

Let the Language Continue: Translation of Chinese into Welsh

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Abstract

This thesis discusses methods for translating complex, culturally specific terms into minority languages, focusing on source languages from which there has been little prior translation. The target language for the thesis is Welsh, a minority language with a history of translation from a variety of source languages but also a reliance on translations from English as the majority language. This thesis argues that it would benefit Welsh to increase this source language variety to avoid relying on English-language translations for contact with other languages. The source language for this thesis is Chinese, a language of growing international importance from which there has been little prior translation in Welsh.

The theoretical framework for this thesis is based on polysystem theory, developed within translation studies by Itamar Even-Zohar, which was adapted with additional considerations for minority languages, including reference to postcolonialism and issues of colonisation and power relations. The methods used include designing a classification system of translation methods, examining existing Welsh translations from sources in Chinese and Ancient Greek through bibliographical and archival research, analysing translations of culturally specific terms from selected works for translation methods and a practical translation exercise, wherein I translated such terms from a Chinese source text into Welsh and reflected on my translation methods.

This thesis produced translations of complex, culturally specific terms from Chinese to Welsh. It identified a trend in previous Welsh translations from Chinese and Ancient Greek, of repurposing existing Welsh terms to represent new concepts. Using Welsh language resources, as opposed to reliance on English-derived loanwords, seems beneficial to Welsh as a minority language. Yet, in the practical translation exercise, I included more loanwords and compounds.

This is because, while minority language considerations remain important, challenging existing preconceptions concerning Chinese thought led to the adoption of a more source-focused translation strategy.

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Chapter 1: Minority Languages and Translation

1.1: Outline of Thesis Aims and Methodology

Most languages in the world are minority languages and exist in situations where they are put under pressure from majority languages. This pressure can range from more severe cases of legal repression to the need to learn the majority language to communicate with the rest of the country and the wider world. It is now difficult for languages to remain fully isolated due to media from television and the internet, which bring far more content in majority languages. One of the effects of globalisation is increased pressure from a small number of ‘global’ languages on the rest of the world, the strongest of these by far being English. Whereas in the past a minority language would usually only deal with one majority language, now they likely face pressure from a majority language and English.

One way in which this contact occurs is through translation. Too much translation from a narrow range of majority languages can cause problems for a minority language community. For example, if all contact with other cultures comes via the majority language, then the result is majority culture views and priorities mediating both minority culture access to the wider world, and likely access to the minority culture for foreign communities. As the pressure to use majority languages in more and more areas increases, it would become normal to interact with these areas only in the majority language.

One solution to the problem outlined above is to increase input from a wider range of source languages through direct translation as opposed to relay translation via a majority language. This would allow for direct communication with other cultures, without having to deal with conventions and views from the majority culture. However, there are difficulties which come with this approach too. Translating in a language combination which does not have many prior translations means the translator will encounter translation challenges which have been resolved in more common language combinations. Notably, it will encounter source language terms for which the minority language lacks equivalent translations.

The aim of this thesis is to produce a framework for minority languages to translate from source languages with which there has not been much prior contact. It is hoped that the framework can be used to inform future translations, alleviating the issue of the lack of precedents for other translators. It will use systems theory to analyse the relationships between languages in a global system in order to decide which source languages provide the most benefit for translation projects which involve a minority language as the target language. It will also consider in detail how to approach a translation issue which is particularly common and challenging in the case of translation in hitherto underexplored translation pairs: the treatment of non-equivalent and culturally specific terms.

This thesis will focus specifically on the language combination of Chinese to Welsh, which satisfies the requirement of translation into a minority language in a rare combination; due to the difference in writing systems between the languages, the thesis will also explore the question of transliteration within the broader discussion of dealing with cultural non-equivalence. This thesis will use the following methodology. It will develop a classification system as a guide for analysing translation methods for translating non-equivalent terms. It will use bibliographical,

archival, and to a lesser extent biographical research to examine existing translations in the main language combination of Chinese to Welsh and, due to scarcity of material in the main combination, in the additional combination of Ancient Greek to Welsh. The latter, as explained later in the thesis, offers some parallels to the main combination and therefore provides helpful supplementary material. Treating these existing translations into Welsh as parallel texts, the thesis will analyse samples of translated non-equivalent and culturally specific terms from these translations and apply the classification of translation methods to gauge what methods Welsh translators tended to use when dealing with cultural non-equivalence. Finally, it will use a practical translation exercise by the researcher: a culturally significant Chinese source text has been selected and the researcher will consider the findings indicating translational trends from the corpus of parallel texts, to offer Welsh translations of culturally significant non-equivalent terms, as well as a reflexive commentary on the possible and preferred methods.

These methods will be assisted by the production of several glossaries of term translations. They will offer a quantitative means of analysing translation choices from all the translation case studies, which can be compared to discuss possible trends among translator approaches or productivity of translation categories. The glossaries will include the source terms, their Welsh translations, English glosses of both for reference and the translation classification. Each glossary table will be followed by an analysis table to highlight the quantitative data in terms of numbers and percentages. It is important to note that the assignment of translation categories to terms is subjective to an extent, but generally follows the rules laid out when the formation of the categorisation is discussed. The glossaries for the existing Chinese and Ancient Greek case studies will provide a range of examples for understanding the practices of other Welsh translators which can act as a reference for future translations, which will ultimately need to

consider factors such as the genre, context and audience of the translation as well as the political agenda of the translator.

The remainder of this chapter will discuss the role of translation in minority language revival. It will outline a definition of ‘minority language’, discuss the classification of these languages according to level of endangerment, and consider how translation helps in language restoration methods. Chapter 2 will analyse the value of systems theory in selecting source languages for translations for minority languages. It will focus on the polysystem theory of Itamar Even-Zohar and how this theory can be applied to minority language contexts through reference to postcolonial theory. It will also justify the choice of Chinese as a source language choice for translation into Welsh. The focus of Chapter 3 will be translation methods for non-equivalent terms. As the aim of the thesis is translating texts in rare combinations, challenging terms for which there are no prior translations will be encountered frequently and will require a method for translating them into the target language. The aim of this chapter will be to form a classification system designed for minority languages that focuses on the origin language of translations.

Chapter 4 will study writing on and translations of Chinese which currently exist in Welsh. It will examine translations and transliterations of individual terms which appeared in books and articles. The focus will be on a study of the only published volume of translations from Chinese, Cedric Maby’s *Y Cocatw Coch* (1987), as well as reference to translations of specific terms in Chinese thought from Cyril Williams in *Crefyddau’r Dwyrain* (1968). Chapter 5 will offer a case study of translation into Welsh from Ancient Greek and a rationale of the advantages of analysing this case study. As there have been so few translations from Chinese, it is necessary to analyse Welsh translations from other languages to test the classification system and investigate translation methods used by Welsh translators when dealing with complex terms. Chapter 6 will

present a practical translation exercise, where complex terms from Chinese thought will be translated into Welsh with reference to the classification system. A final analysis will discuss the findings of the thesis and implications for future research.

1.2: Minority Languages and Translation Theory

As most translators and theorists work in majority languages, one would expect that most translation theory is designed with less input from minority languages or consideration of the unique circumstances in which minority languages exist. While minority languages do have a presence in translation theory, most of that presence is in theory which is specific to minority languages rather than broader theories that could be applied universally to all languages. It is possible to study the major theories of translation studies without encountering a minority language. Michael Cronin (1998, p. 147) called minority language translations doubly invisible, as they are overlooked within a frequently overlooked field of study.

The aim of the first section of this chapter is to look at how translation relates to minority languages. It will analyse academic scholarship to provide a working definition of ‘minority language’. Then it will investigate theory on language revival, and how translation and translation theory can help support minority languages in their efforts to ensure their continued use as the living languages of their respective communities. Finally, it will place these issues in a Welsh context, examining the sociocultural history of the Welsh language and debates on Welsh and translation.

1.2.1: Establishing the Definition of ‘Minority Language’

In order to identify what minority languages can gain from translation, it is first necessary to determine what counts as a minority language. As this is a classification which affects the majority of languages in the world, it is to be expected that there will be extreme variations within the category. Technically it affects every language in the world, as Hermans (1999, p. 1) argues that since there is no one language which is spoken by a majority of the population of the world, all languages are spoken by a global minority. Having a clearer idea of what a minority language is will help with understanding their situation and how to support whatever aims are deemed desirable. This section will first establish a working definition of ‘minority language’ and then apply the definition to Welsh.

1.2.1.1: Defining ‘minority language’ in general

There is more than one way of classifying a language as a minority language, because minority languages vary greatly in number of speakers and political rights. The situation of a language with over one million speakers is very different to those with less than one thousand, and the situation of a language whose use in government is required by law is very different to a language which has effectively been banned from the public sphere. Even the term ‘minority’ itself comes with a variety of alternatives. Cormack (2007, p. 1) lists several terms which have been used in place of the term ‘minority’, including ‘regional’, ‘lesser-used’, ‘non-state’,

‘subordinated’, ‘non-hegemonic’ and ‘indigenous’, but ‘minority’ is still preferred as it puts enough emphasis on the core problem of being marginalised by speakers of another language¹. In order to determine the most fitting explanation of the term, it is first necessary to establish a definition of what exactly is meant in this context by the term *minority*.

The definition which is given in the United Nations publication *Minority Rights: International Standards and Guidance for Implementation* states that a minority is:

A group numerically inferior to the rest of the population of a State, in a non-dominant position, whose members – being nationals of the State – possess ethnic, religious or linguistic characteristics differing from those of the rest of the population and show, if only implicitly, a sense of solidarity, directed towards preserving their culture, traditions, religion or language (United Nations 2010, p. 2).

A more recent definition from the United Nations Special Rapporteur on minority states that:

An ethnic, religious or linguistic minority is any group of persons that constitutes less than half of the population in an entire territory of a State whose members share common characteristics of culture, religion or language, or a combination of any of these. A person can freely belong to an ethnic, religious or linguistic minority without any requirement of citizenship, residence, official recognition or any other status.

(Budapest: National University of Public Service 2021, p. 158).

¹ See Cormack 2007, p.1-3 for an analysis of the shortcomings of these other terms.

Definitions of ‘minority language’, rather than ‘minority’, follow the same lines, but with a more focused view. In *Minority Languages in Europe: Framework, Status and Prospects*, Kristin Henrard defines a minority as:

A population group with ethnic, religious and linguistic characteristics which differ from the rest of the population, is non-dominant, is numerically smaller than the rest of the population and has the wish to hold on to its separate identity (Henrard 2003, p. 39).

These definitions are designed to cover all kinds of minorities in every situation possible and two main points arise. The first is that the group is a minority in terms of population in a given political unit. It is often the case that a smaller population means less political power, but it is possible to have a minority which does possess more power than the majority. This can be seen historically in the cases of the Normans in England or the Manchu in China, or also in modern times in Apartheid South Africa (Nic Craith 2003, p. 60).

The second is that the group generally has a desire to maintain whatever the attribute may be which qualifies them as a minority. This could take the form of a language the group wishes to continue speaking, or religious or cultural practices. It is implied that the group faces some kind of pressure, as otherwise maintenance would not be an issue.

However, there are problems with using only the term ‘minority language’. The variety which exists among minority languages is so great that the idea of one all-encompassing category becomes less helpful at a more detailed analytical level. Reimóndez (2013, p. 421) refuses to use the term at all, as she believes it puts too much emphasis on the size of the language at the expense of other facets like political power. Recall Hermans’ argument from earlier that all

languages are minority languages on a global scale. More refinement of the category will provide for a more detailed analysis.

Many academics have developed definitions within the definition. Cronin (1995, p. 86) argued that the idea of a 'minority language' is more of a state than a fixed designation like the term suggests. He notes a difference between 'diachronic' relation to the term minority, where languages become minorities over time as various factors cause them to become less used, and 'spatial' relation, where shifts in territorial borders result in a majority language becoming a minority in the new territory (Cronin 1995, p. 87). Another division comes from Serrano and Fouces (2018), who surveyed the difficulties faced in applying such a broad definition in practice. They identified one aspect of the definition as purely quantitative, being a language used by a minority of individuals, while the second aspect is a group with a common language that is in the situation of being a minority (Serrano and Fouces 2018, p. 1). White identified a difference between 'absolute' minority languages, which are spoken by minorities in all situations, and 'local' minority languages, which are spoken by minorities in some countries and majorities in others (White 1991, p. 46). The definitions outlined above are not mutually exclusive and can operate in the same analysis. They demonstrate how the original category of 'minority language' can be subdivided further depending on the aims of the individual academic.

One of the more controversial aspects of this analysis is how to classify the languages of minority groups who are considered native to the territory versus groups who immigrated there comparatively recently. White (1991) uses the terms 'indigenous' and 'immigrant', which are general terms that are used in media articles about similar issues. The first problem with these definitions lies with the term 'indigenous'. It is debatable exactly what this term conveys.

Edwards (2013, p. 9) argued that the problem with this term is determining how long a group has

to be in one place to be considered indigenous. Given how much human groups have migrated throughout history, finding a scientific definition which fits all cases would be impossible. The second problem is the term ‘immigrant’. This problem is basically the inverse of the first problem, but due to debates about immigration and asylum in many countries it has become even more politically charged. Cheetham (2022, p. 518) proposed a definition based on how long a language had been spoken in its territory, where ‘indigenous’ languages were spoken in the area before the majority language, and ‘immigrant’ languages were spoken in the area after the majority language became established.

Academics have suggested a variety of alternatives, such as ‘autochthonous’ and ‘allophonous’ as used by Serrano and Fouces (2018, p. 3). They carry the same basic meaning as indigenous and immigrant respectively without the same problematic socio-political connotations. As an alternative, Cheetham (2022, p. 518) acknowledged the problems with ‘indigenous’ and ‘immigrant’ as labels, but decided that the terms were used too widely to replace, and this is the approach which will be taken in this thesis. In a world where so many people emigrate and form communities in foreign cities, there are languages which fit many categories. For example, Cantonese can be a majority language in Hong Kong, an indigenous minority language in China, and an immigrant language in cities across Western Europe (Serrano and Fouces 2018, p. 2).

To add another complicating factor, majority or minority language status is flexible, and can change depending on the field in question. For example, majority languages with large populations that have always enjoyed majority status can now experience being minority languages for the first time through the medium of the internet, as English maintains such a dominant share of the internet in terms of available and popular content, even factoring in foreign language localisation (Cronin 1998, p. 151). As a result, the kind of issues which

minority languages have faced now apply in some cases to majority languages, which makes studying how minority status influences minority languages even more relevant (Cronin 2020, p. 335).

Being a minority language is less clear cut than the majority-minority binary initially suggests. There are multiple issues which can affect the interpretation, with the definition ultimately depending on context and politics. In terms of providing a working definition for this thesis, the one given by Henrard is the most suitable:

A population group with ethnic, religious and linguistic characteristics which differ from the rest of the population, is non-dominant, is numerically smaller than the rest of the population and has the wish to hold on to its separate identity (Henrard 2003, p.39).

It was written specifically for minority languages, as well as meeting the definition of ‘minority’ more broadly. It covers the general points on which the less specific definitions agree, identifying minority languages as ‘different’, ‘numerically smaller’, ‘non-dominant’, with speakers having ‘the wish to hold on to a separate identity’. However, even an ideal definition can only go so far. The category is so broad that no definition can be all-encompassing and provide detail at a precise analytical level. Ultimately it will be important to consider the context of the individual language alongside the standard definition. This definition and other terms discussed so far will be applied to Welsh in the next section.

1.2.1.2: Applying the definition to Welsh

This section will apply what has been discussed so far to Welsh, the target language for this thesis. It will outline the current condition of Welsh, before considering how the definition of ‘minority language’ fits this context. This definition has been shown to be more complex than it initially appears and having a more precise definition for Welsh will help determine how to classify it within the minority language evaluation methods which will be analysed in the next section.

Welsh is a minority language spoken predominantly in Wales, where it was originally the majority language. It began to be supplanted by English in the nineteenth century, with the percentage of people who spoke Welsh in Wales declining consistently across the twentieth century, falling below 50% for the first time by the 1901 census (Davies 2014, p. 87). By 1999 the figure was 18.6%, representing just over 500,000 people (Davies 2014, p. 159). In this century legislation was enacted to protect the use of Welsh in public life, including the Welsh Language Acts in 1967 and 1993 (Davies 2014, p. 122). This was followed in 2011 by a measure granting *de jure* official status to Welsh in Wales, making it technically the only official language in Britain (Davies 2014, p. 123).

The percentage-based decline in speakers has continued in the 21st century. The 2011 census recorded 562,000 Welsh speakers in Wales (Office for National Statistics 2012), which represented 19% of the population and a decrease of 2% from the 2001 census. The 2021 census recorded 17.8% of the population of Wales as Welsh speakers, which represents a decrease of 1.2% on 2011 (Howarth 2022). The group seeing the largest decrease was children, with approximately a 6% decrease in Welsh speakers in the 5-15 age group from 2011 (Howarth 2022).

Geographical differences in Welsh speaking ability are significant. Gwynedd and Anglesey recorded Welsh speaking percentages over 50%, at 64.4% and 55.8% respectively (Welsh Government 2022b). At the other end of the scale, Blaenau Gwent and Newport recorded 6.2% and 7.5% (Welsh Government 2022b). A percentage decrease was recorded in most local authorities, but there were increases in some areas of the Southeast, like Cardiff and the Vale of Glamorgan (Howarth 2022). Suggested reasons for the decrease include the Coronavirus pandemic, where children had fewer opportunities to speak Welsh due to staying at home rather than attending Welsh medium schools (Howarth 2022), as well as an increase in migration from outside Wales (Howarth 2022). While the Coronavirus pandemic likely had an adverse effect on the number of Welsh speakers in younger age groups, the decline in the number of Welsh speakers is a trend which has been taking place over several decades.

Other surveys have returned different results. The Welsh Government's Annual Population Survey (APS) records a much higher number of Welsh speakers. It recorded 884,000 speakers in April 2020 to March 2021 and the number for 2022 was 899,500, suggesting that the Welsh speaking population had grown during the pandemic. The figure for the APS has remained considerably higher than the census result in all the years where both surveys were conducted (Welsh Government 2022a). Another survey, The National Survey for Wales, recorded 18% of the population as Welsh speakers and 15% with some ability in April 2020 to March 2021 (Howarth 2022).

Jones (2019) identifies two potential factors for this discrepancy. The first is the phrasing of the questions in both surveys. The APS only asks the participant for a binary yes or no answer regarding Welsh speaking ability, while the census breaks the question down into ability in speaking, listening, reading and writing, which could cause some respondents to doubt their

Welsh language ability if they do not feel comfortable with one of these media. The second is that the census is completed privately, but the APS has a statistician present who can discuss with the respondent which answer is the most suitable. The census is still considered the main benchmark due to the fact that it covers every individual in the country, but the APS still has value in showing potential trends in between censuses (Jones 2019).

In a manner appropriate to the discussion of how difficult it is to fit languages into broad categories, the position of Welsh in the definitions is not as straightforward as it may initially appear. Welsh is an indigenous language in Wales, as well as being an immigrant language in Patagonia in Argentina and was present in significant numbers in the United States (c.f. Jones 2009, pp. 16-19). While at the national level in all cases it is a minority language, within Wales it is a majority language in certain local authorities.

1.2.2: Minority Language Evaluation

After the definition of the term ‘minority language’ was discussed above, this next section will examine the category in more detail, particularly with reference to language revival and translation. Revival is the goal for many minority languages, whatever ‘revival’ might mean in each individual context. Looking at how to help with revival or restoration informs decisions on how translation can assist with these objectives.

This section will consider characteristics of languages in different stages of endangerment as outlined by Joshua Fishman’s Intergenerational Disruption scale. It will discuss the main aims of languages at different stages as well as their relationship with translation, particularly the

positive and negative aspects of translation itself for these languages. It will conclude with a discussion of how varying the source languages used can make translation beneficial for minority languages.

1.2.2.1: Classifying minority languages and the GIDS scale

A variety of terminology exists around the different levels into which minority languages can be categorised. Much of the terminology is parallel to what is used in wildlife conservation, with some academics referring to a language ‘ecology’ (Edwards 2001, p. 231). The terms run on a scale from ‘vulnerable’ languages, through ‘endangered’ and finally ‘extinct’². All this rests on the assumption that, like biological diversity, linguistic diversity is inherently good, not just for their respective speaker communities but also for the world in general (Edwards 2001, p. 233).

UNESCO (2003) issued a report arguing that there are three aims for supporting minority languages, which differ in scope depending on the situation in which the language finds itself. Firstly, there is language revival, which seeks to reintroduce a language that has fallen out of use in a certain area, such as Hebrew in Israel and Irish in the majority of Ireland (UNESCO 2003, p. 15). Secondly, there is language fortification, which tries to increase the presence of the language to counter encroachment by a majority language, with Welsh given as a suitable example in the document (UNESCO 2003, p. 15), although it would also fit the third aim. Thirdly there is language maintenance, which aims to stabilise the use of a certain language to prevent it from falling further into decline, such as Māori in New Zealand (UNESCO 2003, p. 16). The first and

² Edwards explores this parallel in more detail in the same article on pp.232-233.

third aims are most useful for endangered languages which have an unsecure speaker base and are fighting for survival, while the second aim is for languages which are relatively secure and are trying to expand.

The needs of minority languages which are at risk of dying out and need to stabilize their numbers of speakers are different from the needs of those minority languages which are trying to restore themselves as the natural language of their population. As there is clearly a need for accurate categorisation, several academics have created their own scales by which to judge this. Fishman created one of the most widely used scale for assessing language vitality. He divided the degree of endangerment that languages face into eight different levels on his *Graded Intergenerational Disruption Scale* (GIDS) (Fishman 2001, p. 466). The scale has become so prominent that it is being used by the United Nations Education, Scientific and Cultural Organisation (UNESCO) as part of its Atlas of the World's Languages in Danger (Moseley 2010).

The GIDS has nine levels, including one level divided in two. It is read from the bottom up, starting at 8 where the language is extinct or critically endangered, and ending at 1 where the language is widely used. 'Xish' (see below) refers to the minority language-speaking group, while 'Yish' refers to the majority. Levels 7 and 8 refer to mostly endangered languages with only older generation speaking, so the goals are mostly around preservation (Fishman 2001, p. 468). The next levels focus on transmission between generations (Fishman 2001, p. 469), while levels near the top represent the growing institutional power of the minority language represented by X (Fishman 2001, p. 473).

The levels are as follows:

1: Education, work sphere, mass media and governmental operations at higher and nationwide levels

2: Local/regional mass media and government services

3: The local/regional (i.e. non-neighbourhood) work sphere, both among Xmen and among Ymen

4b: Public schools for Xish children, offering some instruction via Xish, but substantially under Yish curricular and staffing control

4a: Schools in lieu of compulsory education and substantially under Xish curricular and staffing control³

5: Schools for literacy acquisition, for the old and for the young, and not in lieu of compulsory education

6: The intergenerational and demographically concentrated home-family-neighbourhood-community: the basis of mother-tongue transmission

7: Cultural interaction in Xish primarily involving the community-based older generation

8: Reconstructing Xish and adult acquisition of X second language

The levels of the GIDS are intended to include any kind of threatened language. As such, some of the levels are quite generalist, stating where the language should have a presence to qualify for

³ This level refers to local schools organised by the community, whereas 4b represents public education organised by the state, which is why it is placed higher.

the level without providing detail as to how established this presence should be. It is possible that, due to differences in provision of minority language services by local or national governments, a language could have more presence in a higher level through the public sector than a lower one based more on local communities. The GIDS was also produced in 2001 before the expansion of the internet in areas like social media, which would affect the provision of media in vulnerable languages. The scale nevertheless works well as a general framework, to which the details of a specific language can be added for a more complete analysis.

1.2.2.2: Welsh on the GIDS scale

The GIDS has already been applied to Welsh by Colin Williams (2005, pp. 60-93), who wrote a detailed analysis of where Welsh stands on each stage. He argued that Welsh has a presence of varying strength in every level. He argued that there is a stronger presence in the lower levels (5-8) of the scale, which is to be expected as the lower levels are more focused on intergenerational transmission than use in wider society, while higher levels show definite representation backed by government support, but still less presence in wider society. His analysis was produced with data from the 2001 census, and since then two further censuses have been conducted. The following section will revisit his analysis with more recent data and discussions of the application of Williams' arguments to the contemporary situation of Welsh.

The GIDS levels have been divided into three groups which represent different stages of transmission.

Stage 1: Intergenerational transmission, Levels 8-6

Levels 8 and 7 are aimed at adult acquisition and interaction with older generation who still speak the minority language, while Level 6 focuses on intergenerational first language transmission and the use of the language within a living community. Williams' analysis charted the development of 'Wlpan' courses for teaching Welsh to adults as a second language and the increasing provision of adult language learning in the late 20th century (Williams 2005, p. 62). For Level 6, he examined regional organisations trying to introduce Welsh and strengthen its position in a community, such as Mentrau Iaith (Williams 2005, pp. 68-9), as well as language action plans based on specific geographic areas (Williams 2005, pp. 73-4).

Williams expected that Levels 8 and 7 will receive more attention in the future in the form of more coherent planning for language learning provision rather than leaving responsibility fragmented between local groups and various governmental organisations (Williams 2005, p. 63). For Level 6 he identified problems in transmitting the language to future generations, including families where one parent spoke Welsh not transmitting to children, or teenagers using the language less as they enter adulthood (Williams 2005, pp. 63-4).

The 2021 census indicated a continuation of the trend of geographic shift in Welsh speaking communities. As was noted earlier, the percentage of Welsh speakers is decreasing in formerly dominant areas in the north and west, while it has increased in urban areas of the southeast (Howarth 2022). This could result in the gradual loss of first language Welsh communities in these areas, which may not be replaced as first language speakers move into predominantly English-speaking areas. Welsh further education courses for second language learners are widely available, with language teaching professionals and institutions having decades of practical experience. As was mentioned earlier, the most recent census identified a decline in the number

of children speaking Welsh, but this could be due to the extraordinary circumstances of the coronavirus pandemic.

More centralised language planning has taken place since Williams' analysis. In 2017 the Welsh Government launched the Cymraeg 2050 commitment (Welsh Government 2017). The aim of this programme is to increase the number of Welsh speakers in Wales to one million by 2050, organised around the themes of increasing the number of speakers, increasing the use of Welsh and improving conditions for Welsh to be used more widely (Welsh Government 2017, p. 1). The Welsh government publishes work programmes every five years to keep track of existing targets and plan new ones (Welsh Government 2021 for the most recent).

The Cymraeg 2050 programme has emphasised the importance of transmission in the home, suggesting support for families where one or no parents use Welsh as a home language (Welsh Government 2017, p. 34). It also discussed the value of the Welsh for Adults programme as a means of producing new speakers, potentially including speakers who can promote transmission within their families (Welsh Government 2017, p. 41). Translation can contribute to these efforts by producing a wider variety of resources in the form of early years reading material or advice for new parents, as well as providing resources for adult learners.

Stage 2: Transmission in the education system, Levels 5-4

Williams' heading for this level was 'The attainment of literacy, independent of the public education system' (Williams 2005, p. 75). This is similar in scope to levels 8 and 7, as he mentions the Wlpan and Welsh for Adults classes as a means of integrating people into local Welsh-speaking communities (Williams 2005, p. 75). In contrast to level 5, level 4 focuses on

education in formal schooling. At the time of Williams' survey, Welsh-medium education was possible at all levels of education, from nursery to doctoral study (Williams 2005, p. 76). He noted the expansion of material available for use in scientific subjects and technical subjects, such as maths and computing, ensuring that it is possible to learn a wide range of subjects through the medium of Welsh (Williams 2005, p. 76).

Williams considered bilingual education provision in Wales to be 'academically and socially successful' (Williams 2005, p. 76). In addition to Welsh medium education, he noted a major growth in the number of pupils taught Welsh as a second language (Williams 2005, p. 80).

However, while the position of the language in education has become stronger, there is concern over how much incentive there is to continue to use Welsh after leaving school, with many effectively abandoning it once they enter work (Williams 2005, p. 81). Also, while the number of children in Welsh medium increased in the period up to the 2001 census, so did the number of those who are in Welsh medium education, but do not use it as a home language (Williams 2005, p. 77). Regional differences continue to be a factor, with most Welsh medium schools concentrated in the north and west (Williams 2005, p. 81).

While Welsh is now compulsory until GCSE level and many students receive their education entirely in Welsh, the concerns highlighted by Williams largely still apply. Abigail Price and Marco Tamburelli surveyed the attitude of pupils in a Welsh-medium school towards Welsh. They noticed an association with adult authority and conformism, which links English to teenage rebellion, particularly among male pupils (Price and Tamburelli 2016, p. 194). As they generally encounter the language in an academic context, the pupils are not used to using it for socialising or pursuing interests (Price and Tamburelli 2016, p. 195). If they only encounter it in 'formal'

domains, many second language pupils may be less capable of using Welsh in non-academic contexts (Price and Tamburelli 2016, p. 201).

Stage 3: Transmission in wider society, Levels 3-1

Stage 3 represents the use of the language outside of a strictly local or educational environment.

Level 3 is specifically ‘Welsh in the worksphere and economy’ (Williams 2005, p. 81). Level 2 is the use of the language in local government and the media (Williams 2005, p. 90). The highest level is concerned with Welsh in the higher spheres of work, education and the government (Williams 2005, p. 93). These higher levels would apply only to vulnerable languages which have sufficient resources and institutional power to compete for prominence in their defined territory.

Williams aimed his analysis at economic development in general and how this can be combined with language revitalisation efforts (Williams 2005, p. 82). He noted the significant contribution of European Union programmes, including a variety of Welsh-European partnerships (Williams 2005, pp. 84-6) and specifically the Objective 1 Programme (Williams 2005, pp. 88-90). There have also been local initiatives to promote Welsh-speaking enterprise, like Antur Teifi in the Teifi Valley (Williams 2005, p. 87). In terms of media, Williams noted provision in the form of S4C and BBC Radio Cymru (Williams 2005, p. 90). He identified difficulties in this provision, including profitability without government subsidy and the quality of the Welsh used in programmes (Williams 2005, p. 91). Other organisations promote Welsh media, including the National and Urdd Eisteddfods (Williams 2005, p. 92). For Level 1 Williams identified legal obligations around the use of Welsh, in particular the Welsh Language Act of 1993 (Williams

2005, p. 94). He also discussed a variety of government-backed plans and initiatives, such as the then Welsh Assembly's 2002 *Iaith Pawb* document (Williams 2005, p. 100).

Williams noted that the social perception of Welsh was increasing due to its presence in cultural activities and the media (Williams 2005, p. 92). Organisations like the Urdd were advertising more 'modern' activities for teenagers, like go-karting, discoes and surfing (Williams 2005, p. 92). Government programmes had the potential to make progress, but as the Welsh Assembly, now Welsh Parliament, had only been established for six years by the time of writing evaluating the success of these plans was not possible. The effects of these programmes are long-term, and unlikely to show for at least a generation (Williams 2005, p. 90). On the other hand, while Welsh was being used in more domains than ever, its position in many of them was not particularly strong (Williams 2005, p. 96). He called the use of Welsh in higher education 'woefully inadequate' (Williams 2005, p. 103).

Economic schemes funded by the European Union will be affected in the future by the United Kingdom leaving the union. There is no guarantee that this funding will be replaced in the future. Some organisations are increasing efforts to use Welsh in work placements, such as Welsh medium apprenticeships (nation.cymru 2023). The provision of media content online is now far greater than it was in 2005. S4C has an online portal called S4C Clic, and individuals can create their own Welsh language content on websites like Youtube and TikTok. Official bilingual policies by government and other organisations have resulted in an increasing demand for translators, with an analysis by Anastasia Llewellyn suggesting that demand for English to Welsh translation in 2018 was much higher than the contemporary supply (Llewellyn 2018, p. 146).

It is likely that a certain amount of translation from the majority language will be unavoidable in any language combination, particularly where it is necessary for legal or administrative purposes. In Wales, this has gained political standing in the form of the Welsh Government's policy of promoting bilingualism rather than normalising the use of only Welsh or English (Kaufmann 2012, p. 330). While there were earlier efforts to promote the use of Welsh alongside English in public settings, the Welsh Language Act in 1993 led to the establishment of the Welsh Language Board, which outlined plans for the use of Welsh in various public institutions (Kaufmann 2012, p. 329). Due to the requirement to provide equal access for speakers of both languages, the majority of translation in this combination comes from the public sector (Screen 2021, p. 12).

While the use of, and therefore translation between, both languages is mandated in the public sector, Welsh translation in the private sector is more limited. There has been a noted gap (Hywel 2022, p. 146) in the use of Welsh between children and adults, with one possible factor behind the reduced use by adults being the lack of opportunities to use the language at work. Bridging this gap has attracted the attention of several non-governmental organisations. For example, the *Dysgu Cymraeg yn y Gwaith* programme from the National Welsh Teaching Institute sends tutors into workplaces to teach Welsh using phrases which are relevant to workplace situations (Prosser 2022, p. 130).

Bilingual policy has produced some advantages. The increase in translation requirements in the public sector led to the creation of standard terminology, as well as providing documents in which these neologisms can be used (Screen 2021, p. 14). This is important for the development of technical vocabulary in Welsh, even if the source documentation is read by few people (Kaufmann 2010, p. 175). Terminology databases created by some institutions are also available for public access (Kaufmann 2012, p. 338). The example of governmental translation encourages

other organisations to maintain translation standards, and, if the government stopped, these organisations would likely see no need to continue either (Kaufmann 2012, p. 338).

While the legal requirement for translation has resulted in the return of Welsh to predominantly English-speaking areas, it has also been criticised by some in Welsh-language communities for introducing English-language requirements, thus leading to the loss of monolingual Welsh spaces (Kaufmann 2012, p. 340). Kaufmann (2010, p.182) argued that translation and developing Welsh vocabulary was important to avoid contact with the wider world being filtered through an English or American lens. While this is true in the sense that it avoids excessive use of code-switching or loanwords, it does not change the issue that conceptually all these neologisms enter Welsh via English and can therefore still introduce elements of interference.

Welsh does not fit into the scale in the sense of progressing along each level in turn. Part of the reason for this is geographical, as speakers are spread across Wales, leading to some areas demonstrating a good presence in all levels, while others have a minimal presence in the lower levels without government support. In terms of Wales as one national unit, there is a presence in all levels, but no level is completely secure. Government support also enables a stronger presence in higher levels due to legal requirements and language revival programmes.

Ultimately, there has been an increase in government support and social presence in areas which receive government funding, but also a decrease in overall numbers of speakers and Welsh-language communities. The analysis above suggests that there is need for more efforts including translation, which will be discussed next.

1.2.3: How Translation Can Aid Minority Languages

The previous section discussed the arrangement of minority languages on an endangerment scale based on the number of speakers and the presence of the language in various areas of society.

The objective for language planners using this scale is to advance to a higher level where the language is more widely used in an increasing number of domains. This section will explain the value of translation in achieving this aim. It will consider theory on language revitalisation in general, then more specific research on how translation has and could be used to support minority languages.

1.2.3.1: Supporting minority languages

As has been shown by the language scale, minority languages at different ends are dealing with remarkably different situations. At the most basic level, they both aim to promote the use of their language in public and expand the areas in which they are used (Cheetham 2022, p. 519). These requirements need to be examined separately, as a targeted approach will not work if it must account for so many differences. The following will break the scale down into the two categories of ‘endangered’ and ‘vulnerable’ and analyse how translation can help their specific needs.

These categories represent the bottom and top halves of the GIDS respectively, which is where Fishman places a division between languages aiming to achieve intergenerational transmission and languages aiming to spread into wider society (Fishman 2001, p. 466).

Beginning with the ‘endangered’ category, *The Oxford Handbook of Endangered Languages* divides methods of supporting endangered languages into two groups: language documentation and language conservation. Language documentation seeks to record a language by more formal means, such as producing grammars and linguistic records, or more anthropological means, through records of writing or oral traditions (Rehg and Campbell 2018, p. 11). Language conservation aims to sustain a minority language through planned management (Rehg, Campbell 2018, p. 14). This is something that can be used for endangered as well as vulnerable languages, particularly in the case of small minority languages that have good linguistic records and are now looking to pass the language on more widely through younger generations.

The challenge which is faced by endangered languages is immense. According to a UNESCO estimate in 2003, approximately 96% of all the languages in the world are spoken by only 3% of the world’s population and 90% of these languages could become extinct by the end of the century (UNESCO 2003, p. 2). In terms of language families, there are around 407 recorded families, of which 96 are entirely extinct, along with 159 recorded language isolates, of which 59 are extinct (Rehg, Campbell 2018, p. 4). Many languages which have very few speakers remaining are from parts of the world which did not develop their own writing systems, and have only been written down comparatively recently, or not at all. They could represent hunter-gatherer groups with limited contact with the outside world, which could still have around 500 – 2000 speakers (Evans 2010, p. 14).

Any attempt at documenting an endangered language needs three elements in order for it to be helpful for preserving use of the language by native speakers: there must be a wide range of texts in the language, a full grammar and dictionary, and these resources need to be made available both for researchers and for the ethnic community who currently or originally spoke the language

(Rhodes, Campbell 2018, p. 108). Without this kind of documentation, it is difficult to prepare the teaching material which can be used to help spread the language to new, non-native speakers in order to increase the chance of survival (Rehg, Campbell 2018, p. 14). While the ‘endangered’ category is not relevant to the current situation of Welsh, it is relevant for other minority languages. It provides background information on how translation can also aid these languages.

The approach for reviving languages which are vulnerable is different. These are languages with a relatively secure base of speakers, at least compared to endangered languages. They would likely appear on 4 and above on Fishman’s scale. Many of these languages even enjoy a level of institutional support, either from their central governments or in the form of a local government for the region in which the population is mostly concentrated. There is no need for documentation as an extensive corpus of dictionaries and written texts already exists, and in the case of some languages there is a deep literary tradition that has had a continuous presence for hundreds of years. The objective for these languages is to grow to be a majority language of a defined territory or group of people. Ideally the language will reach a state where it will not require significant government intervention to maintain speaker numbers. The processes for supporting endangered languages are more routine, as the objectives are clearer and the large number of languages involved provides many examples. In the case of vulnerable languages, how to proceed is less obvious than producing documentation or providing language classes. Language restoration of this kind is also rarely, if ever, successful, so there is no obvious model to turn to for guidance.

One exception in terms of language revival is Hebrew in Israel, which Zuckermann and Walsh (2011, p. 112) called ‘so far the most successful known reclamation attempt of a sleeping tongue’. The revival began in the nineteenth century, leading to Hebrew becoming the main

language of the Jewish inhabitants of Israel by the date of founding in 1948 (Kheimets and Epstein 2005, p. 19). However, there are some reasons why this example is less relevant to most vulnerable languages. Firstly, Hebrew was extinct as a first language for millennia before the revival. Secondly, the revival took place in fairly unique circumstances. Zuckermann and Walsh (2011, pp. 118-119) listed advantages the Hebrew revival had over efforts to revive Aboriginal Australian languages. Some of these, namely Jews already being familiar with Hebrew and the aim to make it the national language of a new state, are largely unique to the Hebrew revival.

The situation for each vulnerable language is different enough to require a more specific approach. However, it is possible to generalise in some ways. As the theoretical end point or ideal state envisioned for each minority language can differ, the way to do this is to consider elements which will likely apply to most minority languages and consider how to strengthen the presence of the language within these elements.

1.2.3.2: Language revitalisation in theory and practice

David Crystal developed a list of such criteria aimed at language revitalisation in his work *Language Death* (Crystal 2000)⁴. He theorised six factors which are likely to result in language revitalisation (Crystal 2000, pp. 130-143), the majority of which can be applied to all stages of threatened languages. The factors are listed below, with discussions of what elements of language revival can be connected to each one.

⁴ See Crystal 2000, pp.143-144 for a discussion of similar lists of factors.

Factor 1: An endangered language will progress if its speakers increase their prestige within the dominant community.

Prestige depends on public recognition and visibility. Crystal (2000, p. 131) identified a need to grow into use in as many public areas as possible. He highlighted (Crystal 2000, p. 130) visibility through media as important, but cautioned that this depends on the existence of community activities in the language which are worth reporting. As such, there must be sufficient activity in the medium of the minority language in other areas for this to have a noticeable effect⁵. For languages with more resources, the long-term aim is a higher presence in business, law and government (Crystal 2000, p. 131).

Factor 2: An endangered language will progress if its speakers increase their wealth relevant to the dominant community.

Wealth is the most important factor for Crystal, as money is required to raise the effectiveness of all other factors (Crystal 2000, p. 131). He noted that part of success in strengthening Catalan was the growth of the regional economy (Crystal 2000, p. 131). In general, this can prove challenging for minority languages, as their speakers often belong to more marginal communities situated away from areas with high economic activity. Local industries such as tourism can benefit endangered languages by bringing money and raising the language's profile (Crystal

⁵ For a further discussion of minority languages and media, see Cormack and Hourigan 2007.

2000, p. 132). Translation can aid this factor by allowing direct access to economic opportunities for minority language communities without the time lag of translating via a majority language.

Factor 3: An endangered language will progress if its speakers increase their legitimate power in the eyes of the dominant community.

Crystal based the discussion of this factor primarily on government and international recognition. He noted that minority languages in Europe benefited from conventions and increased cooperation aiming to support lesser-used languages (Crystal 2000, p. 134). Similar declarations have also been passed at the UN, although the implementation in practice has been less successful (Crystal 2000, p. 135), suggesting that legislation of this kind is often not enough 'legitimate power' for the dominant community. The use of minority language versions of terms and documents by government institutions increases visibility and a sense that the minority language belongs in public life.

Factor 4: An endangered language will progress if its speakers have a strong presence in the educational system.

Teaching the language in the education system is one of the most widely known methods of reviving a language. It was considered important by Fishman in the GIDS, with language acquisition through schools occupying levels 5 and 4. The factor emphasises that there must be a strong presence, which implies some form of immersion education rather than treating it like a

regular school subject. The factor also includes adult education (Crystal 2000, p. 137).

Translation can be used to produce more resources for immersion education and in a wider range of subjects than are likely possible for most minority languages.

Factor 5: An endangered language will progress if its speakers can write their language down.

This factor is becoming increasingly rare and would not apply to any vulnerable languages. The most likely relevant languages would be those around stages 8 to 7 on the GIDS. Crystal's discussion was aimed at more endangered languages or those like Quechua which have a more rural speaker population (Crystal 2000, p. 141).

Factor 6: An endangered language will progress if its speakers can make use of electronic technology.

Crystal's work was written in 2000, when the internet was still a relatively recent public phenomenon and long before current advances in AI and machine translation. As electronic communication has become an integral part of daily life across the world, this factor has become increasingly important. In theory, operating costs in this medium are equally low for minority languages, as website and data storage prices do not vary based on language (Crystal 2000, p. 142). However, using this factor fully requires technical expertise, as well as a sizable number of minority language users with internet access.

Crystal's Six Factors showed in detail target areas for assisting threatened languages. Except for the factor concerning literacy, the list is relevant to restoring vulnerable languages, complementing the higher levels of the GIDS like levels 3 and 1 with the discussion of the wealth in factor 2. The theory did not discuss specific methods for achieving these aims, such as the use of translation.

Exploring an example by use of this theory will demonstrate its value in practice. Catalan is a minority language related to Spanish, which is spoken predominantly in Catalonia, Valencia and the Balearics. The revival movement started in the 1830s after centuries of the Spanish state forcing Castilian Spanish as the official language (Tronch-Pérez 2011, p. 188). Catalan was banned during the Franco dictatorship from 1939-1975, but then recovered after the subsequent return to democracy (Ferrer 2000, p. 193). This came predominantly through the education system, notably the Linguistic Normalisation Law in 1983 that required all schools to teach in Catalan as well as Spanish (Ferrer 2000, p. 193). This has resulted in a state of bilingualism where people who speak Catalan generally also speak Castilian Spanish (Colonnelli 2014).

The Linguistic Normalisation Law demonstrates efforts at increasing the legitimate power of Catalan, as well as forming part of the effort to improve its presence in the education system. These efforts spread Catalan throughout wider society. Pujolar and Gonzàles (2012 p. 139) noted that the education policy adopted by the Catalan government have resulted in a generally bilingual population. As of 2012, almost all native Castilian speakers in Catalonia also speak Catalan (Pujolar and Gonzàles 2012, p. 141). However, Catalan is no longer exclusive to indigenous speakers, spoken by communities that immigrated to the region (Pujolar and Gonzàles 2012, p. 149) and the majority of young people in the region use both languages in daily life (Pujolar and Gonzàles 2012, p. 142).

Some academics have linked translation to the strength of this revival. Jesús Tronch-Pérez argued (2011, p. 189) that translators produced translations of foreign classics to increase the prestige of Catalan, specifically in the case of translations of Shakespeare⁶. Alessio Colonnelli agreed that the translation industry was partly responsible for the strength of the revival (Colonnelli 2014). Not only does a large number of translators or bilinguals help produce items like school resources or government documents (as teachers have done, see Ferrer 2000, p. 194), but they have also translated a large body of international literature, which broadens what can be read in Catalan (Colonnelli 2014) and can increase the prestige of the language among both speakers and non-speakers. Paola Bocale (2019, p. 90) emphasised how important attracting new adult second language speakers is for reversing language shift in languages like Catalan.

1.2.3.3: The use of translation in aiding language revitalisation

Translation was shown above to be useful for reviving Catalan. More specific theory about translation in this context will demonstrate how it can add to the methods and scales which have been discussed so far. This is what Guillem Belmar attempted in his 2017 article “The Role of Translation in the Revitalization Process of Minority Languages: The Case of Basque.” More specifically, he created a ten-step theoretical model for using translation to help revitalise minority languages (Belmar 2017, pp. 51-52). Below is a paraphrased version of this plan:

1. Establish standard language for a variety of registers.

⁶ This concept of translation for prestige will be discussed in more detail later.

2. Create a terminology planning organisation.
3. Train quality translators.
4. Include translation in language revitalisation policies.
5. Choose texts of cultural worth, but also texts which remove reliance on contact through the dominant language.
6. Translate all genres.
7. Do not translate too many works for children at the expense of those for older readers.
8. Translate less from the majority language.
9. Use direct translation where possible, especially to avoid translation via the majority language.
10. Translate from other minority languages.

Integrating Belmar's model into those of Fishman and Crystal provides the input of a model which focused on translation specifically. The first four steps of Belmar's model relate to linguistic issues and institutional support. Steps 1 and 2 represent the development of a consistent form of the language and terminology for discussing any area of activity, while at step 3 professionals are trained who can use the standard language and terminology effectively. Step 4 concerns integrating translation into language revival practices, with Belmar arguing for subsidies and promotion for translation (Belmar 2017, p. 52). Some of these steps fit earlier stages of the GIDS, such as recording a standard language which can be passed on to learners. They could also fit factor 5 in Crystal's six factors if the language is endangered and has few

examples of written texts. These steps ensure that the language is in a condition to produce several translations of a consistently high quality.

The next three steps focus on individual texts. Step 5 encourages translations of works with cultural value (Belmar 2017, p. 38) discussed the issue of prestige for minority languages.

Prestige can be derived from translation to a variety of other major languages, the production of which could incentivise writing in the minority language (Belmar 2017, p. 38). Belmar noted (2017, p. 46) prestigious works of literature, philosophy and science⁷.

The most important part of Belmar's list for the analysis in this thesis is the latter steps where he outlines the need to avoid translation from the minority language's majority language. This idea is stated as step 8, is prominent in steps 9 and 10 and was also mentioned in step 5. Belmar argued (2017, p. 45) that translation can separate a minority language from models imposed from the majority language. He noted (2017, p. 45) that translation allows ideas to cross between languages, so translating excessively from one language results in it exerting too much influence over the source culture. He also highlighted (2017, p. 37) the importance in translating from less translated languages, as ideas contained in the literature of these languages may not be widely known due to not being majority languages. The contents of Belmar's article are directly relevant to the argument of this thesis regarding the benefits of translation for minority languages, which will be applied to Welsh specifically later in this chapter.

The element of avoiding translation from the majority language merits further discussion.

Translated works can be said to contain 'interference' from the original work, which Gideon

⁷ A similar effort was undertaken for Galician, see Millán-Varela 2003.

Toury defined with his general law of interference as follows, ‘in translation phenomena pertaining to the make-up of the source text tend to force themselves on the translators and be transferred to the target text’ (Toury 2012, p. 310). In cases with the highest concentration of interference, the lexicon and idiom of the minority language can be affected to the extent that it starts to mirror the majority language (Cronin 1998, p. 148). In recent times this has become an issue for more than minority languages, as many other languages face interference from globalisation increasing the presence of English (Ferrer 2000, p. 190). According to Toury, the form and the tolerance of interference is connected to sociocultural issues in the target language (Toury 2012, p. 311). This implies that tolerance of interference is likely higher when translation operates from a majority to a minority language (Toury 2012, p. 314). While it is not guaranteed that all interference of this kind produces negative effects for a minority language, resisting pressure from the majority language is an important concern in minority language restoration, so such influence is not likely to be perceived positively.

The theories discussed above have shown the value that translation can bring to minority language revival. Crystal’s Six Factors highlighted areas where minority language planners can aim for an improved presence. Translation can be of assistance in areas focused on improving language prestige, with projects for this aim being carried out for Basque and Galician. As noted by Belmar, an important point to consider in projects like these is to avoid excessive translation from the majority language, which can result in linguistic interference. While the example of Welsh showed this is not always possible, it also demonstrated the value translation has in developing practical terminology for a minority language.

1.2.3.4: Summary of translation and language revitalisation

There is no typical process for reviving vulnerable languages due to how specific the situation of each language is. One way to approach this is to consider how to strengthen the presence of the minority language in areas of the GIDS. This also applies to an extent to endangered languages, but as the focus for those would only be on lower GIDS levels, there is less variety beyond documentation to ensure survival and teaching new speakers to prevent extinction. At the higher GIDS levels, which are more relevant for vulnerable languages, the overall objective is to increase the number of people who use the language in daily life. Approaches suggested by the examples above include increasing the number of second language speakers by focusing on language teaching in the education system and attracting more adult learners.

The examples given above from various vulnerable languages have demonstrated the value of translation for minority languages for achieving these aims. Translation can produce resources that aid in increasing speaker numbers through the education system. This proved successful in the revival attempt for Catalan, especially when it was difficult to recruit teachers who would work in Catalan (Ferrer 2000, p. 194). It has also been used to provide versions of prestigious works in the target language, which could improve the perception of the language and attract more readers, as was attempted in Catalan and Galician.

Belmar's theory emphasised translation from languages other than the main majority language, as well as looking to other minority languages to source translations. Combined with Crystal's six factors, notably the factor concerning prestige, these theories argue in favour of translation as

a means to aid minority language revival methods. The question remaining is how to choose source languages which can best aid these aims.

1.2.4: Translation in Revitalisation Methods for Welsh

This section will discuss the value of translation to Welsh specifically. It will consider how Crystal and Belmar's theories can be applied to Welsh, making reference to the earlier GIDS analysis. It will discuss translation from English and contemporary policies of bilingualism. Finally, it will make an argument specific to Welsh for increasing the variety for source languages in translations.

Translation has had an important presence in the history of Welsh, dating back to before the spread of printed books. Diana Luft (2016) detailed many kinds of medieval translations, mostly religious works or Arthurian romances. One later translation in particular, the translation of the Bible in the 16th century, was the most influential work written in Welsh. This was the first vernacular translation of the Bible into a language which was not the official language of an independent European state (Davies 2007, p. 222). While Welsh lost its status as a language of politics or law with the passing of the Acts of Union in 1536 and 1542, in religion it maintained a presence in an important social domain, where it replaced Latin due to the crown's decision to authorise the Welsh translation of the Bible. This stands in contrast to the contemporary situation in Cornwall, where the lack of a Cornish Bible accelerated the decline of the language (Currie 2016, p. 154). The Bible translation encouraged further production of religious literature in Welsh, which was a productive source of reading material into the 20th century (Currie 2022,

p.62). Niall Ó Ciosáin argued (2013, p. 357) that the support of institutionalised churches which operated in the native language helped support Welsh publishing activity.

While not being as influential as this example, translation also influenced Welsh in more modern periods. For example, Marion Löffler (2016, p. 38) in an article on Welsh translations of French political literature during the French Revolution noted the popularity of the translation of Thomas Paine's *The Rights of Man*, which was mentioned in accounts of political activity and riots in the late 18th century. Löffler argued (2016, p. 55) for the need to recognise the importance of translators in the development of Welsh in more recent periods. These translations were valuable not just for the ideas they spread, but also for their demonstration of the ability of Welsh translators to form new words. Issues around new word formation in translations for minority languages will be discussed further in Chapter 3.

More contemporary translations influenced specific areas of Welsh literature. For example, Rhianedd Jewell's volume on translations by Saunders Lewis of works from French emphasises the importance of the use of translations to develop and enhance the contemporary literary corpus in Welsh (Jewell 2017, p. 10). Various translations from English, French, Spanish and Italian influenced the development of Welsh drama and played a role in the movement in the early 20th century by Saunders Lewis and others to found a national theatre (Jewell 2017, p. 21)⁸. The variety of source languages for 20th century Welsh translation will be discussed further in later chapters, particularly Chapter 2.

⁸ See Jewell 2017 pp.11-21 for examples of translations and their source languages.

The question for this section is how translation can aid Welsh. Previous research into Welsh and the GIDS indicated that Welsh had a presence in all levels due to government support and the geographic concentration of existing speakers, but this presence is not secure in most of the levels. The following discussion will combine the theories from the previous sections to identify areas to consider when planning future translations for Welsh.

1: Selecting works for prestige

Prestige as a factor for minority language restoration was highlighted by Crystal (2000, p. 131) in Factor 1 with public recognition and visibility, which leads to attracting new speakers. The example of translation into Catalan showed that another approach based on prestige was to translate works considered to have a high cultural value, which was mentioned as a step in Belmar's theory. Increasing speaker numbers is a clear goal for Welsh, for example through the Welsh Government's Cymraeg 2050 programme. As with the example from Catalan, translating culturally important works into Welsh can give Welsh more visibility in different areas, add to what can be used in a Welsh-medium education system and assist with language learning by providing a broader variety of translated texts to read. Crystal (2000, p. 131) mentioned Welsh having success in this area, particularly in terms of public visibility due to political policy.

2: Economic value

Crystal saw economics as the most important factor for reviving languages, as money is required to sponsor language revival efforts. It is useful indirectly at all stages of the GIDS, as well as

being key for the local economy in stage 3. Translation can prove valuable for this factor if the translations originate from an economically important language, such as Chinese, leading to more interest in the culture of an important trading partner and encouraging target language speakers to learn the source language. In step 6 Belmar advocated for translating all genres of writing, which can potentially include genres not currently represented in the target culture. Translating works such as these from different cultures could provide economic value through the influence they could have on creative industries. The translation exercise in Chapter 6 will involve translation from a genre which is underrepresented and has much creative capital in Chinese culture.

3: Avoiding translation from the majority language

Several steps of Belmar's theory are concerned with avoiding excessive translation from a majority language, namely steps 5, 8 and 9. He emphasised the need to reduce the use of the majority language as an intermediary for contact and translation from other cultures, particularly for other minority languages. While other language pairs involving Welsh will be the focus of later chapters, the subject of most discussion around translation and Welsh is done with reference to the majority language English.

Opinion is divided on whether translation in combinations involving English benefits Welsh. Marks discussed such problems in her volume on the Welsh contemporary poet Menna Elfyn, *Pe Gallwn, Mi Luniwn Lythyr* (Marks 2013). Elfyn has won international acclaim by welcoming opportunities to have her work translated into English, and Marks contrasts her approach to translation with that of Twm Morys, a poet who writes in Welsh, refuses to translate his work

into English, prioritising engagement with the Welsh-language readership rather than accessibility in the English-speaking world (Marks 2013, p. 189).

Some writers worry that if there is too much emphasis on translation of literature into Welsh, with the implication of this being translation from English, translation will compete with original work in Welsh for funding and readership (Kaufmann 2012, p. 336). Translation out of Welsh into English has also been considered a threat due to removing incentives to learn minority languages or causing Welsh literature to be written with English translation in mind (Marks 2013, p. 190).

On the other end, Menna Elfyn published poetry as a parallel text, with Welsh on one side and English on the other, to try and bridge between the two cultures (Marks 2013, p. 188). Kaufmann (2012, p. 336) also noted the ability of translation to introduce new ideas to Welsh culture and prevent elements of it from becoming static. This last point can be applied to translation in general as opposed to translation solely from English. Heather Williams wrote on a similar controversy in Breton, a minority language located in France which is linguistically related to Welsh. Translators worked to expand genres available in the language (Williams 2009, p. 227), translating from other languages as well as the majority language French (Williams 2009, p. 228).

The discussion above of the threat posed to Welsh by translation refers almost exclusively to translation from English, suggesting that much of the opposition to translation would not apply to translation in other language combinations. Translation from English still has value in terms of producing Welsh-language texts which can assist language restoration aims, but it needs to be balanced with translation from other languages.

1.2.5: Analysis and Argument for More Source Languages in Minority Language Translations

Chapter 1 considered the value of translation for minority languages. It established a working definition of ‘minority language’, highlighting the nature of these languages as ‘different’, ‘numerically smaller’, ‘non-dominant’, and speakers having ‘the wish to hold on to a separate identity’. It noted how translation can play a role in preserving endangered languages and strengthening and expanding use for vulnerable ones such as Welsh. It considered the concerns about translation taking attention away from original source language works, concluding that this can be remedied by balancing source languages so one does not dominate and ensuring that minority language users remain in control of the process. These findings are reflected in the Welsh analysis. Translation has been present throughout the history of Welsh and has aided in efforts to preserve the language, such as the 16th century Bible translations. The analysis of the current situation of Welsh shows that translation can be useful in ensuring the use of the language in areas where it has a weaker presence.

As Cronin (2003, p. 167) noted, translation can only be a threat to a minority language if the minority language is not in control of the process, and the translation is used to absorb the minority culture into the majority. Control implies freedom to choose. Even if the minority language community is not being put under political pressure, circumstances may make it difficult to choose not to use the majority language as the primary language, or the source language for translations. The solution is to increase the variety of source languages from which translations are drawn. In the case of Welsh, although English-language source texts are still

likely to make up the majority of translation into Welsh, there are sufficient resources in terms of government support and a motivated reading public to increase the volume of translations from other languages.

A wider selection of source languages will prevent writing in the minority language from being overwhelmed by majority language sources, specifically English sources in the case of Welsh. Writers of the minority language may not feel so negatively about translation as Morys did if it is not seen as a vehicle for majority language domination. It will reduce interference, leading to translations of unfamiliar terms being influenced by other source languages rather than only the majority language. Producing a greater variety of texts in fields with less current translation can help establish a stronger presence in the higher levels of GIDS ranking where the objectives focus more on transmission across society rather than just intergenerational transfer. If there is already specialist vocabulary and texts to use as examples in a particular topic, it becomes more practical to use the language in this topic.

Translation from other languages also means more opportunities for cultural exchange. The translation being direct rather than using the majority language as a relay will ensure the minority is not dependent on the majority language to engage with other cultures. Particularly with languages which are becoming more widely used and in demand across the world like Chinese, it would be best for minority languages to adapt to forming translations without relying on a relay language.

This chapter has outlined the benefits of translation for minority language restoration efforts, particularly translation from languages other than the majority language. The next step for integrating this approach into restoration efforts is determining which source languages and

genres would provide the most impactful contribution for these aims. A discussion of theoretical approaches to this problem will be the subject of the next chapter.

Chapter 2: System-based Translation and Minority Languages

2.1: Introducing Systems and Minority Languages

Chapter 1 discussed the value of translation for minority language restoration efforts, highlighting the way translations provide benefits for prestige, economics and efforts to restrict majority language influence. This chapter will investigate how to select source language for minority language translation initiatives. It will offer a theoretical discussion to determine what source languages and text genres would be of most benefit to minority languages, how system theory can assist with the source language selection, and why Chinese to Welsh, the chosen language combination of this thesis, will be valuable for continued efforts towards Welsh language revival.

As signalled above, this chapter will investigate the application of system theory perspective to minority languages. It will be based primarily on the literature and translation-focused polysystem theory of Itamar Even-Zohar, with reference to work by Pierre Bourdieu and Pascale Casanova, and will include a discussion of how this theory applies to minority languages, as well as using a translation database to analyse links between Welsh and other languages. The final section will apply the findings of the first two sections of the chapter to the Chinese and Welsh language combination. It will explain how system theory applies to Chinese and why translation from Chinese benefits Welsh.

2.2: Systems and Translation

All languages are influenced by others, except for dead languages and the languages spoken in extremely isolated communities. How much influence is exerted depends on the nature of the contact. Nowadays it is possible to translate within almost any combination provided that someone with competency in both languages can be found to perform the translation, or an adequate machine translation programme exists. With such an overwhelming number of possibilities, selecting which language combination to work with becomes an important decision. Instead of looking at languages just in the context of separate pairs, it would be more effective to base decisions on a view at the level of a holistic system, where the interconnectivity and mutual influence exerted by various languages can be properly analysed. A system comprising all the languages of the globe offers the ultimate level of analysis and therefore the notion of a world system will be adopted in this research.

This part of the chapter will examine how minority languages fit into a world system of translation. The first section will begin with a brief survey of systems in academic scholarship, followed by a more detailed overview of systems theory and translation, in particular the polysystem theory of Itamar Even-Zohar. Then the middle section will analyse systems theory in relation to minority languages specifically. Finally, the findings of the previous sections will be applied to Welsh.

2.2.1: System Theory

Theoretical models of world systems have existed in numerous disciplines. They appear in scientific models connected with global climate patterns or ecology. Early attempts at world systems in humanities and social science disciplines focused on economics (Chase-Dunn 2018, pp. 12-13). World-system analysis in 1970s aimed to go beyond nation state as unit of analysis, include non-Western groups and allow more interdisciplinary work between social sciences (Wallerstein 2004, p. 16; Frank and Gills 2000, p. 16). With something so wide-ranging as a world-system, it is natural that there would be a variety of definitions, as the number of sub-units into which it can be divided is enormous (Chase-Dunn 2018, p. 15). Chase-Dunn (2018, p. 28) defined ‘world system’ as ‘intersocietal networks in which the interactions (e.g. trade, warfare, intermarriage, information) are important for the reproduction of the internal structures of the composite units and importantly affect changes that occur in these local structures.’

At first glance this demonstrates the difficulty of the situation in which Welsh and other minority languages exist. In these kinds of systems, minority languages would be in contact predominantly with one or more majority languages. Frank and Gills (2000, p. 10) argued for a

world system built on interconnected centres and peripheries with an antagonistic relationship based on trying to establish hegemony. In such a situation, minority languages would be competing with majority languages in some form and would be competing with a disadvantage in power and resources. However, while the examples used above by Chase-Dunn, Wallerstein and Frank and Gills contained points with general application, they were still designed with political systems in mind. An investigation into the application of systems to languages and translation specifically will provide a more definitive answer to how this kind of analysis is useful for minority language planning.

The core of system theory in the context of languages and translation derives from the idea of language and translations flows operating like a system, where elements such as direction, volume, and genre are analysed for information about the potential effects of translation choices on both languages as well as cultural contact between groups. While translation flow between cultures of different sizes and levels of influence is something that has been happening between languages for as long as there have been written texts, the process is much more complex now due to translation taking place on a worldwide scale. Translation between common combinations of widely spoken languages happens on a large scale daily, but many rare combinations have recently become possible due to increasing access in many countries to learning materials for rare or distant languages, offering a seemingly limitless number of combinations for study.

The use of systems theory in this field, specifically in the way it was used by Even-Zohar, has its origin in the work of Russian Formalists, with the original group operating in the early 20th century (Hermans 1999, p. 103). Popular in Eastern Europe, the main original groups were founded in Russia and subsequently Czechoslovakia. From there the movement spread to Israel, and then in became associated with academics in the Netherlands and Belgium. This area of

study has been referred to variously as ‘Low Countries group’, ‘Tel-Aviv school’ or ‘Tel-Aviv Leuven school’ due to the prominence of academics from these countries (Hermans 1999, p. 8).

Formalism is a literary theory that emphasises the form of a work as an integral part of its analysis (Greene and Cushman 2012, p. 500). Russian Formalists considered literature as an academic field in its own right, independent of fields like sociology and history (Greene and Cushman 2012, p. 1239). Yuri Tynianov and others developed the idea of literature evolving by taking on new literary devices from culturally marginal domains (Greene and Cushman 2012, p. 1240), as well as researching how literature reshapes and influences the language in which it is written (Hermans 1999, p. 103). According to the theorists, those working in the literary field (e.g. writers, poets, translators etc.) would have to constantly innovate through promoting new ideas over older ones, creating a hierarchy driven by competitive relationships (Hermans 1999, p. 104). Hermans (1999, p. 105) credits Tynianov with the origin of the centre and periphery concept, which has proved key to subsequent theorising of literary systems. These Russian Formalist writings exerted notable influence over Even-Zohar’s later development of his polysystem theory (Hermans 1999, p. 104).

This section has briefly outlined the development of general theories which focused on the relationship between translation and culture. There are other translation theories based around viewing translation from the perspective of specific groups, such as postcolonial and feminist translation. At this point, however, it is time to examine in more detail Even-Zohar's polysystem as a specific theory on translation in a world system view.

2.2.2: Even-Zohar's Polysystem

2.2.2.1: Introduction to Even-Zohar's theory

Even-Zohar's polysystem theory operates on the level of a world system. This makes it useful for discussing Chinese and Welsh because it is designed for exploring connections between distant languages. His division of component languages into centres and peripheries has relevance for situations with power imbalances such as minority language theory. He initially developed his polysystem theory in the 1970s through his work on Hebrew literature (Shuttleworth 2020, p. 420), which is a language that has undergone language revival and restoration methods.

Polysystem theory has proved influential, being taken up by numerous scholars for application in a variety of situations (c.f. Shuttleworth 2020, p. 422). This section will explore this theory in detail, supplementing it with theoretical discussions on cultural systems outlined by Pierre Bourdieu, Pascale Casanova and Gideon Toury.

The core writing for the theory was collected in a 1990 special issue in the journal *Poetics Today*, where Even-Zohar (1990a, p. 1) outlined its history in the introduction. The initial statement Even-Zohar (1990b, p. 9) makes on the subject of 'system' appears early in the collection: 'semiotic phenomena, i.e., sign-governed human patterns of communication (such as culture, language, literature, society) could more adequately be understood and studied if regarded as systems rather than conglomerates of disparate elements'. This statement is general and therefore applicable to far more areas of study than just translation, although it mentions literature and language specifically. One key term is 'patterns', which implies regular

occurrences of similar decisions or actions. With this definition one would expect humans to act in similar ways in similar situations, which is necessary if the system is to be based around laws rather than classifying similarities (Even-Zohar 1990b, p. 9). This is again emphasised in the desire to study activities as a system rather than a collection of disparate elements.

The polysystem theory uses the centre and periphery feature that was observed earlier in other uses of system theory. Even-Zohar describes his system as being based on competition between strata with multiple centres and peripheries, with the peripheries trying to move to the centre (Even-Zohar 1990b, p. 14). The main way the periphery has of entering the centre comes when the ability of the centre to carry out a certain function has weakened (Even-Zohar 1990b, p. 25).

One community can also have multiple systems, which was more common in Europe in the past when countries were more multilingual and were not forcing a monolingual system as a matter of policy (Even-Zohar 1990b, p. 12).

Even-Zohar (1990b, p. 14) noted that it is possible to have multiple centres, indeed it would not be a polysystem without this. Even if there is one major world centre, there will also be regional centres, or world languages which are important without being central. In their articles on translation and social theory, Johan Heilbron (1999) and Immanuel Wallerstein (2011, p. 162) later elaborated the concept of the semi-periphery, a stage of the periphery that is closest to the centre. This concept did not appear in Even-Zohar's original analysis. It further divides a category which on a world system level would represent all languages outside the centre, which in practical terms contains all but two or three of all languages spoken in the entire world. The division is more of a gradual change from semi-peripheral to the most peripheral than a clear boundary (Heilbron 1999, p. 434).

In the second article of his collection entitled “The Literary System”, Even-Zohar outlined a system which encompassed all aspects of the production, dissemination and consumption of literature. While the main context of the work is literature as the title states, a specific goal of the system is to deal with problems of translation (Shuttleworth 2020, p. 420). Even-Zohar defined a literary system as “The complex of activities, or any section thereof, for which systemic relations can be hypothesized to support the option of considering them “literary”.” (Even-Zohar 1990c, p. 28). The plan for the system was adapted from Roman Jakobson’s model on communication and language, with differences in terminology (Even-Zohar 1990c, p.31). In Even-Zohar's polysystem, a literary ‘product’ moves from a ‘producer’ to a ‘consumer’ via a ‘market’, the process of which is governed by a ‘repertoire’ set by ‘institutions’ (Even-Zohar 1990c, p. 31).

Even-Zohar did not focus on minority languages as an important theme in his special issue. He mentioned their state as dependant, which he identifies as literary systems so interconnected with a larger system that their literary system does not function separately from the majority (Even-Zohar 1990e, p.56). His later research made use of literature from smaller languages, including Hebrew, Icelandic, Swedish, and Dutch, which are peripheral but not minority languages (Ben-Ari 2013a, p.146), but also in some cases minority languages such as discussion of culture planning in Galicia (Even-Zohar 2008, pp. 288-290).

The following section will examine each of the elements of the polysystem in detail, drawing on the work of several academics to explain how each term works in the polysystem. Initially it will discuss producer, product, consumer and market, and then it will treat institution and repertoire separately. Understanding these terms is useful as they will be applied in a later analysis of minority languages within the world system, which will ultimately inform what source language will be the most suitable for producing Welsh translations within the parameters of this thesis.

2.2.2.2: Producer, product, consumer and market

The concept of a 'producer' and a 'product' is used in a broad sense. In order to create a world system, the theory must be relevant to as many cultures as possible, and in some cultures the main product would be a performance rather than a written text (Even-Zohar 1990c, p. 35). Any method for transmitting literary value would be considered a product. It is also important to view this category at the level of multiple producers rather than just the individual (Even-Zohar 1990c, p. 35). Producers can function as a group when collaborating on a single product, but also in a much wider sense like in a literary movement. In a broad sense, any outcome of any activity is a product (Even-Zohar 1990b, p. 43). Products are not limited to texts, but extend to any expression of culture. Fragments which appear as quotes or cultural references also count as whole products (Even-Zohar 1990b, p. 44).

As with different methods of production, consumer implies more than just one individual reading a book. Even-Zohar identifies two levels to this category, which he calls 'direct' and 'indirect' consumption. Indirect consumption involves consuming literature through group or cultural understanding (Even-Zohar 1990c, p. 36). An example of this is being familiar with Bible stories without having read the Bible, due to the amount of cultural references to those stories which exist across other works. Direct consumption, which is where consumers consume the literature which is the source of the reference for themselves, is much lower in frequency, as individuals make a deliberate choice to engage rather than absorb literature passively through culture (Even-Zohar 1990c, p. 36). The reasons for direct engagement can also differ, as some direct consumers

are more interested in consuming to acquire cultural prestige rather than consuming for literary value (Even-Zohar 1990c, p. 36).

A market is a place for the exchange and promotion of products (Even-Zohar 1990b, p. 38). It can be a place of commercial exchange in a more specific sense of a market like a bookshop, or a place where products are accessed like libraries (Even-Zohar 1990b, p. 38). There is some overlap with institutions, in the sense that they are places which manage exchange and determine the kind of consumption (Even-Zohar 1990b, p. 38). Ideally a market will have the widest range of products and the widest access possible, as restricting the market will restrict its connection with culture (Even-Zohar 1990b, p. 39).

Both producers and consumers in this system operate as a group. Producers collectively form trends in literary movements that in a world system can influence multiple languages through providing a motive for translation. Consumers have a choice of what works they consume directly, which will influence what others may consume indirectly. Choices lead to competition, as producers aim for their work to be consumed as widely as possible, and consumers look for works which provide them with some kind of cultural value. Competition for a dominant position is central to the operation of a polysystem (Shuttleworth 2020, p. 420).

Other prominent scholars have also researched competition in systems. It is a key feature of the literary field interpreted by the French social theorist Pierre Bourdieu, who argued that such systems are inherently based on struggle between elements (Bourdieu 1993, p.34). He noted the relationship between the ‘heteronomous’, which represents culture as used and supported by the economic and politically powerful, and the ‘autonomous’, which Bourdieu identifies as the less economically and politically powerful counterculture, described as ‘art for art’s sake’ (Bourdieu 1993, p. 40). Both sides compete for dominance and legitimacy, with the autonomous trying to

achieve prominence and the heteronomous trying to maintain its position (Bourdieu 1993, p. 41). These concepts representing the motivation of different groups of people form an important part of Bourdieu's conception of cultural systems, leading him to criticise Even-Zohar for not considering such individual agency within his system (Bourdieu 1993, p. 34).

Pascale Casanova (2004, p. 109) also argued for an antagonistic system of opposing poles of the same names, but with different connotations. 'Autonomous' in her work refers to writers who write for international audiences, without interference from national culture or ideas (Casanova 2004, p. 108). The autonomous centre supplies norms and institutions for periphery, as well as consecrating peripheral literature for international consumption (Casanova 2004, p. 109). The heteronomous pole represents national literature and is often dependent on national government support (Casanova 2004, p. 108). Competition is key to this system, as authors from heteronomous periphery aim for autonomy by subverting national norms, while the autonomous centre draws in material from the periphery to strengthen its position (Casanova 2004, p. 109)⁹.

How do these ideas apply to minority languages? All languages that are not dead or critically endangered have producers creating products and consumers looking to consume products. At a basic level, speaker numbers can determine how much resources are available in a language, as more speakers means more consumers and so more incentive to produce products. Competition is key within a system of languages, particularly with the centre–periphery structure. The centre exerts more pull on the periphery, and the periphery attempts to resist and eventually replace the centre. Work from more central languages can have higher prestige attached to it, and it

⁹ In Casanova's analysis the system often has a physical location in a city with a strong literary tradition, such as Paris (Casanova 2004, p.117).

incentivises direct consumption of central language works or indirect consumption of peripheral works via the central language.

Welsh has a small market and few producers in a world system. The bilingual Welsh-speaking population can also access the enormous English market, which functions as the centre of the system Welsh is in. This presents a significant challenge in terms of how to ensure Welsh-language writing is not crowded out of the market. A perspective of this element of the system with more of a focus on minority languages will be provided later in this section.

2.2.2.3: Institution and related concepts

Even-Zohar defined institutions as the ‘aggregate of factors involved with the maintenance of literature as a socio-cultural activity’ (Even-Zohar 1990c, p. 37). In practice this means all the other roles which are involved in and related to the production of literature, like publishing houses, specialist critics, the media, government bodies, and universities (Even-Zohar 1990c, p. 37). These disparate groups are all involved in sanctifying the official culture of their national or linguistic group, through promoting what they see as quality work and determining what enters the canon. Institutions are seldom monolithic. There are struggles and competition within the category, operating with a similar centre and periphery system to the broader literary system (Even-Zohar 1990c, p. 38).

Institutions create and support an established canon, which grants cultural legitimacy to those works which are deemed worthy of entering it. The canon is determined by an elite to maintain their position in the centre of the system (Even-Zohar 1990b, p. 18). Canonisation is not a case of

‘good’ versus ‘bad’ literature, but rather what is legitimated by the dominant group (Even-Zohar 1990b, p. 15).

A more detailed examination of how canon is decided, or rather how cultural power is assigned to texts, requires examination of other theories. Bourdieu identified three principles of legitimacy for cultural objects (Bourdieu 1993, p. 51). The first principle is autonomous producers creating ‘art for art’s sake’, with consumption by other specialists in the field in mind. The second is legitimacy granted by the dominant class via institutions for products that reinforce their position in the hierarchy. The third is legitimacy from the public, based on what attracts the most popular attention. As Bourdieu’s principles of legitimacy show, within one culture there are multiple views on what should be in the canon. Such competition is essential for the canon’s overall vitality. Without tension and competition between canon and non-canon, the canon stagnates and is either abandoned in favour of another, as was the case with the Latin-based canon, or elements of the canon are overthrown and replaced with new options (Even-Zohar 1990b, p. 16). The elements of sub-cultures give a canon much-needed vitality (Even-Zohar 1990b, p. 17).

Discussion of canon and literary prestige is also a theme in Casanova’s 2004 work *The World Republic of Letters*. She argued that each language has its own literary canon, and the prestige of this canon is linked to the prestige of the language, attaching a perception of greater literary value to the language itself (Casanova 2004, p. 17). Languages in areas with more literary capital generally have an older literary tradition that has accrued a wealth of classic works, along with the institutions to support it (Casanova 2004, p. 15). These languages have the influence to canonise writing from those with less capital by reproducing them in their own language (Casanova 2004, p. 17). The influence can be so great that less literary languages seek to imitate techniques from more prestigious languages (Casanova 2004, p. 18).

Both Bourdieu and Casanova add detail to the concept of institutions as expressed by Even-Zohar. Bourdieu discussed how dominant classes grant legitimacy through institutions, which in relation to systems suggests the centre will have more influence over these. Casanova argued that the higher prestige in some languages leads to institutions which exert more influence on less prestigious languages, effectively representing a centre-periphery structure similar to that used by Even-Zohar.

Applying these concepts to a world system level places minority languages in the non-canon class, with less literary prestige. The main canon in the linguistic polysystem will come through central languages. Peripheries have their own canons, influenced to differing degrees by what comes to them from the centre. The central canon draws attention away from works from other peripheries, which could satisfy the needs of consumers without having such an overbearing influence on the language. In a Welsh context, English functions as the central and majority language, while Welsh is a peripheral language with fewer institutions and less literary capital.

2.2.2.4: Repertoire and related concepts

Even-Zohar defined repertoire as ‘the aggregate of rules and materials which govern both the making and use of any given product’ (Even-Zohar 1990c, p. 39). In other words, it represents the collection of material and rules needed for producing or consuming a given product (Even-Zohar 1990c, p. 40). In the case of literature, as the main product is a literary text, the repertoire is whatever combinations of linguistic and cultural conventions are required to create it (Even-Zohar 1990c, p. 40). To better understand repertoire in practice, Even-Zohar broke it down into three different levels (Even-Zohar 1990c, p. 41); individual elements like morphemes and words,

collections of elements from collocations to sentences, and models like character archetypes and genres. This analysis demonstrates the variety of what can be considered repertoire and therefore what can be transmitted to the target language through translation from the source language. The transmission of words and non-equivalent concepts will be explored in the next chapter.

In practice, the repertoire puts limits on what producers and consumers can do with the product (Even-Zohar 1990c, p. 40). As well as different repertoires for linguistic and cultural elements like idioms and character archetypes, there are different repertoires associated with actors involved in the process of producing literature such as a 'writer', a 'reader', and an 'agent' (Even-Zohar 1990c, p. 40). The breadth of the repertoire is also affected by its age, with 'older', or rather more established, repertoires being less likely to adopt repertoires from other systems (Even-Zohar 1990c, p. 40). As there can be more than one repertoire available it does not mean a producer has to use a certain repertoire every time, as long as the repertoires are available to be used (Even-Zohar 1990c, p. 40).

In the polysystem the centre will have its own repertoire, which will exert an influence on the periphery. A periphery which is too dependent on the centre will increasingly have repertoire and norms which resemble those in the centre. Having alternatives in the repertoire does not mean the target culture lacks cohesion, it gives the repertoire more ways to respond to consumer needs (Toury 2012, p. 76). In a manner of speaking, translation can be used to supplement what is currently possible in the repertoire of the target language. Toury (2012, p. 21) noted that communicating via translation with a wide range of source languages can allow peripheral language writers to add elements to the repertoire without influence from the central language, which could provide more attractive products for peripheral language consumers (Toury 2012, p. 21).

There are other theories which influenced or built on the concept of repertoire. For example, the concept of repertoire bears similarity to concepts in Bourdieu's work on 'habitus'. Even-Zohar (1990c, p. 42) stated that this concept is useful for understanding repertoire, particularly at the largest level of models mentioned above. Bourdieu provided a detailed definition of habitus, which as summarised by Johnson in the introduction of his translation of Bourdieu's work, is a practical sense for how people act in a system, consciously or subconsciously (Johnson 1993, p. 5). Habitus interacts with another of Bourdieu's concepts, namely the 'field', which represents one activity which is influenced by several interconnected, hierarchical structures that are similar in composition but independent from control by another (Johnson 1993, p. 6). The two concepts differ in that repertoire represents products while habitus focuses more on people.

Another similar theoretical concept is that of 'norms', which was developed in the context of literature and translation by Gideon Toury, with influence from Even-Zohar's polysystem (Zwischenberger 2020, p. 375). It aims to look at a whole corpus of translation rather than on individual texts, which makes it suitable for use in analysing an interconnected system (Zwischenberger 2020, p. 378). Norms are entirely based on culture, which is where they derive their value (Hermans 1999, p. 95). They are effectively the values of a community expressed as instructions for what is permitted or prescribed in culture (Toury 2012, p. 63). Texts rise in the hierarchy due to their place in the system and relation to current norms rather than any concept of inherent literary or aesthetic value (Ben-Ari 2013a, p. 147). There is competition in the system over which norms dominate (Ben-Ari 2013a, p. 144), with the competition being most active when there are many possible alternatives in behaviour (Toury 2012, p. 64).

There is a fair amount of overlap between different elements of each theory. This is to be expected, due to the influence they exerted on each other. They share a concept of a set of

unwritten rules in the production and reception of culture. Repertoire has more of a linguistic focus, with the first level being morphemes and words. An element of competition over influence and prestige is another shared factor. Johnson (1993, p. 7) noted this in particular for norms. The sense of competition functions in a similar pattern to the broader centre and periphery system, with a clear centre, a periphery, and a state of transition.

2.2.2.5: Summary of the polysystem discussion

Even-Zohar's system has an antagonistic quality, with a sense of competition that was present in concepts described by Bourdieu and Casanova. All those involved are looking to fill a need, such as dissemination of works for influence or profit, or a gap in the target language repertoire. If the means to satisfy these needs are inadequate within the group, it is likely elements from foreign source cultures will be adopted, with whatever influence that brings (Even-Zohar 1990b, p. 26). Considering the general structure of the system, this will likely be a central language, and in the case of minority languages a majority language. Such a system puts minority languages in a difficult position. There will be pressure from majority languages in the form of more institutions, a likely larger repertoire, and more wealth generated from a higher number of producers and consumers. The next section will discuss the situation of minority languages in the world linguistic system in more detail.

2.2.3: Minority Languages and Systems

Hermans (1999, p. 103) cautioned that the kind of systems posited by system or polysystem theory are purely theoretical and do not exist in real life. Polysystem theory notes the existence of power relations but does not take heed of them beyond that (Hermans 1999, p. 118). Many criticisms of the theory rest on this lack of ‘real world’ application, particularly in the political sense (Hermans 1999, pp. 151-157). As minority language theory is inherently political, additional considerations are required to apply polysystem theory effectively.

The previous sections have examined system theory and translation in general. Now this section will analyse its specific application to minority languages. It will consider how well the system theory applied to languages and translation fits the particular circumstances in which minority languages exist, as well as what insight the theory can provide on source language selection for minority language translation. This is not an exclusively minority language problem, as it is to an extent an issue which affects every language in the world other than English. How peripheral languages deal with the centre could inform on strategies for minority languages.

Before applying this analysis, it is necessary to clarify the difference between ‘peripheral’ and ‘minority’ status. Both occupy a generally marginal position and usually lack power or influence of some sort¹⁰. Both are engaged in a form of resistance against a centre or majority which possesses this power or influence. The key difference lies in objectives. As Even-Zohar noted (1990b, p. 14), the main aim of a periphery is to take over the centre. Peripheral language can be a majority language, depending on the scope of that part of the system. The aim of a minority

¹⁰ As was mentioned earlier this has not always been the case, for example the use of Afrikaans in Apartheid era South Africa.

language is to secure continued use in the future. Most minority languages are at the extreme end of the peripheral where they are more concerned with survival than competing for the centre.

This section will apply a minority view to the world system that was discussed previously. It will look in particular at the influence of the centre over peripheries, how peripheries interact with each other, and what benefits direct contact with other peripheries can bring a minority language. Bourdieu earlier criticised polysystem theory for its absence of human agency detaching it from real world concerns. This criticism can be addressed through the addition of postcolonial theory, a theory which is dedicated to power relations between cultures and incorporates global geopolitical issues as part of an interest in colonisation and decolonisation. The first section below will briefly introduce and define postcolonial theory. It will then consider more targeted applications to languages and translation, and minority languages specifically. It will also apply these discussions to a Welsh-language context.

2.2.3.1: Postcolonialism and translation as resistance

Postcolonial theory has been applied to an increasing range of contexts, such as areas outside of European colonial empires. David Moore (2001, p. 112) noted that the entire world has been colonial, then postcolonial, at various points in history. He applied this insight to the context on postcolonialism in the former Soviet Union (Moore 2001). Nevertheless, much of ‘postcolonial theory’ comes from theorists investigating former colonies of European colonial expansion. The most influential critics have been Edward Said, who wrote the foundational text *Orientalism* in 1978, Gayatri Spivak, who in 1987 applied Marxist and feminist theory to postcolonial contexts in *In Other Worlds: Essays in Cultural Politics*, and in 1994 Homi Bhabha wrote his influential

work *The Location of Culture*, exploring hybrid identities and power relations as a way to challenge ideas of monolithic nation-based cultural identity.

Postcolonialism is a difficult concept to define. As McEwen (2019, p. 46) stated, what could be seen as one theory is in fact a variety of theories and approaches. Another much-discussed monograph, *The Empire Writes Back* edited by Bill Ashcroft, Gareth Griffiths and Helen Tiffin (first edition 1989), discussed the theory as dealing with a period of ongoing influence of colonial effects after the end of a period of formal colonial control rather than solely a period after the end of all colonial influence. They (2002, p. 2) were also in favour of a broad application, arguing that restricting who can be seen as postcolonial is a contradiction in the face of the complexity of the theory, using ‘post-colonial’ to ‘cover all the culture affected by the imperial process from the moment colonization to the present day’ (Ashcroft, Griffiths and Tiffin 2002, p. 2).

To better fit this wider focus, the translation studies scholar Douglas Robinson suggested a series of possible definitions (Robinson 1997, pp. 13-14), divided into analysing how societies colonised by European powers adapted since the end of colonisation, how they adapted since European colonisation began, or how all cultures throughout history adapted to domination from others. The full definition of postcolonialism Robinson gives is:

The study of all countries/societies/countries/nations in terms of their power relations with other culture/etc.; how conqueror cultures have bent conquered cultures to their will; how conquered cultures have responded to, accommodated, resisted or overcome that coercion. ‘Postcolonial’ here refers to our late twentieth-century perspective on political and cultural power relations. The historical period covered is all human history (Robinson 1997, p. 15).

He notes that the different definitions can be useful for different academic fields, with the third definition functioning more as a study of human power relations (Robinson 1997, p. 15).

Sherry Simon, another translation studies thinker, agreed that the term ‘postcolonial’ has become so broad it can be applied in many situations (Simon 2000, p. 13). By way of a possible definition of the theory, she said that ‘postcolonialism is about rethinking the ways in which cultures relate to one another, recognizing their internal differences and also questioning the poles from which and to which cultural products travel’ (Simon 2000, p. 17). Simon theorised (2000, p. 13) that all versions of postcolonialism contain two main themes, one being that the theory operates on a global scale and the other being the importance of power relations.

A specific definition of ‘postcolonial’ may not be possible, whereas a more general framing of the theory in terms of processes is less restrictive. The approach used by Simon, focusing on power relations and maintaining a global focus, fits best with the approach that this thesis will take.

Postcolonial theory has a strong presence in translation studies, with increasing interest in cultural issues and activist translation since the 1990s (Tymoczko 2010, p. 7). Robinson analysed the intersection of these fields in his 1997 *Translation and Empire*, quoted above, particularly how translation was used both by empires and anti-colonial resistance movements. Tymoczko (1999) applied postcolonial theory to the context of translation from Old Irish. Christi Merrill (2020, p. 428) highlighted the mediating role of translation in colonial and postcolonial societies, as well as the potential to maintain colonial hierarchies. Another example is Ahmed Gamal (2012, p. 103), who took the approach of using translation into the former colonial language, namely Arabic to English, as a kind of resistance.

There are parallels in postcolonial theory and the theory on minority languages which was discussed earlier. The debate about the definition of postcolonial is reminiscent of the debate about the definition of minority. Both were complicated due to the diversity of the situations in which both categories exist. In the case of postcolonialism, the main theme crossing all possible definitions centres around the existence of a power imbalance as a result of dominating pressure by another group, and the efforts of the dominated group to resist.

This fits Robinson's definition, without limiting it to the paradigm of European colonial powers versus former colonies on other continents. Simon's emphasis on power relations is also important here, as minority language research frequently focuses on the power imbalance between majority and minority groups.

While a substantial amount of postcolonial theory focused on the relations between European powers and their former colonies, the theory can also be applied to minority cultures and languages within Europe. Tymoczko (1999) did this extensively with Irish during English colonial rule in *Translation in a Postcolonial Context*. Neyshaburi (2021) uses the writing of James Joyce to also argue that postcolonialism clearly applies to Ireland. He outlines a debate which has taken place over whether Ireland was a colony, with the majority of conclusions supporting the idea that it was (Neyshaburi 2021, pp. 19-20). A similar debate exists concerning the status of Wales as a colony, which will be discussed in the next section. Postcolonial theory also shares similarities with the polysystem theory that was used to analyse language combinations in the previous section. The core idea of a power imbalance existing in terms of colonised societies resisting the influence of a coloniser bears some similarity with the centre-periphery structure used in polysystem theory, but, importantly, in a way that adds a political dimension.

As has been discussed in the previous section, postcolonial theory often involves resistance against a dominating colonial influence by a dominated (ex-)colonised one. Translation can be used by both colonisers to maintain their dominant position (Bassnett 2002, p. 4), but also by the colonised as a means of resistance. As translation in colonial models reinforces the existing power hierarchy, resistance is likely to be directed towards the colonising entity. The pressure which is being resisted could influence the colonised language to adopt elements of the colonisers' language or repertoire, similarly to how minority languages experience interference from majority languages. Resistance to colonial influence makes translation more important in colonised, peripheral languages. In a postcolonial context, translation is not neutral, as it takes place between power levels (Tymoczko 2010, p. 16).

Earlier, this section highlighted that there is considerable debate over what can be classed as 'postcolonial'. When applying this to Welsh, there is the additional debate of whether Wales and the Welsh language can be considered to be operating in postcolonial circumstances. The argument is often used in political debates, being taken as a fact by some groups that Wales is in a postcolonial situation (Phillips 2005, p. 101). It is also a common theme in Welsh language culture, particularly when campaigning (Phillips 2005, p. 102). Richard Wyn Jones (2005, p. 24) argued that Wales certainly was once a colony, and so elements of this relationship persist in a way that could be considered 'postcolonial', despite the actual colonial period taking place centuries in the past. He also acknowledges that this designation is controversial (Wyn Jones 2005, p. 24).

On the other hand, Christopher Williams (2005, p. 3) argues that while Wales cannot be described as a 'postcolonial' nation, it is still useful to apply postcolonial analysis to it. His reasoning for rejecting the postcolonial label includes granting equal political representation to

Welsh people since the 16th century, the devolution of political power, Welsh participation in the British Empire, and comparison with parts of this empire overseas which were colonial (Christopher Williams 2005, pp. 4-10). The book in which Williams, Wyn Jones and Phillips wrote their chapters is called *Postcolonial Wales*. Even if the authors disagreed with the application of ‘postcolonial’ to certain areas of Welsh society, or considered it controversial, the existence of an edited volume of that name shows the interest in using the theory in a Welsh context.

One of the main themes of postcolonial theory is power relations. Williams is correct in the political sense that the situation in Wales is not postcolonial, as the kinds of political and social barriers which colonised people faced in colonial societies, such as political exclusion or ghettoisation, as well as obvious racial differences, were not present in Wales. However, as Williams also stated (2005, p. 11), the idea of postcolonial theory is so broad that it can fit a variety of definitions. Different aspects of society can be postcolonial while others are not. This means relations between languages could be in a postcolonial state, while relations between the ethnic groups which speak those languages are not. In terms of language there is a kind of power disadvantage that mimics power differences in postcolonial situations. Even if the application of the postcolonial designation is taken in a more restricted sense, using the theory as a guide to discuss power relations between communities is still useful.

Overall, postcolonial theory is a useful supplement to minority language-focused polysystem theory, adding a political dimension which grounds the theory in real-world concerns. The concept of resistance to colonial language pressure has a parallel in minority language resistance to majority language interference and can be mapped onto the centre-periphery system. The

following sections will analyse relationships within the polysystem with postcolonial considerations, as well as these relationships in a Welsh context specifically.

2.2.3.2: Peripheral languages' connection with central languages

There have been multiple centres across Eurasian landmass with several peripheries, growing larger as communication methods improved and literacy spread. Often this was the result of colonial situations, with translation during colonial periods reinforcing the power of the coloniser (Simon 2000, p. 10). In recent times the world system has become truly global, with translation and language contact across all nations. While initially it was thought that globalisation would result in wider sharing of information and culture across languages in a more even spread, in reality it has led to the entrenched dominance of a few central languages (Heilbron 2020, p. 137). These are often not confined to one country, but spread out across continents as the first languages of other nations or as popular second languages (Heilbron 1999, p. 432).

The centre for the world translation system was previously French. As vernacular languages gained importance across Europe, French superseded Latin as the central language for politics, literature and culture¹¹. The desire to use French owed nothing to any deliberate policy on the part of the French government, nor was it connected to how France was perceived politically, which particularly after the French Revolution was quite negative across much of Europe (Casanova 2004, p. 68). Paris achieved central status for all languages, unlike other large,

¹¹ See Casanova 2004, pp.57-62 for a detailed examination of the stages by which French replaced Latin.

European cities like Barcelona which only served as a centre only for the Spanish-speaking world (Casanova 2004, p. 25). People all over the world wrote literature in French rather than their first languages due to this cultural pull (Casanova 2004, p. 32).

In the contemporary world translation system, the central language is undoubtedly English. This comes from a combination of the political, economic and cultural power of the United States and the global spread of English through Commonwealth countries due to the colonial process of the British Empire. Even beyond the English-speaking world, English is still used centrally. For example, many international institutions use it as a working language, including organisations like the Association of South-East Asian Nations, where it is a second language for the majority of the member states. English speaking nations have so many institutions that they create a competitive internal market. Publishers across English language countries compete with each other for translation rights, for example a British publisher may sell translation rights for a foreign language work to an American publisher (van Es et al 2015, p. 309). More variety will be translated into a more central language, which means translations into English will contain a broader number of genres (Heilbron 1999, p. 438). Central languages are also more common sources for translation, with articles about literature written in English appear far more in international academic study of literature than comparably canonical works written in other languages (McMartin 2020, p. 145).

Economic pressure is a significant factor in central language pressure. Translation from the global South represents around two percent of translated books in global North markets (Gamal 2012, p. 102). Sandra Ponzanesi (2014, p. 94) found in an analysis of minority language writers and literary prizes that awards tend to be concentrated among authors who have already become prominent in Western literary markets. There is a temptation for writers from these regions to

write in languages that are used more on a global scale in order to reach a wider audience, generally former colonial languages like English or French. These markets influence the kind of writing that is promoted, often glamorising diaspora and exiled authors writing outside their culture rather than canonical authors in the source culture (Ponzanesi 2014, p. 94). The result is a type of ‘postcolonial’ literature which is effectively designed for export back to the colonial centre (Ponzanesi 2014, p. 102).

The concept of a semi-periphery mentioned earlier has an additional impact on minority languages. Minority language communities can receive pressure from a semi-peripheral language which acts as the national majority language as well as global central languages which are useful economically. This increases the possible sources of majority language interference and could lead to language shift as more time is dedicated to learning two majority languages at the expense of maintaining the minority language.

Based on the previous discussion combined with the statistical analysis published by Johan Heilbron (1999), I would argue that central language pressure comes with a variety of effects for smaller and minority languages, the influence of which on relations between peripheries will be discussed later.

These effects include the following:

1.: Relay translation

The pull of the centre can have a mediating effect on the peripheries. One potential result of this is relay translation, where a source language work is translated into a target language by being first translated into another target language. Relay translation was common in Europe through to

the eighteenth century where literature was often translated between languages by using French as a relay language (Heilbron 1999, p. 435). This practice of relay translation through a more central language is a common occurrence in the translation system, taking place frequently even in modern times (Heilbron 1999, p. 436). One result is that the works which are translated into the periphery are those which are accepted and canonised by the centre. Only translating works the centre considers canon gives the centre a large amount of cultural influence. As the centre is often the majority language for a minority language periphery, and in many cases a former colonising language, this would likely be viewed as a problem by minority language writers who are looking to strengthen a sense of a distinct cultural identity for the minority language. For minority languages where almost all speakers are bilingual, such as Welsh which will be discussed below, most readers would be able to read the majority language translation, which reduces the incentive to produce a direct minority language version.

2: Reduced inter-periphery contact

There are generally few translations into central languages by percentage. The proportion of translations increases as the language becomes more peripheral. Even as early as Heilbron's 1999 survey, less than 5% of publications globally in English were translations, compared with over 40% in Greek. The results were even more extreme in foreign references in scientific works, with the most peripheral countries drawing over 90% of references from less peripheral countries (Heilbron 1999, p. 439). As was mentioned earlier, in Heilbron's analysis there was a far greater variety of works translated not only into more central languages, but also from them (Heilbron 1999, p. 438). Of the 33 categories of genres in his analysis of translation into Dutch, the most central language, English, was present in all of them, compared with 28 from German

and 22 from French (Heilbron 1999, p. 438). The result is less contact with other peripheral languages in the majority of subjects, together with an increasing domination of the central language in many others which becomes difficult to break.

3: Repertoire

Importing norms from other cultures correlates more with the relative position in the system rather than any kind of ‘cultural richness’ (Heilbron 1999, p. 440). More peripheral languages produce more translations as a percentage of their output, and more translation in peripheral languages means more exposure to foreign repertoire. If translation is mostly sourced from one central language, the peripheral language will receive more concentrated influence from the repertoire of the centre. This assumes that the peripheral writers use the peripheral language at all. The centre can exert such dominance over the periphery that for many writers it makes more economic sense to write in the central language (Casanova 2004, p. 261). This poses a difficult cultural issue for minority languages. The pressure to adopt the majority languages repertoire can result in a loss of distinctiveness for the minority language, increasing convergence with the majority.

2.2.3.3: Central languages and Welsh

This section will discuss how Welsh relates to the system which has been outlined thus far in this chapter. It will analyse its place in the system in terms of status and connection with central languages, as well as discussing issues of power and resistance highlighted in the earlier section

on postcolonial theory. In the world translation system, Welsh is peripheral, with English operating as its central language at all system levels. The ubiquity of English causes a huge amount of pressure which has been discussed earlier, but since Welsh speakers in Wales are already bilingual in English there is no additional pressure to learn the central language and a majority language, so Welsh speakers who are interested in learning new languages can instead dedicate time to a combination of their choice.

Welsh has been part of systems with central languages for millennia. It experienced contact with Latin beginning almost 2000 years ago, with the adoption of military words from the Roman legions and religious words from early Christianity (Davies 2007, p. 35). The Middle Ages then saw contact with French culture through a combination of factors including the spread of the Cistercian order of monks, people from Wales travelling on pilgrimages and the Crusades, and noble connections to Norman and French aristocracy (Smith 1997, pp. 27-29). Luft (2016) details different kinds of medieval translations into Welsh from Latin and French, the majority being religious works or Arthurian romances¹².

While it is obvious that the current central language in the Welsh system is English, it is possible other languages could be considered central until comparatively recently. The most suitable way of assessing this for modern translations is to examine the *Cronfa Cyfieithiadau'r Gymraeg*, a database of translations into Welsh operated by the *Coleg Cymraeg Cenedlaethol*. The translations are limited to those that have been written in the 20th and 21st centuries and in the fields of the humanities, arts and social sciences. The list of translations covers a broad variety of

¹² The influence of French was so strong that the Welsh princes of the kingdom of Gwynedd used French as a court language (Davies 2007, p.128).

languages from around the world¹³. This database can indicate possible centres in the Welsh system by examining languages which stand out with large numbers and variety of entries¹⁴.

There are three languages which outnumber significantly the other languages in the database in terms of entries. These are English, French and German.

There are 226 entries for English, which, unsurprisingly, as the global central language and majority language in Wales is by far the largest category. The range of genres is extremely high due to the number of texts, including many kinds of fiction, some biographies, many different plays, and even some textbooks. Some of the translations are of works by Welsh writers who wrote originally in English.

¹³ The following is the source languages and number of entries in the database: German 92, Basque 2, Bengali 1, Catalan 1, Italian 33, Finnish 14, French 142, Gaelic 23, Greek 22, Irish 38, Hebrew 1, Hindi 1, Dutch 25, Latin 22, Breton 40, Makuusäkki 1 (erroneously listed as a separate language when it should come under Finnish), Malayalam 1, Manipuri 1, Norwegian 3, Persian 2, Brazilian Portuguese 1, Provençal 2, Polish 6, Romani 1, Russian 6, Russian 40, English 226, Sanskrit 1, Spanish 27, Scots 1, Slovenian 1, Swedish 5, Chinese 1, Czech 8, Volapük 1.

¹⁴ The database has been used in scholarship to a limited extent, with two articles written by Dewi Owen, who was involved in cataloguing and researching the collection. The first introduced the website after the initial launch (D. Owen 2016), while the second, in collaboration with Roger Owen, used the database to analyse different Welsh translations of *Hamlet* (D. Owen and R. Owen 2016, p.78). It is currently offline at the time of submission pending a reorganisation of the Coleg Cymraeg website.

French is the second largest source language, with 142 entries. It is another central language, which, as mentioned earlier, has had translation contact with Welsh for centuries. The corpus contains a selection of short stories, full novels, and plays. Canonical authors, such as Albert Camus, Guy de Maupassant and Moliere, are notably well represented, indicating the influence of the French canon due to accumulated literary capital. The represented authors include several canonical writers of drama, which would be relevant to readers interested in Eisteddfod drama competitions.

German comes third in the corpus at 92 entries. The selection contains literary works including novels and plays, such as a number of works by socialist writer Heinrich Böll. There is also socialist writing like *The Communist Manifesto* and other works by Karl Marx, which indicates a political motivation behind these translation choices and a desire to develop the repertoire available in Welsh for discussing socialist issues. One notable peculiarity to the Germans selection is the many translations of ‘lieder’, a type of religious poetry set to music, by various German composers. As with French, these kinds of compositions could be relevant to Eisteddfod competitions, in addition to being religious songs that would interest Christian readers.

These three central languages are from geographically close regions, which were also central languages for varying reasons across much of the world. English and French are still central in many regions, while German is central or semi-peripheral in Europe. As the majority language, central language, and arguably colonising language in Wales, the position of English as central is certain and unlikely to change in the future. French and German are not majority languages in Wales and other than Norman French in the Medieval period they are not colonial languages. The high level of direct translation exhibited in the database is a result of their positions in the

translation system. French and German may become less central as knowledge of these languages decreases among the population of Wales.

2.2.3.4: Relations between peripheries

On the level of a world system, all languages which are not central globally fall into the category of peripheral languages. At first thought this includes such a wide range, from languages with hundreds of millions of first language speakers, to languages on the verge of extinction. As was discussed earlier, translation between peripheries often occurs in the form of relay translation through a central language, or on a world system level through a semi-peripheral language. In economic terms, it is considered less risky financially by publishers to publish works from the periphery which are already recognised in the centre (Pięta 2016, p. 364). Publishers notice works published in central languages more, then source language publishers promote it as being out in the central language (Heilbron 1999, p. 436). Translation to a regional centre or semi-periphery can act as an intermediary stage to reaching the world centre. For instance, Dutch books are often translated to French or German before being published in English (Van Es et al 2015, p. 315). Publication in the centre can effectively determine the canon of peripheral literature, as it affects how the periphery sees its own literature (Heilbron 1999, p. 437).

Relay translation has been common historically with French as the intermediary language. Famous authors in languages like Spanish spread to other languages after their French translations were translated (Heilbron 1999, p. 435). In Pięta's analysis of translation between Portuguese and Polish, most translation into Portuguese in the nineteenth century came either from French or as relays through French (Pięta 2016, p. 355). All translations from Polish were

relays until the 1990s, when direct translations from bilinguals appeared (Pięta 2016, p. 363).

More recently the relay has switched, with English becoming the main relay language after 1990 (Pięta 2016, p. 364).

One of the effects of the centre on the peripheries is as a mediator which influences contact between peripheries. Mediation both limits direct access and acts as a means of introducing the repertoire of the centre into peripheries. This point is similar to Belmar's model (2017, p. 45) warning against the use of majority languages as relays for minority language translation.

Content filtered by the centre is a clear problem for minority languages due to their peripheral nature and the ubiquity of the majority language among the minority language population. More direct contact with other peripheries avoids this, as well as providing the opportunity to access a more varied repertoire.

Efforts to avoid this kind of mediation open up a wider range of source languages for translations. This is a concern even for more central languages. For example, the *Centre National du Livre* in France subsidised translations into French from a wide variety of source languages in order to avoid English dominating the number of translations into French (Sapiro 2010, p. 433). Another benefit is access to foreign repertoire itself. Exposure to new ideas can help expand the repertoire of the peripheral language. If languages on the periphery do not make their own repertoire, they must take whatever is decided in the centre (Even-Zohar 2008, p. 289).

A consequence of a system where peripheries only engage in contact through the centre is that works produced in peripheries depend on recognition in the centre to access other peripheries. Direct inter-peripheral contact could allow more products from peripheries to reach each other's markets than what would be available by letting the centre decide which products are worth granting visibility. Governments can provide economic incentives for this kind of translation,

like the grant the Dutch government offers for translators working into Dutch (McMartin 2020, p. 154). The result of this is that 53% of translations out of Dutch were considered periphery to periphery since 1998 (McMartin 2020, p. 164).

To an extent the benefits also depend on the centre. In a situation with multiple centres or semi-peripheries, a minority language could balance the influence of any one with translation from others. If the main majority language is a major centre like English, the pressure from it can be high. However, with only pressure to learn one majority language instead of a central language and a majority language, speakers of these kinds of minority languages can learn other peripheral languages and potentially increase contact with other peripheries.

In terms of a postcolonial view, as central languages are often colonial languages, mediating contact with most other languages through it would be undesirable. Connecting with other peripheries in colonial situations through direct translation allows for the sharing of ideas and cultural exchange without the aforementioned influence from colonial language writers.

Postcolonial theory argues that translation is not a neutral activity and biases from the target language are present in translations (Tymoczko 2010, p. 16), which postcolonial translators would aim to resist.

2.2.3.5: Welsh and peripheral languages

As the discussion on minority language connections with central languages was applied to a Welsh context, so the discussion on peripheral languages will also be applied to Welsh, aiming to consider evidence of existing connections with other peripheries. Returning to the *Cronfa*

Cyfieithiadau'r Gymraeg, there are many languages to consider which had fewer entries than the three central ones. The next largest selections of European majority languages are Russian at 46 entries, Italian at 33, Spanish at 27 and Dutch at 25. Compared to the three central languages that were discussed above, languages from this point on in the database have an increasing proportion of works as short stories in edited collections or journals rather than book-length translations.

About half of the Russian entries come from a dedicated series of foreign language translations called *Storïau Tramôr*, in addition to a selection of novels. The majority of the Dutch works are also *Storïau Tramôr* entries, while Italian and Spanish had just under half as short stories in various collections. Literature is almost the sole focus of the translations in these languages.

The corpus also contains entries for translations from Latin, 22, and Ancient Greek, also 22.

Unlike the entries for European majority languages, a significant majority of the entries for both languages are separately published translations. Many of these works are minor works or extracts of fewer than 50 pages in length, but some are of considerable length, totalling over 400 pages.

Chapter Five will analyse the corpus from Ancient Greek in greater detail as a case study for the translation methods which will be discussed in the following chapter.

European minority languages comprise a significant selection of entries. This group contains Breton with 40 entries, Irish with 38, Scottish Gaelic with 23, Basque with 2, Provencale with 2, Catalan with 1 and Scots with 1. Other than one entry in Scottish Gaelic, a poetry anthology, one novel from Breton, and one anthology of Troubadour poems from Provencale, all entries from these languages are short stories from periodicals or larger collections. The three languages with the largest number of entries are Celtic languages related to Welsh, which suggests cultural affinity as a motive for producing the translations. However, there is no systematic inter-

periphery traffic, as the number of translations of complete works is low and they were produced by a few individual translators.

There is also a selection of translations from non-European languages. Other than two separate translations from Persian of poetry by Omar Khayyam, the non-European languages consist of one corpus entry per language. There are several other entries for various Indian languages, all of which are short stories from the same volume. The Persian entries, a translation of the *Bhagavad Gita* from Sanskrit, and an anthology of translated Chinese poetry are the only non-periodical works. This Chinese anthology will feature as one of the main case studies in Chapter 4, which will examine existing translation between Chinese and Welsh.

The geographic spread of the translations is broad and shows an interest in translation that spreads beyond the languages of neighbouring countries that would be more frequently or easily learned. There are still many more translations from Western European languages than from further abroad, but it would have been highly unusual for this to be otherwise. Central languages represent a far greater number of full-length translations. They also have a greater variety of genre, specifically representing works outside of the field of literature.

The way the database classifies works makes some languages appear better represented than they should be. For example, most of the 40 entries for Breton represent short stories in two volumes of *Storïau Tramor*. This is still higher in number than most other peripheral languages, particularly considering the number of Breton speakers, suggesting an incentive based on interest in other Celtic cultures. On the other hand, Classical languages represented proportionally more book-length translations than other peripheral languages with approximately the same number of entries as Breton.

The number and range of items in the database shows that institutions exist to support translations into Welsh from peripheral languages and there are consumers willing to read them. While the largest numbers were confined to geographically close languages, including the significant amount from central languages, there is a wide selection from minority languages and languages from outside Europe. Even if it cannot be said that there is systemic contact in language pairs with only a handful of short translations, especially if they were produced by the same translator, the collection of translations represents some ability to resist excessive relay translation by avoiding English. The most prominent intra-peripheral connections are with geographically and culturally close languages. Higher numbers of translations with some peripheral languages, particularly longer works, shows extended contact is possible between Welsh and other peripheral languages.

2.3: The Chinese to Welsh Language Combination

The aim of this section was to investigate how taking a world system view of translation can aid in language selection for translation projects for minority languages in general and Welsh in particular. The analysis of system theory has demonstrated the importance of contact with other peripheral languages, especially for a minority language. Consistent contact reduces the influence the majority language has over the minority and allows minority language readers access to a view of other peripheries which is less influenced by majority culture priorities. Translation from other peripheries also helps expand the minority language market. It can provide more products with a varied repertoire without the aforementioned majority culture influence.

Efforts to resist majority language influence show the value of translation for minority languages. This functions as one way to resist the influence of the centre in a polysystem structure, including the higher power of the centre's market and institutions. Deliberately writing in the minority language is often an act of resistance against the cultural, economic, and sometimes political pressure to use the majority language.

In a Welsh context there is a pressing need to avoid translation from English in order to create connections with other languages. More geographically distant and peripheral source languages would be preferred to create a broader system, which leads to more varied products and repertoire, as well as more potential access to other markets for Welsh products for translation out of Welsh. The final section of this chapter will justify why Chinese is a suitable source language for these aims.

This section will first consider the background of the Chinese language in terms of history and location within the world translation system and the perception of elements like cultural capital. It will then analyse advantages for Welsh in developing the ability to translate directly from Chinese. Finally, it will outline how the theoretical discussions of the first two chapters will be developed in the remaining chapters.

2.3.1: Chinese Language in History and in the Translation System

Chinese maintained a central position in language systems in East Asian for many centuries. Chinese writing developed into a consistent script in the late second millennium BC, becoming less pictographic and more logographic as the need arose to represent more abstract phenomena

(Norman 1988, p. 59). It was fully standardised in the 3rd century BC under the Qin Empire, the first imperial dynasty (Norman 1988, p. 63). Chinese culture spread across neighbouring areas over the following centuries, through the influence of independent dynasties or as the core of a larger empire, like the Mongol Yuan Dynasty¹⁵. The influence extended to language, as Japanese, Korean and Vietnamese were, and in some cases still are, written with Chinese script (Norman 1988, p. 78). The imperial system collapsed at the start of the 20th century after decades of internal unrest and foreign invasions, followed by war with Japan and civil war, resulting in a loss of cultural prestige in these neighbouring regions, relegating Chinese to a peripheral language.

China's recent resurgence started with the programme of reforms initiated in the 1980s which opened up the economy and return to foreign affairs based on economic development rather than ideology (Yunling and Fangyin 2011, p. 40). Since then, China's economic and political power has grown rapidly, with double digit GDP growth across much of this century (Green and Stern 2017, p. 425). As the Chinese economy depends to a great extent on exports (Green and Stern 2017, p. 425), developing relationships and influence in foreign countries has also increased in importance. In order to achieve this, the Chinese government is spending on soft power, thought to be around US\$10 billion per year in 2022 (Repnikova 2022, p. 441).

Where to place China in a world translation system is a difficult problem. Chinese is one of the most widely spoken languages in the world. Due to the number of speakers, and therefore the number of producers and consumers, it may seem difficult to argue that it is peripheral.

¹⁵ Brook's 2019 *Great State: China and the World* outlined foreign relations over the 800 years since the Yuan Dynasty

However, in a system concerned with relationships, connections between elements matter more than raw numbers. This reduces the argument for Chinese being central, as it does not have the global cultural reach of English or French. It is unlikely in the near future that translators operating in most peripheral languages will find new products to translate from third languages by initially reading them in Chinese, which is a trait that would be expected from a central language.

This means Chinese is either peripheral or semi-peripheral. Heilbron (1999, p. 434) argued for Chinese being peripheral at the time of his article, as it comprised less than 1% of global translations. On the other hand, a more recent study by McMartin (2020, p. 151) classified Chinese as semi-peripheral in an analysis of translations of Dutch literature, as it was one of the few languages with 5% or over of translations. Li and Andersen (2017, p. 185) agree that Chinese is semi-peripheral, with only English mentioned as a central language. The problem lies with how to define semi-peripheral. Heilbron opted for a percentage share of global translations. McMartin did too, and while his analysis came twenty years after Heilbron's, the scope of his analysis was on a more limited range of translations. Li and Andersen gave no criteria for their definition beyond stating that peripheral languages have little reach beyond the nations from which they originate (Li and Andersen 2017, p. 185).

The way Chinese works are viewed in other non-central languages provides an interesting perspective. Marin-Lacarta (2018) surveyed how Chinese translations were selected and received in Spanish. The main finding was that Chinese works were selected by publishers for translation mainly because they had already appeared in English or French (Marin-Lacarta 2018, p. 312). Many English-speaking publishers and critics view Chinese literature primarily as artifacts of anthropology rather than as works with solely literary value, which then influences the Spanish

view of them (Marin-Lacarta 2018, p. 313). This is a view which has existed for a long time, fitting with Edward Said's description of Orientalism as regarding Eastern cultures as suitable for academic study or display in a museum (Said 1978, p. 7).

The view of China as a non-democratic regime may also encourage Western publishing houses to prioritise the publication of writing by political dissidents. On the other hand, growing economic influence can give the Chinese government the ability to pressure publishers and book fairs to blacklist these works (Foley 2014, p. 61). As well as showing the influence of the centre in determining how peripheries view each other, this also demonstrates that Chinese literature currently lacks the influence to be seen as having equal literary worth.

As for China's wider cultural influence, China is currently underperforming in soft power, running a supposed deficit on their international image for how much the nation spends (Repnikova 2022, p. 441). Lai (2012) examined some of the difficulties China faces in spreading influence. One of the difficulties he notes is how challenging it is for foreigners to learn Chinese, which affects how many translators are able to become bilingual and produce translations. The influence of Chinese is not widespread outside of its 'local' region in Asia (Li and Andersen 2017, p. 185).

Chinese is just influential enough to be semi-peripheral. China has international political clout through organisations like the United Nations, and while most influence is still due to commercial strength, cultural interest outside of East Asia is increasing due to this strength. This may not appear enough for a semi-peripheral designation, but it must be noted that the world system is hyper-centralised around English. Considering how dominant English is in global translation, the 5% figure given in Dutch for Chinese by McMartin may indicate a level comparatively high enough to qualify as semi-peripheral.

2.3.2: Benefits for Welsh of Translation from Chinese

Now that the status of Chinese in the world system has been established, it is time to consider how Chinese translation can benefit Welsh language and culture through direct contact unmediated by a central language. As a vulnerable minority language, Welsh would benefit from translation from a peripheral language to ensure that translation is spread across a variety of source languages to counter majority language pressure. Although Chinese is semi-peripheral in a world translation system, within the Welsh system the lack of existing direct translations, as will be discussed in Chapter 4, indicates that Chinese is peripheral to Welsh. Before the general reasons for advocating translation from Chinese into Welsh are outlined, a brief methodological remark is in order. This project will be based on a practical translation exercise which will produce translations for a range of complex philosophical and religious terms from Chinese to Welsh. These terms are of sufficient complexity as to impede accurate translation by someone without specialist knowledge of the source culture context of the terms. Direct translation of the relevant source language texts will prevent conventions from an English relay translation influencing the way in which the terms are treated in Welsh. Language choice for translation projects is often limited by the range of languages in which a translator has competency. What has been deemed the most suitable source language for such a project may not be possible. I have reading capability in several languages including Chinese, Japanese, French, German and Ancient Greek, and I selected Chinese for being the most suitable based on the criteria laid out in this chapter, and the benefits highlighted in this chapter.

The benefits of Chinese translation for Welsh can be considered in three categories:

1: More translation from languages other than English

The importance of translation outside of the majority language has been analysed at length in both preceding chapters. As the *Cronfa Cyfieithiadau'r Gymraeg* database showed, the majority of literary translation into Welsh is from English, which is natural as it is the central language in the world system, as well as the central language in the Welsh system, majority language for Welsh as a minority language, and previously the colonial language. This results in English having a proportionately large influence over aspects like new word formation in Welsh. Varying the source language will reduce the concentration of influence coming from one language, as well as not coming with the negative aspects for which various Welsh writers criticised translation.

2: The increasing importance of translation from Chinese.

Bearing in mind the previous discussion about the cultural influence of Chinese, China as a nation is still of great importance on a global scale. As its economic and political influence continues to grow, so will interest in being able to use the language. In the future it may even become a central language for international trade, which will lead to increased political influence and cultural power. It was mentioned earlier that peripheral language users can face a problem of pressure to learn two central languages, or one central and one semi-peripheral, at the expense of another peripheral language. The situation becomes even more serious for minority language communities where minority language fluency may not be widespread, as the central language pressure may affect the number of people able to dedicate time to learn the minority language. It

would be easier for Welsh if contact with Chinese was more direct rather than the alternative, which is that all translation from Chinese appears as relay translations, with English as the relay language. Not only will this mean that whatever Chinese translations are produced are only those which have been selected by translators working for the English-language market, the translations will also contain any preconceptions and cultural bias which have become conventional in English-language culture. This is why it is vital that translators working into Welsh develop familiarity with translation from Chinese.

3: The different repertoire

Chinese culture developed with little contact with Welsh and wider Western culture. Elements of the linguistic repertoire such as cultural references are markedly different, in addition to different historical settings and items specific to East Asia like types of food or religious ideas. Adding new elements such as these to the repertoire in Welsh will fill gaps present in the current repertoire, or expand it in new directions. Examples of this could include poetry, which is a genre that uses specific themes and styles of composition, or developments in other genres like novel writing. This will happen without mediation from English, which would affect what elements of the repertoire are passed on. Translation in this combination will encounter many culturally specific terms which do not currently have Welsh equivalents. Establishing conventional Welsh equivalents for these terms will aid future translations and other translators, but this will require careful planning and analysis of suitable translation methods.

2.4: Chapter Conclusion

The main aim of this chapter was to investigate how theory on minority languages and translation as a system can aid minority language goals. It focused specifically on how to select the source language which would be most suitable for this kind of project. It applied the findings to the context of translation and Welsh, and then justified why translation from Chinese is beneficial for supporting Welsh language revival.

This chapter investigated theories of world translation systems and applied a minority language lens to these theories, particularly the polysystem theory of Itamar Even-Zohar. It analysed the different elements of this system combined with additions from other theories developed by academics including Gideon Toury and Pierre Bourdieu. It combined this analysis with a discussion of how minority languages function as peripheral languages and in relation to their centre. This analysis was developed with additional reference to postcolonial theory, as this theory provided a useful framework for analysing the power imbalances that exist in minority language relationships.

The analysis identified several benefits for minority languages of translation from other peripheries. One is that by avoiding translation through the central or majority language, the minority language can interact with other peripheries without majority culture mediation. Another is that contact with other peripheries itself provides value, in the form of opportunities to expand the minority language repertoire and potentially spread products to other markets.

The previous section explained why translation from Chinese to Welsh will benefit Welsh and therefore is the main language pair for this project. It identified the status of Chinese as semi-

peripheral in the current world translation system. It then outlined what translation from Chinese can offer Welsh, namely avoiding interference from English by adding a greater variety in source languages among translations into Welsh, experience translating directly from an increasingly important language and the introduction of new elements to the current repertoire.

The subsequent chapters will develop these findings further. Chapter 3 will examine translation methods for dealing with non-equivalent and culturally specific terms and propose a classification of such methods. The purpose of this is to analyse translations into minority languages at the level of individual terms to understand how translators have approached translating complex terms into minority languages from languages peripheral to their system. The previous section on benefits of Chinese translation for Welsh highlighted the likely issue of non-equivalent terms that translation in this combination will face. Like this chapter, it will apply a minority language view to theories about new word formation, including analysis relating to Welsh specifically.

Chapter 4 will apply the framework from Chapter 3 to existing Welsh translation from Chinese, which, as well as being directly relevant for the chosen language combination of this thesis, will allow a further discussion of connections between minority languages and non-central languages. Chapter 5 will examine a case study of the application of these methods to Welsh translation from Ancient Greek, which has a corpus of a sufficient size to allow for a thorough test of the methods proposed in previous chapters, as well as comparing possible trends noted in the Chinese translations of Chapter 4. Finally, Chapter 6 will apply these findings to a practical translation of Chinese terms into Welsh.

Chapter 3: Translation Methods for Culturally Specific Terms

3.1: Introduction

The previous chapter examined how system theory and theories of cultural influence can assist in deciding source languages for minority language translation projects. Much of what was said concerning situations where a minority language is attempting to resist majority language or central influence in communicating with other peripheries can be applied to the translation of individual terms. Just like how the translation of whole texts can be used to further the goal of increased contact with other peripheries, the ability to translate complex source language terms without referring to majority language versions will aid in resistance to central or majority language domination. The hypothesis argued in this chapter is that developing a system to classify the translation of complex source language terms will enable a more systematic analysis of the decision Welsh translators have made in translating complex terminology from peripheral language which will be examined in future chapters, as well as being useful in future translation more broadly.

This chapter will explore categories of translation methods for non-equivalent terms used in translations, and how these methods interact with the aims of minority languages. The first section will introduce and evaluate translation methods for non-equivalent terms based on

discussions of existing classification systems, including a compilation produced by Piotr Kwieciński. The second section will examine the linguistic typology of the categories and considerations around how they are used, as well as how they can be applied to minority languages in general and Welsh in particular to assist in the aims of minority language translation. The methods discussed in this chapter will be applied to translation case studies throughout the rest of the thesis, analysing translation method choices by other translators in Chapters 4 and 5, before informing my own translation choices in the translation exercise in Chapter 6.

3.2: The Translation Methods Classification System

3.2.1: Introduction

Translation methods for non-equivalent and culturally specific terms can generally be said to sit on a spectrum between borrowing an existing word from another language (i.e. lexical borrowing) and forming a neologism entirely from target language morphemes (i.e. new formation). Different methods can become prominent depending on the situation. A further complication arises when minority language needs are applied to word formation theories, affecting which methods are likely to be chosen based on the source and target languages and the goals of language planning for the minority language. This section will analyse translation methods and their applicability to minority languages. It will consider a variety of proposed methods for classifying translations. The focus will be Piotr Kwieciński's new word

classification system, with an analysis of the typology of each group. It will then propose a classification system with more focus on minority languages that will be used in this thesis.

3.2.2: Designing the Classification System

As there is a great variety of word formation strategies and processes among all the languages of the world, it is not surprising that academics have developed different classifications. By way of example, Jean-Paul Vinay and Jean Darbelnet formed a list of ‘translation procedures’ in *Comparative Stylistics of French and English*, detailing seven broad procedures used in a case study of French and English translation (Vinay and Darbelnet 1995, pp. 31-40). The procedures were intended to be used in order, from procedures which involve the least amount of difference from the source term or expression to the most change (Vinay and Darbelnet 1995, p. 34). The first three procedures, Borrowing, Calque, and Literal translation, represent basic word-for-word substitution (Vinay and Darbelnet 1995, p. 34). Transposition and Modulation change the word class or point of view, respectively (Vinay and Darbelnet 1995, p. 36), while Equivalence (Vinay and Darbelnet 1995, p. 38) and Adaptation (Vinay and Darbelnet 1995, p. 39) use existing target language terms or phrases for source language concepts.

Peter Newmark outlined an alternative set of procedures in *A Textbook of Translation*, listing over seventeen separate procedures in chapter 8 (Newmark 1988, pp. 81-93), as well as a discussion on ‘literal translation’ methods in the preceding chapter (Newmark 1988, pp. 68-80) and an investigation on methods for translating neologisms in chapter 13 (Newmark 1988, pp. 140-150). The procedures in chapter 8 were noted as relating specifically to single sentences and

smaller units (Newmark 1988, p. 81), and include procedures as diverse as adapting words to target language morphology to paraphrasing source language terms with multiple terms from the target language. The discussion of neologisms ended with a table on page 150 which outlined different factors and procedures for using this method.

Andrew Chesterman developed a series of translation strategies, divided into categories called ‘syntactic strategies’ (Chesterman 2016, pp. 91-98), ‘semantic strategies’ (Chesterman 2016, pp. 98-104) and ‘pragmatic strategies’ (Chesterman 2016, pp. 104-109), each with ten sub-strategies. As there are too many processes to mention each one, Chesterman’s strategies will be discussed at the category level. Syntactic strategies manipulate form by changing morphemes or words, with most related to changing word classes, except for the first two categories of literal translation and loans or calques. Semantic strategies were in many cases related to modulation from Vinay and Darbelnet and were generally aimed at changing nuances in meaning, such as altering terms used in idioms. Pragmatic strategies were based on changes relating to cultural differences, implied information that is not obvious in the other language, or more interventionist strategies like foreignisation.

The number of classification systems available offers a range of options to anyone trying to decide on an analytical method, of which the three listed above are examples. Systems which synthesise multiple methods by a variety of academics would cover the widest number of possible methods and form more detailed categories. Piotr Kwieciński developed such a classification system as part of his PhD thesis in order to analyse a selection of Polish terms which were derived from English. His system was particularly aimed at culturally specific terms (Kwieciński 2001, p. 9), which makes it suitable to use as a base for forming the classification system for the translations in this thesis. In order to form his system, he synthesised a wide range

of earlier classifications, which are listed in the published version of his thesis *Disturbing Strangeness: Foreignisation and domestication in translation procedures in the context of cultural asymmetry* (Kwieciński 2001, pp. 157-165)¹⁶.

There are eleven categories in Kwieciński's system, and they are as follows:

Group 0: Transference of Image or Sound

Group 0 is a category created by Kwieciński himself (2001, p. 157). This group represents translation of culturally specific sounds like music. It also represents translation of words used in images. Kwieciński states that the purpose of the category is for translation in 'polysemiotic genres' such as television, where translation of more elements than words is possible (Kwieciński 2001, p. 157). Group 0 is not a category which Kwieciński anticipated would be so relevant to most translation, as is indicated by classifying it as 0 rather than 1.

Group 1: Borrowing

Group 1 represents one of the more widely used categories. In Kwieciński's system the category distinguishes between recently imported terms with limited acceptability and borrowed terms which have recognition as part of the target language lexicon (Kwieciński 2001, p. 162). There is

¹⁶ Examples of systems Kwieciński used include Newmark (1988, pp.88-91), and Vinay and Darbelnet (1995, pp.31-40),

also a division between terms which have become adapted to the target language in an orthographic or morphological way and terms which have not been adapted. This division is reflected in the work of the theorists Kwieciński used (Vinay and Darbelnet 1995, p. 32; Newmark 1988, p. 82; Aixela 1996, p. 61).

Group 2: Calque, Coinage or Semantic Extension

Group 2 is another large category. It effectively covers the formation of neologisms, which is broad for one category. Defining them briefly, a calque is a direct translation of a source language term or expression of two or more elements, a coinage is an original target language creation for a source language item, and a semantic extension is the use of an existing target language word to translate a new source culture concept. These concepts will be defined in more detail later. For the purpose of Kwieciński's analysis, which was to analyse domestication and foreignisation in term translations, grouping all these categories together under one was sufficient (Kwieciński 2001, p. 162). Similar to group 1, Kwieciński divides the terms into recently introduced neologisms and generally accepted ones (Kwieciński 2001, p. 162). He used a variety of sources in his analysis, principally Vinay and Darbelnet, (1995, p. 34) and Newmark (1988, p. 84).

Group 3: Borrowing + Calque, Coinage or Semantic Extension

Group 4: Borrowing + Normalisation (see the explanation below)

Group 5: Calque, Coinage or Semantic Extension + Normalisation

Group 6: Other Combinations

Groups 3, 4, 5 and 6 are compound categories, which are composed of combinations of other groups in the system, including normalisation which will be explained below. The elements comprising groups 3, 4 and 5 are clearly indicated in the name of each group, while the ‘other combinations’ in group 6 are triplet or quadruplet combinations (Kwieciński 2001, p. 160). In Newmark (1988, p. 91) they are referred to as couplets, triplets or quadruplets.

Group 7: Recognised Exoticism

Group 7 represents translations of source culture specific terms which to target culture speakers are obviously referring to the source culture term but are accepted as target language terms too. Kwieciński describes this as ‘designations which are clearly perceived by TC members as peculiar to SC concepts, but are nevertheless intelligible as such’ (Kwieciński 2001, p. 163). The example given is the Polish translation of ‘House of Commons’ (Kwieciński 2001, p. 163), ‘Izba Gmin’ [House of Commons], which can only refer to this institution from the source culture but has a translation which is now an accepted target language term. It is one of the categories where the source and target terms can reach a length of several words rather than replacing one individual source language terms with one target language term. Kwieciński’s analysis follows concepts including the ‘recognised translation’ procedure from Newmark (1988, p. 89) and Aixela’s ‘linguistic translation’ (1996, p. 62).

Group 8: Normalisation

Group 8 is another category of multi-word translation. In this case, Kwieciński described it as representing a source culture term in ‘supposedly “transcultural” terms (Kwieciński 2001, p. 163). His example of this was references to categories from the other translation systems from which he developed his own (Kwieciński 2001, p. 163). One element is generalisation which Vinay and Darbelnet (1995, p. 59) describe as using the same term where the source language has two. From Newmark (1988, pp. 83-4) he used functional equivalent, where something culturally specific is generalised, and descriptive equivalent, where an object is generalised to something with a similar function. Although less prominent, the opposite is possible under the label specification, which is mentioned in the category table (Kwieciński 2001, p. 160). Another example is distribution change from Chesterman (2016, p. 100), which spreads semantic elements over more or fewer items in the sentence rather than the original amount from the source language.

Group 9: Deletion

Group 9 is a small category which Kwieciński does not spend much time analysing. The category represents translation by omission, that is to say the removal of a source text element which for whatever reason will improve the target language translation.

Group 10: Covert Cultural Substitution or Acculturation

Group 10 is two categories, substitution and acculturation, combined into one. Covert substitution replaces a source culture term with a target culture term that looks like it could be a target culture term rather than a translation. Covert acculturation is the use of a specific target

culture term in place of a general source language term or phrase, which as with covert substitution does not stand out as an obvious translation (Kwieciński 2001, p. 164).

Group 11: Overt Cultural Substitution or Acculturation

Group 11 is related to Group 10, but in this case the translation is obvious to a target culture reader as an element from the target culture which should not be present in the source culture.

The main advantage of Kwieciński's system is that it combines the findings of many earlier classifications. This allows for much more nuance in analysing the terms than a simple division between lexical borrowing and new word formation, although variations of these are likely to be the largest categories. Other categories are compounds of simpler categories, which are likely to contain fewer terms. With a large number of groups, some have a limited application. For example, Group 0 is only used in multimedia translation, and Kwieciński acknowledged this by giving it the designation 0 rather than starting it at 1. Group 9 Deletion was also given little attention in the method descriptions. On the other hand, groups like Group 1 Borrowing and Group 2 Calque, Coinage and Extension are common processes which are likely to see far more use.

The main issue with Kwieciński's system which makes it unsuitable for use in this project in its current form is that Kwieciński designed it for use in a case study of translating between English and Polish. As was likely true for many of the systems he synthesised, minority language considerations were not part of the process of forming the system. For example, excessive borrowing from the majority language poses a problem for a minority language; therefore, if the

source language is *not* the majority language, borrowing terms directly from the source language in translation into a minority language would be more acceptable from a minority language perspective, and such a distinction would need to be reflected with an additional sub-category.

This thesis has developed the following system for categorising translations. The choice of categories was influenced by those discussed so far in this section, with the inspiration for the structure derived principally from Kwieciński's system, with changes based on minority language needs and the aims of the later translation case studies. This classification is target language-oriented, categorising translation methods by how they use target language resources (including source language resources entering the target language in the case of Category 1) to express non-equivalent source language concepts.

The categories are as follows:

1: Loanwords

1a established source language loan, 1b recent source language loan, 1c established third language loan, 1d recent third language loan

2: New Formation

2a source language calque, 2b third language calque, 2c coinage

3: Lexical Substitution

3a semantic expansion, 3b semantic reduction, 3c near equivalent, 3d cultural substitution

4: Lengthening and Shortening

4a lengthening, 4b shortening

5: Compounds

5a loanword+ formation, 5b loanword+ substitution, 5c loanword+ lengthening and shortening, 5d formation + substitution, 5e formation + lengthening and shortening, 5f substitution + lengthening and shortening, 5g other combinations

There are two aims in this thesis which were considered when designing the classification system; translation for minority languages and translation in a rare language combination with few precedents. Neither were priorities for Kwieciński, so changes must be made to reflect the different goals of the classification system for this thesis. The first change is that several categories have been removed entirely. Group 0 Transference of Image or Sound and Group 9 Deletion have been removed as they are not relevant to the objectives of the thesis, namely producing translations. Group 7 was removed, as the aim of translating between rare combinations means ‘recognised’ exoticisms are by far less likely due to the lack of, or in some cases limited number of, prior translations within the combination. Other groups are present in the system, but have been consolidated into different categories.

Category 1 Loanwords required some specific refinement. A division was necessary between borrowing from the source language, and borrowing which is derived from a third language. It is expected that in most cases, in translation into a minority language from a peripheral or semi-peripheral language, this third language will be the majority language or another central language because of cultural interference and systemic influence, but third language loanwords from non-majority languages are also possible. Another division was created between recent loanwords,

namely those borrowed recently enough to still be considered ‘foreign’, and historical loanwords which have been in the target language sufficient time to receive an entry in an authoritative target language dictionary.

Category 2 New Formations, based on Kwieciński’s Calque, Coinage and Extension, required a similar division between source and third languages for calques to reflect potential majority language influence. Semantic extension from Kwieciński’s Group 2 was removed as it uses existing target language terms, which is not a suitable method for this category.

Category 3 Lexical Substitutions covers translation methods using existing target language terms. The methods used here need to reflect the difficulty of finding equivalence between minority languages which may have smaller lexicons due to pressure to use majority language terms, as well as the challenge of translating terms from rare and often culturally distant languages. The first method in this category is semantic expansions, which are target language terms with higher numbers of alternative definitions than the original source language terms. The second method is semantic reductions, which have fewer alternative definitions. This division allows for greater precision in analysing the translation strategies used by minority language translators. The method of near equivalents represents terms in the middle which match the range of meanings of the source term closely. Finally, cultural substitutions include cases where a target language term translates the cultural significance of the source term rather than the exact meaning. As such, they represent Kwieciński’s groups 10 and 11. As was noted above, this classification system focuses on how target language resources are used to form translations rather than on the semantic or cultural changes occurring during the transfer from the source language to the target language. Cultural substitution is therefore not seen as a separate category

even if, admittedly, there may be a radical departure from the source language semantic meaning, but instead counts among methods that utilise existing target language lexicon.

Category 4 Lengthening and Shortening represents methods which increase or decrease the number of words in the translation. This category differs from calques from group 2 in that while a calque represents a word-for-word translation of the source term or its constituents, lengthening and shortening add additional terms. This difference will be discussed further in the longer section on distribution change later in this chapter.

Finally, any compounds fall under Category 5. This covers all the compounds mentioned in groups 3, 4, 5 and 6 from Kwieciński's system. As with the previous category, there is potential for confusion between multi-word translations including calques, generalisations and compounds. This will be discussed in the compounds section.

3.3: The Different Categories of Translation Methods

3.3.1: Category 1: Loanwords

This section will discuss Category 1 methods, which includes both established and recent source and third language loans. It will discuss typology of loanwords, consider how to select appropriate terms to borrow and then apply this to the use of loanwords in minority languages and Welsh specifically. This section will also discuss transliteration as an important element of adapting loans to target languages.

2.3.1.1: Loanword typology

The process of forming loanwords is the transfer of words between a source or donor language and a target or recipient language. It is related to another process called ‘code switching’, which involves switching unadapted terms between two different languages. The main difference is that unlike code switching, borrowed words are grammatically part of the target language (Cook 2018, p. 5)¹⁷. More precisely, a loanword is “a word that at some point in the history of a language entered its lexicon as a result of borrowing” (Haspelmath 2009, p. 36). The name itself is not quite accurate to the way the process works. While the words are traditionally called loans, Myers-Scotton notes: “...the elements taken in aren’t truly borrowed (or loaned) - because the recipient language never gives them back!” (Myers-Scotton 2006, p. 209). Haugen (1950, p. 212) noted this in 1950, but accepted that the term had become sufficiently fixed in linguistics that it had become conventional.

There is normally some sort of morphological alteration when a word is borrowed.

Morphologically adapted loans, or loanword adaptation, is defined as the process of adapting a loan to the conventions of the target language, through methods like inflection and phonological adaptation (Haspelmath 2009, p. 42)¹⁸. What requires adaptation depends on the conventions of

¹⁷ Vinay and Darbelnet (1995, p.32) argued that borrowed terms which are adapted and accepted into the target language like this become part of the source lexicon and therefore are no longer borrowed.

¹⁸ Also called ‘naturalisation’ by Newmark (1988, p. 82).

the target language. Loanwords need adaptation not just for inflection but also in some languages for classification. For example, Swahili nouns fit into 15 noun classes and new nouns must be assigned one (Winford 2010, p. 174). Words can also be borrowed into a different grammatical class in a process called ‘loanshift’ (Myers-Scotton 2006, p. 217) or ‘repurposing’ (Hock and Joseph 2009, p. 251). The term ‘shampooing’ in French is used as a noun rather than a gerund, despite clearly being derived from an English gerund.

The most common category for loanwords is nouns. According to Myers-Scotton (2006, p. 227) this is because loanwords are used to discuss new items or concepts in the target language lexicon, which are created more frequently than more abstract concepts like actions or descriptions. Ad-hoc borrowing or loan adaptation of verbs is often rarer due to the need to adapt to more linguistically complex requirements like conjugation, double object constructions, case or preposition (Myers-Scotton 2006, p. 229).

In some languages, adaptation is a regular process with specific prefixes or suffixes used to adapt loanwords, such the use of the suffix ‘-ieren’ for borrowed verbs in German (Myers-Scotton 2006, p. 226). Other processes can appear via loanwords in languages which do not normally use the process. For example, copulative compounds, also called ‘dvandvas’, are uncommon in English, but common in Greek (Joseph 2020, p. 19). These compounds can however appear in English words which have been borrowed from Greek or formed from Greek morphemes (Joseph 2020, p. 20).

Myers-Scotton divided borrowed terms into two classes: cultural borrowing and core borrowing. A cultural borrowing is a loanword for something which is not present in the target language or culture (Myers-Scotton 2006, p. 212). Common examples include items linked to certain regions like clothes or food and terms for new ideas, particularly scientific vocabulary (Myers-Scotton

2006, p. 213). The terms are either new to everyone as the concept has recently been created, or source culture items that are unfamiliar to the target culture. It is common historically for terms from areas of academic thought like science to be more susceptible to borrowing compared to other sources of loanwords (Hock and Joseph 2009, p. 246).

A core borrowing is a loanword for a term that already has an accepted term in the target language (Myers-Scotton 2006, p. 215). This kind of borrowing is not caused by the need to express a new term, but is a consequence of code-switching in bilingualism, or influence from a language with higher prestige (Haspelmath 2009, p. 48). Increased levels of bilingualism in population results in a higher likelihood of borrowing words of greater grammatical complexity, as well as accepting an increased number of loanwords in general (Field 2002, p. 85). High levels of core borrowing are a sign of a language which is not able to resist pressure from another language and is losing the ability to form neologisms independently (Myers-Scotton 2006, p. 215).

This analysis is representative of how borrowing works for whole languages. On the level of the individual, the dominant language is the one that the speaker speaks better, which leads to borrowing words from the more dominant language into the less dominant (Winford 2010, p. 171). This can happen in reverse, with individuals borrowing words from a less dominant language to show understanding of the target culture (Myers-Scotton 2006, p. 217). Newmark (1988, p. 82) argued that these choices are important sources of borrowing, but cannot be used excessively as target language readers still need to be able to understand the borrowed terms.

The main factors to consider come from two categories (Haspelmath 2009, p. 35). One is social and cultural attitudes, such as relative language prestige. The other is grammatical, namely how much adaptation is needed. Field (2002, p. 5) noted linguistic frequency as another factor, which

is how often the word is used. Frequency applies differently to core borrowings, as they are less likely to be replaced even if the term is used frequently, except in situations with significant power imbalances (Field 2002, p. 6).

The theories listed above explain the mechanics of loanwords at the linguistic level and consider how some terms are more likely to be borrowed based on word classes. One problem these theories do not cover is when to select a loanword rather than use other processes. General trends have been noted, such as cultural borrowing for new concepts and core borrowing as a result of linguistic pressure. Nouns are also more likely to be loaned due to the reduced need to adapt the source term morphologically.

In adapting loanwords from other languages, one issue which requires treatment is how to represent sounds from the source language. Languages possess different systems of phonotactics. Phonotactics are the variety of sounds that are permitted in the language, such as valid consonant clusters or alternating patterns of consonants and vowels (Myers-Scotton 2006, p. 220). For example, Japanese often inserts vowels when borrowing foreign words, as the strict consonant-vowel phonotactics of Japanese mean that consonants must be separated by vowels, with the exception of a final '-n' (Hock and Joseph 2009, p. 250).

The most basic approach for transliterations is to substitute the sound in the target language with the most similar sound in the source language (Hock and Joseph 2009, p. 246). Changes can be driven by spelling in literate cultures, where pronunciation is affected by the way the source word is transcribed (Hock and Joseph 2009, p. 249). Problems arise when representing sounds which have no near source language equivalent. This can be compounded by two languages use different scripts, particularly if the scripts are constructed in fundamentally different ways.

Alphabetic languages can attempt to produce close equivalents by repurposing letters or digraphs

through reference to the International Phonetic Alphabet (IPA), while syllabic or logographic scripts have more limited options.

An example of this issue in practice is the transliteration of Chinese. Translators formed several systems for transcribing Chinese into the Latin alphabet. Early attempts by the Jesuit priests Michele Ruggieri and Matteo Ricci in the 16th century were based finding correspondence with phonemes from Portuguese and Italian (Chung 2016, p. 758-759). Attempts continued in the 19th century organised by Protestant missionaries, starting with Robert Morrison, who based his system on English phonemes with influence from his native Scottish accent (Chung 2016, p. 760). The Chinese he used as an example was Nanjing rather than Beijing Mandarin, which influenced later Western-derived romanisation systems (Chung 2016, p. 762). A shift to the Beijing dialect was initiated by Thomas Wade in his orthography systems starting in 1859 (Chung 2016, p. 765). Until then the different language backgrounds of the orthographers prevented the development of one standardised system, but Wade's system based on Beijing Mandarin to English proved the most practical (Chung 2016, p. 765). It was further modified by Herbert Giles in 1912, resulting in the Wade-Giles system that was the standard romanisation until pinyin (Chung 2016, p. 767).

Pinyin itself is the official romanisation system for mainland China, first appearing in 1958 (Chen 2016, p. 484). Creating a romanisation system for Chinese was a priority of the Chinese government as a means to improve China's technological and industrial capability by aligning itself with developed, Western nations (Chen 2016, p. 490). As with Wade-Giles, it was based on Beijing dialect of Mandarin (Chen 2016, p. 490). The main difference between the two is that while Wade-Giles is easier to understand for English speakers, pinyin is a more cohesive reflection of Mandarin phonology that is more intuitive for native Mandarin speakers (Chen

2016, p. 500). What this demonstrates is that transliteration is a matter of more than a neutral process of sound conversion. Systems like Wade-Giles can be based on conversion into majority languages, resulting in issues for using these systems in minority languages or even the less central language that the system was designed to represent.

3.3.1.2: Minority languages and loanwords

Loanwords can be the most contentious process to use in a minority language setting. Borrowing exchanges never function equitably, with the borrowing language likely in a more peripheral position, potentially in the early stage of language shift (Myers-Scotton 2006, p. 209).

Loanwords are more likely to be accepted if the source language is widely known and less likely if few speak it (Haspelmath 2009, p. 48). In a situation where most, if not all, speakers are bilingual, the majority language becomes a large source of loanword pressure. Naturally it becomes a major source of cultural borrowing, and with sufficient pressure can overwrite minority language terms as core borrowings (Haspelmath 2009, p. 47). Minority language translations would benefit from avoiding core borrowing entirely and avoiding cultural borrowing from the main majority language. For translation from other languages, cultural borrowing would be less problematic.

One important issue to consider in adopting loanwords into minority languages is transliteration. This is potentially an issue for all language combinations, however central or large majority languages are more likely to have experience with translating other languages and have already developed conventions for transliterating languages written in different scripts. In translating rare combinations, minority language translators may encounter this issue for the first time. Using

standard transliterations produced for majority languages may also be undesirable. For example, in cases where minority languages use the Latin alphabet, they may not use the standard 26 letter Latin alphabet, or use a version modified with accents.

3.3.1.3: Loanwords and Welsh

The main source of loanwords for modern Welsh is English, which has provided many cultural and core borrowings¹⁹. This is unsurprising as English is the central language in the Welsh translation system as well as the majority language. As a result of systemic pressure, some loanwords are adopted without adapting (Hawke 2018, p. 239), particularly international terms like chemical elements or abbreviations of measurement units like ‘kg’, even if ‘cilogram’ is used as the unabbreviated form. In addition to both adapted and unadapted loanwords, there is also a high degree of code switching, which further demonstrates the level of interference.

The issue of transliteration is important, especially when dealing with non-European languages. Welsh does not use standard Latin alphabet, specifically missing the letters ‘k’, ‘q’, ‘v’, ‘x’ and ‘z’, and adding the digraphs ‘ch’, ‘dd’, ‘ff’, ‘ng’, ‘ll’, ‘ph’, ‘rh’, and ‘th’. Many words borrowed from English have been adapted phonetically to fit this orthography. Adaption can consist of a one letter for one letter substitution, like substituting ‘s’ for ‘z’ in ‘sŵ’ (‘zoo’) or substituting multiple letters, such as ‘cs’ for ‘x’ in ‘tarsi’ (‘taxi’). In the case of transliteration from other languages, standard transliteration systems will likely be based on the standard Latin alphabet

¹⁹ Other prominent sources come from other geographically close languages, such as Latin, Irish and Old Norse (Grey 2020, p.350).

used by the majority of the more widely spoken European languages. While accepting these conventions would be the most convenient strategy, accepting interference from majority languages has been noted in this and the previous chapter as undesirable for minority languages. It should be possible to suggest transliteration conventions based on Welsh orthography, which can be considered as an option by Welsh-language writers and translators. Such conventions will be developed for transliteration from Chinese in Chapter 6.

There are further issues for introducing loanwords into Welsh than just transliteration. For example, Welsh nouns can be one of two genders, to which loanwords must be assigned. There is also the issue of mutations, a system of initial consonant alteration that is a feature of Celtic languages. This can be applied optionally to loanwords, especially if they are unadapted.

The argument from the previous chapter was that translation into minority languages should use a wider selection of source languages. As the majority language in the Welsh system is English, avoiding loanwords from English where possible will likely be a preferred strategy for Welsh translators. Loanwords adopted from the source language would not face this issue, and in translating from distant languages may be the only viable option for representing complex, culture-specific source terms.

3.3.2: Category 2: New Formations

The aim of this section will be to analyse academic scholarship on translation methods which lead to the creation of original terms in the target language, either in the form of calques or

coinages. This section will explore considerations behind forming such terms in general, before adding specific considerations for the use of these processes in minority languages and Welsh.

3.3.2.1: New formation typology

The first two categories, source language calque and third language calque, are variations of the same process. Calques are sometimes referred to by different names in scholarship, for example Newmark (1988, p. 84) preferred the term ‘through translation’, while Haspelmath (2009, p. 39) used ‘loan translation’. Both methods will be discussed together, as the processes behind their formation are functionally the same.

There is some dispute over whether calques count as loanwords or non-borrowed neologisms. Haspelmath (2009, p. 39) considered them loanwords, as well as putting semantic extension in this category. Myers-Scotton agreed (2006, p.218), noting that even if the calque is not borrowing the word in its original form, it borrows the view of the concept from the source culture. Vinay and Darbelnet (1995, p. 34) and Chesterman (2016, p. 94) also agreed with the classification as borrowing, although Vinay and Darbelnet list it under a separate procedure. Berg and Ohlander (2017, p. 16) noted a number of other academics who placed calques and loanwords in the same or adjacent categories. However, this system has placed calques in the New Formation category due to their use in minority languages, which will be explained later in this section.

The perception of what counts as a calque can differ across theories. Chinese translation theory elaborates a concept of ‘holistic’ and ‘partial’ calques (Cook 2018, p. 9). Partial calque is the

Western conception of a calque as discussed already, while a holistic calque borrows the meaning in a broad sense rather than translating elements piece by piece. For example, ‘diannao’ 电脑, literally ‘electric brain’, is the Chinese word for ‘computer’ and is considered a holistic calque. Most Western theorists would see this as a kind of coinage (Cook 2018, p. 10).

Forming calques is generally a straightforward process of direct translation of the constituent elements of the source term. Berg and Ohlander (2017, p. 17) described the process as ‘more or less direct translation’. They also noted that calques are frequently used for translating compounds, as each element of the compound can be translated directly (Berg and Ohlander 2017, p. 15). Vinay and Darbelnet (1995, p. 33) described the method as a way of translating an idea which does not exist in the target language, but where using a loanword is less desirable.

In contrast to calques, coinages are wholly original new formations. They are also called ‘neologisms’, which is the term Newmark used in his treatment of them in chapter 13 (Newmark 1988, pp. 140-150). On a more technical level, Schmid (2015, p. 1) argued that this process can be called either ‘word formation’ if it uses lexical elements which already exist in the target language or ‘word creation’ when new elements are created or borrowed. Their formation is based on morphological processes in the target language, which achieve different levels of prominence in different languages. Theorising in general is difficult in this context, as the combination of processes used is specific to each language.

As an investigation into the use of various processes across languages, the writers of the article ‘Word-formation in European languages’ analysed word formation methods from a sample which covered 73 European languages (including languages from Turkey and parts of the Caucasus region, which can be considered part of either Europe or Asia) (Körtvélyessy et al

2018, p. 315). The article uses a concept to evaluate the word formation methods of each language called *structural richness*, which shows how languages make use of possible options for forming new words and classifies them through four categories of richness depending on how many processes are used (Körtvélyessy et al 2018, p. 319)²⁰. The article used 100 basic word formation processes, and no language comes close to using all 100, with even higher richness language like German only using 49 (Körtvélyessy et al 2018, p. 328). The range of richness of all languages in survey was between 50 and 13 (Körtvélyessy et al 2018, p. 355).

Word-Formation: An International Handbook of the Languages of Europe (Müller et al 2015) contains a systematic classification of word formation methods which are in use in major European language families. Although the subject is explicitly European languages, the classification has been found to be relevant for analysing languages from across the world (Schmid 2015, p. 6). The word formation methods used in European languages are divided into three basic approaches. The first approach uses complete words as the main lexical element, with most derivations coming from processes like compounding other words and affixing morphemes (Schmid 2015, p. 3). The second approach is based on root words rather than fully formed words, an approach whose productivity depends on the individual language which is being studied (Schmid 2015, p. 3). The third approach makes use of morphemes, which are the smallest element of a word that can possibly carry meaning (Schmid 2015, p. 4). Morphemes can either be free, where the morpheme can stand as an independent word such as *hand*, or bound, where

²⁰ The list of the twelve-word formation processes that are used in the article is as follows: suffixation, compounding, conversion, reduplication, prefixation, blending, postfixation, prefixal-suffixal derivation, internal modification, circumfixation, root-and-pattern, and infixation (Körtvélyessy et al 2018, p. 321).

the morpheme cannot exist independently of another lexical element such as the suffix *-ed* (Schmid 2015, p. 4).

These examples show the variety of coinage processes which exist, and the variety which one language can use. They extend from whole words combined into compounds, down to changes to individual morphemes. For this reason, investigation into processes in specific languages becomes important as general theories are less applicable.

As mentioned earlier, Vinay and Darbelnet (1995, p. 33) noted calques as an effective means of using target language morphemes instead of loanwords. Naturally this is only possible if the source term is some form of compound term where each element can be translated relatively directly. Newmark (1988, p. 85) cautioned that this method should only be used when the terms already have wide recognition in the target language. However, this was noted in the context of names of international organisations, which formed the majority of his examples.

When to use a coinage is a more complex issue. There is no lexical item which serves as a most likely candidate, such as compound terms for calques. In theory, a new term can be coined based on any source language term. In practice, there are factors which make the use of this process less productive than others. The first is the considerable effort required to form a coinage. New terms must conform to morphological elements of the target language, such as gender or other noun classes. They must also in some way be comprehensible to target language readers encountering the term for the first time.

Newmark's chapter on neologisms contains general suggestions on when to use this method. He argued (Newmark 1988, p.140) for classifying neologisms into twelve types, divided into two based on the use of existing target language terms and ten based on new lexical items. Several of

these types would be classified under different categories in the system used in this thesis. The first two types, ‘old words with new senses’ and ‘collocations’ are lexical substitutions, as they represent translations with using existing target language words (Newmark 1988, p. 140).

‘Pseudo-neologisms’ are also normalisations, specifically generalisations as the translation are more generic than the originals (Newmark 1988, p. 148). ‘Transferred words’ are recent loanwords which carry one specific definition (Newmark 1988, p. 147).

The remaining six types could count as new formations. However, two of these do not always fit comfortably into this category. Phrasal words were noted (Newmark 1988, p. 147) as specific to English constructions that convert verbs to nouns, such as ‘work-out’ or ‘lookalike’. These can be translated as calques, but normalisations or substitutions are more frequent. ‘Eponyms’ (Newmark 1988, p. 146), terms derived from proper nouns, can also appear as normalisations if translating an eponym from another language requires explanation. Two of the types that are new formations are ‘abbreviations’ (Newmark 1988, p. 145) and ‘acronyms’ (Newmark 1988, p. 148), both of which are translations derived from shortening or summarising word-for-word source terms. The two final types fit closest to the new formation category. ‘New coinages’ (Newmark 1988, p. 142) represent closest the category of coinages, while ‘derived words’ (Newmark 1988, p. 143) are new coinages based on morphemes derived from Latin or Greek (or potentially similar classical languages in other cultures).

Newmark’s chapter included a frame of reference for neologisms, containing a list of 20 contextual factors to consider (Newmark 1988, p. 150). These factors include frequency of use, the context of the translation in the target culture and motivation behind forming the coinage. Newmark (1988, p. 149) suggested generally coining words only in literary translations, as otherwise the translator is required to have authority within the field where the new term is

located and to use recognised morphemes from existing terms. The use of the methods in this category in translations analysed in this thesis will be the most likely in cases where there is no existing term that is in any way a close equivalent, but also where a loanword is for whatever reason undesirable.

3.3.2.2: New formations and minority languages

Calques are part of the new formation category in this thesis. This is due to these translations using target language morphemes to create a term that is original in the target language.

Borrowing concepts is less relevant in a minority language context than borrowing form when avoiding majority language interference is an important concern in minority language translation. This concern was reflected in the decision to classify calques originating from the source language and those from other languages as separate methods, as for minority languages the third language in terms of translating from a non-majority language is likely the majority language.

Forming a coinage is affected by methods available in the target language. The writers of *Word Formation in European Languages* identified a general split between languages which are world and majority languages, and languages which are minority languages. Minority languages are much more likely to appear in the lower fourth and third categories which demonstrated lower variety in word formation processes, while larger national languages mostly had a saturation value, in other words the total number of methods used, of 35 and above, with Latvian at 34, Turkish at 33 and Hungarian at 24 (Körtvélyessy et al 2018, p. 355). However, the research suggested the reason may be more due to which language family the language is part of rather

than language status, as Indo-European language families were found to have a higher average saturation value than those languages from other language families which were used in the study (Körtvélyessy et al 2018, p. 348). Even so, Indo-European minority languages still had lower values than more widely used Indo-European majority languages.

Coinages derived entirely from minority language morphemes will face no objections in terms of excessive majority or other language interference. However, this method is challenging in languages with many active word formation processes, and therefore would be even more so in minority languages that likely use fewer processes. The use of Latin and Greek morphemes as highlighted by Newmark in ‘derived words’ is another option. It is effectively a form of ‘third language coinage’ but would still use minority language morphemes to represent the classical terms. As terms such as these are used in most majority languages and are common in scientific and technical fields, this method should be viable for minority language translation.

3.3.2.3: New formations and Welsh

Calques are often formed from compound terms. Zimmer (2001, p. 1) analysed compounds in terms of links to Proto-Indo-European and more modern Indo-European compound classes. His extensive analysis shows that compounding is a common method of word formation in Welsh. This is supported by other studies of compound structure including Awbery (2014) on phrasal compounds, Scherschel et al. (2018) for Middle Welsh, as well as discussion in grammar books including Thomas (1996). Calques derived from other languages will likely be derived from

English, but as they would still use Welsh morphemes, adopting them would not be as problematic as English-derived loanwords.

Terms constructed from Latin or Greek morphemes were discussed earlier as possible sources of new words. Hawke (2018, p. 240) noted a stronger tendency in Welsh compared to English and other majority languages to form compound terms from Welsh morphemes in many cases rather than Greek or Latin morphemes. Terms constructed from Welsh morphemes have an advantage in that they are easier to understand for those not familiar with morphemes derived from classical languages (Hawke 2018, p. 240). However, terms with classical derivations are the standard in many specialist fields, so translators may decide to stay closer to international conventions. As these terms are not derived from English, they will be more acceptable to target language translators, appearing as calques.

In the classification table in *World Formation and European Languages*, Welsh had a score of 31, which put it on the lower end of the third level (Körtvélyessy et al 2018, p. 355). This score is low relative to the majority of the other languages that were analysed, but still represents a good variety of word formation methods. The variety can be seen in Zimmer's (2000) extensive analysis of word formation methods in Welsh, which broke the analysis down into formation method and specific prefixes and suffixes.

Forming coinages would not be a rare approach in Welsh, as Hawke (2018) outlined in his discussion of the history of Welsh new word formation. However, Hawke's article also outlined various cases where terms were coined but did not enter common use in favour of loanwords (Hawke 2018, p. 235). Considering Newmark's frame of reference for neologisms in the context of Welsh translation, some factors demonstrate challenges faced by coinages in Welsh. The most

significant is whether the coinage would be in competition with other terms, which would likely be loanwords derived from English. The translation case studies in future chapters will investigate this possibility, assuming that sufficient coinages are offered by the translators.

3.3.3: Category 3: Lexical Substitutions

3.3.3.1: Lexical substitution typology

Category 3 covers four methods which relate to the use of existing target language terms as equivalents to source language terms. The four methods in this category demonstrate equivalence in different ways. Semantic expansions and semantic reductions represent target language terms with more or fewer additional meanings to the source term respectively. Near equivalents are target language terms whose meanings show near correspondence with those of the source term. Cultural substitutions replace a source term with a translation that represents an item of equivalent use or position in the target culture. This section will discuss methods of determining the suitability of target language terms for different kinds of equivalence, as well as considering the viability of substitutions in minority language and Welsh contexts.

Unlike the other categories, lexical substitution does not result in a novel term or collocations of terms entering the target language. Instead, a term already used in the language is applied to the new concept, or in the case of cultural substitution the term overwrites a similar but culturally specific concept. As with calques, classifying this process definitively is a matter of debate. For

example, Berg and Ohlander (2017, p. 16) posed the question of whether it would count as borrowing, calque or substitution to use a direct translation of the verb ‘shoot’ in a non-English language to represent the action of ‘shooting’ in football. As with other previous debates on classifying methods, the deciding factor for the system for this thesis was relevance to minority language translation, which will be discussed below in the minority language section.

Cultural substitution requires more explanation than the other methods, as it is not based on how many meanings the translation has versus the source term. It was defined by Baker (2011, p. 29) as translating terms based on producing an equivalent effect rather than a precise definition. The result will be more familiar to target culture readers than a term which represents an unfamiliar source culture element that requires contextual explanation (Baker 2011, p. 31). This method is similar to cultural substitution from Kwieciński’s system, with the distinction between covert and overt depending on the context of the translation (Kwieciński 2001, p. 164). Newmark also described this method, using the term ‘cultural equivalent’ (Newmark 1988, p. 83). As these translations are not technically accurate, Newmark recommended their use only for general texts or brief explanations (Newmark 1988, p. 83). The exception is highly society-specific elements like currencies or traditional weights and measures (Newmark 1988, pp. 217-218). Newmark’s recommendation was to convert these units into target language equivalents unless retaining these elements in a fictional text is considered desirable for the effect on the reader (Newmark 1988, p. 218).

The methods in this category are flexible and easy to use, as they only require the use of target language terms which already exist. One-to-one correspondence between words and meaning is not guaranteed between languages (Baker 2011, p. 10), so an approach which is based on finding the closest reasonable translation will likely see frequent use. To an extent, productivity will

depend on the existing vocabulary of the target language. The use of existing target language terms was discussed further by Newmark (1988, pp. 141-142), who noted their use is unlikely for cultural or technical terms.

One possible way of using this method is the application of new meaning to older terms which had fallen out of common usage, but still represent target language resources. Such terms are often the creations of lexicographers, who have the linguistic knowledge and access to older forms of the language which is necessary to find appropriate archaic terms. Using this process extensively requires the language to have a literary tradition long enough to build up a sufficient record of archaic words. This method is used frequently by lexicographers working in Icelandic, where a strong ideology of linguistic purism leads to new words being formed exclusively with Icelandic components²¹. For example, an archaic word for thread, ‘sími’, was repurposed to use in compounds for translations of telephone or telegraph (Kelemen 2019, p. 196).

3.3.3.2: Lexical substitutions and minority languages

For this classification system, which is based on translation for minority languages, the origin language of the terms and their constituent morphemes is important. Therefore, translations which use existing target language terms function in their own category even if the concept they are translating is effectively ‘borrowed’. In terms of which methods are more likely to be productive, semantic expansions stand out as the most likely. For minority languages it may be

²¹ See Kelemen 2019, p.196 for examples.

even more common relative to other substitution methods, as these languages may have fewer specialist terms in active use in certain fields due to a lack of opportunity to use the language within them. In minority languages with a long literary history there may be terms fallen out of use and replaced by majority language interference, which could offer more scope for repurposing old words.

3.3.3.3: Lexical substitutions and Welsh

The productivity of this category depends on whether there are recorded terms that are suitable to act as translations. Specifically, there must be enough existing words in a specific genre to have a sufficient bank of possible substitutions. This could be a problem for endangered languages, but for a vulnerable language like Welsh with a long literary and lexicographical history there will be less concern. Zimmer offered a brief discussion on the reapplication of obsolete words (2001, pp. 561-566). He noted (2001, p. 561) that some words were revived by antiquarians with the same meaning, while others were assigned additional meanings. Given the number of obsolete terms from Medieval texts and later literature, this could prove to be a productive source of substitutions to fit a wider variety of source language terms.

3.3.4: Category 4: Lengthenings and Shortenings

3.3.4.1: Lengthening and shortening typology

Category 4 terms represent the use of more or fewer words in the translation of the source language term. They are divided into lengthening, which use more words than the source term, and shortening, which use fewer. This section will analyse translation methods which produce these terms, and it will discuss their place in minority language and Welsh translation.

These methods were discussed by Vinay and Darbelnet under the names ‘concentration’ and ‘dilution’, representing lengthening and shortening as understood in the categorisation of this thesis (Vinay and Darbelnet 1995, p. 192). They were described as representing the same content as the source terms with more or fewer signifiers (Vinay and Darbelnet 1995, p. 193). A further division in this category was provided in the form of ‘amplification’ and ‘economy’, which represent lengthenings and shortenings that also include changes to meaning (Vinay and Darbelnet 1995, p. 193). This division is not included in the categorisation system for this thesis because adding more information would take the form of a compound method comprised of lengthenings and shortenings plus the method which represents the translation of the additional information, while economy deletes elements, thus not producing target language translations which is the aim of this thesis.

Baker discussed similar methods under the names ‘translation by paraphrase’ (Baker 2011, pp. 36-41) and ‘translation by omission’ (Baker 2011, pp. 42-43). She argued that paraphrasing allows for more precision in expressing meaning, but not producing a single term that can function as an exact definition is a disadvantage and such a term can be awkward to use in some context if it is too long (Baker 2011, p. 41). Omission is used in cases where the meaning of the omitted items is not important and it is necessary to make the translation more readable (Baker 2011, p. 43).

Several of Newmark's process correspond with this category. The processes described by him in the most detail were 'descriptive equivalent' and 'functional equivalent' (Newmark 1988, pp. 83-84). A 'functional equivalent' translates a cultural word with a culture free description, such as translating 'baccalauréat' as 'French secondary school leaving exam' (Newmark 1988, p. 83). A 'descriptive equivalent' is a longer description of one or multiple sentences which describes the term as a definition (Newmark 1988, p. 83). Other processes, 'expansion' and 'reduction', represent similar methods (Newmark 1988, p. 90).

One important consideration is the difference between calques and lengthening and shortening, specifically lengthening. Both methods can result in terms comprised of multiple separate words. However, calques do not change the amount of information presented, being literal translations of every element of the target term. Another consideration is the difference with compounds. Lengthening and shortening must use terms derived consistently from the same method. Translating part of the source term with a loanword and another with a substitution would produce a compound.

3.3.4.2: Lengthening and shortening and minority languages

Lengthening and shortening could be an alternative method to loanwords if these terms are considered undesirable. The use of loanwords was discussed earlier as a means of translating highly specific cultural words. Using a lengthening could provide sufficient explanation of these terms solely through existing target language terms by adding the information necessary for the reader to understand. Another factor which may make this method more common in translation within rare language combinations is the significant grammatical differences which may exist

between the source language and the minority language. Some languages require the presence of different information. For example, Navajo classes nouns based on shape, which is information that is included or deleted depending on the direction of translation (Baker 2011, p.96). Several languages have dual forms, or even trial forms, as well as singular and plural, which can only be rendered into most Western European languages by adding the specific number in the translation (Baker 2011, p. 97). This is a consequence of grammatical distance between languages, but this is more likely to be encountered in minority language translation due to historical colonialism introducing majority languages originating from distant language groups.

3.3.4.3: Lengthening and shortening and Welsh

The issue of grammatical difference is less significant when considering translation between Welsh and English, which represents most Welsh translation to this date. These are both in the Indo-European language group, albeit from different language families. However, this study will be dealing with translation from Chinese, where the grammatical distance is much greater.

Some kinds of words may require lengthening and shortening due to such grammar differences. For example, where English uses a past participle to express a present continuous or present passive action, such as ‘produced’, this is translated with a present passive construction in Welsh, such as ‘a gynhyrchir’, or ‘sy’n cael ei chynhyrchu’ (Trefor 2015, p. 24). In the translation of distant languages, grammatical differences may be an important consideration in translating certain terms. While an attempt will be made to find or form one term to correspond with each source language term, this may not be practical in all cases, and so having an alternative strategy that can deal with grammatically problematic terms may prove valuable.

3.3.5: Category 5: Compounds

3.3.5.1: Compound typology

This category governs compounds which are formed from combinations of the other categories.

These compounds are 5a loanword + new formation, 5b loanword + lexical substitution, 5c loanword + lengthening and shortening, 5d new formation + lexical substitution, 5e new formation + lengthening and shortening, 5f lexical substitution + lengthening and shortening and 5g other combinations. This section will be shorter than the others because terms in this category use formation methods from categories which have already been discussed.

Accurate classification of terms in these categories when they combine elements formed in different ways has produced some debate. Haugen (1950, p. 212) put compounds, or ‘hybrids’, which involved borrowing in the category of loanwords, as they are effectively part of a loan translation. Myers-Scotton (2006, p. 217) called these compounds ‘loanblends’ or ‘hybrids’, indicating that part of the term is loaned from the source language and part derived from the target, such as the English word ‘grandfather’ that contains the French word ‘grand’.

Considering the variety of elements used in translations in this category, ‘compound’ would be more suitable.

Much of what was said in the previous section about lengthening and shortening applies here.

The difference with lengthening and shortening within this categorisation system is that a compound uses more than one translation category within the same term. Compounds must

contain more than one morphological element in order for two or more methods to be used. That does not mean the source term must contain more than one element. For example, compounds could be used to provide additional explanation to loanwords or coinages in the form of the loanword or coinage followed by a substitution or lengthening. Another consideration is the difference between 4a generalisations and 5f lexical substitution + lengthening and shortening. The latter is based on the substitution with additional words to act as clarification, while the words used in the former would be a translation with no individual term which could be used as a substitution.

3.3.5.2: Compounds and minority languages and Welsh

How these terms are adopted and used in minority languages depends on the specifics of the combination. As has been discussed previously, minority languages translators should generally avoid adopting loanwords from the majority, particularly where interference is seen as a threat. However, compounds which are partly loanwords could be a way of translating terms that would be challenging to translate. The value of other combinations depends on the target language. If compounds are already common, then this category is more applicable.

As with lengthening and shortening, grammatical differences can make the use of this category more productive. In compounds involving loanwords, all elements of the compound must be adapted to target language conventions, such as changing the word order if adjectives need to go before or after nouns (Hock and Joseph 2009, p. 252). Grammatical differences between distant languages could result in compounds involving lengthening and shortening as the translation must be lengthened to incorporate the extra information.

There is less to say specifically about minority languages and Welsh compared to the other categories, as this category effectively repeats the methods already discussed in previous categories. The decision to use a compound is also quite dependent on the context of the individual source term, including comparative grammar between the source and target, which makes it difficult to argue for general situations in which the use of the category will be more common or appropriate.

3.4: Chapter Conclusion

This chapter explored scholarship on translation methods to produce a translation categorisation system designed to evaluate translations of non-equivalent terms into minority languages. It used categories based on a variety of theorists, analysed methods of forming words in each category, then applied minority language and Welsh specific considerations to these methods to explore how these considerations may influence the choice and application of these methods. The categorisation system is based on the resources available in the target language, which offers minority language translators a way to manage majority language interference, or ensure terms originating in the minority language are prioritised.

The categorisation system outlined in this chapter will be used in the subsequent analysis of case studies of translation into Welsh from Chinese and Ancient Greek. The next chapter will examine how Welsh translators dealt with translation of culturally specific words from Chinese in practice, and the terms they used will be analysed based on the categories and minority language considerations laid out in this chapter. This will be followed by a case study chapter

where translations of terms from Ancient Greek into Welsh will be analysed using this classification to identify possible trends in translation approaches. Finally, the translation exercise in Chapter 6 will use the categorisation system to consider alternatives in forming translations of complex, culturally specific Chinese terms.

Chapter 4: Translation and Writing on China and Chinese Language in Welsh

4.1 Introduction

Chinese and Welsh translation is not a language combination which has attracted much attention. In the *Cronfa Cyfieithiadau'r Gymraeg* database, there was only one entry for Chinese, and it is highly unlikely that any complete translations were produced before the twentieth century. As the chosen source language for this thesis is Chinese, it will be valuable to explore how Welsh-language translators and writers have already coped with the challenges of this language combination. For example, experience of other writers with transliteration could inform on strategies for representing sounds uncommon in Welsh, which will be useful in Chapter 6 when I form a transliteration conversion system. Other writers could also have attempted to translate challenging terms like those which will be examined in Chapter 6 and any discussion provided in this area will be useful experience for considering later translations.

This chapter will explore these connections bearing in mind the system theory discussed in the first chapter and the term translation methods discussed in the previous chapter. It will analyse what has been written in Welsh about Chinese in terms of genres, authors and term translations. It will apply the classification of translation methods from the previous chapter specifically to the only work available which is a direct translation. Finally, it will analyse trends across the examples of translation from this chapter, providing the first substantial overview of linguistic

contact with Chinese in Welsh. This will offer context for the translations in Chapter 6 and future works by other translators and academics.

The works analysed will include Chinese translations into Welsh and the use of Chinese words and names in Welsh-language books and articles, dating from accounts of the activity of missionaries from the late 19th to early 20th century and one more recent example, to more factual writing and contemporary news reports and the translation of the play *Lladron a Llanc* 盗贼与少年 by Hao Jinfang 郝景芳 (adapted into Welsh in 2018). It will then analyse *Y Cocatŵ Coch*, an anthology of poems from all eras of Chinese history that was translated by Cedric Maby in 1987, as well as examining a non-translation work he wrote in Welsh about China in 1983.

4.2 Writing in Welsh about China

As was just mentioned, there is only one entry on the *Cronfa Cyfieithiadau'r Gymraeg* database for translations from Chinese. A low number such as this is to be expected due to Chinese being peripheral in the Welsh translation system. Geographic distance also means that contact has been very recent compared with a European language like Ancient Greek. While some examples originated in the 18th century, such as a section in William Williams Pantycelyn's volume on world religions *Pantheologia*, writing in Welsh about China appeared sporadically in the 19th century as a result of missionary activity. More recent contact in the form of Welsh-language news and journal articles has increased as China becomes more important globally. Recently

there have even been efforts towards producing material to learn Chinese through the medium of Welsh (nation.cymru 2022).

Due to the limitations of the corpus, it is not possible to compare several long translations, as will be possible in the case study of Welsh translations from Ancient Greek in the next chapter. The case studies in this chapter will consider whatever translations or examples of Chinese terms, no matter the length, are available, including Welsh-language writing about China which contains Chinese names or examples of culturally specific Chinese terms. This means that the Chinese case studies will be a mix of genres and lengths, representing attempts by Welsh-speaking writers to express non-equivalent Chinese proper names and concepts. On one hand, there will be less overlap in terms of vocabulary between the source texts, removing the opportunity to compare translations. On the other hand, it is possible there will be a greater variety of words to consider as the translations and other writing extracts will be from different genres with different themes.

This section will research mentions of China and the use and translations of Chinese words in Welsh writing that were mentioned in the introduction. It will investigate works written by Christian missionaries and other works with a Christian focus, references to China in journal and news articles, sections on China in longer non-fiction works, and the translation of the play *Lladron a Llanc*. The subsequent analysis section will consider the transliteration of Chinese terms, selection of Welsh terms for ‘China’ and ‘Chinese characters’, and treatment of unfamiliar terminology.

4.2.1 Source Texts

4.2.1.1 Christian and Missionary works

There have understandably been few cases of people who have been able to speak Welsh and Chinese fluently enough to translate until comparatively recently. Direct contact between Wales and China was scarcely possible until the advent of European global colonial empires. Starting in the middle of the nineteenth century, Christian missionaries from Wales learnt Chinese in order to preach in China. A few of these Welsh missionaries had a notable impact. Robert Griffith (1935, p. 48) mentions Robert Jermain Thomas, who was the first missionary to bring Chinese Bibles to Korea in 1860s and who Griffith claimed was the first Protestant martyr,²² and Griffith John (1831-1912), who in the 1880s translated the Bible into a spoken dialect of Chinese where it was previously only available in Classical Chinese.

Griffith John was regarded highly enough by his fellow missionaries for two Welsh-language biographies, the first by William Hopkyn Rees in 1906,²³ and the second by H. M. Hughes in 1914. Rees' biography, *Byr-hanes y Cenhadwr Cymreig y Parch. Griffith John, D.D., China*, was a pamphlet of 56 pages that was published while John was still alive, with the intention of honouring his contribution to missionary activity (Rees 1906, p. iii). The second work, *Dr.*

²² Thomas died as a result of a shipping accident shortly after arriving in Korea and distributed Chinese translations of the Bible on his deathbed (Grayson 2002, p. 155).

²³ The cover states that there were three editions, one of which was printed in 1905. This chapter uses the third edition of 1906.

Griffith John: Arwr China, was written two years after John's death and comprised a small book of 192 pages. Hughes wrote the biography partly to ensure that there was a volume on his life available in Welsh that was equivalent to those already available in English (Hughes 1914, p. v). As the texts were biographies, the inclusion of information about China was incidental to provide context to John's activities.

William Hopkyn Rees was also a missionary and linguist in China, and his biography was written by H. T. Jacob in 1925. Aside from the biographical material, it contained observations about China and the Chinese language in Welsh incidentally. The work is written in a more narrative style rather than as a historical account. Jacob (1925, p. 11) explained that the work was intended for a general audience, leading to a writing style which is formal but not literary.

In 1935 Robert Griffith, who spent many years as a missionary in Madagascar during the first decades of the twentieth century, published about China specifically in a work called *China Fu China Fydd*. Aimed at schoolchildren, and with a preface by the eminent historian J. E. Lloyd and another by Teng-Kiat Chiu, a Chinese student at Cambridge and friend of the author, the book teaches children about China, and covers geography, history, culture, and more significantly a short chapter on the Chinese language, demonstrating an interest in this field. The book makes use of many stories, such as describing what someone would have to go through when undertaking the imperial examinations (Griffith 1935, pp. 54-59), and an entire chapter on Chinese children's games (pp. 97-105).

A more modern work from this genre is *Draw Draw yn China*, written by Ioan Gruffydd in 1997. Gruffydd was a nonconformist minister who travelled to China in 1990 as part of a British Church Council 'visit of friendship' aimed at developing links between churches in Britain and

Ireland and churches in China (Gruffydd 1997, p. 16). This was not his only trip to the country, as he returned by himself in 1991 (Gruffydd 1997, p. 17). Visiting China gave Gruffydd an interest in the language. He learned enough Chinese to be able to write about the features of it, but he was neither a fluent speaker nor a specialist in Chinese linguistics, as is evidenced by his claim that there were only 5,000–6,000 Chinese characters (Gruffydd 1997, p. 24)²⁴. The subject of this work is similar in scope to the previous books. It discusses various elements of Chinese history, culture, religion and art, followed by chapters on Christianity and missionary activity in China.

Pages 103-130 of Gruffydd contained a summary of Christian missions in general, which was followed on pages 223-248 by a list of missions involving Welsh priests and ministers. This list is extensive and contains entries on men and women from all parts of Wales. A few notable missionaries, some of whom have already been mentioned in this section, included Griffith John, who is noted for his work on a translation of the New Testament into the ‘Wen-li’ dialect in 1885 (Gruffydd 1997, p. 225), George Owen, who assisted in translating the Bible into Mandarin in 1906 (Gruffydd 1997, p. 227), and William Hopkyn Rees, who was a skilled teacher of Chinese to other missionaries, and starting in 1921 a teacher of Chinese at the University of London (Gruffydd 1997, p. 228). This list shows that many Welsh missionaries not only had a fluent command of Chinese, but their ability was considered of a high enough standard by others to take the lead on important projects.

²⁴ The actual figure runs into the tens of thousands, with the historical Kangxi dictionary listing over 48,000 (DeFrancis 1984, p. 109).

As well as books, writing on the situation of Christianity in China was a feature of many Welsh-language journal articles. A search for ‘China’, ‘Tseina’, or ‘Tsieina’ on the Welsh Journals online database for the National Library of Wales returns results numbering over 15800 entries, covering many journals published within a period between the 18th century and 2007. The majority of these articles were from Christian and missionary journals, with the highest numbers coming from *Dysgedydd Crefyddol*, *Eurgrawn Wesleyaidd*, and *Diwygiwr* returning over 1073, 1019 and 1018 articles respectively. *Seren Gomer* came 9th highest at 614 as the first not exclusively religious journal in the list, being a weekly newspaper first published in 1814. The results of this search will be discussed in more detail in section 4.2.2.2.

4.2.1.2 News articles and secular journals

There is no national print newspaper written entirely in Welsh, but there are effective equivalents online in the form of the Welsh language site on BBC News and the news website *Golwg360*. The BBC site only carries articles on Wales, and while most *Golwg360* articles are about Wales specifically, the website also has international news, which will occasionally include articles on China. The articles on *Golwg360* are generalist, as their subject matter is contemporary news stories, usually on political or economic issues that are not too different from articles on issues in Britain or other countries. It is unlikely that they would feature non-equivalent terms or concepts. The main issue that the writers of these articles would face is when and how to transliterate or translate names. It is possible that the journalists who write Welsh-language news articles are unfamiliar with pinyin, and so would be unable to alter the spelling to equivalents in

Welsh orthography. The main purpose of the articles is to inform readers about news stories rather than consider linguistic issues.

Aside from news organisations, periodicals play an important role in the Welsh language media landscape. These periodicals often contain stories about international events, which means they can also be sources for Welsh writing on China. The longer a periodical is in circulation, the more chance there is of carrying such articles. As an example, the periodical *Barn* has published one issue per month, occasionally one per two months, since 1962. Searching the contents of each issue for possible mentions of China revealed seventeen entries, extending from 1965 to 2020. The earlier articles were related to events in the Cold War, with particular attention paid to China's connection to the Vietnam War (c.f. Williams 1965a, 1965b). More recent articles have focused on the modern economic development of China and issues related to sovereignty in Hong Kong (Pierce 1993). Another source for Welsh articles on China is *O'r Pedwar Gwynt*, a magazine about literature and contemporary Welsh-language issues. An online search returned 69 results of articles containing the term 'tsieina', 2 for 'tseina' and 8 for 'China' but 4 are from English quotations and one refers to the kind of porcelain.

4.2.1.3 Longer works

This section contains four works which involve indirect translation from Chinese, including individual terms, passages, or whole works. There are only two to consider, but they are valuable for representing engagement with Chinese history and culture with a Welsh audience in mind.

The first is terms from *Pantheologia* by William Williams, the second is two chapters on

Chinese religion in *Crefyddau'r Dwyrain* by Cyril Williams, the third is a short educational work from 1988 called *China Fodern* by Keith Owen and the fourth is a play script translated by Steffan Donnelly in 2018 called *Lladron a Llanc*.

Beginning with *Pantheologia*²⁵, this is an ambitious work 628 pages long written by the Methodist minister and literary figure William Williams (1717-1791), or Williams Pantycelyn, in 1762. It aimed to increase the knowledge of Welsh speakers, particularly those who were monolingual, about different religions from every part of the world, allowing them to encounter more than one kind of belief and system of morality (Williams 1762, p. iii). The work is narrated by the characters Apodemus and Eusebius, with one asking questions about religious practices across the world and the other providing answers (Williams 1762, p. 1). There are sections where they discuss religious practices in China, including the burning of paper money for the dead (Williams 1762, p. 117) and folk religion beliefs like fortune tellers (Williams 1762, p. 144).

The second work, Cyril Williams' *Crefyddau'r Dwyrain*, is a substantial work of 390 pages which provides detailed descriptions of Eastern religions, including Islam, Zoroastrianism, Indian religions and East Asian religions. Williams' aim was similar to that of *Pantheologia*, attempting to fill a gap in contemporary Welsh-language literature (Williams 1968, p. 11). Of concern to this study are the chapters on Confucianism (pp. 263-303) and Daoism (pp. 305-323). Also of note is the section about China in the chapter on Buddhism (pp. 127-142). Each chapter contains background on the historical context of the belief system, biographies of famous figures, discussion of important texts and doctrines, and the situation of the belief system at the

²⁵ The full title, which is of considerable length, can be found in the bibliography.

time of writing. The end of the work contains a bibliography detailing the sources Williams used in researching each chapter (Williams 1968, pp. 362-369).

The third work, *China Fodern*, is a short textbook 72 pages in length designed to inform students on Chinese history as well as developing a range of other skills (Owen 1988, p. 4). It contains basic information on Chinese politics and geography and a detailed section on modern history from the late nineteenth century to the time of publication. The work was part of a series of educational material produced by the Welsh Office. While some of the text is narrative written by the author, much of it is composed of translations which derive from English language articles about China or English translations of quotations from famous Chinese political figures (c.f. Owen 1988, p. 2 for a list of sources).

The play script *Lladron a Llanc* 盗贼与少年 (English *Burglar and Boy*) is the longest work in this section, and the second longest after the work discussed in the next section. Written by Chinese author Hao Jinfang, the Welsh version was produced for the Wales-China Festival in Bangor in 2018 by Steffan Donnelly, where it was performed in front of a live audience (Invertigo 2018). The work is not a direct translation from Chinese to Welsh, but rather was adapted from the English translation of the play by How Wee Ng. and can be found online on the *Dramâu Cymru* (Welsh Plays) website. The play is composed of three acts, with a total of four characters. The plot centres around two young men attempting to burgle a penthouse apartment owned by a powerful local official who encounter the depressed son of the official who lives there. The play is a tragedy which criticises the inequality and corruption present in modern society.

4.2.2 Discussion of Source Text Findings

This section will analyse the texts and extracts discussed so far for information on China and Chinese in Welsh writing. It will consider the transliteration of Chinese terms, inconsistency in the rendering of the Welsh term for ‘China’ and the treatment of culturally specific terms.

4.2.2.1 Transliteration

The first issue to explore is how Welsh writers have dealt with the transliteration of Chinese terms, which will provide insights that will aid the creation of my own transliteration conventions in Chapter 6. The previous chapter outlined the development of Chinese romanisation up to the creation of pinyin as the main standardised form. There were no formal romanisation conventions when Williams wrote *Pantheologia*. The individual writer would have decided how to represent words independently, with influence from other works he had read. While Williams used the unadapted ‘China’ from English, his representation of ‘Beijing’ (or ‘Peking’ as it was better known historically) was ‘Pecin’ (Williams 1762, p. 135). This represents adaptation to Welsh orthography in the form of replacing the ‘k’ from ‘Peking’ with a ‘c’. One other noteworthy term is ‘Confucis’ for ‘Confucius’ (Williams 1762, p. 100), which is an unadapted relay transliteration from Latin via English that is either an alternative spelling due to the absence of the ‘u’ at the end of the transliteration, or an error.

By the time of the missionary works, transliteration conventions like Wade-Giles were available. Writers like Griffith and Jacob mostly conform to the Wade-Giles system of transliteration.

Occasionally Griffith transliterated in a different way, such as when he wrote about the mythical early rulers of China, using ‘Puon-koo’ for ‘Pangu’²⁶ (Wade-Giles ‘P’an-ku’) and ‘Fuhi’ for ‘Fuxi’ (Wade-Giles ‘Fu-hsi’) (Griffith 1935, pp. 26-7). They made no attempt to produce conventions better suited to Welsh, although Rees (1906, p. 16) noted the ‘h’ used in transliteration was better pronounced in Welsh as ‘ch’. Equivalences such as this will be discussed further in Chapter 6.

Cyril Williams discussed transliteration in his introduction (Williams 1968, p. 13). He acknowledged that standardised Welsh terminology would be valuable, but as there was no official contemporary lexicon for this field it was up to the individual translator to decide how to proceed. His method was to attempt adapted Welsh equivalents but he decided that in many cases it was not as practical as international conventions (Williams 1968, p. 13). This resulted in the orthographically Welsh transliterations of ‘Conffusiws’ (Williams 1968 p. 266) and ‘Mensiws’ (Mencius) (1968, p. 296), which are based on Latin names assigned to the philosophers by Jesuits, while ‘Chuang-Tse’ (Zhuangzi) (1968, p. 317) and a list of Chinese dynasties (1968, p. 266) used Wade-Giles.

Wade-Giles continued to be popular into the later twentieth century. It was used by Goodstadt (1976a) in his article ‘Gelynyon Cudd Tseina’ with the addition of the adapted transliteration ‘Conffiwsiws’. Owen also used Wade-Giles to discuss events before 1979, but switched to pinyin for later events, as he believed students should be familiar with both systems, even as pinyin was expected to become more prominent in the long term (Owen 1988, p. 4). Gruffydd

²⁶ This is the pinyin transliteration, which will be the standard used in this thesis aside from the conventions developed for Welsh later.

(1997, p. 12) acknowledged both the pinyin and Wade-Giles systems, deciding to use pinyin.

The map on page 17 of *Draw Draw yn China* lists cities and provinces within China in pinyin, with a few adapted Welsh translations or transliterations, such as the third language calque²⁷

‘Afon Felen’ for 黄河 (the Yellow River), and the transliterations ‘Manshwria’ for 满洲

‘Manchuria’ which was likely derived from the English term. Personal names are also in pinyin, except for names with more familiar transliterations like the Latin-derived ‘Conffwsiws’ for ‘Confucius’ (Gruffydd 1997, p.37).

More modern works have settled consistently on pinyin. In an article from *Golwg360* in 2020 on the Chinese government and the coronavirus pandemic, there is no adaption of Chinese personal names like ‘Zhang Zhan’ or ‘Li Wenliang’. Adaptation was a common strategy and was used in the article for terms from other languages, such as ‘coronafeirws’ for ‘coronavirus’. Donnelly also used pinyin for all the transliterations in *Lladron a Llanc*, including for letters that are not part of the standard Welsh alphabet. The full names of the main characters are ‘Zhao Ping’ and ‘Zhang Lei’. In this case the issue was likely not considered important as the translation is a play script, so how the words are written matters less than ensuring the actors can pronounce them.

Welsh transliterations generally followed whatever conventions were current in English, formerly Wade-Giles and then pinyin. As the discussion on transliteration in the previous chapter indicated, Wade-Giles was designed to make most sense to English-speakers, while pinyin was more suitable for Chinese-speakers. Neither were a good fit for Welsh orthography. It is expected that conventions used by central languages, which in the case of English operates as the

²⁷ Although the calque is a literal translation of the Chinese term, it almost certainly would have appeared in Welsh first as a relay based on similar calques derived from English or French

majority language, would exert influence over choices made by Welsh writers. Variants of ‘Confucius’, the name adapted most frequently, were based on a Latin transliteration but would have been introduced in a relay from English.

At the time of writing, there has been no deliberate effort by any individual or organisation to produce a standardised Chinese transliteration system that can work with Welsh. Attempts at adaptation to Welsh orthography have been used sporadically and usually only for the names of important individuals or place names, including ‘Confucius’ and ‘Mencius’ which are adaptations of Latin conversions. Unless such a system is provided and circulated, majority language interference will result in the use of whatever conventions are familiar in English. Chapter 6 will propose a new transliteration system based on direct comparison of Chinese and Welsh orthography.

4.2.2.2 The terms for ‘China’ and ‘Chinese characters’

Analysis of the source texts has indicated the use of multiple variations for the translation of ‘China’, all of which are third language loanwords. These are ‘China’, ‘Tseina’, and ‘Tsieina’²⁸. For works from Williams in 1762 (p. 51) to the middle of the twentieth century, the most popular choice was ‘China’. It was used by all the missionary works discussed earlier, appearing on the front cover of each one. It was by far the choice of contemporary periodicals at 15702 uses, with 1073 uses in *Dysgedydd Crefyddol*, 1019 in *Eurgrawn Wesleyaidd*, 1018 in *Diwygiwr*, and 927

²⁸ A rare exception to this is ‘Sina’, which was used by Page (1966) in an article in *Barn*.

in *Yr Herald Cenhadol*. This was also true for secular journals. *Seren Gomer*, a weekly newspaper first published in 1814, used ‘China’ 614 times. Authors of articles in *Barn* also initially favoured the use of ‘China’ (Davies 1965, Williams 1965a and 1965b, Harding 1984 p. 17).

Starting in the 1970s, ‘China’ became less common in favour of ‘Tseina’, for example in *Barn* (Goodstadt 1975, 1976a and 1976b, Saunders 1987, Pierce 1993, Powys 1996, George 1997). This in turn is replaced by ‘Tsieina’ from the 2000s (Owen 2008, Rhys 2015, Iorwerth 2018, Davies 2019 and 2019-2020). Another search on the *Golwg360* website showed that ‘Tsieina’ was the most popular, appearing in article headlines even when the other variants were the search term. Both *Geiriadur yr Academi* and *Geiriadur Prifysgol Cymru* list ‘Tsieina’ as the official translation.

However, a search of articles in Welsh Journals in the National Library of Wales online collection published between 2000 and 2007, conducted to see if the trend in *Barn* applied more broadly, proved interesting. The search returned 22 results, with two excluded as the articles were in English²⁹. This comprises 18 separate articles. Of these articles, 9 use the variant ‘China’, 6 use ‘Tseina’ and 3 use ‘Tsieina’. ‘China’ has also been used by writers in works besides journal entries. It was used for the entirety of Williams work on Eastern religions (1968, p. 8), as well as in ‘*China Fodern*’ in 1988, Gruffydd’s account (1997, p. 12), and more recently by Llion Iwan in his 2001 travelogue *O Afallon i Shangri La* (2001).

²⁹ A figure of 22 seems low compared to the thousands mentioned earlier, but by this time there were fewer journals in circulation and most of them were primarily in English.

From a minority language perspective, ‘Tsieina’ is preferred as an adapted loanword versus the unadapted third language loanword ‘China’ (where the third language in question is English). The use of ‘ch’ here does not suit Welsh orthography as ‘ch’ produces a sound more like the ‘ch’ [χ] of ‘loch’ than the sound of ‘ch’ [tʃ] like in ‘China’. The spelling ‘Tsieina’, which uses the combination ‘tsi’ instead of ‘ch’, produces a similar sound to the ch [tʃ] used in the English borrowing (Thomas 1997, p.758). Given that it is the ‘official’ translation as determined by dictionaries such as *Geiriadur Prifysgol Cymru*, it is possible that ‘Tsieina’ will become established as the standard translation used by everyone. This appears to be the case in *O’r Pedwar Gwynt*, where uses of ‘Tsieina’ far outnumber other variants. This issue of settling on one standard term demonstrates the problem of competing with majority language influence, where the unadapted third language loanword continues to be a prominent choice even with the existence of an adapted alternative.

Like the previous discussion of the Welsh word for ‘China’, there has been uncertainty over the Welsh translation of the term 汉字 (Chinese characters). The term used for this writing system in Chinese means ‘Han script’ (the main ethnic group in China). While initially Williams (1762, p. 138) translated it with the third language loanword ‘characterau’ derived from the conventional English semantic expansion ‘character’, the term has been generally expressed with Welsh substitutions. For example, Hughes (1914, p. 33) used the semantic expansions ‘llun’ (form, appearance, picture, image) and ‘arwyddlun’ (symbol, emblem, ideograph) to describe different kinds of characters, while Jacob (1925, p. 50) only used ‘arwyddlun’. Griffith (1935, p. 44) used the similar ‘arwyddion’ (signs), with the English translation ‘characters’ following in brackets. Gruffydd (1997, p. 94) deviated from this with ‘llythrennau’ (letters). As for dictionaries, *Geiriadur Prifysgol Cymru* has definitions under ‘character’ and ‘llythyren’ referring to

‘character’ in the orthographic sense. ‘Arwyddlun’ has a separate entry and is also the same word that is used for Egyptian hieroglyphs. *Geiriadur yr Academi* returns ‘llythyren’ or ‘arwydd’ as the translation of this context in the entry for the English equivalent ‘character’. Neither makes specific reference to Chinese script.

Of the translations used to represent this term, ‘caracter’ is an outlier as a third language loanword. No source language loanword was used. ‘Arwyddlun’ was attested in *Geiriadur Prifysgol Cymru* as first appearing in the early eighteenth century, making it a semantic expansion. ‘Llythyren’ as another semantic expansion, being the same term used for alphabetical letters. The lack of a definitive translation here is less an issue of majority language interference, as there is no majority language term competing for use, but is more a lack of sufficient discussion in minority language texts.

4.2.2.3: Translation methods for culturally specific Chinese terms

Despite being written in some cases by missionaries with knowledge of Chinese, there is little discussion or direct translation of Chinese terminology. For most of the earlier writers, the main interest of the books was the life and missionary activity of the subject, with any observations on Chinese culture appearing as incidental comments. Griffith in *China Fu China Fydd* was the exception, as describing life in China was one of his main aims. However, while he describes elements of Chinese history and traditional culture, the work is intended as an introduction for children and so does not include much detail. More noticeable is the use of unadapted loanwords from English. For example, Rees used terms including ‘malaria fever’ (1906, p. 16) and ‘proclamation’ (1906, p. 22) in italics and Hughes did the same with ‘bamboo’ (1914, p. 36) and

‘dispensary’ (1914, p. 68). Griffith again was different, using Welsh terms with the English in brackets, such as the calque ‘pryf sidan (silkworm)’ (1935, p. 41).

More contemporary works also did not provide many term analyses. *China Fodern* included a glossary on page 72 (Owen 1988), but the majority of terms in this did not represent aspects of China or Chinese culture specifically. The only culturally specific Chinese terms like the unit of distance 里 ‘li’ represented by the direct source language loanword ‘li’. The focus of the work was understanding contemporary politics, with vocabulary based on communist terms which originated from European languages rather than Chinese. The play *Lladron a Llanc* did not offer suitable terms for this kind of analysis, as the dialogue is mostly colloquial conversation.

The most significant work in this category for the discussion of Chinese terms was Williams’ *Crefyddau’r Dwyrain*. Both the section on Chinese Buddhism and the two chapters on native Chinese religions include analyses of many religious and cultural terms. Williams commented on his approach to source language terms in the introduction (1968, p. 13). He noted that in cases where an attempted Welsh translation was ‘awkward and rigid’ he defaulted to the English version. As noted earlier, Williams acknowledged that this was not an ideal situation compared to developing official Welsh terminology, but such terminology was not available at the time of writing. The entirety of Williams’ bibliography is either English translations or secondary scholarship in English, which suggests there was some mediating influence in his translation choices, but the secondary scholarship would have led to a certain level of engagement with the original terms. If there were an existing corpus of Welsh-language material on Chinese terms, it may have given Williams more confidence to innovate further.

Some terms are discussed in specific sections, such as the analysis of Confucian virtues on page 286. In this case, Williams offers Welsh translations as well as the Wade-Giles transliterations. Generally, his translations are either lexical substitutions using existing Welsh terms such as the semantic reduction ‘caredigrwydd’ (kindness) for 仁 ‘ren’ or the semantic expansion ‘cyfiawnder’ (justice) for 义 ‘yi’ (Williams 1968, p.286) or adapted source language loanwords like 道 ‘Tao’ (pinyin ‘dao’) (Williams 1968, p.312). Many of Williams’ translations will be mentioned later as comparisons with Maby’s direct translations of Chinese terms.

Gruffydd (1997, pp.81-82) discussed the term ‘tao’ in more depth. He wrote his work with a Christian view, and his main interest in this term was its use as a translation for ‘the Word’ in Protestant Bibles (Gruffydd 1997, p.81). Gruffydd (1997, p.81) suggested possible translations including the lexical substitutions ‘ffordd’ (road, way), ‘Natur’ (Nature), ‘Crefydd’ (religion) and ‘Duw’ (God) and the compounds ‘Ffordd Natur’ (Way of Nature) and ‘Ffordd y Nef’ (Way of Heaven).

4.2.3: Summary of the Analysis of Welsh-language Writing on China

Analysis of the treatment of Chinese language in these works demonstrates the effect of central language pressure on attempted contact with a periphery. The earlier missionaries who could understand Chinese did not leave any record of linguistic issues, possibly as they were more concerned with the biographical and evangelical nature of their works. Later writers had limited Chinese language ability and were dependent on resources in other languages. The majority of these resources are in English, for example the bibliography Williams used in *Crefyddau’r*

Dwyrain. The reliance on English sources signifies a mediation of contact between peripheries by a central language. This results in interference in the translation choices for source language terms, both in transliteration conventions following what is current in majority languages regardless of the suitability for the target language, and in the frequent use of third language loanwords. There are signs of a developing Welsh-focused analysis, such as ‘Tsieina’ becoming more consistent as a translation of ‘China’, but there is still a lack of consistent writing and translation on this topic.

4.3 Cedric Maby and *Y Cocatw Coch*

As was mentioned earlier, there is one entry for a translation from Chinese in the *Cronfa Cyfieithiadau'r Gymraeg*, which as of the time of writing appears to be the first and only full translation from Chinese into Welsh. The work is an anthology of poetry translation called *Y Cocatw Coch*. It was written by Cedric Maby in 1987 as part of the poetry translation series for the Welsh Academy (now Literature Wales). More specifically, it is a collection of poetry from all eras of Chinese history, from poems out of the 诗经 (Book of Songs), written over two and a half thousand years ago during the Zhou Dynasty, to modern poems written in the Communist period.

This section will analyse this work as the only prior example of Chinese to Welsh translation. It will examine the introduction and notes as well as the main body of the translation. It will draw on writing about China which appears in Maby's other work *Dail Melyn o Tseina*. It will also consider which of the poems are direct translations from Chinese and which are indirect

translations from a French-language source. It will then analyse the transliteration and translation of Chinese words.

4.3.1: Maby's Life and *Dail Melyn o Tseina*

Alfred Cedric Maby was a diplomat who spent many years working in China, where he developed a strong interest in Chinese art and culture. The biography at the back of *Y Cocatw Coch* states that Maby studied Classics, philosophy, French and 'other subjects' at Oxford before joining the diplomatic service, where he learned even more languages. He began to learn Chinese while on assignment in China, with two tours of duty in the country starting in 1939-1942 and 1957-1959 (Maby 1983, p. 11). The foreword by Goronwy Daniel claims this is the first book to present a description of China in Welsh (Daniel 1983, p. 9). This is not correct, as has been seen with the more general accounts in the books from the previous section, but it does present a more personal account which in the autobiographical parts could be considered travel writing rather than more general surveys.

Maby gives a detailed autobiographical account of his time in China in his earlier book *Dail Melyn o Tseina*. It starts with an account on pages 19-61 of his first tour during the Second World War. Then came sections on diplomatic relations, including international relations history (pp. 62-83), Jesuit history (pp. 84-102), an account of the British Embassy in Beijing and what he experienced when he lived there (pp. 103-113). After this he wrote articles on China after the Communist Revolution, the attitude of Chinese to foreigners, and the achievements of China (these were derived from articles written originally by Maby for the weekly newspaper *Y Faner*

in 1971 and 1972) (Maby 1983, pp. 114-133). Finally, Maby included an account of a journey he made in 1958 to the interior of China and back to the coast (pp. 134-151). Compared to authors mentioned in the previous section such as Robert Griffith and Ioan Gruffydd who had limited personal experience of China, Maby was immersed in Chinese culture for several years.

Early in the work, Maby discusses the transliteration of Chinese words. He noted the existence and growing popularity of pinyin, but he decided to use Wade-Giles as it would be more familiar to his readers (Maby 1983, p. 16). This can be seen in a map on the first few pages, which uses standard Wade-Giles transliterations like ‘Szechwan’ 四川, ‘Nanking’ 南京, and ‘Foochow’ 福州 alongside some adapted transliterations, such as ‘Mansiwria’, which as noted in the previous section is likely a relay adaptation from the English ‘Manchuria’. He also discussed a few Welsh terms which have been used in most of the other works. His translations of ‘China’ and ‘Chinese’ are variants of ‘Tseina’, which he says was the most current (Maby 1983, p. 17). Other frequent terms he used are ‘arwyddion’ or ‘lluniau’ for ‘Chinese characters’ (Maby 1983, p. 16).

Dail Melyn o Tseina shows that Maby had a good command of Chinese and plenty of background knowledge of Chinese history and culture. He differs from the other writers discussed so far in that he has Chinese language ability but is not interested primarily in missionary activity. His opening discussion on transliteration shows he considered some of the issues around translating in this language combination which other writers have encountered, although this did not extend to systematic creation of Welsh-specific conventions. Maby’s work represents an effort from a peripheral minority language writer to communicate with another language that is peripheral in the target system. His experience in Chinese makes him ideal to initiate this contact, as he can translate directly without central language mediation.

4.3.2: The Contents of *Y Cocatw Coch*

Y Cocatw Coch contains 102 poems covering 3000 years of composition. The older poetry is generally derived from one source text per section within the translation, while more contemporary poetry comes from a wider mix of authors. The translations represent a selection by Maby from the works of each author or text. The anthology opens with a discussion of the history of poetry in China and information on the translation of the poetry from linguistic and cultural standpoints. Each text or author is introduced with an outline of the origin and provenance of the text or the biography and impact of the author. A review of the work appeared in *Barn* in 1987 (Saunders 1987, pp. 364-365). Saunders (1987, p. 364) commented on Maby's strategy of generally writing with terms in common use, with the occasional uncommon term like 'tegeirian' (orchid) and 'ednog' (flies) to remind the reader of the cultural difference represented in the translation without sacrificing too much readability. He (Saunders 1987, p. 365) wished Maby added more explanation of cultural elements behind the poems but noted that the work would have needed to be ten times longer.

The following is an overview of the poems sorted by collection or time period. Maby (1987, p. 4) divided the poetry into four eras, namely 'ancient poetry', 'the golden age', 'the middle period' and 'literary revolution poetry'. Maby's division is based principally on chronological period, which causes some sections to contain large collections of poetry of different styles. This overview will subdivide some of these categories where there are larger sections of poetry which merit a more distinct analysis.

1: *The Book of Songs*

The translation starts with extracts from the *Shijing* 诗经, translated by Maby as ‘Llyfr y Caneuon’ and ‘Llyfr yr Awdlau’ (Maby 1987, p. 19) and known in English as the ‘Book of Songs’ or ‘Book of Odes’. This work contains some of oldest poems in Chinese, dating from the time of the Zhou Dynasty (1022-256 BC). They were written to be sung, as was most ancient poetry, but no record of the intended musical accompaniment has survived (Maby 1987, p. 20). The extreme age of the poems makes defining the terms used challenging and any gaps encountered must be filled using knowledge of East Asian history and culture (Maby 1987, p. 20). Maby translated seven poems out of one hundred and five from this collection. The length of the poems is fairly consistent, with the exception of the fourth, which is shorter, and the seventh, which is considerably longer.

2: *The Daodejing*

The *Daodejing* 道德经 is one of the foundational texts of Daoist philosophy, and later Daoist religion. It is written in a unique style that cannot be classified as regular prose, but does not always fit the conventions of standard poetry. The name of the work is conventionally transliterated, and Maby generally adhered to this, translating the title once with the literal translation ‘Llyfr Heol Rhinwedd’ (Book of the Road and Virtue) (Maby 1987, p. 26), but otherwise using the pinyin transliteration ‘Dao De Jing’. Maby chose to order these extracts in a certain way to create a running theme (Maby 1987, p. 26). Most of them appear in the order of

where they would be in the original text, but others do not. The order for the 14 extracts Maby translates is number 25, 1, 2, 5, 3, 37, 8, 11, 12, 19, 20, 47, 56, 80.

3: Warring States and early imperial poetry

This category covers the rest of Maby's 'ancient poems' category, with poems written in a period between approximately 475BC to the rise of the Tang in 618AD. It includes poems which sit between the Daodejing extracts in Maby's collection to the poems of what he marked as the 'golden age' (Maby 1987, p. 44). This section includes 12 poems of varying length, theme and style.

4: Tang poetry

Some of the best poetry in Chinese literary history was composed during the Tang Dynasty (618-907). Naturally they attracted the attention of Maby, who dedicates pages to a wide selection of different poets from the era, in addition to two poets who were active in the period before this dynasty. Maby's selection contains 26 poems written by 9 individual poets. He includes three poems by Du Fu 杜甫 (712-770), one of the most famous of the golden age, and seven each from the other famous poets Li Bai 李白 (701-762) and Bai Juyi 白居易 (772-846).

5: 'Middle period' poetry

Like the Warring States and Early Imperial Poetry category, this category covers a wide span of time and many poets. It contains 20 poems by 17 poets, with 3 by Yuan Mei 袁枚 (1716-1798), 2 by Su Dongpo 苏东坡 (1035-1101) and 1 each by the remainder. Maby (1987, p. 5) had a low opinion of the poetry of this period, describing it as lacking originality and too focused on reproducing forms from earlier golden ages than expressing true feeling.

6: Modern poetry

The final selection of poetry includes examples composed after the end of the imperial system in 1912. As well as political revolution, this period experienced a revolution in literature, which introduced new styles and foreign influences (Maby 1987, p. 5). A significant amount of the poetry in this selection contains Communist and revolutionary themes, including poetry by Communist leaders such as of Mao Zedong 毛泽东. There are 23 poems in the selection by 13 poets, including the collection of anonymous works counted as one entry.

4.3.3: Identifying Direct and Relay Translations

Y Cocatw Coch has been described so far in this thesis as the only full translation in the Chinese to Welsh language combination. However, not all of the poems in the anthology were translated directly from the original Chinese. According to a note on page iv, some of the poems came from a French translation published in 1982 called *Anthologie de la Poésie Chinoise Classique*, which is a compilation of French translations edited by Paul Demiéville as part of the *UNESCO*

Collection of Representative Works. This is all that Maby says about poem selection, giving no direct indication of what was translated from French and what was translated from Chinese.

Anthologie de la Poésie Chinoise Classique contains French translations of Chinese poetry from the *Book of Songs* to the late 18th century. The number of poems contained in this volume is far more extensive than what was translated by Maby. Many of the poems in Maby's translation are present in Demiéville's. However, a significant number are unique to Maby. Notable examples of the latter include every poem from the *Daodejing*, the majority of the Tang poetry, and every poem from Yuan Mei to the most modern works.

The poetry comparison below of the two volumes is organised according to Maby's classification of 'ancient', 'golden age', and 'middle period' poetry. Revolutionary poetry has been left out because Demiéville's selection does not extend to that time period. The methodology used to determine whether a poem was translated by Maby from Chinese or via French was a comparison between the original Chinese poems and the translations in both Welsh and French. If both translations exhibited near word-for-word correspondence, it was assumed Maby used Demiéville as a relay. The ambiguity of Classical Chinese poetry is such that coincidental correspondence between translators working in different languages is unlikely.

1: Ancient poems

Seven poems from the *Shijing* are present in Maby's translation, of which three are shared with Demiéville. The shared poems exhibit differences in the two translations, which will be discussed later. These differences in selection and translation make it likely that Maby's translations are not relays from the French version. The *Daodejing* is not present in Demiéville at

all, which suggests that Maby's work is a direct translation. The rest of the poems in the ancient category are mixed. Some, like *The Goddess of Fate* by Zhu Yuan (Demiéville 1982, p. 53; Maby 1987, p.35), share a near word-for-word correspondence, others, like *Back to the Land* by Tao Yuanming (Demiéville 1982, pp. 137-8; Maby 1987, pp. 42-3), show clear differences, while a few, like two of the poems by Cao Zhi (Maby 1987, p. 39), are only present in Maby.

2: Golden age poems

The selection presented in this category tends towards difference. Maby included 26 poems, of which just 7 are also present in Demiéville. Of the 7 shared poems, they sit on a spectrum between near perfect correspondence and considerable difference. In terms of poets included, all the Du Fu poems Maby used can also be found in Demiéville. The largest difference is in poetry by Bai Juyi, where Maby includes seven examples to Demiéville's one. As the title of Maby's work is drawn from one of Bai Juyi's poems, it seems likely that this poet was a personal favourite of Maby, and so Maby already had plenty of source language examples in his own collection.

3: 'Middle period' poems

Of the 20 poems in this selection, 11 are shared. This category is distorted by the earlier end date of the compositions in Demiéville, which means none of the poems Maby included after Yuan Mei (1716-1798) could have come from the French source. Before this point, the poem by Ma Xianglan and the two poems by Su Dongpo are unique to Maby, while all others are shared. The

translations of the shared poems tend towards exhibiting differences up until Yue Fei (1103-1141), after which they demonstrated close or near total correspondence.

Considering that Maby does not list another source, it is probable that any poem not part of *Anthologie de la Poésie Chinoise Classique* was translated directly from the Chinese original. As Maby could read Chinese and had an interest in poetry, it is likely that he owned a collection of source language poetry covering certain periods. Based on the selection of poems with the least correspondence with poems in Demiéville, this collection likely included copies of the *Book of Songs* and the *Daodejing*, one or more volumes of Tang poetry, a copy of Song dynasty poetry which may have been combined with an earlier Tang poetry collection representing an extended ‘golden age’, a copy of later Qing dynasty poetry, and a collection of largely socialist modern poetry.

The two main periods of correspondence with Demiéville are between the *Daodejing* and the poems of the ‘golden age’, and the middle part of the ‘middle period’. Maby’s low opinion of the latter period (Maby 1987, p. 5) suggests he would have been less active in collecting source language texts of it, while the former covers a fragmented era of Chinese history which is less easy to periodise in as neat a way as poetry from certain dynasties. This suggests that Maby used Demiéville to supplement his selection to better represent the full span of Chinese poetry, principally in these two periods, but also occasionally in other periods across the work to add detail. While it is possible that poems which show close correspondence may represent coincidentally similar translations in Welsh and French, they occur too regularly in certain sections to be a coincidence. Poetry translation can also be more open to interpretation by the

individual translator, especially in language combinations with so many grammatical and cultural differences, so coincidental correspondence would require both translators to make the same decision in almost every line.

Despite the inclusion of some relay translations, there is still enough direct translation to consider Maby's work an example of direct translation in the Chinese to Welsh language combination. Those poems identified as more likely to be direct translations will be the focus for the following analysis of the translation of terms in this language combination.

4.3.4: Analysis of the Chinese Translation Case Studies

This section will examine the translations themselves. It will begin with the approach Maby took to translation, based on his introduction and examples from the poems. This will be followed by an analysis of terms, which, as in the Greek case study in the following chapter, will be organised by category, including Maby's approach to transliteration. The terms are all contained in a glossary in Appendix 8.2.

4.3.4.1: Maby's approach to translation

Maby (1987, pp. 1-13) included an introduction to his translation, which provided insights into his decision-making process. The target audience of Maby's translation is not strictly academic. There is no tradition of Chinese studies operating through the medium of Welsh to provide such

a readership. His target audience is readers with an interest in poetry, and while the Chinese and linguistic elements are still important to the translation, they are not the main focus. He stated in the foreword (1987, p. v) that he wanted to show Chinese poetry through the viewpoint of someone with experience of traditional Welsh poetry.

The approach that Maby used for translating poetry specifically occupies much space in his introduction. This is not surprising given the vast differences in linguistics and culture between the source and the target languages. He discusses the differing views held by several translators on the practicality of translating poetry. For example, Maby argues there are some translators who do not think that Chinese poetry can ever be translated accurately because no translation into any other script can replicate the visual element of the Chinese characters (Maby 1987, p. 11), while others translate through the use of poetic forms from the European target languages, an approach which comes at a cost of a more precise translation (Maby 1987, p. 12). According to Maby (1987, p. 12), poetry translations produced by the sinologist Arthur Waley prioritised accuracy to the source poetry and maintained a similar sense of rhythm, but did not translate the poems into a poetic style, or at least not into any kind of rhyming poetry. Waley's method is the approach Maby adopts.

Maby's use of this approach is demonstrated in a *Shijing* poem called 有女同車 (There is a woman in the cart³⁰), translated by Maby as 'Y Mae Geneth yn Ein Cerbyd' (Maby 1987, p.20). The first part of the third line in both verses (lines 5 and 11 in Maby's translation) reads 彼美孟

³⁰ English translations used in this section are my own.

姜 (She is the beautiful eldest daughter of Jiang). The two Welsh translations from Maby read ‘Merch hynaf Jiang yw hi’ (She is the oldest daughter of Jiang) and ‘Merch hynaf landeg Jiang yw hi’ (She is the beautiful oldest daughter of Jiang). The extra adjective in the second line, ‘[g]landeg’, means ‘beautiful’, which is a translation of the character 美 (pinyin ‘mei’). The longer translation fits the original better, to the extent that the choice to drop it in the first verse seems difficult to explain. The changes to the first parts of the first lines of both verses (Maby lines 1 and 7) are more substantial. The two original lines are 有女同車 (There is a woman in the cart) and 有女同行 (there is a woman passing by). The translations are ‘Y mae geneth yn ein cerbyd’ (There is a maiden in our cart) and ‘cyd-fforddolyn yw hon’ (She is a fellow-traveller). This example shows that Maby’s translation strategy was not concerned with maintaining a rhyme scheme, but was instead concerned with poetic rhythm in terms of similar line length. There is nothing grammatically incorrect about the different translations, and Maby is not trying to avoid repetition between verses because he gives the same translation for other lines which are also repeated. Maby indicated that avoiding rhyme to focus on meaning and rhythm was the approach he would follow, so repetition would not be a concern. It is possible the differences are the result of the ambiguity which is a common feature of texts in older varieties of Chinese, considering only one character in the line changed. Another possibility is that alternative translations which Maby considered for one of the two sets in the second example may have contained too many syllables to maintain a consistent rhythm. Accuracy in meaning was also important, but a certain degree of flexibility was used to improve the quality of the target language poetry.

In addition to general discussion above, Maby discussed the language combination specifically. He argued there are elements in Welsh which both help and hinder the translation. For example, noun clauses have similar forms between the two languages, something which is balanced by the basic word order being different (Maby 1987, p. 13). There are also a lot more rhyming words in Chinese than Welsh (Maby 1987, p. 13). One issue that is likely a common issue for many European languages is that the small number of syllables that are used to form literary Chinese poems is much fewer than would be possible in poetry in European languages. A line which is just seven syllables long in literary Chinese could end up at thirty syllables in an accurate Welsh translation (Maby 1987, p. 13). Seven is not the shortest, with some Classical Chinese poems using four or five syllables per line.

4.3.4.2: Selecting terms for analysis

Having identified those poems which are direct translations, the next section will analyse the translations of Chinese terms. The aim of analysing culturally specific term translation methods was discussed in Chapter 2, while the classification system for the analysis was outlined in Chapter 3. Selecting terms for analysis in the case study was not a straightforward process for two reasons. The first is the need to avoid poems which were translated indirectly through French, ensuring that the terms are a result of true peripheral contact. The earlier investigation, which identified poems which appeared in Demiéville and were likely sources for Maby's translation, noted that these poems tend to be concentrated in certain periods or poets. As a result, the case study focused on the ancient poems represented in the *Shijing* and the *Daodejing*. No poems from the *Daodejing* are shared, and as discussed earlier, even though three *Shijing*

poems are shared, the differences in the translation suggest Maby used the French translation as a reference at most rather than a source. Another advantage of these earlier poems is that there will be more overlap in terms of content with the case studies in subsequent chapter, as well as more overlap with the content of *Crefyddau'r Dwyrain*, allowing for more comparisons in the glossary.

A more challenging issue for selecting terms was Maby's translation style. Consider the *Shijing* extract discussed earlier, where completely different words were used to translate lines that were identical in the source text. Alternate translations can appear for the same term, or the term as used in the source text may not appear in the target translation in all cases. The translation decision may also be influenced by poetic considerations, preferring terms for being certain lengths or rhyming rather than representing accurate translations. This makes it difficult to declare translations in a case study where some terms appear with multiple examples that may not have been selected for accuracy. As a result, terms were only recorded in the analysis performed in this chapter when their translations were expressed clearly without substantial rewriting or reorganising of the line.

As with all subsequent case studies, once the terms were selected, I categorised them according to the term categorisation system outlined in the previous chapter. This made it possible to calculate data, in the form of total numbers and percentages of the terms classified for individual methods within each category and for each overall category. All the data tables are listed after the relevant glossaries. The glossary of terms selected for analysis in Appendix 8.2.1 contains 38

terms derived from the seven *Shijing* poems and the fourteen *Daodejing* extracts³¹. It also includes terms translated by Williams in *Crefyddau'r Dwyrain*, as mentioned earlier. As he wrote about Daoism and one of Maby's source texts, the *Daodejing*, is one of the most important Daoist texts, there is enough overlap that Williams' translations will be added for comparison and to extend the analysis. Only terms from Williams' work that also appeared in the sample from Maby were collected, as Williams' translations are there to supplement the study of Maby's translation.

Due to the use of multiple translations to express source language terms, Maby used 52 Welsh terms as translations of the 38 terms included in the glossary and Williams used 18 for the 12 terms included in the glossary; the glossary therefore includes the total of 70 Welsh renditions of the 38 terms that were selected for inclusion. The renditions were analysed to show which translation methods, out of the methods included in my classification (see Chapter Three), have been used and with what frequency. To offer preliminary results, by far the most productive method was lexical substitution at 45 translations. In addition, new formations, lengthenings and shortenings and compounds were used for 6 translations each and loanwords were used in 7 cases. The results will be illustrated and analysed below.

4.3.4.3: Category 1: Loanwords

³¹ One term, 德 *de*, was taken from the title of the *Daodejing* rather than the poetry itself. It was included as Maby translated it in the title of the section and it is a term Williams translated.

Loanwords were used for seven translations at 10% of the total. There were four 1b recent source language loans in Williams at 22.2% of his translations, while Maby used three 1c established third language loans at 5.8%. The three recent source language loans in Williams represented complex philosophical concepts and were accompanied by lexical substitutions, which were used in further instances of the terms, except for the name of the deity ‘Shangdi’ (represented by Williams in Wade-Giles as ‘Shang-Ti’). This was included as a loanword rather than as part of the list of proper nouns because Maby translated the term with a source language calque ‘Nêr y Goruchafion’ (Lord of the Highest). The three established third language loanwords used by Maby were all derived from English and were used for physical objects, namely one mineral and two vegetables, the vegetables being ‘pumpennau’ for 瓜 (pumpkins) and ‘cucumerau’³² for 瓠 (cucumbers). The compounds also included loaned elements and will be discussed in a later section.

The mineral, 玉 ‘jêd’ (jade) (Maby 1987, p. 39, 51), was used several times, as jade has significance in Chinese culture and appears frequently in poetry and names, such as the ‘Neuadd Jêd’ (Hall of Jade) (Maby 1987, p. 39). However, Maby also uses the near equivalent ‘arenfaen’ in some poems (Maby 1987, p. 48, 50). The reason for this is likely based on maintaining poetic rhythm, as ‘arenfaen’ is three syllables longer than the third language loanword ‘jêd’ and may not be a good fit in some of the translated poems.

Loanwords were a less productive strategy in Maby’s translation. As was explained in the analysis of Maby’s approach, the poetry element of the translation was the priority. Having

³² Note that this term is only partly adapted to Welsh orthography, as ‘u’ in Welsh is normally pronounced [i].

poetry which maintains a consistent rhythm was considered important, and terms using Welsh phonemes rather than loanwords are more likely to maintain this rhythm than mixing in foreign language loanwords. Loanwords also face the problem of transliteration. In the case of words borrowed from Chinese, not all the target language readers for whom the book was written would have been familiar with the pronunciation of pinyin, especially as Maby did not include a pronunciation guide. As personal names in the poems are in pinyin, Wade-Giles or Maby's unique transliteration choices, inserting more words which are not phonetically Welsh would interrupt the flow of the poem.

Maby's approach to transliteration must also be considered further. The transliterations generally follow the pinyin system. As Maby noted at the end of the introduction, conventions which were more widely used in English appeared in those conventions, specifically noting 'Peking' as a transliteration of the Chinese capital, where 'Beijing' is the pinyin equivalent (Maby 1987, p. 13). For personal names he used a combination of Welsh transliterations and standard pinyin, so for example he used 'Conffwsiws', which is adapted to Welsh orthography, and 'Mao Zedong', which is not (Maby 1987, p. 3).

Maby mostly kept to this system throughout the translation. However, there are a few exceptions. For example, he transliterated the name of the poet 屈原 Qu Yuan (c340-278BC), the author to whom the anthology *Songs of Chu* is traditionally attributed, as 'Zhu Yuan' (Maby 1987, p. 35). This conforms to neither pinyin nor Wade-Giles, the normal transliteration of the latter being 'Ch'u Yuan'. Another example from Wang Wei's 洛阳女儿行 'Baled y Wen o Loyang' (Ballad

of the Girl from Luoyang)³³ (Maby 1987, pp. 48-49) mentions the name 季伦 ‘Jilun’. Maby did not use the standard pinyin but transliterated with ‘Qiluan’. ‘Qiluan’ conforms to pinyin transliteration rules rather than Wade-Giles, but does not represent the pronunciation of the characters. There was no obvious reason for this decision in terms of style, either due to alliteration or a reason related to Welsh poetic metre. It is possible this could represent an archaic pronunciation that is different from the modern standard pinyin for the characters, but Maby did not provide an explanation.

Both examples used transliterations that initially appear to be pinyin, but when compared with the Chinese characters the pronunciation was incorrect. It is unlikely that these were mistakes, as Maby used correct pinyin throughout the translation. Maby offered no explanation for his choices, or any other indication that he made a deliberate choice with the transliteration. None of the irregular choices are closer to Welsh orthography, nor are they designed for poetic effect. Analysis of this issue is limited by the size of the available corpus, as these unusual choices may simply be errors rather than deliberate unorthodox choices.

4.3.4.4: Category 2: New formations

New formations were used for six translations at 8.6%. All instances were 2a source language calques, five of which were used by Maby at 9.6% of his translations and one by Williams at

³³ The ‘Wen’ in Maby’s translation refers to the family name of the subject of the poem. There is no explanation as to why Maby chose this for the title rather than a translation of ‘daughter’.

5.6%. All the terms using this method referred to philosophical or religious concepts except for the translation of the name of one vegetable. Third language calques and coinages were not used. Maby would likely have mentioned any coinages he formed in either the introduction or the notes at the back of the book. There is a possibility that he was influenced by English calques of some of these terms, but it is difficult to tell as a calque direct from the source may appear identical to a third language calque.

Translation with calques is generally not productive in the kind of Classical or literary Chinese found in poetry because most words are one syllable long. This method was only possible on terms containing more than one character. For example, Maby translated 万物 ‘wanwu’ (ten thousand things) as ‘Y deng mil o bethau’ (the ten thousand things) (Maby 1987, p. 28), which is a literal representation of the meaning of the two characters. 上帝 ‘Shangdi’, the name of a divinity, was translated the same way as ‘Nêr y Goruchafion’ (literally ‘lord of the divine’) (Maby 1987, p. 23), which is unusual as this term is normally transliterated.

Requiring terms of a specific length to use made this method less productive. This could be related to the nature of the source language rather than any inclination of the translators. There is less problem with rhythm than there was potentially with loanwords as the calques used Welsh morphemes. The lack of coinages indicates there is an aspect of the method seen as undesirable. This could be due to the complexity of coining new terms, the absence of suitable candidates in the source text, or the preference of the translator.

4.3.4.5: Category 3: Lexical Substitutions

Lexical substitution was the most popular choice at 64.3%, covering a variety of processes aimed at representing source language terms with existing target language vocabulary. It was used 45 times, being productive for both Maby at 65.4% and Williams at 61.1%. Maby used 3a semantic expansions 4 times, 3b semantic reductions 20 times, 3c near equivalents 8 times and 3d cultural substitutions twice. Williams used 2 semantic expansions, 7 semantic reductions and 2 near equivalents. Overall, lexical substitution is the method which was used for the more philosophical terms which appeared in some of the poetry, particularly the *Daodejing* extracts. Various interpretations are a common feature for translations from the *Daodejing*. The potential for ambiguity in translating from its unique mix of philosophy, mysticism and politics is considerable. Maby's approach to the translation of some of these terms will be discussed in further detail in Chapter 6, as many of these terms are also present in the practical translation exercise offered in this thesis.

The translations used six semantic expansions. They all represented abstract, cultural terms, generally adding one or two additional meanings compared to the source terms. For example, 裡 'yin' was translated as 'aberth' (Maby 1987, p. 23), both of which mean 'sacrifice' or 'offering', while 'aberth' can also refer to the Christian Eucharist. 利 'li' (profit, benefit, advantage) was translated with two semantic expansions by Maby as well as one semantic reduction: 'elw'

(Maby 1987, p. 29) can carry an additional element of ‘possession’, while ‘buddioldeb’ (Maby 1987, p. 31) also means ‘appropriateness’³⁴.

By far the largest single method was semantic reduction, at 30 uses. This method was common in the translation of the most complex philosophical and religious terms, often presenting multiple options for one source language term. Six different semantic reductions were used for the translation of 仁 ‘ren’ (benevolence, kindness, humaneness and many more; see the entry in Chapter 6), with ‘caredigrwydd’ (kindness) shared by Maby and Williams. In the case of these terms, near or cultural equivalents are unlikely as the source terms are too specific, and semantic expansions would need to have such general meanings that they would not represent accurate translations. The flexibility of semantic reductions is that they only need to represent one or more of the nuances of the source term rather than encompassing them all.

Near equivalents appeared 10 times. The method was used for some physical objects, such as the aforementioned term ‘arenfaen’ for ‘jade’, but also some philosophical terms with reasonable correspondence based on dictionary entries. This includes 德 ‘de’ (virtue, power, moral force) from the title of the *Daodejing*, which Maby (1987, p. 26) and Williams (1968, p. 313) translated as ‘rhinwedd’ (virtue). Sections in Chapter 6 will discuss in greater detail how close this correspondence is with reference to primary examples and secondary scholarship.

The least popular method in this category was cultural substitutions, with only 2 uses. Both terms represented religious or mythological characters, and the translations used equivalent characters

³⁴ This term was also translated with the semantic reduction ‘Llesâd’ (benefit, advantage) (Maby 1987, p. 33).

in Western religion and mythology. The first is 麟 'lin', which refers to a horned creature from Chinese mythology called a 'Qilin' and is sometimes equated with the Western concept of a 'unicorn', thus Maby's translation of 'ungorn' (1987, p. 22). The second is the 帝 'di' from 'Shangdi', this time referring to the divine in general. Maby (1987, p. 23) translated this with 'Duwdod' (God, divinity), which when capitalised uses the concept of the Christian deity to represent an equivalent in Chinese religion.

The flexibility of lexical substitution is represented by how frequently the methods were used. The only method with fewer than ten uses was cultural substitutions, which requires the existence of target culture concepts that can substitute for specific source culture terms. Near equivalents also require terms which match nearly all source term meanings, which becomes less likely the more distant the source and target cultures are from each other. Semantic expansions and reductions are the most flexible, with Maby preferring the latter as a method for translating Chinese concepts with a broader or different range of applications than equivalent Welsh terms.

One aspect to note for this category is that Maby demonstrated a preference for using more antiquated Welsh words. As most of the translation is concerned with traditional poetry which discusses themes from historical societies, it is understandable that Maby would use such terms at a higher frequency. Some are related to natural phenomena which are present in Wales and China, such as 'callodr' (Maby 1987, p. 40), a term for plant growth, lichen or moss. Others are more general, but still less frequently used, abstract concepts with multiple elements like 'ymgeledd' (Maby 1987, p. 24), meaning care, protection, patronage or shelter. The intended audience of the translation is educated and interested in poetry and may be familiar with archaic

words already from wider reading. Archaic words also appear in Welsh poetry to satisfy the demands of complex rhyme schemes.

4.3.4.6: Category 4: Lengthenings and Shortenings

This category was uncommon, with six instances of lengthenings at 8.6%, three of which representing the same Chinese term. This was 天下 'tianxia' (all under Heaven), a term generally translated by a calque in English, which was an alternate approach Maby (1987, p. 28) adopted with 'dan y Nefoedd'. As a reminder, calques are a literal translation of every word in the term, while lengthenings express the term with words that could not form a literal translation of the source term. The lengthenings he used for this term were 'y deng mil o bethau'³⁵ (the ten thousand things) (1987, p. 27), 'pob peth' (every thing) (1987, p. 29), and 'yr holl fyd' (the whole world) (Maby 1987, p. 33). Each lengthening adds a sense of everything in the world, which is inferred in the source term.

Shortening was not used, and this is likely due to the restrictions of the source language and genre. Chinese poetry limits character length per line, so words composed of multiple characters become less common as they are more challenging to fit to the various poetic criteria. This makes shortening highly unlikely as single character Chinese terms will be shorter in length than

³⁵ This is also the source language calque Maby (1987, p.28) used for 万物 'wanwu'. No explanation is given as to why he also used this translation for 天下 'tianxia' when it is clearly more suitable for the former.

Welsh translations. As the opposite, this potentially makes lengthening more likely. However, the importance of rhythm in the target translation made longer translations difficult to include, and other processes which use more compact terms were likely preferred.

4.3.4.7: Category 5: Compounds

The final category was also less productive, with six uses at 8.6%. Maby used compounds four times, specifically in a part of ‘Chwedl Tarddiad Gwehelyth y Zhou’ from the *Shijing* that mentions kinds of millet. The compounds are 5a loanwords + new formations, specifically established third language loanwords + third language calques in each case. Determining the exact compound was not obvious, as the source terms were antiquated. Maby’s translations were ‘miled du’ 秬 (black millet) (1987, p. 24), ‘miled dwbl’ 秳 (double millet) (1987, p. 24), ‘sorgwm coch’ 糜 (red sorghum) (1987, p. 24) and ‘sorgwm gwyn’ 芑 (white sorghum) (1987, p. 24). In all cases, the substitution element refers to the plant, while the adjectives represent the calque element which is explained below.

The online Chinese historical dictionary *Handian* translated two of the substitution elements clearly, with 秬 ‘ju’ translated as ‘black millet’ and 芑 ‘qi’ as ‘white millet’. 秳 ‘pi’ was just ‘millet’, but an additional description indicated the plant has two kernels. 糜 ‘men’ was also just ‘millet’, with a description describing a red colour. Having said that, Maby’s translation decisions were not derived from a dictionary entry, but from Demiéville (1982, p.34), who used ‘millet noir’, ‘millet double’, ‘sorgho rouge’ and ‘sorgho blanc’. The fact Demiéville translated

with the same pattern of ‘millet’ (French: millet) in one line and ‘sorghum’ (French: sorgho) in the next indicates this influenced Maby’s translation. However, there are enough differences between the original and the translated poem to indicate that it was not a pure relay translation, even if it influenced translation decisions.

Compounds are naturally longer terms, which may not fit well in the rhythm, which is being used for the translations, whereas a shorter method like lexical substitution would be more flexible. Compounds involving loanwords could disrupt the rhythm of the translation unless the Chinese element has been adapted phonologically. In this case, the category was only used to translate specific species of plants whose general translations are loanwords from English following a pattern seen in the French translation. This indicates the category may only be productive in specific instances.

4.3.5: Analysis and Summary of the *Y Cocatw Coch* Case Study

Maby’s poetry translations are the only full-length example of translation for this language pair. Poetry is not ideal as an example due to its limited length compared to prose and the artistic style that is not normally found in standard language. Poems in Classical style contain ambiguity that can produce more than one translation. Maby’s work was valuable as a rare example of translation in this language pair, but other, longer examples would have been more helpful as precedents and as working examples of the translation method categorisation system.

Most of the observations made in the book were related to poetry translation. These observations largely only relate to poetry, as they deal with issues like differences in poetic styles. The

translation did however make an important point about the language combination. The nature of the Chinese language and grammar can cause ambiguity when translating into a European language, due to the lack of grammatical features such as tenses and plurals. This becomes more apparent in poetry where normal grammatical rules are bent to fit style. Maby found that trying to keep a rhyme scheme, even if it is not similar to the rhythm of the original work, can result in increased difference in translation accuracy. Particularly in the largely monosyllabic Classical Chinese, words typically occupy far fewer syllables than equivalents in Welsh.

Maby did not provide an extensive explanation into how to translate challenging terms. The reason for this could be the intended audience of the translation, which was a literary rather than an academic audience who would have been more interested in discussion of poetic issues rather than detailed explanations of source language terms. There were influences from central languages in terms of relay translation, examples for approaching individual terms and secondary scholarship written in central languages. Lexical substitution, specifically semantic reduction, was by far the most common method used by Maby and Williams. This demonstrates a preference for translation with Welsh morphemes and efforts to avoid influence from the majority language to a greater extent than was seen in the examples seen from other writers earlier in this chapter. All other methods were used to lesser extents.

4.4: Evaluation of Current Chinese to Welsh Translation

As would be expected for translation into a minority language from a peripheral language in the minority's system, the amount of translation and other language contact from Chinese to Welsh

is limited. Only Maby's work was a direct translation from Chinese, while Williams offered translations of individual terms. Some comparison was possible in terms of the transliteration conventions, which showed that all the translators tended to use whatever the current conventions were in translation into English. No translators attempted to form Welsh conventions on a systematic level.

The motivation for contact was initially heavily focused on Christian interest. Although this has remained a motivation in more recent works, interest in Chinese society and culture itself has also grown. As China appears more frequently in current events due to the growth of its economic and political influence, there will be more demand to write articles in media and academic fields which feature China and translations from Chinese. Writers wishing to produce books and articles in this area will face certain issues, namely the problem of transliteration and Chinese term translation consistency.

How to represent the sounds of Chinese while still conforming to the standard Welsh alphabet is a challenge which all the writers mentioned in this case study faced. The general solution adopted was to use the conventions which were the current standard in European majority languages, regardless of their suitability for Welsh. Translators may decide this is the most practical approach but should have the option of a system designed to fit Welsh. Creating a transliteration system which fits the language better would make pronouncing Chinese names easier and would assist in learning pinyin later. The previous chapters have discussed how it is undesirable for a minority language to accept interference or mediation from a majority language.

Maintaining consistent standard translations has been a problem throughout the use of Chinese terms in Welsh texts. Consider how even the translation of the word 'China' has proven difficult

to standardise. The only direct, full-length translation from Chinese currently is a poetry anthology. Other genres have yet to be attempted, although there have been mentions of other cultural terms in the poetry and the occasional example in one of the non-translation works, particularly *Crefyddau'r Dwyrain*. Attempting translations of more complex terms which could have several translations, as will happen in Chapter 6, will help mitigate this problem for future works. Prior examples will aid in future translation projects, particularly for non-specialists who are unwilling or unable to spend time and effort researching the best way to convey specialist terminology.

Contact with Chinese in Welsh has extended back over a century. Initially there were many bilinguals, but their main concern was spreading religion rather than translating from Chinese into Welsh. More interest in Chinese culture appeared more recently, but in most cases it has not been managed by bilinguals able to translate from and engage directly with original Chinese-language material. There is evidence in this contact of interference from central languages, in terms of third language loanwords, resources used and relay translation, but also signs of engaging with texts and concepts directly.

The absence of systematic effort in the production of translations in this language combination has resulted in a lack of standardisation in areas including transliteration and definitive translation of important terms. Only one translation was available for a case study, which was influenced by the translation style of the translator. While an examination of this case study and other examples of the treatment of Chinese terms demonstrated a preference for lexical substitution and explored challenges for using other methods, there is a need for a longer case study to examine the use of translation methods for non-equivalent terms in Welsh. The next chapter will apply the methods used in this chapter to a study of translation from Ancient Greek,

a language that has a sufficient corpus of Welsh translations to compare methods across a range of translators.

Chapter 5: Welsh and Ancient Greek Translation

5.1: Introduction

The small size of the existing corpus of translation from Chinese into Welsh necessitates a case study from another source language to explore the process that will be used for the translation exercise in Chapter 6. The *Cronfa Cyfieithiadau'r Gymraeg* database which was mentioned in Chapter 2 indicated that there is a moderately-sized corpus of translation from Ancient Greek to Welsh, at 22 translations, several of which were book-length. The size is sufficient for a detailed case study which can investigate the decisions multiple Welsh translators took when dealing with complex terms from Ancient Greek. It also has the advantages of using a different script to the Latin alphabet, which represents a transliteration challenge that could offer guidance for

transliteration difficulties encountered in translation from Chinese. As well as this, the source texts in this Ancient Greek survey come from a similar time period, and in some cases genre, to the source text for the practical translation exercise, making a study of Ancient Greek translation the closest existing comparison to the challenges that will occur in this exercise.

This chapter will conduct a case study of the translation of Ancient Greek texts into Welsh, which will apply the discussion of systems theory and the translation classification system outlined in the previous chapters to another relevant example. It will begin by discussing the place of Ancient Greek in the Welsh translation system, exploring historical and modern connections and explaining how this study is valuable for the practical translation exercise from Chinese in the next chapter. It will then analyse the translations from Greek which will be used as case studies, discussing the context of the source texts and the approaches of the Welsh translators. The third section will analyse terms gathered from these case studies by using the translation methods from Chapter 3. Finally, there will be a summary of the findings and what insights these could provide for translation from Chinese to Welsh.

5.2: The Relationship Between Welsh and Greek

This section will investigate connections between Welsh and Greek. It will explore the history of Ancient Greek translation and scholarship in Welsh, what part Greek occupies in the world and Welsh translation systems, and discuss the value that analysing this translation combination has for this thesis.

5.2.1: History of Contact Between Ancient Greek and Welsh

As has been mentioned before, the history of translation of Classical languages into Welsh goes back to the origin of the written language during the Roman occupation. The earliest recorded Welsh poems show knowledge of characters and stories from classical literature, such as Trojan War characters like Hector (Bromwich 2014, p. 337). Classical literature gained such prestige within Welsh culture that the origins of the Welsh people were said to lie in refugees from the fall of Troy (Bromwich 2014, p. lxi). As Latin was the language of education, the translation of Classical literature ran alongside the translation into Welsh of more contemporary Latin works like *Historia Regum Britanniae* (Davies 2012, p. 116).

During the Tudor period an increasing number of Welsh gentry attended schools and universities in England where Classical languages were a key part of the curriculum (Davies 1995, p. 55). In these academic institutions, they encountered ideas of the Renaissance and the Reformation which were circulating around Europe, ideas which required knowledge of Classics (Davies 1995, p. 55). The most significant work of the time was the translation of the Bible, which was mentioned in Chapter 1. The New Testament was originally written in Greek, so translators like William Salisbury and William Morgan needed expertise in Biblical Greek, as well as Latin and Hebrew, to read the Old Testament and other Christian works. The Welsh translation was revised by Richard Parry and John Davies, reaching a settled form in 1620, which remained largely consistent until modern translations were produced in the 20th century (Currie 2016, p. 153).

The growth of publishing and mass education in the nineteenth century provided more incentives for translations. Periodicals played an important role in this movement. The journal *Y Traethodydd* which was mentioned earlier, was founded as a journal for discussing ideas in

humanities in Welsh (Davies 1995, p. 112). Many translators used it as a medium for publishing poetry or longer extracts. Full translations published in books were rarer, but were also produced in small number.

In the late nineteenth century the first modern universities in Wales were founded. The first was Aberystwyth, founded as a higher education college in 1872 (Davies 1995, p. 116), with the larger University of Wales body being founded in 1893 (Evans 1953, p.vii). All the universities when they were founded had Classics departments, even when they were colleges before gaining university status (Evans 1953, pp. 149-162). With the establishment of universities came the need for a university press. The University of Wales Press (UWP) was founded in 1922, and the majority of all Classics translations into Welsh were issued through this press. The translations were initially produced with use in universities in mind, but as the following discussion on the translators will indicate, later productions were also aimed at a more general audience. Another significant initiative connected to universities was the formation of the Classics section of the Guild of Graduates in 1951, which sponsored many of the translations published through the UWP (Davies 1995, p. 129).

Outside of the education system, there was another institution influencing Classical translations which is particular to Wales. In the late 19th century and into the 20th century, translation of Classical works was promoted through the translation competition of the National Eisteddfod, an annual Welsh language festival of literature and culture established at Aberdare in 1861 which is held in a different location each year. This competition has been a part of the Eisteddfod for at

least one hundred years, with several festivals featuring a Greek translation in the translation competition³⁶.

5.2.2: Translation System Connections

Ancient Greek has been an important language in academic scholarship. It was a key part of the education system used in many Western nations for centuries. Numerous scientific terms were formed from Greek components, such as the names of elements or the scientific names of species. When deciding on the place of Ancient Greek in the world translation system, an unusual problem is encountered, namely the interaction of dead languages with such a system. Although Hebrew was one of the main languages in which polysystem theorist Even-Zohar worked, it was as a living language that had been revived in contemporary Israel rather than the Biblical form of the Torah. His articles on polysystem theory do not discuss how a dead language, even a highly influential one, may fit into the system.

In polysystem terms, surviving products in ancient languages were written by producers who died centuries, or even millennia, ago³⁷. Consumers are all second language users or readers of translations. The market flows in one direction, as products from modern societies have no way to access consumers in ancient cultures. Institutions are generally academic, as specialist

³⁶ These include Aberdare 1885, Llanelli 1930, Bridgend 1948, Caerphilly, 1951 Llanrwst and 1953 Rhyl.

³⁷ There are rare exceptions such as modern translations of literature into ancient languages for the purpose of aiding students in language learning. For example, *Harry Potter and the Philosopher's Stone* has both Latin and Ancient Greek editions.

knowledge is required to fully interpret many of the products. Repertoire is the key aspect in a dead language system. As these texts represent societies from the distant past, their repertoire can be wildly different from anything written in a modern culture. For modern Western readers, the repertoire of Latin and Ancient Greek is more familiar due to centuries of cultural influence, and this cultural influence adds prestige. Non-European ancient languages like Sanskrit and Classical Chinese do not have this cultural familiarity, but instead have a repertoire that may be seen by the general Western publics as more ‘exotic’.

Ancient Greek does not mediate contact between other peripheral languages, which would be expected for a language ranking semi-peripheral or central. Connections are vital in a translation system and dead languages effectively access only half of them, as interactions only take place from the dead to the living language. Only in exceptional circumstances can a dead language be anything other than peripheral. One example of this is Latin in Europe until the late 20th century, where the influence of the language was so great it functioned as a medium of education and communication centuries after it ceased to be a spoken language. This is less so the case for Ancient Greek, which held significant cultural influence but was not as central in education systems as Latin. The subject is also a world translation system rather than a European translation system, therefore Ancient Greek must be a peripheral language.

Greek is also a peripheral language in the Welsh translation system. A more detailed assessment based on the *Cronfa Cyfieithiadau'r Gymraeg* database will now compare it with other peripheral languages and show how prominent it is among other peripheral languages in this system. As was shown in Chapter 1, the number of entries for Greek in the *Cronfa* is 22. This is the eleventh highest out of 33 languages, occupying the lower end of a middle section between the central languages English, French and German, which had 226, 142 and 92 respectively, and

the twenty languages with fewer than ten entries. There are several European majority languages and other Celtic minority languages which appear more prominently. However, many of the languages ranking higher than Greek are mostly comprised of entries which are short extracts or stories in larger edited volumes. This is notably the case for the Celtic languages in the database, but also some of the smaller collections of majority European languages, such as Dutch and Finnish.

In contrast to this, most of the Greek works are separate publications comprising full translations. Some of these translations reach considerable length, such as the complete translations of Plato's *Republic* and Aristotle's *Nichomachean Ethics*³⁸. In addition to the 22 translations in the database, there are ten published translations or anthologies which were not included, either due to omission or being published in the nineteenth century, identified through searching the Cardiff University and National Library of Wales collections.³⁹ Additional translations of poetry, drama

³⁸ The longest of all is the 19th century translations of the works of Flavius Josephus, which is 722 pages of small type in two columns per page.

³⁹ These translations, listed in order of publication, are as follows: 1- Josephus, Flavius; Whiston, William; Mills, John, Bradshaw, Thomas. 1860. *Gweithiau Flavius Josephus*. H. Humphries. 2- Glan Alun. c1870. *Chwedlau neu ddammegion Aesop*. Wrexham: R. Hughes. 3- Stead, W. and Hughes, H. c1900. *Damhegion Esop*. Caernarfon: Swyddfa'r "Genedl Gymreig". 4- Williams, M. and Williams, W. 1901. *Damhegion Esop ar gân*. Bangor: Jarvis & Foster. 5- Lewis, R. and Jones, T. 1928. *Iliad Homer*. Wrexham: Hughes. 6- Evans, D. 1936. *Amddiffyniad Socrates*. Cardiff: University of Wales Press. 7- Evans, D. 1946. *Gorgias*. Cardiff: University of Wales Press. 8- Williams, T. 1954. *Straeon tad hanes: sef pigion o waith Herodotus*. Cardiff: University of Wales Press. 9- Griffiths, J. ed. 1989. *Cerddi Groeg Clasur*. Cardiff: University of Wales Press. 10- Lewis, G. 2016. *Medeia*. Barddas.

or other short extracts were published throughout the nineteenth and twentieth centuries in journals including *Y Traethodydd* and *Y Llenor* (Davies 2014, p. 9).

As an ancient language, Ancient Greek occupies a peripheral position in any modern translation system. This is demonstrated in Welsh by the evidence of the *Cronfa Cyfieithiadau'r Gymraeg* database, which clearly indicated the central languages in the Welsh translation system, followed by a series of increasingly peripheral languages. Of these peripheral languages, Greek has been more prominent than most in terms of the number and length of translations produced. Its cultural repertoire has also exerted influence on Welsh writing for a great span of time. It is therefore appropriate to consider it a prominent, but still peripheral, part of the Welsh translation system.

5.2.3: The Value of Analysing Ancient Greek Translation into Welsh

One of the conclusions of Chapter 1 was that minority and peripheral languages benefit from translation from other peripheral languages. The combination of Ancient Greek to Welsh fits this category. Ancient Greek is one of a few peripheral languages in the Welsh system for which there are enough Welsh translations of sufficient length to make a comparative study viable. This breadth of translations came about due to the cultural prestige of Greek in the repertoire of European culture. Greek was linked to ideas of education and enlightenment in Wales for centuries as a result of this influence, as well as the Christian connection through the Bible. Findings from this analysis of translation from Ancient Greek will inform decisions which will be made concerning translations from Chinese in Chapter 6. Greek was written in its own

alphabet rather than the Latin alphabet that is used for Welsh. A study of how Welsh translators dealt with transliteration problems will provide insights into how to make similar kinds of decisions when transliterating from Chinese.

Ancient Greek was used in a culture that is different in many ways to modern European cultures. Differences in ideology and worldview have resulted in some terms for objects or concepts which were commonly understood in Greek being challenging to translate into a modern language without providing extensive explanations. The challenge for translating such terms from Chinese will be even greater, so any possible comparison with a similar problem will be valuable. As will be discussed later, several of the Greek translations are works of philosophy. These are similar in scope to the Chinese source text used in the practical translation exercise included in this thesis in Chapter 6, which is a philosophical text from the period of Chinese history that is thought of in a similar way in East Asia to the way that the period of Classical history in ancient Greece is regarded in Europe.

5.3: The Translations and Translators

This section will introduce the Welsh translators of the Ancient Greek texts. It will use information from the translations and paratext to indicate their translation strategies. As the translators do not always provide sufficient explanation of their decision-making processes, analysing as many aspects of their approach is useful for evaluating their choices and considering options for translating the Chinese source texts in the next chapter.

This study uses three of the longest Classical Greek translations to appear in Welsh and one translated play script. These are *Republic* by Plato, *Poetics* by Aristotle, *Oedipus at Colonus* by Sophocles and *Nichomachean Ethics* by Aristotle. While it is not certain that a longer text will contain more complex words that are of interest to a project such as this, a longer text will have more space to discuss a wider range of topics. Two of the texts are substantial works of philosophy, which contain terms that were challenging to translate, while the other works contain terminology specific to Classical Greek styles of poetry and drama. All the translations used are texts first produced between 1956 and 1998. English translations have been used in my analysis as an alternative model to compare to the Welsh translations, and as sources of English translations of Greek terms, since this thesis is written in English and requires English translations for readers who can read neither Classical Greek nor Welsh⁴⁰.

5.3.1: *The Republic*

The Republic is the largest and most significant work attributed to Plato (c427-348 BC). Plato was born to a moderately wealthy family in Athens. During Plato's life, Athens experienced radical political change, shifting from this democracy to a Sparta-backed oligarchy, which was overthrown and replaced by another democracy (Mason 2010, p. 5). A discussion of all areas which comprise Plato's thought would take far longer than this introduction allows. Principally,

⁴⁰ The English translation for *Republic* is Lee 1987, for *Poetics* Bywater 1984 (In Barnes 1984, pp. 2316-2340), for *Oedipus at Colonus* Fagles 1984 (pp. 253-388), and for *Nichomachean Ethics* Thomson, Tredennick and Barnes 2004.

it is his attempt at designing the ideal political system, run by a class of philosopher-rulers (Mason 2010, p. 6). It also covers a discussion of ethics, including the nature of justice as it was understood by contemporary Greek society (Lee 1987, p. xxxii). There is also reference to the concept of 'Forms', defined as true essences of physical and abstract concepts which can be perceived by reason rather than physical senses (Mason 2010, p. 3).

Plato's works take the form of a dialogue, which may have been developed by Plato and the other followers of Socrates (Mason 2010, p. 7). Socrates was an influential public figure who received visitors from other Greek communities and was an important influence on Plato's thought (Mason 2010, p. 4). He appears as a character in many of the dialogues, including the *Republic*, where the setting is a drinking party he is hosting.

The Welsh translation of *Republic* was produced in 1956 by D. Emrys Evans (1892-1966), who translated an additional five works of Plato into Welsh during the middle of the 20th century. Evans was an important figure in higher education in Wales, holding the chair of the Department of Classics at Swansea, and subsequently becoming the Principal of the University College of North Wales at Bangor (Davies 1995, p. 129). The main authority on the reception of Greek and Latin literature in Wales, Ceri Davies (1995, p. 129), compared the style of the language of Evans' translations to the original Welsh Bible translation and praised the translation of *Republic* in particular for its translation of complex philosophical vocabulary. Evans remains the most prolific translator of Greek in the *Cronfa Cyfieithiadau'r Gymraeg* database, and all his translations were published by the University of Wales Press.

5.3.2: *Poetics*

Poetics is one of the numerous works in a variety of disciplines attributed to Aristotle. Aristotle was born in 384 BC in a town in the north of Greece. He spent some time in other city-states conducting scientific studies with associates, until King Phillip of Macedon invited him to be tutor to his son, the future Alexander the Great (Barnes 2004, p. x). In 335 he returned to Athens and founded his own school, called the Lyceum, which had a broad curriculum covering all possible disciplines in the arts and sciences (Barnes 2004, p.xi).

Despite how the title appears to modern language readers, *Poetics* is concerned with poetry in the context of drama rather than just poetry. The work specifically covers tragedy, as the second part concerning comedy has been lost (Griffiths 1978, p.7). It contains discussion on various aspects including a definition of tragedy, theory on how to organise the plot and depict characters, and more abstract elements Aristotle considered important to the structure of the performance.

In contrast with *Republic*, *Poetics* is not written as a dialogue. It is believed that those works of Aristotle which survived the passage of time are written more like lecture notes or summaries from Aristotle's classes rather than the more polished, edited versions that are now lost (Barnes 2004, p. xiv). The result is a less conversational style with fewer digressions than a dialogue that is imitating a small gathering of friends.

The Welsh translator is John Gwyn Griffiths (1911-2004). His interest in translation was Classical poetry and writing on poetry. He compiled a collection of Classical poetry from several translators, covering poems from as far back as the *Iliad*. One work, *Cerddi Groeg Clasurol* (1989), covered translations of Greek poetry, and another, *Cerddi O'r Lladin* (1962), contains

Latin poetry. Griffiths' translation of *Poetics*, especially his introduction to the text, was considered by a contemporary bilingual reviewer to be better than any similar work in English (Davies 1995, p. 130).

5.3.3: *Oedipus at Colonus*

Unlike the other three works used as case studies here, *Oedipus at Colonus* is a play, designed to be performed in front of an audience. The author was Sophocles, one of the most famous of the Athenian dramatists. The exact date of Sophocles' birth is not known, but he is recorded as dying in 406 BC and based on inscriptions in Athens was likely born around in the 490s BC (Lloyd-Jones 2014, p. 7). *Oedipus at Colonus* was completed in 401 BC (Lloyd-Jones 2014, p.8), one of only 7 of the 123 plays he is said to have written which has survived (Bowen 1979, p. xi). Three of these concern the family of the tragic character Oedipus, including obviously the play being discussed here. The script of *Oedipus at Colonus* is divided into six acts with defined phases, following the last days of Oedipus' life as he travels with his daughters as an old man.

The Welsh translator is Euros Bowen (1904-1988). Davies (1995, p. 130) considered Bowen "the most prolific and successful" of the Welsh translators who worked with Classical texts. In particular, he praised Bowen's translations of Sophocles' plays for not only accurately conveying the meaning of the original Greek, but also composing Welsh translations of high quality and great literary worth that are as valuable to Welsh literature as anything originally composed in Welsh (Davies 1995, p. 131). Bowen published this translation through the '*Dramâu'r Byd*' (Dramas of the World) series produced by the University of Wales Press.

5.3.4: *Nichomachean Ethics*

The *Nichomachean Ethics* is according to Barnes (2004, p. ix) ‘one of the most celebrated and influential of moral philosophies’. It is often paired with Plato’s *Republic* in terms of length and philosophical impact, although the theme of *Ethics* is more focused on happiness and individual virtue than government systems. It is seen as more grounded in reality than the ‘otherworldly’ scope of much of Plato’s thought, like the theory of the Forms (Mason 2010, p. 2). As this is another work by Aristotle, the writing style is similar to *Poetics*.

John FitzGerald (1927-2007), a Carmelite friar who learnt Welsh as a second language, is the Welsh translator of the *Nichomachean Ethics*. This is his only entry in the Coleg Cymraeg database, although it is one of the longest translations. FitzGerald’s work started as an exercise in a moral philosophy class that he taught when he was lecturing at the University of Aberystwyth (FitzGerald 1998, p.vii). Davies (1995, p.130) had little to say about FitzGerald and his translation, likely as it was not officially published until after Davies’ book.

5.3.5: Comparing the Translators’ Approaches

Each translation includes an introduction. The introduction provides information which the translator thinks is important for the reader to know before reading the main body of the text. In the case of translations, it can contain information regarding the approach or challenges faced in

the translation process. Analysing the information in their introductions will provide an insight into the translators' translation methods, either directly if they discuss translation specifically, or indirectly by considering other factors like their motivation for translating or their intended audience.

Each translation Evans produced⁴¹ included an introduction and notes at the end to add further explanation to the translations. The information in these section treats the translations primarily as studies of Classical thought and culture and the linguistic element of the works is largely ignored. There is very little on Evans' translation method other than explaining individual terms. The closest he came to this was the foreword to *Republic*, where he stated that he used English and French translations as references (Evans 1956, p. ix). There are notes for translations at the end of *Republic* too, but again the notes are mostly there to expand on the ideas in the source text and explain cultural references, with rare explanations of translation choices (see for example, Evans 1956, p. 367 for brief discussions of the Greek terms *mimesis* and *dithurambos*).

Griffiths' introduction is significantly longer than the translation itself. It is over twice as long as the introduction to the translations of *Republic* and *Nichomachean Ethics*, despite these two works being several times longer than *Poetics*. In the foreword of *Poetics*, Griffiths notes his surprise that the work had not been translated into Welsh earlier, due to its influence on Western literature and theatre (Griffiths 1978, p. ix). The original form of his translation was entered into a translation competition at the National Eisteddfod, which indicates Griffiths intended for his work to be read by a general but educated audience as well as those with an interest in Classics.

⁴¹ Evans' translations are *Amddifyniad Socrates* 1936, *Phaedon* 1938, *Ewthuffron. Criton* 1943, *Gorgias* 1946 and *Y Wladwriaeth* 1956.

This reasoning is different to that of Evans, who was translating for the academic fields of Classics and perhaps philosophy.

Most of this introduction is dedicated to the discussion of terms that Griffiths felt required detailed explanations, as well as the standard biography of the original author and discussion on how to read the work. He does not discuss his translation strategy as a whole, but rather identifies nine terms which he felt required extensive analysis. The analysis is primarily cultural rather than linguistic, focusing on the meaning behind the terms rather than challenges in translating them into Welsh.

Bowen also does not discuss translation issues in his introduction, dedicating the majority of it to the plot and context of the play. He included an index at the back (Bowen 1979, pp. 94-110) which provides additional information on characters, cultural terms and terms relating to Greek drama. The focus of these notes is content rather than translation issues. On page xxviii Bowen discussed the kinds of rhythm used in the Ancient Greek poetry in the play. He noted that he tried to replicate it as far as possible in the translation, but admits there is no way to properly convey it in another language (Bowen 1979, p.xxviii).

FitzGerald's introduction contained a brief section about Aristotle's life, then a long discussion of how to read the text. Analysing the text is the focus of the introduction, which is to be expected in a work that originated as a discussion piece for a philosophy class. The influence of the translation as a study aid is clear in the main body of the text, where FitzGerald uses several methods to make clearer the structure of Aristotle's arguments, including numerous sub-headings, in some cases for individual paragraphs or even sentences, small diagrams such as on page 107, and lists (see p. 160, p. 173, p. 176).

Unlike the other three translators, FitzGerald included sections dedicated to translation problems (FitzGerald 1998, pp. xx-xxvii). His introduction is organised around a detailed discussion of his translation choices regarding two terms from Aristotle's list of virtues, which is similar to Griffiths' introduction except for only discussing two terms rather than nine. He analyses the terms by breaking them up into constituent parts, considers alternative meanings, and examines how they are used in the text. The back of the book contains an index (FitzGerald 1998, pp. 296-316) which lists the Welsh translations of Greek terms, with page references for where they appeared in the translation.

FitzGerald is the only translator to critically evaluate another Welsh translation, namely Evans' *Republic*. Producing such an analysis would be easiest for FitzGerald, since his translation was published up to two decades later than Griffiths and Bowen, and over four decades later than Evans. Aristotle's *Nicomachean Ethics* is also of a similar length and subject to Plato's *Republic*, increasing the probability of terms appearing that are common to the two works, and so providing more substance for comparisons.

FitzGerald's main criticism is the tendency of Evans to translate the same term in two different ways, such as 'σωφροσύνη' *sophrosune* (discussed in a section below), depending on how it was being used (FitzGerald 1998, p. xxiii). The problems FitzGerald has with this approach are that when the strategy is used it can hide the complexity of terms with multiple possible target language translations, and that trying to decide where to draw the line on what meanings get what translations provides a problem that can be easily avoided with the use of the same word (FitzGerald 1998, p. xxiii). This is contrasted with FitzGerald's own preference for finding one translation for each term where possible (FitzGerald 1998, p. xxiv). He admits that sometimes

this is not practical considering the lack of equivalence between certain Greek terms and available translations in Welsh (FitzGerald 1998, p. xxiv).

None of the translators detailed a general translation strategy in their introductions. FitzGerald's advocacy of the importance of providing one translation per source language term was the only discussion on translation that was not limited to individual terms. Griffiths and FitzGerald dedicated space in their introductions to specific terms, but Evans only did so incidentally and briefly in his notes. Bowen discussed the method of rhyming used in the source text, which would influence his choice of translations in his attempts to replicate the same kind of rhythm in Welsh. Their intended audiences were all highly literate but specialising in different areas. Evans aimed his translation at readers with a knowledge of Classics, while Griffiths and Bowen aimed for readers with an interest in literature and FitzGerald for students of philosophy.

5.4: Analysis of the Ancient Greek Translation Case Studies

This section will analyse the translations of terms gathered from the Ancient Greek source texts using the translation classification system applied to the Chinese translations in the previous chapter. As explained below, terms for translation from each work were sourced in different ways, due to differences in text length, genre and themes. The terms are combined into sections based on the category of the translation, and in total there are 325 Greek terms and 347 Welsh translations, including 23 proper nouns selected for transliteration. The glossary for this case

study also includes proper nouns from each work to compare transliteration methods. The list in its entirety can be found in Appendix 8.2.2.

5.4.1: Methodology for Collecting the Source Terms

Poetics, while still longer than most of the other recorded translations on the *Cronfa Cyfieithiadau'r Gymraeg* database at 54 pages, is considerably shorter than *Politics* and *Nichomachean Ethics*, making it possible to search for challenging translations by reading the entire text. It also had the advantage that the translator identified several terms of interest in the introduction, many of which received several pages of analysis. Most of the terms are related to the main subject of the work, namely Classical Greek drama. The list for *Poetics* contains 93 translations, plus 10 proper nouns for transliteration analysis.

The translation of *Republic* is 364 pages long and the *Nichomachean Ethics* is 234 pages. Both required a more systematic approach to locate words for the study. In the case of *Nichomachean Ethics*, this was relatively simple. Much of the work is dedicated towards a study of particular virtues and their perceived excesses and deficiencies. These virtues appear in the form of a list, a short summary of all of them can be found through sections 1107-1108. In addition to these, any word listed in the main translation with the transliterated Greek original term in brackets has been included, as well as some terms which were mentioned in the other translations, to allow for a more comparative approach. These words and many more also appear in the index. While drawing on all the translations in the index was an option, it is so detailed that to do so would

lead to the glossary from *Nichomachean Ethics* being significantly overrepresented compared to the others. The list for this work contains 102 translations and 4 transliterations.

There is no such systematic list of terms in *Republic* and, when added to the fact that the *Republic* translation is notably longer than *Nichomachean Ethics* at 364 pages versus 263, this makes a systematic search more difficult. For this, the English translation proved useful. The English translation made extensive use of footnotes, and so the most efficient solution was to read the footnotes on each page, looking for those instances where the translator was explaining the meaning of a complex term. It is also a full translation that does not omit any part of the text. There is a problem in that the English translation has an increased influence on term selection, prioritising terms which may be more challenging for English rather than Welsh translation. However, many of the terms selected this way were also shared across the other translations, suggesting that terms highlighted in the footnotes do not represent excessive majority language influence. The list for *Republic* contains 78 translations, also with 4 transliterations.

There is also no systematic list for *Oedipus at Colonus*. However, like *Poetics*, with this work it is practical for the purpose of this project to search the entire text for terms. The translation is 93 pages, composed of dialogue which often does not occupy whole lines. The majority of the terms selected are connected to either Ancient Greek religious practices, or terms related to Greek drama. There are 52 translations, with 5 transliterations.

All terms are listed in the glossaries in Appendix 8.2.2, divided into tables for each translation. Each table lists the source term, an English transliteration for ease of pronunciation, the Welsh translation given by the translator, an English gloss of the Welsh translation, the category of the translation method used, and references for translations of the same term in the other works.

Findings will be analysed by translation method category, which will mention any trends noted within or across translations, as well as comparison with the findings of the previous chapter.

5.4.2: Greek to Welsh Transliteration

Transliteration is an important issue to consider for Chinese due to its logographic script and presence of sounds which cannot be expressed by the standard Welsh alphabet. As noted earlier, although Greek uses an alphabet, it is different to the Latin alphabet used in Welsh, making Greek the closest comparison out of languages with sufficient Welsh-language translations for the kind of problems that are faced in Chinese transliteration. How willing translators are to make Welsh conventions rather than using English is an interesting question, which was raised in the previous chapter and will be relevant again in Chapter 6, which reports on my attempt to translate non-equivalent terms from a Classical Chinese text into Welsh.

Both Greek and Welsh are written in alphabetic scripts, with Welsh using the Latin alphabet and Greek using its own Greek alphabet. Since ancient history, there have been transliterations of Ancient Greek words into the Latin alphabet. A problem has already been identified in the context of Chinese in that Welsh does not use the standard Latin alphabet, so some letters from other languages are more difficult to represent. This is also true of Greek, which has some letters that can be represented in Latin but are omitted in the Welsh alphabet, and other letters which have no single equivalent in the standard Latin alphabet.

Due to the number of works translated, and possibly the prestige value of Classics in the 20th century, there was an attempt to create a standardised Welsh system for transliteration from Latin

and Ancient Greek. In 1957, Griffiths published an article in *Y Traethodydd* (Griffiths 1957) which outlined guidelines for transliterating names as suggested and promoted by the *Pwyllgor Adran Glasurol Urdd y Graddedigion* (Guild of Graduates Classics Department Committee). This article also appeared in the appendices of Griffiths' 1978 translation of *Poetics* (pp. 136-137), indicating that the conventions were used by at least one translator. This effort ensured that transliterations would be simpler to adapt to Welsh orthography, enabling resistance to majority language pressure in this respect.

For both Greek and Latin there are some traditional Welsh transliterations of personal names of famous individuals which are generally advised by the Guild conventions to be followed, as they have been used extensively in Welsh over the course of centuries. For example, the name of the Greek philosopher Aristotle Ἀριστοτέλης is transliterated by Griffiths to 'Aristoteles' (Griffiths 1978, p. 2), in addition to the 'Aristotlys' used by Evans (Evans 1943, p. 46). Another example Griffiths used is 'Athen' (p. 2) for Ἀθῆναι (Athens). Both these transliterations follow the original Greek more closely than the transliterations used in English.

In addition to the more widely used names, there are the recommended ways of transliterating less familiar names into Welsh, which in the case of Greek contains guidelines for converting some of the letters and diphthongs of the Greek alphabet. For example, names like 'Aischulos' and 'Ewripides' provide a better fit for Welsh orthography than the conventional English 'Aeschylus' for Αἰσχύλος, 'Euripides' for Εὐριπίδης (Griffiths 1989, p. 2), and 'Apolonios o Ynys Rhodos' (literally Apollonius of the Island of Rhodes) for Ἀπολλώνιος Ῥόδιος (Apollonius Rhodius) (Griffiths 1989, p. 3).

The guidelines do not always fit Welsh perfectly. For example, they suggest using 'z' to represent 'ζ' and 'x' for 'ξ', despite the fact that both z and x are not normally a valid letter in the

Welsh alphabet. Another point of interest is the treatment of digraphs. Welsh uses some combinations of letters to produce sounds that are difficult to express with the Latin alphabet. One such letter is ‘ll’. There are several words and names in Greek which contain a double l, such as Καλλιπίδης (Callippides) in *Poetics* 1461b35. Leaving the word unchanged in the transliteration would cause it to be read as /l/ instead of /l/. Griffiths deals with the problem in the translation by placing an apostrophe in the middle of the digraph, with the result being ‘Cal’lippides’ (Griffiths 1978, p. 120), causing the double letter to be pronounced /l/ while maintaining the double letter used in the source term. Griffiths also uses another approach (1987, p. 3) as seen in the example of ‘Apolonios o Ynys Rhodos’, which is to delete one ‘l’. While the convention states that digraphs should be replicated where they exist in the original Greek word, ‘ll’ is specifically listed as an exception (Griffiths 1978 p. 137).

In general, the other translators follow these conventions. Evans generally keeps to them, which is unsurprising as he was listed as a contributor (Griffiths 1957, p. 90). Bowen does too, using the same transliteration of ‘Athen’ for Ἀθῆνα (Athens) as Griffiths (Bowen 1979, p. 4), and ‘Oidipos’ for Οἰδίπους (Oedipus) (1979, p. 1). FitzGerald also followed the conventions, as can be seen in his transliteration of ‘Anaxagoras’ Ἀναξαγόρας (1998, p. 137), which observes the recommendation of using ‘x’ in names over ‘cs’, and ‘Polucleitos’ Πολύκλειτος (Polyclitus) (1998, p. 135), which follows the usual pattern of keeping closer to the Greek. The transliterations of names are not always consistent, even among the works of the same author. In his collected translations of the works of Plato, Evans started with ‘Plato’ in *Amddiffyniad Socrates* (The Apology of Socrates), which was published in 1936, and the same in *Phaedon* (Phaedo) in 1938. Then in 1943 in his translations of *Ewthuffron.Criton* (Euthyphro and Crito) he used ‘Platon’, which is closer to the original Greek Πλατων. This form was kept for his 1946

translation of *Gorgias*. Yet thirteen years later in 1956 in his translation of *Y Wladwriaeth* (The Republic) he went back to using ‘Plato’. The variant ‘Platon’ is the variant which appears in the guidelines in the appendix to Griffiths’ translation, which were developed by Evans. This may suggest that the pressure to use English conventions can be strong enough that even those who write conventions may not use them.

Established transliteration conventions exist between Greek and Welsh. They were developed by experienced translators specifically for Welsh translation from Greek, which complement the existing historical precedents. As an ancient language studied mostly by academics, the translators who worked in Welsh with Ancient Greek had the experience and motivation to codify and maintain these conventions. In general, they are used frequently despite some evidence of interference from English. This is aided by the fact that Greek shares many phonetic elements with Welsh, and written translation in this combination has a relatively long history. Despite this the translators sometimes use conventions which originate from English. Both types of conventions used letters which are not part of the standard Welsh alphabet, using other letters from the Latin alphabet rather than borrowing letters directly from the original Greek. More examples of transliteration from Greek will be seen in the next section on loanwords.

5.4.3: Category 1: Loanwords

The use of loanwords differed in popularity among the translators, representing 19.5% of the total translations. Loanwords represented 15.4% and 10.9% of the terms from *Republic* and *Nichomachean Ethics* but occupied 30.1% of the glossary from *Poetics* and 23.1% of *Oedipus at*

Colonus. In terms of numbers, *Republic* used 12 loanwords, *Poetics* 28, *Oedipus* 12 and *Ethics* 11. There was one 1a established source language loanword, one 1d recent third language loanword and twelve 1b recent source language loanwords. The majority, 49 translations, were 1c established third language loanwords. In all cases loanwords were the second most popular translation category.

The single 1a established source language loanword appeared in *Nichomachean Ethics*. This was ἦθος ‘ethos’, which was translated as ‘ethos’ (FitzGerald 1998, p. 24). This translation is attested in *Geiriadur Prifysgol Cymru* as a loan from Greek originating in the 20th century, whereas the 1b recent source language loanwords did not have entries. The 1d recent third language loanword was one of two translations from *Oedipus* for Εὐμενίδες Eumenides, an alternative name for the divine figures from Ancient Greek religion also called the Graces. Bowen’s translation was ‘Y Graslonesau’, meaning ‘the Graces’ (1979, p. 42). It is derived from ‘graslon’ (gracious) with the root word ‘gras’ (grace), a loanword from Middle English, but the translation itself was not attested in Welsh dictionaries.

There were 12 total 1b recent source language loanwords, with 7 in *Poetics*, 4 in *Oedipus*, and one in *Ethics*. In *Poetics*, these translations are all technical terms related to Greek music and drama found on page 88 in Griffiths’ translation. This was also true for the terms from *Oedipus*, which are the same terms as some which appeared in *Poetics*. Some of these were added by Bowen as a form of section heading to better organise the play and were not technically part of the source text (in the glossary, these terms are blank in the English and Greek columns). The one translation from *Ethics* referred to a specific kind of currency used in the source culture.

1c established third language loanwords was the largest method at 49 translations. There were 12 uses in *Republic*, 21 in *Poetics*, 7 in *Oedipus* and 9 in *Ethics*. Like 1a loanwords, these terms are attested in Welsh dictionaries as loanwords, originating in other languages than Greek. There were five source languages for 1c terms. Half were varieties of English (Old, Middle and Modern English), while the others were Old French and Latin. Of these, Modern English was the most common with 24 translations, followed by Latin with 13, Middle English with 5, Old French with 4 and Old English with 3.

As the majority language for Welsh, it is expected that many loanwords will be derived from English. French and Latin have also been central languages in the Welsh system historically. Some terms were loaned into Welsh many centuries previously. According to *Geiriadur Prifysgol Cymru*, ‘comedi’ was first attested in the 15th century, and ‘trasiedi’ in the 17th century. These terms and terms in the same genre would be familiar as loanwords in English and other European languages, such as ‘tragedy’ and ‘comedy’, with others including ‘prologue’ and ‘exodus’ being loanwords in the English translations (c.f. Bywater 1984, pp. 2324-5). An interesting point about several of the terms is that they were originally derived from the source language and became loanwords in Welsh by relay via central languages. For this reason, they may not be perceived as third language loans when reading without access to a dictionary. They may also not be considered loanwords at all, as several have been present in Welsh for centuries.

The percentage of loanwords is lower in *Republic* and *Nichomachean Ethics* at 15.4% and 10.9%. Neither Evans nor FitzGerald outlined a strategy in their introductions indicating that they would avoid loanwords over other categories of translations. This cannot be explained by the translators being influenced by English translations. While Evans recorded that he used several English translations as references, he also used several French ones (Evans 1956, p. ix).

Others note standard English editions which they followed at least for formatting (Griffiths 1978, p. x; Bowen 1979, p. vii; FitzGerald 1998, p. vii).

The difference in numbers can be explained by the usage of specialist terms for Greek drama in the translations of *Poetics* and *Oedipus*. This includes terms mentioned previously like ‘tragedy’ and ‘comedy’, but the main sources were the description of the parts of Greek drama in *Poetics* 1452b or page 88 in Griffiths’ translation and the section headings throughout *Oedipus*. In many cases, these texts overlapped in source terms, as one discussed drama while the other was a drama. Without these terms the percentage of loanwords in the two works would be closer to the percentage for the other two.

Griffiths used a third language loan to translate one of the terms which he analysed in his introduction. This is ἀμαρτία ‘hamartia’, which was translated as ‘diffyg’ (flaw), derived from Latin (Griffiths 1978, p. 89). The term is only mentioned once in the source text (Aristotle, *Poetics*, 1453a10). It refers to an aspect of plot development in composing drama, namely the flaw which leads to a change of fortune for a character. This flaw could come from ignorance or a mistake, or a moral failing (Griffiths 1978, p. 39). The Welsh term ‘diffyg’, like the English term ‘lack’, also has a sense of having a deficiency in a more concrete sense as well as the more moral sense of a character flaw.

The majority of loanwords used in the translations represent nouns. A smaller but significant portion represent adjectives, particularly in descriptions of different kinds of compositions in *Poetics* such as ‘ffalig’ or ‘saturig’ (Griffiths 1978, p. 77). This fits with Myers-Scotton’s analysis (2006, p. 227) discussed in Chapter 3, stating that nouns are the most commonly borrowed word category. Most of the loanwords are cultural borrowings, originating in specific

cultural genres, while some core borrowings like ‘defosiwn’ (devotion, prayer) for Εὐχομαι *euchomai* (pray) (Bowen 1979, p. 3) have been attested in Welsh for over 500 years and are only considered loanwords in the sense of originating in another language. Most loanwords from ancient Greek were recent translations by the translators not attested in authoritative dictionaries. Many terms recorded as third language loans are Greek terms borrowed in a relay via a third language, usually Latin or English, which represents historical central language interference.

In theory, the loanword category can be used to translate any word, as all that is often required is a level of phonological adaptation. However, in less familiar language combinations this category faces the same problem as new formation, in that a loanword which is not familiar in the target language will require explanation for the reader to understand. It therefore becomes easier to use existing target language resources in the form of a substitution, even if the word is not an exact equivalent of the source term. The alternative is to use a loanword from a third language which is understood, in this case English. The discussion on minority language translation, language and translation systems and postcolonialism in the first two chapters explained why taking such an approach with a minority language may be considered undesirable in situations where resistance to majority language interference is prioritised.

5.4.4: Category 2: New Formations

The data shows that new formations were not a productive method for the Greek translations. At 15 terms they comprise 4.6% of the total. There were 14 source language calques, 0 third language calques, and 1 coinage. By percentage there was no translation with a significantly

higher level of use, with 8 calques and 1 coinage at 8.9% of the total for *Ethics*, 3 calques at 3.2% for *Poetics*, 1 calque at 2% for *Oedipus*, and 2 calques at 2.6% for *Republic*.

The highest number of 2a source language calques across the three texts came from FitzGerald's *Nichomachean Ethics*. The words in this category from *Nichomachean Ethics* are mostly clustered in sections. One is the initial list of virtues (Aristotle, *Nichomachean Ethics*, 1107a30-1108b1; FitzGerald 1998, pp. 35-40) that use prefixes extensively, usually negative prefixes in the context of excesses or deficiencies of the virtues. The majority of these prefixes are variations of 'ἀ-' (a-) or 'ἀν-' (an-), which translate into Welsh with an exact equivalent negative prefix 'an-'. Other prefixes used include 'megalo-' 'μεγαλο-' translated as 'mawr-', meaning 'large' and its opposite 'mikro-' 'μικρο-' translated to 'bychan-'. Another notable section in *Ethics* mentions enthusiasts of certain concepts (Aristotle, *Nichomachean Ethics*, 1099a5-10; FitzGerald 1998, p. 13), with the terms formed using the prefix 'philo-' 'Φιλο-', meaning 'lover of', translated with the Welsh equivalent 'hoffwr' (lover, admirer).

The category proved less productive in the other translations, with other categories chosen to translate similar terms. Longer compound words in *Poetics* and *Oedipus* such as the specialist drama terms discussed in the previous section were translated with loanwords. Another construction including 'Ἑλεγειοποιός' (elegiac poet) and Κωμικοποιός (comic poet) was translated with compounds featuring a calque and a loanword, namely 'bardd elegeiog' (elegiac poet) and 'ysgrifennwr comedïau' (comedy writer). The trend operated in reverse with Evans' (1956, p. 158) translation of Ἔξοδος (exodus) with the calque 'ffordd allan' (way out). This term was translated with loanwords in *Poetics* and *Oedipus*, likely as it is familiar in Welsh through the Bible; Evan's translation is a calque of the prefix ἐξ- (ex-) meaning 'out of' or 'from' and ὁδός (odos) meaning 'way'.

Constructions such as these are suitable for calques if equivalents can be found for the prefix, and if the term that forms the root has had a translation established either previously or in the same section. It is possible that some of the abstract nouns used in Aristotle's list of virtues were deliberately constructed for the work to form hypothetical extremes, producing words that happened to be convenient to translate with calques. Lots of terms of similar structure were translated as compounds due to one or more of the components not being suitably equivalent, which will be discussed further in the compounds section.

2b third language calques are entirely absent in the case study. As the Welsh translators could read Greek, it seems more likely that they sourced the calques directly from the Ancient Greek terms. Literal calque translation is frequent in the English dictionary entries for the same words, those used in *Ethics* including 'lover of' for the 'philo-' calques (Aristotle, *Nichomachean Ethics*, 1099a5-10) and 'illiberality for 'aneleutheria' (Aristotle, *Nichomachean Ethics*, 1107b10). The result is Welsh translation would effectively be the same if it were derived from the original Greek or the English.

The most challenging term to classify was ἔρνυγας (ernugas) (Aristotle, *Politics*, 1457b35). The definition provided for it is that it was an accusative plural term coined in *Poetics* as a poetic alternative for κέρατα (kerata) (Liddell and Scott 1925-1930, p. 691). The first term appears to derive from the term ἔρνος ernos, meaning 'young sprout' or 'shoot' The second, in its uninflected form Κέρας keras, means 'horn' (Liddell and Scott 1925-1930, p. 941).

Griffiths (1978, p.106) translated the term with ‘eginwr’, a translation unattested in the full printed or online versions of *Geiriadur Prifysgol Cymru*⁴². The root of the term is the word ‘egin’, which translates to ‘sprout’. This is followed by the suffix ‘-wr’, derived from ‘gŵr’ (man), which acts as an agent suffix (Zimmer 2000, p. 282). The whole term would translate into English as ‘sprouter’, which not only makes sense as a literary alternative for ‘horn’ (in the sense that horns sprout out of the head of animals), but also is identical to the English translation given by another translator, W.H.Fyfe (1932, section 1457b)⁴³. It is not known whether Griffiths derived his translation from English or directly from the source term, as he provided no commentary to this choice.

This term was initially taken for a neologism due to difficulty in determining the exact composition of the source term and the absence of the translation from any dictionary. However, the term was finally declared a source language calque. It is possible that it was a third language calque, but as Griffiths was capable of direct translation within the language combination and used this approach throughout the work, it seems unlikely that he would adopt an English calque solely for this one term.

The single coinage in the glossary appeared in *Ethics*. This was Φιλοπάτωρ (philopator) (Aristotle, *Nichomachean Ethics*, 1148b1), meaning ‘loving one’s father’. FitzGerald (1998, p. 159) translated the term as ‘mab-ei-dad’, which literally means ‘son of his father’. It is a term not

⁴² The volume of the printed version in which this term would appear was compiled 11 years before Griffiths’ translation (Thomas 1950-1967). The online version contains all the terms from all editions of the printed version, in addition to new words added every year.

⁴³ Bywater (1984, p. 2333) did not translate this term, instead quoting the unadapted source term.

attested in *Geiriadur Prifysgol Cymru* and it is a single term due to the use of hyphens. That only one term out of 324 was translated with this method suggests the difficulty of forming such a term compared to using other methods or categories.

New Formations were not considered productive by any of the translators. Only FitzGerald used this method for more than 5% of terms, and a significant number of these uses represent similarly constructed terms. Many source language terms which could be calqued due to being compounds were translated by lexical substitution instead. The use of calques depends on there being compound source language terms whose meanings are not already covered by existing target language terms. As many Classical Chinese terms are only one character long, it seems unlikely that this process will be productive in the translations in Chapter 6. The coinage method was used only once. Although the size of the sample in this case study is not conclusive, it suggested that this method is more likely to be avoided in favour of other categories of translation when dealing with new terms from other languages.

5.4.5: Category 3: Lexical Substitutions

The category of lexical substitution is by far the largest, representing over two thirds of total translations and a clear majority for every translator. It represents the translation of terms using words which are already part of the target language lexicon. If this method proved productive for translating challenging terms from Ancient Greek, it could also prove a productive option for translation from Chinese in the practical exercise within the thesis. As the number of terms in

this category is significantly higher than the others, this section will discuss each sub-category in turn.

Lexical substitution was used for 212 out of 324 terms, representing 65.6% of total terms. This method occupied a significant proportion for each translator, with 78.2% of the total for *Republic*, 49.5% for *Poetics*, 67.3% for *Oedipus* and 69.3% for *Ethics*. There was substantial variation in use among the sub-categories. 3a semantic expansions were used for 40 terms, 3b semantic reductions for 136 terms, 3c near equivalents for 33 terms and 3d cultural equivalents for 3 terms.

5.4.5.1: 3a Semantic expansions

Semantic expansions represent the use of a target language term with several distinct meanings to translate a source language term which uses only some of those meanings. It was the second most common of the lexical substitution methods with 40 uses. Evans used 12 semantic expansions, Griffiths used 9, Bowen used the least at 6 and FitzGerald used the most at 13.

This method covers any situation where the translation is a term which contains more meanings than the source term. While the difference in the number of meanings is frequently quite large, several of the source terms translated using this method had only one fewer meaning than the target translation. This was seen several times in FitzGerald's translations from the chapter on virtues in *Nichomachean Ethics*. For example, ὀργιλότης orgilotes 'irascibility' was translated as 'dicllonedd' (FitzGerald 1998, p. 37), which according to *Geiriadur Prifysgol Cymru* also means 'resentment' or 'bitterness', which is not a part of the source term. Another such terms is δειλός

deilos ‘cowardice’, translated as ‘llwfr’ (FitzGerald 1998, p. 35), which can also mean ‘lazy’.

Semantic expansions were used to translate some religious terms which have more specific meanings in Greek. One example is Φάντασμα *phantasma* and Evans’ translation ‘rhith’ (1956, p. 335), where the Greek term has a more restricted supernatural usage compared to the Welsh translation which can also mean ‘shape’ or ‘form’ more generally⁴⁴.

Some terms in this category were given more than one distinct Welsh translation. At first glance, it seems difficult to justify classifying these terms as semantic expansions, as a term requiring multiple target language words to translate would normally be translated by a semantic reduction. One example of this is the term Ψυχή *psyche*. Evans gave this term two separate translations, ‘enaid’ (mind, soul) (Evans 1956, p. 38) for the use at 353d and ‘meddwl’ (mind, thought, character) (Evans 1956, p. 62), which is a semantic reduction, for the use at 375b.

Griffiths also translates this term with ‘enaid’ (1978, p. 81).

It was mentioned earlier that Evans did not dedicate space in his introduction for the kind of translation analysis which appeared at the start of Griffiths’ and FitzGerald’s works. However, there is one equivalent which Evans does discuss. This is δικαία *dikaia*, one of the most common philosophical terms in *Republic*. The English translation Lee uses for this term is ‘justice’ (Lee 1987, p. 138). Evans (1956, p. 125) translates this term as ‘cyfiawn’ (just, righteous, lawful). It also appears and is translated as ‘cyfiawn’ in *Barddoneg* (1978, p. 72), and *Moeseg Nicomachaid* (1998, p. 2). The definition and explanation of this term is the main theme of discussion for *Republic*, appearing as early as the first book (Plato, *Republic*, 331c). Evans

⁴⁴ See also Σεμνός ‘*semnos*’, translated as ‘defodol’ (Bowen 1979, p. 3) and Ψυχή ‘*psyche*’, which will be discussed later.

considered this term essential to understanding Plato's philosophy in *Republic* (c.f. Evans' endnote in *Ewffutthron. Criton* 1943, p. 47). He points out on the first page that the work has a secondary title including the term, *Ynghylch Cyfiawnder* (Concerning Justice) (Evans 1956, p. xi). Evans explained in his introduction that the Ancient Greek view of morality did not think of an individual as separate from his or her community (Evans 1956, p. xi). The aim that Plato was trying to accomplish with his dialogue in *Republic* was to find a way of creating just citizens who would be better able to serve and govern their communities (Evans 1956, p. xi). Therefore according to Evans, the view of justice subscribed to by Plato would be less focused on what is right and fair for the individual than our conception of it.

Direct critique of this term does not appear in *Republic*, but rather in one of Evans' earlier translations. It is not a detailed study, being only a small note at the end of his combined translations of two of Plato's other works *Ewthuffron. Criton* (*Euthyphro* and *Crito*). However, in this note he acknowledges that the translation of 'dikaia' as 'cyfiawnder' is not completely satisfactory, as the term has a broader sense of moral courage and self-discipline, which could apply to people like prisoners who would not normally be considered by us as 'just' (Evans 1943, p. 47). One possible alternative translation is 'tegwch', which is normally translated as 'fairness'. This translation is inadequate because it misses the legal connotation of the source term. Despite Evans' criticism of his own choice, there appears to be no closer Welsh equivalent for translating 'dikaia' using a substitution than 'cyfiawnder'.

5.4.5.2: 3b Semantic reductions

Semantic reduction is the largest sub-category in any of the categories, totalling 136 translations. It is the opposite of the previous category, representing substitutions where the translation is a more specific term than the source. The reason why this is the largest sub-category is connected to the nature of the case study. Using a more specific target language term to translate the most contextually important meaning could be the most effective translation method, especially if there are no near equivalent target language terms. This method was productive for all the translators, with Evans using it for 42 terms, Griffiths for 28, Bowen for 21 and FitzGerald for 45.

Some semantic reductions were used to translate simple but general terms with a Welsh term that highlighted one definition. For example, Σκῆπτρον *skeptron* was translated as ‘teyrnwialen’ (sceptre) by Bowen (1979, p.23). The Welsh term refers to the ceremonial staff used by monarchs, while the Greek term could refer to other kinds of staffs. Another is Πρόσωπον *proswpon*, which Griffiths (1978, p.78) translated as ‘penwisp’ (mask). The original term referred to the masks that dramatic actors wore and this was the definition Griffiths conveyed with his translation, while Πρόσωπον can also mean ‘front’ or ‘facade’.

This method was productive for translating philosophical terms. Terms from this field are unlikely to have simple equivalents which cover all nuances in the meaning of the source term. They are frequently applied in other, non-philosophical contexts. One such term which is also familiar in English is ὑπόθεσις *hypothesis*, which Evans (1956, p. 229) translated as ‘rhagdybiaeth’ (preconception, assumption). This source term can have several other meanings in the authoritative Ancient Greek dictionary by Liddell and Scott, including ‘proposal’, ‘suggestion’ or ‘subject’. Another similar term is Ἀρχή *arche*, translated as ‘egwyddor’

(principle) (FitzGerald 1998, p. 4). In addition to the translated meaning, definitions of this term can include ‘origin’ and ‘power’.

One semantic reduction which features prominently in FitzGerald’s introduction is ‘σωφροσύνη’ sophrosune, which he translated as ‘iawnbwylledd’ (sanity) in Welsh (FitzGerald 1998, p. 35).

The English translation from Thomson is ‘temperance’ (Thomson et.al. 2004, p. 43). As part of Aristotle’s list of virtues, it is displayed as the mean between ‘trythyllwch’ (licentiousness) and ‘dideimlad’ (insensible). FitzGerald analysed the term by breaking it up into constituent elements (FitzGerald 1998, p.xx). The term starts with ‘sw’ ‘σω’, meaning ‘safe’ or ‘healthy’, then ‘phro’ ‘φρο’ meaning ‘mind’ or ‘wisdom’. There are two possibilities for translating both elements: ‘iawn’ or ‘iach’ for the first element, and ‘pwyll’ or ‘pryd’ for the second. One translation that FitzGerald suggests is of course the semantic reduction ‘iawnbwylledd’, which is attested in *Geiriadur Prifysgol Cymru*, but he also considers the suitability of the source language calques ‘iachfrydedd’ and ‘iachfrydig’ (FitzGerald 1998, p. xxi). Welsh uses the expression ‘yn ei iawn bwyll’ ‘in his right mind’, which is similar enough to the core meaning of ‘sophrosune’ (FitzGerald 1998, p. xxiv). ‘Iach’ as a prefix also has too much of a medical connotation compared to the more general ‘iawn’. In my view this supports FitzGerald’s final choices of the noun ‘iawnbwylledd’ and the adjective ‘iawnbwyllog’, which is derived from this term (FitzGerald 1998, p.xxi).

As with philosophical terms, words connected to religious practices were translated with this method. Ἱερός hieros, a term which can represent various kinds of consecrated areas, was translated as ‘templ’ (temple) (Griffiths 1978, p. 97), and Εὐχομαι euchomai, which can mean

‘pray’ or ‘declare’, was translated as ‘defosiwn’ (prayer) (Bowen 1979, p. 3)⁴⁵. This method was used for translation of specialist terms from poetry and music. One of these is the title of Griffiths’ translation. Ποιητικός Poietikos was translated to ‘barddoneg’ (poetics) (Griffiths 1978, p. 1). While the Welsh terms exclusively refer to poetry, the Greek term can also mean ‘productivity’ or ‘creativity’. The same applies to the related term ποιήσις poiesis and Griffiths’ translation ‘barddoniaeth’. Another term in this theme is Σύστασις systasis, translated as ‘saerniaeth’ (framework) (Griffiths 1978, p. 80). While the Welsh term has an additional meaning of ‘carpentry’ which is not present in the Greek term, there are more extra meanings in the Greek term, including ‘standing together’ or ‘accumulating’.

As with semantic expansions, some terms received different translations by either the same or multiple translators. Πάθος paths was translated two ways by FitzGerald, ‘profiad’ (experience) on page 72, and ‘dioddef’ (suffering) on page 88. This term is also similar to Πάθη pathē, which Bowen (1979, p. 1) also translated as ‘dioddef’, and was discussed in the introduction to *Poetics*. In his analysis, Griffiths (1978, p. 27) only refers to it as ‘dioddef’, indicating that the other translation was a representation of another element of the source term which was only relevant to the context in which it appeared.

Griffiths produced a detailed analysis of a semantic reduction, in this case to the term Μίμησις Mimesis (Griffiths 1978, pp. 9-17). Out of all the analyses in Griffiths’ introduction it is by far the longest, which is appropriate given the importance that Aristotle placed on the term in the

⁴⁵ The Welsh term is borrowed from English, but as it was borrowed over 700 years ago into Middle rather than Modern Welsh, it can be considered part of the Welsh lexicon. It is also a noun rather than a verb like the Greek term, which is a result of translator style rather than a translation issue.

field of drama, beginning the discussion of it as early as the first section (Aristotle, *Poetics*, 1447a15). The translation given for it in English by Bywater (1984, p. 2316) is ‘imitation’. The term as a concept relating to literature had been used in earlier writing like some of Aristophanes’ comedies and Plato’s *Republic* (Griffiths 1978, p. 10). Aristotle believed that ‘mimesis’ was something inherent in humans that distinguished them from animals (Aristotle, *Poetics*, 1448b1), but Griffiths points out this is incorrect as many different kinds of animals can imitate what they see (Griffiths 1978, p. 9). Although the term is defined as imitation, the intention was not to make an exact copy of the original object, due to the need to interpret less obvious aspects of an object like character motives (Griffiths 1978, p. 11). This term appears in *Poetics* as ‘efelychu’ (Griffiths 1978, p. 71), as well as in *Republic* (Evans 1956, p. 83). There are two possible words in Welsh that could translate the term: ‘efelychu’ and ‘dynward’. The main difference between these is that ‘dynward’ can have a negative sense, like imitating by mocking. Both translators decided that the more neutral ‘efelychu’ was more suitable.

5.4.5.3: 3c Near equivalents

Near equivalents accounted for 33 terms. It represents substitution with a target language term which shares enough meanings with the source term that the two can be considered broadly equivalent. Evans used this method 6 times, Griffiths used it 9 times, Bowen had 6 uses and FitzGerald had the highest at 12.

How closely the meanings of the source and target terms match each other in this sub-category varies. Some terms, such as ἀληθής alethes (true, real), translated as ‘gwir’ by Evans (1956, p.

233) have a near identical correspondence. In other cases, source language terms had a few rare meanings which were not present in the target terms. While the source texts used in this case study were written within a one-hundred-year period, dictionaries of Ancient Greek record a language spread across over one thousand years. Specialist meanings applied to words in one period may not be relevant to the term as it is used in the period where the source texts originated. For example, the term ἱκέτης *hiketes*, meaning ‘suppliant’ is translated as ‘ymbiliwr’ by Bowen (1979, p. 3). The Greek term has a more specific meaning of someone seeking purification after committing a crime, which is only used in earlier Homeric Greek. This rare definition can be ignored as it is not applicable to the use of the term in the kind of Ancient Greek used in the case studies, and as the other meanings of the term are close to the translation it can be classed as an equivalent.

FitzGerald analysed one equivalent in detail in his introduction, one of only two terms which received this treatment. This was ‘trythyllwch’, translated from the Greek term ἀκολασία *akolasia*, translated to English by Thomson (2004, p. 43) as ‘licentiousness’. He had more to talk about regarding this term than many more famous Aristotelian concepts such as ‘arete’ and ‘eudaimonia’. The Greek term is composed of two elements, the prefix ‘ἀ-’, which normally means ‘without’, and ‘κολάζω’ *kolazw*, which principally means ‘punish’ or ‘chastise’, as well as ‘pruning’ in a horticultural sense (FitzGerald 1998, p. xxv). The term carries a sense of someone who has not been subject to sufficient discipline and has been effectively allowed to grow wild like an uncut tree branch. Aristotle himself states (Aristotle, *Nicomachean Ethics*, 1119b3-10) that the term is normally used for naughty children.

FitzGerald did not attempt a calque here, even though he states that the verb ‘tocio’ is roughly equivalent to ‘κολάζω’, so applying the negative prefix ‘di-’ to represent ‘ἀ-’ could form a viable

calque (FitzGerald 1998, p. xxv). He also admits that ‘trythyllwch’ is antiquated (Fitzgerald 1998, p. xxv), and can mean ‘lively’ as well as ‘wanton’. According to FitzGerald, ‘trythyllwch’ has enough of a general meaning for all kinds of excess and wantonness that it is a close enough equivalent for the source term (FitzGerald 1998, p. xxvii).

5.4.5.4: 3d Cultural substitutions

This method was the least popular of the substitution category, at just three uses. It was not used in *Poetics* or *Ethics*, whereas it was used once in *Republic* and twice in *Oedipus*. It substitutes the source term with a term that expresses a different cultural element in the target language. Bowen used this method to translate two exclamations, ὦ O as ‘Duw!’ (God!) (Bowen 1979, p. 12) and ὦ Ζεῦ O Zeu as ‘Y Nefoedd!’ (Heavens!). In the first case, the exclamation has been translated with a term that adds a religious connotation, while in the second the religious connotation has been changed from Ancient Greek religion to Christian.

The other cultural substitution is from *Republic*. It is ἰαμβεῖος *Iambeios*, which refers to a type of Ancient Greek poetry. This was originally a type of religious poetry, with the sense of a poetic meter based on a short followed by a long syllable being applied later (Gerber 1999, p. 1). Evans (1956, p. 340) translated the term as ‘talgrwn’, a Welsh poetic term defined in *Geiriadur Prifysgol Cymru* as a syllable containing a rising vowel or diphthong. The source term and translation do not refer to the same poetic structure. Evans would know this, which suggests his translation choice was meant to represent an equivalent poetic style used in the target language

tradition rather than convey the exact meaning of the source term. In contrast, Griffiths (1978, p.76) used the loanword ‘iambig’ for the same term.

Lexical substitution was the most productive category in the case study. It could potentially translate any term, as long as there is at least one existing target language word with one or more similar meanings. No pattern can be determined in terms of what genres were translated by which sub-category. In terms of word class, all translators used this category most frequently for abstract nouns. They were generally connected with specialist cultural fields like poetry, religion and philosophy but were close enough in meaning to an existing Welsh word that a loanword was not considered a better strategy.

Evans shows a clear preference for substitutions, with over three quarters of the list for *Republic* falling into this category. As the earliest of the translators, his work has potentially had an influence on later translations, due to establishing precedents for translating specialist terms. FitzGerald also favoured this method with a clear majority. He found equivalent Welsh translations for terms from the list of virtues and the wider source text. Bowen found this method highly productive, mainly for religious and culturally specific terms. Griffiths used this method the least as a percentage compared to the other translators, but it still comprised over half his translations. His introduction analysed more of these terms than the others, and generally in greater detail.

Semantic expansion was the second largest of all sub-categories. Several of these represented a difference from the source term of one additional meaning. Semantic reduction was the largest by a considerable margin and was productive for complex terms which received different

translations from the same or multiple translators, as well as appearing frequently for specialist terms in general. Near equivalent was the third most widely used sub-category, finding use for several terms which the translators highlighted in their introductions. Cultural equivalent was clearly the least productive with only three uses.

These results are close to those exhibited in the Chinese case study in the previous chapter. Semantic reductions were also by far the most frequent method and cultural substitution was represented the least. Lexical substitution was used frequently to translate a wide variety of terms, including complex religious and philosophical vocabulary which will appear in the translations from Chinese in the next chapter. However, there is less cultural distance between the target culture and Ancient Greek thought than there is between that and Chinese thought. Lexical substitution, in particular established equivalent, may not be as productive in such a situation.

5.4.6: Category 4: Lengthenings and Shortenings

This section will analyse the use of lengthenings and shortenings in translations from the case study. This category uses translations comprised of more or fewer terms than the source term. Category 4 was the least popular categories, but there are still enough terms to compare between the translations. This section will discuss general trends in this category, the lack of reductions compared to expansions, and similarities with other word categories. Overall, there were 11 lengthenings in the case study, comprising 3.4% of total terms. FitzGerald used the method at the

highest rate at 5%, with Griffiths at 2.2%, Bowen at 3.8% and Evans at 2.6%. FitzGerald also used the highest total amount at 5, while the other three used two each.

The most prominent initial finding, as with the previous Chinese case study, is that shortenings were not used. It is unlikely that there will be many reductions from ancient Greek because this language tends to form compound words rather than express concepts in multiple separate words. As Greek and Chinese are so different grammatically yet neither used this method, it suggests this method will not be popular in general.

For the opposite of the reasons given above, lengthenings were more common in the case study.

The expansion that was analysed in the most detail was the term Κάθαρσις *katharsis*, which Griffiths highlighted in his introduction (1978, pp. 49-57). This term is given two translations, which represent the only two times it is used in the source text. The first is ‘puredigaeth’ (purification) (Griffiths 1978, p. 98). The first use of the term is a semantic reduction connected to Ancient Greek religious practices and Griffiths does not dedicate much time to it. The second, more important use is translated as ‘gweithio allan’ (‘work out’) (Griffiths 1978, p. 79). This is used in the context of drama and poetry to represent the ability of these media to cause emotions in their audience, which have a therapeutic effect (Griffiths 1978, p. 51). Despite forming a lengthening for it, Griffiths uses a transliterated loan throughout the introduction when discussing the term. Halliwell’s English translation (1987, p. 37) opted for a loanword for his English translation. The decision to only use the lengthening in the main body of the translation suggests that while Griffiths wanted to produce a translation similar to the other terms he had previously analysed, he felt it more convenient to refer to the source term in his analysis.

One of the most unusual translation choices in the case study was Evans (1956, p. 124) translating ὕδρα Hydra with the lengthening ‘sarff amlbennog’ (multi-headed serpent). Evans’ translation is a physical description of the monster rather than a literal translation of any element of the name. The source language term is normally considered the proper name of a specific monster, reflected by Lee’s decision to use a transliteration in English (Lee 1987, p. 135). It is also true in other Welsh texts which use the term, as shown by the entry for ‘Hydra’ in *Geiriadur Prifysgol Cymru*, which is listed as a loanword from English⁴⁶. The fact that Evans chose a lengthening over a loan suggests his opposition to loanwords in his translations, which only represented 15.4% of his translations.

Some of the expansions used much higher numbers of words. Instead of following the established pattern of ‘hoffwr ...’ (lover (of)) to translate ‘Φιλόκαλος’ (lover of beauty), on page 13 FitzGerald used the lengthening ‘yr un sy’n hoff o beth bynnag sy’n hardd’ (one who is fond of whatever is beautiful). Another similar term appears later, Εὐτροπος (nimble-witted), which FitzGerald (1998, p. 94) translates as ‘Yr un sy’n gwibio’n chwimwth eu troadau’ (one who darts swiftly in his turns). Griffiths also used some longer lengthenings (1978, pp. 78-79) to translate Ἀπαγγελία appagelia. The term used at 1449b20 on the source text was translated with ‘dull o adrodd stori’ (method of narrating a story), while at 1449b25 he used ‘adrodd ei hanes’ (narrate his story). Both were translated in the English version as ‘narrative’ (Halliwell 1987, pp. 36-37). No explanation is provided for any of these choices, although Griffiths is more related to context, with one noun and one verbal phrase.

⁴⁶ Although a direct loan from Greek would be identical other than swapping the ‘y’ for a ‘u’ according to the transliteration conventions.

The case study has shown that lengthenings and shortenings were uncommon processes in this language combination and this corpus. They provided a flexible alternative for dealing with concepts which pose a grammatical or semantic problem where more common processes like loanwords or lexical substitution were not preferred. Alternatives to using calques such as ‘yr un sy’n hoff o beth bynnag sy’n hardd’ allowed for extra variety in term appearance and the ability to represent source language constructions which could be awkward to translate with other methods.

Some lengthenings were used as an alternative to loanwords where there was no viable single word lexical substitution. These included complex terms like ‘gweithio allan’ and loanword avoidance such as ‘sarff amlbennog’. These terms avoid source language rather than majority language loanwords, which is an unusual choice considering that neither Griffiths nor Evans were particularly averse to source language loanwords relative to other non-lexical substitution methods. A possible reason for this could be a desire to prioritise minority language resources where such terms can be devised and considered suitable by the translators.

5.4.7: Category 5: Compounds

This section will discuss the compound methods used in the case study. There were 22 compounds across all translations. Evans used 1 at 1.3%, Griffiths used 13 at 14%, Bowen used 2 at 3.8% and FitzGerald used 6 at 5.9%. In terms of specific compound methods, there were 4 5a loanword and new formations, 1 5c loanword and lengthening and shortenings, 1 5d new formation and substitutions, 13 5f substitution and lengthening and shortenings and 3 5g other

combinations. The range of use between the translators is broad, with one use by Evans compared to 13 by Griffiths. This could indicate more variety in translation styles or a consequence of the type of words which appeared in the source texts.

All four 5a compounds (loanword and new formations) appeared in *Poetics*. They are all poetry or drama terms, either referring to a particular type of poetry or music or to the performers of poetry or music. One from the former group, Αὐλητικός auletikos (flute playing) was translated as ‘cerddoriaeth y ffliwt’ (flute music) (Griffiths 1978, p. 71). This is a source language calque combined with ‘ffliwt’ as an established third language loanword. Of the other group, Ἑλεγειοποιός elegeiopoios (elegiac poet) was translated as ‘bardd elegeiog’ (elegiac poet) (Griffiths 1978, p. 72) in the same pattern with ‘elegeiog’ as an established third language loan from Latin.

5c and 5d compounds were used once each. The 5c compound (loanword and lengthening and shortenings) was Σὺριγξ syrigx (panpipe) in *Poetics*. Griffiths translated it as ‘pibau’r bugail’ (shepherd’s pipes) (1978, p. 72), which is an established third language loanword ‘pib’ (pipe) and a lengthening adding the information on who was most associated with the instrument. The 5d compound was another musical term, also from *Poetics*. Κιθαριστικός kitharistikos (art of kithara playing) was translated as cerddoriaeth y delyn (harp music) (Griffiths 1978, p. 71). The translation is a calque and a near equivalent representing the instrument.

The most frequent compound was 5f (substitution and lengthening and shortening) at thirteen uses, with 1 in *Republic*, 5 in *Poetics*, 2 in *Oedipus* and 5 in *Ethics*. There was no pattern in genre for the terms translated with this method in the source texts with five each as was seen with the musical terms translated by 5a compounds in *Poetics*. These compounds often reached

multiple words in length, such as FitzGerald's (1998, p. 68) translation of Ὀψις opsis (aspect, vision, view), which was 'pethau sydd i'w gweld' (things to see). 'Gweld' functions as the substitution, while the rest of the term is lengthening. A shorter example of this is Συνήθεια syntheia (habitual intercourse, habit). Griffiths (1978, p. 71) translated it as 'arfer fynych' (frequent habit, custom), with 'arfer' as a substitution and 'fynych' providing the lengthening.

There were three 5g compounds, covering all compounds which do not fit the other compound categories. An example of this is Τραγωδοδιδάσκαλος Tragoidodidaskalos (tragic poet), which Griffiths (1978, p.76) translated in *Poetics* as 'Ysgrifennwr trasiediau' (tragedy writer). The Greek term literally means 'tragedy teacher' because, as the dictionary entry states, these individuals would teach tragedy composition as well as write tragedies. While 'trasiediau' is a loanword which *Geiriadur Prifysgol Cymru* states was borrowed into Welsh by relay from English, 'ysgrifennwr' is a translation of the implied meaning of the term rather than a literal translation. It could be argued that this translation could count as 5b loanword and substitution, but a 5g compound of a loanword, a source language calque and a substitution was considered more accurate.

What has been indicated is that compounding multiple methods of translating terms was less productive in translation from ancient Greek. Following this pattern would mean that compounding will be used rarely in the Chinese translations, but that depends on the viability of other processes to translate from a language with a very different grammatical structure. The previous chapter case study on Chinese also indicated that compounding was not a common process among the two translators, which suggests it may be less used in the translations in the following chapter.

5.5: Chapter Analysis and Conclusion

This concluding section will analyse the findings from the case study of Ancient Greek translation, noting any trends identified in the use of term translation categories. It will also consider how the findings of this case study can be applied to the practical translation exercise from Chinese in the next chapter.

Category 1: Loanwords

Loanwords were the second largest category at 63 terms at 19.5%. They were used mostly for already established terms from the source language, like ‘trasiedi’, or for established terms from other languages used frequently in Welsh for centuries, like ‘meistr’. There were notable differences in the use of methods within the category, with 1 1a established source language loan, 1 1d recent third language loan, 12 1b recent source language loans and 49 1c established third language loans.

Loanwords were avoided in many cases in the Greek translations, even though the translation was from a peripheral language. It was a more productive method in translations intended for a less exclusively academic audience. Terms from highly specific aspects of Greek drama like ‘saturig’ (Griffiths 1978, p. 77) for ‘satyrikos’ were generally translated with loanwords, while philosophical terms like ‘rhagoriaeth’ (for ‘arete’) (Evans 1956, p. 12) were translated with other categories. In terms of adapting the loanwords, the use of this category was facilitated by the

ease in which Greek terms can be transliterated into Welsh, partly due to the work academics have done to standardise conversion.

As Chinese is also a peripheral language to Welsh, there is no sense of threat which would oppose the use of source language loanwords. However, in the Chapter 4 glossary loanwords were used for just 10% of translations, with Maby using 3 third language loans and Williams using 4 source language loans. Transliterating from Chinese will be more challenging due to the more extreme differences in pronunciation, as well as the lack of a standardised transliteration system. This may impact the viability of adopting loanwords, as well as providing an additional incentive to produce transliteration conventions for translating into Welsh from Chinese.

Category 2: New Formations

New formation was a rare category. It had 15 total uses, representing 14 2a source language calques, no 2b third language calques and 1 2c coinage. Forming calques requires multiple semantic elements to translate, which makes the process more productive for compound words. Despite the proliferation of compound terms in Greek, this method was not productive compared to lexical substitution strategies. If this method was used infrequently for translating Greek, it will likely be used even less for translating Classical Chinese. This is because Classical Chinese terms are mostly composed of one character, which makes forming a calque impossible as there is only one element to translate. However, in cases where the source term contains more than one character, calques proved reasonably productive in Chapter 4 at 8.6% of total terms, with 5 for Maby and 1 for Williams.

The single coinage was constructed with hyphens and considered a coinage because it was not attested in dictionaries. Forming an entirely original term and then justifying this decision likely requires too much effort compared to loanwords or substitutions. It is likely that this method will also be unproductive for the next chapter, as it was with Chapter 4. However, there are a few factors which may result in the use of one or more coinages. Due to the low amount of translation and engagement with Chinese philosophical concepts in Welsh, there are no true established translations of these terms. As a result, the meaning of the terms will have to be explained in detail, making the justification of a coinage appear less burdensome compared to other methods. The complexity of the source language terms may also result in the lack of a good target language substitute, leading to coinages being one of the few viable alternatives to loanwords, if it is decided loanwords should be avoided. An additional argument is that a coinage may be necessary to avoid applying preconceptions contained in target language terms to translations of complex Chinese philosophical concepts.

Category 3: Lexical Substitutions

Lexical substitution was by far the largest category, representing nearly two thirds of translations. There were 40 3a semantic extensions, 136 3b semantic reductions, 33 3c near equivalents and 3 3d cultural substitutions. The strong preference for substitutions was also seen in the previous case study of Maby and Williams, particularly for semantic reductions. The dominance of lexical substitutions in the translations is the most significant finding of this case study and merits further discussion.

The first aspect of this discussion is to consider why substitutions were so numerous. One reason is the target audience of the translators. All the translations were academic translations by translators able to write in fluent, academic Welsh. *Republic* and *Nichomachean Ethics* were long translations dealing with complex academic subjects and written by university lecturers. *Poetics* and *Oedipus at Colonus* were aimed at a more general audience but still educated audience and substitutions still represented majorities in both.

Lexical substitutions use existing terms which are already comprehended and used, or at least recorded, in the target language lexicon. This is different from new formation, as well as lengthening and shortening and compounds to a lesser extent, because there is no need to explain the term in order to ensure comprehension. The explanations of substitutions which appeared in the introductions of the translations mostly focused on analysing the source term rather than the translation. Lexical substitution was the most productive strategy for the Greek case study, including for the translation of philosophical terms. They were also the most productive strategy in the Chapter 4 glossary at 64.3% of translations. Together with the inherent flexibility of the processes in this category, it seems probable that it will also be productive for translation in the next chapter.

Category 4: Lengthenings and Shortenings

Lengthenings were rare at 11 uses and shortenings were absent. The absence of shortenings may be due to the structure of Greek terms, where there were few multi-term phrases in the source as compounding nouns were common. The Greek case study analysis noted that many of the translations from this category were used to cope with grammatical differences. In translation

from Chinese, this will be more extreme. Single character Chinese terms may make shortening even less productive than it was in Greek, as there is no way to shorten the length of a single word term. On the other hand, lengthenings of these short terms may be far more viable than they were for Greek. The glossary for the Chinese translations in the previous chapter agreed with this hypothesis with six lengthenings and zero shortenings at 8.6% of the total, but this category was still seldom used.

Category 5: Compounds

Compounds were another rare category with 22 uses. The only method with more than five uses was 5f substitution and lengthening and shortening at 13, which represented over half of total compounds. As with the other less productive methods, this may be an indication that it will also be less productive for Chinese translation, which also used 6 at 8.6%. The category can potentially be used as a flexible alternative in situations where other categories are considered undesirable. However, the category of compounds is so broad it is difficult to generalise about how it could be used in future translation from Chinese.

Chapter 6: Translation from Chinese

6.1: Introduction

Chapters 1 and 2 highlighted the benefits of translation from peripheral languages for minority languages, which include avoiding excessive influence from central or majority languages and increasing the range of texts available in the target language. Chapter 3 discussed term translation methods with relation to minority languages and proposed a term categorisation system for this context. Chapter 4 identified factors to consider in translation of Chinese to

Welsh based on prior experience in this combination. Chapter 5 demonstrated the resolutions used by translators when encountering similar problems in the translation of Ancient Greek to Welsh. This final chapter will apply the findings of the previous chapters to the translation of terms from Classical Chinese philosophy into Welsh.

The case study for the translation exercise in this chapter is the translation of philosophical terms from the *Zhuangzi*. The *Zhuangzi* is one of the most famous works of Chinese written culture, containing writing that fits various genres including elements of philosophy, religion, literature and satire. This thesis has already discussed why translation from Chinese is valuable for Welsh, and what translation from Chinese has appeared in Welsh so far. The final chapter will show a practical example of translating difficult terminology in a language combination where there are few or no precedents of prior translations of these terms.

The first section of this chapter will discuss the value of translation from this source text. It will discuss the source genre and the specific text from which the terms will be sourced, giving a brief overview of the Classical Chinese philosophical tradition, before turning to the source text itself. Then it will consider specific issues, namely the challenges of translating from a dead language and translating from a different philosophical tradition. Finally, it will provide a detailed justification of why translation of this text is valuable for Welsh.

The main body of the chapter will discuss the translation of terms from the source text. It will discuss the methodology behind how the terms were selected, and then begin analysing the terms themselves. It will consider the meaning of each term, both independently and in relationship with other terms if applicable. Then a Welsh translation of the term will be proposed with reference to the translation methods discussed in Chapter 3, after considering several alternatives

in some cases. At the end of the chapter there will be a final analysis, which will evaluate the process and note significant findings.

6.2: Justification of the Choice of Source Text

This section will examine the source genre and specific source text, namely Classical Chinese philosophy and the *Zhuangzi*. It will explain the reasoning behind selecting this as a source based on suitability for this kind of translation project in terms of translation systems theory. It will then discuss problems which will need to be considered for this translation, including the translation of philosophical terms from a different cultural background, as well as coping with Western preconceptions regarding important source language terms and concepts.

6.2.1: Introducing *Zhuangzi*

Classical Chinese philosophy as a tradition originated at a roughly similar time to Ancient Greek philosophy. The majority of Classical Chinese philosophers were active during the Eastern Zhou Dynasty (770-221 BC). This was a highly unstable period of early Chinese history, when central authority broke down and power was contested by a number of warring states (van Norden 2011, p.10). The need to manage the states and armies of the ruling lords led to the rise of a professional class of aristocratic administrators called ‘shi’ 士, which is the class from which most of the philosophers came (Nivison 1999, p. 748). Much of the philosophy of this period

was a response by the ‘shi’ to a social order which had broken down (Roetz 2023, p. 49). They did not create written versions of their teaching or establish formal schools in this time, instead spreading their ideas through groups of teachers and students and orally transmitted texts (Littlejohn 2015, p. 19). These texts underwent a process of coalescing and alteration across centuries before reaching a fixed form in the Han Dynasty (206 BC – 202 AD), with the result that none of the ‘writers’ can be properly identified (Nivison 1999, p. 745).

The key source texts for Chinese philosophy were compiled over two thousand years ago. They were written in Classical Chinese, which is equivalent in age and cultural prestige to Latin or Ancient Greek in the Western canon. The Chinese characters in which they were written are comprehensible to readers of modern Chinese, but specialist training is required to understand the grammar and some vocabulary. The philosophers have been classified as members of different ‘schools’, which are organised around certain canonical works and authors (c.f. van Norden 2011 for an overview of the main schools). However, this classification is not always straightforward. The concept in the Western philosophical tradition of texts having single, defined authors does not apply here, where works are collections of writing attributed to an individual by disciples or later followers (Mattice 2016, p. 145). In the case of the source text for this thesis, *Zhuangzi*, it is now categorised as a Daoist work, but at the time it was composed there was no Daoist school of thought in a doctrinal sense (Palmer 2006, p. xx).

Little is known for certain about the ‘Zhuangzi’ who is alleged to have produced this work. His proper name is given as Zhuang Zhou, with the usual ‘zi’ suffix which is an honorific title applied to most of the great thinkers of this era. He was likely alive in the 4th century BC, making him a contemporary of other philosophers like Mencius (van Norden 2011, p. 142). Based on ancient sources, Littlejohn (2015, p. 19) gave his dates as living between 369 and 289 BC, while

Defoort (2022 p. 359) proposes 369-286 BC. As with the other ‘writers’ of this era, it is likely that, assuming there was a real historical philosopher called Zhuangzi, he did not personally write the work, but rather works were collected and attributed to him. We know that the final edit was produced by 312 AD by Guo Xiang (Palmer 2006, p. xviii). This leaves a gap of approximately 600 years between the assumed dates of the life of Zhuangzi and the production of the now standard form of the work bearing his name.

Two philosophical systems which are commonly associated with this work are scepticism and relativism (Kjellberg and Ivanhoe 1996, van Norden 2011, pp. 143-146)⁴⁷. Scepticism in Western philosophy is the belief that objective truth is beyond human understanding, and van Norden (2011, p. 143) suggests the Chinese version of this is the inability of humans to fully understand the Dao. As for relativism, the Western version is that truth depends on the perspective of the individual (van Norden 2011, p. 144), which in a Chinese context could be that the view of the Dao depends on the perspective of the individual (van Norden 2011, p. 145). The added element of the Dao in the Chinese version demonstrates the differences between the two systems of thought and the potential pitfalls of applying terminology from one system to the other.

One important thread running through the work is criticism of other contemporary schools of thought, such as the Confucian and Mohist schools. The historical Zhuangzi was said to have

⁴⁷ These concepts were of course designed to discuss Western philosophy and may not be considered appropriate for Chinese philosophy, especially after the previous discussion on this point, but as these terms have become so established in analysis of the *Zhuangzi*, for the purpose of this brief discussion it is convenient to keep using them in this way.

debated Confucians and Mohists and representatives from other traditions and was known for outdebating and ridiculing talented scholars from these groups (Palmer 2006, p. xv). Zhuangzi argued that distinctions in morality, such as those based on terms like 仁 ren and 义 yi (humaneness and righteousness, see the discussion of each term later) which were used primarily by other schools, happen when someone stops being in accord with the Dao (Littlejohn 2015, p. 129). Many of the criticisms of these terms take the form of satire of both the philosophers and the kind of people who followed their philosophies.

Not all the humorous passages were based on satire. In many cases, there is an element of humour for the sake of enjoyment. Van Norden (2011, p. 153) and Hans-Georg Moeller (2023, p. 18) argued that the presence of humour is not related to doctrine, but rather is an expression of what both called ‘therapeutic philosophy’. Passages of the philosophy in *Zhuangzi* argue in favour of a more relaxed attitude to existence, enjoying the world rather than being concerned with changing it, and the satire and humorous stories included in the work are a form of putting this philosophy into practice (Moeller 2023, p. 18), providing what Moeller (2023, p. 27) termed ‘existential relief’ to readers.

The influence of the work in philosophy was high in the school which would be classed as Daoism, although Confucian philosophy came to predominate in Chinese culture rather than Daoist thought. *Zhuangzi* has proved more influential in culture than philosophy. The rich imagery and unconventionality of the work have provided inspiration to countless writers and poets (van Norden 2011, p.159). Van Norden (2011, p. 160) identifies themes from *Zhuangzi* present in one of the greatest Chinese novels, *The Dream of the Red Chamber*. This cultural influence has also been noted in Japanese literature (van Norden 2011, p. 160).

6.2.2: Specific Issues Faced in the Translation of This Source Text

Translating from this genre will introduce a variety of problems. The greatest challenge will come from translating polysemous terms where conveying multiple meanings is important to understanding the term. Unlike what FitzGerald stated explicitly, and most of Welsh translators of Greek implemented in practice, Roger Ames, an expert on Chinese philosophy, is opposed to translating one term with one translation, as he argued that too many extra meanings are lost (Ames 2017, p. 8). His source-oriented approach favoured engaging with the source language terms directly, and either assigning a translation to different meanings of the source term or borrowing the term directly from the source language. He noted that such an approach has been used by some translators in analysing Ancient Greek philosophy (Ames 2017, p. 8).

This is an alternative strategy to what has been seen so far in Welsh translation. However, there is also the minority language aspect of the translation. The language pair represents translation from a peripheral language to a minority language, so the sense of threat to the minority language from direct use of source language terms is a less important factor. However, the use of target-oriented translation strategies by minority languages, particularly for academic translation in Welsh, has been an approach adopted consistently by Welsh translators in previous chapters. One objective of this thesis is to consider translations methods for non-equivalent and culturally specific terms from a peripheral language, so suggestions for processes like lexical substitution or word formation will be offered even if borrowing is considered the best strategy.

One challenge of interpreting these terms is the time period of the source texts in which the meanings of the terms were established. The original meaning of the terms was determined millennia ago by a society with a radically different worldview from the target culture. Maria Tymoczko discussed the problems inherent to translation from dead languages in *Translation in a Postcolonial Context* (Tymoczko 1999, pp. 146-162). She argued that it is not possible to truly learn an ancient language because there is no opportunity for immersion and there are no native speakers to ask about the meaning of difficult passages (Tymoczko 1999, p. 153). Terms in an ancient language are effectively understood by reference to translations into more modern languages (Tymoczko 1999, p. 154), which may themselves be later relay translations rather than contemporary productions. Josephine Balmer explored a similar line of argument in a discussion of Ancient Greek poetry, pointing out that if a term only appears in one or two texts, and the translation is based on these uses, it cannot be known how widely used the term was and what other meanings or contexts it may have had (Balmer 2014, p. 62).

Translating terms from ancient languages in the same way as the original authors understood them is potentially impossible. Understanding terms accurately depends on the existence of an unbroken tradition of scholarship from when the source language was still in use (Tymoczko 1999, p. 152). For dead languages with a long tradition of scholarship and a large written corpus like Ancient Greek and Ancient Chinese, understanding the meaning of terms is more likely than a dead language with only a few surviving sources.

Having discussed translation and systems with reference to modern languages for much of this thesis, selecting a source text from an ancient language may seem like an unusual choice. However, there are factors which make this selection appropriate. Firstly, key terms from the source text are still discussed in modern Chinese. Analysing these terms where they originated

requires specialist knowledge of the language and culture of classical Chinese to understand fully. Secondly, the cultural prestige of the source text and others in the genre as well as their foundational role in Chinese culture makes their careful translation useful for assisting future Welsh translations by other translators.

The second problem is translating philosophy. As with ancient languages, the problem lies in understanding the meaning of terms used in the source texts. Words which already have meanings are sometimes given new meanings by philosophers which only apply in the context of their philosophies. When translators deal with these terms, differences in translating between the original concrete and new abstract meanings pose a dilemma in the sense that there is unlikely to be an equivalent term in the target language which can express all the nuances of the source term (Hawkins 2017, p. 117).

This is challenging even among closely related languages, as was shown by Spencer Hawkins in his article on philosophy translation from German to English (Hawkins 2017). Many words used in German philosophy are polysemous for a variety of reasons related to German linguistics and specific fields which have been popular among German philosophers (Hawkins 2017, pp. 118-119). For distantly related languages whose speakers come from different cultural traditions, even the original term might prove a problem to translate. Translators have their own cultural assumptions, which can be carried over and influence what some want to see as ‘objective’ translation (Ames 2017, p. 9).

Translating these works of philosophy into Western languages involves bridging the gap between different intellectual traditions. Ames (2017, p. 8) argued that Chinese traditional philosophy emphasised different elements over Western philosophy. As an example, one major difference is a greater focus on process in Chinese compared to the Western focus on substance. In classical

Chinese philosophy, reality is considered to be in a constant process of creation, change and recreation (Littlejohn 2015, p. 12). Western philosophy gives objects an inherent nature, which represents what they are, while Classical Chinese philosophy says things are what they are due to the current configuration of Qi that has come about through Dao (Littlejohn 2015, p. 13). There is no concept of anything eternal or perfect permanently existing in or controlling the universe, like Plato's Forms or a supreme being (Littlejohn 2015, p. 13).

Differing elements like these are challenging to carry over into another system of thought, not least because doing so requires avoiding Western preconceptions of philosophy. In fact, the idea of 'philosophy' itself is an entirely Western invention which cannot be applied in the same way to Chinese thought (Ames 2017, p. 14). The problem with trying to find this equivalence is that it can result in our understanding of Chinese terms being influenced excessively by the Western term used as a translation (Shun 2016, p. 60).

Part of the reason for this is that much of the interpretation of Chinese philosophy has not been carried out by philosophers who had the ability to treat Chinese philosophy on its own terms, but instead applied familiar Western concepts (Ames 2017, p. 11). Early translations of Chinese classics, such as those produced by Jesuit missionaries, were informed by Western, particularly Christian philosophy, which has added unwarranted preconceptions to the standard view of Chinese philosophical terms (Ames 2017, p. 11)⁴⁸. This issue will be raised later during the term translation section in relation to terms where this has been a specific problem.

⁴⁸ There has been a similar debate from the opposite side over translating terms from Western Christianity with Chinese philosophical concepts (Wielander 2016, p. 229).

Another reason is the result of an unequal power relationship. In the initial contact with the Jesuit missionaries, Chinese and Western thinkers regarded thought from the other culture as philosophy equal to what had been produced in their native traditions (Defoort 2022, p. 358). However, this is not the view which is held about Chinese philosophy even now. Non-Western thought, including Chinese, is generally excluded from philosophy departments which focus almost exclusively on European philosophy (Defoort 2022, p. 359). Discussion in this area usually taken from the Western standpoint, asking how Chinese philosophers fit in standard Western philosophical frameworks rather than applying Chinese paradigms to Western thought (Ames 2017, p. 12).

In many ways, Western or Western-trained philosophers have not considered Chinese philosophy as holding equal academic value to the Western equivalent. Sor-hoon Tan (2016, pp. 2-3) outlined the problem, where the status of Chinese thought as ‘philosophy’ is questioned due to differences in the view of areas such as analytics, the concept of universal truth, and the separation of philosophy from theology. At a fundamental level, the main aim of Western philosophy is finding objective truth, whereas Classical Chinese philosophy was directed towards personal cultivation (Ni 2016, p. 129), which has little in common with what is taught in philosophy departments. An additional problem is the need to understand Classical Chinese in order to analyse the meaning of the source terms (Tan 2016, p. 10). The result is that Chinese thought rarely appears in a philosophy department, instead appearing in a department like area studies or religion, which adds to the perception of it not being ‘true’ philosophy (Tan 2016, p. 7). Outside academia, Chinese thought is frequently combined with Eastern ‘religion’ rather than philosophy, or with a kind of orientalising mysticism (Ames 2017, p. 11).

By the twentieth century, the influence of Western discourse on philosophy started to replace the way Chinese thinkers analysed their own philosophy (Defoort 2022, p. 359). Chinese academics since the 20th century have felt the need to justify the existence of Chinese thought as philosophy by comparison with Western philosophy. The construction of the field of ‘Chinese philosophy’ was formed based on the model of Western philosophy, which to an extent forced the analysis of the new field to resemble the original Western model as much as possible (Ni 2016, p. 129). Chinese academics effectively had to seek out elements of Western philosophy in Classical Chinese works to prove they were dealing with philosophy (Shun 2016, p. 61). Communist thinkers then criticised traditional Chinese thought for upholding a class system which was laid out based on Marxist thought, thus analysing Chinese thought through another lens of Western philosophy (Shun 2016, p. 62). More recent debates on the analysis of Chinese philosophy have begun from the perspective of treating it as part of a Chinese cultural system, or analysis based on the analytic methodology used in non-Western philosophical schools (Shun 2016, pp. 63-64).

The problem experienced in the academic study of Chinese philosophy is dependent on the acceptance that Western philosophy acts as an arbiter of what counts as philosophy. This is derived from a cultural system which places Western thought at the centre, which combined with a translation system where Chinese is peripheral limits access to Chinese philosophy to disciplines which focus on the Chinese language. This is in addition to orientalising trends which see Chinese thought as esoteric and mystical rather than rational and practical. Translation of terms used in this discipline must bear these problems in mind to reflect the meaning of the source terms without being influenced by misconceptions.

6.2.3: Summary of the Discussion of the Selection of the Source Text

It has already been established in other chapters that translation from Chinese would be beneficial to Welsh. This concluding section will discuss the suitability to Welsh translation of Classical Chinese philosophy in general and Zhuangzi specifically as a source text. This assessment is based on similarities with the Greek case study from the previous chapter, the ability to avoid incorrect preconceptions in established translations, and the opportunity to expand the possible repertoire available in Welsh. It will also discuss how the specific source text aids these aims.

Firstly, this genre and source text provides a good point of comparison with the previous Greek case study. A general comparison with Chinese, for example from the standpoint of transliteration, was discussed in the previous chapter. Selecting a similar genre to that which was used in the Greek chapter allows for a clearer test of the method, with the main difference being the source language. Chinese works of philosophy also contain similar terms to the philosophical vocabulary of the Greek texts.

Another important reason for translating from this genre is avoiding the preconceptions behind terms used conventionally in English translations. Ames wrote that philosophy is translation in the sense that it involves carrying over meaning from something we do not understand (Ames 2017, p. 13). The problem lies in carrying over a different meaning than intended, in the sense of applying terms from one philosophy onto another that bring unintended connotations. This demonstrates the value of developing Welsh translations of Chinese philosophical terms, as these translations can avoid the preconceptions which are part of the conventional English translations.

The translations will emphasise engaging with the original Chinese meaning first, then finding a suitable method of expression in Welsh.

Finally, translating this genre can add to the repertoire in Welsh, granting access to a different set of cultural references which are largely unknown in Welsh culture due to the current peripheral position of Chinese. The different methods of debate in this genre of source text challenge the idea of how to construct a philosophical argument, which only make sense if the terms used are understood accurately. They differ from typical methods used in conventional Western philosophy, including the Ancient Greek works analysed in the previous chapter.

The chosen source text is a suitable choice for meeting these conditions. The *Zhuangzi* uses a wide range of important philosophical terms, as it uses the language of the other contemporary schools to satirise them. The variety of writing and modes of argument within the text means that these terms can appear in several chapters, granting more opportunities to see them used in context. As was mentioned earlier, this text has value as a literary as well as a philosophical work, which adds to the benefit for repertoire in a literary sense.

6.3: The Term Translations

6.3.1 Term Selection and Methodology

As with the case studies of Chinese Greek translations in previous chapters, a method must be determined for selecting terms for translation in the Chinese case study. A key difference in this

chapter is that terms were selected directly from the source text rather than through reference to a translation. While I read the source text in its entirety, only the individual terms were translated to align this case study better with those of previous chapters. The selected terms express non-equivalent concepts which are likely to prove challenging to translate. The source text for terms in the glossary created for this thesis is the *Zhuangzi*⁴⁹, but other Classical Chinese philosophical texts were referenced in discussions concerning the meaning of terms. The terms analysed in this chapter were included in section 8.2.3 in the appendices. The table records the original term and the proposed Welsh translation, as well as the conventional English translations, the frequency in each chapter and the total frequency in work.

For the Greek case study, terms were selected through several methods. Two source texts were short enough to read in full and identify terms during the reading. *Nichomachean Ethics* used lists within the text and terms which were recorded in the other texts in the case study to provide comparisons, while *Republic* sourced terms from mentions in footnotes in the English translation. Finding terms was more challenging for this source text. There is no obvious list within the text to use, nor is there one in the English translation (produced by Martin Palmer in 2006).

Some terms which are fundamental concepts in Chinese thought and are encountered frequently when reading *Zhuangzi*, such as 道 ‘dao’, 仁 ‘ren’ and 义 ‘yi’. These serve as good starting points for gathering terms, as in discussions they can appear in pairs or collections based on how they are used in the argument, for example ‘dao’ and 德 ‘de’, or 阴 ‘yin’ and 阳 ‘yang’. This

⁴⁹ This thesis uses the edition of *Zhuangzi* edited by Guo Xiang in c300 AD, which is the standard version.

kind of pairing between terms is common, as the Classical Chinese worldview has a holistic sense where elements must be considered as parts of an interconnected whole (Ames 2016, p. 41). Some terms comprising multiple characters were selected after noting the frequency with which they appeared in this form. For example, the term 天地 ‘tiandi’ was added after encountering this combination to a great degree when searching for 天 ‘tian’. This also led to the addition of 天下 ‘tianxia’. Another expanding category was the 人 ‘ren’ type, which includes terms such as 神人 ‘shenren’ and 至人 ‘zhiren’.

In addition to searching through the source text itself, terms were sourced from a list which appeared in *History of Chinese Philosophy Through Its Key Terms* (Wang et. al. 2020). This work discussed terms which were important in Chinese philosophy, analysing a broad selection of terms in individual chapters. Using terms from the contents in this book which also appear in *Zhuangzi* in addition to those gathered in the initial source text reading ensures that important terms are not missed due to appearing less frequently in the initial reading of the source text. The glossary for this chapter contains 41 Chinese terms plus 12 proper nouns for transliteration. The 41 Chinese terms were translated by 46 Welsh terms. Trends in terms of translation categories will be discussed in the analysis section after sections on the translation of specific terms.

Dictionary definitions were sourced from the *Handian* 汉典 online dictionary operated by zdic. This dictionary specialises in providing definitions for terms from older forms of Chinese and includes examples of use in a variety of source texts, as well as explanations in modern Chinese and translations into English, French and German. While this dictionary is not specifically linked to a university or government program, it used a vast compilation of established dictionaries and

other terminological sources⁵⁰. As an example, the main sources listed separately at the top of the page included the ‘Gaoji Hanyu Cidian’ (Advanced Chinese Character Dictionary) 高級漢語詞典, the ‘Zhongbian Guoyu Cidian’ revised edition (Revised Chinese Character Dictionary) 重編國語辭典修訂本 from the Taiwan Department of Education, and the historical ‘Kangxi Zidian’ 康熙字典 and ‘Shuowen Jiezi’ 說文解字 dictionaries. Palmer’s 2006 English translation of *Zhuangzi* was used as an additional reference of English translations in the context of a translation intended for a more general audience.

The sections on scholarship will contain analyses based on suitable quotations from *Zhuangzi* and other contemporary primary sources, combined with analyses of secondary scholarship on the terms and their definitions. Source text extracts and references were sourced from the *Chinese Text Project* database at ctext.org/zhuangzi/zhs. Ctext was also the source for other Chinese source texts. This will be followed by discussions on why the terms pose challenges for translation.

The final section for each term will discuss possible Welsh translations. It will identify any previous attempts at translating the terms from Maby, whose translations analysed in the case study covered the same time period as *Zhuangzi*, as well as translations from Williams. Then it will propose translations for every term with reference to the categories from the term categorisation methods. These translations will be examined to determine which are the most viable based on the discussion of minority language revival in Chapter 1, translation methods in Chapter 3 and trends noted in the existing Chinese and Greek case studies of the previous

⁵⁰ The full list can be found at <https://www.zdic.net/aboutus/copyright/>

chapters. The translations may receive several variations, as word class in Classical Chinese was flexible, with some terms appearing as nouns, verbs or adjectives depending on context.

6.3.2: Transliteration

Before analysing the term translations, it is important to consider the transliteration of proper nouns from the source text. The Ancient Greek translation case study from Chapter 4 showed that different transliteration conventions from English can be accepted in Welsh. Most conventions laid out in the guidelines included in *Barddoneg* were generally accepted across the translations. This example demonstrated that it should be possible to create conventions for transliterating from Chinese into Welsh which are better suited to Welsh while also representing sounds in Chinese as accurately as possible. Such an approach has not been limited to Greek translation, as Samuel Jones indicated in his study of Welsh translation from Russian (Jones 2019, p. ix). Producing conventions specific to Welsh is desirable because it avoids majority language interference that would increase pressure to adopt unadapted majority language terms for concepts from a non-central language. Welsh is also written with a phonetic script, so producing a transliteration system which more closely matches Welsh orthography would be more suitable.

As noted earlier, the standard system for transliterating Chinese into the Latin alphabet is pinyin. It uses several letters which are not part of the standard Welsh alphabet, as well as using other letters to represent different sounds to how those letters are used normally in Welsh. The Greek transliteration conventions mentioned in the previous chapter used letters like ‘x’ and ‘z’ which

are not present in the standard Welsh alphabet and the same decision could be made for Chinese. However, in the Greek transliterations the non-standard letters were a close match for the Greek sounds they are being used to represent. This is not the case for ‘x’ and ‘z’ in pinyin, which represent radically different sounds. The transliteration system outlined below is based on a form of pinyin modified to better suit standard Welsh orthography. Particularly in the case of single vowels or diphthongs with minor differences in sound, the system will default to pinyin equivalents to simplify conversion between the systems. Substantial differences from pinyin will be due to the use of a phoneme which does not appear in Welsh and cannot be represented adequately by existing pinyin values⁵¹.

Mandarin Chinese uses a limited combination of initial consonants and endings to form each syllable. This makes it possible to express every syllable in one table, which can also represent the transliteration of each component, with consonants forming rows and vowels in columns. The transliteration table formed for this thesis came from the beginner’s Chinese book *Practical Chinese Reader*, which has been modified slightly to consolidate into fewer columns (Liu et al. 2008, pp. 122-123). The table in its entirety can be found in the appendices. IPA values used in the table and subsequent discussion for Welsh are derived from Peter Wynn Thomas’ appendix on orthography in *Gramadeg y Gymraeg* (Thomas 1996, pp. 747-798).

IPA values for Chinese phonemes require more discussion, as there is disagreement in scholarship on Chinese phonology regarding which IPA values to use. Phonologists have different opinions on representing certain consonants and vowels, which are reflected in the IPA

⁵¹ The transliteration conventions outlined below were designed in consultation with Rowan Zhao, another researcher who is bilingual in Chinese and Welsh.

they assign to Chinese phonemes. Notable points of contention include palatal or retroflex consonants, and vowels represented by ‘e’ in pinyin. The values which appear in this section were derived principally from Lilly Chen’s table and annotations (Chen 2016, pp. 494-495), with further comparison made with Duanmu San’s list of Chinese syllables (San 2003, pp. 319-329) as well as earlier discussion of specific phonemes, Wai-Sum Lee and Eric Zee’s article on standard Mandarin Chinese phonology for the Beijing dialect (Lee and Zee 2003), and discussion of the phonology of specific phonemes in *Practical Chinese Reader* (Liu et al. 2008, especially p. 114).

Several consonants were unchanged, as pronunciation between the two languages is identical. These are ‘m’, ‘n’, ‘l’ and ‘s’. ‘F’ was changed to ‘ff’, as the sound [f] is represented this way in Welsh. The two consonant endings, ‘n’ [n] and ‘ng’ [ŋ], are unchanged in Welsh. ‘H’ was also unchanged, although in Chinese pronunciation can vary between [h] (Chen 2016, p. 494) (pronounced like ‘how’) and [x] (Lee and Zee 2003, p. 109; San 2007, p. 25) (pronounced like ‘loch’). San noted that as every expression of the phoneme contains a fricative, [x] is the more appropriate choice. As it is written as ‘h’ in pinyin, and ‘h’ is always pronounced in Welsh as [h] (Thomas 1996, p. 758), the letter was left as ‘h’ in all instances.

Chinese distinguishes between unaspirated and aspirated consonants. Aspirated consonants are represented in phonetic orthography by a superscript [h] (Lee and Zee 2003, p. 109; San 2007, p. 24)⁵². Several pairs of unaspirated and aspirated consonants can be seen in the table, such as [p] and [p^h]. In pinyin, aspiration is reflected by using different letters rather than adding accents, for

⁵² Liu et al (2008, p.6) and Chen (2016, p.494) marked this with an apostrophe, but the superscript ‘h’ was preferred as it indicates more clearly the sound which should be produced.

example the pair in the last sentence appear as ‘b’ [p] and ‘p’ [p^h], while in Wade-Giles it was reflected by the addition of an apostrophe, for example ‘p’ and ‘p’’. The Welsh transliteration system proposed in this thesis follows pinyin in using different letters rather than punctuation marks to maintain closeness to pinyin, adopting the conversion just mentioned as well as ‘d’ and ‘t’ for [t] and [t^h] and ‘g’ and ‘c’ for [k] and [k^h]. The Welsh alphabet does not use ‘k’, so ‘c’ is used here instead.

One notable problem for Welsh is the prevalence of letters in pinyin containing the alveo-palatal [ɕ] or retroflex fricative [ʂ]. These sounds would normally be expressed in Welsh with the voiced alveo-palatal ‘j’ [dʒ] or one of the voiceless alveo-palatal ‘si’ [tʃ] or the postalveolar fricative ‘sh’ [ʃ] (Thomas 1997, p. 758). As both the Chinese phonemes are present in three letters each, repeating the letters or digraphs used in Welsh is not practical without modification. The first of the phonemes is present in the palatal series, which includes the pinyin letters ‘j’, ‘q’ and ‘x’. All phonologists agreed with the IPA representations of [tɕ], [tɕ^h] and [ɕ]. ‘J’ represents slightly different sounds, namely [tɕ] in Chinese and [dʒ] in Welsh, which was considered close enough that the pinyin equivalent can be adopted. The other letters containing the phoneme, ‘q’ and ‘x’, are not present in the Welsh alphabet and do not represent similar sounds in the standard Latin alphabet. ‘Q’ is an aspirated form of ‘j’, so it is transcribed as ‘tj’ [tdʒ], with the ‘t’ representing the aspiration as ‘t’ was the aspirated equivalent of ‘d’. ‘X’ does not fit this pattern, as the absence of a dental in [tɕ] relative to [ɕ] cannot be replicated if [tɕ] is rendered as ‘j’. The closest equivalent using Welsh phonemes is ‘hsh’ [hʃ], which is similar in appearance to the Wade-Giles ‘hs’ (Chung 2016, p. 771).

The final group of Chinese letters are the denti-alveolar and retroflex series. ‘Z’ and ‘c’, neither of which are in the Welsh alphabet in the form used in pinyin⁵³, are represented by all phonologists as [ts] and [tsʰ]. Using the same conversion principle as earlier letters, ‘z’ is converted to ‘ds’[ds] and ‘c’ is converted to ‘ts’ [ts]. The retroflex consonants are more challenging to represent, as can be seen in the discussion of phonological scholarship on these letters in San (2007, pp .24-25). They are represented by Chen (2016, p. 494) and Liu et al (2008, p. 35) with retroflex fricatives in ‘zh’ [tʂ], ‘ch’ [tʂʰ], ‘sh’ [ʂ] and ‘r’ [ʐ]. San (2007, p. 24) agreed in most cases, but added an additional retroflex mark below the ‘t’ in ‘zh’ and ‘ch’. Lee and Zee (2003, p. 109) used a notably different set featuring an apical mark and a postalveolar fricative in ‘zh’ [tʃ̺], ‘ch’ [tʃ̺ʰ] and ‘sh’ [ʃ̺], which is very specific to Beijing dialect Mandarin, so the conventions used by the other phonologists are preferred.

There is no equivalent to the retroflex series in Welsh phonology. Of the pinyin equivalents for these four letters, ‘zh’ includes the disallowed letter ‘z’, ‘ch’ represents the different phoneme [x], ‘sh’ is present and is a close equivalent without the fricative, and ‘r’ is present but is not a close equivalent. The most suitable solution to this problem was to represent the retroflex fricative [ʂ] with the postalveolar fricative [ʃ], which is present in Welsh phonology. With this change, ‘zh’ and ‘ch’ are converted to ‘dsh’ [dʃ] and ‘tsh’ [tʃ], following the usual reflection of aspiration. ‘Sh’ remains unchanged from pinyin, representing [ʃ] with no retroflex. ‘R’ is also kept as it is in pinyin despite the difference between the alveolar trill [r] and the retroflex fricative [ʐ] as there is no alternative equivalent suitable enough to justify changing the pinyin.

⁵³ ‘c’ is present in the form of ‘ch’, but this counts as a single letter and ‘c’ cannot appear outside of this.

Transliterating individual vowels and diphthongs provided additional challenges. There was even greater variation in how the phonologists classified these than with the consonants. As Chen (2016, p. 494) noted, Mandarin contains six vowels (‘a’, ‘e’, ‘i’, ‘o’, ‘u’ and ‘ü’) and two semi-vowels (‘w’ and ‘y’). Of these, the vowel with the most agreement was ‘a’, standing for [a] in nearly all instances. This is also true for all diphthongs involving ‘a’, except for the ‘ian’ final, where in Chinese the ‘a’ represents [ɛ] (Liu et al 2008, p. 114). The Welsh transliteration was kept as ‘a’ [a], which is the Welsh pronunciation for the vowel (Thomas 1997, p. 759), in all cases to mirror the conventional transliteration in pinyin.

‘E’ represents a greater variety of phonemes in Chinese. Chen (2016, p. 494) gives the pronunciations [ɛ], [ɣ] and [ə] when it is a single vowel (2016, p. 495). Liu et al (2008, p. 114) noted [ɛ] and [ɣ], with [ə] and [e] also appearing in some diphthongs. [ɣ] was used when ‘e’ was a monophthong final in a syllable by Liu et al (2008, p. 114) and Lee and Zee (2003 p. 109). It was also mentioned by Cheng (2016, p. 494) as a translation of ‘e’, but there was no description of usage, and the usage as a final and before [r] was assigned to [ə] instead (2016, p. 495). [ə] is a popular representation of ‘e’ before nasal endings, which is supported by examples from Lee and Zee (2003, p. 111), San (2007, p. 320) and Liu et al (2008, p. 114). [ɛ] was used by Liu et al (2008, p. 114) in diphthongs following ‘i’ or ‘ü’. Chen (2016, p. 495) also used this before ‘i’, where Liu et al. (2008, p. 114) switched to [e] before ‘i’. In the transliteration table, [ɣ] was used for final monophthongs as the most common choice, which also applied to [ə] before nasal endings. [ɛ] was used after ‘i’ and [e] before ‘i’ as in Liu et al.

The Welsh transliteration is kept as ‘e’ [ɛ] in all situations. [ɣ] is not present and there is no more suitable vowel that would justify deviating from pinyin. [e] is possible as an unaccented vowel in a final syllable (Thomas 1997, p. 760), otherwise only appearing as a longer [e:]. [ə] is present,

represented by ‘y’ in many cases (Thomas 1997, p. 760). However, maintaining a close equivalence with pinyin is still more valuable and ‘y’ is also used to represent a different vowel in a later set.

‘I’ is generally a less debated phoneme, except for one instance as a final. [i] is the pronunciation in nearly all cases (Lee and Zee 2003, p. 110; Lie et al 2008, p. 114; Chen 2016, p.494). An exception given in San (2007, p. 36) is [j] as a glide in a diphthong, but this is not noted in the other works. Conventionally in pinyin, the letter is kept as ‘i’ [i] in all cases, except for syllable starting with ‘i’, where the initial ‘i’ is written as ‘y’ instead (Liu et al 2008, p. 15). The use of ‘i’ as a final after a denti-alveolar or retroflex consonant is considerably different, in that the conventional use of ‘i’ to represent this phoneme in pinyin does not properly indicate the sound. Both elements are represented as different phonemes by some phonologists, such as San (2007, p.34), who classified it as two syllabic consonants, the alveolar fricative [ʒ] after alveolars and the retroflex fricative [ʐ] after retroflexes. Lee and Zee (2003, p. 110) used the syllabic alveolar approximant [ɹ] in both cases, while Chen (2016, p. 494) used the closed central vowel [ɨ]. The transliteration table defaulted to Chen’s rendering of [ɨ] in all cases.

The more common phoneme remains as ‘i’ [i] in the Welsh transliteration as it is in pinyin. [ɨ] is present in the North Welsh dialect as pronunciations of ‘u’ or ‘y’ (Thomas 1997, p. 759).

Otherwise, the closest equivalent would be the close-mid central [ə], which is one of the more general pronunciations in Welsh of ‘y’ (Thomas 1997, p. 759). This version was the transliteration used, as ‘i’ as used in pinyin is not suitable. Any usage in an actual translation would have to be accompanied by a note explaining this pronunciation specifically, assuming that had not already been included in a section before the main body of the text.

The vowel ‘o’ produced disagreements among the phonologists. Chen (2016, p. 495) represented it as [o] in most cases, but also [uo] after labial initial consonants. Lee and Zee (2003, p. 111) only used [o]. Liu et al (2008, p. 114) used [u] before ‘ng’, [ə] before ‘u’, [u] after ‘a’, and [o] in all other cases. San (2007, p. 320) used [ə] as single final or after ‘u’, and [u] after ‘a’ or before ‘ng’. As with final ‘i’ from the earlier discussion, the transliteration table adopts Chen’s rendering. This was represented by ‘o’ [ɔ] in Welsh, which can still be pronounced as [o] in some cases (Thomas 1997, p. 760). The pronunciation of the Welsh conversion is slightly different, but again concordance with pinyin was preferred.

‘U’ was generally recorded as [u], for example in Lee and Zee (2003, p. 110). Chen (2016, p. 495) also used [ue] before [i] (e.g. [duei]) and [ou] after [i] (e.g. [diou]), while Liu et al (2008, p. 114) used [ue] before [n], the two exceptions from Chen, and [u] in all other instances. These conventions were used in the transliteration table. ‘u’ is pronounced as [i] or [ɨ] in Welsh depending on dialect (Thomas 1997, p. 759), so the pinyin equivalent is unsuitable. Instead, ‘w’ was used, representing [u] in initials and finals (Thomas 1997, p. 759). The exceptions previously noted were matched with equivalent vowels for the relevant diphthongs or triphthongs. One exception is the single ‘w’, written as ‘wu’ with the additional ‘u’ when used as a syllable. Welsh uses ‘ŵ’, as ‘u’ has been replaced by ‘w’.

Pinyin also uses the accented letter ‘ü’. Both Lee and Zee (2003, p. 110) and Liu et al (2008, p. 114) used [y], while Chen (2016, p. 494) used [ü]. San (2006, p. 34) also used [y], but also [ɥ] as a glide in diphthongs. As the most common rendering, [y] was used in the transliteration table. A pinyin convention to note is that after palatals this phoneme is written as ‘u’ but should be treated as ‘ü’ (Chen 2016, p. 495). There is no equivalent sound in Welsh for ‘ü’. The best option was to leave this unchanged, as ‘ü’ is recognisable from German loans in English like ‘über’.

The glossary contains examples of personal names from the source text which were transliterated, as well as those terms translated by loanwords. This analysis will focus on the transliteration of two important names as examples of the use of the transliteration conventions. The first is the title of the source text itself, ‘Zhuangzi’ 莊子. ‘Zhuang’ is the surname of the attributed author and ‘zi’ is an honourific which could be translated as ‘master’. ‘Zhuangzi’ does not have an established transliteration in Welsh, so there would be less opposition to suggesting a novel transliteration. The name contains three elements with notably different representations in pinyin and the proposed system; ‘zh’, ‘u’ and ‘z’. In the proposed transliteration system, ‘zh’ is represented by ‘dj’, ‘u’ by ‘w’ and ‘z’ by ‘ds’, leading to a full transliteration of ‘Dshwangdsy’ with the IPA pronunciation [dʃwɑŋdsə]. The second is another important philosopher and character in the source text; Confucius 孔子. Unlike ‘Zhuangzi’, this name is familiar as Latinised ‘Confucius’, from ‘Kongfuzi’ 孔夫子⁵⁴, which then appeared in Welsh as variants of ‘Conffwsiws’ in Maby (1987, p. 26) or ‘Conffwsiws’ in Gruffydd (1997, p. 37). A transliteration based on the original Chinese would be ‘Congffwdsy’ [kɔŋfudsə], or just ‘Congdsy’ [kɔŋdsə] to reflect the more familiar modern Chinese usage.

While this transliteration system is more suitable for use in Welsh than pinyin, there are limitations. For example, the combination of consonants in ‘Dshwangdsy’, namely the ‘ng’, ‘d’ and ‘s’ is awkward to pronounce. Any instance of this system being used would have to explain that certain combinations, such as ‘ds’ are intended to be pronounced as close to single sounds as possible.

⁵⁴ The extra character is an additional honourific applied specifically to Confucius.

How likely this transliteration system is to be used depends on the choice of the individual translator. Many may prefer to use pinyin as Maby did for the majority of the proper nouns in his poetry translations, but this system provides an alternative for those who prefer the option of a system not overly influenced by English or other majority languages. It could be used to create a standard way of transliterating the names of important figures, as is the case for the names of several individuals in Ancient Greek, particularly where those names are not in common usage.

6.3.3: Initial Findings of the Analysis of the Translations

Having discussed transliteration, this section will outline the findings of the term translations as displayed in the glossary in Appendix 8.2.3. The categorisations of translations in the glossary for this case study exhibits one significant change compared to the previous glossaries. This is a decrease in the use of lexical substitutions in favour of an increase in the use of compounds. In terms of each category, loanwords were used 10 times at 21.7%, with 9 1b recent source language loanwords and 1 established third language loanword. New formations appeared twice at 4.3%, both being 2a source language calques. Lexical substitutions were still the most numerous with 18 at 39.1%, representing 3 3a semantic expansions, 12 3b semantic reductions and 3 3c near equivalents. Lengthenings and shortenings were used once at 2.1%, with one lengthening. Finally, compounds appeared 15 times at 32.6%, with 1 5a loanword and new formation, 2 5c loanword and lengthening and shortening, 9 5d new formation and substitution, 1 5f substitution and lengthening and shortening and 2 5g other combinations.

The lack of new formations and lengthenings and shortenings fits with the results of the other glossaries, including the absence of shortenings. The translations here used a higher proportion of loanwords than the other glossaries, with recent source language loanwords being particularly prominent. This reflects the number of challenging source language terms which were not translated with substitutions to avoid applying inaccurate preconceptions from the target culture to culturally specific terms from the source language. Compounds were comparatively more numerous, partly due to the large number of 5d compounds representing the translation of several similarly constructed terms. The range of methods within this category allowed extra flexibility in situations where a substitution would not offer enough explanation of the source term. Having said this, substitution was still the most common category, particularly semantic reduction, which as with the other case studies was the most frequent method.

6.3.4: Discussion of Specific Terms

6.3.4.1: 天 Tian /tʰiɛn/, 天地 Tiandi /tʰienti/ and 天下 Tianxia /tʰiɛnɕia/

This set of terms is the largest in the glossary in terms of frequency in the *Zhuangzi*. ‘Tian’ appeared 296 times, while the combination ‘tiandi’ appeared 95 times, and ‘tianxia’ appeared the most times of all terms at 391 uses. The English definitions provided for ‘tian’ in the ‘Handian’ online dictionary are ‘sky’, ‘heaven’, ‘god’ and ‘celestial’. These are similar to the German definitions, while the French includes words translating to ‘day’, ‘season’ and ‘nature’. Palmer in his English translation of *Zhuangzi* used the capitalised ‘Heaven’ for ‘tian’ (c.f. Palmer 2006, p.

47), ‘Heaven and Earth’ for ‘tiandi’ (Palmer 2006, p. 92) and ‘everything under Heaven’ (Palmer 2006, p. 82) or more generally ‘the world’ (Palmer 2006, p. 83) for ‘tianxia’.

Translating this term initially appears simple, as the conventional translation into a European language of ‘heaven’ covers most of the meanings listed in the dictionary entries⁵⁵. Even when it is used in the sense of another realm of existence it is still seen as being located upwards, as shown in Zhuangzi 2.1 ‘仰天而嘘’ ‘...looking up at ‘tian’ and exhaling steadily...’⁵⁶. However, ‘heaven’ introduces the problem of imposing Christian ideas of the divine on a non-monotheistic Chinese concept. This problematic concept is then transferred onto the compound terms, for example suggesting a stronger separation between ‘tian’ and ‘di’ than what may have been intended by the source term.

Shirley Chan (2011, p. 64) argued this term had three distinct aspects in contemporary Chinese thought, which she identified as ‘natural law and cosmic order, moral principle and sociopolitical order, and individual experience (coincidence).’ She based this analysis on fragments of texts found in Guodian which were dated to the Warring States period when the classical philosophers were active. There are also slight differences in emphasis between philosophical texts, for example Daoist thought describes ‘tian’ as a natural, cosmic force while in the *Analects* it is presented as a natural force from which morality originates (Chan 2011, p. 65).

⁵⁵ Using the term specifically as ‘sky’ or ‘day’ will be ignored in favour of focusing on the philosophical or metaphysical definitions. This will be a common occurrence in translating these terms, as many of them also represent more general concepts that have common usage as terms outside of the discussed philosophical senses.

⁵⁶ Unless there is a bibliographical note, translations from Chinese source texts are my own.

To Daoists, the school into which *Zhuangzi* was later classified, humanity is a part of ‘tian’ and should follow its guidance, while for Ruists⁵⁷ humanity gained inherent morality from ‘tian’ (Chan 2011, p. 65). ‘Tian’ is a positive force in Daoism, which is seen as a force with no deliberate plan or guiding hand behind it (Littlejohn 2015, p. 22). Cook (2010, p. 104) also highlighted this aspect of ‘tian’ being a natural force, which largely applies to all interpretations of the term. Some schools like Mohists took it to a more personalised extent, with an interventionist ‘tian’ rewarding good and punishing bad (Cook 2010, p. 104), but this is still a force of nature rather than a definite deity.

Another aspect of ‘tian’, which was just mentioned above, is as the origin point of human morality. Principles of human relations are described as originating in ‘tian’ and good order in relationships and society reflects natural order (Chan 2012, p. 107). ‘Tian’ can even be said to determine fortunate events or catastrophes for individuals, although as discussed earlier this determination derives from a natural process rather than a conscious decision by a supernatural entity (Chan 2012, p. 113). In *Zhuangzi* 3.3, a man explains why he only has one foot in terms of ‘tian’: ‘天之生是使独也，人之貌有与也’ ‘My life came from ‘tian’ which caused me to have one foot, the appearance of men comes from it’.

Having discussed the definition of ‘tian’, the definitions of the compound terms ‘tiandi’ and ‘tianxia’ can be considered. ‘Tiandi’ is comprised of ‘tian’ and ‘di’, which translates as ‘earth’ or ‘ground’. The compound itself is usually translated as ‘heaven and earth’ but can also be interpreted as ‘world’. This definition is similar to ‘tianxia’, where ‘di’, is replaced by ‘xia’,

⁵⁷ The name given to contemporary thinkers who would later be classified as ‘Confucians’, which naturally includes Confucius but also Mencius and Xunzi.

meaning ‘below’. However, as well as the conventional extension ‘all under heaven’ naturally excluding ‘heaven’, ‘tianxia’ also has a more specific meaning of ‘the whole of China’, namely the region of the world ruled by a Chinese emperor or represented by Chinese civilisation, which is the meaning shown in the sentence ‘尧让天下于许由’ ‘Yao ceded ‘tianxia’ to Xu You’ (Zhuangzi 1.4).

The challenge in translating this term is that established translations in culturally similar and systemically central languages to Welsh use terms which carry unsatisfactory preconceptions. Of these translations, ‘heaven’ appears to be the most common, with even Chan (2012, p. 114) alternating between it and the borrowing ‘tian’. As Ames (2017, p. 8) noted, ‘tian’ has a wider meaning that cannot be covered solely by ‘Heaven’ and translating it with a substitution fixes one of those meanings above others. As discussed earlier, the use of ‘heaven’ represents an imposition of Western norms on Chinese philosophy through translation. It would not be necessary to follow such preconceptions in Welsh if a more suitable translation can be developed.

The compound terms also influence the translation of the initial term. A single word term is undesirable for ‘tiandi’, due to the possibility of other combinations. Fragments of texts found at ‘San De’ dated to circa 300BC mention ‘tian’, ‘di’ and ‘ren’ 人 (‘man’ or ‘humanity’) operating as a triplet (Cook 2010, p. 102). This means translation of the term will naturally move towards a parallel construction where a term for ‘tian’ is opposed to a term for ‘di’. If this approach is adopted, the translation of ‘tian’ will have to be something which can be placed opposite to a variation of ‘earth’, while bearing in mind the need to avoid the preconceptions of a term like ‘heaven’.

Maby translated all three terms that are being discussed in this section in his book of translated Chinese poetry. He used singular and plural ‘nef’ (heaven) and ‘nefoedd’ (heavens) (Maby 1987, p. 27) for ‘tian’, ‘nef a daear’ (heaven and earth) for ‘tiandi’ (Maby 1987, p. 28) and ‘dan y nefoedd’ (under the heavens) (Maby 1987, p. 28) for ‘tianxia’. The use of ‘nef’ is equivalent to the conventional English use of ‘heaven’, which as was discussed contains problematic religious connotations. Williams used ‘y Nef’ (1968 p. 278), ‘rhagluniaeth’ (providence) (p. 293) and ‘y ffurfafen’ (the firmament) (p. 312).

The terms in this set received two translations, representing different ways of translating ‘tian’. The translation formed for ‘tian’ was either the recent source language loanword ‘Tian’ or the semantic expansion ‘Ffurfafen’, while ‘tiandi’ and ‘tianxia’ were translated with loanword and calque compound ‘Tian a Daear’ (Tian and Earth) or ‘Ffurfafen a Daear’ (Firmament and Earth) and loanword and lengthening compound ‘Y byd dan Tian’ (The world under Tian) or ‘Y byd dan Ffurfafen’⁵⁸. Initial consonant mutation, which would normally occur in Welsh after ‘dan’, was avoided to emphasise the nature of ‘Tian’ as a proper noun from a foreign language, and this decision will be repeated in other terms in this glossary.

‘Tian’ is the most suitable translation because an academic translation where the philosophy of the source text is of paramount importance requires a more precise term than any possible with a

⁵⁸ Even though these calques are composed of three words versus two characters in the source terms, the conjunction ‘a’ and the article ‘y’ are small, grammatically required terms which do not exist in classical Chinese and do not add extra information. Therefore, they were counted as calques rather than expansions.

coinage or a substitution. This approach also serves to prevent the application of inaccurate preconceptions from target language terms, which has been identified as a problem in the translation of Chinese philosophy into European languages.

For a more general readership, there is the option of using a substitution instead of the loanword ‘Tian’. The reason for this is that the loanword would require a lengthy explanation and reading fluency would be more desirable in this genre than precise, academic accuracy. The problem then was how to translate ‘tian’ with the minimum of preconceptions from whatever target term is used. Maby’s semantic reduction ‘nef’ (sometimes pluralised as ‘nefoedd’) carries too many Christian connotations to be a fair reflection of an original Chinese concept. There are several alternative terms which have related definitions. ‘Uwchfyd’ (overworld) is more promising, and for ‘tiandi’ it can combine with ‘byd’ for an extension in ‘byd ac uwchfyd’. However, the term does not sufficiently reflect the supernatural nature of the source term. This is similar to the term ‘ffurfafen’ (firmament). ‘Wybren’ (sky, firmament) can represent both aspects of this term, even though it is difficult to justify any term being truly equivalent to the religious element of the source term.

6.3.4.2: 仁 ‘Ren’ /zən/, 义 ‘yi’ /i/ and 仁义 ‘renyi’ /zən.i/

The terms analysed in this category differ from each other to a greater extent than the compounds in the ‘tian’ category. However, as the compound ‘renyi’ is used so frequently in Chinese philosophy, it makes sense to discuss both singular terms in the same section. ‘Ren’ is used 51 times in *Zhuangzi*, appearing in 20 out of 33 chapters. ‘Yi’ is used 58 times across 24 chapters

and the compound ‘renyi’ is used 70 times across 16 chapters, with 14, 13 and 10 uses in chapters 8, 9 and 13 respectively standing out for high frequency of usage.

The dictionary definitions for ‘ren’ include ‘humaneness’, ‘benevolence’ and ‘kindness’ across all three target languages of the historical dictionary used for this exercise, with the German list providing a notably wide range of synonyms. ‘Yi’ shows variation in definition between languages. The English list opts for ‘right conduct’ and ‘righteousness’, the German has these definitions and the additional ‘sense’ (Sinn), and the French additionally uses ‘justice’ (justice), moral (morale) and ‘equitable’ (équitable). The entry for ‘renyi’ as a compound is not as detailed as for other terms. It only provides English definitions, with the main one being ‘kindheartedness and justice’. Palmer (2006, p. 90) decided to mostly translate these terms with one corresponding English term, choosing the semantic reductions ‘benevolence’ for ‘ren’, ‘righteous’ (2006, p.90) or ‘duty’ (2006, p.31) for ‘yi’ and the calque ‘benevolence and righteousness’ (2006, p.84) for ‘renyi’.

Beginning with ‘ren’, of all the specialised terms from Classical Chinese philosophy, this term has proved the most challenging to translate. Other terms typically have one or two translations which stand out as the most common or conventional, but this is not true in the case of ‘ren’. An example of the variety of translations that have been used in English is demonstrated in a list compiled by Luo (2011, p. 427): ‘benevolence, love, altruism, kindness, charity, compassion, magnanimity, perfect virtue, goodness, true manhood, manhood at its best, human-heartedness, humaneness, humanity, hominity, man-to-manness’.

‘Ren’ is prominent in the texts of what would become Confucianism⁵⁹. Its main works are the *Analects* of Confucius and the *Mencius*, with the much shorter *Great Learning* and *Doctrine of the Mean* making up the influential ‘Four Books’ (Van Norden 2011, p. 211). This term is not as important in what would become Daoism, a category which includes the source text, but due to the influence of the Confucian school the term appears regularly in the works of rival schools. The writers of *Zhuangzi* regularly criticised and satirised ‘ren’ and ‘yi’, or rather the way in which rulers or members of other schools tried to use them (c.f. *Zhuangzi* 4.1), which means the usage of these terms must be similar to their use in Confucian writing. This means discussion of the meaning of the terms in works like the *Analects* can be used as definitions which will also apply to the *Zhuangzi*.

Having said this, as Heiner Roetz (2023, p. 52) argues, there is no explicit definition of the term in Confucian texts in the way that Greek philosophers defined their terms. In the *Analects*, Confucius is asked many times about the meaning of ‘ren’, but each time he replies with examples of specific traits rather than providing a general definition, such as 仁者其言也訥 ‘He who is ‘ren’ speaks carefully’ (*Analects* 12.3). In one case, his reply is: 居處恭，執事敬，與人忠。雖之夷狄，不可棄也 ‘Be polite in your home, be respectful in your work, be honest with others. Even though you may go among the barbarian tribes, this cannot be discarded’ (*Analects* 13:19). The implication is that ‘ren’ is a virtue practiced by civilised people, which in this context would mean those inhabiting the ancient Chinese states.

⁵⁹ In contemporary writing this was called the ‘Ru’ school 儒家, but as the term ‘Confucian’ is more familiar, the analysis will use this term.

Even though there was no precise definition, many of the quotations attributed to Confucius in the *Analects* describe ‘ren’ or the actions of a ‘ren’ person. Ronnie Littlejohn (2015, p. 114) compiled a series of these quotations in an attempt to define ‘ren’. The four main quotations he identified were (in his own translations) ‘endure hardship and enjoy happy circumstances’ (Analects 4.2), ‘identify without prejudice and with accuracy the individuals who are truly good and evil’ (Analects 4.3), ‘be free from the desire to do wrong’ (Analects 4.4) and ‘stand out from those who go astray’ (Analects 4.7). Compare these with the conventional definitions discussed earlier, like ‘benevolent’ or ‘humane’. Neither of these conventional definitions can cover all four of the quotations presented here. Some variation of ‘moral’ works for three, but not the first. Another important definition is a sense of caring for others. In one of the more direct discussions of ‘ren’ in the *Analects* (12.2), Confucius says: 己所不欲，勿施于人 ‘They do not impose on others that which they do not wish for themselves.’ A section in another work, *Mencius*, compares what is and is not ‘ren’: 矢人岂不仁于函人哉？矢人唯恐不伤人，函人唯恐伤人 ‘Surely a fletcher is less ‘ren’ than a shield maker! A fletcher only fears that men will not be harmed, while a shield maker only fears that they will be’ (Mencius 2a.7).

‘Ren’ is a highly complex term that has proved challenging to translate even with a number of contextual examples. It represents either a particular kind of virtuous conduct in human relationships, or a more general description of the character of a virtuous individual. It is concerned with human relationships in the sense of empathising with and caring for others, while also representing an understanding of right and wrong in both social and moral senses. As mentioned earlier, ‘ren’ is frequently shown in a relationship with another virtue called ‘yi’ 义. Considering the translation of the latter term may assist in defining the former.

There are fewer alternatives presented in scholarship for ‘yi’, but that does not mean there is agreement on a definitive translation. The start of this section highlighted translations from the *Handian* including ‘righteousness’, ‘justice’ and ‘moral’. Translations by academics include ‘righteousness’ or ‘integrity’ (Van Norden 2011, p. 91), ‘justice’ (King 2012, p. 89), ‘appropriateness’ (Yu 2006, p. 335) and ‘rightness’ (Cua 2013b, p. 842). In *Zhuangzi*, the term is often mocked or subverted without providing a firm definition. As with ‘ren’, more detailed descriptions of ‘yi’ are found in the *Analects*, such as in *Analects* 4.10: 君子之于天下也，无适也，无莫也，义之与比. ‘In his relations with the world the gentleman does not make demands and does not act without cause, everything is done according to ‘yi’.’ However, another parallel with ‘ren’ is that the *Analects* also does not provide a precise definition of ‘yi’. It is mostly described in context, such as in the first example and also in *Analects* 13.4: 上好义，则民莫敢不服 ‘If the rulers are fond of ‘yi’, then the people will not dare to not serve.’

Antonio Cua produced a scheme (2013b, pp. 842-843) indicating how actions or people could be ‘yi’, which is generally indicated by following established rules or personal ethical judgements⁶⁰. He offers a broad definition of ‘yi’ as ‘essentially the notion of a reasoned or correct judgement or ruling’ (Cua 2013b, p. 844). It must also be impartial, taking precedence over any kind of personal advantage (Cua 2013b, p. 844). Jiyuan Yu (2006, pp. 336-337) described ‘yi’ as both the ethical attribute of appropriate actions and the intellectual capability of the individual to perform such actions.

⁶⁰ See the discussion of ‘li’ 礼 later for more on these kinds of rules.

These definitions emphasise that ‘yi’ is an active choice which depends on an individual having sound judgement and it is not possible to fully actualise ‘yi’ without knowledge of the right way to act. ‘Yi’ is necessary to consider in order to perform other kinds of virtuous acts (Yu 2006, p. 346). Yu (2006, p. 337) also noted that sense of ‘yi’ is linked to a sense of shame and requires inner thought to know what is shameful. This point appears in another Analects quotation: 见义不为，无勇也 ‘To see what is ‘yi’ and not act is cowardice’ (Analects 2.24).

Both terms have been shown to be challenging to translate due to a lack of clear definitions in primary sources and the difficulty of finding one term to represent all meanings in a translation. These terms are also used together as the compound ‘renyi’. The compound appears more frequently in *Zhuangzi* than either ‘ren’ or ‘yi’, suggesting that the link between the two terms is important. Discussing the meaning of the compound will provide more information for how to translate the individual terms.

An important element to consider in this compound is whether one term is seen as more important than the other. Most secondary scholarship places ‘ren’ as more important, with Luo (2011, p. 427) identifying ‘ren’ as the central concept in Confucian teaching. He also argued (Luo 2011, p. 439) that the terms cannot be divided into one term for the morality of the agent (‘ren’) and one for the morality of the action (‘yi’), as the moral character of the agent is the main motivation behind actions. Therefore ‘yi’ is part of a more holistic view of ‘ren’ (Luo 2011, p. 441). Shen (2013a, p. 644) agreed, arguing that as ‘yi’ represents proper action towards others, it originates from ‘ren’ which as a virtue represents responsiveness to others.

Finding a suitable translation for these terms is vital, as they are among the most important in Classical Chinese philosophy. However, they are also among the most complicated. The

challenge is evident considering the inability of translators working in English to find standard translations. ‘Ren’ appears to have two different kinds of usage even within the original Classical Chinese, which then grow to several more definitions in English as translators are unable to agree on one exact translation. Whether the terms are left untranslated or a translation is attempted, they carry so much philosophical importance that they could not be fully explained without either lengthy footnotes or their own sections in the translator’s introduction prior to the translation.

An interpretation of ‘yi’ as ‘justice’ or ‘just’ is more plausible, but it may not be appropriate due to differing notions between Western and Classical Chinese philosophy of what constitutes ‘just’ acts. Duvert (2018, p. 300) argued that the Classical Chinese view of ‘justice’ was more concerned with the regulation of social duties. It did not include concepts that are now fundamental to the Western view of justice, such as freedom and equality (Duvert 2018, p.297). Some variation of ‘rightness’ may therefore be preferred, but it would require explanation of what is considered ‘right’.

The main dilemma in the case of ‘renyi’ is between translating the term separately in the form of ‘X and Y’ or combining the terms to form a compound. For separate terms they likely need to use similar translation methods, as for example translating one as a borrowing and the other as an equivalent would look unbalanced. A unique compound would depend on developing a term which can clearly express the aims of both original terms.

There have been prior attempts to translate ‘ren’ into Welsh. This appeared in the *Daodejing* extracts in *Y Cocatw Coch*. However, even within this short translation, Maby cannot decide on one term as a translation. In extract number 4 (*Daodejing* 5) Maby translates it as ‘tostur’

(compassion) (Maby 1987, p. 29)⁶¹. In the 7th extract (Daodejing 8) there is another translation, in this case ‘hynaws’ (genial) (Maby 1987, p.30) and in one more instance in the 10th extract, (Daodejing 19) it is translated ‘caredigrwydd’ (kindness) (Maby 1987, p. 31). The word class of ‘ren’ varies throughout as words in Classical Chinese can move between different classes depending on their use in a sentence, and this is reflected in Maby’s translations. In the first extract it is an adjective, in the second it is ambiguous and could be a noun or an adjective, and in the third it is a noun. Maby used three different terms, where one root word in its nominal and adjectival forms, such as ‘caredigrwydd’ and ‘caredig’, would have sufficed, which could have been choices based on poetic rhythm rather than translation consistency. ‘Yi’ was translated as ‘moesoldeb’ (morality) by Maby (1987, p. 31). For ‘ren’ Williams used the source language loanword ‘Jen’ (Williams 1968, p.286)⁶² and the semantic reductions ‘rhinweddol’ (virtuous) (Williams 1968, p.279) and ‘caredigrwydd’ (kindness) (Williams 1968, p.286), while for ‘yi’ he used the semantic expansion ‘cyfiawnder’ (justice, equity) (Williams 1968, p.286) and the semantic reduction ‘dyletswydd’ (duty) (Williams 1968, p.286).

‘Ren’ and ‘yi’ are important in the source culture and appear frequently in this genre of formal, philosophical text. Precise translations are important in any genre of translation to ensure the terms are treated as integral philosophical concepts. The translations used in the glossary produced for this thesis were the 1b recent source language loanword ‘ren’ for ‘ren’, the 3a semantic expansion ‘cyfiawnder’ for ‘yi’ and the 5g other combination ‘ren a chyfiawnder’ for ‘renyi’. As a philosophical term, the only viable option for ‘ren’ is a loanword, even if that

⁶¹ To be more precise, his translation is ‘didostur’, which reflects the use of a negative in the source text.

⁶² Wade-Giles romanisation rather than pinyin.

necessitates an explanation in whatever genre of translation the term appears. Any attempt at a substitution would not represent enough of the meaning of the source term, and the use of multiple different substitutions would not allow readers to appreciate ‘ren’ as an original concept.

The translation of ‘yi’ was the semantic expansion ‘cyfiawnder’. This term represents the definitions of ‘yi’, but also means ‘well-proportioned’ or ‘fitting’ according to *Geiriadur Prifysgol Cymru*. While ‘yi’ is an integral term in Chinese philosophy like ‘ren’, ‘cyfiawnder’ does not miss any important connotations and has the advantage of using minority language resources, which was generally preferred by the translators studied so far. A source language loanword was also considered, but the semantic expansion is preferred because it results in the use of existing minority language resources without differing too much from the source term. This leads to a translating ‘renyi’ with ‘ren a chyfiawnder’, a mixed compound of a loanword, a semantic expansion and a calque to translate ‘renyi’. Despite the point noted earlier that a combination of a source language loanword and a substitution would be unbalanced, in practice ‘ren’ only being translated suitably with a loanword makes this compound more practical.

There were several substitutions that could have been used to translate these terms. Maby used three semantic reductions in his translation; ‘tostur’, ‘hynaws’ and ‘caredigrwydd’ for ‘ren’. As discussed above, ‘ren’ is both too specific and important to highlight one aspect of the term with a semantic reduction. For ‘yi’ Maby used the semantic expansion ‘moesoldeb’ (morality), which is so general it could also be applied to ‘yi’, ‘ren’ or other terms in the glossary. In terms of other categories, a calque would only be possible for ‘renyi’, as the other terms are single characters, but it would depend on what translations are decided for the two constituent terms. Coinages

would require as much explanation as loanwords, and lengthenings would reach excessive numbers of words to convey the source term meanings without requiring further explanations.

6.3.4.3: 礼 ‘Li’ /li/

‘Li’ appeared 50 times in the source text. It is less frequent than the other terms discussed so far but is still an important term in contemporary Chinese thought. This term has more discrepancy in translation between languages in the *Handian* than any other. The English definitions given are ‘social custom’, ‘manner’ and ‘courtesy’, while those for German are ‘Gabe’ (present), ‘Richtigkeit’ and ‘Korrektur’ (correctness), ‘Ritus’ (rite) ‘Zeremonie’ (ceremony), and for French are ‘rite’ (rite), ‘cérémonie’ (ceremony), ‘semaine’ (week)⁶³, ‘cadeau’ and ‘présent’ (present). Palmer used a larger number of terms than normal as translations. Some were variations of ‘the rituals’ (2006, p. 49) or ‘rituals’ (2006, p. 58), others referred to ‘proper ceremony’ (2006, p. 55) or ‘proper conduct’ (2006, p. 55), with adjectival definitions like ‘seemly and proper’ (2006, p. 55) also appearing. The fact that the last three examples appeared on the same page showed that Palmer could not find a consistent working definition even in similar contexts.

The definition given in the title of the encyclopaedia entry by Cua (2013a, p. 370) was ‘rites or propriety’, although he states that the entry takes a primarily Confucian perspective. Cua (2013a, p. 370) outlined various other definitions, including ‘ceremony’, ‘decorum’, ‘proper conduct’

⁶³ The inclusion of this definition is confusing, as ‘li’ does not appear in any ancient or modern Chinese term for ‘week’.

and ‘politeness’. Ultimately in his entry he decided to borrow ‘li’ as he felt there are too many separate connotations for one term (Cua 2013a, p. 370).

‘Li’ derived from a term with a religious meaning related to observing rules for sacrifices to supernatural entities, which then developed into a more general observation of social customs (Cua 2013a, p. 371). Many of these customs were outlined in three ancient texts on ‘li’, *Liji* 礼记 (The Record of ‘Li’), *Zhouli*, 周礼 (The ‘Li’ of the Zhou) and *Yili* 仪礼 (Etiquette and ‘Li’) (Cua 2013a, p. 371). The ceremonial nature of the term can see it paired with other cultural aspects like music, for example in a satirical passage where Confucius talks to his disciple Yan Hui: 回忘礼乐矣 ‘I have forgotten ‘li’ and music’ (Zhuangzi 6.9).

‘Li’ exhibits a connection with ‘yi’, as the judgement of ‘yi’ is required to determine which ‘li’ is appropriate for the situation (Cua 2013a, p. 371). Acting out ‘li’ can demonstrate that a person is ‘ren’, forming a way of expressing consideration for others (Littlejohn 2015, p. 116; Cheung 2020, p. 229). In a more practical sense, ‘li’ represent rules of civility (Cua 2013b, p. 845). It represents a guide to life in Confucian thought that is more grounded in real human relations than general virtues such as ‘ren’ (Mou 2009, p. 83). The rules which it embodies regulate emotions and desires which can cause conflict (Cheung 2020, p. 230). Social disorder is prevented by defining the boundaries of individual self-interest and responsibilities (Cua 2013a, p. 372).

This leads to the term being satirised in *Zhuangzi*, frequently as a means to criticise Confucian thought in general. Zigong, another disciple of Confucius, says to two men singing before a dead body 敢问临尸而歌，礼乎？ ‘If I may ask, is singing before a corpse ‘li’?’ (Zhuangzi 6.6).

These men happen to be wise men in touch with ‘dao’, so human concepts like ‘li’ are beneath

them. ‘Li’ is described later as 道之华而乱之首也 ‘frivolous decoration of ‘dao’ and the first sign of disorder’ (Zhuangzi 22.1).

‘Li’ represents the view of a society with a great concern for rituals and ceremonies, as well as a stratified social system where individuals were expected to behave in certain ways. It can be used in religious and secular contexts, for large ceremonies and matters of personal etiquette. Many terms have been suggested as translations, including ‘rite’, ‘ceremony’ and ‘custom’. The challenge is finding a term which can include all the nuances expressed in the source term.

This term was not used in Maby’s translation. It appeared twice in Williams, once as the established third language loanword ‘seremonïau’ (ceremonies) (Williams 1968 p. 272) in his translation of *Liji* and once as the semantic reduction ‘gweddusrwydd’ (decency, decorum) (Williams 1968, p. 286). Neither of these are suitable as they do not cover sufficient source term meanings.

The translation adopted for this term in this practical exercise was the 3c near equivalent ‘defod’ (custom, ritual, habit). It fits the definition of a near equivalent, representing enough of the meanings of the source term. ‘Defod’ does have a Christian context in the sense of religious ceremony, but also has secular contexts including medieval courts and national customs. The difficulty in agreeing on a translation in the other languages in the *Handian* entry suggested this term would present a greater translation challenge. This demonstrates the value of direct translation to Welsh from the original Chinese, as the result has been a more precise definition of a complex term.

Translating with other categories is also possible, but the translations would not be as suitable as ‘defod’. Forming a loanword of this term is straightforward, with no transliteration issue, but as

with all loanwords it would require a longer explanation in the text. Translating this term with a compound process also does not seem necessary when there is no obvious reason to use a loanword or dispute over multiple senses of the source term which cannot be represented easily by a target term. A compound of a substitution and a lengthening to add specificity like ‘defod Tsieineaid’ seems unnecessary, as the reader could tell that ‘li’ is Chinese from the context.

6.3.4.4: 道 ‘Dao’ /tao/, 德 ‘de’ /tɛ/ and 道德 ‘daode’ /taotɛ/

‘Dao’, sometimes more recognisable as the Wade-Giles ‘Tao’ is the term which gives its name to the philosophy, and later religion, of Daoism. Together with ‘de’, it appears in the title of the most famous work of Daoist thought, the *Daodejing* 道德经. ‘Dao’ is the second most frequent term in the source text, with 375 uses, as well as having two of the largest number of appearances in a single chapter at two instances of 46 uses. While not as frequent, ‘de’ appeared 199 times, with several chapters recording low or no usage while the highest recorded 30. Unlike in the ‘ren’, ‘yi’ and ‘renyi’ section, the compound ‘daode’ is far less common than the constituent terms, appearing only 16 times.

‘Dao’ receives an extensive number of definitions in the ‘Handian’. These can be split into terms related to physical pathways like ‘path’, or ‘street’ and terms with a more metaphorical sense such as ‘method’ and ‘doctrine’, as well as the term ‘way’ which can cover both. It also has a verbal meaning of ‘say’ or ‘express’, which appears in the numerous source text examples for this entry. The entry for ‘de’ is also detailed, although in this case there is no physical sense to

the term. The translations offered are ‘ethics’, ‘morality’ and ‘virtue’⁶⁴. The textual examples also offer ‘kindness’ and ‘heart’ or ‘mind’. The compound ‘daode’ is translated as ‘morality’ in all three languages, which reflects the Modern Chinese meaning of the term (Nivison 2013, p. 234). The English entry also adds the alternate definitions ‘virtue’ and ‘ethics’. There is only one source text example given for this entry from a text produced centuries after *Zhuangzi* and very little discussion of the definition, suggesting that the compound was not a common term in Chinese texts of this period. Palmer translated ‘dao’ as capitalised ‘Tao’ consistently throughout the text (c.f. Palmer 2006, p. 13). He was also largely consistent in his translation of ‘de’ as capitalised ‘Virtue’ (c.f. Palmer 2006, p. 39). There was one instance in chapter 5 where ‘de’ appeared in a compound and he translated this compound differently in two instances, but this is an isolated exception⁶⁵. The compound term 道德 was translated as ‘Tao and Virtue’ (Palmer 2006, p. 106).

‘Dao’ was borrowed as a transliteration by Palmer in all cases. Like ‘ren’ and ‘yi’, there is no specific definition for ‘dao’ in the source texts. However, this is due less to the lack of a discussion of the definition, and more due to a comprehensive definition of the term being impossible. The most famous use of the term is in the opening sentence of the *Daodejing*: 道可道非常道. There is no standard English translation not only for ‘dao’, but also for this entire sentence. David K. Jordan (2023) collected just ten of these translations on one web page, all of which show numerous differences in translation of ‘dao’ specifically and the entire sentence in

⁶⁴ Curiously there are no French translations provided for ‘de’.

⁶⁵ Specifically, the compound 全德 appeared as ‘able-bodied’ on page 41 and ‘preserving Virtue’ on page 42. Both are valid translations and the difference was likely based on the contexts in which they appeared.

general. Four of the ten borrowed the term directly, three used the substitution ‘way’ and the remaining three used the unique translations ‘Nature’, ‘truth’ and ‘divine law’. A simplified, literal translation of the sentence could read: ‘the dao which can be told of is not the constant dao’. Every translation contains a sense that trying to identify ‘dao’ is not possible. In other words, the most famous source text extract for defining this concept speaks of the futility of trying to understand the concept at all!

The apparent impossibility of defining ‘dao’ has not prevented attempts to do so. Chung-yin Cheng (2013a, p.203) summarised ‘dao’ as the process in which nature is manifested and things are created and changed, representing the limits of reality while also having a concrete presence in the universe. In *Zhuangzi*, everything is a part of ‘dao’, so it is possible to understand other aspects of nature and operate according to ‘dao’ by removing the limits imposed by human knowledge and emotions (Cheng 2013a, p.204).

Wenyu Xie (2000, p. 470) identified two essential aspects of ‘dao’. One is ‘mother of the world’, which represents the creation of things, and ‘returning’, which is a cyclical process. Xie (2000, p. 473) argued that the latter is the more central, with the cyclical nature of reality moving between opposites leading to creation. This view is expressed in *Zhuangzi* in the following passage: 夫道，有情有信，无为无形；可传而不可受，可得而不可见；自本自根，未有天地，自古以固存；神鬼神帝，生天生地 (So ‘dao’ has expression and reality, but does not act and has no form; it can be passed on but cannot be received, it can be obtained but cannot be seen: it originates from itself, before there was ‘tiandi’, it has existed unchanged since then: it gives ‘shen’ to spirits and gods, gives life to ‘tian’ and ‘di’) (Zhuangzi 6.3).

Alan Fox (2005, p. 51) described a view of nature as being composed of a web of interconnected ‘dao’ which are constantly interacting with other ‘dao’ in their vicinity. There is technically an infinite number of ‘dao’ as each one represents a process (Fox 2005, p. 49). They are even present for other superhuman concepts such as ‘tian’ (Chan 2011, p. 69), which the previous passage indicated in describing ‘tian’ as originating in ‘dao’. These ‘dao’ can combine to represent a way of doing something, which is seen when someone asks: 盜亦有道乎? (Does robbery also have a ‘dao’?) (Zhuangzi 10.1).

‘De’ as a concept is as difficult to define as ‘dao’. The definitions in the *Handian* were varied, including ‘ethics’, ‘virtue’, ‘kindness’, and ‘heart’ or ‘mind’. Littlejohn (2015, p. 130) suggested ‘excellence’, ‘virtue’, ‘power’, and ‘charismatic force’, but chose to borrow ‘de’ in his article so as not to emphasise one aspect over the others. Van Norden (2011, p. 8) chose ‘Virtue’⁶⁶, which he described as an ‘ethical charisma’ dependent on possessing positive moral attributes. Yao (2021b, p. 144) noted that ‘virtue’ is the conventional English translation. However, Yao (2021b, p. 145) also argued for the relatively unique translation of ‘realisation’, in the sense of realising moral goodness. This definition has external and internal dimensions, with the internal being goodness of character, while the external relates to dealing with others (Yao 2021b, p. 145). Rather than being equally inherent the ‘realisation’ is embodied differently depending on the individual, being realised more fully in those who are more sophisticated (Yao 2021b, p. 145). On the other hand, Ames viewed ‘dao’ and ‘de’ as external and internal aspects respectively, with sages effectively making internal ‘de’ manifest in external ‘dao’ (Ames 2016, p. 53).

⁶⁶ Note the overlap in English translations with the treatment of 仁 ren, which demonstrates necessity of establishing consistent translations as early as possible.

David Nivison (2013) outlined a complex history of the usage of this term across many centuries of Ancient Chinese metaphysical and moral thought. One definition Nivison (2013, p. 234) identified was ‘a force generated by characteristic moral behaviour’. This applied particularly to generous acts, but Nivison (2013, p. 235) notes the moral force attributed to ‘de’ can be negative. ‘De’ also represents a characteristic way of interacting with others rather than an inherent part of the individual (Nivison 2013, p. 236). This interaction can take place with non-human entities, such as ‘tian’ (Nivison 2013, p. 235). Fox (2005, p. 53) defined ‘de’ with the term ‘virtuosity’, describing it as being an attribute of ‘dao’ which experiences minimal interference from other ‘dao’. This minimal interference is expressed in *Zhuangzi* 4.3: 若成若不成而后无患者，唯有德者能之 (To succeed or fail but not be distressed by this is something only one who has ‘de’ is capable of). Changes in circumstances are shown not to interfere with the individual who exhibits ‘de’⁶⁷.

There are differences in the treatment and therefore the translations of ‘de’ between Confucian and Daoist philosophy. Xiaojiao Cui (2023, p. 1) argued that ‘de’ in Confucian thought is usually translated as ‘virtue’, while in Daoism the definitions are more varied, including ‘virtue’, ‘power’ and ‘character’. There is general agreement among translators that in Confucian texts like the *Analects* ‘de’ translates to ‘virtue’ (Cui 2023, p. 3). ‘De’ here is described as a power providing motives for action which comes from self-reflection and restraint (Cheng 2021, p. 183). It applies to someone with a good heart who succeeds in public affairs (Yao 2021b, p.

⁶⁷ Another example of this idea can be found in *Zhuangzi* 5.2: 知无可奈何而安之若命，惟有德者能之 (To know what is unavoidable and yet be at peace with it as if it were fate is something only one who has ‘de’ is capable of).

146). This differs from the view in Greek philosophy found in the works of writers like Aristotle, as to them being good at a social role has no relationship to moral good (Yao 2021b, p. 147).

The difference with Daoism is that ‘de’ in Daoist thought does not manifest through deliberate action (Littlejohn 2015, p.130). This is shown in *Zhuangzi* 12.12: 德人者，居无思，行无虑，不藏是非美恶 (The ‘de’ man is still and does not think, acts and is not worried, he does not hoard true and false or beautiful and ugly). In the *Daodejing*, ‘de’ acts as a kind of ‘weak force’, where more passive elements like softness and silence can overcome hardness and speech (Nivison 2013, p. 236). The more moral sense for ‘de’ in Confucian thought is replaced with a sense of realising or manifesting ‘dao’ (Yao 2021a, p. 9)⁶⁸. It is also described as a mysterious, unknowable force in a similar way as ‘dao’, such as *Zhuangzi* 5.4: 德者，成和之修也。德不形者，物不能离也 (‘De’ is the compilation of true harmony. ‘De’ has no form, yet nothing can be distant from it).

The compound term ‘daode’ was used at a low frequency within the source text, particularly when compared to the constituent terms. Whether as a compound or treated separately, the two terms collocate frequently in the source text, such as at *Zhuangzi* 12.1: 故通于天地者，德也；行于万物者，道也 (So passing through all ‘tiandi’ is ‘de’, working through all things is ‘dao’). The compound term has become more frequent in more recent usage. In the 12th century AD, it was paired with ‘dao’ by Confucian scholar Zhu Xi, as obtaining ‘dao’ was a sign of being virtuous (Yao 2021b, p. 144). This usage was adapted to form the modern Chinese term that translates as ‘morality’.

⁶⁸ This is also described by Cua (2013a, p. 370) as an attribute of ‘li’.

Nivison (2013, p. 236) noted that the ‘Daodejing’ has two sections, one focusing on ‘dao’ and the other on ‘de’. The order in earlier versions of the text was reversed, with the ‘de’ section coming before the one on ‘dao’. This suggests that in Chinese philosophy contemporary to the source text the terms were seen as separate but related, and therefore unlikely to have been perceived as a compound rather than a collocation. However, even if the term was not meant to be a compound noun, it is always used in the form shown in the section heading and in this extract: 夫帝王之德，以天地为宗，以道德为主，以无为为常 (The ‘de’ of monarchs is to consider ‘tiandi’ as parents, ‘daode’ as masters, and ‘wuwei’ as routine) (Zhuangzi 13.2). The reverse, ‘dedao’, is never used, and would appear as alien as ‘ditian’ or ‘yiren’.

The difficulty of translation here is even higher than the ‘ren’ and ‘yi’ group. While those terms do not have standard translations in other languages, they refer to moral concepts which are similar to concepts that exist in Western ethics. However, the terms in this category relate to metaphysical concepts unlike anything in Western thought. ‘Dao’ appears to have a possible equivalent in terms related to ‘way’ or ‘path’, but these passive, substantive terms do not reflect the way in which ‘dao’ can represent a process. ‘De’ is in a similar position, where translating the term as aspects like ‘virtue’ or ‘power’ cannot cover the whole meaning.

There have been previous attempts to find equivalent concepts in Western thought rather than literal translations. Some early Western translations attempted to link these terms to concepts in Christian theology, with ‘dao’ and ‘de’ appearing as ‘God’ and ‘virtue’ (Cui 2023, p. 4). Other translators linked them with concepts in Ancient Greek philosophy, translating ‘de’ as ‘potency’ in the sense that in Latin ‘virtue’ can refer to an inherent attribute (Cui 2023, p. 6). However, any translation based on forcing these source concepts into target preconceptions is unlikely to succeed.

Maby translated ‘dao’ as the semantic reduction ‘yr Heol’ (the way/ path/ road) (Maby 1987, p. 28). This mirrors the normal treatment of the term in other languages, taking some variation of the term ‘way’ to represent both a path and a manner of doing something. His consistent translation of ‘de’ is ‘rhinwedd’ (virtue) (Maby 1987, p. 26) and the compound ‘daode’ is ‘Heol Rhinwedd (Road and Virtue⁶⁹) (Maby 1987, p. 26). Williams translated ‘dao’ with the recent source language loanword ‘Tao’, the semantic reduction ‘Y Ffordd’ (The Way), and the semantic reduction ‘trefn’ (arrangement, order) (Williams 1968, p. 282).

The translations for this set included in the glossary devised for the thesis mirror the translations for the ‘ren’ and ‘yi’ set, with one difference. These are the 1b recent source language loanword ‘Dao’ for ‘dao’, the 1b recent source language loanword ‘De’ or the 3c near equivalent ‘Rhinwedd’ for ‘de’ and the 1b source language loanword ‘Dao a De’ or the 5g other compound ‘Dao a Rhinwedd’ for ‘Daode’. As with ‘ren’, ‘dao’ is translated more suitably as a loanword to represent the source term as a coherent philosophical concept. The same reasoning could be applied to ‘de’, but ‘rhinwedd’ has enough overlap in meanings to function as a near equivalent substitution in less academic contexts. The main meanings for ‘de’ are ‘virtue’, ‘power’, ‘morality’ and ‘kindness’. These meanings are present in ‘rhinwedd’ except ‘kindness’. However, this method is called ‘near equivalent’, not ‘absolute equivalent’, so one meaning of many not being reflected is acceptable as long as the dropped meaning is not vital to its use in the source text.

There are however some circumstances where translating ‘de’ with a loanword would be more suitable. One is in an academic context where the source term is known, and a loanword is used

⁶⁹ This could also be ‘Road of Virtue’, but it would not be a possible translation of the original Chinese.

for more precision. Another is related to rhythm. The use of these terms in some works like the *Daodejing* has a lyrical quality, so if rhythm is prioritised ‘Dao’ and ‘De’ may be more suitable even in less academic translations, as longer substitutions or compounds may disrupt the rhythm. ‘Daode’ was not common in the source text or the contemporary period. In this context, it is better translated in parts rather than using a single word. The translation using loanwords is ‘Dao a De’, while using a substitution it is ‘Dao a Rhinwedd’. As mentioned earlier, the translations are capitalised to emphasise that they are distinct concepts. This is important for ‘De’ to avoid confusion with the existing Welsh term ‘de’ (south).

Other categories were considered less suitable for similar reasons to those discussed in the ‘ren’ and ‘yi’ section. Any semantic expansion for ‘dao’ would have to be so general as to give little indication of the meaning of the term, while semantic reductions would not include enough of the source meanings. ‘De’ could be translated with a lengthening such as ‘nerth moesol’ (moral force) to express additional meaning, but this would be difficult to convert into an adjective, which is a word class that is possible for ‘de’.

6.3.4.5: 至 ‘Zhi’ /tʃi/, 神 ‘shen’ /ʃən/, 圣 ‘sheng’ /ʃəŋ/, 真 ‘zhen’ /tʃən/, 至人 ‘zhiren’ /tʃizən/, 神人 ‘shenren’ /ʃənzən/, 圣人 ‘shengren’ /ʃəŋzən/, 真人 ‘zhenren’ /tʃənzən/, 至圣人 ‘zhishengren’ /tʃiʃəŋzən/ and 至圣者 ‘zhishengzhe’ /tʃiʃəŋtʃə/

This section contains the largest number of separate terms. They are all linked in the sense that the latter six refer to different kinds of paradigmatic individuals and the former four form the descriptions of these individuals. Two characters in these terms are not analysed here as their

definitions are relatively uncomplicated. The character ‘ren’ appearing at the end of some terms means ‘man’ or more generally ‘person’. The ‘zhe’ at the end of ‘zhishengzhe’ is a nominalising particle which can be translated to ‘a ...-er’ or ‘one who...’.

‘Zhi’ was the fourth most common term in the glossary at 221 uses, being present in every chapter. This is due to the number of uses the term has beyond the one for which it is used in ‘zhiren’. The *Handian* defines ‘zhi’ as ‘reach’, ‘to’ or ‘arrive’ as one set of meanings and ‘very’ or ‘extremely’ in another. Palmer translated it in most contexts as ‘true’ (2006, p. 30)

‘perfection’ (2006, p. 30) and ‘perfect’ (2006, p. 85) or ‘came’ (2006, p. 33) and ‘follow’ (2006, p. 83). ‘Shen’ appeared 104 times, defined in the dictionary as ‘spirit’, ‘god’, or ‘supernatural’, with the French adding ‘expression’ (expression) and ‘énergie’ (energy). Palmer’s renditions were variations of ‘spirits’ (2006, p. 94), ‘spirit’ (2006, p. 99) and ‘spiritual’ (2006, p. 188).

‘Sheng’ was used outside of the longer term 29 times, with the definitions of ‘holy’ or ‘sacred’ and Palmer’s translation of ‘sage’ (2006, p. 77), usually as a noun rather than an adjective.

‘Zhen’ appeared 49 times, with a notable 13 uses in chapter 31. All language translations were variations of ‘true’, ‘real’ and ‘genuine’. Palmer (2006, p. 48) translated it consistently as ‘true’.

‘Zhiren’ appeared 30 times in the source text. It only had English and French entries in the *Handian*, which defined it as a ‘fully realised human being’, a ‘sage’ or a ‘saint’. Palmer

translated ‘zhiren’ consistently as ‘perfect man’ (2006, p. 27). ‘Shenren’ was used just 8 times.

The definitions were also only in English and French, being either ‘god’ or ‘deity’, with some of the examples listing the definition as an ‘immortal’ or ‘extraordinary person’. Palmer opted for ‘spiritual one’ (2006, p. 101) or ‘spiritual man’ (2006, p. 3). ‘Shengren’ was used the most frequently at 105 instances, which is the only dual character term used more than single character term from which it was derived. It had no formal definitions at all in the *Handian*, but was

defined in examples on the page as a ‘sage’ or an ‘emperor’. Palmer used the translations ‘sage’ (2006, p. 100, p. 188) and ‘holy man’ (2006, p. 3). ‘Zhenren’ was used 18 times, including 9 uses in chapter 6. All languages translated the term either literally as ‘real person’, or contextually as ‘Daoist spiritual master’, while Palmer (2006, p. 47) translated it as ‘true man’. Neither ‘zhishengren’ with two uses nor ‘zhishengzhe’ with one had an entry in any form. Palmer translated the former as ‘perfect sage’ (2006, p. 73) and the latter as ‘someone of perfect knowledge’ (2006, p. 77).

‘Zhi’ by itself does not appear frequently in scholarship, as the term has too many more common definitions. The compound has been defined as ‘fully realised human being’, ‘perfect man’ and also ‘supreme person’ by Shen (2013b, p. 872). Meaning ‘reach’, arrive’ or ‘extremely’, affixing ‘zhi’ to the word for ‘man’ suggests an individual of supreme potency. There is more secondary scholarship on the term ‘shen’. Definitions provided include ‘spirit’ and ‘supernatural’ from the *Handian* entries, ‘spirit’ again from Palmer and ‘spirit’, ‘god’ or ‘numinous’ from Machle (2013, p. 701). The compound ‘shenren’ was defined as ‘god’, ‘deity’, ‘spiritual man’, to which Shen (2013b, p. 872) added ‘marvellous person’. ‘Shen’ in some contexts certainly referred to divine beings, as they receive sacrifices in religious ceremonies (Machle 2013, p. 701). In this context the term does not refer to such beings, but rather to individuals with profound insight.

‘Sheng’ and ‘shengren’ show more standardisation in English translation and secondary scholarship than the other terms in this category. ‘Sheng’ was translated as ‘holy’, ‘sacred’ or ‘sage’, while ‘shengren’ was ‘sage’. Ames (2016, p. 47) agreed with ‘sage’ and Shen (2013b, p. 872) chose the related ‘sagely person’. The concept of sagehood is present in most contemporary schools of thought. ‘Sheng’ in the Confucian thought of the *Analects* is considered a higher virtue than ‘ren’, being applied to the most noble individuals who were able by their virtue to

transform the world, like Yao, Shun and Yu (Fu 2013, p. 697). In the *Mencius*, ‘sheng’ is achievable for anyone as a part of human nature sourced from ‘tian’ (Fu 2013, p. 697), but in *Xunzi* it is dependent on studying and embodying goodness (Fu 2013, p. 698). Becoming ‘sheng’ was the ultimate aim for scholars of this tradition (Machle 2013, p. 702). In Daoist thought, ‘shengren’ communicated with ‘dao’ without interference from human culture (Fu 2013, p. 698). A ‘sheng’ in the *Daodejing* is someone who can perceive cosmic order and act according to it (Ames 2016, p. 47), as well as understanding the way of ‘tian’ (Chan 2012, p. 117). Within a worldview that see all things connected, sages are the embodiment of their society’s achievement in achieving harmony (Ames 2016, pp. 47-48).

The three compounds discussed above were noted together in chapter 1: 至人无己，神人无功，圣人无名 (The ‘zhiren’ has no self, the ‘shenren’ has no achievements, the ‘shengren’ has no name) (Zhuangzi 1.3). Shen (2013b, p. 873) saw this as a criticism of individuals in other schools through defining the terms by not being attributes which were more commonly considered important (c.f. Zhuangzi 2.12, 13.8 for other examples of this). Despite being different terms as noted by appearing together, the definitions overlap in some passages. For example, the individuals defined by these terms are occasionally given supernatural attributes. In chapter 1, the ‘shenren’ is described as 不食五谷，吸风饮露。乘云气，御飞龙，而游乎四海之外 ‘he does not eat the five grains, breathes wind and drinks dew, ascends clouds and rides dragons, and travels beyond the four seas’ (Zhuangzi 1.5). This is similar to the description of the ‘zhiren’ in chapter 2: 至人神矣：大泽焚而不能热 ‘The ‘zhiren’ is ‘shen’: when the wilderness burns he does not feel hot’ (Zhuangzi 2.11). Later in this same passage the ‘zhiren’ is also described as ‘ascending clouds’ and ‘travelling beyond the four seas’ (c.f. Zhuangzi 22.2 for a supernatural description of a ‘shengren’).

As for ‘zhen’, while the number of alternate meanings is fewer for this term compared with ‘zhi’, the conventional translation of ‘real’ or ‘true’ is consistent in the majority of uses in this context. The compound ‘zhenren’ was translated as ‘true man’ by Palmer, and ‘authentic person’ by Shen (2013b, p. 872). The translation ‘Daoist spiritual master’ in the *Handian* is likely due to it being a concept originating primarily in *Zhuangzi* (Shen 2013b, p. 872). They are described in the source text as people who understand ‘dao’ more than others, becoming free of worldly desires including concern over death, and therefore harmonising with the natural state of the world (Shen 2013b, p. 873). The term also exhibits the supernatural quality attributed to the others, for example in chapter 6: 登高不栗，入水不濡，入火不热 ‘they climb heights but are not afraid, they enter water but are not wet, they enter fire but are not hot’ (*Zhuangzi* 6.1).

Finally, there are the two longer compounds ‘zhishengren’ and ‘zhishengzhe’. The only translations available are from Palmer, with ‘perfect sage’ for ‘zhishengren’ and ‘someone of perfect knowledge’ for ‘zhishengzhe’. Of significance is the context in which these terms appear. Rather than highlighting paradigmatic individuals, these terms satirise them: 及至圣人，蹇蹇为仁，踉跄为义，而天下始疑矣 ‘A ‘zhishengren’ arrived, bothering people to do ‘ren’ and badgering them to do ‘yi’, and so all ‘tianxia’ became doubtful’ (*Zhuangzi* 9.2). The description of the ‘zhishengzhe’ in the subsequent chapter is similarly negative.

The main challenge for these terms is in differentiating between terms within the set. The compounds all refer to paradigmatic individuals whose descriptions can overlap. Translations must reflect the meaning of the source terms in a way that allows the reader to understand the differences between them. This is also true for the constituent terms, which can have more common meanings than the ones being used in this context.

Of the constituent terms, ‘sheng’ and ‘zhen’ had the most consistent translations, which also made the compound translations more consistent. ‘Zhi’ proved more challenging to define, and ‘shen’ in the context of ‘shengren’ would also be challenging to express without appearing overtly religious. ‘Zhishengren’ and ‘zhishengzhe’ are satirical terms, so translations of these should be ‘outlandish’, based on exaggerated versions of what is decided as translations for the constituent terms

Two of the terms in this section were translated by Maby. He translated ‘sheng’ as the semantic reduction ‘sancteiddrwydd’ (sacredness, holiness) (Maby 1987, p. 30) and ‘shengren’ as the compound ‘gŵr doeth’ (wise man) (Maby 1987, p. 28). Williams translated ‘zhenren’ as the compound ‘y gwir ddyn’ (the true man) (1968, p. 319).

The translations used in this glossary are as follows. For the single character terms listed here in the adjective forms in which they appear in the compound terms, ‘zhi’ was translated with the 3b semantic reduction ‘cyflawn’ (complete), ‘shen’ with 3b semantic reduction ‘dwyfol’ (divine), ‘sheng’ with the 3b semantic reduction ‘ysbrydoledig’ (inspired / inspirational) and ‘zhen’ by the 3a semantic expansion ‘gwir’ (true, real). For the dual and triple character terms, all of which were 5d new formation and substitutions, ‘zhiren’ was translated with ‘dyn cyflawn’ (complete man),⁷⁰ ‘shenren’ with ‘dyn dwyfol’ (divine man), ‘shengren’ with ‘dyn ysbrydoledig’ (inspired / inspiring man), ‘zhenren’ with ‘y gwir ddyn’ (the true man), ‘zhishengren’ by ‘dyn sydd ag

⁷⁰ ‘Man’ is the literal translation of the character 人 ren. This was the translation used to be as accurate to the source term as possible. A translation using the ungendered ‘person’ would also work, particularly in a more general translation.

ysbrydoliaeth gyflawn’ (man with complete inspiration) and ‘zhishengzhe’ by ‘rhywun sydd ag ysbrydoliaeth gyflawn’ (someone who has complete inspiration).

The most important issue in translating these terms is the translation of the single character terms ‘zhi’, ‘shen’, ‘sheng’ and ‘zhen’, as the multi-character terms build on these translations. As ‘zhi’ has so many alternate meanings in Classical Chinese, it was translated with the semantic reduction ‘cyflawn’, which expresses the meaning used in the philosophical sense and the multi-character term. ‘Shen’ was translated with the semantic reduction ‘dwyfol’. While also being a religious term, ‘dwyfol’ was preferred over ‘sancteiddrwydd’ as any term derived from ‘sant’ (saint) would carry too many Christian connotations and add preconceptions of the idea of a saint. ‘Sheng’ was translated with the final semantic reduction ‘ysbrydoledig’. A translation based on the idea of a sage would use ‘doeth’ (wise), but unlike the debate over ‘shen’ this does not have enough religious connotations. A loanword could have been a suitable alternative but would have resulted in too much explanation for a general audience. ‘Zhen’ was translated with the only semantic expansion, ‘gwir’, which is an expansion as the Welsh term also means ‘right’, ‘true’ or ‘correct’.

The dual and triple character terms are formed partly with calques where ‘ren’ (man) is translated by the equivalent ‘dyn’. The only one of these terms without ‘ren’ is ‘zhishengzhe’, where ‘zhe’ is a grammatical particle which forms a noun clause that translates to ‘rhywun’ (someone, one who) (Dawson 1984, p. 35). The longer terms were also translated with this method, deliberately sounding like exaggerations as they were used satirically in the source text.

6.3.4.6: 无为 ‘Wuwei’ /u.uei/

‘Wuwei’ is a key term in Daoist philosophy⁷¹. It was used 70 times in the source text, with notable concentrations in chapters 13 (13) and 22 (14). This term had no formal definitions in its *Handian* entry and few examples within the entry. The most suitable example, listed specifically as a Daoist meaning, was ‘letting things take their own course’. ‘Wu’ in this context is defined as ‘has not’ or ‘there is not’ and ‘wei’ is ‘do’, ‘handle’ or ‘act’. Palmer translated ‘wuwei’ consistently as ‘actionless action’ (2006, p. 107).

The main preconception when dealing with this term is the idea that ‘wuwei’ means not doing anything. Descriptions of ‘wuwei’ frequently refer to it as allowing all actions to be completed, such as in chapter 22: 为道者日损，损之又损之，以至于无为，无为而无不为也 (Those who practice ‘dao’ do less every day, doing less and less, until they arrive at ‘wuwei’, and when there is ‘wuwei’ nothing is not done) (Zhuangzi 22.1). In Hansen’s analysis (2013, p. 784), ‘wei’ is something done by humans rather than occurring naturally. He identified *Daodejing* (Hansen 2013, p. 785)⁷². Concepts from human society bring unnatural effects like competition for status, which result in strife and disturbance (Hansen 2013, p. 785; c.f. Mou 2009, p. 161). ‘Wuwei’ involves acting in such a way that does not lead to disorder or other problems (Littlejohn 2015, p. 21), which put in terms of ‘dao’ means that a ‘dao’ interferes as little as possible with other ‘dao’ (Fox 2005, p. 54). Therefore, the term refers to not taking deliberate action rather than not

⁷¹ While it is generally recognised as a Daoist term, it does appear in other schools (c.f. Analects 15.5).

⁷² The later Daoist view of ‘wuwei’ was influenced by Buddhism, leading to more emphasis on a contrast between desire and reason (Hansen 2013, p. 786).

acting at all. Van Norden (2011, p. 127) used the analogy of riding a bike, which with practice happens instinctively without having to think deliberately through each step of the action.

Approaches using ‘wuwei’ and using deliberate action were compared several times, such as in chapter 13.2: 无为也，则用天下而有馀；有为也，则为天下用而不足 (If ‘wuwei’ is done, then ‘tianxia’ can be administered with time to spare: if actions are taken, then if all ‘tianxia’ administers it will not be enough) (Zhuangzi 13.2), showing both that ‘wuwei’ is a form of action and it is more efficient than taking deliberate action.

The conventional English translation for this concept is ‘non-action’ (van Norden 2011, pp. 150-151). However, this translation has been deemed unsatisfactory in more recent scholarship.

Littlejohn (2015, p. 131) noted that it is a form of action, and the earlier ‘non-action’ translation was a misinterpretation. He proposed (Littlejohn 2015, p. 131) that translations should lean more towards phrases like ‘nondeliberative action’, defining the term in a longer form as ‘effortless, spontaneous, non-intentional, non-deliberative action’ (Littlejohn 2015, p. 21). Michael Nylan (2016, p. 98) considered ‘non-action’ an established mistranslation, arguing that the use of the term in *Zhuangzi* showed agents are acting with it, so no translation with connotations of passivity is acceptable. Hansen (2013, p. 784) opted for a more verbal ‘taking no action’ in the title of his encyclopaedia entry. In his translation, Palmer used ‘actionless action’, again reflecting the view that this term refers to an action rather than an absence of it.

Expressing this term in a Western language is difficult, as Western morality sees action as a conscious choice (Littlejohn 2015, p. 131). The literal, conventional English translation of ‘non-action’ has been shown in recent scholarship to be inadequate. A translation must demonstrate that ‘wuwei’ is a form of action, and yet one that does not require the deliberate effort of a normal form of action. Another element to consider is that 无为而无不为 (‘wuwei’ is done but

nothing is not done) structures are common enough across Daoist texts that considering how any putative translation would work here will be important.

Maby did not have a consistent approach to this term, to the extent that he did not appear to view it as a specific term. In one instance he translated it with the specification ‘seguryd’ (idleness, leisure) (Maby 1987, p. 29) while in another he subsumed it into the line ‘Os na chaiff dim ei wneud’ (If nothing is done) (Maby 1987, p. 29), based on Daodejing 3 为无为 ((If) ‘wuwei’ is done). Williams (1968, p. 130) used the source language calque ‘gwneud dim’ (do nothing). Both these approaches are inadequate, with Maby not treating ‘wuwei’ as an integral term and Williams taking the outdated approach that it means not doing anything.

The translation decided for this term in the thesis was the 5f compound ‘gwaith heb waith’ (work without work). This is a compound of the semantic reduction ‘gwaith’ for ‘wei’ and the lengthening ‘heb waith’ to provide more description than a simple negative in the place of ‘wu’. ‘Gwaith’ (work) was preferred as a substitution to ‘gwneud’ (do) to emphasise the sense that what is being opposed by the term is deliberate action.

Unlike for the other more complex, culturally specific terms discussed so far, a loanword was not a preferred choice. One reason is the erroneous preconceptions applied to the source term creates the need for a translation which emphasises that the source term refers to a kind of action rather than an absence of it. The second reason is that the source term is difficult to transliterate into Welsh. The syllable ‘wu’ [u] is problematic as ‘u’ in Welsh is pronounced [i] in South Welsh or [ɨ] in North Welsh. The conversion for this syllable offered in the proposed transliteration system was ‘Ŵ’ [u:], which looks awkward placed next to another ‘w’ as in the proposed transliteration of ‘Ŵwei’.

This term appeared suitable to translate with a calque, given the ease of translation of the constituent terms. If ‘wei’ is translated with ‘gwaith’ (work, act), then the calque will be formed by adding a negative prefix. However, there are no suitable prefixes (c.f. Thomas 1996, pp. 642-643 for discussion of these prefixes). ‘An-’ and ‘di-’, are unsuitable because they are already used in compound term with ‘gwaith’, with definitions of ‘wicked deed’ or ‘omission’ for ‘anwaith’ and ‘unemployed’ for ‘di-waith’. A third prefix, ‘dad-’ is available, leading to ‘dat-waith’, but ‘dad-’ has a connotation of undoing the action of the root noun or verb.

6.3.4.7: 气 ‘Qi’ /tɕʰi/

‘Qi’ (Wade-Giles ‘Ch’i’) is similar to the discussion of ‘dao’, in that it refers to a generally abstract concept for which there is no parallel of any sort in Western thought. There were 45 uses of the term in the source text with no notable concentrations in any chapter. The *Handian* definitions varied significantly between languages. The definitions for English were ‘steam’ or ‘vapour’, French definitions included more abstract terms like ‘odour’, ‘energy’ ‘anger’ and the borrowing ‘qi’, while German used one term, ‘Ätherwellen’ (literally ‘source of ether’). Palmer opted generally for ‘soul’ (2006, p. 29) or ‘breath’ (2006, p. 87), the latter of which was explained with a footnote identifying ‘qi’ as ‘the breath which animates all life’.

Longer descriptions in scholarship provide more insight into the meaning of this term. Littlejohn (2015, p. 9) defined ‘qi’ as a ‘fundamental substance that was a kind of pure energy’ from which reality was composed. It appears as what would be understood in Western thought as ‘matter’ or ‘spirit’ and it follows its ‘dao’ by moving between states due to the forces of ‘yin’ 阴 and ‘yang’

阳 (Littlejohn 2015, p. 11). Cheng (2013b, p. 615) described the metaphysical definition of ‘qi’ as ‘a cosmic and even a cosmological creative power of production, reproduction, formation, transformation, penetration, and efficacious participation and presence, transcending even the system of visible or invisible.’ Chapter 22 identifies it as the essence behind life: 人之生，气之聚也，聚则为生，散则为死 (Human life is the gathering of ‘qi’. When it gathers it makes life, when it disperses it makes death) (Zhuangzi 22.1).

The term appears as part of compounds to refer to some physical phenomena. For example, in biology ‘qi’ forms part of the compound for ‘blood’, is used in describing neuro-electric currents as well as a less scientifically defined ‘spirit of life’ (Cheng 2013b, p. 616). It appears in compound terms for terms related to weather, such as ‘clouds’, and was attributed as an explanation for other natural phenomena including earthquakes (Cheng 2013b, p. 616). Some of these compounds were used in classical Chinese and appear in *Zhuangzi*, such as ‘yunqi’ 云气 (clouds) (Zhuangzi 1.2) and ‘xueqi’ 血气 (blood) (Zhuangzi 11.2). Earlier definitions, which fit better with these physical manifestations, represent a kind of ‘vapour’ that is reflected in the original form of the Chinese character (Cheng 2013b, p. 615).

The importance of this term in Daoism is evident due to the connections which has previously been discussed with ‘dao’. ‘Qi’ is considered essential for life and sustains it in ‘tiandi’ (Cheng 2013b, p. 616). In some Confucian thought, morality originates from ‘qi’ because ‘xin’ (heart-mind, see 5.3.2.9) is a form of refined ‘qi’ (Cheng 2013b, p. 616). Cultivating ‘xin’ and understanding ‘tian’ provides a moral quality to an individual’s ‘qi’ (Cheng 2013b, p. 616). It is also fundamental to the ability to perform virtuous acts, as ‘qi’ flows as a result of exercising inborn moral tendencies (Littlejohn 2015, p. 135). Strong emotions deriving from these

tendencies are effectively emotion manifested in a physical form through the flow of ‘qi’ (van Norden 2011, p. 98). In chapter 29 Confucius is subjected to a humiliating tirade at the hands of Robber Zhi and afterwards was described as 不能出气 (could not give out ‘qi’) (Zhuangzi 29.1). This phrase could be interpreted literally as ‘could barely breathe’ but the experience was so devastating that it likely refers to his extremely deflated physical and emotional state. Palmer (2006, p. 267) reflects this with his translation of ‘seemed to be losing his life’s breath’.

As was mentioned when the term was introduced, ‘qi’ is a metaphysical concept which has no equivalent in Western philosophy. Many of the challenges previously discussed with ‘dao’ also apply here. The Western concept of ‘humours’ appears similar in some respects but has no connection to the idea of ‘qi’ as pervading all of reality rather than just biological life⁷³. Neither Maby nor Williams translated this term.

For similar reasons to ‘tian’, ‘ren’ and ‘dao’, ‘qi’ was translated by the 1b recent source language loanword ‘tji’ /tdʒi/. The term is so specific to the source term and distant to the target culture that a loanword is the most practical solution. Further explanation in the translation will be required but that would be the case for any translation method, while a loanword will preserve the term as a coherent concept from the source language.

There are few suitable alternatives to a loanword. A calque is impossible for this single character term. Forming a coinage would be challenging. As with ‘wuwei’ the concept of ‘qi’ is too different from anything in Welsh culture to be able to make reference to the source term without using the source term in any way. Substitution with a semantic reduction was the main method used to translate ‘qi’ in other languages, either focusing on the more physical aspect with

⁷³c.f. Siraisi 1990, pp. 104-106 for a discussion of the Western concept.

‘breath’ or ‘vapour’, or the more abstract aspect with ‘energy’ or ‘ether’. Of these terms ‘ynni’ (energy, power) is the closest in Welsh to the source term, meaning ‘energy’ and ‘force’ as well as ‘will’. However, it is difficult to conceive of a semantic expansion for this term which can represent both energy and matter as well as more immediate, physical concepts, and for the same reason a near equivalent is unlikely. A compound in the form of a loanword plus a substitution like ‘tsi-ynni’ or ‘ynni tsi’ (qi-energy) could serve to remind readers of the basic meaning of ‘qi’ but would still require an explanation.

6.4: Analysis of the Practical Translation Exercise

This chapter represented a practical translation exercise which tested the classification system outlined in Chapter 3 on the translation of non-equivalent and culturally specific terms in a rare language combination. It produced a glossary of translations of culturally specific terms from Classical Chinese thought into Welsh, as well as proposing a transliteration conversion system. This final section will consider the results of the translations, compare them with the other case studies in this thesis and analyse the reasons behind differences exhibited between the glossaries.

There were 41 Chinese terms plus 12 terms selected for transliteration. These 41 Chinese terms resulted in 46 Welsh translations. Loanwords were used for 10 translations at 21.7%. Their use generally represented cases where the source term was too complex for an adequate translation by other methods, or where a substitution would result in too many incorrect preconceptions. New formations were applied to 2 translations at 4.3%, both of which were source language calques. Calques were more frequent as part of compounds than as single category translations

and coinages were not used. Lexical substitutions were the most numerous with 18 translations at 39.1%. Semantic reduction was the largest method in all categories, appearing 12 times. A lengthening was used once at 2.1%, with no shortenings. Finally, compounds were the second largest category with 15 uses at 32.6%. The majority are 5d formation and substitutions at 9 uses, with most of these translating Chinese terms ending in 人 ren (man).

The glossary for this chapter exhibited more variations in categories than the one from Chapter 4. In the Chapter 4 glossary, 45 out of 70 translations were substitutions at 64.3%. There were 7 translations for loanwords and 6 for new formations, lengthenings and shortenings and compounds. There were far fewer loanwords and compounds compared with this chapter's glossary, and while lexical substitutions were the largest category in both, in this glossary the proportion was lower. This was also true for the glossary in Chapter 5 for translation from Ancient Greek. Substitution was also the largest category at 212 of 323 translations representing 65.6%, with a significant number of loanwords at 62. As with the Chapter 4 glossary, there was less use of compounds, new formations and lengthenings and shortenings.

Differences in the choice of category for translations in the practical translation exercise compared to other chapters were partly the result of my approach towards the translations in this chapter. Whereas the Chapter 4 glossary was a mix of direct and relay translation, the translations in this chapter were direct from the source language, representing inter-peripheral translation. This can be seen in the approach of avoiding English influence. The Chapter 6 glossary contained 1 1c third language loanword, 'natur', either from Old French or Middle English. While there were more loanwords as a proportion of the translation in this glossary, they were sourced from Chinese and so do not represent excessive central language interference.

There are also key differences between the translations from this chapter and those from the previous chapter on Ancient Greek. Both were direct translations from peripheral languages, yet the proportions of loanwords and compounds were noticeably higher in this chapter. The reason for this is the approach I took to ensure that Chinese philosophical terms were treated as concepts of equal significance to philosophical concepts from Ancient Greek thought. The background study on the genre of the source text noted the Orientalising attitude towards Chinese thought that frequently categorised it as religion or mysterious ‘Eastern spirituality’. While meeting minority language objectives is an important aim of translations in this thesis, source language issues such as this need to be considered. By way of example, some terms had conventional translations in English, the central language for Welsh, which imposed preconceptions of Western philosophy, or more accurately Western religion. An example of this is ‘tian’, conventionally translated as ‘heaven’ in English. This was possible to explain with the Welsh equivalent ‘nef’ (heaven), as Maby and Williams did, but that translation was deemed unsatisfactory due to the association it would cause with Christian concepts of heaven.

My approach of considering issues connected to systemic treatment of source language concepts alongside aims of translation into minority languages was responsible for the differences in proportions of translation categories noted in the glossaries. These differences were a relative increase in source language loanwords and a higher proportionate use of compounds. The source language loanwords were a productive method for translating terms mentioned in the previous paragraph which are so culturally specific that anything other than a loanword would either be incomprehensible without extensive explanation or carry preconceptions that would influence the way the reader understood the source concept. As for the compounds, one type of compound proved productive for one specific construction which appeared several times in the glossary.

Otherwise, it was the main option for translating more culturally specific two-character terms in a way that would solve the preconception problem outlined in the discussion on loanwords.

Chapter 7: Thesis Conclusion

The aim of this thesis as discussed in Chapter 1 was to develop a method to aid minority languages in producing translations from source languages from which little prior translation had taken place, using the combination of Chinese to Welsh specifically. It focused on the translation of non-equivalent and culturally specific terms, outlined as one of the most significant challenges of this kind of translation. This final chapter will demonstrate how this aim has been developed through the methodology used and the findings of the previous chapters, outlining contributions to knowledge that have application to further research. It will discuss research findings relevant to Welsh as well as minority languages more generally, it will evaluate the methods used in different chapters, and it will consider directions of future research.

Several considerations made Chinese a suitable source language for this thesis. Chapter 1 noted that translation contributes to language restoration methods by translating prestigious works, providing economic value and countering majority language influence. It argued that Chinese satisfied these criteria for Welsh, as there are many culturally prestigious works available to translate, China is an economic power of increasing importance and the ability to translate Chinese into Welsh translation avoids translation being too heavily influenced by English. The discussion of translation in a world system in Chapter 2 established that the language combination is a good example of direct translation from a peripheral language to a minority language. The chosen source text adds to the repertoire of Welsh by introducing new cultural references and modes of philosophical discussion.

Another consideration was my personal motivation for writing this thesis. The inspiration came from my reading of the Ancient Greek translations from Chapter 5. I wanted to produce equivalent translations to these works for sources from Chinese. I believe that providing examples of translation in this combination, particularly for cultural terms which do not have satisfactory translations in English, will help further translation which is likely in the future as the economic and political importance of China increases. For example, there could be an increase in students studying Chinese in the Welsh education system, which would require access to Welsh-medium material.

This thesis used varied methodology, including the development of a translation methods classification system, bibliographical and archival research of existing translations, the analysis of samples of translations to examine translation of non-equivalent terms, and the practical translation exercise. One problem with this methodology is that the glossaries of translations are based on a few texts produced by a few translators, who also had similar backgrounds and target

audiences. All translations analysed or created in this thesis were intended for educated, often academic audiences and were written in a formal register. The biases of a narrow group of translators can have outsized influence and be mistaken for trends rather than individual decisions. Another problem is the limited selection of genres, which can also result in proportions of translation categories being taken as trends when different results could be returned by case studies including other genres. Ultimately this is a limitation of working in a rare language combination where viable choices for case studies are scarce.

In writing this thesis, several alternative chapters and sections were considered but ultimately were not included. The original thesis plan involved more case studies, namely the translation of neologisms from English into French and Icelandic, partly because France and Iceland are known for relatively protectionist language policies. This would have provided further analysis of how languages translate non-equivalent terms, particularly by professional lexicographers. These case studies were cut due to the limited size of the thesis and their less direct relevance to translation into Welsh compared with the case studies in Chapters 4 and 5. Another possible inclusion was additional source texts from a variety of genres for practical exercises similar to the one in Chapter 6. One of these was recipes containing non-equivalent terms from ingredients specific to Chinese cuisine, while another option was modern fiction from the 武侠 wuxia genre of adventure stories involving traditional Chinese martial arts. These case studies would have added a wider range of translations, including less academic and more popular genres or themes, for testing the classification system and produced more translations for future projects in this language combination. However, their inclusion would have resulted in less space for detailed discussions of the translation of more challenging terms, such as appeared in the latter half of the previous chapter.

The following paragraphs will offer more detailed summaries of the content and findings of each chapter. Chapter 1 outlined the approach of this thesis, discussed the value of translation for supporting minority languages and introduced Welsh as the source language. As discussed above, there were several motivations for me to choose Welsh as the target language for translations in this thesis. One advantage of choosing Welsh is that compared to most other minority languages, it has a large and relatively economically wealthy community of speakers, which also has access to a good selection of translations and scholarship. Chapter 1 noted that this is different to the situation of most minority languages in the world. Most scholarship in the early chapters of the thesis was based on vulnerable rather than endangered minority languages, specifically relatively large and wealthy minority languages such as Welsh and Catalan. This makes the theoretical basis of the thesis potentially less relevant to minority languages in less secure situations, while the relevance for larger minority languages is increased.

Chapter 2 introduced systems theory, analysed translation systems from a minority language and Welsh perspective, and discussed the value of Chinese as a source language for Welsh translation. The analysis of system theory using Even-Zohar's polysystem underscored the importance for minority languages of avoiding excessive majority language influence. It emphasised the scale of this majority language influence in the form of interference in repertoire and the mediation of contact with peripheral languages. It noted that minority languages can be subject to pressure from majority languages and regional or global central languages and that direct translation from other peripheral languages is a good method for countering this influence. It also discussed the value of translation in terms of postcolonial resistance to influence from colonising languages.

Chapter 3 developed the translation methods classification system which was used in the case study chapters. Unlike most classification systems for analysing translations, the system developed for this thesis represents a method of deciding between alternative translations where the target language of the translation is considered the most important factor. Despite the emphasis on the consideration of issues related to the source language which was adopted as the approach in the translation exercise in the previous chapter, the classification system is still fundamentally intended to prioritise the needs of minority languages as target languages in translation projects.

To recapitulate the contents of the proposed classification, category 1 Loanwords used words from either the source or a third language. For minority languages, the language from which the loanword is derived is important, leading to a division in the category between source and third language loanwords, with third languages frequently representing central or majority languages. Another division, between established and recent loanwords, showed historical influence of current and former central languages. Category 2 New Formations translated terms with original target language constructions, either calques or coinages. Calques were also divided into source and third language calques to analyse majority language influence.

Category 3 Lexical Substitutions used words which already exist in the target language to represent source language concepts. Three methods were based on comparison of meanings between the terms, where semantic expansions had more meanings than the source term, semantic reductions had fewer meanings and near equivalents showed close correspondence. There were also cultural equivalents, which substituted a word which is not a direct translation but rather a functionally equivalent concept in the source culture. This last method was rare in the case studies and contrary to the approach I adopted in Chapter 6 due to my interest in

representing the source culture. The frequency of substitutions was such that this category, particularly the most common method of semantic reduction, could be refined further to provide more precise data on how the method was being used by the translators. Overall, the category is useful for minority language translation as it produces translations with minority language resources.

Category 4 Lengthenings and Shortenings used translations containing more or fewer terms than the original, such as explanation or paraphrasing. This was an uncommon category, with no use of shortenings by any translator. The productivity of this category is likely dependent on the vocabulary of the source text and the grammatical differences of the language combination. While it did not prove productive in the case studies of this thesis, other minority languages may find it more useful. Category 5 Compounds represented combinations of the other categories. It was an uncommon category, only being productive in my translations in Chapter 6 due to my approach of avoiding the application of connotations from target language terms.

Chapter 4 analysed existing translation in the Chinese to Welsh language combination. It applied discussions from previous chapters on system theory and minority languages to offer the first survey of Chinese terms which appeared in Welsh-language writing and translations. The survey identified a lack of standardisation of certain terms and transliteration which did not work orthographically in Welsh, both issues caused by majority language interference and mediation of peripheral language contact. This chapter also applied the translation methods classification system to extracts from Cedric Maby's *Y Cocatw Coch*, the only extant Welsh translation from Chinese, as well as translations of individual terms from Cyril Williams' *Crefyddau'r Dwyrain*.

The results in the glossary indicated a strong preference for lexical substitution. Other categories were limited, including loanwords, which might represent a desire by the translators to mobilise

target language resources and, possibly, avoid influence from English. Findings from this chapter were dependent to an extent on the available source material. The sample size for the study of existing Chinese translation in Welsh was limited by the existence of just one book-length translation, which focused on poetry, with the addition of individual terms gathered from sources which are not translations. Both Welsh-language writers were highly educated and only one had Chinese proficiency. A wider case study could confirm these results but is not possible with the lack of sources.

Chapter 5 explored a case study of translation from Welsh to Ancient Greek. This case study offered more possibility of comparison between multiple source texts in a larger case study which was identified as not possible for Chinese to Welsh. Translation from Ancient Greek provided similar challenges to translation from Chinese, such as transliterating from a different script, translating source texts produced in an ancient society and exploring a similar genre to the translations for Chapter 6. However, there was less opportunity to compare between diverse genres and the sample size was still limited, causing choices by the individual translators to have greater influence over attempts to identify trends in the term translations.

In terms of the glossaries for this chapter, they broadly followed the trends observed in the glossary from Chapter 4. Lexical substitution, particularly semantic reduction, was the most common category and new formations and lengthenings and shortenings were rare. Loanwords were more frequent in some cases, generally in the form of established third language loanwords that represented influence from the historical central languages Latin and French and the ongoing influence of various forms of English.

Chapter 6 applied the theoretical and methodological approaches analysed earlier to a practical translation exercise of non-equivalent and culturally specific terms from Chinese to Welsh. The

source text was the Classical Chinese philosophical text *Zhuangzi*. Classical Chinese philosophy as a genre contains many examples of non-equivalent and highly culturally specific terms. Out of the texts in this genre, *Zhuangzi* includes terms from a variety of philosophical schools and so functions well as a main source, with other works providing additional context in the descriptions of specific terms.

As was mentioned above, the choice of categories in the translations followed the trends of prioritising substitutions and deprioritising new formations and lengthening and shortening. The main exception was the approach taken in the translation exercise of Chapter 6, where I attached more significance to the source language context. Direct translation is important to avoid biases built up in translations in the relay language. This is a particular problem in translation from Chinese philosophy, which has been subjected to an Orientalist view that applies preconceptions of mysticism and spirituality. Taking this approach increased the percentage of loanwords, but this is acceptable as they did not originate in the majority language. It also resulted in a higher percentage of compounds to provide more explanation of some terms while still using existing minority language elements.

In terms of findings of this thesis, several present practical benefits for Welsh. This is most evident in terms of aid for future translations from Chinese. The transliteration system proposed in Chapter 6 represents a method for recording Chinese terms and proper nouns in a manner which is more suitable to Welsh orthography than pinyin. It could be used by other writers and translators to transliterate names without conventional transliterations in a way that would be more intuitive for Welsh speakers who are unfamiliar with pinyin. The practical translation exercise produced translations of terms from Chinese philosophy and religion which will aid in future full text translations. While many of the translations would require additional explanations

for reader without specialist knowledge of these aspects of Chinese thought, the consideration for the source material ensured the translations avoid the preconceptions present in conventional translations in English.

The translation methods classification system developed for the translation case studies and exercise can be applied to translation into other minority languages to produce similar lexicons in rare language combinations. While drawing from a sample of seven translations from two source languages does not produce conclusive evidence, the general trends across all case studies were consistent, also including my translations which were influenced by these trends. Even considering these limitations, this thesis has presented an argument for minority language planners to increase efforts to produce translations in rarer language combinations from peripheral languages.

There are several possible directions for future research building on the findings of this thesis. The translation classification system can be applied to other language pairs to assess its value for minority language translations. The point made above about different genres is also relevant here. For translation within the combination of Chinese to Welsh, one future project would be the completion of one or more full translations of either the *Zhuangzi* or a similar source text. Translation from other genres in this combination will also be possible, which will necessitate more translations of non-equivalent and culturally specific terms from whatever genre is selected. These translations could lead to the creation of a lexicon of Chinese cultural terms, which would aid other Welsh translators or academics interested in comparative studies.

8.1: Appendices

8.1: Chinese to Welsh Transliteration Tables

The following tables outline the proposed transliteration system from Chinese to Welsh. Rows represent initial consonants, while columns represent final vowels and consonant endings ('n' and 'ng'). Text in normal font is pinyin plus IPA values and text in bold font is the Welsh transliteration plus IPA values. Cells with dashes represent impossible syllables in standard Mandarin.

	A /a/ A /a/	O /o/ O /ɔ/	E /ɛ/ E /ɛ/	Er /ər/ Er /ɛr/	Ai /ai/ Ai /ai/	Ei /ei/ Ei /ɛi/	Ao /ao/ Ao /aɔ/	Ou /oo/ Ow /ɔʊ/	An /an/ An /an/
-	A /a/ A /a/	O /o/ O /ɔ/	E /ɛ/ E /ɛ/	Er /ər/ Er /ɛr/	Ai /ai/ Ai /ai/	Ei /ei/ Ei /ɛi/	Ao /ao/ Ao /aɔ/	Ou /oo/ Ow /ɔʊ/	An /an/ An /an/
B /p/ B /b/	Ba /pa/ Ba /ba/	Bo /puo/ Bo /bo/	-	-	Bai /pai/ Bai /bai/	Bei /pei/ Bei /bei/	Bao /pao/ Bao /baɔ/	-	Ban /pan/ Ban /ban/
P /pʰ/ P /p/	Pa /pʰa/ Pa /pa/	Po /pʰuo/ Po /pɔ/	-	-	Pai /pʰai/ Pai /pai/	Pei /pʰei/ Pei /pei/	Pao /pʰao/ Pao /paɔ/	Pou /pʰoo/ Pow /pɔʊ/	Pan /pʰan/ Pan /pan/
M /m/ M /m/	Ma /ma/ Ma /ma/	Mo /muo/ Mo /mɔ/	Me /mɛ/ Me /mɛ/	-	Mai /mai/ Mai /mai/	Mei /mei/ Mei /mei/	Mao /mao/ Mao /maɔ/	Mou /moʊ/ Mow /mɔʊ/	Man /man/ Man /man/
F /f/ Ff /f/	Fa /fa/ Ffa /fa/	Fo /fuɔ/ Ffo /fɔ/	-	-	-	Fei /fei/ Ffei /fei/	-	Fou /foʊ/ Ffow /fɔʊ/	Fan /fan/ Ffan /fan/
D /t/ D /d/	Da /ta/ Da /da/	-	De /tɛ/ De /dɛ/	-	Dai /tai/ Dai /dai/	Dei /tei/ Dei /dɛi/	Dao /tao/ Dao /daɔ/	Dou /toʊ/ Dow /dɔʊ/	Dan /tan/ Dan /dan/
T /tʰ/ T /t/	Ta /tʰa/ Ta /ta/	-	Te /tʰɛ/ Te /tɛ/	-	Tai /tʰai/ Tai /tai/	-	Tao /tʰao/ Tao /taɔ/	Tou /tʰoo/ Tow /tɔʊ/	Tan /tʰan/ Tan /tan/
N /n/ N /n/	Na /na/ Na /na/	-	Ne /nɛ/ Ne /nɛ/	-	Nai /nai/ Nai /nai/	Nei /nei/ Nei /nei/	Nao /nao/ Nao /naɔ/	Nou /noʊ/ Now /nɔʊ/	Nan /nan/ Nan /nan/
L /l/ L /l/	La /la/ La /la/	-	Le /lɛ/ Le /lɛ/	-	Lai /lai/ Lai /lai/	Lei /lei/ Lei /lɛi/	Lao /lao/ Lao /laɔ/	Lou /loo/ Low /loʊ/	Lan /lan/ Lan /lan/
Z /ts/ Ds /ds/	Za /tsa/ Dsa /dsa/	-	Ze /tsɛ/ Dse /dsɛ/	-	Zai /tsai/ Dsai /dsai/	Zei /tsei/ Dsei /dsei/	Zao /tsao/ Dsao /dsao/	Zou /tsoʊ/ Dsow /dsɔʊ/	Zan /tsan/ Dsan /dsan/
C /tsʰ/ Ts /ts/	Ca /tsʰa/ Tsa /tsa/	-	Ce /tsʰɛ/ Tse /tsɛ/	-	Cai /tsʰai/ Tsai /tsai/	-	Cao /tsʰao/ Tsao /tsao/	Cou /tsʰoo/ Tsow /tsɔʊ/	Can /tsʰan/ Tsan /tsan/

S /s/ S /s/	Sa /sa/ Sa /sa/	-	Se /sɤ/ Se /sɛ/	-	Sai /sai/ Sai /sai/	-	Sao /sao/ Sao /sao/	Sou /soo/ Sow /soo/	San /san/ San /san/
Zh /tʃ/ Dsh /dʃ/	Zha /tʃa/ Dsha /dʃa/	-	Zhe /tʃɤ/ Dshe /dʃɛ/	-	Zhai /tʃai/ Dshai /dʃai/	Zhei /tʃei/ Dshei /dʃei/	Zhao /tʃao/ Dshao /dʃao/	Zhou /tʃoo/ Dshow /dʃoo/	Zhan /tʃan/ Dshan /dʃan/
Ch /tʃʰ/ Tsh /tʃ/	Cha /tʃʰa/ Tsha /tʃa/	-	Che /tʃʰɤ/ Tshe /tʃɛ/	-	Chai /tʃʰai/ Tshai /tʃai/	-	Chao /tʃʰao/ Tshao /tʃao/	Chou /tʃʰoo/ Tshow /tʃoo/	Chan /tʃʰan/ Tshan /tʃan/
Sh /ʃ/ Sh /ʃ/	Sha /ʃa/ Sha /ʃa/	-	She /ʃɤ/ She /ʃɛ/	-	Shai /ʃai/ Shai /ʃai/	Shei /ʃei/ Shei /ʃei/	Shao /ʃao/ Shao /ʃao/	Shou /ʃoo/ Show /ʃoo/	Shan /ʃan/ Shan /ʃan/
R /z/ R /r/	-	-	Re /zɤ/ Re /rɛ/	-	-	-	Rao /zao/ Rao /rao/	Rou /zoo/ Row /roo/	Ran /zan/ Ran /ran/
J /tɕ/ J /dʒ/	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Q /tɕʰ/ Tj /tdʒ/	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
X /ɕ/ Hsh /hʃ/	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
G /k/ G /g/	Ga /ka/ Ga /ga/	-	Ge /kɤ/ Ge /gɛ/	-	Gai /kai/ Gai /gai/	Gei /kei/ Gei /gei/	Gao /kao/ Gao /gao/	Gou /koo/ Gow /goo/	Gan /kan/ Gan /gan/
K /kʰ/ C /k/	Ka /kʰa/ Ca /ka/	-	Ke /kʰɤ/ Ce /kɛ/	-	Kai /kʰai/ Cai /kai/	Kei /kʰei/ Cei /kei/	Kao /kʰao/ Cao /kao/	Kou /kʰoo/ Cow /koo/	Kan /kʰan/ Can /kan/
H /x/ H /h/	Ha /xa/ Ha /ha/	-	He /xɤ/ He /hɛ/	-	Hai /xai/ Hai /hai/	Hei /xei/ Hei /hei/	Hao /xao/ Hao /hao/	Hou /xoo/ How /hoo/	Han /xan/ Han /han/

	En /ən/ En	Ang /aŋ/ Ang	Eng /əŋ/ Eng	Ong /oŋ/ Ong	I /i/ I	Ia /ia/ Ya	Iao /iao/ Yao	Ie /ie/ Ye	Iu /iou/ Yow
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	/ɛn/	/aŋ/	/ɛŋ/	/ɔŋ/	/i/	/ja/	/jaɔ/	/jɛ/	/jɔʊ/
-	En /ən/ En /ɛn/	Ang /aŋ/ Ang /aŋ/	Eng /ɛŋ/ Eng /ɛŋ/	-	Yi /i/ Yi /yi/	Ya /ia/ Ya /ja/	Yao /iao/ Yao /jaɔ/	Ye /iɛ/ Ye /jɛ/	You /ioʊ/ Yow /jɔʊ/
B /p/ B /b/	Ben /pən/ Ben /bɛn/	Bang /paŋ/ Bang /baŋ/	Beng /pɛŋ/ Beng /bɛŋ/	-	Bi /pi/ Bi /bi/	-	Biao /piao/ Biao /bjao/	Bie /piɛ/ Bie /bjɛ/	-
P /pʰ/ P /p/	Pen /pʰən/ Pen /pɛn/	Pang /pʰaŋ/ Pang /paŋ/	Peng /pʰɛŋ/ Peng /pɛŋ/	-	Pi /pʰi/ Pi /pi/	-	Piao /pʰiao/ Piao /pjao/	Pie /pʰiɛ/ Pie /pjɛ/	-
M /m/ M /m/	Men /mən/ Men /mɛn/	Mang /maŋ/ Mang /maŋ/	Meng /mɛŋ/ Meng /mɛŋ/	-	Mi /mi/ Mi /mi/	-	Miao /miao/ Miao /mjao/	Mie /miɛ/ Mie /mjɛ/	Miu /miou/ Miow /mjɔʊ/
F /f/ Ff /f/	Fen /fən/ Ffen /fɛn/	Fang /faŋ/ Ffang /faŋ/	Feng /fɛŋ/ Ffeng /fɛŋ/	-	-	-	-	-	-
D /t/ D /d/	Den /tən/ Den /dɛn/	Dang /taŋ/ Dang /daŋ/	Deng /tɛŋ/ Deng /dɛŋ/	Dong /toŋ/ Dong /dɔŋ/	Di /ti/ Di /di/	-	Diao /tiao/ Diao /djao/	Die /tiɛ/ Die /djɛ/	Diu /tiou/ Diow /djɔʊ/
T /tʰ/ T /t/	-	Tang /tʰaŋ/ Tang /taŋ/	Teng /tʰɛŋ/ Teng /tɛŋ/	Tong /tʰoŋ/ Tong /tɔŋ/	Ti /tʰi/ Ti /ti/	-	Tiao /tʰiao/ Tiao /tjao/	Tie /tʰiɛ/ Tie /tjɛ/	-
N /n/ N /n/	Nen /nən/ Nen /nɛn/	Nang /naŋ/ Nang /naŋ/	Neng /nɛŋ/ Neng /nɛŋ/	Nong /noŋ/ Nong /nɔŋ/	Ni /ni/ Ni /ni/	-	Niao /niao/ Niao /njaɔ/	Nie /niɛ/ Nie /njɛ/	Niu /niou/ Niow /njɔʊ/
L /l/ L /l/	-	Lang /laŋ/ Lang /laŋ/	Leng /lɛŋ/ Leng /lɛŋ/	Long /loŋ/ Long /lɔŋ/	Li /li/ Li /li/	Lia /lia/ Lia /lja/	Liao /liao/ Liao /ljaɔ/	Lie /liɛ/ Lie /ljɛ/	Liu /liou/ Liow /ljɔʊ/
Z /ts/ Ds /ds/	Zen /tsən/ Dsen /dsɛn/	Zang /tsaŋ/ Dsang /dsaŋ/	Zeng /tsɛŋ/ Dseng /dsɛŋ/	Zong /tsoŋ/ Dsong /dsɔŋ/	Zi /tsi/ Dsy /dsə/	-	-	-	-
C /tsʰ/ Ts /ts/	Cen /tsʰən/ Tsen /tsɛn/	Cang /tsʰaŋ/ Tsang /tsaŋ/	Ceng /tsʰɛŋ/ Tseng /tsɛŋ/	Cong /tsʰoŋ/ Tsong /tsɔŋ/	Ci /tsʰi/ Tsy /tsə/	-	-	-	-
S	Sen	Sang	Seng	Song	Si	-	-	-	-

/s/	/sən/	/saŋ/	/səŋ/	/soŋ/	/si/				
S	Sen	Sang	Seng	Song	Sy				
/s/	/sən/	/saŋ/	/səŋ/	/soŋ/	/sə/				
Zh	Zhen	Zhang	Zheng	Zhong	Zhi	-	-	-	-
/tʂ/	/tʂən/	/tʂaŋ/	/tʂəŋ/	/tʂoŋ/	/tʂi/				
Dsh	Dshen	Dshang	Dsheng	Dshong	Dshy				
/dʃ/	/dʃən/	/dʃaŋ/	/dʃəŋ/	/dʃoŋ/	/dʃə/				
Ch	Chen	Chang	Cheng	Chong	Chi	-	-	-	-
/tʂʰ/	/tʂʰən/	/tʂʰaŋ/	/tʂʰəŋ/	/tʂʰoŋ/	/tʂʰi/				
Tsh	Tshen	Tshang	Tsheng	Tshong	Tshy				
/tʃ/	/tʃən/	/tʃaŋ/	/tʃəŋ/	/tʃoŋ/	/tʃə/				
Sh	Shen	Shang	Sheng	-	Shi	-	-	-	-
/ʃ/	/ʃən/	/ʃaŋ/	/ʃəŋ/		/ʃi/				
Sh	Shen	Shang	Sheng		Shy				
/ʃ/	/ʃən/	/ʃaŋ/	/ʃəŋ/		/ʃə/				
R	Ren	Rang	Reng	Rong	Ri	-	-	-	-
/z/	/zən/	/zaŋ/	/zəŋ/	/zoŋ/	/zi/				
R	Ren	Rang	Reng	Rong	Ry				
/r/	/rən/	/raŋ/	/rəŋ/	/roŋ/	/rə/				
J	-	-	-	-	Ji	Jia	Jiao	Jie	Jiu
/tɕ/					/tɕi/	/tɕia/	/tɕiao/	/tɕie/	/tɕiou/
J					Ji	Jia	Jiao	Jie	Jiow
/dʒ/					/dʒi/	/dʒja/	/dʒjaɔ/	/dʒjɛ/	/dʒjɔɔ/
Q	-	-	-	-	Qi	Qia	Qiao	Qie	Qiu
/tɕʰ/					/tɕʰi/	/tɕʰia/	/tɕʰiao/	/tɕʰie/	/tɕʰiou/
Tj					Tji	Tjia	Tjiao	Tjie	Tjiow
/tdʒ/					/tdʒi/	/tdʒja/	/tdʒjaɔ/	/tdʒjɛ/	/tdʒjɔɔ/
X	-	-	-	-	Xi	Xia	Xiao	Xie	Xiu
/ɕ/					/ɕi/	/ɕia/	/ɕiao/	/ɕie/	/ɕiou/
Hsh					Hshi	Hshia	Hshiao	Hshie	Hshiow
/hf/					/hfɿ/	/hfja/	/hfjaɔ/	/hfjɛ/	/hfjɔɔ/
G	Gen	Gang	Geng	Gong	-	-	-	-	-
/k/	/kən/	/kaŋ/	/kəŋ/	/koŋ/					
G	Gen	Gang	Geng	Gong					
/g/	/gən/	/gaŋ/	/gəŋ/	/gəŋ/					
K	Ken	Kang	Keng	Kong	-	-	-	-	-
/kʰ/	/kʰən/	/kʰaŋ/	/kʰəŋ/	/kʰoŋ/					
C	Cen	Cang	Ceng	Cong					
/k/	/kən/	/kaŋ/	/kəŋ/	/kəŋ/					
H	Hen	Hang	Heng	Hong	-	-	-	-	-
/x/	/xən/	/xaŋ/	/xəŋ/	/xoŋ/					
H	Hen	Hang	Heng	Hong					
/h/	/hən/	/haŋ/	/həŋ/	/həŋ/					

	Ian	In	Iang	Ing	Iong	U	Ua	Uo	Uai
	/iən/	/in/	/iaŋ/	/iŋ/	/ioŋ/	/u/	/ua/	/uo/	/uai/
	Yan	Yin	Yang	Ying	Yong	W	Wa	Wo	Wai
	/jan/	/in/	/jaŋ/	/iŋ/	/jɔŋ/	/u/	/wa/	/wɔ/	/wai/

-	Yan /iɛn/ Yan /yan/	Yin /in/ Yin /in/	Yang /iaŋ/ Yang /jaŋ/	Ying /iŋ/ Ying /iŋ/	Yong /ioŋ/ Yong /joŋ/	Wu /u/ Ŵ /u:/	Wa /ua/ Wa /wa/	Wo /uo/ Wo /wo/	Wai /uai/ Wai /wai/
B /p/ B /b/	Bian /piɛn/ Bian /bjan/	Bin /pin/ Bin /bin/	-	Bing /piŋ/ Bing /biŋ/	-	Bu /pu/ Bw /bu/	-	-	-
P /p ^h / P /p/	Pian /p ^h iɛn/ Pian /pjian/	Pin /p ^h in/ Pin /pin/	-	Ping /p ^h iŋ/ Ping /piŋ/	-	Pu /p ^h u/ Pw /pu/	-	-	-
M /m/ M /m/	Mian /mien/ Mian /mjian/	Min /min/ Min /min/	-	Ming /miŋ/ Ming /miŋ/	-	Mu /mu/ Mw /mu/	-	-	-
F /f/ Ff /f/	-	-	-	-	-	Fu /fu/ Ffw /fu/	-	-	-
D /t/ D /d/	Dian /tien/ Dian /djan/	-	-	Ding /tiŋ/ Ding /diŋ/	-	Du /tu/ Dw /du/	-	Duo /tuo/ Dwo /dwo/	-
T /t ^h / T /t/	Tian /t ^h iɛn/ Tian /tjan/	-	-	Ting /t ^h iŋ/ Ting /tiŋ/	-	Tu /t ^h u/ Tw /tu/	-	Tuo /t ^h uo/ Two /two/	-
N /n/ N /n/	Nian /niɛn/ Nian /njan/	Nin /nin/ Nin /nin/	Niang /niaŋ/ Niang /njaŋ/	Ning /niŋ/ Ning /niŋ/	-	Nu /nu/ Nw /nu/	-	Nuo /nuo/ Now /nwo/	-
L /l/ L /l/	Lian /liɛn/ Lian /ljan/	Lin /lin/ Lin /lin/	Liang /liaŋ/ Liang /ljaŋ/	Ling /liŋ/ Ling /liŋ/	-	Lu /lu/ Lw /lu/	-	Luo /luo/ Lwo /lwo/	-
Z /ts/ Ds /ds/	-	-	-	-	-	Zu /tsu/ Dsw /dsu/	-	Zuo /tsuo/ Dswo /dswɔ/	-
C /ts ^h / Ts /ts/	-	-	-	-	-	Cu /ts ^h u/ Tsw /tsu/	-	Cuo /ts ^h uo/ Tswo /tswɔ/	-
S /s/ S	-	-	-	-	-	Su /su/ Sw	-	Suo /suo/ Swo	-

/s/						/su/		/swɔ/	
Zh /tʂ/ Dsh /dʃ/	-	-	-	-	-	Zhu /tʂu/ Dshw /dʃu/	Zhua /tʂua/ Dshwa /dʃwa/	Zhuo /tʂuo/ Dshwo /dʃwɔ/	Zhuai /tʂuai/ Dshwai /dʃwai/
Ch /tʂʰ/ Tsh /tʃ/	-	-	-	-	-	Chu /tʂʰu/ Tshw /tʃu/	Chua /tʂʰua/ Tshwa /tʃwa/	Chou /tʂʰuo/ Tshwo /tʃwɔ/	Chuai /tʂʰuai/ Tshwai /tʃwai/
Sh /ʂ/ Sh /ʃ/	-	-	-	-	-	Shu /ʂu/ Shw /ʃu/	Shua /ʂua/ Shwa /ʃwa/	Shuo /ʂuo/ Shwo /ʃwɔ/	Shuai /ʂuai/ Shwai /ʃwai/
R /z/ R /r/	-	-	-	-	-	Ru /zu/ Rw /ru/	Rua /zua/ Rwa /rwa/	Ruo /zuɔ/ Rwo /rɔ/	-
J /tɕ/ J /dʒ/	Jian /tɕien/ Jian /dʒjan/	Jin /tɕin/ Jin /dʒin/	Jiang /tɕiaŋ/ Jiang /dʒjaŋ/	Jing /tɕieŋ/ Jing /dʒiŋ/	Jiong /tɕieŋ/ Jiong /dʒjɔŋ/	-	-	-	-
Q /tɕʰ/ Tj /dʒʰ/	Qian /tɕʰien/ Tjian /dʒʰjan/	Qin /tɕʰin/ Tjin /dʒʰin/	Qiang /tɕʰiaŋ/ Tjiang /dʒʰjaŋ/	Qing /tɕʰieŋ/ Tjing /dʒʰiŋ/	Qiong /tɕʰieŋ/ Tjiong /dʒʰjɔŋ/	-	-	-	-
X /ɕ/ Hsh /hʃ/	Xian /ɕien/ Hshian /hʃjan/	Xin /ɕin/ Hshin /hʃin/	Xiang /ɕiaŋ/ Hshiang /hʃjaŋ/	Xing /ɕieŋ/ Hshing /hʃiŋ/	Xiong /ɕieŋ/ Hshiong /hʃjɔŋ/	-	-	-	-
G /k/ G /g/	-	-	-	-	-	Gu /ku/ Gw /gu/	Gua /kua/ Gwa /gwa/	Guo /kuo/ Gwo /gwɔ/	Guai /kuai/ Gwai /gwai/
K /kʰ/ C /k/	-	-	-	-	-	Ku /kʰu/ Cw /ku/	Kua /kʰua/ Cwa /kwa/	Kuo /kʰuo/ Cwo /kwɔ/	Kuai /kʰuai/ Cwai /kwai/
H /x/ H /h/	-	-	-	-	-	Hu /xu/ Hw /hu/	Hua /xua/ Hwa /hwa/	Huo /xuo/ Hwo /hwɔ/	Huai /xuai/ Hwai /hwai/

	Ui /uei/ Wei	Uan /uan/ Wan	Un /uən/ Wen	Uang /uaŋ/ Wang	Ueng /uəŋ/ Weng	Ü /y/ Ü	Üe /yɛ/ Üe	Üan /yen/ Üan	Ün /yn/ Ün
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	/wɛi/	/wan/	/wɛn/	/waŋ/	/wɛŋ/	/y/	/yɛ/	/yɛn/	/yn/
-	Wei /uei/ Wei /wɛi/	Wan /uan/ Wan /wan/	Wen /uən/ Wen /wɛn/	Wang /uaŋ/ Wang /waŋ/	Weng /uəŋ/ Weng /wɛŋ/	Yu /y/ Yü /y/	Yue /yɛ/ Yüe /yɛ/	Yuan /yɛn/ Yüan /yɛn/	Yun /yn/ Yün /yn/
B /p/ B /b/	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
P /pʰ/ P /p/	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
M /m/ M /m/	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
F /f/ Ff /f/	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
D /t/ D /d/	Dui /tuei/ Dwei /dwɛi/	Duan /tuan/ Dwan /dwan/	Dun /tuən/ Dwen /dwɛn/	-	-	-	-	-	-
T /tʰ/ T /t/	Tui /tʰuei/ Twei /twɛi/	Tuan /tʰuan/ Twan /twan/	Tun /tʰuən/ Twen /twɛn/	-	-	-	-	-	-
N /n/ N /n/	-	Nuan /nuan/ Nwan /nwan/	-	-	-	Nü /ny/ Nü /ny/	Nüe /nyɛ/ Nüe /nyɛ/	-	-
L /l/ L /l/	-	Luan /luan/ Lwan /lwan/	Lun /luən/ Lwen /lwɛn/	-	-	Lü /ly/ Lü /ly/	Lüe /lyɛ/ Lüe /lyɛ/	-	-
Z /ts/ Ds /ds/	Zui /tsuei/ Dswei /dswɛi/	Zuan /tsuan/ Dswan /dswan/	Zun /tsuən/ Dswen /dswɛn/	-	-	-	-	-	-
C /tsʰ/ Ts /ts/	Cui /tsʰuei/ Tswei /tswɛi/	Cuan /tsʰuan/ Tswan /tswan/	Cun /tsʰuən/ Tswen /tswɛn/	-	-	-	-	-	-
S	Sui	Suan	Sun	-	-	-	-	-	-

/s/ S /s/	/suei/ Swei /swɛi/	/suan/ Swan /swan/	/suən/ Swen /swɛn/						
Zh /tʂ/ Dsh /dʃ/	Zhui /tʂuei/ Dshwei /dʃwɛi/	Zhuan /tʂuan/ Dshwan /dʃwan/	Zhun /tʂuən/ Dshwen /dʃwɛn/	Zhuang /tʂuan/ Dshwang /dʃwaŋ/	-	-	-	-	-
Ch /tʂʰ/ Tsh /tʃ/	Chui /tʂʰuei/ Tshwei /tʃwɛi/	Chuan /tʂʰuan/ Tshwan /tʃwan/	Chun /tʂʰuən/ Tshwen /tʃwɛn/	Chuang /tʂʰuan/ Tshwang /tʃwaŋ/	-	-	-	-	-
Sh /ʃ/ Sh /ʃ/	Shui /ʃuei/ Shwei /ʃwɛi/	Shuan /ʃuan/ Shwan /ʃwan/	Shun /ʃuən/ Shwen /ʃwɛn/	Shuang /ʃuan/ Shwang /ʃwaŋ/	-	-	-	-	-
R /z/ R /r/	Rui /zuei/ Rwei /rwɛi/	Ruan /zuan/ Rwan /rwan/	Run /zuən/ Rwen /rwɛn/		-	-	-	-	-
J /tɕ/ J /dʒ/	-	-	-	-	-	Ju /tɕy/ Jü /dʒy/	Jue /tɕyɛ/ Jüe /dʒyɛ/	Juan /tɕyɛn/ Jüan /dʒyan/	Jun /tɕyn/ Jün /dʒyn/
Q /tɕʰ/ Tj /tdʒ/	-	-	-	-	-	Qu /tɕʰy/ Tjü /tdʒy/	Que /tɕʰyɛ/ Tjüe /tdʒyɛ/	Quan /tɕʰyɛn/ Tjüan /tdʒyan/	Qun /tɕʰyn/ Tjün /tdʒyn/
X /ɕ/ Hsh /hʃ/	-	-	-	-	-	Xu /ɕy/ Hshü /hʃy/	Xue /ɕyɛ/ Hshüe /hʃyɛn/	Xuan /ɕyɛn/ Hshüan /hʃyan/	Xun /ɕyn/ Hshün /hʃyn/
G /k/ G /g/	Gui /kuei/ Gwei /gwɛi/	Guan /kuan/ Gwan /gwan/	Gun /kuən/ Gwen /gwɛn/	Guang /kuan/ Gwang /gwaŋ/	-	-	-	-	-
K /kʰ/ C /k/	Kui /kʰuei/ Cwei /kwɛi/	Kuan /kʰuan/ Cwan /kwan/	Kun /kʰuən/ Cwen /kwɛn/	Kuang /kʰuan/ Cwang /kwaŋ/	-	-	-	-	-
H /x/ H /h/	Hui /xuei/ Hwei /hwɛi/	Huan /xuan/ Hwan /hwan/	Hun /xuən/ Hwen /hwɛn/	Huang /xuan/ Hwang /hwaŋ/	-	-	-	-	-

8.2: Glossaries

Glossary tables follow a similar format. The columns from left to right are the source term with page reference, a transliteration, an English gloss of the source terms, the Welsh translation with page reference where relevant, an English gloss of this translation, the translation categorisation and uses in other texts. Terms marked ‘T’ are examples of proper nouns selected to analyse transliteration and do not appear in analysis tables. The Chapter 4 glossary has additional columns to compare translations by Maby and Williams. Glossary tables are followed by analysis tables, which indicate the number and percentage of each translation method appearing in the glossary. Column 1 of the Ancient Greek glossaries indicates the infinitive of the source term and the grammatical form in which it appeared in the source text in brackets.

8.2.1: Glossary for Chapter 4

8.2.1.1: Glossary table for Chapter 4

Chinese	Transliteration	English	Maby	Definition	Class	Williams	Definition	Class
玉	Yu	Jade	Arenfaen p.20 Jêd p.20	Jade	3c 1c			
蝦蟇	Didong	Rainbow	Enfys p.21	Rainbow	3c			
命	Ming	Fate, destiny; command	Archiad p.21	Command Wish, prayer	3b	Ewyllys p.278 Ming p.278	Will, desire, fortune Ming	3a 1b
野	Ye	Wilderness, field, open land	Rhos p.21 Gwyllt p.23	Moorland, upland meadow, plain, wilderness Wilderness	3b 3b			
零露	Linglu	Dew	Gwlith p.21	Dew	3c			
麟	Lin	Qilin, Chinese unicorn	Ungorn p.22	Unicorn	3d			
族	Zu	Family, clan, tribe	Talaith p.22	Family, tribe, retinue	3a			
君子	Jünzi	Gentleman, nobleman	Arglwydd p.22	Lord	3b	Gŵr bonheddig, p.129 Y bonheddwr p.287	Noble man The nobleman	4a 3b
心	Xin	Heart, mind	Calon p.22 Myfyrdod p.30	Heart	3c 3b	Calon p.278	Heart	3c

				Meditation, reflection				
仁	Ren	Humaneness Benevolence Kindness	Da p.23 Tostur p.29 ¹ Addfwyn a hynaws p.30 Caredigrwydd p.31	Good Compassion, pity Mild, pleasant, noble; kind, good- natured, patient Kindness	3b 3b 5f 3b	Rhinweddol p.279 Caredigrwydd p.286 Jên p.286	Virtuous, good, beneficial Kindness Ren	3b 3b 1b
武	Wu	Military, martial, warlike, valiant	Dewr p.23	Brave, mighty	3b			
禪	Yin	Sacrifice	Aberth p.23	Sacrifice, offering, victim, Eucharist	3a			
祀	Si	Worship, sacrifice	Gweddïo p.23 Offrwm p.24	Pray Offering, sacrifice	3b 3b			
帝	Di	Divine, God	Duwdod p.23	Divine, Deity	3d			
上帝	Shangdi	Shang Di, God	Nêr y Goruchafion p.23	Lord of the divine	2a	Shang-Ti p.270	Shang Di	1b
荏菹	Renshu	Soybean, big bean	Ffa mawrion p.24	Big beans	2a			
瓜	Gua	Gourd, melon	Pwmpenni p.24	Pumpkins	1c			
瓠	Die	Melon	Cucumerau p.24	Cucumber	1c			
秬	Ju	Black millet	Miled du p.24	Black millet	5a			
秠	Pi	Millet	Miled dwbl p.24	Double millet	5a			
糜	Men	Millet	Sorgwm coch p.24	Red sorghum	5a			
芑	Qi	White millet	Sorgwm gwyn p.24	White sorghum	5a			

德	De	Virtue, goodness, moral force	Rhinwedd p.26	Virtue, power, force	3c	Rhinwedd p.313	Virtue, power, force	3c
天地	Tiandi	Heaven and Earth	Nefoedd a Daear p.27	Heaven and Earth	2a			
天下	Tianxia	All under Heaven	Y deng mil o bethau p.27 Dan y Nefoedd p.28 Pob peth p.29 Yr holl fyd p.33	The ten thousand things Under Heaven Every thing The whole world	4a 2a 4a 4a			
道	Dao	Tao/ Dao	Yr Heol p.27 Ffordd p.33	The way Way	3b 3b	Tao p.130 Y Ffordd p.281	Tao The way	1b 3b
自然	Ziran	Nature	Ei hunan p.27	Itself	3b	Ei hun p.313	Itself	3b
万物	Wanwu	The ten thousand things	Y deng mil o bethau p.28	The ten thousand things	2a	Y lliaws ffurfiau p.311	The multitude of forms	4a
玄	Xuan	Black, dark Deep, mysterious, profound	Tywyllwch p.28	Darkness Opacity	3b	Dirgelwch p.311	Secret	3b
善	Shan	Goodness, kindness, virtuous	Daioni p.28	Goodness, kindness, uprightness	3c			
圣人	Shengren	Sage	Gŵr doeth p.28 Y doethion p.29	Wise man The Wise	5d 3b			
无为	Wuwei	Non-action	Seguryd p.28 p.29	Idleness	3b	Gwneud dim p.130	Do nothing	2a
贤	Xian	Virtuous, good, able	Dawnus p.29	Gifted, capable, virtuous	3c			
静	Jing	Calmness, motionless, Stillness	Llonyddwch p.29	Stillness, quietness	3c			

利	Li	Gain, profit, merit	Elw p.29 Buddioldeb p.31 Llesâd p.33	Profit, gain, possession Profitableness, benefit Benefit, advantage	3a 3a 3b			
圣	Sheng	Holy, sacred, sage, wise, proficient	Sancteiddrwydd p.31	Sanctity, holiness	3b			
义	Yi	Righteousness, justice, morality	Moseoldeb p.31	Morality	3b	Cyfiawnder p.286 Dyletswydd p.286	Righteousness, justice Duty, obligation	3a 3b
孝	Xiao	Filial piety	Cariad at rieni p.31	Love for parents	4a			

8.2.1.2: Analysis table for Chapter 4

		Maby no.	Maby %	Williams no.	Williams %	Total no.	Total %
1	1a						
	1b			4	22.2%	4	5.7%
	1c	3	5.8%			3	4.3%
	1d						
	Total	3	5.8%	4	22.2%	7	10%
2	2a	5	9.6%	1	5.6%	6	8.6%
	2b						
	2c						

	Total	5	9.6%	1	5.6%	6	8.6%
3	3a	4	7.7%	2	11.1%	6	8.6%
	3b	20	38.5%	7	38.9%	27	38.6%
	3c	8	15.3%	2	11.1%	10	14.3%
	3d	2	3.8%			2	2.9%
	Total	34	65.4%	11	61.1%	45	64.3%
4	4a	4	7.7%	2	11.1%	6	8.6%
	4b						
	Total	4	7.7%	2	11.1%	6	8.6%
5	5a	4	7.7%			4	5.7%
	5b						
	5c						
	5d	1	1.9%			1	1.4%
	5e						
	5f	1	1.9%			1	1.4%
	5g						
	Total	6	11.5%			6	8.6%
Total		52		18		70	

8.2.2: Glossaries for Chapter 5

8.2.2.1: Glossary table for *Republic*

Greek	Transliteration	English	Translation	English	Classification	Other uses
Ἄστυ 327b	Astu	Town, lower town	Tref p.1	Town, town centre, dwelling	3b	Poetics 1448a35 Oedipus 1372
Θύω (Τεθυκὼς) 328c	Thuo (Tethukos)	Make an offering, sacrifice	Offrymu p.2	Offer up, sacrifice	3c	Poetics 1455b1 Oedipus 1159
Τέχνη 332c	Techne	Art, craft, skill Way, manner	Crefft p.7	Craft, skill, trade	1c	Poetics 1447a20 Ethics 1094a1
Ἀρετή (Ἀρετήν) 335b	Arete (Areten)	Goodness, excellence	Rhagoriaeth p.12 Rhinwedd p.33	Excellence, greatness; difference, distinction Virtue, power, force	3a 3b	Poetics 1448a1 Ethics 1103a10
Δίκαιος (Δίκαιον) 339b	Dikaios (Dikaion)	Lawful, just, right, fitting	Cyfiawn p.17	Righteous, just, equal, lawful, appropriate	3a	Poetics 1447b15 Ethics 1094b10
Ἐπιστήμη 342c	Episteme	Understanding, skill Science, knowledge	Gwyddor p.22	First principles, elements, science Alphabet	3b	Ethics 1139b15
Κακία (Κακίαν) 348c	Kakia (Kakian)	Badness, vice, dishonour	Drygedd p.29	Badness, viciousness, misfortune, harm	3c	Poetics 1448a1
Ψυχή (Ψυχῆς) 353d	Psyche (Psyches)	Life, conscious, spirit, self, soul	Enaid p.38 Meddwl p.62	Soul, spirit, life; friend, beloved Thought, understanding, opinion	3a 3b	Poetics 1450a35 Oedipus 499 Ethics 1168b5
Λύσις (Λύσεις)	Lysis (Lyseis)	Loosing, releasing,	Rhyddhad p.48	Release, liberation,	3b	Poetics 1455b20 Ethics 1146b5

364e		deliverance, solution, unravelling (plot)		untying, discharge		
Καθαρμός (Καθαρμοὶ) 364e	Katharmos (Katharmoi)	Cleansing, purification	Puredigaeth p.48	Purification, cleansing	3c	Oedipus 466
Ἑλεγεῖον (Ἑλεγείων) 368a	Elegeion Elegeion	Poem in elegiac verse	Cân p.52	Song	3b	Poetics 1447b10
Πόλις (Πόλεως) 368e	Polis (Poleos)	City, community	Dinas p.53	City, town, fortress	3b	Poetics 1449a10 Oedipus 1533
Πλανήτης (Πλανήτας) 371d	Planetes (Planetas)	Wandering, roaming	Crwydr p.57	Wandering, roaming, stray, error	3a	Oedipus 3
Ὑποκριτής (Ὑποκριταί) 373b	Hypokrites (Hypokritai)	Interpreter, actor, reciter	Actorion p.59	Actor	1c	Poetics 1449b5
Φύλαξ (Φύλακα) 375b	Phylax (Phylaka)	Guardian, sentinel, watcher, keeper	Gwarcheidwad p.62	Keeper, guardian, watcher, trustee	3c	Oedipus 355
ἦθος 375e	Ethos	Accustomed place, custom, usage Character	Cymeriad p.63	Acceptance Reputation, character Possession, tenancy	3b	Poetics 1447a25 Ethics 1139a1
Μουσική 376e	Mousike	Arts, education	Cerddwriaeth p.64	Music, poetry, art of music or poetry	3b	
Μέλος (Μέλει) 379a	Melos (Melei)	Limb Song, melody, tone	Telyneg p.67	Lyric poem	3b	Poetics 1447b25 Ethics 1123a20

Πάθος (Πάθη) 380a	Pathos (Pathe)	Experience, incident, misfortune Emotion, passion	Dioddef p.69	Suffer	3b	Poetics 1447a25 Ethics 1105b20
Μιμέομαι (Μιμεῖσθαι) 393c	Mimeomai (Mimeisthai)	Represent, imitate, portray	Efelychu p.83	Imitate, copy	3b	Poetics 1447a15
Ποιητικός 393d	Poietikos	Capable of making, creativity, poetical, the art of poetry	Bardd p.84	Poet	3b	Poetics 1447a8 Ethics 1140a1
Ἀπαγγελία (Ἀπαγγελίας) 394c	Apaggelia (Apaggelias)	Report, narrative, description	Adroddiad p.84	Report, narration, recitation	3c	Poetics 1449b25
Ποίησις 394c	Poesis	Fabrication, production, poetry	Barddoniaeth p.85	Poetry	3b	Poetics 1447a10 Ethics 1140a1
Ῥαψωδός (Ῥαψωδοί) 395a	Rhapsodos (Rhapsodoi)	Reciter, especially of Homer	Adroddwr p.86	Reciter, narrator, speaker	3a	Hypokrites same page
Κωμῳδία (Κωμωδίαν) 395a	Komoidia (Komoidian)	Comedy	Comedi p.86	Comedy	1c	Poetics 1447a10 Ethics 1128a20
Τραγῳδία (Τραγωδίαν) 395a	Tragoidia (Tragoidian)	Tragedy	Trasiedi p.86	Tragedy	1c	Poetics 1447a10
Ῥυθμός (Ῥυθμῶν) 397b	Rhythmos (Rhythmōn)	Recurring, measured motion Measure, proportion State, form, manner	Rhithm p.88	Rhythm	1c	Poetics 1447a20

Ἀρμονία (Ἀρμονία) 398e	Harmonia (Harmoniai)	Joining, fastening Agreement Music, harmony, pitch	Graddfa p.91	Scale, gradient	3b	Poetics 1447a20
Σύριγξ 399d	Syrigx	Panpipe, anything like a pipe	Chwibanogl p.92	Flute, pipe, whistle	3b	Poetics 1447a25
Εὐήθεια (Εὐηθεία) 400e	Euetheia (Euetheiai)	Goodness of heart, good nature	Natur dda p.93	Good nature	2a	
Εἶδος (Εἶδη) 402c	Eidos (Eide)	Form, shape, physique, nature, class	Math p.95 Ffurfiâu p.188	Sort, type, class Form, shape, figure; manner, appearance; plan, formula	3b 1c	Ethics 1096b10
Δικαστής (Δικασταὶ) 408d	Dikastes (Dikastai)	Judge, juror	Barnwyr p.103	Judges, magistrates, critics	3a	Ethics 1132a5
Θυμοειδής (Θυμοειδὲς) 410b	Thumoeides (Thumoeides)	High-spirited, passionate	Ysbrydlon p.105	Spirited, lively	3b	
Γοητεύω (Γοητευθέντας) 413c	Goeteuo (Goeteuthentas)	Bewitch, beguile	Hudo p.109	Conjure, cast spell, enchant, allure	3a	
Κακός 420b	Kakos	Bad, ugly, evil, ill	Drwg p.115	Bad, false, cruel, evil, wicked	3b	Oedipus 270
Πολιτεία 424a	Politeia	Citizen, rights of citizen, government, constitution	Gwladwriaeth p.120	State, government, citizenship	3b	Ethics 1160a30

Παρανομία 424d	Paranomia	Transgression of law, illegality Disorderly life habits	Anghyfraith p.121	Crime, illegality, lawlessness	3b	
Υδρα (Υδραν) 426e	Hydra (Hydran)	Water serpent, especially the Lernean Hydra	Sarff amlbennog p.124	Many-headed serpent	4a	
Σοφός (Σοφή) 427e	Sophos (Sophe)	Skilled, clever, wise	Doeth p.125	Wise, learned, skilled	3c	
Ἀνδρεῖος (Ἀνδρεία) 427e	Andreios (Andreia)	Of a man Manliness, courage	Dewr p.125	Brave, mighty	3b	
Σωφροσύνη 430e	Sophrosune	Soundness of mind, prudence, moderation	Cymedrolder p.130	Moderation Symmetry, proportion	3b	Ethics 1107b5
Θυμός (Θυμοῦ) 439e	Thumos (Thumou)	Soul, spirit, life Desire, will, courage, anger	Nwyfus p.142	Passionate, wanton, spirited, energetic	3b	Oedipus 1193
Ἴσος (Ἴσον) 441c	Isos	Equal, equally divided, even, flat	Yr un p.145	The same	4a	Oedipus 254 Ethics 1131a10
Νομίζω (Νόμιζε) 450a	Nomizo (Nomize)	Practice custom, be customary, enact Consider as, hold, believe	Pasiwyd p.153	Passed	1c	Oedipus 38
Ἀρχή (Ἀρχής) 450a	Arche (Arches)	Origin, beginning, first element	Cychwyn p.153	Beginning, start	3b	Ethics 1095a30

		First place of power, empire, magistrate				
Ἔξοδος (Ἔξοδον) 453e	Exodos (Exodon)	Going out, way out, end	Ffordd allan p.158	Way out	2a	Poetics 1452b15 Oedipus c1579
Σύστασις (Σύστασιν) 457e	Systasis (Systasin)	Bringing together, communication Standing together, combat, meeting Composition, structure, plot Formation	Cydfwriad p.163	Confederacy, joint purpose, agreement	3b	Poetics 1450a15
Δεσπότης (Δεσπότης) 463a	Despotes (Despotas)	Master, lord, owner	Meistr p.170	Master	1c	
Ἄρχων (Ἄρχοντας) 463a	Archon (Archontas)	Ruler, magistrate, official	Rheolwr p.170	Ruler, manager, director	3b	
Δαίμων (Δαίμονες) 469a	Daimon (Daimones)	God, spirit, power controlling fortune, souls or semi-divine spirits	Ysbrydion p.179	Ghost, spirit Genius, emotion	1c	Oedipus 466
Εὐδαιμονία (Εὐδαιμονίας) 472c	Eudaimonia (Eudaimonias)	Happiness, prosperity, good fortune	Dedwyddwch p.183	Happiness, blessedness, felicity	3b	Ethics 1100a10
Δύναμις (Δύναμιν) 477b	Dynamis (Dynamin)	Power, might, capability, faculty	Cynneddf p.190	Faculty, attribute, characteristic,	3b	Poetics 1447a8

				custom, habit, condition		
Δοξα 478a	Doxa	Opinion, belief, judgement, expectation, repute	Tyb p.191	Opinion, judgement, idea, suspicion	3b	Ethics 1139b15
Καλός (Καλόν) 505b	Kalos (Kalon)	Beautiful, fair, valuable, well	Teg p.222	Beautiful, fair, pleasant, pure, equitable, just	3b	Oedipus 1003
Ὑπόθεσις (Ὑποθέσεως) 510b	Hypothesis (Hypotheseos)	Proposal, suggestion, assumption	Rhagdybiaethau p.229	Preconceptions, assumptions	3b	Ethics 1151a15
Διάνοια (Διανοία) 511a	Dianoia (Dianoiai)	Thought, intelligence, understanding	Meddwl p.230	Thought, understanding, opinion	3a	Poetics 1450b1
Θεάομαι (Θεᾷσθαι) 511c	Theaomai (Theasthai)	Behold, contemplate, view	Astudio p.230	Study, consider Attempt	1c	
Εἰκασία (Εἰκασίαν) 511e	Eikasia (Eikasian)	Likeness, comparison Likeness with shadows	Dyfalw p.231	Conjecture, guess, compare, make a simile	3b	
Ἀληθής (Ἀληθές) 515c	Alethes (Alethes)	True, real, honest	Gwir p.233	True, real, right, justice	3a	
Νόησις (Νόησιν) 523a	Noesis (Noesin)	Intelligence, understanding, idea	Dealltwriaeth p.242	Understanding, intellect, agreement, sanity	3a	
Λογιστικός (Λογιστικῶ) 525b	Logistikos (Logistikoi)	Skilled in calculating, rational, reasonable	Gŵr cyfrifol p.245	Responsible / rational man	5f	

Μέθοδος 533c	Methodos (Methodou)	Pursuit, pursuit of inquiry Method, system	Method p.256	Method, order	1c	Poetics 1447a10 Ethics 1129a5
Στάσιμος (Στάσιμους) 539d	Stasimos (Stasimous)	Stopping, standing, steady, stationary song by chorus	Sefydlog p.264	Fixed, stationary, steady, firm	3b	Poetics 1452b15 Oedipus c668 Ethics 1125a10
Λόγος (Λόγω) 550a	Logos (Logoi)	Computation Correspondence Explanation Debate Narrative Talk, discussion, subject, language	Cyfrif p.273 Reswm p.346	Number, counting, reckoning, judgement Reason	3b 1c	Poetics 1447a20 Oedipus 66 Ethics 1096b1
Φόβος (Φόβου) 554d	Phobos (Phobou)	Fear, panic Divine personification of the above	Ofn p.280	Fear, terror, awe	3b	Poetics 1449b25 Oedipus 730
Ἱερός (Ἱεροῦ) 568d	Hieros (Hierou)	Divine, holy, devoted, offering, temple	Cysegredig p.299	Consecrated, sacred	3b	Poetics 1455a25 Oedipus 287
Φάντασμα (Φαντάσματος) 598b	Phantasma (Phantasmatos)	Apparition, phantom, vision	Rhith p.335	Shape, form Disguise, facade, ghost, apparition	3a	Ethics 1102b10
Μίμησις 598b	Mimesis	Imitation, reproduction, representation in art	Efelychiad p.335	Imitation	3b	Poetics 1147a15
Σχῆμα (Σχημάτων) 601a	Schema (Schematon)	Form, shape, figure, appearance	Llun p.339	Shape, figure, form, fashion, picture	3b	Poetics 1447a15 Ethics 1160b25

		Character, characteristic, role				
Πίστις (Πίστιν) 601e	Pistis (Pistin)	Trust, faith, assurance, guarantee	Cred p.340	Trust, faith, creed,	3a	Oedipus 611 Ethics 1173a1
Ἰαμβεῖος (Ἰαμβεῖοις) 602b	Iambeios (Iambeiois)	Iambic	Talgrwn p.340	Brief, concise, precise, direct, rounded Syllables with vowels or rising diphthongs	3d	Poetics 1448b30
Κωμωδοποιός (Κωμωδοποιοί) 606c	Komoidopoios (Komoidopoioi)	Comic poet	Comediwr p.346	Comedian	3b	Poetics 1449a1
Σύμφυτος (Σύμφυτον) 609a	Symphytos (Symphyton)	Congenital, innate Grown together	Cynhenid p.349	Innate, inherent, natural	3b	Poetics 1448b5
Συνήθεια (Συνηθείαν) 620a	Syntheia (Syntheian)	Habitual intercourse, intimacy Habit, custom	Arfer p.362	Usage, habit, custom	3b	Poetics 1447a20
Πειραιεύς	Piraeus	Piraeus	Peiraews	Piraeus	T	
Γλαύκων	Glaucōn	Glaucōn	Glawcon		T	
Λυσίαν	Lysias	Lysias	Lusias		T	
Ἅιδης	Aides	Hades	Hades	Hades	T	Oedipus

8.2.2.2: Analysis table for *Republic*

		Number	%
1	1a		
	1b		
	1c	12	15.4%
	1d		
	Total	12	15.4%
2	2a	2	2.6%
	2b		
	2c		
	Total	2	2.6%
3	3a	12	15.4%
	3b	42	53.8%
	3c	6	7.7%
	3d	1	1.3%
	Total	61	78.2%
4	4a	2	2.6%
	4b		
	Total	2	2.6%
5	5a		
	5b		
	5c		
	5d		

	5e		
	5f	1	1.3%
	5g		
	Total	1	1.3%
Total		78	

8.2.2.3: Glossary table for *Poetics*

Greek	Transliteration	English	Translation	English	Classification	Other uses
Ποητικός (Ποητικῆς) 1447a8	Poietikos (Poietikes)	Capable of making, creativity, poetical, the art of poetry	Barddoneg p.71	Poem, poetry, poetics	3b	Republic 393d Ethics 1140a1
Δύναμις (Δύναμιν) 1447a8	Dynamis (Dynamin)	Power, might, capability, faculty	Nodwedd arbennig p.71	Special characteristic	4a	Republic 477b
Ποίησις 1447a10	Poiesis	Fabrication, production, poetry	Barddoniaeth p.71	Poetry	3b	Republic 394c Ethics 1140a2
Μέθοδος (Μεθόδου) 1447a10	Methodos (Methodou)	Pursuit, pursuit of inquiry Method, system	Ymchwil p.71	Research, investigation	3b	Republic 533c Ethics 1129a5
Ἐποποιία 1447a10	Epopoiia	Epic poetry	Epig p.71	Epic	1c	
Τραγῳδία	Tragoidia	Tragedy	Trasiedi p.71	Tragedy	1c	Republic 395a

(Τραγωδίας) 1447a10	(Tragoidias)					
Κωμωδία 1447a10	Komoidia	Comedy	Comedi p.71	Comedy	1c	Republic 395a Ethics 1128a20
Διθυραμβοποιητική 1447a10	Dithyrambopoietike	Writing of dithyrambic poetry	Barddoniaeth ddithurambig p.71	Dithyrambic poetry	5a	
Αὐλητικός (Αὐλητικῆς) 1447a15	Auletikos (Auletikes)	Of flutes, flute- playing	Cerddoriaeth y ffliwt p.71	Flute music	5a	
Κιθαριστικός (Κιθαριστικῆς) 1447a15	Kitharistikos (Kitharistikes)	Skill or art of kithara-playing	Cerddoriaeth y Delyn p.71	Harp music	5d	
Μίμησις (Μιμήσεις) 1447a15	Mimesis (Mimeseis)	Imitation, reproduction, representation in art	Efelychu p.71	Imitate, copy	3b	Republic 598b
Μιμέομαι (Μιμεῖσθαι) 1447a15	Mimeomai (Mimeisthai)	Represent, imitate, portray	Efelychu p.71	Imitate, copy	3b	Republic 393c
Σχῆμα (Σχήμασι) 1447a15	Schema (Schemasi)	Form, shape, figure, appearance Character, characteristic, role	Ffurf p.71	Form, shape, figure Manner, appearance Plan, formula	1c	Republic 601a Ethics 1160b25
Τέχνη (Τέχνης) 1447a20	Techne (Technes)	Art, skill, craft Way, manner	Celfyddyd p.71	Art, craft, arts Trick	3b	Republic 381b Oedipus 472 Ethics 1094a1
Συνήθεια (Συνηθείας) 1447a20	Syntheia (Syntheias)	Habitual intercourse, intimacy	Arfer fynych p.71	Frequent habit, custom, tradition	5f	Republic 620a

		Habit, custom				
ῥυθμός (ῥυθμοῖ) 1447a20	Rhythmos (Rhythmoi)	Recurring, measured motion Measure, proportion State, form, manner	Rhythm p.71	Rhythm	1c	Republic 397b
Λόγος (Λόγῳ) 1447a20	Logos (Logoi)	Computation Correspondence Explanation Debate Narrative Talk, discussion, subject, language	Iaith p.71	Language	3b	Republic 550a Oedipus 66 Ethics 1096b1
Ἀρμονία (Ἀρμονία) 1447a20	Harmonia (Harmoniai)	Joining, fastening Agreement Music, harmony, pitch	Melodedd p.71 Cywair p.77	Melody Order, preparation, condition Disposition, temper Key, tune, pitch	3b 3b	Republic 398e
Σύριγξ (Συρίγγων) 1447a25	Syrigx (Syriggon)	Panpipe, anything like a pipe	Pibau'r bugail p.72	Shepherd's pipes	5c	Republic 399d
ἦθος (ἦθη) 1447a25	Ethos (Ethe)	Accustomed place, custom, usage Character	Cymeriad p.72	Acceptance Reputation, character Possession, tenancy	3b	Republic 375e Ethics 1139a1

Πάθος (Πάθη) 1447a25	Pathos (Pathe)	Experience, incident, misfortune Emotion, passion	Profiad p.72 Dioddef p.88	Experience Suffering	3b 3b	Republic 380a Ethics 1105b21
Ψιλόζ (Ψιλοῖς) 1447a25	Psilos (Psilois)	Bare, stripped Mere, simple Poetry without music	Rhyddiaith p.72	Prose	3b	Oedipus 866
Μῖμος (Μίμους) 1447b10	Mimos (Mimous)	Mime, actor	Mim p.72	Mime	1c	
Τρίμετρος (Τριμέτρων) 1447b10	Trimetros (Trimetron)	Trimetre verse	Triban p.72	Triplet (in general and in specific Welsh poetic form)	3a	
Ἑλεγεῖον (Ἑλεγεῖων) 1447b10	Elegeion Elegeion	Poem in elegiac verse	Elegeiog p.72	Elegiac, lament	1c	Republic 368a
Ἑλεγειοποιός (Ἑλεγειοποιούς)1447b10	Elegeiopoios (Elegeiopoious)	Elegiac poet	Bardd Elegeiog p.72	Elegiac Poet	5a	
Δίκαιος (Δίκαιον) 1447b15	Dikaios (Dikaion)	Lawful, just, right, fitting	Cyfiawn p.72	Righteous, just, equal, lawful, appropriate	3a	Republic 339b Ethics1094b10
Ῥαψωδία (Ῥαψωδίαν) 1447b20	Rhapsodia (Rhapsodian)	Recitation of epic poetry	Mesur p.72	Measure, amount Metre, rhythm	3b	
Μέλος (Μέλει) 1447b25	Melos (Melei)	Limb Song, melody, tone	Tôn p.72	Tone (musical or disposition)	1c	Republic 379a Ethics 1123a20
Νόμος (Νόμων)	Nomos (Nomon)	Habitual Law, statute	Nomig p.72	Nomic	1b	Ethics 1133a30

1447b25		Melody (general and specific form)				
Κακία (Κακία) 1448a1	Kakia (Kakiai)	Badness, vice, dishonour	Drwg p.73	Bad, harmful, cruel, false, evil	3c	Republic 348c
Ἀρετή (Ἀρετῇ) 1448a1	Arete (Aretei)	Goodness, excellence	Da p.73	Good, commendable Wealth, livestock	3a	Republic 335b Ethics 1103a10
Ψιλομετρία (Ψιλομετρίαν) 1448a10	Psilometria (Psilometrian)	Unaccompanied verse	Barddoniaeth ddigyfeilant	Unaccompanied poetry	2a	
Δρᾶμα (Δράματα) 1448a25	Drama (Dramata)	Deed, act, duty Drama, play	Dramâu p.74	Dramas	1c	
Ἄστυ (Ἄστεως) 1448a35	Astu (Asteos)	Town, lower town	Dinas p.75	City, town, fortress	3b	Republic 327b Oedipus 1372
Φυσικός (Φυσικαί) 1448b5	Physikos (Physikai)	Natural, inborn, native	Greddf naturiol p.75	Natural instinct	5f	Ethics 1134b15
Σύμφυτος (Σύμφυτον) 1448b5	Symphytos (Symphyton)	Congenital, innate Grown together	Greddf fol p.75	Instinctive, intuitive Strong, powerful	3b	Republic 609a
Μορφή (Μορφάς) 1148b10	Morphe (Morphas)	Form, shape, appearance	Ffurf p.75	Form, shape, figure Manner, appearance Plan, formula	1c	
Ἰαμβεῖος	Iambeios	Iambic	Iambig p.76	Iambic	1c	Republic 602b

(Ιαμβεῖον) 1448b30	(Iambeion)					
Ἰαμβίζω (Ἰάμβιζον) 1448b30	Iambizo Iambizon	Talk in iambic verse Lampoon with iambic verse	Iambeiddio p.76	*Iambize, lampoon	1b	
Κωμωδοποιός (Κωμωδοποιοὶ) 1449a1	Komoidopoios (Komoidopoioi)	Comic poet	Ysgrifennwr comedïau p.76	Comedy writer	5a	Republic 606c
Τραγωδοδιδάσκαλος (Τραγωδοδιδάσκαλοι) 1449a5	Tragoidodidaskalos (Tragoidodidaskaloi)	Tragic poet, lit. ‘tragedy teacher’ as taught pupils	Ysgrifennwr trasiedïau p.76	Tragedy writer	5g	
Φαλλικός (Φαλλικὰ) 1449a10	Phallicos (Phallika)	Phallic (music)	Ffalig p.77	Phallic	1c	
Πόλις (Πόλεων) 1449a10	Polis (Poleon)	City, community	Dinas p.77	City, town, fortress	3b	Republic 368e Oedipus 1533
Σατυρικός (Σατυρικοῦ) 1449a20	Satyrikos (Satyrikou)	Satyric	Saturig p.77	Satyric	1b	
Τετράμετρος (Τετραμέτρου) 1449a20	Tetrametros (Tetrametrou)	Tetrameter	Pedwar-ban, p.77	Tetrameter	3c	
Ἑξάμετρος (Ἑξάμετρα) 1449a25	Hexametros (Hexametra)	Hexameter	Chweban p.77	Hexameter	3c	
Πρόσωπον 1449a35	Prosopon	Face, front, appearance, mask	Penwisg p.78	Headdress, cap, hood	3b	Oedipus 314
Ὑποκριτής (Ὑποκριτῶν)	Hypokrites (Hypokriton)	Interpreter, actor, reciter	Actor p.78	Actor	1c	Republic 373b

1449b5						
Ἀπαγγελία (Ἀπαγγελίας) 1449b25	Apaggelia (Apaggelias)	Report, narrative, description	Dull o adrodd stori p.78 Adrodd ei hanes p.79	Way of telling a story Telling his story	5f 5f	Republic 394c
Ἐλεός (Ἐλέου) 1449b25	Eleos (Eleou)	Pity, mercy, compassion Divine personification of the above	Tosturi p.79	Compassion, pity, mercy	3b	
Φόβος (Φόβου) 1449b25	Phobos (Phobou)	Fear, panic Divine personification of the above	Ofn p.79	Fear, terror, awe	3b	Republic 554d Oedipus 730
Κάθαρσις (Κάθαρσιν) 1449b25	Katharsis (Katharsin)	Cleansing, purification, clearing, clarification	Gweithio allan p. 79 Puredigaeth p.98	Work out Purification	4a 3b	
Ὅψις (Ὅψεως) 1449b30	Opsis (Opseos)	Aspect, appearance Sight, vision Thing seen, view, scenic representation	Arddangosiad p.79	Display, representation, appearance	3b	Oedipus 577 Ethics 1118a1
Σύστασις 1450a15	Systasis	Bringing together, communication Standing together, combat, meeting Composition, structure, plot	Saerniaeth p.80	Fashioning, craftsmanship, architecture, construction	3b	Republic 457e

		Formation				
Περιπέτεια (Περιπέτειαί) 1450a30	Peripeteia (Peripeteiai)	Turning about, reversal	Gwrthdroad p.81	Inversion, error, reversal	3c	
Ἀναγνώρισις (Ἀναγνωρίσεις) 1450a35	Anagnorisis (Anagnoriseis)	Recognition, recognition leading to realisation in drama	Darganfyddiad p.81	Discovery	3b	
Ψυχή 1450a35	Psyche	Life, conscious, spirit, self, soul	Enaid p.81	Soul, spirit, life Friend, beloved	3a	Republic 353d Oedipus 499 Ethics 1168b5
Διάνοια 1450b1	Dianoia	Thought, intelligence, understanding	Meddwl p.81	Thought, understanding, opinion	3a	Republic 511a
Ῥητορικός (Ῥητορικῆς) 1450b5	Rhetorikos (Rhetorikes)	Oratorical, rhetoric	Rheithgol p.81	Rhetorical	1c	
Εὐτυχία (Εὐτυχίαν) 1451a10	Eutuchia (Eutuchian)	Good luck, success	Dedwyddwch p.83	Happiness, blessedness, felicity	3b	
Φιλόσοφος (Φιλοσοφώτερον) 1451b5	Philosophos (Philosophoteron)	Lover of wisdom, philosopher, scientific	Athronyddol p.84	Philosophical, scientific	3c	
Ἐπεισοδιώδης (Ἐπεισοδιώδεις) 1451b30	Epeisodiodes (Epeisodiodeis)	Episodic	Episodig p.86	Episodic	1c	
Πρόλογος 1452b15	Prologos	Prologue	Prolog p.88	Prologue	1c	Oedipus c1
Ἔξοδος 1452b15	Exodos	Going out, way out, end	Ecsodos p.88	Going out, exodus	1c	Republic 453e Oedipus c1579

Χορικός (Χορικόν) 1452b15	Chorikos (Chorikon)	Choral song, choral part	Rhan Gorawl p.88	Choral part	5f	
Πάρδος 1452b15	Parodos	Narrow entrance, passage, coming forward First song by chorus after entrance	Parodos p.88	Parode	1b	Oedipus c117 Ethics 1123a20
Στάσιμος (Στάσιμον) 1452b15	Stasimos (Stasimon)	Stopping, standing, steady, stationary song by chorus	Stasimon p.88	Stasimon	1b	Republic 539d Oedipus c668 Ethics 1125a10
Κομμός (Κομμοί) 1452b15	Kommos (Kommoi)	Dirge, lament	Commoi p.88	Kommos	1b	
Ἀνάπαιστος (Ἀναπαίστου) 1452b20	Anapaistos (Anapaistou)	Hammered, struck back, rebounding Anapaestic verse	Anapaistig p.88	Anapaestic	1b	
Τροχᾶιος (Τροχαίου) 1452b20	Trochaios (Trochaiou)	Running, spinning Brisk march, trochaic time	Trochaig p.88	Trochaic	1c	
Ἐπιεικής (Ἐπιεικεῖς) 1452b30	Epieikes (Epieikeis)	Fitting, suitable, reasonable, fair Able, capable, good Probably, generally	Rhinweddol p.89	Virtuous, good, beneficial	3b	

Ἄμαρτία (Ἀμαρτίαν) 1453a10	Hamartia (Hamartian)	Failure, fault, guilt	Diffyg p.89	Lack, want, default, defect, sin Gap, decrease	1c	Ethics1148a1
Γηγενής (Γηγενεῖς) 1454b20	Gegenes (Gegeneis)	Earth-born	Daeear-anedig p.95	Earth-born	2a	
Ἀπόλογος (Ἀπολόγῳ) 1455a1	Apologos (Apologoi)	Story, fable, account	Hanes p.95	History, story, chronicle, account, origin	3a	
Ἱερός (Ἱεροῦ) 1455a25	Hieros (Hierou)	Divine, holy, devoted, offering, temple	Teml p.97	Temple	1c	Republic 568d Oedipus 287
Θύω (Θύσασιν) 1455b1	Thuo (Thusasin)	Make an offering, sacrifice	Aberthu p.97	Sacrifice, dedicate	3c	Plato 328c Oedipus 1159
Δέσις 1455b20	Desis	Bind together, complication in plot	Clymiad p.98	Binding, joining Melody, tune	3b	
Λύσις 1455b20	Lysis	Loosing, releasing, deliverance, solution, unravelling (plot)	Datodiad p.98	Untying, undoing, unravelling, abolition, dissolution	3a	Republic 364e Ethics 1146b5
Ἀγαθόν (Ἀγαθῶν) 1456a5	Agathoo (Agathon)	Do good, make good	Rhagori p.99	Excel, surpass, favour, succeed	3a	
Πτῶσις 1457a15	Ptoxis	Falling Mode or modification (linguistic)	Treiglad p.103	Turning, revolution Inflection, mutation	3a	

Κέρας (Κέρατα) 1457b35	Keras (Kerata)	Horn, anything made of horn, horn-shaped objects	Corn p.106	Horn	3c	
Ἑρνυγας 1457b35	Ergunas	Sprouters	Eginwr p.106	Sprouter	2a	
Ἱερεὺς (Ἱερέα) 1457b35	Hiereus (Hierea)	Priest, diviner	Offeiriad p.106	Priest	3c	
Ἀρητήρ (Ἀρητήρα) 1457b35	Areter (Aretera)	One that prays	Ymbiliwr p.106	Implorer, suppliant	3c	
Σεμνός (Σεμνή) 1458a20	Semnos (Semne)	Revered, august, holy	Urddasol p.107	Dignified, honoured, revered	3b	Oedipus 41
Αἴνιγμα 1458a20	Ainigma	Saying, riddle	Enigma p.107	Enigma	1c	
Μεταφορικός (Μεταφορικόν) 1459a5	Metaphorikos (Metaphorikon)	Apt at metaphors	Meistrolaeth ar fetaffor p.109	Mastery of metaphor	5g	
Ξενάρχος	Xenarchos	Xenarchus	Xenarchos	Xenarchus	T	
Σικελία	Sikelia	Sicily	Sisilia	Sicily	T	
Ζεῦξις	Zeuxis	Zeuxis	Zewxis	Zeuxis	T	
Ἡρακλῆς	Herakles	Heracles	Heracles	Heracles	T	
Ὀδύσσεια	Odysseia	Odyssey	Odusseia	Odyssey	T	
Δαναός	Danaos	Danaus	Danäos	Danaus	T	
Ἥλλη	Helle	Helle	Hel'le	Helle	T	
Ἴλιος	Ilios	Troy	Caer Droea	Troy		
Ζεὺς	Zeus	Zeus	Zews	Zeus	T	Oedipus
Καλλιπίδης	Kallippides	Callippides	Cal'lippides	Callippides	T	

8.2.2.4: Analysis table for *Poetics*

		Number	%
1	1a		
	1b	7	7.6%
	1c	21	22.8%
	1d		
	Total	28	30.4%
2	2a	3	3.2%
	2b		
	2c		
	Total	3	3.2%
3	3a	9	9.8%
	3b	28	30.4%
	3c	9	9.8%
	3d		
	Total	61	66.3%
4	4a	2	2.2%
	4b		
	Total	2	2.2%
5	5a	4	4.3%
	5b		
	5c	1	1.1%
	5d	1	1.1%

	5e		
	5f	5	5.4%
	5g	2	2.2%
	Total	13	14.1%
Total		92	

8.2.2.5: Glossary table for *Oedipus at Colonus*

Greek	Transliteration	English	Translation	English	Classification	Other users
Πρόλογος c1	Prologos	Prologue	Prolog p.1 Prologos p.1	Prologue Prologue	1c 1b	Poetics 1452b15
Χῶρος (Χώρους) 2	Choros (Chorous)	Land, space, country	Bro p.1	Region, country, land, upland	3a	
Πλανήτης (Πλανήτην) 3	Planetes (Planeten)	Wandering, roaming	Crwydryn p.1	Wanderer, vagrant	3a	Republic 371d
Πάθη (Πάθαι) 7	Pathe (Pathai)	What is done to someone Suffering, misfortune	Dioddef p.1	Suffering, passion	3b	
Ἄλσος (Ἄλσεσιν) 10	Alsos (Alsesin)	Sacred grove	Cell Mangre p.1	Place, location, district	3b	

Ταλαίπωρος (Ταλαίπωρ') 14	Talaiporos (Taliapor')	Suffering, miserable	Hir-ymarhous p.1	Long-suffering	5f	
Ξένος (Ξεῖν') 33	Xenos (Xein')	Guest-friend, stranger, foreigner	Brodor p.2 Gwrda p.12	Native, fellow Nobleman, lord, good man, good fellow	3b 3b	
Νομίζω (Νομίζεται) 38	Nomizo (Nomizetai)	Practice custom, be customary, enact Consider as, hold, believe	Cysegrwyd p.3	Sanctified, consecrated	3b	Republic 450a
Σεμνός (Σεμνόν) 41	Semnos (Semnon)	Revered, august, holy	Defodol p.3	Customary, habitual, ritual	3b	Poetics 1458a20
ἑυχάβ (Εὐξαίμην) 41	Euchomai (Euchaimen)	Pray, vow	Defosiwn p.3	Devotion, prayer	1c	
Ἰκέτης (Ἰκέτην) 44	Hiketes (Hiketen)	Suppliant	Ymbiliwr p.3	Implorer, suppliant	3c	
Πυρφόρος 55	Pyrphoros	Fire-bearing	Tân-gludwr p.4	Fire-bearer	2a	
Ἱππότης (Ἱππότην) 59	Hippotes (Hippoten)	Horseman, knight	Marchog p.4	Horseman, knight	3c	
Λόγος 66	Logos	Computation Correspondence Explanation Debate Narrative	Gair p.4	Word, speech, saying	3b	Republic 550a Poetics 1447a20 Ethics 1096b1

		Talk, discussion, subject, language				
Οἰκτεῖρω (Οἰκτίρατ') 109	Oikteiro (Oiktirat')	Have pity on	Tosturi p.6	Compassion, pity, mercy	3a	
Χορός 117-118	Choros	Dance, band of dancers and singers	Y côr p.7	Choir, council	3b	
Πάροδος c117	Parodos	Narrow entrance, passage, coming forward First song by chorus after entrance	Dyfodiad y Côr p.7 Parodos p.7	Arrival of the chorus Parode	4a 1b	Poetics 1452b15 Ethics 1123a20
Σπέρμα (Σπέρματος) 215	Sperma (Spermatos)	Seed, semen Origin, descent	Dras p.11	Lineage, family, breed	3b	
Ὦ 224	O	Oh!	Duw! p.12	God!	3d	
Ἐπεισόδιος 254	Epeisodios	Coming in besides, addition Dialogue between chorus	Dialog p.13 Epeisodion p.13	Dialogue Episode	1c 1b	Poetics 1459a35
Θεοσεβής (Θεοσεβεστάτας) 260	Thessebes (Thessebestatas)	God-fearing, religious	Duwiolfrydig p.13	Devout, religious	3c	
Κακός 270	Kakos	Bad, ugly, evil, ill	Pechadur p.13	Sinner, sinful	1c	Republic 420b
Δυσσεβής (Δυσσεβεῖς) 280	Dyssebes (Dyssebeis)	Ungodly, impious, profane	Annuwiol p.14	Ungodly, impious	3c	

Ἱερός (Ἱεροῦ) 287	Hieros (Hierou)	Divine, holy, devoted, offering, temple	Cysegredig p.14	Consecrated, sacred	3b	Republic 568d Poetics 1455a25
ὦ Ζεῦ 310	O Zeu	Dear God!	Y Nefoedd! p.15	Heavens!	3d	
Πρόσωπον 314	Prosopon	Face, front, appearance, mask	Bonet p.16	Bonnet	1c	Poetics 1449a35
Μαντεῖον (Μαντεῖ') 354	Manteion (Mantei')	Oracle	Oracl p.18	Oracle	1c	
Φύλαξ 355	Phylax	Guardian, sentinel, watcher, keeper	Gwarchodwr p.18	Keeper, guardian, custodian, sentry	3c	Republic 375b
Τέλος 423	Telos	Coming to pass Power to decide or ratify, decision, duty State of completion or maturity, end, achievement	Diwedd p.22	End, conclusion, termination, final, death	3b	Ethics 1094a5
Σκῆπτρον (Σκῆπτρα) 449	Skeptron (Skeptra)	Staff, baton, sceptre	Teyrnwialen p.23	Sceptre	3b	
Καθαρμός (Καθαρμόν) 466	Katharmos (Katharmon)	Cleansing, purification	Defodau puredigaeth p.23	Purification customs	5f	Republic 364e
Δαίμων (Δαιμόνων) 466	Daimon (Daimonon)	God, spirit, power controlling fortune, souls or semi-divine spirits	Dwyfolion p.23	Divine, holy, sacred	3b	Republic 469a

Ψυχή (Ψυχῆς) 499	Psyche (Psyches)	Life, conscious, spirit, self, soul	Enaid p.25	Soul, spirit, life; friend, beloved	3a	Republic 353d Poetics 1450a35 Ethics 1168b5
Ὅψις (Ὅψιν) 577	Opsis (Opsin)	Aspect, appearance Sight, vision Thing seen, view, scenic representation	Golwg p.30	Sight, vision, regard, appearance, multitude	3a	Poetics 1449b30 Ethics 1118a1
Πίστις (Πίστιν) 611	Pistis (Pistin)	Trust, faith, assurance, guarantee	Ymddiriedaeth p.32	Trust, confidence, belief	3b	Republic 601e Ethics 1173a1
Ἐμπολις (Ἐμπολιν) 637	Empolis (Empolin)	Belonging to the city, fellow citizen	Hawliau p.34	Request, claim, right, title	3b	
Στάσιμος c668	Stasimos	Stopping, standing, steady, stationary song by chorus	Corawd p.36 Stasimon p.36	Chorus Stasimon	3b 1b	Republic 539d Poetics 1452b15 Ethics 1125a10
Μοῦσα (Μουσᾶν) 691	Mousa (Mousan)	Muses	Awenau p.37	Poetic inspiration, Muse Disposition, inspiration, joy	3a	
Ψιλός (Ψιλον) 866	Psilos (Psilon)	Bare, stripped Mere, simple Poetry without music	Diamddiffyn p.46	Defenceless, vulnerable, exposed	3b	Poetics 1447a25
Καλός (Καλῶς) 1003	Kalos (Kalos)	Beautiful, fair, valuable, well	Teg p.53	Beautiful, fair, pleasant, pure	3b	Republic 505b

Θύω (Θυών) 1159	Thuo (Thuon)	Make an offering, sacrifice	Aberthu p.61	Sacrifice, dedicate	3c	Republic 328c Poetics 1455b1
Θυμός 1194	Thumos	Soul, spirit, life Desire, will, courage, anger	Tymer p.63	Temper, mood Weather	3b	Republic 439e
Ἄστυ (Ἄστεως) 1372	Astu (Asteos)	Town, lower town	Dinas p.71	City, town, fortress	3b	Republic 327b Ethics 1448a35
Ἐνάλιος (Ἐναλίῳ) 1493	Enalios (Enalioi)	In or of the sea, epithet for Poseidon	Duw-môr p.78	God of the sea	4a	
Πόλις Πόλιν 1533	Polis (Polin)	City, community	Dinas p.80	City, town, fortress	3b	Republic 368e Poetics 1449a10
Ἔξοδος c1579	Exodos	Going out, way out, end	Exodos p.83	Going out, exodus	1c	Republic 453e Poetics 1452b15
Οἰδίπους	Oidipous	Oedipus	Oidipos	Oedipus	T	
Ἀθῆναι	Athenai	Athens	Athen	Athens	T	
Εὐμενίδες 42	Eumenides	Eumenides The Kindly Ones	Eumenides Y Graslonesau	Eumenides The Graces	T 1d	
Δῖος	Dios	Zeus	Zews	Zeus	T	Poetics
Αἰδης	Aides		Haides	Hades	T	Republic

8.2.2.6: Analysis table for *Oedipus at Colonus*

		Number	%
1	1a		
	1b	4	7.7%
	1c	7	13.5%
	1d	1	1.9%
	Total	12	23.1%
2	2a	1	1.9%
	2b		
	2c		
	Total	1	1.9%
3	3a	6	11.5%
	3b	21	40.4%
	3c	6	11.5%
	3d	2	3.8%
	Total	35	67.3%
4	4a	2	3.8%
	4b		
	Total	2	3.8%
5	5a		
	5b		
	5c		
	5d		
	5e		
	5f	2	3.8%
	5g		
	Total	2	3.8%

Total		52	
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8.2.2.7: Glossary table for *Nichomachean Ethics*

Greek	Transliteration	English	Translation	English	Classification	Other users
Τέχνη 1094a1	Techne	Art, craft, skill Way, manner	Crefft p.1	Craft, skill, trade	1c	Republic 332c Poetics 1447a20
Τέλος (Τέλη) 1094a5	Telos (Tele)	Coming to pass Power to decide or ratify, decision, duty State of completion or maturity, end, achievement	Diben p.1	End, conclusion, consequence, purpose	3b	Oedipus 423
Δίκαιος (Δίκαια) 1094b10	Dikaios (Dikaia)	Lawful, just, right, fitting	Cyfiawn p.2	Righteous, just, equal, lawful, appropriate	3a	Republic 339b Poetics 1447b15 Ethics 1129a34
Ἀρχή (Ἀρχάς) 1095a31	Arche (Archas)	Origin, beginning, first element First place of power, empire, magistrate	Egwyddor p.4	Principle, element	3b	Republic 450a
Εἶδος 1096b10	Eidos	Form, shape, physique, nature, class	Rhywogaeth p.7 Ffurf p.7	Species, class, sort, lineage	3b 1c	Republic 402c

				Form, shape, figure; manner, appearance; plan, formula		
Ἰδέα (Ἰδέαν) 1096b15	Idea (Idean)	Form, principle, kind, sort Notion, idea	Ffurf, p.7	Form, shape, figure; manner, appearance; plan, formula	3b	Republic 508e Poetics 1449b5
Λόγος 1096b1	Logos	Computation Correspondence Explanation Debate Narrative Talk, discussion, subject, language	Diffiniad p.7 Reswm p.21 Syniad p.21 Patrwm o berthynas p.103 Ystyr p.157	Definition Reason Idea, intention, meaning, feeling Pattern of relation Meaning	3b 1c 3b 5f 1c	Republic 550a Poetics 1447a20 Oedipus 66
Φίλιππος (Φιλίππῳ) 1099a5	Philippos (Philippoi)	Lover of horses	Hoffwr ceffylau p.13	Lover of horses	2a	
Φιλοθέωρος (Φιλοθεώρῳ) 1099a10	Philotheoros (Philotheoroi)	Sightseer	Hoffwr golygfeydd p.13	Lover of views	2a	
Φιλοδίκαιος (Φιλοδικαίῳ) 1099a10	Philodikaios (Philodikaioi)	Lover of justice	Hoffwr cyfiawnder p.13	Lover of justice	2a	
Φιλάρετος (Φιλαρέτῳ) 1099a10	Philaretos (Philaretoi)	Lover of virtue	Hoffwr rhagoriaeth p.13	Lover of virtue	2a	
Φιλόκαλος (Φιλοκάλοις) 1099a10	Philokalos (Philokaloi)	Lover of beauty	Yr un sy'n hoff o beth bynnag sy'n hardd p.13	One who is fond of whatever is beautiful	4a	

Εὐδαιμονία (Εὐδαιμονίαν) 1100a10	Eudaimonia (Eudaimonian)	Happiness, prosperity, good fortune	Dedwyddwch p.16	Happiness, blessedness, felicity	3b	Republic 472c
Πολιτικός 1102a5	Politikos	Relating to citizens or the state Statesman, politician	Gwladweinydd p.21	Statesman	3b	Republic 407d Poetics 1450b5
Φάντασμα (Φαντάσματα) 1102b10	Phantasma (Phantasmata)	Apparition, phantom, vision	Breuddwydion p.22	Dream, fantasy, vision	3b	Republic 598b
Ἀρετή 1103a10	Arete	Goodness, excellence	Rhagoriaeth p.12	Excellence, greatness; difference, distinction	3a	Republic 335b Poetics 1448a1
ἦθος (ἦθους) 1103a15	Ethos (Ethous)	Custom, habit	Arfer p.24 Ethos p.24	Usage, habit, custom Ethos	3c 1a	
Πάθος (Πάθη) 1105b20	Pathos (Pathe)	Experience, incident, misfortune Emotion, passion	Teimlad p.31	Touch, sense, feeling	3b	Republic 380a Poetics 1447a25
Ἀνδρεία 1107a30	Andreia	Manliness, bravery	Dewrder p.35	Bravery	3b	
Θρασύς 1107b1	Thrasus	Bold, rash, arrogant	Hy p.35	Bold, brave, daring, audacious	3b	
Δειλός 1107b1	Deilos	Cowardly, miserable, wretched	Llwrfr p.35	Cowardly, shy, lazy	3b	

Σωφροσύνη 1107b5	Sophrosune	Soundness of mind, prudence, moderation	Iawnbwylledd p.35	Sanity	3b	Republic 430e
Ἀκολασία 1107b5	Akolasia	Licentiousness, intemperence	Trythyllwch p.35	Luxury, pleasure, wantonness	3c	
Ἀναίσθητοι 1107b5	Anaisthetoι	Without sense or feeling, indifferent	Dideimlad p.35	Unfeeling, insensible, apathetic	3c	
Ἐλευθεριότης 1107b5	Eleutheriotes	Liberality, generosity	Haelfrydedd p.36	Generosity, benevolence	3c	
Ἀσωτία 1107b10	Asotia	Profligacy	Afradlonedd p.36	Prodigality, wastefulness, excess	3c	
Ἀνελευθερία 1107b10	Aneleutheria	Illiberality, stinginess	Anhaelfrydedd p.36	*Ungenerosity	2a	
Μεγαλοπρέπεια 1107b15	Megaloprepeia	Magnificence	Mawrwydher p.36	Magnificence, splendour, majesty	3a	
Ἀπειροκαλία 1107b15	Aperiokalia	Ignorance of beauty, vulgar	Diffyg Chwaeth p.36	Lacking taste	3c	
Βαναυσία 1107b15	Banausia	Handicraft Vulgarity, bad taste	Anghoethder p.36	Crudeness	3b	
Μικροπρέπεια 1107b20	Mikroprepeia	Meanness, shabbiness	Cybydd-dod p.36	Miserliness, avarice	3a	
Μεγαλοψυχία 1107b20	Megalopsychia	Greatness of soul, high-mindedness	Mawrfrydedd p.36	Magnanimity	3b	
Χαυνότης 1107b20	Chaunotes	Sponginess Empty conceit, vanity	Coeg falchder p.36	False pride	4a	

Μικροψυχία 1107b20	Mikropsychia	Meanness of spirit	Bychanfrydedd p.36	Small-mindedness	2a	
Φιλότημος 1107b25	Philotimos	Loving honour, ambitious	Uchelgeisiol p.37	Ambitious	3b	
Ἀφιλότιμος 1107b25	Aphilotimos	Lacking ambition, indifferent	Anuchelgeisiol p.37	Unambitious	3b	
Πραότης (Πραότητα) 1108a5	Praoteta	Mildness, gentleness	Addfwynder p.37	Mildness, humility, kindness Dignity, nobility	3a	
Ὀργιότης 1108a5	Orgilotes	Irascibility	Dicllonedd p.37	Anger, wrath	3c	
Ἀοργησία 1108a5	Aorgesia	Lack of anger	Diddigrwydd p.37	Contentment, mildness, good temper	3a	
Ἀλήθεια 1108a20	Aletheia	Truth, truthfulness	Geirwiredd p.38	Truthfulness	3b	
Ἀλαζονεία 1108a20	Alazoneia	Boastfulness	Ymffrost p.38	Boasting, ostentation	3a	
Εἰρωνεία 1108a20	Eironeia	Dissimulation, mock modesty, sarcasm	Coeg wyleidd-dra p.38	False modesty	4a	
Εὐτραπελία 1108a20	Eutrapelia	Ready wit, liveliness	Ffraethineb p.38	Wit, humour, elocution, understanding	3a	
Βωμολοχία 1108a20	Bomolochia	Buffoonery, ribaldry	Croesaniaeth p.38	Croesaniaith – satirical or abusive language	3b	
Ἀγροικία 1108a25	Agroikia	Rusticity, boorishness	Syrthni p.38	Sloth, lethargy, laziness, apathy	3b	

Φιλία 1108a25	Philia	Affection, regard, friendship, fondness	Cyfeillgarwch p.39	Friendliness, friendship	3b	
Ἄρεσκος 1108a25	Areskos	Obsequios, cringing	Sebonwr p.39	Soap maker, flatterer	3b	
Κόλαξ 1108a25	Kolax	Flatterer, fawner	Cynffonnwr p.39	Toady, sycophant	3c	
Δύσερις 1108a30	Dyseris	Quarrelsome, contentious	Cecrus p.39	Quarrelsome, contentious	3c	
Δύσκολος 1108a30	Dyskolos	Hard to please, peevish, troublesome	Anghyweithas p.39	Unfriendly, cruel, disdainful, morose	3b	
Αἰδώς 1108a30	Aidos	Reverence, awe, respect	Gwyleidd-dra p.39	Modesty, bashfulness	3b	
Καταπλήξ 1108a30	Kataplex	Stricken, shy, bashful	Swil p.39	Shy, bashful, timid	3b	
Ἀναίσχυντος 1108a35	Anaischuntos	Shameless, impudent	Digywilydd p.39	Shameless, immodest Unashamed, unintimidated, confident	3a	
Νέμεσις 1108b1	Nemesis	Righteous anger Personification of vengeance	Dictter teg p.39	Just anger	4a	
Φθονερός 1108b1	Phthoneros	Envious, jealous	Cenfigen p.40	Jealousy, envy	3c	
Ἐπichairekakos 1108b1	Epichairekakos	Rejoicing at a neighbour's misfortune	Cas-orfoledd p.40	Hateful rejoicing	2a	
Ὅψις (Ὅψιν)	Opsis (Opsin)	Aspect, appearance	Pethau sydd i'w gweld p.68	Things to see	5f	Poetics 1449b30 Oedipus 577

1118a1		Sight, vision Thing seen, view, scenic representation				
Μέλος 1123a20	Melos	Limb Song, melody, tone	Croch p.81	Loud and vehement	3b	Republic 379a Poetics 1447b25
Πάροδος 1123a20	Parodos	Narrow entrance, passage, coming forward First song by chorus after entrance	Llwyfan p.81	Stage	3b	Poetics 1452b15 Oedipus c117
Στάσιμος (Στάσιμους) 1125a10	Stasimos (Stasimous)	Stopping, standing, steady, stationary song by chorus	Pwyllog p.87	Wise, thoughtful, considerate, patient	3b	Republic 539d Poetics 1452b15 Oedipus c668
Εὐτροπος (Εὐτροποι) 1128a10	Eutropos (Eutropoi)	Versatile Morally good	Yr un sy'n gwibio'n chwimth eu troadau p.94	One who darts about nimbly in turning	4a	
Κωμωδία (Κωμωδίων) 11128a20	Komoidia (Komoidion)	Comedy	Comedi p.95	Comedy	1c	Republic 395a Poetics 1147a10
Μέθοδος (Μέθοδον) 1129a5	Methodos (Methodon)	Pursuit, pursuit of inquiry Method, system	Modd p.97	Mode, means, method, manner	1c	Republic 533c Poetics 1447a10
Ἄνισος 1131a10	Anisos	Unequal, uneven	Anghyfartal p.102	Unequal irregular Discourteous	3a	
Ἴσος (Ἴσον) 1131a10	Isos	Equal, equally divided, even, flat	Cyfartal p.103	Equal, equivalent, fair, proportionate	3b	Republic 441c Oedipus 254

Ἀνάλογος (Ἀνάλογόν) 1131a25	Analogos (Analogon)	Proportionate, equivalent to	Cyfrannol p.103	Contributing, sharing, participating	3b	
Δικαστής 1132a5	Dikastes	Judge, juror	Canolwr p.105	Mediator	3b	Republic 408d
Χάριτες 1133a1	Charites	The Graces	Y Grasusau p.108	The Graces	1c	
Χάρις (Χάριτος) 1133a1	Charis (Charitos)	Grace, kindness, goodwill, favour, gratification	Diolchgarwch p.108	Thankfulness, gratitude	3b	Republic 475a Oedipus 232
Νόμος (Νόμῳ) 1133a30	Nomos	Habitual Law, statute Melody (general and specific form)	Arfer p.109	Usage, habit, custom	3b	Poetics 1447b25
Νόμισμα 1133b20	Nomisma	Something sanctioned by law or usage Currency	Arian bath p.110	Currency, coinage	3b	
Μνᾶ (Μναῖ) 1133b20	Mna (Mnai)	Mina	Mina p.110	Mina	1b	
Δίκη 1134a30	Dike	Custom, order, judgement, lawsuit	Cyfiawnder llys p.110	Court justice	5f	
Φυσικός (Φυσικόν) 1134b15	Physikos (Physikon)	Natural, inborn, native	Anianol p.111	Natural, normal, strong, lively, related, indigenous	3a	Ethics 1134b15 Poetics 1148b5

Δικαίωμα 1135a10	Dikaioma	Act of right, judgement, decree	Tro cyfiawn p.113	Just act	5f	
Δικαιοπράγημα 1135a10	Dikaiopragema	Just act	Gweithred gyfiawn p.113	Just action	2a	
Αἴσθησις 1139a15	Aisthesis	Sensation, perception	Canfod synhwyrus p.128	Sense perception	5g	
Νόος (Νοῦς) 1139a15	Noos (Nous)	Mind, sense, resolve, purpose	Synied p.128 Dealltwriaeth p.130	Suppose, think, imagine, behave, feel Understanding, intelligence, sense	3b 3b	
Ὅρεξις 1139a15	Orexis	Longing, yearning, desire	Awyddu p.128	Desire, wish, long for	3c	
Ἐπιστήμη 1139b15	Episteme	Understanding, skill Science, knowledge	Gwybodaeth p.130	Knowledge, understanding, comprehension, information, science, intelligence	3a	Republic 342c
Σοφία 1139b15	Sophia	Cleverness, skill, learning	Doethineb p.130	Wisdom, discretion	3b	
Ὑπόληψις (Ὑπολήψει) 1139b15	Hypolepsis (Hypolepsei)	Taking up, reply, assumption, judgement	Syniad p.130	Idea, notion, opinion, sensation	3b	
Δόξα (Δόξη) 1139b15	Doxa (Doxe)	Opinion, belief, judgement, expectation, repute	Barn p.130	Judgement, opinion, verdict, decision	3b	Republic 478a

Ποίησις 1440a1	Poiesis	Fabrication, production, poetry	Gwneuthur p.131	Make, create, fashion, compose	3b	Republic 394c Poetics 1447a10
Ποιητικός (Ποιητικῆς) 1140a1	Poietikos (Poietikes)	Capable of making, creativity, poetical, the art of poetry	Cynhyrchiol p.131	Prolific, produce, originating	3b	Republic 393d Poetics 1447a8
Λύσις 1146b5	Lysis	Loosing, releasing, deliverance, solution, unravelling (plot)	Datrys p.153	Disentangle, undo, solve	3b	Republic 364e Poetics 1455b20
Ἀμαρτία 1148a1	Hamartia	Failure, fault, guilt	Nam p.157	Flaw, fault, harm, transgression	3c	Poetics 1453a10
Φιλοπάτωρ 1148b1	Philopator	Loving one's father	Mab-ei-dad p.159	Father's son	2c	
Ὑπόθεσις (Ὑποθέσεις) 1151a15	Hypothesis (Hypotheseis)	Proposal, suggestion, assumption	Rhagdyb p.168	Preconception, assumption, hypothesis	3b	Republic 510b
Χαίρω (Χαίρειν) 1152b5	Chairo (Chairein)	Rejoice, delight in, hail, welcome	Mwynhau p.171	Enjoy, take delight in, make use of	3b	
Πολιτεία (Πολιτείας) 1160a30	Politeia (Politeias)	Citizen, rights of citizen, government, constitution	Cyfansoddiad dinesig p.198	Civic constitution	5f	Republic 424a
Σχῆμα 1160b25	Schema	Form, shape, figure, appearance Character, characteristic, role	Patrwm p.200	Pattern, design, model, example	1c	Republic 601a Poetics 1447a15

Ψυχή 1168b5	Psyche	Life, conscious, spirit, self, soul	Enaid p.223	Soul, spirit, life; friend, beloved	3a	Republic 353d Poetics 1450a35 Oedipus 499
Πίστις (Πίστιν) 1173a1	Pistis (Pistin)	Trust, faith, assurance, guarantee	Gwarant p.236	Guarantee, affirmation, warrant	1c	Republic 601e Oedipus 611
Πολύκλειτος 1141a	Polykleitos	Polyclitus	Polucleitos	Polyclitus	T	
Ὅμηρος 1141a	Homer	Homer	Homer	Homer	T	
Ἀναξαγόρας 1141b	Anaxagoras	Anaxagoras	Anaxagoras	Anaxagoras	T	
Ἐνδυμίων 1178b	Endymion	Endymion	Endumion	Endymion	T	

8.2.2.8: Analysis table for *Nichomachean Ethics*

		Number	% 101
1	1a	1	1%
	1b	1	1%
	1c	9	8.9%
	1d		
	Total	11	10.9%
2	2a	8	7.9%
	2b		

	2c	1	1%
	Total	9	8.9%
3	3a	13	12.9%
	3b	45	44.6%
	3c	12	11.9%
	3d		
	Total	70	69.3%
4	4a	5	5%
	4b		
	Total	5	5%
5	5a		4.3%
	5b		
	5c		1.1%
	5d		1.1%
	5e		
	5f	5	5%
	5g	1	1%
	Total	6	5.9%
Total		101	

8.2.2.9: Analysis table for Chapter 5

		Number	%
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1	1a	1	0.3%
	1b	12	3.7%
	1c	49	15.8%
	1d	1	0.3%
	Total	63	19.5%
2	2a	14	4.3% %
	2b		
	2c	1	0.3%
	Total	15	4.6%
3	3a	40	12.4%
	3b	136	42.1%
	3c	33	10.2%
	3d	3	0.9%
	Total	212	65.6%
4	4a	11	3.4%
	4b		
	Total	11	3.4%
5	5a	4	1.2%
	5b		
	5c	1	0.3%
	5d	1	0.3%
	5e		
	5f	13	4%
	5g	3	0.9%
	Total	22	6.8%
Total		323	

8.2.3: Glossaries for Chapter 6

8.2.3.1: Glossary table for Chapter 6

Chinese	Pinyin	English	Translation	English	Classification	Other users
天	Tian	Heaven, sky, god	Tian Ffurfafen	Tian Firmament	1b 3b	Maby – nef Williams - y Nef, rhagluniaeth, y ffurfafen
天地	Tiandi	Heaven and Earth	Tian a Daear Ffurfafen a Daear	Tian and Earth Firmament and Earth	5a 5d	Maby – Nef/Nefoedd a Daear Williams – Nef a daear
天下	Tianxia	Everything under Heaven, the world	Y byd dan Tian Y byd dan Ffurfafen	The world under Tian The world under Firmament	5c 5c	Maby – y deng mil o bethau, Dan y Nefoedd, pob peth, yr holl fyd
仁	Ren	Humanity, kindness, benevolence	Ren	Ren	1b	Maby – da, tostur, addfwyn a hynaws, caredigrwydd

						Williams – rhinweddol, caredigrwydd, Jên, dyniolaeth
义	Yi	Righteousness, justice, uprightness	Cyfiawnder, Cyfiawn	Justice, Just	3a	Maby – moesoldeb Williams – cyfiawnder, dyletswydd
仁义	Renyi	Benevolence and righteousness	Ren a Chyfiawnder	Ren and Justice	5g	
礼	Li	Ritual, appropriateness, ceremony, conduct	Defod	Custom, ceremony, ritual, habit, etiquette	3c	Williams - Seremonïau, gweddusrwydd
道	Dao	Tao, The Way, method	Dao	Dao	1b	Maby – Yr Heol, Ffordd Williams – Tao, Y Ffordd, trefn
德	De	Virtue, moral force, ethics	De Rhinwedd	De Virtue, power, force	1b 3c	Maby – rhinwedd Williams – rhinwedd, Teh
道德	Daode	The Way and Virtue, Tao and Virtue	Dao a De Dao a Rhinwedd	Dao and De Dao and Virtue	1b 5g	Maby – Heol Rhinwedd
至	Zhi	Extremely, true, perfection	Cyflawniad, cyflawn, cyflawni	Completion, complete, complete	3b	

神	Shen	Spirit, god	Duw, dwyfol	God, divine	3b	Williams - shen
圣	Sheng	Holy, sacred, sage, wise, proficient	Ysbrydoliaeth, ysbrydoledig, ysbrydoli	Inspiration, inspired, inspire	3b	Maby - sancteiddrwydd
真	Zhen	True, real, genuine	Gwir	True, genuine, right, correct	3a	
至人	Zhiren	Sage, perfect man	Dyn cyflawn	Complete man	5d	
神人	Shenren	Deity, spiritual man	Dyn dwyfol	Divine man	5d	
圣人	Shengren	Sage, holy man	Dyn ysbrydoledig	Inspired man	5d	Maby - Gŵr doeth, Y doethion
真人	Zhenren	True man, spiritual master	Y gwir ddyn	True man	5d	Williams – y gwir ddyn
至圣人	Zhishengren	Perfect sage	Dyn sydd ag ysbrydoliaeth cyflawn	Man with complete inspiration	5d	
至圣者	Zhishengzhe	Someone of perfect knowledge	Rhywun sydd ag ysbrydoliaeth cyflawn	Someone who has complete inspiration	5d	
无为	Wuwei	Non-action, actionless action	Gwaith heb waith	Action without action	5f	Maby – seguryd Williams – gwneud dim
气	Qi	Qi, breath, energy	Tji	Qi	1b	
心	Xin	Heart, mind, heart-mind	Calon	Heart	3b	Maby – calon, myfyrdod Williams - calon

阴	Yin	Yin	Yin	Yin	1b	Williams - Yang
阳	Yang	Yang	Yang	Yang	1b	Williams - Yin
阴阳	Yinyang	Yin and Yang	Yin a Yang	Yin and Yang	1b	Williams – Yang a Yin
士	Shi	Gentleman, scholar, soldier, nobleman	Bonheddwr	Gentleman, nobleman	3b	
君子	Junzi	Gentleman, nobleman, man of noble character	Gwrda	Nobleman, good man, worthy man	3b	Maby – arglwydd Williams - gŵr bonheddig, Y bonheddwr
孝	Xiao	Filial piety	Fyddlondeb mab	Faithfulness of a son	4a	Maby – cariad at rieni
理	Li	Reason, logic, order	Trefn	Arrangement, order, pattern, procedure	3b	
自然	Ziran	Nature, natural Self-so	Hunan-fodolaeth,	Self-being	2a	Maby – ei hunan Williams – ei hun
太极	Taiji	Supreme ultimate	Y dechreuad sylfaenol	The fundamental beginning	5d	
和	He	Harmony, peace, calm	Heddwch, heddychlon	Peace, concord, serenity	3b	
命	Ming	Fate, destiny, life Command	Archiad	Command, petition, wish, prayer	3b	Maby – archiad Williams – ewyllys, Ming

性	Xing	Nature, character, characteristic, attribute Sex, life	Natur	Nature	1c	
性命	Xingming	Life, true nature	Natur ac archiad	Nature and command	5d	
辯	Bian	Dispute, argue, debate Distinguish	Dadl, dadlu		3a	
善	Shan	Good, virtuous, charitable, kind	Daioni, daionus	Goodness, kindness, uprightness	3c	Maby - daioni
利	Li	Profit, advantage, gain, benefit, merit Sharp	Budd, buddiol, buddio	Profit, benefit	3b	Maby – elw, buddioldeb, llesâd
万物	Wanwu	The ten thousand things, the myriad of things	Y deng mil o bethau	The ten thousand things	2a	Maby – y deng mil o bethau Williams – Y llliaws ffurfiau
玄	Xuan	Deep, profound, obscure, mysterious Black, dark	Dirgelwch, dirgel	Secret, hidden, mysterious	3b	Maby – tywyllwch Williams - dirgelwch
庄子	Zhuangzi	Zhuangzi	Dshwangdsy	Zhuangzi	T	Williams – Chuang-Tse
庄周	Zhuang Zhou	Zhuang Zhou	Dshwang Dshow	Zhuang Zhou	T	Williams – Chuang Chou
孔子	Kongzi	Confucius	Congdsy	Confucius	T	Williams - Conffusiws
孔丘	Kong Qiu	Kong Qiu	Cong Tjiow	Kong Qiu	T	Williams – Kung- Chiu

仲尼	Zhong Ni	Zhong Ni	Dshong Ni	Zhong Ni	T	
惠子	Huizi	Huizi	Hweidsy	Huizi	T	
盜跖	Dao Zhi	Robber Zhi	Dao Dshy	Robber Zhi	T	
老子	Laozi	Laozi, Lao-Tzu	Laodsy	Laozi, Lao-Tzu	T	Williams – Lao-tse
老聃	Lao Dan	Lao Dan	Lao Dan	Lao Dan	T	Williams – Lao-Tan
堯	Yao	Yao	Yao	Yao	T	
舜	Shun	Shun	Shwen	Shun	T	
禹	Yu	Yu	Yü	Yu	T	

8.2.3.2: Analysis table for Chapter 6

		Number	%
1	1a		
	1b	9	19.6%
	1c	1	2.1%
	1d		
	Total	10	21.7%
2	2a	2	4.3%
	2b		
	2c		
	Total	2	4.3%
3	3a	3	6.5%

	3b	12	26.1%
	3c	3	6.5%
	3d		
	Total	18	39.1%
4	4a	1	2.1%
	4b		
	Total	1	2.1%
5	5a	1	2.1%
	5b		
	5c	2	4.3%
	5d	9	19.6%
	5e		
	5f	1	2.1%
	5g	2	4.3%
	Total	15	32.6%
Total		46	

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Africa, ac America; eu Sefyllfa, eu Marsiandaeth, eu Ehangder, ynghyd a Moesau, Dysge, Arferion, Ymborth, a dull Gwisgoedd, a threfn Bywyd, eu Trigolion; Wedi eu dynnu allan o'r Awdwyr diweddaraf, Gorau, a Chyweiriaf. Gan W. Williams. Gweinidog o Eglwys Loegr. Ev. a Dav. Powell, Heol-y-Prior.

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