THE EXPRESSIONS FOR 'TRANSLATE' AND 'INTERPRET' IN THE EUROPEAN LANGUAGES[1]

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ABSTRACT: In the Romance languages the act of *translating* 'to translate from one language into another' is verbalized with words that originated from the mediaeval Latin *trādūco* (in the Classical Latin *(con)vertere (vortere)*, *reddere* and *interpretārī* were used). The English language adopted the verb *translate* from the mediaeval Latin *transfero* distinguishing from the oral translation *interpret* (which is of Latin origin, probably borrowed through French) from the written translation *(translate)*. There are calques of Latin *trādūco* or of Greek *Μεταφέρω* in the Germanic and Slavic languages. Only the Dutch language has its own word - *vertalen*. In several languages a number of specialized expressions can be seen, e.g., in Czech *počeštit / počešt'ovat* 'translate into Czech', *poněmčit* 'translate into German'.

1. Introduction.

In English we distinguish *translate* (in writing) and *interpret* (orally)[2]. Historically, of course, oral interpretation is an older phenomenon than written translation, because speech is older than writing (Århammar, 2004, S. 44). Some languages do not distinguish oral interpreting from written translation. In Russian, for instance, one must say "oral translation" (*ustnyj perevod*) if one wishes to express the concept of 'interpreting'. Po has *tłumaczyć* (ipf.) / *przetłumaczyć* (pf.) for both 'interpret' and 'translate'. Luther uses *(ver) dolmetschen* in the sense of 'translate' (not 'interpret') (see § 2.4. below).

English *translate* is apparently borrowed from Latin (see § 2.1. below), while the noun *translation* is apparently borrowed from Middle Fr, and ultimately from Latin *transfero, transferre* (or Lat. *transferere), transtuli, translatum. Interpret* and *interpreter* are borrowed from Old Fr and ultimately from Lat *interpretārī* and *interpretātor* (Klein, 1966, p. 807).

It is claimed that most Germanic and Slavonic languages have calques (loan translations)[3] going back ultimately to Lat *transferre/ translatum* "to carry across" or *trādūcere* "to lead across" (Sandfeld, 1912, p. 171; Kasparek, 1983, p. 83; Århammar, 2004, S. 45; 2009a, S. 150). Århammar considers the lexical motif "carry across, lead across" to be "less imaginative" than the alternatives but concludes that it is indeed this motif that dominates the onomasiological map of Europe for this semanteme[4] . The Romance languages have expressions derived from Lat *trādūcere* and *interpretārī*.

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[1] I am grateful to Dr Bettina Strewe, Postdam, for proofreading the article and making a number of valuable suggestions. Any remaining errors are, of course, my own responsibility.

[2] It is true that the distinction is not always observed, *translate* and *translator* being used for oral activity.

[3] Werner Betz (Betz, 1949) devised a detailed German classification of calques. The Germanic calques listed in this article (*oversetten, übersetzen*) are either *Lehnübersetzungen* (i.e., exact, *morpheme-for-morpheme translations*) or *Lehnübertragungen* (i.e., *freer adaptations*). German *übertragen* would be a *Lehnübersetzung* of Lat *transferre*, and Sl *prĕvesti* would be a *Lehnübersetzung* of *trādūcere*, but one might want to argue that *oversetten* is a *Lehnübertragung*, since *setten* does not correspond exactly either to *fero* or *dūco* (Haugen, 1950). Schumann adds the category of *Lehngliedzusatz*, where the original model is translated twice, due to a slavish copying of the original, as in OCS *dobrogověinъ* 'devout' for Grk *εὐλαβής*, where *gověinъ* would have been sufficient (Schumann, 1958, p. 3).

[4] "Weniger originell scheint das Benennungsmotiv 'übertragen, überführen' u. Ä. … und dennoch dürfen wir wohl getrost davon ausgehen, dass es sich bei diesem die europäische 'übersetzen'-Wortkarte dominierenden onomasiologischen Typus um lateinische Lehnübersetzungen handelt, sofern es nicht lateinische Lehn- oder

Note that *transferre* and *trādūcere* are not actually classical, rather they are post-classical. The classical expressions are *(con)vertere (vortere), reddere* and *interpretārī*, e.g. *e Graeco in Latinum (con)vertere, Latine reddere* or *Philemo scripsit, Plautus vortit barbare* (Folena, 1973, p. 62). Among other Latin synonyms Folena (Folena, 1973, p. 63) cites *exprimere* and, during the Empire, *mutare* (Seneca, Quintilian), the latter adopted later by Dante. While *transfero* does occur, though rarely and scarcely as a technical term, in Cicero (Folena, 1973, p. 63), it does not become widely accepted until the post-classical era, by e.g. Quintilian, Pliny, Hieronymus (Jerome). It was adopted in the mediaeval Romance languages as, e.g., It *translatare*, Fr *translater*, Sp *trasladar,* Pt *transferir*, along with *translatio* and *translator* (Folena, 1973, p. 108), while *trādūcere* is apparently a product of mediaeval humanism (Folena, 1973, p. 102; p. 108; see § 2.1. below).

Hermans points out the terms *translate, übersetzen* etc. represent a metaphor "to carry or ferry across, to relocate" (Hermans, 2008, p. 118). Lat *translatio* is a calque on Gr μεταφορά "a carrying across", which means 'translation', 'displacement', but also, of course, 'metaphor'. Hermans points out, further, that Quintilian, in his *Institutio oratoria* (1st c. AD) uses *translatio* in the sense of 'transformation of literal into figurative meaning'.

According to Folena, the Greeks had practically no concept of translating before the Alexandrine era – they used ἑρμηνεύω *hermēneúō* and μεθερμηνεύω *methermēneúō* and the "generic" μεταφέρω *metaphérō*, on which Lat *transferre* was calqued, though this latter developed a much richer semantic range than the Gr model, as well as μεταβιβάζω *metabibázō* "to lift across" in Dionysios of Halicarnassos, μεταφράζω *metaphrázō* "to talk across" and μεταγράφω *metagráphō* "to write across" (Folena, 1973, p. 62).

2.   'Translate'
2.1. Borrowings from Latin *transferre* (or *transferere*) or *trādūcere*.

For a long time in Western Europe (and partly also in Eastern Europe) Latin was the predominant language of science and scholarship. When scholars started to write in the vernacular, they continued to use many Latin words, because they needed many expressions that were not available in the vernacular and therefore had to be borrowed from Latin. English borrowed *translate* from Latin and *translation* from Middle French (see § 1. above). According to the SOED, the earliest use of *translate* is in 1477: "It was translated out of latyn in to frenshe".

The Romance languages have borrowed or inherited *trādūcere*, e.g. Fr *traduire* (1480) */traduction* (1530) */traducteur* (1540), It *tradurre/ traduzione /traduttore* (on the dates cf. below), Sp *traducir /traducción* (1450)/ *traductor* (1611), Pt *traduzir /tradução/ tradutor*, Cat *traduir/ traducció/ traductor*, Rum *a traduce/ traducere/ traducător*. It *tradurre* is a contraction of Lat *trādūcere* (Panigiani, II, 1451), who adds: "*Traduzione* differs from *Versione* and from *Volgarizzazione*, inasmuch as the first of these terms pays attention to the sense and does its best to render it in the most convenient way in the spirit of the language into which one is translating; the second of these terms is more literal and follows the analytical construction step by step, such as the translation of the Holy Bible; the third is concerned with translating the dead languages, making literary subjects of other ages, such as the Iliad, the Aeneid and others, popular and accessible"[5].

Battaglia (XXI, 2002, p. 120) has a quotation from Feo Belcari (Florence, 1410–1484): "Frate Ambrosio … uomo dottissimo … <u>tradusse</u> di greco in latino il *'Prato spirituale' de' Santi Padri recato in volgare'*" ("Frate Ambrosio … a most learned man … <u>translated</u> the *'Prato spirituale' de' Santi Padri recato in volgare'* from Greek into Latin") and another from Vespasiano da Bisticci (Florence, 1421–1498) "… quante degne opere furono e <u>tradotte</u> e composte" ("… how many worthy works were both <u>translated</u> and composed") (*Vite di uomini illustri del secolo XVI*).

Cortelazzo and Zolli (2008, p. 1717) write: "Il passaggio dal sign. generico di 'trasportare' a quello specifico di 'trasportare da una lingua ad un'altra' pare sia dovuto a Leonardo Bruni…" ("It appears that we owe the passage from the generic sign 'to transport' to the specific meaning of 'to

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romanische Erbwörter sind" (Århammar, 2004, S. 47).
[5] "*Traduzione* differisce da *Versione* e da *Volgarizzazione*, perché la prima bada al senso e s'ingegna di renderlo nel modo piú conveniente all'indole della lingua nella quale si traduce; la seconda è piú letterale e segue passo per passo la costruzione analitica, tale quella della Sacra Scrittura; il terzo si occupa di volgere le lingue morte rendendo popolari e comuni i soggetti letterari di altre età, come l'Iliade, l'Eneide e simili".

transport from one language to another' to Leonardo Bruni") and they go on to quote Migliorini (1960, p. 303): "*tradurre* si diffonde durante il Quattrocento con quel significato, eliminando gli altri che prima aveva, e sostituisce *traslatare, tralatare*, che anteriormente era il vocabolo più adoperato nel significato di 'tradurre'" ("*tradurre* spreads during the 15ᵗʰ c. with that meaning, eliminating the other meanings that it had had before, and replaces *traslatare, tralatare*, which previously had been the word used most often in the sense of 'translate'") (also 1989, I 276f.; cf. also Folena, 1973, p. 102, who dates this usage in Italian to 1420, in French to 1480, in Spanish to 1493–1495, in Catalan to 1507, in Portuguese to XVI c., and in Rumanian without a date, but "assai piú tardo, come concorrente dotto del turchismo già ricordato *a tălmăci*" ("considerably later, as a rival to the Turkism mentioned above *a tălmăci*")). In Rumanian, there was a movement in the 18ᵗʰ and 19ᵗʰ centuries referred to as *(re-)latinizare* or *(re-)romanizare* (Puşcariu) that replaced "foreign borrowings" (mostly from Slavonic or Turkic languages) with Latin or Romance lexemes that were not felt to be foreign (Ivănescu, 1980, p. 626–630; p. 664–677; Niculescu, 1978, p. 55–98; Gheţie, 1978, p. 169–177). There was a *tendinţă italienizantă* ("Italianizing tendency") championed especially by Ion Heliade Rădulescu, who claimed that Italian and Rumanian were basically dialects of a single language and it was therefore natural that speakers of the latter should use words from the former, from their common Latin heritage (Munteanu and Ţâra, 1978, p. 148–150). Cioranescu dates *traduce* to the 19ᵗʰ c. (Cioranescu, 1966, p. 854).

Folena writes that the first instance of Latin *trādūcere* in this new technical sense can be dated to a letter of Leonardi Bruni of 5 September 1400, where it is based on a passage in Aulus Gellius (c. 125 – after 180 AD): "vocabulum Graecum <u>traductum</u> in linguam Romanam" (Folena, 1973, p. 102). Here Folena also recalls the use of *ducere* and *riducere (in volgare)* in mediaeval Italian (see below).

Corominas and Pascual (1980, I, p. 60) also quote Migliorini[6]: the first to use *tradurre* in the sense of 'translate' and to propagate this usage internationally was the Florentine Leonardo Bruni in the 15ᵗʰ c. Thus, Spanish *traducir* is a calque on Florentine *tradurre*. Cf. also Corominas (1961, p. 29), who dates *traducir* and *traducción* to a date before 1450 (Corominas, 1961, p. 29). According to Wartburg, who cites *Rendiconti del R. Istituto Lombardo, Milano,* 49, p. 221–224, French *traduire* and *traduction* in the sense of 'translate' and 'translation' ("faire passer d'une langue dans une autre" ("move from one language to another") and "action de faire passer d'une langue dans une autre" ("action of moving from one language to another") resp.) are also calques on Italian (Wartburg, 1967, 153f.). Wartburg dates this usage for *traduire* to 1534 and of *traduction* to 1543.

Da Cunha ascribes *traduzir* 'transpor de uma língua para outra' to the 16ᵗʰ c., *tradução* 'ato ou efeito de traduzir' to the 17ᵗʰ c. (Da Cunha, 1989, p. 780).

The Romance languages have various synonyms such as Pt *verter (uma língua), versão*, It *recare, volgere, rendere* (cf. the Italian quotations above). In mediaeval Italian, terms such as *mettere, recare, ridurre, porre (in volgare)* were used as well as *volgarizzare*, also *riducere di latino in volgare* for translations into the vernacular (Folena, 1973, 78f.; p. 83).

The Scandinavian languages have the rather bookish forms Da *translatør /translatrice* 'translator' (and also e.g. Sw *interpretera/ interpretör* 'interpreter' (otherwise *tolka/ tolkare*, see § 3. below)).

2.2. Calques on *transferre* (or *transferere*) or *trādūcere*.

Educated people in the Germanic countries also wrote in Latin. When they started writing in the vernacular, they could borrow words from Latin but in most cases we have calques, in this case calques on *transferre* (or *transferere*) or *trādūcere*, e.g. Ger *übersetzen*, also *übertragen*, this latter presumably from *transferre*. In contemporary German *übersetzen*, with stress on the prefix, which is separated from the root verb in certain tenses (*er setzte sie über* 'he carried her across'), is distinguished from *übersetzen* with stress on the root verb: *er übersetzte das Buch* 'he translated the book'. Initially, however, this latter verb was also used with a separable prefix, so that the two verbs were not morphologically or phonologically differentiated (Århammar, 2004, S. 55; cf. 2009b, 50f.). Danish *oversætte*, Sw *översätta* from Middle Low German *oversetten* (Nielsen, II, 1969, S. 285). Cf. Norw *oversette* (Bokmål). Nynorsk has *omsetje*: *omsetje ei bok, omsetje til norsk, omsetje frå bokmål til nynorsk* 'translate a book, translate into Norwegian, translate from *Bokmål* into *Nynorsk*'.

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[6] *Annual Bulletin of the Modern Humanities Research Association* 22; Nov. 1956.

Århammar[7] identifies Middle Low German *översetten* and Middle Dutch *oversetten* and *overstellen* as the source of this calque in the Germanic languages ("im Osten der Niederlande in der niederländisch-niederdeutschen Kontakt- bzw. Übergangszone" ("in the East of the Netherlands, in the Dutch-Low-German contact- or transition zone"), with the earliest registered occurrences in the works of Geert Grote (1340–1384).

Hungarian has *átültet* 'translate' "move across" and *áttesz* 'translate' "take across".

The Slavonic languages have calques based on the root *ved/vod* 'lead' (which are in an ablaut relationship to each other) (South Slavonic and Russian) or *klad/lož* 'set' (which are suppletive forms) (Ukrainian, Belorussian and West Slavonic), thus *prě-vesti* from **prě-ved-ti* (pf.) (with consonantal change d > s) / *prě-vod-iti* (ipf.) "lead across" = *trādūcere* or **prě-lož-iti* (pf.) /**prě-klad-ati* (ipf.) The proto-Slavonic prefix **prě-* 'over, through' is cognate with Lat *per-*, Gothic *fair-*, Gr *péri/perí*, Ger *ver-* etc. (Kluge, 1989, S. 757).

Because the West-Slavonic forms are based on *lož/klad* 'set' rather than *ved/vod* 'lead' they may well be calques on German, which, in the West-Slavonic area, is just as likely as a calque on Latin. However, there is the problem that both *prěvesti* and *prěložiti* occur in Old Church Slavonic (OCS) (see below).

These verbs and nouns in Slavonic have both the original, physical sense 'carry across' as well as the metaphorical sense 'translate'.

In the various Slavonic languages we have:

Ru *perevodit'* ipf. *perevesti* pf. 'to translate'
perevod 'translation'
also † *tolmačit'* 'translate' (Dal', IV, 1909 [1954], s. 784) (see § 3. below).

There is also *pereložit'* 'to adapt', e.g. *pereložit' prozu v stihi* ('to transpose prose into verse') or *Sintaksis "Slova o polku Igoreve" v sopostavlenii s ego poětičeskimi pereloženijami* ('The syntax of *The Lay of Igor's Campaign* compared with its poetic adaptations')[8]. But this verb can also be used as an archaism in the sense of 'translate', as in *pereložit' poěmu s grečeskogo na russkij* ('to translate an epic poem from Greek into Russian') (Rossijskaja akademija nauk, 2007, p. 629).

Ukr *perekladaty* (ipf.) *pereklasty* (pf.);
pereklad 'translate';

Bru *peraklásci* (pf.) *perakladác'* (ipf.) 'to translate';
peraklásci ramán na rúskuju móvu 'translate a novel into Russian';
peraklad 'translation';
perakládčyk 'translator';

Cro *prèvesti* (pf.) Sr Cro *prevèsti* (pf.) / *prevòditi* (ipf.) 'to translate';
prijévod Sr. *prévod/ prijèvod* 'translation';

Sln *prevêsti* (pf.) *prevájati* (ipf.) 'to translate';
-vaj- < *-vod-* with ablaut (o > a) and consonantal change d > j;
prevòd 'translation';

Bg *preveda* (pf.) *prevеždam* (ipf.) (with consonantal change *d > žd*) 'to translate';
prevod 'translation'.

According to Gerov – 19th century Bg has *prěvoždamъ/ prěvaždamъ* 'translate', but there is no noun **prěvodъ* (Gerov, IV, 1977 [1901], s. 335).

Mcd *prevede* (pf.) *preveduva* (ipf.) 'to translate';
prevod 'translation'.

Macedonian also has an original expression:

Mcd *prepee* (pf.) *prepeva* (ipf.) 'translate (a work of literature)' "trans-compose", cf. Ger *nachdichten, nachsingen;*

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prepev 'translation' (of a work of literature);

Cz   *přeložit* (pf.) *překládat* (ipf.) 'to translate';
        překlad 'translation';

Slk   *preložit'* (pf.) *prekladat'* (ipf.), also *tlmočit'* (pf. + ipf.) (cf. also § 3 below) 'to translate';
        preloženie 'translation';

ULu   *přełožić* (pf.) *přełožeć/ přełožować* (ipf.) 'to translate';
        přełožk 'translation';

LLu   *pśełožyś* (pf.) *pśełožowaś* (ipf.) 'to translate';
        pśełožk 'translation';

Pol   *przełożyć* (pf.) *przekładać* (ipf.), also *tłumaczyć* (ipf.) *przetłumaczyć* (pf.) 'to translate';
        tłumaczyć powieść z oryginalu 'to translate a novel from the original' (cf. also § 3. below);
        przekład, tłumaczenie, wersja 'translation' (*wersja łacińska, polska* 'Latin/ Polish translation').

All these verbs and nouns look like calques on the familiar pattern. According to Vasmer (II, p. 338), Ru *perevodit'* and *perevod* are calques on Fr *traduire* and *traduction*. This view is repeated in the *Tolkovyj slovar' russkogo jazyka*[9]. Šapošnikov says of *perevodit'*: "Уже в XVI в. имело значение *переводить с одного языка на другой*. В XVIII в. стало употр. в качестве кальки франц. *traduire*" ('Already in the 16th c. it had the meaning "translate from one language into another". In the 18th c. it started to be used as a calque on Fr *traduire*') (Šapošnikov, 2010, II, s. 120). The dictionary says the same of *perevod*, i.e. that it was used in the sense of 'translation' in the 16th c., and started to be used as a calque on Fr *traduction* from the 18th c. This appears to be a case of "multiple etymology" (Ivănescu, 1980, p. 670f.).

Slovar' russkogo jazyka XI–XVII vv. (XIV, s. 218) glosses *perevesti* (gloss № 7) as "Передать (текст) средствами другого языка" ('to reproduce (a text) with the resources of another language') and quotes *Velikie Minei-Četii* of 22–30 April 1065: "И сице единъ инокъ … и азбуку сложилъ, и грамоту сотворилъ, и книги перевелъ ..." ("And thus a monk … both put together an alphabet, and created a script, and translated books …"). There are also quotes from the 16th and 17th centuries. Under *perevodъ* (XIV, s. 219) it lists as gloss № 4 "Передача текста средствами другого языка" ('reproduction of a text with the resources of another language') with a quote from 1545: "Споспешници же в переводе Максиму толмачи латиньския Власий и Дмитрей" ('Maxim's translation assistants (were/ are) the Latin interpreters Vlasij and Dmitrej')[10] (Zapisi Voskresenskogo monastyrja).

These verbs were used in at least two OCS texts. The *Slovník jazyka staroslověnského* (III, 1982, s. 408) glosses **prěvesti** as "spec. de translatione ex una lingua in alteram, *prěložiti; perevesti; übersetzen, übertragen; vertere* (i.e., 'translate') and quotes the monk Chrabър (Чрьноризьць Храбръ) (end 9th – beginning 10th c.): **knigy prěvede** 'he translated books'.

Under **prěložiti** (III, 1982, s. 452) they have three quotations, including these two:

(1) **kto vy pismena stvorilъ estь, ili knigy prěložilъ** (Chrabър, 9,5 sq) 'who created the letters for you, or translated books';

(2) **prěloživъ crъkovny oustavъ ōt<ь> grъčka vъ slověnьskyi ezykь** KlimJugosl[11], Lavrov 97,8 'having translated the Church constitution from the Greek into the Slavonic language'.

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[9] Tolkovyj slovar' russkogo jazyka. Moskva: Rossijskaja Akademija nauk, 2007, s. 624.
[10] I would like to thank my friend and colleague, Professor Volkmar Lehmann, Hamburg, for his help with this quotation.
[11] Sermo panegyricus de s. Cyrillo, auctore Clemente episcopo: e … ms Bibliothecae Academiae Scientiarum

It is suspicious that there is only one citation for **prěvesti** and two for **prěložiti**, and so perhaps these expressions had not become established in this sense. In any case we need to ask what the source of these expressions could have been. There is a possible Greek model AGr μετάγω *metágō* 'lead across, translate (in the physical sense)' > 'translate, interpret' (Liddell and Scott, 1996, p. 1111; Thēsaurós, 1985, s. 1065). However, the lexeme is extremely rare in AGr[12]. Dēmētrákou (1964) quotes an example from the Old Testament and a modern one with no named author: η Θεία Κωμωδία μετενεχθείσα εις τήν καθωμιλημένην (sc. Ελληνικήν) "the Divine Comedy was translated into the vernacular (i.e., Greek)". Liddell and Scott (1996, p. 1111) have the same quotation from the OT: εἰς ἑτέραν γλῶσσαν 'into another language' (Lxx Si. Prol.)[13] . Trapp et alii (2005) do not list the word, and Kriarás (1988) lists only other meanings. AGr μεταφέρω *metaphérō* is somewhat more frequent in the sense of 'translate' in classical and mediaeval texts. The lexeme μεταφράζω *metaphrázō* is common in Ancient and Modern Greek. There is also μεθερμηνεύω *methermēneúō*, which is common in AGr and occurs in the Gospel according to St Mark.

 OCS reflects different Slavonic dialects. It originated in the Salonika area, but it developed in Moravia, which was subject to western (OHG and Latin) influences. Apart from that, the Kiev Folia and the Freising Fragments demonstrate that there were other traditions and with their own Latin influences. However, it seems unlikely that OCS *prěvesti* and *prěložiti* arose as calques on Lat *trādūco*, because, as we saw above, this usage is late (14th c.) (Ziffer, 2009, 253ff.). The contemporary Sl forms could have been (later) (re-) calques. Schneeweis (1960, p. 152) draws attention to OCS calques on OHG, e.g. OCS *neprijaznь* = OHG *unholdā*. Cejtlin mentions the rôle of Germanic calques in OCS (Cejtlin, 1977, s. 186). Molnár (1985, S. 18–26) discusses Latinisms and Old High German influence ("Moravianisms"). On calques in OCS generally cf. Minčeva (1995). The Latin influences can be traced back to the Vulgata as well as the "unified administrative, legal, financial and military systems and other homogenizing factors of the Roman Empire" (Molnár 1985, S. 22). And so it is possible that Lat *transfero* was the model[14].

There is also the possibility that the terms arose in Slavonic independently of any Greek or Latin influence. In a different context, Molnár speaks of "spontaneous Old Slavic neologisms" and "accidental similarities" (Molnár, 1985, p. 23).

However, on the whole, it seems most likely that the OCS forms are calques on Gr, either on μετάγω *metágō* or (more likely) on μεταφέρω *metaphérō*. If based on the latter, this would be a *Lehnübertragung* rather than a *Lehnübersetzung*, to use Betz's terminology (see footnote 2 above), i.e., an approximate rather than a morpheme-by-morpheme translation. But we have seen that Lat *trādūco* is believed to be a calque (*Lehnübertragung*) on Gr μεταφέρω *metaphérō*, even though *transporto* would have been a more exact calque (*Lehnübersetzung*). Apparently *transporto* did not seem suitable, perhaps because its meaning is too physical to serve as the basis for the metaphorical usage.

In the Russian dialectal dictionary *Slovar' russkix narodnyx govorov* (XXVI, 1991, s. 52–55) we have *perevodit'* in the original meaning (i.e. 'carry across'). This dictionary lists for *perevodit'* and *perevod* various physical and metaphorical meanings, but not 'translate, translation'; however, this does not mean that this meaning does not occur in dialectal use – this is a differential dictionary and so 'translate, translation' might be omitted because it is the standard (literary) meaning of these lexemes and is not therefore registered in a differential dialectal dictionary. But the lexemes do occur in the dialects, with or without the standard (literary) meaning. Sandfeld Jensen points out that literary calques, by definition, are not characteristic of dialects, except as borrowings from the standard language (Sandfeld, 1912, S. 172). In Dal's historical dictionary we have both the original ('carry across, move') and the metaphorical meaning ('translate') (Dal, III, 1907, s. 94).

Jugoslavicae.

[12] I thank my friend and colleague, Prof. Dr. Günther Henrich, Hamburg, for these detailed comments.

[13] i.e., the Prologue to Ecclesiasticus in the Apocrypha of the Bible; the Vulgate (4th c.) has *translata* (from *transfero*!) *ad alteram linguam*.

[14] I would like to thank my friend and colleague Dr Umberto Rinaldi, Brescia, for some stimulating comments on this aspect of the issue.

The Serbian noun *prevod* is probably a calque on Ru *perevod*. Schneeweis (1960, S. 153) sees it as a calque from German. As we saw above, the Ru noun itself is claimed to be a calque on Fr *traduction*, even though the verb was in use in OCS. Vuk Stefanović Karadžić in his *Srpski rječnik* (1818) does not list *prevod*. He lists the verb *prevoditi*, but only in the physical sense ("hinüberführen"). In his Croatian (ikavian)-Italian-Latin dictionary of 1806 Joakim Stulli (1806, s. 202; s. 204) lists *privòd* with the gloss "*translazione, traduzione,* translatio, traductio" and the verbs *privòditi* (pf.) and *privèdsti* (pf.), clearly only in the physical sense ("*condurre, ricondurre, trasportare, ducere, perducere, adducere, reducere, transferre, trajicere*"). The gloss for the noun is inconclusive because *traduzione* and *translazione* can be used in the physical sense.

In the *Rječnik JAZU*[15] we read: *prijèvod*: "Između rječnika samo u Šulekovu ńem.-hrv. (*prevod, Übersetzung*) i u Popovićevu (*prevod, Übersetzung*)" ("Among the dictionaries only in Šulek's German-Croatian (*prevod, Übersetzung*) and in Popović's (*prevod, Übersetzung*)"). They quote A. Blagojević (1771): "Iz francuzkoga i nimačkoga prevoda na ilirički jezik prevede < u natpisu kńige>" ("Translated from the French and German translation into the Illyrian language < in the title of a book>"). Under *prevèsti* (XI, 1935, p. 789) they refer to the same two dictionaries (where the lexeme is glossed as "übersetzen") and quote from the beginning of the 16ᵗʰ century: "Stefan despotь ... mnoga pisanija prevêdê ot grьčьskyih pisanij" ("Despot Stefan … translated many texts from Greek texts") (see below) as well as the following: "Ovi nauk iz dijačkoga jezika ispisa, privede i složi u jezik slovinski" (M. Divković: *Nauk karstianski za narod slovinski* < u natpisu kńige>)" ("These teachings transcribed from the learned language {i.e., Latin}, translated {ijakavian dialectal form} and put into the Slavonic language {from the title-page of the book *Nauk karstianski za narod slovinski*})". Under *prevòditi* (XI, 1935, p. 799) they quote Blagojević again: "Da bi naučili kńige pisati, pak ... prevoditi" ("That they might learn to write books and … translate").

Daničić has the passage from Old Serbian that we quoted above: **mnoga pisanïa prevĕdĕ** [sic!] **ot grьčьskyixь pisanïi.** L 62 ("{Despot Stefan} … translated many texts from Greek texts")[16] (Daničić, 1975, s. 480), but he does not list the noun.

According to Čundeva (1994), 19ᵗʰ century Mac authors use *prevod* (presumably borrowed from Bg., although Čundeva classifies it as a Russianism).

Thus it is clear that the metaphorical use of the verb ('to translate') is old but the nominalization ('translation') is more recent. The verb is probably a calque on Greek, while the noun appears to be a calque on a modern language (from French, possibly via another language such as Russian).

2.3. Calques on other Latin Terms.

Alb. *përkthej/ përkthen* (prefix *për* [cognate with Lat *per*] + verb *kthej/kthen* 'to turn') is a calque on Lat *(con)vertere* according to Århammar (2004, S. 46); *përkthim* 'translation; interpreting', *përkthyes* 'translator; interpreter'. In the Germanic languages Old Danish used *wænde* "turn" 'translate', borrowed from Middle Low German *wenden*, and also *omwænde*, Old Swedish *venda, umwenda, omwända* (Århammar, 2004, S. 53), Middle Low German *kêren, wenden* (Århammar, 2009a, S. 152; S. 156f.). Cf. Hungarian *forditás* 'translation', *(le)fordít* 'translate' "turn". Turkish has *çevirmek* 'translate' and *çeviri* 'translation' "turn". Breton *treiñ* 'translate' "turn"[17].

2.4. Other Terms for 'translate'.

Dutch has its own term *vertalen*. The original meaning of *vertalen* is 'to tell', like contemporary Dutch and Low German *vertellen* and the cognates Eng *tell*, Ger *erzählen*, dial, *verzählen*, along with other meanings such as 'mention, defend, acquit' (14ᵗʰ–15ᵗʰ c.). These meanings eventually gave way to the specialized one (16ᵗʰ c.) of 'telling it in another language'. Jan de Vries (1971, S. 778) cites Kiliaen as the first to use the word in its present-day meaning and points out that the semantic development was due partly to contamination with the word *taal* 'language', cf. also M. Philippa et alii 2003–2009: *Etymologisch Woordenboek van het Nederlands*.

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[15] *Rječnik JAZU*, XI, 1935, s. 940.

[16] *Šafarika*, 1851.

[17] I thank my friend and colleague Professor Elmar Ternes, Hamburg, for this information.

Luther did not use *übersetzen*, because this calque had not yet reached the south-eastern regions (Århammar, 2009b). Luther used *verdolmetschen*, based on the word *Dolmetsch*, which today means 'interpreter' (see § 3. below), and *(ver)deutschen*, which means "to make German". There are expressions similar to this latter in other languages, e.g. Århammar (2004, S. 61) cites Danish *fordanske* "to make Danish", *forsvenske* 'to turn into Swedish', *fortyske* 'to turn into German', Nw *fornorske* 'to translate into Norwegian', Swedish *försvenska* 'to translate into Swedish'. Folena (1973, p. 106) notes It *far toscano* (Bembo, 16th c.).

Pol   *spolszczyć /spolszczać* "to make Polish, turn into Polish", e.g. *spolszczyć arcydzieła obcej literatury* ('to render into Polish the chefs-d'oeuvre of foreign literature');

Cz   *počeštit/ počešt'ovat* "to make Czech, turn into Czech", *poněmčit* "to make German, turn into German";

Ulu   *zeserbšćić* "to turn into Lusatian";

Sln   *posloveniti* "to turn into Slovenian";

Cro   *pohrvatiti* "to turn into Croatian";

Mac   *pomakedonči* "to turn into Macedonian".

Århammar calls such expressions "zielsprachgerichtete Bezeichnungen" ("target-language-directed designations") (Århammar, 2004, S. 61). Some are used without a prefix (e.g. German † *deutschen*), otherwise the prefix in the Germanic languages is *ver* (German) or *for* or *för* (Scandinavian languages), which expresses causation (originally movement) (Kluge, 1989, p. 757). In Sl the prefix is either **po* or **sъ*, which also both express causation (Kopečný, 1963, s. 319f.). It is quite possible that all these "zielsprachgerichtete Bezeichnungen" are inspired by the Ger *eindeutschen* (Århammar, 2004, S. 61).

There is a similar expression in Sr: *Raić je znao Slavenske rijeći onako <u>posrbljavati</u>"* (Vuk) ('Raić knew how thus to Serbianize Slavonic words') (Iveković & Broz, II, 1901, s. 129), but the meaning seems to be 'Serbianize' rather than 'translate into Serbian'.

Verbs based on CSl *tъlmačь* 'interpreter' (see § 3. below) can also be used in the sense of 'translate', e.g. Pol *tłumaczyć powieść z oryginału* 'to translate a novel from the original'.

In English we also use *render* (*render into French*) and *turn* (*turn into French*). Also 'to put into French'. Fr also has *rendre*: "Ne croyez pas que j'aie rendu ici l'anglais mot pour mot" (Voltaire) ('Do not believe that I have rendered the English here word for word').

Both ancient and Modern Greek have μεταφράζω *metaphrázō* "talk across" 'translate' and μετάφρασις *metáphrasis* (or ModGr μετάφραση) 'translation' "a speaking across". In English, John Dryden (1631–1700) distinguished a *metaphrase* as a literal translation (formal equivalence) from a *paraphrase* as a "saying in other words" (dynamic equivalence) (Kasparek, 1983, p. 83; Wikipedia).

Old Church Slavonic has an expression based on the root *tъlkъ* (see § 3. below) **protlъkovati**, which is glossed as 'spec. *přeložiti; perevesti; übersetzen; interpretārī, vertere*' and the quote is **azъ že ... přepisahъ protlъkovavъ ot roumъska ęzyka ... na grъčeskъ** (Supr, 144, p. 25) ('thus I … transcribed and translated from the Latin language … into Greek') (SJS, III, 1982, s. 390).

Turkish has *tercüme* 'translation' and *tercüme etmek* 'translate' (on the etymology of which cf. § 3. below).

3.   'Interpret'.

After considering the mediaeval expressions exemplified by It *trucimanno* (see below), Folena concludes that, in the Middle Ages, interpreting from exotic languages was considered to be quite different from translating (*traslatare, volgarizzare*) texts from Christendom, even though there were workshops *(fucine)* in such cities as Toledo, Paris and Oxford producing translations of Arabic scientific and technical literature (Folena, 1973, p. 61f.).

Eng *interpret* is from Old French, as is *interpreter* (Klein, I, 1966, p. 807). Folena writes: "Despite the considerable semantic breadth and the complex polysemy of *interpres*, the word was

readopted as a learned borrowing in the modern era in the western neo-Latin languages and also in English as a technical term to designate the professional oral translator, thus It. (& Sp.) *interprete*, Fr. *inteprète*, Eng. *interpreter*"[18] (Folena, 1973, p. 61).

As mentioned above, some languages do not distinguish interpreting from translating, thus, in Russian, 'interpreter' is *ustnyj perevodčik* "oral translator". English distinguishes *translate* from *interpret*, as do French *(traduire, interpreter,* also *interprétariat)* and Spanish *traducir* vs. *interpretar* '*traducir de una lengua a otra, sobre todo cuando se hace oralmente*' ('to translate from one language into another, especially when this is done orally') (Diccionario, II, 1992, p. 1181) or Portuguese *interpretar: 'traduzir de uma língua para outra'* ('to translate from one language into another') (Morais, III, 1980 [1961], p. 278). Rumanian distinguishes *a traduce* 'to translate' from *a tălmăci* 'to interpret', which is borrowed from Slavonic (OCS *tlъmačiti* (see below)) (Cioranescu, 1966, p. 821). In Italian, on the other hand, *interpretare* is only 'explain' or 'perform', as in *interpretare un sogno* 'interpret a dream' or *interpretare una sonata* 'interpret a sonata'. In Italian, 'to interpret' is either *tradurre* 'to translate' or *fare l'interprete* 'to act as an interpreter'.

In Latin we have *interpretārī* 'to interpret' (in the sense of putting an interpretation upon s.th., understanding in a certain sense, e.g. *epistulam* 'interpret a letter', *scriptores* 'interpret certain writers'; but also 'translate', e.g. *ex Graeco* 'from Greek'); it is derived from *interpres* 'go-between, mediator; exegete; interpreter; translator'. There are no calques on *interpretārī* because its etymology is unclear (Århammar, 2004, S. 47), although it is probably derived from *pretium* 'price' (Folena, 1973, p. 61), since apparently initially it designated a negotiator in business dealings.

AGr 'interpreter' is ἑρμηνεύς *hermēneús*, which may or may not be cognate with the name Hermes (Folena, 1973, p. 61), ἑρμηνεύω *hermēneúō* is 'to interpret'. ModGr has διερμηνεύς *diermēneús* and διερμηνευτής *diermēneutēs* (in the NT the latter means 'exegete') and also δραγουμάνος *dragoumános* (see below), while 'to interpret' is διερμηνεύω *diermēneúō*.

Swedish has *tolk* 'interpreter', Old Swedish *tolker*, from Middle Low German *tolc, tolke* from CSl **tъlkъ* (Wessén, 1963, p. 445; Århammar, 2004, S. 58; 2009b, S. 43). *Tolka* 'to interpret' is derived from *tolk*. Danish and Norwegian have *tolk* and *tolke*. Ru (obs.) *tolk* 'interpreter' was borrowed into Lithuanian *tùlkas*, Latvian *tulks*, Estonian *tulk*, Middle Dutch *tolk*, Old Norse *tulkr*, Dutch *tolk*. Sl *tъlkъ* may be cognate with Lat *loquī* (Vasmer, III, 115)[19]. Århammar (2009a, p. 152) writes: "Middle Low German *tolk (tollik)* 'interpreter', which was borrowed from Old Russian, and the verb *tolken* spread widely due to the Hanseatic League: into all the Scandinavian and Baltic languages …, into Middle Low German and Middle Dutch (including Middle Frisian) and into north-eastern Middle High German"[20].

Apart from *tolkare* 'interpreter', Sw also has *interpretör* (cf. § 2.1. above).

Contemporary Dutch has *tolk* (noun) and *tolken* (verb).

ORu *tъlkъ, tolkъ* is glossed by Sreznevskij (III, 1958, s. 1046) as 'interpreter' in various senses ('переводчикъ, толмачь; истолкователь' ('translator, interpreter; exegete'). In OCS we have *tlъkъ*, which is glossed as: (1) 'Dolmetscher; interpres', i.e. 'interpreter'; and (2) as 'Deutung; interpretatio, expositio', i.e. 'exegesis' (SJS, 1997, s. 460).

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[18] "Non ostante l'estensione semantica e la complessa polisemia di *interpres*, la parola è stata riassunta per via dotta in epoca moderna nella lingue neolatine occcidentali, e così in inglese, come tecnicismo proprio per designar il traduttore orale professionale, it. (e sp.) *interprete*, fr. *interprète*, ingl. *interpreter*".

[19] Ernout-Meillet's etymological dictionary of Latin (Ernout & Meillet, 1967, p. 366) says of *loquor* "aucun rapprochement évident", but mentions the comparison that has been made by Holger Pedersen with Irish root – *tluchur* in Old Irish *atluchur* 'I thank' and *duttluchur* 'I beg'. This would assume that the Latin reflects an original root *tlokw-. A difficulty with relating English *talk* involves the correspondence of the initial consonant, since PIE *t would yield *th* in Germanic, and *kw should yield a fricative as well. None of this detracts from the etymological relation between Latin, Irish, Slavic, and Sanskrit, however (I thank my colleague Harold Koch, Canberra, for these notes). Černyhx postulates the IE root as **tolkᵘ* "to speak" (Černyx, 1994, II, s. 248).

20 "Das aus dem Altrussischen entlehnte mnd. *tolk (tollik)* 'Dolmetscher' mit dem Verb *tolken* erfuhr durch die Hanse eine große Verbreitung: in sämtliche skandinavischen und baltischen Sprachen…, ins Mnd. und Mnl. (einschließlich des Mfries.) sowie ins nordöstliche Mhd."

In Ru *tolkovat'* means only 'to interpret' in the sense of 'explain', as in other Sl languages; only Mac has *tolkuva* 'interpret', *tolkuvač* 'interpreter' (TRMJ, VI, 2014, s. 77), but the normal expression is *usno preveduva* 'translate orally' and *preveduvač* 'interpreter'.

In German, the verb *dolmetschen* 'to interpret' is derived from *Dolmetsch* 'interpreter', which is borrowed either from Hungarian *tolmácz* or directly from West Slavonic (CSl *tъlmačъ*) (Århammar 2009b, S. 43)[21]. The contemporary Ger expression *Dolmetscher* is a nomen agentis derived from *dolmetschen*. MHG has the verb *tolmetzen*. Modern German *Dolmetsch* is derived from *tolmetze* or *tolmetsche* (13th c.). *Tolmetzer* occurs in the 14th c. The verb *verdolmetschen* is registered in the 16th C. (Pfeifer, 1997, p. 236). Luther used *(ver)dolmetschen* in the sense of 'translate'. It was only in the course of the 17th century that it was generally replaced in this sense by *übersetzen*, which came from the Dutch-Low-German zone. *Dolmetschen* remained but in the narrower sense of 'interpret' (Århammar, 2009b, S. 52).

CSl *tъlmačъ* is reflected in Old Cz *tlumač*, modern Cz *tlumočník*, Pol *tłumacz,* Ru † *tolmač*, Cro *tumač* etc. (Kopečný, 1963, s. 458; Skok, III, 1973, 521f.), OR *tъlmačь, tolmačь* (Sreznevskij, III 1958, s. 1046).

In some Slavonic languages there is a verb 'to interpret' derived from the noun 'interpreter' (CSl *tъlmačъ*). Sreznevskij (III, s. 1046) lists ORu *tъlmačiti* with a quotation *Попы говорили посломъ, а Данило толмачилъ* ('The priests spoke to the envoys, and Danilo interpreted') (Děla Cesarskija (from the *Istorija gosudarstva Rossijskago*) <Kar. I.G.R. IX pr. 442>). In Sln we have *tolmač* 'interpreter' > *tolmačiti* 'to interpret' > *tolmačenje* 'interpreting' *(simultano, konsekutivno)*, Cro *tumač* > *tumačiti*, Cz *tlumočit*, ULu *tołmačić* 'to interpret', Po *tłumaczyć* (ipf.) *przetłumczyć* (pf.) (both 'interpret' and 'translate').

Rum *tălmáci* 'interpreter' is borrowed from Sl (see above). As in other languages, the verb 'to interpret', in this case *tălmăcí*, is derived from the noun. A secondary derivation from the verb is the noun *tălmăcitór*[22], also 'interpreter' (a parallel development to German *Dolmetscher < dolmetschen < Dolmetsch*).

The source of the Sl words is Turkic *tilmaç* or *dilmaç* (the Codex Cumanicus has *tïlmač, tolmač*, Kuman is *tylmač*). Vasmer cites Subaraean (Mitannian) *talami* 'interpreter' as the ultimate source of the Turkic word (Vasmer, III, 1958, 115f.). According to Skok, *tъlmačь* was borrowed into Proto-Sl from a North-Turkic language (Skok, III, 1973, 521f.).

Contemporary standard Turkish has *tercüman*, which is borrowed from Ar *tarjumān* (*tarǧumān)* from the verb *tarjama* (*tarǧama*). The Arabic word is also the ultimate source of Eng *dragoman* '(in some Middle Eastern countries, esp. formerly) a professional interpreter or guide' < Fr < It *dragomano* < MedLat *dragumannus* < MedGr *dragomános* or *dragoúmanos* < from Egyptian pronunciation *targumān* of Ar. *tarjumān* (*tarǧumān*) from Aramaic *turghĕmānā*, ult. from Akkadian *targumānu* 'interpreter' (Klein I 1966, 480). Folena (1973, p. 61) notes mediaeval It *turcimanno, trucimanno*, "irradiato probabilmente per tramite veneziano … dopo la IV Crociata" ('spread probably via Venetian … after the 4th Crusade').

The word was also used among the South Slavs in the 15th c. (Skok, III, 1973, 521f.). There is also an archaic Eng form *truchman*, probably from Fr *trucheman, truchement*. 'To interpret' in contemporary Turkish is *tercümanlık yapmak* "to do interpreting", an 'interpreter' can also be called *çevirmen* (cf. above). A related word is *targum*: the *targumim* (singular: *targum*, Hebrew: תרגום), were spoken paraphrases, explanations, and expansions of the Jewish scriptures that a Rabbi would give in the common language of the listeners, which during the time of this practice was commonly, but not exclusively, Aramaic[23].

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[21] Århammar (2009, S. 43) quotes Herbert Wolf (1980, p. 42): "Besondere Aufmerksamkeit fordert L[uther]s Gebrauch genuin *slawischer Wörter*. Die meisten davon hat er in seinem ostmdt. Wirkungsraum bereits angetroffen, wo sie schon Jahrhunderte vorher durch den Kontakt zwischen deutschen Neusiedlern und eingesessenen Westslawen Aufnahme gefunden hatten" ("Luther's use of authentic *Slavonic words* needs attention. He had come across most of them in the east-central-German area of his activities, where they had been adopted through the contact between German colonists and indigenous West Slavs").

[22] Strewe points out that this form is particularly interesting in view of the use of a Latin suffix with an oriental root (personal communication).

[23] Wikipedia: (3.5.2015) <en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Targum>.

4. Conclusions

The words for 'translate' and 'interpret' are interesting in two respects:

    (1)   They show how concepts are formed.

    (2)   They demonstrate paths of cultural influence in Europe.

Not all European languages distinguish the two concepts.

The Romance languages inherited both the words for 'translate' and for 'interpret' from Latin. English borrowed these words either directly from Latin or via French. Rumanian has *traduce, traducere* for 'translate' and 'translation' as learned re-latinizations. The expression for 'to interpret', *a tălmăci*, is borrowed from Slavonic (OCS *tlъmačiti*).

The Germanic languages created words for 'translate' by calquing Latin expressions, the exception being Dutch *vertalen* ("niederländisches Eigengewächs" – Århammar). Otherwise the Germanic languages have calques derived from Middle Low German *översetten* and Middle Dutch *oversetten* and *overstellen* (Eastern Netherlands, 14ᵗʰ c.)

The Slavonic expressions *prěvesti / prěložiti* are probably calques on Greek but possibly on Latin.

It is interesting that the European languages (apart from Dutch) apparently could not come up with a general expression for the concept of 'translate' (i.e. apart from the "zielsprachgerichtete Bezeichnungen" (§ 2.4. above) such as Ger *eindeutschen* 'to turn into German', Danish *fordanske* "to make Danish" 'to turn into Danish', *forsvenske* "to make Swedish" 'to turn into Swedish').

It is claimed that most European languages have calques (loan translations) going back ultimately to Latin. While this seems incontrovertible, the problem is always how to prove a calque. While Århammar has established Middle Low German *översetten* and Middle Dutch *oversetten* and *overstellen* (Eastern Netherlands, 14ᵗʰ c.) as calques on Latin, the situation in the Slavonic languages is less clear. But translation as part of written culture is an eminently cultural concept, and it is and therefore by its very nature subject to influences from other languages.

On the other hand, Lat *interpretārī* could not be calqued because it is not amenable to easy etymological analysis. The Slavonic languages had an original expression for 'interpreter', **tъlkъ*, from which the words for 'interpret' were derived. MLG borrowed this Sl word, **tъlkъ*, which then passed into the Scandinavian languages. Ru (now obs.) *tolk* 'interpreter' was borrowed into Lithuanian *tùlkas*, Latvian *tulks*, Estonian *tulk*, Middle Dutch *tolk*, Old Norse *tulkr*, Dutch *tolk*.

However, contemporary Russian and Bulgarian have no special word for 'interpreter' but use "oral translator". The other modern Slavonic languages and German have borrowed a word for 'interpreter' ultimately from Turkic.

The archaic English expression *dragoman* is borrowed ultimately from Arabic via various other European languages.

So what are the conclusions for language change?

At some stage writers (and speakers) abandoned the classical Latin expressions for 'translate' and adopted the neologisms *trādūcere* and *transferre* (or *transferere*). Why would they do this? In contemporary English we can observe how older expressions are replaced – especially by journalists – with newer, apparently more interesting expressions: *backstory* instead of *history* (and Michael Jackson entitled an album *his story* in an attempt to make the word *history* more plastic). The Graeco-Latin word *history* is not transparent like *backstory*. Similarly the plastic *downsize* has replaced *reduce staff numbers*: shorter, but also transparent, unlike the Latin *reduce*. And so, in late Latin, the neologism *trādūcere* replaced the classical expressions *(con)vertere, reddere* and *interpretārī* [24].

Educated people continued to write Latin until early modern times. When they started to write in the vernacular, they continued to use many Latin terms. In the Romance world, these Latin terms remained: e.g. Fr *traduire* (1480) */traduction* (1530) */traducteur* (1540), It *tradurre/ traduzione*, Sp

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[24] Strewe wonders whether the new term reflected an increasing professionalization or at least increasing standards. Perhaps the new term reflected the fact that texts were now translated rather than being adapted. Perhaps the new term reflected also the fact that the languages had developed new lexemic, syntactic, morphemic resources etc., so that accurate translation was now possible for the first time (personal communication).

traducir /traducción (1450)/ *traductor* (1611)*,* Pt *traduzir /tradução*, Cat *traduir/ traducció*, Rum *a traduce/ traducere*.

In the Germanic countries, too, many scholars continued to write Latin until early modern times. When they started to write in the vernacular, they continued to use many Latin terms. However, some Latin terms were calqued. A very successful calque was Middle Dutch *oversetten* (which Århammar attributes to Geert Grote (1340–1384)), later calqued in the Scandinavian languages (Danish *oversætte*, Sw *översätta*, Nw *oversette*) and in German as *übersetzen*.

This calque originated in the Netherlands, while the Dutch have their own expression, *vertalen* "to tell in another language", and the noun *vertaling*. And so apparently the Dutch are the only modern European nation that have an original expression for 'translate'.

Probably earlier than the abstract concept *translate* were the "target-language-oriented" expressions such as *(ver)deutschen* "to make German", Danish *fordanske* "to make Danish", *forsvenske* 'to turn into Swedish', *fortyske* 'to turn into German', Nw *fornorske* 'to translate into Norwegian', Swedish *försvenska* 'to translate into Swedish', Pol *spolszczyć /spolszczać* "to make Polish, turn into Polish", Cz *počeštit/ počešt'ovat* "to make Czech, turn into Czech", *poněmčit* "to make German, turn into German", Ulu *zeserbšćić* "to turn into Lusatian", Sln *posloveniti* "to turn into Slovenian", Cro *pohrvatiti* "to turn into Croatian", Mac *pomakedonči* "to turn into Macedonian". Such "target-language-oriented" expressions are more concrete. They fulfil a useful rôle but by their very nature are not suitable for the more abstract concept 'translate'.

Besides *(ver)deutschen* Luther used *verdolmetschen*, based on the word *Dolmetsch*, which is borrowed from Slavonic (though the Slavs had borrowed the word from a Turkic source). *(Ver)deutschen* was fine when Luther was translating into German but was not suitable for the abstract concept 'translate'.

The word *interpret* – in English and in the Romance languages – is borrowed from Latin.

The Slavs had an indigenous word for 'interpreter', *tъlkъ* (possibly cognate with Lat *loquī*). This was borrowed into Middle Low German and from there into the Scandinavian languages. These languages then derived verbs meaning 'to interpret' (*tolka, tolke*) and secondary deverbal nomina agentis (Sw *tolkare* 'interpreter').

But the Slavs then borrowed a new word for 'interpreter' from a Turkic source - CSl *tъlmačь* is reflected in Old Cz *tlumač*, modern Cz *tlumočník*, Pol *tłumacz,* Ru † *tolmač*, Cro *tumač* etc. Here the explanation may be that the original word had become opaque or ambiguous. There are many examples where words become opaque or ambiguous and are then replaced either by neologisms or by borrowings (Ullmann, 1957, p. 147). Perhaps this is the explanation why young Australians prefer to say *elevator* rather than *lift* – quite apart from the American influence, *elevator* is unambiguous, unlike *lift*.

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