polysystem is a dynamic entity, and translations may acquire greater importance in certain circumstances. Examples of how translations can acquire greater status, quoted by Even-Zohar (1990: 46–48), include the case of translations into Hebrew in the early part of the 20th century which were intended to supplement and stimulate original literary output in Hebrew during that period. A more contemporary example is provided by the Irish situation where Irish translations of television programmes for children, e.g. dubbed versions of French and German animation, are more numerous, acquire a higher status and are closer to the centre of Irish children's literary, educational and audiovisual polysystems than similar television programmes in major European language cultures where more original language material is produced.

The other two examples of how translations may move closer to the centre provided by Even-Zohar (ibid) are firstly, when the original literature within the system already occupies a weak position, as in the case of a small culture dominated by a larger, stronger one, and secondly, at certain crisis points within the polysystem, such as when older, established models no longer meet the culture's needs, and translation is resorted to in

order to introduce new foreign models. Minority language screen translation in Ireland provides a good example of this phenomenon with new, urgently needed models of multimedia orality being imported through translation.

Norms

Central to the whole polysystem approach to DTS is the concept of translation norms (Toury 1978, 1980, 1991, 1995).[6] These sociocultural constraints are located in the middle of the continuum which runs from strict rules to individual idiosyncratic practices (Toury 1995: 54) and can be seen as those strategies which are repeatedly adopted, in preference to other possible strategies, within a particular cultural or textual system (Baker 1993: 240). Translation norms are further understood to be 'independent of systemic differences between SL and TL, and are not determined by the ST' (Øverås 1998: 573). At any given time within a particular system, some norms will be of greater importance than others but any such situation is always subject to change.[7] Furthermore, norms may vary from one culture to another, within the same culture, from one generation to another and so on. For example, literary norms relating to translation for adults are often at variance with those relating to children within the same culture. In the case of the subsystem of children's literature, if there is a clash between the norms of the SL and TL literature,

6 In the course of the 1990s, other theorists such as Chesterman (1993), Hermans (1996, 1999), Nord (1991, 1997), Weissbrod (1992) and Lefevere (1992) have added to, critiqued and further developed the Tourian concept of norms.

7 Puurtinen (1997) has observed changes in Finnish norms relating to original works and translations for children. She found that recently published original books in Finnish do not conform to the established TL norm of widespread use of finite constructions and instead approximate to contemporary translations that tend to favour non-finite constructions.

the latter are usually conformed to quite dramatically. Thus many translated works for children are presented unashamedly as adaptations and/or abridgments while this is far less acceptable within the same cultures when translating adult literature.[8] The need for translators to be aware of prevalent norms is clear though knowledge of those norms does not imply automatic adherence to them. For example, a translator may, like those who argue for foreignising strategies (Venuti 1992: 1–17), deliberately choose to contravene norms.

Norms affect the cultural process of translation over and above the actual textual act of translation in itself. For example, in relation to children's literature, norms influence such issues as which texts get translated in the first place and from which source languages and cultures. Thus norms may be seen both as a category of descriptive analysis of translation phenomena (Toury 1978: 91) and as providing a functional, socio-historical basis for the structure of the discipline (Lambert quoted in Baker 1993: 240).

Toury (1978: 96) claims that the more frequently a phenomenon such as a shift from adequate (ST orientated) to acceptable (TT orientated) translation occurs, the more likely it is that this shift represents a basic norm within the given polysystem. However, together with others such as Blum-Kulka (1986), Toury suggests that those translation shifts, which occur with very high frequency across different language pairs, may, in fact, not be motivated by the polysystem within which they manifest themselves. They may, rather, be examples of what are known as universals rather than norms. Baker (1993: 242) describes universals as products of 'constraints which are inherent in the translation process itself'. They consequently do not vary across cultures, whereas norms are 'translation features that have been observed to occur consistently in certain types of translation within a particular socio-cultural and historical context' (ibid).[9]

8 This point is elaborated upon in Chapter Four on Translating for Children.

9 According to Kenny, 'universals are not just norms that allow no deviation. They are relatable to cognitive factors rather than social ones' (2000: 93).

Already the research findings of some quite limited studies have thrown up sufficient evidence to threaten the status of some posited universals. Toury (1978), Blum-Kulka (1986: 21) and Baker (1993, 1995) consider explication[10] a candidate for the status of a universal. However, Weissbrod (1992: 153) has conducted research which challenges this view:

> Explicitation in translation is not, as previous research has suggested, solely a universal tendency or a function of translation on a literacy/orality scale. It is norm-dependent and thus changes with historical circumstances and according to the position of the translated literature within the target culture.

Even using computerised corpora and other techniques to provide convincing empirical data concerning the existence of universals, as opposed to norms, it will be some time before a sufficient volume of research can be conducted across a wide enough range of languages and text types, to resolve satisfactorily the issue of universals versus norms (Toury 1978: 96).

The realisation that certain linguistic features appear with regularity in many translated texts and that it is difficult to explain them simply in terms of source and target text and/or language, has given rise to the concept of translation as a third code. The term third code was coined by William Frawley (1984: 168), who claims that translation is 'essentially a third code which arises out of the bilateral consideration of the matrix and target codes: it is, in a sense, a sub-code of each of the codes involved'.[11]

According to Øverås (1998: 586), the third code appears to consist of a series of distinctive features which occur to a greater

10 Baker (1996) and Weissbrod (1992) refer to *explicitation* as opposed to *explication* although both words are used to refer to the same kinds of phenomenon. I will use the latter in all cases for the sake of simplicity.

11 This view of translation as constituting a sub-language of sorts is related to, but should not be confused with, the concept of *translationese*. While the term, the third code, is simply descriptive, translationese is used to refer to features of translated text which are evaluated negatively and can be explained in terms of the translator's 'inexperience or lack of competence in the target language' (Baker 1993: 243).

or lesser extent in individual translations. Amongst the features she identifies are:

> a high level of cohesive explicitness combined with a specific type of distribution of exotic features (Baker 1993), a low degree of lexical repetition (ibid), a relative absence of colloquialism (Gellerstam 1986) as well as occasional metaphor (Koller 1988) (ibid).

Although all these individual features and sub-combinations also appear in native texts, Øverås argues that they may constitute 'parameters within which to identify a text as a translation' (ibid).

Other characteristic features frequently associated with translated texts include normalisation, levelling out and simplification. A feature described under one heading by some researchers might arguably also appear under another. For example, Baker (1996: 186) points out that simplification is sometimes linked to explicitness in that it involves:

> making things easier for the reader (but not necessarily more explicit), but it does tend to involve also selecting an interpretation and blocking other interpretations, and in this sense it raises levels of explicitness by resolving ambiguity.

Normalisation is usually used in discussions of universals in a fairly specific sense (Baker 1996: 183) but could be taken as a blanket term together with simplification to cover most of the above features. As regards defining what exactly we mean by the names we give different manifestations of characteristic translation features, Baker (1996: 180) observes:

> the process of refining the definition will go hand in hand with that of verifying the feature: definition and verification are interdependent in the sense that it is only by investigating the various concrete manifestations of these abstract notions that we will be able to refine the concepts themselves.

Explication

Explication has been described by Blum-Kulka (1986: 21) as the process whereby 'the translator simply expands the TL text, building into it a semantic redundancy absent in the original'. Some of the more typical forms of explication found in translation as outlined by Weissbrod (1992: 153) are (a) replacing proforms with nouns, (b) changing metaphors into similes, thereby making the implicit comparison explicit and (c) filling in ellipsis and adding conjunctions. This tendency to make explicit in the translation what is implicit in the source text is thought to underlie the common observation that translations tend to be longer than originals regardless of the language pair involved. However, Weissbrod (1992: 154) sees explication depending on the relative position on the oral/literacy scale of the language pair in question:

> since due to historical circumstances, English is a more literate language than Hebrew, translations from Hebrew to English tend to explicitate the source texts while translations from English to Hebrew tend to implicitate them (ibid).

She argues (ibid: 155) that such a view makes it possible to explain variations in relation to explication in different literary systems and/or at different times. This concept of oral/literacy scale might well prove useful in investigations of translations into Irish since Irish, like Hebrew, has an oral culture which is more developed than its written tradition.

Translators' widespread use of explication is thought to be motivated by a wish to mediate and draw out the source text meaning for the readers of the translation (Baker 1993: 243, Shuttleworth and Cowie 1997: 55). However well intentioned a translator's basic motivation in the adoption of this strategy may be, it has been viewed critically by some commentators especially in relation to literary translation:

> All too often, translators will incorporate into the text their own processing activities: solving the problems, reducing polyvalence, explaining away any

> discrepancies or discontinuities, and so forth. Soon the receivers of the translation find their mental tasks pre-empted. Translators must instead analyze both the text and the range of plausible receiver reactions, in order to preserve as much of that range as possible (de Beaugrande and Dressler 1983: 217).

Intuition would suggest that explication, while quite common in literary translation, for example, is unlikely to emerge as a characteristic feature of screen translation because of the strength of time constraints in dubbing[12] and space constraints in subtitling. However, it is clear that there may be some scope for the dubbing translator, like the interpreter,[13] to explicate particular comments, pieces of information or aspects of plot at the expense of others, providing that this does not give rise to any gross clashes of visual or other synchrony. Interestingly, a study conducted by Goris (1993: 169–190) of the dubbing into French of three English-language and two Flemish films revealed a marked tendency towards explication. He found multiple examples of vague expressions being fleshed out or made more precise, logical links being made more explicit as well as many cases where internal references were added and visual information was explicated textually in the dubbed versions (ibid: 182–185). Another example of explication in dubbed material is provided by Zabalbeascoa (1997: 327–342). Emphasising the need to interpret both visual and linguistic signs in dubbing texts, he describes how explication may be essential in cases where nonverbal information, which is source culture-specific, would otherwise be inaccessible to the target audience.

12 See Chapter Three on Synchrony.

13 Preliminary research findings from Shlesinger (1995: 210) indicate that explication is a feature of simultaneous and consecutive interpreting even though time constraints clearly also apply to this kind of translation.

Normalisation

Normalisation is described by Baker (1996: 183) as a tendency 'to exaggerate features of the target language and to conform to its typical patterns'. She explains that it is usually manifest through 'the use of typical grammatical structures, punctuation and collocational patterns or clichés' and may be less likely to occur where the source text and language enjoy a relatively high status.[14] Examples cited in recent research include shifts from original to conventional collocations in the translations of both Norwegian and English novels (Øverås 1996, 1998) and a similar shift from creative to standard forms in the translation of compound nouns found in contemporary novels written in German (Kenny 2000). These corpus-based findings are in line with Vanderauwera's earlier observations based on manual analysis concerning the tendency of Dutch novels translated into English to display a certain 'reserve in rendering unusual and mannered imagery and word choice in the target language' (1985: 108). This, she suggests, results from the translator's understanding of norms in the target literary system relating to translated literature, in general, and translation from minority languages, in particular. Shlesinger (1991: 150) observes that interpreters ended sentences in the TL which in the SL were incomplete, and they did not translate typical oral discourse features such as false starts and hesitations even when these were used deliberately.

Goris (1993), in his analysis of French dubbing, uses the term linguistic standardisation in relation to features of dubbed texts which are covered by normalisation and levelling out. His examples cover the replacement of features of regional dialect and idiolect which occur in the originals with standardised language (ibid: 174–177). In the *Scéalaíocht Janosch* dubbed translations discussed in detail in Chapter Five, there are many examples of incomplete sentences spoken in the source text

14 A good illustration of this is provided by Herbst (1994: 263–267) in his account of the dubbing of Shakespeare into German.

being rounded off in translation and these could be viewed as examples of normalisation.

Levelling out

Levelling out, according to Baker (1996: 184), concerns 'the tendency of translated text to gravitate towards the centre of a continuum. Unlike normalisation […] the process of levelling out is neither target-language nor source-language dependent'. Thus we may expect translated texts in a translation corpus to display less variation than texts in a corpus of original texts (ibid: 177). An example of this phenomenon which might be relevant to dubbing comes from research which found that simultaneous interpreting:

> exerts an equalizing effect on the position of a text on the oral-literate continuum, i.e. it diminishes the orality of markedly oral texts and the literateness of markedly literate ones. (Shlesinger 1989: 96).

Herbst (1997: 294) has observed that film dialogue in general exhibits certain features, e.g. complete grammatical sentences, no false starts, which are more typical of written discourse, or at least of some kind of idealised dialogue, than they are of real speech. One of the main reasons for this is that film dialogue is first committed to paper and only later is it performed orally by actors. As a result, at least some features of written language typically slip into the language of film. When the original script is recast in translation there is, in theory at least, a second opportunity to incorporate convincing features of spoken language into the target language text. Where this does not happen, the translation of dubbing scripts can be seen as another example of levelling out as it inhabits the no man's land of film dialogue located somewhere between authentic speech and written prose. Goris (1993: 173–174) describes cases where the original film scripts exhibit a multiplicity of features such as elision and contraction that are indicative of spoken English and Flemish.

But the dubbed French versions have characters speaking standardised French to the point where the only two concessions to the original versions were 'the elision of the final vowel of the personal pronoun before the initial character of the verb (*t'as, t'entends, t'écoutais, t'es*) and the omission of the first part of the negation *ne...pas...*' (ibid: 174). Goris supports Herbst's point when he states that the effect of this is quite serious since:

> the object of this type of intervention is already standardized to a certain extent: the original dialogues are based on a written script and therefore lack the frequent stops, hestitations, false starts, repetitions and unfinished phrases of 'genuine' spoken language (ibid).

Simplification

Simplification is nothing more than 'the tendency to simplify the language used in translation' (Baker 1996: 181) without necessarily making it more explicit (ibid: 182) and to date, researchers have uncovered evidence of simplification of syntax, style and lexis. Thus the term can refer to the outcome of a variety of translation strategies.[15] Examples of stylistic simplification include such practices as reducing or omitting source text repetitions[16] (Blum-Kulka and Levenston 1993, Shlesinger 1991). Syntactic simplification can, for example, be achieved by replacing non-finite with finite constructions (Vanderauwera 1985), breaking up long sentences into shorter ones (Laviosa-Braithwaite 1996) and omitting modifying phrases and words or adding punctuation to clarify meanings (Malmkjaer 1997).

Lexical simplification is a marked feature of the translations in the *Janosch* corpus and forms the focus of the case study in Chapter Five. According to Blum-Kulka and Levenston (1983: 119), it can be best described simply as the process and/or result

15 Lexical simplification as a target text outcome resulting from various translation strategies used to render *Janoschs Traumstunde* into Irish, is addressed in detail in Chapter Five.

16 This could also be an example of lexical simplification.

of making do with fewer words. Lexical simplification may be observed to operate both qualitatively and quantitatively in the process of translation. Considerable progress in respect of the latter may be expected in the future due to possibilities opened up by computerised tools, developed for use within corpus linguistics. These tools can be usefully applied to investigate the simplification of lexis within texts, e.g. by analysing the lexical density and type-token ratio of selected passages or whole texts within a DTS corpus. Lexical density indicates the percentage of lexical, as opposed to grammatical, words in a text. It is measured by dividing the number of lexical words, e.g. nouns, adjectives and verbs, by the total number of words in the text. The result is then multiplied by 100 to express it as a percentage (Stubbs 1986: 34–35). According to Baker (1995: 237), 'lexical words are generally "about" something and typically comprise items which belong to categories such as nouns, adjectives and verbs. Grammatical words belong to closed sets such as determiners and prepositions'. Low lexical density, which is characteristic of spoken language, is associated with greater redundancy and hence ease of processing and may be a characteristic feature of translation (Baker 1996: 183). Lexical density appears to be associated with information load, e.g. the amount of technical vs. general vocabulary in a text, the percentage of old and new information, the overall length and amount of detail contained in a given text. Therefore, lower lexical density in translations could well be evidence of a deliberate or subconscious attempt on the part of the translator to control information load or, in other words, make the translated text more accessible through simplification (Baker 1995: 237). As such, it could be expected to feature in major language translations for children into Irish, where the target group's vocabulary is limited as a result of the restriction of the minority language to certain domains such as home and/or school.

The type-token ratio is an expression of the range of vocabulary in a text. Each orthographic word in a text may be referred to as a token while any particular word-form such as book is said to be a type. Thus, the sentence *The cat sat on*

the mat has five types, e.g. *the, cat, sat, on*, and *mat* but six tokens since *the* occurs twice. The type-token ratio of the sentence is thus 5:6, which is very high and reflects the considerable variation of vocabulary within this short sentence. The occurrence of a lower type-token ratio in a translation than is found in the source text may also be taken to be an indication of lexical simplification (Baker 1995: 236). The lower the type-token ratio of a text, i.e. the less variation there is in vocabulary, the easier it is likely to be to process it. If we accept that ease of processing[17] is extremely important for children, it follows that texts for younger target audiences should generally have relatively lower type-token ratios. If the texts are aural or audiovisual where there may be no opportunity to recapitulate,[18] then a limited lexical range can contribute significantly to good comprehensibility. On the other hand, if texts for children are to serve a useful function in terms of the development of their language skills and their vocabulary range in particular, there is also a case to be made for generating texts with higher type-token ratios.

This introduction has provided a brief introduction to the DTS approach which underpins the investigation of lexical simplification in minority language dubbing for children discussed in Chapter Five. The concept of norms and universals in relation to translation polysystems was discussed, as was the possible existence of a third code. While it is too early to determine the validity of the idea of universals, it was shown that certain characteristic features of translations such as explication, normalisation, levelling-out and simplification can be identified across a

17 Specific aspects of ease of processing which have been studied in relation to children's texts include *readability*, also called *comprehensibility* (Puurtinen 1995: 23) and *speakability* (Snell-Hornby 1988: 35), i.e. the suitability of a text to be read aloud.

18 Of course, some such texts, e.g. audio- and video cassettes can be stopped and rewound but ideally all children's texts should be comprehensible on first hearing/sight.

range of translations from and into many different languages. These features have all been cited by translation scholars as possible candidates for the status of universals and were therefore reviewed in some detail and illustrated with examples from various types of translation including dubbing. Two of these characteristics in particular, namely simplification and normalisation, and the ways in which the use of these strategies can result in lexical simplification in translations, are analysed in detail in the case study in Chapter Five.

In order to understand the context in which the translators of *Janoschs Traumstunde* chose to use these strategies so widely, it is important to investigate

a) the problems and challenges experienced by Irish as a minority language (Chapter One),
b) how and why the programmes in question were dubbed into Irish (Chapters Two and Three) and
c) key issues relating to writing and translating for children (Chapter Four).

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Chapter One

Irish as a Minority Language

This chapter sets out to describe aspects of the reality of Irish, as a minority language in the late 20th and early 21st century. But this reality and the attendant difficulties now have a relevance to other languages, both minority and major, as they all face the uncertain linguistic future of a globalised world (Cronin 1998: 145–162). Until just a few decades ago, the plight of minority languages would have been considered by most to be purely a minority concern. Individual linguistic communities coped as best they could with their problems, with or without the help of the nearest dominant language community. But more recently, the exponential growth and development of information and multimedia technologies have confronted all languages with the positive and negative realities of globalisation. In terms of the survival and development of languages, one of the most striking features of the global village is the unprecedented opportunity it offers to communicate with each other across vast distances, through a variety of media, at great speed and at relatively low cost.

But what are the linguistic implications of all this? While in theory, at least, new communication technologies can be adapted to the many minority and major languages of the world, the political reality is that this phenomenon of globalisation is resulting in linguistic polarisation, with English emerging as the world language. Even the millions of speakers of major languages such as French and Spanish around the world now have to revise fundamentally their attitude to their first languages and recognise, however reluctantly, that they are acquiring minority status in relation to English. Consequently, when I make claims about the importance of audiovisual media in relation to the survival and

development of a minority language such as Irish, these may prove increasingly relevant to the changing fortunes of major languages, as well. They too are being eclipsed in some spheres by English and are experiencing many of the difficulties more usually associated with minority languages, e.g. in relation to the coining of new terminology, its standardisation and dissemination and heavy reliance on anglicisms.

The Irish language

Irish or *An Ghaeilge* belongs to the Celtic branch of the Indo-European language family. Even prior to the 5th century, when the Latin alphabet was adopted with the arrival of Christianity, Irish was written down by means of Ogham, a primitive writing system. Examples of Ogham have survived to this day, mainly in the form of inscriptions carved on pieces of wood and stone. These have been deciphered and shown to record the names of places and people rather than complete sentences or texts. From the sixth century on, monastic scribes were committing Irish secular and religious texts to parchment (Williams and Ní Mhuiríosa 1978: xviii), thus ensuring the language's reputation as Europe's earliest written vernacular after Latin. Despite the country's turbulent history, Irish continued to be the language of the majority of the population until after the Battle of Kinsale in 1601 when the language began to enter a decline and was gradually replaced over the next three centuries by English in most parts of the country. Nowadays, Irish is spoken as a first language almost exclusively in a small number of scattered communities located mainly along the western seaboard[1] and

1 Some individuals and families, as opposed to communities, located in other parts of the country and in the cities also speak Irish as a first language and there is a small, artificially created Gaeltacht community in Rath Cairn, Co. Meath in the eastern part of the country.

known collectively as the *Gaeltacht/aí*. Although guidelines for the standardisation of written Irish were issued in 1958,[2] no single form of the spoken language has emerged as the norm:

> There are three main dialectal areas of Irish, which are usually labelled by the particular province in which they have survived: the Munster dialect in the southern part of the country, the Connaught dialect in the western region, and the Ulster dialect in the northern region [...] Those who learned Irish as a second language aligned themselves with varying degrees of success to one particular dialect, mainly that of Munster. But this endorsement of the Munster dialect was not sufficiently pronounced to establish it as a clear and universally accepted norm. (Ó Baoill 1988: 111)

Although much less widely spoken than English, Irish continues to be the first official language of the state, Éire, also known as the Republic of Ireland. The second official language is English and the position of the two languages is enshrined in Article 8 of Bunreacht na hÉireann (The Constitution of Ireland), which also states that provision may be made for exclusive use of either language for any one or more official purposes. Within the EU, Irish has a unique status in that it is a Treaty language but not a working language of the Union. This in effect means that all primary legislation such as treaties are translated into Irish and Irish can be used for interventions at the European Parliament and at the European Court of Justice. The elevated official position of the Irish language belies the fact that it is far less widely spoken and generally enjoys much lower status than English. Census figures from 1991[3] show that approximately 1.5 million people in the Republic (43% of the population) and 142,000 (approx. 10% of the population) in Northern Ireland claim to know Irish, though their level of competency is unclear (Mac Póilín and Andrews 1993: 5). However, these figures can be misleading if

2 Guidelines for the standardisation of Irish entitled *Gramadach na Gaeilge agus Litriú na Gaeilge*, i.e. The Grammar and Spelling of Irish, were first published in 1958.

3 1991 figures are used here as this is the last year that censuses were taken in both Northern Ireland and the Republic.

one considers that, in the Republic of Ireland at least, only about a quarter of these actually speak Irish on a daily basis and 80% of this group is made up of the school-going population (Ó Murchú and Ó Murchú 1999: 9).

What are minority languages?

For many, the distinction between major and minority languages appears to be quite straightforward: a major language is generally understood to be a widely spoken language, probably the national language of at least one country, while a minority language is taken to be the opposite, i.e. a language with relatively few speakers and probably lacking in official status or recognition. In fact, the terms *minority language*, *regional language* and *lesser-used language* are all regularly used to describe the same concept, one which is complex and multifaceted and which sometimes proves resistant to precise definition.

Helen Ó Murchú, while President of the European Bureau for Lesser-used Languages, outlined the problem of defining a minority language as perceived by the organisation she represented as follows:

> Choosing words to convey the varying status of lesser-used languages in Europe itself poses problems. There is no precise, acceptable, all-embracing phrase. Terms such as 'regional', 'minority', 'lesser-used', 'minorised' are not fully satisfactory (Ó Murchú 1992: 2).

Later in the same article, she attempted to categorise the (then) EC's lesser-used languages under five broad headings:

(1) National, though not official working languages of the EC, e.g. Irish
(2) Languages of small, stateless peoples who live in an EC state, e.g. Breton

(3) Languages of small stateless peoples who live in two or more states, e.g. Catalan
(4) Languages which are spoken by a minority in one state and the majority in another, e.g. German
(5) Non-territorial languages not identified with any particular area of the state(s) where they are traditionally spoken, i.e. Sinti, Yiddish (ibid).

These headings highlight the range and complexity of the meaning it is intended to cover here using the term *minority language* and they highlight the limits of the above-mentioned popular view of the differences between major and minority languages. Thus it is possible for Danish, with just 5 million speakers, to have the status of a major language within the European Union because it is the national language of a nation state while Catalan, which claims some 8 million speakers, is deemed a minority language. Contrary to public perception, the total number of native speakers is not necessarily the most critical factor in determining the status of any given language, in any given place, at any particular time. Indeed, status is more often determined as a result of the interaction of a whole range of cultural, political and economic factors.

One of the main objections to the term *minority language(s)* arises from a fear that *minority* might be seen as expressing some kind of negative value judgement. Yet crucial to the concept of minority languages is the understanding that the term *minority* expresses 'a relation not an essence' (Cronin 1995: 86). In theory at least, any language has the potential to become either a minority or major language at some stage in its history. Remarkable though it may seem to us at the beginning of the 21st century, it is nevertheless the case that in the early 17th century Irish and English, for example, both had approximately the same numbers of native speakers, i.e. 4–5 million. Irish was spoken mainly in Ireland and Scotland, while Welsh was spoken in Wales and English in England. At that time both English and Irish were spoken in certain areas of the New World as well. Both were, therefore, by today's standards, effectively major languages with

well-established literary, and far-ranging scholarly, traditions. Yet at that time, English only enjoyed the status of a minority language on the island of Ireland:

> Factors such as the numerical superiority of the Irish population, the isolation of most of the Anglo-Norman community from England, and the existence of a native society with an established written and oral literature meant that the Gaelicisation of the Anglo-Normans which occurred in the first centuries after their arrival in Ireland reduced English to a marginal social status (Kallen 1988: 129).

Indeed, a century earlier in 1541 when Henry VIII assumed the title of King of Ireland, the Earl of Ormond was called upon to interpret the king's speech, which was of course in English, into Irish so that it might be understood. The need to translate English for the crown's loyal servants in Ireland arose notwithstanding the fact that the Act for the English Order, Habit and Language had, in effect, attempted to outlaw the use of the Irish language in Ireland a few years earlier in 1537.

But that is all in the past. Two languages, which hundreds of years ago enjoyed similar status, are now located on opposite ends of the world/major/minority language continuum. Now English ranks as a world language with some 500 million mother tongue speakers and a further 400 million, who speak it fluently as a second language. Irish, on the other hand, now has at most something in the region of 50,000–100,000 native speakers and a total of approximately 1.5 million who claim some degree of competency in it.

Far from being of little relevance to major languages, the experience of minority languages has much to offer all languages, according to Cronin (1998: 151). In his opinion, the current trend towards globalisation and 'the hegemony of English in the fast-growing area of technological development means that all other languages become, in this context, *minority languages'* (ibid). This point is developed by Cronin in a way which highlights the potential benefits of research by translation scholars into issues concerning minority languages:

> As vocabulary, syntax and cultural memory come under pressure from English, dominant languages are simply experiencing what minority languages have experienced for centuries, and it would be instructive for the former to study the response of the latter to assimilationist translation pressures (ibid).

Just as the status of a language can change over time, so it may also change as a result of other factors such as geographical shift:

> The extent to which a minority is able to use and maintain its language depends on the inter-relationship of a large number of political, economic and social factors. In no two minorities is this interplay of forces identical. Minorities vary in size, geographical situation, social composition and economic strength, and the political status that they enjoy may range from almost full autonomy to total suppression (Hoffmann 1994: 233).

Thus, German enjoys the prestigious position of the national language of the Federal Republics of Austria and Germany and has the largest number of speakers of any language within the European Union. Yet in Belgium, for example, it is a relatively neglected minority language which co-exists with French and Flemish in what is officially only a bilingual country. Similarly English, though a world language of major importance, enjoys only minority language status in many geographical regions of the world. This highlights the importance of the distinction made by Cronin (1995: 87) between languages which are defined as minority languages for diachronic reasons, e.g. Irish, or spatial reasons, e.g. Russian in the Baltic Republics:

> Languages that derive their minority status from spatial realignments find themselves in close proximity to countries where the language has majority status. Thus, in terms of opportunities for translators [...] the situation is markedly different from the position of languages whose status is diachronically determined and do not have a larger linguistic hinterland that provides a source of *patronage* for translation activity (ibid).

European Union status of minority languages

Within the European Union, the situation may be considered to be changing for the better in relation to the fate of minority languages. The Union appears to recognise some of the advantages as well as the challenges that can be associated with the cultural and linguistic diversity of Europe. This, at least, is a popular perception of the current state of affairs but may be a rather biased view derived from a subjective or eurocratic perspective. It is certainly not shared by all who have an informed interest in minority languages:

> Sociologists must recognise what language activists have long realised: The state will make no concessions to a minority language group of its own volition. Such concessions derive from a struggle created by the minority, a struggle which reflects its anger. In my opinion, we must resort to sociological perspectives which reflect that anger, that is, *perspectives that speak from the place of the minority rather than the consensus perspective that can speak only from the place of the state* (my italics) (Williams 1988: 178).

Nevertheless, whether one adopts an optimistic or pessimistic view, the situation of most minority languages continues, almost by definition, to be precarious:

> While the degree of acceptance, support, status and usage attained by Europe's minority languages varies greatly, they share some common characteristics. Their use tends to be restricted, marginalised or compartmentalised in comparison to other languages which occupy the whole range of public domains[4] (Ó Murchú 1992: 2).

4 According to Crystal (1980: 121), the term *domain* is used in sociolinguistics to refer to 'a group of institutionalised social situations typically constrained by a common set of behavioural rules, e.g. the domain of the family is the home, of religion is the church, etc.'.

Minority languages and bilingualism/diglossia

As Ó Murchú has suggested above, one of the primary linguistic problems facing minority languages such as Irish has to do with what is normally referred to as 'diglossia'. In sociolinguistics, diglossia normally refers to:

> [...] a situation where two very different varieties of a language co-occur throughout a speech community, each with a distinct range of social function [...] Sociolinguists usually talk in terms of a high (H) variety and a low (L) variety, corresponding broadly to a difference in formality: the high variety is learnt in school [...] used in church, on radio programmes, in serious literature etc., and as a consequence has greater social prestige; the low variety (is used) in family conversations, and other relatively informal settings (Crystal 1980: 112).

The term *diglossia*, which is Greek in origin and literally means bilingualism, has latterly been extended 'to denote principally the social aspects of bilingualism' (Landry and Allard 1994: 16). This extension of diglossia is largely the result of the writings of Fishman (1967, 1980), who used the term to describe situations within individual languages but also to describe cases where two or more languages and/or dialects co-exist. In the case of language speakers living in a bilingual environment, the term has been adapted to cover those situations where, as in the case of Irish, the minority language survives, and perhaps even flourishes, in certain limited domains but is not used widely, or at all, in others. Such a situation of diglossia has been studied amongst Spanish-Americans in the United States who use English in domains such as the school, work and the church while speaking mostly Spanish in the home and amongst friends (Fishman 1965, 1972). Landry and Allard summarise as follows when commenting on research findings published by Fishman concerning this type of diglossia:

> The interpretation of the results was that family and friends' domain were related to values of *intimacy* and therefore to more solidarity with their

> vernacular or mother tongue. The school, church and work domains were associated with *status* values and favored greater use of the language dominant in society (1994: 19).

Since Spanish exists as a major language in other countries, it is not dependent for its survival on those who use it in a diglossic situation. But languages like Irish are. In such cases, this phenomenon of restricted usage contributes to a vicious circle whereby the minority language fails to generate the full range of terminology needed to cope with all aspects and domains of modern life precisely because it is not used in all contexts. Yet as long as there is clear separation of domains of usage as a result of social compartmentalization[5] (Fishman 1980: 5), the diglossic situation can become stable and be sustained over time.

According to Landry and Allard, 'the clear functional separation of the languages and the institutionalization of these functional differences contribute to stable social compartmentalization, which in turn guarantees a stable type of societal bilingualism' (1994: 17). But many aspects of modern life such as urbanisation and increased mobility coupled with 'the increase in open networks, in the fluid role relationships, in superficial "public familiarity" between strangers or semi-strangers, in nonstatus-stressing interactions (even where status differences remain), and, above all, in the rationalization of the work sphere' (Fishman 1980: 5) make the maintenance of such compartmentalization over time increasingly difficult. If compartmentalization breaks down, there is a move from diglossia to language shift. Landry and Allard (1994: 22) point out that the pervasive dominance of the media, which they view as the strongest of all status domains, is a key factor in such language shift. The dominant language media can:

> [...] infiltrate, to a large extent, the other domains especially the family domain, through such media as television, popular music, newspapers and

5 *Social compartmentalization* is used by Fishman (1980: 5) to describe 'the maintenance of strict boundaries between the societal functions associated with H and L respectively'.

> magazines. The media domain is clearly status-based because the media become the effective vehicle of the power, the prestige, and the values of the majority group. Indeed the cultural symbolic capital of the majority group is greatly enhanced by a strong presence of media technology. It may also be largely through the media that the intimacy-based domain of family is undermined in low-vitality contexts since both types of values are confronted within the home (ibid).

However, if the powerful capacity of dominant language media to infiltrate the limited and fragile domains of minority language use is, firstly, fully understood and secondly, challenged by good quality minority language broadcasting, this tendency towards language shift may be slowed down, halted or even reversed. On the other hand, once stable diglossia starts to degenerate into language shift, the ensuing crisis is usually dealt with in one of two ways: either minority language speakers borrow very widely from the neighbouring major language in such a way that a veritable metalanguage of minority language syntax and major language terminology is concocted (e.g. *Ringáil sí back* instead of *Glaofaidh sí ar ais,* i.e. *She'll ring back)* or speakers continue to switch between the two languages depending on the domain, but using the minority language less and less (Fishman 1989). Both tendencies have been documented amongst Irish speakers by Mac an Iomaire (1983). It should be noted that once the trend of widespread borrowing from the major language has been established, it may be pursued even when appropriate terminology exists in the minority language.

Research on Irish bears this out and Mac an Iomaire's study of the way in which official, standardized terminology failed to impinge greatly on the daily speech of industrial workers in South Connemara during the early 1980s illustrates this point only too well. Terms which had been coined by terminologists in Dublin rather than by workers 'on the job' were felt to be in some sense artificial. Instead the more familiar, well established English terms were used by the majority of Irish speakers (Mac an Iomaire 1983). But whether majority language terminology is borrowed wholesale and incorporated into the minority language or speakers switch completely from one language to the other

depending on the domain, the eventual outcome of unstable diglossia is the same – there is a move towards language shift which eventually results in the total adoption of the dominant language by the minority language speakers.

Attitudes to minority languages

Quite apart from the very real practical difficulties encountered by speakers of many minority languages on a daily basis, the situation of such languages is compounded by what might quite simply be described as an image problem:

> As so many minority areas have suffered economic depression and loss of investment in new technologies, their inhabitants have become associated with rural backwardness and their language may be tainted with the same kind of stigma. It is this factor that provides the most challenging task for language planners to overcome. For it is generally accepted that in order to secure the survival of a minority language as a living entity it is necessary not only to gain legal recognition for it, but also to prove that it has at its disposal all the linguistic resources needed for successful communication in a modern, industrially advanced world (Hoffmann 1994: 240).

Irish has suffered both from this image problem and a lack of adequate terminological resources as much as any minority language. According to a report of the Committee on Irish Language Attitudes Research, a speaker of Irish was generally viewed by fellow citizens as 'being smaller, uglier, weaker, of poorer health, more old-fashioned, lower class, of lower leadership ability, lazier and more submissive compared to an English speaker' (CLAR 1975: 454). This type of perception has been explained by Cronin (1989: 17, 1995: 90) quoting the Canadian sociologist, Wilden (1980: 148), as being the result of a kind of 'Freudian counter-insurgency' whereby victims are blamed for their own plight and, by extension, the oppressed for their own

oppression. Only in recent years has Irish, for example, started to fight back convincingly with well reasoned critiques, such as Tovey et alia (1989) and Ó Ciosáin (1991), of traditional portrayals of the language as, at best, a quaint relic of by-gone days and, at worst, a dodo-like symbol of backwardness.

Minority languages and translation

The activity of translation has traditionally formed an important, if sometimes undervalued, part of the cultural life of major languages. On occasions, as in the case of English, this activity can be conducted on such a huge scale that it also acquires enormous economic and political importance. Nevertheless, translation can still be viewed as a largely non-essential activity for a major language. Generally, major language translation tends to be target language intensive, in other words, the major language exerts an influence over other cultures through the act of extensive translation *into* other languages while only engaging in limited translation *from* other languages.

Borrowing from the work of Toury (1980) and Even-Zohar (1990), Danan (1994: 14) adopts a polysystems framework of analysis and applies it to the study of dubbing for the cinema, explaining that:

> [...] the stronger or more 'developed' the target system is, the more capable it will be of resisting external intrusions and relegating translation to a secondary position, so that translated texts will not affect the main cultural norms of the target system.

Minority languages may be described as 'weaker, open systems' (ibid: 14) and as such are not in a position to resist source language influence in the same way as major languages can and generally do. In effect, they are unequal partners engaging in unequal translation relationships which are not dissimilar,

according to Jacquemond (1992: 139), to the unequal relationships which exist between the literature of former imperial powers and that of their erstwhile colonies:

> [...] the global translation flux is predominantly North–North, while South–South translation is almost non-existent and North–South translation is unequal: cultural hegemony confirms, to a great extent, economic hegemony.

In this regard, Niranjana (1992: 48) has remarked that 'translation studies [...] seems to be by and large unaware that an attempt should be made to account for the relationship between unequal languages'. In the case of English translation, for example, 'there is intense activity from English into other languages but [...] there is markedly less translation traffic in the opposite direction' (Cronin 1995: 88). This point concerning the English language is elaborated upon in some detail by Venuti (1995:14):

> By routinely translating large numbers of the most varied English-language books, foreign publishers have exploited the global drift toward America's political and economic hegemony in the post-war period, actively supporting the international expansion of Anglo-American culture.

Such activity is clearly of cultural and financial benefit to both Britain and the United States of America, yet these countries remain 'aggressively monolingual, unreceptive to the foreign, accustomed to fluent translations that invisibly inscribe foreign texts with English-language values and provide readers with the narcissistic experience of recognising their own culture in a cultural other' (ibid).

If these cultures are resistant to translation from other major languages, they are on occasions positively hostile to translation from minority languages. Note, for example, the response of the British government, as recently as 1995, to a European Union scheme to promote the translation and distribution of books in the Union's minority languages. It vetoed the plan because it claimed that the need for a programme to facilitate translation from and into such languages as Finnish, Flemish and Dutch had

not, in its opinion, been demonstrated and would amount to a waste of money (Irish Independent, 22 June 1995: 13). Such attitudes to minority language translation may be partly the result of a lack of awareness on the part of individuals or groups concerning the crucial role, which translation into and from another language has played in the past, and continues to play in the contemporary cultural life and literature of many linguistic communities (Vanderauwera 1985: 37).

Of course, translation cannot be said to be a good or bad thing per se and while most European languages are indebted to translation in one way or another, the act of translation may have a more sinister side to it. The Irish-language poet, Biddy Jenkinson, has drawn attention to this fact by virtue of her decision to discourage the translation of her work specifically into English in Ireland although she has allowed it to be translated into French in Canada, for example. The controversial decision is explained by her in these terms:

> The writing is a matter of love [...] a sustaining through my veins and verbs of something infinitely precious, a stretching back along the long road we have come [...] I prefer not to be translated into English in Ireland. It is a small rude gesture to those who think that everything can be harvested and stored in an English-speaking Ireland. (Jenkinson 1991: 34)

Many others identify with the concerns raised by Jenkinson and have commented on the fact that the effects of translation are rarely neutral. According to Venuti (1995: 19):

> The (violent) effects of translation are felt at home as well as abroad. On the one hand, translation wields enormous power in the construction of national identities for foreign cultures [...] On the other hand, translation enlists the foreign text in the maintenance or revision of literary canons in the target-language culture [...] Translation also enlists the foreign text in the maintenance or revision of dominant conceptual paradigms, research methodologies, and clinical practices in target-language disciplines and professions, whether physics or architecture, philosophy or psychiatry, sociology or law. It is these social affiliations and effects [...] [that] permit translation to be called a cultural political practice, constructing or critiquing ideology-stamped identities for foreign cultures, affirming or

> transgressing discursive values and institutional limits in the target-language culture. The violence wreaked by translation is partly inevitable, inherent in the translation process, partly potential, emerging at any point in the production and reception of the translated text, varying with specific cultural and social formations at different historical moments.

Depending on perspective, translation for a major language may be viewed as a cultural indulgence or as a tool of domination, but the situation can be radically different for minority languages which frequently see translation as contributing in a vital way to 'the continued existence of the language and the self-confidence of its speakers' (Cronin 1995: 89). The imperative of inbound translation of texts from the fields of science, medicine, technology, economics etc. as well as literature can be easily comprehended:

> As languages operating in a multilingual world with vastly accelerated information flows from dominant languages, they must translate continually in order to retain their viability and relevance as living languages. Yet, translation itself may in fact endanger the very specificity of those languages that practise it, particularly in situations of diglossia. (Cronin 1995: 89)

Thus translation can be a double-bind or mixed blessing, as is illustrated by the case of translation into Irish:

> If (translators) translate allowing the full otherness of the dominant language to emerge in the translation, inviting rather than eliminating anglicisms from their Irish translations, then the language into which they translate will become less and less recognisable as a separate linguistic entity capable of future development and become instead a pallid imitation of the source text. (ibid: 90)

The importance of outbound translation for a minority language may not be quite so obvious but should not be overlooked, not least because of its implications in terms of the prestige of the language and its speakers. Indeed, much of the translation activity of eighteenth- and nineteenth-century Ireland was motivated at least in part by a wish 'to counter the charges of

ignorance and barbarity levelled against the Irish by earlier English propagandists and prove the antique excellence of Irish language and culture' (Cronin 1998: 155). Outbound translation now serves more practical, commercial purposes. Vanderauwera, for example, remarks that Dutch literature, written in a language which is not widely spoken:

> [...] has a definite need to be translated, particularly with regard to the language which functions as a lingua franca for a large part of the world: English. Through English, Dutch works may gain access to other foreign readers, to publishers and editors as well, and eventually be translated into yet another language. (1985: 22)

In a later article, Vanderauwera (1990: 67) goes on to illustrate the point by citing the case of Cees Nooteboom, whose novel 'Rituelen' (1980) won the 1982 Pegasus Prize for Literature and was consequently translated and published as 'Rituals' (1983) by Louisiana State University Press. This 'snowballed' into paperback editions in English, followed by translations in French, German, Spanish and Danish (ibid).

Since the national Irish-language television station TnaG, later TG4,[6] was established in 1996, outbound screen translation from Irish has emerged as a new and quickly expanding translation field. Operating with a total annual budget worth approximately £20 million, the station has been successful in selling programmes in Irish suitable for screen translation to the USA, Canada, Australia, South Africa, Spain, Germany, France, Portugal, Finland, Wales and Scotland.

6 TnaG or Teilifís na Gaeilge, the Irish-language television station, was established in 1996 and changed its name in 1999 to TG4 or Teilifís na Gaeilge a Ceathair. The station broadcasts for approximately 12 hours on average per day and 50% of programmes are in the Irish language. 50% of these programmes, i.e. 3 hours per day, are aimed specifically at children.

The Irish language and translation

While some form of Irish has been spoken in Ireland for over two millennia, it is unlikely that the island of Ireland was ever entirely monolingual. Irish remained the dominant language until the middle of the 19th century but there was contact, ranging from superficial to significant, at various stages in the country's history with speakers of Latin, Welsh, Norse, French, English, Scots, Spanish and, no doubt, other languages. Viking, Anglo-Norman and English settlers, in particular, left an enduring linguistic mark on both Irish and Hiberno-English, the variety of English now spoken in Ireland.

Thus the Irish are no strangers to translation, whether of individual words or phrases or, indeed, whole texts. From the glosses written in Old Irish on 9th century Latin manuscripts to the subtitles flickering across a TG4 broadcast today, translation has been a fact of life, a necessity. Whereas in the medieval period, translation in Ireland became:

> [...] a means of assimilating, even appropriating, the cultural, scientific and other riches of foreign cultures, it later took on a somewhat sinister demeanour: translation into English was a political necessity, but it must also have been humiliating, a sign of defeat. (Kenny and Cronin 1995: 242)

But the real watershed for the Irish language came in the 19th century when the population started to swing spectacularly towards the English:

> It was not from the cultural values of the Irish language that they were fleeing but from the poverty and failure which were associated with that language: an association powerfully reinforced by the terrible famine years of the 1840s, which wiped out completely the poorest section of the population, almost all of them Irish monoglots. (Greene 1981: 4)

By the late 20th century, the number of native speakers of Irish in the country had fallen to perhaps as low as 50,000 to 100,000. Accurate data are hard come by and Ó hÉithir's highly con-

troversial report written in 1990 estimated that the real figure relating to native speakers in the Gaeltacht might be as low as 10,000, though this estimate is widely disputed. Not surprisingly, the position of Irish as the minority language is reflected in contemporary translation activity in Ireland. As Cronin (1996) has observed, the annual volume of translation into Irish is significantly greater than that of English-language translations published in Ireland. Like the former colonies described by Jacquemond (1992: 139–158), minority languages can be seen in linguistic terms as internal colonies that translate more than they are translated. The main agents responsible for translation activity into Irish since the establishment of the Free State in 1922 are Rannóg an Áistriúcháin and An Gúm, though in recent decades others such as the national broadcaster RTÉ, Bord na Leabhar Gaeilge and a number of private agencies and individuals have also contributed significantly to overall translation output.

Rannóg an Aistriúcháin,[7] located within the Oireachtas,[8] was established in 1922 by the new Free State government and, until An Coiste Téarmaíochta[9] was set up in 1968, was responsible for language planning, standardisation and terminology as well as providing translation and interpreting services to the Oireachtas and Civil Service (O'Connell and Pearson 1991: 86). Indeed, in the period from 1928 to 1959, the Rannóg published no less than 13 specialised glossaries relating to such varied subject areas as music, history, geography and commerce. However since its inception, the main function of Rannóg an Aistriúcháin has been to provide Irish-language versions of the Acts of the Oireachtas as well as translating statutory instruments, treaties, advertisements, official forms and administrative documents (Daltún 1983: 14). The Dáil translators, as the employees of Rannóg an Aistriúcháin are popularly referred to, deserve great credit for the way in

7 This means literally *The Translation Section*.

8 *An t-Oireachtas* is the Irish term denoting the Houses of Parliament in the Republic of Ireland. An t-Oireachtas comprises *an Dáil*, i.e. the Lower House or Assembly and *an Seanad*, i.e. the Upper House or Senate.

9 This means literally *The Terminology Committee.*

which they have responded to the translation challenges, especially in relation to questions of terminology, which have faced them since the foundation of the State. However, the difficulty and importance of their work seems to be undervalued by officialdom, leaving the Rannóg understaffed and underfunded. Although this has resulted in a translation backlog of several years relating to Acts of the Oireachtas, Committee Reports and Statutory Instruments, there is no indication that the situation is likely to improve significantly in the short term.

When Rannóg an Aistriúcháin started out in 1922, there were no legal dictionaries of Irish available to its translators and they coined and implemented specialised terms as and when required, gradually building up a unique database of Irish legal terminology. In the 1940s, a special advisory committee of judges, solicitors and barristers was appointed to assist the head of the Rannóg with regard to the selection and systematic treatment of relevant terminology. One very positive outcome of their deliberations was the publication in 1959 of *Téarmaí Dlí*, a glossary of legal terms used in Oireachtas translations. Unfortunately, due to a lack of official interest in, and financial commitment to, the development of Irish terminological resources, this publication has been out of print for many years, the advisory committee has not met since 1985 and many of the legal entries contained in the various official general dictionaries published since 1959 are not consistent with those in the glossary of legal terms (Ó Ruairc 1997: 96). Furthermore, one of the most valuable linguistic resources in existence in relation to contemporary legal terminology in Irish, namely the Irish and English versions of every Act of the Oireachtas translated to date, is languishing on the shelves of the Rannóg. According to Ó Ruairc (ibid: 90–92), this corpus probably illustrates better than any other in existence the changes that have occurred in the Irish language in the course of the 20th century, yet there are no plans for it to be analysed or edited or published. This sorry state has been described by Ó Ruairc (ibid) as follows:

> [...] tá an saothar seo ar fad ina luí gan ard gan aire air, gan innéacsú ná grinnbhreathnú déanta air, amhail pirimid na hÉigipte, lán deataigh agus gainimh. (*My translation:* None of this material has ever been indexed or studied closely. It is just lying there neglected, like the Pyramids of Egypt, covered in dust and sand.)

Another key state agency involved in translation into Irish is An Gúm. An Gúm was for many years the Publications Branch of the Department of Education and was founded in 1927. Following the signing of the Belfast or Good Friday Agreement by the governments of the Republic of Ireland and the UK in 1998, it became the responsibility of the North–South body charged with the promotion of the Irish language, Foras na Gaeilge. It operates as an educational publisher in the Irish language only and its work is divided into three main areas of responsibility: (a) lexicography/terminology, (b) children's literature and general reading material and (c) primary and secondary school textbooks.

An Coiste Téarmaíochta is the Terminology Committee established in 1968 by the Minister for Education to take responsibility for the provision of authoritative standard terminology in the Irish language. Like An Gúm, it is now part of Foras na Gaeilge. Originally, the Coiste Téarmaíochta was intended to supply terms for all subjects on the school curriculum to meet the requirements of Irish-language primary and secondary schools. In practice, however, it also endeavours to provide a service to members of the general public, who may contact it with queries of a terminological nature. It has also added significantly to the number of glossaries published by Rannóg an Aistriúcháin with the publication of new specialised dictionaries dealing with such topics as flora and fauna, biology, science and accountancy. The Committee comprises no more than two full time terminologists plus various scholars, lexicographers and representatives of academic institutions but the latter's function is mainly advisory and their positions non-remunerative. The reality therefore is that much of the time English words are borrowed into Irish and new Irish terminology is created as and when it is needed by

unmonitored individuals and groups, quite independently of An Coiste Téarmaíochta, because it does not always have the staff or other resources to respond to the urgent, unpredictable requirements of, for example, the RTÉ Irish language newsroom team trying to get a story ready for broadcast (Nic Eoin and Mac Mathúna 1997: 7).

Prior to the Second World War, An Gúm employed many of the country's leading Irish-language literary talents to translate into Irish over one hundred major works of mainly adult European and world literature, such as *Ivanhoe* and *Wuthering Heights*. While the source language was usually English, work was also translated from Greek, Latin, French, German, Italian and Spanish (Ó Cúlacháin 1980: 75). With the growth of independent Irish-language publishers in the post-war period, An Gúm reduced the number of translations of general reading material and concentrated more on the publication of dictionaries and the translation of technical school textbooks and children's literature.

The history of children's publishing in Ireland since the establishment of independence reveals an initial tendency to concentrate efforts on two very specific types of books for children, i.e. textbooks in Irish and English and the Irish language translations of An Gúm. As a result, young children growing up in Ireland before the 1970s came to accept that, with the exception of the kind of books mentioned above, children's books predominantly meant books from abroad, which portrayed life and experiences to some extent foreign to Irish readers. The home market was considered too small to support general Irish children's writers and publishers without the kind of state subvention enjoyed by An Gúm. However textbooks, especially primary school readers, were produced specifically for Irish children as an early, deliberate act of cultural independence and the books consequently portrayed what were considered to be characteristic aspects of Irish (as opposed to English) family, religious, cultural and sporting life (Addis 1996: 14). Thus it can be argued that the norms governing the cultural content of home-produced school textbooks for Irish children in the early years of the State favoured cultural introspection. However, these norms

were counterbalanced by (a) the widescale importation of English language children's storybooks and (b) the translation into Irish of English and other foreign children's literature.

Clearly, as the work of An Gúm, Rannóg an Aistriúcháin and An Coiste Téarmaíochta illustrates, the Irish language publishing emphasis is nowadays primarily on the translation of legislative, administrative, educational and literary texts. The State has no coherent, comprehensive translation policy aimed at producing materials to develop the use of Irish in an increasing number of different domains. The fact that translation occurs only in limited domains may feed a common perception that minority languages can cope best with the translation of material such as literary texts. Yet it seems clear that failure to cast the translation net much wider can only have detrimental consequences for the language as a whole and will ultimately have repercussions even for poetic writing in the minority language:

> Before we try to translate poetry, that most complex form of human expression which draws on the entire range of human powers, thought, philosophy, science, economy, politics, etc. and the various registers and terminologies used to convey them, we must properly assimilate these terms of reference in prose. (Mac Simóin 1993: 68)

Irish and terminology

The key point being made by Mac Simóin above is that good literature can only be generated in a language, which is fully developed and in use in most, if not all, domains of modern life. Central to effective linguistic activity in these domains is the question of adequate terminology provision. In the normal course of events, the dynamic nature of any language results in the gradual loss or jettisoning of some words as they become obsolete or redundant and the steady acquisition of new words to describe new concepts. These new words may be coined

within the language or borrowed, with or without modification of some kind, and incorporated into the expanding terminological repertoire of the language.

As explained in the Introduction, a language can be divided by linguists for the purpose of analysis into grammatical and lexical words. Lexical words express content while grammatical words relate lexical words to each other (Stubbs 1996: 71–72). The former usually constitute a closed set, the latter an open one. However, terminologists tend to emphasise a different, more pragmatic distinction. They frequently identify those lexical words, which are felt to constitute part of the average speaker's core vocabulary, as *LGP*[10] *words*. These are contrasted with other lexical words, which are associated with a particular specialised subject field and referred to as *LSP*[11] *terms*. Detailed study of literature relating to the theory of terminology reveals that this pragmatic distinction is not always easy to uphold.[12] For example, *table* would probably be considered by most to be an LGP word but within a glossary of cabinet-making terminology, it would have the status of a specialised term. Notwithstanding this apparent inconsistency, for the purposes of this investigation the contrastive use of *word* and *term* to distinguish between general vocabulary and technical language will prove serviceable.

According to Russ (1994: 43):

> [...] we must recognize that technical languages are realized at different levels, depending on the role of the participants. These are: (1) the highest level, where theoretical issues are discussed by experts in the field: (2) the workshop level, where issues of production are discussed between the experts and production technicians: and (3) the level of the consumer, where the general public comes into contact with the technical product or service.

10 *LGP* stands for *Language for General Purposes*.
11 *LSP* stands for *Language for Specialised/Specific Purposes*.
12 For a useful overview of the theoretical discussion of LGP versus LSP and the definition of *word* and *term,* see Arntz and Picht (1989: 10–50).

Such a discussion suggests that technical language and specialised terminology relate only to modern industrial developments. But the reality is that although the systematic study of terminology is a fairly recent phenomenon associated with the 20th century, specialised terms have existed for thousands of years. However, it was only in the 20th century, with its exponential rate of scientific and industrial development, that virtually all languages have had to face the need to create, standardise and disseminate systematically to their speakers vast amounts of terminology to cope with the constant onslaught of new concepts. In this sense, minority languages are no different from other languages, except for the fact that they may have to generate artificially virtually all of their terminological requirements because they lack sufficient vitality in most domains for a significant proportion of the terms needed to be coined naturally within the language as would traditionally have happened.

Thus, despite a strong linguistic tradition in various domains, Irish, like many other languages, has been dogged by problems of terminology throughout the 20th century. According to Ó hÓgáin (1983: 28):

> Bhí raidhse téarmaí teicniúla riamh sa Ghaeilge i réimsí áirithe traidisiúnta; mar shampla i gcúrsaí feamainne agus farraige, sa tsaoirseacht, i gcúrsaí áirithe feirmeoireachta agus plandaí, i gcúrsaí creidimh agus sláinte. Ón seachtú haois déag anuas go dtí tús aimsir na hathbheochanna, áfach, is ag cúngú a bhí ar na réimsí ina raibh an Ghaeilge in úsáid. (*My translation*: There has always been an abundance of technical terms in Irish in certain traditional domains: for example, terms relating to the sea and seaweed, to stonemasonry, certain types of agriculture and plants and matters of religion and health. But from the 17th century up until the Gaelic Revival, the number of domains in which Irish was used declined.)

However, terminology in certain other areas had never been developed fully in Irish, partly for reasons to do with the realities of colonisation. For example, prior to conquest Gaelic society had its own highly sophisticated legal system enshrined in the Brehon Laws but from the time of the Anglo-Norman invasion in

the 12th century, Latin and French became the main language of litigation until they were replaced by English during the reign of Henry VIII three hundred years later (Kallen 1988: 129). Legislation introduced in the 18th century curtailed the access of Irish Catholics to the educational system, the state apparatus and the prevailing media and when the national educational system was introduced by the British in 1831, the use of Irish in state-funded primary schools was forbidden (Kenny and Cronin 1995: 242).

Ironically, from the very time the Free State started to address the resultant terminology deficit in the 1920s, those very domains which had traditionally been strong and generated their own terminology organically started to come under extreme pressure as a result of massive emigration from Gaeltacht areas and the accurate perception that good English language skills would help secure employment overseas. By the middle of the 20th century, the use of Irish even in the remaining Gaeltacht areas was restricted to a few limited domains. Referring to Irish in the Connemara Gaeltacht in the post-war period, Mac an Iomaire (1983: 11) has this to say:

> 'Bhí caint na Gaeltachta préamhaithe sa talmhaíocht, san iascaireacht, sna ceirdeanna éagsúla teaghlaigh agus sa saol sóisialta a bhí an pobal a chaitheamh.' (*My translation:* The language of the Gaeltacht was rooted in agriculture, fishing, various domestic crafts and the social life of the community.)

However, there was little work to be found in these areas and the State moved to introduce modern industrial units into Gaeltacht areas to create regional employment.

While a small number of translators, lexicographers and terminologists located mainly in Dublin tried valiantly to supply appropriate modern terminology, in the first instance to meet the needs of those receiving primary and/or secondary education through the medium of Irish, native speakers taking up positions in newly created industrial jobs in the Gaeltacht often had little option but to adopt and/or adapt English terminology to

their needs (Mac an Iomaire 1983: 9–18). The existence of the specialised glossaries published initially by Rannóg an Aistriúcháin and later supplemented by An Coiste Téarmaíochta, plus the publication of the two main general reference dictionaries in Modern Irish, i.e. de Bhaldraithe's *English–Irish Dictionary* (EID) in 1959 and Ó Dónaill' s *Foclóir Gaeilge–Béarla* (FGB) in 1977, had very little impact on native speakers' specialised language use, largely due to problems of term dissemination and acceptance. In the absence of a state language policy and appropriate language planning,[13] it was presumed by the authorities that the provision of employment within the Gaeltacht was all that was needed to stabilise the language. This view was mistaken. For one thing, when new factories opened expertise was usually brought in from outside the Gaeltacht and training and management personnel generally operated through English, which was consequently perceived by many workers to be more prestigious than Irish (Mac an Iomaire 1983: 11). Furthermore, apprentices tended to be sent outside the Gaeltacht for training and handbooks were written in English. Thus terminology in English was acquired from English speakers at an early stage to describe new concepts and these terms were integrated into Irish either as straight borrowings e.g. *gasket*, *focometer*, *power* (ibid: 17), or else in a gaelicised form e.g. *tankannaí* meaning *tanks*.

Thus, while new terminology impacted to some extent on Irish language learners and school goers, little attempt was made to provide the necessary terminology, much of which already existed, to Gaeltacht workers at an early stage in their employment.[14] In his study, Mac an Iomaire argues and provides some limited evidence to support his view, that where appropriate terminology is provided to Gaeltacht workers, they will use it with pride both at work and in the wider community (ibid: 17).

13 See Ó hIfearnáin (2000: 92–116).

14 The preparation by TnaG, the new Irish-language television channel, of a glossary of broadcasting terms for use by its employees in 1996, is an indication that lessons from the past have been learnt at least in some quarters.

However, Ní Dheirg (1992:13) maintains that although terminologists have done impressive work in Irish, especially since the 1950s, Irish speakers appear reluctant to adopt and use new Irish terms. While admitting that further research needs to be conducted to arrive at a satisfactory explanation, she suggests four possible reasons for this perceived reluctance:

> (1) míthuiscint faoi ról na téarmaíochta;
> (2) míthuiscint faoi na cáilíochta a ghabhann le téarma fónta;
> (3) doicheall roimh iasachtaí *per se*;
> (4) easpa iontaoibhe as cumas na Gaeilge freastal ar riachtanais an lae inniu (ibid).

These four reasons, namely a misunderstanding of (1) the role of terminology and (2) the characteristics of a well motivated term,[15] as well as (3) a general unwillingness to use borrowings and (4) a lack of confidence in the ability of Irish to facilitate communication in the modern world, have no doubt all played a part in the reluctance of some speakers to adopt new terms. However, the issue discussed in some detail above concerning lack of easy and immediate access to new Irish terminology when first required, is probably the most crucial one. The only way this problem can be addressed effectively is through appropriate language planning and full cooperation between all state agencies involved in terminology provision and use. In this age of mass communication, the potential for the exploitation of Irish-language broadcasting and print as key media for the initial transmission and repeated reinforcement of new terminology, especially for the benefit of young viewers, cannot be overestimated. This assertion is supported by Riggins (1992: 283), who summarises the powerful impact of minority language media as follows:

15 According to Picht and Draskau (1985:114), 'the motivation of a term should be self-evident; the term should be logical and to a high degree self-explanatory, e.g. combine harvester, shearing machine, motor mower'.

> [...] ethnic minority media are making a substantial contribution to the continued survival of minority languages. The skills of imperfect speakers are improving, languages are being modernized by the addition of new technical vocabulary related to contemporary life [...] Ethnic minority media give the young an opportunity to relate to role models speaking their native language. The public validation of minority languages by their use in the media is important for their survival especially in the eyes of the young who would be most tempted to speak exclusively the majority language.

Translation for Irish-speaking children

As suggested above, the production and translation of written and/or audiovisual material for children is central to the development of the younger generation's linguistic skills and is, therefore, of crucial importance to the survival of the minority language into the future. According to the award-winning translator of children's books, Mildred Batchelder, 'the interchange of children's books between countries, through translation, influences communication between the people of those countries' (quoted in Lo 1991: 146). But a much simpler, more basic reason to advocate translation for children is, as Bell (1980: 137) tells us, because 'otherwise children are never going to read the best of children's literature of other countries'.

Activities such as reading, listening to radio, tapes, CDs and watching films, TV and videos can all potentially play an very important role in the development of the full range of linguistic skills of young speakers of Irish.[16] Yet because Irish is a minority language in a bilingual state, it is obvious that most children, if

16 Irish-speaking children are not a homogeneous group. Some are native speakers while others learn Irish by attending *Naonraí* and *Gaelscoileanna*, i.e. Irish-language nurseries and schools. Consequently, there is likely to be a wide range of Irish language ability in any particular age group, regardless of other factors such as class.

left to their own devices, will conduct many of these activities to a greater or lesser extent through the medium of English. Irish-language books, TV programmes and other materials only represent a small fraction of what is available in Ireland in the English language and just an infinitesimal fraction of what English has to offer globally. Even within Ireland, Irish-language publications specifically for children and teenagers account for just approximately 15% of the total (O'Connell 1995: 25). This fact makes it all the more important that educationalists, language planners, publishers and/or broadcasters work together to achieve the optimum outcome, in relation to their respective agendas, from monies spent on Irish-language material for children.

One obvious way of supplementing the small amount of original children's reading and viewing material produced in Irish is to turn to translation. Since children as a target audience are inadequately catered for in many different countries, this approach is widely adopted. According to a survey carried out in 1995 (Ní Chonchuir 1995: 35) and information derived from An Gúm catalogues (ibid: 43), translations account for approximately 50% of all Irish-language books available for children and 42% of these are translated from English. This does not mean that this percentage originated in English as it should be remembered that a major language can often play a very important intermediary role in translation involving minority languages by acting as a *pivot language* which bridges the gap between the source language and its ultimate target language. Translating and then republishing a children's book is often a much cheaper option than producing an original work from start to finish in the minority language, especially if an attractive lay-out and elaborate illustrations are involved. For this reason, An Gúm has chosen to cooperate in the production of many co-editions with publishing houses overseas:

> Co-editions are produced in conjunction with mainly English publishing companies such as Walker Books, Ventura, Campbell Books and Penguin. The books in question are specifically designed by the original publisher

> to enable translation into different languages. They are laid out so that the print may be reproduced in another language without affecting the illustrations. (Ní Chonchúir 1995: 37)

This inevitably facilitates the production of more books of a higher quality in production terms than could otherwise be afforded by a minority language culture. This trend within publishing has a striking parallel in the area of screen translation. With a generous production budget, top class children's viewing such as animation, wildlife documentaries and puppet shows can be produced in a major language by an affluent linguistic community and then, following broadcast on home territory and recuperation of initial costs, sold on relatively cheaply for dubbing and rebroadcast to minority language audiences.

Dubbing for children has already become an established industry in Ireland over the last decade or more, and has allowed both RTÉ and TG4 to offer its younger viewers programmes of a very high artistic and technical standard through the medium of Irish at a relatively low cost. Indeed, this is precisely the scenario that applied in the case of *Janoschs Traumstunde*, which was originally devised in Germany as a television adaptation of children's stories and later sold abroad. RTÉ commissioned the independent post-production house, Telegael, to dub the programmes for broadcast to Irish-speaking children as *Scéalaíocht Janosch*. The final outcome was a high quality series of programmes in the Irish language, which cost RTÉ only a fraction of the original overall production cost.

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Chapter Two

Dubbing

The two most common forms of screen translation or language versioning are generally referred to in translation studies literature as subtitling and dubbing. However, since there is often a discrepancy between what are considered the correct technical terms within the screen translation industry and more general usage, it seems wise to clarify the basic terminology relating to screen translation before continuing. As regards the tendency to subdivide the field of screen translation or language versioning into dubbing or lip-sync dubbing, on the one hand, and subtitling, on the other, I wish to argue that it would be more precise to opt for revoicing, rather than (lip-sync) dubbing, as a superordinate term, and count (lip-sync) dubbing as just one method of revoicing, as I have done below. This is also the terminological approach adopted by Luyken (1991: 71), who uses revoicing to mean simply the replacement of the original voicetrack by another and distinguishes between four different revoicing techniques, i.e. voice-over, narration, free commentary and lip-sync dubbing. Luyken refers to revoicing as 'the imperfect art', pointing out that:

> [...] unlike subtitling, it also includes a performance element. Revoicing varies greatly depending on the individual style and skill of the 'revoicer', the attention and time which is allotted to the task and, of course, the quality of the technical equipment available. These are all allied to economic considerations and quality largely depends upon the resources invested in revoicing. (ibid)

While lip-sync dubbing is undoubtedly the revoicing method which enjoys the highest profile and is most widely used in the language versioning of films, television programmes and videos,

the three other revoicing techniques, i.e. voice-over, narration and free commentary, should not be forgotten. These techniques can be employed separately or within a single production. However, of the four revoicing methods, it is clearly lip-sync dubbing which really presents the greatest challenge because of the technical and linguistic difficulties associated with it. In the case of both dubbing and subtitling, the achievement on a variety of levels of what is referred to as synchrony is the key to successful screen translation. The topic of synchrony in dubbed texts is addressed in detail in Chapter Three.

Types of Revoicing

The generic term *revoicing* can be used to describe:
- voice-over,
- narration,
- free commentary and
- lip-sync dubbing (Luyken 1991: 71).

Voice-over

This technique is generally used to translate monologues or interviews and is not normally associated with programmes for children. It is a relatively inexpensive form of revoicing and is therefore an option for low budget productions. In theory, voice-over gives priority to the source language text, which can be translated very accurately. This is because the translation is not subject to the same strict constraints relating to such issues as the exact duration, which apply in the case of lip-sync dubbing. The original voice may be replaced entirely but it is more usual to retain it, allowing the viewer a few seconds at the beginning to register the original voice. Then the sound level is reduced so

that the original voice merely provides a backdrop to the translated version delivered by an actor, interpreter or lay person. Sometimes the actor employed is a native speaker of the source language and speaks with a pronounced accent in the target language, which only serves to add authenticity. Pisek (1994: 39) cites the broadcast of the Academy Awards on Austrian television as a good example of the use of voice-over.

Narration

Narration has been described by Luyken (1991: 80) as 'basically an extended voice-over'. The source language narrator to be revoiced may be either on- or off-screen. In the former case, it is important to time the translation so that it is more or less synchronous with the original. In the latter case, the priority is to match the sequence in which information is delivered with the visual information presented. All the on-screen animation characters in *Scéalaíocht Janosch* are lip-sync dubbed. But there is another character in each episode, who provides an integrated example of narration. This is the off-screen narrator who, rather like an adult reading a book aloud to a young child, sets the scene at the beginning of each story and comments again in the concluding moments. Luyken (ibid) makes the interesting observation that the only difference between a voice-over and narration is likely to be linguistic since the original narrative will probably have been prepared in advance and will therefore be more formal in tone and grammatical structure than the typical conversational language of the voice-over. De Linde and Kay (1999: 2) point out that although narration and voice-over are very similar, the narrated message may be condensed whereas the voiced-over message usually is of very similar duration to the original.

Free commentary

Free commentary is unlike the other three kinds of revoicing in that it does not attempt to reproduce faithfully the original spoken text (Luyken 1991: 82). In fact, as the term implies, the purpose of the commentary is to adapt the original programme so that it is deemed more suitable for the new target language audience. The commentary is often prepared by a journalist, who may also deliver the script and while the drafting of the text may be time-consuming, the recording of a free commentary can usually be completed much quicker, and more cheaply, than other types of revoicing. According to de Linde and Kay (1999: 2), commentary and narration are most commonly used for children's programmes, documentaries and promotional videos.

Lip-sync dubbing

Unlike the other three types of revoicing, lip-sync dubbing must be pre-recorded. (Lip-sync) dubbing is generally understood within screen translation to refer specifically to the preparation and recording of the target language soundtrack. However, it is not primarily understood in this specialised sense within the audiovisual industry at large. The glossary in a BBC guide to television production skills, for example, offers first a rather general definition of dubbing and then the more specific translation sense of the term:

> mixing final sound track from recorded sound, commentary, music and effects: also putting different language on a programme. (Harris-Watts 1984: 223)

Thus the strict meaning of the term dubbing in its simplest form does not necessarily relate to transfer from one language to another at all. In any case, from the point of view of the technical staff working in the dubbing studio, the technology and most of the techniques used by them are fundamentally the same,

regardless of whether or not the dubbing script has been arrived at through a process of translation. Nevertheless, as we shall see in more detail in Chapter Three on Synchrony, dubbing into a foreign language does bring additional challenges for other members of the dubbing studio staff.

Whitman-Linsen (1992: 57) distinguishes between three types of dubbing:

- *pre-synchronisation*, e.g. using the prerecorded music and song of Broadway musicals on the soundtrack of filmed versions of the same musicals,
- *direct synchronisation*, which is when voice and picture are recorded simultaneously and
- *post-synchronisation*, which is what is generally meant by dubbing and involves the initial recording of picture and the later addition of sound, as in the case of *Scéalaíocht Janosch*. While this procedure is primarily associated with dubbing into a foreign language, it is sometimes also used when making the original, for example, for scenes shot out of doors where background noise may compromise voice sound quality (ibid). Furthermore, some films are shot for convenience in one language and then dubbed into another to give the 'original'. An example of this is the German film, *Fitzcarraldo*, which was actually shot in English on location and then later dubbed into German to give a German 'original version'. When eventually shown in the UK, the film used was the 'original' German which carried English subtitles. Clearly the British viewers, who have a traditional dislike of dubbed versions, had no idea that they were actually watching one (Cinema Technology 1993: 15).

The mechanics of dubbing

The main procedures involved in the dubbing process are outlined below.[1] The list of steps involved in the process is an adapted version of the one provided by Lukyen (1991: 73–79). It should be noted, however, that in-house practice varies, not simply from country to country,[2] but also from studio to studio and even from script to script within the same studio. Moreover, as technology develops and personnel become more experienced, procedures within a dubbing organisation inevitably change. It is important to understand that this list cannot, therefore, present a definitive sequence in which all of these tasks must be completed. For example, the drafting of the rough translation plus the preliminary casting work could start with Step 1.

Step 1: Registration
This refers to the logging, for administrative purposes, of key data concerning the assignment.

Step 2: Verification of master and dialogue list
At this point a video cassette of the programme to be dubbed is viewed in conjunction with the original dialogue list. If step 3 has already been carried out and the video cassette is already time-coded, step 4 may be carried out at this point. Ideally, the producer of the original should provide the dubbing team with an accurate copy of the post-production script, thereby saving the dubbing team a lot of unnecessary work.

1 The procedures outlined here relate to the dubbing of videos and television programmes recorded on video. For information on the slight differences involved in the dubbing of film, see Luyken (1991: 79).

2 Herbst (1997: 293) claims that in Germany more emphasis is placed on lip-synch while in Italy natural dialogue tends to be the priority.

Step 3: Production of time-coded working copy
The master tape may already have timecode on it. If not, a time-coded copy must be made.

Step 4: Spotting
When timecode has been superimposed on the video cassette, it is possible to use points on the timecode to identify with a high degree of accuracy the beginning and ending of each utterance. A list of the exact in- and out-points is what is known as a spotting list and this serves as a list of cue points for the dubbing actors. A kind of shorthand can be used on the spotting list to indicate problematic lip movements which will have to be taken into consideration in the dubbed text (Rowe 1960: 118).

Step 5: Rough translation
The preparation of the translated version of the script, which pays due attention to such factors as lip movements in effect combines steps 5 and 6. When steps 5 and 6 are not combined, the rough translation is based entirely on the original script and is intended to give the dubbing script writer/editor a fairly literal account of the source text.

Step 6: Adaptation
The focus of the adaptation is the achievement of a high degree of synchrony, especially lip synchrony for close-up shots, in the dubbing script. If a rough translation has already been prepared, it is not essential that the dubbing script writer/editor have a knowledge of the source language.

Step 7: Casting
Actors or, in some cases, members of the general public with suitable voices are identified. Consideration is usually given to such factors as age group, voice quality and acting ability. In countries where dubbing is commonplace, the voice of a particular dubbing actor may become associated with a particular actor such as John Wayne or Woody Allen. This may cause problems if, for example, a follow-up film or television series is dubbed

a number of years after the original because the original dubbing actor may not be available, yet members of the target language audience naturally expect the screen character to have the same voice as he or she did in the first production. Sometimes in such cases, the original dubbing actor may even be deceased (Wehn 1998: 186) and the nearest match has to be found. But where the dubbing actor is still available, he or she can usually command very high fees (Luyken 1991: 75). It is not uncommon for an individual dubbing actor to record several minor parts in the same production without the audience being aware of this fact. This can save considerable time and money.

Step 8: Recording
Nowadays, thanks to the latest technology, there is no need for more than one actor to be in the dubbing studio at the same time. It is possible to record all the takes for an actor in one go and then edit them into position on the final soundtrack later. This means that costs can be greatly reduced as actors are not paid unless they are actually performing and the dubbing studio is used to maximum efficiency. Actors are provided with a script and can watch the lead-in to their lines on a monitor. They also have the benefit of a visual and/or audio cue to indicate when they should start and finish speaking. For the sake of convenience, the dubbing of the translated script is usually divided into takes of, for example, 10 lines or 15 minute blocks (Luyken 1991: 75) rather than on the basis of any inherent textual logic. In general, it is fair to say that the structure of the recording session is largely dictated by technical and financial considerations which may impinge negatively on linguistic aspects of the dubbed text (see Chapter Three).

Step 9: Preliminary Mix and Edit
When the voices have all been recorded, the first mix of the voice tracks can be made. Using the latest digital dubbing equipment, it is possible to manipulate takes without loss of quality or pitch so as to improve synchrony long after the actors have gone home.

Special sound effects such as glass breaking can be added at this point.

Step 10: Final mix
The newly created dubbed track is mixed with the M&E (Music & Effects) track.

Step 11: Approval
In some cases, a representative of the client and/or broadcaster views the finished production and vets it before it is transmitted.

Dubbing *Janoschs Traumstunde* into Irish

Telegael, a post-production house located in the Connemara Gaeltacht, 10 miles west of Galway city, was established in 1987/88, becoming operational in 1989. Telegael's first venture into television for children was the dubbing in 1989/90 of *Janoschs Traumstunde*. At that time, prior to the establishment of the Irish-language television station TnaG in 1996, young pre-school Irish-speaking children were hardly catered for by the national broadcaster, RTÉ. This can be explained partly by the State's lack of political will in relation to the adoption and implementation of a comprehensive language planning policy at the time and partly by the relatively high costs inevitably associated with minority language home productions for children. In this context, it is important to remember that, as an audience, Irish-speaking children represent a minority within a minority and, as such, are likely to be doubly disadvantaged on the airwaves unless their needs are prioritised as, indeed, they now are by TG4.

As regards the linguistic aspects of the preparation of the scripts used to create *Scéalaíocht Janosch*, the Irish language version of *Janoschs Traumstunde*, it should be pointed out that of the six programmes under consideration in the corpus, one came

from the first series originally broadcast in Ireland in 1989, while the remainder came from the second series which was first shown in 1990.[3] The final Irish-language versions of the scripts for both series were, as is usually the case with dubbing projects, the result of teamwork and were produced on the basis of access to the original German scripts and videos as well as a rough English verbatim version.[4]

A slightly different translation approach was used on the two projects and this is signalled in the Irish programme credits. In the first series, the translation was officially attributed to Brian Ó Baoill, a writer of books for children in Irish, brought in to work on the scripts, and Alan Esslemont, a member of the Telegael staff with a good knowledge of German, who was also responsible for some aspects of the production and direction of the series. The credits of the second series named a native speaker and Celtic Studies graduate, Micheál Ó Catháin, as being responsible for the Irish version rather than translation, while Esslemont was described as the co-producer/director. Although in both cases, the final dubbing outcome was the result of collaborative work based on a translated script, which was further modified in the dubbing studio, it was decided in the latter case to describe the initial script translation as a version. This serves to highlight the reality, also described by Herbst (1997: 304), that much of the shaping of final dubbed texts occurs in studio long after the initial script translation had been drafted. Alterations to the texts made in studio were motivated primarily by the wish to improve aspects of synchrony and general speakability, as well as a wish to strike a balance between the competing linguistic needs and abilities of children who are native speakers and those anglophone children,

3 *Der Quasselkaspar ist reich* is the only programme from the first series used in this corpus (See Appendix).

4 As part of the sales pitch, television material offered for sale on the international market is usually provided with a rough verbatim English version of the script, frequently prepared by non-native speakers.

who are immersed in Irish if they are sent to *naonraí*, i.e. Irish language (pre-)schools.[5]

While it was not possible to establish the exact budget available for the dubbing of each series, it seems probable that it was modest since this is case of pioneering minority language broadcasting. The actors used were not employed full-time in that profession at the time but were drawn from a pool of native speakers, many of whom had some acting experience in amateur dramatics.

Telegael was set up as a commercial venture with state support in anticipation of the establishment of an Irish language television station. The company set out to demonstrate that the substitution of dubbed foreign material for home productions could substantially reduce the cost of producing minority language audiovisual material, while simultaneously maintaining high production values. As there was no established tradition of interlingual dubbing in Ireland, Telegael invited a former employee of BBC Wales, Des Bennett, to help with the development of the new facility. Having worked on English and Welsh version of *Janoschs Traumstunde* for the BBC, Bennett proposed that Telegael dub the series into Irish for RTÉ. Two *Janosch* series were commissioned for dubbing and these were transmitted as part of the late Saturday afternoon children's viewing slot, which usually carried English-language programmes.

Telegael had invested in highly sophisticated audio post-production facilities, including a purpose-designed digital sound studio which provides access to the most modern disk-based audio technology available and it was there that *Janosch* was dubbed. The company's audio equipment allows sound to be stored on hard disk and then stretched or compressed or manipulated in other ways to provide acoustics of a very high standard. Dubbed dialogue can be manipulated to a tolerance of 1/2,500 of a second without causing a change in pitch, thereby making it possible to achieve a very close match between the audio track and the visible articulation of sounds on screen.

5 Personal communication Alan Esslemont 1999.

Moreover, different dialogue takes can be digitally stored and labelled and then retrieved instantly, if required, without the tiresome delays caused by the constant rewinding or forwarding associated with the older tape-based systems. Another major advantage of the use of digitally recorded dubbed dialogue is the fact that original sound quality can be maintained on disk and there is no loss of quality during editing or copying of the sort associated with the use of tapes in the dubbing studio.

When Telegael was commissioned to dub *Janoschs Traumstunde* for RTÉ, the audio system used was ATLAS (Automated Track Laying Advance System).[6] ATLAS was developed in 1989 by Bennett. Essentially, ATLAS was created, in cooperation with BBC Wales and Softel, the UK subtitle system company, by linking a BBC micro computer to an AudioFile[7] tapeless recorder. How the system is used in practice is described succinctly in Screen Digest (1992: 160) as follows:

> ATLAS is based on Softel's swift computer workstation, which is used to control video machines and AudioFile and other multitrack recorders. It can be used to prepare dubbing scripts as well as control the recording of the new soundtrack. Up to 3,000 cue points can be stored on disks and the picture, time-code and text can all be viewed on the same monitor. The full script or individual performer's lines can be printed out complete with time-code cues. To rehearse and record sequences, the 'rock and roll' (playback and rewind) of up to four synchronised video machines can be controlled simultaneously with audible cues given to the performers.

Clearly, the use of such sophisticated modern technology facilitates the achievement of a very high standard of lip, and other kinds of audio synchrony and it is consequently no surprise to discover that the technical approach adopted to the Irish-language dubbing of *Janoschs Traumstunde* was highly professional.

6 For a detailed account of ATLAS and many other aspects of both dubbing and subtitling technology, see Screen Digest (1992: 153–160).

7 AudioFile was the first reasonably priced tapeless digital dubbing system and became commercially available in 1984 (ibid).

Chapter Three

Synchrony

Literature dealing with dubbing has tended, particularly in the early days of research into screen translation, to emphasise the difficulties associated with the synchrony, often exaggerating them unnecessarily. Rowe (1960: 117) is a case in point:

> Each line of dubbed text must consist of a phonetic pattern which will as nearly as possible reproduce the lip movement pattern of the original. The semantic camel must somehow be squeezed through the phonetic needle eye.

Early commentators such as Cary (1960: 112) and Fodor (1976: 10) were amongst the first to attempt to account for the inherent difficulties of dubbing in terms of the search for *synchrony*, which is used in the sense of correspondence or matching. Fodor (1976: 10) develops the concept by distinguishing between three kinds of synchrony, all of which he feels should be present to a high degree in a successfully dubbed film. They are:

(a) *phonetic synchrony* which exists 'when unity is achieved between the articulatory movements seen and the sounds heard [...]',
(b) *character synchrony*, which relates to the degree of correspondence between the dubbing voice, e.g. timbre, tempo, used and the original actor's physique and manner and gestures and
(c) *content synchrony*, which is achieved when the semantic content of the original and dubbed script versions match each other closely.

Research on various aspects of dubbing tends to highlight one or other of these three types of synchrony usually at the expense of the other two. Fodor's study, while addressing phonetic, semiotic, aesthetic and psychological aspects, concentrates primarily on phonetic synchrony and the difficulties posed by the pursuit of high standards of lip synchronisation. In this context, he makes the following general observation about the relative importance of different types of synchrony:

> Most film experts are of the opinion that the content or character synchrony must take precedence over the phonetic sign [...] I am inclined to believe that none can be given unconditional priority over the others. (ibid: 84)

Fodor goes on to claim that in any particular case, priority may be given to one or other synchrony depending on target audience requirements. In effect, Fodor is arguing for a functional approach[1] to dubbing where the purpose of any film or television programme and the needs of the target audience guide the dubbers in their decision-making whenever the requirements of one type of synchrony threaten to impinge on another. Nevertheless, the ideal for Fodor remains:

> [...] a faithful and artistic rendering of the original dialogue, an approximately perfect unification of the replacing sounds with the visible lip movements, and bringing the style of delivery in the new version into optimal artistic harmony with the style of acting. (1976: 9)

Problems of visual synchrony tend to be the most frequently commented upon area of difficulty in critical works on dubbing well into the 1980s. From the mid 1980s, a more realistic perspective on the general techniques of revoicing and, in particular, lip-sync dubbing begins to emerge and some of the gross generalisations made in earlier literature on the subject are laid bare. Indeed, Jadebeck (1984: 35) goes so far as to state that

1 Fodor's perspective on this issue is very much in the spirit of Skopos theory as developed by Reiß and Vermeer (1984).

dubbing translators do not actually attach any great priority to lip synchrony.

Whitman-Linsen's model of dubbing synchrony

A useful model for the study of dubbing has been developed more recently by Whitman-Linsen (1992), who considers the three categories of phonetic, character and content synchrony proposed by Fodor insufficiently differentiated. As an alternative, she suggests a more detailed set of headings should be utilised in order to investigate more fully the scope of dubbing synchrony. In the Whitman-Linsen model, the general concept of dubbing synchrony is broken down into:

(a) *visual/optical synchrony*,
(b) *audio/acoustic synchrony* and
(c) *content synchrony* (ibid: 19).

The first two types of synchrony identified by Whitman-Linsen (1992) are in turn further subdivided under three headings. *Visual/optical synchrony* is taken to involve firstly, *lip synchrony* in the strictest sense of the term, which corresponds roughly to Fodor's phonetic synchrony. Secondly, *syllable synchrony and isochrony*, which covers the number of syllables, gaps and the overall length of each utterance and thirdly, *kinetic synchrony*, which relates to gestures, deportment and facial expressions. *Audio/acoustic synchrony* as defined by Whitman-Linsen (ibid) covers firstly, *idiosyncratic vocal type*, secondly, *paralinguistic/ prosodic elements* such as tone, timbre, intonation and tempo and thirdly, *cultural specifics* such as regional accents and dialects. *Content synchrony* is understood to encompass all the linguistic challenges that the script translator and dialogue writer face. As Whitman-Linsen is at pains to point out herself, there is nothing

absolute about the subdivisions she proposes. What is important, she stresses, is that these classifications should not be seen as discrete units since in reality they overlap. More important are questions like 'What dyschronies do they register as jarring or annoying? What distracts them in their perception of inconsistencies and what do they forgive?' (ibid: 53).

Visual synchrony

As stated above, there was a longstanding view that lip synchrony was of primary importance in dubbing and indeed, the fact that Fodor (1976) devoted almost half of his book on dubbing to the topic of lip synchrony, in the sense of visual synchrony or phonetic synchrony, as he refers to it, underlines this fact. But assertions such as 'the film audience is often more concerned with lips than literature' (Rowe 1960: 116), no longer go unchallenged and are now at variance with mainstream research in the area. Works written in the last fifteen years, in particular, have adopted a more discerning, differentiated approach to this question. Delabastita (1989), Whitman-Linsen (1992), Pisek (1994) and others criticise earlier commentators for focusing too much on differences between languages and using extreme examples, e.g. Burgess (1980: 299), often quoted completely out of context, to support their assertions that many dubbing problems are virtually insurmountable.

It is true that high standard dubbing is a difficult and demanding form of screen translation as is reflected in the cost and amount of time involved in the process. 100% good lip-sync can be hard to achieve because, as dubbing professionals are only too aware, there is a small subset of all vowels and consonants, which are articulated in such a way as to be highly visible. These are open, rounded vowels, vowels articulated with lips stretched back, certain consonants namely the bi-labials /b/, /p/, and /m/

and the labio-dentals, /f/ and /v/. But as Whitman-Linsen (1992: 23–24) states, the challenge posed even by the articulation of these sounds is not insurmountable:

> [...] an absolute identical correlation is not only impossible but also unnecessary. The articulative movements of the English and German /b/, /p/ and /m/ are identical and, for the purposes of synchronisation, similar enough to /v/, /w/ and /f/. No problems are posed by /d,t,k,g,s,r/ since the lips are not involved in articulating.

In any case, even these problematic labial sounds do not always necessarily have to be addressed from a lip-sync point of view whenever they appear in a script. For one thing, sounds which are articulated in mid-sentence are noticed less than those which are either initial or terminal, as Sasse (1973: 11) has observed:

> Bei der Übersetzung und Neubildung von Wörtern ist im Rahmen der Synchronisation besonders auf 'einleitende' und 'endende' Mundbewegungen zu achten. Beginnt der Sprecher etwa mit dem M, das mit geschlossenen Lippen gebildet wird, so kann der Dialog wenn nötig verkürzt werden, weil bei den geschlossenen Lippen nicht unbedingt ein Laut gebildet werden muß.

Furthermore, Herbst (1997: 293) reports that 'relatively crass violations of sync' may not even be noticed by the audience. He supports this assertion by citing instances such as occasions where dubbed text was audible 14 frames before the lip movement started and stopped 21 frames after the lips, without the audience appearing to be aware of this. Moreover, 'such translations as *ich weiß, wovon ich rede* for *and I have* with bilabial consonants in the place of an open vowel seem to pass unnoticed' (ibid).

Syllable synchrony and isochrony relate to synchrony between 'visually and acoustically perceived syllable articulation and utterance length' (Whitman-Linsen 1992: 20). A high degree of correspondence between the number of syllables, gaps and pauses in an utterance and the overall utterance length is a very important aspect of visual synchrony since, as Whitman-Linsen

has observed, there is nothing as disconcerting as watching a film in which the voice can be heard long after the actor's mouth has stopped moving. The most common solution to problems of syllable synchrony opted for by screen translators is to recast translated dialogue so that the syllable count and utterance duration more or less match as described by Sasse (1973: 11). The key to the isochrony or utterance duration problem lies in the fact that one language may tend to express itself in general, or in a given context, in a more wordy way than another. Fodor (1976: 78–79) commented on this fact, observing that translations of a text may be either longer or shorter than the original. This he explains with reference to structural differences between analytical and synthetic languages.

However, Fodor's point is not entirely convincing. While it may be true that a significant difference in length may be observed between an original text and a translated version, a screen translator operating under the isochrony constraint can resort to options relating to an actor's delivery, e.g. changing the speech tempo slightly in order to overcome the problem and produce a translation which is synchronous. Alternatively, the solution may lie in the use of a translation option such as paraphrase in order to match utterance length in the source language and target language texts because colloquial speech usually offers a variety of idiomatic ways to say virtually the same thing in fewer or more words, e.g. *Pass the butter! Butter, please. Is there any butter? Where is the butter? Could you possibly pass me the butter*?

Moreover, if the most appropriate translated utterance is too short, it is often possible to resort to padding by using phatic expressions such as *oh*, *well*, *mmm* or *eh*. Conversely, if a section is too long, most languages offer some scope for the overall length to be shortened by means of such linguistic devices as ellipsis and pronominalisation, which are characteristic of spoken dialogue.

A good standard of kinetic synchrony is achieved when the dubbing actor's delivery of the translated script matches the facial expressions and general body language of the original actor. This

is no easy task as in every language certain expressions and gestures go hand in hand in a way that is highly distinctive and characteristic. Fodor (1976: 37) illustrates this point by citing the case of the French expression *oh là là* and the accompanying facial and bodily gestures. Kinetic features may be individual and idiosyncratic or may be typical of a particular social or ethnic background. Fodor (1976), Whitman-Linsen (1992) and Herbst (1994) all point out that Southern Europeans are likely to gesticulate more than their Northern counterparts, for example, and this may cause problems especially if the dubbing actor does not opt to use the relevant foreign accent. Moreover, the same gesture may have a different meaning in different cultures, e.g. nodding or shaking the head.

In the opinion of Herbst (1994: 224–225), problems of kinetic synchrony in dubbing can most usefully be resolved by paying particular attention to what is known as *nucleus-sync*. This concept concerns:

> [...] the fact that movements of the body, slight nods, raising of the eyebrows, or making gestures always coincide with the uttering of stressed syllables, which in linguistics are referred to as nuclei. Possibly, this parallel occurrence of stressed syllables and other movements can be seen as instrumental in the perception of speech. However, while lip-sync is given priority in dubbing, this is not always the case with nucleus-sync so that the situation could occur when a character raised his eyebrows between two nuclei with such movements appearing completely unmotivated (Luyken 1991: 160–161).

Herbst argues that paying attention to nuclei is more important than trying to match all the source text kinetic features to a dubbed script. He feels that this type of synchrony should take precedence over lip and syllable synchrony, although in practice every effort must be made to strike a balance between 'the demands of lip-sync, nucleus-sync and naturalness of text' (ibid: 161).

Factors facilitating visual synchrony

As most dubbing experts now agree, there are a number of factors which can influence the conditions under which a challenging sound, or combination of sounds, is articulated, thereby facilitating the dubber's efforts to achieve a high level of visual synchrony. For example, if dialogue is competing with background noise or music, 'our auditive attention is distracted or divided' (Fodor 1976: 60). Similarly, if an actor pulls out a revolver on screen the accuracy of the articulation match will probably not attract attention unless the shot is a close-up of the speaker. With reference to screen size, Fodor (ibid: 61) refers to research conducted in the 1960s which showed that the quality of dubbed films was perceived to be better when broadcast on television screens rather than on wide cinema screens. Audiences were most critical of wide-screen cinema projections because the superior visibility meant that details of utterance articulation could be quite clearly observed.

According to Hesse-Quack (1969: 99), viewers are not generally as discerning in relation to visual synchrony as was initially thought and do not pick up on minor discrepancies and inconsistencies. Furthermore, if a high standard of lip, syllable and utterance synchrony is set in the early scenes of a film, the audience will settle into the plot and pay less attention to lip synchrony later (Whitman-Linsen 1992: 21). It should also be remembered that the average viewer, unlike the deaf viewer, does not deliberately focus on the dubbed actor's lips, but if, on the odd occasion, this happens it is, according to Fodor (1976: 99):

> [...] an involuntary activity which is brought into play through the acoustic and visual stimuli evoking motor sensations, the result of which is that all he observes is either synchrony or dyschrony.

Clearly, the easiest dubbing scenario is one where what is required for the target language soundtrack is voice-over, narration or commentary rather than lip-sync dubbing:

> [...] the use of an off-screen narrator in the original film, for instance, drastically simplifies matters from the point of view of synchronisation (Delabastita 1989: 203).

Fodor (1976: 83) makes a similar point:

> Since [the narrator] is usually unseen, there is no limitation imposed on the target sequences apart perhaps from overstepping the time allotted to his speaking part.

As regards lip-sync dubbing, Fodor (ibid: 60–61) also cites poor lighting, noisy activity or music, dramatic action as well as screen size as factors which may exert a negative influence on the audience's ability to detect poor lip-sync, thereby greatly facilitating the dubbing writer.

Delabastita (1989) also challenges the way in which some commentators exaggerate the significance of lip-sync as a constraint in dubbing. While it is true that close-up shots of a character speaking can pose such problems for lip-sync that a phrase or sentence has to be altered fundamentally in translation, he argues that:

> The stringency of the constraint of [phonetic] synchrony is dependent on the type of film shot in each scene to be translated [...] Close-up shots of the character speaking may impose heavy demands on the translation team. On the other hand, in many scenes the character who speaks is not even within view (ibid: 203).

On this topic, Goris (1993) provides concrete evidence that camera angle as well as shot type can play into the dubber's hands. In his study of the dubbing of Flemish and American films into French, he charted degrees of synchrony in the dubbed versions and found 'a correlation between the degree of synchronization and the extent to which the speaker's mouth

was visible' (ibid: 182). Goris concludes that 'the image, i.e. the point of view of the camera, has a great influence on film translation' (ibid).

Variables affecting visual synchrony

It is usually relatively easy to provide a high degree of visual synchrony in puppet shows and animation. The lip or mouth movements of most glove puppets mimic the articulation of syllables rather than actual sounds. The same usually applies to cartoon characters though some, depending on their level of sophistication, may not move their lips at all (Bassols et alia 1995: 415–416). In the case of *Janoschs Traumstunde*, the animation characters are drawn in such a way that lip synchrony, used here in its strictest sense à la Whitman-Linsen, does not act as a constraint on the translator. However, syllable synchrony/ isochrony does for characters other than off-screen narrators.

According to Whitman-Linsen (1992: 22), the fact that men generally 'enunciate their words with less precision than women' can simplify the task of lip-sync dubbing male actors. This is a point which has also been made by Burgess (1980: 303) who refers to the general 'labial slackness' of many male American actors. Conversely, Götz/Herbst (1987: 15) point out that the use of lip-stick by people with light skin can accentuate lip visibility, potentially causing problems while actors sporting beards or moustaches on screen can make the task of dubbing easier. This point is further developed by Herbst (1994: 31) who cites research suggesting that British male actors in television series articulate more clearly than their American counterparts and are therefore trickier to dub while actors whose dark skin colour contrasts with their white teeth require a high degree of lip-sync.

Any particular dubbing job will pose its own set of challenges but also offer its own set of possible satisfactory solutions. In the

final analysis, all that can be expected of any dubbing team is that it make an honest attempt to strike a balance between the demands of different types of synchrony. After all, as Pisek (1994: 105) observes, the average television or cinema audience will only consider matters relating to quality of visual synchrony if provoked into doing so by poor quality dubbing.

Audio synchrony

Voice synchrony is one aspect dealt with by Fodor (1976: 72–77) under the heading *character synchrony*. He claims that it is important that there should be:

> [...] certain correspondences between the source and target sound sequences in point of phonetic attributes such as individual timbre, pitch, intensity and speech tempo, peculiarities which are revealed to the spectator by the exterior, temperament and deportment of the actor impersonating the character [...] One of the most important attributes is individual timbre or voice quality (ibid: 72).

This point is not substantiated by Hesse-Quack (1969). In the opinion of the majority of dubbing professionals he interviewed, a crucial factor in the achievement of good voice synchrony is that the dubbing actor's voice type should suit the character portrayed on screen rather than necessarily matching closely the actual voice of the original actor (ibid: 214).[2] This view is also supported by Herbst (1997: 291).

As Fodor (1976: 72) observes, individual voice quality is a permanent characteristic of any particular person's personality. To this may be added additional, more general characteristics

2 The fact that the voices of some famous actors, who made their names in silent films, were deemed unsuitable for use when talkies came in and consequently had to be redubbed by actors with more attractive voices, supports this point of view.

such as nasalisation, which may be specific to a particular language or regional dialect. As a telephone conversation with an individual one has never actually seen illustrates, the voice can reveal, or at least suggest, quite a bit about the speaker as far as sex, age, approximate weight and height are concerned. Furthermore, the voice, face, hands and body all normally contribute in a harmonious, complementary way to expressing an individual's personality or mood. All this must be remembered when selecting and coaching dubbing actors. The *Jim Browning* episode (see Appendix) of *Scéalaíocht Janosch* provides a good example of close attention being paid to voice synchrony. For example, Achim Bergmann alias Learaí Leisciúil, a serious character with a portly build, is dubbed by an actor with a slow, deep voice, which matches the character's physique.

Prosody, the characteristic use of stress and intonation, is a feature of spoken language which, if accurately reproduced, can contribute significantly to the achievement of satisfactory audio synchrony, not least because of the paralinguistic effects of prosody. Stress, intonation and speed of delivery can provide hints as to the geographical and social origin of the speaker as well as suggesting mood or certain human emotions (Whitman-Linsen 1992: 45). Quite simply, it is obvious that prosody 'lends meaning, taking on a semanto-pragmatic dimension, and thus must be, in a literal sense of the term "translated"' (ibid: 46). Synchrony in relation to prosodic elements can be very difficult to achieve, not least because prosodic patterns are linked to individual speakers and languages in ways that are not necessarily interlingually transferable. Moreover, because speech is usually part of a greater act of communication involving facial and bodily gestures, the dubbing actor, stuck in a restrictive booth, produces a disembodied voice to be laid over a visual image that was probably accompanied by rather different prosody in the source language. The question of synchronising gestures is less of an issue in animation because cartoon characters generally gesticulate crudely compared to live actors. However, the challenge of achieving prosody synchrony was presented by, for example, the *Jim Browning* episode (see Appendix) of

Scéalaíocht Janosch. In that episode, Jim Browning, the main character, speaks in a Western drawl in the original German and also in the Irish version.

The question of how to deal with the translation of accents and dialects is a vexed one. Should, for example, cowboys dubbed for the German screen still have a drawl or speak perfect Hochdeutsch (Whitman-Linsen 1996: 75)? Should Cockney English be registered through the use of some generalised version of Berlinerisch? Are there other alternatives? The solution adopted in any particular case will probably be influenced by such factors as the type of programme to be dubbed, the age and educational profile of the likely audience. Moreover, the final decision will reflect the overall agenda of the dubbers in terms of whether, for cultural and commercial reasons, they want to conceal or expose difference. This issue illustrates how the debate concerning domesticating and foreignizing translation strategies (Venuti 1995) can be applied to screen translation just as it is to literary translation. While underplaying difference undoubtedly makes both dubbing and viewing less demanding, it is always done at a cost. For example, marking an actor with an accent or dialect conveys meaning at least on a connotative level as Nida (1964: 180) has shown convincingly. According to Whitman-Linsen (1992: 49):

> [...] idiolects, sociolects, colloquialisms, slang, all carry with them undeniable, intricate 'messages', interpreted by the film-going audience with surprising consistency.

In the *Scéalaíocht Janosch* dubbed episodes in the corpus, the question of dialect surfaces in an unexpected but highly interesting fashion. In addition to deciding to translate, for example, Swiss German in a source text by means of Donegal Irish, a regional variety, the translators also decided to make certain characters use regional dialects in the Irish version although in

the original they did not.[3] This is an interesting innovation because being able to understand the three main dialects of Irish is an important skill and the translators saw and seized their opportunity to expose young viewers to this kind of linguistic variety.

Content synchrony

Close semantic correspondence on as many levels as possible is as desirable in screen translation as it is in translation in general. However, in much of the literature on dubbing so much attention is paid to matching audiovisual source language and target language texts in respect of their most striking acoustic and visual characteristics that one could be forgiven for wondering about the status of the plot and script. Original film scripts are generally considered to be of less importance or authority, from the translation point of view, than canonised texts such as literary novels or poems. As a consequence, they are subjected to much freer adaptation (Reiß 1971: 104).

Rowe (1960: 116) claims that the dubbing writer is not essentially a translator at all and therefore asserts that the text 'should not [...] be subjected to the quality and fidelity standards properly applied to literary translation'. He considers a pragmatic approach the best one since 'the intensity of audience reaction to a comic line is far more important than any literary fidelity to the original sense' (ibid). In a passage very much in the spirit of Nida's concept of dynamic equivalence, Mounin (1967: 145) argues for a translation of the sense of the film in question:

> [...] der Sinn ist getroffen, wenn das Publikum des synchronisierten Films genauso reagiert, wie das Publikum der Originalfassung reagiert hätte [...]

3 This example comes from *Die ganze Welt ist voller Frösche / Na froganna* (see Appendix).

While one wonders how this could ever be achieved or, for that matter, assessed in practice the main point here is well taken. Yet the underlying implication seems to be that if something has to be sacrificed, it should be content synchrony, probably on an utterance level, provided that overall content synchrony in terms of general plot and characterisation is maintained.

Interestingly enough, some comparative research on differences between original and dubbed scripts suggests that the most marked changes in content were due to factors that might equally have influenced non-audiovisual type texts. Hesse-Quack (1969) found some significant differences in the German dubbed versions of four French and eight English films he investigated and explains these on the basis of a variety of political, social and cultural factors rather than considering them the result of constraints specifically relating to dubbing. The main differences he identified involved shifts 'von Individualisierung zu Standardisierung' (ibid: 239). Factual representations in the original became emotionalised and romanticised in the translated versions. Language used in the source texts to flesh out characters and situations were reduced to stereotypical formulations. Social criticism was almost always neutralised as were negative references to Germany and the Germans while allusions to homosexuality and the use of vulgar language were rarely translated at all (ibid).

Fodor (1976: 77), who quotes Hesse-Quack's findings on content synchrony, argues a little vaguely that:

> [...] the plot of the film and the content of the dialogue determine the meaning of the target text in its details and entirety alike [...] the target text is the result of translation and so it has to meet the same requirements as any artistic rendering.

He concedes that a number of factors, primarily the constraint of lip-sync which is his primary focus, makes the challenge daunting but refuses to support the more casual approach to the specifics of the source text content which seems to be implicit in the remarks of Rowe and Mounin. Indeed, research conducted much

later by Herbst (1994: 263–274) shows that Fodor's stringency may be justified. Even very literary audiovisual texts, in this case Shakespearian dramas, can be dubbed into German in a manner that respects not only the requirements of lip-sync, and other aspects of visual and audio synchrony but also the established Schlegel/Tieck translations of the bard's works. This example is a very interesting one as Shakespeare's work brings with it a number of specific challenges which would not apply to routine feature film dubbing. These arise because of the fact that the plays are characterised by (a) language that has a particular aesthetic function and value over and above plot development, (b) lengthy monologues and dialogues involving the slow, deliberate delivery of the lines, i.e. many close-ups in the film versions and (c) extensive use of facial gestures and body language to supplement the script, which could potentially cause problems of kinetic synchrony. As Herbst (ibid: 273) argues, if neither lip-sync, nucleus sync nor content have to be compromised greatly in such cases, it is hard to excuse shoddy dubbed versions of detective series and soap operas on the basis of some claim that it is virtually impossible to reconcile the competing demands of visual, audio and content synchrony. Similarly, it is hard to accept the views expressed by Rowe and Mounin without considerable qualification. Moreover, as we shall see in Chapter Five, the lexical simplification which is a feature of *Scéalaíocht Janosch* appears to have less to do with the demands of synchrony than with other constraints discussed here.

Herbst's pragmatic approach to screen translation

In the last decade, Herbst (1987, 1994, 1995, 1997) has developed a critique of contemporary approaches to dubbing based on his own extensive research into current dubbing practice in Germany. The most significant contribution made by his findings

is his highlighting of the importance of nucleus synchrony (1994: 244), already referred to above, and his advocacy of what he refers to as a pragmatic approach to dubbing (ibid: 251). It is to the latter that I wish to turn at this point as this pragmatic approach appears to offer a well reasoned alternative to established dubbing translation practice and could, if generally adopted, greatly enhance the overall quality of dubbed productions.

When analysing his corpus of American and British soap operas and films which had been dubbed into German for the Bayerische Rundfunk in Munich, Herbst (1995: 259) noticed that there was something strikingly unnatural and unidiomatic about the language of the dubbed versions. The three main weaknesses which he identified in the dubbed material he examined were (a) what he calls Anglicisms, but in fact might better be described as examples of source language interference from English, (b) violations of stylistic conventions and (c) breakdowns in textual cohesion. Source language interference manifests itself, for example, in the form of incorrect collocations where the preposition in the German text is a direct translation of the English, e.g. *Witze gegen den Premierminister*, literally *jokes against the Prime Minister* as opposed to *Witze über den Premierminister*, which represents standard German usage (ibid: 259). Examples of the violation of stylistic conventions in dubbed texts include the widespread use of words which are associated primarily with written as opposed to spoken language, e.g. *anblicken* and the adoption of the Preterite rather than the Perfect when using a past tense in German. This is a common feature of the dubbed texts he examined, despite the fact that it is the Perfect that is more characteristic in German of spoken language, e.g. *…ist da noch irgend etwas, äh, besonderes passiert, … das Sie ärgerte?* as a translation of *...did anything else in particular happen to upset you?* (ibid: 265). While, as Herbst (1995: 265) points out, this has unfortunate stylistic consequences for the text, it may be explained by the fact that dubbers may prefer the Preterite form as it is a synthetic formation and is therefore quite concise like the

English equivalent, while the Perfect is an analytical formation or compound tense (Russ 1994: 202) and is therefore longer.

According to Herbst (1995: 265–266), breakdowns in the cohesion of the text can be traced to a failure on the part of the translator to respect the linguistic ties, such as the use of pronominalisation, ellipsis and substitution, which create cohesive text structure, possibly in different ways, and facilitate interpretation in the source and target language. One example quoted by Herbst (1995: 266) is the English passage: *In fact, I never want to stop learning about you. All about you...* which was translated as follows: *Über dich kann man gar nicht genug lernen. Ich will alles...* Here the ellipsis works perfectly in English while the manner in which it is reproduced in German results in a text which is simply not coherent (ibid).

A combination of these three features identified by Herbst contributes to a general feeling in the target audience that there is something unnatural about dubbed dialogue. According to Herbst (1997: 294), to a certain extent technical aspects of the dubbing process make a degree of unnaturalness inevitable. For example, the fact that dialogue is recorded in short takes rather than coherent chunks means that intonation problems will arise in some instances and in some cases, it may be impossible to achieve proper lip-sync. However, Herbst (1995) argues that too much is made of technical excuses for poor dubbing while in reality the reason for low quality work may have more to do with an inappropriate approach to the task of dubbing script translation and a misguided view of its purpose:

> Practically all the translations that I consider unsatisfactory can be traced back to the same phenomenon – a view of translation that looks for equivalence at the level of the word or the level of the sentence. Irrespective of the difference between various approaches within translation theory, there is a widespread consensus that translation equivalence can only be achieved – and consequently only be aimed at – the level of the text (ibid: 267).

Close examination of the normal process of dubbing, as described in Chapter Two, shows that general problems can arise as a result

of the translation of the source language text being divided into two phases, namely the preparation of the rough translation and then its revision by a dubbing writer/script editor. The initial translation is understood to be intended merely as a rough guide to assist the specialist script editor. It is paid for at standard translation rates or below and, in some cases, it is undertaken purely on the basis of the source language script without the translator having access to the video or film. As a consequence, the translation does not attempt to reproduce realistic dialogue and often is closer to a word-for-word translation or crib than anything else. The translator feels that great care or attention to detail is neither expected nor needed as this is merely a first draft and, in any case, the text will be substantially changed later on in the interests of visual synchrony. Yet despite the conditions under which it is drafted, Herbst confirms that much of 'the wording used in the rough translation actually makes its way into the final version which is recorded and televised' (ibid: 268).

Herbst's proposal for a pragmatic approach to dubbing advocates that, where possible, the rough translation be done away with and the task of translator and dubbing script writer/editor be assigned to a single individual. Personally, I would be inclined to refine this point by suggesting that the two tasks should be combined and dealt with simultaneously. This could be, and indeed sometimes is, handled by a pair or team, rather than an individual, as in the Telegael translations of *Janoschs Traumstunde*. Herbst argues that the approach adopted should be based on the idea that the actual wording of the original is not tremendously important. Of paramount importance, however, are the following points:

– all plot-carrying elements of a scene should be translated and
– some kind of equivalence of character should be maintained (ibid: 269).

Over and above this, Herbst suggests there is scope for the substantial reworking of the original dialogue since much of spoken language is phatic or redundant and could be replaced with something which better matches in terms of lip-sync while also contributing to the creation of generally convincing dialogue.

Such an approach allows quite a bit of leeway within the translation for the use of the strategy of compensation to deal with elements which could not be translated in the same position, e.g. phrase or sentence, as they occurred in the original. Furthermore, it allows freedom to explicate socio-cultural references and allusions which cannot be transferred directly. As Herbst states elsewhere on the same topic (Luyken 1991: 164), an essential point is that there are elements in film and television programmes that ought to be expressed in words in a translation:

> [...] even if they are not expressed by words in the original. In a sentence by sentence approach this is much more likely to be ignored than in an approach that translates scene by scene.

While Herbst accurately identifies key factors which contribute to unnnatural dialogue and suggests some useful changes in dubbing practice which would result in improved standards, he seems to underestimate the real challenge of writing convincing target language dialogue. Even changing to a pragmatic approach and adopting the scene as the basic unit of translation is not enough to produce a truly convincing target language script.

Herbst (1995: 270) summarises what a pragmatic approach to dubbing would amount to as follows:

- taking the scene, not the sentence or the word, as the basic unit of translation,
- secondly, identifying all plot-carrying elements of that scene
- then identifying all the points in the dialogue where absolute priority has to be given to visual factors such as lip-sync or nucleus sync and
- then starting the writing of the dialogue at these points and creating natural dialogue in the scene around these focussing points.

Furthermore, he emphasises his view that naturalness of dialogue and text structure are much more important than any other factor because 'distortions of the semantic and syntactic norms of the

language are a much worse violation of translational equivalence than leaving out or adding a word or phrase in comparison to the original' (ibid).

But there is a key element missing from Herbst's well considered recommendations. That element has been identified by Cattrysse (1998) as the inclusion of screen writing, and especially dialogue writing skills in the professional training of dubbing translators. Cattrysse points out that the very term *audiovisual* suggests 'an awareness of the fact that the verbal component constitutes an integral part of the total audio-visual communication' (ibid: 8). Nevertheless, he argues that scholars continually isolate the analysis of the verbal components 'as if they functioned outside a global audio-visual context' (ibid). Cattrysse makes a compelling case for training in screen writing if translators truly want to write convincing dialogue (ibid: 9).

As stated above, Herbst's plot-orientated pragmatic approach is based on an analysis of soap operas and films that are broadcast for the purposes of light entertainment on German television. In this context, his comments regarding the relative unimportance of the precise wording of the source and target texts is particularly convincing. However, there are other types of audiovisual material where the precise nature of the language used is absolutely central to the production. This would certainly be true of some literary adaptations and dramatic work as well as of many art-house films.

Animation dubbing for children

As the particular focus of this book is translation for children, it is worth reiterating a point made in Chapter Two, namely that language in children's television and film can be made to serve important functions. Unlike the kind of language used in adult light entertainment programmes of the type described by Herbst, language geared towards children has the potential to be often much more than merely a plot-carrying device. As argued in

some detail in Chapters One and Four, dubbed programmes for children can play, and should perhaps be more deliberately designed to play an important role in relation to the development and maintenance of language skills, especially in the case of minority language broadcasting. This point is well illustrated by the findings of the language and mass media research group based at the Autonomous University of Barcelona, concerning approaches to the dubbing of animation for children into Catalan (Bassols et alia 1995: 410–417). Part of the research group's study involved a comparative analysis of the very different ways in which two Catalan television channels, TVC, located in Barcelona, and Canal 9, 350 km south in Valencia, chose in the 1990s to dub the 1960s American children's cartoon series, *The Flintstones.* In particular, the extent to which the purpose of the translation and the target audience influence the respective linguistic choices in the final dubbed outcome was highlighted.

TVC, as part of its broadcasting policy, sees itself as having a language planning role and has expressly committed itself to assisting the promotion of a standard form of the Catalan language[4] throughout Catalonia (ibid: 411). This it endeavours to do by adopting a strict linguistic code that applies to all its dubbed children's programmes. Interestingly, the Barcelona research group found that TVC's dubbed children's programmes followed the ordered, logical syntax of written language rather than reproducing the characteristic syntactic patterns of spontaneous speech.[5] Indeed, it was felt that the dialogue used in the cartoons examined resembled more closely the language of children's

4 The Institute of Catalan Studies (IEC) has produced a standardised dictionary and grammar of Catalan, which addresses the written form of the language. In 1990, it also issued a document entitled *A proposed oral standard of the Catalan language,* and TVC adheres strictly to this prescribed standard in its dubbed programmes for children (Bassols et alia 1995: 412).

5 This finding is in keeping with Herbst's assertion (1997: 291–308) that German dubbed television programmes use language which contains many linguistic features more normally associated with more formal, written language.

stories. The research group explains this by pointing out the fact that in attempting to support the national linguistic standardisation programme, TVC translators were guided more by the Catalan written standard as it is better established and codified than the oral standard, for which only draft recommendations exist. Furthermore, since the dubbing scripts originate as written texts, they tend to bear the characteristics of formal prose. To compensate for this, the TVC dubbed versions are replete with idiomatic expressions and set phrases which are intended to approximate to, and/or compensate for the loss of, other normal features of spoken language.

The dubbed children's programmes prepared by Canal 9, on the other hand, have opted for another translation strategy in order to try to win a large audience. Canal 9 translators try to make use of a variety of the target language which is 'as close as possible to the variety spoken in the streets' (ibid: 411) of Valencia rather than promoting a standard variety of Catalan which in any case is based, like most standards, on the dialect used in and around the capital, in this case Barcelona.

The two contrasting approaches adopted by these two Catalan television stations to their representation of the Catalan language clearly supports a point I have made repeatedly (O'Connell 1994, 1996, 1998) namely that screen translation, like all other translation, is never neutral. Those who commission a dubbed or subtitled version of a programme or film often view the task of translation for screen as a purely technical exercise and do not realise the full implications of the decision to use one screen translation method or translation approach rather than another. Even if the commissioner of the translation has no conscious agenda, political or otherwise, the very act of translation demands that choices be made and these choices have implications, especially for minority languages. I have chosen to highlight the case of dubbing for children in Catalonia because it illustrates the extent to which factors such as the target audience, the purpose of the translation and the status of the target language may influence the dubbing process and, in particular, the type of language used in the dubbed scripts.

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Chapter Four

Translating for Children

The animation series under investigation here is, as stated above, based on a number of children's stories by the well known German author and illustrator, *Janosch*, and is aimed at a young audience.[1] Such television programmes for young viewers communicate simultaneously through both the audio and visual media and thus have much in common with those illustrated children's books which are intended to be read-aloud by adults to small children, who cannot yet read themselves. Both animation and read-aloud books use the same audio and visual channels, admittedly in slightly different ways, and aim primarily at the same pre-literate age group although they can be and are often also enjoyed by older children and even adults. Consequently, regardless of the usual screen translation conventions prevailing at a given time in a country, which purchases viewing material for young children abroad and plans to tailor it through language transfer for its own domestic audience, subtitling is rarely an appropriate option. This is because the young primary audience would not usually have the necessary reading skills to follow subtitles unassisted and thus such programmes should generally be dubbed.[2]

1 While Telegael did not have a precise age group of children in mind for their dubbed version of *Janosch Ttraumstunde*, a 1995 catalogue from the German publishing house, *Beltz & Gelberg*, recommends the *Janosch* stories it offers for sale, some of which feature in the corpus, as suitable for children of five years of age and older.

2 Nonetheless, some children's programmes are broadcast with subtitles, e.g. intralingual subtitles to assist older deaf children.

Relatively little has been written to date about screen translation, especially in relation to children and minority languages. Much of the existing literature deals with matters such as national trends or technical aspects of the process while the precise nature of the linguistic and translation skills involved has attracted little scholarly attention. Detailed studies relating to the dubbing and/or subtitling of particular programme types or genres are few and far between. As a consequence, any investigation of dubbing animation scripts as a variety of translation for children will encounter a dearth of directly applicable research findings and will be forced, of necessity, to draw on the albeit limited body of work which has already been produced on more established related topics, such as the translation of children's books and other kinds of reading material. While it is clear that there are some important differences between the translation of printed matter and television programmes, many similarities also exist, not least the common target audience, and thus an understanding of central issues relating to the translation of children's literature can serve to inform our view of the main challenges and constraints associated with the closely related subject of translation of television programmes for young viewers.

It should be obvious to those involved in translation studies that the translation of children's literature is an important issue worthy of on-going investigation and research. But although children's literature is widely translated, this area remains largely ignored by theorists, publishers and academic institutions involved in translation research and training. It is particularly striking that much of the recent material available in English on translating books for children focuses on translations to and from minority languages, in particular, Scandinavian languages and Hebrew. Due to the fact that traditional storybooks of various types are better established than audiovisual texts for children, children's literature per se and the approaches adopted when it is translated still attract much more attention than that other, extremely important subset of all texts aimed at children, i.e. texts which belong to popular culture such as radio sketches,

animation, video games and other audiovisual and multimedia texts.

The neglect of children's literature

There are particular reasons why children's literature has not yet been fully exploited as a subject for extensive research activity. According to O'Sullivan (1990: 47), when compared with other areas of literary scholarship, 'research into children's literature does not have the advantage of many of the basic tools – comprehensive bibliographies, systematic documentation of primary sources etc.'. Nicholas Tucker, a psychologist and expert in children's literature, lamented in his introduction to *The Child and the Book* (1981: 1) that only a very limited number of fairly narrow approaches had hitherto been adopted in books published about children's literature, namely historical or contemporary surveys of children's literature, pedagogical techniques useful for 'getting books across to children' and surveys to elicit which types of reading material are most favoured by particular age groups. A few years later the Swedish educationalist, Göte Klingberg, listed in some detail five possible areas of research into the translation of children's books that deserved urgent and detailed investigation. These were:

1) statistical studies on which source languages yield translations in different target languages or countries,
2) studies on economic and technical problems associated with the production of translations,
3) studies on how books are selected for translation,
4) studies of current translation practice and specific problems encountered by translations and
5) studies concerning the reception and influence of translations in the target language. (Klingberg 1986: 9)

Almost twenty years later, many of these topics have still not been investigated thoroughly. But then the original subject matter, i.e. children's literature, is itself something of an undervalued or neglected area in academia. Knowles and Malmkjaer (1996: ix) have pointed out the 'curious discrepancy between the ubiquity and perceived importance of children's literature, and scholarly research in the field'. Although most parents and teachers value the genre and know that the development of good reading skills and a discerning attitude to one's reading materials are crucial for success in the education system and, indeed, for life in general. But the public critical perception seems to be that most works of children's literature are not really 'literature' at all and are generally somehow second-rate and functional rather than of high quality, creative and deserving of the kind of critical attention attracted by serious adult literature clearly is.

Perceptions of children, childhood and children's literature

This immediately leads us on to the vexed question of what exactly is meant by such terms as *children*, *childhood* and *children's literature*. Ideally, any research on this topic should at the outset provide a clear definition of such key terms of reference. Yet accurate and unambiguous definitions prove elusive in books and articles which address these very subject areas. One of the primary difficulties which arises when attempting to define the terms is the enormously inclusive scope and potentially vague nature of the semantic fields covered by these concepts. For example, what is meant and understood by *children* depends hugely on such variable factors as nationality, ethnicity, class and gender. Indeed, the target audience identified for the purposes of this work provides a good case in point: Irish-speaking children in Ireland, as opposed to English-speaking

children in Ireland, may appear to constitute a homogeneous group but in reality may be subdivided into native speakers of Irish and those who are learning Irish by attending Irish language (pre)schools.

Nevertheless, it is true that the term *children* continues to be used as if to refer to a homogeneous group, despite many factors which influence how the term may be understood. Indeed, it is only relatively recently that sociologists, anthropologists and cultural historians have started to challenge the casual way in which *children* is often used to serve as a convenient, if misleading, generic. With regard to differences in perceptions of childhood over time, it is the Frenchman Philippe Ariès (1962), who is widely credited with having started the scholarly debate about whether and/or how Western understandings of children and childhood have changed over the centuries. Ariès argues that children and childhood gradually came to be understood in a new light from the early seventeenth century and that this resulted in the emergence of a new system of education (the school system) and a new readership (children). This, in turn, gave rise for the first time to a demand for books aimed specifically at children and these reflected the prevalent educational aims of society in relation to children at that time. These developments he explains by citing changes that occurred in relation to such issues as attitudes to age, the pictorial/artistic representation of children, their clothes, pastimes and games. Ariès (ibid: 127) argues that parents in the early 1600s started to become aware of the pleasures they themselves derived from watching and interacting with their children, while others in society at large started to articulate a view of children as God's creation, in need of moral guidance and protection.

Cunningham (1995: 1–18) provides a valuable overview of many of the main criticisms and refinements of the proposition articulated by Ariès, although without reference to Shahar (1989). Shahar is one of the most notable critics of Ariès and she maintains that the concept of childhood also existed in the Central and Late Middle Ages, although the theories and practices associated with children at that time differed. Indeed,

she argues that many supposedly modern attitudes, for example, to early nurturing and contact have their origins in the medieval period. Interesting though the details provided by Shahar are, her views do not run counter to Cunningham's claim that 'ideas or concepts of childhood have not remained constant and do have a history […] changes in ideas about childhood have radically affected the experience of childhood' (ibid: 8). In other words, however convenient *children* or *childhood* may be as catch-all phrases, the reality they describe is inevitably much more heterogeneous than common usage implies. This point is clearly of relevance to the translators of texts for children who, if they endeavour to retain as much of the range and diversity of the original as possible, will create translations better able to satisfy the wide-ranging needs and expectations of a heterogeneous audience of children.

The relevance of changing notions of children and childhood for the study of texts for children is well illustrated by Shavit (1986). If texts are to respond to the needs and capacities of children and our understanding of these needs and capacities are not fixed across time or space, then it follows that the characteristics of texts for children will also change over time and across and within cultures. To illustrate this point, Shavit (ibid: 8–32) compares and contrasts various versions of *Little Red Riding Hood* which

> written at different points in time – seventeenth, eighteenth, nineteenth and twentieth centuries – reveal most clearly the diverse ways in which childhood was perceived by society in different periods, both in assumptions about the child's capacity for comprehension and society's beliefs about what a child should be exposed to. The drastic changes in these perceptions during the last three centuries can be traced by following the transformation of *Little Red Riding Hood* from the 'coddling' version of Perrault to the 'reasoning' version of Grimm, and finally to the modern 'protective' versions of the twentieth century (ibid: 8).

As far as the definition of 'children's literature' is concerned, it is interesting to note that O'Sullivan in *Friend or Foe* (1990), a report extending over almost 300 pages which investigates the

image of Germany and the Germans in British children's fiction from 1870 to the present, does not even attempt to offer a definition. The difficulty presented by the term is addressed frankly by Oittinen (1993a: 11), who tells us that 'the definition [...] is always a question of point of view and situation: childhood can be considered a social or cultural issue; it can be seen from the child's or adult's angle'. She chooses to 'see children's literature as literature read silently by children and aloud to children' (ibid), while Kllingberg, quoted in Reiß (1982: 7), opts for a working definition of children's literature as those books produced specifically for children.

Characteristics of the genre

Adopting Klingberg's functional definition, we can turn to some of the characteristics of children's literature as a genre. But first it is important to remind ourselves that *children's literature* is something of a catch-all phrase. After all, it could be understood to cover everything from nursery rhymes and songs and poems to folktales, picture books, radio plays or sketches and comics. Moreover, as stated above, there is a strong case for the inclusion of audiovisual and multimedia texts under the heading of children's literature in contemporary society. Because of this 'catch-all' quality of Klingberg's definition, it would generally be wise to narrow the terms of reference by specifying a particular target age group before making any detailed statements about texts for children and their translation. Nonetheless, it is possible to identify a few general characteristics that are applicable to children's texts as a whole.

Firstly, children's texts are actually aimed at two distinct audiences: children and adults, who have quite different tastes and expectations. As Puurtinen (1995: 19) has shown, the adult group is much more influential since it reviews texts for children before children are allowed access to them. If texts do not pass

muster when examined by editors, publishers and/or broadcasters, and subsequently, parents, teachers, librarians and critics, they will never reach their target audience of children. Shavit (1986: 37) puts the point succinctly when she writes:

> The children's writer is perhaps the only one who is asked to address one particular audience and at the same time appeal to another. Society expects the children's writer to be appreciated by both adults (and especially by 'the people in culture') and children. Yet this demand is both complex and even contradictory by nature because of the different and even incompatible tastes of children and adults. But one thing is clear: in order for a children's book to be accepted by adults, it is not enough for it to be accepted by children. 'Good literature is *good* literature; it satisfies both children and critics,' claims the critic Rebecca Lukens (1978, 452–453).

Hollstein (1999: 38–70) asserts that in the case of German-language picture books, the ability to meet adult expectations with respect to illustrations is vital to their sales success. In an analysis of low cost picture books sold in chain stores, she identifies a tendency towards clichéd visual representations of childhood themes in the tradition of 'naïve realism', which have more to do with adult sentimentality than childhood reality or fantasy.

Secondly, many works for children appeal essentially much more to their 'primary' audience of children, but others are what are referred to as 'ambivalent' (Shavit 1986: 63–91) or 'double coded' texts (Von Stockar 2000), i.e. texts which operate on a number of different levels and are therefore also interesting for adults. These can be understood by a child in terms of their literal meaning but interpreted by an adult on a more satirical level as well. Even if children's texts are essentially univalent, they may still contain references which are available to be decoded by different age groups in different ways. But because of the marginal status of children's texts within a polysystem, translators often feel quite free to translate only some of the layers within the text, ignoring the degree of complexity included deliberately by the author of the source text. The result is that

many ambivalent source texts become much more univalent in translation, as is illustrated by the corpus under investigation here in this work.

Thirdly, children's literature is almost always written by people, who no longer belong to the target group of children (Briggs 1989: 4). Of course, the adults concerned may be parents and/or teachers and in any case have many strong memories of their own, personal childhood experiences. But they may nevertheless have only a limited knowledge and understanding of children's linguistic abilities and interests

Some adult writers of children's texts write as much to please the secondary audience of commissioners, publishers, critics, parents and teachers as children. While it is possible in most countries for a small number of translators to develop a specialism in translating works for children, very few translators have actually had the benefit of studying translating for children formally and gaining a professional qualification in this field. As a consequence, it is hardly surprising that comparative research on translation for children shows that many translations do not reproduce the full range of entertainment, didactic, linguistic and other features identified in source texts (O'Sullivan 2000).

Where minority languages are concerned, there is enormous potential for translated children's texts to play a key role in the development and maintenance of endangered linguistic skills. But often, the small volume of work available, coupled with other factors which exert a negative influence on translation output, can have serious implications for translation quality. Ó Flatharta, for example, has described the problems associated with Irish translations of school textbooks in the 1970s and 1980s. These were largely due to the fact that vast amount of the translation work involved

> 'was carried out by professional translators, sometimes far removed from the classroom situation and sometimes far removed from the Gaeltacht itself. This often resulted in teachers being presented with textbooks supposedly geared for 10–12 year olds in subject matter but in many cases in fact the reader would need to have a reading age of 18–20 to be able to use the textbooks' (Ó Flatharta 1989: 79).

Ó Flatharta's view is supported by Mag Shamhráin (1989: 9–10), who works as a translator at An Gúm. He states that the translation of textbooks in areas such as science, metalwork and economics has posed great difficulties as it has proved virtually impossible to find individuals who combine in their person a detailed knowledge of the specialised area, professional translating skills, excellent Irish language skills and a high degree of familiarity with the linguistic and knowledge level of school-going children.

Finally, another unusual feature of children's writing is its multifunctionality. As Puurtinen (1995: 17) has pointed out:

> Children's literature belongs simultaneously to the literary system and the social-educational system, i.e. it is not only read for entertainment, recreation and literary experience but also used as a tool for education and socialization.

As Puurtinen (1998: 525–526) states in a later article, adults expect children's texts to contribute to the achievement of four different goals: entertainment, development of linguistic skills, socialisation and the acquisition of world knowledge. This fact marks texts for children out as very different from literature intended for adults. Von Feilitzen (1976: 90–115) has shown how this multifunctionality also applies to audiovisual texts. Thus a key goal for the translator of children's texts should be to strike a balance between entertainment and education by reproducing this multifunctionality in so far as possible, with due regard for the norms of the target culture.

Cultural marginalization

It is not surprising that children's literature as sometimes seen as 'the cinderella of literary studies' (Shavit 1994: 4–5). After all, it has tended to remain outside the canon in a position that was culturally marginalized (O'Sullivan 1990: 47). Such marginalization

is commonly experienced by minorities, and books and other texts for young readers in a language like Irish are written for a double minority, namely Irish-speaking children. Hunt (1992: 2–3) has described how children and children's literature, like women and women's literature, are treated in many cultural systems as peripheral. He claims that because the conventional literary system reflects the implicit values of the traditional hierarchical family system, it tends to undervalue both women's writing and children's literature, as the latter is seen very much as the domain of women – e.g. mothers or teachers.

Shavit (1994: 9) confirms Hunt's assertions, pointing out that children's literature is so marginalized that it is important for scholars to first establish credentials in general literary criticism before turning to children's literature if they are to command serious respect in academia. Moreover, the marginalization relates to practitioners as well as academics. Indeed, Shavit (ibid) cites the case of the illustrator of children's books, Maurice Sendak, being asked by his father if the receipt of a prestigious award for his work meant that he would now be allowed to work on 'real books', i.e. books for adults.

Other narrative genres for children

While the four characteristics described above have been identified in the first instance by researchers investigating children's literature, in the more conventional sense, they also apply to most of the other texts which are typically read and/or listened to, or viewed or interacted with by children. In reality, very many children nowadays find other media far more interesting and influential than the written word in one of its more traditional forms and spend increasingly more time engaging with these media (Sahr 1997: 5). Since new media texts are often based on books (Sahr 2001: 49) or folk stories (Heidtmann 2000: 95), it may

be appropriate to think of audiovisual- and multi-media as simply the latest channels for the continuation of the ancient oral pastime of storytelling (Schmitt 2000: 67). Ó Ciardha (1998) argues a particularly strong case for this in relation to the Irish oral narrative tradition.

Referring to data from as early as the 1970s, Tucker (1981: 226) informs us that in Canada an average student about to enter college may have watched 'more than 500 full-length films, and viewed some 15,000 hours of television but read perhaps only fifty books on his or her own initiative'. Moreover, by the early 1980s, the average Briton was spending five times as many hours watching TV as reading and the average number of books read annually per capita had fallen to 16 (ibid). In countries where minority languages are spoken, foreign subtitled material is used to such an extent that decoding subtitles may, in effect, constitute another, albeit underestimated and undervalued, form of reading:

> In Finland, some 3,000 foreign TV programmes are shown per year, up to seven per evening. This would correspond to reading approximately 200 novels of 300 pages each, a total of 60 thousand pages or a complete novel every other day (Gambier 1994: 243)

Consequently, it seems important at this stage in my study to shift the emphasis of the discussion from what can be strictly described as *literature* to the more inclusive collective concept of *texts*, embracing conventional literary as well as audiovisual and multimedia forms.[3] As stated earlier, it is important that these latter types of text be considered closely as they often occupy so much of contemporary children's attention and provide so much of their experience of popular culture.

As Delabastita (1990:97) has observed, there was for many years a curious reluctance to investigate works of popular culture with the same vigour as what is perceived as high culture:

> The social sciences tend to select their objects of study on the basis of cultural prestige rather than intrinsic value. It is often thought more

3 See Gambier and Gottlieb (2001).

> prestigious to study Shakespeare than to study popular literature or, for that matter, derivative phenomena such as translation.

Although the situation is continually changing for the better in this regard, the fact remains that this reluctance also filters down to impact negatively on the investigation of the translation of popular culture, e.g. picture books, comics, television programmes etc.

Hilton (1996: 24) has pointed out that certain developments in this century have resulted in the emergence of new kinds of literacy and several new genres, some of which have particular significance for children:

> In the 1930s in America two new narrative mediums for children were invented and propagated: the animated film and the comic, linking new pictorial literacies through new forms of mass-production directly to the child consumer. By this I mean that the story was no longer written and read using the traditional literacy practices of writing and reading words, and therefore young 'pre-literate' children could be brought within consumer culture, catered for and directly considered as subjects with particular and identifiable tastes and desires.

Nowadays, animation aimed at young children in many ways corresponds to and fulfils the function of the traditional illustrated storybook. It could be described as a modern development of read-aloud texts, in particular, since it functions as an audiovisual text that can be enjoyed fully by pre-literate children and literate children alike. But whereas in the past, pre-literate children were dependent on adults to select and present and, most significantly, to mediate such texts, modern technology in the form of televisions and video recorders now allows young children access to audiovisual material, independent of adult assistance. The fact that such material can be and is viewed at times when adults are not present clearly raises important issues for parents and educators as Hilton (ibid: 33) describes:

> Until the home video became a universal reality, easily operable by the pre-school child, adult supervision, indeed literate and discursive mediation of the powerful narratives of childhood, could be achieved. Stories

> had to be written, chosen and purchased in book form and then read aloud to young children. Comics and picture books could be carefully scrutinized for worrying sexual or adult detail. Television was under legal constraints and fairly constant adult scrutiny. Narratives presented could be banal, scary, unsuitable, but they took place only once and usually within organized domestic leisure time. Childhood could be ring-fenced and its texts censored. Now videos can be obtained, owned, enjoyed, replayed again and again by the young child. They can enter fantasy life with a directness and repetition that demands new understandings and new sympathies.

Moreover, this shift has major implications, in particular, for the translators of *audiovisual material* for pre-literate children, as distinct from translators of pre-literate children's *books*. This is because it is imperative that the audiovisual target text be capable of standing entirely on its own since clearly a child cannot expect to rely on the kind of interactive mediation by an adult which has traditionally been so characteristic of read-aloud adult/child scenarios.

The translation of children's texts

According to Reiβ (1982: 7), the broad problems posed by the translation of both children's and adult literature are essentially the same. Often what is most different, in her opinion, is the range of possible translation solutions that the respective translators have at their disposal. She does, however, concede that certain factors, some of which have already been alluded to above, complicate the translation of texts for children. These can be subdivided into textual and non-textual factors. In the latter category, she refers to the specific complications that can arise as a result of such considerations as poor working conditions, unreasonable deadlines and inadequate remuneration. All of these are linked to the low status of translations in general, incompetent translators with insufficient theoretical insight into

the job at hand and, finally, editors and publishers who, for their own commercial, ideological or perhaps ill-informed pedagogical reasons, may exert untoward pressure on translators.

Non-textual factors

If children's literature in general has suffered from problems of low status, it is only to be expected that the translation of texts for children would have to endure a similar fate. For one thing, its very source material is considered of marginal interest. Moreover, the professional activity, i.e. the translation carried out on this material is, in itself undervalued. This fact continues to find expression in the low rates of pay and poor conditions offered to literary translators (Klingberg 1978: 88) and indeed to dubbing script translators and subtitlers who, if they are not employed as full-time staff, are often paid either a standard amount per word or line or script, regardless of the target audience and relative difficulty of the text. Herbst (1997: 305) has described how rough translations of dubbing scripts are poorly paid as they are just seen as a crutch for the dubbing editor. Yet he maintains that 'a considerable amount of the actual rough translation seems to find its way into the final version'. Finally, although the situation in regard to status and quality of translations is improving slowly but surely, translators still often receive only the minimal formal acknowledgement of their contribution on screen or on the cover or elsewhere in a published translated work.

Poor status, pay and working conditions can perpetuate a vicious circle in which commissioners of translations are often presented with what they deserve, namely, translated work which could be a good deal better. One development that could have far-reaching implications in terms of breaking this cycle would be to improve the skills, and thus, the professional confidence of those who translate children's fiction or dubbing scripts. Academics are as guilty as anyone of contributing to this problem of poor public perception and low prestige by virtue of their relative failure to provide adequate practical and theoretical

courses that focus specifically on the problems and challenges of translating for children. How many undergraduate or, for that matter, postgraduate programmes in Translation Studies offer students the chance to develop skills in this field in either core or optional courses?

Of course, the full responsibility for the current state of children's literature translation cannot lie with the academic world alone. As already suggested publishers and, in minority language cultures at least, broadcasters are active players in the field and as a consequence, even very skilled translators are not entirely free agents. The commissioners of translations exert considerable influence over their translators' output (Even-Zohar 1992: 235), in a sense forcing an approach to the task of translation that has much more to do with conventions or norms relating both to the target language, in general, and text type in the target language, in particular, as well as target culture stereotypes relating to the source culture:

Policy-makers in the publishing and marketing world play an important role not only in forming images, but also in strengthening the received images of other nations through translation, particularly in the case of minority cultures in relation to dominant cultures. These images are often the result of historical development and cultural interchange, and they are frequently images the source culture itself wishes to convey to the outside world for conscious marketing reasons, or simply because it regards them as an intrinsic part of its national identity. (Rudvin 1994: 209)

Rudvin's conclusions are based on a study carried out in relation to the translation of Norwegian children's books into English. She points out that apart from the works of writers such as Henrik Ibsen and Knut Hamsun, Norwegian literature is generally not well known in English-speaking countries. The genre of children's literature is an exception, according to Brudevoll, who is quoted by Rudvin (ibid: 203) as claiming that while just a few hundred copies of any translations for adults from Norwegian are usually published in English, several thousand copies of translated children's books are published.

These books tend to be selected on the basis that their content corresponds to the prevailing positive British image of Norway as a natural, unspoilt country of mountain, lakes and forests. Such a policy in relation to the selection of texts for translation leaves 'the classical canon unchallenged, boundaries unstretched [...] perpetuating stereotypes rather than giving room for innovative thinking and thereby introducing new literatures and authors' (ibid).

Textual factors

The main textual factors outlined by Reiβ (1982: 7–13), which characterise translated works for children and have a marked effect on the practice of translation for children, are outlined below.

Adults write and translate texts for children so there is a mismatch on the level of language and ideas between author/translator and target audience. Translators therefore must be conscious of the need to produce foreign language versions pitched appropriately at the linguistic level of the particular target audience (Ó Flatharta 1989: 70–71). It is also important that translators be familiar with, and able to write, convincing target language dialogue as well as generally being able to mediate between the two cultures in a convincing manner (Reiβ 1982: 8).

Adults are responsible for the translation of texts for children, just as they are for the writing of original pieces of children's literature. Their output is assessed and evaluated by a whole range of other adults before it reaches children. Translators of children's texts often take this on board and aim to please the de facto audience in the first instance and they may respond cautiously to the challenges posed by the source culture text by using adaptations or omissions so as to adjust to the prevailing linguistic, political, religious, national or other norms in their own culture (Toury 1980, 1995). For example, in the case of the *Janoschs Traumstunde* television series, it is interesting to note that the extensive use of mild swear words, e.g. *verdammt,*

i.e. *damned*, on their own or as intensifiers in the original German texts, is generally omitted rather than reproduced in the Irish-language translations. Furthermore, the mildly vulgar scatological compound *Mausekötel*, i.e. *mouse dropping* is toned down and translated as *cloichín beag*, i.e. *a little stone*. The explanation for this may be found in different source and target culture norms relating to the acceptability of linguistic vulgarity in children's texts and in spoken language in general. It could nevertheless be argued that these kinds of references in the German original would also be considered by many native speaker adults to violate the norms of polite discourse appropriate for children. But it is possible that the words may have been deliberately included despite this, or perhaps for this very reason, by *Janosch* himself precisely because vulgar language really appeals to young children, who are constantly expanding their linguistic horizons.

Whereas translators of texts for adults may expect the target group to have similar levels of linguistic and general knowledge and may only in exceptional cases need to resort to such strategies as adaptation or explication, the translator of children's texts often adopts these strategies as the rule rather than the exception (Puurtinen 1995: 23). In short, translators of contemporary children's literature tend to abandon what would traditionally be considered a faithful translation in an effort to conform to the norms of the target language and culture. The preference of children's translators for *fluent*[4] or *acceptable*[5] translation strategies is explained by Puurtinen as a result of the view that children are unable to tolerate 'as much strangeness and foreignness as adult readers' (ibid). Moreover, translated children's literature's marginalized position in many cultures probably contributes to the tendency of translators to opt for the conventional rather than the innovative. This has unfortunate implications for the longevity of translated texts for children since

4 For a full discussion of fluent and abusive translation strategies, see Lewis (1985). For a summary, see Venuti (1992:12).

5 For a discussion of *acceptable* versus *adequate* translation, see Toury (1995: 57).

it is the presence of truly innovative, creative features that marks out enduring works for children (O'Sullivan 1999b: 218).

The importance of language and play for children

Conventional approaches to the translation of texts for children can fail to reproduce some of the playful elements present in the original. Yet throughout the 20th century, psychologists as varied as Piaget, Vygotsky and Bruner have emphasised the importance of language and play for the development of children. Notwithstanding Piaget's pioneering work (1969, 1971) on the child's developmental stages (sensori-motor, semotic or symbolic and concrete operations) and his work on the use of simply illustrated books to explore relatively complex ideas with young children, he has been criticised for neglecting 'children's feelings for narrative as opposed to logic' (Tucker 1992: 167). However, this criticism cannot be levelled at Vygotsky,[6] who has argued convincingly that it is precisely through language and play that children gradually learn to operate on a more abstract, metaphorical level. Bruner (1979) too has argued that it is through encounters with and explorations of the mythical figures in literature that the child begins to develop a sense of the possibility of multiple personal identities. Greatly influenced as he has been by Piaget, Bruner (1966) has proposed that individuals reach full maturity by mastering three different modes of representation: the enactive, iconic and symbolic. Learning, through language play, that words and phrases do not simply have the capacity to denote, but also connote, meaning is a key way in which the older child makes the transition from iconic to symbolic representation based on abstract thought.

Many successful authors of children's literature are also well aware of the fact that their young audience can actually be attracted by language play and linguistic virtuosity. Tucker

6 See Hayhoe and Parker (1990), for an overview of this Russian psychologist's work.

(1981: 58) cites the example of Beatrix Potter, as a children's author who was not averse to linguistic flourishes. Her books for younger children are particularly interesting because, with their short texts and animal illustrations, they have much in common with animation such as *Janoschs Traumstunde*. Potter developed ways of cleverly linking unfamiliar words to explanations so that they might be readily understood as in *The Tale of the Flopsy Bunnies.* On the first page of her story (Potter 1962: 9), she writes as follows:

> It is said that the effect of eating too much lettuce is 'soporific'.
> *I* have never felt sleepy after eating lettuce; but then *I* am not a rabbit.
> They certainly have a very soporific effect upon the Flopsy Bunnies!

It is particularly interesting to note how she also builds repetition into her narrative, so as to facilitate children's comprehension and vocabulary expansion. These linguistic devices of explication and repetition are further supplemented on a visual level by the clever use of illustrations – in this instance, the drawing on the opposite page shows six rabbits sound asleep under a bolted lettuce. Particularly striking here is the way in which the image complements and elucidates the text rather than simply illustrating it. The related translation strategy of transfer plus explanation can be used to equal effect in an interlingual context. However, this translation strategy may sometimes pose problems in the case of dubbed and subtitled texts, due to space constraints, but can usually be overcome by opting for slight omissions elsewhere in the text to compensate for necessary explication. Another option open to the translators of illustrated or audiovisual texts for children is to follow Potter's example and draft the translation in such a way that the scope for the images to explicate, rather than just illustrate, is fully exploited.

Since 1986, when Klingberg suggested the key topics for research mentioned earlier in this chapter, his approach to the translation of children's literature has come to be considered somewhat 'dogmatic and inflexible' (Puurtinen 1993: 59). His analyses (Klingberg 1986) of Swedish–English and English–

Swedish translations were very much source-language orientated and as such, can be viewed as outdated. They stand in marked contrast to the target-language approach championed by Israeli academics such as Even-Zohar (1978a, 1978b, 1990) and Toury (1980, 1995). Klingberg was, for example, highly critical of translators taking what he saw as unnecessary liberties with the text. This does not mean that he totally opposed any form of adaptation, for he conceded that this may be necessary, e.g. in the case of certain foreign, historical, geographical or cultural references. But his prescriptive approach advocated faithfulness where at all possible.

The adoption of a descriptive target-text approach to the translation of children's literature can, as Even-Zohar's work has shown, shed light on the norms operating within a particular target system since 'none of the choices made by the translator or, for that matter, the author, are manifestations of individual whims or inspiration, but are made within the (poly-)system in which they operate' (1992: 231). Thus, contemporary DTS scholars shy away from Klingberg's tendency to apply some 'preconceived, fixed idea of the permissible extent of manipulation of the ST' (Puurtinen 1995: 60) and prefer to view translations in their full social and cultural context since 'the translator's decisions are likely to be based on prevalent norms and expectations, and the purpose of the translation' (ibid) rather than on some abstract notional standards which could be applied across the board to texts translated for children in different countries and times.

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Chapter Five

Lexical Simplification

Simplification has been identified as a feature common to many translations and has even been proposed as a possible candidate for consideration as a universal of translation. Since translators act as cultural mediators, it seems almost inevitable that they will frequently either consciously or unconsciously simplify at least some aspect of the texts they work on as they struggle to convey source text meaning in the target language. In the Irish situation, screen translators of children's programmes, being aware of the non-homogeneous composition of their primary target audience (native and non-native speakers) constantly have to negotiate between the needs and capabilities of their two main audience constituents.

Chapter One on Irish as a Minority Language highlights how difficult it is for minority languages to generate the huge amount of terminology necessary to keep abreast of new developments in many different specialist fields. As a consequence, a translator working from German into Irish may well, depending on factors such as subject matter, text type and target audience, encounter problems resulting from a terminology deficit in Irish and have no option but to resolve them in so far as possible by resorting to techniques of lexical simplification such as paraphrase, substitution or borrowing in order to fill the existing lexical gaps. It would therefore be reasonable to expect that the fact that the translators of *Janoschs Traumstunde* are working from a dominant into a minority language might offer at least a partial explanation for the degree of lexical simplification manifest in the Irish translations. However, the majority of German lexical items discussed below, which have been simplified in translation do, in fact, have corresponding Irish equivalents which are fully

lexicalised. As a consequence, the simplification in the translations must be seen as representing a choice rather than a necessity. However, that choice is unlikely to be whimsical. The fact that Irish is now used in limited domains means that while such words exist and are available in dictionaries, they may not be common currency or have a high frequency of use. This places translators operating without very clear language policy guidelines in a dilemma – should they reflect the current state of the language by using restricted vocabulary, thereby keeping learners in a comfort zone? Or should they expand the linguistic boundaries of the audience, thereby appealing more to native speakers and possibly alienating others?

In Chapter Two on Dubbing and Chapter Three on Synchrony respectively, it was shown that the technical constraints involved in dubbing and the expectation that certain standards of synchrony be met may result, in some instances, in translators taking decisions which amount to a kind of simplification of plot and/or language. For example, in the interests of lip synchrony a translator might decide to replace one source language word, not with the target language word which corresponds most closely to it semantically but rather, with a related superordinate which, as well as being close in meaning, offers the advantage of beginning with the same sound as the source language word. However, since the *Janoschs Traumstunde* programmes feature animation characters rather than real actors, questions of lip synchrony are a relatively unimportant factor while the constraints imposed in the *Janoschs Traumstunde* by syllable synchrony, isochrony and kinetic synchrony are not such as would explain the general tendency towards lexical simplification found in the Irish translations. On the contrary, the requirement that syllable synchrony and isochrony be matched closely in the target language would usually militate against any trend towards simplification by means of paraphrase or explication as these procedures usually result in a longer text – something which can only rarely be accommodated in a screen translation. Chapter Three concludes by arguing that the poor linguistic, as opposed to synchrony quality of many dubbed programmes could be remedied by

the espousal of what has been called a pragmatic approach to dubbing translation by Herbst (1994: 248). This approach advocates, in the interests of overall textual accuracy, that scenes rather than sentences be viewed as the basic units of translation. Such an approach challenges traditional dubbing practice where, for technical reasons, each take corresponds to just a phrase or sentence and, as a result, the preservation of key macro textual features of the source text in the translated version is often neglected.

The question of subject matter, genre and target audience mentioned above and addressed in more detail in Chapter Four on Translating for Children may also exert a significant influence on the extent to which a translator engages in simplification. As has been shown, the general practice of adaptation is more tolerated in the translation of texts for children than it is in adult translation. Adaptation in this context invariably amounts to some kind of simplification of content and/or language. Content may be simplified, for example, either by removing specific source culture references entirely or substituting target culture references. Linguistic simplification can result, for example, when punctuation is altered, sentences are shortened, pronouns are replaced with nouns or when, as is the case in the Irish translations of *Janoschs Traumstunde*, lexical items (especially LSP terms in the source text) are not reproduced in the target text.

While it is not possible to explain definitively the extent of the marked trend towards lexical simplification in these translations in terms of the issues discussed in Chapters One to Three, it does appear that factors such as the tendency to err on the side of caution when writing and translating for children, discussed in Chapter Four, may offer some insight into the approach to the question of lexical simplification adopted by the translators of *Janoschs Traumstunde*. In other words, neither the fact that these texts are examples of dubbing scripts subject to certain technical constraints, nor the fact that they have been translated from a dominant language into a minority language can satisfactorily explain the extent to which lexis has been simplified. Rather the key may well lie in uncertainty on the part of the translators

concerning the purpose and potential of the translation over and above its entertainment value, coupled with an associated lack of professional understanding of the linguistic needs and capabilities of the primary target audience, i.e. young children, as opposed to adult viewers.

Semantic and lexical differentiation

In a discussion of semantic fields and the lexical sets, i.e. the actual words and expressions that constitute them, Baker (1992: 18) has pointed out that the more differentiated a semantic field of one language is, the more it is likely to differ from related semantic fields of other languages. Moreover, there tends to be more correspondence between languages at the level of headings of these fields rather than at the subfield level.

> Most languages are likely to have equivalents for the more general verbs of speech such as *say* and *speak*, but many may not have equivalents for the more specific ones. Languages understandably tend to make only those distinctions in meaning which are relevant to their particular environment, be it physical, religious, cultural, economic, legal, technological, social or otherwise. (ibid)

In the case of minority languages such as Irish, which are used only in certain restricted domains within society, it is obvious that the lexical sets of these domains are likely to be better developed and in more frequent use than those of the domains where the language is either weakening or just establishing its hold.

As pointed out in Chapter One, it is the domestic and related domains which are in the healthiest state in the case of Irish. The domains of home and school have well developed and well motivated terminology and are probably capable of organically generating additional terms, compatible with the existing word formation patterns of the language, as and when the need arises.

Weaker domains, which cannot themselves generate terms quickly enough, can only continue to function through the medium of Irish if terminology is supplied to them. This would ideally be done entirely by terminologists who endeavour to create new Irish language terms as required. But in practice, the terminological shortfall is often responded to by resorting to opportunistic borrowings from the other language, English, which is much stronger and used in many more domains in the Irish situation of diglossia.

Thus, it comes as no surprise to read Ó Baoill's evaluation of terminological developments in Irish, quoted in Ó Ruairc (1996: 21), which offers a positive evaluation of new terminology relating to areas such as seafaring, farming and food, all domains where Irish was once widely used and which traditionally overlapped with the domestic sphere in Irish life. Similarly, his criticism of those terms coined to describe parts of bicycles and cars, parts of studios and terms relating to space travel is easy to understand. These are relatively new areas which do not impinge greatly on the diglossic use of Irish in other domains and thus the terms offered may bear a closer resemblance to the English source terms which probably inspired them than to the kind of term Irish would generate organically if it had a larger number of speakers and were used in more domains. The general lack of extensive LSP terminology to cover various fields is thus a typical feature of minority languages and clearly has implications for the translation process from a major to a minority language as lexical simplification is even more likely than usual to be resorted to as a translation strategy.

In Chapter One, the notion of diglossia was discussed in some detail. In this context, particular attention was drawn to the way many minority languages such as Irish are spoken extensively in certain limited domains such as the domain of family or school while giving way to another language or languages in other more public domains, e.g. the domain of work. Reference was made to research conducted by Mac an Iomaire (1983), which investigates the extent to which recently coined, standardized terminology drafted by An Coiste Tearmaíochta in

Dublin was adopted and used by industrial and office workers, who are native speakers of Irish living and working in the South Connemara Gaeltacht. Mac an Iomaire's study attempts to establish whether gradual industrialisation in the area since 1958,[1] i.e. the year which marked the start of the government's concerted drive to establish manufacturing industry in the region, has contributed to a significant increase in the use of LSP terminology in Irish and broadened the range of domains in which Irish is used on a daily basis. The study shows that for a number of reasons, including the fact that new Irish terms are sometimes not made available when first needed, the tendency amongst those surveyed is largely to ignore the new, standardised terminology in Irish, which is perceived as being in some sense artificial, in favour of ad hoc borrowings from English.

Many of the lexical items, borrowed from English into Irish to refer to concepts for which no Irish terms are readily available, are either imported intact, e.g. *D'úsáid mé an dictaphone / I used the dictaphone* (Mac an Iomaire 1983: 13) or treated as if they were native Irish words (de Bhaldraithe 1993: 25) and subjected to some or all of the morphological and phonological modifications that native words also undergo thus enabling the borrowings to be incorporated easily into fairly standard, colloquial Irish sentence structure, e.g. *Téann siad síos i tankannaí / They go down into tanks* (Mac an Iomaire 1983: 12–13). This technique of borrowing specialised terms from English into Irish has now become commonplace especially in Gaeltacht areas and is frequently favoured in practice over the integration of new Irish terms into the everyday language of the workplace. Mac an Iomaire's study shows that it is not sufficient for a language to generate terms to cover the continual development of new concepts. It is equally important that these terms be disseminated

1 In 1958, Gaeltarra Éireann was established by the Irish government to create industrial employment in Gaeltacht areas. It was abolished in 1979 and its work has since then been carried out by a new government agency, Údarás na Gaeltachta.

effectively and adopted right across the relevant sectors of the language community. However, according to Colm Breathnach, a former terminologist with An Coiste Téarmaíochta, 'the adoption of terms does not generally create a problem at the level of institutions such as schools and colleges and state organisations but it can be difficult to assume their adoption in a more general context'.[2]

Lexical simplification in minority language translation

Where the Irish language does not have native terms to match certain terms which exist in English, paraphrase is a translation strategy which is often adopted as an option to deal with such lexical gaps. However, where the two languages both have terms corresponding to the same concept, it is often assumed that no further translation problem exists, i.e. that the source language term should be, and in practice will be, replaced by the target language term. What DTS does, by moving from prescription to description, is to show us that this view is sometimes not supported in actual practice. In other words, the existence of LSP terms in the target language to match those of the source text does not, in practice, always result in those terms being used in the translation. Since Irish is a minority language, it will continually have a terminology deficit in relation to some fields compared to dominant languages. But even in fields where the necessary terminology does exist, other norms operational within the larger polysystem may result in that terminology not being adopted and used. The translations of *Janoschs Traumstunde* into Irish illustrate this quite well. German LGP words are usually translated in *Scéalaíocht Janosch* by their Irish lexical equivalents but specialised terms, for which there are well established Irish

2 Personal communication 27 August 1991.

LSP equivalents, are frequently paraphrased or subjected to some other translation strategy which results in simplification. Moreover, as the degree of terminological specialisation increases, so too does the likelihood that simplification will be the outcome of the translation strategy adopted to deal with lexis in these texts for children.

The texts under analysis here, dubbing scripts drafted in German in the late 1980s and translated into Irish in 1989–90 for broadcast on RTÉ, indicate that the trend identified by Mac an Iomaire (1983) in the industrial and commercial sector can also be observed in the domain of children's television entertainment. The characters featured in these Janosch stories use a number of different registers and these are realised primarily through the use of specific syntactic and lexical features. One characteristic of the source texts is the range of lexis, i.e. from general LGP vocabulary to some highly technical terms. The Irish translations, on the other hand, do not display anything like the same lexical range.

In many respects, this is not at all surprising as the use of such devices as lexical simplification, as outlined in the Introduction, has long been proposed as a general feature of translation (Dagut 1971, Blum-Kulka and Levenston 1983), as well as of second language learning. Indeed, a number of recent studies, some using the techniques of corpus linguistics, have been able to quantify to some degree the extent to which phenomena such as lexical and/or syntactic simplification occur in certain bodies of translated texts (Blum-Kulka 1986, Weissbrod 1992, Øverås 1998, Puurtinen 1998). While most findings to date are highly tentative in view of the extensive range of factors possibly influencing the translation process and the limited nature of the corpora used for the research, most of the statistical evidence does support claims that simplification is at least a common feature of translation in many polysystems. However, research such as Puurtinen (1998), which traces a recent shift in Finnish translation and original writing for children away from finite syntactic structures, i.e. away from simplification, suggests that simplification may be norm-determined rather than being a

universal as previously claimed by Blum-Kulka and Levenston (1983) and Baker (1993, 1996), amongst others.

Three analysis sections which follow look at ways in which certain lexical items, some of them LGP words, but many of which could be defined as specialised terms belonging to one or more field of German technical language, have been rendered in Irish. Some of these words occur more than once in the texts, sometimes in singular and/or plural forms, and in a variety of cases. For the sake of simplicity, I have chosen to list those nouns that appear more than once in their base forms, i.e. in the nominative singular form. Where a noun occurs only once, I have given it in the form in which it appears in the actual source text. Where only one translation equivalent is recorded, this is an indication that the term has either only been translated once or else that its translation has been consistent throughout the text.

In the majority of cases as we shall see, the tendency in the translation into Irish has been to resort to some form of lexical simplification[3] which is achieved by using one or more of the following translation strategies:

- use of pronouns instead of synonyms: e.g. *it* instead of *the jalopy*:
- use of superordinates: e.g. *fish* instead of *pike*
- use of lower register: e.g. *made* instead of *invented*
- use of LGP word rather than LSP term: e.g. *gun* instead of *revolver*
- use of paraphrase: e.g. *wild horses* instead of *mustangs*
- substitution of conventional forms for creative ones: *big sweet cake* instead of *banana milk(shake) with almond(kernels/ nuts)*
- use of anglicisms:[4] e.g. use of English word *hubcap* in Irish text

3 These forms of simplification are not mutually exclusive, e.g. substitution may be achieved by use of paraphrase.

4 The borrowing of an anglicism is not an obvious example of lexical simplification. However, in bi-lingual Irish society, Irish co-exists with the world language, English, which generates more new specialised termino-

– use of omission: various terms not translated at all
– use of explicit lexical references instead of indeterminate pronouns:[5] e.g. *one animal* instead of *one*
– use of more specific lexis: e.g. *Paragraph 2 of the law* instead of *Paragraph 11* (sic).

The most obvious translation option, that of replacing the source language LSP term with an equivalent target language LSP term, where such exists, is rarely used in the texts under investigation here unless the term is also part of LGP. Generally speaking, where a source language term is not matched in a translation into Irish, the most likely reason for this would be one of the following:

a) no such term exists as the target language semantic field is less developed,
b) the term exists but may not be widely known, due to recent coinage or a high degree of specialism resulting in low frequency and limited diffusion,
c) the term may be considered contrived (Ní Dheirg 1992: 13) or
d) the structure of the term, especially if it is a recent borrowing, may make it cumbersome to use in Irish (Ó Ruairc 1996: 21).

However, these reasons do not explain most of the examples of lexical simplification examined below.

logy than any other language. A term is likely to exist and be widely disseminated in English before its counterpart is coined in Irish. The convenient default strategy of inserting an English term to fill a lexical gap in a communicative situation can thus be seen as lexical simplification in Irish.

5 The last two strategies listed here are also examples of explication.

Animation characters' use of language

The source language texts under investigation here comprise between one and four stories per episode. The storyline is developed through the dialogue of each story's characters and supplemented by a presenter, the bear, who introduces and ends each episode, and an off-screen, unidentified narrator, whose comments flesh out the narrative. This narrator provides an adult link between the story's characters and the young viewers in much the same way as an adult, who reads aloud to a child, links the listener to the text. The animated stories are thus presented using a number of different voices which adopt different tenors of discourse[6] and sometimes even mix them to comic effect. The language of the narrator's commentary on unfolding events is generally formal, e.g. marked by the tendency to use the imperfect rather than the perfect tense to refer to past events and a preference for syntactic constructions and lexical items more readily associated with a written mode of discourse than with spoken language. There are, of course, exceptions to this as exemplified by the use of such idiomatic expressions as *haute* [...] *ihm voll mit dem Hut eins auf den Schnuller*, i.e. *walloped him hard on the mug*, which are not in keeping with the general formality of the narration. Such sudden switches in register come as a surprise to the viewer as this is not the kind of language one has come to expect from the narrator and thus such stylistic shifts in the source text contribute to the achievement of a comic, entertaining effect as well as helping to hold the viewer's attention.

As is to be expected, the individual characters who appear in the various episodes, interact with one another and tell their story through dialogue. They are aided and abetted as described above by the introductions and conclusions of the presenter and the regular interventions of the narrator, but generally use a less

6 The terms *tenor* and *mode of discourse* are used here in accordance with Halliday and Hasan (1989: 12).

formal, colloquial type of language more in keeping with their conversational mode of discourse than the presenter and narrator. Nevertheless, there is considerable variation between the idiolects of different characters. Indeed, the individual language use of certain figures is developed in a distinctive fashion for the purposes of characterisation. Achim Bergmann in *Der Fremde mit Sporen* provides a case in point. Bergmann is a stiff, formal character by nature, who generally speaks with the authority appropriate to his role as leader of the mice but he tries to adopt a 'chummy' tone when engaging in conversation with the main character, Jim Browning, in order to ingratiate himself.

Translation commentary

As outlined above, the sample analysis of the translation of *Janoschs Traumstunde* is divided into three sections. In section one of this analysis, a sequence of chronologically ordered excerpts from the episode entitled *Der Fremde mit Sporen* has been selected to illustrate the way in which the wide range of specialised terminology contained in the German original was rendered in Irish translation within the framework of a single story. Section two focuses on the translation of related terms, i.e. terms relating to flora and fauna, across all six episodes while in section three, the translation of a single set of highly specialised terms relating to the legal/judicial field which all occur within a single story, *Der Quasselkasper ist reich,* will be discussed. The examples cited show how the process of translation of the original German script into Irish has resulted in a marked trend towards lexical simplification, especially of LSP terms.

Der Fremde mit Sporen, i.e. *The stranger with spurs* is the story of one Jim Browning, a smart-talking mouse who turns up from nowhere overnight in a haybarn in Regensburg, Germany. He is dressed like a cowboy and entertains the local mouse

community with his tall tales concerning his supposed adventures in the Wild West. Browning includes many details such as references to Red Indians, smoke signals, tomahawks, saloon bars and sheriffs to add authenticity to his stories. He also embellishes his yarns to the point of trying the patience of Einstein, the local know-all, and seems, at least from an adult viewer's perspective, to come close to losing credibility when he weaves accounts of big game hunting in a jeep and a period spent as a trapeze artist in a circus in Montana into his Wild West adventures. Most of the community welcome him as a great hero and his powers as a raconteur hold them spellbound. For days, he is fêted by various mice in their mouseholes but eventually as he runs out of stories and after a daunting encounter with the local tomcat, he hits the road again, leaving his gullible hosts full of happy memories and vivid stories of the Wild West.

As can be imagined from this brief synopsis, the story *Der Fremde mit Sporen*, contains quite an amount of vocabulary of a specialised nature. Some of it might be known to young children. Much of it, relating as it does to cowboys, firearms, Red Indians, a broken down jeep and big game hunting is likely to be new to the young viewers of the source language production. In the passages from the source and target texts, which are reproduced below with English glosses for relevant excerpts in the summary tables, some examples of LSP terms which occur within the text are highlighted and their translation is commented upon.

EXCERPT 1

BERGMANN:
Aber jetzt, *Mister*...wie war doch Ihr Name?
BROWNING:
Browning. Jim Browning. Sie werden mich kennen.
Browning, *der Erfinder der Browning-Mauserpistole*.
BERGMANN:
Klar.

MODERATOR:
Klar. Welche Maus sollte *die Mauserpistole* also nicht kennen!
War sie doch von einer Maus *erfunden*.
Und nun saß *der Erfinder* vor ihnen. Wow! *Die Mäuse* rückten näher.

TRANSLATION 1

LEARAÍ:
Gabh mo leithscéal ansin. Cén t-ainm atá ort?
BROWNING:
Browning. Jim Browning. Nár chuala tú fúm?
Browning. *An té* a rinne '*n Browning-Colt Revolver*.
LEARAÍ:
Sea.
SCÉALAÍ:
Ar ndóigh chuala 'chuile *luch* faoin *ngunna* sin, an Browning.
Nach *luch* a rinne é an chéad lá riamh?
Is anois bhí *an luch* sin os a gcomhair amach.
Thug *siad* an suíochán is fearr dó.

COMMENT 1

This scene opens in German with a question, the formality of which is marked by both the use of the anglicism *Mister* as a form of address and the choice of the polite possessive pronoun *Ihr*. Bergmann's use of *Mister* is doubly significant in that it marks the addressee as an English speaker, an outsider, and one whom Bergmann feels is deserving of particular respect. The fact that neither the same form of address, i.e. the anglicism, nor some cultural equivalent is used in the Irish version leaves the target language audience less clear than the source language audience as to Bergmann's initial attitude to his interlocutor in terms of the latter's credibility as a real cowboy. However, although Irish, unlike German, has no facility whereby the relative formality or informality of relations between addresser and addressee can be expressed pronominally, Bergmann's deferential attitude

is conveyed successfully in the target language text by the substitution of Learaí's polite opening gambit *Gabh mo leithscéal*... i.e. *Excuse me*... for which there is no equivalent in the source text.

The source text dialogue displays elements, which have an important function in terms of lexical cohesion, and yet are not reproduced in the target language text. In his response to Bergmann, Browning describes himself as the *Erfinder*, i.e. *inventor* of the *Browning-Mauserpistole* and the noun *Erfinder* is subsequently repeated by the narrator who also uses the related Past Participle *erfunden*. As Halliday and Hasan have observed (1989: 81), this type of repetition, even when it involves morphologically distinct forms of the same lexical unit, creates a kind of lexical patterning which binds the text together and makes it easier to follow. This is especially important when the text is an audiovisual as opposed to a written one. In the Irish version, the concept of inventor when first introduced by Browning is paraphrased as *an té a rinne é*, i.e. *the one (person) who made it*. *Erfinder* is subsequently rendered simply as *luch*, i.e. *mouse* by Learaí on the second occasion it appears in the source language text. The related verbal form, *erfunden*, which appears in the declarative sentence *War sie doch von einer Maus erfunden* is translated again by *rinne*, i.e. *Nach luch a rinne an chéad lá riamh*?, i.e. *Wasn't it a mouse that made it the first day ever?* in a sentence which has been formulated as an interrogative for rhetorical purposes. The overall effect is a slight loss of lexical cohesion and lexical specificity despite the fact that both the lexical verb *ceap*, i.e. *to invent* and the agentive noun *ceapadóir,* i.e. *inventor* derived from it are well attested in Irish.

The reference to *Mauserpistole* is a good example of sophisticated wordplay[7] aimed primarily at adult viewers in keeping with the tradition of dual appeal and ambivalent content in children's literature discussed in Chapter Four. The compound could be understood by children to contain the morpheme *Maus.* However, educated adults probably realise that *Mauser* is a

7 Gottlieb's (1997b: 205–232) detailed account of strategies used to subtitle wordplay also applies to dubbing.

German surname used here eponymously. The term is thus made up of the surname of the two brothers, Paul and Wilhelm Mauser, who invented this pistol in Germany in the last century, plus the noun *Pistole*. The source text term, *Browning-Mauserpistole*, which combines the names of two famous revolvers, is cleverly translated in the first instance by substituting the well-known American *Colt* for the *Mauser*, i.e. *Browning-Colt Revolver* in the target text. This is a good example of normalisation as the German culturally specific term is replaced in Irish using the American equivalent. While the source text potential for association of the gun, i.e. *Mauser* with the mice, through morphologically related word forms such as *Maus/Mause-/Mäuse* in the story is lost in translation, there is some measure of compensation in the fact that a colt, i.e. a young, male horse which is similarly suggested by the use *Browning-Colt Revolver* in the Irish translation, can be readily associated with a cowboy. However, *Pistole* which appears twice in the source text is translated differently each time. First it is rendered as *Revolver* and on the second occasion, as *gunna,* i.e *gun*. In terms of sense relations, *Revolver* is a hyponym of *Pistole* but it is because *Revolver* is also an anglicism that its use, like the second translation of *Mauserpistole* with *gunna*, can be considered a good example of lexical simplification.

SUMMARY 1

German	Irish	Tran. Strategy	Outcome
Mister	*X*	*Omission*	*Simplification*
der Erfinder (inventor)	*an té a rinne (the one who made)*	*Paraphrase (LSP>LGP)*	*Simplification*
der Erfinder (inventor)	*an luch sin (that mouse)*	*Substitution (LSP> LGP)*	*Simplification*
erfunden (invented)	*rinne (made)*	*Superordinate verb (LSP>LGP)*	*Simplification*
Browning-Mauserpistole	*Browning Colt Revolver*	*Anglicism (FRG>USA)*	*Simplification/ Normalisation*
Mauserpistole	*gunna (gun)*	*Superordinate term (LSP>LGP)*	*Simplification*

EXCERPT 2

MODERATOR:
Am nächsten Tag erzählte dieser Browning:
BROWNING:
Meine Ohren sind besser als *Parabolantennen.* Was das Hören angeht. Höre alle *Radioprogramme* astrein ohne Schnarren und kann damit *Rauchsignale* lesen.
NICKELBRILLE:
Oh, das interessiert mich persönlich sehr, Mister Brown. Bekommen Sie auch *die Kurzwelle*? Mit Ihren *parabolischen Ohren*?

TRANSLATION 2

SCÉALAÍ:
An lá dár gcionn, dúirt Browning:
BROWNING:
Tá mo chluasa chomh maith le *aeróg raidió*. Tá mé in ann éisteacht le *cláracha raidió* gan aon stró. Agus tá mé in ann *comharthaí deataí* a thuiscint.
SPÉACLÁIRÍ:
Ó, Tá suim ar leith agam féin san ábhar sin. An bhfuil tú in ann *an téilifís* a chloisteáil leis *na cluasa iontacha*?

COMMENT 2

The choice and combination of words in the source language passage is designed in the first instance, to show the extent to which Browning is prepared to bluff his way despite his considerable ignorance. He is a poser, a braggard, a likeable fraud and reveals this again and again through his elaborate yarns and tall tales. When describing his ears, he compares them to high-tech satellite dishes mainly associated with multichannel television viewing but then goes on to talk about their ability to receive radio programmes and even smoke signals rather than television programmes. In this example, we have four German nouns which, as is the convention in German in the case of subordinating compounds, are written as single orthographic words, e.g. *Parabolantennen,* i.e. *satellite dishes, Radioprogramme,* i.e. *radio programmes, Rauchsignale*, i.e. *smoke signals* and *Kurzwelle,* i.e. *short wave*. They are formed by combining a Head (noun) with a Premodifer (adjective or noun). Compounds formed by combining two nouns also exist in Irish but are not as common, e.g. *otharcarr* (lit. *patient car*, i.e. *ambulanc*e) though the premodification of a Head (noun) by a member of another word class is a more typical method of compound word formation.

Rauchsignale is probably a straight loan translation from American English into German as indeed is the Irish equivalent *comharthaí deataí*. Concepts expressed by subordinating com-

pounds in German can frequently be rendered in Irish by combining two nouns where the second, which takes the genitive, modifies the first. In Irish, two nouns can be combined in this way on an occasional basis but this technique can also be used, as is the case here, to form a specialised term. In German, Irish and indeed English, the compound terms referred to above are quite transparent in the sense that they are likely to be understood without further linguistic explanation when first encountered in context and can be readily translated.

Radioprogramme is a standard German compound as is the Irish equivalent *cláracha raidió.* Both German and Irish children could reasonably be expected to be more than familiar with these terms in their own language as they belong to everyday life in the domestic sphere. Like the first example, the meaning of the two constituent parts as well as the nature of the subordinating relationship between them is clear from the context and they are unlikely to pose problems of comprehension or translation.

The compound noun *Parabolantennen* is a relatively new and more specialised term than either of the previous two, relating as it does to recent developments in satellite broadcasting technology. The term can be found in the 1984 edition of *Wahrig Deutsches Wörterbuch* (WDW) but an Irish equivalent is not given in an Irish dictionary until the appearance in 1997 of the *Collins Pocket Irish Dictionary* (CPID). It has the term *mias satailíte* which may have appeared in terminology lists and smaller published glossaries a few years earlier. However, it must be remembered that the programmes were broadcast in Ireland in 1989/90 and it is unlikely the Irish term was well established at that time. As soon as this technology became available in Germany, a German LSP term was needed to describe it. The normal procedure in such a case is for a term to be first coined and used by subject specialists. It then gradually moves into a more public domain as the technology becomes more widespread. Eventually the term is officially sanctioned by the German Standards Institute (DIN) which documents the existence of the concept and designates the preferred term to describe it. In countries where minority languages are used only in restricted

domains such terminology is not generated organically. In this case, the English term *satellite dish* was probably used briefly in Irish before being translated literally and expediently by some Irish speaker to yield the term *mias satailíte.*

As we have seen, the formulation, standardisation and dissemination of new terminology, especially in a minority language, is a long and tedious process and it is not surprising in this case that the translators opted to use a term which describes a more familiar concept than the source text term. The Irish translation solution *aeróg teilifíse*, meaning *television aerial*, is an example of how a related term can be substituted in the absence of a suitably accurate target language term on the same level of abstraction. In this case, the Irish term is superordinate[8] to the German one and is closer to LGP in that it is widely used in domestic and social domains.

Furthermore, the target language term has approximately the same propositional meaning in context, though it is less precise in terms of shape and more precise in terms of function than the source language term. Whatever the difficulties relating to the terminological classification of these two terms, what is clear is that a semantic shift has occurred in translation. The semantic loss resulting from the translation decision becomes more significant when viewed in the context of the full exchange between Browning and Nickelbrille as the use of the source text term *Parabolantennen* by Browning sets up the context in which Nickelbrille can challenge him using the highly creative collocation in the related phrase *mit Ihren parabolischen Ohren, i.e with your parabolic ears.*

This marked use of collocation combines sarcasm with humour. Sarcasm is signalled by the shift from Browning's metaphorical comparison of his ears with satellite dishes to Nickelbrille's unlikely and much more concrete linking of the adjective *parabolisch* to a noun such as *Ohren,* even though it can

8 Depending on the system of classification one uses, it could be argued that the German and Irish terms are actually on the same level of abstraction and should be differentiated on the basis of function versus shape.

presumably only collocate with a very limited number of nouns of which *Ohren* is not one. Conversely, *Ohren* can collocate with a much larger set of adjectives though this set does not include *parabolisch*. Yet despite the source text collocation clash, the Irish translation opts for the unmarked collocation *cluasa iontacha, i.e. amazing ears* and endeavours to communicate the speaker's cynicism through intonation alone. The incongruity of the German phrase creates a humorous effect, as does the suggestion of physical similarity between the boastful mouse's ears and a pair of satellite dishes. As the Irish text refers only to a general *television aerial* and *amazing ears*, there is a loss of meaning on more than one level. This flattening is further contributed to by the decision to translate another LSP term from the field of broadcasting, *die Kurzwelle* as simply, *an teilifís* i.e. *television*. In this case, an unrelated term from the same field is substituted, although there is no semantic void in Irish. Of course, such a strategy would have been completely justified had a lexical gap existed in the target language. As Blum-Kulka and Levenston (1983) have observed, the substitution of superordinate terms can be a useful strategy to deal with situations where a semantic void exists. However, the use of superordinates in this way can result in a depletion of meaning:

> [...] the translator confronted with semantic voids, can exploit such (superordinate) relations between items in the lexical system of the target language, and try to convey the source language meaning by using the superordinate term in the target language. By adding a 'qualifier', the full meaning can sometimes be conveyed. 'Unqualified', the use of the superordinate term alone always results in the depletion of meaning (ibid: 127).

The overall effect of the logical progression in the Irish text from the LSP term *aeróg raidió* to general LGP words like *cláracha raidió* and *teilifís* is at odds with the deliberately quirky and humorous juxtaposition of basic lexis and highly complex terms in the corresponding passage in German.

SUMMARY 2

German	Irish	Tran. Strategy	Outcome
Parabolantennen (satellite dishes)	*aeróg teilifíse (televison aerial)*	*Substitution (LSP>LGP)*	*Simplification/ Normalisation*
Radioprogramme (radio programmes)	*cláracha raidió (radio programmes)*	*Transfer*	*Equivalence*
Rauchsignale (smoke signals)	*comharthaí deataí (smoke signals)*	*Transfer*	*Equivalence*
Kurzwelle bekommen (receive short wave)	*teilifís a chloisteáil (hear the television)*	*Substitution (LSP>LGP)*	*Simplification*
parabolische Ohren (parabolic ears)	*cluasa iontacha (marvellous ears)*	*Substitution (Neologism>Con-ventional phrase)*	*Simplification/ Normalisation*

EXCERPT 3

BROWNING:
Han, und so fing ich eines Tages die Rauchsignale der Kommanchen ab.

Kriegsbeil ausgegraben stop nächster Angriff stop Donnerstag neun Uhr auf *Slamy Bamy Footy Pitch* stop.

Und dann kamen sie. *Der ganze Stamm* in einem dichten Haufen. Da stand ich aber und breitete meine Arme aus. Ließ sie voll hineinrennen. Und als ich sie alle hatte, umschlug ich *die ganze Bande*, hakte ihnen die Finger ein *wie eine automatische Rohrzange*. Und ich hatte sie fest. Und dann, *Jungs und Mädels*, hob ich *die Roten* hoch und trug sie zurück in ihre *Wigams*.

TRANSLATION 3

BROWNING:
Is mar sin a tháinig mé ar chomharthaí na Commanches.

Tá muid ar an warpath stop troid amárach stop naoi a' chlog ar maidin i *Mississippi Dodge City* stop.

Sheas mise ansin is chuir mé mo dhá lámh amach. Rith *siad* ar fad chugam agus nuair a bhí greim agam *orthu*, chuir mé mo méaracha ina chéile mar a bheadh *wrench* ann go díreach agus choinnigh mé mo ghreim. Ansin, a dhaoine uaisle, d'ardaigh mé *iad* agus d'iompaigh mé *iad* ar fad ar ais chuig a mbaile féin.

COMMENT 3

The first thing to strike one about this passage is the creative use of the idiomatic expression *das Kriegsbeil ausgraben*, i.e. *to dig up the hatchet* in a literal as well as metaphorical sense. Instead of translating the idiom literally using the Irish term for *hatchet,* i.e. *tua* or borrowing the culturally appropriate term *tomahawk*, the translators have chosen to adopt an anglicism *warpath* in the phrase *Tá muid ar an warpath*, i.e. *We are on the warpath.* Such use of straight borrowings from English is a particular feature of colloquial Irish and is considered by many native speakers to be humorous, creative and even highly idiomatic, especially in spoken discourse. According to a native speaker from the Donegal Gaeltacht, if she were to say to her friends in her local pub that she was '*ag obair san* oifig', i.e. *working in the office* as opposed to 'ag obair san *office*', she would be fully understood but she would be accused of giving herself airs and graces. In other words, a decision to use the standard Irish word in such a case would signal the use of a higher register not considered appropriate in an informal, social setting.[9] Such a strategy of importing anglicisms, even when a semantic void does not exist, and its widespread adoption and toleration is highly symptomatic

9 Personal communication Nicola Nic Pháidin 1997.

of language shift from the weaker to the stronger language in a situation of diglossia.

As in the previous example, the pseudo-technical term *automatische Rohrzange*, i.e. *automatic pipe wrench* is translated using a superordinate term, which is also an anglicism, i.e. *wrench*. Furthermore, the neologism *Slamy Bamy Footy Pitch* which probably appeals to children purely on the basis of its sound, but has other connotations for adults who know English well, is normalised by the use of two existing American geographical references in the source text, one to a river and the other to a city, though their combination is creative. This neologism suggests to older viewers, for their likely amusement, that Browning does not really know what he is talking about. The German text achieves a particular degree of lexical cohesion through the use of *Kommanchen, der ganze Stamm, die ganze Bande* and *die Roten* as synonyms. In the Irish text, further lexical simplification occurs as these nouns are replaced by pronominal references, e.g. *siad, orthu, iad* rather than target language nouns. It is also worth noting that the culturally specific reference in the source language text to *Wigwams* is also simplified and neutralised, in this case by use of paraphrase: *ar ais chuig a mbaile féin*, i.e. *back to their home* even though the use of the same term *Wigwams* in the target language text would have been perfectly natural and acceptable and could potentially have added to or reinforced the target language audience's world and linguistic knowledge.

The overall tenor of Browning's account is informal, perhaps even a little condescending both to the Indians and the mice, who constitute his audience. This informality is conveyed by such features as sentences starting with the conjunction *und*, the use of ellipsis, i.e. *(ich) ließ sie voll hineinrennen* as well as the use of the colloquial *Jungs und Mädels* which is both informal and regionally specific as it is associated with Southern German usage. The corresponding passage in Irish does not have these or equivalent features and is less colloquial, e.g. the term of address *a dhaoine uaisle, i.e. ladies and gentlemen* is of a higher register and is reserved for formal occasions. Nevertheless, the use of

muid rather than the standard *-míd* to mark the use of the first person plural verb form is a feature of spoken, non-standard language and associated with the Connaught dialect so a certain degree of translation equivalence has been achieved at the level of register through compensation elsewhere in the text.

SUMMARY 3

German	Irish	Tran. Strategy	Outcome
Kriegsbeil (battle axe/hatchet)	*warpath*	*Substitution/ (Anglicism)*	*Simplification*
Slamy Bamy Footy Pitch	*Mississippi Dodge City*	*Substitution (Neologism> Conventional)*	*Simplification/ Normalisation*
der ganze Stamm (the whole tribe)	*x*	*Omission*	*Simplification*
die ganze Bande (the whole troupe)	*orthu (pronoun)*	*Substitution*	*Simplification*
automatische Rohrzange (automatic pipe wrench)	*wrench*	*Superordinate term (Anglicism)*	*Simplification*
Jungs und Mädels (Boys and Girls)	*a dhaoine uaisle (ladies and gentlemen)*	*Substitution (>Higher register)*	*Normalisation*
die Roten (the Red Skins)	*iad (pronoun)*	*Substitution*	*Simplification*
in ihre Wigwams (to their wigwams)	*chuig a mbaile féin*	*Paraphrase (LSP>LGP)*	*Simplification*

EXCERPT 4

BROWNING:
Wir waren *den ganzen Weg dicht und eng beisammen* denn ich hatte sie ja *in meiner Rohrzangenklammer* zusammengepresst und wir konnten gut zusammen reden. Ich machte *einen Friedensvertrag* mit den Jungens. *Sie griffen nicht mehr an* und *vergruben das Kriegsbeil* und ich versprach ihnen die freie Jagd, ein freies Leben und *den Urwald* als ihr *Eigentum*.

TRANSLATION 4

BROWNING:
Ach ár ndóigh, *ar an mbealach*
bhí muid le chéile
agus iad brúite go maith
agam *le mo dhá láimh*.
Thosaigh muid ag caint le chéile.
Rinne mé *socrú síochána* leo.
Dúirt siadsan nach mbeidís *ag troid* in ár n-aghaidh feasta
is gheall mise dóibh cead fiach, saol saor ó imní agus *na machairí 's na bánta* futhu féin *acu*.

COMMENT 4

In the first German sentence, the Nominal Group *den ganzen Weg*, i.e. *the whole way* consists of a Head *Weg* premodified by a determiner and adjective. In the target language version, the Nominal Group, i.e. *an mbealach*, i.e. *the way* has been changed to contain the noun modified only by the determiner. Much the same happens to the Adverbial Group in the source language sentence. The premodifying *dicht und eng,* lit. *tight and close* is omitted in the target language version leaving only the Head *beisammen*, i.e. *together* which is translated as *le chéile*. The omission of Premodifiers in both cases reduces the amount of descriptive information in Browning's narrative and since spinning yarns is what he does best, it seems counterproductive

to adopt optional translation strategies which reduce the information content in his deliberately longwinded story.

In an earlier scene in the programme, the LSP term *automatische Rohrzange* was introduced and its translation as *wrench* has been commented on above. In the light of the earlier occurrence of the term, it is clear that the reference here to holding the Indians *in meiner Rohrzangenklammer,* i.e. *in my pipe wrench clamp* is to be understood as a metaphorical description of his grip and as an anaphoric reference to the earlier mention of *Rohrzange*. Reference has been identified by Halliday and Hasan (1989: 48) as one of the four main cohesive devices used to establish lexical, grammatical and other networks which are essential if texts are to be interpreted accurately. Yet rather than contributing to the development of a lexical chain by translating this phrase in a manner that refers anaphorically to *wrench*, the Irish translators have dropped the metaphorical reference and paraphrased it using LGP words so as to convey the literal meaning. Thus the lexical complexity of the text has been further simplified through the source text LSP term *Rohrzangenklammer* being rendered as *le mo dhá láimh*, i.e. *with my two hands.*

The German compound noun *Friedensvertrag,* i.e *peace treaty* is fully lexicalised as are its constituents, both of which are also nouns, i.e. the Head *Vertrag* and its Premodifier *Frieden*. The obvious Irish translation, which is also fully lexicalised, is *conradh síochána*, an LSP term which may be described as a Nominal Group in which the Head *conradh*, i.e. *contract/treaty* is postmodified by the genitive form of the noun *síocháin*, i.e. *peace.* When the term *Friedensvertrag* occurs a second time later in the text, the translators used this Irish term but here in the first instance, they choose to translate it using an explanatory paraphrase, i.e. *socrú síochána*, i.e. *peace arrangement/settlement* rather than the Irish LSP term. This is another example of an LGP phrase replacing an LSP term but may, perhaps, be justified as a device to aid the young primary audience's vocabulary acquisition by initially introducing and explaining a concept through paraphrase before introducing a specialised term which covers this concept succinctly.

The German text is very clear as to the outcome of this peace treaty: the Indians did not attack again and buried the hatchet/axe. The German verb *angreifen*, i.e. *to attack* is a hyponym of *kämpfen*, i.e. *to fight* but it is the latter which corresponds to the meaning of the verb chosen in the Irish version *troid*, i.e. *to fight* despite the fact that there is a verb in Irish *ionsaigh* which means precisely *to attack*. The phrase *vergruben das Kriegsbeil*, i.e. *buried the hatchet* provides a thematic link to an earlier section where Browning intercepts the smoke signal message *Kriegsbeil ausgegraben/ hatchet dug up again* referred to above. Although the German text here refers anaphorically to this, a direct translation of *Kriegsbeil* is omitted for the second time from the Irish version (though one might argue that its implied meaning is subsumed in the general reference to cessation of fighting). Furthermore, the two Irish translations of the source text phrases containing *Kriegsbeil* do not use the same vocabulary. Thus the translated text fails to exploit an opportunity to establish a cohesive link with an earlier part of the narrative through lexical repetition.

As part of the peace treaty, Browning presents the Indians with *den Urwald als ihr Eigentum*, i.e. *the primeval forest as their property*. Since the visuals in the animation show the Indians on the open plains, the translators' decision to render *den Urwald* as *na machairí 's na bánta*, i.e. *the plains and grasslands* must be seen as a case of normalisation which removes the deliberate visual/textual dyschrony of the original.[10]

10 For interesting discussions of how both words and images need to be interpreted by the translator, see Oittinen (2000 and 2001: 109–125) and O'Sullivan (1999a: 167–173).

SUMMARY 4

German	Irish	Tran. strategy	Outcome
den ganzen Weg (the whole way)	*ar an mbealach (on the way)*	*Omission*	*Simplification*
Rohrzangen-klammer (pipe wrench clamp)	*le mo dhá láimh (with my two hands)*	*Paraphrase (LSP>LGP)*	*Simplification*
Friedens-vertrag (peace treaty)	*socrú síochána (peace arrangement)*	*Paraphrase (LSP>LGP)*	*Simplification*
angreifen (to attack)	*ag troid (fighting)*	*Paraphrase (>Superordinate)*	*Simplification*
vergruben das Kriegsbeil (buried the battle axe)	*x*	*Omission (LSP> x)*	*Simplification*
den Urwald (primeval forest)	*na machairí 's na bánta (plains and grasslands)*	*Substitution*	*Normalisation*

EXCERPT 5

BROWNING:
Nur *einer in dieser Gegend* war mir überlegen: *ein Silberlöwe. Jeder Zahn wie ein Dolch.*
EINSTEIN:
Es gibt doch *keine Silberlöwen, Herr...* Es gibt *Goldfische, Silberfische, Goldhamster, Silberlöffel, aber keine Silberlöwen...!*
MODERATOR:
Doch hier irrte Einstein: Es GIBT *Silberlöwen. Lüge hin, Lüge her*, aber aber es gibt sie.

TRANSLATION 5

BROWNING:
Ach ansin bhí *ainmhí* amháin níos láidre ná mise: an *cat mór fiáin*, *an leon*.
EINSTEIN:
Níl a leithéid de rud ann is *cat mór*
Carr mór, nim nim; *tithe móra* nim nim; *mada mór, mada beag*.
Ach níl... ach níl... ach níl aon *chat mór* ann.
SCÉALAÍ:
Ní raibh an ceart ag Einstein.
Tá *cait mhóra* ann.
Tíogar is *liopard* is ár ndóigh an leon.

COMMENT 5

The opening sentence in the German text creates suspense by stating initially that there was just *einer* (i.e. pronoun standing for a masculine noun), who was superior to Browning. Then we are informed that this was a *Silberlöwe* or puma. As is often the case with cataphoric references such as this, the listener does not fully understand the full meaning of the initial pronominal reference until the cohesive link between the pronoun in the first clause and the noun *Silberlöwe* is established (Bloor and Bloor 1995: 95). The Irish text replaces the German pronominal form *einer*, which refers cataphorically to the puma, with a noun *ainmhí,* i.e. *animal*. The latter is a more explicit lexical reference thereby ruling out the possibility inherent in the German text that Browning could, for example, be referring to a human. Furthermore, the prepositional phrase *in dieser Gegend*, i.e. *in the area* is omitted completely in Irish, as is the highly dramatic simile *Jeder Zahn wie ein Dolch*, i.e. *Each tooth like a dagger*. The adjective *überlegen* (i.e. superior) is translated into Irish using a more specific adjective in the comparative phrase *níos láidre ná mise* (i.e. stronger than me). However, as the choice of this adjective in German signals a formal tenor of discourse, the Irish translation

must be seen as representing a shift in register from formal to informal.

Although *Silberlöwe* and *Puma* are synonyms in German, the latter is the commonly used term. *Silberlöwe* is listed in WDW (1984: 3426) but the term has a very low frequency and is not known by many native speakers. The selection of the compound *Silberlöwe* (lit. silver lion) rather than *Puma* in the source text in Example 5 sets the scene for Einstein's list of similar compounds: 'Silver lions do not exist', he says. (This is literally true. But, as we have seen and as some adult viewers might appreciate, while the concept may not exist, the word does – but to describe a puma). 'There are goldfish, silverfish, gold(en) hamsters, silver spoons, but no silver lions', he continues. Einstein's intervention tells viewers quite a bit about how German compounds, which may appear to be paradigmatically related, sometimes actually express different relations between their constituent parts. Einstein enumerates a list of compounds which appear to be formed along the same lines as *Silberlöwe* and therefore might be interpreted as *golden/silver coloured + noun*. However, *Silberlöffel,* i.e. *silver spoon(s),* is an exception in the list. Unlike the other compounds, which comprise a noun which is the Head premodified by an adjective, the first constituent of this compound is also a noun and the compound therefore means *spoons made of* not *silver coloured spoons*. The inclusion of *Silberlöffel* in the list of things, which are golden or silver coloured, appears at first appropriate but when semantic interpretation occurs, the incongruity of its presence in the list becomes obvious and this achieves a comic effect, at least for older viewers.

The decision to translate this German wordplay into Irish by rendering the puma/silver lion as *an cat mór fiáin, an leon,* i.e. *the big, wild cat, the lion* seems very flat by comparison. No doubt it was largely influenced by the actual graphic depiction of a lion in the animation film, which creates a deliberate content synchrony problem, in the original version. The visuals show what is clearly a male adult lion and its colour is a realistic beige with brown mane. The animal is definitely not a sleek puma. From this, it is clear that content dyschrony between the original

German text and visuals was deliberately built in, probably for comic purposes. This dyschrony is normalised in the Irish version.

The word *Silberlöwe* is more likely to represent a new item of vocabulary for young German viewers than the word *leon* for their Irish counterparts. In the case of the Irish translation, the motivation for the decision to translate *Silberlöwe* using a label plus term, i.e. *an cat mór fiáin+ an leon*, is unclear. After all, the term *leon* is a co-hyponym of *Silberlöwe* rather than the target language lexical equivalent. Whatever the reason, the substitution of *leon* for *Silberlöwe* represents lexical simplification since the word *lion* has a much higher frequency in LGP vocabulary than *puma*. At the end of this excerpt, the Irish translation compensates to some extent for this lexical simplification by replacing the narrator's sentence *Lüge hin, Lüge her aber es gibt sie* (i.e. You can say what you like, they do exist) with an unrelated sentence, which introduces names of two other large cats *tíogar is liopard, i.e. a tiger and leopard*, in addition to the lion.

In Irish, Einstein introduces *an cat mór fiáin, an leon* and then makes comparisons between what appear to be randomly selected nouns, all of which can be postmodified by the adjectives *beag* and *mór*, i.e. *small and big*. The Irish list seems simplistic when compared to the relative morphological sophistication of the compounds used in the German original and there is nothing inherently humorous about the Irish phrases selected or the juxtaposition of such nouns as *cat, carr, tithe* and *mada, i.e. cat, car, houses* and *stick,* respectively. But from a pedagogical point of view, the translation does achieve a measure of functional equivalence in that the German list teaches children a little about the formation and interpretation of compounds while it could be said that the translated version explains a little about the agreement of adjectives and nouns in the singular and plural in Irish.

Be that as it may, the Irish translation solution seems particularly unsatisfactory because *cat mór fiáin* lacks specificity and is not likely to be understood in the first instance as a technical term in the way in which *Silberlöwe* clearly is. Within the field of zoology however, the words *cat mór* could be understood

together as a superordinate term, which includes most large feral cats such as the lion, tiger, cheetah, puma and jaguar. However, this terminological usage is unlikely to be familiar to young children. On the other hand, even very small children will be aware that big and small domestic cats exist so Einstein's contention in Irish that there is no such thing as a big, wild cat seems nonsensical from the beginning. Young German children, on the other hand, may never have heard of such a thing as a *Silberlöwe*. If anything, they are probably more familiar with its synonym *Puma* so they will follow Einstein's denial of the animal's existence with interest in the hope of discovering whether such a creature really exists and only begin to lose confidence in his authority when he inappropriately includes silver spoons in his deliberations.

SUMMARY 5

German	Irish	Tran. Strategy	Outcome
einer (one)	*ainmhí (animal)*	*Explication*	*Simplification*
in dieser Gegend	*x*	*Omission*	*Simplification*
überlegen (superior)	*níos láidre (stronger)*	*Explication*	*Simplification*
Silberlöwe (puma)	*cat mór fiáin, an leon (a big wild cat, the lion)*	*Translation label plus co-hyponym (LSP>LGP)*	*Simplification*
Zahn (tooth)	*x*	*Omission*	*Simplification*
Dolch (dagger)	*x*	*Omisssion*	*Simplification*
x	*tíogar (tiger)*	*Addition*	*Compensation*
x	*liopard (leopard)*	*Addition*	*Compensation*

EXCERPT 6

BROWNING:
Nicht weiter schlimm, ich stemmte *meine Linke* auf den *Grund des Flußbettes*, *die Rechte* unter *die Nülle*, wo *der Wagenheber* angenippelt werden muß.
WEIßBLECH: *Nülle für den Wagenheber*? Der *Wagenheber* wird an keiner *Nülle* angenippelt sondern an einer Narbe angesetzt, jawohl.
BERGMANN:
Das heißt *Na-be*, Weißblech, Naaa-be.
BROWNING:
Na gut, also dann das. Ich hob *die Kiste* hoch... Gouvi – ich nannte den Gouverneur so unter uns – setzte sich in *die Nuckelpinne*, *gab Gas* und ab ging es *in den Urwald*.
Gouvi hatte *einen Karton besten Kognaks* mitgebracht, hatte *eine Kiste* voll Picknick dabei und wir machten zuerst einmal *ein Biwak*. Das gehört zum Silberlöwenjagd. Gouvi war Engländer und schoß ohne *Zielwasser* auf neun Meilen einer Fliege die Marmelade *vom Rüssel*.

TRANSLATION 6

BROWNING:
Bhí sé chomh dona sin. Chuir mé *mo lámh ar íochtar an chairr*
's *an lámh eile faoin fan belt,* áit *an seaic* leis an gcarr *a chrochadh*.
CIPÍN:
Abair é sin arís.
BROWNING:
Céard?
CIPÍN:
Fan belt leis an carr a *chrochadh*, huh?
Ní chuireann tú an *seac* isteach faoin *fan belt*
mar's isteach faoin *caphub* a chuireann tú é. Nach ea?
LEARAÍ:
Sin é 'n *hub cap*, ' Chipín. *Hub cap*.

BROWNING:
Le leanacht leis an scéal. Chroch mé *é* agus chuaigh... Gobhaí...
Sin é a thugaim ar an gobharnar eadrainn féin.
Léim Gobhaí isteach *sa jeep – thosaigh sé í* – agus siúd linn *isteach faoin tír.*
Bhí *neart le n-ithe 's le n-ól* tugtha leis aige agus bhí *picnic* againn sular thosaigh muid. Teastaíonn béile sula dtéann tú ag fiach leon.
Ba *ghunnadóir* maith é Gobhaí agus bhainfeadh sé *na sciatháin den chuileog le urchar as an ngunna*, dá mba mhaith leis é.

COMMENT 6

The original German script for this scene contains a number of LSP terms relating to car mechanics as well as a few slang words for cars. The technical terms are translated into Irish using anglicisms or LGP words. The first example, *Wagenheber* appears three times and is translated as *sea(i)c*. The word *Seac,* which is a transliteration of the English term *(car) jack,* is to be found in EID (1959) and has by now become an Irish term in its own right. This use of an anglicism is therefore not an example of substitution and is not on a par with the translation strategy used frequently in the Irish version whereby an anglicism is selected although there is a lexicalised word available in the Irish language for the same concept.

However, the term *Nabe* which corresponds to *hubcap* in English is rendered as a borrowing from English despite the fact that EID (1959) offers *caipín moil*, i.e. *little cap of the hub*. CPID (1997) incidentally differs from EID (1959) and suggests the compound *molchaidhp*, i.e. *hub cap/hood* which is not attested in FGB (1977) and must, presumably, be a neologism. The German noun *Nülle* appears to be a neologism created for fun to show once again how Browning tries to draw on specialised terminology and technical details in an effort to lend his stories authority and authenticity. Yet in doing so, he leaves himself open to exposure as a fraud when someone notices an inaccuracy or inconsistency in either his use of language or the alleged facts in

his tall tales. *Nülle* is a neologism masquerading as an LSP term rather than an actual LSP term, but it is normalised in translation by use of yet another anglicism *fan belt*. No Irish entry for this term can be found in EID (1959) though CPID (1997) proposes *beilt tiomána* (lit. belt of driving). This is not to be found in FGB (1977). The Governor got into the jeep and accelerated in the German version: *gab Gas*, i.e. *gave gas* but this LSP phrase is rendered as *Thosaigh sé í*, i.e. *He started her up*. This constitutes a slight semantic shift but, more significantly, also lexical simplification despite the fact that EID (1959) has lexical entries for *to accelerate, accelerator* and *acceleration*.

Browning uses slang words to humorous effect when he refers to the governor's jeep as *die Kiste* and *die Nuckelpinne, i.e. old banger/ jalopy*. The words could be understood as derogatory or affectionate but in either case they clearly communicate much more than their mere propositional meaning, i.e. *car*. In the Irish version, the former is replaced by a pronoun *é*, i.e. *it* and the latter is rendered with another anglicism *jeep*. The slang references are not reproduced and the translations amount to two further examples of lexical simplification.

At the beginning of this scene, as Browning describes his rescue efforts, he contrasts his *Linke* and *Rechte*, i.e. *his left and right (hand)*. In the Irish version, the opposition is between *mo lámh* and *an lámh eile,* i.e. *my hand* and *the other hand* with the same noun *lámh* repeated twice. *Der Grund des Flußbettes*, i.e. *the bottom of the riverbed* becomes simply *ar íochtar an chairr,* i.e. *on the underside of the car*. The phrase *ab in den Urwald*, i.e. *off into the primeval forest* which contains a noun *Urwald*, i.e. *primeval forest* translated previously in the text as *na machairí 's na bánta,* i.e. *the plains and grasslands* is now rendered as *isteach faoin tír*, i.e. *inland/ into the country.* Yet consistency in translation to mirror the lexical repetition of the source text would have been pedagogically wise. Terminological consistency and lexical repetition are of particular importance in translation for children from the point of view of facilitating both listening comprehension and vocabulary acquisition since they improve the comprehensibility of audiovisual texts.

The last section in this scene has fourteen nouns (including compounds) in the German and only nine in the Irish version. This is indicative of the general trend which is beginning to emerge from this comparative analysis of selected sections of the two scripts. Hyponyms are regularly replaced in translation by superordinate words or paraphrased, usually resulting in a reduction in lexical density as happens here. The Irish text does not translate any of the following source text nouns: *Karton*, i.e. *case, Kognak,* i.e. *Cognac, Kiste*, i.e. *box*, *Biwak,* i.e. *camp, Zielwasser,* i.e. *gun sight* or *Rüssel,* i.e. *trunk/nose/snout*. However, the translators do augment the LSP content of this passage by means of compensation: in the last sentence of the Irish passage three nouns, i.e. *gunnadóir*, *urchar* and *gunna* (*marksman*, *bullet* and *gun* respectively), which have no equivalents in the German text are added and this creates a lexical chain as well as echoing references to guns and gunfire in earlier scenes.

SUMMARY 6

German	Irish	Tran. Strategy	Outcome
Wagenheber (car jack)	*seac (car jack)*	*Transfer (Anglicism)*	*Equivalence*
Nülle (neologism)	*fan belt*	*Substitution (Anglicism)*	*Simplification*
Nabe (hubcap)	*hubcap*	*Substitution (Anglicism)*	*Simplification*
Kiste (slang: car)	*é (pronoun)*	*Substitution*	*Simplification/ Normalisation*
Nuckelpinne (slang: car)	*jeep*	*Substitution (Anglicism)*	*Simplification/ Normalisation*
Karton, Kiste, Kognak, Biwak, Zielwasser, Rüssel	*x*	*Omission*	*Simplification*
x	*gunnadóir, urchar, gunna*	*Compensation*	*Compensation*

Terminology of flora and fauna throughout the corpus

Here I will focus on the translation of a set of related terms, i.e. terms relating to flora and fauna, across all six episodes of *Janoschs Traumstunde.*[11] Animals are dealt with first, followed by fish, birds, insects and plants. Since these *Janosch* programmes are primarily intended for children, it will come as no surprise to find that many of the characters, in fact most of the main characters in the stories, are animals and the natural world in its many manifestations features prominently throughout the series. Thus there are a number of examples of names of plants and animals to be found in most of the stories. Each of these words can be categorised as a specialised term, e.g. belonging to the field of botany or zoology, but many of the terms refer to plants or animals which are so common in themselves and which feature so regularly in everyday life and/or children's stories that they also form part of the standard LGP vocabulary of most small children.

Animals

Across the total of twelve stories in six episodes, some sixteen names of different animals occur.[12] The first twelve German terms listed below are ordinary LGP words likely to be known to young children and since the concepts to which they refer are also fully lexicalised in Irish, there is no problem about achieving one-to-one lexical equivalence in translation.

11 Irish has traditionally had a wealth of terminology to describe local flora and fauna. In 1978, *Ainmeacha Plandaí agus Ainmhithe* was published by the Department of Education. This flora and fauna nomenclature contains almost two thousand entries in Irish, English and Latin.

12 The nouns *Goldfisch*, *Silberfisch* and *Goldhamster* which appear in the story *Der Fremde mit Sporen* (see Example 6) are not considered here as their main function is to facilitate wordplay.

ANIMAL SUMMARY 1

German	Irish	Meaning	Tran. Strategy	Outcome
Maus	*luch*	*mouse*	*Transfer*	*Equivalence*
Feldmaus	*luch fhéir*	*field mouse*	*Transfer*	*Equivalence*
Pferd	*capall*	*horse*	*Transfer*	*Equivalence*
Pferdchen	*pónaí*	*pony*	*Transfer*	*Equivalence*
Esel	*asal*	*donkey*	*Transfer*	*Equivalence*
Katze	*cat*	*cat*	*Transfer*	*Equivalence*
Grizzlibär	*grizzlíbéar*	*grizzly bear*	*Transfer*	*Equivalence*
Schwein	*muc*	*pig*	*Transfer*	*Equivalence*
Fuchs	*sionnach*	*fox*	*Transfer*	*Equivalence*
Frosch	*frog*	*frog*	*Transfer*	*Equivalence*
Hase	*giorria*	*hare*	*Transfer*	*Equivalence*
Maulwurf	*caochán*	*mole*	*Transfer*	*Equivalence*

The remaining four terms denoting animals which also occur in the programmes and are listed below, deserve some comment. *Katze* is a feminine noun in German and, strictly speaking, refers to a female cat in German. It was rendered with the standard Irish word, i.e. *cat* in Irish. Cat, although grammatically a masculine noun in Irish, can refer to both sexes rather like the word *cat* in English. The German noun *Kater*, meaning *tomcat*, is translated simply as *cat* at the end of *Der Fremde mit Sporen* so its sex is not explicit in the Irish translation although it is in German.

In the same story, the word *mustang* is used by Jim Browning in one of his tall tales about his exploits in the Wild West. *Mustang*, a word which is of Spanish origin but is now an established loan word in German, English and Irish, refers very specifically to wild horses roaming the prairies of North America and contrasts, for example, with *brumbies*, i.e. the wild horses of the Australian Outback. The deliberate choice of the word *Mustang* in the German text contributes to the formation of a kind of lexical chain linking *Mustang* to other anglicisms (or westernisms) in the text, which also relate to the Wild West, e.g.

Wigwam, Sheriff and contributes to the overall cohesion of the text. It also reinforces the distant geographical setting of Browning's story. In translation, *Mustang* is paraphrased as *caiple fiáine*, i.e. *wild horses*, which results in the loss of a culturally/geographically specific reference as well as weakening the scope for the creation of target text lexical chains similar to those found in the source text. Interestingly, anglicisms such as those mentioned above could actually be transferred directly from German even if they were not already established loanwords in Irish, since contemporary spoken Irish, in particular, accommodates a large number of anglicisms quite happily (de Bhaldraithe 1993: 25).

The case of *Silberlöwe* has been dealt with already in some detail earlier in this chapter. However, it is appropriate to return to it here and point out that the German term, *Silberlöwe*, is not what would be considered a well motivated term since the animal in question, *Felis concolor,* is not in fact a type of lion. Indeed, it is not even a member of the same genus as the lion. It is true that pumas and lions are both members of the cat family, i.e. the family, Felidae. However, while the lion, like the tiger, jaguar and leopard are of the genus, Panthera, the puma together with the bobcat, lynx and mountain cat are all of the genus, Felis. Although *Silberlöwe* enjoys a much lower frequency in German than its synonym *Puma*, it does have the advantage of being relatively semantically transparent compound noun, the constituent parts of which are easily understood, i.e. *Silber/silver, Löwe/lion*. Thus a child can create for itself at least a very rough picture of a puma by imagining a lion, which is silver. On the other hand, if the word *Puma* has not already been encountered, it cannot be understood by young speakers of German.

The writings of the popular German children's adventure author, Karl May (1842–1912),[13] may provide the most likely explanation for the whimsical inclusion of a *Silberlöwe* in *Janoschs Traumstunde*. Although May is most famous for his stories about

13 Easily Germany's most popular children's author, over 80 million copies of Karl May's works have been sold in over 30 languages.

the Wild West, he also set novels in the Orient, one of which is called *Im Reiche des silbernen Löwen* (lit. *In the Realm of the Silver Lion*). So Janosch probably introduced the *Silberlöwe* to have some intertextual fun for the benefit of older children and adult viewers, who can appreciate the allusion. This, incidentally, is a good example of a source text appealing to two audiences on the basis of its denotative and connotative meaning. This suggestion of intertextuality at work seems to be supported by the fact that Jim Browning's Wild West yarns in the first episode in the corpus echo details from the adventures described in Karl May's cowboy novels.

When it first occurs, *Silberlöwe* is paraphrased in translation in a non-specific way as *cat mór fiáin*, i.e. *big wild cat* and subsequently rendered as *leon*, i.e. lion. One possible explanation for this translation strategy is that this is a translation prepared for the screen. The paraphrase *cat mór fiáin* generates an Irish language equivalent with the same number of syllables as the word, *Silberlöwe*, i.e. four and this might be important from the point of view of syllable synchrony. However, syllable synchrony as we have seen is not of paramount importance in the case of animation as details of articulation are not generally as clear as in films involving human actors. Furthermore, syllable synchrony does not appear to be a general priority for the translators as the decision to translate the same German word subsequently as *leon* represents a reduction from four syllables in the source text to two in the target text. Nevertheless, although it may be inappropriate in this instance, the overall translation strategy adopted here in relation to *Silberlöwe*, namely explaining the concept of a lion in a simple manner through paraphrasing the first time it occurs and then using the more concise official term *leon* on the subsequent occasions it arises in the text, is very laudable from a pedagogical[14] point of view. Such a strategy can be used very effectively to explain new concepts verbally, assisted perhaps by

14 With regard to world knowledge, the suggestion that lions roam the plains of North America is hardly pedagogically sound. Pumas, however, are found throughout North and South America.

the visuals in the animation, before the new terminology relating to these concepts is introduced and possibly reinforced later through repetition.

However, in this instance the decision to substitute the co-hyponym *leon* to translate *Silberlöwe* later in the text, after it has been paraphrased once, can be seen as an example of lexical simplification/normalisation which offers no obvious pedagogical benefit. A puma becomes a lion not because the minority language has not yet developed or borrowed the necessary terminology to refer to the less familiar of the two concepts, namely puma, but rather because the translators adopt a normalising or domesticating strategy (Venuti 1995: 16–17) in respect of anything that is a little out of the ordinary. As stated earlier, it appears that the fact that a lion is likely to be more familiar than a puma to young Irish children seems to be the reason for the puma becoming a lion in translation despite the fact that the original scriptwriter/editor could have used precisely the same logic to avoid selecting the word *Silberlöwe* in the source text, but did not.

The choice of *leon* instead of *puma* in Irish also represents normalisation of another kind. Curiously, as mentioned earlier, the animal depicted in the animation is actually a lion and not a puma. So the original German text is deliberately at odds with the original visual representation. One can only speculate as to the significance of this curious discrepancy in the source language between visual and textual detail. Incongruity is often a key element in humour and this example of visual/verbal incongruity may be intended to cause amusement to those who can recognise the discrepancy between text and image. This possibility relates again to the issues of dual appeal and ambivalent texts in writing for children discussed in Chapter Four, i.e. the need for children's texts to appeal to a number of different age groups and provide challenges on a variety of levels.

ANIMAL SUMMARY 2

German	Irish	Tran. Strategy	Outcome
Kater (tomcat)	*cat mór (a big cat)*	*Paraphrase*	*Simplification*
Mustangs	*caiple fiáine (wild horses)*	*Paraphrase*	*Simplification/ Normalisation*
Silberlöwe 1 (puma)	*cat mór fiáin (a big wild cat)*	*Paraphrase*	*Simplification*
Silberlöwe 2	*leon (lion)*	*Substitution of co-hyponym*	*Simplification/ Normalisation*

Birds

Three of the stories in *Janoschs Traumstunde* have a bird as a central character: the raven appears in both *Der Rabe Josef* (lit. Joseph the Raven) and *Das Geheimnis des Herrn Schmidt* (lit. Mr. Schmidt's Secret) while a wooden duck features prominently in *Der Tigerente und der Frosch* (lit. The Tigerduck [sic] and the Frog). Eight terms in all referring to specific types of birds occur in the stories in addition to the superordinate term *Vogel*, i.e. bird, translated literally as *éan*. Thus the complete source text list of terms referring to birds comprises *Vogel, Möwe, Kanari, Ente,*[15] *Falke, Rabe, Sperber, Fischadler* and *Taube*, i.e. *bird, seagull, canary, duck, falcon, raven, sparrowhawk, sea eagle* and *dove*. The first three of these terms can be considered part of LGP vocabulary and as such would be likely to form part of a young child's word store. They are translated from German using the corresponding Irish ornithological terminology as follows:

15 The term *Ente,* i.e. *duck* appears in two source text contexts. In the first, it is the head of the original compound noun *Tigerente* i.e. (*tiger) duck* and is translated literally into Irish as (*tíogar) lacha* i.e. (tiger) duck. In the second, it appears in a metaphorical reference *lahm wie eine Ente,* i.e. *lame like a duck* and is paraphrased in a way that omits any ornithological reference.

BIRD SUMMARY 1

German	Irish	Lit. Meaning	Tran. Strategy	Outcome
Vogel	*éan*	*bird*	*Transfer*	*Equivalence*
Möwe	*faoileán*	*sea gull*	*Transfer*	*Equivalence*
Kanari	*canáirí*	*canary*	*Transfer*	*Equivalence*
Ente	*lacha*	*duck*	*Transfer*	*Equivalence*

The remaining six terms refer to the *Rabe*, *Falke*, *Sperber*, *Fischadler*, *Ente* and *Taube*, i.e. *the raven, hawk, sparrowhawk, sea eagle, duck* and *dove* respectively. Most of these terms, which all appear in the story, *Der Rabe Josef*, refer to less common birds and consequently, do not have as high a frequency in either German or Irish as the more basic terms discussed above, which can be considered part of LGP. The fact that there is a concentration of references to birds in the story *Josef der Rabe* is very significant on a textual level since the story is told very much from the perspective of Josef, a raven. While the term *Rabe* is used for its propositional meaning, the other textual references to birds are metaphorical and their use suggests points of comparisons between these birds and the hero of the story, Josef the raven. However, in translation most of the metaphorical references are paraphrased in such a way as to omit any avian reference in the target text. The terms concerned appear in the following phrases:

Metaphorical references to birds in *Josef der Rabe*

German	Meaning	Irish	Meaning
die schwärzsten [...] sind die *Raben*	the blackest [...] are the *ravens*	'sé an t-éan is duibhe ná an *préachán*	the blackest bird is the *crow*
(er) flog die *Sperber*-(kapriole)	he flew the *sparrowhawk* capriole	d'eitil sé bolg in airde	he flew belly up
er flog den Stürzflug für *Falken*	he flew the nosedive for *falcons*	d'eitil sé Ruathar an *tSeabhaic*	he flew the attack of the *hawk*
wie die *Fischadler* auf den Klippen	like the *sea eagles* on the cliffs	mar a bheadh gruaig ceoltóra	like a musician's hair
er hatte die Seele einer weissen *Taube*	he had the soul of a white *dove*	mar go bhfuil seisean díreach ar a mhalairt	because he is the exact opposite
macht den besten Flug-künstler lahm wie eine *Ente*	makes the best aviator lame like a *duck*	ní chuidíonn troid [...] le gaisce go hard sa spéir	fighting doesn't help you showing off high in the sky

Thus it can be seen that the lexical chain of ornithological reference, which is created in the original by the inclusion of these terms, is greatly reduced in the translated version where the sense of four of these six idiomatic expressions is rendered without any reference whatsoever to birds. This is not to find fault with any particular translation decision listed above *per se* but rather to point out the cumulative effect on related terminology within this story of the use of paraphrase as a translation strategy. Moreover, the effects of paraphrase in translation in terms of a reduction in vocabulary range could have been countered had the

strategy of compensation been used elsewhere in the text.[16] Using this translation technique, it would be quite possible, for example, to incorporate into the translated text some idiomatic expressions or metaphorical language such as proverbs or similes containing references to specific birds so as to compensate at a textual level for the lexical loss in specific places. One example is *Ní féidir leis an ngobadán an dá thrá a fhreastal* which means literally: *The sandpiper (bird) cannot be on two beaches at the same time* and is an approximate equivalent of the saying, i.e. *One cannot do two things at once*. Such a strategy could have improved the potential for the target text to assist young viewers in extending their vocabulary range and understanding of metaphorical language in much the same way that the source text must surely have done for its primary audience.

BIRD SUMMARY 2

German	Irish	Tran. Strategy	Outcome
Rabe (raven)	*préachán (crow)*	*Superordinate*[17] *(LSP>LGP)*	*Simplification*
Sperber (sparrowhawk)	*no ref. to bird*	*Paraphrase*	*Simplification*
Falke (falcon)	*seabhac (hawk)*	*Co-hyponym*[18] *(LSP>LGP)*	*Simplification*
Fischadler (sea eagle)	*no ref. to bird*	*Paraphrase*	*Simplification*
Taube (dove)	*no ref. to bird*	*Paraphrase*	*Simplification*
Ente (duck)	*no ref. to bird*	*Paraphrase*	*Simplification*

16 Gottlieb (1997a: 309–338) describes in detail ways of translating idioms when subtitling, where the time/space constraints are similar to dubbing.

17 The raven is a member of the crow family, Corvidae. The equivalent Irish term is *fiach dubh.* The term *préachán,* i.e. crow is therefore superordinate to *Rabe.*

18 Falcons belong to the family Falconidae, while hawks belong to Accipitridae. But since both are of the same order, Falconiformes, they are co-hyponyms.

Fish

A fish is mentioned in only one story, *Der Rabe Josef*. The fish in question is *Hecht,* known in English as *pike*, a fish commonly found in the lakes of both Germany and Ireland. In translation, the term is simplified by rendering it by means of the non-specific superordinate term *iasc*, i.e. *fish,* on the two occasions it occurs although it has long been known as both *liús*, from its Latin name *luce,* and *gialliasc, i.e. jaw fish* in Irish. It is worth noting that the illustration of the fish in the animation film, while somewhat simplistic, does show a fish clearly resembling a pike, i.e. it has an elongated body with a snout-like mouth and dorsal and anal fins. This graphic detail available on screen could have been exploited for pedagogical purposes to illustrate and reinforce the use in the translated text of one of the Irish terms for this specific fish.

FISH SUMMARY

German	Irish	Tran. Strategy	Outcome
Hecht (pike)	*iasc (fish)*	*Superordinate (LSP>LGP)*	*Simplification*

Insects

Only five types of insects are named in the stories under review. They are *Fliege*, *Schmetterling*, *Maikäfer*, *Laus* and *Hummel,* i.e. *fly*, *butterfly*, *cockchafer*, *louse* and *bumble bee.* Where *Fliege* occurs, it is translated literally as *cuileog,* i.e. *fly* except in the case of the phrase where it occurs together with *Schmetterling, i.e. butterfly*, when neither is translated at all. The insects referred to here, with the possible exception of *Maikäfer,* could hardly be considered rare or exotic in either the German or Irish context and would be likely to be equally familiar to young speakers of Irish and German. Nevertheless, the translators not only omitted to translate *Fliege* and *Schmetterling*, but also chose to substitute *beach*, i.e. *bee* for *Maikäfer* and substituted different unrelated

images in the case of *Laus* and *Hummel.*[19] Since the corresponding Irish terms for each insect named, i.e. *cuileog*, *féileacán*, *cearnamhán, dreancaid* and *bumbóg* are all fully lexicalised,[20] the translators certainly had the option of translating the first two or three of the German references to insects directly using the corresponding target language terms. The decision to do otherwise seems strange particularly in relation to the butterfly and bumble bee, which are so often a source of delight and fascination for young children and which regularly feature in their story and picture books.

INSECT SUMMARY

German	Irish	Tran. Strategy	Outcome
Fliege (fly)	*cuileog (fly)*	*Transfer*	*Equivalence*
Fliege und Schmetterling (fly and butterfly)	*x*	*Omission*	*Simplification*
Maikäfer (cockchafer)	*beach (bee)*	*Co-hyponym (more common)*	*Simplification*
Laus (louse)	*see footnote 4*		
Hummel (bumble bee)	*see footnote 4*		

Flora

A number of types and parts of plants are referred to in the various stories, which make up the six *Janosch* episodes under scrutiny here. Most of them are fairly common and could be

19 Both terms, *Laus* and *Hummel,* are used in metaphorical contexts so one would not necessarily expect the same images to be reproduced in translation. However, the point regarding the potential for the use of compensation made above also applies here.

20 The Irish, English and Latin terms describing each of these five insects are all to be found in *Ainmneacha Plandaí agus Ainmhithe* (1978).

considered household names, e.g. *Brennessel, i.e. nettle*. As is the pattern in the translations under investigation, these LGP words are translated directly into Irish. However, as soon as the words relating to plants move away from LGP towards LSP terminology, the translation strategy changes. The story *Der Kanarienvogelfederbaum*, (lit. The Canary Feather Tree), is part of the *Froschschnuddel* episode. In it, Schnuddel is trying his hand at gardening. He plants an apple pip (*Apfelkern/síol úll)* from which he expects an apple tree (*Apfelbaum/crann mór úll)* to grow. The meaning of the Irish version is literally *a big apple tree*, the addition of the adjective *mór* being justified perhaps because it increases the syllable count in the translation in the interests of syllable synchrony so as to match that of *Apfelbaum* better.

However, having translated *Apfelkern* and *Apfelbaum* literally, it is surprising to notice that the related couplet, *Pflaumenkern* and *Pflaumenbaum,* are subsequently translated as *síol piorra*, i.e. *pear pip* and *crann piorra,* i.e. *pear tree* respectively, although the word *pluma*, i.e. *plum*, as opposed to *piorra*, i.e. *pear*, could just as easily have been selected. Considerations of lip and/or syllable synchrony are not any better served by the translators' decision here since both options begin with the labial *p* and the syllable count for *pluma* and *piorra* is the same. It seems likely, rather, looking at this example in the context of the general translation trends emerging in this analysis of the translation of lexis that this is another case of the tendency towards lexical simplification found all through the translations.

Since *poirra* and *pluma* are co-hyponyms, it may not be obvious that the substitution of *pear* for *plum* can represent a kind of lexical simplification. However, it can be argued that simplification has occurred in translation because pears are a more common fruit in Ireland than plums, for climatological reasons. Consequently, *piorra* has a higher frequency in Irish. This tendency to insert lexical items with different propositional meanings into the target text, rather than using well established target language equivalents, just because the latter do not have a very high frequency is evidence, at least on the basis of *Janoschs Traumstunde,* that domesticating, simplifying strategies are

preferred when adapting a foreign language audiovisual text for an Irish language children's audience.

Later in the same story, Schnuddel plants a button in the earth and enthusiastically observes the growth of a plant *mit langen Halmen, i.e. with long blades*. It is later pronounced by the gardener to be nothing more than a *Grashalm*, i.e. *a blade of grass*. In the former instance, *mit langen Halmen* is not translated at all and other unrelated information is substituted instead, i.e. *where he had sown the button*. Furthermore, *Grashalm* is translated by omitting the reference to *blade* and using the less specific term *féar*, i.e. *grass*[21] although *brobh féir* or *seamaide féir* are two well established, fully lexicalised translation possibilities in Irish for *blade of grass*.

In addition to *Apfelkern* and *Pflaumenkern*, two other compound nouns with the Head *kern* appear in the German scripts: *Sonnenblumenkern*, i.e. *sunflower seed* and *Mandelkerne*, i.e. *almonds*. The former is translated as *síol bláthanna*, i.e. *flower seed,* which is a superordinate term. The latter term *Mandelkerne* appears in the story, *Wie man einen Riesen foppt*, (lit. How to Trick a Giant).[22] In that story, the main character, Kaspermütze, imagines treating himself to something tasty. He comes up with his favourite *Bananamilch mit Mandelkernen*, lit. *banana milk(shake) with almond (kernel)s*. The whole phrase is rendered in Irish as *cáca mór milis,* i.e. *a big sweet cake.* This represents a highly normalised translation of the creative source text unit. Kaspermütze's idea of a culinary treat is striking for its high degree of originality and detail. There is no suggestion that he would be satisfied with any flavour other than banana, while the almonds seem to be of crucial importance rather than an optional extra. This is clearly what Kaspermütze personally considers an idiosyncratic treat for himself as opposed to a typical example of what the average German child would be likely to specify in similar circumstances.

21 Cruse (1986: 77) uses the term *substance-particle relations* to describe the relations expressed by phrases such as *grain of salt* or *blade of grass*.

22 This story is the second half of episode 6 in the corpus.

The Irish translation solution, on the other hand, is conventional rather than creative. Thus, to translate the highly original *Bananamilch mit Mandelkernen* as *cáca mór milis* is to resort to normalisation to the point of cliché. This particular example of a domesticating translation strategy at work is probably more influenced by the norms governing conservative Irish school textbooks, which persisted for many years in presenting *cáca mór milis* as the stereotypical children's treat, than by the changing realities of contemporary Irish children's culinary preferences.

PLANT SUMMARY

German	Irish	Tran. Strategy	Outcome
Blume (flower)	*bláth (flower)*	*Transfer*	*Equivalence*
Brennessel (nettle)	*neantóg (nettle)*	*Transfer*	*Equivalence*
Unkraut (weeds)	*fiaile (weeds)*	*Transfer*	*Equivalence*
Blätter (leaves)	*duilleoga (leaves)*	*Transfer*	*Equivalence*
Pilze (mushrooms)	*muisiriúin (mushrooms)*	*Transfer*	*Equivalence*
Mohrrübe (carrot)	*meacan (carrot)*	*Transfer*	*Equivalence*
Apfelkern (apple pip)	*síol úll (apple pip)*	*Transfer*	*Equivalence*
Apfelbaum (apple tree)	*crann mór úll (big apple tree)*	*Transfer/ Explication*	*Simplification*
Pflaumenkern (plum stone)	*síol piorra (pear pip)*	*Co-hyponym*	*Simplification/ Normalisation*
Pflaumenbaum (plum tree)	*crann piorra (pear tree)*	*Co-hyponym*	*Simplification/ Normalisation*

mit langen Halmen (with long blades)	*san áit a chuir sé an cnaipe (where he had sown the button)*	*Paraphrase*	*Simplification*
Grashalm (blade of grass)	*féar (grass)*	*Omission (Loss of specificity)*	*Simplification*
Sonnen-blumenkern (sunflower seed)	*síol bláthanna (flower seeds)*	*Superordinate (LSP>LGP)*	*Simplification*
Bananamilch mit Mandelkernen (banana milk with almonds)	*cáca mór milis (a big sweet cake)*	*Paraphrase (Neologism> cliché)*	*Simplification/ Normalisation*
Vogelmiere (chickweed)	*praiseach bhuí (charlock)*	*Co-hyponym*	*Simplification/ Normalisation*

Legal/administrative terminology in Der Quasselkasper ist reich

In this section, the analysis will focus on examples of specialised terms relating mainly to the legal/administrative field which can be found in the story *Der Quasselkasper ist reich*. As was explained in Chapter One on Irish as a Minority Language, the Irish language is reasonably well provided for in respect of terminology relating to legal matters due mainly to the efforts of Rannóg an Aistriúcháin (Ó Ruairc 1997: 91). Nevertheless, it is clear that Irish as a minority language could not hope to have anything comparable to the vast store of legal terminology which exists in the German language. But, since court cases can be and sometimes are conducted in Irish, there is no obvious lexical basis for the failure to reproduce the same degree of LSP terminology in the excerpts from the Irish translation cited below.

In this story, Quasselkasper bids farewell to his old friend and guardian, Taff, leaves the circus and sets off to seek his fortune with just a few coins in his possession. On his travels, he meets up with two unreliable characters, a fox and a cat, who in due course steal his money and abscond. Quasselkasper makes his way to the nearest police station to report the theft. The police officer is officious in the extreme and interrogates Quasselkasper rather than pursuing the suspects. Quasselkasper's honest answers are misunderstood and incur the policeman's wrath and Quasselkasper ends up in custody. He is subsequently brought before a judge who also extremely impatient, does not really listen properly and therefore misinterprets Quasselkasper's evidence and sends him to jail as a result.

The main character's encounters with the law, in the person of the police officer and judge, result in exchanges which contain many examples and some parodies of the kind of highly specialised terminology used by experts in a particular field, in this case the legal/judicial field. The type of LSP terms which are typical of legal language are likely to be unfamiliar to young children, regardless of their nationality or first language. This is because the terms relate to concepts and contexts, which rarely, if ever, impinge on the restricted domains in which children spend most of their time, e.g. the domains of the home and school. Clearly, then, the primary aim served by the inclusion of such a density of highly technical terms in the source text cannot be comprehensibility. On the contrary, the author must surely recognise that these terms will pose quite a linguistic challenge to the primary target audience.

Possible motivations for the use of the high register and sophisticated LSP terminology which characterise sections of this story may include the wish, often associated with works for children, to lend a note of authenticity to the proceedings, to expand the audience's world knowledge, to stretch their linguistic horizons and to provide amusement through the introduction of linguistic novelties. The creative decision that underlies this conscious and deliberate use of specialised language in the original German texts for children runs the risk of clashing with

the constraint of comprehensibility. Yet in the source text the two are carefully balanced in such a way that one might say that the basic plot is driven by LGP language while the use of LSP provides linguistic ornamentation. However, this balance is clearly not echoed in the translated versions as can be seen from the examples cited below.

EXCERPT 7

QUASSELKASPER: Ich heiße Quasselkasper.
POLIZIST: Na also. Warum geben Sie erst einen falschen Namen an, Sie?
Sie wissen wohl nicht was das *nach Paragraph 11* bedeutet, was? Auf jeden Fall schon einmal *'Versuchte Täuschung'*.
MODERATOR: Er trug *'Versuchte Täuschung der Behörden'* ein.
POLIZIST: Also, Sie heißen Quassel. Vorname Kasper. *Beruf*?
QUASSELKASPER: Wasserburger.
POLIZIST: Geboren wo?
QUASSELKASPER: Wasserburg.
POLIZIST: *Berufstätig*?
QUASSELKASPER: Zur Zeit nicht.
POLIZIST: Also, *zweites Vergehen nach Paragraph 19*. Herumstreicherei und wahrscheinlich auch *ohne festen Wohnsitz*. Wer *ohne festen Wohnsitz* ist, kann *festgenommen* werden. Worum handelt es sich?
QUASSELKASPER: *Diebstahl*. Und zwar hatte ich Geld.
POLIZIST: Ah! Sie ... hatten ... Geld? Woher bitte?
QUASSELKASPER: Von meinem Vater.
POLIZIST: Namen des Vaters, wo geboren, wann? *Beruf*, genaue Anschrift und mit wem verheiratet?
QUASSELKASPER: Taff. Zirkus Makaroni. Alt.
POLIZIST: Ist das alles? Mehr wollen Sie angeblich nicht über ihren eigenen Vater wissen? *Untersuchungshaft*, bis die Angaben überprüft sind. *Abführen*.

TRANSLATION 7

CLABAIRE GRINN: Mise an Clabaire Grinn.
GARDA: Bhuel anois. Cén fáth ar thúg tú ainm bréige dom? Ha. Is dócha nach dtuigeann tú go dté atá in *alt a dhó den dlí*. Thriail tú ar chor ar bith *Garda a chur amú*.
SCÉALAÍ: Agus lena pheann scríobh sé '*inseacht bréaga dona Gardaí'*.
GARDA: Anois. 'Sé 'n t-ainm 'tá ort... Clabaire Grinn. Hm… Ceart?
CLABAIRE GRINN: Tá sin ceart.
GARDA: Cár rugadh thú?
CLABAIRE GRINN: I Wasserburg.
GARDA: Fostaitheoir?
CLABAIRE GRINN: Níl mé ag obair.
GARDA: Anois tá sin *in éadán an dlí- Alt a Trí. Fánaíocht gan obair* agus is dócha nach bhfuil cónaí ort áit ar bith. Ha, Ha. An té atá gan áit chónaithe is ceart é a chur *i bpríosún*. Bhuel anois go dté scéal atá agatsa?
CLABAIRE GRINN: Thóg siad airgead uaim.
GARDA: Aha, bhí airgead agat! Uhm. Cá bhfuair tú é?
CLABAIRE GRINN: Thug m'athair dom é.
GARDA: Cén t-ainm atá air? Cár rugadh é? Aois? Seoladh díreach? Cé air a bhfuil sé pósta?
CLABAIRE GRINN: Taff. Sorcas Macaroni. Ard.
GARDA: An sin é an méid? 'Sé an fear seo d'athair agus sin a bhfuil fhios agat fá dtaobh de? Déanfar fiosrúchán ach *cuirigí sa bpríosún* go fóill é. *Anois!*

COMMENT 7

In the section of the German original reproduced above, certain LSP terminology is introduced and then repeated later in the same passage:
nach Paragraph 11, nach Paragraph 19; Versuchte Täuschung, Versuchte Täuschung der Behörden; Beruf, berufstätig, Beruf; ohne festen Wohnsitz x2

German	Lit. Meaning
nach Paragraph 11	*according to Paragraph 11*
nach Paragraph 19	*according to Paragraph 3*
Versuchte Täuschung	*attempt to defraud*
Versuchte Täuschung der Behörden	*attempt to defraud in relation to the authorities*
berufstätig	*professionally employed*
Beruf x2	*profession*
ohne festen Wohnsitz x2	*no fixed abode x 2*

The repetition of morphologically linked words and phrases such as these in the source text creates lexical chains which have an important cohesive function on a textual level, as has been explained above. Furthermore, since the words concerned are LSP terminology and, as such, are likely to represent new vocabulary for young viewers, this lexical repetition could potentially serve an important pedagogical function in terms of assisting new vocabulary acquisition through repeated exposure. Children are fascinated by many aspects of the adult world and often explore facets of it through play, where they act out different roles and situations and experiment with the kind of language associated with these roles and situations. The initial inclusion and subsequent repetition of such LSP terminology relating to legal matters in the German original potentially provides young viewers with the linguistic and dramatic stimulus to start to play games set in the unfamiliar environment of the police station and the courtroom. As they watch the programme and are exposed to the images and new words and phrases typical of these domains, they learn about new aspects of the world beyond the home and school and, probably without any conscious effort, acquire elements of the specialised terminology necessary to operate in them.

Whatever the motivation of the translators in resorting to widespread lexical simplification in the target text, one of the effects of the adoption of this strategy is to present the young Irish audience with a text which is linguistically simplified rather

than challenging in the way that the original is for their German-speaking counterparts. As discussed in Chapter Four on Translating for Children, condescension towards their target audience in relation to plot development or language use is something against which writers for children must be constantly on their guard. This is due to the fact that authors and translators, i.e. adults, do not belong to the same group as their target audience, i.e. children, and as a result the temptation to 'talk down' can be quite considerable. The translated text is also far less humorous because it does not reproduce the caricature, shifts in style and linguistic misunderstandings present in the original.

Of course in the Irish translation, basic lexical chains also exist within the text but more complex ones involving specialised terms and/or new vocabulary such as are found in the German text are in short supply. There are approximately the same number of cases of lexical reinforcement through repetition in both the source and target text versions of Example 1 in Section 3 above but the language used in the Irish target text tends much more towards LGP:

> *in alt a dó den dlí, in éadán an dlí -alt a trí; cár rugadh thú?, cár rugadh é?; i bpríosún, sa bpríosún; Garda a chur amú, inseacht bréaga dona Gardaí.*

Irish	**Lit. meaning**
in alt a dó den dlí	*in Paragraph 2 of the law*
in éadán an dlí – alt a trí	*against the law – Paragraph 3*
cár rugadh thú?	*where were you born?*
cár rugadh é?;	*where were you born?*
i bpríosún	*into prison*
sa bpríosún	*into prison*
Garda a chur amú	*mislead a policeman*
inseacht bréaga dona Gardaí	*telling lies to the police*

Incidentally, the use of lexical simplification is carried to extraordinary lengths with even the numbers relating to sections of pieces of legislation being reduced to single figures, e.g. in

Example 1, the number 11 in German is changed to 2 in Irish, 19 is changed to 3 and in Example 2, the numbers 219 and 241 become 19 and 20 respectively.

Of the Irish examples cited above, only the first two contain target language LSP vocabulary which might be new to a young viewer, e.g. *in alt a dó den dlí, in éadán an dlí – alt a trí.* The more common tendency displayed in the translation is to paraphrase most of the source text terminology and where an LSP term is repeated within the original source text, the second instance is paraphrased in an entirely new way in translation so that the lexical repetition of the original text is not effectively reproduced in the translation nor are comparable new target language lexical links created elsewhere in the text through compensation. A good example of this phenomenon is provided by the translation of the legal term *'Versuchte Täuschung'*, i.e. *attempt to defraud* which is rendered once in the paraphrased form *'Thriail tú Garda a chur amú'*, i.e. *You tried to mislead a policeman*. It is repeated on a second occasion where the German text adds *'...der Behörden', i.e. the authorities.* This time in translation it becomes *'inseacht bréaga dona Gardaí'*, i.e. *telling lies to the police*. No equivalent for the legal term *Vergehen*, i.e. *offence* is offered in translation although the Irish equivalent *cóir* is fully lexicalised and *ohne festen Wohnsitz*, i.e. *no fixed abode* and *Untersuchungshaft,* i.e. *remand* are both paraphrased, the former in two different ways in the same text.

It is clear that one cannot expect that the same LSP concept will necessarily find expression in both German and Irish in the form of a single term, i.e. a word or phrase and there will always be cases where a concept which has been lexicalised in one language may not have not been lexicalised in another and therefore no direct lexical equivalence is available for the purposes of translation.[23] As a consequence, it would not be appropriate to find fault with paraphrase as a translation strategy in itself; indeed there are occasions when it can prove invaluable

23 Ó Sé (1991: 44–45) has noted that Irish, like French, often tends to translate nominalised English specialised terminology using phrasal units.

(Baker 1992: 37–40). But when we look at a selection of extracts from the corpus under investigation and find, as we do repeatedly in the examples discussed here, that paraphrase is used with great regularity as soon as vocabulary shifts from LGP to LSP, it becomes obvious that the consistent adoption of this strategy within the translation must be motivated by some factor other than a need to fill lexical gaps in the target language. In the case of *Janoschs Traumstunde*, the Irish translators seem very reluctant to use the full terminological resources of the target language to attempt to match the lexical complexity of the source text.

In conclusion, it is important to point out that although the translators have largely eschewed the potential for the use of existing specialised terminology in the Irish version, some of the kinds of lexical challenges posed for young viewers by the use of LSP in the German original are reproduced in a parallel form by the decision to assign some features of the Ulster dialect of Irish to the Garda's idiolect in the target text. His accent and some of his choices with regard to grammatical words are marked with respect to dialect and as these marked features are geographically determined, exposure to them may have an effect on the majority of target language viewers similar to that of LSP terms on source language viewers, e.g. it may broaden their linguistic horizons, extend their vocabulary and also entertain, due to novelty value. Examples of language marked as to dialect used by the policeman include the phrases *go dté*, i.e. *what* and *fá dtaobh de*, i.e. *about* which are indicative of Ulster Irish whereas most schoolchildren would be used to the standard, regionally unmarked alternatives *céard* and *faoi,* respectively.

LEGAL LSP SUMMARY 1

German	**Lit. meaning**	**Irish**	**Lit. Meaning**	**Tran. Strategy**	**Outcome**
nach Paragraph 11	*according to Paragraph 11*	*in alt a dó den dlí*	*In Paragraph 2 of the law*	*Explication*	*Simpl.*
zweites Vergehen nach Paragraph 19	*second offence according to Paragraph 19*	*in éadan an dlí – alt a trí*	*against the law – Section 3*	*Paraphrase*	*Simpl.*
Versuchte Täuschung	*attempt to defraud*	*Garda a chur amú*	*mislead a policeman*	*LGP paraphrase*	*Simpl.*
Versuchte Täuschung der Behörden	*attempt to defraud the authorities*	*inseacht bréaga dona Gardaí*	*telling lies to the police*	*LGP paraphrase*	*Simpl.*
Beruf	*profession*	*ceart?*	*right?*	*substitution*	*Simpl.*
Beruf	*profession*	*O*	*O*	*Omission*	*Simpl.*
ohne festen Wohnsitz 1	*no fixed abode*	*nach bhfuil conaí ort áit ar bith*	*you don't live anywhere*	*LGP paraphrase*	*Simpl.*
ohne festen Wohnsitz 2	*no fixed abode*	*gan áit chónaithe*	*without a place to live*	*LGP paraphrase*	*Simpl.*
festgenommen	*arrested*	*é a chur i bpriosún*	*put him in prison*	*LGP paraphrase*	*Simpl.*
Diebstahl	*theft*	*thóg siad airgead uaim*	*they took money from me*	*LGP paraphrase*	*Simpl.*
Untersuchungshaft	*remand*	*sa bpriosún*	*into prison*	*LGP paraphrase*	*Simpl.*
Abführen!	*Take him away!*	*Anois!*	*Now!*	*Explication*	*Simpl.*

EXCERPT 8

RICHTER: *Der Beklagte* hat es *gestanden*. Da die Höhe der Summe nicht nachzuweisen ist, wird sie geschätzt. Und zwar, sagen wir drei Millionen. Sie haben keine *Erbschafts-, Schenkungs-, Vermögensabgabe-, Kapital- und kapitalen Ertragssteuern* gezahlt. Das macht insgesamt zweiundzwanzig *Vergehen* gegen die *Paragraphen 219 bis 241*, das ergibt eine *Haftstrafe* von etlichen Jahren. *Abführen*! Der nächste *Fall*...

TRANSLATION 8

BREITHEAMH: Mar sin tá tú *ciontach.* Thóg tú an t-airgead. Suim an-mhór ach ní fios cé mhéid... ah bhuel, déarfaidh muid milliún punt. Níor íoc tú *cáin ioncaim* ná *cáin chaipitil* faoi mar ba cheart duit. Ach cén mhaith 'bheith ag caint faoi sin anois? Fán anois go bhfeicim anseo. Tá sé agam. Bhris tú *an dlí faoi alt 19 agus faoi alt 20* is cuirfear *sa bpríosún* thú ar feadh tamall mór fada. Caith *sa bpríosún* é.

COMMENT 8

This short passage in the original German contains several specialised legal terms, e.g. *der Beklagte,* i.e. *the accused*; *bestehen,* i.e. *to admit; nachweisen*, i.e. *to prove; Vergehen,* i.e. *offence; Paragraph,* i.e. *Paragraph; Haftstrafe*, i.e. *imprisonment; Fall*, i.e. *case;* as well as terms relating to types of taxation: *Erbschafts-, Schenkungs-, Vermögensabgabe-, Kapital- und kapitalen Ertragssteuern.* The terms *Vergehen* and *Paragraph* were already introduced in Example 1 and the morpheme, which forms the Modifier in the compound *Haftstrafe,* also appears in Example 1 as the Head in the compound *Untersuchungshaft.* In the Irish translation, the only new LSP terms are the adjective *ciontach*, i.e. *guilty*, which is used as a translation for *Beklagte*, i.e. *the accused* and the two terms relating to taxation *cáin ioncaim* and *cáin chaipitil*, i.e. income tax and capital tax. The other Irish LSP terms: *dlí, alt* and *príosún*, i.e. *law, paragraph, prison* are merely

repetitions of vocabulary that featured in Example 1. The judge's final words at the end of Example 2: *'Das ergibt eine Haftstrafe von etlichen Jahren. Abführen! Der nächste Fall...'* echo those of the policeman at the end of Example 1, when Quasselkasper is told he will be held on remand: *'Untersuchungshaft, bis die Angaben überprüft sind. Abführen!'*. There is a measure of repetition in the Irish text as well but it is at the level of LGP, e.g. in Example 1 *...cuirigí sa bpríosún go fóill é* followed by *...cuirfear sa bpríosún thú ar feadh tamall mór fada. Caith sa bpríosún é* in Example 2. However, overall the translation of this excerpt contains less than half the number of LSP terms in the original and is linguistically far less demanding for children than the original as the table below illustrates.

LEGAL LSP SUMMARY 2

German	Meaning	Irish	Meaning	Strategy	Outcome
Der Beklagte hat es gestanden	*The accused has admitted it*	*Mar sin tá tú ciontach*	*So you are guilty*	*LGP paraphrase*	*Simpl.*
Vergehen	*offence*	*Bhris tú an dlí*	*You broke the law*	*LGP paraphrase*	*Simpl.*
gegen die Paragraphen 219 bis 241	*contravening Paragraphs 219 to 241*	*in aghaidh an dlí faoi alt 19 agus alt 20*	*Against the law under Paragraph 19 & 20*	*paraphrase*	*Simpl.*
Haftstrafe	*remand*	*cuirfear sa bpríosún thú*	*You will be put in prison*	*LGP paraphrase*	*Simpl.*
Abführen! Der nächste Fall	*Take him away! The next case...*	*Caith sa bpríosún é*	*Throw him in prison*	*LGP paraphrase*	*Simpl.*

Not included above is the very significant reduction of the five highly complex source text terms relating to taxation in the

target text. The lengthy string of compound nouns, *Erbschafts-, Schenkungs-, Vermögensabgabe-, Kapital- und kapitalen Ertragssteuern, i.e. inheritance, gift, property, capital and capital profits taxes* (approx.) can be taken at face value or understood, like many references in writings for children, at the level of parody. The parody in this case relates to (a) the German language's ability to generate compounds freely and the tendency of German officials to indulge in their extensive use, often to the point of bewilderment of the addressee, and (b) the complexity of taxation legislation. The way in which such a reference is understood and interpreted depends, like most references in writings for children, on the age of the particular audience. The string of compounds may appeal to young children in much the same way as a tongue-twister while the element of parody referred to here will appeal primarily to adults viewing the programme. The source text string is both simplified and normalised in translation with the target text string reduced to just two terms, both of them standard terminology: *cáin ioncaim* and *cáin chaipitil*, i.e. income and capital tax.

Clearly, some of the language used in the German text is highly sophisticated and not likely to form part of the average young child's passive, not to mention active, vocabulary. The above example provides the best evidence perhaps in the entire corpus to support the view that the original source text writer did not limit his linguistic choices so that they would correspond more or less to the type and range of language he might reasonably expect his target audience to be comfortable and familiar with. The essential plot is conveyed with language that is straightforward and uncomplicated but the detail of the plot allows ample scope for linguistic flourishes of various kinds that have the potential to teach, challenge and delight the children at whom it is aimed.

It is to be expected that the structure and mechanics of the Irish language as a Celtic, as opposed to Germanic, language as well as its status as a minority language should exert an influence on the range of choices available to translators working from a German text, particularly in relation to the treatment of LSP

terms, and result in the adoption of some simplifying strategies, for example to deal with the translation of such terms as *Parabol-antennen*. However, the argument that there was no option but to keep the translation simple at a lexical level because the primary target audience comprises children is not supported by the evidence provided by the source text in relation to linguistic choices made by the original writer, who also had a primary audience of children in mind.

Conclusion

The main aim of this book, as stated in the Introduction, has been to investigate the effect of the interplay of a number of constraints on the Irish dubbed versions of *Janoschs Traumstunde*. These constraints were identified as (a) the major/minority language pair, i.e. German/Irish, (b) the translation method, i.e. dubbing and (c) the target audience, i.e. children. At the outset of my research, I felt that the fact that Irish is a minority language, which experiences predictable difficulties in relation to the efficient production and dissemination of modern specialised terminology, was likely to prove to be by far the most powerful constraint. It was partly for this reason that I decided to focus my attention in the analysis section of this book on the translation of lexis, expecting to be able to explain the translators' decisions in relation to the use of specialised terminology primarily in terms of minority language issues. Interestingly, my initial expectations were not entirely supported by my findings as other constraints proved stronger than I had originally supposed.

As seen in Chapter Five, the first striking consequence of the approach adopted by the translators of *Scéalaíocht Janosch* is that the Irish versions are greatly simplified from a lexical point of view. The second, which of course is very closely related, is that the translation at a textual level does not consistently display the kinds of lexical chains found in the original. The first issue, namely, the non-reproduction in translation of a correspondingly high level of specialised language, may be explained in part by a wish to accommodate all members of the non-homogeneous target audience, i.e. children who are native speakers and those who simply attend Irish language (pre)schools. But the simplification may also be partly explained by issues raised in Chapter Four concerning writing and translating for children in general. In that chapter, four distinctive characteristics of texts for

children were described, namely two audiences, ambivalent content, the authors' non-membership of the target group and text multifunctionality.

With respect to the first two of these characteristics, the original *Janoschs Traumstunde* episodes appeal, like other children's texts, to two audiences. On some levels, the texts address adults as well as children and serve the two respective agendas of these groups, namely education and entertainment. The German texts clearly do this by mixing content that is entertaining and pedagogically valuable, as well as incorporating demanding German vocabulary and specialised LSP terms. The original German texts are also ambivalent texts in the sense that they can be understood on different levels and contain references and allusions, both visual and linguistic, some of which can only be understood fully by older children and adults, e.g. the allusion to the great German physicist contained in the name and physical appearance of the animation character, *Einstein*, in *Ein Fremder mit Sporen*. However, the simplification of lexis in the translations has reduced much of the target language texts' ambivalence to univalence whereby the language of the programmes becomes, in translation, simply the means by which the essential storyline or plot is conveyed. At the same time, other linguistic features of the narration, which contribute to overall effect and general enjoyment of the stories, especially for older children and adults, are much neglected and sometimes ignored completely.

The result is that the translated versions have to stand or fall almost entirely on the basis of (a) the quality of the animation and (b) the inherent appeal of the plot, while many of the narrative features of the original German, which account for the delight experienced by those who listen to a story being well told, are lost. As a consequence, the translated stories are less well equipped to appeal on a number of different levels to a wide range of different age groups, as truly ambivalent children's texts do.

The third characteristic of children's texts, i.e. the fact that the translators are adults and not members of the target group, could offer a partial explanation for the modification of the source texts' lexical complexity. As argued in Chapter One, the average

linguist or translator is not in any position to make an informed decision as to what level of language is likely to be appropriate for a particular target group of Irish-speaking children unless consultation occurs with experts. In the case of the kind of screen translation for children examined in this book, strong lines of communication between translators and broadcasters concerning the purpose of the translation, e.g. entertainment and/or education), as well as between translators and educators and/or language planners (concerning the linguistic needs and capabilities of the target audience) could prove invaluable and greatly enhance the efficacy of the target language output. After all, Irish language television as a minority project has a modest budget in relation to the enormity of the language maintenance and development project to which it is contributing. It is therefore of the utmost importance in terms of language planning and maintenance that the screen translation strategies used in that broadcasting context should deliver an optimum result in terms of fostering and developing Irish language use amongst the younger generation.

Finally, with regard to the characteristic of text multifunctionality, the original German animation programmes fulfilled, by means of a combination of visuals, plot and language, the four functions which children's texts typically combine: entertainment, development of language skills, acquisition of world knowledge and socialisation. However, lexical simplification in the Irish versions means that the translations cannot mirror the range of functions fulfilled in the originals by means of lexical devices. Let us accept that the translators were well aware of the entertainment function of the plot and the visuals. The visuals remain entirely unaltered and the plot is substantially unchanged in the Irish versions. The treatment of the original source texts' LSP content, however, actually has a significantly restictive effect on the capacity of the translations to be fully entertaining in the way the originals are. This is because much of the humour that relies on language, rather than plot, is not reproduced. Furthermore, with respect to the linguistic skills development function, one can argue that by removing most of the specialised terminology

of the originals, children are offered a story told largely using vocabulary with which they are already familiar rather than language which is, in part, new and challenging. As far as the acquisition of world knowledge is concerned, the simplification and, more particularly, the normalisation of lexis throughout the target corpus weakens the translations' ability to fulfil this function because it removes references to cultural difference, which are potentially highly educational.

The second issue, the reduction of textual cohesion and coherence in the target language texts as a result of the translation strategies used, may have more to do with issues raised in Chapters Two and Three, relating to the preparation and recording of dubbing scripts. In other words, the findings of this investigation tie in with the points made by Herbst (1994, 1995, 1997) concerning the need for a more pragmatic approach to dubbing. As reported in Chapter Three, Herbst has shown that, largely for technical reasons to do with the way in which the actors' lines are recorded in the dubbing studio, there is an almost inevitable tendency to take the sentences spoken by each character as the basic units of translation rather than broadening out the unit to cover each scene. As a consequence, the way in which LSP terms are used throughout a scene, or indeed story, may not be fully appreciated by the dubbing team and therefore not satisfactorily mirrored in translation. Moreover, as argued in Chapter Three with reference to Cattrysse (1998), the average screen translator's lack of professional training in screen writing and, particularly, dialogue writing skills undoubtedly has an effect on the kinds of linguistic choices made in the course of dubbing script preparation.

The end results are target language texts which, with respect to lexis, offer young Irish-speaking viewers much less variety and complexity from both an entertainment and linguistic development point of view than the source texts offer their German-speaking counterparts. But what emerges here is the insight that this does not necessarily have to happen. If the lexical simplification identified here were due entirely to issues such as those discussed in Chapter One, i.e. the fact that Irish is a minority

language and has great difficulty coping with the constant demand for new terminology, there would be little that future translators could do to avoid such widespread lexical simplification. However, if lexical simplification can be identified as arising from a lack of clarity about the actual needs and ability of children, or from a tendency to cater primarily for only one subset of the audience (e.g. non-native speaker children), this can be addressed. If the will and knowledge are there, language planning, broadcast policy and linguistic development issues could be included in professional translator training and in-house workshops for those involved in all stages of the dubbing process. Similarly, if non-reproduction in translation of certain textual aspects of screen scripts is due, in part, to current dubbing studio practice, then the employment of dubbing staff, with some awareness of text linguistics, specifically to check both the draft dubbing script and the further alterations to scripts, which inevitably occur in studio, would greatly alleviate this problem. Moreover, even some basic training of technical dubbing staff in linguistic issues relating to language transfer would swiftly lead to improved output as would at least introductory formal, technical training in dubbing studio techniques for translators specialising in screen translation.

Finally, in order to evaluate within the confines of this study the interplay of constraints on dubbing translation, it was necessary to limit the focus to just one aspect of the target language texts, namely lexis. Indeed, even within the area of lexical simplification, I chose to concentrate mainly on the translation of individual terms. However, there are many other issues such as the translation of phraseological units, which have not been studied here but which could become the object of future investigation. Furthermore, I have illustrated my research using a small, bilingual, parallel corpus but since *Janoschs Traumstunde* series have also been broadcast in such countries as the USA, Sweden and the Netherlands, there is ample scope for the expansion of the corpus into a trilingual or multilingual one. Research conducted on an expanded corpus might confirm or contradict the findings of this initial investigation but in either

case, it would make a further contribution to the goal of DTS as articulated by Holmes (1988: 71), namely to describe 'the phenomenon of translating and translation(s) as they manifest themselves in the world of our experience'.

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Appendix

JANOSCHS TRAUMSTUNDE/ SCÉALAÍOCHT JANOSCH
EPISODES IN CORPUS

GERMAN TITLES	IRISH TITLES
DER FREMDE MIT SPOREN (Series 2) (lit. The Stranger with Spurs)	*JIM BROWNING*
DIE GANZE WELT IST VOLLER FRÖSCHE (Series 2) (lit. The Whole World is Full of Frogs)	*NA FROGANNA (lit. The Frogs)*
FROSCHSCHNUDDEL (Series 2) (lit. Frog Schnuddel – nickname)	*SCHNUDDEL DÁNA (lit. Naughty/Cheeky Schnuddel)*
DER QUASSELKASPER IST REICH (Series 1) (lit. The Chatterbox is Rich)	*AIRGEAD AN CHLABAIRE GRINN (lit. The Funny Chatterbox's Money)*
DER RABE JOSEF (Series 2) (lit. Joseph the Raven)	*SEOSAMH (Irish for 'Joseph')*
DAS GEHEIMNIS DES HERRN SCHMIDT (Series 2) (lit. Mr Schmidt's Secret) plus *KASPARMÜTZE: WIE MAN EINEN RIESEN FOPPT (lit: Kaspar Cap: How to Trick a Giant)*	*AN RÚN A BHÍ AG SEOSAMH SMITH (lit. Seosamh Smith's Secret)* plus *SEÁN A' CHAIPÍN AG TROID LEIS AN BHFATHACH MÓR (lit. Seán of the Cap Fighting the Big Giant)*