

**Translation and Interpreting as instruments of
language planning in South Africa:
Focus on Court Interpreting**

**Thesis submitted in fulfilment of the requirements for
the degree of Doctor of Philosophy
Faculty of Humanities**

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Declaration

I, the undersigned, **Dominique Ngoy Mwepu** hereby declare that the work contained in this thesis is my own original work and has not previously in its entirety or in part been submitted at any university for a degree and that all the sources I have used or quoted have been indicated and acknowledged as complete references.

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Signature

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Date

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To Joshua Kabenga Mwepu, born during the course of this research

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Abstract

The year 1994 was a significant moment in the history of South Africa. The release of Nelson Mandela and the ushering in of a new democracy implied important changes in national policies. Apart from English and Afrikaans, ten other languages, including South African Sign Language, have acquired official status. This linguistic dispensation should allow every citizen access to fair justice and a fuller participation in the democratisation process at all levels. It is obvious that linguistic diversity calls for extensive use of translation and interpreting.

This study is located in the field of Applied Language Studies. It investigates the intersection between Language Planning and Translation Studies. The thesis argues that Language Planning needs to devote more attention to the place and role of translation and interpreting. One of the key assumptions of language planning seems to be that speakers of a language community form a monolithic block. This thesis submits that a better approach should acknowledge that in every language community, there are two major groups: ordinary language speakers and language professionals (translators, interpreters and lexicographers)

The second group participates more actively and play a prominent role in corpus planning or corpus development and acquisition planning. The scrutiny of court interpreting shows that interpreters suffer low social and professional status. The low status of these professions and low social attainment of these professionals have a negative effect on African language status planning in general. Therefore, more research is needed for a Language Planning theoretical model that may address satisfactorily issues of Acquisition, Status and Corpus for both the ordinary language speakers and language professionals. Translation Studies set a distinction between translation and interpreting. This distinction takes into account the differences in mode, processes, techniques, skills, and abilities. However, the ethnographic approach of this thesis highlighted that in South Africa and maybe elsewhere, translation and interpreting differ in status. Most of the definitions do not account for this aspect in distinguishing between the two activities. This gap needs to be filled.

Key words: court interpreting, medical interpreting, translation, language planning, training needs, status, translation planning

Résumé

L'an 1994 a une grande importance dans l'histoire de l'Afrique du sud. La libération de Nelson Mandela et l'instauration de la démocratie ont entraînés des changements politiques importants. Outre l'anglais et l'afrikaans, dix autres langues ont acquis le statut de langues officielles. Ce nouvel ordre linguistique a pour avantage de permettre à tout citoyen sud africain une participation plus active au processus démocratique ainsi que l'accès a une justice plus équitable. D'ordinaire, pareille diversité linguistique implique une utilisation plus accrue de la traduction et de l'interprétation.

Notre étude qui se situe dans domaine des Etudes Appliquées des Langues, autrement identifiées comme Linguistique Appliquée, se focalise sur le point de jonction entre l'Aménagement Linguistique et la Traduction. Cette thèse soutient que l'aménagement linguistique doit porter une attention plus accrue à la place et au rôle de la traduction et de l'interprétation. L'un des postulats de l'aménagement linguistique, nous semble-t-il, est qu'une communauté linguistique forme un block homogène. Cette thèse propose q'une meilleure approche devrait reconnaître que dans chaque communauté linguistique il a des locuteurs ordinaires et des professionnels de la langue. Parmi ceux-ci nous citerons les traducteurs, les interprètes, les enseignants de langues et les lexicographes.

Ce deuxième groupe participe plus activement et plus vigoureusement au développement du corpus linguistique et l'enseignement des langues. Un examen méticuleux de la situation des interprètes des tribunaux sud africains prouve que ceux-ci souffrent d'un statut socioprofessionnel bas. La faiblesse statutaire de ces professions ainsi que le manque de prestige social de ces professionnels ont un effet négatif sur le prestige des langues africaines en général. Il se dégage donc un besoin d'études approfondies pour développer des modèles théoriques d'aménagement linguistique qui répondent aux problèmes d'apprentissage, de prestige et de corpus linguistique non seulement en rapport avec les locuteurs ordinaires, mais aussi pour les professionnels des langues. Par ailleurs, la traduction se distingue de l'interprétation à cause de procédés, du mode, des techniques, habiletés et capacités requis pour chacune de ces activités.

L'approche ethnographique de cette thèse démontre qu'en Afrique du sud, peut-être ailleurs aussi, la traduction se distingue de l'interprétariat par le prestige des professionnels. La plus part d'études et des définitions escamotent cet aspect. Cette autre lacune doit être comblée.

Mot clés : interprétariat de tribunaux, interprétariat médical, traduction, aménagement linguistique, besoin de formation, prestige et aménagement de la traduction.

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Isishwankathelo

Unyaka ka 1994 ngunyaka ophawulekayo kwimbali yaseMzantsi Afrika. Ukukhululwa kukaNelson Mandela nokungena korhulumente wesininzi kwaazisa utshintso olubalulckileyo kulawulo lwesizwe. Ngaphandle kwesiNgesi nesiBhulu, iilwimi ezilishumi ziquka ulwimi lwezandla zaye zamkelwa ngokusemthethweni. Eli lungelo lilodwa leelwimi laliza kuvulela wonke ummi ithuba kubulungisa limnike nenxaxheba kwinkqubo yolawulo kuwo onke amanqanaba. Iselubala eyokuba le yantlukwano yeelwimi idinga uguqulo notoliko lolwimi ngamandla.

Esi sifundo siphantsi kwezifundo zokusetyenziswa kweelwimi. Sisifundo esiphanda ngonxulumano phakathi kocwangciso lolwimi noguqulo lolwimi. Le thisis ixoxa ngokuba ucwangciso lolwimi kufuneka lujonge kakhulu indawo nendima yoguqulo nokutolikwa kolwimi. Kubonakala ngathi eyona nto iphambili kucwangciso lolwimi kukujonga abantu abantetho ithile abahlala kwindawo ethetha olo lwimi luthile. Le thisis iveza ukuba olona velelo lungcono kufanele luveze ukuba kulwimi ngalunye kukho amaqela amabini angamandla; abantu nje abathetha ulwimi nabanobuchule bokusebenza ngolwimi (abaguquli bolwimi, iitoliki, nabaqulunqi bolwimi).

Eli qela lesibini lizibandakanya kakhulu kulwimi kwaye lidlala indima enkulu kucwangciso okanye uphuhliso lwengqokelela yobhalo kunye nokucwangcisa ukufunda nokufundiswa kolwimi. Uphando ngotoliko lwasezinkundleni lubonisa ukuba umgangatho weetoliki uphantsi ngokwasentlalweni nakubuchule bomsebenzi. Oku kuba phantsi komgangatho kumsebenzi onxulumene neelwimi nasekuphumeleleni kweelwimi entlalweni kuchaphazela ngendlela embi umgangatho wocwangciso lolwimi zesiNtu jikelele. Ngoko ke, kudingeka uphando ngengcingane enomfuziselo ngocwangciso lolwimi olunokuveza ulwaneliseko kwimiba yokufundwa nokufundiswa kolwimi kumgangatho nengqokelela yobhalo kuwo omabini amaqela, elabantu abathetha ulwimi nelabantu abasebenza ngolwimi. Izifundo ngoguqulo zakha iyantlukwano phakathi koguqulo nokutolikwa kolwimi. Le yantlukwano iveza ukwahluka (xa kuguqulwa naxa kutolikwa) kwindlela okwenziwa ngayo, iinkqubo, iindlela eziye zivelelwe, ubuchule nokwazi ukwenza . Noxa kunjalo, uvelelo lwenkcazo yeenzululwazi zeentlanga kule thisisi luveza elubala ukuba eMzantsi Afrika mhlawumbi nakwenye indawo, uguqulo lolwimi nokutolika kuyahluka

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Amagama aphambili: Utoliko lwasenkundleni, utoliko kwezobugqirha, uguqulo, ucwangciso lwimi, udingo loqeqesho, umgangatho, ucwangciso loququlo.

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Uittreksel

1994 was 'n belangrike keerpunt in die geskiedenis van Suid-Afrika. Die vrylating van Nelson Mandela en die aankondiging van 'n nuwe demokrasie, het gepaard gegaan met noodsaaklike veranderinge in nasionale politiek. Afgesien van Engels en Afrikaans, het tien ander tale (insluitend Suid-Afrikaanse gebaretaal) amptelike status verwerf. Hierdie taalkundige vrystelling verleen aan elke landsburger toegang tot geregtigheid en 'n groter deelname aan die proses van demokratisering op alle vlakke. Dit is voor die hand liggend dat die taalkundige verskeidenheid 'n uitgebreide aanwending van vertaling en vertolking vereis.

Hierdie studie sorteer onder Toegepaste Taalstudies. Dit ondersoek die oorvleueling tussen Taalbeplanning en Vertaalstudies. Die tesis voer aan dat Taalbeplanning meer aandag moet skenk aan die plek en rol van vertaling en vertolking. Een van die sleutel opvattinge van taalbeplanning, blyk te wees dat die sprekers van 'n taalgemeenskap 'n monolitiese blokkasie vorm. Hierdie tesis stel 'n beter benadering voor wat erken dat elke taalgemeenskap uit twee hoofgroepe bestaan: algemene taalgebruikers en beroepstaalmense (vertalers, tolke en woordeboekskrywers.)

Die tweede groep neem meer daadwerklik deel en speel 'n opvallende rol in skeletbeplanning of korpusontwikkeling en aanwinstbeplanning. Die noukeurige ondersoek van tolke in howe, bewys dat tolke 'n lae sosiale- en beroepsstatus verduur. Die lae status van beroepstaalmense het 'n negatiewe effek op Afrikatale se status in die algemeen. Hierom moet meer navorsing gedoen word vir 'n teoretiese model in Taalbeplanning wat kwessies van Aanwinst, Status en Korpus vir beide algemene taalgebruikers en beroepstaalmense bevredigend aanspreek. Vertaalstudies tref onderskeid tussen vertaling en vertolking. Hierdie onderskeid neem die verskille van metode, prosesse, tegnieke, vaardigheid en bekwaamheid in ag. Nogtans beklemtoon die etnografiese benadering van hierdie tesis dat vertaling en vertolking in Suid-Afrika (en moontlik elders) in status verskil. Meeste van die omskrywings hou nie rekening met die aspek van onderskeiding tussen die twee aktiwiteite nie. Hierdie gaping moet oorbrug word.

Slutelwoorde: vertolking in die hof, mediese vertolking, vertaling, taalbeplanning, opleiding behoeftes, status, vertaalbeplanning

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List of abbreviations

ALS:	Applied Language Studies
ARoDoNA:	Annual Report of the Department of Native Affairs
BLA:	Black Lawyers Association
CALLSSA:	Centre for Applied Language and Literacy Studies and Services in Africa
CATT:	Computer-assisted Translation Tools
CIA:	Central Intelligence Agency
DNS:	Data Nervous System
DoJAR:	Department of Justice Annual Report
DoNEAR:	Department of National Education Annual Report
EDAR:	Education Department Annual Report
FBI:	Federal Bureau of Investigation
LANGTAG:	Language Task Group
LSB:	Language Service Bureau
LTM:	Long Term Memory
MAG:	Multilingualism Action Group
NEHAWU:	National Educational, Health and Allied Workers' Union
NLP:	National Language Project
NLPP:	National Language Policy Framework
NUPSAW:	National Union of Public Service and Allied Workers
PPASA:	Planned Parenthood Association of South Africa
PRAESA:	Project for Alternative Education in South Africa
SACICU:	South African Court Interpreters' and Clerks' Union
SACIOWU:	South African Court Interpretation Officers and Allied Workers' union
SALPRA:	South African Language Practitioners' Association
SANPAD:	South Africa – Netherlands Partnership for Development
SATI:	South African Translators' Institute
SIS:	Sensory Information Systems
STM:	Short Term Memory
UCT:	University of Cape Town
UNISA:	University of South Africa
WCLC:	Western Cape Language Committee

I. General introduction

L1 South Africa

South Africa is a country of diversity, this diversity covering all aspects of life: demographic, cultural, socio-economic and linguistic. Once notorious for the ignominious policy of apartheid, the country now presents a totally different picture, that of a non-racial democracy. It is sometimes identified as 'the rainbow nation'. The long years of struggle against oppression have produced a proud people, well aware of the fact that corruption had previously penetrated all fibres of society, including its economic, social, educational and linguistic systems. South Africans share the common view that, if in the political arena much has been achieved, struggle must continue for change to penetrate all aspects of human existence, so as to bring about the ontological restoration and well-being of all South Africans. The new struggle is no longer against a repressive regime. It is a struggle for dignity, which encompasses decent housing, good sanitation, access to health care, access to education and equitable justice. Above all it is a struggle for *being*.

The Cartesian principle *cogito ergo sum* (I think therefore I am) suggests that *thinking* equals *being*. Yet there is no such thing as thinking for the sake of thinking. Every *thinking act* presupposes someone thinking about something at a certain moment in a certain manner. Whilst literature acknowledges the central role of language in thinking, some South African linguists such as Professor Gxilishe of the UCT School of Languages and Literatures suggest that language is not only a vehicle of thought, but that language shapes thought and thereby shapes our very being. This can be read on page three of the CALLSSA Concept Literacy Project Proposal, 24 June 2002:

Language does not mediate knowledge. It rather constitutes and constructs knowledge. Concept formation precedes meaning especially when knowledge is gathered in an additional language that may not be related to a language like English. We can't think in English and speak in Xhosa.

If this is an echo of a popular conception of language, it is easy to understand the importance given to language-related issues as a core subject of debate in South Africa. The constitution of the Republic of South Africa takes cognisance of this fact, in that it uniquely enshrines eleven official languages. Many observers saluted the courage of the South African political leadership for this move. Most of the world's constitutions recognise only one or two official languages. The South African constitution should probably be second only to that of India, which recognises 23 official languages.

L2 Factors defining language use in South Africa

2.1 Historical heritage

When the National Party won power in 1948, it formalised a policy of racial discrimination known as apartheid, which divided the South African population into four major groups, White, Black, Coloured, and Indian. Various regulations and laws prescribed the location where each of the groups could live, the type of education they could receive, the type of profession they could practise. Therefore the National Party government could control the kind of income or lifestyle a particular population group could have. Non-whites could not attain any prestigious positions. They had to depend on the white minority for their existence. In terms of the Black (Native) Administration Act N° 38 of 1 September 1927, Black populations could forcibly be removed from white areas to either townships in urban peripheries or to impoverished zones called Bantustans or Homelands. These unfair policies and restrictions were opposed mostly by non-whites in forms including boycotts, riots, civil disobedience and strikes, led mainly by the African National Congress (ANC). The ANC was formed in 1912 and made official in 1950, but the Unlawful Organisation Act N° 34 of 7 April 1960 banned it from operating in South Africa. It was only in February 1990 that the ANC was authorised to resume activities in South Africa.

The language in education policy under the apartheid government was based on the promotion of mother tongue instruction, as UNESCO research had shown that it yielded better results (Alexander 2000: 5).

However, for the black population, government coupled mother tongue instruction with a type of education inferior to that provided in white schools. Fostering the role of the mother tongue in education was also a way of dividing different ethnic groups. Afrikaans was a compulsory language in education. In 1976, the government attempted to promote Afrikaans as an additional medium of instruction for science and history instead of English for Bantu education throughout South Africa. This attempt led to the fiercest resistance, in which 700 black learners lost their lives in the memorable Soweto uprisings (Ndlovu 2001: 11-17). South Africa was put on the world map as a mercilessly brutal state, consequently there was an increase in international pressure on the apartheid regime. This event served as the *signe avant-coureur* of the fall of apartheid. This resistance to the apartheid education system is regarded as an important moment in the history of black resistance and the history of South African education. It also served as a defining moment for the role and perception of languages in South Africa.

Afrikaans was considered as the language of the oppressor, but English was perceived as the language of liberation and progress. Therefore the removal of English from the education system was understood as a death warrant; death understood as life eternally dependent on the oppressor, a crippling state of inability to attain that which might not be mediated by the oppressive regime of apartheid. In spite of this resistance in the education sector, black people were forced to depend on their knowledge of Afrikaans for daily survival, as the majority of them worked under Afrikaans-speaking leadership. It is also believed that some members of the Black Consciousness Movement used Afrikaans as a language of struggle for liberation. The appropriation of Afrikaans made it easy for them to weave a strong network of resistance with white liberal Afrikaners and the Coloured community, especially in the Cape Province. Other African languages also played a major role in the maintenance of in-group solidarity and the strengthening of ties between speakers of a variety of languages. One such language or dialect is *Tsotsitaal*, spoken in black townships in the Gauteng Province, previously known as the Transvaal.

One of the legacies of this past is that some Black people are not only fluent in their mother tongue but have also often mastered one or many other languages, as they had to go to look for work in locations that were far from their homes. Being black in South Africa has been almost synonymous with being able to speak more than one language. It is not uncommon to find, for example, a black person able to speak Xhosa and Zulu or Sotho, Tswana and Venda. Unfortunately, these African languages often have low status (Mbatha and Pludder 2004: 12-13). On the streets of major South African cities such as Johannesburg, Durban and Cape Town, African languages are predominantly heard. This contrasts with the situation in Maputo, Mozambique where a foreign language, Portuguese, is widely spoken. South Africans, whether black, white, indian or Coloured, seem to display a sense of pride in their language, but older generations sometimes complain that younger people do not take pride in their African languages. In the Western Cape Province, a Xhosa-speaking person will tend to address any other black person in Xhosa. He will use a different language only after establishing that the other person does not speak Xhosa. The same applies to the Afrikaans- or English-speaking person. Reasons accounting for this behaviour may be different for each of the groups, but the love of one's own language could be the linking thread for each of the groups.

English remains the predominant language for business, politics and civil administration. It is perceived as the language that can procure upward social mobility. The Afrikaner people struggle to survive in a country that they once dominated. They seem to link the survival of their culture and beliefs to that of the Afrikaans language in which they invested time and resources for its development. Afrikaans has lost some of its glow as a language of power. Demands that Afrikaans medium universities should drop Afrikaans so as to become more inclusive are being made. However, dual medium education is often the option for pro-Afrikaans people who also go to great lengths to promote multilingualism and diversify their labour force so as to comply with the Employment Equity Act and the Diversity Act. The University of Stellenbosch (US) and the University of the Orange Free State (UOFS) are still considered as some of the bastions of Afrikaans-medium education. As part of the transformation process, the US has engaged in the translation of all lecture notes so as to make them available to all students in both English and Afrikaans.

Moreover, the rector has made it compulsory for all staff members to enrol for Xhosa classes. The UOFS is one of the rare institutions that provides parallel-medium education and Potchefstroom University is currently the only South African university that provides simultaneous interpreting in classrooms. At the UOFS, all lectures are conducted consecutively in English and Afrikaans to provide students a possibility of choice. Moreover, the signage on the UOFS campus is trilingual with English, Afrikaans and Sotho. Clearly, these steps towards inclusiveness imply accrued expenditures on the university budget. The strong determination of these institutions seems to match the challenge brought by the unassailable position of English and the demands for the dropping of Afrikaans. Both above institutions abide by the Employment Equity and Diversity Acts which aim at redressing past imbalances with regard to a representative human resource.

2.2 Dominant position of English

Although English is the mother tongue of only the minority of South Africans, it does command respect among the other languages of South Africa, especially in the world of education, politics and business. According to Census 2001, it is estimated that 3 673 203 South Africans speak English as a home language. When compared to the total number of South Africans, English home language speakers represent 8,2%. How can a language that has such a limited number of speakers be dominant? There are many explanations for the dominance of the language of Shakespeare. Throughout the 19th century, England took advantage of its military superiority to impose English on invaded or conquered territories as the language of administration. In the 20th century, English took advantage of its position as the language of teaching and learning to consolidate its position. The rise to power of the National Party in South Africa was accompanied by a number of measures aiming at the promotion of Afrikaans. Unlike the Afrikaners and the English who ascended to power with their languages, the Black elite members' languages are invisible when these leaders get to positions of political leadership. Parliament is one of the arenas which reflect national realities. Although Members of Parliament (MPs) are free to speak in any of the official languages, the languages MPs speak can be simultaneously interpreted into other official languages.

However, the overwhelming majority of MPs prefer to use English. Speakers of Afrikaans tend to be bold and comfortable with their language, but this does not apply to many of the black MPs. Is it because they want to be perceived as educated? Is it because they are ashamed of their own languages? Is it because they lack the appropriate vocabulary to express certain concepts and ideas in their mother tongues? Is it because of the education system of which they are the products? Is it that they are more concerned with media than the actual people that they are supposed to address? Is it that they believe English confers some attributes of neutrality?

Each of these questions could lead to a fruitful debate, which would surpass the limited scope of this thesis. However one element stands firm. English appears to be a marker of distinction between the politically elite and the masses. This implies that whoever wants to achieve political success can only do so through the medium of English and at the expense of the mother tongue. It is imperative that all languages become visible. Each linguistic community must take responsibility towards the promotion of its language.

The dominance of English (and Afrikaans to some degree) in South Africa can also be explained in terms of economic power. Much of the wealth of the country is still at the command of white English and Afrikaans speakers. Census 2001 established that there are about 10 157 individuals who have a monthly salary of more than R 204 801 i.e. almost R2,5 million per year. It is interesting to note that 72,9% of them are white and that almost 82% of these highly paid people can be labelled as English or Afrikaans home language speakers. Recently, the government took a number of decisions to redress the injustices of the past. Among these measures appear the Policy of Affirmative Action and the Black Economic Empowerment Bill (BEE), introduced in order to provide opportunities for the previously marginalised race groups. The term 'black' in the BEE Bill, is broadly defined to include Africans, Coloureds and Indians who are also South African Citizens or permanent residents of the Republic (www.pmg.org.za/bills/030527bills.pdf) but this thesis works with the narrow definition provided by the SA Statistics which is restricted to black/African SA citizens.

Although it is too early to make a complete evaluation of success attained by such policies, the linguist can observe that the increase in the number of blacks in major companies' senior management positions does not match the degree of African languages' visibility. It is as though the economically empowered African makes a deliberate effort to ensure that his language is kept within the four corners of his house, without allowing it to come out to embarrass him in the corridors of his workplace. This situation contrasts with that of the working class (unskilled workforce), which seems to show a sense of linguistic pride in using its home language in the workplace. Some highly educated people seem to be stricken by an inexplicable lack of linguistic awareness and linguistic sensitivity, especially for those who do not speak English.

Studies conducted in South African schools show that parents want their children to master English as well as their mother tongue (Heugh 2000: 15-22). Ability to speak English fluently is associated with the possibility of getting a highly paid job. Ability to speak Afrikaans can also open some doors of opportunity. However, for the many African language speakers who do not master English or Afrikaans, both of these languages can be seen as languages of oppression. On every occasion they attempt to speak these languages, their feelings of inability and inadequacy arise. The increase of hesitations, pauses, slips of the tongue, come to expose dark areas of their real or presumed incapacity. The only language of freedom and liberation for these African language speakers is the language of 'interpreting' which allows them to express themselves in the comfort of their mother tongue, yet be heard and understood in foreign tongues. The South African interpreter, especially the court interpreter, is not only a communication mediator and an expert linguist but also a power broker, bridging economic, cultural and social gaps.

2.3 Constitution

The liberation of Nelson Mandela in 1990 paved the way to a democratic nation. Early in the talks between the African National Congress (ANC) and the National Party (NP), the question of language was posed. Radical ANC members who advocated the total removal of Afrikaans from the national linguistic map met with the resistance of the Afrikaners who would not let go of their much-cherished language. The argument of the ANC radical members reflected the opinion that the oppressor's language had to be rejected to make way for English, the language of liberation. A middle-ground proposal suggested that an additive approach was preferable to reductionism i.e. raising new languages to official positions was better and easier than removing existing ones. This delighted translators, interpreters, lexicographers and editors who anticipated a boom in the market of language services. However ten years into the new democracy, the much-anticipated explosion is still awaited.

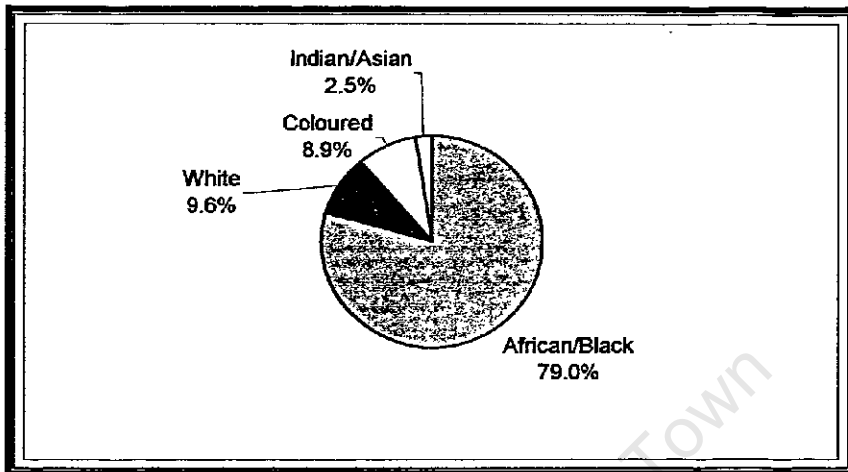
The new constitution (Appendix 2) came into force on 1 January 1997. It proceeds from the interim constitution of 1994 (Appendix 1), which reflects views expressed in the multiracial discussions. Section 6 of the new constitution deals with language issues. Section 6(1) applies to English and Afrikaans, the two previously advantaged languages, and nine Black languages which are among the previously disadvantaged languages. These are: Ndebele, Sepedi, Sesotho, Tsonga, Tswana, Swazi, Venda, Xhosa and Zulu. This raises to 11 the total number of official languages in South Africa. The South African Sign Language is the twelfth official language of the country although it is often omitted in the popular discourse on language. Many language activists work hard to render this language more visible in all spheres of life. Section 6 (2) acknowledges that the African languages were previously disadvantaged, and thus puts upon the government the obligation to operate some sort of positive discrimination in favour of these languages, both at national and provincial level. However, with recognition of its responsibility for the promotion of African languages, the government adds a detail that would protect itself in case an advocacy group should challenge it for not doing enough. Section 6 (3) clarifies that linguistic promotion is subject to a number of aspects, including cost.

The new constitution has further opened a door for language planning at all levels of government, but with an insistence that more than one language is to be promoted. Section 6 (4) can be perceived as a strategy to counter the benefits and preferential treatment that English and Afrikaans enjoyed in the past. In the new dispensation, no language is seen as superior to another. This is an era of equality, for the once suppressed majority. Section 6 (5) creates the Pan-South African Language Board, to which is assigned the mission of promoting and developing all languages (official languages, heritage languages, sign languages, as well as languages of other communities living in South Africa). A close examination of the 1994 and the 1997 constitution indicates that the newer version is shorter than the 1994 one because some of the aspects relating to citizens' rights to exercise language preference have been deleted. In the 1994 version, Section 3(3) and 3(6) granted a person the right to demand to be served in the official language of his choice wherever practicable. In court an accused person has the right to be tried in the language of his preference, and the court can provide an interpreter to this effect. The reason for such a deletion may be that government realised that the cost of a truly multilingual public service could be too high. This calls for critics to question government's commitment to the multilingual policy. However, many agree that establishing multilingualism is a giant leap, a bold step towards restoration of human, linguistic and cultural dignity. An investigation of the way to make it work is a continuing process, which may succeed if political will can accompany the strong constitutional foundation. Many agree that the fostering of the multilingual policy will lead to an increased interest in African languages; others resent government intervention which forces people to learn an African language since the democratic principles should preclude such impositions.

2.4 People and their languages

According to Census 2001, the 1 219 090 square kilometres constituting South Africa are inhabited by a population estimate of 44 819 778 in 2003. The Western Cape Province where this research was conducted forms about 10,6% of the landmass of South Africa (Appendix 3). The majority of the population in South Africa is black i.e. 79%. The 21% remaining consists of whites (9,6%), Coloured (8,9%), Indian or Asian (2,5%).

Figure 1.1: Breakdown of race groups in South Africa



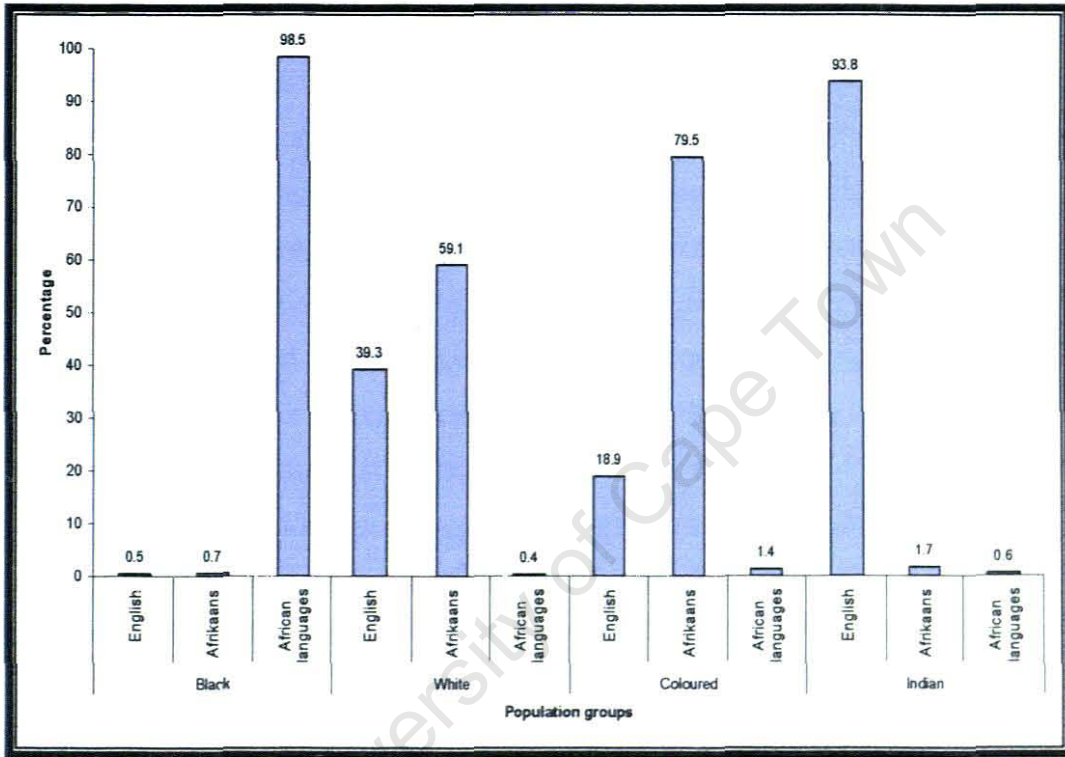
Based on Statistics South Africa (2003). *Census 2001: Census in brief*. Stats. SA: Pretoria. Page 3.

The majority of black people speak African languages i.e. 98,5%. Afrikaans is the home language for 0,7% of the black population whilst English is identified as the home language by a mere 0,5 %. Xhosa and Zulu together account for 52,4% of speakers whereas Pedi, Sotho, and Tswana together account for a further 32,2%. The other official languages claim 13,9% of home language speakers. The number of blacks whose home language is other than one of the official languages can be estimated at 0,3%.

A total of 98,4% of Coloured people speak Afrikaans (79,5%) as their home language and to a lesser extent English (18,9%). The total number of speakers of other official languages as home language in the Coloured group is estimated at 1,4%. In this category, Tswana leads with 0,4% followed by Zulu and Xhosa each with 0,3%. Only 0,2% speak non-official languages. In the Indian/Asian group, English is predominant, with an estimated 93,8% of English home language speakers. Non-official languages such as Khoi, Nama, Sanskrit account for 3,8%, which is the highest in any individual group.

Afrikaans is in third position with 1,7%, whilst all the African languages share a mere 0,6%. A total of 98,4% of white people speak either Afrikaans (59,1%) or English (39,3%). The third position in this group is occupied by non-official languages, which account for 1,1% of speakers. A mere 0,4% of whites speak an African language.

Figure 1.2: Home language



Based on Statistics South Africa (2003). *Census 2001: Census in brief*. Stats. SA: Pretoria. Page 19.

The relation between race and language can serve as an indication of translation or interpreting needs. These statistics lead us to predict that Black people in this situation tend to need interpretation from African languages into mainly English and Afrikaans. But they will also need the same kind of support from the home language into another African language. Translation will tend to take an inverse route i.e. from English and Afrikaans mainly into a specific African language. The number of documents that use an African language as source is still limited, although one may predict that there is possibility for growth, especially with the accrued emphasis on the development of the Indigenous Knowledge Systems (IKS) with the aim of manufacturing African traditional products for the national and international market.

IKS also involves the popularisation and promotion of African traditional medical information, indigenous taxonomy, indigenous methods and systems of food supply, indigenous socio-cultural systems, for example (www.nrf.ac.za/focusareas/iks/). It is predicted that such an endeavour will generate documents in African languages.

Coloured people would tend to need interpreting from Afrikaans into English or/and into African languages. Indians would need translation from English into Afrikaans and/or into African languages, whilst they would need translation from other languages into English. Whites would tend to need interpreting from African languages into English or Afrikaans. There are a number of monolingual white people who would need translation and interpreting support between Afrikaans and English. Race and ethnicity are among the numerous factors which can determine the requirements of translation or interpreting and language use. Bilingual or multilingual members of racial and ethnic groups do lend tremendous linguistic support to monolingual individuals. They deal with the translation and interpreting of a considerable number of trivial, casual, informal and even formal interactions, thus leaving to the translator/interpreter only some of the more important interactions e.g. in courts, hospitals, parliament and other official gatherings.

2.5 Education

Table 1.1: Highest level of education completed among those aged 20 and above

	Black / African	White	Coloured	Asian/ Indian	South Africa
No schooling	22.3%	1.4%	8.3%	5.3%	17.9%
Some primary	18.5%	1.2%	18.4%	7.7%	16.0%
Completed primary	6.9%	0.8%	9.8%	4.2%	6.4%
Some secondary	30.4%	25.9%	40.1%	33.0%	30.8%
Completed secondary	16.8%	40.9%	18.5%	34.9%	20.4%
Higher	5.2%	29.8%	4.9%	14.9%	8.4%

Based on Statistics South Africa (2003). *Census 2001: Census in brief. Stats. SA: Pretoria. Pages 42, 50*

The legacy of apartheid is still visible in the distribution of formal education to the people of South Africa. As much as 40,3% of the population have not gone beyond primary level of education e.g. 17,9 % have no schooling at all, 16% have some primary education whereas only 6,4 % have completed primary education (only people aged 20 and older are considered in this survey data). Lack of formal education is not equally distributed among the different races. African people or Blacks are the most affected by this kind of issues. For example, out of 6 389 647 people with no formal schooling, 5 842 422 are blacks. This figure represents 91% of the entire unschooled population. Limited education or lack of it affects a population too large to be ignored.

It is government's obligation to find creative ways of allowing all citizens equal access to the state's services, irrespective of the level of education. Among the many solutions that can be envisaged, government should strive to employ multilingual officers who are fluent in the languages of the population whom they are supposed to serve, or else place strategically translation and interpreting services so as to avoid any potential breakdown in communication. Alongside the public sector, various measures should be employed to convince the private sector to follow the same route. The implication is, therefore, that the more educated multilingual section of the population would be required to mediate information for the less educated section. This calls for the introduction of various aspects of translation and interpreting in the formal school system, to provide awareness of the dynamics of mediated communication in which people will take part once in their workplace.

The current debate on bilingual/multilingual education aims *inter alia* at shaping the South Africa of tomorrow, whose citizens are intended to be bilingual if not trilingual or multilingual. Neville Alexander, Kathleen Heugh, Peter Pludderman and other staff at the Project for Alternative Education in South Africa (PRAESA/UCT) strive to create a school environment where children can benefit from education in their mother tongue, maintain that language and subsequently add another language or other languages. Mastery of more than one language is strongly advocated as it holds the possibility of creating citizens who are capable of dealing with other people in the people's own languages.

Does this model have a chance to succeed? The future holds the answer. Although scores of people may attain various degrees of communicative competence in English and African languages, for example, only a few may have a chance of becoming fully bilingual in an area of expertise such as accounting, medicine, linguistics or economics.

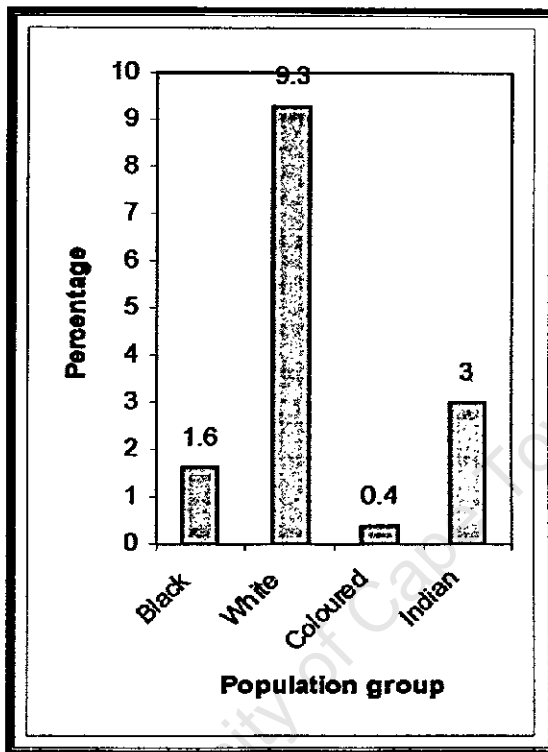
Unless there is a strong political will and social commitment to develop African languages to convey academic and scholarly knowledge, translation and interpreting will be the only vehicle that will permit the masses and the elite to have an ear and a tongue. Most African language speakers who are also accountants, lawyers and scientists are, in fact, English mother tongue speakers when it comes to debate on issues pertaining to their field of expertise. It is curious that even a course like African Linguistics is taught through the medium of a foreign language. Although multilingual education holds much value for a nation such as South Africa, translation and interpreting will always be necessary.

Only a few people will get functional knowledge of all 11 languages. It should be noted, however, that bilingual and multilingual people are among the people who appreciate the value of a translator/interpreter for the rendition of certain intricate sentences. In fact, there may be an accrued interest in the principles that underlie the theory and practice of translation and interpreting, especially when many bilingual/multilingual people understand the value of translating and interpreting for national and international interactions.

2.6 Migration

Census 2001 indicates that 2% of the general population was not born in South Africa. The percentage of each population group not born in South Africa indicates that the white group tops the list with 9,3% followed by Asians/Indians (3%), blacks/Africans (1,6%) and Coloured (0,4%). South Africa is home to some 463 003 foreign citizens (i.e. 1% of South Africa's population), mostly from the Southern African Development Community region (SADC), but also from elsewhere in Africa, America, Europe, Asia and Australia.

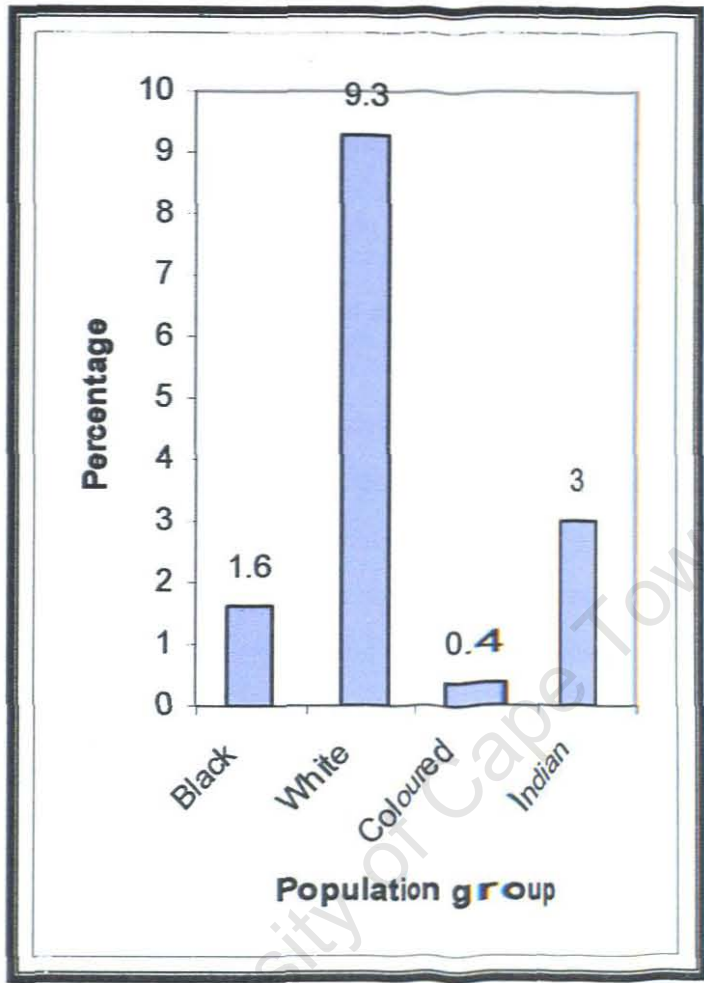
Figure 1.3: Percentage of each population group not born in South Africa



Based on Statistics South Africa (2003). *Census 2001: Census in brief*. Stats. SA: Pretoria. Page 23.

These populations come with an unlimited number of languages. They are only heard within small circles of friends or people sharing kinship ties. However, the state of hibernation of these semi-dormant languages does not last forever. Every now and then, a strange tongue surfaces in the consultation room of a medical practitioner. Certain feelings like intense pain may compel someone to speak or cry in one specific language only, generally his mother tongue (Myers-Scotton 1993: 93). Imagine a situation whereby a so-called Aboubakar from West Africa, a terminally ill patient suffering from HIV/AIDS, is brought into a doctor's consultation room. In such circumstances, it may happen that the doctor would fail to help the patient adequately because the patient is unable to provide medical history information in a language the doctor can understand.

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South African doctors trying to cope with 11 languages find it even harder to deal with foreign tongues like Yoruba, Bambara, Swahili or Lingala. Foreign languages also surface in courts as accused foreigners find refuge and comfort of expression in them. In such cases, an interpreter is sought to provide the much-needed link between the legal or medical professional and these foreigners, in order to deliver quality services.

Other factors influencing language use and even language perception in South Africa include:

- trade with French-speaking and Portuguese-speaking countries of Africa
- South Africa's participation in international peace-keeping missions in Africa
- South Africa's political and diplomatic mediation in matters affecting the continent such as Burundi, Ivory Coast and the Democratic Republic of Congo
- Participation in regional and continental political and economic fora such as the Southern African Development Community (SADC), the New Economic Partnership for Africa's Development (NEPAD), the African Union (AU) or the African Parliament.

All the features mentioned above and many more could have turned South Africa into a linguistic paradise that could generate much benefit and affect positively the status and income of translators and interpreters. It is amazing, however, that in such a nation one hears very little about translation and interpreting. In South Africa, it is as if these two professions, especially court and health care interpreting, suffer from what I intend to call *melania* (from Greek *melas* i.e. dark). They are in the dark, covered by an opaque curtain of silence and voicelessness.

The Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC) was an important moment when interpreting took central stage in the nation. As part of reconciliation and the promotion of national unity in the country, the President of the Republic of South Africa appointed the Truth and Reconciliation Commission in December 1995 (TRC Report Vol. I p. 44) with the mandate to uncover the truth about past gross human rights violations which included the Sharpville killings, the Soweto uprising or the death in detention of Steve Biko among others.

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A total of 37 672 human rights violations were reported (TRC Report Vol. I p. 171). Approximately 89.9% of these reports were submitted by members of the African group (blacks), 1.7% by Coloureds, 1.1% by whites and 0.2% by Asians (TRC Report Vol. I p. 168). The Commission soon faced a communication problem as people were free to address the Commission in the language of their own choice. All the hearings had to be simultaneously interpreted. The Language Facilitation Unit of the University of the Free State recruited and trained interpreters for the TRC (TRC Report Vol. I p. 299). It was predicted that the TRC would bring to South Africa the same benefits that Nuremberg brought to the academic and professional development of interpreting in Europe. The effect is still awaited. It was announced during a conference at the University of the Free State in 2001 that the recruitment and training of TRC interpreters was to be discontinued due to a lack of funds and the completion of the TRC work. It seems as if, after that historical moment in South Africa and the world in general, nothing or little has changed about the status of the interpreter.

Linguists and applied linguists seem to be more preoccupied with issues like language in education, which are, so to say, more glamorous and likely to attract donor funding. Apart from a few studies, little has been said about court interpreting in South Africa. With regard to health care interpreting, the rare studies in the South African context have been limited to specialists such as Drennan (2000), Swartz (2000), Fisch (2002), and Evans (2001). The interpreter himself seems to be either unprepared or ill prepared to voice his concern; he seems reluctant because of, amongst other factors, his self-perception of inadequacy.

This thesis is a contribution towards the opening of the curtain. However, every time that a curtain is opened, one has to be ready to face the ugliness that has previously been covered. Beyond the apparent or real turpitude, one can contemplate and celebrate the beauty that was or is hidden. Then one can critically reflect on means and ways to ensure that beauty should prevail over ugliness.

L3 Introduction to the field of Translation Studies

Research in Translation and Interpreting Studies (TIS) displays two major trends. Some studies are solely rooted in TIS, others are at the intersection of TIS and other linguistic or non-linguistic sub-fields. Literature in the field of TIS indicates the existence of two main components in the field, Translation Studies and Interpreting Studies. Some researchers, like Venuti (2000: 2), see Translation Studies as a general term that encompasses other specific areas of study such as Interpreting and Machine Translation. Other scholars, such as Pochhacker and Shlesinger (2002: 2, 3), doubt the pertinence of translation theory and its ability to address interpreting problems. They rather claim the status of a discipline for Interpreting Studies. Yet the closeness of the two fields would call for a term that covers both of them. One such term could be **Applied Language Studies**. Young (2001: 250) defines Applied Language Studies as “The interdisciplinary field wherein language-related knowledge is *developed* and applied to problem solving and practice in sites of language use”. Translation and interpreting seek the development of Translation/Interpreting theory and the improvement of its practice. Such improvement would rely on the knowledge of language and other related fields. Translation and Interpreting Studies, which also have a multi-disciplinary base, would tend to be appropriately included. Research in Translation Studies are centred on literary translation, which studies translation of fictional texts as well as the translation of non-fictional texts, the latter category including technical texts. The approach used to study the two types of texts has mainly been based on corpus analysis.

Interpreting Studies have generated studies on *types* of interpreting and *modes* of interpreting. The principal types of interpreting include conference interpreting and community interpreting. Some researchers use the term community interpreting or liaison interpreting as a term that encompasses court interpreting and health care interpreting. Other researchers put legal translation and court interpreting as a separate entity. The modes of interpreting include whispering, simultaneous and consecutive interpreting. Community interpreting, especially court interpreting, uses predominantly a consecutive mode.

In South Africa, studies on health care interpreting have investigated various aspects pertaining to the practice of interpreting, the process of interpreting and the role and place of the interpreter. Studies on court interpreting have mainly focused on the process of interpreting and the challenges that that discourse poses for the court interpreter. Little is known about the status of the court interpreter, his educational needs and his perception about his role and training. The current research is intended to be a modest contribution to this aspect.

Issues of status and training are also core elements of Language Planning and Policy (LP). Studies in LP also pay much attention to corpus, status and training, often referred to as acquisition. LP examines these notions as they apply to 'language' in a multilingual community. The current research applies the notion of status and acquisition (training) to the person of the language worker or language practitioner, with special reference to the court interpreter. It further investigates the commonalities and the new discoveries that emanate from such a combination. Researchers have exposed flaws in language when used in brokering situations, especially in hospital and courts. This research suggests that it is not sufficient to incorporate interpreting as an adjunct to LP. There is a dire need to move towards the planning of interpreting and translation *per se*. Such an approach may secure a more meaningful role of translation/interpreting in LP and better serve the needs and expectations of the community.

3.1 Definition

In her attempt to define translation, Juliane House (1981: 25-30) argues that the essence of translation lies in the preservation of meaning across two different languages. She therefore examines the semantic, pragmatic and textual aspects of meaning before suggesting that translation is the replacement of a text in the source language by a semantically and pragmatically equivalent text in the target language. House also distinguishes translation in which the replacement concerns written texts from interpretation (interpreting) understood as oral translation. Bell (1990: 5) defines translation as the expression in another language of what has been expressed in the original language (the source language) preserving semantic and stylistic equivalence.

Ladmiral (in Capelle (ed.) 1986: 145-166) sees translation not as a matter of translating a source text but rather an **interpretation** of what has happened in the mind of the author of the source text. For him translation is, so to say, a psychological endeavour. Pierre-Paul Lacas, as reported by Michelle Tran Van Khai (in Durand-Bogaert *et al.* (eds.) 1986: 9-10), considers translation in its psychanalytical perspective with three aspects that cannot be better rendered than by his own terms i.e. '*invoquer*', '*provoquer*' and '*évoquer*'. This approach suits best the translation of literary texts, which is believed to involve, from the translator, "the invocation" or the calling or, even better, the recalling of an inner voice. This invocation is prompted by an invoking pulsation, along with "the provocation" or invocation for others, then thirdly, "evocation" or the actual rendering of the past voice kept in the memory. This perspective has some importance even in a thesis that focuses on court interpreting because interpreting also implies the three steps. The assumption is that the interpreter/translator cannot cause others (*'provoquer'*) to see or understand what he himself is unable to see or understand. Freud's work operates with the assumption that emotional blockages of the past inhibit an individual's self-understanding and autonomy of action (Giddens 1992: 30). It therefore becomes important for a researcher on court interpreting to cast an inquisitive look at the history of the profession in an attempt to understand present perceptions and permeate various aspects of the court interpreter's self-perception.

Ingram (2001: 101) also investigates the relation between Translation Studies and Psychoanalytic Transference. She concludes that translation is at the same time a **representation** and a **metonymic continuation** of the original text in the target culture. The translator can appear as a self-effaced person, a political radical, or a harmonious bridge. The important question remains, 'What can make the translation adopt any of these attitudes or strategies?' There is surely more to it than the interplay between translator and text. Mahony (2001: 68) who attempts to provide an understanding of Translation in Psychoanalysis, suggests that due to each individual's unique personal history, the meaning assigned to words is distinctive. The uniqueness of personal history and uniqueness of the profession's history can also provide an insight into the way court interpreters operate.

According to Pergnier (1980: 2), there are three ways of looking at the term 'translation'. He argues that translation can be considered as a **result**, a **process** or the **comparison** of idioms across languages. As a result, the term 'translation' refers to the end product of a text in a language different from the source language (source code). As a process, translation refers to the mental operations involved in the transformation of a text from a source language to a target language. Bassnet (1991: 13) outlays three types of translation, firstly rewording or intralingual translation, secondly transmutation or intersemiotic translation (verbal to non-verbal) and thirdly interlingual translation or translation proper, the last involving the interpretation of verbal signs by means of some other language.

Interpreting is still considered as a specific type of translation except that translation uses the written medium whilst interpreting uses the spoken medium. However, with the change of medium comes a difference in the skills required for the capturing, processing and production of information. Pochhacker (2002: 98), referring to oral translation, argues that interpreting cannot only be regarded as a textual product (or result). It can also be construed as a **service** rendered by an individual or a group (a team). The notion of service bears much relevance to this study as it intends to cast an ethnographic look at the translator but mainly at the court interpreter. Court interpreting is a profession which faces its own challenges. This can be well comprehended when one looks at the interaction between the interpreters and other court officials such as magistrates, attorneys, prosecutors and clerks.

3.2 Translation research

Whilst everyone agrees that there exists such a generic term as translation, it appears difficult to determine its specific boundaries. This situation, argues Pergnier (1980: 5-6), denies translation scientific autonomy. He argues that many theories of translation can be reduced to applications of linguistics, semiotics, or logic and mathematics. Bassnett's publications tend to argue for translation as an autonomous discipline (1991). The number of scholars who add voice to the autonomy of translation includes Nida (2000), Steiner (2000) and Catford (2000). Some argue for autonomy and others look at it as a part of linguistics, this thesis does not intend to ignite such debates.

Research in the sub-field of Literary Translation takes three major routes. The first type of research seeks to theorise Literary Translation (Lefevere 2000, Even-Zohar 2000 and Toury 2000). The second type of research examines problems associated with the translation of poetry, prose or dramatic text, either focusing on a genre or a specific author (Bassnett 1991, Bassnett 1997, Borges 2000, Gasset 2000, Pasquier 1996). The third type of research focuses on the history of literary translation (Bassnett 1991). Commercial, scientific and technical translations are other major areas of non-fictional translation. Commercial translation is sometimes referred to as business translation. It deals mainly with documents related to trade, finance, custom, or banking. Unfortunately, commercial translation has failed to capture the attention of translation researchers in general and especially in South Africa. The few research outputs that can be associated with this issue include Rowbotham (1999), who reflects on the best ways that freelance translators can fulfil business needs and expectations. Technical and scientific translation deals with a variety of texts which include notices and patent documents.

In South Africa, Pinchuck (1977) remains one of the classic publications on the topic. Technical and Scientific Translation investigates technical texts with specific emphasis on the morphological, syntactical and lexical processes and the application thereof in scientific translation, especially those which use German and English. Pinchuck also comments on the use of reference material. The analysis of literary and non-literary texts relies on theories generated in a variety of language studies, which include discourse analysis, pragmatics, and text linguistics and corpus linguistics as means of solving translation problems. Problems of a cultural nature are examined by means of socio-cultural theories (Brisset 2000). It is undeniable that the most research into translation focuses on translation as a result or a product. There is, however, an increasing focus on the process of translation, either as a technique or as a purely abstract mental phenomenon. As will be shown in the next section, a common feature of both Translation Studies and Interpreting Studies lies in that, although each uses different methods of investigation due to the nature of the two activities, the three main areas of focus remain the product i.e. interpreted/translated text, the process of translation/interpreting and the agent i.e. the translator/interpreter.

L4 Research into interpreting

4.1 General

Research into interpreting seems distributed across three major types, conference or simultaneous interpreting, sign language interpreting, and community interpreting, also called liaison interpreting. Court interpreting is considered either as a separate entity or as part of community interpreting along with health care interpreting (Benmamoun 1995: 179). The focus of research in interpreting tends to show a tripartite sub-division i.e. focus on result/product, focus on the mental phenomenon and focus on the agent/interpreter. Kurtz (2002: 195) is among the researchers whose studies concentrate on the interpreter. Kurtz focuses on the issue of stress as it affects interpreters in two environments (conference and TV broadcast), showing evidence that TV broadcast interpreting is more stressful than conference interpreting.

Other researchers have laboriously endeavoured to study interpreting as the end product of a process. One of the preoccupations that needed to be addressed was that of determining the elements that should be studied in the interpreted text. Focus has been placed mainly on the importance of quality and the best possible way to achieve it. However close examination of the position of the interpreted message *vis à vis* the source message may provide enough evidence to support the theory that the interpreted text can claim autonomy, since the professional interpreter does not rely only on the message included in the source text, but also on his background knowledge. Other studies have focussed on the quality of interpreting. Gile (1988) (cited in Kalina 2002) suggests that effort must be equally shared between listening, memory and production. Any lack of balance will result in quality deterioration. In a real life situation, the interpreter does not operate in isolation. He interacts with various people before, during and after sessions. Pochhacker (1994) (cited in Kalina 2002) suggests that any assessment of interpreting quality must take into account the contextual factors and situational variables. Garzone (2002: 105-108) also argues that quality is the sum of several aspects related to the interpreters, clients, users and speakers.

Thus a study of quality should take into account the inter-textual elements (comparison of source and target version), intra-textual elements (acoustic, linguistic and logic of the target text as an autonomous piece) and the instrumental ones (target text's comprehensibility and usefulness as a customer service). The quality of interpretation does not depend only on the input message and the mental processing of information, but also on the expectations of the target audience. Pochhacker (2002: 95-106) concurs with Garzone (2002: 107-120) that an inquiry into the quality of interpreting should take into consideration the interpreter, the users of his services (the clients) as well as the source and the interpreted corpus. Kalina (2002: 121-131) provides a somewhat comprehensive list of factors that can affect the quality of interpreting. The list includes, *inter alia*, issues of payment, availability of relevant texts and reference material, technical equipment, working hours, explicit reference and positive remarks about the interpreters, adequate working hours, good presentation by all the speakers, need for interpretation, constructive feedback and debriefing. These elements tend to show that the agent (interpreter) is the key to the success of the process (interpreting) and the quality of the end product (interpreted message). Thus, addressing the interpreter's needs would result in an improvement to the services that he renders.

4.2 Court Interpreting

Court Interpreting has been the focus of a number of studies both nationally and internationally. Much effort, however, has gone into various interpreting problems, including issues of misinterpretations, code of conduct or role. A review of South African literature on court interpreting shows that a certain amount of interesting research has been carried out in recent years in the vital area of court interpreting. However, very little, if any, has been said about the role of memory in court interpreting, the importance of constructive feedback, issues of remuneration, perception of status or perception of training needs. Katschinka (1997: 47-48) has focused on court interpreting in the perspective of the United Nation 1966 Covenant to the 1948 Universal Convention of Human Rights, which serves as basis for the 'accused' to use his mother tongue in a court of law. She recommends *inter alia* that Court Interpreters need to be well trained in order to provide a satisfactory service.

She lists a number of aspects to be included in court interpreters' training courses. Musehane (1997) looks at inaccurate renditions and misinterpretations that occur in the Venda courts. He attempts to provide reasons that account for the misinterpretations, but disregards the roles that income, respect and certain aspects of training play. In her recommendations for translator-interpreter training, Garmashova (1997) advocates modularisation and semestralisation of training based on the condition of perception of message, the form of translation and the expectations of the clients or the initiators of the translation. Moeketsi (2000) approaches court interpreting with the view to correct the many sorts of inconsistencies and irregularities. She provides many useful hints (mostly for short-term preparation). Her suggestions can help court interpreters to be adequately prepared and to render a better service.

A review of international research reveals that, although mainstream research still focuses on subject knowledge, the interpreter's monitoring, expression of human emotions in court, the defendant's rights (Rochard 1993, Morris 1990, Altano 1990, Chapman 1990), there appears to be an increasing attention to issues of interpreters' training and status. Roberts and Tayler (1990: 73) quotes Bennett (1981: 179-180) as arguing that ideal court interpreting training should comprise four areas: law, language, professionalisation and skills (which include note-taking, memory, documentation, maintaining a terminological index, language switching and linguistic reflexes, working under pressure, diction and voice, legal translation and, possibly, simultaneous skills). Other studies do not look at court interpreting *per se* but suggest ideas that can be useful for the training of court interpreters. Santulli (2002) argues for the important role of linguistics in the interpreters' curriculum, Vagio (2002) looks at the role of pragmatics, Gran, Carabelli and Merlini (2002) highlight the usefulness of computers in the training of interpreters, whilst Pippa and Russo (2002) stress the importance of aptitudes. Unfortunately there are only few instances which have tried to understand the way court interpreters perceive their own training needs. Even fewer South African studies have attempted to relate the needs of interpreters at grassroots level in the light of language planning and policy framework.

1.5 Motivation

The motivation for this research finds its roots in the researcher who has a modest ten-year experience in translation and interpreting practice. The services rendered in political, judicial and religious contexts show that interpreting and translation are much-needed assets for individuals and communities. Non-Governmental Organisations, businesses and government departments call on translators and interpreters only when communication crises occur. Poor service delivery can lead to serious flaws, which undermine linguistic rights (Erasmus 1999:128). It is not enough to complain and blame the interpreter. A solution to the issues should involve an assessment of what the interpreters conceive as elements that need to be addressed, so as to allow better service delivery.

1.6 Research questions

Mason (1996: 15) suggests the use of research questions as the backbone of a research design. She sees them as valuable as propositions or hypotheses. The overall question of my study is, 'What aspects should be addressed when planning language services at grassroots level?' To this overall research question can be added a number of more specific questions, which focus on one category of language practitioner, namely court interpreters:

- What is the background of court interpreters?
- How do they perceive their professional status?
- How do they perceive their training needs?
- What are the implications for language planning?

These questions are addressed using data collected mainly by means of questionnaires. Additional information came from interviews, observation (including participant observation), archives and literature. The checking of archives was thought necessary for the understanding of the history of interpreting, but in this regard they appeared less useful than the works of Fine (1986) and Malherbe (1990).

I.7 Significance of the study

Language planning is understood as the State's intervention on language so as to affect its use and status. It is thus a top-down approach. My research operates from the perspective of a bottom-up approach. It examines aspects that need to be addressed at grassroots level so as to ensure better results in language planning. In a way, it supports those who believe in a double effort approach i.e. government and grassroots levels. It then proceeds a little further to suggest recommendation for language planning, which takes into account the specific needs of language practitioners who form a special group. They are not only speakers of languages but they mediate between language communities, thus ensuring that a specific language policy works and serves better the interests of all speakers in a multilingual setting.

I.8 Subdivision of the thesis

The General Introduction constitutes Chapter One. Chapter Two, on translation and interpreting, is subdivided into three sections. The first section is a short introduction dealing with the situation of interpreters in the 17th-century Cape. The second section deals with the emergence of interpreting, whilst the third section deals with the development of translation. The status, training and working conditions of early interpreters is carefully examined. The birth of formal training of translators is analysed in the light of the contribution of the Bureau of Translation, today's Language Services Bureau. Chapter Three, which focuses on court interpreting in recent years, is subdivided into two parts. One deals with court interpreting in the 20th-century. The other part casts an in-depth look at the current issues of translating and interpreting. The role of certain government departments is examined for their legacy to current issues of court interpreting. The current policy of promoting eleven languages provides an opportunity and a challenge to court interpreting. Chapter Four, with its three sections, looks at the research design, the survey questionnaire and pilot work. Chapter Five discusses findings on the status of court interpreters. Chapter Six looks at issues of training. Chapter Seven is devoted to various issues of importance. Focus is put on job market and the interaction between language planning and practitioners. The conclusion then follows.

II. Translation and Interpreting in South Africa

II. 1 Interpreting

1.1.Introduction

After the general introduction which shed light on aspects of language use and the setting of this study, it appears important to focus specifically on translation and interpreting in South Africa. It is thought worthwhile to use both primary and secondary sources rather than discarding completely secondary sources to the benefit of primary one. Fine (1986) and Malherbe (1990) have been combined with translated text from the Journal of Jan van Riebeeck and other original documents. I consider secondary sources as a rewording which adds new shades to the original texts that they consulted. The reworded version together with the original may provide a richer image of the early days of translation and interpreting in South Africa. My rendition of the sources can be viewed as my own interpretation of historical facts in order to locate translation and interpreting in the maze of colonial and judicial history.

South Africa is located on the Africa continent which can be called the continent of multilingualism *par excellence* due to the many tribes and ethnic groups that have been living and interacting with others on the continent for many centuries. Monolingualism in the pre-colonial (even the post-colonial) Africa is an exception, multilingualism is the norm. Cameroon, for example, has 240 indigenous languages (Green, 2003). It is a significant number if one considers that Cameroon is smaller than France or Spain. One can hardly survive if he/she only masters one language. In such an environment, almost everyone faces the need to translate or interpret in some situations. In certain parts of Africa, interpreting skills were perceived as a natural ability along with language speaking. This type of interpreting was community-based; it is also called liaison interpreting. Liaison interpreting is the oldest and most natural way of interpreting. In certain communities, no one was seen as a professional interpreter *per se*. Interpreting was not recognized as a profession or rewarded as a service. The only benefit one would get from his knowledge of many languages was to boast about his skills and the access his languages could provide.

People employed as carriers, or members of the local population whose primary duty was not interpreting, interpreted the interaction between explorers and the local populations they encountered. In certain communities, the lack of recognition of interpreting as professional activity was exacerbated by the fact that African languages evolved in a *continuum*. Makoni (1998: 158-160) argues that the systematic process of classifying speech into separate dialects/languages resulted in an exaggerated magnification of the difference between dialects/languages. Ranger (1989: 127) adds that the missionary-linguist obscured the gradualism and homogeneity of African dialects/languages in the actual situation. Makoni and Ranger imply that when travelling from a linguistic Zone A to a linguistic Zone C, the traveller had to cross an intermediary Zone B (where language A and Language C would be mutually intelligible). Zone B, a springboard to Zone C served as a massive reservoir of interpreters who could help mediate interactions between extreme members of language Zone A and language Zone C. In such a situation, Interpreting was thus an ability shared by large sections of the population. In the same vein, Niang (1990: 34) argues that Interpreting started gaining recognition only with the arrival of explorers, missionaries and colonial masters. This approach falls short of recognising that wars and invasions were a common feature in pre-colonial Africa. These wars could oppose neighbouring or distant communities. The sudden linguistic clash and the new balance of forces meant that the interpreter of certain languages could become a rare jewel, well respected and sometimes highly rewarded for his services.

When the first settlers arrived at the Cape, it is possible that they communicated with the local population, the Khoikhoi, by mimes and signs. When the Dutch came to establish the Cape settlement in 1652 under the leadership of Jan van Riebeeck, they noticed that the Khoikhoi had the ability to learn Dutch and they could interpret for the settlers and the Khoikhoi. Amatshuto is one of the Khoikhoi tribe leaders who had acquired Dutch in a relatively short period of time and started operating as an interpreter. In 1658 Jan van Riebeeck noticed that the barter between the Khoi and the Dutch was not progressing sufficiently for his interests, so Amatshuto was accused of misinterpretation, and arrested and imprisoned on Robben Island. The interpreter fled from prison and a year later applied for and was granted residence near the Castle, where he continued to work as an interpreter (Boers, 2002:19).

This anecdote is but the tip of the iceberg of the plight faced by interpreters in the 17th century Cape. The three volumes of Jan van Riebeeck's Journal (1651-1662) contain several instances where he refers to indigenous language facilitators as 'interpreter' for example 'our interpreter Harry' (Thom 1952: 130) or 'The interpreter Eva...' (1958: 80). This can be viewed as a mark of value placed upon the profession in the new environment. In the new setting, people who acquired the language of the master were admired, sought after and in high demand for the new type of interaction. The role of the interpreter varied from advisor to guide, assistant or middleman. Some people viewed him as a trickster, but others considered him to be a vital link. The interpreter played an axial role in Africa's evangelisation, colonisation, exploration and exploitation (Moeketsi 1999: 129).

In a description of interpreting at the dawn of colonisation in Africa, Niang (1990: 34) states that some of the early interpreters came from noble or royal African families. The interpreters could be respected as long as their tribe or kingdom remained powerful. The early European settlers wooed them and manipulated them or even enticed them with either presents or glamorous promises, then used them to advocate the European cause among the Africans. But as soon as the Europeans felt in a position of strength and confidence, or when the African tribe did not represent any threat to European interests, the interpreter was treated as a mere servant or, even worse, as a slave. He could be punished at will, or even imprisoned. The status of the interpreter varied according to the power relation that was in place.

1.2 Interpreters in the Cape of Good Hope (17th Century)

In the first part of the 17th Century, the Cape of Good Hope (today Cape Town and surrounds) served as a temporary refreshment point for English, Portuguese or Dutch seamen travelling between Europe and India. But in April 1652, under the leadership of Jan van Riebeeck, the Dutch East India Company decided to establish a permanent settlement where Dutch settlers would farm to provide the Company with foodstuff especially wheat and meat (Omer-Cooper 1994: 17-22).

Farming activities were carried out, together with bartering. The Dutch migrant population was boosted by, among others, the French Huguenots, as well as slaves from the Indies, East Africa, or Asia, who were to mix with the indigenous population. The main dwelling locations or establishment centres included the Fort (today's Cape Town Central District), Stellenbosch, Swellendam and Graaff-Reinet (Hahlo and Khan 1968: 566-568). In these centres, various population groups interacted either directly or with the help of interpreters.

The role, training, status and respect of interpreters are aspects which this thesis intends to examine closely. It seemed reasonable to analyse the life of some of the early interpreters with the hope that it will offer a clue to some of the issues that interpreters faced and to some extent still face today. Among the earliest recorded interpreters appear names such as Krotoa, renamed "Eva", Autshumato, called Harry, Kaik Ana Ma Koukoa, also called Claes Das, and Otengo, called Pieter and Doman, renamed Anthony. This recorded history remains a source of important information.

The interpreters were trained by means of two main approaches. They were either immersed in the target language-culture, or apprenticed. Krotoa was taken into Jan van Riebeeck's house where she was immersed into the Dutch language-culture (Malherbe 1990: 51). Malherbe (1990: 5) states that Autshumato was sent to Java in Batavia for two years (from 1631 to 1632) to acquire the English language. The journal of Jan van Riebeeck records that quite often Jan van Riebeeck would dine with an interpreter (Thom 1952: 319). One would think that this was meant to provide the interpreter with sufficient knowledge of the Dutch language-culture. Indeed, the interpreter did benefit by learning through a close interaction with Dutch people. But in most cases, interpreters attended dinners thrown for prestigious guests, in order to help with interpreting. Apprenticeship was the third avenue for the training of interpreters. Experienced interpreters like Autshumato helped novices in the profession e.g. Claes Das. The novice would accompany the experienced interpreter, observe him, ask questions and then try to emulate him. These are some of the efforts made to expose the interpreters to the foreign language and the profession. However, as one may agree, this exposure was not sufficient.

Even the Dutch themselves were well aware of the fact. Jan van Riebeeck's Journal contains several records of the interpreters' poor command of the foreign language. For example:

Meanwhile Harry (Autshumato) the Hottentot who speaks a little broken English ... (Thom 1952: 76)

or The Hottentot Harry gave us to understand by means of signs and broken, hybrid English that this table valley was annually visited by three tribes of people... (Thom 1952: 80).

Autshumato fulfilled duties which went beyond the mere task of interpreting. He facilitated the exchange of letters among sailors and their family members. He relayed news of ships' movements. He offered consultancy services about the conditions in the Cape when the Cape was still unfamiliar to most mariners. Moreover, he played a key role in the facilitation of bartering between the Khoikhoi and the Dutch (Malherbe 1990: 5). Autshumato was also used as a military informant. Jan van Riebeeck Journal provides explicit information on the Dutch plan when facing their declared enemies, the Kaapmans and the Gorachouquas.

'Wherefore, after due deliberation it has been agreed and decided that without delay Harry (Autshumato) should be fetched once more... since he is far better acquainted than we are with the footpaths and the hide-outs which our enemies have everywhere... we can find out from him which...may lead to the overthrow of our present enemy' (Thom 1958: 95)

As for Krotoa, she also helped in barter facilitation. She was also a key informant on many aspects of the socio-cultural and ethnography of the Khoikhoi. Although sometimes the information she gave was not accurate, Thom (1958: 8) states that she studied, examined and extracted information that she delivered to the Dutch when called upon. This is not mere interpreting. Jan van Riebeeck's diary records that without Krotoa they would have been ignorant of many things.

Throughout her interpreting career, especially in its early stages, Krotoa appeared to be the unconditional advocate of the Dutch. She seemed to have lost a professional interpreter's sense of impartiality. Jan van Riebeeck saw her as a good instrument for the Company's benefit. His diary confirms that she was mainly responsible for the promotion of the Company's interests (Malherbe 1990: 23). Krotoa is reported to have declared that she would never forget the Dutch, that she had a Dutch heart inside her (Malherbe 1990: 24). Her unconditional attachment to the master could not allow her to function adequately as an interpreter. Moreover, Doman considered her a flatterer (lickspittle) of the Dutch and a betrayer of her own people (Malherbe 1990: 22). This worsened professional relations in the team of interpreters as Jan van Riebeeck's Journal records:

Yesterday the interpreter Doman, being angry at Eva because she retails us their affairs, hinted that he would cause our explorers to be slain so that we should not undertake any further expeditions so far inland and discover the settlements in the interior (Thom 1958: 17)

Although later in Krotoa's life, there were a few occasions when she spoke for the Khoikhoi, loyalty to the master remained the most outstanding feature of her career (Malherbe 1990: 33, 55). Autshumato played the role of a language broker, a culture broker and a power broker. He seemed to seek balance between his personal interest as well as Dutch and Khoikhoi interests. Malherbe (1990: 38) attests to the fact that, during a Dutch-Khoikhoi peace talk, Chief Choro came with Autshumato and Doman to speak on the behalf of the Khoikhoi people.

The status of these early interpreters can be seen in the type of remuneration they received. Krotoa for instance earned money which she could use for food and clothing only. However, to remedy the poor payment she was given, the Commander of the Dutch Cape Company offered her the small sum of 50 rixdollars and a little party in the Commander's house as a wedding present (Malherbe 1990: 48). Autshumato was not willing to serve for a small amount of money and wait upon the benevolence of the master to get some extra income. He stated plainly to Jan van Riebeeck that he was willing to act as a broker in the Dutch-Khoikhoi barter, but that he should collect a brokerage fee.

Unfortunately this suggestion portrayed him as a greedy man and therefore not worthy of trust, seeing that he could, at wish, block or facilitate the transaction. This situation also laid the interpreter at risk in that he could be wrongly accused of blocking transactions so as to suit his own interests (Malherbe 1990: 6). Having obtained satisfaction to his first demand, although he was unfortunately imprisoned for a barter unsatisfactory to the Dutch, Autshumato proceeded to request that he should be provided with trade goods in his own name. He was successful and obtained a private herd from which he gave the Dutch only a few of the cattle he had bought (Malherbe 1990: 9). In another transaction where the Dutch gained 71 animals, Autshumato threatened to block the trade until he was provided with gifts. When Otegn expressed his discontentment, he was given some tobacco, copper and chains (Malherbe 1990: 14). However, Krotoa did not take advantage of an interpreting occasion to obtain satisfactory remuneration.

Adherence to the interpreter's code of conduct seems to have been marred by a number of factors. The interpreters hated each other and betrayed each other to the master. This refers particularly to the instance where Krotoa (wrongfully or rightfully) accused Doman of disclosing a private conversation of Jan van Riebeeck (Malherbe 1990: 16). This implies that the interpreters had knowledge of acceptable and unacceptable professional conduct. One may concur with Krotoa that repeating overheard private information is unacceptable behaviour for an interpreter. But the fact that Krotoa herself reported a colleague to the Dutch Commander is also questionable. Wasn't there a possibility to deal with the issue within the interpreters' team? Doman on the other hand, used every opportunity to blacken Krotoa's name and sow discord between her and the Dutch Company (Malherbe 1990: 23). Doman, however, was accused by a third party of being impertinent and poking his nose in everything (Malherbe 1990: 24). On another occasion, Doman openly showed that he wanted the Dutch to kill his fellow interpreter, Autshumato (Malherbe 1990: 18). This type of behaviour is inconsistent with interpreting ethics. During the first Khoikhoi-Dutch war, Doman disclosed to the Khoikhoi that the Dutch firearms were ineffective in rain (Malherbe 1990: 28). The disclosure of such militarily sensitive information could have had terrible consequences for the Dutch.

Another instance of a breach of the ethical code of conduct occurs with Autshomato, who deliberately concealed certain information. He did not want the Dutch to be told of gold or pearls, fearing that the country would be stripped of these commodities i.e. that the Dutch would take them either to Europe or other destinations (Malherbe 1990: 15). It is also mentioned that, on a few occasions, Krotoa was caught telling untruths (Maherbe 1990: 40). Jan van Riebeeck's Journal recorded the following about Autshumato who had run away from the Dutch

...and he told us a lot of lies in order to retain our favour. He told us among other things that our men daily gave out that if he would come to the fort or show himself in the commander's sight, he would be killed (Thom 1954: 87).

It should be noted, however, that the socio-economic and political environment of the day contributed to a flaw in the observance of ethical norms. Jan van Riebeeck, who was ignorant of the Khoikhoi languages, set the interpreters against each other so as to preclude them from conniving against the Dutch Company, as well as allowing him to extract the information that he needed (Malherbe 1990: 17). The confrontational setting in which the interpreters worked was meant to provide Jan van Riebeeck with a mechanism of control. It also allowed him the liberty of choosing which interpreter would talk for him at a specific occasion. Jan van Riebeeck understood that it was to his benefit not to appoint a chief interpreter who would lead the junior interpreters already in his service. He found it beneficial to exert direct control over each interpreter, so that the group of interpreters would not have total control over the information that he could access. This situation seemed a rewarding political strategy in that it allowed Jan van Riebeeck to uncover a few interpreting inconsistencies (lies). Yet, such an atmosphere was very harmful to the interpreting process. Each of the interpreters would be forced to pretend that he/she had full command of all the dialects and registers. No interpreter would want to ask for help from fellow colleagues for fear of mockery or even disqualification. Hence the parties were given incomplete information. Considering that not only casual conversations and trade transactions were to be interpreted, but texts of significant value had to be translated, for example Peace Treaties; any inaccurate interpreting, though unintentional, could be hazardous to peace, security and stability.

Rather than providing the interpreters with adequate working conditions, Jan van Riebeeck was only interested in turning them into useful instruments for the Company's interests (Malherbe 1990: 29).

The issue of **respect** for interpreters is an important concern of this study. The lives of the early interpreters tend to show that the Dutch did not hold them in respect. Interpreters were pampered only when they were needed and as long as they did not endanger the Company's interests. In the June 1658 incident, when some slaves had fled, the Dutch did not resist the idea of imprisoning and keeping as hostages Autshumato, Otegnno and Otegnno's brother Osingkhimma. They considered that all that Autshumato possessed belonged to the Company because, prior to their arrival, the interpreter was just a poor man (Malherbe 1990: 16-18). On 10 July 1658, Autshumato was sent to prison on Robben Island for the second time (Malherbe 1990: 22). As for Krotoa, she seemed to have enjoyed much prestige when Jan van Riebeeck was commander of the Company. Probably this was due to the strong ties she had with Maria van Riebeeck who worked hard to inculcate in her the Christian faith and the Dutch way of life, so as to transform her from a Khoikhoi woman to a Dutch woman. Thus some of her choices that were inconsistent with the Dutch way of life were considered part of the transformation process. Wagenaer, who had replaced Jan van Riebeeck, did not like Krotoa and did not respect her. On one occasion he referred to her as 'this naughty thing...'; her Khoikhoi traditional costume that she wore whenever she went to her tribesmen was referred to by him as 'stinking' skin (Malherbe 1990: 44).

It is sometimes suggested that the interpreter played a negative role in the colonisation and exploitation of Africa. *I tend to think that such suggestions lie in the selective reading of the history of interpreting.* The suggestions either ignore considering the input of the African interpreter in the struggle against foreign occupation and exploitation, or they underestimate the determination of the Dutch Company to achieve its goals by mischief. Jan van Riebeeck's diary recorded a few events, which show Autshumato's desperate attempt to counter the Dutch occupation and exploitation of the Cape at the expense of the indigenous people.

In 1656 and 1657 Autshumato opposed the Dutch attempts to chase him and other Khoikhoi from the grazing land near the fort. He replied that the Cape belonged to him and the other Khoikhoi. Moreover, he objected to the Dutch suggestion to allocate land in ratio to the supply of a specific number of cattle (Malherbe 1990: 13-14). Later, Autshumato used other strategies in his resistance to foreign occupation. These included intentional concealment of strategic information and advocacy for the indigenous populations (Malherbe 1990: 15, 37). As part of his struggle, the 17th - century interpreter fell victim to various accusations that aimed at weakening his position and role. The Dutch had set plans to achieve their target even without the help of the African interpreter. Malherbe (1990: 8-9) reveals some of the Dutch's hidden intentions. In the absence of the interpreter, the Dutch who had struggled to communicate with the Khoikhoi, could hardly secure the cattle they needed for survival. They planned to attack the Khoikhoi so as to seize the cattle, and use the captives as slaves. But when the interpreter returned in June 1655, these plans were cast aside, leaving way for 'normal' barter.

A full debate on the issue of interpreter's neutrality would be beyond the limited scope of this thesis. It may be noted however that 17th-century Cape interpreters had no room for neutrality and objectivity. Africans and Europeans each had interests to preserve. Furtherance of one group's interests could be achieved without raising suspicions on the interpreter's position. The European settlers made every effort to sway the interpreter to their cause. The settlers were not concerned with neutrality or fairness towards the African people. The interpreter was expected to 'pull strings' in favour of the settlers. Jan van Riebeeck's Journal records,

Sitting at table in the afternoon, and conversing with the Hottentot Harry – who speaks a little broken English, and whom we daily feed from our table in order to make him all the more favourably disposed towards us- (Thom 1952: 80).

II.2 Emergence of court interpreting

2.1 Introduction

Interpreting which, as we have seen it, had played a major role during the Dutch period, was soon to fall into oblivion. Visagie (1969) provides a good picture of the development of the judicial system from 1652 to 1806. Unfortunately, no attention is devoted to matters of interpreting. However a few facts are known about the way a dispute settlement system emerged in the colonial administration. During the first 143 years (1652-1795), the Cape was under the rule of the Dutch East India Company, which administered it on behalf of the Republic of Seven Provinces. The actual administration was carried out by a council, which was presided over by a Commander or a Governor. The council managed all the affairs of the settlement until 1682 when a college of four *heemraden* was appointed at Stellenbosch to deal with the Administration of Justice, which mainly involved the settlement of boundary disputes (Hablo and Khan 1968:569). The Administration of Justice was based on the Roman Dutch legal system. Dutch was the official language, and all courts proceedings were conducted in Dutch. Interpreting was needed for mediation in cases involving speakers of languages other than Dutch. Towards the end of the eighteenth century the fight between the Dutch and African native populations was to know a new development. British who had been passing through the Cape wished to settle at the Cape. This led to the first British occupation (1795-1802) but then reoccupied it for a second time from 1806 to 1834 during the short period (1803-1806). The Cape was under the rule of the Batavian Republic (Omer-Cooper 1994: 41). In accordance with the ideal of the revolutions in Europe, slavery and forced labour were to be abolished at the Cape so as to give way to a fairer society. The judiciary was guardian of egalitarianism and equity.

Fine (1986: xix) argues that the entrenchment of English in this hegemonic position was conducted first covertly, then overtly, through the establishment of the Supreme Court, which was intended to be the instrument that would orchestrate the gradual anglicisation of the judicial system. But one can also consider the introduction of English as a natural socio-linguistic and political development.

The British, unlike the French Huguenots did not want to be fully integrated and assimilated with the Dutch settlers. Fléchais (1999) provides a detailed description of the Huguenots' integration and refinement of the Dutch community at the Cape. The context of military victory, which brought the British into the Cape, could lead to expectations that the language of the victor would prevail in certain aspects of life. However the introduction of English as the official language and language of justice allowed court interpreting to rise to a new dimension.

2.2 Change of legal systems

During the first British occupation of the Cape, some moves were already initiated in order to progressively change the Cape Judicial System, which was based on promulgated law (Roman system). It was transformed to the British system (common law) based on judicial precedent as source of law and the system of decision by jury. However all these measures left the issue of language untouched. Dutch was left in its hegemonic position. It continued to be the language of the judiciary. The changes introduced by the British during the first occupation that lasted from September 1795 to February 1803 included (Fine 1986: 1-2):

1. the commissioning of a Vice Admiralty Court
2. the constitution of the Governor and the Lieutenant-Governor into a civil court of appeal
3. the decrease in the members of the Court of Justice members from 13 to 8 members
4. the payment of salaries to judges
5. the abolishment of the practice of proceedings by torture
6. *The abolishment of punishment after trial.*

In 1806, the Cape was reoccupied by the British, who were to complete the task they had initiated during their first occupation. They officially declared the retention of all rights and privileges, which the Dutch had enjoyed. But at the same time the British initiated a reshaping of Government, administration and the judicial machinery (Hahlo and Khan 1968: 567). Obviously, they re-commissioned the Vice Admiralty Courts and instituted the Governor's office as the Court of Civil Appeal.

A major innovation to the judicial system was the introduction of circuit courts. With this innovation, justice could go to relatively remote places, thus providing the officials with an opportunity to experience certain challenges such as those related to the use of certain languages or dialects. This problem was going to call for interpreters to lend support and mediate between the local population and the court officials. The idea of circuit courts, which was first raised in 1801, was realised in 1811. The circuit courts were designed completely on the British model. They were intended to be a milestone in the transformation of the judicial system and intended to introduce English first into the judiciary and then into all the spheres of public life. In accordance with the practice of justice in Great Britain, the circuit court became open to the public for the first time in 1813, unlike the proceedings of the Court of Justice, which were conducted behind closed doors. On the Governor's recommendation, even the testimony of the witness that was first heard behind closed doors became accessible to the public, thus rendering the entire process clear and transparent (Fine 1986: 3-5).

2.3 English as official language and the language of the judiciary

The introduction of English as official language and the language of the judiciary was effected by the English Language Proclamation of 5 July 1822. This proclamation stipulated the following:

'Whereas it has been deemed expedient, with view to the prosperity of this settlement, that the language of the parent land should be more universally diffused, and that a period should now be fixed at which the English language shall be exclusively used in all judicial and official acts, proceedings and businesses within the same. The long and familiar intercourse which has happily taken place between the good inhabitants of this colony and the very numerous British-born subjects who have established themselves, or have been settled here, has already facilitated a measure which is likely still more closely to unite the loyal subjects to their common Sovereign...'

Government of the Cape of Good Hope (1827).
Proclamations, Advertisements, and Other Notices from 10th January 1806 to 2nd May 1825. Government Printer: Cape of Good Hope. p. 558

Through this proclamation the Government was engaging actively in a language policy activity that would have far-reaching consequences. The proclamation shows that it had taken advantage of the many British settlers who came to the Cape in the 1820s. Giliomee argues that English was imposed even though more than 90 percent of Europeans in the Colony spoke no English (2003: 3). Judicial innovations that were taking place could not succeed without a more visible presence of the English language. A linguistic intervention of this nature could have caused a serious steer in the colony if certain measures for language facilitation were not taken. Within the same proclamation it is mentioned that Bilingual Irish instructors trained in Holland had arrived at the Cape with the mission of facilitating the acquisition of English to all classes of the society. Obviously one can expect these teachers/missionaries to engage in translation and interpreting between English and Dutch.

Dutch-speaking monolingual members of the judiciary could have opposed vigorously such a decision which would lead to the appointment of bilingual official or English-speaking monolingual ones. Fortunately, the Proclamation gave some deadlines for the full implementation of the policy:

- by 1 January 1823, all official documents to the Government Secretary should use English only
- by 1 January 1828, all official documents to government offices should be in English
- from 1827, all proceedings of the Supreme Court and inferior courts should be exclusively in English.

Another reason, which simplified the move towards English was the mechanism of language facilitation in the Colony. The list of civil appointments reveals that matters of translation and interpreting for official purposes were considered with much seriousness. As Early as 1807 sworn translators were regularly appointed; for example in 1887 O.G. de Wet was President of the Court of Justice, J.C. Gie was appointed licensed translator for the Government Gazette on 20th July 1807. The following year A.W. Blane was appointed Sworn Government Translator, three years later, the same person was appointed Sworn translator to the Court of Appeal for Criminal Cases (Government of The Cape of Good Hope 1827: 60-61, 146...)

2.4 The Cape Supreme Court

The Cape Supreme Court was another milestone in the entrenchment of English in its hegemonic position at the Cape. As were the circuit courts, the Supreme Court was an institution geared towards providing the British settlers with an institution that would meet their demands for a British-like judicial system. The Supreme Court was intended to be a permanent institution, which would replace the Court of Appeal and the Court of Justice, which had been in existence since 1685. The records of the formative years of the Supreme Court contain interesting information on the role of the English authorities and work of interpreters (Theal 1908: 141-142, Theal 1904: 45-46).

The Charter stipulated the following alternative conditions for one to be admitted at the bar:

- produce evidence of admission to the English, Irish or Scottish bars
- produce evidence of holding a doctor's degree from the University of Oxford, Cambridge or Dublin
- local Advocate in practice in the Court of Justice before the promulgation of the Charter
- candidate attorneys, solicitors, or proctors should provide evidence of admittance in English, Scottish or Irish courts
- Candidates who had qualified locally as attorney, solicitor or proctor.

These provisions set the court for an approximation of fair balance of power and opportunities between the British and local barristers, although, in actual fact, it set British barristers in a more favourable position. It should be noted, however, that at the installation into the Supreme Court, the Chief Justice, John Wylde and two puisne judges, William Westbroke Burton and George Kekewitch, were English barristers, whilst the third puisne judge was a Scottish barrister (Government of the Cape of Good Hope, 1827: 558).

2.5 Appointment and Dismissal of Interpreters

The role of the interpreter in the Cape courts was set to be an important one for various reasons, which included the language policy of the day, the multilingual nature of the Cape population and the struggle for judicial power between the British and the local officers (Giliomee 2003: 3). Thus the appointment of the interpreter could have implications on the dynamics of power and control. It was no longer a minor issue that could go unnoticed by different parties. The Charter had authorised the Chief Justice to appoint officers necessary for the administration of justice in the Supreme Court. The Chief Justice informed the Governor that two types of officers were needed:

1. higher class officers e.g. Clerk of Peace and Master
2. inferior officers e.g. interpreters, messengers, door keepers.

It is interesting to note that the higher class officers were officers who had direct involvement in the case proceedings. Moreover, their input had a direct bearing on the outcome of the cases. Whilst all inferior officers, also referred to as petty officers, had no direct influence on the outcome of the case, their role was more in line with issues of housekeeping. The exception was the court interpreter who was classified as an inferior officer but was an expert linguist, directly involved in the court cases, and his input had direct bearing on the outcome. Is this an erroneous classification, which ought to be corrected? Is it a classification based on uninformed understandings of the role of the interpreter? Is this classification imbedded in prejudices and wrong perceptions of the interpreter? Whatever the answers to these questions, history recorded the interpreter among the petty court officers. It can be argued that the designers of the Supreme Court failed to understand the significance of the interpreter's role. The British judicial system functions in a monolingual setting, which does not require permanent interpreters. A second reason may be that in Europe, before the groundbreaking interpreting sessions at the Nuremberg Courts, interpreting was associated with diplomatic missions only. A third reason may be that most of the interpreters at the Cape were Africans with no formal education, whilst the barristers held tertiary qualifications. It was thus inconceivable to appoint them as senior court officials (Fine 1986: 77).

The struggle for the position of the interpreter in the judicial system is interwoven with the fight of the judiciary itself to remain independent or be submitted to the executive. Fine (1986: 66) tells of the struggle over certain appointments at the Supreme Court. In 1827, the Chief Justice wished to appoint a number of officers i.e. a judge, clerks, tipstuffs, ushers, messengers, a deputy registrar and a chief clerk, as well as appointing a new Supreme Court interpreter. The Charter stipulated that for such an appointment the Chief Justice would nominate the candidates and appoint them after the Governor had given his approval. Yet it so happened that the Governor agreed with all nominations except those of deputy registrar and chief clerk, which would have increased the number of staff beyond the prescribed limit. Moreover the Governor appointed his own candidate as Master and appointed the candidate deputy registrar (nephew of the Chief Justice) to a clerical position in the registrar's office. The Governor recommended the matter to the Secretary of Colony for further consideration.

Both the Chief Justice and the Governor had agreed to dismiss the Court of Justice Interpreter and replace him with a new candidate. In a letter dated 21 April 1828, the Secretary of Colony recommended that the Court of Justice Interpreter should be reinstated as Supreme Court Interpreter (G.H Vol.1/67). This incident placed matters of court interpreting in the limelight. The court interpreter's dismissal was not to be taken lightly, it was no longer an issue on which the Chief Justice could rule without being questioned but a serious issue which attracted the attention of the highest civil authority, the Secretary of Colony.

Fine (1986: 77-78) continues to argue that the Cape Supreme Court judges disapproved of this recommendation and argued that the removal of minor officers was entirely in the hands of the Chief Justice. Unfortunately, the Secretary of Colony later wrote a letter stating that the appointment of the new interpreter by the Chief Justice was entirely in compliance with the Charter and thus the new appointee was to take office. The change of position was a heavy blow to the status of the profession. Although the Second Charter of Justice of 1834 placed the matter of patronage of minor officer in the hands of the civil authority i.e. the Governor, the profession remained crippled by misperception and inferiority complexes within the judiciary.

2.6 Appointment of a monolingual juror

The third major innovation in the judicial system of the Cape Colony was that of decision by jury (Fine 1986: 82). The Chief Justice and one of the puisne judges, Menzies, thought that the jurors should be people with sufficient command of English to follow proceedings without the aid of an interpreter. This recommendation covered the perception that the interpreter was an obstacle or a hindrance, i.e. a juror following the proceedings with the aid of an interpreter could not get the full picture but, rather, a biased picture of the proceedings. Conversely, Judge Burton and Judge Kekewich argued that knowledge of the English language was not a prerequisite for one to be admitted as juror. Burton pointed out that he had tried more than 300 cases in which not one of both parties understood English (Fine 1986: 81-86). They viewed the interpreter as a facilitator. The second Charter of Justice reinforced the position of the interpreter in the judiciary and dispelled the biases connected with court interpreting. The second Charter stipulated in section 34 that no person was incompetent to serve on a jury by reason of his ignorance or supposed ignorance of the English language

34. And we do further ordain, direct and appoint that in any criminal case depending upon the said Supreme Court, the trial of the person or persons accused shall be therefore before any one or more of the judges of the said Court and a jury of nine men, who shall concur in every verdict to be given on the trial of any such accused party or parties; and every such verdict shall be delivered in open Court by the mouth of the foreman of every such jury before they are discharged from attendance on the said court. Provided nevertheless, and we do further declare and direct, that no person within the said colony, who may otherwise be competent to serve on such jury as aforesaid shall be or be taken to be incompetent to serve on such jury by reason of his ignorance or supposed ignorance of the English language

Section 34, Second Charter of Justice 1834 in Tennant and Jackson (eds) (1895). *Status of the Cape of Good Hope 1652-1895. Vol. I – 1652-1871*. CapeTown: Juta

2.7 Nomination and appointment of judges' family members

Another hotly debated issue was the nomination and appointment of judges' family members. Among the very first appointment of the Supreme Court staff appear some judges' family members. The Chief Justice had nominated his nephew as Deputy Registrar, a post that he wanted to create but which was not catered for by the Charter. The Governor disapproved of the creation of the post, which was going to extend the number of staff in the Master's office, but appointed the nominee as clerk in the office of the registrar. The Governor further nominated Judge Burton's brother as acting Master. Although the Secretary of Colony approved of these arrangements, he pointed out to the judges and the Governor that they should not imagine that the best-suited people for employment in the Cape were their friends or families (Fine 1986: 76-77). However the appointment of judges' friends and family members remained almost a legacy in the Judiciary, to the extent that present interpreters tend to think that if prosecutors and court clerks have many benefits, it is because they share friendship or family ties with the magistrates, and that interpreters are often neglected because they do not have similar ties.

2.8 Increased demand of/on interpreting and translation

Before the establishment of the Supreme Court on 1 January 1828, regular circuit courts had already been in place. As early as 1813, court proceedings were open to the public. The circuit courts relied heavily on court interpreters to conduct trials in the multilingual community of the Cape. The population of the Cape at this particular period of time included various language groups such as Dutch, English, Cape Dutch, and German. Many other languages were spoken by the indigenous people and the slaves or former slaves and refugees. Court interpreting did not only emanate from the will of the court officials to render fair judgement to all the members of the community. In addition was the demand of suspects to use their own language in the court of law. The attorneys supported such demands. In 1855, J.B. Hoffman, attorney for Erasmus, contended that the case should be translated [interpreted] because the standard of English of some parties in the previous hearing had been poor.

Such demand, placed upon the judicial system, coupled with the good will of judicial officers themselves, led to the establishment of the office of the Supreme Court interpreter in 1892, which had been preceded by the establishment of the office of the Government translator in 1855. In 1893, there appears the first recorded complaint of non-payment or unsatisfactory payment for translation work.

2.9 Requirement for court interpreters/sworn translators

The 19th-century candidates for court interpreting were mostly people with no specific training in the field of interpreting. They were mere bilingual or multilingual individuals in search of a specific job, or people who happened to be in a situation where translation or interpreting was needed. One such character was Isaiah Bud M'belle who started a career in interpreting by accident. Moeketsi (1999) presents him as a young man aged 25 who was called in to fill a position at a local police station. Well-talented and fluent in English, Dutch, Xhosa and Sesotho, he was then appointed (in 1894) as interpreter in native language to the Griqualand West High Court after he had trained himself and passed the Cape Civil Service examination.

However, the judicial system put in place a sieving mechanism to prevent any bypasser landing in the interpreter's post. Well before 1855, it was demanded of candidate Sworn Translators (who in actual fact did both translation and interpreting work for the court) to fulfil certain requirements:

- that their knowledge of the languages should be examined by a sworn translator
- that they should be refereed by a different sworn translator
- that a *commissioner of oaths* should recommend them to the government.

Apart from this mechanism, there was no other requirement placed upon the interpreters. Teachers in search of better opportunities, and other bilingual people with proven linguistic fluency, could make their way in the world of interpreting. Although, in the last part of the 19th-century, able and educated people entered the profession, this did little for the improvement of the professional status.

Sol Plaatje is one such who combined high linguistic skills and good education, but he could not continue with a profession that only valued and rewarded people with legal education background at the expense of those with language education. Fluent in five languages (English, Dutch, Setswana, Xhosa, and Sesotho), Sol Plaatjie, who was also renowned for his literary publication, left the court interpreting profession after four years i.e. 1898-1902 (Pampallis 1992: 13-15). The filtering mechanism ensured that only suitable people could work as translators or interpreters. Documented history sometimes fails to capture many other practical instances where less qualified people carried out translation and interpreting duties, mainly because of lack of proper planning or lack of well-qualified people.

The judiciary acknowledged language as a problem. This provided good grounding for interpreting to become a recognised service associated with the judiciary. For many years, professionals in the medical sector dismissed language as a barrier to the provision of good health care. Thus, until recently, interpreting was suppressed and kept in total invisibility in this field.

2.10 Factors contributing to the visibility of interpreting in the judiciary

Various elements have contributed to the visibility of interpreting in the judiciary. However, there are a few salient elements:

- The nature of a law-suit, which heavily relies on questioning for the establishment of the truth, made it difficult for the presiding officer to extract information from a person speaking a different language.
- The fact that the accused is supported by an attorney who has the power to challenge the court decision and impact on the court proceedings. For many years in South Africa, monolingual patients stood alone in a consultation room with a doctor/nurse and no third party, who could advocate their rights.
- The public nature of the proceedings (with the media covering the events, at times) differs from medical consultation rooms which are sanctuaries of secrecy and isolation.

- The imperative of fair trials implies that there should be a neutral party to interpret for the accused. The prosecutor, the presiding officer or the defence attorney cannot interpret for the accused without raising suspicion from the other parties. The prosecutor cannot prosecute and interpret impartially for an accused. The Presiding Officer cannot be a neutral referee and associate himself with the prosecuted party. If the attorney interprets, it would be difficult to give full credit to his version of the accused person's story. Moreover it would be difficult to distinguish it from an *ex parte* address.
- Acknowledgement of all the abovementioned difficulties advocated for the introduction of a neutral agent (the interpreter), whose mission is to convey, without altering, all the statements of the court officials and the civil parties.

II.3 Development of translation

3.1 Introduction

A look at the development of translation appears important because it provides a broader picture to the context in which court interpreting evolved. The period running from the establishment of the Union of South Africa in 1910 to 1960 is the consolidation of the bilingual policy and government sponsoring of translation work, including translation into vernaculars (African languages). However, it is interesting to note the difference in text type; while water notices, road signs and biographies are translated into Afrikaans, location bills are translated into African languages. A close look at the text type indicates the status and roles assigned to the language and thus its speakers. This situation has a direct impact on the current situation of the translation /interpreting scenarios. Xhosa is almost bound to courtrooms, hospitals, and to a lesser extent the parliament and some educational publications, whilst Afrikaans covers all the types cited above and many more e.g. bank notices and scientific publication. The following sections will scrutinise the Education Department's Annual Reports (EDAR), as the department of education housed the language service bureau. This detailed examination in detail will afford a better understanding of the development of translation in South Africa and its implication for interpreting.

3.2 Role of the State Language Service Bureau

Formally called the Translation Bureau, the Language Service Bureau is currently the most important language planning agent in South Africa (Alexander 2001: 125). Hailing from 1930 when it only dealt with the editing of Afrikaans texts, it has now grown into a governmental organ dealing with a large number of language-related activities which include the translation as well as the editing of texts in the 11 official languages and foreign languages, lexicography and language planning. The importance of this body does not only lie in the fact that it has spearheaded the drafting of the national language legislation but that it is the only and oldest public institution dealing with matters of translation. Therefore, the historical development of the National Language Services may be regarded as a register of the historical development of translation due to the major role it has played in the establishment of translation as a profession and the training of translators. It is in a way a microcosm of the evolution of translation in South Africa. The Translation Bureau underwent internal transformation at various periods, which also resulted in name change (including State Language Services Bureau and National Language Services).

3.3 Proclamation of the Bilingual Policy

The proclamation of official bilingualism in 1910 gave way to the development of the careers of translators and interpreters. Circulars aiming at fostering the policy followed the proclamation. Some of the circulars stipulated that all correspondence with the public should be replied to in the language in which it was written, whilst correspondence within a department or with other departments should use both official languages of the day i.e. English and Afrikaans on an equal basis (Sixth Parliament, 30th January to 6th June, 1931: 16). The policy caused various government departments to have their own translation sections. Following repeated complaints about the standard of Afrikaans in government publications and the will by different stakeholders to change this state of affairs, the translation bureau was established on 1st July 1930 (EDAR 1956), under the department of the interior. The budget of the Bureau was estimated to 1406 Pounds for the exercise from 1930 to 1931 (*Estimates of Expenditure*, 1930: 38).

The Translation Bureau devoted itself mostly to the task of revising translations done in different departments, for the sake of correction and harmony. The focus of the Translation Bureau changed considerably in 1954 when it came under the Department of Education, Arts and Science. It slowly started to shift from its primary focus on the revision of documents to the task of translating documents for all the government departments except the provincial administration and the South African Railways. The translation bureau was named the Language Service Bureau in 1956. This change of name came with other changes in the scope of services rendered by it. The focus was now placed on three major areas, these being the translation work, the terminological work and the editing of work for the public service as a whole. Moreover the language focus changed from English and Afrikaans to include service in foreign languages.

3.4 Translation in the railways sector

It should be noted that the South African Railways had fostered the bilingual policy quite successfully, though sometimes controversially. Concerns were voiced in parliament about the pre-Union workers who allegedly lacked fluency in both official languages of the Union of South Africa. Section 8 of the Railways and Harbours Services Act No 23 of 1925 especially in its sub-section 3, stipulated,

'...in filling any post in the service in which a knowledge of either or both of the official languages is necessary, the person appointed should possess the language qualifications necessary for the efficient discharge of the duties of such post'

(Sixth Parliament. 17th January to 31st May, 1930: 4051-4052).

The Act considerably empowered bilingual employees, most of whom were Afrikaans first language speakers. They were given social capital. They were at an advantage, compared to the English first language speakers who were not keen on learning other languages.

The statistics of officials in the staff section of the Railways Service of Bloemfontein in 1929 (i.e. 19 years after the proclamation of the bilingual policy) indicates that 22% of the English speaking officials were monolingual whereas 100% of Afrikaans speaking officials were bilingual (*Sixth Parliament. 19th July to 16th May, 1929: 367*). With the increase of bilingual staff members from the English speaking group, the Railways Services set mechanisms of meeting their own demand of translation services without requiring the assistance of the translation bureau.

3.5 Consolidation of translation as a profession in South Africa (1950s)

Various elements contributed to the establishment of translation as a professional activity. Rather than attempting to provide a full list and details of such numerous factors, this study shall focus on a few pertinent ones.

Centralisation of the Translation Bureau

By 1954 the Translation Bureau had grown considerably; it was now centralised and it occupied one whole floor in the Sanlam Buildings in Pretoria. The centralised office then employed 46 people among whom were numbered: 21 assistant translators, 10 translators, 6 senior translators, 1 Assistant Chief Translator, and 1 Chief Translator.

This team translated a total of 9113 pages and revised 12638 pages within ten months of centralisation. Although Afrikaans was a pivotal language, there were a large number of pages translated from and into foreign languages. It is believed that at this particular period the translation bureau was able to render efficient translation services in about 20 languages (EDN 1954).

Creation of other bodies dealing with language issues

Around this same period of time i.e. between 1948 and 1954, a significant number of language bodies came into existence. All of them required either the services of translators, or lexicographers to carry their tasks successfully. These bodies include:

- the Technical Terminological Bureau
- the Bureau of Standards, The Transvaal Association of Municipal translators
- the Departmental Place Names Committee

- the Defence Terminology Board
- the Interdepartmental Committee for Aeronautical Terminology
- the Post Office Terminology Committee
- the Committee for Agricultural terminology
- the Committee for Mining Terminology.

The translation bureau collaborated with some of these bodies for the translation of the production preliminary lists of terms, lists of terms, and dictionaries. Here follow examples of texts in the categories mentioned above:

- preliminary list of Post Office Terms (1951)
- list of Physical Education Terms (1939)
- list of Geological Terms (1941)
- list of Railway and other Technical Terms (1951)
- Military Dictionary (1941)
- the Post Office Dictionary (1959).

Creation of the European Immigration Association

The creation of the European Immigration Association in 1955 was to boost the demand of translation services (EDAR 1955:25). The Association had branches in Cape Town, Port Elizabeth, Durban, Pretoria and Kroonstad. Its main purpose was to provide European immigrants with information, employment and guarantees.

Increase of the volume of work at the Translation Bureau

The volume of incoming work continued to increase to the extent that staff had to do a great deal of overtime work to meet the demand, but even their efforts were not sufficient (EDAR 1955: 25). The Bureau appealed for restriction and curtailment of work for translation. Progressively, the Bureau resorted to the sourcing out of work as a solution, although it was not pleasing for the bureau to depend on people from outside its ranks to fulfil its mission. This practice continued steadily throughout the years (EDAR 1961, 1962, 1963). This strategy empowered the translation industry and provided job opportunities to part-time, occasional and freelance translators. The 1955 EDAR acknowledged the need for the country to have wider and more intensive language services.

Mutation in type of documents received at the translation bureau

From works of popular nature depicting a generic or broad use of language, the Translation Bureau started receiving works of technical and scientific nature depicting specific use of language; such works required knowledge of specialised fields like entomology, forestry, dam construction or even veterinary science (EDAR 1965: 24-25). Departmental Translation teams that constituted a support structure for the bureau could hardly deal with the new type of documents. They relied heavily on the involvement of the bureau itself to produce translations of a satisfactory standard. This issue raised awareness that translation should be regarded and respected as a profession. Not every speaker of two languages could be considered as a competent translator.

The creation of SATI

The consolidation of translation as a profession was epitomised by the inauguration of the South African Translators and Interpreters' Association (SAITINT) in August 1956 (later changed in abbreviation to SATI). Translators and interpreters started becoming more and more aware of their role and professional status. They established a journal, which was their mouthpiece and forum for various aspects pertaining to the work of translation, interpreting, and lexicography.

3.6 Formal training of translators

3.6.1 Introduction

The introduction of translators' training appeared in two major phases. The first phase was when the Translation Bureau examined and recruited university graduates holding a degree in a specific language. The underlying assumption was that any bilingual graduate, holding a degree with a language major could be a good translator. The second phase was marked by the introduction of tertiary level courses for translators, following the translation bureau's understanding of translation as a specialist field of studies.

3.6.2 Humble beginnings

Foreign language classes had been conducted continuously at the Bureau since as early as 1953 (EDN 1953). The task of teaching new languages to the translators was added to that of translating, editing and answering enquiries on translation difficulty. Thus the language officer was viewed as an individual combining language services, continued study and professional attitude. It should be noted, however, that this sort of training had limitations. It was voluntary, i.e. some members of the staff volunteered to teach language classes to other members of the staff who were willing to learn particular languages. This training was based on the assumption that if a translator learns another language, that is sufficient to allow him to translate from or into that particular language. It is obvious that these classes were not heard of after 1957, due to the lack of personnel capable of ensuring sustainability. However, every now and then intensive in-service training of newly appointed language officers was organised. The training covered an extensive range of fields so as to prepare the officers to work with texts on varied subject matter (1965: 24).

3.6.3 Reasons for the introduction of translators' training

The Language Service Bureau's interest in the development of translators' training increased, due to the quadruple challenge it faced:

- staff loss and poor results in staff recruiting
- increasing demand of translation work
- the rapid development of Afrikaans.

Staff loss

For a number of years, the bureau had been suffering loss of experienced staff, which was only reported in 1959 (EDAR 1959: 16). The loss was attributed to resignations, retirement and other factors (EDAR 1961: 20). The escalating staff loss reached critical proportions when, in 1962, no fewer than 11 officers resigned (EDAR 1962: 19). The resignation could have been due to the existence of the dire competition between the public sector and the private sector.

While translators in the public sector complained about the meagre wage, their counterparts in the semi-governmental and private sectors earned substantial incomes. *Although the staff was devoted, they could not resist better offers coming from the private sector.* The translators' posts for the bureau were advertised for a maximum salary of R3120 per annum (EDAR 1962: 20). In an attempt to stabilise the number of its staff, the bureau proceeded to promote staff and accompany the promotion with a salary increase (EDAR 1963: 22). A further salary increase was awarded the following year with the expected effect of producing positive results of recruitment. Moreover, new posts were created in higher ranks (EDAR 1964: 23). Yet the number of officers remained lower than in any previous year. It was only in 1965 that the situation improved with the appointment of four units out of the 85 candidates who registered their interest in the three sections i.e. English translation, Afrikaans translation and technical terminology (EDAR 1965: 24). Two years later, however, the bureau lost four of its members, leaving it with a vacancy rate of 50% at its functional front line (EDAR 1967: 29). In subsequent years the staff problem persisted although the bureau had resorted to employing temporary staff, with only 48% of staff working on permanent basis (EDAR 1972: 69).

Poor results in staff recruiting

The bureau recruited translators by means of examination. The Translators' Diploma Examinations, as they were called, were annually organised on a national basis for a number of years. Successful candidates were issued with a certificate or a diploma. However, due to the poor results they yielded, the examinations were abolished in 1962. They were replaced by departmental tests, which in turn did not provide satisfactory results (EDAR 1957: 18, 1962: 19). After the intensive recruiting campaign conducted by the Public Service Commission, the staff of the bureau improved considerably (EDAR 1955: 25). The 1959 report acknowledged the inefficient results from the 'Translators' Examinations (EDAR 1959: 16), both quantitatively and qualitatively. Some years later there was even a question raised as to whether the examination standards could be lowered so that more candidates could succeed and eventually join the bureau. But this idea was dismissed on the grounds that lowering the standard of the examination could not guarantee the candidate a successful career as a translator (EDAR 1971: 58).

Quantity and quality

The examinations were incapable of yielding a sufficient number of translators for the bureau. *Within two years i.e. 1959 and 1960, only two candidates were recruited. In 1960, six out of 64 candidates passed the examination (10.6%) but one candidate alone remained to work for the bureau i.e. 2% (EDAR 1960: 21). They also failed to produce people that would have the necessary aptitude to make translation their career (EDAR 1959: 16). The Bureau attempted with much difficulty and no success, the recruitment of suitable candidates for training in the bureau (EDAR 1960: 21), thus worsening the shortage of trained staff.*

Increasing demand for translation work

Although the Bureau experienced great difficulty, the work needing translation or editing kept increasing (1961: 20, 1963: 22). Apart from the mass increase, there was a growth in the number of documents of national and international significance requiring very careful attention to language submitted to the bureau (EDAR 1961: 20). Such documents included sets of magistrates' rules, reports on the criminal responsibility of the mentally disordered, international treaties and conventions (EDAR 1967: 30). The Bureau relied on the outsourcing of work as a palliative measure (1964: 23). Some years later, it acknowledged that people who are available to help with the outsourced work were rarely trained translators, though they could be knowledgeable in their own field (EDAR 1971: 58). Consequently, the lack of trained translators could no longer be overlooked.

The rapid development of Afrikaans

Afrikaans was a remote language for a long time. Some people referred to it as 'the language of the kitchen' because of its state as an underdeveloped language at a certain moment of its history. The reading of the history of languages in South Africa suggests that efforts were exerted at two levels so as to ensure the judicious development of Afrikaans:

- the development of the corpus of the language
- the popularisation of the use of Afrikaans in the country.

Various means were used to ensure that Afrikaans acquired the necessary vocabulary to attain the level of a respected international language capable of dealing with a range of fields such as aeronautics, mathematics and entomology. The two key elements that helped Afrikaans to boost its present lexicographical corpus were translation and lexicography. The vocabulary hence produced by means of translation or other lexicographical techniques was to be made popular in order to survive. Theories in Diachronic Linguistics teach us that if a new term does not gain currency it will soon disappear. The popularisation of new terms was done *via* publications through targeting schools in particular. The efforts towards the popularisation of the use of Afrikaans consisted of making the language visible on road signs, bank notes and all government publications. Translation played a key role in the creation of new terms. The new terms were publicised in various ways. The creation and availability of terms could cater for the needs of almost every user of the Afrikaans language. It should be noted that the efforts of the government in developing Afrikaans were matched with the will of the Afrikaners to use their language at all times and in all circumstances, which would in turn create, in the speakers of other languages, the need to learn Afrikaans. This was especially so, as it was the language of the defence force, the police or the judiciary, the state language of power.

The Bureau maintained good relations with the press so as to make its publications known and used. Moreover, it displayed the publications at conferences and other language-related events (EDAR 1976: 128). The efforts towards making Afrikaans popular started bearing fruit about 50 years after the launch of the bilingual policy. Since the establishment of the bureau of translation in 1930 and for many years after, almost all the official documents were originally written in Afrikaans and they were sent to be translated into English. It was reported in 1960 that Afrikaans was being extensively used in public service. At this period Afrikaans was on a par with English in that the volume of documents to be translated into English was equivalent to that of documents to be translated into Afrikaans (EDAR 1960: 22). Between 1950 and 1960 there was an increase in the volume of documents written in Afrikaans to be translated into English. The complete overturn of English from its position as source language of translation was attained in 1961, when 62% of official documents were originally written in Afrikaans and only 37% of such were written in English (EDAR 1962: 19).

The rapid development of Afrikaans added a new element to the dire need for trained translators. There appeared a demand for translators with English as mother tongue, seeing that there is a belief that translators produce better results when they translate from a foreign (L2) or second language (L1) into their mother tongue. That situation brought to the attention of the bureau that the proportion of the English mother tongue candidates for the examination was negligible. Moreover, it was suggested that the bureau should be divided into two sections, one specialising in translation into Afrikaans whilst the other would specialise in the translation into English only (EDAR 1960: 22). This suggestion was implemented only five years later after what looked like a successful recruitment campaign (EDAR 1965: 22). In 1962 the Language Service Bureau (LSB) attempted to recruit candidates with English as home language but the Bureau failed to attract a single applicant from this group (EDAR 1962: 20).

Failure to recruit suitable candidates left the bureau with two possibilities:

- training in-house staff who could reach the expected proficiency in English
- recruiting second language speakers of English having the necessary skills to deal with the translation into English and the editing of English texts.

Indeed, in 1963, the Bureau made a move in the direction of appointing an English second language speaker to deal with translation into English due to the fact that examination showed that the candidate had sufficient command of English to be considered for appointment to the higher rank (EDAR 1963: 23)

3.7 Tertiary training for translators

3.7.1 Introduction

The bureau had *prima facie* evidence that success in the Translation Examination had little to do with language competence but much to do with previous training in translation (1956: 16). The Director of the Bureau proposed the introduction of a university course for translators so as to meet the increasing needs of experienced translators in the country (EDAR 1959: 16).

The high rate of failure at the translators' examination (89% in 1960) suggested a number of questions related to the training of translators. Here are some of the most pertinent ones (EDAR 1960: 22):

1. Are Language Schools or universities failing to equip graduates adequately for them to pass the translators' examinations?
2. Do the examinations demand a specialised type of knowledge that the candidates do not have or cannot learn at the university?
3. Is the aptitude for translation work sparsely distributed among language graduates?
4. Are people not interested in translation because it seems to them a less prestigious profession?
5. Do the posts lack attraction for young language graduates?

These are some of the questions that prompted the bureau to conduct an investigation in the matter of translation training abroad (EDAR 1960: 21).

3.7.2 Preparation

Visits abroad

The following year the Director of the Language Service Bureau conducted an investigation of issues of translators' training at some institutions that trained or employed translators in Canada, The United States of America, and Europe (EDAR 1961: 21). In the report submitted to the Department of Education some year later, the Director of the Language Service Bureau suggested that translation should have a strong academic base. He argued that translation schools should enjoy full academic status and be attached to universities so as to enjoy university facilities.

He recommended that translators' courses should be degree courses (3-4 years), not diploma courses. In his view, the curriculum should include subjects such as law and economics. Translation schools should employ highly trained lecturers, and maintain a low student-teacher ratio. He added that due to the cost involved in the establishment and the operation of such institutions, there should be only two of them in the country (Morris 1987: 30-31)

Survey

As a supplement to the investigation, the LSB requested the National Bureau of Education and Social Research to compile questionnaires capable of collecting information related to the formulation of proposals concerning the possible training courses for translators in South Africa (1962: 20).

Standardisation of technical terminology

Concomitant to the investigation carried out by the Director of the Language Service Bureau, another initiative was taken in preparation for the introduction of the training courses for translators in which the bureau played a major role alongside the *vaktaalkommissie* (The Committee for Technical Language Development). It was the establishment of a commission of inquiry into scientific and technical terminology. It was felt that the introduction of training for translators would need, as an indispensable tool, standardised technical terminology. This committee simultaneously conducted an inquiry into the need for translators and the technical field in which the need for translators could be identified (EDAR 1963: 23).

3.7.3 Introduction of tertiary level course for the translators

The Language Service Bureau rejoiced when Rhodes University introduced the first tertiary level course for translators in 1975. It was perceived as and indeed it was the result of the bureau's many efforts to provide itself and the language industry at large with competent translators (EDAR 1974: 53). These efforts included:

- the Bureau's active campaign to the Department of Education for the introduction of translators' training of tertiary institution
- the Bureau's investigation of foreign institution that trained translators
the Bureau's publication of the Marais Report
- direct discussion with Rhodes University for the introduction of a four-year degree for the training of translators, discussion in which Miss Yvonne Cloete, director of the bureau, played an important part (EDAR 1982: 90).

The one-year diploma course was shaped in a manner that the training provided should satisfy the needs and expectations of the Bureau.

The course aimed at providing students with the following elements:

- an understanding of the principles of translation
- practical experience in translation
- an understanding of the principles of editing
- practical experience of editing
- theoretical and practical knowledge of reference.

The course seemed to be tailor-made to help the bureau recruit suitable candidates and stabilise the situation of its staffing predicament. This course was supplemented with a three-year degree course in translation that Rhodes University introduced in 1977 (EDAR 1976: 123). Other universities introduced translators' training in subsequent years. The University of South Africa (UNISA) started a post-graduate course, followed by the University of Stellenbosch post-graduate diploma, the University of Witwatersrand Masters course, the University of the Orange Free State Honours' course and the Randse Afrikaanse Universiteit BA (Honours) course.

The development of translation can be viewed as a paradigmatic case in the development of interpreting. As shall be seen in the following section, the main issue that court interpreting faced was related to its difficulty in recruiting staff. However the manner in which the department of Justice undertook to resolve this issue accounts greatly for the status and the type of training available to the court interpreters today.

Abridged history of South African Translation

- Before the arrival of Europeans: No prestige attached to interpreting
- Early 1600s Sailors at The Cape: Beginning of Professional interpreting
- 1652: Jan van Riebeeck and the Dutch Company settle at Cape. They employ interpreters such as Autshumato and Krotoa.
- 18th- century. More settlers and slaves at Cape: Liaison and community interpreting continues
- 1807-1824: Appointment of various Sworn Translators
- 1820: English settlers at Cape
- 1823: English as official language
- 1824-1909: Sworn translators continue to be appointed
- 1910: Establishment of the Union of South Africa. Each government department translates its own text mainly from English to Dutch or Afrikaans
- 1923: Location Regulation translated into African languages by the Department of Native Affairs
- 1930: Establishment of the Translation Bureau to revise/edit translations done in various departments. The Bureau is part of the Department of Home Affairs. It deals with texts in Afrikaans, English and foreign language.
- 1954: The various offices of the Translation Bureau are put together in the SANLAM Building at Pretoria. The Translation Bureau becomes part of the Department of Education Arts and Culture.
- 1955: Increase of work volume. The bureau cannot cope. It sends much of the translation work to freelance contractors
- 1956: The Translation Bureau is renamed 'Language Services Bureau'
- 1956: Creation of The South African Translators and Interpreters Institute (SAITINT) later renamed SATI (South African Translators' Institute)
- The Bureau fails to recruit enough translators
- 1960: The Director of the Language Service Bureau tours Europe and America to investigate ways of training translators. He calls for an academic program in translators training
- 1960-1963: A survey on the need for technical translation I conducted
- 1975 Rhodes University introduces the first South African academic program for translator training. It is a one-year diploma course
- 1977: Rhodes introduces a three-year undergraduate degree program in translation

Abridged history of interpreting in South Africa

- Early 1600s Sailors at The Cape: Beginning of professional Interpreting
- 1952: Jan van Riebeeck and the Dutch Company settle at Cape They employ interpreters such as Authumato and Krotoa
- 18th – century. More settlers and slaves come to the Cape: liaison interpreting continues.
- 1910: Establishment of the Union of South Africa
- 1910: Establishment of the Department of Native Affairs. It has a task of recruiting interpreters and translators for the Native administration and the native judiciary (Native is synonymous to Black). The Department of Justice deals with European (White) interpreters
- 1926: The Department of Justice starts employing native interpreters
- 1936-1937: Increase of posts and salaries for European interpreters
- 1939-1946: In the context of World War Two, the Department of Justice releases more than 430 officers for military services. It fails to recruit enough Europeans to fill interpreters' posts.
- 1948: Introduction of training schemes for public prosecutors
- 1949: The Public Service Commission recommends the establishment of a school for interpreters
- 1950: Staff loss continues. Recruitment campaigns fail to attract Europeans to the interpreting job
- 1951: Creation of 14 posts of native interpreters in the department of Justice in order to counter European Interpreters staff loss
- 1953: Launch of training for future magistrates.
- 1954: Work discharged by native interpreters is found satisfactory. Experimental training session for native court interpreters at Pietermaritzburg
- 1955: Government introduces language proficiency tests in English and Afrikaans for all public servants
- 1955-1956: More training sessions for native interpreters
- 1957-1958: Production of the first training manual. Relocation of the training site from Pietermaritzburg to Pretoria. Interpreters' training becomes a regular feature
- 1976: Establishment of Justice College for the training of court interpreters, magistrates, public prosecutors, state advocates
- 1994: Justice College feels the need for an academic course in Court Interpreting
- 1998: Compilation of a curriculum for the University Diploma in Court Interpreting
- 1998: Potchefstroom University introduces the Diploma Course in Court Interpreting.

III. Court interpreting in recent years

III.1 Court Interpreting in the 20th - century

1.1 Background

Understanding the early development of translation and interpreting calls for an investigation of more recent developments. Soon after its establishment in 1907, the Department of Native Affairs was given the responsibility of conducting examinations for the recruitment of native interpreters and translators. The recruits served in two main sectors, the Native Judiciary System and the Administration. The rules of the examination were set in 1907 and amended in 1909 (ARoDoNA 1910: 1). It appears that in its employment policy, the Department had established that the translators would receive a salary superior to the one received by the interpreters (ARoDoNA 1945-1947: 3, 1947/48: 3, 1948/49: 2, 1949/50: 2, 1950-51: 8). Even the assistant native translator earned more than the best-paid interpreter. People working with the written medium seem to have been better considered than those working with the spoken medium. The table below provides an indication of salary scales for native translators and native interpreters.

Table 3.1: Salary scale for native translators and native interpreters

DESIGNATION	Salary in Pounds before 1/1/1946	Number of posts	Salary in Pounds for 1948/1949	Number of posts
Native Translator	450	1	540	1
Assistant Native Translator	-	-	380	5
Native Interpreter-Clerk Grade 1	225	19	280	30
Native Interpreter-Clerk Grade 2	156	86	204	98
Native Interpreter-Clerk Grade 3	132	28	168	44
Native interpreter-Messenger	132	1	168	2

The situation described above calls for an irresistible question. Why were translators paid more than interpreters? Some tentative answers include: firstly translators may have been more educated than interpreters, their comparatively higher education could have made them capable of dealing with written texts, secondly the employers may have perceived translating as more difficult than interpreting, thirdly the government may have considered translation expenses as an investment i.e. a translation of a traffic sign will serve a much larger section of the population both in space and time, whilst an interpreting session generally serves a rather limited audience. The assessment of values seems to be a quantitative one i.e. in many cases an investment in translation would seem to bring higher dividends than an investment in interpreting. It may also be that decision makers were not aware of the challenges that interpreting poses or the necessary skills required for the delivery of quality work. With all due respect to translation, it is important to point out that, nowadays, it has been established that interpreting is more stressful than translation.

The true reasons for the remuneration policy are still unclear, but this discrepancy in remuneration may have contributed significantly to a belief commonly shared by interpreters in South Africa, that *'translators earn more than us (interpreters) thus they are better off'*. The gap in salary scales may also have contributed to the higher status of translators. Seemingly, in Europe, it is interpreters who enjoy a higher status than translators, probably because of the prominent role conference interpreters play in international organisations' gatherings or the numerous commissions of the European Unions, as well as the role of AIIC (the French abbreviation for the International Association of Conference Interpreters) in promoting the status of the profession.

1.2 Status of interpreters in the Union of South Africa

The Bantu Administration Act N° 38 of 1927 made provision for Bantu Courts (AroDoNA 1965: 23). These courts, which had concurrent jurisdiction with the other courts of the country, were established with the purpose of settling disputes in matters of Bantu law and customs. Interpreters played a major role in the functioning of the judicial machinery, which was linguistically and culturally heterogeneous.

The native interpreters, as they were called, served not only in the Bantu courts, but in all the other courts of the country, due to the fact that Bantus were at liberty to institute civil action against other Bantus in any appropriate courts, but matters where Bantus opposed non-Bantus could only be heard in “ordinary” courts. With such a system, the presence of an interpreter was vital in all the courts of the Union of South Africa.

The concept ‘Bantu’ needs some clarification. The term can apply to languages of the Niger-Congo group such as Swahili, Xhosa and Zulu. It can also apply to people.

The Collins Cobuild English Dictionary, 1998, defines the term Bantu as *belonging or related to a group of peoples in Central and Southern Africa*.

This general neutral definition has a specific connotation in South Africa, where the term ‘Bantu’ is perceived as a derogatory term used by the apartheid regime for the non-white population of African origin.

The Collins Shorter English Dictionary, 1994, adds that it is a derogatory term for a Black speaker of a Bantu language.

According to the Word Power Dictionary, 2002, the term *Bantu* is a **strongly offensive** word in South Africa, especially when used of individual people.

The Bantu Administration Act, with its subsequent modifications, provided for the following Bantu courts:

- a) Chiefs’ Courts i.e. Bantu Courts presided over by Bantu Tribal Chiefs or Headmen
- b) Courts of Bantu Affairs Commissioners

These were courts of first instance. But they also played the role of a Court of Appeal for matters that were first heard in the chiefs’ courts. The Courts of Bantu Affairs Commissioners could, at their own discretion, either apply common law or Bantu law and customs. They had the same jurisdiction as that of the magistrates’ court.

They could hear criminal matters, although the commissioner could not try certain types of offences without prior agreement with the Department of Justice. The courts for Bantu Affairs Commissioners were later renamed 'Maintenance Courts' by the Maintenance Court Act N° 23 of 1963

c) Bantu Appeal Courts

They received appeals from the courts of Bantu Affairs Commissioners. There were three Bantu Appeal Courts, namely for the central region in Johannesburg, for the north-eastern region in Pietermaritzburg, and for the southern region in King Williams Town. The Appellate Division of the Supreme Court in Bloemfontein received appeals from these courts.

d) Bantu Divorce Courts

These courts had concurrent jurisdiction with the Supreme Court on matters of nullity, divorce and separation in respect of marriage between Bantu within their respective areas.

e) Bantu Children's Courts

These courts were instituted by the Children's Act N° 33 of 1960 sections 5 and 6. They had concurrent jurisdiction with the Magistrates' Court or the Children's Court in their area. Appeals could be lodged with the Bantu Appeal Courts.

The Bantu interpreters working in this system gained much knowledge and experience of the European judicial system and the Bantu law, customs and culture. Their wealth of knowledge, experience and interpreting skills could not keep Bantu interpreters in the cocoon of the Bantu judicial system. They soon started to be integrated into the Department of Justice. The current situation of interpreting in the Department of Justice is such that the overwhelming majority of interpreters are black. One of the reasons is that not many white people had shown interest in learning black languages and cultures, which may have been considered inferior. Two words can be used to summarise the history of interpreting in the Department of Justice: 'failure' and 'acknowledgement'. The Department failed to retain Europeans as court interpreters and to acknowledge the satisfactory standard of work done by Bantu interpreters in all the various courts.

1.3 Staff crisis

The annual report of 1926 indicates that the Department of Justice had started to employ Bantu interpreters although they were still kept as employees of the Department of Native Affairs (DoJAR 1926: 5). In 1937, issues of interpreters came to the fore as the grading of European interpreters' posts was revisited and their salary scales were improved. However, no indication of the amount received was mentioned (DoJAR 1937: 13). In the following year, the Department of Justice increased the number of posts for European interpreters (1938: 12).

The context of the Second World War and the post-war situation forced the Department of Justice to adopt a progressive attitude toward the employment of Bantu interpreters. In the context of World War II, the Department had released no fewer than 430 officers to join the military (DoJAR 1944: 5). In the subsequent years from 1946 to 1949 the Department continued to lose a considerable number of officers. The first timid step towards the employment of native interpreters under the banner of the Department of Justice began with the creation of some subordinate interpreters' posts for non-Europeans. (i.e. non-European interpreter-messengers and non-European messenger-interpreters.) As a matter of fact, these two analogous posts were a reinstatement of the post of European interpreter-messenger, which was upgraded in 1937 to European interpreter-clerk grade 3.

Table 3.2: Department of Justice: Interpreters' Posts Vacant on 31 December 1949

DESCRIPTION	NUMBER OF VACANCIES
European Interpreter-Clerk Grade 1	2
European Interpreter-Clerk Grade 2	28
European Interpreter-Clerk Grade 3	54
European Interpreter Messenger	12
Indian Interpreter-Clerk Grade 2	9
Native Interpreter-Clerk Grade 2	19
Native Interpreter-Clerk Grade 3	15
Native Messenger- Interpreter	39
TOTAL	178

The table shows that the Department of Justice faced an acute crisis. In short, 96 European interpreters, nine Indian interpreters and 73 Native interpreters were needed, amounting to 178. However some 48 interpreters were recruited during the period from 1 December 1949 to 18 January 1950. There was then a deficit of 130 interpreters.

The Department had only a few options to improve the need for interpreting services:

1. They could multiply efforts to recruit enough European, Indian and Native interpreters. The success of this endeavour would lead to the continuation of racial balance within the Department. This option would be hard to fulfil with respect to the position of European interpreters.
2. They could employ native interpreters in European interpreters' posts. This option would be more feasible especially because the Department of Native Affairs, which was considered as a reservoir of labour, counted up to 172 interpreters in 1949.
3. They could lobby for the training of interpreters or undertake such training. Indeed, when the Department of Education faced a severe crisis and lack of labour force in its Translation Section, it started lobbying for the training of translators.

The Department of Justice tried all of the above. The efforts to attract European interpreters failed dismally. The training of court interpreters took too long to start. The employment of more native interpreters was the only option that seemed to work successfully and help to alleviate the Department's staff crisis.

1.3.1 Failure in the recruitment of European Court Interpreters

Before embarking on a campaign of recruitment for interpreters, the Department of Justice improved the salary scales and conditions of service for interpreters of all races. This decision, as one can expect, could not resolve the crisis instantly (DoJAR 1951: 2).

The position of European court interpreters kept deteriorating; in 1952, 84 of the 157 posts of European interpreter-clerks were vacant (DoJAR 1952: 4). In 1953, the Department of Justice started to realise that the recruitment of European interpreters faced gloomy prospects. It planned to use experienced European interpreters on a recruitment campaign in the Eastern part of the Union of South Africa (DoJAR 1953: 15, 1954: 16). Due to administrative reasons, the campaign could not take place in 1955.

When, in 1955, the Department only registered three applications for the post of European interpreter-clerk grade two, it realised that a recruitment campaign had to take place as a matter of urgency (DoJAR 1955: 20-21). Unfortunately, after a well-planned recruitment tour, the results were most disappointing; only seven candidates were recruited. Optimistic minds projected that the situation would get better with the new salary scales (DoJAR 1956: 29). Despite the introduction of new salary scales in 1957, 1960 and other subsequent years, the position of European interpreters continued to deteriorate until the Department abandoned the idea in the second half of the 1960's (DoJAR 1961: 14, 1962: 2, 1963: 9).

Both internal and external factors contributed to the crisis. The Department complained to the Public Service Commission for what it called 'the inevitable time lag between the date of application and the date of appointment'. In the public administration there is always a time lag between the time a candidate's application is approved for appointment and the moment he/she is notified. In the meantime, candidates tend to continue to search for other opportunities. Even though the Commission authorised the appointment of all candidates applying, this was put into operation when it was too late. No further remedy could correct the damage suffered (DoJAR 1953: 14-15). Another internal factor pertained to the implementation of the bilingual policy, which led to the reduction of demand for interpreters, who could speak two languages only, i.e. English and Afrikaans. As more and more people became fluent in English and Afrikaans, obviously, interpreters were requested to know at least three languages. In 1955, government strongly recommended that all public servants should undergo tests to prove their language proficiency in English and Afrikaans (DoJAR 1955: 8).

Few people in the Department of Justice resented this recommendation; only four people refused to take the test and a year later some of these consented to the test. In 1956, the Public Service Commission geared up the implementation of the policy by withdrawing the examination exemption previously accorded to Grade I Magistrates, the highest level of magistrates (DoJAR 1956: 14). Within a period of ten years (i.e. from 1955 to 1964 inclusive), a total of 2862 officers were tested. Three hundred and seventy six officers failed one language whilst 43 failed both. Thus almost 70% of officers tested in the Department of Justice were proficient in English and Afrikaans (DoJAR 1955 to 1964). Among the external factors which contributed to the crisis, appears the competition waged on the labour market with the private companies (DoJAR 1954: 14).

1.3.2 Success in the recruitment of native interpreters

The Department had been reluctant to engage fully in the employment of 'native' interpreters. This accounts for the creation and abolition of certain non-European interpreters posts prior to 1950 (DoJAR 1945: 6). However, the Department hesitantly ushered in native interpreters with the 1950 grading of posts for non-European interpreters. The following year, it created 14 posts of native interpreters in an attempt to counter the acute interpreting staff shortage (DoJAR 1950: 3, 1951). The shortage of European interpreters was most acute in smaller rural centres. When the Department of Justice realised that more and more native interpreters were becoming available, it envisaged the conversion of the European interpreter-clerks posts into native interpreter-clerks posts (DoJAR 1952: 14). The Department felt encouraged to expand this move to larger centres because of the satisfactory standard of interpreting work rendered by the native interpreter-clerks (DoJAR 1954: 14-16). As opposed to the continued shortage of European interpreters, the recruitment of native interpreters continued to increase satisfactorily (DoJAR 1956: 29-30, 1957: 26, 1960: 26, 1961: 14, 1962: 6, 1963: 9, 1964: 9)

1.4 Training of court interpreters

The Annual Report of the Department of Native Affairs for the years 1951/1952 suggests, with not many details, that there was a system of training for the staff of that department, including translators and interpreters. But, argues the report, the training was hampered by the lack of a training plan.

These efforts were far from satisfactory for the training of interpreters. However, they did open the way to a more organised form of training, which did not occur before the Department of Native Affairs joined forces with the Department of Justice and after the native interpreters had been firmly established in the Department of Justice (ARoDoNA 1968: 33, 1970: 24, 1977-78: 26, 1978-79: 23, 1982-83: 4).

Following the acute and unprecedented lack of interpreters, in 1949 the Public Service Commission appointed a committee to carry out an investigation into matters of recruitment, training and service conditions of interpreters (DoJAR 1949: 2). One of the recommendations was that the Department should establish a training school for interpreters.

It should be noted that this suggestion was in part influenced by the success of the training programmes for public prosecutors, which grew from strength to strength from 1948 (DoJAR 1949: 3, 1950: 2). However, for four successive years, the interpreters' training schemes registered no progress at all (DoJAR 1953: 4). The training schemes only began after the launch of the training schemes for future magistrates, which started in February, 1953 (DoJAR1953: 1-2). Among the many reasons that countered the move towards the establishment of the training school for interpreters, were:

- Much of the effort of the Department of Justice went into the establishment of what was called 'the Synthetic Magistrates' Office' (DoJAR 1950: 3). The Department of Justice and the Department of Native Affairs investigated ways of establishing this office through collaborative training of the probationary clerical officers of the two departments.

However, this practical, intensive and uniform training was to be given to a few hand picked officers. The training would focus on two major aspects:

- general principles of state organisation (economy, finance, duties of the court clerks)
- general principles of decorum i.e. job status, prestige and human relations.

- The Public Service Commission was investigating the possibility of co-ordinated training for all public servants of the Union of South Africa (DoJAR 1951)

It is only in 1954 that the suggestion of the establishment of a school for interpreters started to take shape. The experimental training session was organised in Pietermaritzburg (DoJAR 1954: 3). Due to the severe shortage of European interpreters, all the attendants were native interpreter-clerks Grade II. The lecturer, a senior European interpreter clerk, conducted the training for three weeks, and the interpreters were both trained and tested with a view to identifying further aspects needing intervention.

The training focused on three aspects:

- principles of interpreting
- improvement of vocabulary
- basic principles of law.

In 1955 and 1956 the training proceeded smoothly and successfully with an attendance of more than 41 interpreters, including those from Natal and the Transvaal (DoJAR 1955: 4; 1956: 9). The reports received from the supervisors of the interpreters indicated that the course had improved the interpreters' performances. It was recommended that a permanent full-time lecturer be appointed. The lecturer would also be tasked with the inspection and recruitment of the interpreters. The interpreters' training schemes were firmly established in the years 1957-1958. A training manual was produced.

The principal court interpreter (dubbed as tutor and inspector), framed the course over three areas:

- correct knowledge
- sense of responsibility
- pride in work.

The training then moved from Pietermaritzburg to Pretoria. The training benefited a large number of Native and Indian interpreters. Even the possibility of training for European interpreters was envisaged but never executed (DoJAR 1957: 9-10, 1958: 12, 1959: 18). By 1959, most of the Bantu interpreter-clerks in the Department of Justice had already attended the training. From this time onward, the training of interpreters continued on a regular basis. The tours of the inspector served to identify the problems that the interpreters faced. Two of the most crucial problems reported were related to the incompetence of some interpreters and the mismatch between their languages and the dialects spoken in specific areas. The tours also helped to identify some interpreters who were fluent in many languages and could be employed in many different parts of the country. Wherever the inspector identified problems, measures were taken to redress the situation (DoJAR 1963: 7, 1964: 8.) In the meantime, the department had established a strategy of training that would benefit much of the country by dividing it into four major regions, each led by a chief interpreter. The table below shows the regions and the seat of the chief interpreters

Table 3.3: Seat of the Chief Interpreter

REGIONS	SEAT OF THE CHIEF INTERPRETER
Natal + South Eastern Transvaal	Pietermaritzburg
Orange Free State + North Western Cape + South Eastern Transvaal	Bloemfontein
Rest of the Cape Province	Port Elizabeth
Rest of the Transvaal	Pretoria

In 1971, the focus of the interpreters' course added more attention to fulfilling the Department's needs and providing interpreters with knowledge of substantive and adjective law (DoJAR 1971: 11-12).

The efforts at training the staff of the Department of Justice continued to receive much attention through the years. By 1975, the department had an entire division in charge of training. However, the division faced some problems relating to the upward professional mobility of the lecturers. It was noticed that as soon as a lecturer got to a certain level of seniority or as soon as he obtained an LLB Degree, he would leave the training division for some other division that offered better career prospects. These moves had a negative impact on the continuity as well as on the standard of training. It was thus suggested that a system should be established whereby lecturers could pursue a career in training. One of the first steps towards the professionalisation of trainers in the Department was the establishment of Justice College which the government had approved in 1976. The College was to play a major role in the improvement of the staff proficiency in the situation of staff shortage that the department faced (DoJAR 1975: 5, 1976: 12). This mandate is a reflection of the situation and the process that preceded the establishment of Justice College (DoJAR 1989: 31). It was responsible for conducting at least five types of training directed at various audiences:

- 1) functional Criminal Courts training for prospective magistrates, existing magistrates, public prosecutors, state advocates and clerks of the courts
- 2) civil courts training for officers who heard civil cases in the lower courts
- 3) training for the staff of the master's office i.e. assistant masters, estate controllers and appointment clerks
- 4) legal training for the staff of other departments
- 5) training for interpreters. This training would take place under the control of the chief inspector of court interpreters, together with the four regional inspectors who were part of the college lecturers' corps.

It should be noted that in the years 1980-1981, the Department continued to provide training. But it also focused attention on the translation of documents on common law by experienced interpreters such as Prof Visagie, Dr B Z. Beinart and Mrs Hewitt (DoJAR 1980: 11, 1981: 53).

From its former structure in the late seventies to the shape it has now, the Justice College underwent many changes, of which one of the most drastic was the one in 1998, which aimed at redressing some of the racial imbalances of the past. This change even led to the resignation of a number of experienced lecturers who did not welcome the move towards the inclusion of more blacks in positions that had always been occupied by white employees. However, the structure of the short course it now provides to interpreters, has maintained a relatively uniform format (DoJAR 1991: 43, 1993: 57-60, 1997: 20-22, 1998: 79). The course runs for a period of approximately five weeks. It has two main components:

1) Classroom instruction under these headings:

- language proficiency
- basic Criminal law
- criminal and civil procedures
- Latin legal terminology
- the work of a court interpreter.

2) Practical instruction in court.

1.5 Role of the Department of Justice

The Department of Justice has the overall merit of being one of the institutions, if not the only institution, which seriously attempted to address and record the matters of interpreters' employment and training. This Department and that of Native Affairs constitute a repertoire for the development of South African Court Interpreting.

Recruitment system

The Department succeeded in putting in place a system for court interpreters' recruitment, employment and assessment; starting with the 1937 Natal Board of Examiners, the earliest consisting only of three people, two employed by the Department of Justice and one by the Department of Native Affairs. Over the years, this system has improved to a model of continuous assessment for appointment and promotion, and also incorporates training (DoJAR 1937: 13, 1946: 6). The court system of recruitment and employment functions were as follows:

Aspirant court interpreters are required to pass a language proficiency test taken down by a chief court interpreter in consultation with an inspector of court interpreters. After having passed the test, the candidate is appointed temporarily to do interpreting work in court under the supervision of a chief court interpreter. A further test is taken down by an inspector of court interpreters. After having passed that test, the candidate is appointed on probation for twelve months. Within this period, the candidate must attend a course at Justice College. After training, the candidate will return to his post where the inspector will sit in court to listen to the interpreter for a full day so as to provide further guidance (DoJAR 1998: 81, 1984: 17)

Leadership role in matters of interpreters' training

The interpreters' training schemes, organised during the many years by the Department of Justice, benefited the officers of other departments including the Department of Native Affairs and the Department of Health. The latter sent eight officers to undergo interpreters' training in 1967 and 1968 (DoJAR 1967: 8, 1968: 9). Before the introduction of interpreters' training at the University of the Free State, the Department of Justice was the only institution dealing with it.

Inspection tours

The idea of inspection tours is another significant contribution of the Department of Justice. Very early in the establishment of the interpreters' training schemes, it was understood that the training of interpreters needed following up. The follow-up would provide the inspector with insight into the problems that the court interpreter faced in the real situation. The interaction between the inspector/lecturer and interpreter/learner could contribute positively to the strengthening of ties between the two parties.

Court interpreters' associations

The Department offered the environment where a number of court interpreters' associations were born. Two of these associations are worth mentioning:

- the South African Court Interpreters and Clerks Union
- the South African Interpretation Officers and Allied Workers Union.

In 1994, the interpreters organised themselves into a separate body because they felt that they did not quite fit into the Attorneys' or the State Prosecutors' Association, and were in a minority. This separate body or union was backed by The National Association of Democratic Lawyers (NADL), which shared the view that justice could not win unless the interpreters won their demands regarding training, pay and promotion. The NADL called for the provision of attractive salaries, the establishment of proper certification, professional recognition and the introduction of tertiary training for interpreters. Although the association is often at odds with the hierarchy of the Department of Justice, this thesis will, at a later stage, discuss the importance of such an association for the professionalisation of an activity such as court interpreting, as well as its future development.

1.6 Tertiary training

In an attempt to achieve higher standards in interpreters' training, the Department of Justice, through Justice College, started to investigate the idea of tertiary training for interpreters. In 1994, Justice College consulted a number of universities and technikons to decide on the most effective way of training interpreters. It was clear that the training provided by Justice College needed improvement (DoJAR 1994: 34). In February 1997, a curriculum committee was established. The committee was made up of members of the following organisations: the Department of Justice, eight universities, one Technikon, the South African Translators' Institute, the South African Court Interpreters and Allied Workers' Union as well as the South African Court Interpreters and Clerks Union. In 1998, the committee completed the compilation of the curriculum for the University Diploma in Court Interpreting (DoJAR 1997: 22, 1998: 85).

It should be noted, however, that Justice College approached a number of key role players as well as universities in order to embark on the academic training of court interpreters. Many universities declined, for various reasons, to venture on this route. Only Potchefstroom University and the Orange Free State University agreed to undertake the training of court interpreters. The University of Pretoria and University Witwatersrads also showed interest in the training.

It should be noted, however, that the Orange Free State University had already accumulated some experience on interpreters' training as it had provided the training of interpreters for the Truth and Reconciliation Commission. The diploma course is currently organised at the two universities, but Justice College provides practical and functional training for the court interpreters. The University of South Africa (UNISA) now offers a Bachelor degree in Court interpreting. The first graduates completed in 2004. As such training is still new, it is difficult to judge its effectiveness now. However, there is a feeling in the justice department that the academic and the short course, which are running concurrently, should continue, but that both courses need improvement. One of the ways of improvement is the introduction of a three-year degree course and the decentralisation of the short courses. The latter will permit better access by the court interpreters, whilst the former will provide a well-grounded qualification.

1.7 Challenges associated with the training of court interpreters

Two internal documents (the Business Plan 2000 and Strategic Planning 2001) provide a clear picture of challenges that the Department of Justice faced regarding the interpreters that it employed.

Quality of teaching staff

The quality of training staff cannot be overemphasised. The trainers must be academically competent and must be of high moral fibre. When, in 2001, allegations of fraud erupted against some trainers, the department rapidly responded to the need for honest trainers by using new people (DoJAR 2001: 66).

Standard of the course

The Department felt that the course was organised in a very unstructured manner. The five-week period was too short for training and assessment. The prestige of the course was low. Within the Department of Justice, the course was neglected when compared with those courses provided for the magistrates and prosecutors.

Financial constraints

Financial constraints precluded many interpreters, especially those from rural areas, from attending the training session, which most of the time took place in Pretoria, far from many of the locations where these interpreters were stationed. The high demand for court interpreters (87% of the population used the service of interpreters in litigation) made it hard for Justice College to keep up with their training i.e. the number of incumbents who had received training was low. Often the interpreters attended the first course only two to four years after appointment.

Career connection

The department of Justice *via* Justice College realised that for many years in South Africa, court interpreters did not have any academic training and that there was no real career path. Yet, formal academic training is a key element to their professional recognition, adequate remuneration, career path and upward social mobility.

1.8 Summary

During my visits to the courts, I was surprised to see that the working environment of the court interpreters did not reflect the dignity that should have been associated with such a position. In most courts, all the interpreters were hidden in a small ill-furnished office. The atmosphere in these offices was not such that one could concentrate and read or study so as to prepare seriously for a case. As I visited the courts, it became clearer that certain prejudices were attached to court interpreting. Court interpreting seems to be consonant with the black race, low education, poverty and alcohol abuse. The migration of Native interpreters (Bantu or Black African) from the Department of Native Affairs to the Department of Justice was not a mere change of offices. When the black interpreters entered the department of Justice, they were subjected to the superior position of their white colleagues. The lowest European interpreter's post was higher than the highest Bantu interpreter's post. Thus from the very beginning, the Bantu interpreters were put in a situation where they felt inferior and to some extent inadequate. The change of government policy and the ushering in of democracy have removed racial barriers and prejudices. However, in the courts, interpreters seem to continue to be haunted by the prejudices of the past.

The high standard of achievement contributed significantly to the recruitment and establishment of Bantu interpreters in the Department of Justice. Yet, in recent years, it has been noticed that the standard of jobs delivered by the court interpreter has deteriorated quite significantly. Thus the interpreter suffers from low esteem because of the sub-standard quality of work he delivers and the lack of professionalism. Both European and non-European interpreters have contributed significantly to the progress of court interpreting. The Bantu interpreters allowed the Department of Justice to fulfil its job uninterrupted, by providing the Department with labour, particularly in the time of European interpreting staff shortages. The European interpreter set the training schemes through which they distilled their knowledge and experience to the Bantu interpreters. In recent years, the training schemes have suffered serious flaws. There is a need to work out and attempt new ways of training court interpreters adequately.

The Department of Justice put in place an interesting system of recruitment that determined standards of education for prospective court interpreters. The candidate court interpreters were required to have Grade 10 level, but currently the standard has been aimed at Grade 12 level. This standard of education is perceived as low when compared to the complexity of interpreting. Thus there is a need to adopt a strategy that provides adequate support to the interpreters.

There exist intricate ties between the court interpreter's status and education. It is therefore important to identify areas that require urgent intervention so as to liberate the interpreter from the prejudices of the past and put him in a position to allow him to fulfil his full potential and facilitate the provision of justice to all. Such an endeavour will necessitate a closer examination of numerous factors pertaining to the interpreter's profile, professional status, training needs and provision of training. An understanding of the interpreter situation will allow us to distinguish between fictional situations and real facts. The next pages of this thesis intend to move in that direction.

III. 2 Current issues in translation and interpreting

2.1 General concerns of language practitioners

In recent years, translators, interpreters, language practitioners and other interested parties have identified important issues that need urgent attention. This section will highlight some of the issues that attracted the attention of such parties during the years 2002 and most of 2003. It should be noted, however, that while certain issues such as copyright seem to be the focus of translators, other issues such as those of professional status tend to be shared by members across professions.

In February 2002, the Western Cape Language Committee (WCLC) convened a workshop in which more than a hundred language practitioners participated. The participants came from a variety of sectors in the Western Cape including the Provincial Parliament, the National Parliament, the courts and the freelance sector. Prior to the workshop, the WCLC had conducted a survey, which illustrated that the following are the most prevalent issues among the language practitioners:

Table 3.4: Important issues for language practitioners

LEVEL OF IMPORTANCE Most important (1)	THEMES	ISSUES
1	Training	What must be done to establish regular courses for improvement of skills?
2	Training	What training, development and resources should be made available for interpreters and translators in the Western Cape?
	Income	How to set and advertise standard rate for translation including minimum standard?
3	Policy	How to ensure that government does enough regarding the development of a language policy
4	Language equity and development	How to avoid an English/Afrikaans dominance at the expense of Xhosa and the growing number of other languages in the Western Cape?
		How to address the lack of resources in African languages?
5	Professional development	How to get rid of ignorance in the business sector regarding the translation profession?
		How to avoid Government calling it too expensive?

Training

This theme was the most prevalent one. It was felt that training should not only concern the interpreters or translators themselves, but also people who utilise these services. The training of language professionals, either formal or informal, should take into account specific needs of each language. The information of institutions that provide such training as well as the conditions of admission should be shared. Moreover, trained practitioners should receive encouragement in the form of increased salaries, responsibility or status. There emerged a strong tie between government's will, promotion of language right, training, income and status.

Income

The participants expressed the need to form a new regulatory professional body, which would deal *inter alia* with issues of accreditation and determination of tariffs. The name suggested for the new organisation was SALPRA i.e. the South African Language Practitioners Association. SATT's contribution to the profession was acknowledged. But SATT was perceived as not being representative enough. SALPRA would work for improvement of the image of the profession through the mobilisation of all stakeholders at governmental and non-governmental level. The new body could assist in setting tariffs.

Language equity and development

The most appropriate way to avoid the Afrikaans/English dominance would be through the use of African languages by native speakers of these languages. When the native speakers take pride in their languages and use them more often, this will contribute positively to the preservation of these languages and their heritage. Implicitly, the frequent use of African languages in public will raise the need for more interpreters for these languages. The increased use of African languages should go concomitantly with the enforcement of language equity policy. Translation into African languages should ensure positive visibility of the language, not only when a negative message or a warning such as 'No job available' or 'Danger' should be conveyed. The community as the major role player should lobby *inter alia* for mother-tongue instruction, language rights, high quality of translators/interpreters, as well as a language audit in the public and private sector.

Policy

Steps in order for the government to prove its will and support for the constitutional language provision should include a larger covering of language-related events by the public media, the establishment of language desks at local councils to help people who experience problems understanding the dominant languages, and a clear communication channel between the language activists and the government.

Professional development

The language professionals felt a strong need to develop a database accessible through a call centre, which would provide all language-related information. It was felt that the promotion of language-related businesses was the responsibility of all language workers and not of SATI alone. However, if more language workers joined SATI, it would have a more representative voice. Children should be targeted by awareness campaigns on language rights and access to services in their mother tongue. Children should also be aware of the existence of the translation/interpreting professions to provide language facilitation services. Some language practitioners express the need to see SATI as an interim body, but it should ultimately be replaced by SALPRA, where all language practitioners will be registered.

The major themes as reflected in table 5 show that the experiences of court interpreters are similar to those experienced by the other language practitioners in the Western Cape Province. Both categories look at training as priority number one. Both categories consider issues of remuneration as highly important, as well as matters of professional development, policy and language equity. Far from being restricted to the Western Province only, these themes occur in national fora of language practitioners, whether they are translators or health care interpreters.

2.2 Translators' issues

The features that appear in *Muratho* (i.e. 'The Bridge' when translated from Venda), from October 2002 to October 2004 provide an indication of issues that are considered to be of relevance to the South Africa Translators' Institute, which claims to also represent interpreters, editors, and lexicographers.

The Journal of the South African Translators' Institute, *Muratho* which is published twice a year, indicates that the four relevant needs of its members are: electronic tools, freelancing, training and language policy.

Electronic tools

Having understood the importance of Computer Assisted Translation Tools (CATTs), SATT wants its members to learn more about them so as to be able to use the tools efficiently. The tools include not only translation memories and other utilities like spell-checks, locating programs, clipboard memory, term searchers, Ecerptors, Word counters, Comparers and Aligners. These are included in programs such as Trados, Déjà vu, TransSuite, Transit, WordFast or SDLX with which more and more translators are now getting familiar (Murray-Smith 2002: 7-9). The Internet, E-lancing and Software in South Africa's indigenous languages are now counted among the most important tools for translators. The translator's resources on the Internet are general dictionary websites, personal home pages, and local online dictionaries which can be purchased in CD or CD-ROM format from internet catalogues. Each of these resources is presented with its advantages and web addresses where they can be purchased. The additional information on the topic includes online newspapers archives, government policy archives, and email discussion lists such as *taalgesprek*, *rekenaarsterme*, *Zalang* and *Xhosa list* (Van den Heuvel 2002: 3-5).

Mastery of technology becomes an important aspect of translating, as the translator could then easily advance to eLancing, which consists of being electronically connected to other freelancers to work on project teams for a limited period of time and recombine to work on other projects. The eLancer surfs the Web in search of the job he wants, bids on it, and meets other co-workers and clients online. E-lancing looks attractive because it offers the possibility of managing strict deadlines by working interdependently with other practitioners. In this situation, race, religion, sex and geography do not matter, but the greatest challenge remains the ability to interact and convenience over the Web, as having a personal Web page is not a guarantee to ensure success (Potgieter 2002: 15-16).

The cyber age holds much hope for the improvement of the status of South African indigenous languages, with the development of a Web browser and mail client, Mozilla, which has already been translated into six languages, Xhosa, Zulu, Venda, Northern Sotho, Swati and Tswana (Bailey and Mhlongo 2002: 16). This news is encouraging as the African languages are often viewed as unable to embrace the benefits of technology.

Language policy and training for language practitioners

SATI saluted Cabinet's approval of the National Language Policy Framework (NLPF). The approval is viewed as a milestone in the establishment of the South African Language Practitioners' Council. The importance of the Council lies in the regulation of the language service market with a possibility of better fees and better working conditions. The NLPF will then be used by government departments, which will each have to determine its own working language(s), language(s) of records, and language(s) of communication with members of the public. The government departments will then have to rely on translation/interpreting services to ensure that the largest number of people are served in their own languages. Moreover, lexicologists and terminologists will be needed to develop the corpus of the previously marginalised languages. All these needs imply that the required language practitioners will have to be trained (Boers 2003b: 17,18).

Muratho special issue on training simply provides extensive and updated information on all the courses that are available in South Africa, their levels, the conditions of admission, the language combinations, and outcomes (Boers 2003a: 3-16). The information shows that there is a much wider variety of courses and options than in the second part of the seventies when the translation courses were being introduced in South Africa. There is also an effort to combine both practical and theoretical aspects. It can be noticed, however, that most of the institutions prefer translation courses to interpreting ones. Reasons may be that the latter require more technical equipment that many institutions have at present. It can be argued that when the new national languages become a law, there will be equal if not a significantly higher demand for interpreting services.

Freelancing

As the majority of SATI members are freelance language practitioners, it was almost predictable that the publication of this organisation would feature an item on the topic of freelancing. Liebenberg's article indicates that the freelance market faces a crisis that leaves many official languages offices shrunken or non-existent.

There is a gap between the official stance on multilingualism and the lack of practical measures to turn theory into practice. Liebenberg (2003: 3-12) continues to provide advice on practical steps to take in order to establish and run a successful business as a freelance practitioner. Her interesting suggestions include practical issues such as the acquisition of equipment and reference material, general organisation so as to find balance between family, work and leisure, ways of finding translation work assignments, ways of dealing with clients, the setting of rates, registration for tax purposes, networking, professional improvement, and ethics. Murray-Smith (2003: 15-18) insists on the importance of acquiring the appropriate computer hardware and software for a freelancer's office. She provides an in-depth description of most software that translators need/use and details the benefits of each product for the translator and the clients. Boers takes further two points raised by Liebenberg i.e. rates and networking. She recommends hourly-based rating, which leads to 40c per word subject to regional rates, degree of text specialisation and urgency (Boers 2003c: 19). However she states that the Competition Act lays down that SATI may not set tariffs or give recommended rates. Regarding networking, Boers (2003d: 20) concurs with Liebenberg on the benefits of the ZaLang Internet discussion group or Lantra.

It is interesting to see that the approach used by translators in presenting issues of training, for example, differs from the approach used by the other language practitioners especially court interpreters. Translators tend to share with each other ways of upgrading knowledge instead of complaining; for example, that there is nowhere they can go to learn to use computer programmes for translation and editing. Most court interpreters tend to depend a lot on the Department of Justice to take initiatives for the upgrading of their knowledge.

2.3 Medical interpreting

Both court interpreting and health care or medical interpreting are generally clustered together under the heading 'community interpreting'. They serve a large section of the population at grassroots level, whilst conference interpreting, for example, only serves a limited number of people. An examination of salient preoccupations of medical interpreting can provide ideas in the manner court interpreting can also be improved.

Two major events recently held in Cape Town provide a glimpse of the burning issues about medical interpreting:

- community interpreting in the Western Cape health services
- the SANPAD health care interpreting project.

The understanding of these issues was only possible after taking into account the essence of the presentations and the type of questions that the interpreters asked during the first meeting, seeing that the presenters were people with some degree of expertise in the field of community health interpreting, whilst the interpreters were active members of the audience. The topics listed for the community interpreting conference in November 2003 included community health interpreting in the Western Cape and internationally, principles and practices of interpreting, training needs and opportunities, and the way forward. The two meetings were not set up specifically to inquire from medical interpreters what they felt were the most important issues currently. The meetings rather aimed at discussing interpreting issues many stakeholders had thought to be of relevance for the future. The South Africa–Netherlands Program for Aid to Development (SANPAD) health care interpreting project, which began in July 2001, held a workshop on 7 November 2003 to identify the areas that needed urgent attention.

Community interpreting in the Western Cape health services

The meetings highlight a dire need for change in the way medical interpreting is perceived. Such a change of perception is to become manifest in a number of practical steps that should be taken at national and provincial government level, as well as at institutional level. Currently, interpreting is not seen as part of the health communication.

The interpreter is not seen as an integral part of service provision, but rather as a supplementary burden. Certain health care practitioners perceive him/her as an inhibitor in the normal flow of communication with the patient. Little effort is made to make interpreting available. The 2010 plan of the Department of Health lacks a strategy to encompass the planning, funding and training of medical interpreters. Little, if anything, is said about interpreters' incentives, career paths, recognition or code of practice within the medical sector. Therefore there appears an urgent need for language activism, language awareness and advocacy programmes so that people may understand their rights and militate for them.

Eventually, such activism will generate legislature of policy framework, with interpreting matters at the centre, with a possibility of triggering better integration of interpreting services with the medical sector. Through their questions, it could be perceived that the interpreters seemed to be more preoccupied with issues of delimitation of responsibility towards the patient, the health care practitioner and the institution. They wanted to obtain a better understanding of their role. They also requested adequate terminology in African languages to distinguish, for example, the word 'cure' from 'treatment or therapy'.

The SANPAD health care interpreting project

This project seeks to improve mediated communication between the health professional and the patient. One peculiarity of this project lies in the fact that efforts are concentrated at institutional level, taking into consideration the sorts of limitations that exist at national, provincial, local and even institutional level (Drennan and Swartz 1999: 169-178). These indicate some of the most pertinent problems that health care interpreting faces. For example, discussions with health care practitioners indicate that some of them still believe that what matters to patients is not communication through a language they understand, but rather a caring attitude on the part of the doctor. They think that language issues are secondary. Such attitudes contribute to the lack of interpreters on many hospitals' staff. This leads to a situation of total reliance on either casual interpreters in the case of an exotic and foreign language, or use of caregivers for interpreting in the majority of cases. The very few trained interpreters available work in the context described above.

Thus the thrust of the project is on ways of improving mediated communication i.e. communication between the health professional and the patient through a trained or an untrained interpreter (including caregivers i.e. the person who accompanies the patient to the hospital, either a family member of the patient, or friend or neighbour who understands English or Afrikaans and the patient's language).

Health care institutions differ from the courts in that in court, family members or acquaintances are not automatically allowed to interpret for litigants. The health care sector views the doctor's caring attitude as more important than language issues, whereas court interpreting places greater value on the language. It is encouraging, however, to see that in the health sector, doctors, nurses, social workers and interpreters can sit together in order to think about ways of improving communication. Few are the occasions where prosecutors, magistrates, attorneys and court interpreters sit together to examine ways of improving communication in court. Interpreting problems are not perceived as general communication problems; they are rather perceived as the interpreter's problem i.e. it is up to the interpreter to solve them.

2.4 Languages in courts

Language of prosecution

Kimane (1993) and Mkhonza (1993) observed that in certain cases, especially in the rural areas where all the court officials and parties involved were first language speakers of African language, English was still used. Their studies refer respectively to the situation in Lesotho and Swaziland. The use of English was attributed to legal requirements of records. During my observation in court at Goodwood Magistrates' Court, I noticed that Mr Muti, a Xhosa speaking magistrate, used Xhosa in a number of cases where the accused spoke Xhosa. However, he communicated with the prosecutor in English because the latter did not have any command of Xhosa. Subsequently, Mr Muti jotted down some notes in English. I was happy to see the Xhosa language visible in this manner, although I could not explain the reason for the magistrate using these languages. Was it only to give the interpreter a rest or were there other reasons? Was it maybe to speed up the process and void an awkward use

of interpreting in a language that he had full command of? When I inquired from the senior court interpreter, I discovered that Mr Muti had worked as a court interpreter for a number of years before continuing his studies to obtain the required qualification and return to the court as a magistrate. Thus he had full command of all the official languages of the Western Cape Province. But he used Xhosa and Afrikaans only in cases of arraignment, postponement and first appearances. When it came to full trials, he resorted to English and used an interpreter. What is the policy in terms of the language of court?

The Heads of Superior Courts established a Court Language Committee to investigate and suggest a language policy for court and report during the month of October 2003. The Committee, headed by Judge Raymond Zondo, was also to harmonise divergent views on the matter. On the one hand, the Black Lawyers Association (BLA) felt that Afrikaans, which hindered black people from being appointed as judges, was treated favourably in the judicial system. Thus English should be kept as the only language of record, whilst court proceedings could be conducted in any language with the assistance of an interpreter. The *Vereniging van Resglui vir Afrikaans* (VRA), a pro-Afrikaans language activist group, felt that the use of English only as language of records would imply that non-English speakers would depend on the costly services of an interpreter/translator. The VRA thought that it would rather be beneficial to use a multilingual approach, which would take into account the predominant language in the area. In accordance with the VRA's suggestion, it can be perceived that certain magistrates can be rendered technically unfit to arbitrate matters in certain areas, unless they know the languages of the area. The judicial system may then face a *de facto* balkanisation based on language proficiency. Any fruitful solution will need to incorporate translation and interpreting as essential ingredients to the solution for various language-related problems that the court faces.

A memorandum was to be issued to the Magistrates' Courts, the Labour Court and the High Court so as to start addressing the lack of policy. The memorandum suggests that for civil and criminal matters, legal proceedings may be instituted in any official languages, and summons as well as responses to the document may be provided in any official language preferred by the issuer (i.e. civil parties, courts and police.).

Should the respondent be served with a document or a process in a language he does not sufficiently understand, he shall bear the document's translation costs or secure an interpreter at his own expense, or request the Registrar or the Clerk of the Court to provide translation/interpreting services at state expense. The parties shall notify the Registrar or the Clerk of the Court of the languages that its attorneys, counsel and its witnesses intend to use, so as to ensure that the court makes timely arrangement for the necessary interpreters. The memorandum puts an emphasis on the use of the official languages. The use of foreign or other non-official languages is not an uncommon issue. In most of these cases, the court secures the services of a casual court interpreter to assist either the bench or the parties. The effort to provide justice in the languages that suit all the participants turns into a problem in the case of a continued absence of the interpreter, as in the case against Macebo Damoyi where the criminal was prosecuted and convicted without the presence of an interpreter because the magistrate, the prosecutor and all the other parties were able to use Xhosa.

Language of record

Two languages are accepted as languages of record in South African Courts - English and Afrikaans. Recording proceedings in these languages was intended to make it possible for matters to be continued or reviewed by any other presiding officer in the absence of the officer who had previously heard the matter. However, not all magistrates, advocates or prosecutors understand Afrikaans. It is seen as an injustice if records are kept only in the two languages when the constitution gives equal esteem to all official languages. Schroeder (2003a) quoted a Cape High Court Judge, Mr Justice James Yekiso, as saying that there should only be one language of record, namely English. Among the reasons, he mentioned practicality, better administration of justice as well as the position of English as the predominant language of international politics, commerce and industry. The memorandum suggested that for civil matters, the evidence should be preserved in the language in which it was presented, whilst judgement should be in any of the official languages and translated, at state expense, into an official language that one or more parties can understand, if need be. The records of cases that require automatic reviews in the High Court will be dealt with by a judge who understands the language in which they were recorded, or such records should be translated so that another judge, who is not familiar with the

language of records, may deal with such automatic reviews. For the purposes of an appeal in the High Courts, the Supreme Courts, the Labour Appeal Court or the Constitutional Court, the evidence must be transcribed into the language in which they were recorded. The parties will present their arguments on appeal in the language of record, or the records will need to be partly or totally translated at state or/and party/parties expense to suit the language preferences of parties or judges. These arrangements, though they look complex, are made to suit the interests of all the stakeholders. Above all, it is to the benefit of the court interpreter or the sworn translator who is thereby empowered. Why do magistrates, advocates or prosecutors resort to using an interpreter even in some cases where the bench and the parties speak the same language?

Reasons accounting for the use of English in court

a) Intelligibility by the majority of participants

The majority of urban court participants speak various languages. The use of an interpreter ensures that all officials or parties understand each other. It is only in cases where the accused, his defence, the witness, the prosecutor, and the presiding officer used English or Afrikaans that the full trial could be conducted and recorded in English or Afrikaans, without the assistance of the interpreter. It should be noted, however, that Xhosa speaking magistrates and prosecutors are still in a minority. A language proficiency audit in the Directorate of Public Prosecutions indicated that only 62 of the 262 prosecutors in the lower courts in the Western Cape, as well as three advocates out of 36 were African and proficient in indigenous languages. Moreover, only a portion of them are fully confident to use Xhosa (Schroeder 2003b).

b) Distancing

Some court officials and magistrates sometimes reject the use of Xhosa, in particular, for the reason of distancing. When the magistrate speaks Xhosa to the Xhosa-speaking accused, the latter feels comfortable and perceives the magistrate as someone closer, someone who belongs, someone who is inclined to be compassionate towards the situation of the accused and his daily struggle for survival. The magistrate is perceived as someone who shares a number of common elements.

This closeness empowers the accused and in some ways disempowers the magistrate. The comfortable position in which the accused finds him/herself can lead to abuse on his part. In one of the cases that I attended at the Wynberg Magistrates' Court, I observed an instance in which the presiding officer, a black woman, used the medium of Xhosa to address two black African Xhosa-speaking women. The two women were appearing on charges of theft of assets valued at one hundred thousand rand. They were out on bail. On this particular day, they failed to appear in court on time. This is a serious offence, particularly for someone who is out on bail. The case had already been put off when eventually they arrived very late. As the Presiding Officer addressed them, they burst out laughing. Whether they laughed because of the content of the message or the way in which the message was communicated, the interesting thing is that the Presiding Officer immediately dropped Xhosa and started using English.

She said, 'Don't laugh at me. Don't laugh in this court.' When one of the accused wanted to say something, the magistrate continued, 'Don't speak in this court unless I authorise you to do so. I can put you in custody to ensure that you appear on time. In fact, looking at the value of the items that were stolen, I am seriously considering putting you in custody.'

At this point, the defence pleaded that they remain out of custody and gave the assurance that on the next date of appearance, the accused would spend the night at a location near the court. The use of English distances the accused from the Presiding Officer. The latter is now perceived as a stranger, a person who is far removed from local realities, a person who does not share in the community's daily struggle for existence, a person full of power and control in front of whom the accused people appear to answer for his wrongful behaviour. The Presiding Officer carefully increases, reduces or maintains this distance through language choice, language use.

c) Lack of terms in African languages

There is a severe lack of appropriate terms in African languages to render adequately and unequivocally legal terms. For example it is difficult to distinguish between the words 'total' and 'sum' or even 'yellow' and 'red' in some African languages.

It is obvious that postponements and arraignments can be conducted in Xhosa because of the lower degree of complexity that is involved. Moreover, these types of proceedings are not tape-recorded. But, for full trials, the degree of language complexity increases and the hearings are tape-recorded. It is difficult for the Presiding Officer to use the African languages and proceed without the assistance of an interpreter. The interpreter comes in to mediate between parties and possibly bear the blame associated with misinterpretation, whilst doing his best to interpret fairly for all. No participant can interpret for another without the risk of jeopardising his own position or role.

2.5 Current issues in court interpreting

Hlophe (2003) provided an illustration of yet other current issues of court interpreters as viewed by the Judge President of the Cape High Court. He argued that the fact that English and Afrikaans continued to be used as languages of records created an impression that justice is bilingual, thus confirming the suspicions of the previously marginalised communities of the integrity of the justice system. He warned against the use of practical considerations to evade constitutional obligations. Hlophe advocated the use of African languages in the judicial system to encourage their various potential benefits. The benefits include the development of a truly African jurisprudence, and community development via the recognition of the linguistic human rights.

Hlophe (2003) further argued that language parity in the court was attainable with sufficient numbers of well-trained interpreters of high quality. He suggested that the interpreters as well as the other judicial officers should undergo sensitivity training i.e. cultural, emotional, linguistic sensitivity as well as sensitivity to problems surrounding interpreted proceedings. The latter problems which should be dealt with include context related skills, language skills, cultural competence, and strategies to deal with legal terms, as well as knowledge of and adherence to a code of conduct. Moreover, the significance of their role in court calls for better training and improved status.

In October 2002, the Department of Justice organised a workshop in an effort to redefine the role, function or duties of the court interpreters and to identify their priorities. Among the guests who addressed the interpreters appear the Managing Director of Court Services, the Director for Work Study and a representative of the National Prosecuting Authority. They all recognised the importance of the interpreter in the Department. Their addresses show that they see the interpreter's issues in terms of skills, professional recognition, recruitment strategies, sound working relationships and a development plan (Jacobs 2002: 7).

The Implementation Committee for Transformation of Court Interpreting Services issued the final report of the workshop. It shows that the current preoccupations of the court interpreter emphasises different areas under the following headings:

- at national level, they call for the abolition of the court interpreters' management structure from Justice College to the national office of the Department of Justice. Moreover, Manager and Assistant Manager posts should be established at main court centres
- the other issues concern the establishment of the new job profile and competencies for court interpreters
- the implementation of career path, which includes the evaluation of the *Diploma in Interpretation and Translation for entry and promotion posts*
- the setting of minimum qualifications and other job requirements
- the setting of programmes to train under-qualified/inexperienced interpreters to acquire minimum qualification
- the recruitment of trainers for the purpose of conducting functional training at Justice College
- auditing skills and developing a performance management system specific for court interpreters
- reviewing salaries
- developing a code of conduct to regulate a work relationship with the judiciary, prosecution and court management structures, developing cooperation agreement for the improvement of working conditions with other stakeholders

- developing a regulatory framework for the identification and provision of casual and foreign language interpreters to ascertain their competencies and determine uniform tariffs.

It is interesting to note that the concerns of court interpreters are focused on the improvement of their immediate working conditions. Therefore training, increased performance, posts upgrading, better payment, issues of relationship and efficient management play a central role in the eyes of the court interpreters. However, magistrates both in lower and higher courts, seem to be preoccupied with the challenges of administering justice to a multilingual and a multicultural community. That is why issues of language of proceedings and language of record tend to attract more of their attention; happily they also acknowledge the central role of the interpreter.

The interpreter's effective training and improvement of status are considered essential elements that will help him/her to respond adequately to the requirement of a challenging task. It is shocking, however, that unlike SATI freelancers, court interpreters seem to devote no attention to the issue of acquiring reference material (such as dictionaries and encyclopaedias.) let alone electronic resources, which offer much benefit to language work. Some freelancers claim that in this century the Internet is no longer a luxury. However, for the court interpreters, it seems to be a luxury. Except for a few Chief Interpreters, none of the court interpreters have access to a computer. The rare computers that are in the Chief Interpreters' offices do not have Internet access. It was frustrating to note that the court interpreters with whom I worked did not have email addresses. The only communication equipment they have is a landline telephone, which allows the senior judicial officers to contact the interpreters. At present, talking to an ordinary interpreter about a web-based dictionary or a CD-ROM encyclopaedia would sound like talking a foreign language. It should be noted, however, that the Department of Justice understands the importance of technology for better provision of justice. At present, a number of technology-driven projects are underway.

The Data Nervous System (DNS), for example, aims at connecting 3500 out of 6500 desktops to Wide Area Network so as provide 80% of judicial officials with an internet connection and research facilities (Kganyongo ed. 2001). It is sad, however, to note that some people in the hierarchy who are aware of such facilities did not make any effort to include technological aspects in the 2007 plan for transformation of court interpreting services.

The issue of specialisation in a field/sub-field (e.g. finance), also seems to be missing. Moreover, the court interpreter seems to view networking in terms of his relationship with other court interpreters, management, or stakeholders in the judiciary only. No reference is made about possible interaction with freelance language practitioners or other professional associations that are not part of the judicial system. The two groups show similar views on the importance that they attach to ethics or training and the search for a better working environment. Some of these aspects and others that appeared in this section will be discussed in a way that allows the interpreter's perception to be voiced.

IV. Research design and method

IV.1 Research design

1.1 Focus of the research

One of the most salient concerns identified in the study of South African translation and interpreting has been the lack of translation/interpreting planning at macro-level and, in many instances, even at a micro-level. Careful observers have had the impression that there is a significant reliance on random or *ad hoc* translation and interpreting service provision. However, the planning of translation/interpreting is a mammoth task. Moreover, there seems to be a lack of theoretical framework in which such an endeavour can take place. The present research attempts to highlight the main components that the planning of translation/interpreting should consider. These considerations should include issues of training, professional status and corpus development. The study intends to go further in providing the translators'/ interpreters' profiles as well as their perception of training and professional status. Special focus is placed on court interpreting, which is in turn contrasted and complemented by freelance translation/interpreting, medical translation/interpreting, and parliamentary translation/interpreting.

1.2 Approach

Various approaches can be used in the investigation of a scientific question. Leedy (1993: 139) says that it is the nature of data that determines the use of one approach or the other. Depending on whether the data is verbal or numerical, the approach will be either quantitative or qualitative. The use of multiple approaches is generally favoured because it tends to provide more accurate results, whereas exclusive reliance on one approach may render a study particularly vulnerable to bias (Cohen and Manion 1994). It is therefore advisable to corroborate certain types of findings through triangulation, which can decrease certain types of biases.

In this study, the nature of the data, the objective of the study and the spectrum of elements to be observed commanded the use of the dominant/less dominant model of Creswell which stipulates that the researcher presents the study with a single dominant paradigm with one small component of the overall study drawn from the alternative paradigm (De Vos 2001: 360). The dominant paradigm will be qualitative while the less dominant will be quantitative. De Vos argues that the advantage of this approach lies mainly in consistency. The study presents a consistent picture whilst additional information is used to probe some aspects to the study (De Vos 2001: 361).

The qualitative information is analysed in accordance with Neuman's suggestion that the qualitative researcher interprets data by giving them meaning, 'translating' them, or making them understandable. However the meaning given begins with the point of view of the people being studied (Neuman 2000: 158). Certain aspects of qualitative information in my research were quantified and presented more concisely so as to avoid unproductive redundancy. Although the quantitative approach is less dominant, it is certainly not unimportant. Quantification allows for general trends to be identified. Quantitative data will help to probe certain aspects of the study so that validity and reliability can be ensured.

1.3 Data and method of collection

1.3.1 Sampling techniques

I combined purposive, snowball and convenience sampling methods. Singleton, Straight and McAllister argue that purposive sampling is based on the judgement of the researcher who selects a sample that has the characteristics of the population, which is relevant to the question (De Vos 2001:198). The sample in this study was not a random selection of translators and interpreters. It was primarily a selection of willing and interested translators and interpreters, capable of providing the appropriate contribution needed for this research. Very few lecturers and trainers were able to respond. Only two did. It is not clear whether this is due to their busy schedules. The two insightful responses are rendered verbatim in appendix 10.

The first response was provided by a lecturer involved in the training of court interpreters and the second response is that of a lecturer involved in the training of translators. It is believed that purposive sampling is often more appropriate for ethnographic or qualitative research because only people who have a deep understanding of the research topic can be included in the research sample.

Representativity

According to De Vos (2001: 193), it is impossible to identify, contact and study the entire relevant population unless the said population is very small and readily accessible. The target population of this research is big and not readily accessible, thus the selection of a representative sample was deemed necessary. Kerlinger defines a representative sample as that which has approximately the most characteristic or typical attributes of the target population (De Vos 2001: 246). It is known, however, that representativity does not only mean qualitative characteristics but it must contain a degree of quantitative value.

Research samples and sizes

It is ordinarily maintained that a sample size of 30 is the minimum number of cases to sample if the researcher intends to use some form of statistical analysis. However, there exist statistical tests that one can apply to studies, which involve less than 30 participants (Cohen and Manion 1985: 101; Sowden and Keeves 1988: 516). The present thesis, which is mainly qualitative, will only make use of descriptive statistics. The table below shows the number of respondents according to different groupings

Table 4.1: Research sample

Sector	Translator	Interpreters	Translators/interpreters	Total
Court	-	34	-	34
Health Care	-	11	-	11
Parliament	-	-	11	11
Freelancers	37	-	7	44
Lecturers	1	1		2
Total	38	46	18	102

The courts represented include:

- Cape Town Magistrates' Court
- Khayelitsha Magistrates' Court
- Mitchells Plain Magistrates' Court
- Goodwood Magistrates' Court
- Wynberg Magistrates' Court
- Athlone Magistrates' Court
- Parow Magistrates' Court
- Bishop Lavis Magistrates' Court.

In 1997, the National Language Project (NLP) trained and placed in hospitals 22 health care interpreters. For this research, I made every effort to contact all these interpreters. It was found that only a few had remained in the interpreting profession. The Flemish government funded the NLP initiative intending that, after a period of two to three years, the Western Cape Health Department would take up the payment of the interpreters, but unfortunately this did not happen. The Department of Health refused to create and fund interpreting posts in the hospitals. Only a few hospitals who had acknowledged the dire need for interpreting services came up with strategies to retain interpreters, while other hospitals dismissed them due to the lack of funding. The present research started about four years after the initial training and placement. It was possible to contact all the interpreters at these Health Care facilities:

- Mowbray Maternity Hospital
- Groote Schuur Hospital (Oncology Department)
- Cape Town Clinic
- Red Cross Children's Hospital.

In spite of numerous attempts, the interpreter at Karl Bremer Hospital could not be easily reached, and, when at last I met her, she had lost her job several months previously and hence could not be included in the sample. Most of the interpreters wrote their names on the questionnaires, though it was stipulated that they were to answer anonymously. The researcher assigned to each of them a pseudonym to protect their rights and interests. This is a way of complying with the principle of confidentiality. All participants were made aware of the purpose of the study.

1.3.2 Access and permissions

Parliament

Flick suggests that the researchers and their communicative competencies are the main 'instrument' of collecting data (Flick 2002: 54). I was to use various strategies in my attempts to gain access to the diverse institutions that deal with translators and interpreters. I was introduced to Mr David, Head of Language Services in Parliament in 2001 during a workshop organised by the Western Cape Language Committee of which he was a member of the board. Subsequent to this meeting, a Multilingualism Action Group (MAG) was initiated and I became a member. I got an opportunity to meet Mr David more often during meetings of language activists or during translators/interpreters gatherings, seeing that Mr David also does some translation and interpretation work. During the same year I approached Mr David to tell him about my present research in which he showed much interest. I arranged to send him a draft of my questionnaire for comments. Unfortunately he never returned the questionnaire, although I sent him two emails and made three phone calls to remind him. He replied to one of my phone calls with apologies. I took this opportunity to inform him that the questionnaire had been finalised and I needed his assistance for data collection. I sent him a questionnaire, which he approved and he then referred me to one language practitioner, Mr Kekana, who was to coordinate the in-house distribution and collection of questionnaires. After a period of more than five months and multiple promises from Mr Kekana, I collected only three questionnaires. Apart from Mr Kekana, two other women, Jabulani and Makobo, had completed the questionnaires.

Kekana explained that the other language practitioners were not willing to fill in the questionnaire even though the hierarchy had approved it. He gave many reasons that I cannot quote in this thesis, except for the one that follows. Although Kekana was young and newly appointed, he held a tertiary degree in Translation Studies. His presence and qualification posed a threat to some language practitioners who, in spite of long years of employment, had not undergone tertiary education or other training suitable for their tasks.

Some suspected that he was gathering data for a post-graduate qualification, thus fearing that he could attain far better professional status than they could. Some even came to see me and ask me questions to ascertain that it was not Kekana's research which was underway.

I reported the difficulty that I faced to Mr David, but nothing was done to change the situation. As was the case in the situation I have described above, Flick (2002: 56) argues that research is an intrusion into the life of an institution. I attempted to reduce the intrusive effect by working unobtrusively behind an in-house facilitator, but it did not work. The reason for this resistance may possibly be that research unsettles the institution by exposing the limitations of the institution (Flick 2002: 56). One of the ways to dissipate doubts about the adverse effects of the research is by building a relationship of trust with the institution. Unfortunately this takes much time. After a period of almost two years, I phoned the head of language services at Parliament, Mr Lungwe, who happened to be a new appointee, following the retirement of the former head. I talked to him in the most formal way I could. He looked very interested and asked me to prepare a presentation for him and a panel of eight heads of sections. I presented to this team the background, intentions, procedures and intended results of the research. The 40 minute presentation was followed by a ten minutes question and answer period. The questions touched both issues pertaining to the research and my life as an individual. After the presentation, we agreed that the heads of sections would dispatch and retrieve questionnaires from members of their respective sections. At the end of this process, I collected information from almost 20% of the translator/interpreters of the parliament (i.e. 12 language practitioners out of a total of 60).

Flick (2002: 56) warns that providing more information about the background of the research does not necessarily facilitate access to an institution and this prove true in my experience. In 2002, I was part of the delegation sent by my university to the Justice College in Pretoria. I was able to meet the national inspectors of court interpreters to whom I was introduced. They looked enthusiastic about the research project, endorsed it and pledged their support.

We agreed that I would send them a copy of my questionnaire for them to administer to the interpreters attending various training sessions at Justice College in Pretoria. This would have provided a national sample of court interpreters. Shortly after arriving in Cape Town, I sent them two questionnaires. After waiting for several months in vain, I contacted one of them who asked me to wait for a while, but nothing came of this. When I contacted him again, he told me that I should not bother calling him all the time as he had my contact details, and would call me in due course. I have not received one questionnaire up to now. Maybe the inspector was too busy to attend to my request or maybe he did not trust me enough. Due to the long distance between us, it was difficult to establish a trusting relationship, even over a long period of time. I have come to learn that in the absence of a trusting relationship between the researcher and the institution, even the most detailed information about the research and its potential benefits cannot be fruitful.

I resorted to gathering data at provincial level, in the Western Cape Province. I went to one of the major courts in Cape Town. In the absence of the Chief Court Interpreter, I was introduced to the Chief Magistrate, who listened to my research project. She indicated that I would not be allowed to gather data unless the questionnaire was approved by the Provincial Office of the Department of Justice. I sent a sample of my questionnaires together with accompanying letters. Upon approval, the questionnaires were directly sent to all the head-cluster courts, together with my letter, the supervisor's introductory letter and the department's letter of reference. Later, at various courts, I realised that some of the courts had lost or misplaced the documents, whilst other courts did not start the dispatching of questionnaires to individual interpreters until I personally went there. In one instance, the chief court interpreter opposed the recommendations of the hierarchy to complete the questionnaire. I concur with Flick (2002: 57) that, with regard to persons in institutions and specific situations, the researcher above all faces the problem of willingness from the research candidates. Initially, it took much energy and time to establish a link with almost each of the court interpreters and convince him/her to complete a questionnaire. Later, I used the strategy of snowballing to contact other court interpreters. My position as a casual court interpreter also helped as I was perceived, to some extent, as an insider.

Snowballing has the problem of leading the researcher to work only with a group of friends who can have a similar view on certain issues. However, in order to limit the adverse effect of snowballing, I directly contacted certain courts without any other court interpreter as reference.

Health care

I used two main channels to contact interpreters of the Health Care sector:

- firstly, I had the research endorsed by the National Language Project (NLP)
- secondly, the Planned Parenthood Association of South Africa (PPASA).

At the time of the research, the NLP course co-ordinator, who was involved in the piloting of the questionnaire and thus knew about the research project, undertook to contact all the interpreters on my behalf. I encountered some problems at these two institutions. I arranged times and dates to administer the questionnaire to the interpreters. The contact with the interpreters went smoothly, except at one tertiary hospital where the research project was re-assessed by the hospital ethics research committee which sent the questionnaire to the *matron in charge of interpreting research supervision* who gave it to the interpreters. Rather than dealing with the *training and placement of interpreters of the South African indigenous languages*, the PPASA deals with interpreters of foreign languages. The PPASA pays its interpreters a nominal fee for the number of hours they work at the government hospitals. The PPASA interpreting project co-ordinator approached the interpreters and administered the questionnaires on my behalf.

The freelance translators and interpreters were contacted via the South African Translators' Institute (SATI), which is a professional body representing translators, interpreters, editors, lexicographers and other language practitioners. At one of the SATI meetings, the researcher (who is a member of the organisation) requested permission to gather data from members at provincial and national level. The provincial and national offices circulated the questionnaires to the members appearing on their email distribution lists. However the response rate was rather slow, so the researcher undertook to directly contact the SATI members.

He randomly selected some 168 members from the register of the freelance practitioners appearing on SATI Website. Approximately 10% of the latter group responded i.e. 17 people. They were added to those who had previously answered the questionnaire.

It was noticed that multiple identities can help open doors to respondents. Apart from being a student and a part time member of staff at the University, and a casual court interpreter and accredited sworn translator, I invested much effort in language activism at provincial level and also associated with the translators'/interpreters' professional bodies. The above factors, along with a certain degree of divine intervention, allowed the collection of data discussed. It should be noted however that, from experience, it seems easier to gather data from students. Interpreters and translators work under extreme pressure and strict deadlines. The difficulty of gathering data at courts and the parliament was exacerbated by the fact that at the time of the research, the public service sector was undergoing restructuring, which, in some cases, led to several retrenchments. A climate of fear discouraged some translators/interpreters from responding, thinking that they could lose their jobs if they were assessed and found incompetents for their posts. In the Department of Justice, for example, the entry requirement was changed from grade ten level to grade 12. Yet many interpreters with the lower qualification had previously been employed, thus creating a state of unease in the entire interpreting sector. Precautions guaranteeing anonymity could only dispel the reservations up to a certain point (Flick 2002: 57)

Another problem related to the gathering of data in the Western Province is related to ethnicity. Some of the major universities that train translators/interpreters are in Gauteng, the Free State or Potchefstroom. Qualified professionals from these provinces are recruited to work at key positions in the Western Cape Province where the professionals are not necessarily under-qualified. However, the relationship among the professionals from different provinces is not always smooth. This is an important issue for research in African institutions. I had to be sensitive to all these delicate issues so as not to be perceived as being under the patronage of one group or another.

De Vos (2001: 30) states that researchers are ethically obliged to ensure that they are competent and adequately skilled to undertake the proposed investigations. I felt that I was well qualified, both academically and professionally, in knowing how to deal with people in a purely African context.

1.4 Limitations

Sample

One of the most frequent limitations associated with qualitative research is that related to sample size - a total of 100 respondents for one questionnaire and two respondents for the other questionnaire seems indeed a small sample. Notwithstanding this, it is an acceptable practice in qualitative research, seeing that the aim is to investigate in detail and in depth the experience of a small number of subjects (Neuman 2000, De Vos 2001, Mouton 2001). The relatively long and detailed questionnaire was conceived in order to counter the issues of low response rates, thus ensuring a wealth of information even from a small sample.

Qualitative research

Qualitative research is descriptive and exploratory in nature. This makes it prone to the inclusion of repetitive information or other details that may seem irrelevant. It also requires a lot of time to analyse the diverse responses that individuals provide. However the use of the written medium as sole means of information collection was intended to limit such adverse effects.

Generalisability

The current studies rely on data collected among the Western Cape Court, Health Care and Parliament interpreters, although the freelance practitioners are drawn from a nationwide range. It is expected, however, that although these language practitioners share some commonalities with their counterparts nationally, the samples may constitute a unique set in themselves, but the socio-cultural, economic or political conditions in which they work do not differ very much from those of the other provinces.

An argument for the generalisation of findings can stem from mobility; taking into account the fact that some of the interpreters and translators currently based in the Western Cape had previously worked and gathered experience from other provinces. However, one can only cautiously generalise the findings to professionals who nationally share similar characteristics.

1.5 Additional sources of information

Archives

Due to the limitations already mentioned, it appeared important to add information from different sources, which included archives, literature, job advertisements and observation. It was found that the documented history of South Africa is stored both in the audio-visual and the written form. The written documents are sometimes dated or undated. The undated documents were taken into consideration in order to provide supplementary information. I examined a total of 972 documents, both public and private. Unfortunately most of these documents did not tell the history of South African translation/interpreting. They were classified under the label 'translation' simply because they were translated documents. Seeing that the focus of this research is mainly on interpreting, these documents were not of much help.

Literature

Scientific literature, both published and unpublished, provided the bulk of the theoretical elements on translation, interpreting and language planning and policy. It also helped to supplement analytical information included in other documents. The 103 government publications examined included annual reports. The annual reports of the Department of Education as well as the Department of Arts, Culture and Technology provided insightful information which permitted the researcher to gain understanding of three important aspects related to the language situation of South Africa. These aspects are the following: the development of translation, the development of the Afrikaans language and the importance of the French language in South Africa.

Job advertisements

A total of 163 job advertisements were examined. The job advertisements appeared in various newspapers published countrywide. The advertisements covered four sectors: translation jobs, editing jobs, interpreting jobs and communication-related jobs (i.e. journalists and reporters.)

Observation of the interpreters in court

In order to supplement the information gathered through the questionnaire and familiarise myself with court interpreters, the Chief Interpreter at the Wynberg Magistrates' Court suggested that I sit in court to observe the interpreters during the court proceedings. Then I could discuss with him or the other interpreters some of the issues that demanded clarification. I realised that there were many elements that could be observed, so I decided to focus on three major elements, turn taking, language change in court and voice pitch. It appears that these three elements are a juxtaposition of the power and the status of the court officials. I observed court interpreters in over 156 court case hearings, including arraignments, trials, verdicts, and sentencing for charges as varied as murder, theft, possession of stolen items, prostitution, burglary, and sexual harassment. My observation was carried out at the following courts: Wynberg Magistrates' Court, Goodwood Magistrates' Court, and Parow Magistrates' Court. All these courts are located within the Cape Town Unicity.

Participant observation as court interpreter

I interpreted in two cases. The first one consisted of trial, verdict and sentence for attempted murder. The second one consisted of an arraignment, a bail application, and another bail application based on new facts, a postponement and the withdrawal of matter against the accused on charges of theft of a motor vehicle. The two cases made me realise two important facts:

- The interpreter needs to be trained on how to deal with emotions.
- The code of conduct for the court interpreters is unrealistic in its assumption that the interpreter can function purely as a machine that deals with language alone.

Participant observation as a caregiver/interpreter

During the course of this research, I operated as a caregiver/interpreter for two patients. The experience involved interpreting for the patients in the following health care institutions:

- Willowmead Medical Centre, which is a private clinic
- Mowbray Maternity Hospital, a public health care institution
- Groote Schuur Hospital, a public health care institution
- the UCT Academic Private Hospital, a private health care institution
- the Honeyside Road Clinic, which is a public health care institution.

Moreover, I also interpreted for a consultative meeting of the South African and European speech therapists. The experience provided me with an opportunity to interact in the consultation room with the following health care practitioners:

- three general practitioners (GPs)
- six gynaecologists
- two specialists in ambulation
- four radiologists
- one anaesthetist
- over 12 nurses
- 26 speech therapists.

Flick (2002: 54) argues that, in qualitative research, the researcher cannot adopt a neutral role. This researcher's various roles in courts and hospitals allowed him to be viewed as a visitor, an initiate and an insider. All these roles allowed a balanced combination of familiarity and strangeness (Flick 2002: 58). The visitor's role allowed him to observe routines that are taken for granted by the interpreters. The initiate's role allowed a subjective perception of interpreting.

IV.2 Survey Questionnaire

2.1 Introduction

The survey questionnaire used in this study did not emerge as a set of fully fladged elements. The questions rather matured through a process of refinement, revision, construction, deconstruction, reconstruction, modelling and reshaping. This process did not only touch the lexical and syntactical aspect, but it also involved the modification of the layout, addition of some questions and deletion of others. Such decisions were motivated by three main factors:

- the purpose of the study
- efficiency and elegance requirements
- time and resource constraints.

The purpose of the study was that of assessing the training needs of translators and interpreters, the intended result being the production of translators' training models. It was important to examine the perception of different stakeholders on translators' and interpreters' training in academic and non-academic settings. These dictated the constraints that the questionnaire should have. Efficiency and elegance are elements that cannot be ignored in the design of a survey tool. The survey questionnaire ought to be neat, and attractive to see. It should be appealing to read and to answer. Elegance refers to the layout and the aesthetic presentation of the tool. Efficiency is important because the questionnaire must be simply constructed, questions must be easy to understand and easy to answer. Time constraints are a key element that I, as the designer of the questionnaire, had to take into account. The questionnaire cost much effort from the designer but less time and effort when filled in by the respondents. This accounts for the abundance of closed questions. Closed questions require much from the researcher. I scrutinised the pertinent elements to ensure that the respondents answered the questions without spending unnecessary effort. Resource constraints refer to elements such as the number of the pages and the size of characters. When these elements are neglected, they can cause hazardous effects. The length of the questionnaire was kept to a reasonable size because of the cost of production.

The questionnaire was three-fold. It contained a questionnaire for the translators, a questionnaire for the interpreters and a third questionnaire designed for tutors, lecturers or instructors who are involved in the training of translators and interpreters. Fortunately, at an early stage in the study, we were made aware of the fact that many targeted translators work in both translation and interpreting and only a few of them restrict themselves to one task. It therefore appeared worthwhile to construct a questionnaire that would be convenient for three categories of respondents i.e. translators and interpreters and those who do both activities.

In its earliest version, the translators' questionnaire (Questionnaire 1- see Appendix 6) emerged as a set of 14 questions of which 13 were open questions and 1 was a grading question. The aspects of training needs, perception of training and respondents' background information were mixed up. The interpreters' questionnaire (Questionnaire 2- see Appendix 6) was similar to Questionnaire 1 except for the third question, which assumed that interpreters charge per hour, and other questions where the word 'translator' was replaced with the word 'interpreter'. The tutors' questionnaire (Questionnaire 3- see Appendix 7) was much shorter than the others- it consisted of seven questions only. The present study was originally intended to be a follow-up of previous research conducted in South Africa. It is often argued that it is not just any compilation of questions that can be considered to be a viable instrument for data gathering for scientific enquiry. I realised that I needed to assess and improve the questionnaire. Three methods were used for this purpose:

- internal validation
- content validity
- pilot work

2.2 Internal validation

2.2.1 Introduction

Internal validation of the questionnaire aims at assessing the ability of the questionnaire to gather data pertinent to the objective of the study. The method of internal validation I used was the clustering method. The questions were grouped in five clusters:

- background information
- translators' and interpreters' status
- training needs
- perception of academic training of translators and interpreters
- possible alternative ways of training translators and interpreters.

2.2.2 Clustering

The clustering exercise was interesting in that it cast light on the fact that the questions were not sufficient for understanding the aspect of translation and interpreting under examination. Moreover, it appeared that the questionnaire was based on the assumption that the elements under investigation were monolithic and unilateral. The truth is that a phenomenon can appear simple and easy to apprehend but, if one neglects other surrounding aspects, the collection of the information can be jeopardised. This exercise was also helpful in highlighting variables and connecting them to their indicators thereby testing the link between the variables and the indicators.

Table 4.2: Clustering of Questionnaire 1 on translation and interpreting

VARIABLE	INDICATOR
PROFILE	Activity Educational level Background in Translation Studies Accreditation and affiliation Experience in the profession Language combination Text types Main occupation
STATUS	Income <i>Satisfaction with the income</i> Respect Perception of the status Work Load Acceptability of the work load Language attitude
TRAINING NEEDS	Types of difficulties <i>Relevance of training aspects</i>
PERCEPTION OF ACADEMIC TRAINING	Benefits <i>Effect of skills</i> Most important elements to contain General perception on training
PERCEPTION OF ALTERNATIVE TRAINING	Possibilities Elements to contain Conditions of admission General perception on training

Table 4.3: Clustering of questionnaire 2 for trainers

VARIABLE	INDICATOR
PROFILE	Position Practice of translation and interpreting Level of education Background in translation study Teaching of translation/interpreting Accreditation and affiliation
STATUS	Perception of the status Increase of translators' earnings Role of translators and interpreters Possibility of antagonism Language attitudes
TRAINING NEEDS	Relevance of training aspects
PERCEPTION OF ACADEMIC TRAINING	Benefits <i>Opinion on academic training</i> <i>Particularity of academic training</i> Most important elements to contain General perception on training
PERCEPTION OF ALTERNATIVE TRAINING	Possibilities Duration Particularity Conditions of admission General perception on training

At stage 1, apart from the biases that could have impaired the survey, it also appeared that the three questionnaires were too short. Moreover all the different aspects of the study were mixed together. Another weakness of the questionnaire at this stage was that there was no space provided for answers. The predominance of open-ended questions meant that the respondents had to exercise much effort to answer. Despite the lack of space for the answers to be written, the questionnaire was weakened by the lack of clear instruction about how the questionnaire should be answered. These challenges and many others one observed in looking carefully at the questionnaires, called for improvement.

At stage 2, the three initial questionnaires had changed in their appearance. The main changes that were introduced included the following:

- Questionnaire 1 for translators and questionnaire 2 for interpreters were combined into one single questionnaire, addressed to both translators and interpreters.

This major decision was taken because most of the translators and interpreters are involved in both translation and interpreting, only few people restrict themselves to one activity. Therefore, constructing one hybrid questionnaire was not only beneficial but also time and resource-efficient.

- Questionnaire 1 contained more close-ended questions which presented an advantage for the respondents. Chauchat (1985) argues that such questions require much from the researcher. The respondents find them easier to answer than open-ended ones.
- New questions were added so as to capture data that is important for the purpose of the work. Some of them were borrowed from previous surveys namely the 1992 survey conducted in the Gauteng Province and the 1999 survey conducted in the Kwa-Zulu Province.

From an initial set of 14 questions for questionnaire 1 and seven questions for questionnaire 2 at stage 1, I now have at stage 2, 39 questions for translators and interpreters; whilst the tutors' questionnaire now contains 20 questions. At this stage it was felt that both the questionnaire for translators/interpreters and the questionnaire for tutors should undergo the process of content validity.

2.4 Content validity

Mark S. Litwin's (1991: 82) *How to Measure Survey Reliability* defines content validity as follows: 'Content validity stands for the measure of survey accuracy that involves formal review by individuals who are experts in the subject matter of the survey'. My experience is that experts' help can be beneficial. It has the advantage of stimulating the researcher's own thinking. Throughout the process of questionnaire construction, the researcher may undergo a phenomenon referred to as iteration, i.e. unceasingly thinking of a better way to formulate a question, even when the task has already been completed. If there is no mind-stimulating input from outside, iteration may turn viciously redundant and unproductive. When I received input from the experts, I approached the survey tool with a renewed critical stance.

Oppenheim (1992: 42) warns of the danger of relying on experts as the only means of questionnaire validation. He declares, '*It is dangerous to assume that we know in advance how respondents or fieldworkers will react, and it is a mistake to ask "an expert"*'. It should be noted that even an expert can be misinformed about field realities, thus expert advice should be considered as a set of suggestions.

The researcher should feel at liberty either to embrace or reject changes proposed by an expert, but these are no easy decisions. It takes a great deal of reflection on the part of the researcher. Sometimes, the expert may simply ask a question instead of dictating what should be done. At other times, the expert may sound hesitant in tone. All these elements mean that it is the questionnaire designer who must make the final decision. My own impression during the content validity process was that the different experts who intervened did not have any intentions of belittling me. On the contrary, they often brought light to some aspects that I either did not have full mastery of or that I had overlooked. The onus was thus left on me to make the final decision.

Out of eight experts selected, six were able to provide input. Here follow their descriptions and the reason for which they were selected:

1. I selected a Professor of Linguistics with a proven reputation and authorship in the area of sociolinguistics. This specialised area of linguistics, also referred to as the sociology of language or language in society, has bearing on the study. The questionnaire will be used in a society that has its own way of communicating. It takes a specialist to assess whether the language used in the questionnaire would be understood. In other words, does the language fit the linguistic environment?
2. I selected a Professor of Education with a special interest in concept formation and text readability. The text will be read by a variety of people, therefore one has to ascertain whether the text meets readability and comprehensibility features.
3. I selected a Professor of Interpretation and Translation Studies. I needed the expert input of a scholar in translation studies to ensure that the questionnaire was capable of collecting data that is pertinent to research in this domain. This research can be viewed as a case of applied translation studies.
4. I selected a Professor of Education, a spearhead in the South African language planning and language policy debate. The input of people who were well informed about the debate on language planning and language policy within the context of Africa in general and South Africa in particular deemed important because of the *general aim of the study*.
5. I selected a research methodologist to examine the ties between the research design, and the operationalisation of concepts and the survey, so as to check the questionnaire's reliability.
6. Lastly, I selected an editor of scientific publications in the area of Applied Language Studies, so as to read and check typological errors and misprints.

I sent a copy of the questionnaires either by email or manually to all six experts. The questionnaires were preceded with detailed notes of the title of the research, the name of the supervisor, the name of the university, my name, the reason why I approached them, the research questions, and the intended results. A date by which their feedback had to be returned was not imposed. Such a situation presents the advantage of not pressuring the experts. I was aware of the fact all of them were actually doing this work *pro deo*.

I knew that giving them time constraints would overburden them and it could result in poor quality performance. But, on the other hand, due to time resource management, it was important for me to know when they would be able to give feedback. Upon delivery to the six experts, I asked what they thought would be sufficient time for them to work on the document. In all the cases, the time frame suggested by each of them fitted well with my plans. The time span varied from 1 to 27 days. It should be noted, however, that two of the experts, the lecturer in translation studies and the editor did not provide their feedback. Fortunately, I was aware that this could happen. The process was not hampered because at least one person in each of the categories (i.e. lecturer and editor) provided input. Some of the issues raised by the experts needed either further clarification or discussion. In such cases, the discussion was conducted either live or by email. The remarks and observations received from the experts fall under six headings: addition, deletion, vocabulary appropriateness, accuracy in subject matter, sampling, procedural elements and typographical errors.

Here follow examples of some changes suggested by the consulted experts.

Addition

Respondents suggested that I add new questions or options. Among the questions to add on questionnaire 2 appear the following:

- *What is your personal role as a translator/interpreter in the South African language planning?*
- *Do you foresee antagonism between the translators/interpreters trained in tertiary institutions and those in non-academic environments?*

Here are some of aspects that were thought important but were missing from the original questionnaire:

- *fiction*
- *translation of literature*
- *aspects of cultural competence (include interaction)*
- *use of technical aids for interpreting*
- *theoretical aspects of terminological management*
- *theory of terminology, lexicography and rhetoric.*

Deletion

Respondents recommended that I delete the referential information such as name, address and telephone number because an anonymous questionnaire can have the possibility of collecting franker answers.

Accuracy in subject matter

In Questionnaire one, question 11, the respondents were asked to specify the target and source languages. This was thought to be important for planning, however, the item *general text* had to be removed from the list of text types as it seemed vague.

Sampling

The respondents suggested that I should get the opinions of translation service users (such as firms, organisations, doctors, judges) about client satisfaction with service and translators/interpreters' training needs.

Procedural elements

The respondents suggested that if the questionnaire were to be self-administered, then I should provide ample space for the answers.

Reformulation

Respondents felt that question five in questionnaire one contained the presumption that the status of translation/interpreting as a profession needed improvement. They suggested that I reformulate it in order to avoid such presumptions. Here follows a suggested formulation of the question:

Do you think the status of translation/interpreting as a profession needs improvement? If so, what can be done?

Content validation or expert checking can have many benefits, but it can also have limitations. An expert can be competent in the subject matter yet lack full cognisance of the situational parameters that surround the phenomenon under examination.

For example one the experts that I consulted said the following:

I think the questions concerning the amount of work done by translators/interpreters, and how the work is charged, are good and the answer will be most interesting! However, question 22, (in Questionnaire 1), alternative "per document" is not relevant I think, since surely documents vary in length questionnaire are there really translators who charge per document, irrespective of their length???

Overseas where my expert is based, one would not imagine charging per document as an option. Yet in many parts of Africa and in South Africa where the survey is being conducted, this is a common practice. This might be due to the fact that, in Africa, getting access to a computer is still a luxury. In Central Africa, where I once worked as a sworn translator, it is quite a common practice for the client to be issued with a translation in the form of a hand-written manuscript. He would then undertake the word processing at his own expense. At a later stage, the translator would be given the computer-processed translation for editing. Special tariffs would be applied if the client wanted a computer-processed version of the work. In Cape Town, South Africa, it is not uncommon to see translators charging standard rates for certain documents for example fifty rand for any birth certificate irrespective of text length.

Expert advice can be helpful but it should not be the only type of assessment on which the researcher should rely. Therefore I agree with Oppenheim's (1992: 63) conclusion on questionnaire assessment. He states,

So it may be interesting to have an expert "pick your questions to pieces", but you will learn more from doing the pilot work yourself, and it will produce new and better questions as well as a reformulation of questions objectives. An expert should never be used as a short cut.

That is the reason why, after completing the content validity stage, I immediately moved to pilot work.

IV.3 Pilot work

3.1 Pilot sample

In principle, the respondents in pilot studies should be as similar as possible to those in the main enquiry (Oppenheim 1992: 62). *The main enquiry focuses on two main groups i.e. translators/interpreters and trainers of translators/interpreters; so the pilot study did as well. Ten people were approached but only seven respondents returned their questionnaires, four translators and three trainers. A larger number of our target population could have been approached, but I deliberately limited myself to this small group so as not to 'use up' the reservoir of potential respondents at the pilot stage (Oppenheim 1992: 62). Interpreters are not rare, but few are willing to respond to a survey questionnaire, especially when there is no financial incentive. Some of the successful surveys conducted were a success because respondents were given some incentive. In the translators/interpreters' group the four respondents had the following characteristics:*

- Respondent 1: Zepo holds a Bachelor Degree and works as a bilingual science education teacher/trainer but also works in translation and interpreting
- Respondent 2 : Palesa holds a PhD Degree, works as a translator
- Respondent 3: Jadizweni holds a Masters Degree, works as a teacher of African languages, but also does translation and interpreting
- Respondent 4: Okeko holds a Secondary School leaving certificate, is a student in banking and does interpreting.

3.2 Pilot survey report

Oppenheim (1992:63) suggests that a good practice in pilot work report is to produce a detailed question by question report. The primary emphasis in this pilot study was on comprehensibility. The aim of the work was to eliminate or rephrase items that produced undesirable responses. I thought that focusing on a detailed report of questions that produced undesirable results, and the changes that were subsequently suggested, would be more interesting and this would serve the purpose of this report better. A pseudonym was given to each of them for the sake of confidentiality.

Report on questionnaire one

Zepo

The respondent answered question 26 and question 27 with a N/A i.e. 'Not applicable' in the interview; she told me that she did not feel competent enough to provide an answer of any value. In question 44 she answered by saying she was not sure. In question 35 the respondent did not tick any column on item 23. She did not see any link between training in translation studies and the item *financial management*, which, in other terms, means that she did not see its relevance or that she skipped the item as a result of hastily and carelessly filling in the questionnaire.

Palesa

The problem that occurred with Palesa and some other respondents was that they sometimes wrote in the margin rather than writing in the space provided under the question. Yet at the beginning of the questionnaire there was a clear instruction stating that the long answers should be written in the space provided under the question. This problem can be avoided if lines are provided in the space where answers should be written. This will make it even clearer to the respondent.

Palesa did not answer question 33. Question 38b and 42b were not answered as a matter of competence. The respondent, being a translator, did not want to express his opinion on the issues pertaining to interpreting. Probably it would be interesting to add in a category N/A for people who do not participate in both activities (i.e. translation and interpreting) and do not want to express any opinion on issues pertaining to the activity in which they are not involved.

Jadizweni

He did not answer question one because he thought the question was intended to find out what work he does. Therefore it can be beneficial either to provide some clarification on the question or to put question 16 near the beginning of the questionnaire.

Question 11 was not answered because he first responded to the multiple choice questions then came back to the open ended questions and eventually forgot to answer this one.

Question 20 was not answered and there is no explanation provided.

Question 25 was answered, but he confused the income from translation and interpreting with the income he gets from his main occupation. This question needs to be rephrased, so that the respondent would see that it refers specifically to the income from translation and interpreting services.

Report on questionnaire two

The second questionnaire was to be answered by trainers of translators/interpreters both in tertiary institutions and in non-academic settings. Three respondents returned the questionnaires. Respondent number one, Freddy, is a lecturer in a tertiary institution. He holds a Masters Degree in French. He is actively involved in the training of translators/interpreters. He runs a web-based training program that is a joint initiative between the institution at which he is based and another institution overseas. He also teaches translation as part of a course called "French Three", which is offered by the French Section in his department.

Respondent number two, Ralf, is a lecturer of German in a tertiary institution. He holds a PhD in German Language and Literature. He was approached because he teaches a course called 'German III', which is offered by the German Section of the Language Department. Translation of German literary work is commonly done in the course. Moreover, the students compare different translations of different pieces of literature. Ralf also does some translation work as an *ad hoc* activity, and has presented papers at conferences on the translation of German literature. Some of Ralf's students who had studied German Language and Literature on his program, actively worked as translators. Ralf is not a lecturer in Translation Studies as academic program, but he is involved in the training of translators.

Respondent number three, Yvette, is a translator who was contacted by a local NGO to train interpreters for a local hospital. She holds a Secondary School Leaving Certificate. In fact, this questionnaire seems to have been completed inappropriately. The questionnaire was handed to the NGO that organised the training of the interpreters rather than being given to the trainer himself. I thought that the organisation would be a better facilitator and a go-between between the trainer and me. But a major misunderstanding occurred. The NGO gave the questionnaire to a translator who was trained on the program rather than the trainer.

Freddy

He answered question 34 inappropriately, thinking that it was the same as question 31. This problem could have been avoided by using a different format for question 34. The respondent answered all the other questions adequately, although he skipped the entire section E.

He did not answer any questions in the entire section E, which contained questions about the alternative training of translators/interpreters. Seven other questions were not answered because the respondent thought he was not in a position to provide relevant input. He did not feel confident enough to express his view on certain issues pertaining to the training of translators/interpreters. He said to me, *'This questionnaire is intended for trainers of translators/interpreters, but I only teach translation and interpreting as part of an Applied Language Component on Third Year Level'*. Therefore I thought it would be interesting to name the questionnaire 'Questionnaire on translator/interpreter training' so that all who are involved in this sort of training would feel confident to express their views. They would not feel excluded because they do not carry the title of 'trainer of translators/interpreters' or if the program which they are teaching does not have a stated aim of training translators and interpreters.

3.3 Benefit of the pilot work

This pilot work provided the following benefits :

- intellectual challenge
- producing an effective set of multiple choice and open-ended questions
- helping foresee potential problems that could have caused havoc on a large scale e.g. getting the questionnaire to the respondent via a third party.

3.4 Post- pilot survey interviews

I coupled the questionnaire assessment with a structured interview. The interview was conducted shortly after the questionnaire had been returned. I indicated to the respondent my willingness to collect additional information in the form of a recorded interview. Conducting an interview after collecting the questionnaire served a double purpose - it showed the seriousness given to the work and it also helped to collect valuable information in a non-threatening way. Oral skill has usually been praised for its effortless nature and its fluency. Three interviews were conducted in French and the rest in English. The people who were interviewed in French preferred this, although they were competent in both English and French. The interview was structured along the following aspects for both questionnaire 1 and questionnaire 2:

- procedural matters
- wording and phrasing
- anonymity and sensitivity
- page lay out
 - space,
 - numbering,
 - colour,
 - timing,
 - missing information and redundant questions.

Table 4.4: Post-survey interview results

	Procedural matters	Wording and phrasing	Anonymity and sensitivity	Space	Timing	Colour	Lay out and instructions	Numbering	Missing information and redundant questions
RESPONSES PROVIDED BY TRANSLATORS AND INTERPRETERS AT QUESTIONNAIRE NUMBER ONE									
Zepo	Approaching the person and telling the person about the survey is better before or when handing in the questionnaire. Insistence in the follow up shows <i>seriousness</i> and gives encouragement to respondent. The name of the person and the institution in the note encourages you to respond. The note showed me that the questionnaire was not for me. The questionnaire is long and should be stapled.	The 'raw' was not very clear in this context	It is fine that the questionnaire was anonymous but I found no sensitive or embarrassing information to provide.	Ample space	10 to 12 minutes were sufficient for me to fill in the info but 30 minutes is a reasonable time.	Maybe there should be different colours	The instructions are clear. The layout poses problems because I found it difficult to move from right back to the left to write certain answers.	Okay. The number of pages should be included in the introductory note.	No item missing. Maybe one should ask 'does translation meets its aim?' This refers to the translation of cultural aspects of language. After the table some questions look redundant.
Palisa		There was no difficult or ambiguous word	The questionnaire made me realise that I was not working in a systematic way and I kept no records and I felt embarrassed. Anonymity is necessary otherwise a respondent can change his mind	The space provided is fine	It depends on every person's schedule. I think 2 days is fine.	Black and white is fine.	The instructions were very clear. Based on the layout of the page I did not know the side on which I should write the answers.	The numbering was fine and the clustering was also okay.	There was no missing item or missing questions. There were no redundant questions.

Jadzwent	Appropriate	No difficult or ambiguous word	I found no sensitive questions. Anonymity had no impact on me because I could still tell my name.	Ample space	More than one hour	Black and white is fine	The instructions are clear	Fine	
Okeko	Tell me about the questionnaire before actually sending it to me. The introductory note gives a context to the survey.		Anonymity helps one respond in full confidence. There was no sensitive information to disclose.	Ample space	Between 30 minutes and one hour	Black and white looks professional	The instructions are clear		No missing information but some questions were redundant.
RESPONSE RECEIVED FROM LECTURERS AT QUESTIONNAIRE NUMBER TWO									
Ralf	The introductory note is appropriate. The name CALLSSA gives the research status or standing. The name and signature of an individual person is not needed. The personal touch is appreciated. Maybe there should be two separate sections: one for translation and the other for interpreting.	There was no difficult or ambiguous word.	The questions are not of any confidential nature.	-	I was given enough time to fill in the questionnaire (i.e. 1 week).	-	The instructions were very clear.	The numbering is okay but the questionnaire is too detailed.	Nothing that I would say. The target audience would need to be specialised.
Freddy	The introductory note is appropriate. The name of the researcher should appear on it and it should be signed.	There was no difficult word.	I did not find any question too personal, but anonymity is important.	Ample	2 hours i.e. 30' for multiple choice and 1h30' for open ended questions.	Black and white looks serious and professional.	Very clear	The numbering is fine, no question is out of its category. The questionnaire may be separated in two parts because of its length.	No question was redundant. The item 'other specify' allows one to fill in any extra information as I suggested 'speed reading' for the tables.

3.5 Questionnaire adaptation

As stated above, the purpose of the pilot study was to investigate the aspects of the questionnaires that should be either changed or maintained. After a thorough examination of the body of data contained both in the answers to the interviews and the clues appearing in the questionnaires as completed by different respondents, some changes had to be introduced. These included:

- Questionnaire 1 should be titled: Questionnaire on translation and interpreting. This would be more inclusive. Full time, part time and occasional translators and interpreters would feel comfortable about responding to it.
- The introductory note would include the name and the signature of the researcher. This would give it a personal touch.
- Lines would be provided in the spaces for long answers. This would avoid the confusion that a respondent had on deciding where to write the answer.
- Time given to the respondent would vary but it should not be less than an hour.
- The sequence '*translator/interpreter*' where the respondent has to underline the element that is concerned with his comment should be limited to the minimum. Seeing that not a single respondent underlined, rather than keeping the sequence, the question will need to be repeated, except situations where confusion would be clarified by the context.

Certain suggestions were not implemented. The idea of using more colours in the questionnaire could not be effected due to budget restriction. Another suggestion that was not implemented was that of including the number of pages in the introductory note. The number of pages or the number of questions presented in this manner could deter some respondents. Respondents to questionnaire number two suggested that the questionnaire should be divided into two parts: one on translation only and the other one on interpreting. However, this would have had an undesired effect on those who deal with the two areas, moreover presenting them with to two different sets could be awkward. The comment that questions were very detailed was welcome as the purpose was to collect accurate information. Certain questions were meant to check the accuracy of answers provided by the respondents.

V. Status

V.1 General perception of professional status

The word 'status' can be used with different meanings attached to it. The Collins Dictionary defines status *inter alia* as 'the legal standing or condition of a person or a thing; the social or professional standing position, condition or standing'. The semantic content attached to it in a thesis matches the meaning of the word as provided by the Council for Cultural Co-operation (CCC) of the Council of Europe. It stipulates that the word 'status' means legal or official status deriving from a statute, decree, ordinance or governmental regulation. It may also mean general standing and repute in the community. The CCC's publication continues to suggest that the legal status of a profession can influence its standing or public repute. This may account for the fact that court interpreters can enjoy high repute in the community as opposed to health care interpreters in the South African context. The government by and large recognises court interpreters. Their duties are stipulated in national legal texts. The health care interpreters are not recognised. Their occupation is not based on any decree, ordinance or governmental regulation. On the other hand, court interpreting is set to enjoy low repute in the legal community. The same legal ordinances place the court interpreter among minor court officials, sometimes called "court auxiliaries". It appears from this illustration that the notion of status is dynamic, not static. Different communities can view the same profession in opposite ways. Professional repute can also be referred to as the 'image' of the profession. Millerson (1964: 158-159).has the following to say about the concept of 'image',

The image content is a complex of perceptions, attitudes and beliefs about the educational attainment and background of the professionals; their conditions of work; income, style of life, affiliations and loyalties to intra-professionals and extra-professional groups (1964: 158-159).

Various approaches can be used so as to gain insight into the image of a profession like court interpreting. One can study the perception of the general public about this profession. Other avenues of investigation may lead to the study of the perceptions that other professionals have with regard to court interpreting. It may be interesting to discuss the subject with prosecutors, magistrates or court orderlies. Another possibility suggested by Millerson (1964) consists of engaging with the professionals themselves so as to get their perceptions about their own professional status. Apart from the statement of the practitioners themselves, other elements may help to determine status, namely respect, work load and the acceptability of workload, financial remuneration and satisfaction with income, understanding of the significance of role, as well as value that the community places on the function that the profession performs. This research will focus on some of these aspects. It can naturally be expected that the issue of status may inevitably link to that of affiliation to professional bodies or associations.

V.2 Improvement of professional status

The perception of professional status appears in the responses the practitioners provided to question 33, *Do you think the status of translation, as a profession needs to be improved? If so, what can be done?*

All the practitioners answered affirmatively. Only one interpreter was happy with the current status of the profession. The suggestions for the improvement of status are centred on training, recognition, observance of a code of conduct and professional bodies. Training should target the interpreters and the other judicial officials. The training of interpreters should include specialised areas such as forensic medicine. Formal training in the form of university courses should coexist with *ad hoc* training in the form of workshops and seminars. The judicial officials need to be trained in the best way of working with court interpreters. The interpreters tend to suggest that if the other court officials are trained in this subject, they will treat them appropriately and court interpreters will be recognised. If the court interpreter conducts himself professionally, that attitude will command respect and esteem from the other officials.

The urgency of the call for a professional organisation of court interpreters cannot be overstated. Court interpreters feel that, although they are part of other organisations such as NUPSAW, for example, there is a dire need for a strong professional body for court interpreters themselves. As Radebe, a court interpreter puts it, *'We must have our own association'*. The translators seem to indicate that intervention must take place at three levels. There is a need for a professional association council or guild with which one will need to register with and/or complain to. Interpreters/translators also need to strive to attain high educational standards and provide high quality services. The community needs to be sensitised with a view to changing its current perceptions on translation and interpreting services. The efforts at these three levels will help generate higher incomes. Ryan, with more than 20 years in freelance translation, insisted on the importance of financial remuneration. He said, *'...But income finally dictates respect in our society.'*

The call for an association of court interpreters is surely not a novelty. In the late 1980s-early 1990s the idea was already prevalent. A number of court interpreters attempted the creation of associations. Most of them were short-lived because they tended to put together only interpreters of a particular court. In 1991 a major national impetus caused court interpreters from different provinces to meet in Cape Town so as to form an association. It soon appeared that issues that needed urgent attention were centred on remuneration and employment benefits. The idea of starting a Union rather than a mere professional association appealed to the participants. The Union was called SACICU (South African Court Interpreters and Clerks Union). A few years later, in 1994, at a meeting held in Port Elizabeth, court interpreters decided to create yet another union. The new Union was called SACIOAWU, i.e. The South African Court Interpretation Officers and Allied Workers Union.

It seemed important for court interpreters to form a separate body. Attempts to merge with existing organisations in the Department of Justice did not give any sort of satisfaction. They felt that they did not quite fit into the Attorneys' or the State Prosecutors' Association where they were a minority. One of the great successes of SACIOAWU lay in the ability to engage with the hierarchy of court interpreters in the early nineties. Sometimes they pointed an accusing finger at the very people who were in charge of court interpreting services at national level.

However, by the beginning of the new millennium, the Union had fallen into lethargy, to the point that some court interpreters were not even aware of the existence of a body to take their needs to heart. Only a few interpreters at large courts such as Wynberg or Cape Town seemed to be involved in the activities. The court interpreters realised that if they were to attain any significant result, they had to unite with well-established unions. In 1998, SACIOAWU joined with other unions (i.e. Health workers and Public Servants.) to form NUPSAW (National Union of Public and Allied Workers). This Union aims at protecting and promoting the interests of workers in the public service. Other court interpreters joined NEHAWU (National Educational Health and Allied Workers Union). This raised a number of questions on whether creating a union was the best way to promote professional status. Maybe the idea of a professional association would have paid better dividends.

2.1 Lack of a professional association for court interpreters

It is important to understand that not every association can improve the professional repute of its members. Vollmer (1966:) provides a pertinent description of the roles of professional organisations in providing favourable conditions for status improvement. Millerson (1964: 41) warns that trade associations are not professional associations. He clusters professionals associations into four main groups i.e. prestige associations, study associations, qualifying associations and occupational associations.

This categorisation opens a way to the distinction between SATI and SACIOAWU. The former seems to have stood the test of time, whilst the latter is at the brink of non-existence. SATI combines the characteristics of both, being a qualifying association and an occupational association. SACIOWU appears to be a combination of occupational association and trade association. Millerson suggests that occupational associations aim at organising qualified professionals, either by co-ordinating the activities of the members or by protecting the members (i.e. co-ordinating associations vs protective associations) (1964: 39). As a purely protective association, SACIOWU neglected occupational concerns to the benefit of trade union-like activities i.e. by demanding better working conditions and higher remuneration for court interpreters. The organisation thus appeared as a threat to a good working relationship and undermined the professional status that it wanted to promote.

Within the context of 'apartheid demise' and democratisation, the predominantly black organisation appeared as an anti-establishment machine. It is generally believed that remuneration claims are detrimental to the good image of a profession. In July 1994, the Court Interpreters' Union initiated a number of actions to demand that their non-pensionable allowances should be put on par with those paid to clerks. The series of actions included a nation-wide strike and a sit-in at the East London Magistrates' Court, in the Eastern Cape Province.

Millerson (1964: 41,182) explicitly warns that actions such as bargaining of fees, dispute over payment and strikes can harm the reputation of any professional group, especially when they are not carefully managed. He continues to say that the majority of qualifying associations consider the practice of payment bargaining to be unethical and detrimental to status; nonetheless, a committee or an individual can be appointed so as, *inter alia*, to conduct surveys on remuneration issues and advise members on such (1964: 199). Probably the weakness of the protective occupational unionist association lies in the fact that the association retains a negotiating role.

Moreover, it does not offer an environment conducive to the discussion of professional issues. Unionist Associations tend to recruit members from professional and non-professional strata (unskilled labour). Greenwood (1966: 9-18) understands a professional activity as that which requires skill based on theoretical knowledge. It requires education and training. Its members are organised. They adhere to a professional code of conduct. Carr-Saunders (1966: 4) adds that a professional activity is attached to specialised intellectual training and definite remuneration. Millerson (1964: 10) explicitly states that a profession is a non-manual occupation. It is obvious that when court interpreters unite with court orderlies, for example, the only common ground of discussion will be around the issue of remuneration. It will be difficult in such a setting to discuss ways of raising professional standards of competence and efficiency.

2.2 Need of a strong professional association

A strong professional association is needed for the elevation of status. However, such an association must not fall prey to the issues that suffocated previous attempts. Members of the association must be affiliated to a trade union, which advocates employment benefits. The main purpose of the association should be the elevation of status. As such, the association should encompass the characteristics of an *occupational and a study organisation*. The 'study' function of the association will deal with ways of furthering the knowledge of court interpreting such as the vulgarisation of technical vocabulary or the compilation of terminological lists. It should also deal with the organisation of seminars or workshops. The 'occupational' function will deal with the coordination of interpreters' activities so as to allow members to meet and discuss professional issues.

The success of such an organisation can be envisaged in the framework of research, *fostering of good public relations, members' readiness to help each other, the attitude of its members in the community, recognition of the association by governmental bodies and similar associations* (Millerson 1964: 187-188). If court interpreters pledge loyalty to such an association, it may indeed meet its goals. It was noticed that a significant number of freelance translators adhere to an association but court interpreters do not seem keen to. The following results bear witness to the fact:

Question 11. *Do you belong to a professional association of translators/interpreters?*

Table 5.1: Adherence to a professional association

Groups	Yes	No
Court interpreters	44%(15)	56%(19)
Health care interpreters	-	100%(12)
Translators	78%(29)	22%(8)
Translator-interpreters	39%(7)	61%(11)

Many reasons may deter professionals from belonging to associations. Health care interpreters, for example, are a small minority who are still searching for their rightful position within the medical institution.

They cannot easily form an association of their own. But the possibility of them joining an existing association such as SATI is hampered by the unstable conditions of employment. Only about three health care interpreters in Cape Town hold permanent or semi-permanent positions. The others have limited contracts. The situation of translators is different. Most translators work in isolation. They may tend to be enthusiastic about an association where they can meet with other professionals and share ideas. Some court interpreters seem exhausted by a list of unattended claims and unfulfilled promises. Internal divisions also tend to counter efforts of mobilisation. It appears that the best option to have all their professional needs met is by way of letting internal mechanisms work, without interfering with the order set by the Department of Justice. Currently, in the Western Cape, there is a move toward the establishment of a non-unionist professional association of court interpreters. A committee has been formed. It is drafting the constitution of the future association. A member of the interim committee has indicated that the regional body will lead to the creation of a national association in the long run. The plans are that the association should have a strong regional base. Court interpreters will retain their membership in unions when they join the new association, which will focus only on professional issues, not on political ones. A name for the new association has not yet been found.

V.3 Income

Millerson (1964: 199) argues that status is largely measured by income. Income plays an important role in that insufficient income can jeopardise professional conduct. If a reasonable income does not necessarily create a good professional image, it may at least sustain one. As I visited courts it was not unusual to hear interpreters complain about their income.

I encountered an unusual situation during one of my visits to a court. It was my second time to meet with George, a court interpreter of 43. I was seated in court number six all morning. When the court adjourned for lunch, all members of the audience rushed to the door to relax after an intense session. The courtroom was now empty. On the other side of the rail, the state prosecutor was finalising a few issues with two attorneys. The interpreter who had also stayed behind was observing me as I approached the prosecutor who had finished talking to the attorneys.

I introduced myself and stated the purpose of my presence. George acquiesced with a smile. I asked the prosecutor to provide me with a list of matters that were on the court schedule, for my own records. He happily attended to my request and left the courtroom speedily, whilst George and I remained behind. Surprisingly, George, whom I had met only for the second time, asked me for ten rand. He told me that he had some rice at home but he needed that money to buy some meat for his family to have a decent meal that evening. It is surely inappropriate to let such a petty incident tarnish the good name of court interpreters. However, it helped me understand that the issue of income must not be taken lightly.

3.1 An idea on the court interpreter's income

Chauchat (1985: 234) argues that it is often difficult to obtain reliable information on people's income. One of the ways that she suggests solving this problem consists of not asking an individual a direct question like, "How much do you earn?" She submits that the researcher can ask what they think is a suitable income and then make an estimation based on the information. She refers to this process as '*la mise à distance*,' i.e. 'distancing'. In this research, two questions were asked in order to get an indication of income. All the groups of respondents were asked to provide an indication of what they thought interpreters earned, as well as what they thought translators earned. It was expected that court interpreters would not necessarily know how much a freelance translator earns. Therefore any indication would be a random deduction. Such a deduction is interesting because it is an indication of beliefs or perceptions about another profession's status as portrayed by the perceived income. However, any indication of a putative income of interpreters would be based somewhat on the income of the court interpreters themselves. This provided the researcher with a more reliable base of information on which to make valid estimations. A similar process was applied for translators.

The fact that the incomes of both translators and interpreters were asked was also intended to dissipate some form of suspicion which could be raised by inquiring from only one professional group. The rest of this section consists of the questions that were asked, the responses obtained and their interpretation.

Question 31: 'In your opinion, how much does an interpreter earn per year from interpreting work?'

Question 32: 'In your opinion, how much does a translator earn per year from translation work?'

Table 5.2: Estimates of income

Groups	Sub groups	Estimated income of peer	Estimated income of other group
INTERPRETERS	Court interpreters	R 37 256	R 55 814
	Health care interpreters	R 40 142	R 73 333
TRANSLATORS	Translators	R 89 153	R 74 833

These two questions were asked of all the groups. A total of 29 court interpreters provided a nominal figure. The others either did not respond to the questions or they gave qualitative information of the kind 'not enough, or translators earn more than interpreters'. Such answers did not suit the purpose of this section of the thesis which wanted to capture a numerical estimation. The lowest figure for an interpreter's income was R 23 000 per annum whilst the highest figure was R 65 707 per annum. The most quoted figure was R36 000 per annum. All the figures provided were added and then divided by the number of respondents, the result of which shows that the average income of a court interpreter is about R37 256. The calculated average income of court interpreters was lower than that of health care interpreters, estimated to R40 142, and that of translators to R89 153. Court interpreters are aware of the fact that translators earn more than them. Court interpreters estimate the annual income of a translator to be R55 814. This estimation is lower than that provided by health care interpreters on translators' income, R73 333. Translators seem to be conscious of the fact that they earn more than interpreters. Based on the type of income they get, translators estimated the average income of an interpreter as R74 833. These results can lead to a connection between actual income level and the estimated income that a similar profession gets. The fact that the translators' income is higher than the income of interpreters can lead to interpreters envying translators, whilst the latter may look down upon the interpreters. On the other hand if the level of income dictates the manner in which people think of themselves and others, then inadequate pay has far-reaching consequences.

3.2 Satisfaction with income

Question 29: 'Are you dissatisfied with the income you get from translation or interpreting work? Please comment.'

Table 5.3: Satisfaction with income

Groups	Yes	No	N/A
Court interpreters	59% (20)	38% (13)	3% (1)
Health care interpreters	64% (7)	27% (3)	3% (1)
Translators	29% (11)	54% (20)	17% (6)

Reasons contributing satisfaction and lack of satisfaction

The main reasons why some court interpreters feel satisfied with the income they get are varied. The majority stated personal reasons of the following kind:

- I can live on it.
- I'm comfortable.
- It suffices for my needs.

Reasons for satisfaction are to be found in the mismatch between income and experience. One interpreter indicated that he felt that the salary he received was not bad for a person without any experience like him. Other reasons for satisfaction can be found in each individual's employment history. Among court interpreters who feel satisfied are people who were unemployed, or those whose previous income was lower than the one they now received from the Department of Justice. Reasons for dissatisfaction are numerous. The main one is the feeling that income does not match the volume of work (quantity) or the magnitude of the task (quality). As one respondent put it, *'Interpreting can be very complicated'*; another one commented *'This amount is too little for this type of work'*. Personal reasons can also account for the discontent. Some of the court interpreters felt that they could not cope or maintain a reasonable standard of living on the income. It is known that one can fail to live reasonably on any type of income if he/she lacks discipline in the management of his/her own home budget.

But none of the interpreters suggested that this could be the reason why he/she could not cope. The income is to blame. In all fairness, it can be agreed that the salary needs improvement. Another group of interpreters felt dissatisfied because they thought the salary they receive is a legacy of the past. Price, an experienced interpreter at Wynberg Magistrates' Court, complained in these terms, 'We are paid as court auxiliaries; this pay scale was determined by whites'. This complaint suggests that the apartheid regime is among the detractors of the interpreter's socio-economic situation, which also affects the interpreter's professional status. One thing remains true: some interpreters are convinced that past discriminations under the apartheid regime account for the trouble court interpreting suffers. For some court interpreters who think like Price, any positive change of pay scale can be viewed as a manner of repairing the damage of the past, a move towards the restoration of the professional image of court interpreting. The concept of apartheid is often contrasted with democracy. A truly democratic South Africa is one in which court interpreters feel proud of their profession.

Translators' satisfaction can depend on the density of a page and the language used. When the language involved is very complex, the translator may be dissatisfied because it then means that they have to spend much time on research. Time constraints can bring resulting predicaments such as stress and pressure because deadlines have to be strictly observed. The best scenario for a translator would be to translate many documents in less time. This will provide a better income as many translators charge fees by the word. In Europe and increasingly in South Africa, though, some customers may suggest an hourly fee to the translator. Some translators who stated that they feel satisfied pointed to major factors. A comparison of fees over a ten year time span indicates improvement and increased competitiveness. For some practitioners, the long years of educating their clients and their persistence in refusing to accept unethically low rates have begun to bear fruit. Setbacks can occur when one compares the fees charged in South Africa and those charged overseas. It should also be acknowledged that translation is still in the throes of being established as a *profession à part entière*. The strategy that many translators use consists of keeping a full time job while doing freelance translation as an extra source of income.

Translation becomes for them a lucrative hobby. In this way, they are spared from the aftermath of an unstable varying market. At times, there is a huge gap between times of abundance when the influx of work is excessive and times of famine when there is just not enough work to keep the translator occupied. One translator put it plainly saying, 'I can't live on translation alone'. Another challenge is that, often, clients tend to impose their fees. They are not always prepared to accept fees suggested by the translator no matter how qualified the translator can be. This is not necessarily a matter of arrogance. Cupido, a translator, working in a historically disadvantaged institution, notes that her clients plead poverty. She views much of her work as 'community service'. Translators and interpreters employed by the parliament seemed strikingly reserved about expressing their opinions on the issue of income. Among the few who dared express their feelings, one complained that he had not received any promotion or salary increase in the seven years that he had been working for this institution. The other two felt that the salary did not match the volume of work, as in other institutions translators do one job only, but in parliament they are expected to do editing and transcribing without receiving supplementary incentives.

A closer examination of the responses provided by translators and court interpreters shows a strong correlation between the income-related satisfaction and the manner in which income is determined. It appears that groups which display higher satisfaction with income are the same groups which have an option to negotiate their fees. This is the case with freelance translators. Court interpreters, for example, do not have a choice to negotiate their salaries. The salary is pre-determined by the Department of Justice. Court interpreters display a comparably lower degree of satisfaction. As for freelance translators, 50% have the option to discuss the fee either with a colleague or with a customer. In this group, only 29% feel dissatisfied. But 73% of court interpreters declared that the employer imposes the fee. In this, as many as 59% of respondents stated that they are dissatisfied with their income. Only 9% of health care interpreters claimed to have had a chance to discuss their pay; in this group, 64% feel dissatisfied. It can, therefore, be suggested that the mere possibility of discussing income can significantly increase the level of satisfaction, even if the end results do not meet all the expectations of the translator/interpreter. An imposition of pay can contribute to lower professional self-esteem.

Another issue that cannot be ignored is that of tax on income - as much as 25% of a permanent interpreter's gross income is deducted for tax, whereas casual court interpreters are taxed 14% of their gross income.

3.3 Ways of increasing income

Question 30: 'What can be done to increase your income?'

The opinions of court interpreters with regard to the increase of income can be subdivided into two major groups. The suggestions that can be placed in category one are to have direct impact on income e.g. salary increase, while the second category would have an indirect impact e.g. conducting a survey on income satisfaction so as to inform management of the degree of employees' dissatisfaction. The second type of suggestions can only bring positive results in a mid-term or long-term span. A second classification suggests that the elements can be separated into two clusters i.e. what the interpreters can do for themselves (organise a professional association) and what they expect to be done for them (to be provided with better training). It is also interesting to note that the opinions expressed here can also allow us to distinguish between two sorts of agents that can cause an income increase. The employer is one type of agent and the other agent is made of action that can be carried out to bring the desired benefit. A closer look at the language forms that were used suggest that court interpreters perceive themselves as a monolith block. Translators look at themselves both as individuals and members of a group. For example, a translator stated, 'I must get accredited'. She identified what she should do as a person to increase her income.

Table 5.4: Strategies for salary increase

COURT INTERPRETERS	TRANSLATORS
Interpreters' professional association Restructuring the set up of interpreters Separation of power Better professional stand Respect of the profession Understanding of importance of the job done Pressure on government Survey on income satisfaction	Profession to determine minimum tariffs Translators not to accept low fees Recognition of the profession Regulate the industry Clients' awareness campaign
Provide interpreters with more training Take into consideration people's qualifications	Increase own expertise Accreditation
Direct salary increase (annual increase, general increase, merit-based incentives, get paid for overtime, Saturday court) Less tax	Memory software Get a fax machine
Permission to take up other part time jobs (casual jobs, weekend jobs)	Charge more Take an extra job
	Work faster Advertising (expand client base, more jobs)
	Translate literature Work for an organisation like the UN

It stands out from the results above that three major themes prevail for both categories. Firstly, the need for a **professional association** for court interpreters is reiterated here. The duty of such an association will be, *inter alia*, to ensure the respect for the profession, circulate information so as to allow a better understanding of the job and deal with internal organisational challenges. Secondly, interpreters should not only be required to have **adequate training**, but qualifications need to be recognised in various ways, including in the form of financial incentives. A professional association can play a major role in the recognition of qualification. It can even conduct surveys on various issues so as to inform the employer and other stakeholders of the interpreters' work situation and perceptions. A professional association can even exert pressure on the government or collaborate with it for the benefit of the court interpreters. The third major theme is made up of various suggestions for direct salary increases. Freelance translators tend to view salary increases as a result of their own effort and the efforts of the profession. The profession is expected to regulate the terms and conditions of service delivery in as far as tariffs and status are concerned. The translator takes upon himself/herself the duty of expanding his knowledge base and acquiring adequate equipment. Translators also show that translating a specific genre or working for a specific organisation can increase income.

As mentioned earlier in this thesis, health care interpreters are not recognised by the Department of Health, yet they do exist. Some seem to have lost hope of income change. For example, Monica simply declared that nothing could be done to increase her salary. The others said that there was a need to speak to the Western Cape Provincial Administration to get interpreters recognised and paid a minimum of R30 000 per annum.

The health care interpreters' post should be motivated to government (at national level) for a minimum of R27 080 per annum. Hospitals should have separate funds for interpreting work. Nurses, lay counsellors and other social workers, who happen to do interpreting on top of the normal call of duties, should be paid an extra amount from the hospitals' interpreting funds. Health care interpreters also called for surveys and research to be conducted on the topic. An element of surprise, which did not occur in the other groups' strategies, is the idea of conducting continuous assessment so as to ascertain the level of competence achieved, and then adapt the level of remuneration accordingly. A smaller group of health interpreters thought that increasing the number of working hours would be another option. The parliament language practitioners suggested that parliament should work at a better promotion–remuneration policy.

V.4 Professional identification

Researchers in South African translation and interpreting seem to agree that the issue of professional identification is a major problem. It appears difficult to ascertain the total number of translators or interpreters in South Africa. Figures obtained from different offices appear incongruent due to the lack of a central registration body for language practitioners. The problem is exacerbated by the fact that even people who happen to do a substantial amount of translation/interpreting work do not consider themselves as translators/interpreters. The national manpower survey provided the following figures for people in the linguistic occupations, which include translators, interpreters, philologists, lexicographers and terminologists.

Table 5.5: vacancies in the linguistic occupations:

YEAR	Total	African /Black		Coloured		Indian/Asians		Whites		Unspecified	Vacancies
		Total	F	T	F	T	Female	T	F		
1987	3852	388	53	87	14	60	7	3318	1260		82
1988	473	64	2	1	0	0	0	408	238		56
1989	1312	835	133	65	29	11	3	430	292		121
1994	1411	1000	140	17	10	2	1	361	269	31	54
1995	1450	1023	225	18	10	6	3	330	256	73	187
1996	1430	1014	238	18	10	5	2	303	234	90	237

Based on Manpower/occupational surveys for the relevant years * [Total (T) minus Female (F) = Male (M)]

Although the data does not allow a specific statement on translation or interpreting, it remains one of the most reliable sources of information of trends in the linguistic field. The year 1994 was a cut-off point due to the decisive events that surrounded the period, mainly the release of Nelson Mandela and the demise of the bilingual policy to the benefit of a multilingual policy, with 11 official languages. The period 1987-1989 seems to be a period of uncertainty for language practitioners. In general, it can be perceived that the dramatic decrease in the number of language practitioners in 1988 is followed soon after by a significant increase in 1989. In the African group the number more than doubled from 1987 and kept increasing steadily. The number in the white group, however, shows a steady decrease since 1994. The decrease incurred in this group during the period 1987-1988 can also mean that a significant number of practitioners in this group decided to leave the formal sector of employment to enter freelance practice. Yet the increase in the African group, as a token of increased opportunities for language related jobs, could have led to a number of people taking translation, interpreting or editing tasks as an additional activity on top of their normal duties. The figures of the survey only include people who are officially employed in the linguistic field. It is difficult to get reliable figures for freelance practitioners, because not all are registered members of SATI. A minimum of 271 language practitioners was numbered on the SATI web-site register.

Issues of identification and self-identification of court interpreters was deemed important to the present research. During the pilot stage, it was amazing to realise that some of the respondents denied being identified as translators or interpreters, although they did not deny doing interpreting work. They were selected for a somewhat significant amount of translation/interpreting work they had delivered.

So, rather than asking people whether they are translators or interpreters, the research used three different questions that could help identify the main occupation of the respondents, their descriptions of the activities they do, and their understanding of their professional occupations.

Question 19: ‘What is your main professional occupation? Translating - Interpreting – Both translating and interpreting - other (please, specify)’

Table 5.6: Main occupation

Groups	Interpreting	Translating	Translating and interpreting	Other
Court interpreters	97% (33)	-	-	3% (1)
Health care interpreters	55% (6)			45% (5)
Translators	-	38% (14)	5% (2)	57% (21)
Translator-interpreters	-	11% (2)	61% (11)	28% (5)

The results in the table seem to show information which is consistent with the court interpreter’s position. The interpreting duty is the most prevailing one. Siambe, whose main occupation is ‘other’, specified that she spent most of her time supervising interpreters rather than doing actual interpreting work. The other groups show a pattern which is consistent with their categories, except for the group of translators where the overwhelming majority is made up of freelancers. The main occupation of the majority of the respondents is not solely translation or interpreting. For most of these people, language work in the form discussed is an additional activity, but for the court interpreters, this is a primary activity.

Question 1: 'Do you do any of the activities suggested here? Please tick in the box to indicate what you do - Translations – Interpreting – Both translations and interpreting'

Table 5.7: Involvement in translation or interpreting

Groups	Interpreting	Translating	Both translating and interpreting
Court interpreters (Group1)	97% (33)	-	3% (1)
Health care interpreters (Group2)	82% (9)	-	18% (2)
Translators (Group 3)	-	95% (35)	5% (2)
Translator-interpreters (Group 4)	-	11% (2)	89% (16)

The responses provided by all the groups indicate that translation and interpreting are indeed sister professions. Although the majority of people adhere to one main occupation, there is a small proportion who participates in the other activities, as the responses of groups two and three show. The response of group four indicates that the dominant task of these practitioners is translating even though they sometimes do both. Teffo, of group one, indicated that her job involved both translation and interpreting. Her position is clarified by the answers she gave to question 19 and question 41 where her choices indicated that she only does interpreting work. Is this an instance of misunderstanding/confusion or an instance of hesitation? It is hard to tell at this stage. The information provided by the rest of the court interpreters seems to be consistent with their professional occupation. Instances of confusion or misconception seem evident in the responses court interpreters provided to some of the questions that follow.

Question 10: 'Are you a sworn translator?'

Table 5.8: Sworn translators

Groups	Yes	No	N/A
Court interpreters	35% (12)	62% (21)	3% (1)
Health care interpreters	-	100% (11)	-
Translators	8% (3)	92% (34)	-
Translator-interpreters	17% (3)	83% (15)	-

Almost all the groups displayed a low rate of practitioners who claimed to be sworn translators. It was surprising to see that 35% of the respondents stated that they were sworn translators. All the respondents involved were based either at the magistrates' courts or the regional ones. The information received from the hierarchy i.e. the Inspector of Court interpreters as well as the Chief Interpreter seemed to contradict the interpreters' declarations. One of the ways to clarify the situation was through the post-survey interview. The interview indicated that some of the court interpreters did not understand that the sworn translators form a separate group in the judiciary. They have a different mandate.

When I wanted to ascertain if Mr Maduna, for example, was a Sworn Translator, he replied as follows: 'Yes, before starting to interpret in court, you must swear before a magistrate.' This answer denotes that the respondent did understand that although he swears before the magistrate, according to the regulations this does not make him a sworn translator but he seems to think he is. Moreover, through my interactions with Maduna over a period of more than a year, I established that he was not a sworn translator. The court interpreters could easily tell the difference between a translator and an interpreter but they could hardly tell the difference between a court interpreter and a sworn translator. Unfortunately, even some who had been working for a long time, like Mr Nayo with 15 years of experience as court interpreter, were still unclear. It should be noted, however, that health care interpreters did not reveal such confusion about their professional occupations, although it does not indicate that they fully understood what a sworn translator is or does. Another instance of misconception is evident in the interpreters' understanding of issue of accreditation.

Question 9: 'Are you accredited as any of the suggested practitioners? (Translator, Interpreter, Translator-Interpreter, Not accredited). If so, please specify date of accreditation and language combinations.'

Table 5.9: Accreditation

Groups	As Translator	As Interpreter	As Translator-Interpreter	Not accredited	NA
Court interpreters	35% (12)	-	-	62% (21)	3% (1)
Health care interpreters	-	-	-	100% (11)	-
Translators	46% (17)	-	-	54% (20)	-
Translator-interpreters	6% (1)	6%(1)	-	88% (16)	-

These results seemed to be inconsistent with the answers provided in question 11, where court interpreters stated the professional associations to which they belong. None of them belongs to the South African Translators' Institute (SATI), which is the only body that grants accreditation. It should be noted, however, that all the health care interpreters answered in a consistent manner. They all stated that they were neither accredited nor were they SATI members. It was also noticed that a large number of court interpreters had never heard of SATI. They were more oriented to a professional association, which targets court officials or other public servants.

The SATI process of accreditation seemed foreign to many of them. I did not attempt any quantification of those who knew about SATI or its accreditation system. However, when the same question was asked of them after receiving additional information, many of the respondents simply indicated that they were not accredited.

The examination of the issue of professional identification in South Africa seems to show many levels of complexity. There are people who do not define themselves as translators or interpreters even if they do a substantial amount of work which professionals in these categories would do. On the other hand, some people who fall into a category such as court interpreters do understand the boundaries of their occupation. One cannot blame the court interpreters for the lack of information on professions akin to theirs; instead they should be provided with more information on the issue.

Sometimes the institution denies workers the right to identify themselves as interpreters. In many hospitals of the Western Cape Province, doctors call on nurses for interpreting. When the nurses demand to be recognised as nurse-interpreters and to be given a double salary, the institution indicates that they are only employed as nurses.

In parliament, translators and interpreters fall under one umbrella. They are all employed as language practitioners. This may have some advantage for the employer in that the same employee can be given translation, interpreting, transcribing, lexicography and editing duties without claiming a supplementary fee. At one of the hospitals, the interpreters are employed as cleric staff because the Department of Health does not want to create a specific post for the interpreters. At another hospital the interpreters are employed as lay counsellors. They do both counselling and interpreting work but they receive a single pay as lay counsellors. Some freelance practitioners find it beneficial to introduce themselves under an inclusive name such as language practitioners. This may guarantee them a chance of grabbing any job opportunity. Reasons of status may well contribute to the problem.

4.1 Accredited translator/interpreter

It appears important at this stage of the thesis to look closely at features which distinguish these professions. In South Africa there is only one professional body which offers accreditation. With no specific requirement in terms of minimum qualification or experience, any translator or interpreter who wishes to join SATI is only required to pay a registration fee and fill in a registration form. However, some members wish to have some sort of proof that they can show to their client to ascertain their capacities rather than having a mere membership card. Such members approach SATI for an accreditation examination for specific language combinations.

The successful candidates are awarded an accreditation certificate. In this manner, clients can also identify practitioners who have proven records. SATI also offers accreditation in editing, proofreading, consecutive and simultaneous interpreting. The SATI accredited members are expected to abide by the SATI's code of practice and provide services of the highest standard. They are SATI's ambassadors.

They are also liable to disciplinary measures in case of low standard service delivery. Should membership of the Institute lapse, accreditation also lapses. People applying for accreditation thus implicitly agree to remain members of the Institute.

4.2 Sworn translator vs competent interpreter

In the South African legal context, two main texts help to distinguish between the sworn translator and a competent translator or a competent interpreter. The duties and requirements for **sworn translators** are outlaid in the Supreme Court Act 59 of 1959 with its subsequent amendments. Rule 59 of the Act states the conditions of admission to be fulfilled by sworn translators. Sub-rule (1) states the language combinations that the translator must have. Sub-rule (2) outlays the manner in which linguistic competence can be proven. Sub-rule (3) determines the jurisdiction of the sworn translator. Sub-rule (4) (a) describes the oath, while sub-rule (4) (b) states the *conditions of endorsement of oath by a judge of the Supreme Court*. In practice, a person willing to become a sworn translator contacts an attorney who files an application on his behalf to the Supreme Court, in terms of Rule 59 of the rules of court. The attorney will brief counsel to appear with the applicant in the Supreme Court. The application must be accompanied by a document in which a sworn translator of at least seven years standing certifies that he has examined the applicant and found him to be proficient in the languages in which he/she intends to translate. Upon satisfactory outcome of the application, the person will be sworn in as a translator and his/her name will be entered on the roll as a sworn translator of the Supreme Court of South Africa. The person may then provide certified translations of documents. A sworn translator may translate documents and interpret court proceedings.

Due to the rigorous process of selection that he undergoes, the sworn translator is considered a highly trusted professional. Rule 60 focuses on the translation of documents produced during court proceedings. Sub-rule (1) requires that a sworn translator should translate all documents written in languages others than the South African official languages. Sub-rule (2) states that such translation shall be considered *prima facie*, correct and admissible. Sub-rule (3), however, states that in the case of absence of a sworn translator, the court can admit any translation certified to be

correct by a person whose competence is satisfactory. It is therefore suggested that a person who translates under Sub-rule (3) is not a sworn translator but a **competent translator**. Rule 61 addresses the specific issue of interpretation of evidence. Sub-section (1) states,

Where evidence in any proceedings is given in any language with which the court or a party or his representative is not sufficiently conversant, such evidence will be interpreted by a competent interpreter, sworn to interpret faithfully and to the best of his ability in the languages concerned.

Sub-rule (2) states that the court must be satisfied with the competence and integrity of an interpreter before he is employed. Sub-rule (3) discusses situations in which either the parties or the court can cover interpreting fees. Erasmus (2003: B1-404) explains that a sworn translator can also interpret court proceedings but, in case of absence, the court can call upon the services of a competent interpreter, also referred to as *ad hoc* interpreter, for the particular trial. The sworn translator is referred to as *expert traducteur-interprète* in some French speaking countries, because he can do both jobs.

It can be argued that in the context of the South African Superior Court Practice, every competent translator is not necessarily a sworn translator. Court interpreters are competent interpreters. Although they may be sworn in before commencement of the execution of duties, it does not make them sworn translators. However, whether it is a sworn translator or a competent interpreter who is interpreting a trial, the implications and potential consequences are similar. The interpreted version is considered to be analogous with the original statement. Moreover, the court or its members are not entitled to rely on their individual knowledge of the language that the witness uses.

The Magistrates' Court Act 32 of 1994 is also an important source of information on court interpreting. Rule 68 distinguishes between interpreters and casual interpreters. Sub-rule (1) states that every interpreter shall take oath upon entrance of office.

It further provides the prescribed oath. Sub-rule (2) determines the conditions of the administration of the oath. Sub-rule (3) states that whenever a casual interpreter is appointed to interpret a particular case, he shall take the oath. It further provides the prescribed oath and the conditions under which the oath should be administered. Sub-rule (4) suggests that the casual interpreter's oath must be endorsed on the court records. Sub-rule (5) suggests that when a casual interpreter is employed for a period of time, he will not be required to take oath before every case. In the case of Magistrates' Courts, the term 'competent interpreter' can apply to both casual interpreters and permanently employed interpreters. No possible confusion should be made between these two occupations and the one of the Supreme Court sworn translator.

V.5 Educational background

5.1 School related qualification

The issue of the educational background of court interpreter is a focal point of interest both for researchers and other stakeholders in court interpreting. It is thought that, without appropriate basic training, much effort will be needed to improve the quality of court interpreting. The Department of Justice advocates a matriculation certificate as entry requirement.

This implies that an individual who did not complete at least high school cannot handle complex judicial jargon. One may disagree, although court interpreting may look like an attractive option for those who obtained the matriculation certificate with results that do not allow them to register for tertiary education. This part of my thesis examines further the issue of level of education.

**Question 2: 'What is your highest educational level?
(less than matriculation, matriculation, post-matriculation).'**

Table 5.10: Formal education

Groups	Less than Matriculation	Matriculation	Post-Matriculation
Court interpreters	9% (3)	79% (27)	12% (4)
Health care interpreters	27% (3)	46% (5)	27% (3)
Translators	-	-	100% (37)
Translator-interpreters	-	-	100% (18)

The table indicates that 79% of court interpreters sampled claim to hold a matriculation certificate i.e. they completed high school. Do these figures reflect the reality? It is generally perceived that the level of education of court interpreters is rather low. Chauchat (1985) warns that, in surveys, it sometimes happens that the respondent answers not according to the actual situation, but according to what the ideal situation would be.

Certain facts can cast doubts on the interpreters' claims. It was noticed that some who had attended college for a year or two and eventually dropped out without obtaining any tertiary qualification, claimed to have a post- matriculation qualification. Moreover, there has been pressure that the level of entry should be a high school certificate. Unfortunately this suggestion divides the interpreters into two groups. The first group is made up of those with no matriculation certificate who feel that their jobs are threatened. Members of this group in particular tend to hide their real qualifications; moreover they tend to feel offended if someone declares that they do not hold a matriculation certificate, which is tantamount to saying that they are not qualified for their job. The second group is mostly made up of younger interpreters who, in most cases, hold a matriculation certificate. One of the strategies used to probe these results was to compare them to the results obtained for a similar question.

Question 54: 'What should be the required level of education for candidates willing to attend translation/interpreting short courses?'

The hypothesis behind the question is that none can set the required conditions of entry at a level that excludes him/herself. The condition suggested could indicate the approximate qualification that a respondent holds. A person whose level of education is lower than matriculation would tend to suggest that the condition of entrance should be matriculation or lower. Otherwise the person may suggest that the condition should not be school-related, work experience for example.

Table 5.11: Indication of formal education

Groups	Less than matriculation	Matricula tion	Post- matriculation	No requirement	Other
Court interpreters	3% (1)	76% (26)	3% (1)	6% (2)	12% (4)

The figure for matriculation remained constant i.e. 79% (27) for question number two and 76% (26) for question 54. This gives credit to the interpreters for the claimed educational level. The decrease in the number of respondents requiring a tertiary qualification as requirement may indicate that in reality very few court interpreters hold such qualifications. The high percentage of matriculation holders can be explained in terms of the age groups. Although no specific question asked the respondent to state their age group, they were asked to state the number of years they had been interpreting. The answers to question 12, about their work experience, provide some indication of the respondents' age groups. The results suggested that the majority of respondents are young. It was found that 73% of respondents (i.e. 25) indicated that they have been interpreting for six years or less. Only 27% of respondents (i.e. nine) indicated that they have been interpreting for seven years or more. In an ideal situation, it may be suggested that a candidate court interpreter should hold some qualification in the field of Translation Studies besides the basic high school qualification. This prompted the researcher to look for more information on court interpreters' qualifications in the field of Translation Studies.

5.2 Qualification in translation and interpreting studies

Question 3: 'Do you have a degree, diploma or certificate in Translation Studies?'

Table 5.12: Qualifications for translation studies.

<i>Groups</i>	Yes	No
Court interpreters	-	100% (34)
Health care interpreters	-	100% (11)
Translators	51% (19)	49% (18)
Translator-interpreters	28% (5)	72% (13)

The court interpreter works in an environment where he feels that his work is not valued. The highest authority at court level is the magistrate. He/she is the embodiment of power, authority and professional achievement. Court interpreters would therefore feel more inclined to taking a degree course in Law rather than taking Translation Studies for three or four years.

Moreover, it seems that a degree in Translation Studies would not provide the same opportunities for upward social mobility and status in the judicial system. The Department of Justice has devoted little attention to improving the image of the court interpreter, so as to make the job more attractive to the interpreter himself. It may also be argued that in cases where interpreters showed interest in such courses, the Department may not have been willing to release them because of the staff shortage in the interpreters' sections at courts. One could also think that perhaps some interpreters could have obtained a degree in Translation Studies and subsequently left the Department of Justice, but the information obtained from the official of the Department could not confirm this possibility. The department seems to have chosen to promote the short courses provided by Justice College. Yet when interpreters complete the training at Justice College, they do not receive any sort of certificate.

Question 4: 'Have you studied any interpreting course?'

Table 5.13: Interpreting courses attended

Groups	Yes	No
Court interpreters	35%(12)	65%(22)
Translator-interpreters	39%(7)	61%(11)

Question 5: 'Have you studied any Translation course?'

Table 5.14: Translation courses attended

Groups	Yes	No
Translators	62%(23)	38%(14)
Translator-interpreters	56%(10)	44%(8)

Freelance translators and interpreters tend to be keen on attending courses and thus improving their qualifications. This tendency seems to pay direct dividends in the income of the freelance practitioners. Moreover, their flexible schedules allow them to attend. Court interpreters work in an environment where time schedules are more rigid. Another factor contributes to the limited number of court interpreters who have attended short course that Justice College provides. Moeketsi (1999: 133) highlights some of the shortcomings of the training schemes. Since formal training only happens once a year for a specific cluster of provinces, an interpreter who is employed and who comes on board immediately after a training session is finished, will have to wait for almost one full year to be trained. The Department of Justice tends to employ more and more part-time interpreters, who work on an annual contract basis, so as to counter a shortage of labour. Unfortunately, there are no arrangements for the formal training for interpreters who are in the latter category.

V.6 Respect

6.1 Introduction

The court interpreters, who have a long history of struggle within the Department of Justice, bear scars that can hardly be hidden. At one of my first visits to the court, I became aware that the issue of respect is an important one. Here is an account of a visit to one of the senior interpreters' offices.

After crossing the security checkpoint of the court, I took the lift to level 3. I followed one of the many corridors densely packed with people either hastily moving in all directions or meditatively sitting on the wooden bench outside the courts. I went past court five, and court six. At the end of the corridor was the senior interpreter's office. A few black gowns went past the office before I arrived and knocked. The voice asked me to enter. When I opened the door, a stout man was seated behind his computer, playing music on his digital CD reader. I introduced myself. He asked me to sit on the chair at the right side of his desk. Behind him was a medium-size poster reading:

*I do not demand respect,
I do not Command respect,
I deserve to be respected.*

A number of questions flashed through my mind. Do court interpreters feel respected? How do they understand the concept of respect? How do they express their frustration? What can be done to make them feel respected? These are some of the questions that will be addressed in this part of the dissertation.

An attempt towards finding a working definition of respect led to Downie and Telfer's (1969: 23) *Respect for Persons*. According to the authors, the expression 'respect for persons' indicates both an attitude and a principle of action to be explained in terms of the attitudes. The attitude constitutes the outward observable evidence. This part of the thesis is based on the interpreters/translators' expression of observed attitudes. The principle of action underlying attitudes is thus inferred.

6.2 Do court interpreters feel respected?

**Question 34: 'As a translator or an interpreter, do you feel respected?
(Please, comment)'**

Table 5.15: Feeling of respect

Groups	Yes	No	Sometimes not	N/A
Court interpreters	15% (5)	24%(8)	58% (20)	3% (1)
Health care interpreters	55% (6)	27% (3)	18% (2)	
Translators	32% (11)	15% (5)	53% (18)	
Translator-interpreters	22% (4)	34% (6)	33% (6)	11% (2)

It appears from the table of results that 82% of court interpreters fall victims to disrespectful behaviour. This feeling is predominant in 24% of cases - this seems to indicate that although they suffer disrespect, this only occurs sometimes.

This research is not aimed at identifying people who disrespect court interpreters. However, the comments provided indicate two tendencies in the identification of people who are responsible for disrespectful behaviour. Some interpreters use the personal pronoun 'they' to designate people or group of people who fail to show respect to them. For example, Masondo declared, *'They don't recognise us as important people; they are like saying "It's your job."* In this instance, a court interpreter based at Bishop Lavis Court was expressing frustration over being forced to interpret for a case, although she was tired from overwork in this court where there was a lack of manpower in the interpreting section. Can the use of the personal pronoun be attributed to some fear of the authorities or other co-workers? This possibility can be ruled out because the survey was conducted under conditions of anonymity so as to protect respondents. Most probably, it is for reasons of loyalty to the institution that some court interpreters did not want to be specific. They somehow preferred to let the researcher guess who 'they' represents. Only a few court interpreters used this means to demonstrate loyalty to their institution.

Another possible explanation could be that people who abuse interpreters are just too numerous to be named individually. For court interpreters, the pronoun 'they' can refer to magistrates, prosecutors, court orderlies, or clerks. Comments indicate a degree of comradeship within the group of interpreters, *a kind of coalition against the abusers of their rights*, mainly found among magistrates and prosecutors. In the case of health care interpreters, the pronoun 'they' can refer to the patients, the doctors, the nurses, social workers, or the administrative staff. Odette's statement can serve as an example- *'They respect you only when they need you and nothing when they don't.'* Some of the comments provided by court interpreters reflected feelings of disappointment with the entire Department of Justice. Mr Radebe, an interpreter with a senior position at provincial level, exploded, *'I am working for the Department of Justice and they treat us interpreters very bad.'* Yet he is among respondents who indicated unambiguously that he feels respected.

Most court interpreters are articulate when it comes to identifying officials who inflict a lack of respect on them. Modise, for example said, *'Some magistrates and prosecutors do not respect interpreters.'* None of the court interpreters made an effort to distinguish people that showed them respect and those who did not. As one health care interpreter named Mathabela declared, *'Patients respect us a lot, doctors give us respect but not the other people for example clerks'*.

Yet Nkune of the Khayelitsha Magistrates' Court declared that he felt that his colleagues did not respect him, but he felt that the members of the public respected him. A court interpreter deals with a variety of people. It is obvious that some may show respect whilst others may not. However, it is striking that the majority of court interpreters feel that they are not respected. The next paragraphs contain some illustrations of what interpreters consider to be respectful or non-respectful behaviour. Negative feelings tend to be really dominant.

6.3 Features illustrative of respect

The responses that court interpreters provided do not contradict those of the other three groups, namely health care interpreters, translators and translator-interpreters. It is therefore deemed necessary to consider the answers of all the groups as one whole set. Wherever somewhat significant differences appear, they will be duly stated. The researcher will make a particular effort to back every feature up with one statement so as to avoid redundant repetitions.

Respondents perceive that features illustrative of respect include the following:

- Verbal expression of appreciation and respect
'Some people openly told me that they respect me', Siphso of Goodwood Magistrates' Court
- Getting paid on time
'I do the work but when I have to be paid, it takes forever', Cupido, a freelance translator
- Acknowledgement of difficulties related to the process of translating
'Yes I find respect among clients who appreciate the difficulty of the service that I render, but amongst others, who do not have this understanding, I do not detect much of a respect for our profession', Kenrick, owner and manager of a translation business
- Expression of interest and appreciation
'People do not generally understand what a translator does. So, they show no respect. Others, who do understand, show respect and interest. They know the complex nature of words and what they stand for...', Ryan, freelance translator

6.4 Ways of detecting disrespectful behaviours

- Ignoring the interpreter in the process of decision-making
'Courts sometimes do not adjourn for lunch. They are in session without consulting with us first. We are not considered as court officials', Thoko of the Parow Magistrates' Court
- Attempt by everyone to give instructions to the interpreters
'Everyone wants to give instruction although we have a senior interpreter in our section. It's because, there is no independence of our section', Sadike of the Wynberg Magistrates' Court
- Rebuking the interpreter in public
'If the magistrate has a problem with an interpreter, he should summon him to his office, not in front of the gallery', Thoko of Parow Magistrates' Court
- Delay in payment, unfounded criticism and lack of acknowledgement
'People tend to think of you as a machine. (They) are ignorant of the amount of time required to do the work. Seldom do you get acknowledgement for your work but people are quick to criticise', Collett, a freelance translator
- Minimising the complexity of translation
'... Some think translating is not a big deal, others respect you for your knowledge', Brett, a freelance translator
- Lack of recognition of translation as a profession
'Some do not recognise our field of work as a profession due to the untrained people who pretend to be efficient, price cutting, and the unprofessional services rendered by the so called practitioners'

- Modifying the translated text with no prior discussion of the modification with the translator

'Don't tamper with my text without consulting me', Steve, a lecturer who does ad hoc freelance translation work
- Lack of recognition of the translator's academic qualification

'...They don't want you to go to the University. Even when you up level your academic qualification, they don't recognise it. People that don't have a degree, enter the profession with a higher rank because seemingly, they are "experts". It is frustrating', Ian, a language practitioner at African Union, who, after numerous hardships, was granted unpaid study leave. He refers to the attitude of the senior officials in the language department and the AU's employment policy
- Discriminatory treatment against the translator

'... When you travel with a delegation, whilst the other delegates are accommodated in five-star hotels, eating exotic meals and being chauffeur-driven, the translator or the interpreter is in the cold of two-star hotel, in dubious neighbourhood and using public transport...', Ian's frustration on a business trip to Tripoli, in Libya
- Discriminatory treatment against the translation profession

'...You see disrespect when it comes to the classification of jobs per category. Translation is categorised as the last type of job', Ian's disapproval of the AU's job scaling
- Taking translation and interpreting skills for granted

'In a multilingual country as South Africa, translating and interpreting are often seen as normal multilingual skills', Gareth, a freelance translator and casual court interpreter

- Low remuneration offered for translation services

'The kind of remuneration offered shows that clients do not know the real value of the work...', Mado, a freelance translator-interpreter
- Lack of professional formality when services are needed

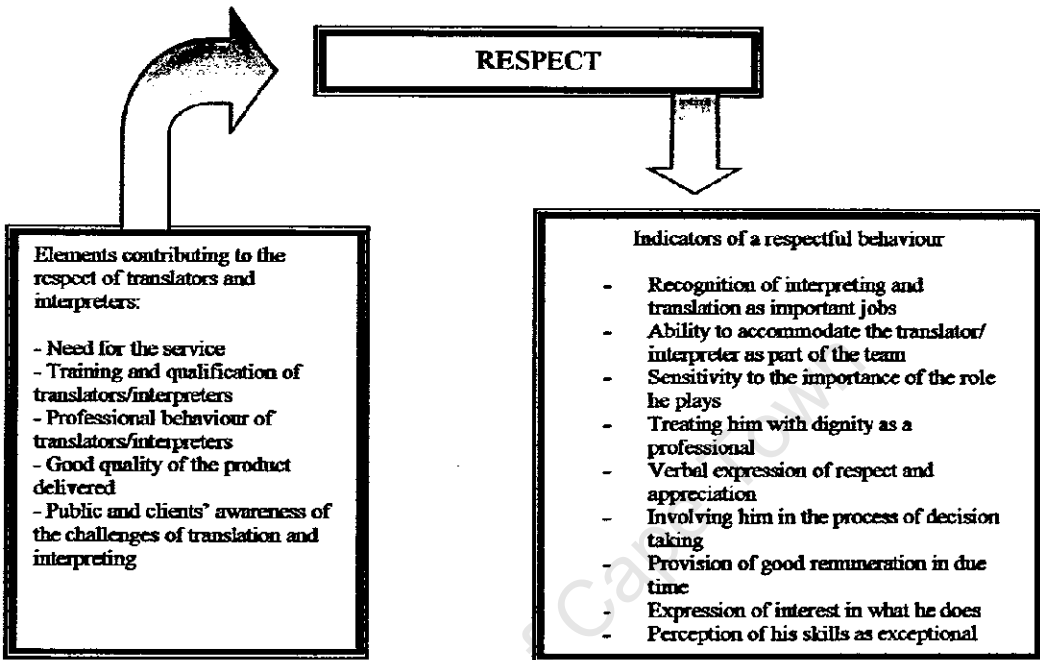
'People drag one corner to another. They don't consider you as important but some of them don't know how to speak Xhosa or Afrikaans or English. They grab you and pull you. They don't ask politely... They act as if ... you are just an interpreter, so... you are not important', Teffo, a female court interpreter at Athlone Magistrates' Court
- Assignment of *ad hoc* jobs

' Sometimes, you have to do the duties of the prosecutor or the court orderlies. They order you. They send you to do things', Modise, at Athlone Magistrates' Court
- Inappropriate rebuke

'You do have people who have bad attitudes against blacks. Some lawyers feel they know more about interpreting. They tell you e.g. You are not doing your job properly as if they employ you', Jonas, at Bishop Lavis Magistrates' Court

6.5 The Dynamic of respect and disrespect

Figure 5.1: The Dynamic of respect can be summarised by the following diagram:

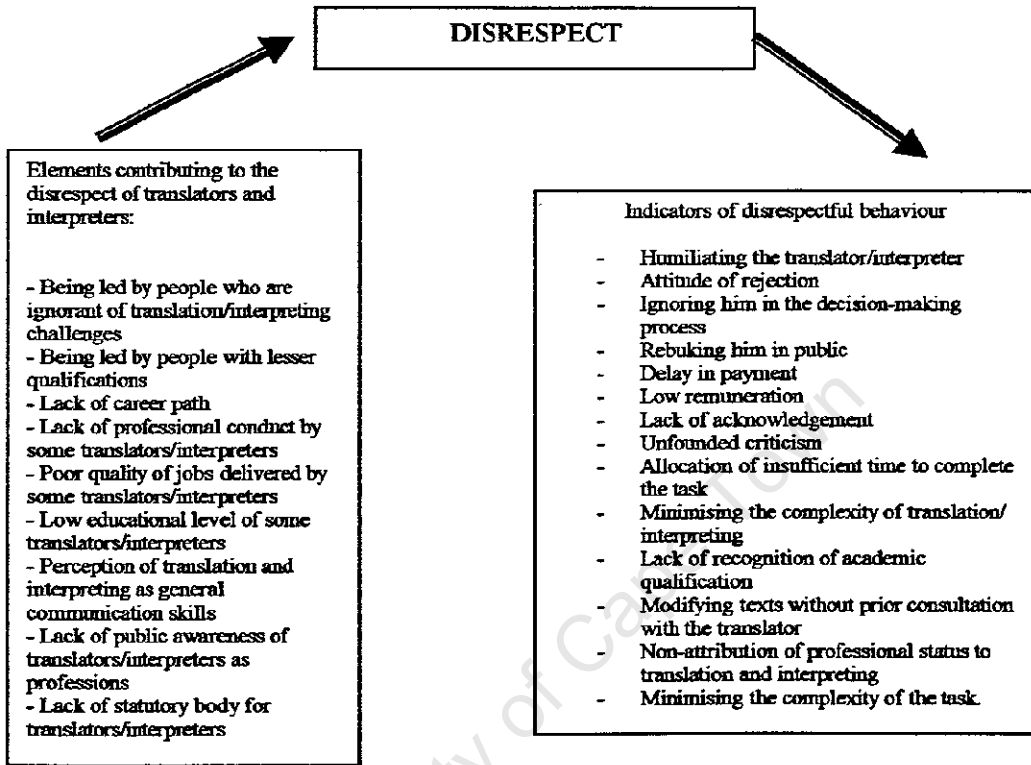


The chart shows key elements that the translators and interpreters perceive to be important for a professional to earn respect. On the other hand, the chart shows behaviours that indicate a respectful attitude to the translator/interpreter and his/her profession. However, it seems important at this point to illustrate schematically the dynamic of disrespect as perceived by translators and interpreters.

It can be noted that the elements contributing to an attitude of disrespect towards translators and interpreters can be divided into two main parts:

The first part is made of elements that can be directly linked to a disrespectful type of behaviour. An example of this is when a client allocates insufficient time to the translator to complete his task, which in return will result in a poorly performed task, which will then trigger another disrespectful type of behaviour. The second part is made up of elements that are indirectly connected to disrespectful behaviour. At the top of this list can be an element such as the lack of statutory body.

Figure 5.2: Dynamic of disrespect



6.6 Importance of respect

Court interpreters, along with other judicial officials, need to feel respected. Respect that court interpreters get from their work environment can influence the way they view themselves. Yet we know that self-perception triggers self-esteem, which has profound consequences on the way people operate in the workplace. Moreover, self-esteem makes the way to achievement easier and more likely (Branden 1998:26-28). Healthy self-esteem can contribute to the interpreters' performance and cognitive development because they will tend to admit to mistakes openly, correct them, cooperate with the other court officials and persevere in hard times. It should be noted however that there is a cyclical relation between respect, esteem (self-esteem) and achievement.

Respect also influences job satisfaction and professional status. When an interpreter feels respected, he is likely to feel happy about his job and talk about it in positive terms. As a result, people will tend to respect the profession as a whole and possibly aspire to the same or similar profession.

V.7 Aspiration

No matter what the challenges are that they face, the majority of court interpreters seem determined to persevere. It is known that the job is not attractive. In fact, some of the interpreters tend to hide their identity as court interpreters. They prefer to be designated under the large umbrella of court officials rather than being specifically called 'court interpreters'. But deep in their minds they have a sort of emotional attachment to the job, considering it a service that empowers the community. The answers that the respondents provided for question 57 give a good illustration of their aspirations.

Question 57: 'As an interpreter what are your aspirations?'

Table 5.16: Court Interpreters' aspirations

Professions	Aspirations	
	Legal profession	Magistrate
Prosecutor		10% (3)
Lawyer or legal advisor		7% (2)
Interpreting	Court interpreting	69% (20)
Other	Office work or social work	3% (1)

The attachment to the value of the profession and the love of it is in no way unconditional. Although 69% of the 29 court interpreters who responded to the question do wish to continue with an interpreting career, they did attach some conditions to their remaining in it. Among the conditions stated appear concerns like: promotion, respect, recognition, visibility, training rights and privileges. The health care interpreters displayed similar patterns. The main reason for attachment to the occupation was because they cared for people at grassroots level.

Financial income contributed mostly to their aspirations for other jobs or for interpreting in other sectors e.g. parliament and court, which some of them thought provided better remuneration. The translators' responses showed that they seem to love their job for many reasons, and view it as a lifelong career. Learning new languages, visiting foreign countries, continuous training and professional improvement are some of the avenues that they consider useful for the delivery of a high standard of professional work and in order to gain not only financial benefit but also a good reputation.

The situation of court interpreters resembles that of the anecdote of the assaulted wife who had laid charges against her husband. Long hours of prosecution went by, and then came the verdict. Before pronouncing the sentence the court enquired from the lady the type of sentence she wished her husband to get. She declared that she only wished for her husband to promise before the court that he would not assault her anymore. The husband made the promise and got a suspended sentence. Many court interpreters like the job that they do. They are enthusiastic to learn more so as to be in a better position to discharge their duties.

The results shown in the above table 24 suggest a number of profound reasons why the interpreters are not willing to abandon their profession for more attractive jobs. Since many court interpreters look up to magistrates and prosecutors, why is it that only a minority aspire to such prestigious professions? It may be that other professions are not easily attainable. Yet this factor should not overshadow the love that some interpreters have for their jobs.

The Oxford English Dictionary shows that there is a difference between 'aspiration', 'expectation' and 'wishes'. Aspiration is defined as the act of aspiring, it is a steadfast desire, a longing or ambition for something above one. Expectation refers to ground or warrant for expecting, the condition of being likely or entitled to receive or experience something in the future. A wish is an expressed desire of hope or expectation. Aspirations are viewed as being nobler than mere expectations or wishes. Various factors contribute to the setting of goals that a person views as attainable. The factors include background (personal, social or professional), awareness of opportunities, perceived personal abilities.

The most important factor arguably is the existence of models that can be emulated within a person's immediate professional environment. The past failure of a group member to reach a specific professional goal can cause other members to think that they cannot attain or exceed a certain level. For court interpreters, the most appealing professional route is that of becoming a magistrate, but it is not an easy one. Only few pursue it with a successful outcome. Few become prosecutors. A good number pursue court interpreting until retirement. Yet there are a number who leave court interpreting for other employment. The stated aspirations of court interpreters seem to be realistic. The proportion of interpreters who become magistrates is very small. Information on court interpreters' aspirations is vital for planning of interpreting services at court. The indication that the majority want to keep the interpreting job is encouraging for the Department. Aspirations have a bearing on motivation and professional achievement. On the other hand, aspirations and expectations have a bearing on consumers' purchases.

People who confidently believe that their situation will improve are aware of concrete and attainable rewards that the future will bring. Awareness of such rewards represents a major motivating force, which makes it worthwhile to strive for higher income and work hard to achieve it. At the same time such awareness induces people to allocate part of their income to the purchase of goods that they will use over the future year. Allocation of income is related to optimism or pessimism to changes (Katona et al. 1971: 59).

Interpreters who aspire to a legal career can be encouraged to learn more about legal matters. They can develop better working relationships with magistrates or prosecutors. They may do certain duties that go beyond their expected job description, as they view interpreting as a learning curve rather than a dead end. People who intend to keep court interpreting as a life long profession may purchase dictionaries and encyclopaedia. Neither of the two assumptions could be proven by the data contained in this dissertation.

VI. Training needs

VI.1 Introduction

The previous chapter has shown that there is a link between status and training. The assessment of training needs is a difficult task for any researcher who is focusing on a particular professional group. Among the techniques or approaches used for the assessment of training needs appear:

- the analysis of job requirements and duties to be performed
- analysis of the job market for that specific profession and/or other related jobs (This will be dealt with in the next chapter.)
- surveying the employers or clients who would utilize the specific service
- surveying the actual professionals involved in the job.

The scope of this thesis could not allow a thorough examination of all the potential avenues. However, an attempt was made to try an investigation of some of the aspects that appear relevant for providing information on such a topic as it affects the court interpreters. Among the possibilities that were examined appear an analysis of duties performed, an assessment of market-related training needs, the examination of training needs as stated by the interpreters themselves.

VI.2 Admission of difficulties

2.1 Introduction

Before entering into an in-depth discussion of difficulties, it is important to ascertain whether interpreters really do encounter difficulties and to what extent they are aware of them. Information on this issue is contained in the answers that respondents provided to two separate questions. This study did not intend to see whether translators, for example, find difficulties when interpreting or whether they could indulge in both translation and interpreting with ease. The difficulties of translators were examined in the light of the translation task and a similar process was used for interpreters. People who do both activities answered the two questions relating to translation and interpreting.

Question 36: 'Do you find any difficulties when interpreting?'

Please, elaborate.

Table 6.1: Interpreting difficulties

Groups	Yes	No	N/A
Court interpreters	85% (29)	15%(5)	
Health care interpreters	82% (9)	18%(3)	
Translator-interpreters	72% (13)	22%(4)	6%(1)

Question 37: 'Do you sometimes find any difficulties when translating?'

Please, elaborate.'

Table 6.2: Translation difficulties

Groups	Yes	No	N/A
Translators	83%(30)	17%(7)	
Translator-interpreters	78% (16)	11%(2)	11%(2)

The findings suggest a high occurrence of difficulties in all groups; not only court interpreters but translators and health care interpreters are aware of the challenges of such demanding duties. Moreover, they are not hesitant to recognise it. It has been shown earlier in this thesis that translators are better educated than court interpreters. Therefore, it is to be expected that only a few of them will report that they face difficulties. Difficulties in translation and interpreting seem to be independent of the level of education attained by an individual. The very nature of translation and interpreting make them difficult tasks. It should be noted, however, that the type of difficulties encountered by translators/interpreters varies in degree and size. Although both trained and untrained translators/interpreters report facing difficulties, there is a difference in:

- the type of difficulties
- the level of difficulties
- the frequency of difficulty occurrence

- reasons accounting for the difficulties
- mechanisms and strategies for coping with the difficulties.

Speech production speed, for example, can be a challenge for both trained and untrained interpreters, but for the untrained interpreter the lack of familiarity with subject matter or the tendency to focus on words rather than focusing on meaning can increase the challenge.

2.2 Type of difficulties encountered

It therefore becomes interesting to examine the type of problems that court interpreters meet. Many difficulties are encountered by translators and interpreters either in health care institutions or in courts of law. All these difficulties inform us of the potential training aspects that need to be addressed. As for court interpreters, here are some of the challenges they meet on a daily basis:

- language-related problems

Price of Wynberg declares, *'Because there is a difference between English and Xhosa, sometimes I do not find Xhosa words to express certain concepts'*.

Certain English words do not have a Xhosa equivalent and *vice versa*. It can be expected that the English worldview will not find a perfect match in the Xhosa society. The idea carried by a single noun in one language can only be expressed either by an adjective or a pronoun or even a verb in another. Sometimes a single noun may necessitate a sentence-long explanation in the other language, e.g. the word 'ecology' is translated in Fischer's English- Xhosa dictionary as *imfundo ngezinto eziphilileyo malunga nerudawo eziphila kuyo*. These are not issues limited to the English-Xhosa interpreting, but are universal. Apart from the lack of vocabulary correspondence across languages, other language-related problems identified are located only within a specific language, yet they can affect the quality of interpreting if one is not careful. These include language variations, idioms, slang, euphemisms, metaphors, homophones or homonyms. There can be a relation between certain language-related problems and work experience. Some interpreters, for example, stated that one of the problems they have is that of coming across new words. At the beginning, the number of new words or concepts may be considerable. As one gains experience and increases his body of knowledge, this problem may be eased.

- problems related to the attitude of the participants

Sadique of Wynberg says, *'Sometimes the accused doesn't understand, when I further explain, the magistrate thinks that we are arguing or chatting. He gets angry'*.

It has been noticed that first time offenders or witnesses who appear in court for the first time can feel confused because they do not understand the procedures or the role of the different court officials, or simply because they are too pre-occupied by the outcome of their case. Accused people also tend to dismiss any query which they think will not lead to their immediate release. An example is when I was interpreting in a case where the accused was pleading to the interpreter that he should be granted bail. Even though the accused had proper representation, an interpreter's attempt to plead for the accused would be considered as interference. On the other hand the accused could think that the interpreter was not supporting him. In such a case, the accused could develop a negative attitude towards the interpreter. The participants' attitudes may take many forms, including the following:

- a) attorney's insisting to the interpreter that the case must be won. Thus he must interpret in a manner that favours the interests of that specific attorney
- b) accused too stressed or nervous, thus affecting his conduct towards the bench or other officials
- c) the parties become rude to the interpreter or rude to each other
- d) Defendants/plaintiff can purposely irritate the interpreter by challenging the accuracy of his interpreting.

Maduna, of Goodwood Magistrates' Court, reported a situation where he withdrew from court because a schoolteacher appearing in court on charges of malicious damage to state property had decided to conduct his own defence in Xhosa and not in English. However, after almost every interpretation of his declaration into English, he protested that it was not what he had said and provided what he thought was an accurate rendition of his own declaration. Maduna requested to be released; arguing that the teacher's multiple interruptions meant he had reasonable knowledge of English. Moreover, he was answering questions before they had been interpreted for him into Xhosa. On these grounds, the interpreter was released whilst the accused was obliged to use English. The teacher protested that his rights to be tried in the language of his choice or preference had been infringed. In actual fact one can be prosecuted in the language he understands even if it is not his preferred language.

The negative attitude of different interlocutors in court brings with it other related problems. For example, to best serve the interests of justice, when the interpreter does not understand, he should ask the speaker to repeat a sentence. Some magistrates or prosecutors do not like to do this, and it becomes a very embarrassing situation. There are also cases where professional relations get affected. For example, certain interpreters may resist interpreting in a certain court because the working relationship with a specific court official is not healthy. On the other hand, prosecutors or magistrates may resent working with a specific interpreter. The avoidance may continue as long as there are enough interpreters to be replaced, but, in times of staff shortages, this becomes difficult. More serious difficulties occur in small courts where there are only two or three interpreters for an equal number of courts.

- procedural problems

Vuka of Wynberg comments, *'Sometimes we find problems because the docket was not presented to the interpreter'*.

Prosecutors or detectives tend to resist every interpreter's attempt to look at the docket before the court proceedings. They think that an interpreter cannot have access to a classified docket, without divulging secret information. Although the interpreters' code of conduct binds them to professional behaviour which includes secrecy, most of the detectives are still not comfortable. Interpreters working in the South African Police Services have also reported similar situations. Interpreters in Parliament have also reported several cases where they were required to interpret sophisticated speeches such as the President's address or the Minister of Finance's budget speech; without being given the text, because seemingly there is an embargo on such speeches.

It was reported that a number of prosecutors are willing to let an interpreter look at the docket, but often do not have time. Other prosecutors think it mere pretension that leads interpreters to want to 'poke their nose in matters that are not theirs' when all they are supposed to do is simply interpret. At Wynberg court, for example, the idea was discussed and approved but, in practice, interpreters are not given access to the dockets. Other procedural problems include the fact that the Presiding Officer, in consultation with the Prosecutor and the defence attorney, can arrange a date of appearance for a specific case.

If the three of them agree, the interpreter is left out of the decision-making process. The idea is that the interpreter must just comply with the decision; if the interpreter is not available on the arranged date, he/she will be replaced, even though the new interpreter may not be familiar with the case. Such a situation can give rise to various problems affecting the quality of interpreting. It is recommended that the same interpreter should interpret a case from the day of first appearance to the end. There have been some cases where the court had to adjourn because an interpreter with a specific language combination could not be found. There are also cases where court proceedings resume earlier than scheduled, and the interpreter has to hastily 'jump on a train in motion'.

- problems of competence

Mokoena of Athlone states, *'I don't know much about court interpreting, I have attended no course'*.

An incompetent interpreter can cause endless problems in court. He/she can constitute a major threat to the rights of the accused. He/she can jeopardise the entire process. Mokoena, for example, links his lack of capacity to the fact that he is not trained as a court interpreter. But there are other aspects to the incompetence, as can be seen in the following case.

The issue of competence hit the headlines recently. In the Pretoria News, 4 February 2004, Lucas Moloto, Chief Interpreter at The Pretoria Magistrates' Court declined to interpret for Brooker Nhantsi, a non-Afrikaans speaking State Prosecutor. The high profile trial involved *inter alia* 20 witnesses, seven accused, defence attorneys and defence lawyers, all of whom were Afrikaans-speaking. Moloto, not wanting to take responsibility for possible misunderstandings, simply stated that interpreters were trained to interpret official languages but they were not trained to interpret legal arguments for legal people. While interpreters felt comfortable interpreting for the accused, they felt uncomfortable with the idea of interpreting for the lawyers, attorneys and prosecutor arguing matters of law amongst themselves.

Field knowledge becomes a necessity in this case. It is normal that certain interpreters may feel more competent in Forensic Medicine, others in Accounting and even others in religious matters. Under normal circumstances interpreters should not be forced to work in a domain where they feel incompetent. But the system is set in such a way that, sometimes, court interpreting is simply used as a ploy so that one is not accused of prosecuting and sentencing citizens unconstitutionally i.e. with no interpreter, whereas it may be well known to the bench, the prosecution and other court officials that the interpreter is incompetent. They are forced to work with limited human resources. Should they tolerate the situation hoping that practice will render the interpreter perfect in due course? It should not be forgotten that interpreting requires both innate dispositions and skills that may be learned. Practice alone is incapable of improving a bad interpreter. Magistrates and prosecutors working in such situations probably comfort themselves with the idea that even if fair judgement is not rendered, they have attempted to provide fair justice. Fairness is therefore viewed as an unattainable ideal. The attempt in itself seems to be a worthwhile endeavour even if the end result is simply an approximation of fair justice.

- knowledge-related problems

Linda of Mitchells Plain declares, *'I find problems with legal words especially those in Latin'*.

Court interpreters complain that their limited knowledge is always put to the test in court. One person interprets for a large variety of people in a large variety of cases. It may be easy to interpret in arraignment, verdict, or first appearances, but it is challenging to interpret for full trial in criminal matters, especially when it involves interpreting experts' reports. Most of the time, it is when subject knowledge is required that Court interpreters' lack of knowledge is exposed. The interpreters stated the knowledge-related problem differently, many expressed it as "difficulty to understand a new or difficult word or phrase". Others said that they had found difficulty in understanding a particular word or phrase. Other interpreters like Matela of the Mitchells Plain Magistrates' Court said, *'I find it difficult to interpret something that I do not understand.'*

- problems of voice projection

Nelson of Athlone complains, *'Sometimes the prosecutor speaks with a soft voice'*.

Female prosecutors are reputed to have soft voices, some male prosecutors too. Should they force nature? Maybe the answer should be *yes* due to the fact that the work they do involves public speaking. Voice projection and voice quality play a crucial role. Using a casual tone, pitch or intonation may render information inaudible to the interpreter. The problem also affects others in court.

Soft voices pose a serious problem to the interpreters. Often people appearing in court as an accused, defendant or witness feel intimidated by the court environment, and then tend to speak with soft voices. In other cases, it is often court officials who speak fast with soft voices. It was observed in some instances that an accused person used a soft voice as strategy to relinquish responsibility over his declaration, in a bid to maximize chances of getting a lighter sentence. This strategy forces the interpreter to speak on behalf of the accused person. The implication is that if the interpreter is in full support of the accused, he will - based on his knowledge of court proceedings - tell a version of the story, which he knows may bring a desirable outcome for the accused. If the interpreter remains neutral, the accused will feel relieved as he may view the punishment of his crime as shared between himself and the interpreter, in the sense that he will retain the possibility of blaming the interpreter for not being able to interpret accurately what the accused said. In other cases, soft voices are used because the accused perceives court proceedings as a redundant procedure. The repetitive nature of questions asked can contribute to this. It happens that a defence attorney or defence lawyer together with the interpreter can question a detainee in the prison cell. A few minutes or a few hours later, the same type of questions is asked either by the bench or the prosecutor. While the information may be new to the prosecutor, for example, the accused may wonder why the same questions are being asked when he has already provided the information. The accused may think that the interpreter is fooling him. Thus he will use a soft voice, or even murmur something like, *'Just tell them what I told you in the cell.'*

- rendition problems

Masondo of Bishop Lavis declares, *'I have a soft voice but the court officials insist that I must shout. I cannot.'* Masondo acknowledges her problem. She knows what is expected of her as a court interpreter. It is difficult to work with an interpreter whose voice is soft because, legally speaking, it is the interpreter's declaration which is used as evidence. The original statement has no bearing on the outcome of the case. In a case where recording is needed, the interpreter's voice is the only one that will be recorded and considered for any court decision. Some interpreters stand as obstacles to the very process that they are called to facilitate. Moreover, a voice which is not audible enough can irritate some court officials. In all fairness to Masondo, she said that she was aware of all the potential problems that could result from such a situation, so she had written to the Department of Justice requesting to be redeployed elsewhere in the department. She thought she would be better off if she could work in an office. The reply she got showed that they wanted her to continue to work in the same position, probably because of the shortage of interpreters at the court to which she was attached.

- emotional problems

Masondo stated that she sometimes feels emotionally disturbed by the horrific stories of gruesome crimes that she hears in court. It often takes days for her to recover and come back to her senses. She even started shedding tears as she was still talking to me. She added that some human beings can be very cruel even for petty problems that can easily be resolved.

- memory problems

Jonas of Goodwood says, *'Sometimes you just happen to forget a word at the wrong time'*.

Four other interpreters of different courts indicated that there were times when their memories failed them. Memory problems do occur in court; a Xhosa mother tongue interpreter stated that he tended to forget certain Afrikaans words. Another interpreter named Julia told me that she once failed to remember a certain word during a trial. She kept thinking about it for hours. She finally remembered the word late that night, and felt a sense of happiness.

It was as if she had got in harmony with herself in body, soul and spirit, but then she felt disappointed because the trial was finished. Many interpreters and even some translators can identify with Julia's story. It should be noted, however, that an external observer could hardly state that Julia misinterpreted because she had forgotten a particular word or sentence. This may be the reason why problems of memories do not receive the type of attention they deserve. They are hard to detect or discern. They can only be spotted through inner observation (introspection).

According to Gregory (1987:264-265), storage loss, retrieval failure and encoding deficiency are the three possible reasons of forgetting i.e. relevant information may have been lost from the storage system of the brain, failure may occur in the process of retrieving the stored information and finally there may be lack of sufficient information to differentiate between the wanted and the unwanted information. Certain diseases, conditions or treatment can prevent recall from occurring. Among the conditions that may facilitate forgetting for court interpreters, one can mention stress, hunger, fatigue. However, apart from certain drugs, there are principles and techniques that can facilitate the storing and retrieval of information from memory.

Court interpreting and health care interpreting form part of community interpreting. An examination of health care interpreting difficulties can shed light on difficulties associated with community interpreting in general and even court interpreting to some extent. Health care interpreters can identify with many of the problems discussed above. Their answers to the question denote that they mainly see three sources of difficulties, the patient, the health care practitioner and the language. However, the patient is perceived as the chief source of trouble. Here are some of the problems that the interpreters identified in this respect. Some patients resist giving, or deliberately hide, certain information. There are cases where a patient becomes shocked or stressed because of some news so that he develops 'selective listening', which makes it difficult for the interpreter to make him understand. Some patients avoid taboo words or they don't talk distinctly (clearly), so the interpreter has to be forceful. It is a myth to think that, because the message is interpreted into someone's mother tongue, the person will readily understand it. Certain patients do not understand some information even though it is their mother tongue.

Monica of Red Cross Hospital reported a situation where she was asked by the doctor to obtain telephonically the parent's consent for a child's operation. The parent said there was no problem if it would help the child to get better. Unfortunately, after the operation the doctor told the interpreter in coded terms that the child did not get off the operation table (i.e. the child did not survive.) The parent was angry with the interpreter and threatened to take both the interpreter and the doctor to court.

In the court environment, it is not unusual to see parties hold a grudge against the interpreter for the outcome of the case. Problems associated with health care professionals are not limited to speech speed, intonation and certain phrase structuring. Sometimes doctors think that the interpreter can convey a message about a person's death to the family better than the doctor can, because the interpreter and the family share the same cultural background. I think it is a mistake to do so since the interpreter may not have counseling skills, or knowledge of clinical psychology. The responsibility of breaking bad news must remain with the doctor, the social worker or any other relevant health care practitioner. Imagine a situation whereby the court interpreter is asked to inform an accused person about the court sentence in the absence of the magistrate. A closer examination of court interpreting and health care interpreting seems to indicate a parallel between the accused and the patient. On the other side, the pair prosecutor-magistrate can be paralleled to the pair doctor-nurse.

2.3 Strategies for problem solving

In an attempt to find out how court interpreters solve the various problems they encounter, respondents were asked the following question:

Question 39: 'If you lack some [translation tools], where do you find the information that you need?'

The answers that court interpreters provided to this question indicate that the preferred strategy for finding information consists of asking fellow court interpreters who are considered the most valuable assets of information storage. The first strategy is peer consultation. Preference for this route also indicates that there is a strong solidarity among court interpreters with information-sharing.

This solidarity is also forced by closeness; in most of the courts, many interpreters are crammed together in a small office. If interpreters often refer to their colleagues, it may be because of reasons of accessibility. It may be more difficult to access a magistrate to ask him a question. Some magistrates seem to make themselves unavailable to petty court officials, preferring to develop bonds with fellow magistrates.

There is a benefit in interpreters' solidarity. Training an interpreter may result in improvement to the entire body of interpreters. However, sub-standard knowledge levels may lead to the stagnation of the entire group. The second strategy consists of directing enquiries to the prosecutor, the third strategy consists of attempting to solve a language problem by using written sources, and the fourth consists of asking the magistrate (most probably a friendly magistrate). Can it be ascertained that the hierarchical order provided corresponds to the hierarchy of knowledge power? Can it be that when the degree of difficulty is low, the interpreter will refer the problem/question to a fellow interpreter and that when the problem is perceived as very difficult the interpreter will then refer it to the magistrate? Although this may be possible, it can hardly be sustained, as readiness to enquire from someone depends on the degree of affinity that an interpreter may have developed with a magistrate. It was observed that court interpreters have a considerable degree of affinity with court orderlies or other clerical staff. Yet none of the respondents indicated getting terminological problems resolved by inquiring from the last category. We may conclude that the classification of strategies may denote knowledge hierarchy and the degree of affinity. The two are intertwined in a complex relationship.

With translators, the preferred strategy to get information consists of searching in written sources. The written sources include library material and the Internet. The second preferred strategy consists of asking fellow translators either by telephone or by using the Internet-based discussion fora like ZALang. The third strategy consists of directing the query to people who are experts in a specific domain. The translator who works almost in isolation seems to find it more convenient to conduct a solitary search or research. This implies that he considers the written material as the bastion of knowledge and therefore tends to develop higher affinity with written resources.

Can it be said that the string of preference (Written material – Fellow translators – Experts) is consonant with knowledge possession hierarchy? It is hard to say, but convenience seems to be another possible explanation. Solidarity among translators was hampered by the inconvenience of distance. Now, thanks to modern technology, distance limitations are being overcome.

2.4 Training needs deriving from the difficulties encountered

Resulting from the difficulties discussed above, we can conclude that training efforts must be carried out at three levels i.e. the general public, the court officials and the court interpreter:

- training of the general public

The general public needs to be educated about court proceedings. This training can use mass media to raise awareness. The awareness campaign should reflect the realities of South African courts where the majority of cases are tried with the assistance of an interpreter.

- the training of other court officials

The fact that various court officials work in the same environment as a court interpreter does not necessarily mean that they understand the dynamics or the value of court interpreting. Magistrates, prosecutors, lawyers, court clerks and other officials in the judiciary need to be trained on how to work better with interpreters. For many years efforts have been put into training court interpreters on how to discharge their duties efficiently. Yet without the understanding and co-operation of other court officials, the interpreter is bound to fail. Training of court officials can be carried out in various forms. It can be integrated in the curriculum of law school or in the curriculum of prosecutors' training at Justice College, or even in seminars where various officials gather.

- the training of court interpreters

The difficulties discussed above indicate that the training of court interpreters should encompass many aspects. Areas of training as they emerged in my research, without setting them in order of priority, are: language enhancement, field-specific knowledge, interpreting procedures, attitude management, interpreters' rights and privileges, listening skills, voice health and voice training, debriefing, and memory.

a) language enhancement

There occurred a need to improve each of the languages that the interpreter possesses. Particular attention should be devoted to idiomatic expressions, slang, metaphors, problematic syntactic structures, lexicon, register and lexical items.

b) field-specific knowledge

Provision of field-specific knowledge may focus on medical, legal, economic or religious terminology.

c) interpreting procedures

The interpreter should be aware of the procedures and decide when it is most appropriate to use paraphrase, for example, instead of a descriptive, cultural or functional equivalent.

d) attitude management

Attitude management deals with information and discussion of issues such as how to deal with apathy whether from the bench, the accused or from peers, how to handle misunderstandings resulting from language use or the interpreting process. The term 'misunderstanding' implies that either the interpreter can misunderstand or be misunderstood.

e) interpreters' rights and privileges

These include duties, rights, privileges and steps that should be taken when, for example, privileges are denied.

f) listening skills

The court interpreter works in an imperfect environment in so far as acoustic norms are concerned. Training should include exercises that challenge his auditory capacities *via* the inclusion of distractive noises in a normal ear-voice span sequence. It is also known that accents, voice tones, and voice quality vary from one person to the other. Interpreters should be trained to listen to and interpret accurately for any person even when that person uses unusual voice patterns. The interpreters must also be provided with guidelines to cope in problematic cases.

g) voice health and voice training

The voice is an essential tool for every interpreter. Voice can be trained. Certain qualities should be found in a court interpreter's voice. Some have these qualities as innate talents, others need thorough training to acquire them. There is need for training in voice production and voice health. Certain habits and diets can damage an interpreter's voice. Voice projection and speech articulation are other elements that need to be addressed. Knowledge on these issues can be gathered from various fields including: Phonetics and Phonology, Logopaedics, Speech Therapy, Performing Arts and Rhetoric.

h) debriefing

Court interpreters need psychological assistance to counter the aftermath of depressing stories that they hear and interpret. One of the ways they deal with the problem is by sharing the stories or discussing them with other interpreters. Although this practice gives them some relief, the comfort they receive from peers cannot equate to an expert's advice on the matter. It is important that court interpreters undertake, regularly, psychological counselling where they can discuss with a psychologist either individually or in small groups of interpreters.

i) memory

The training of court interpreters puts an emphasis on memory training. This section refers to some literature to discuss a little deeper the issue of memory. Here are some suggestions that can be useful for court interpreters and their trainers. The suggestions are discussed under the themes of mental effort, muscular stimulation, mind stimulating environment, repletion and other memory exercises. There seems to be a need to comment a little further on the issue of memory as South African literature on court interpreting does not cover it satisfactorily.

2.5 Focus on memory

Memory and mental effort

The term 'memory' in this thesis refers to the processes of information storage and retrieval (Bell 1995:199). However the emphasis is put on information retrieval. According to Bell, there are three types/levels of memory systems, each with its specific storage system:

- reception, filtering, storage and initial processing of information by the sensory information systems (SIS)
- final analysis and short-term storage and second filtering of the data by the short-term memory system (STM)
- accessing the long-term memory-system (LTM) and integrating new information within the long-term memory database.

The long-term memory system plays three major roles. It outlines episodic and conceptual memories, it codes data for storage and it permits stored data to be retrieved from the database. Episodic memory refers to records of one's own experience ("What happened to me?") (Bell 1995: 255). Conceptual memory is also called 'semantic memory' or 'reference memory'. It is the memory for meanings, which reflects the inherent patterns of the organisation of knowledge (Bell 1995: 256). The process of information retrieval comprises three main stages, stage one, dealing with pre-processing of a specific request, Stage two, dealing with database accessing and Stage three dealing with finding the answer (Bell 1995: 231-264). At any of these stages, the process of data retrieval can be abandoned if there is not sufficient motivation for the mind to continue the search. On the other hand, the mind can be stimulated to further the search beyond an initial answer.

Seleskovitch (2002) tells of an experience that happened to her. She had forgotten a word while interpreting in a conference but fortunately for Seleskovitch, she remembered the exact word a few minutes later. She was even able to find a gap and insert the appropriate word in the interpreting session. Seleskovitch argues that the interpreter's tendency to apply less mental effort explains why he resorts to literal translation instead of mentally searching for the most appropriate term.

Court interpreters are advised to search deeper within their minds for the most precise term rather than using stereotypical and formulaic language. Mental effort is important for the production of more accurate terms and memory enhancement. It trains the mind to provide a specific word when the interpreter wants it (i.e. the voluntary motor act of word production). Certain procedural arrangements can have a harmful effect on the court interpreter's mind productivity. I noticed in one of the courts that Mr Kumba was always in court number six which deals with first appearances. In that court the magistrate just read the charges, asked the accused how he/she wanted to conduct his/her defence and he set the date and place of the next appearance. This environment is not challenging enough because data are easy to interpret and so are the charges. The same type of charges are repeated in various cases (i.e. rape, theft of motor vehicle or malicious damage of state property), so the Chief Interpreter must ensure that the court interpreters rotate so as to cover the largest variety of cases. If this arrangement is explained to the Court Interpreters, they would be compelled to challenge their memories and may produce better results.

Muscular stimulation

It is suggested that if one cannot remember, she/he can stimulate the muscles by moving the eyes left-right for 20 seconds. That will stimulate the frontal-lobe areas, which are important for retrieving memories in both brain hemispheres. This is just one example of a physiological exercise that can be useful for court interpreters. Experts in neurology, physiology and mnemotechnics should be called upon to help with the training.

Mind stimulating environment

In all the courts that I visited, I noticed that the court interpreters tend to be somehow isolated from the other court officials. Although this sort of fraternisation can create a comfortable environment, it can be dangerous because they need to be surrounded by active minds presenting new ideas. Court interpreters need to feel assertive enough to approach senior court officials and engage in challenging discussions. For this to happen, the Department of Justice could organise discussion forums where officials can meet to discuss interesting intellectual topics. The tendency of interpreters to huddle together in one corner is not purely South African (Hurdiss-Jones 1989: 159).

Repetition

It may be helpful for court interpreters to learn bilingual lists of words by repetition. Underwood (2001:30-31) argues in favour of repetition as a memorisation technique. Unlike traditional beliefs that tend to think that repetition leads to effortless recall, Underwood posits that when we try to remember, we engage in rather complicated operations. The success of recall depends on the number of times the information has been repeated and how well the information is organised and structured. Henderson (1999:72-74) argues that forgetting occurs either because the memory trace fades or because some traces interfere with the retrieval of others. It can be argued, however, that repetition has the benefit of actualising specific knowledge to the mind and thus precludes the mind from forgetting.

Memory exercises

Kornakov (2000) suggests some self-training exercises that can challenge the brain. The exercises can be clustered in different levels of difficulty.

- Level 1: Go along the street and repeat all the cars number plates in L1.
- Level 2: Try to repeat the car number plates in L1 and L2.
- Level 3: Try to repeat the car number plates and the colour in L1.
- Level 4: Try to repeat the car number plates and the colour in L1 and L2.
- Level 5: Try to repeat the car number plate and the colours and the makes in L1.
- Level 6: Try to repeat the car number plate and the colour and the make in L1 and L2.
- Level 7: Try to remember the number of cars by make, by colour and recall the car number plate.

Court interpreters may keep to the same principle but do the exercise with dockets. They can try to repeat, then to recall the name of the accused or defendant, the docket number and the charges. It was observed during court proceedings that court interpreters make no effort to repeat the docket numbers, neither do they interpret it. Yet the reading of the docket number (case number) is the starting point of every court proceeding.

2.6 Conclusion

The examination of difficulties has allowed a classification of problems that court interpreters meet. This classification should not be considered as a dogmatic or absolute one, but only as an attempt to group similar problems in a cluster. In fact, a closer examination of the clusters can suggest that certain clusters overlap, because the difficulties they include can be either a cause or a consequence of problems discussed in a separate cluster. However, it is possible to provide a general view of the main tendencies of problems that court interpreters face. Apart from the difficulties, another useful avenue for the investigation of interpreters' training needs may consist of an examination of the duties that court interpreters are expected to fulfil.

VL3 Duties and perceived roles of court interpreters

3.1 Court interpreters' job description and duties

An understanding of the duties performed by court interpreters can begin with the examination of the court interpreter's job description. Yet this is often far removed from the reality experienced in various courts. In order to complement the information included therein, the researcher supplemented the job description with information obtained telephonically from two senior interpreters, one stationed at Wynberg and the other at Goodwood. The observation of interpreters' activities at the various courts also contributes to the discussion.

Most court interpreters see their duties as being two-fold:

- do interpretation work
- write charge sheets for court record books.

A few interpreters were resentful about the second task saying that it is the duty of clerks that is being forced upon them. They thought that their task stops at interpreting in court. It is not clear what they based their belief on. An attempt to get an official document on their job description was inconclusive both at court level and the provincial office of the Department of Justice.

The Principal Court Interpreter at Cape Town Magistrates' Court did not want to tender any written document. He referred the researcher to the provincial office but the Head of Recruitment was a newly appointed person who stated that he was not familiar with the files, so could not provide the information. He thought that people at Justice College would have the information. Mr Fundi, a senior interpreter at Wynberg, said that he did not want to submit any written document, but that he was more than willing to provide the information verbally. For any written document he referred the researcher to Human Resource Management, but the person in charge there declared she did not have the information at hand. She promised to search for it and send it later, but failed to. Mr Fundi spelled out the duties of the court interpreter as follows:

The court interpreter's duties consist of a) interpreting in court, b) writing cases in the court book, c) taking the book to the clerk in the district court, d) filing the book in the rural areas.

It appears from this description that the main duties are a) and b). The two last depend on the situation. Mr Lundi, a senior interpreter at Goodwood Magistrates' Court, declared that he knew the duties of the court interpreters but, for any documentation, one had to refer to the provincial office. He spelled out the duties of the court interpreter as follows:

The court interpreter is expected to a) write/review administrative letters b) send and collect letters, c) deposit and withdraw cash from the bank d) deal with application and review of applications for identity documents and various grants e) fill and file of court case documents, f) the interpreter is expected to interpret for all the parties, that is, the magistrate or the presiding officer, the prosecutor, the witness, the defence attorney, the accused and the court orderlies.

The information that Mr Lundi provided seems incompatible with that contained in the documents obtained from Justice College. However, these documents suggest that there are different occupational categories in what is generically known as 'court interpreter'. The table hereafter provides the various levels and associated duties.

Table 6.3: Court interpreters' task schedule

POSTS	LEVEL	DUTIES
Court Interpreter Senior Court Interpreter	Level 2-3 Level 4-6	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> a) Do interpreting work b) Do elementary clerical work when the court is not in session c) Keep court records up to date d) Clean recording equipment
Principal Court Interpreter	Level 7	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> a) Control and supervise court interpreters in bigger centres b) Train court interpreters (in-service training) c) Attend to personnel administrative aspects d) Do interpretation in special cases when necessary e) Ensure that court interpreters clean recording equipment.
Inspector of Interpreter	Level 8	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> a) Control and supervise court interpreters in a region b) Plan and draft tour programs, obtain authorization thereof, execute them and report on them. c) Write inspection reports on every station d) Evaluate court interpreters in conjunction with magistrates concerned. e) Check interpreter register f) Arrange and present court interpretation courses g) Conduct language test of applicants h) Attend to personnel administrative aspects
Chief Inspector of Interpreters	Level 9	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> a) Control court interpreting function on a countrywide basis b) Draft lectures for court interpretation courses c) Translate lectures - d) Check tour plans and examine inspection reports e) Attend and evaluate training courses presented by Inspectors of Interpreters f) Recommend court interpreters for special trials g) Attend to personnel administrative aspects.

Based on Internal Memorandum (2002:3-5)

Apart from the duties described above, court interpreters perform other duties. It was observed at Goodwood Court that members of the public approached the interpreters with various inquiries.

Non-English speaking members of the public tend to feel more comfortable with the interpreters as they speak the same language. It was also noticed that some attorneys or lawyers referred to the interpreters for advice on how to handle a specific case. In hospitals, trainee doctors also refer to the nurses or the interpreters for advice on specific issues. Some court interpreters have provided emotional support to accused persons, witnesses and members of their families, especially in cases that involved domestic violence, rape or child abuse. The magistrates and prosecutors are often distant with members of the public. Apart from the defence lawyer or attorney, the interpreter seems to be the only court official readily available to listen to personal matters after a court session.

The Internal Memorandum (2002) of Justice College stipulated other tasks that the court interpreter should do. Court interpreters act as mediators between the accused, or witnesses, and the people in authority. The mediation appears in two forms: Interpreters can supply accused persons with some vital information, for example, relating to legal representation and court procedures. Interpreters can also facilitate the task of magistrates or prosecutors by attending to such issues as enquiring about language preferences, which the presiding officer may overlook.

The memorandum also noted that court interpreters are utilised by some provincial government offices either to interpret hearings or to translate documents. Moreover, in some offices, court interpreters remand cases, hear bail applications, and prosecute minor cases such as domestic violence cases. Court interpreters sometimes deal with the administration of estates, maintenance payments, admission of guilt and legal aid applications.

3.2 The duties of health care interpreters

The job description and duties of a court interpreter portray him as 'servant' of the court, a person expected to observe and discharge the duties bestowed upon him either by the other court officials or members of the public.

He is to comply and be familiar with the system. He is not expected to challenge it. This is the complete opposite of the duties of a health care interpreter as shown in the job description of the Groote Schuur Hospital.

The health care interpreter of this hospital is expected to discharge a number of duties that include, *'To take appropriate action and ensure that the patient receives appropriate service and that the health care providers understand the needs of the patient.'*

This responsibility requires the health care interpreters to challenge, denounce and expose discriminatory or culturally insensitive behaviour on the part of the health care provider. The health care interpreter is in a sense a watchdog, not just a mere facilitator of a verbal interaction. This function may contribute to the respectful behaviour that he receives from the health care practitioners.

The generic description of his job is as follows:

'To facilitate communication between the Xhosa speaking and non-Xhosa speaking health care providers by offering interpreting services and also to ensure that the Xhosa-speaking patient obtains appropriate health care and service.'

One may wish that court interpreters take responsibility to ensure that speakers of African languages obtain the same access and provision of justice. The generic job description is extended by a number of duties that are expected from the health care interpreter, both in and out of the consulting room. Outside the consulting room, the health care interpreter is expected to perform the following duties:

- to keep records of work done with detailed information of problem areas
- to present weekly reports in both written and oral form
- to attend weekly in-service education sessions
- to help with social problems, which may arise whilst the patient is attending the health care facility
- to prepare proposals for submission to the management of health care facility in conjunction with the coordinator/director.

Tasks a), b) and c) in the court interpreter's task schedule in Table 6.3 focus on the professional development of the interpreter. The record of information on problem areas allows a fair idea of the interpreter's assessment and improvement. Moreover, if this were to be applied to the court situation, it would allow a record of most frequent problems and ways that they have been dealt with.

Task d), which also happens to be fulfilled by certain court interpreters, is hereby acknowledged. It appears that the interpreter needs to be trained for writing skills, oral production skills applied to the delivery of seminar type of production, as well as some notions of social work.

In the consultation room, the health care interpreter is expected to perform two major duties:

- a) to facilitate communication between the Xhosa-speaking and the non-Xhosa-speaking parties
- b) to interpret for Xhosa-speaking patients in their interactions with the health care providers in accordance with the code of practice.

In the consultation room the interpreter mainly plays the role of 'interpreter'. Some of the duties that are expected from the interpreter cannot be restricted to the consultation room, but cover a larger spectrum. These duties include:

- a) to identify needs of the Xhosa-speaking patients in respect of health care services
- b) to advise patients in respect of health care services
- c) to advise patients of their rights and choices in regard to health care
- d) to assist with counselling when necessary
- e) to observe confidentiality at all times
- f) to function effectively within a multidisciplinary health team
- g) to assist with health promotion (e.g. give appropriate health message to patients, assist with directions of taking medication or referrals.)

These duties show that the health care interpreters are expected to play many roles, they seem to be more oriented towards meeting the public's demands, while court interpreters seem to be more engaged with administrative duties within the department. This calls for an interest in understanding how language practitioners view their roles in the multilingual South Africa (Question 56).

3.3 Role

The definition of a role leads to the acceptance of certain duties and the rejection of others. The perception of one's role may also create expectations in the terms of training needs that can best help fulfil the roles. The examination of court interpreters' answers suggests that they view themselves as very important assets in the multilingual South Africa because of the country's cultural diversity and its opening to the international market.

Court interpreters view their role mainly as that of 'helping'. The idea of helping is associated with people who are different stakeholders in court discourse. Each type of person is associated with a specific kind of help. For example, the help to 'unlearned' people is viewed both as of linguistic nature and that of helping them understand the court procedures. Some interpreters tend to associate lack of formal education with a specific language community i.e. that which excludes speakers of Afrikaans and English. Helping illiterate people is also understood not only as linguistic or procedural mediation but also as literacy brokerage. The court interpreter covers a literacy gap between court officials who possess power associated with high forms of literacies, and the 'other' accused or witness. Some other court interpreters view their role as that of helping not only illiterate people but also helping monolingual people or people who speak different languages. The term 'helping' has different layers of meaning. The different variants include the protection of the accused person's rights, assisting the magistrate, facilitating communication in the court room, being the mouthpiece of the court, solving communication problems and allowing the court to function in accordance with the requirements of the constitution, with special reference to freedom of expression. These roles call for the court interpreter to be equipped with the knowledge of interpreting as well as interpersonal and communication skills.

Health care interpreters use the term 'helping' with specific reference to 'helping mothers, trainee doctors and doctors'. Other meanings associated with the term include:

to ease life for patients, to break language barriers, allow the doctor to get more information, assist patients to know their rights, bridge the gap between different languages, cultures and races as well as discourage patients from relying on neighbours for interpreting.

There is, however, an important element that marks the difference in the way court and health care interpreters view their role and presence. One health care interpreter noted that the presence of the interpreter in the health care institution marks the end of the apartheid regime as in those days the doctor never bothered whether the patient or the patient's caregivers understood what he was saying or doing. Although, this declaration seems to be an over-generalisation, it does contain some element of truth, especially truth related to the perception of court interpreters. None among the court and health care interpreters signalled that they participated in enhancing the status of African languages or that they contributed to the move towards the most awaited standardisation of African languages. The idea linking interpreting to the integration of South Africa in the international market was also missing.

3.4 Training needs arising from duties and roles

The examination of the duties of court interpreters indicates that the borders of their duties are undefined. No curriculum can easily train a court interpreter to fulfil all the possible duties that have been spelled out above. An indication of training needs to cover all of an interpreter's duties including the ability to interpret, the ability to conduct administrative or clerical duties efficiently, and the ability to stand up to many social challenges. Moreover the training should be geared towards two groups of court interpreters:

- 1) Level 7-9 i.e. Principal Court Interpreter, Inspector of Court Interpreter and Chief Inspector of Court Interpreters.

2) Level 2 –6 i.e. Court Interpreters and Senior Court Interpreters

The training of the first group will have to focus on the following aspects:

- human resource management
- advanced interpreting skills
- teaching skills
- assessment skills
- advanced administration skills
- notions of Civil and Criminal Justice with emphasis on law practice and prosecution.

The task of the court interpreters and the senior court interpreters is almost the same, except that the senior court interpreter coordinates issues pertaining to the assignment of court interpreters to different courts. In view of the duties that they deliver, their training should include these elements:

- writing skills
- administrative skills
- financial management
- interpersonal skills
- counselling
- human rights
- notions of translation.

VL4 Stated training needs of court interpreters

4.1 Introduction

The thesis has so far identified various training needs. In most cases the needs were inferred from data provided by respondents or from the various documents that were examined. It was interesting to investigate the value that the language practitioners attached to specific aspects of training.

Question 41: ' For your work as an interpreter, which aspects do you find highly relevant, relevant or and not relevant? Please tick only once in the RELEVANCE column'

Table 6.4: Aspects of Knowledge

ASPECTS OF KNOWLEDGE		RELEVANCE		
		Highly relevant	Relevant	Not relevant
1	Knowledge of the languages			
2	History of translation/interpreting			
3	Theory of translation (school of thought e.g. functionalism)			
4	Translation procedures (literal translation, paraphrase, etc)			
5	Aspects of cultural competence (interaction, cultural information etc)			
6	Mastery of the specialised or technical terms			
7	Theory of machine translation			
8	Practical utilisation of Computer Assisted Translation Tools			
9	Quality Assessment (how to recognise a good translation)			
10	Dubbing (translation of film material)			
11	Use of technical aids for interpreters (sound system equipment etc.)			
12	Text analysis			
13	Localisation (translation and adaptation of computer software packages)			
14	Use of reference material (Dictionary, Encyclopaedia etc.)			
15	Stylistics (metaphors, figure of speech, idioms etc.)			
16	Editing			
17	Ability to conduct research in the field of Translation Studies			
18	Knowledge of the accreditation system			
19	Ethics (code of conduct)			
20	General background knowledge (politics, law economics, science, medicine etc.)			
21	Language variety awareness			
22	Assertiveness (ways of enhancing confidence or self esteem)			
23	Financial management			
24	Business marketing applied to language services			
25	Rhetoric (the art of effective speaking or writing)			
26	Computer skill			
27	Lexicology (study of the form, meaning and behaviour of words)			
28	Listening skills			
29	Other (Specify)			

It could be predicted that court interpreters would identify listening skills as relevant and dubbing as not relevant, but predictions about other aspects could not easily be identified. Moreover, if the same list was given to the employer of court interpreters or to the other beneficiaries of such services, a totally different picture would have emerged.

Table 6.5: Relevant aspects for interpreting

	GROUPS		
	<i>Court interpreters</i>	<i>Health care interpreters</i>	<i>Translators/interpreters</i>
Listening skills	29	9	15
Knowledge of the languages	27	9	14
Language variety awareness	27	7	
Use of reference material (Dictionary, Encyclopaedia etc.)	23		7
Lexicology (study of the form, meaning and behaviour of words)	23		
Rhetoric (the art of effective speaking or writing)	22	5	7
Assertiveness (ways of enhancing confidence or self esteem)	22	5	7
Stylistics (metaphors, figure of speech, idioms etc.)	20	6	11
Ethics (code of conduct)	19	8	9
Use of technical aids for interpreters (sound system equipment, etc)	17		7
Theory of translation (school of thought e.g. functionalism)		5	
Aspects of cultural competence (interaction, cultural information, etc)		7	12
Quality Assessment (how to recognise a good translation)		5	
Text analysis		5	
Translation procedures (literal translation, paraphrase, etc)	-		12
Mastery of the specialised or technical terms	-		9
General background knowledge (politics, law economics, science, medicine etc.)	-		14

Table 6.6: Relevant aspects for translators

	GROUPS	
	<i>Translators</i>	<i>Translator/Interpreters</i>
Knowledge of the languages	35	18
Use of reference material (Dictionary, Encyclopaedia etc.)	32	
Editing	32	
Language variety awareness	29	14
Computer skills	28	
Stylistics (Metaphors, figure of speech, idioms etc.)	27	
Use of technical aids for interpreters (sound system equipment....)	24	16
Mastery of the specialised or technical terms	24	16
Quality Assessment (how to recognise a good translation)	24	12
General background knowledge (Politics, law economics etc)	24	15
Text analysis		15
Stylistics		14
Lexicography		12
Translation procedures (literal translation, paraphrase, etc)		13

The results above show that the choices can be sub-divided into three major categories:

The first category is made up of elements for information reception.

The second category is made up of element for information delivery.

The third category is made up of auxiliary elements.

Court interpreters tend to value reception skills more than production ones. This may account for the fact that listening skills are ranked number one, whilst rhetoric is ranked number four.

4.2 Fundamental issues

Settings and levels of training

The data analysed in the present thesis and the interaction with interpreters at various courts tend to show that interpreters place great interest on training. All the interpreters, regardless of age groups and gender, want to learn more about interpreting and become able to render adequate service to the community. Yet it is well known that educational qualifications vary. The various training scenarios will need to cater for the following groups of interpreters:

1. experienced court interpreters who have no educational qualifications
2. experienced court interpreters with High School certificates
3. experienced interpreters who have tertiary qualifications
4. casual court interpreters.

The training of the first three groups will require mainly English, Afrikaans and other African Languages spoken in South Africa. The training of casual court interpreters will involve foreign languages and languages not spoken in South Africa. The training of all four groups may be understood as 'training' in the sense that it should be geared towards providing them mainly with interpreting skills. Groups 2 and 3 should undergo a full package that comprises the learning of interpreting, training of skills and ability to conduct research in the field of interpreting. The training of skills should be conducted in a manner similar to that of trainee teachers. It should contain both professional practice and in-service training. A joint team made up of teaching staff and an experienced interpreter should carry out supervision work. The teaching staff will be able to give an assessment. The likelihood of students taking it seriously will therefore be greater. On the other hand, experienced interpreters tasked with the supervision of in-service practice may lack the necessary knowledge to carry out adequate assessment or provide the trainees with needed support.

The very qualifications and educational background of interpreters infers that there is a need of *lexi* differentiation for the training of court interpreters i.e. mainstream academic training, short courses and seminars. Each of the programs will have definite objectives and requirements. The overall objectives of training should be:

- 1) to preclude interpreting errors, mistakes and slips
- 2) to address the specific needs of the Department of Justice, both qualitatively and quantitatively
- 3) to address the market needs at large.

Academic training

The content of academic training courses should address both interpreting problems and language problems. Any attempt at language enhancement should be geared towards the solving of specific problems.

One of the questions that some of the interpreters may worry about is that of whether interpreting should be located in the department of language and literature studies. The proponents of this suggestion think that it may be limiting for future career prospects. Thus they suggest that it should be located in the department of communication sciences, as interpreting is more about communication than language. It may be argued that in the absence of a specific department that deals with translation and interpreting studies, the training should be conducted in a language and literature department. However, emphasis should not be on the location *per se*, but on interdisciplinary collaboration.

Diploma level (One Year program)

This level should be made up of course work and professional practice in court.

Degree level content of the program (Two year program)

A year of course work and practice should be followed up with another year in which the candidate will be expected to conduct research and write a dissertation. Such graduate students should be encouraged to select a topic, which has direct relevance to the theory or practice of court interpreting. This is considered one of the meaningful ways to further knowledge and develop better practice of court interpreting.

Short courses and seminars

Although the length may vary, it is still advised that the courses be run under the auspices of a university. The University of Cape Town, for example, may envisage conducting such courses in the Open Learning Centre, formally referred to as Summer School or Winter School. Currently, the University of Stellenbosch Language Centre organises short certificate courses. These certificate courses which last less than a week are now attracting people from all over South Africa. Seminars should be organised on a regular basis. The format should be such that the topic chosen seeks to solve a crucial problem that court interpreters have identified. Experts in relevant fields could address court interpreters on relevant issues. Seminars should be conducted in a manner that allows court interpreters to share with each other challenges and ideas on how they solved a particular problem. Attendance at seminars should be considered as performance criteria.

The trainers

Once the needs have been identified, it is important to reflect on the qualities needed by candidate trainers of court interpreters. A single individual cannot train interpreters on his own. Collaboration with specialists in various fields is an absolute necessity. The ideal trainer, in my view, should be an academic who has professional experience in court interpreting, or a graduate of an interpreting school, although the mere fact of holding a degree in interpreting studies does not suffice.

In the absence of an ideal candidate, members of an interpreter training team should fulfil the following criteria:

- interest in court interpreting problems
- an experienced professional court interpreter coupled with teaching talent
- lecturers who have knowledge of the job
- knowledge of teaching methodology
- awareness of assessment criteria specific to interpreting.

It is obvious that no trainer can be expected to have all these characteristics as part of his innate abilities. The training of trainers is a necessary step to precede the establishment of court interpreting schemes or courses. Some lecturers seem to value training for trainers (see lecturers' responses in appendix 10).

VII. Special Issues in SA translation and interpreting

VII.1 Market for translation and interpreting services

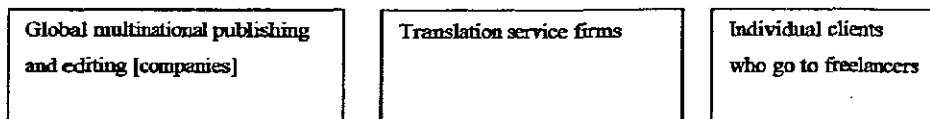
1.1 Introduction.

Training is one of the special issues discussed in the previous chapter. This chapter will look at the training from the perspective of the market. The identification of market needs is thought to be an important step for the construction of translation training models and translation curriculum development (Gabr 2001). It is also a major element that an attempt of translation training planning should not neglect. Pym (1998) argues that market demands should shape the way in which translators should be trained. Gouadec (1999) concurs with Pym that the content of translation curricula should not only depend on the student's personal needs but also on the demands of the market. The value placed on the importance of market needs and its influence on translator training calls for a few questions:

- Is there really a translation/interpreting market?
- If so, what are the characteristics defining this market?
- What is its size?

The title of this section implicitly suggests that I believe in the existence of a translation/interpreting market, and indeed I do. Gouadec (1999) concurs that a translation market exists - in fact he suggests that there are a variety of markets. He further attempts to isolate the defining characteristics of this market whilst indicating its size. Gouadec (1999) attempts a categorisation of the market by size and later by domains.

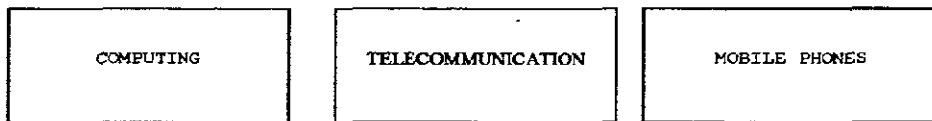
SIZE



This categorisation by size is also a hierarchical one. At the top of the ladder occur the global multilingual companies whilst freelancers are at the bottom. It should be noted, however, that these markets interact. Not only do freelancers render services to the

few individuals who request translation services from them, but in certain cases, global multilingual companies depend on freelancers to carry out some of their translation assignments, generally in the case where translation in non-European languages is needed.

DOMAINS



Gouadec's categorisation is an attempt to illustrate the vast potential and actual markets of translation services. But as we shall see later in this thesis, the market runs far beyond the domains that have been suggested above. Moreover, Mayoral (1999) points out that the market is undergoing change at an exponential rate to the point that universities in Spain (and possibly elsewhere) are finding it practically impossible to adapt to the new needs.

As this thesis attempts to study the market so as to suggest the best way that translation and interpreting can be integrated in the South African language plan, it becomes imperative to focus on the South African market so as to understand its trends. Bearing in mind that South Africa is part of the global market, some of the global trends reflect in our market.

1.2 South African translation and interpreting job market

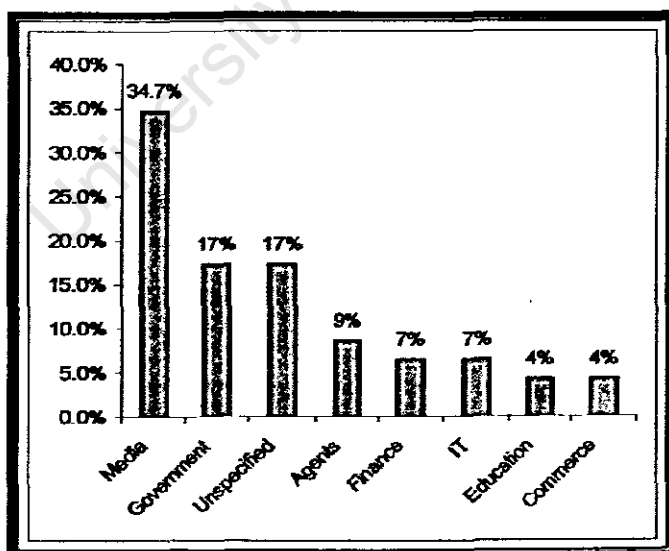
In order to gain understanding of translators' and interpreters' training needs, I collected a total of 168 job advertisements, with the assistance of the South African Translators' Institute (SATI). The job advertisements, placed by companies or agencies, appeared in newspapers countrywide. I considered the time span from 2001 to 2003, which corresponded with the present study. After close examination, only 46 job advertisements were short-listed because they either advertised a translator/interpreter post or they sought individuals who would have translation/interpreting as part of their duties. Every advertisement constituted a unit. Even though an advertisement might advertise 30 posts of interpreters, it was only counted once.

The advertisements were classified and the following information was extracted and clustered:

- description of the advertised post
- languages required
- tasks to perform
- school-related qualification required
- other skills required for the job
- the company or organisation advertising the post
- date
- place
- the contact number or email address
- the salary offered.

The table below provides an indication of the sectors requesting translation/interpreting services.

Figure 7.1: Sectors



Companies and members of the public at large have not yet reached the point where they fully understand the value of translation and interpreting. If they did understand their value, they would assign translation or interpreting jobs to professionals who are adequately trained. In a survey on the use of translation services in 31 Durban companies, Rowbotham (1999: 70-71) discovered that in 83% of the companies surveyed, translation assignments are performed by employees e.g. secretaries and clerks. Paradoxically, 80% of the employees performing translation tasks are regarded by the companies as unqualified for this purpose. It is only as few as 17% of companies that use professional translators. It is interesting to note that this part of the thesis focuses on a different phenomenon, whereby companies try on the one hand to avoid the use of unqualified employees in carrying out translation tasks, but on the other hand they also avoid the use of freelance professional translators to perform translation tasks. They prefer to use casual or semi-permanent language practitioners.

The advertisements seem to show the predominance of translation employment offers in the market. The overwhelming majority of job advertisements require either translators or people to perform translation duties. Only about 10% require interpreters or people to perform interpreting tasks. A few reasons can account for this phenomenon:

- duration

It appears that many companies feel compelled to put an advertisement in the newspaper to comply with the government regulation for employment offers. Thus the high number of translation posts being advertised are of a more permanent nature. Yet interpreting jobs are hardly permanent. Most organisations require interpreters only for a short while, either for a conference or a meeting. Thus they employ an interpreter on a casual rather than permanent or semi-permanent basis.

- mode of recruiting

It is suggested that since interpreters are needed only for a short while, many organisations do not see the need to advertise the posts in the newspaper; they either rely on language services agents to provide them with a suitable candidate for a specific task, or on word of mouth.

But as translation is needed for more serious documents, companies tend to search for a more competitive person, highly skilled and suited to perform the task. However, in my short experience of nine years as a sworn translator/interpreter, most of the assignments I carried out were given to me through friends, the university, my former clients, or the church- none of the assignments were obtained through a newspaper advertisement.

- confusion between translation and interpreting

Rowbotham (1999: 80) noted that confusion in the mind of potential employers could account for the lack of sufficient advertisements for interpreting posts. During her survey, she noticed that some companies could not distinguish between a translator and an interpreter. She pointed to the fact that the secretary of the *Alliance Française* had also received calls from people requesting translation services when, in fact, they needed interpreting services.

- lack of professional status for interpreting

The perception that translation is harder than interpreting and the fairly high status that translation has achieved may well be counted as a major factor accounting for the respect that translation commands. Most interpreters in this study perceive translators' income as higher than that of interpreters' (which is true in many instances). Although the influence of such perception has never been measured, it may contribute to the higher status of translation. Moreover, the public's uninformed perception of interpreting as a normal natural skill in a multilingual community like ours, contributes to the attitude of potential employers to resort to the use of any multilingual individual to stand as an interpreter.

1.3 Language required

Apart from English, which was required for all the jobs advertised, an additional language was required. As it can be seen in Figure 7.2, Afrikaans topped the list of additional languages required for the posts under examination. Foreign languages grouped together took the second position. The foreign languages in demand included, in order of importance:

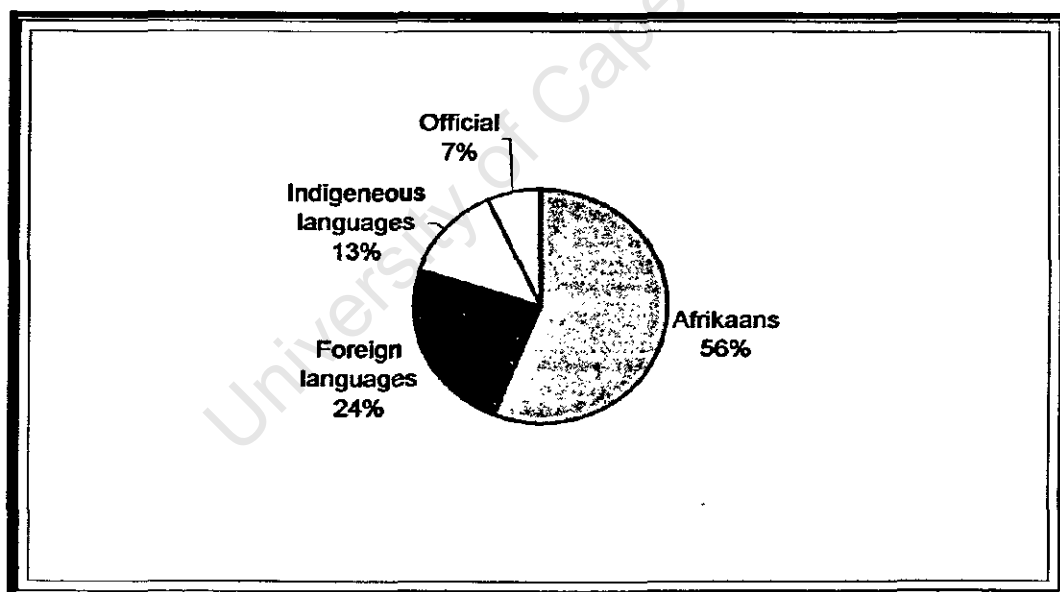
1. German
2. French, Spanish and Portuguese
3. Greek, Italian, Russian and Arabic.

The combined South African indigenous languages took third position. However, a closer examination shows that some are more in demand than others:

1. Sotho and Pedi
2. Xhosa, Zulu, Tsonga, Tswana or Ndebele.

The last group is made up of jobs that require knowledge of English, Afrikaans and at least one indigenous language. Only a few employment offers demanded such a combination of languages.

Figure 7.2: Language required



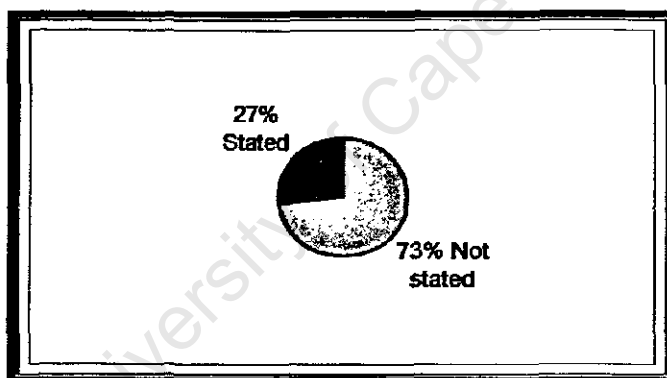
1.4 Posts and positions involving translation or interpreting

It is interesting to note that only a small number of advertisements stated overtly that they required translators or interpreters. The others used other requirements that implied either directly or indirectly that the person would be expected to do

translation or interpreting. For the posts of translators, the advertisements used a combined description that included translation such as: translator/editor, translator/sub-editor, translator/proof-reader, translator/interpreter. In other instances the term *translator* did not appear in the job description, but the post included translation. Here are some examples: language practitioner, bulletin writer, media co-ordinator, sub-editor, and sub-editor/reviser.

I noticed that in a few other situations, the jobs advertised implied both translation and interpreting tasks, for example call centre agent or marketing officer. The table below shows the proportion of advertisements that stated an overt inclusion of translation/interpreting tasks and those that did not.

Figure 7.3: Statement of translation/interpreting tasks inclusion



Translation

Translation work is closely related to the media world. Some positions such as those of editor, sub-editor, and media co-ordinator involve a certain degree of translation work. This is now largely accepted by employers. However, it is somewhat surprising to note the link between translation and other functions that are traditionally thought to be detached from translation- as in the case of the positions of marketing officer or call centre agent. It is also interesting to observe that the potential employers of translators come not only from the media or business sector but also from educational institutions, the South African Police, The Bible Society and companies involved in Information Technology. This denotes that the business sector acknowledges the importance of translation work within its sphere of action.

Even though some of the posts have always involved a certain degree of translation work, it can be noted that now employers understand that translation is a demanding duty, and that the candidate for a specific post must be informed well in advance that his tasks will involve translation.

Interpreting

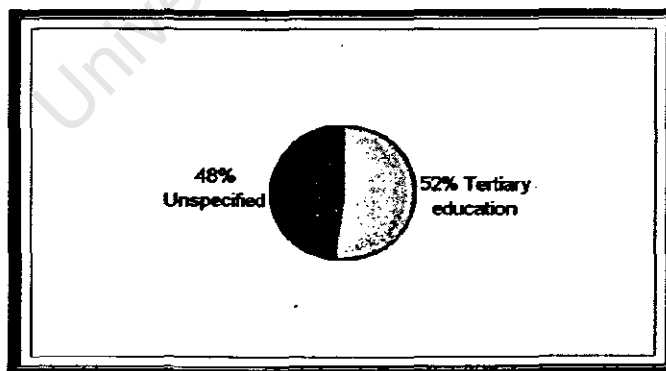
Judging from the small number of interpreting posts and the few instances in which the interpreting task is explicitly stated as part of the duties to be performed by the candidate to a specific position, it can be concluded that the perception that any bilingual or multilingual employee can interpret is prevalent among employers. Thus interpreting as a natural part of tasks to be performed is not worthy of explicit mention.

1.5 School-related qualification required

Translation

It is noticeable that for the posts involving translation work, some of the companies stated the school qualification that the candidate should hold whilst other companies did not.

Figure 7.4: Level of education required for jobs involving translation



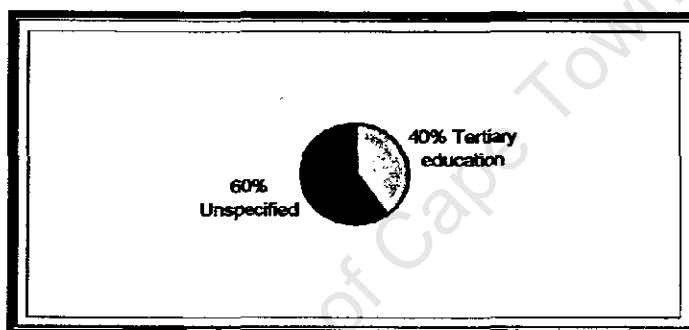
As indicated in the table, 52% of job offers required the candidate to have tertiary education but 48% did not specify the level of education required of the candidate. Some of the companies or institutions simply stated that they requested the candidate to have tertiary education as in the case of the University of Pretoria which needed the

services of translators. The other companies, such as the magazine Beeld, specifically stated that they required candidates to hold a BA degree with Afrikaans III and at least English I.

Interpreting

Companies which seem to be less rigorous when looking for a candidate to fill posts involving interpreting generally required a BA degree majoring in language as the only school-related qualification.

Figure 7.5: Level of education required for jobs involving interpreting



As indicated in the table, only 40% of job offers require the candidate to have tertiary education, but 60% did not determine the level of education that the candidate should have. This situation is an illustration that the prevailing perception of interpreting is as a skill that does not require special training.

1.6 Tasks

In contrast to the lack of insistence on school-related qualifications, one notices that the tasks that are to be performed are varied and demanding. Only individuals who are properly trained and experienced can fill them satisfactorily.

Translation

Companies and institutions that employ translators expect translators to perform a number of tasks besides the main task of translating. After scrutiny these tasks were grouped into eight main clusters.

Cluster 1: Editing.

Cluster 2: Research. This cluster can include actual research work and the presentation of research output either in the form of seminars or workshops. The type of research associated with translation work depended on the companies. Some companies expected the translator to conduct language-related research. For example, Premier Banking expected the translator to conduct research on linguistic trends, phraseology and terminology. But an unnamed Information Technology company expected their French-speaking translator to assist the marketing manager with marketing research.

Cluster 3: Liaising. This cluster can comprise elements such as dealing with queries, providing language guidance and liaising where the translator would be expected to liaise with source material writers, developing and maintaining relationships with the company's clients as well as marketing the company's products or services. In dealing with queries, the translator was expected to respond to telephone calls and answer email messages on varied subjects, either on translation/language issues or in connection with the services provided by the company. Language guidance implies providing advice on matters of language use and usage.

Cluster 4: Document control. This cluster includes numerous text-related activities such as reviewing, revising, rewriting, transcribing, commissioning or copywriting.

Cluster 5: Proofreading. This activity comprises a double component. Not only is the translator expected to proofread his own work, but also that of other staff in the company.

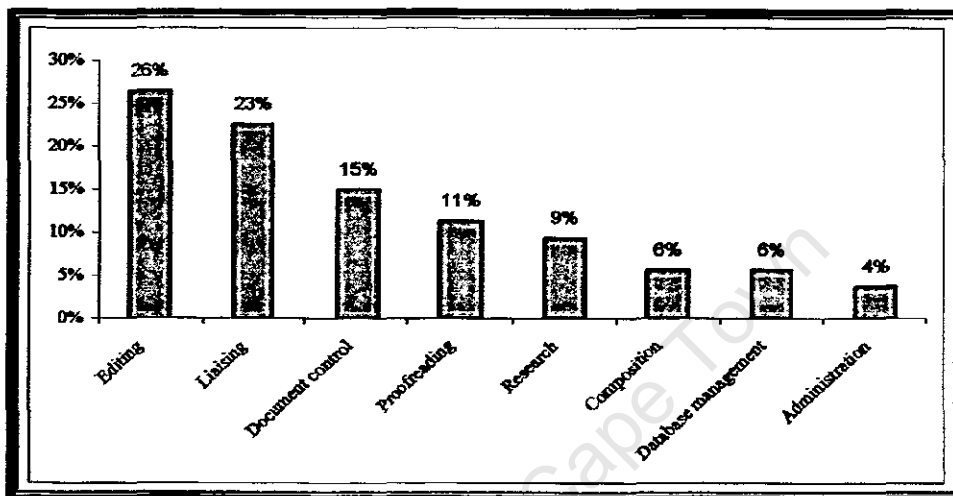
Cluster 6: Composition. The translator is expected to draft, design or compose documents to be used by the company.

Cluster 7: Administration. The translator is expected to carry out a number of administrative tasks ranging from filing to organising functions for the company.

Cluster 8: Database Management: The translator is expected to update the company's language database.

The table below shows the proportion of tasks added to translation work

Figure 7.6: Tasks added to translation work



This table shows that, in the majority of cases, companies and institutions employing translators expect that besides translation the translators should edit texts. It is surprising to see that apart from editing, the second chief task of translators is liaison work.

Interpreting

Although, the comparatively small size of the interpreting market does not suit a quantitative illustration as in the case of translation, a few observations can be reported. It was noticed that there are some companies that expected interpreters to exclusively perform the sole task of interpreting. But some others expected the interpreter to incorporate as part of his duties the following tasks:

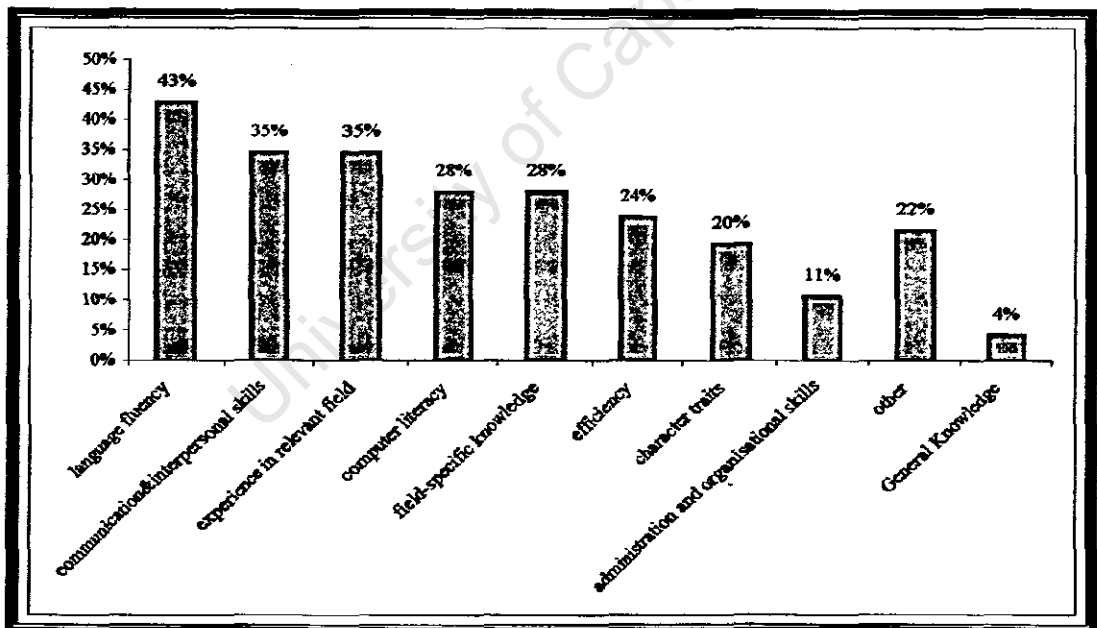
- attending to queries
- setting up meetings
- translating
- Editing, budgeting and involvement in policy development.

1.7 Skills required

Translation

It is true that, when recruiting, different companies look for different skills in the candidates. The table below shows the skills that companies expect. It also shows the percentage of companies that request a specific skill. Although, it is believed that fluency in a specific language is vital for a translator, only 43% of companies overtly stated that they expected their candidate to be fluent in language. Far from implying that for 57% of companies and businesses, language fluency is an important skill, this study presents the explicitly stated facts rather than focusing on the implicit facts that can be subjected to dispute.

Figure 7.7: Skills required for translation-related jobs



The skills were grouped in clusters so as to avoid a long chain of individual elements that would be difficult to report.

Cluster 1: language fluency

Different companies defined differently what to group under the label of language fluency. Companies stated that they wanted candidates for the advertised post to be full bilinguals, to be fluent in a specific language combination, to have sound knowledge of a specific language, to be proficient in a specific language, to possess knowledge of the languages, or to be a mother-tongue speaker of a specific language.

Cluster 2: Communication and interpersonal skills. Most of the companies stated that they wanted applicants to possess communication and interpersonal skills. Some companies specified that they wanted candidates to possess written communication skills as opposed to oral communication skills. Some others stated that they wanted to employ someone with a positive attitude coupled with a passion for action and people.

Cluster 3: Experience in relevant field. The experience required varied in length and type. Where stated, the minimum was two years whilst the maximum was 10 years. The companies needed candidates to have previous experience ranging from translation and interpreting to editing, sub-editing, or military security.

Cluster 4: Computer literacy. The level of computer literacy required included basic knowledge of html, knowledge of MicroSoft Office, Word 2000, Internet and email.

Cluster 5: Field-specific knowledge. Knowledge in the following fields was requested: insurance and financial services, software use such as Photoshop and CorelDraw, labour legislation, Translation memory (TRADOS) and other Computer Assisted Translation Tools (CATTs), Localisation and Desktop Publication, Knowledge of academic disciplines, Knowledge of water-related terminology.

Cluster 6: Efficiency. Under efficiency were grouped the following items: ability to work under pressure, to work hard, fast and accurately.

Cluster 7: Character traits. The character traits wanted included reliability, self-motivation, initiative-taking, attentiveness, discipline, creativity, a systematic approach, wit and discipline.

Cluster 8: Administration and organisational skill

Cluster 9: Other. The other conditions placed by the companies were: to be a committed Christian, to have a Bible Study qualification, to succeed in an internal test, to be a member of the South African Translators Institute, readiness to work overtime, on Sunday evening or to work from 16:00h to 24:00h, willingness to travel extensively, to have a fax machine and email access.

Cluster 10: General knowledge

Although, it may be argued that these elements and many others not listed here are important, the explicitly stated requirements show aspects that the translation industry perceives as being highly important.

Table 7.1: Task – skill correspondence

Zones	Tasks	Skills
Primary 1 st rank elements	Edit	Language fluency
Secondary 2 nd rank elements	Liaison	Communication and interpersonal skills Experience in relevant skill
Tertiary 3 following elements	Document control Proof-reading Research	Computer literacy Field specific knowledge Efficiency
Quaternary All the remaining elements	Data Management Composition Administration	Character traits Other Administration General knowledge

It can be noticed that editing and language fluency can be paired as they both top the lists of their respective groups. This matching emphasises that the highest number of companies and organisations place much value on language fluency and seem to associate the fluency of the candidate, (the candidate's mastery of language) as the instrument which permits him to successfully fulfil his translation and editing task.

Consistent with the value placed on communication and interpersonal skill is the expectation that the second most important task to be fulfilled by the translator is that of liaison. However, communication and interpersonal skills alone do not suffice if they are not accompanied by some experience in the relevant field.

In the tertiary zone appears field-specific knowledge, which implies mastery of technical vocabulary. It is matched with research. On the other hand, the task of document control and proof reading, which calls for much attention to detail, is matched with efficiency, which involves working under pressure yet achieving high standards. A little surprising is the fact that computer literacy appears in a zone which does not match data management, administration and composition. This may be accounted for by the fact that computer literacy is viewed as a paramount skill that is not restricted to administration, composition and data management only. The other unexpected categorisation is that of the character traits that appear in the last zone.

Interpreting

The skills that are demanded of people willing to work in positions that involve interpreting are the following:

- language fluency
- communication and interpersonal skills
- previous experience in translation and/or interpreting
- efficiency i.e. the ability to work accurately under pressure and achieve high professional standards
- managerial skills and the ability to make decisions and liaise with senior management
- computer literacy
- field-specific knowledge
- general knowledge
- others, for example, the ability to function in a service environment and availability for interview.

It can be observed that the skills that are required of the interpreter differ in no meaningful way from the ones expected of the translator.

They are virtually the same or a sub-group of the translators' ones. This means that although the skills required may differ as a matter of degrees, they are qualitatively the same.

1.8 Training needs

Translation

A close examination of the translation market to which we lent this part of the thesis shows that companies view the translator in at least nine ways. These constitute areas that illustrate training needs to be addressed:

1. The translator is a linguist or, better, the translator is an applied linguist who is expected to understand the **theory of language**, its functioning and **adequate application**. Thus he must be fluent in the respective languages and this fluency should be visible in his translations.
2. The translator is a field specialist. He ought to attain specialisation in the fields he deals with. His language fluency is of no use if he fails to render the target language text in a **jargon** that pertains to the elite members of a specific field.
3. The translator is a perpetual **researcher**. As he works with text dealing with different subject matter, he must continually conduct research so as to familiarise himself with new areas either in the fields of Linguistics, terminology, lexicography or in other disciplines.
4. The translator is a global citizen. As such he is expected to possess **computer skills** and develop a sense of curiosity, which is necessary for him to continue to upgrade his level of computer literacy. As part of the global society, the translator must also understand and be informed on the world's key issues.
5. The translator as company agent must have some experience in the tasks he wants to complete. It is a dilemma that all companies want to employ people with previous experience whilst students need to work in a company to gain experience. One of the ways to solve this dilemma is through **internship**.

6. The translator is a bridge, even better he is the ambassador of the company to the target language-speaking community. Through him the target group sees and values or devalues the company he represents. In certain situations, the success or failure of the company relies on him. Thus he must have good **communication and interpersonal skills**, which are supposedly groomed or enhanced through appropriate training. The translator is a human being with character traits. These character traits ensure his integration in the company. They are also important for his career success. He needs to be informed of the **character traits** that are expected of him, so that he can start to cultivate them and discipline himself to promote positive traits.
7. The translator is an ordinary skilled employee who can be expected to conduct administrative duties when it is deemed necessary. Thus, training must nurture in him **administrative and organisational skills**.
8. The translator is a member of the company family. As such he is expected to buy totally into the ideology of the company. An opinion differing from the company's policy or ideology must not be allowed to impact negatively on professional performance. However the fear of conflicting opinions between the company and the translator has prompted certain organisations such as the Bible Society of South Africa to request that the candidate translator for their organisation should be a committed Christian. It may happen however that the company does not explicitly state this sort of preference, but uses other subtle ways such as interviews to screen candidates to ascertain that are ideologically suited. Thus the translator needs to be informed of the **ethical, moral or ideological values** that may have an impact on employment.

All that has been said about the translator's training needs applies to the interpreter, except that he is expected to achieve a comparably higher degree of oral language fluency.

1.9 Summary and discussion

An examination of the translation and interpreting market in South Africa fails to capture the dynamic of job offers in the court interpreting sector. The other features of the market show that South Africa is part of the global market. Instead of employing an editor, a Public Relation Officer, a researcher and an administrative assistant, employers tend to look for one individual who can play all these roles. Pym (1998) refers to this phenomenon as *specialisation*. It seems to be wide spread in the global market and the South African court interpreters' training must cater for it. Pym argues that technology has influenced the translation service market, which in turn calls for the specialisation of professionals. Mayoral (1999) argues that specialisation has even broken the traditional barriers between oral interpreting and written translation. As we have seen, the South African translation service market expects the translator to possess all the skills that are expected of the interpreter. Moreover, the tasks that were traditionally thought of as connected to interpreting, are now expected from the translator, as is the case of positions such as marketing officer or call centre agent.

The training approach that seems best adapted to this type of demand is that which views interpreting in general and even court interpreting as stemming from a strong basis of translation, so as to ensure versatility according to the demands of the market (Robinson 1997: 26-27). Moreover, translators' and interpreters' training in South Africa should emphasise the acquisition of field-specific knowledge since the inability to produce high standard work is attributed to the lack of information and knowledge on a particular subject (Gile 1995: 83). It has emerged that companies place high value on interpersonal and communication skills, so training methods should aim at training translators and interpreters as technical communicators with the added advantage of being able to work between languages (Kingscott 1997: 169).

VII.2 Language planning and the planning of language services

2.1 Introduction

At this point, I attempt a definition of the concept 'language planning'. Many authors have used the concept *language planning* with different meanings. For Reagan (1995: 319), language planning is an Applied Sociolinguistics activity that is profoundly political in nature. It involves public decision about language, its use, status and development. He says that such decisions are overwhelmingly significant socially, economically, educationally and politically for both society and individuals. But, according to Tollefson (1991: 16) as mentioned by Heugh (Mesthrie ed.1995: 332), language planning is the institutionalisation of language as a basis for the distinctions among social groups or classes. Alexander (1989: 62) views language planning as a deliberate and systematic attempt to change the language itself and to change the function of the language in that particular society. Other studies have expanded beyond the definition of the concept to an attempt at categorisation of *planning*. Thus we hear of status, corpus and acquisition planning.

In language planning, status planning deals with the standing of a language within the linguistic configuration of the nation. Cobarrubias and Fishman (1983: 11) state that the status of a language depends upon the number of people using it, their relative wealth, the importance of what they produce and its dependence upon language, their cohesiveness, and the acceptance by others of their right to be different. Corpus planning deals with the change or adaptation of language structure, lexis and morphology, so as to allow the language to fit its desired functions (Cobarrubias and Fishman 1983: 11). Acquisition planning is concerned with the promotion of language learning *via* schools and the educational system. Mackey in Cobarrubias and Fishman (1983: 11) states that it is through schools that a language is transformed from a family vernacular to a vehicle for cultural, scientific and professional advancement. Another important concept akin to language planning and which deserves close attention is *language policy*. Policy can be understood as the ideology behind the language plan. The interaction between the plan and the policy is such that the ultimate goal of a language plan is to meet the standard set by the language policy. They have identified a few ideologies that underlie a language policy (1983: 65).

They mention linguistic assimilation, linguistic pluralism, vernacularisation and internationalisation. In the South African context the language plan and policy aim at linguistic pluralism, which involves the co-existence of different language groups and their right to maintain and cultivate their languages on an equitable basis.

2.2 Strengthening the weak link

In a multilingual situation where all the official languages are expected to enjoy the same rights and privileges, the government is expected *inter alia* to supply all government publications in all the official languages. The government is also expected to use the language of every community it addresses. The duty of the government extends to the point of ensuring that all public signs and signals should be in all the official languages, and that all citizens should have the right to be tried in the language of their choice in a court of law. Further, all courts proceedings should be recorded in the language in which they were tried. Furthermore, it appears to be the duty of the government to foster citizens' rights to be served in their own languages in banks, financial institutions or government offices. The fulfilment of such expectations implies extensive use of translators and interpreters. Therefore, a dual need appears:

- planning of translation/interpreting
- planning with translation/interpreting.

Translation planning as language planning should cover status planning and acquisition planning. Translation status planning will deal with the mechanisms of regulation of the demand and use of translation services, as well as the implementation of measures susceptible to upgrading the translation profession for the benefit of translators, translation practitioners and the translation consumers. Translation status planning will need to deal, as well, with factors affecting what Haarmann (1989: 87-91) termed 'prestige'. The translation acquisition planning will deal with the promotion of the translation profession via the educational system. On the other hand, planning with translation can be construed as the search of a way to integrate effectively translation planning into the global picture of language planning and policy in South Africa.

2.3 Enhancing language corpus: The arena of the applied language practitioners

Linguistic theory teaches that language users are vital to the development of the corpus of a language. Whilst some of the changes are of an ephemeral nature, other changes are of more or less permanent nature. We also know that the codification of a language can allow the 'permanent' changes to gain currency and probably survive longer. Codification also plays a major role in the standardisation of language. Language users who participate in the activity of language development are of two kinds, the general public or large community, and the smaller community of language practitioners. They can also be referred to as applied language practitioners. The term is coined from Young's notion of Applied Language Studies (ALS). He suggests that ALS can be understood as 'the interdisciplinary field wherein language-related knowledge is developed and applied to problem solving and practice in sites of language use' (Young 2000: 22). People in a variety of sites and fields contribute to the development of the corpus of language. Terminologists and lexicographers are among the applied language practitioners who are most *en vogue* when it comes to language corpus development. However, translators and interpreters can provide a very significant contribution in this regard. The history of Afrikaans bears witness to the fact that translators played a major role in the development of the corpus. Every day in our courts various legal terms are interpreted from English or Afrikaans into African languages. For centuries the African language interpreter has been dealing with European concepts. If some bad interpreters have misinterpreted them, there surely are good interpreters who have in a variety of cases dealt successfully with the terms.

However, the lack of codification and circulation of such information among the court interpreters, for example, has hindered a durable and consistent development of African language corpuses. The argument that there are no appropriate words in African languages to express certain concepts that are stated in the language of the Indo-European families is a well-known one. However, the work being done currently by CALLSSA and PRAESA at the University of Cape Town tends to refute such an argument. With many challenges, it is possible to develop a language corpus, especially when the mother tongue speakers of a language are willing to take part

in the exercise. It is often held that the lack of terms is acute in the areas of science and technology. A European cellular phone company is planning to launch a range of its cellular phones with the full range of navigation features and users' guides in African languages. The languages include Tswana, Xhosa, Zulu and Kiswahili. Even some of the most pessimistic people have started thinking that African languages have an exciting future. Some projects intervene directly in the corpus of the language and apply much effort to generating terms that are, so to say, ready to use. Other projects work towards the establishment of a bilingual school system where the learner can decide to take subjects either in his first language or in his second language. The second type of project will intersect with the first one in that the terms that will be needed by the former would have been developed by the latter.

Standardisation

Standardisation is also one the issues which tends to block the development of African language corpuses. It is often heard that African languages cannot be codified because there is no consensus on certain terms. If speakers of the same language do not agree on a specific term used in their language, what language forms should be codified?

Technical language unintelligibility

Secondly it is argued that certain English terms become confusing, ambiguous or even non-intelligible when translated. Translation as a process presents many challenges that one must not neglect. However, one should note that English too has certain words whose meaning is confusing, ambiguous and not readily intelligible to an average speaker. Referring to the difficulty of understanding, a French Professor once said, '*le Francais academique n'est la language maternelle de personne*' i.e. Academic French is nobody's mother tongue.

It implies that in any language community there is a level of language register which is not readily accessible to everyone. Either the person must be acquainted with the specific field of the word or must resort to using the dictionary to understand. It is obvious that when the court interpreter provides the translated equivalent of the term 'forensic', this will not mean that the term is automatically understood. There is a dire need for dictionaries in African languages, especially monolingual dictionaries.

If the word is not directly understood, it does not mean that the translation is erroneous. This should not be a reason for not codifying the language.

Strategies

There are many strategies that can be used to solve problems that hinder language development. Court interpreters are one of the groups that can play an important role in this respect. However, a bottom-up approach may seem to be indicated for this purpose. Court interpreters should be encouraged to identify their own language-related problems and discover ways of solving them in a meaningful manner. The idea of a newsletter or a court interpreters' journal is an interesting one. The Department of Justice has a journal (*HearSay*) designed for internal circulation. Occasionally an article on court interpreting is published. The issues that seem to attract the attention of the editor are those either related to the use of interpreters or the administration of the interpreters. The circulation of terminological problems may seem inappropriate for the large readership of *HearSay*. Another idea that seems worth investigating is the compilation of bilingual or trilingual word lists. The bilingual word lists can serve as a basis for the compilation of monolingual word lists accompanied by explanations in the same language.

Key text translation

The translation of the Bible was a major milestone in the codification of African languages. There are still many debates on the dialects that must be codified. However, the very fact that there are still voices calling for better translation, is an indication that the endeavour was worthwhile. There is no reason why a key legal text, for example, should be translated, even if subsequent modification can be made. Candidate texts for translation should include schedules of offences and texts on court procedures. The first step may be the compilation of monolingual English lists of major offences and then bilingual lists.

It should be acknowledged, however that this is a demanding task. The court interpreters should play a major role, as this model of corpus development from grassroots will require their knowledge. The effort should be steered by an institution located outside the Department of Justice. If such a project operates in conjunction with an academic institution, it may be successful.

Cooperation between academics and professionals has already demonstrated that difficult linguistic barriers can be overcome. In recent months, South Africans have witnessed the launch of a series of translations into African languages of Nelson Mandela's *Long Walk to Freedom*.

Is it worth investing effort and money in translation and interpreting when the country faces major issues such as poverty, hunger or HIV? Well, there is no easy answer, yet we can reflect on this statement by one of the health care interpreters whom I met. She said, '*The government recognises HIV. It does not recognise us, the interpreters yet. For people to be aware, the message must be effectively communicated.*'

VII.3 South Africa's language plan and policy from the perspective of court interpreting

3.1 Introduction

There seems to be a direct link between language planning, language policy and the status of translation/interpreting. Policy sets the goals that the plan will be expected to meet. Language services practice provides light on integration between a policy and a plan. This thesis has exposed some of the plights that language practitioners suffer. Part of the responsibility can be attributed to themselves for their lack of ability to form a strong professional body to fight for their rights and enhance their profession. It should be noted, however, that some of the problems that they suffer can be located in the policy itself. Taylor *et al.* (1997:25) identified three major approaches that underlie every policy. It appears that the South African language policy stems from a pluralist approach rather than an elitist or neo-Marxist one. It seems that in the drafting of the policy, government wanted to please as many interest groups as possible. However, apart from the *de jure* policy, there is a *de facto* situation. Although the promulgated texts claim to promote multilingualism as a national value, the dominance of English and Afrikaans in court, for example, seems to betray the government on its elitist or to some extent, its neo-Marxist inclination. The elitist approach to language policy would tend to argue that government promotes the views and values of dominant groups.

The neo-Marxist approach would argue that government promotes the interests of those who control the economy (Taylor *et al.* 1997:25). The majority of members of the elite groups view multilingualism as a problem to which the cure will be monolingualism with English as the one language. It is true that the situation in 1994 called on the political elite to come up with a way to address the language issue in the light of the Afrikaners who did not want the power of their language to be diminished. The policy that came thereof was not imposition of values but rather a superposition of values, which overrode but did not annihilate individual or community views. In other words, although government policy was clear, there was a danger of seeing government actions as guided by the views, values and interests of certain individuals or groups who were part of the political, economic or educational elite. There exist various ways of detecting imbalances between the real policy and *de jure* policy. These ways include the examination of political discourse and the allocation of resources.

If interpreting is a register of policy constraints, it can be argued that the process, agent and the policy of translation/interpreting are a reflection of government policy approaches. Translation, interpreting and court interpreting occur in the discourse of right and cost. For example, every accused has the right to be prosecuted in the language he understands. In principle, this is a demonstration of a populist approach of language policy, as the person can exercise his right through an interpreter. Yet in practice it can serve as an element of enhancement of the elite interests. The accused person comes with no means of assessing interpreting accuracy. It then becomes a game of chance where, if the interpreter is good, well and fine, if he is not good, nothing can be done about it because the court can only select from the range of the few interpreters it has. In both cases, the judicial authorities feel satisfied as they have provided an interpreter. Note that texts prescribe that an interpreter should be provided, the issue is not whether or not he/she is well-trained. The most important thing seems to be satisfaction that proceeds from an approximation of fair justice.

Can the state be accused of conspiracy? No, the objective of the state is to promote the rights of all citizens. However, senior government officials themselves are part of an elite. Therefore, they tend to be concerned with the preservation of power. Most of their actions aim at reflecting an image of good governance, rather than the actual

solution to problems experienced at grassroots level. This image is constructed, conveyed and preserved through official texts and the media, whilst practice remains the only reliable standard of evaluation for government action. In the case of our courts, the maintenance of the interpreters in a weak position undermines the public discourse of rights. The discourse of rights is further undermined by the discourse of cost or practicability. Official texts, including the constitution itself, subject the exercise of civil rights to issues of practicability and cost. In plain language the state appears to be saying that they can protect rights, but only in the strict limit of its means. Considering the right to fair justice, one realises that government spends much money for the training of magistrates to ensure that people's rights are protected. This appears to be a populist approach. Yet in most courts the magistrate's decision is based on interpreted evidence. When government spends far too little money and effort on the training of court interpreters, it means that only two categories can escape the plight caused by the under-trained interpreter. The two groups are:

- those who have the economic means to hire a freelance interpreter whose fees are not low
- those who can speak the languages of the court, which in most cases are still English and Afrikaans.

In both cases, the groups will be identified with a comparably higher level of educational and economic attainment, which will differ from the majority of the people. If the monthly income level is pitched at R 6 401 or more, 88% of the working population will be excluded; this is without even considering the unemployed people. If the educational level is pitched at 12 years of education, at least 71,2% of the adult population will be excluded (i.e. aged 20 years and above). If the criterion is home language, 78,5% of the population will be excluded. Therefore, in each of the cases, it is only a minority that can cope.

3.2 Ways of addressing populist needs

In such a situation, access to fair justice and the asserting of civil rights can be achieved through some of these avenues:

- economic empowerment

- educational empowerment
- transformation of the justice system
- interpreting planning.

Experts in the field of economics can be assigned the task of designing a model of economic growth. This could provide jobs and adequate income to the majority of our population, so as to allow everyone financial liberty to afford expensive language services. Experts in the field of education and literacy studies can also devise a plan to turn the majority of our population into educationally and linguistically independent people. I know, however, that any intervention at the level of the general population will certainly be more costly than an intervention at the level of court interpreting services in the Department of Justice. Only a limited number of people have so far enjoyed the benefits of government programs such as the Black Economic Empowerment or adult literacy programs.

The transformation of the justice system can deal with many different problems. One of the important issues is the demography of magistrates and their home language specifications. Many have indicated the need to have magistrates who can communicate in the languages of the people that they serve. Part of the current transformation of justice tends to address the imbalances of the past, for example, the extremely low number of black magistrates, which is in total contrast to the general population. The sad reality is that, for many years to come, there will be too few magistrates speaking an African home language. It was thought that the promotion of black magistrates and prosecutors would produce trials that would be conducted in African languages. Unfortunately, many of these black magistrates and prosecutors are not fully functional in their mother tongues. When it comes to matters of law they are indeed, 'English mother-tongue speakers'. They continue to rely on the interpreter. If they are forced to depend on their rather limited proficiency, serious problems can arise. Black magistrates can be compared to black accountants. Although, they can speak an African language in their home environment, very few can run their accounting system in an African language. The same applies to those blacks in fields such as Biology, Chemistry, Physics, Mathematics or Linguistics.

Better training of court interpreters, improvement of their professional status and improvement of language corpuses remain issues of great relevance, if a truly populist agenda is to be fulfilled. The appointment of black magistrates alone will prove an inadequate intervention. Forcing white magistrates to learn an African language can produce undesired results in the light of the new democratic dispensation. The other alternative consists of encouraging these white magistrates to learn an African language. The present situation calls for the need to learn these languages and nobody can refute it. However, there is a gap between accepting the theoretical and practical value of an argument on the one hand, and believing it to the point of engaging in its pursuit. The truth remains that most judges and magistrates have attained a high professional standard without needing an African language. Also, the average age of white magistrates would make this difficult. So, serious doubts arise about the necessity of acquiring an African language for the sake of career advancement. This argument is of even greater significance in the case of officials in higher courts.

Efforts to encourage judges to learn African languages should be continued, but there will always be a need for court interpreters. Freedom of movement in the new South Africa contributes to the possibility of any of the 11 official languages occurring in a court where the magistrate can only speak a limited range of languages. The issue of international migration also contributes to a continued need of interpreters in the country's courts. It should be noted, however, that when a magistrate understands the language of the accused, an obstacle in the way of fair justice is removed, even if that magistrate is not fully functional in that language and depends on the interpreter for much of the procedure. Interpreters tend to be more careful when they know that the magistrate, the prosecutor or someone else in the court can understand the source and target language and possibly challenge the quality of the interpreter's interpreting. The fear that misinterpretations could be discovered can prompt the interpreter to strive towards his best performance. On the other hand, most interpreters feel secure working in an environment where they know that, if they experience difficulties, help is forthcoming. The possibility of being corrected remains a major gatekeeper against errors. However, even better than setting the interpreter in an adversarial position in order to safeguard the interests of justice, it is suggested that interpreters work in pairs so as to assist each other. Having two well-trained interpreters can yield better results, because sometimes an interpreter can be led into error due to lack of self-confidence.

He can interpret correctly but change the interpretation of message, not because the first was incorrect, but because it was (wrongfully) questioned.

It is quite evident that good translation or interpreting can serve a populist purpose. It is generally accepted that fair justice contributes to social peace. When interpreting contributes to fair justice, it can be considered an instrument of social justice and social stability. The link between language planning and aspects of social policy in South Africa were also identified by the LANGTAG Report (1995).

VII.4 The role of translation and interpreting in a multilingual society

Most definitions of translation and interpreting look at them as linguistic processes, end products of a process or language-related service (Shuttleworth and Cowie 1999: 27-33, 49, 80-90, 152-156, 189-198). The ties holding translation, interpreting and language can give rise to the extended roles and meanings of translation and interpreting. When language is construed in its communicational function, then translation and interpreting come to play the role of facilitation in a communicational transaction. But language functions are not limited to communication alone. Language can be viewed in different ways, including as a right, a resource, and an instrument of power.

Language as a resource

The Langtag Report (1995: 90-122) characterised language as an economic resource. What does it mean? How does language function as an economic resource? What can the role of translation/interpreting be in such a situation? There exists a tie between language and economic production in that very little economic production can take place without communication. Alexander (1995) argues that the need to co-operate for economic production is the ultimate purpose of language, and caused the development of language communication in the human species. Thus, language is an instrument of production. Alexander uses another argument to foster the importance of time resources, production and language. He states that in a factory environment, for example, it may take a worker 30 seconds to read and understand a notice written in his first language. Yet, it can take the same worker five minutes or more if the message is written in a language that he has not mastered well.

Valuable production time can thus be wasted. The situation can be even worse when misunderstanding of instructions leads to hazards in machine operations. This argument can serve a dual purpose. It shows the importance of appropriate language use. Delivering the information in an appropriate language can help a company save time and earn money. This can be achieved if, for example, employers provide their employees with information in the employees' language of preference. Translation is necessary to the actual process of economic gain in such a case. Language equity can only be achieved when language services such as translation and interpreting are enhanced qualitatively and quantitatively so as to become visibly available for every citizen who needs to make use of them.

Recently, translation and interpreting were assigned new roles in the wake of global terrorist attacks. The traditional roles associated with translation and interpreting are those of facilitating communication or bridging gaps; as the motto of the South African Translators' Institute puts it '*per interpretes pons conditur*' i.e. by means of interpreting, we build a bridge (my translation). In the United States, the terrorist attacks of 11 September 2001 called for a number of questions such as what went wrong with intelligence agencies such as the FBI or the CIA who did not prevent the attacks, and what measures should be taken to reinforce counter-terrorism action. Duffy (2004:23-24) reports that one of the issues was that the FBI failed to translate (interpret – my word) thousands of hours of audio surveillance tapes timeously. FBI Director, Robert Muller, introduced new translation policy whereby all counterterrorism tapes are reviewed within a day, while translations in criminal cases such as fraud may be postponed. Moreover, the Bureau increased by more than 100% the number of linguists i.e. translators, interpreters and similar professionals, from 555 to 1204. Linguists alone represent almost 10% of the total number of agents estimated at 11 881. Yet there is still a feeling that the number of linguists is not enough, especially when it comes to languages such as Arabic, Farsi, or Urdu. The renewed interest placed on translation and interpreting means that they can be viewed as instruments of America's homeland security. Translation and interpreting can be considered instruments of global security and stability as the world unites to combat terrorism. Translation and interpreting are no longer viewed as instruments of prestige associated only with foreign diplomatic missions and foreign affairs departments.

They are assets for the survival of humanity and the preservation of human civilisation, especially if one believes that terrorism aims at destroying the existing order and the ushering in of a new order, new values, and a world of ideological restriction.

Translation and interpreting can also be considered instruments of language-culture preservation. The emergence of linguistic ecology brings to the fore a renewed interest in the role of translation and interpreting. One of the main arguments against the hegemonic position of English in the world has been that when English destroys other languages, it is not only that specific language that disappears. The death or extinction of a language is accompanied with the disappearance of a set of indigenous knowledge. Populations living in the savannahs, rain forests, and polar regions, for example, possess a rich vocabulary to describe various phenomena and items found in their natural habitat. Sometimes what appears to be new knowledge to modern science is not new to some indigenous populations. There is therefore a link between language, culture and indigenous knowledge. Successful bilingual education makes it possible for family members of different generations to communicate effectively with each other. Moreover it allows a smooth transmission of language, culture and knowledge from one generation to the other. Ability to retain both first and additional language(s), coupled with good translation and interpreting skills, can in turn allow an intercultural enrichment.

In Africa they say, "*Quand un veillard meurt, c'est tout une bibliotheque qui brule*" (i.e. when an elderly person dies, it is an entire library which burns up). This statement highlights the important of knowledge transmission from one generation to the other. The African continent is undergoing many changes, which include modernisation, urbanisation and globalisation. The continent, which is battling to bridge a massive digital divide, is still marked by a strong oral tradition and adherence to ancestral values and norms, which seem in opposition to some values that formal education promotes. The introduction of translation and interpreting into mainstream education can help solve the problem. The recording and translation/interpreting of pieces of cultural information or ancestral cognitive knowledge will have various benefits including:

- bridging generational gaps as older and younger generations will have to communicate by discussion
- the preservation of information in the original language
- intercultural enrichment
- source language and target language enrichment
- exposure to translation and interpreting techniques and process
- appreciation of ancestral values, norms, and knowledge
- an understanding that modernisation and urbanisation does not mean the rejection of one's language.

Translation and interpreting can also be considered instruments of national unity or regional self-determination. The cases of Cameroon and Quebec provide an insight on yet other functions of translation and interpreting. The history of Cameroon indicates that, following the defeat of Germany in World War I, Cameroon, one of its former colonies, was divided into two parts, one administered by France and the other by England. Upon gaining independence in 1960/1961, the new government decided to maintain both English and French as official languages. Although French is predominant in business, administration, education and the army, the Cameroon government has developed a translation/interpreting policy which ensures the visibility of the two languages in the media and official publications, thus keeping the linguistically divided country as a whole unit.

The history of Quebec seems to be that of a people in search of self-determination. Despite setbacks due to an unfulfilled dream of sovereignty, Quebec succeeded in highlighting the uniqueness of its linguistic character, and cultural and historical heritage, in Canada. The promotion of the linguistic rights of its French-speaking population, with the multitude of legal battles it underwent, has served this very purpose. However, the ever-present English-speaking community and the general history of Canada have imposed on Quebec a strategy that asserts the region's self-determination and takes into account Quebec's ties to the rest of Canada. The extensive use of translation and interpreting provides some sort of moral and political relief for those geared towards sovereignty.

It also provides political and social peace for those opposed to the idea of an independent and sovereign Quebec, although French is being actively promoted in the whole of Canada and particularly in Quebec.

VII.5 The ambivalent position of the court interpreter

Interpreting is not an invention of the post-apartheid government. Professional interpreting in Africa is an invention of the west, which wanted to communicate with the masses on the African continent. The European elite which started to organise/Europeanise Africa set the professional interpreter as a core player through which it could regulate Africans' access to elite power. The same interpreter was also a medium through which it could distance itself from the African masses with their demands. The acquisition of European languages by Africans called for direct negotiations for power and status, but the court can be seen as a remnant of this European heritage of power control and mediated authority exercise. Lay people view court interpreting as a noble profession. They view the interpreter as a court official with great power and authority. To the lay public, the court interpreter appears to command respect. However, within the judicial system, the interpreter is powerless. He is supposed to be a power broker and mediator between the powerful court elite (i.e. magistrate, prosecutor, attorney) and the powerless accused. But the interpreter's powers are very restricted.

The elite, who consider him as part of the masses, show no or little respect for him. The elite can reprimand the interpreter at wish, but the opposite is not possible. They can challenge the quality of his work but he cannot. They regulate turn taking, but all he has to do is try to cope. If he is unable to cope, he is considered incapable. The medical interpreter can report human rights violations and abuses that a medical professional may inflict on a patient, but the court interpreter has no such rights. His educational standing, socio-economic situation and court internal mechanisms class him among the powerless non-elite group. Thus he cannot assert efficiently the rights due to the public, neither can he significantly challenge the power and authority of the elite for his own benefit or that of the people for whom he is interpreting.

VIII Conclusion

VIII.1 Overview

South Africa appears to be the ideal situation for translation and interpreting, due to the linguistic diversity of its people and the efforts of the government to render all language communities visible on the national arena. These two main elements are added to a large number of other factors that point to the importance of translation and interpreting. Among these, the researcher identified South Africa's historical heritage, literacy, international migrations and the prominent role of South Africa on the continent and in the world. It is shocking to note that translation and interpreting are assigned a peripheral role in language planning at national, provincial and even local level. The researcher set out to investigate ways and means of integrating translation and interpreting meaningfully, using a sample representative of interpreters/translators working in various environments such as courts, hospitals, national parliament and those in the freelance practice.

The study posited that for translation and interpreting to be useful instruments for South Africa's language planning, a double intervention was needed, i.e. planning with translation/interpreting and planning of translation/interpreting. Planning with translation/interpreting is concerned with a visible and meaningful integration of translation/interpreting services in the language plan at national and local level. Various policy and planning documents such the LANGTAG Report have attempted to address this preoccupation, notably when they endeavoured to count the number of institutions providing translation/interpreting courses or to count government offices having language services. It can be argued that these efforts aimed at integrating translation/interpreting as part of South Africa's plan and policy. The planning of translation/interpreting can also be referred to as translation planning if interpreting is to be understood as a special type of translation. Translation planning can be viewed as a continuation of integration efforts, with special focus on the agent, assuming that positive intervention on the interpreters would bring benefits to the profession, the language corpus and the language plan as a whole.

The study borrowed concepts of language planning to attempt an investigation of translation-planning at micro level, with special focus on court interpreters. The study proceeded to investigate the relation between acquisition, status, and corpus. The first two elements concerned the agent, while the third element applied to language.

VIII.2 Research questions and findings

The study operated with the assumption that the planning of translation and other similar language services should primarily address two issues, professional status and training. However, to address or redress issues of professional status, one had to take into account the background of the professionals as well as the history of the profession. The professional's perception of training needs cannot be underestimated.

In as far as the status of court interpreting is concerned, the study found that:

- Early history of interpreting in 17th- century South Africa shows an attempt to reduce the interpreter to a state of servility i.e. he had to be the slave of the master's worldview, an advocate of the master, a servile discharger of all sorts of duties and chores assigned by the master, a man with no right to proper remuneration, disrespected and set to fight his brother in order to protect the master's interests. Those who attempted to claim independence were abused, mistreated and reduced to silence.
- In the early 20th- century, court interpreting received another blow as Government set translators' salaries higher than those of interpreters. The system of racial discrimination submitted black court interpreters to their white colleagues. Unfortunately, when the profession became totally dominated by blacks, negative stereotypes and inferiority complexes continued to hound the profession.
- Early 21st- century court interpreting continues to suffer from the aftermath of the past. This situation is exacerbated by factors such as the lack of a professional association for court interpreters, inappropriate financial remuneration, lack of respect and the level of education of interpreters.

Language planning understands the term 'acquisition' as the learning and mastery of a specific language. From the perspective of translation planning, the term would refer to training. The research found that whilst court interpreting is a challenging task, only a few court interpreters have had exposure to tertiary education. The market of translation and interpreting services tends to show that tertiary training is an essential part of job requirements for translators but not for interpreters. The latter are simply expected to hear a message in one language and render it in another.

This thesis used various avenues for the investigation of court interpreters' training needs. It looked at the difficulties that confront court interpreters, their duties and roles, the market as well as their statement of training needs. Courts require of interpreters the ability to interpret as well as the ability to do a variety of administrative and clerical tasks.

VIII.3 Is court interpreting a problem?

The analysis of various aspects of court interpreting has led to this reflection on the place and role of court interpreting in the judicial system. Is court interpreting an asset or a liability? Should court interpreting be dismantled? Should we work actively towards a judicial system that requires no interpreting? What sort of arguments would support an interpreter-free court? How feasible is it? These are some pertinent questions, which do not always bring a consensus either from the general public or from officials of the judicial system. Proponents of interpreter-free courts tend to see interpreting as a problem. They view it as a serious hindrance to fair justice. It is therefore important to examine the elements that constitute the basis of their arguments which include the following:

1. Someone tried through an interpreter is more likely to lose his/her case than someone tried directly through his language of preference.
2. Even in the best cases, interpreting is not always accurate, and can therefore lead to miscommunication and miscarriage of justice.
3. In legal practice, the decision is based on the precise meaning of terms.
4. No interpretation can represent the original in all its fine nuances.
5. Court interpreting services are underpaid, under-trained and under-resourced; they are therefore unable to cope.

In my view, these arguments tend to show that court interpreting faces problems but court interpreting in itself is not a problem. The main argument of this thesis is that translation and interpreting are assets, not problems that further complicate the situation of a multilingual society. However there is a need to clarify issues in the light of the points raised above in points 1 to 5.

(1) Someone tried through an interpreter is more likely to lose his/her case than some one tried directly through his language of preference.

It can be agreed that interpreting mistakes do occur in court. On 9 July 2004 the Cape Argus reported that Judge Dlodlo of the Cape High Court declared that, as a speaker of Xhosa and Zulu, he often noticed how interpreters misinterpreted what a witness had said in evidence. The courts should try to find reasons accounting for those mistakes and then address them. Some of those reasons have been discussed in this thesis and suggestions have been provided, for example, if interpreters work in pairs, they can perform better.

It is difficult to isolate the interpreter's responsibility in the outcome of a court case. Trials involve many steps of in-court and out-of-court consultation, examination and cross-examination, which can serve as mechanisms to block the effects interpretation errors. There seems to be little research and little reliable evidence to prove the likelihood of losing a case from misinterpretation in the post-apartheid South Africa. If such an investigation had been conducted before 1994, it would serve to prove that indeed it was the system that was biased, not necessarily the interpreter.

(2) Even in the best case, interpreting is not always accurate, can therefore lead to miscommunication and miscarriage of justice.

(3) In legal practice, decision is based on the precise meaning of terms.

These arguments tend to show an over-generalisation implying that courts always use sophisticated language. Let us consider the following passage, which is a reconstruction of the proceedings in which the researcher was an interpreter at the Wynberg Magistrates' Court, in December 2003.

Prosecutor (Pro) to Accused (A): What is your name?

A: I am Lefaso

B: How old are you?

A: I am 26.

B: On what charges are you appearing?

A: Attempted murder.

B: Do you want to plead guilty or not guilty?

A: Guilty! I am very sorry! I was drunk, so I did not realise what I was doing. I will never do that again.

Prosecutor (Pro) to Plaintiff (P): What happened?

P: I was watching for cars in front a Spur Restaurant in Hout Bay, when Lefaso came along and asked me to go away because he wanted to take over.

B: What time of the day was it?

P: Around 7 PM.

B: Tell me what happened?

P: I refused to vacate the place. He went away and I thought it was over but after a while he came back with a knife. He pushed me to the ground and plucked the knife in my skull. When I shouted some people came to my rescue. They took me to the hospital and some other people called the police

Prosecutor (Pro) to A: Do you agree with what the plaintiff has said?

A: Yes!

Prosecutor (Pro) to Attorney (Att): I don't know if the Plaintiff's attorney has anything to add.

Att to P: Can you tell this court how big the wound was?

P: The knife was stuck in my skull, the doctors had to perform surgery to remove it.

Att to Witness (W): Tell this court how this incident has affected your friend's life.

W: He spent several days in the hospital. Up until now he hasn't been able to work. We try to support him but we are also limited.

Bench (B) to P: Can you confirm what he has said?

P: Yes, I suffer from severe headaches. Sometimes, I don't remember things.

Att: My client's claims are supported by this doctor's report, which you may wish to consider.

Pro to A: Does the accused have any question for the plaintiff?

A: Yes, I want to know when he came out of hospital. I also want to know how he does feel now. I feel bad for what happened that day.

P: I can't remember when I came out of hospital but now I feel there's great improvement.

B to A: How much do you earn per month?

A: I earn between 20 and 30 Rand per day

B to P: What sort of punishment do you suggest for someone who has ruined your life in this manner?

P to B: Can you repeat the question?

B: This man has destroyed your life, how do you want me to punish him. Do you want me to put him in jail for 10 years, 20 years or what do you suggest I do to him?

P: Let him go.

B: What did you say?

P: I have forgiven him. You can let him go free.

Court adjourns for 15 minutes

B to A: What do you have to say before I sentence you?

A: I am very sorry! I will never do this again. I never cause harm to a fellow human being.

B: You have committed a serious offence but the plaintiff is a man with a big heart. Through his attitude I have learned many things. I sentence you to six months imprisonment and a further four years suspended sentence. Should I hear that you have committed the smallest offence, I will put you in prison for a long time.

The structure of the interaction is simple. Short questions are used alongside short answers. The language itself is not sophisticated. Under normal circumstances a good interpreter would not have problems. My limited experience in court interpreting shows that difficult situations do occur, but the majority of cases, especially in lower courts, can be handled with a fair knowledge of the languages involved and interpreting skills. Yet various factors can drain the interpreter's physical and mental resources so that he fails to cope with an undemanding situation. The aim of researchers should be the identification of those factors in order to simplify the situation. Many observers and critiques of court interpreting have dwelled on shortcomings, but recently the Sunday Argus of 4 April 2004 published an article that saluted an interpreter who performed an outstanding interpreting task at the TRC amnesty hearing in the Port Elizabeth High Court. The article states, '...his excellent memory impressing those attending proceedings this week...jovial, jocular and confident in court, Wabanie is skilled at recalling long questions, including several names, dates and addresses, and then translating (interpreting) them.' But the same Wabanie declares that it can be difficult to remember, especially when you are under pressure, and when the other person tries to interrupt before you have finished speaking.

The issue of precision of terms in translating/interpreting cannot be neglected. However, in many instances, the context can allow an extraction of the most appropriate meaning. Moreover, skilled judges, magistrates, presiding officers, and prosecutors know how to mediate plain language and legalese so as to facilitate the task of the interpreter and accused or witnesses. This can only happen in a situation where everyone values the interpreter and his job rather than perceiving him as a deterrent in the smooth running of court proceedings.

(4) No interpretation can represent the original in all its fine nuances.

This is not always true. Saussurian linguistics sets a clear difference between *le signifiant* (the signifier) i.e. the term, and *le signifié* (the signified) i.e. the reality that can be represented by a specific term. Suppose we put a table in front of a multilingual audience, the same reality, 'table' will be referred to as *table* in French or *itafile* in Xhosa. The term *itafile* in Xhosa and *table* in English and French can be viewed as accurate translation/interpretation of each other because they designate the same reality.

Issues of nuance occur when an explanation is needed for a reality, which does not exist in the target language or culture. It can be quite difficult to interpret certain sentences in a manner that satisfies both the source and the target language. For example, in English we say, 'I missed the bus' but most Xhosa-speaking people in the Western Cape will say, 'ibasi indishile' which means 'The bus left me behind'. The shift in agency calls for a different perception of the same reality. In the first case, it can be perceived that I am responsible for the problem because 'I' missed the bus. But in the second case I am a victim of circumstances, maybe I had bad luck because 'The bus' left me behind.

These examples show that sometimes the interpreter gets blamed for problems related to the very nature of language. Even within the same language, you cannot change a sentence from active to passive without adding or subtracting nuances. Many explanations or definitions we accept are not necessarily the perfect match of a reality, but we are glad to consider them as accurate when they are perceived as close approximations of the reality. We try hard to communicate across cultures with fair approximation in the absence of a perfect match. Sometimes the context may facilitate mutual understanding.

Rather than eradicating court interpreting for the perceived or actual inability to interpret certain linguistic or cultural nuances, we should approach it as an instrument that allows intercultural and inter-linguistic exchanges. Research is needed to clarify the specific aspects of languages and culture that pose a challenge, so we can investigate ways of dealing with the challenge.

Interpreters should be encouraged to record constraints that they face as well as the techniques they use to solve a particular constraint. But this can only take place when the Department of Justice fosters a research and development culture which puts interpreting services at the centre.

(5) Court interpreting services are underpaid, under trained and under resourced; they are therefore unable to cope.

Despite all the complications that court interpreters face, there are many who enjoy their job and try to discharge their duties to the best of their ability. They cope and ensure that justice is found in translation. It is sad, however, that this group feels betrayed on two sides. On the one hand the Department of Justice seems to do little for them to get access to appropriate training; on the other hand certain institutions of repute downplay initiatives to develop interpreters' training. Some interpreters have paid out of their pockets to attend courses either in the field of interpreting or law. But upon completion they felt disappointment, as their training was not accepted for promotion.

Translation and interpreting are important not only for multilingual countries. Germany, the United States and France are countries that foster monolingualism, but where translation and interpreting research and practice flourish. One of the reasons is that we live in a global village, of which South Africa is part. All the problems discussed above show that South Africa's court interpreters face problems, which are neither new nor unknown to government. How is it that there seems to be little attention devoted to them?

VIII. 4 Recommendations

A look at the history of interpreting has shown that the birth of the interpreting profession on African soil happened long before the Nuremberg trials (De Jongh 1992: 2). The analysis of court interpreting problems shows the acknowledgement of training as one of the most important elements that needs to be cared for in order to boost professional status and the development of language corpuses. However, the court interpreters work in an environment that falls prey to social and economic

contingencies which do not favour professional development or efficient discharge of duties. However, when available, training does not always accomplish what is intended, nor does it always run to schedule. The analysis of practices at court level reveals that the training and development of interpreters do not seem to be a priority of the Department of Justice. Adequate training schemes have to be identified or designed by the interpreters themselves and their professional organisations. Current financial restrictions act as a deterrent to effective training schemes, and also to effective continued education. There seems to be no assurance that this situation could change in the next few years.

The problem of allowing sufficient time for training is a particularly serious issue. The limited number of interpreters at various courts complicates even further any possibility of detaching staff for long training. Other factors that act as deterrents include the comparatively low salaries paid to interpreters, and the general lack of motivation at the workplace, arising from the lack of funding for the development of language services and the interpreter's work environment. For training to be successful, at every major court there must be a senior officer tasked specifically with this responsibility. In two separate courts I met the senior interpreters in charge of training, but neither had any training plan for his particular court. It seems as if they simply relay information on training sessions which take place at Justice College in Pretoria. This is a step forward, but it is not sufficient to simply appoint a training officer with no budget that can allow him to send interpreters to various courses taking place at national or local level. The training officer must also acquire teaching skills and knowledge on how to organise training schemes. His/her task must include:

- the design of a written training policy
- the design and execution of a training plan
- the coordination of a bi/trilingual word list
- a record of problematic terms that interpreters encounter on a daily basis
- organisation of on-site training or workshops.

Records of non-linguistic difficulties encountered can serve the purpose of information to be covered by a specific training program.

The development of basic word lists can be a way of helping interpreters develop their knowledge, actively participate in language development and improve their self-image.

The need for cost-effective training should cause the universities and the Department of Justice to form short courses or single lectures. Difficulties of geographical location contribute to irregularities in training patterns e.g. the Gauteng region seems to enjoy better training opportunities than the Western Province. This is not necessarily due to the lack of resources in the Western Cape Province. A formal structure should be created at a major university such as the University of Cape Town so that interpreters can be trained wherever they are, thus allowing for convenience and quality. The use of video conferencing should be considered so as to put teachers and students in contact. Such facilities are already available at major universities such as the University of Cape Town. Moreover the Department of Justice is planning to install similar technology to allow distance trials. In the view of the department this will prevent prisoners having to be transported from prisons to courts for trials. Technology can be used along with interpreters' on-site training.

The concept of heuristic training should also be explored i.e. training to discover for oneself. Through the use of audio-visual mediums, an interpreter's performance can be recorded, with the view to allow self-assessment and critical analysis of one's own practices. This approach could be used before peer evaluation and the trainer's feedback, as it would meet the interpreter's needs to be apprehended and prevent feelings of inadequacy due to other assessment methods. Technological support should also be used to introduce court interpreters to simultaneous interpreting. They often resort to chuchotage or whisper interpreting when interlocutors speak at the same time. However the possibility of introducing simultaneous interpreting can help save time as well as allowing the interpreter time to be refreshed in accordance with the principles and requirements of simultaneous conference interpreting. Simultaneous conference interpreting recommends that interpreters work in pairs and that an interpretation day should not last longer than two periods of three hours each, separated by a break of at least one and a half hours.

This thesis has attempted to show how language practitioners can contribute to the South African language policy and planning. The argument sustained by the thesis was that a language plan cannot expect to bear fruit unless it is accompanied by appropriate language services. Government services have worked hard to produce statistics about speakers of all eleven official languages. It is well known which ones are major languages and which ones are not.

Such effort should be continued so as to collect and publish data on the degree of monolingualism and multilingualism. An indication of the number of monolingual citizens in the country is an important tool for the planning of translation and interpreting services at national level.

It is appreciated that the government has initiated a number of projects and programs to encourage citizens to learn a second or a third language. However, it is not possible for anyone to become fully functional in eleven languages. Even in provinces where, presumably, large sections of the population are bilingual, monolingual individuals are still not common. It therefore means that translation and interpreting are services that the country will always need. There will always be a need for certain language combinations. It is important that the country should start reflecting seriously on the sustainability of its own language policy with regard to the potential that language services can offer. The present endeavour is a step in this direction. Despite the various challenges highlighted in this thesis, South Africa remains a forerunner in matters of language policy, language planning and the organised provision of language services in courts. Suggestions provided in this thesis are meant to lead to the improvement of existing structures. As a casual court interpreter in South Africa, the study was an investigation of our strengths and weaknesses with the view to let light prevail on darkness and strength on weakness.

Translation and interpreting can play different roles depending on the specific language plans and policies. Whether they serve as instruments of better communication, or instruments of social justice, social peace, stability, and global security, translation and interpreting remain important parts of language plan and policy.

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University of Cape Town

Appendix 1:

Constitution of South Africa, 1993 (section on language)

University of Cape Town

Constitution of Republic of South Africa, 1993

Languages

3. (1) Afrikaans, English, isiNdebele, Sesotho sa Leboa, Sesotho, siSwati, Xitsonga, Setswana, Tshivenda, isiXhosa and isiZulu shall be the official South African languages at national level, and conditions shall be created for their development and for the promotion of their equal use and enjoyment.

(2) Rights relating to language and the status of languages existing at the commencement of this Constitution shall not be diminished, and provision shall be made by an Act of Parliament for rights relating to language and the status of languages existing only at regional level, to be extended nationally in accordance with the principles set out in subsection (9).

(3) Wherever practicable, a person shall have the right to use and to be addressed in his or her dealings with any public administration at the national level of government in any official South African language of his or her choice.

(4) Regional differentiation in relation to language policy and practice shall be permissible.

(5) A provincial legislature may, by a resolution adopted by a majority of at least two-thirds of all its members, declare any language referred to in subsection (1) to be an official language for the whole or any part of the province and for any or all powers and functions within the competence of that legislature, save that neither the rights relating to language nor the status of an official language as existing in any area or in relation to any function at the time of the commencement of this Constitution, shall be diminished.

(6) Wherever practicable, a person shall have the right to use and to be addressed in his or her dealings with any public administration at the provincial level of government in any one of the official languages of his or her choice as contemplated in subsection (5).

(7) A member of Parliament may address Parliament in the official South African language of his or her choice.

(8) Parliament and any provincial legislature may, subject to this section, make provision by legislation for the use of official languages for the purposes of the functioning of government, taking into account questions of usage, practicality and expense.

(9) Legislation, as well as official policy and practice, in relation to the use of languages at any level of government shall be subject to and based on the provisions of this section and the following principles:

- (a) The creation of conditions for the development and for the promotion of the equal use and enjoyment of all official South African languages;
- (b) the extension of those rights relating to language and the status of languages which at the commencement of this Constitution are restricted to certain regions;
- (c) the prevention of the use of any language for the purposes of exploitation, domination or division;
- (d) the promotion of multilingualism and the provision of translation facilities;
- (e) the fostering of respect for languages spoken in the Republic other than the official languages, and the encouragement of their use in appropriate circumstances; and
- (f) the non-diminution of rights relating to language and the status of languages existing at the commencement of this Constitution.

(10) (a) Provision shall be made by an Act of Parliament for the establishment by the Senate of an independent Pan South African Language Board to promote respect for the principles referred to in subsection (9) and to further the development of the official South African languages.

(b) The Pan South African Language Board shall be consulted, and be given the opportunity to make recommendations, in relation to any proposed legislation contemplated in this section.

(c) The Pan South African Language Board shall be responsible for promoting respect for and the development of German, Greek, Gujarati, Hindi, Portuguese, Tamil, Telugu, Urdu and other languages used by communities in South Africa, as well as Arabic, Hebrew and Sanskrit and other languages used for religious purposes.

Appendix 2:

**Constitution of South Africa, 1996
(section on language)**

University of Cape Town

Constitution of the Republic of South Africa, 1996

Languages

6. (1) The official languages of the Republic are Sepedi, Sesotho, Setswana, siSwati, Tshivenda, Xitsonga, Afrikaans, English, isiNdebele, isiXhosa and isiZulu.
- (2) Recognising the historically diminished use and status of the indigenous languages of our people, the state must take practical and positive measures to elevate the status and advance the use of these languages.
- (3) National and provincial governments may use particular official languages for the purposes of government, taking into account usage, practicality, expense, regional circumstances, and the balance of the needs and preferences of the population as a whole or in respective provinces; provided that no national or provincial government may use only one official language. Municipalities must take into consideration the language usage and preferences of their residents.
- (4) National and provincial governments, by legislative and other measures, must regulate and monitor the use by those governments of official languages. Without detracting from the provisions of subsection (2), all official languages must enjoy parity of esteem and must be treated equitably.
- (5) The Pan South African Language Board must -
 - (a) promote and create conditions for the development and use of
 - (i) all official languages;
 - (ii) the Khoi, Nama and San languages; and
 - (iii) sign language.
 - (b) promote and ensure respect for languages, including German, Greek, Gujarati, Hindi, Portuguese, Tamil, Telugu, Urdu, and others commonly used by communities in South Africa, and Arabic, Hebrew, Sanskrit and others used for religious purposes.

Appendix 4:
**Selected list of court cases observed for data
collection**

University of Cape Town

CASE	ACCUSED	ASISIE	KLAGTE	PROK	OP ROL	UKS	VIR
4/103/02	Silulama Ntshunwa	ilh	Moord	ilp	RA aansoel		
4/108/02	Ninston Sagoney	ilh	Besit Vuurw. 12 112102	ilp 101-1391	RU aansoel Manselwa-Swemang		
4/511/02	Anthony Miller John Merdicks	ilh ilh	Roof	Plaatjue 704-5520	Adres Bev. No. 2 Truwer - CIP		
5/111/02	David Dudley	ilh	AETS 1519102	Plaatjue 704-2426	BA Abraham - Kwa 101-1391		
4/107/02	Wayne Du Plessis	ilh	Dagga 30319102	ilp	BA Teyer - Stenberg		
4/6164/02	Monda Mzamo Vuyani Sunduzo	ilh	Moord	Stern 11102	SA mdean 02-2-3205912		
4/5139/02	Phindile Xulasha	ilh	Moord 1015191	ilp 214111	BA/RU Prinsloo - Njenge		
4/4460/02	Ayo Gobo ans. Charles Sigabi	ilh	Dief. Motor oc 271 021202	Rhodes	BA? 101-1391	(15/03)	
4/5610/02	Bongani Lutana	ilh	Opes - Saaklo Vivian Wihichman	ilp	Verhoor		
4/5482/02	Marceleno Booysen	ilh	Kuistbroek Ulinda Sumpne Dorothy Albertus	ilp	Verhoor		

BA = 5
 YR = 2
 Ander = 3

G.P.S.

Appendix 5:
Covering letters

University of Cape Town

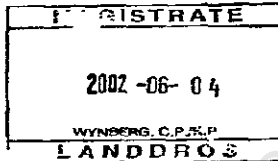


DEPARTMENT: JUSTICE AND CONSTITUTIONAL DEVELOPMENT
REPUBLIC OF SOUTH AFRICA

Private Bag 28173, CAPE TOWN 8000 - Tel: 021-4825471 - Fax: 021-4822128
Pretorius Building - Parliament - 11th Floor - Cape Town

Ref: S/43
Enq: Ms X Ncedi
Date: 3 June 2002

Ms L. Tonga
The Magistrate Office
Private Bag X 3
WYNBERG
7824



Dear Ms Tonga

ASSISTANCE FOR DATA COLLECTION

Attached please find the following documents for your further attention.

It will be appreciated if you can make contacts with these people.

Yours faithfully

REGIONAL HEAD: WESTERN CAPE

For attention: Ms Ncedi
[Signature]
04/06/02

HIV/AIDS is a numbers 2. Bring it to Justice



CALSSA

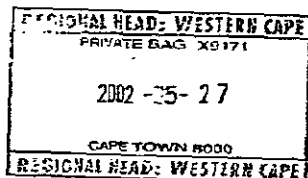
Centre for Applied Language Studies and Services In Africa
Iziko Lezifundo Ngokuseyenziswa Kolwimi Nezinye Inkonzo eAfrika
Sentrum vir Toegepaste Taalstudies en Dienste in Afrika

Arts Block
Private Bag - Rondebosch 7701 - South Africa
Telephone (27+21) (021) 650-2939
Fax (27+21) (021) 650-2939
E-mail: calssa@uct.ac.za

May 23, 2002

Department of Justice
Regional Office: Western Cape province
Private bag: X 9171
Cape Town, 8000

Attention: Mr Sikiti



Dear Sir,

Subject: Assistance for data collection

I am currently collecting data, which feeds my doctoral thesis and bears much relevance for different stakeholders in the field of translation and interpreting. The understanding of translators / interpreters' training needs is also crucial for CALSSA, which seeks to establish Interpreting as a main stream academic discipline.

In a meeting with Mrs L Tonga from Wynberg Magistrate court this week, she indicated that you would be helpful in this regard. I join to the present letter, a letter of recommendation signed by my supervisor and 2 sample questionnaires. One of the questionnaires is designed for the trainers of translators / interpreters and the second one is to be completed by the interpreters themselves.

I remain available for any additional information that may deem necessary.

Best regards,

DN Mwepu
CALSSA Resource Centre

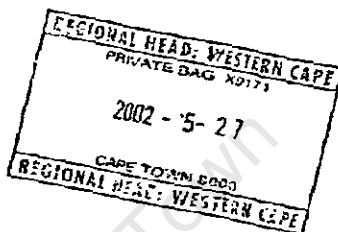
Enclosures (3)



MODERN AND CLASSICAL LANGUAGES
AND LITERATURES

Private Bag, Rondebosch 7701
Rm 203, Beattie Building, 5 University Avenue, Rondebosch 7700
Fax: 683-5530; Tel: (021) 650-2607
E-mail for secretary: leeb@beattie.uct.ac.za
Head of Department: Assoc. Prof. D. Wardle

8 May 2002



To whom it may concern

Mr Dominique Mwepu is currently registered for a Doctoral degree in Modern and Classical Languages at the University of Cape Town. His research is of much interest both for translators, interpreters and the users of translating and interpreting services. He is attempting to assess translators' training needs and their perceptions of their professional status. He is primarily focusing on the health care, judicial and parliamentary sectors. This is to assist in the building of translation training programmes appropriate for each specific group.

For the purpose of research I request that you facilitate his access to relevant people in your institution. He will, of course, respect the appropriate ethical considerations of such research, for example, not revealing the names of the informants.

I hope you will be able to assist Mr Mwepu in this regard. If you have any questions, please contact me

Yours sincerely

Dr Olivier Fiéchaix

Appendix 6:
Preliminary questionnaires

University of Cape Town

QUESTIONNAIRE ONE

Name:

Address:

Telephone:

Date:

Are you a translator only an interpreter only a translator-interpreter

Quantitative information

1. Please provide a brief description of the type of work you do.....
.....
.....
2. Are you a full-time or free-lance translator Interpreter translator-interpreter?
3. How many pages do you translate per month?
4. How many hours do you interpret per month?
5. What type of text do you deal with? And in what proportion?
6. How much do you charge per page?
7. How much do you charge?
8. How do you determine the price to charge?
9. Are you happy with your earnings? What can be done to enhance your job?
.....
.....
10. Do you think university trained translators are better than the others? Specify
.....
.....
10. Do you think taking a translation course at the university is beneficial ? in which way?
.....
.....
11. Please indicate the type of training and formal qualification you have
.....
.....
12. What benefit could you get from a translation course at the University?
.....
.....
13. What should a translation course focus on?
.....
.....

14. For your work, what aspects of knowledge do you find

1. Very relevant
2. Somewhat relevant
3. Not relevant

(write a number before every item)

- a) () Knowledge of languages
- b) () History of translation
- c) () Theory of translation (school of thought e.g. functionalism, etc.)
- d) () Translation procedures (literal translation, paraphrase, etc.)
- e) () Translation of cultural information
- f) () Mastery of the specialised or technical terms
- g) () Theory of machine translation
- h) () Practical utilisation of Computer Assisted Translation Tools
- i) () Quality Assessment (how to recognise a good translations)
- j) () Dubbing (translation of film material)
- k) () The grammar of the language used
- l) () Text analysis
- m) () Localisation (Translation and adaptation of computer software packages)
- n) () Use of references (Dictionary, Encyclopaedia etc.)
- o) () Stylistics (Metaphors, figure of speech, idioms....)
- p) () Editing
- q) () Ability to conduct research in the field of Translation Studies
- r) () Knowledge of the accreditation system
- s) () Code of Ethics
- t) () Other

(Specify).....
.....
.....

15. What qualifications (i.e. level of training / skills do you possess as a translator?)

- () Less than matric
- () Matric
- () Sworn translator
- () Qualified translator (i.e. honours or degree in translation)
- () Other (specify)

.....

16. Can these items be covered in a course out of the university? Explain

.....
.....

17. Which level should a candidate to this course have? Why?

.....
.....
.....

18. What do think should the duration of the course be?

19. Do you feel that the existing training facilities are adequate? Explain

.....
.....
.....

20. Why did you decide to become a translator?

.....
.....
.....

18. Any comments?

QUESTIONNAIRE TWO

Name:

Address:

Telephone:

Institution:

Date:

1. For your work, what aspects of knowledge do you find

4. Very relevant
5. Somewhat relevant
6. Not relevant

(write a number before every item)

- a) () Knowledge of languages
- b) () History of translation
- c) () Theory of translation (school of thought e.g. functionalism, etc.)
- d) () Translation procedures (literal translation, paraphrase, etc.)
- e) () Translation of cultural information
- f) () Mastery of the specialised or technical terms
- g) () Theory of machine translation
- h) () Practical utilisation of Computer Assisted Translation Tools
- i) () Quality Assessment (how to recognise a good translations)
- j) () Dubbing (translation of film material)
- k) () The grammar of the language used
- l) () Text analysis
- m) () Localisation (Translation and adaptation of computer software packages)
- n) () Use of references (Dictionary, Encyclopaedia etc.)
- o) () Stylistics (Metaphors, figure of speech, idioms....)
- p) () Editing
- q) () Ability to conduct research in the field of Translation Studies
- r) () Knowledge of the accreditation system
- s) () Code of Ethics
- t) () Other

(Specify).....
.....
.....
.....

2. Do you think these aspects can be covered in a translation course in non academic milieu?

.....
.....
.....
.....

3. How could one surmount can some of the difficulties of teaching some of the aspects in a non-academic environment?

.....
.....
.....
.....

4. What should be the focus of a short course programme?

.....
.....
.....
.....

5. What difference should there be between the Translation Training programs at tertiary level and translation training programs out side the tertiary training institutions?

.....
.....
.....
.....

6. What should the level required for candidate in translation courses out of the University?

.....
.....

7. What do think should the duration of the course be?

8. Do you feel that the existing training facilities are adequate? Explain

.....
.....
.....
.....

9. Do you foresee any antagonism between University trained translators and non university trained ones?

.....
.....
.....
.....

10. Any comments?

.....
.....
.....
.....

University of Cape Town

Appendix 7:

Pilot questionnaire for translators and interpreters

University of Cape Town

QUESTIONNAIRE ONE (TRANSLATORS / INTERPRETERS)

Please take a few minutes of your time to fill this questionnaire. The information will be used as part of a research for the improvement of the training of translators/ interpreters and the betterment of the profession. We can come to collect the questionnaire after you have completed it or it can be mailed or faxed to the Centre for Applied Language and Literacy Studies and Services in Africa (CALLSSA/UCT), private bag, Rondebosch 7701. Phone / Fax 021 650 2939

Thank you!

University of Cape Town

INSTRUCTIONS: Please tick (✓) the appropriate item(s) in the left row. Where applicable, specify or comment in the blank space under the question. Where the sequence *translation /interpreting* appears, please underline the appropriate element. Feel free to use the back of the page to provide additional information.

SECTION A. BACKGROUND INFORMATION

- | | |
|---|--|
| 1. You are | <input type="checkbox"/> a translator only
<input type="checkbox"/> an interpreter only
<input type="checkbox"/> a translator-interpreter |
| 3. Please provide a brief description of the type of work you do | |
| 3. What is your highest educational qualification level? | <input type="checkbox"/> less than matric
<input type="checkbox"/> matric
<input type="checkbox"/> post - Matric (please specify field) |
| 4. Do you have a degree (diploma) in Translation Studies? | <input type="checkbox"/> Yes (Please specify)
<input type="checkbox"/> No |
| 5. Have you taken a translation/interpreting course in a tertiary institution? | <input type="checkbox"/> Yes
<input type="checkbox"/> No |
| 6. Have you <u>completed</u> a translation/interpreting course in a tertiary institution? | <input type="checkbox"/> Yes (please specify)
<input type="checkbox"/> No |
| 7. Have you received any other type of training in translation / interpreting. | <input type="checkbox"/> workshops
<input type="checkbox"/> seminars
<input type="checkbox"/> conferences
<input type="checkbox"/> other (Please specify) |
| 8. Are an accredited.....
Please specify date of accreditation and language combinations | <input type="checkbox"/> translator
<input type="checkbox"/> interpreter
<input type="checkbox"/> translator-interpreter |
| 9. Do you belong to a professional association of translators/interpreters? | <input type="checkbox"/> Yes (please name it)
<input type="checkbox"/> No |

10. How long have you been translating/interpreting?

- 1- 3 years
- 4- 6 years
- 7- 10 years
- 11-14
- more than 14 years

11. What languages do you translate from or into? Please list all the language combinations.

12. Do you translate from or into French?

- Yes
- No

13. Do you feel ability to translate/interpret from or into French can give a translator/ interpreter added advantages? (please elaborate)

14. Do you translate from or into Xhosa?

- Yes
- No

15. Do you feel ability to interpret/translate from or into Xhosa can give a translator/ interpreter added advantages? (please elaborate)

SECTION B. STATUS OF TRANSLATION

16. What is your main professional occupation?

- translating
- interpreting
- translating and interpreting
- other (please, specify)

17. How often do you translate/interpret?

- daily
- weekly
- monthly
- less frequently
- other (please specify.)

18. How many pages do you translate per month? (estimated average)

Paid

Unpaid

19. How many hours do you interpret per month?

Paid

Unpaid

18. Do you consider this workload acceptable? Please, comment.

- Yes
- No

19. What type of texts do you often translate?

- legal
- medical
- technical
- commercial
- literary
- educational
- other

20. How do you generally charge?

- per hour
- per day
- per word
- per page
- per document
- I receive a salary
- other (please specify.)

21. How do you determine yours fees? (please, comment)

- standard rates
- discussed with colleagues
- discussed with the client
- randomly
- other

22. How much do you charge? (complete where applicable)

- per hour
- per day
- per word
- per page
- Per document....
- other

23. Are you *dissatisfied* with your income?

- Yes
- No

24. What can be done to increase your earnings?

25. Do you think the status of translation as a profession needs to be improved? If so, what can be done?

26. As a translator or an interpreter do you feel respected?
(Please, comment)

- Yes
- No
- sometimes not

University of Cape Town

27. For whom have you translated/interpreted at least once?

- government (specify)
- private company
- religious organisation
- NGOs
- Educational institution
- courts
- hospital
- family
- others (please specify)

28. Do you find any difficulties when translating? (please elaborate)

- Yes
- No

29. Do you sometimes face any difficulties when interpreting? (please elaborate).

- Yes
- No

University of Cape Town

SECTION C. TRAINING NEEDS

30. For your work, which aspects do you find highly relevant, relevant and not relevant.
Please tick (✓) only once per row in the RELEVANCE column.

ASPECT OF KNOWLEDGE		RELEVANCE		
		Highly relevant	relevant	not relevant
1	Knowledge of the languages			
2	History of translation / interpreting			
3	Theory of translation (school of thought e.g. functionalism)			
4	Translation procedures (literal translation, paraphrase, etc)			
5	Aspects of cultural competence (interaction, cultural information...)			
6	Mastery of the specialised or technical terms			
7	Theory of machine translation			
8	Practical utilisation of Computer Assisted Translation Tools			
	Quality Assessment (how to recognise a good translations)			
9	Dubbing (translation of film material)			
10	Use of technical aids for interpreters (sound system equipment....)			
11	Text analysis			
12	Localisation (Translation and adaptation of computer software packages)			
13	Use of reference material (Dictionary, Encyclopaedia			
14	Stylistics (Metaphors, figure of speech, idioms....)			
15	Editing			
16	Ability to conduct research in the field of Translation Studies			
17	Knowledge of the accreditation system			
18	Ethics (code of conduct)			
19	General background knowledge (Politics, law economics, science, medicine.....)			
20	Language variety awareness			
21	Assertiveness (ways of enhancing confidence or self esteem...)			
22	Financial management			
23	Business marketing applied to language services			
24	Rhetoric (the art of effective speaking or writing)			
25	Computer skill			
26	Lexicology (study of the form, meaning and behaviour of words)			
27	Listening skills			
28	Other (Specify)			

SECTION D. PERCEPTION OF ACADEMIC TRAINING OF TRANSLATORS

31. Do you see any benefits in a translation course taught in a tertiary institution? Please list the benefits.

- Yes
 No

32. Do you really think tertiary training of translators really improves translation/interpreting skills?

- Yes
 No

33. List 7 most important elements

A) for the training of translators in tertiary institutions
(select from the table on page 6)

- —
 —
 —
 —
 —
 —

B) for the training of interpreters in tertiary institutions
(select from the table on page 6)

- —
 —
 —
 —
 —
 —

34. What can prevent you from taking Translation Studies in a tertiary institution?

- fees
 time
 age
 registration requirements
 other (please specify)

E. ALTERNATIVE WAYS OF TRAINING

35. Apart from tertiary institutions, in what other possible ways do you think can Translators/Interpreters be trained?

36. Assuming that a short course does not exceed 6 months, what do you think should be the duration a course?

- Less than 1 month
- 1 month
- 2 months
- 3 months
- 4 months
- 5 months
- 6 months

37. List 7 most important elements

A) for the training of translators outside tertiary institutions (select from the table on page 6)

-
-
-
-
-
-
-

B) for the training of interpreters outside tertiary institutions (select numbers from the table on page 6)

- 1 —
- 2 —
- 3 —
- 4 —
- 5 —
- 6 —

37. What should be the required level of education for candidates at these courses?

- grade 7
- matric
- post matric
- no requirement

39. Do you think that the existing translators' training facilities are adequate? Please, comment.

- Yes
- No

THANK YOU!

**Appendix 8:
Pilot questionnaire for lecturers and tutors**

University of Cape Town

QUESTIONNAIRE TWO (*LECTURERS / TUTORS*)

Please take a few minutes of your time to fill this questionnaire. The information will be used as part of a research for the improvement of the training of translators/ interpreters and the betterment of the profession. We can come to collect the questionnaire after you have completed it or it can be mailed or faxed to the Centre for Applied Language and Literacy Studies and Services in Africa (CALLSSA/UCT), private bag, Rondebosch 7701. Phone / Fax 021 650 2939

Thank you!

University of Cape Town

Name:

Address:

Telephone:

Institution:

Date:

SECTION A. BACKGROUND INFORMATION

1. You are a tutor a lecturer
2. Would you please give us an indication of your educational background? (qualification and place of graduation)
3. Would you please indicate your practical experience in the field of translation?
4. How long have you been teaching the translation/ interpreting course?

SECTION B. WAYS OF IMPROVING THE STATUS OF TRANSLATION

5. What should be done to improve the status of translation as a profession?
6. What should be done to increase the earnings of the translators?

SECTION C. TRANSLATORS' AND INTERPRETERS' TRAINING NEEDS

7. For the training of *translators*, which aspects do you find very relevant, somewhat relevant and not relevant. (Please, check in the grid)

	ASPECT OF KNOWLEDGE	RELEVANCE		
		Very relevant	Somewhat relevant	Not relevant
A	Knowledge of languages			
B	History of translation			
C	Theory of translation (school of thought e.g. functionalism)			
D	Translation procedures (literal translation, paraphrase, etc)			
E	Translation of cultural information			
F	Mastery of the specialised or technical terms			
G	Theory of machine translation			
H	Practical utilisation of Computer Assisted Translation Tools			
I	Quality Assessment (how to recognise a good translations)			
J	Dubbing (translation of film material)			
K	The grammar of the language used			
L	Text analysis			
M	Localisation (Translation and adaptation of computer software packages)			
N	Use of references (Dictionary, Encyclopaedia etc.)			
O	Stylistics (Metaphors, figure of speech, idioms....)			
P	Editing			
Q	Ability to conduct research in the field of Translation Studies			
R	Knowledge of the accreditation system			
S	Ethics (code of conduct)			
T	General background knowledge (Politics, law economics, science etc.)			
U	Ways of enhancing self esteem			
V	Financial management			
W	Marketing your business			
X	Other (Specify)			

8. For the training of *interpreters*, which aspects do you find very relevant, somewhat relevant and not relevant. (Please, check in the grid)

	ASPECT OF KNOWLEDGE	RELEVANCE		
		Very relevant	Somewhat relevant	Not relevant
A	Knowledge of languages			
B	History of translation			
C	Theory of translation (school of thought e.g. functionalism)			
D	Translation procedures (literal translation, paraphrase, etc)			
E	Translation of cultural information			
F	Mastery of the specialised or technical terms			
G	Theory of machine translation			
H	Practical utilisation of Computer Assisted Translation Tools			
I	Quality Assessment (how to recognise a good translations)			
J	Dubbing (translation of film material)			
K	The grammar of the language used			
L	Text analysis			
M	Localisation (Translation and adaptation of computer software packages)			
N	Use of references (Dictionary, Encyclopaedia etc.)			
O	Stylistics (Metaphors, figure of speech, idioms....)			
P	Editing			
Q	Ability to conduct research in the field of Translation Studies			
R	Knowledge of the accreditation system			
S	Ethics (code of conduct)			
T	General background knowledge (Politics, law economics, science etc.)			
U	Ways of enhancing self esteem			
V	Financial management			
W	Marketing your business			
X	Other (Specify)			

**SECTION D. PERCEIVED ADVANTAGE OF ACADEMIC TRAINING OF
TRANSLATORS AND INTERPRETERS**

9. What benefits do you see in translation courses taught in tertiary institutions?

10. What benefits do you see in translation courses taught outside tertiary institutions?

11. Point out 6 elements that translation courses in tertiary institutions should focus? (Please, select a letter from the table in question No. 7)

A) for the training of translators

- 1 ___
- 2 ___
- 3 ___
- 4 ___
- 5 ___
- 6 ___

B) for the training of interpreters

- 1 ___
- 2 ___
- 3 ___
- 4 ___
- 5 ___
- 6 ___

12. What can hinder translators / interpreters to take a translation course in a tertiary institution?

**SECTION E. POSSIBLE ALTERNATIVE WAYS OF TRAINING TRANSLATORS
AND INTERPRETERS**

13. What other possible ways do you think we can train the following professionals?

a) Translators

b) Interpreters

14. If short courses were provided, what do you think should be the duration of such courses?

15. Points out 6 elements that a short course outside tertiary institutions should focus? (Please, select a letter from the table in question No. 7)

A) for the training of translators

- 1 _
- 2 _
- 3 _
- 4 _
- 5 _
- 6 _

B) for the training of interpreters

- 1 _
- 2 _
- 3 _
- 4 _
- 5 _
- 6 _

16. What should be the required level of candidates at these courses?
17. What difference should there be between a translation course offered in a tertiary institution and a short course thought in non academic environment?
18. Do you foresee any antagonism between translators trained in tertiary institutions and those trained in non-academic environments?
19. Do you feel the existing translators training facilities are adequate? (comment)
20. Any comments ?

Appendix 9:
Final questionnaire on translation and interpreting

University of Cape Town

QUESTIONNAIRE ON TRANSLATION AND INTERPRETING

Please take a few minutes of your time to fill this questionnaire. The information will be used as part of a research for the improvement of the training of translators/ interpreters and the betterment of the profession. We can come to collect the questionnaire after you have completed it or it can be mailed or faxed to the Centre for Applied Language and Literacy Studies and Services in Africa (CALLSSA/UCT), private bag, Rondebosch 7701. Phone / Fax 021 650 2939

Thank you!

Dominique N. Mwepu
CALLSSA Resource Centre

University of Cape Town

INSTRUCTIONS: Please tick (✓) the appropriate item(s) in the box □ on the left. Where applicable, specify or comment in the blank space provided under the question. Feel free to use the back of the page to provide additional information.

SECTION A. BACKGROUND INFORMATION

1. Do you do any of the activities suggested here? Please tick (✓) in the box that indicates what you do.
2. What is your highest educational qualification level?
.....
.....
3. Do you have a degree, diploma or a certificate in Translation Studies?
.....
.....
4. Have you studied any **interpreting** course
.....
5. Have you studied any *translation* course
.....
6. Have you completed any **interpreting** course?
.....
7. Have you completed any *translation* course?
.....
8. How did you gain your knowledge on translation /interpreting? Please tick the appropriate box(es)
.....
.....
.....
9. Are you accredited as any of the suggested practitioners? If so, please specify date of accreditation and language combinations
..... to.....
..... to.....
..... to.....
..... to.....
..... to.....
- translations
□ interpreting
□ both translations and interpreting
- less than matric
□ matric
□ post - Matric (please specify degree obtained)
- Yes (Please specify)
□ No
- Yes (please specify)
□ No
- Yes (please specify)
□ No
- Yes (please specify)
□ No
- Yes (please specify)
□ No
- workshops
□ seminars
□ conferences
□ reading
□ research
□ contact with practitioners
□ experience
□ other (Please specify)
- translator
□ interpreter
□ translator-interpreter
□ not accredited

10. Are you a sworn translator?

.....

Yes (please specify)

No

11. Do you belong to a professional association of translators/ interpreters?

.....
.....
.....

Yes (please name it)

No

12. How long have you been interpreting?

- 1- 3 years
- 4- 6 years
- 7- 10 years
- 11 years and more

13. How long have you been translating?

- 1- 3 years
- 4- 6 years
- 7- 10 years
- 11 years and more

14. What languages do you translate from or into? Please list all the language combinations.

.....to.....
.....to.....
.....to.....
.....to.....
.....to.....
.....to.....

15. Do you translate from or into French?

Yes

No

16. Do you feel ability to translate / interpret from or into French can give a translator/ interpreter added advantages? (please, elaborate)

.....
.....
.....
.....
.....
.....
.....

17. Do you translate from or into Xhosa?

Yes

No

18. Do you feel ability to interpret / translate from or into Xhosa can give a translator/ interpreter added advantages? (please, elaborate)

.....
.....
.....
.....

SECTION B. STATUS OF TRANSLATION

19. What is your main professional occupation?

.....

- translating
 interpreting
 translating and interpreting
 other (please, specify)

20. How many pages do translate per year

- 1 – 14 pages
 15- 54 pages
 55- 184 pages
 185 and more

21. How many hours do you interpret per year?

- 1 – 14 hours
 15- 54 hours
 55- 184 hours
 185 and more

22. Do you consider this amount of work acceptable? Please, comment.

.....

- Yes
 No

23. Do you always charge your services? If not, please estimate the number of pages/ hours you work free of charge and those you charge

.....pages charged per year
pages free of charge per year
hours charged per year
hours free of charge per year

24. What type of texts do you interpret?

- legal
 medical
 technical
 commercial
 literary
 educational
 other

25. What type of texts do you translate?

- legal
 medical
 technical
 commercial
 literary
 educational
 other (Please specify)

26. How do you generally charge?

- per hour
- per day
- per word
- per page
- per document
- I receive a salary
- other (please specify.)

27. How do you determine your fees? (please, comment)

.....

.....

.....

.....

.....

.....

- discussed with colleagues
- discussed with the client
- imposed by the client
- other (please specify)

28. How much do you charge? (complete where applicable)

- per hour
- per day
- per word
- per page
- Per document....
- Other (please specify)

29. Are you *dissatisfied* with the income you get from translation or interpreting work? Please comment.

.....

.....

.....

.....

- Yes
- No

30. What can be done to increase your earnings?

.....

.....

.....

31. In your opinion how much does an **interpreter** earn per year from interpreting work?.....Rands/ year

32. In your opinion how much does a translator earn per year from *translation* work?Rands/ year.

33. Do you think the status of translation / interpreting as a profession needs to be improved? If so, what can be done?

.....

.....

.....

34. As a translator or an interpreter do you feel respected?
(Please, comment)

.....

- Yes
 No
 sometimes not

35. For whom have you translated / interpreted at least once?

.....

- government (specify department, level or sector)
 private company (please specify sector)
 religious organisation
 NGOs
 Educational institution
 court
 hospital
 family
 other (please specify)

36. Do you find any difficulties when interpreting? (please elaborate)

.....

- Yes
 No

37. Do you sometimes face any difficulties when *translating*? (please elaborate).

.....

- Yes
 No

38. Which translation aids do you own?

.....

- thesaurus
 bilingual dictionary
 dictionary of synonyms
 lexicon
 dictionary of idioms
 other (please specify)

39. If you lack some, where do you find the information you need?

.....

40. Do you subscribe to a translators' journal, bulletin or magazine? If yes, please name it

.....

- Yes
 No

SECTION C. TRAINING NEEDS

41. If you do interpreting work, fill the table on page 7.
 If you do translations, fill the table on page 8.
 If you do interpreting and translation, please fill the two tables.

For your work as an interpreter, which aspects do you find highly relevant, relevant and not relevant. Please tick (✓) only once per line in the RELEVANCE column.

ASPECT OF KNOWLEDGE		RELEVANCE		
		Highly relevant	relevant	not relevant
1	Knowledge of the languages			
2	History of translation / interpreting			
3	Theory of translation (school of thought e.g. functionalism)			
4	Translation procedures (literal translation, paraphrase, etc)			
5	Aspects of cultural competence (interaction, cultural information...)			
6	Mastery of the specialised or technical terms			
7	Theory of machine translation			
8	Practical utilisation of Computer Assisted Translation Tools			
9	Quality Assessment (how to recognise a good translations)			
10	Dubbing (translation of film material)			
11	Use of technical aids for interpreters (sound system equipment....)			
12	Text analysis			
13	Localisation (Translation and adaptation of computer software packages)			
14	Use of reference material (Dictionary, Encyclopaedia			
15	Stylistics (Metaphors, figure of speech, idioms....)			
16	Editing			
17	Ability to conduct research in the field of Translation Studies			
18	Knowledge of the accreditation system			
19	Ethics (code of conduct)			
20	General background knowledge (Politics, law economics, science, medicine.....)			
21	Language variety awareness			
22	Assertiveness (ways of enhancing confidence or self esteem...)			
23	Financial management			
24	Business marketing applied to language services			
25	Rhetoric (the art of effective speaking or writing)			
26	Computer skill			
27	Lexicology (study of the form, meaning and behaviour of words)			
28	Listening skills			
29	Other (Specify)			

42. For your work as a *translator*, which aspects do you find highly relevant, relevant and not relevant. Please tick (✓) only once per line in the RELEVANCE column.

ASPECT OF KNOWLEDGE		RELEVANCE		
		Highly relevant	relevant	not relevant
1	Knowledge of the languages			
2	History of translation / interpreting			
3	Theory of translation (school of thought e.g. functionalism)			
4	Translation procedures (literal translation, paraphrase, etc)			
5	Aspects of cultural competence (interaction, cultural information...)			
6	Mastery of the specialised or technical terms			
7	Theory of machine translation			
8	Practical utilisation of Computer Assisted Translation Tools			
9	Quality Assessment (how to recognise a good translations)			
10	Dubbing (translation of film material)			
11	Use of technical aids for interpreters (sound system equipment....)			
12	Text analysis			
13	Localisation (Translation and adaptation of computer software packages)			
14	Use of reference material (Dictionary, Encyclopaedia			
15	Stylistics (Metaphors, figure of speech, idioms....)			
16	Editing			
17	Ability to conduct research in the field of Translation Studies			
18	Knowledge of the accreditation system			
19	Ethics (code of conduct)			
20	General background knowledge (Politics, law economics, science, medicine.....)			
21	Language variety awareness			
22	Assertiveness (ways of enhancing confidence or self esteem....)			
23	Financial management			
24	Business marketing applied to language services			
25	Rhetoric (the art of effective speaking or writing)			
26	Computer skill			
27	Lexicology (study of the form, meaning and behaviour of words)			
28	Listening skills			
29	Speed reading			
30	Other (Specify)			

SECTION D. PERCEPTION OF ACADEMIC TRAINING OF TRANSLATORS AND INTERPRETERS

43. Do you see any benefits in a translation or interpreting course taught in a tertiary institution? Please list the benefits.

- Yes
- No

.....

.....

.....

.....

44. Do you think tertiary training of translators and interpreters improves their translation /interpreting skills?

- Yes
- No

.....

.....

.....

45. List 7 most important elements. Rank them. Start with the most relevant aspects for the training of interpreters in tertiary institutions (select numbers from the table on page 7)

-
-
-
-
-
-
-

46. List 7 most important elements. Rank them. Start with the most relevant aspects for the training of translators in tertiary institutions (select numbers from the table on page 8)

-
-
-
-
-
-
-

47. Do you see any thing that can hinder you from taking a translation or interpreting course in a tertiary institution? If so, what is it?

- fees
- time
- age
- registration requirements
- other (please specify)

.....

.....

.....

.....

E. ALTERNATIVE WAYS OF TRAINING

48. What benefits you see in a translation or interpreting course taught in a non-academic setting? Please list the benefits.

.....

49. Do you think such courses improves translation /interpreting skills?

.....

50. Apart from tertiary institutions, in what other possible ways can Translators and Interpreters be trained?

.....

51. Assuming that a short course does not exceed 6 months, what do you think should be the duration a course?

- Less than 1 month
- 1 month
- 2 months
- 3 months
- 4 months
- 5 months
- 6 months

52. List 7 most important elements. Rank them. Start with the most relevant aspects for the training of interpreters outside tertiary institutions (select numbers from the table on page 7)

-
-
-
-
-
-
-

53. List 7 most important elements. Rank them. Start with the most relevant aspects for the training of translators outside tertiary institutions (select numbers from the table on page 8)

-
-
-
-
-
-
-

54. What should be the required level of education for candidates at these courses?

.....

- grade 7
- matric
- post matric
- no requirement

55. What can you say about the current ways of training translator and interpreters?

.....
.....
.....
.....
.....

56. How do you view the role of the translator and the interpreter in the context of the South African language plan and policy?

.....
.....
.....
.....
.....
.....
.....
.....
.....
.....
.....

57. As a translator/ interpreter, what are your aspirations?

.....
.....
.....
.....
.....
.....
.....
.....
.....
.....
.....

58. Any additional comments?

.....
.....
.....
.....
.....

THANK YOU!
ENKOSI!
DANKIE!
MERCII

Appendix 10:
Final questionnaire on training
(including responses of a lecturer training interpreters)

University of Cape Town

QUESTIONNAIRE ON THE TRAINING OF TRANSLATORS AND THE TRAINING OF INTERPRETERS

Please take a few minutes of your time to fill this questionnaire. The information will be used as part of a research for the improvement of the training of translators/ interpreters and the betterment of the profession. We can come to collect the questionnaire after you have completed it or it can be mailed or faxed to the Centre for Applied Language and Literacy Studies and Services in Africa (CALLSSA/UCT), private bag, Rondebosch 7701. Phone / Fax 021 650 2939

Thank you!

Dominique N. Mwepu
CALLSSA Resource Centre

University of Cape Town

INSTRUCTIONS: Please tick (✓) the appropriate item(s) in the box . Where applicable, specify or comment in the blank space provided under the question. Feel free to use the back of the page to provide additional information.

SECTION A. BACKGROUND INFORMATION

1. Please tick (✓) in the box that indicates what you are

2. Do you also do translations or interpreting? If yes, please indicate by ticking the appropriate box.

3. What is your highest educational qualification level?

4. Do you have a degree, diploma, a certificate in Translation Studies?

5. A) Have you studied any interpreting course?

- B) Have you studied any *translation* course?

6. A) Have you completed any interpreting course?

- B) Have you completed any *translation* course?

7. How did you gain your knowledge on translation and interpreting? Please tick the appropriate box(es)

- a Lecturer ✓
 a tutor
 a teaching assistant
 an instructor
 other (specify)
- translation
 interpreting
 both translation and interpreting ✓
- less than matric
 matric
 post - Matric (please specify) ✓MA
- Yes (Please specify) ✓
 No
- Yes (please specify) ✓ *short courses*
 No
- Yes (please specify)
 No ✓
- Yes (please specify) ✓ *short courses*
 No
- Yes (please specify)
 No ✓
- workshops ✓
 seminars ✓
 conferences ✓
 reading ✓
 research ✓
 contact with practitioners ✓
 experience ✓
 other (Please specify) ✓ *In-service training*

8. A) Please indicate the courses you teach

.....

.....

.....

B) How long have you been teaching it

C) Do you teach a course that has a *translation* or *interpreting* component? How long have been teaching it?.....

.....

D) Do you teach any course in the translation training program or the interpreting training program? How long have been teaching it?

.....

.....

9. Does one need to hold a degree or a diploma in Translation Studies to be able to teach translation / interpreting courses?

.....

.....

.....

.....

.....

.....

.....

10. If you have no degree / diploma in Translation Studies, would you like to study in a tertiary institution to get one?

.....

.....

.....

11. What can prevent you from taking a translation course in a tertiary institution?

.....

.....

.....

.....

12. A) Do you also do some **interpreting** work?

- translation
- interpreting
- translation and interpreting ✓
- other (please specify) ✓
Language editing

- 1- 3 years
- 4- 6 years
- 7- 10 years ✓
- 11 years and more

- Yes (please specify) ✓ since
1995
- No

- Yes (please specify) ✓ since
1995
- No

- Yes (please comment)
- No (please comment) ✓ but
it is the ideal, and if one does not
have such training it requires a
lot of work to bring oneself to
the requisite level to teach

- Yes
- NO ✓ At this stage it would be
nice but is no longer necessary

- Fees ✓
- Time ✓
- Age
- Registration requirements
✓
- Other (specify)

- Yes ✓
- No

- Yes ✓
- No

B) Do you also do *translations*?

13. Are you accredited as a translator, an interpreter or a translator-interpreter? If so, please specify date of accreditation and language combinations

Translation Dec 1993

Afrikaans.....to...Eng.....

Eng.....to...Afrikaans.....

Interpreting March 1999

Afrikaans.....to...Eng.....

Eng.....to...Afrikaans.....

NB There is no such category of accreditation as translator-interpreter

14. Do you belong to a professional association of translators / interpreters?

SA Translators' Institute

15. A) Concerning your practical experience in interpreting, how long have you been interpreting?

B) Concerning your practical experience in *translating*, how long have you been translating?

16. What languages do you translate from or into? Please list all the language combinations.

Afrikaans.....to...Eng.....

Eng.....to...Afrikaans.....

.....to.....

17. Do you translate from or into French?

18. Do you feel ability to translate / interpret from or into French can give a translator/ interpreter added advantages? (please, elaborate)

Yes, as we are able to work with/in Francophone Africa

.....

.....

.....

19. Do you translate from or into Xhosa?

20. Do you feel ability to interpret / translate from or into Xhosa can give a translator/ interpreter added advantages? (please, elaborate) Yes, there is a great need of QUALIFIED persons able to work from and into Xhosa.....

- translator ✓
 interpreter ✓
 translator-interpreter
 not accredited

- Yes (please name it) ✓
 No

- 1- 3 years
 4- 6 years
 7- 10 years
 11 years and more ✓

- 1- 3 years
 4- 6 years
 7- 10 years
 11 years and more ✓

- Yes
 No ✓

- Yes
 No ✓

SECTION C. TRAINING NEEDS.

23. A) For the training of interpreters, which aspects do you find highly relevant, relevant and not relevant. Please tick (✓) only once per line in the RELEVANCE column. ✓

ASPECT OF KNOWLEDGE		RELEVANCE		
		Highly relevant	relevant	not relevant
1	Knowledge of the languages	✓		
2	History of translation / interpreting		✓	
3	Theory of translation (school of thought e.g. functionalism)		✓	
4	Translation procedures (literal translation, paraphrase, etc)	✓		
5	Aspects of cultural competence (interaction, cultural information...)	✓		
6	Mastery of the specialised or technical terms		✓	
7	Theory of machine translation			✓
8	Practical utilisation of Computer Assisted Translation Tools		✓	
9	Quality Assessment (how to recognise good translations)		✓	
10	Dubbing (translation of film material)			✓
11	Use of technical aids for interpreters (sound system equipment....)	✓		
12	Text analysis		✓	
13	Localisation (Translation and adaptation of computer software packages)			✓
14	Use of reference material (Dictionary, Encyclopaedia)	✓		
15	Stylistics (Metaphors, figure of speech, idioms....)		✓	
16	Editing		✓	
17	Ability to conduct research in the field of Translation Studies		✓	
18	Knowledge of the accreditation system	✓		
19	Ethics (code of conduct)	✓		
20	General background knowledge (Politics, law economics, science, medicine.....)	✓		
21	Language variety awareness	✓		
22	Assertiveness (ways of enhancing confidence or self esteem...)	✓		
23	Financial management		✓	
24	Business marketing applied to language services		✓	
25	Rhetoric (the art of effective speaking or writing)		✓	
26	Computer skills	✓		
27	Lexicology (study of the form, meaning and behaviour of words)		✓	
28	Listening skills	✓		
29	Other (Specify)			
	• Theory of interpreting	✓		
	• Interpreting practice	✓		
	• Comprehension skills			
	• Terminography - how to make subject-specific technical dictionaries/glossaries/terminology lists	✓		
	• Subtitling (on-screen translation) – much more relevant, also to interpreting, than dubbing, as it is cheaper and more viable in a third-world country like the RSA	✓		

B) For the training of *translators*, which aspects do you find highly relevant, relevant and not relevant. Please tick (✓) only once per row in the RELEVANCE column.

ASPECT OF KNOWLEDGE		RELEVANCE		
		Highly relevant	relevant	not relevant
1	Knowledge of the languages	✓		
2	History of translation / interpreting		✓	
3	Theory of translation (school of thought e.g. functionalism)	✓		
4	Translation procedures (literal translation, paraphrase, etc)	✓		
5	Aspects of cultural competence (interaction, cultural information...)	✓		
6	Mastery of the specialised or technical terms	✓		
7	Theory of machine translation		✓	
8	Practical utilisation of Computer Assisted Translation Tools	✓		
9	Quality Assessment (how to recognise a good translations)		✓	
10	Dubbing (translation of film material)			✓ see 29 below
11	Use of technical aids for interpreters (sound system equipment....)	✓		
12	Text analysis		✓	
13	Localisation (Translation and adaptation of computer software packages)	✓		
14	Use of reference material (Dictionary, Encyclopaedia.....)	✓		
15	Stylistics (Metaphors, figure of speech, idioms....)		✓	
16	Editing	✓		
17	Ability to conduct research in the field of Translation Studies		✓	
18	Knowledge of the accreditation system	✓		
19	Ethics (code of conduct)	✓		
20	General background knowledge (Politics, law economics, science, medicine.....)		✓	
21	Language variety awareness	✓		
22	Assertiveness (ways of enhancing confidence or self esteem...)	✓		
23	Financial management		✓	
24	Business marketing applied to language services		✓	
25	Rhetoric (the art of effective speaking or writing)		✓	
26	Computer skill	✓		
27	Lexicology (study of the form, meaning and behaviour of words)		✓	See 29 below
28	Listening skills		✓	
29	Other (Specify)			
	• Translation practice	✓		
	• Comprehension skills	✓		
	• Lexicography - how to make a dictionary	✓		
	• Subtitling (on-screen translation)	✓		
	• Terminography			

SECTION D. PERCEPTION OF ACADEMIC TRAINING OF TRANSLATORS AND INTERPRETERS

24. Do you see any benefits in a translation or interpreting course taught in a tertiary institution? Please list the benefits.

- Yes, these courses will be an important factor in professionalizing the industry.
- Practical experience is indispensable, but good theoretical knowledge gives one confidence in what one does in practice.

.....

25. Do you think tertiary training of translators or interpreters produces better results than training in non-academic settings?

If by non-academic settings one refers to in-service training, it is an indispensable part of training, just as theory is indispensable. Both theory and in-service training are important, as academic institutions do not deliver market-ready practitioners. No academic programme for practitioners like doctors, attorneys, accountants, etc. deliver market-ready students and they all have to do in-service training, learnerships, etc. to prepare them for practice.

26. What benefits do you see in translation/ interpreting courses taught outside tertiary institutions?

I don't understand what you have in mind with this question, but say for example SATI were to get practitioners like financial translators once a year to offer a workshop in financial translation, it will be of practical benefit to practitioners, much more so than the more theoretical aspects taught by an academic institution. The SA Institute of Chartered Accountants for example has such an annual audit and accounting update course which is virtually compulsory for practitioners.

27. What differences should there be between a translation/ interpreting course taught in a tertiary institution and such a course taught in non-academic settings?

Exactly as set out above: outside institutions (non-academic) should focus on practical courses.

.....

28. List 7 most important elements. Rank them. Start with the most relevant aspects.

A) for the training of interpreters in tertiary institutions
 (select numbers from the tables above 'page 6')

- ___ 1. Knowledge of the languages
- ___ 29. Interpreting theory
- ___ 29. Interpreting practice
- ___ 5. Cultural competence
- ___ 6. Mastery of terminology
- ___ 11. use of technical aids
- ___ 19. Ethics

B) for the training of *translators* in tertiary institutions
 (select only numbers from the tables above 'page 7')

- ___ 1
- ___ 29 Translation practice
- ___ 29 Comprehension skills
- ___ 3
- ___ 4
- ___ 5
- ___ 6

C) Can you comment on the choices you made?

Not really - I think they speak for themselves.

.....

.....

.....

.....

.....

.....

.....

.....

University of Cape Town

SECTION E. ALTERNATIVE WAYS OF TRAINING

29. Apart from the training in tertiary institutions, in what other possible ways can the following professionals be trained?

a) Translators

- In-service
- In a mentorship system

b) Interpreters

- In-service
- In a mentorship system

30. Assuming that a short course does not exceed 6 months, what do you think should be the duration of such a course?

- Less than 1 month
- 1 month
- 2 months
- 3 months ✓
- 4 months
- 5 months
- 6 months

31. List 7 most important elements. Rank them. Start with the most relevant aspects.

A) for the training of interpreters outside tertiary institutions (select numbers from the tables above)
'see page 6'

*For all these, see 28A above __

-
-
-
-
-
-

B) for the training of translators outside tertiary institutions (select numbers from the tables above)
'see page 7'

*For all these, see 28B above __

-
-
-
-
-
-

***The reason why I have the same elements is that many practitioners currently in the field have no theoretical knowledge and therefore have to encounter these same aspects in short courses. This should change in due course.**

32. What should be the required level of education for candidates at these courses?

- grade 7
- matric
- post matric
- other (specify) ✓
- Some practical experience
- no requirement

33. Do you foresee any antagonism between translators / interpreters trained in tertiary institutions and those trained in non-academic environments?

Possibly, therefore one has to stress the importance of both theory and practice:
Without practical application, theory remains academic, without theoretical foundations, practice remains tentative.

.....
.....
.....

34. What can you about the current way of training translator and interpreters?

There is a growing realization of the need of a good balance of theory and practice.

.....

35. How do you view the place and the role of translators / interpreters in the context of the South African language plan and policy?

They will be important agents in the implementation of the SA language plan and policy.

.....
.....
.....
.....

36. Any additional comments?

In the short courses presented by our university, mostly involving practitioners, not a single person has expressed a negative opinion on the value of the basic theoretical content of the courses, mainly because of the way in which the rationale was explained and incorporated in the practical work.

.....

**THANK YOU!
ENKOSI!
DANKIE!
MERCII!**

Appendix 10:
Final questionnaire on training
(including responses of a lecturer training translators)

University of Cape Town

QUESTIONNAIRE ON THE TRAINING OF TRANSLATORS AND THE TRAINING OF INTERPRETERS

Please take a few minutes of your time to fill this questionnaire. The information will be used as part of a research for the improvement of the training of translators/ interpreters and the betterment of the profession. We can come to collect the questionnaire after you have completed it or it can be mailed or faxed to the Centre for Applied Language and Literacy Studies and Services in Africa (CALLSSA/UCT), private bag, Rondebosch 7701. Phone / Fax 021 650 2939

Thank you!

Dominique N. Mwepu
CALLSSA Resource Centre

University of Cape Town

INSTRUCTIONS: Please tick (✓) the appropriate item(s) in the box . Where applicable, specify or comment in the blank space provided under the question. Feel free to use the back of the page to provide additional information.

SECTION A. BACKGROUND INFORMATION

1. Please tick (✓) in the box that indicates what you are

- a Lecturer ✓
- a tutor
- a teaching assistant
- an instructor
- other (specify)

.....

2. Do you also do translations or interpreting? If yes, please indicate by ticking the appropriate box.

- translation ✓
- interpreting
- both translation and interpreting

.....

3. What is your highest educational qualification level?

- less than matric
- matric
- post - Matric (please specify) ✓

.....
 PhD Linguistics

4. Do you have a degree, diploma, a certificate in Translation Studies?

- Yes (Please specify)
- No ✓

.....

5. A) Have you studied any interpreting course?

- Yes (please specify)
- No ✓

.....

B) Have you studied any translation course?

- Yes (please specify)
- No ✓

.....

6. A) Have you completed any interpreting course?

- Yes (please specify)
- No ✓

.....

B) Have you completed any translation course?

- Yes (please specify)
- No ✓

.....

7. How did you gain your knowledge on translation and interpreting? Please tick the appropriate box(es)

- workshops ✓
- seminars ✓
- conferences ✓
- reading ✓
- research ✓
- contact with practitioners ✓
- experience ✓
- other (Please specify) ✓

.....

8. A) Please indicate the courses you teach

.....
.....
.....

B) How long have you been teaching it

C) Do you teach a course that has a *translation* or *interpreting* component? How long have been teaching it?.....Final year BA for Afrikaans and Dutch I teach a course on translation . 11 years

.....

D) Do you teach any course in the translation training program or the interpreting training program? How long have been teaching it?

.....I teach Translation studies as well as practical translation English-Afrikaans. 6 years

.....

9. Does one need to hold a degree or a diploma in Translation Studies to be able to teach translation / interpreting courses?

.....
.....

.....It would be preferable , but most trainers in South Africa are not themselves trained in translation and interpreting studies.....

.....

10. If you have no degree / diploma in Translation Studies, would you like to study in a tertiary institution to get one?

.....Do not see need for that. I did the necessary research on my own.....

11. What can prevent you from taking a translation course in a tertiary institution?

.....
.....
.....

12. A) Do you also do some *interpreting* work?

- translation✓
- interpreting✓
- translation and interpreting
- other (please specify)

- 1- 3 years
- 4- 6 years✓
- 7- 10 years
- 11 years and more

- Yes (please specify) ✓
- No

- Yes (please specify) ✓
- No

- Yes (please comment)
- No (please comment) ✓

- Yes
- No ✓

- Fees
- Time
- Age
- Registration requirements
- Other (specify) ✓

- Yes
- No✓

B) Do you also do *translations*?

Yes ✓

No

13. Are you accredited as a translator, an interpreter or a translator-interpreter? If so, please specify date of accreditation and language combinations

translator ✓

interpreter

translator-interpreter

not accredited

14. Do you belong to a professional association of translators / interpreters?

SATI and EST

Yes (please name it) ✓

No

15. A) Concerning your practical experience in *interpreting*, how long have you been interpreting?

1- 3 years

4- 6 years

7- 10 years

11 years and more

B) Concerning your practical experience in *translating*, how long have you been translating?

1- 3 years

4- 6 years

7- 10 years

11 years and more ✓

16. What languages do you translate from or into? Please list all the language combinations.

English.....to... Afrikaans

German.....to... Afrikaans.....

...

17. Do you translate from or into French?

Yes

No ✓

18. Do you feel ability to translate / interpret from or into French can give a translator/ interpreter added advantages? (please, elaborate)

Yes✓

No

South Africa being part of Africa

Yes

No ✓

19. Do you translate from or into Xhosa?

20. Do you feel ability to interpret / translate from or into Xhosa can give a translator/ interpreter added advantages? (please, elaborate) yes because there are so few qualified translators working in Xhosa

Yes✓

No

SECTION B. WAYS OF IMPROVING THE STATUS OF TRANSLATION

21. Do you think the status of translation / interpreting as a profession needs to be improved?
If so, what should be done?

Yes.

- **Better and more training. National accreditation by the government.**

22. What do you think should be done to increase the earnings of the translators / interpreters?

Making the clients and the public at large aware that translators and interpreters are skilled professionals (or at least they ought to be). Media campaigning with governmental funding

.....
.....
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.....
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.....
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.....

University of Cape Town

SECTION C. TRAINING NEEDS.

23. A) For the training of interpreters, which aspects do you find highly relevant, relevant and not relevant. Please tick (✓) only once per line in the RELEVANCE column. ✓

ASPECT OF KNOWLEDGE		RELEVANCE		
		Highly relevant	relevant	not relevant
1	Knowledge of the languages	✓		
2	History of translation / interpreting			✓
3	Theory of translation (school of thought e.g. functionalism)	✓		
4	Translation procedures (literal translation, paraphrase, etc)	✓		
5	Aspects of cultural competence (interaction, cultural information...)	✓		
6	Mastery of the specialised or technical terms			✓
7	Theory of machine translation			✓
8	Practical utilisation of Computer Assisted Translation Tools			✓
9	Quality Assessment (how to recognise good translations)			✓
10	Dubbing (translation of film material)	✓		
11	Use of technical aids for interpreters (sound system equipment....)	✓		
12	Text analysis		✓	
13	Localisation (Translation and adaptation of computer software packages)	✓		
14	Use of reference material (Dictionary, Encyclopaedia	✓		
15	Stylistics (Metaphors, figure of speech, idioms....)	✓		
16	Editing			✓
17	Ability to conduct research in the field of Translation Studies	✓		
18	Knowledge of the accreditation system	✓		
19	Ethics (code of conduct)	✓		
20	General background knowledge (Politics, law economics, science, medicine.....)	✓		
21	Language variety awareness	✓		
22	Assertiveness (ways of enhancing confidence or self esteem...)	✓		
23	Financial management	✓		
24	Business marketing applied to language services	✓		
25	Rhetoric (the art of effective speaking or writing)	✓		
26	Computer skills	✓		
27	Lexicology (study of the form, meaning and behaviour of words)	✓		
28	Listening skills	✓		
29	Other (Specify)	✓		

B) For the training of *translators*, which aspects do you find highly relevant, relevant and not relevant. Please tick (✓) only once per row in the RELEVANCE column.

ASPECT OF KNOWLEDGE		RELEVANCE		
		Highly relevant	relevant	not relevant
1	Knowledge of the languages	✓		
2	History of translation / interpreting	✓		
3	Theory of translation (school of thought e.g. functionalism)	✓		
4	Translation procedures (literal translation, paraphrase, etc)	✓		
5	Aspects of cultural competence (interaction, cultural information...)	✓		
6	Mastery of the specialised or technical terms	✓		
7	Theory of machine translation		✓	
8	Practical utilisation of Computer Assisted Translation Tools	✓		
9	Quality Assessment (how to recognise a good translations)	✓		
10	Dubbing (translation of film material)	✓		
11	Use of technical aids for interpreters (sound system equipment.....)		✓	
12	Text analysis	✓		
13	Localisation (Translation and adaptation of computer software packages)	✓		
14	Use of reference material (Dictionary, Encyclopaedia	✓		
15	Stylistics (Metaphors, figure of speech, idioms....)	✓		
16	Editing	✓		
17	Ability to conduct research in the field of Translation Studies	✓		
18	Knowledge of the accreditation system	✓		
19	Ethics (code of conduct)	✓		
20	General background knowledge (Politics, law economics, science, medicine.....)	✓		
21	Language variety awareness	✓		
22	Assertiveness (ways of enhancing confidence or self esteem...)	✓		
23	Financial management	✓		
24	Business marketing applied to language services	✓		
25	Rhetoric (the art of effective speaking or writing)	✓		
26	Computer skill	✓		
27	Lexicology (study of the form, meaning and behaviour of words)	✓		
28	Listening skills	✓		
29	Other (Specify) Reading skills	✓		

B) For the training of translators, which aspects do you consider relevant? Please tick (✓) only once per row in the RE

ASPECTS OF KNOWLEDGE

- Knowledge of the history of the languages
- History of translation / interpreting
- Theory of translation (school of thought e.g. functionalist)
- Translation procedures (literal translation, paraphrase, etc)
- Aspects of cultural competence (interaction, cultural references, etc)
- Mastery of the source: specialisation or technical terms
- Theory of machine translation
- Practical application of Computer Assisted Translation
- Quality Assessment (how to recognise a good translation)
- Editing (transformation of film material)
- Use of technical aids for interpreters (sound system equipment)
- Analysis
- Localisation (translation and adaptation of computer software)
- Reference materials (Dictionary, Encyclopaedia)
- Registers (Registers, Register of speech, idioms...)
- How to conduct a research in the field of Translation Studies
- Use of the translation system
- Style of communication
- Background knowledge (Politics, law, economics, etc)
- Industry standards
- Business (ways of publishing confidence or self-esteem)
- Application of language services
- Active speaking or writing
- Art of communication
- Study of the foreign, meaning and behaviour of words
- Writing skills
- Restoration

OF TRANSLATORS AND

se taught in a tertiary

better results than

specialised subject field the
translating various genres

not outside tertiary

teaching course taught in a
settings?

academic environment. Only

most relevant aspects.
institutions

SECTION D. PERCEPTION OF ACADEMIC TRAINING OF TRANSLATORS AND INTERPRETERS

24. Do you see any benefits in a translation or interpreting course taught in a tertiary institution? Please list the benefits.

- Learning and teaching environment
- Different subject areas could be addressed
- Different languages
- Standardized evaluation
- Per evaluation

25. Do you think tertiary training of translators or interpreters produces better results than training in non-academic settings?

For intensive training, yes definitely. For people working within a specified subject field the differences would not be so apparent at first, but they would keep on translating various genres of texts for various target audiences in the same way.

26. What benefits do you see in translation/ interpreting courses taught outside tertiary institutions?

Hands on practical training within one specific subject field

27. What differences should there be between a translation/ interpreting course taught in a tertiary institution and such a course taught in non-academic settings?

More theoretical approach as basis for the practical work in an academic environment. Only practical in non academic setting

28. List 7 most important elements. Rank them. Start with the most relevant aspects.

A) for the training of **interpreters** in tertiary institutions
(select numbers from the tables above 'page 6')

- ___ 1.
- ___ 5
- ___ 6
- ___ 20
- ___ 11
- ___ 19
- ___ 28

B) for the training of *translators* in tertiary institutions
(select only numbers from the tables above 'page 7')

- ___ 1
- ___ 3
- ___ 4
- ___ 5
- ___ 6
- ___ 12
- ___ 16

C) Can you comment on the choices you made?

SECTION E. ALTERNATIVE WAYS OF TRAINING

29. Apart from the training in tertiary institutions, in what other possible ways can the following professionals be trained?

a) Translators

- Practical in-house training
- Workshops and short courses presented by a tertiary institutions

b) Interpreters

- Practical in-house training
- Workshops and short courses presented by a tertiary institutions

30. Assuming that a short course does not exceed 6 months, what do you think should be the duration of such a course?

- Less than 1 month
- 1 month
- 2 months
- 3 months ✓
- 4 months
- 5 months
- 6 months

31. List 7 most important elements. Rank them. Start with the most relevant aspects.

A) for the training of interpreters outside tertiary institutions (select numbers from the tables above)
'see page 6'

-
-
-
-
-
-
-

B) for the training of translators outside tertiary institutions (select numbers from the tables above)
'see page 7'

-
-
-
-
-
-
-

32. What should be the required level of education for candidates at these courses?

- grade 7 ✓
- matric
- post matric
- other (specify)
- no requirement

33. Do you foresee any antagonism between translators / interpreters trained in tertiary institutions and those trained in non-academic environments?

No, but there might be a difference in salary

.....

34. What can you say about the current way of training translator and interpreters?

.....

35. How do you view the place and the role of translators / interpreters in the context of the South African language plan and policy?

Extremely important, If they were to be utilised more English does not necessarily continue being the lingua franca

.....

36. Any additional comments?

The sooner national government realise the importance of translation and interpreting the better. They should not only supply funding for translation and interpreting services, but they should also supply funding to tertiary institutions for more extensive training of both translators and interpreters

.....

THANK YOU!
 ENKOSI!
 DANKIE!
 MERCI!