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MEDIATING CULINARY CULTURE: THE CASE OF GREEK RESTAURANT MENUS

SIMOS P. GRAMMENIDIS

Aristotle University of Thessaloniki
School of French Department of Translation
E-mail: simgram@frl.auth.gr

Abstract: This paper presents the preliminary conclusions of an ongoing research project on the subject of the translation of Greek restaurant menus. In the first part the rationale and the design of the study are described and a number of preliminary comments about the translation event are made. The second part deals with the linguistic and functional characteristics of restaurant menus and the final part focuses on the translation strategies used to deal with cultural diversity and on the relation which these strategies bear to the type and function of the text to be translated. It appears that in most cases the strategies used in translating menus do not lead either to a functionally equivalent or a professionally satisfactory target text. However, the deficiencies recorded are due to the inadequate abilities of those who provide the translations rather than to the fact that translation is practiced from the mother tongue into a foreign language. Translating is often viewed as a simple process of reproducing linguistic surface structures in another language. This attitude points, among others, to a lack of professionalism, the impact of which is considerable – customer dissatisfaction – and ultimately reduces to nil the mediating mission of translation.

Keywords: translation of restaurant menus, culinary culture, translation strategies, text function, functionality, loyalty

1. INTRODUCTION

This paper presents the preliminary conclusions of an ongoing research project on the subject of the translation of Greek restaurant menus. The goal here is not to establish an evaluation of the quality of the final product – although this is inevitable in certain cases – but to throw light on the principal issues, theoretical and practical, arising from the translation. Additionally, on the basis of the translation choices that could be identified by the research, an attempt will be

made to address questions lying beyond these texts and concerning the transfer of culture-specific lexical items in a broader sense.

The first part of the study will describe the practical dimensions, i.e., the rationale and the design of the study, and will offer a number of preliminary comments about the translation event. The second part will deal with the presentation of the linguistic and functional characteristics of restaurant menus and in the final part we shall focus on the translation strategies that were adopted in the material we surveyed in order to manage with the cultural diversity, and on the relation which these strategies bear to the type and function of the text to be translated.

2. RESEARCH OUTLINE AND PRELIMINARY COMMENTS

The research was carried out by the Department of Translation of the School of French at the Aristotle University of Thessaloniki. During the last two years, three hundred restaurant menus gathered from various regions of Greece (specifically Thessaloniki, Chalkidiki, Crete, the south of the Peloponnese and Athens) and from Internet based tourist websites were recorded and analysed from the perspective of translation strategies by student research groups. With an average number of between 80 and 100 dishes on every menu, we looked at a total of about 3000 dish translations. It should be noted that, in view of the fact that restaurant management was suspicious of the purpose of our research, the collection of the corpus could hardly be described as an easy task.

We also endeavoured to make contact with the persons in charge, by telephone or e-mail, in an attempt to establish as accurately as possible the parameters of the translation event affecting the material examined as part of our research. For this purpose, we sought information on what criteria they used in selecting the target languages and who provided the translation.¹

The data gathered by means of this questionnaire indicate that it is the laws of the market that dictate the choice of target languages. All menus are translated into English, and some also into German, French, Italian or Russian, depending on the nationality of tourists visiting a specific area. To be more exact, the majority of menus found on the Internet are translated exclusively into English. Menus gathered from restaurants, however, very often include a translation into one more language. In fact, according to our informants, the choice of English is imposed because of its international and mediatory character (the usual answer given being "Everyone can understand English"). The choice of the second, or even the third target language for the translation of a restaurant menu, however, is dictated by the origin of the tourists visiting that region. In Thessaloniki, for example, in spite of being the second largest city of Greece, menu translations are strictly limited to English because tourism is low-

key there. By contrast, in Chalkidiki, a region at a distance of 60 km from Thessaloniki, the increasing number of German and Russian speaking tourists has led to menus being translated into German almost everywhere and, for some years now, also into Russian. Menus in the Cyclades or the Ionian Islands always include a translation of the dishes into Italian.

As concerns the data related to those who execute the translations, our first observation is that restaurant management rarely addresses itself to professional translating services. In the majority of cases, the task of translation is performed either by the owners themselves or by relatives who supposedly have a good command of the foreign language. It must be noted in addition that the final product is rarely ever checked by a native speaker, this being substantiated by the presence of orthographic and syntactic errors, misconstructions and mistranslations. This is actually hardly surprising, since a survey that was carried out on the kinds of texts translated by the translation agencies in Thessaloniki (cf. Siskou 2005) revealed that restaurant menus rank bottom of the list.

Given that the transfer to the other language is rarely performed by professional translators, it raises a fundamental question whether the final product can still be considered as translation. Certainly there is a deviation from the canon and the widely spread opinion according to which translations are made by translators. But it seems to be a common and regular practice, reflecting the attitude that some people could have towards translating. For this reason, it would be difficult to ignore this sort of translation; on the contrary, it should be studied in more translations. Furthermore, we should take into consideration the fact that the potential users of the menus ignore this parameter and perceive the text that they have in front of them as a translation. Actually, translated versions of menus are usually presented in a way that fosters this opinion (e.g. parallel presentation of the texts with flags indicating the different languages – an open indication that it is a translation).

It is also worth mentioning that translating restaurant menus often involves inverse translation, i.e., translation into a language other than the mother tongue of the translator.² This type of translation, also known as “service” translation (Newmark 1988: 52), has always been disapproved of and even vilified within Translation Studies and regarded as unacceptable because it does not conform to the widely held axiom that, in order to create a linguistically and culturally acceptable final product, translation should be done into one’s first language. However, as Pokorn (2005: 122) argues, “the stigma of inappropriateness given to inverse translation by the majority of Western translation theories stems from a post-Romantic, aprioristic, scientifically unproven and sometimes ethnocentric conviction of theorist coming from major and central linguistic communities” and it is not supported by any scientific proof showing the inferiority of translation into a non-mother tongue.

In fact, though discouraged, inverse translation seems to be a necessary, regular and accepted practice, especially in countries using languages of restricted distribution or limited diffusion like Finnish (McAlester 1992) or Danish (Schjoldager 2004), as well as in countries of high immigration like Australia (Campbell 1998). According to Lonsdale (1998: 66), directionality is affected by “the context in which translation takes place: language combinations, the availability of translators with those language combinations, subject specialists, text types, deadlines and different kinds of institutional controls”. In a similar vein, Campbell (1998: 20) notes that translating into a second language can be considered “as a natural and commonly occurring activity” for plenty of reasons: firstly, in many countries it is impossible to find the required number of native speakers of the target language who are able and willing to work as translators, and secondly, in technical translation accuracy is more significant than style, and thirdly, it is more important for the translator to know the subject matter than to be a native speaker of the target language. Stewart (1999: 61), after presenting arguments for and against translation into a foreign language, concludes that “its legitimacy depends upon prevailing circumstances, and [that] in any case sweeping generalisations on the subject are indefensible”. In Greece there is a shortage of professional translators who know Greek and can translate from Greek into their native language. In other words, translation into a foreign language is a matter of economic necessity, imposed by the current demands of the translation market.

3. THE LINGUISTIC AND FUNCTIONAL CHARACTERISTICS OF MENUS

From a purely linguistic point of view, menus are very simple texts that use atypical phrases which do not correspond to the canonical model < Subject – Verb – Object(s) / Complement >. In most of the cases, we have to deal with nominal phrases made by one only term without a determiner, designating things, referentially autonomous and with a cultural load. To be more precise the nominal term could be:

- an isolate common word, either in singular or plural [ex. *πασίτισιο* (pastitsio), *κουνέλι* (rabbit), *τζατζίκι* (tzatziki), *τυροπιτάκια* (cheese pies), *γίγαντες* (giant beans), *φασολάκια* (green beans)],
- a substantivised qualifying adjective [ex. *χωριάτικη* (country), *χτυπητή* (beaten), *ρωσική* (Russian)],
- an extended nominal group, made up of an attributive adjective and a noun, or the opposite, with the adjective designating either the mode of preparation [ex. *τηγανητές πατάτες/πατάτες τηγανητές* (fried

potatoes/potatoes fried), *χόρτα βραστά/βραστά χόρτα* (greens boiled/boiled greens), *κοτόπουλο ψητό/ψητό κοτόπουλο* (chicken baked/baked chicken)] or one characteristic of the product on which the dish is based [ex. *μπριζόλα χοιρινή* (pork chops), *λουκάνικο χωριάτικο* (country sausage), *φιλέτο μοσχαρίσιο* (beef fillet)],

- an extended nominal group made up of two substantives [ex. *μούδια σαγανάκι* (mussels – small frying pan), *γαρίδες σχάρας* (prawns – barbecue), *πιπεριές Φλωρίνης* (peppers – Florina)].

From a textual point of view, menus can be considered to be pragmatic texts, that is, texts of the kind which, according to Delisle et al. (1999: 169) “imparts some information of a general nature or specific to a domain, and for which aesthetics play a very secondary role”. If we adopt the text typology proposed by Reiss (1971/2002) it could be argued that a menu is an informative text. The communicative aim of informative texts is the transmission of information or instruction in a given subject in a succinct, reliable and complete way. In other words, they are intended to communicate content – in the case of menus giving the detailed list of the dishes available to customers in a restaurant – and representation is the dominant language function. It could, however, be said that the menus available on the Internet have a double mission: to inform, as any other restaurant menu does, and at the same time to attract and to induce the customer to visit the restaurant. It could be claimed here that menus are closer to operative texts, that is to say texts which do not merely communicate content linguistically, but which relate to an intention, a precise aim, and are meant to have a degree of *extra-linguistic* impact on the receiver. In this text type the appellative function is very important, sometimes even more so than the representative function.

It must be stressed that the task of defining the type of the text to be translated is significant for the translator because, as Reiss (1971/2002: 166) points out, “the text type determines the general method of translation”. She suggests that, in the case of informative texts, the target-text should transmit the full referential or conceptual content of the source-text and, in the case of operative texts, they should elicit the same effect as the original. The translator should then proceed in such a way that the final product might accomplish a function analogous to that performed by the original. As it happens, the research carried out on these menus does not confirm that this is successfully achieved. As we shall see, the translated versions of the menus, rather than acting in an informative and appealing manner, very often leave customers dissatisfied or plainly frustrated, simply because the final product of the translation is not understandable or clear and rarely conforms to the linguistic rules and norms of the target language.

4. TRANSLATION STRATEGIES

The study of translated menus reinforces the argument that translation is not merely a linguistic activity, but that it is also a cultural one (cf. Toury 1995), and even a social and a commercial one. The cultural component is considerable in that case and, as it is not always possible to find an accurate equivalent for the dishes and the ingredients that belong exclusively to the target-culture, it very often constitutes an enormous challenge for the translator. Consequently, the translator is most definitely confronted with the problems of non-equivalence. For the study of the different translation strategies, we can, at first, distinguish between cases where there is an equivalent in the target language-culture.

4.1. When there is an equivalent

When an equivalent dish or ingredient exists in the target language-culture, the strategy of literal or word-for-word translation tends to be adopted:

- | | | | |
|-----|----------------------------|------------------------------|---------------------------|
| (1) | Μανιτάρια γεμιστά | Stuffed mushrooms | |
| | | | (Ζύθος) |
| | Μπριζόλα μόσχου | Veal steak | (Tiffany's) |
| | Ποικιλία βραστών λαχανικών | Variety of boiled vegetables | (www.taverna-baklakos.gr) |

However, as the following example shows, a great number of inconsistencies occur in the translation choices and there are also instances of translationese, incorrect meanings, misinterpretations and spelling errors.³

- | | | | |
|-----|----------------------|-----------------|------------------------------|
| (2) | Κολοκυθάκια Τηγανιτά | Fried squashes | (www.kanakisgarden.gr) |
| | | Pumpkins | (www.tokioupi.gr) |
| | | Zucchini fried | (www.octopus-restaurant.com) |
| | | Fried pumpkins | (www.gefsignosia.gr) |
| | | Fired Courgette | (www.toktima.gr) |
| | | Baby marrows | (Μαϊάμι) |

Deep-fried courgette slices	(Ποσειδών)
Fried courgettes	(Isalos)
Fired Zuchini	(Ο Ζάχος)
Fried Zuchini	(Ιριδα)
Fried courgettes	(Tiffany's)

Furthermore, there are cases, especially in relation to fish dishes, where, despite the existence of equivalents in the target language, the strategy of transliteration or of translation by a hypernym is adopted. Here are some examples:

(3) Original	Translation	Instead of
Γόπες	Gopes	Bogues (www.tokioupi.gr)
Σφυρίδα	Sfyrida	White grouper (www.ochristos.gr)
Δενδρολίβανο	Dendrolivano	Rosemary (www.draft.gr)
(4) Original	Translation	Instead of
Πεσκανδρίντσα	Fish	Monk or angler (www.stavlos.gr)
Καρδιές μαρουλιού	Green salad	Lettuce hearts (www.petrinorestaurant.gr)
Ταλιατέλες	Pasta	Tagliattelles (www.epicure.gr)

4.2. When there is no equivalent

When there are no equivalents in the target language-culture, the act of translating has to deal, among other things, with specific concepts, with semantically complicated words of the source-language as well as with concepts which are not lexicalised in the target language. In order to resolve this problem and to bring the texts closer to their potential users, one of the following strategies is applied.

4.2.1. Transliteration

Transliteration is considered as a strategy for constructing “a bridge between two languages, between two worlds” (Messick 2003: 180). On the other hand, it can be viewed as a strategy that brings into the target language inconceivable phoneme combinations and incomprehensible – and sometimes ludicrous – terms (Papadima 2002). Thus, the target language is distorted and the reader, using his/her own linguistic system, is compelled to pronounce, in his/her own code, peculiar sounds forming words unrelated to any norm; words that are not only unfamiliar, but also bizarre. In the case of menus this is very often true: the information given in the translated texts could hardly be considered as comprehensible and acceptable for all recipients.

(5) Κοκορέτσι	Kokoretsi	
Ψευτοκεφτέδες	Pseftokeftedes	(Ο Ζάχος)
Παστίτσιο	Pastitsio	(www.toktima.gr)
		(www.agamemonpalace.gr)

In addition, it is important to note that the transliteration of dishes is accomplished without taking into account the ISO standards established by ELOT, the Greek standardisation Organisation (ELOT 743.1 Transliteration of the Greek alphabet using Latin characters). As a consequence, variations and even inconsistencies frequently occur:

(6) Μουσακάς	Moussaca	
	Moussaka	(www.tokioupi.gr)
	Mousaka	(www.mouria.com)
Τζατζίκι	Tzatziki	(www.exadas.tk)
	Djadjiki	(www.octopus-restaurant.com)
Παστίτσιο	Pastitsio	(www.athinaikon.com)
	Pastitcio	(www.agamemonpalace.gr)
		(www.octopus-restaurant.com)

4.2.2. Transliteration followed by explicitation by a hypernym

In this case the transliterated term is followed, for clarity, by a more general word or a phrase defining the semantic field to which it belongs.

- | | | | |
|-----|------------|-----------------------------------|---------------------------|
| (7) | Χαλούμι | Halumi cheese | |
| | | | (www.notos-restaurant.gr) |
| | Πολίτικο | Politico (typical oriental sweet) | ! |
| | | | (www.kioupia.gr) |
| | Τυροκαφετή | Tyrokafteri cheese salad | |
| | | | (Άλλη Γεύση) |

4.2.3. Transliteration followed by explicitation

In this case, transliteration is followed by a sometimes very detailed description of the dish, reducing to a certain extent the strangeness of the term introduced in the target language. If ISO standards of transliteration established by ELOT were adopted, this strategy could be considered as very effective and professional because it offers the double advantage of familiarising the customers with the culinary culture of the country they are visiting and at the same time takes into account their cognitive faculties.⁴

- | | | | |
|-----|----------------------|---|------------------------------|
| (8) | Στιφάδο | Stifado (stew veal or rabbit with onions) | |
| | | | (www.exadas.tk) |
| | | Stifado (beef with onions) | |
| | | | (www.nmanousos.gr) |
| | Μελιτζανομπουρεκάκια | Melitzanobourekakia (minced aubergines with cheese and spices rolled with a light homemade crispy pastry) | |
| | | | (www.kioupia.gr) |
| | Λαδοτύρι | Ladotiri : hard local dry cheese with olive oil | |
| | | | (www.octopus-restaurant.com) |

4.2.4. Explication

This strategy involves the description of the dishes without mentioning their names. Thus, it could be claimed that this specific strategy is centred on the hermeneutic abilities of those that would use the foreign version of the menu.

- | | | |
|-----|------------------------|--|
| (9) | Μελιτζάνες Παπουτσάκια | Roasted eggplants with onion and tomato
(Ζύθος) |
| | Απάκια | Smoked pork meat
(www.exadas.tk) |
| | Σκορδαλιά | Garlic potato mix sauce
(www.taverna-baklalos.gr) |

4.2.5. Translation by a hypernym

According to Baker (1992: 26), this strategy is one of the most common methods for dealing with many types of non-equivalence. It consists in the use of a word with a more general meaning that indicates, in a given semantic field, a wider category than the one to which the word of the original belongs. In that way, the absence of a specific hyponym or of a cultural concept is remedied in the target language.

- | | | |
|------|---------------------|--|
| (10) | Ανθότυρο | White cheese
(www.petrinorestaurant.gr) |
| | Χτυπητή | Cheese salad
(Θέα Θάλασσα) |
| | Γλυκό του κουταλιού | Traditional sweet
(www.epicure.gr) |

4.2.6. Cultural substitution

This strategy implies the replacement of a culture specific ingredient, product or dish with another ingredient, product or dish that, although it does not bear a relation to the item of the target culinary culture, could eventually have a similar impact on the client. As Baker notes (1992: 31), the main advantage of using this strategy is that “it gives the reader a concept with which s/he can identify, something familiar and appealing”.

- | | | |
|------|---------------------------------|---|
| (11) | Γιαούρτι με γλυκό του κουταλιού | Yogurt with marmalade
(www.octapus-restaurant.com) |
| | Γραβιέρα | Gruyere
(Ζύθος) |
| | Μελιτζανοσαλάτα | Aubergine dip
(Σοφία) |

The *γλυκό του κουταλιού*, offered in Greek tavernas – with or without yoghurt – at the end of a meal, has a sweet taste, as does the *marmalade* also,

although it is made from whole fruits cooked and preserved in a thick syrup whilst *marmalade* is made from cut up fruits cooked in sugar, water and pectin. The Greek *γραβιέρα* is a kind of cheese made from ewe's milk while *gruyère* is also cheese made from cow's milk, however although both belong to the category of cooked cheeses and are characterised by interspersed holes as well as by the ivory tones of their texture.

Following McAlester (1992: 292), it has to be mentioned though that Greek menus translated into English, like all tourist texts, are not exclusively addressed to English native speakers. On the contrary, they are usually intended for international consumption and may be read by anyone who speaks English. Thus, the cultural substitution may prove to be a drawback for those people, at least for some of them.

4.2.7. Partial translation

In certain cases we note that only one of the constituents of the extended nominal group is translated while the other, which is culture-specific, is transferred by transliteration.

- | | | | |
|------|----------------|---------------------|------------------|
| (12) | Αρνί κλέφτικο | Lamb kleftiko | |
| | Σαγανάκι μύδια | Saganaki mussels | (www.mouria.com) |
| | Λαχανοσαρμάδες | Sarmades of cabbage | (To Δίχτυ) |
| | | | (www.kioupia.gr) |

4.2.8. Omission

The last translation strategy recorded in the current corpus is omission. We sometimes observe that the dish is mentioned in Greek only on the menu, either because it is a word without any equivalent in the target language or because its translation was omitted.

- | | | | |
|------|------------------|---|----------------------|
| (13) | Τηγανιά | ∅ | |
| | Κολοκυθοκεφτέδες | ∅ | |
| | Γάυρος Μαρινάτος | ∅ | |
| | | | (www.gefsignosia.gr) |

5. ON THE EFFECTIVENESS OF THE TRANSLATION STRATEGIES IDENTIFIED

Following our inventory of the translation strategies recorded, the question which must be addressed now regards the degree to which the translated versions of menus successfully achieve their communicative purpose, which, as it has already been mentioned, is to convey information as well as to attract customers. In other words, does the translated text fulfil its role efficiently?

First of all, it can be claimed that, in the majority of the cases (about 85%), translation of restaurant menus is limited to the linguistic level, while the functional dimension of the specific text type is rarely taken into account. As a consequence, the information transmitted is very often incomprehensible to the respective addressees with their specific world knowledge. Furthermore, the translated text cannot provide the target audience with the necessary clues for the interpretation of unknown dish names. Thus, the majority of the strategies adopted may lead to a target text which is unfit for its communicative purpose. This is particularly manifest when there are no equivalent dishes in the target language-culture.

In fact, the only strategies that could be considered as functional are *explicitation* and *transliteration followed by explicitation*, because it is only these strategies that yield a final product which is sufficiently clear and precise. However, according to Nord (1991a, 1991b, 1992, 1997), besides its functional role, a translation should also be loyal. That is to say, the translator should not only produce a functional target text which conforms to the requirements of the communicational function defined by the commissioner (its *skopos*), but it should also respect the legitimate interests of both the source text author and the target text audience. In the case of restaurant menus, the criteria of functionality and loyalty is only fulfilled by the strategy of *transliteration followed by explicitation*, because the final product does not leave one in doubt about the nature of the dish offered, and, at the same time, it familiarises the customer with the eating habits of the Other. Nevertheless, as the following example shows, orthographic norms are rarely respected even with this strategy.

- (14) Σαγανάκι με θαλασσινά Saganaki me thalassina
Sea foods baked (Shrimps, crawfish, mussels,
mushrooms, cheese)
(www.athinaikon.com)
- Κασεροκροκέτες Kaserokroketes
(Fingers of smoked cheese in Woun-Ton
leaves)
(www.agamemnonpalace.gr)

Μουσακάς

Mousakas

(Layers of Ground Beef, Potatoes and Egg plant topped with Bechamel)

(www.petrinosteki.gr)

We can easily observe that the proposed translations present numerous examples of clumsiness and errors [*baked* instead of *bake*, *egg plant* instead of *eggplant*, *bechamel* instead of *bechamel sauce*, *ground beef* instead of *minced beef*, etc.], a fact that, in the end, makes the reading process more difficult, more tiring and less convincing. Moreover, as Gile points out (2005: 55), any language mistake gives the reader the wrong image of the text, its writer and its editor and affects negatively his/her interest in the menu.

On the other hand, it can be claimed that in a holiday situation trying to guess what the unfamiliar and even strange transliterated words imply, could be considered as a funny and amusing activity, providing an excuse to socialise with the locals around. Under such circumstances transliteration could be viewed as a useful strategy, yet there is no evidence that this parameter promotes efficient transmission of information.

In summary, the answer to the question whether the translated texts efficiently fulfil their communicative role seems to be negative as far as the majority of menus that form the basis of our research is concerned. However, further research may provide more detailed information on this issue.

6. CONCLUSION

From the present state of affairs concerning the translation of restaurant menus in Greece it appears that the translation strategies adopted usually lead neither to a functionally equivalent nor to a professional target text. However, the deficiencies recorded are due more to the insufficient abilities of those who provide the translations and less to the fact that translation is practiced from the mother tongue into a foreign language.⁵

Furthermore, it must be noted that the way menus are translated reflects to a certain extent the attitude that a great majority of people have towards translating. Restaurant management is inclined to ignore the importance and usefulness of translation as well as its social and commercial role. Translating is viewed in terms of mechanical faithfulness or even as a simple process of reproducing linguistic surface structures in another language. This attitude points, among others, to a lack of professionalism, the impact of which is considerable – customer dissatisfaction – and ultimately reduces to nil the mediating mission of translation. Any hope of improvement of the situation can only be entertained if restaurant managements become more aware of the needs

and expectations of their foreign clientele and take advantage of the services of professional translators.

Notes

¹ As concerns the persons who provided the translations, the choice of six answers was offered: a) a relative, b) the office which was responsible for creating the restaurant's Web page,¹ c) a graphic designer, d) a professional translator, e) you yourself and f) other.

² According to Katsougiannou, Economou and Floros (2004) this method is adopted also for the translation of tourist maps in Greece.

³ According to Delisle and al. (1999: 147 and 158) an *incorrect meaning* is a translation error "where a sense is attributed to a word or a segment from the source text that it does not have in the context in which it appears" and *misinterpretation* is also a translation error "where the translator misunderstands the text or lacks general cultural knowledge, with the result that a word or segment from the source text is given an entirely erroneous sense from that intended by its author".

⁴ Following McAlester (1992: 294), a competent translation is one that "transmits the intended message in a language which is clear and sufficiently correct not to contain unintended comic effect or strain the reader's patience unduly".

⁵ As Pokorn (2005: 123) rightly underlines "acceptability, accuracy and fluency of expression in the target language, knowledge of the source culture and language, and understanding of the source text are primarily dependent on the individual abilities of the translator or pair of translators, on their translation competence and strategy, on their knowledge of the source and the target cultures and languages, and not on their mother tongue or the direction in which they are translating".

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