Translation in and for Society:
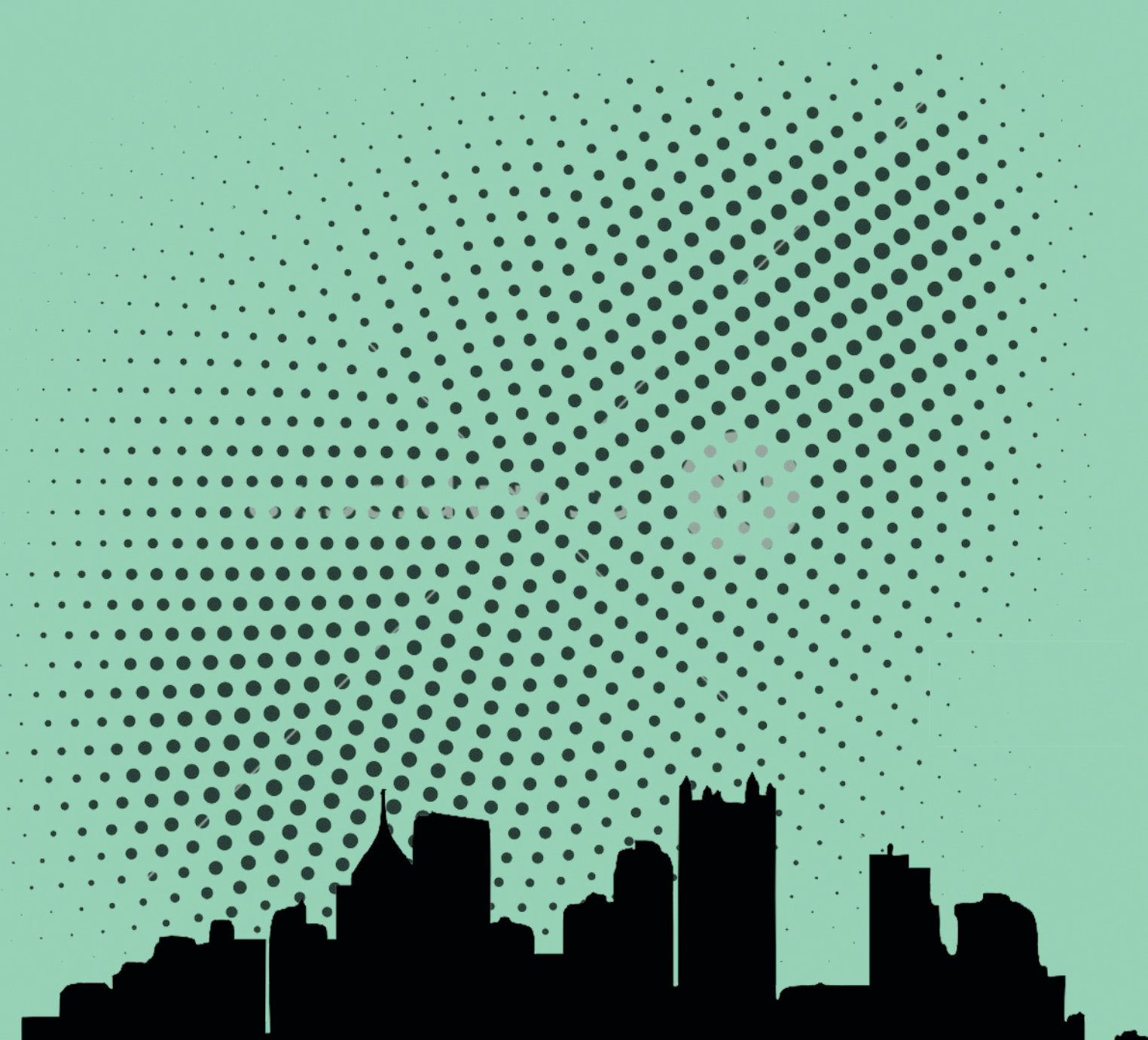
Sociological and Cultural Approaches in Translation

Beatriz Martínez Ojeda & María Luisa Rodríguez Muñoz (Eds.)

UCOPress
Editorial Universidad de Córdoba

Beatriz Martínez Ojeda & María Luisa Rodríguez Muñoz (Eds.)

Translation in and for Society: Sociological and Cultural Approaches in Translation

Beatriz Martínez Ojeda & María Luisa Rodríguez Muñoz (Eds.)

Translation in and for Society: Sociological and Cultural Approaches in Translation

Translation in and for Society. Sociological and Cultural approaches in Translation

CONTENTS

3. THE POWER OF WORDS: TRANSLATION, IDEOLOGY AND POWER RELATIONS

4. THE RECEPTION AND PRODUCTION OF LITERARY TRANSLATION

5. TRANSLATING FOR THE CULTURAL INDUSTRY

PROLOGUE

Translation in *and* for *Society. Sociological and Cultural Approaches in Translation* presents a selection of papers from some of the scholars that participated in the *1st e-conference on Translation* co-organised by the Universidad de Cordoba and KU Leuven in 2018. Due to their great value and potential for the history of Translation Studies, this volume combines proposals linking the Cultural Turn and Sociological Turn, since both give an account for translation as a holistic and vibrant task that is not exhausted at the linguistic level as it has a real impact on the relations between authors and readers, states and individuals, the establishment and minorities. The translating movement from one side to the other of the cultural barrier is described here from a multifaceted approach that encompasses new forms of interdisciplinary research and incorporates factors that have changed the rules of the transfer game in a globalised world.

Therefore we would like to pay tribute to these two paradigms: The 'Cultural Turn' and the 'Sociological Turn'.

As for the first, we want to underline the two opposing images of the translator that emerged in the 1990s (Bassnett, 2014). On the one hand, the positive role of the artist who contributes to 'the survival of writing across time and space', a vital figure for the preservation and diffusion of different cultures. In contrast, translation was also seen as a suspicious activity in which a power imbalance pulled the strings of textual production. In fact, in the light of this asymmetry, the cultural turn is considered the theoretical shift from a mere linguistic viewpoint to the study of the processes of translation: 'how a text is selected for translation, what role the translator plays in that selection, what role an editor, publisher or patron plays, what criteria determine the strategies that will be employed by the translator, how a text might be received in the target system' (Hermans, 1985).

The cultural turn was also the prelude to a new paradigm which conceived translation more as a human process than a product, a complex action, more a matter of sociological research and less a text-centered subject (Toury, 2006). That is how the sociological turn in Translation Studies was born in the 1990s. The success of the first ATISA conference "The Sociological Turn in Translation and Interpreting Studies" (2010) opened up new avenues of research, shifting the focus from textual aspects of translation to a broader

analysis of social factors that have an impact on the translator and translations as social products. According to Wolf (2010), the sociology of translation has interested research in the field of 'T&I training institutions, working conditions, professional institutions and their social role, questions of ethics in translation, (auto)biographies of translators and interpreters, larger accounts such as translation on the global market, sociopolitical aspects of translation, translation and its role in activism, etc.'.

Taking into account those contributions, in this volume we hope to build bridges between the present and the past of Translation Studies so as not to lose sight of where we came from, where we are going and, of course, of all that we have gained along the way and what it is still to come on this journey. So, we decided to move backwards from the present sociological approach (sections 1 'Ground-breaking avenues of research in the Sociology of Translation' and 2 'Translators' Agency, Self-image and Symbolic Capital') to hybrid sections in which culture and sociology shake hands (3 'The power of words: translation, ideology and power relations' and 4 'The reception and production of literary translation') until reaching the cultural turn, its origins and new implications (section 5 'Translating for the Cultural Industry').

The first section contains four chapters that cover professional aspects of translation and social visibility (Monzó-Nebot; Valero-Garcés) and ideological and social flows in the literary industry (McMartin; Gentile).

In the second one, four authors search for the true status and symbolic capital of the translator in literature (Jinquan Yu) and academia (da Silva; Gaustad), as well as the positioning of the discipline itself in society (Sanatifar)

In the third part, Ergil and López Ruiz map the current Post-Truth World through the dissemination of ideas and ideologies from two perspectives: the application of discourse analysis to determine the manipulative techniques embedded in Donald Trump's speeches and the description of the activist translation blogger as a vital agent to renarrate the present and deconstruct globalised discourses.

In the fourth section, six authors approach literary translation in an innovative way: while Brems introduces the cultural memory to study literary translation stuck to the skin of a country's history, Gheorghiu considers the implications of translating the narrative about one's own country from others' view in an exercise of cultural back translation. In addition, Eker Roditakis works with the

reception built on the epithets of reviews, while Saglam, Bogenc Demirel, Pal and Rahman focus on translation of minority languages and minorised forms of literature. Finally, Samy Gamaleldin examines the unstable translation of drama that requires a cross-cultural study to preserve the original's voice in a new setting.

Lastly, we return to the cultural shift that is gaining momentum and being renovated through audiovisual translation, currently at its peak in the Netflix era. Ogea Pozo shows us the subtitle translator's backstage where compensations and creative solutions are used to transfer culturally charged humor. Zhuoqun Li rethinks how adaptation in movie titles is approached in China. In the last chaper, Spolidorio describes how the cultural industry of Brazil addresses accessibility.

We hope this monograph reflects the melting pot that constitutes the discipline of Translation Studies today and encourage its readers to explore silenced translating practices with greater freedom and responsibility.

1. GROUND-BREAKING AVENUES OF RESEARCH IN THE SOCIOLOGY OF TRANSLATION

From Nordic to Universal.
The creation of cultural images about Dutch-language literature by the Italian publisher *Iperborea*[1]

Paola Gentile
University of Trieste
pgentile@units.it

Abstract

This chapter will explore the links between cultural branding and imagology through the analysis of the paratexts of the Dutch-language novels published by the Italian publisher *Iperborea*. Two main branded images will be put forward: the double branding of Dutch-language literature as 'Nordic' and as 'universal'. First, the concept of North as a cultural periphery will be discussed in relation to both imagological theories and the marketing policies of the publisher. Second, the pitches, the reviews and the covers retrieved from the publisher's website will help gain insights into which authors are branded as 'Nordic' and which others are promoted as 'universal', as well as the underlying reasons for these choices.

Keywords: Iperborea, Dutch-language literature, branding, imagology, Nordic, universal.

---

1. INTRODUCTION[2]

The increase in the number of translations of Dutch-language literature is a relatively recent phenomenon in Italy. Suffice it to cast a glance at the online translation database of the *Nederlands Letterenfonds*[3] (The Dutch Foundation for Literature, DFL), to realise that a sharp increase in the number of translations from Dutch has taken place from the 1990s to present day. This can be regarded as a generalised trend which has developed in several countries, and Italy makes no exception. Indeed, Italy has become a thriving market for novel translations from Dutch: in the years 2018 and 2019 alone, with 34 books, Italian was the fifth language for literary translations from Dutch, preceded only by German (136 translations), English (88), French (72) and Spanish (52).

As far as fiction is concerned, only 38 Dutch-language novels were translated into Italian in the period 1960-1990. From 1990 to 2019, 214 novels translations were found, an exponential increase which can be explained by making reference to two major breakthroughs. These are: 1) the establishment of the Dutch Foundation for Literature, which gave momentum to the funding and promotion of translations from Dutch into several foreign languages; 2) The foundation of the publishing house *Iperborea* in 1987, which was the first to translate Cees Nooteboom's novels into Italian, helping him become a recognised and well-respected author in this country. According to the data gathered from the DFL database, *Iperborea* is the publishing house that has translated the highest number of Dutch-language novels (52) in Italy[4].

In this chapter, the analysis of the promotion strategies adopted by this Italian publisher will be scrutinised in relation to two fields of research that have hardly been interconnected in scholarly literature. These are: imagology, which studies the way in which cultural images and stereotypes are created and spread transnationally through literature (Beller & Leerssen, 2007) and cultural

---

[2] All the translations from Dutch and Italian into English were made by the author.

[3] The *Nederlands Letterenfonds* promotes and finances the translation of Dutch literature into other languages. It was created in 2010 by the merging of two existing organisations: the Foundation for Literature (Stichting Fonds voor de Letteren, established in 1965) and the Dutch Literary Production and Translation Fund (Nederlands Literair Productie- en Vertalingenfonds, established in 1991).

[4] With roughly 18 books published per year and a sales volume of 3 million euros – an increase of 20% every year – Iperborea is an independent publishing house which is likely to grow in the coming years. It publishes translated fiction and describes itself as having "a production of the highest quality, ranging from the classics, Nobel prizes, unpublished or retranslated, to the leading voices of contemporary fiction" (Iperborea, 2017b).

branding, a process whereby stakeholders "engage the profit-based marketing techniques of private enterprises to create and communicate a particular version of national identity" (Aronczyk, 2008, p. 42). The latter definition, which brings national identities into play, shows how the link between imagology and cultural branding is self-evident. First of all because the first contact between the book and the potential reader is the cover image and its related paratexts, which are evocative elements of the plot of the novel that can present cultural references. Secondly, because the production phase of a book entails a certain number of variables, such as the author's intentions, the expectations of the reader, the strategies of the publisher, the creativity of the designer, cultural traditions and market trends. In all these phases, the important role played by cultural images cannot be overlooked. Whether on the front or on the back cover, in the reviews, or on the novel's blurb, cultural images are ubiquitous in literary paratexts. Therefore, the production and reception of translations is closely interwoven with the process of image-building, because readers' images and stereotypes about a country are constructed on the basis of texts selected for translation, which have been branded in a certain way and 'packaged' with a certain book cover.

The case of *Iperborea* is particularly interesting because, through the creation of the 'Nordic literature' brand, it succeeded in giving an image of Dutch-language literature, which, before the 1990s, was almost completely unknown in Italy. Dutch-language authors are indeed represented with a double image: either as writers presenting 'Nordic' features, or as 'universal' authors, and therefore neither linked to a particular cardinal point (the North) nor to a specific geographical region (the Low Countries). Through an analysis of the book covers retrieved from the website of the publisher, we will try to shed light onto the way in which *Iperborea* brands Dutch-language authors, and the ensuing image of the Low Countries spread by its marketing strategies in Italy.

2. THE 'NORTH' AS A CULTURAL PERIPHERY IN *IPERBOREA*'S BRANDING OF DUTCH-LANGUAGE LITERATURE

The first aspect that makes *Iperborea* an interesting case for the branding of Dutch-language literature in Italy relates to its self-image. *Iperborea* defines itself as "the Italian publisher specialised in Nordic literatures *par excellence*" (Iperborea, 2017b). In an interview, the founder Emilia Lodigiani illustrates the mission of the publisher:

> Our dream in 1987 was to introduce classic and contemporary Nordic literature in Italy. Since then, we have pursued this mission with commitment, dedication and unchanged passion. Nordic countries are one of the most vibrant and innovative cultures in the world and we are proud to have translated their most original and important voices (Penna Blu, 2012).

In another interview posted on YouTube[5], the current editor of *Iperborea* Pietro Biancardi adds:

> We are known for being specialised in Northern European literature. However, if we set aside the geographical filter, we also select books on the basis of other characteristics. […]. For example, a feature of Nordic writers is that they are not navel gazers, they look beyond their own world. Another characteristic of Nordic writers is that they ask themselves questions about the sense of life, of mankind, of society, about our place in the universe, about the relationship between man and nature. These are all great ethical and moral themes. The third filter through which we select books is that of the authors' love for stories. The Nordic populations have this tradition that comes from the big sagas and from the century-old mass literacy rate. They have this passion for telling stories.

This statement clearly attributes some specific features to the literature of the Nordic countries; it is not only the main criterion with which *Iperborea* selects the books to translate, but it is also the *fil rouge* binding all their publications. This image of Nordic literature lies beneath *Iperborea*'s brand and is constantly repurposed – for the sake of consistency – in almost all the books they publish. According to imagological theories, "nations and categories […] are in fact little else than projecting screens, blank categories which we fill with projections, images, characterological rationalizations of the world's diversity" (Leerssen, 2007, p. 380). This means that, whether we like it or not, we tend to divide the world into categories: for example, a 'country' is nothing but a blank page on which we project certain images and characteristics. Imagologically speaking, the Nordic brand is nothing more than an attempt to categorise the Low Countries not only geographically, but also culturally, because it gives a

---

[5] Retrieved from https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=_ojYWQTzxgA

somewhat clearer picture – albeit only partially truthful – of this region in Italy. Since branding is nothing but "the name, term, symbol, design or combination of these factors to position the identity of a product or service in the minds of the consumers" (Khan, 2006, p. 73), the association 'Dutch-language writers' – 'Nordic literature' helps the publisher to place books on the market more easily by making them more recognisable to Italian readers.

This branding strategy leads us to reflect upon the imagological concept of 'North'. According to Leerssen, in a European context, the opposition between the egalitarian, introspective and stolid North with the sensual, untrustworthy and ebullient South recurs very frequently (Leerssen, 2000). However, despite being primarily related to a geographical context, the concepts of North and South appear to be increasingly disconnected from their geographical meaning: for example, "Australia may be very southern, but it is usually not taken into account in the same way when thematising the Global South" (Gentile & van Doorslaer, 2019, p. 800). Seen in a pure geographical perspective, the Low Countries are located in the north-western part of Europe. However, although the UK and Ireland are located further north, English-language literature is not promoted as Nordic, at least not in Italy. Even Germany stretches itself up to the border with Denmark, yet its literature is not perceived and promoted in Italy as Nordic. In the light of these premises, what makes Dutch-language literature more Northern than other (equally) Northern European literatures? The reasons could be found in the words of Peter Fjagesund (2014), who states that the cardinal points are not geographical coordinates, but mental schemata that are associated with the perception of our identity. They are "some sort of mental matrix, an overriding metaphor, a kind of culturally defined and maintained structuring principle that helps us – literally like the compass itself – to orient ourselves in the world" (*ibid.*, p. 16). The consequence of this cultural conceptualization of the cardinal points is that we have a clear idea of the cardinal point we culturally belong to but, on the other hand, our knowledge of the other points is rather limited.

This leads us to hypothesise that *Iperborea* represents Dutch-language literature as Nordic not so much because the Low Countries are geographically located beyond the Alps, but because Dutch-language culture is less known and less widespread in Italy. The imagological concept of North is, in this case, deeply intertwined with that of periphery: the more something seems to be geographically but, above all, culturally distant from us, the more we mentally label it as a periphery of some sort. The cultural reconceptualization of North

re-shapes this cardinal point as a cultural periphery, for it is "an idea, a concept, or a spiritual or even mystic landscape" (*ibid*., p. 15). It is a mental horizon rather than a geographical one, which indicates a faraway, unknown culture. Indeed, the fact that Dutch-language literature has hardly been translated into Italian over the centuries and that the few works translated before the 20th century passed through the German or French versions (Grave, 2001) indicates that this literary tradition has historically occupied a peripheral place among European literatures. This peripheral position emerges even more clearly if we consider that, to date, neither a Dutch nor a Flemish author has ever received the Nobel Prize for literature. If we take into account the fact that this award significantly increases the cultural capital not only of the laureates (Sapiro, 2015), but also of the literature they represent, we could understand the reasons way Dutch-language literature has so far failed to assert itself in the transnational literary field.

2.1. From Nordic...

After having analysed *Iperborea*'s self-image and its positioning on the Italian editorial market, an overview of the Dutch-language writers branded as Nordic will be carried out. The homepage of the publishing house lists all the countries represented in its catalogue, which are: Sweden, Norway, Finland, Denmark, the Netherlands, Iceland, Belgium and Estonia. The choice of the Netherlands is justified as follows:

> It was added to the 'Iperborean' countries because we were fascinated by the Nobel prize candidate Cees Nooteboom. Nowadays, the Netherlands is one of the most fertile countries on the European editorial scene: from the two worlds of Kader Abdolah to the magical surrealism of Tommy Wieringa, from Frank Westerman's narrative non-fiction to the meeting of civilizations described by Adriaan van Dis, to the infinite tenderness and laconic humour of Gerbrand Bakker, winner of the IMPAC 2010 award. [...]. *Iperborea* has discovered that even this small land wrested from the waves of the North Sea has its mountains.

Unlike the Netherlands, Belgium is described as a 'partly Nordic' country:

> We now make a pit stop in a 'partially Iperborean' country: we introduce two very different authors, a classic and a contemporary one, two

cornerstones of the history of Belgian literature. Willem Elsschot, born in 1882, presents common features with Italo Svevo because of his career in the business world, the sudden recognition, but above all because of the irony and the rigorous frugality of the means of expression. We also propose a novel by Eric De Kuyper (1942), philosopher, semiologist, director and writer: *Al mare* (1988), his literary debut that earned him the fame of 'the Belgian Proust'.

Although *Iperborea* acknowledges that the Netherlands – and, above all, Belgium – cannot be defined as 'Nordic' as the Scandinavian countries, Dutch-language literature presents, in *Iperborea*'s view, three Nordic features: "it looks beyond its borders, it enhances the relationship between man and nature, and questions the meaning of life"[6]. In this case, the publisher extrapolates some of the characteristics that make Dutch-language literature similar to Scandinavian literature based on its own image of 'Nordic' literature. The publication, among others, of novels like Cees Nooteboom's *Cerchi infiniti*, set in Japan, of Haasse's *L'Amico perduto*, set in "the lush and enchanted nature of Java"[7], of *Anime Baltiche* by Jan Brokken, where the protagonist travels through the Baltic countries to "rediscover the vitality of a region that has always been invaded and disputed"[8] and of *Tradimento* by Adriaan van Dis, set in South Africa, which represents "a journey into the contradictions of a nation that becomes a mirror of human frailties"[9], testifies to the image of Dutch literature that *Iperborea* wants to promote, which links Dutch authors to the Scandinavian writers present in its catalogue. It is precisely the theme of the Dutch cosmopolitanism that characterises the 'Northerness' of authors like Nooteboom, Haasse, Brokken and van Dis. This feature can also be seen in the book covers:

---

[6] From an interview with the *Iperborea* staff carried out in November 2018.
[7] Iperborea, 'L'amico Perduto Di Hella Haasse,' 2017. Retrieved from https://iperborea.com/titolo/478/.
[8] Iperborea, 'Anime Baltiche Di Jan Brokken,' 2014. Retrieved from https://iperborea.com/titolo/400/.
[9] Iperborea, 'Tradimento Di Adriaan van Dis,' 2013. Retrieved from https://iperborea.com/titolo/318/.

From Cees Nooteboom's suitcases (1), to the red sun of *Cerchi Infiniti* recalling the Japanese flag (2), from the tropical landscape of Hella Haasse's cover of *L'amico perduto* (3) to the South-African setting described by van Dis (4), everything seems to underline the Nordic and worldly aspect of the Dutch novels. Even in the cover of the novel *L'Olandese* (5) by the Swedish author August Strindberg, the Netherlands are represented with a sailing ship that recalls the period of the great sea conquests during the Dutch Golden Age.

As for the element of nature, striking similarities between some Dutch works and those written by Scandinavian authors – the Nordic countries *par excellence* – can be found.

The sailing ships and the stormy sea on the covers of the Swedish writers Björn Larsson (1) and Stig Dagermanm (2), the green countryside with scattered houses (3) and white cows of the Icelandic Halldór Laxness (5), the

wheat fields shown in the cover of *Norwegian Blues* by Levi Henriksen (4) are just some examples of the recurring elements in *Iperborea*'s novels, which can also be found in Dutch-language covers:
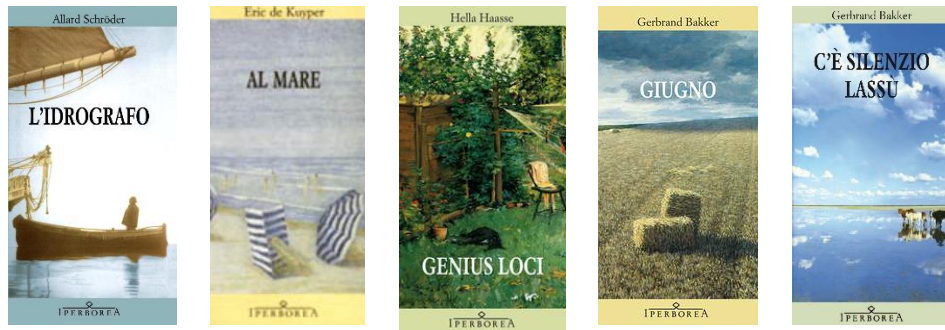
From the sailing ship that recalls the cover of Schröder's novel (1) to the sandy beach of the cover of *Al Mare* by de Kuyper (2), to the country houses immersed in the green of Hella Hasse's *Genius Loci* (3), to the wheat fields (4) and the cows of Gerbrand Bakker's novels (5). As can be seen from the covers, the relationship between man and nature remains a very important factor in the characterization of Dutch authors as 'Nordic'. For example, in the novels of Gerbrand Bakker "the immanent presence of nature is striking because, far from being just a background, it becomes a silent and intimate interlocutor" (Svaluto Moreolo, 2010, p. 305). The link between Dutch-language authors and Nordic countries emerges also in book reviews: in the review of the novel *Joe Speedboat* by Tommy Wieringa, the translator Elisabetta Svaluto Moreolo defines the characteristics of the typically Nordic style of the author, which are: "steeped in magical, delicate, light Nordic surrealism, with a fresh, lively style, punctuated by simple, short sentences" (Nederlands Letterenfonds, 2009).

According to the editors of *Iperborea*, the third feature that the Nordic authors they publish have in common is the reflection on the meaning of life. In *The Evenings*, Gerard Reve's masterpiece, the Dutch writer speculates about the passing of time and the sense of human existence, "just like the Norwegian Nobel Prize winner Knut Hamsun did in his novels" (Iperborea, 2018a). In the pitch of *The Evenings*, the publisher underlines that the existence of the protagonist "is a tour de force to fill the daily vacuity, to make sense of the evenings that follow useless days, by turning the routine into a disruptive black

comedy" (Iperborea, 2018a). Just like Reve, the theme of the sense of life is put forward in other novels published by *Iperborea*, like in *Rigenesi* by the Danish Svend Åge Madsen, which begins with the following sentence: "this novel aims to explain the sense of life" (Madsen, 2003, p. 1).

2.2. ...To Universal

As we have seen, the image of Dutch-language literature as Nordic is prevalent in *Iperborea*'s marketing strategies. Nevertheless, it should be noted that not all the authors translated by *Iperborea* are promoted as 'Nordic', either because of cultural reasons or because of the topics they write on. Indeed, the second branded image adopted by *Iperborea* to promote Dutch-language authors is to describe them as writers who deal with universal and current issues.

The most remarkable example is Kader Abdolah, the most translated Dutch-language author by the publisher after Cees Nooteboom (Nederlands Letterenfonds, 2019). Both for cultural – he is an Iranian political refugee naturalised Dutch – and editorial reasons – his novels deal with the encounters and clashes between East and West – Abdolah cannot be represented as a Nordic writer, as can be seen in the afterword of *Un pappagallo volò sull'IJssel*, defined as a "mestizo novel that talks about the ancient and dramatically current phenomenon of migration" (Abdolah, 2016). In the magazine *L'Espresso*, his novels are said to combine "fairy-tale tones and concrete facts, in which the most acute crises come just when foreigners start to find their place in the new country" (Codacci Pisanelli, 2016). Its fairy-tale tones, the countless references to the glorious Persian past and the difficult integration of immigrants in the West make Abdolah not only a 'universal' writer, but also a successful story of cultural integration in Europe.

With 5 works published by *Iperborea*, Frank Westerman is not represented as a Nordic writer because he writes literary non-fiction, a genre in which, according to the *Iperborea* staff, Dutch writers stand out: "literary non-fiction sells well because there is a long-standing tradition in this genre, which is much more developed than in other countries: just think of writers like Buruma, Brokken, Westerman, etc."[10]. The themes dealt with in his books – the origin of racial superiority (*Pura razza bianca*), terrorism (*I soldati delle parole*), the

---

[10] From an interview with the *Iperborea* staff carried out in November 2018.

conflict between science and religion (*Ararat*) and colonialism (*El Negro e Io*) – are current and universal topics. *Ararat*'s pitch talks about a "deep and involving inquiry about faith, the relationship between science and religion and an honest and sceptical man ready to question his certainties" (Iperborea, 2010). *El Negro e Io*, which reflects upon the supposed European superiority, emphasizes that "El Negro ruthlessly reflects the look of Europe on the rest of the world: the way we have looked and still look at it betrays our thoughts about race and identity" (Iperborea, 2009). Finally, the pitch of *I Soldati delle Parole* focuses on the dialogue with terrorism where Westerman, "digging into the complex duel between power and armed dissent, investigates the reasons for a dialogue against the refusal to compromise with terrorists, and he wonders whether the current jihadist actions can be countered by an effective oral response" (Iperborea, 2017a)[11]. In these cases, the geographical origin of the writer is irrelevant, since Westerman scrutinises issues that are of interests for journalists and political experts across the globe. Westerman's success in Italy had an echo in the Netherlands: on March 23, 2018, the Dutch newspaper *De Volkskrant* dedicated an article to the author and his collaboration with *Iperborea*, entitled "Frank Westerman represents a literary genre in which the Netherlands stands out – and Italy loves it" (Volkskrant, 2018):

> After the Mafia expert Roberto Saviano, the most famous Italian journalist, praised the book in a long article in the newspaper *La Repubblica* and the director of the magazine *Internazionale*, Goffredo Fofi, called him Ryszard Kapuscinski's most important heir, there was good news last week. One of the five finalists for the renowned Premio Terzani turned out to be Frank Westerman.

The article underlines Westerman's merit in introducing in Italy the genre of literary non-fiction, in which "the most important role is played by words, not by the object of the narrative, but the way in which it happens" (Cozzi, 2009, p. 288).

Interestingly, also the Flemish authors Willem Elsschot and Peter Terrin are not promoted as Nordic. The first is described as a great classic of Dutch literature, who deals with "the timely observation of bourgeois moral ambiguity, the ingenious word games that adopt the expression of the business

---

[11] Iperborea, 'Il Soldati Delle Parole Di Frank Westerman,' 2017. Retrieved from https://iperborea.com/titolo/473/.

jargon and the sensitive, sometimes sentimental, representation of family life" (Iperborea, 2018c). The protagonist of his *Formaggio Olandese* is described as a modern anti-hero who wants to free himself from his life as a white collar in order to become the dealer of a cheese company. The vicissitudes of the novel describe him as an incapable man, "whose ineptitude to imitate the rites of a society to which he is indifferent, his constant masquerade in which he pretends to be like others, his constant desires giving in to rationality, do not make him suitable for social betterment" (*ibid.*). Peter Terrin is described as "an author with a masterly style, combining classical elegance, Kafkaesque atmosphere and a refined experimental talent. He investigates, with a lucid disenchantment, the contemporary individual and touches upon universal themes" (Iperborea, 2018b). Jack Preston, the protagonist of *Monte Carlo*, his only novel published by *Iperborea*, is seen as "an anti-hero struggling with the absurdity of life, a modern Don Quixote in an era that offers many dreams and many bitter awakenings" (*ibid.*). In both cases, these novels reflect the universal dramas and inadequacies of contemporary society, particularly of the Western world, which is why they are branded as universal.

The universal character of the above novels is also manifest in the covers of the above-mentioned novels:

The maritime landscapes and the vast lowlands represented on the covers of 'Nordic' novels give way to mosques (1), camels (2), horses (5), peacocks (3) and people of indigenous ethnicity (4). On the cover of *Formaggio Olandese* (6) we find a detail of the painting "Eternal Wanderer" of the expressionist painter Frits van den Berghe, while on the cover of *Monte Carlo* (7) we find a close-up of a 1960s convertible. It is therefore evident that the novels described as 'universal' feature another kind of representation, which differs from the 'Nordic' covers, characterised almost exclusively by rural sketches.

3. DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION

The objective of this chapter was to illustrate the marketing strategies adopted by the publishing house *Iperborea* in the promotion of Dutch-language literature in Italy. One of the main aspects under scrutiny was linked to the way in which the paratexts (covers, reviews, pitches, blurbs) of this publisher – which can be regarded as marketing tools to sell the novels – create cultural images of Dutch-language literature in Italy. The analysis showed that a double image of Dutch-language literature is promoted, which represents its writers either as 'Nordic' or as 'universal'.

The interviews with the editor revealed that one of the reasons for this double branding is that *Iperborea* was initially founded as a publishing house specialised in Scandinavian literature that, over the years, has added authors from the Baltic countries, Iceland and the Low Countries. The logical consequence of this editorial policy seems to be that the translated Dutch-language authors had to be similar to the Scandinavian authors they published; they had to possess some characteristics that brought them as close as possible to authors such as Larsson, Wivel and Solstad. Therefore, three elements have been identified – the journey, the relationship between man and nature and the meaning of life – that also characterise Dutch-language authors as 'Nordic', at least according to the criteria of 'Northerness' illustrated by the editors interviewed.

From an imagological perspective, the analysis of the concept of 'North' as a cultural periphery proved fruitful to identify one of the main objectives of *Iperborea*'s branding strategies. In promoting Dutch-language authors as 'Nordic', the publisher tries to create a more defined image of a European region of which, to date, very little is known in Italy. The second image of the Low Countries focuses on the universalism of Dutch-language literature. Although the image of Nordic literature is more prominent in *Iperborea*'s branding, its catalogue also includes authors who are not promoted as Nordic. In the case of Kader Abdolah, the reasons are obvious, and the same is true for the Flemish writers Elsschot and Terrin. Indeed, Belgium is by no means defined as an 'Iperborean' country (that is, Nordic) because of its double French and Dutch-language identity. Therefore, the publisher does not attach a specific label to it, which is evident from the fact that it has so far published only three Belgian authors: de Kuyper, Elsschot and Terrin.

At methodological level, the happy marriage between cultural branding and imagology provides promising research perspectives, which can delve deeper

into the selection and reception processes of translations. Another important aspect rooted in imagological theories is the definition of North and South: what can be defined as Northern and what distinguishes it from the South? Could these categories only be defined from the perspective of the beholder? The answer to these complex questions could not be anything but a conundrum: while browsing through the reviews of the Dutch writer Margriet de Moor some time ago, I came across a comment used by the Italian publishing house, *Neri Pozza*, on the blurb of the novel. The review read: "A truly Nordic novel: deep and stormy just like the North Sea" (de Moor, 2010). The writer of that comment was not an Italian journalist, but a German one, who writes for newspaper *Die Zeit*, based in Hamburg, in the far north of Germany. Perhaps, after all, North and South are not at all geographical categories, but places of the soul.

REFERENCES

Abdolah, K. (2016). *Un pappagallo volò sull'Ijssel*. Milano: Iperborea. Translated by Elisabetta Svaluto Moreolo.

Aronczyk, M. (2008). "Living the Brand": Nationality, Globality and the Identity Strategies of Nation Branding Consultants. *International Journal of Communication*, 2, pp. 41-65.

Beller, M., & Leerssen, J. (Eds.) (2007). *Imagology: the cultural construction and literary representation of national characters: a critical survey*. Amsterdam/New York: Rodopi.

Codacci Pisanelli, A. (2016). Il pappagallo saggio di Kader Abdolah. *Espresso*. Retrieved from http://codacci.blogautore.espresso.repubblica.it/2016/09/27/il-pappagallo-saggio-di-kader-abdolah/

Cozzi, C. (2009). Postfazione di El Negro e Io. In F. Westerman, *El Negro e Io* (pp. 285-288). Milan: Iperborea.

de Moor, M. (2010). *Il pittore e la ragazza*. Vicenza: Neri Pozza. Translated by Claudia Cozzi.

Fjagesund, P. (2014). *The Dream of the North: A Cultural History to 1920*. Amsterdam/New York: Rodopi.

Gentile, P., & van Doorslaer, L. (2019). Translating the North-South imagological feature in a movie: Bienvenue chez les Ch'tis and its Italian versions. *Perspectives. Studies in Translation Theory and Practice*, 27 (6), pp. 797-814.

Grave, J. (2001). *Zulk vertalen is een werk van liefde : bemiddelaars van Nederlandstalige literatuur in Duitsland, 1890-1914*. Nijmegen: Vantilt.

Iperborea (2014). Anime Baltiche di Jan Brokken. Retrieved from https://iperborea.com/titolo/400/

Iperborea (2009). El Negro e Io di Frank Westerman. Retrieved from https://iperborea.com/titolo/166/

Iperborea (2010). Ararat di Frank Westerman. Retrieved from https://iperborea.com/titolo/179/

Iperborea (2017a). Il soldati delle parole di Frank Westerman. Retrieved from https://iperborea.com/titolo/473/

Iperborea (2017b). Iperborea - Chi siamo. Retrieved from http://iperborea.com/chi_siamo/

Iperborea (2018a). Le sere di Gerard Reve. Retrieved from https://iperborea.com/titolo/490/

Iperborea (2018b). Peter Terrin. Retrieved from https://iperborea.com/autore/10958/

Iperborea (2018c). Willem Elsschot. Retrieved from https://iperborea.com/autore/9260/

Khan, M. (2006). Co-branding in the Restaurant Industry. In B. Prideaux, G. Moscardo, & E. Laws (Eds.), *Managing Tourism and Hospitality Services: Theory and International Applications* (pp. 73-83). Cambridge, MA: Cabi.

Leerssen, J. (2000). The Rhetoric of National Character: Introduction. *Poetics Today*, 21 (2), pp. 267-292.

Leerssen, J. (2007). Nation, Ethnie, People. In M. Beller & J. Leerssen (Eds.), *Imagology: The Cultural Construction and Literary Representation of National Characters* (pp. 377-381). Amsterdam: Rodopi.

Madsen, S. Å. (2003). *Rigenesi*. Retrieved from https://iperborea.com/titolo/115/

Nederlands Letterenfonds. (2019). Translation database. Retrieved from https://letterenfonds.secure.force.com/vertalingendatabase/search?type=searc h

Penna Blu. (2012). Intervista a Iperborea. *Penna Blu.* Retrieved from https://pennablu.it/intervista-iperborea/

Sapiro, G. (2015). Translation and symbolic capital in the era of globalization: French literature in the United States. *Cultural Sociology*, 9 (3), pp. 320-346.

Svaluto Moreolo, E. (2010). Afterword. In G. Bakker, *C'è silenzio lassù* (pp. 303-307). Milan: Iperborea.

Volkskrant. (2018). Frank Westerman vertegenwoordigt literair genre waarin Nederland uitblinkt - Italië is er dol op. Retrieved from https://www.volkskrant.nl/cultuur-media/nederlandse-bergen~bcd9bd98/

'Our catalogue is our national literature': State agents and target(ed) publisher outreach in the world market for book translations

Jack McMartin
KU Leuven
jack.mcmartin@kuleuven.be

Abstract

Whereas state-organized circuits of dissemination once dominated the world market for book translations, national government agencies supporting translation have increasingly modeled themselves after private literary agencies. This chapter zeros in on the Flemish Literature Fund (FLF), which can be taken as a case-in-point: its translation grant managers tread a fine line between matchmaking and dealmaking and demonstrate a highly professionalized intermediary role where learning and responding to the tastes of individual publishers is paired with cultivating direct interpersonal ties. Drawing on insights from the sociology of translation (Heilbron & Sapiro, 2007, 2018), this chapter examines the practices of FLF grant managers at international book fairs and the 'catalogue' of books by Flemish authors promoted by the FLF abroad.

Keywords: Sociology of translation, Flemish Literature Fund, Dutch literature in translation, cultural policy, world literature.

1. INTRODUCTION

> It gets said a lot but it's true; the publishing business is a people business. The more in touch you are with someone, the more you speak their language, the more you click with them, the more likely you are to do business together. It's very hard to sell a title to someone you've only just met. The same goes for the books they do. If you know each others' catalogue, if you have that spark of interest, it's easier. You have to know the person and you have to know their product. (Interview, 4 March 2019)

These are the words of Rose Janssens, senior foreign rights manager at the Flemish children's book publisher Clavis and winner of the 2019 London Book Fair's International Excellence Award for best rights professional. But they could just as well have been spoken by one of the grant managers at the Flemish Literature Fund (FLF), a government organization tasked with formulating and carrying out the cultural policy of the Flemish Community in the domain of literature[1]. In this chapter, I examine the international dissemination strategy of the FLF and the practices of its grant managers at international book fairs as an example of a new form of state intervention in the world market for book translations centered around tailoring national cultural policy to the needs of international publishers.

The FLF was founded in 1999 by decree of the Flemish Parliament with a mandate to "support Dutch-language literature and the translation of literary work in the broad sense of the word into and out of Dutch and to improve the socio-economic position of authors and translators"[2]. It began operations on 1 January 2000. In early years, support mainly took the form of subsidies for authors and translators producing for the domestic market, but it has since expanded to include a robust international policy. The FLF's policy tools include translation subsidies, guest of honor presentations at international

---

[1] Flanders is the Dutch-speaking region in the north of Belgium. Cultural policy became an official competency of the Flemish Community upon the establishment of that body in 1980 when the Belgian Parliament passed a devolution bill and amended the constitution to officially recognize the Flemish and Francophone language communities. Belgium officially became a federal state in 1993 after another constitutional reform.

[2] See Anon., 1999, p. 4. All translations are mine. In Dutch: "Het VFL heeft tot doel de Nederlandstalige letteren en de vertaling in en uit het Nederlands van literair werk in de brede zin van het woord te ondersteunen en de sociaal-economische positie van auteurs en vertalers te verbeteren."

book fairs and festivals, and target(ed) publisher outreach. Today, the foundation divides its resources more or less equally between its 'domestic' and 'international' cells, which together deploy an integrated support framework spanning creation, production, and international promotion of literature from Flanders[3]. While I focus on the FLF's foreign publisher outreach efforts here, it is important to acknowledge that its outgoing translation policies are integrated into a larger strategy of literary talent development, where international promotion is "the last link in a long chain" that begins with cultivating authors and illustrators at home[4]. This integrated policy framework developed gradually. An important turning point came in 2007 when the foundation began the process of formalizing its international cell and articulated its main international policy goals and toolkit. Its approach centered around one main international dissemination strategy: directly engaging foreign publishers through information-sharing, relationship-building and pitching promising titles by Flemish authors. This excerpt from the FLF's 2008 year-end report (van Baelen, 2009, p. 16) details the strategy and speaks to its perceived effectiveness:

> Thanks to our investments in a network (built from a proactive market-based approach), manpower, information-gathering instruments and new avenues for international promotion, the FLF finds itself in a key position to promote Flemish literary work. The starting point for this is a title-specific approach. It is not the country or the language that is central—so, not Flanders or Dutch literature—but rather the translation potential of a newly released title or a classic. This [strategy] has resulted in an increase in the diversity of foreign publishing houses that publish translations [of Flemish books], an increase in the quality of the translated titles, and an increase in the number of languages in which translations have appeared[5].

---

[3] In 2016, the FLF employed 18 people, or 15.5 full-time equivalents (FTEs), and had a yearly operational budget of 7.9 million euro, including a 6.5-million-euro endowment from the Flemish Community. Day-to-day operations are overseen by a director (1 FTE). His team is organized into a general staff for bookkeeping and communication (2.6 FTE), a domestic cell (5.3 FTEs), which administers the fund's various domestic subsidy schemes and work bursaries for Flemish authors, illustrators, and translators working in(to) Dutch, and an international cell (5.6 FTEs) which handles the foundation's translation grants for foreign publishers and its international promotion efforts (see Van Bockstal *et al.*, 2017, p. 85).

[4] Interview with Michiel Scharpé, 30 November 2017.

[5] In Dutch: "Dankzij onze investeringen in een netwerk (opgebouwd vanuit een proactieve marktbenadering), in mankracht, in informatie-instrumenten en dankzij nieuwe pistes voor

To more fully understand the significance of this statement, it is helpful to draw on insights from the sociology of translation (Heilbron & Sapiro, 2007, 2018) regarding state intervention in the contemporary world market for book translations. State agents (government organizations and their deputies) have traditionally played central mediating roles in this market, be it through ideology, censorship or cultural diplomacy. However, the role of state agents in today's world market for translations has changed significantly as a result of Anglo-American-led processes of globalization and conglomeration, which have been transforming the global publishing industry (indeed, all creative industries) since the 1980s (Greco, 1989, 1999; Hesmondhalgh, 2007; von Flotow, 2007; Steiner, 2011, 2018; Heilbron & Sapiro, 2018). The market for translated books has become more autonomous from state control as a result, but it has also become more constrained by economic imperatives. Transnational mergers and acquisitions have brought many major publishers of translated books together under a few very large international media corporations. And while many formerly independent houses vigilantly assert an autonomous image and manner of working (sometimes purposely obscuring their corporate affiliations), they ultimately must reconcile their editorial strategies with corporate profit expectations (Thompson, 2012).

Despite these increased economic constraints, the world market for translations remains to a significant extent structured by national literatures, or rather, to use Gisèle Sapiro's phrase, by "the well-founded fiction of the existence of national literatures" (2015, p. 341), which, in step with the rise of nationalism in the late eighteenth century, helped to transpose the lines of nationally-delineated imagined communities onto the geopolitical map (Anderson, 2006). Likewise, national governments representing nation states and stateless nations continue to play an active role in facilitating and promoting 'their' national literatures in the world market for translations. However, some models of state intervention have overtaken others in the race to adapt to a new economic reality. Some national literature organizations, such as the FLF's counterpart in the Dutch-language field, the Dutch Foundation for Literature (DFL), and, to an even greater extent, the Institute for the

---

buitenlandpromotie, bevindt het VFL zich in een sleutelpositie voor de bevordering van vertalingen van Vlaams literair werk. Daarbij wordt uitgegaan van een titelgerichte aanpak. Niet het land of de taal staat centraal—dus niet Vlaanderen of de Nederlandstalige literatuur—wèl de vertaalpotentie van een nieuwverschenen titel of een klassieker. Zowel de diversiteit aan buitenlandse uitgevershuizen waar vertalingen verschijnen, als de literaire kwaliteit van de vertaalde titels, als het aantal talen waarin vertalingen verschijnen, is fors toegenomen."

Translation of Hebrew Literature (ITHL), have embraced a role as a kind of public literary agency (see Heilbron & Sapiro, 2018): they serve their mandate by courting foreign publishers, pitching books from 'the national catalogue' that best fit publishers' lists, and stimulate market-based production by subsidizing the costs of translation and production. In what follows, I will examine the FLF and its grant managers in a similar analytical light. I begin with an analysis of the foundation's website and the pitch sheets it produces for foreign publishers. I then move to an account of its grant managers' practices at international book fairs. I conclude with a look at publishers tours, which have become an especially important tool for target(ed) publisher outreach.

2. FLANDERSLITERATURE.BE

The FLF launched its English-language website, flandersliterature.be, in March 2017. Marking a culmination of the foundation's evolution towards a professionalized, market-savvy and publisher-oriented international policy, the website contains content ranging from the informative 'background' pages ('About Flanders', 'About our language', 'About our book market', 'About our literature', 'About literary prizes') and pages explaining the modalities of translation grants, to a 'Find a book or author' section, where visitors can browse FLF-supported titles by genre, language and author. (There is also a 'Find a translator' section with profiles and contact information for DFL/FLF-accredited translators.) Overall, the website is attractively designed, sleekly branded, and user-friendly.

The website's boilerplate, the standard description of its purpose and the first line of text one reads on the homepage, immediately establishes who flandersliterature.be is meant to serve: "Our mission is to help publishers find that one particular title that is the perfect fit for their list."[6]. To this end, the 'Find a book or author' section functions very much like a publisher's catalogue. Acquiring editors who click through to an individual title's page will find information designed to quickly and persuasively assist them in evaluating that title's suitability for their lists. This information can be easily shared using the social media buttons on the page or rendered in a print-friendly form using the print button. The page also contains links to any sample translations that

---

[6] See https://www.flandersliterature.be/about-flanders-literature

have been produced for the title and occasionally also reception documents about the title from reputable sources with a transnational reach. In cases where a full English translation is available, the FLF will provide it to an interested foreign publisher on request.

3. PITCH SHEETS

In printed form, an individual title's webpage doubles as a *pitch sheet*, a one-page flier summing up a title's content, merits and rights details. Pitch sheets are commonly traded among rights managers, literary agents, and acquiring editors at book fairs and function as a title's "passport" in the world market; they are the primary tool by which rights sellers can tell their self-defined story about a title in their list. As a genre of advertising, pitch sheets rely primarily in three devices: tropes, blurbs and pedigrees. *Tropes* in pitch sheets (and publishers' catalogues more generally) serve to convey to prospective rights buyers that the title (or list) in question "is a piece of culture that has been made for them" (Childress, 2017, p. 132). They often use clichés and typical generic conventions in imagery, typeface and layout "not because designers lack creativity, but because these things are instantaneous visual cues for the category into which a book falls" (*ibid.*). *Blurbs* function to link a title to people or literary institutions belonging to what Brian Moeran calls the 'name economy' (Moeran, 2003): they require no further identification beyond their names to elicit a clear (and positive) association in the mind of the reader (in this case, acquiring editors). Blurbs thus serve not only to highlight a book's literary merits but also to construct an association with an easy-to-classify name loaded with its own stores of symbolic, economic and social capital, which the title being blurbed insinuates itself into. A third device used in pitch sheets is a title's transnational *pedigree*, which consists of sales data (if positive), national and international prizes won, and rights sold to publishers in other languages. This information is valuable to an acquiring editor particularly when he is not very familiar with the title being pitched or the producers attached to it. He may be familiar with the prizes won or he may recognize publishers that have already selected the title as peers with similar lists, further helping to categorize and evaluate the title under consideration. Furthermore, both prizes and the (number of) languages to which a title has sold also speak to a title's accumulated symbolic capital, an important consideration for many publishers of translated literature, which tend to be situated in the small-scale pole of

production where symbolic interests outweigh economic ones (Sapiro, 2008, 2010, 2016). This is not to say that sales data, an indicator of accumulated economic capital (and economic potential), is not relevant to acquiring editors as well. To the contrary, if a literary title that has sold well at home, it is taken as a hedge to the rampant uncertainty involved in publishing translations (Franssen & Kuipers, 2013).

FICTION

Memorial to a grandfather

War and Turpentine

STEFAN HERTMANS

Right before his death in the 1980s, Stefan Hertmans' grandfather gave his grandson a few notebooks. For years, Hertmans was too afraid to open them – until he finally did and laid bare some unexpected secrets.

The life of his grandfather turned out to be marked by his impoverished childhood in late nineteenth-century Ghent, by horrible experiences as a front soldier during the First World War and by his great love who died young; the rest of his life he spent turning his grief into silent paintings.

A blast of narrative fresh air. One of the 10 best books of 2016.

THE NEW YORK TIMES

In an attempt to fathom that life, Hertmans wrote down his memories of his grandfather. He quotes from his diaries and looks at his paintings. Hertmans tells the story with an imagination that only great writers possess, and does it in a form that leaves an indelible impression. 'War and Turpentine' is a gripping search for a life that paralleled the tragedy of a century, and is a posthumous, almost mythical attempt to offer that life a voice at last.

'War and Turpentine' is one of those rare direct accounts by a front-line soldier and can be seen as the Flemish answer to Erich Maria Remarque's famous 'All Quiet on the Western Front'.

'War and Turpentine' has all the markings of a future classic.

THE GUARDIAN

FLANDERS LITERATURE

AUTHOR

Stefan Hertmans (b. 1951). *Photo © Praet*

ORIGINAL TITLE Oorlog en terpentijn (2013, De Bezige Bij, 334 pp.)

COPIES SOLD 200,000

PRIZES Flemish Culture Prize, AKO Literature Prize, Gouden Uil Readers' Prize, Spycher Literaturpreis Leuk, shortlisted for the Premio Strega Europeo

RIGHTS SOLD English (Harvill Secker / Pantheon / Text), French (Gallimard), German (Hanser Berlin / Diogenes), Spanish (Anagrama), Italian (Marsilio), Norwegian (Pax), Danish (People's Press), Swedish (Norstedts), Hungarian (Európa), Polish (Marginesy), Simplified Chinese (FLTRP), Japanese (Shoraisha), Afrikaans (Protea), Slovenian (Beletrina), Croatian (Fraktura), Serbian (Heliks), Hebrew (Modan), Portuguese (Dom Quixote), Ukrainian (Osnovy), Greek (Kastaniotis), Macedonian (Antalog), Bulgarian (Perseus), Arabic (Al-Karma), Czech (Argo), Turkish (Alfa)

TRANSLATION RIGHTS Uta Matten - u.matten@debezigebij.nl, Marijke Nagtegaal - m.nagtegaal@debezigebij.nl

Figure 1: An example of an FLF pitch sheet

All pitch sheets produced by the FLF for foreign publishers use the same template (see figure 1). The layout is divided into two vertical columns. In the left column, from top to bottom, is a genre tag, a lede providing a one-line hook, the title of the book in English in large, boldface font, the author's name, a short synopsis of the plot (including spoilers; editors are interested in the mechanics of the story and are not interested in cliffhangers), a paragraph describing writing style and atmospherics, and two insets in eye-catching green letter type expressing praise for the title in the form of blurbs from reviewers, prize juries and prominent authors that endorsed the book. There was a clear preference for blurbs from international sources, particularly from English, French and German newspapers and 'name-economy' reviewers and institutions. (In the pitch sheet for *War and Turpentine* reproduced above, for example, blurbs were taken from *The New York Times* and *The Guardian*.) Atop the right column is an image of the original title's cover, a photograph of the author and some biographical information. Under this, separated by a horizontal line, is specialized information about the book's transnational pedigree, including bibliographic details of the original title and a page count (which enables acquiring editors to roughly calculate translation costs). Finally, contact information is provided for the title's rights controller, which is usually a rights manager with a Dutch or Flemish publisher but may also be a literary agent. Literary agencies are still rather rare in the Dutch-language field (particularly among Flemish authors), although more and more authors active internationally are enlisting their services[7].

Taken together as a body of titles, the collection of FLF-produced pitch sheets can be seen as a sort of catalogue analogous to that of a publisher. Indeed, one FLF grant manager spoke of the titles he promotes in these very terms: "Our catalogue […] is the whole of Flemish literature" (interview with Michiel Scharpé, 30 November 2017)[8]. An indicative look at the body of FLF pitch

---

[7] Literary agents that represent authors from Flanders include: Marianne Schönback of Marianne Schönback Literary Agency (Diane Broeckhoven, Marian De Smet, Fikry El Azzouzi, Jolien Janzing, Joseph Pearce, Joris Vermassen, Erik Vlaminck), Christel Meijer of sharedstories.nl (Geert Buelens), Marleen Seegers (Sien Volders), 2 Seas Agency (Kristien Hemmerechts, Annelies Verbeke), David Godwin of David Godwin Associates (Chika Unigwe), and Sebes & Bisseling Literary Agency (Joost Vandecasteele).

[8] Speaking in the context of how he goes about selecting which titles to pitch to foreign publishers, Scharpé said: "En dan, ja, grasduinen wij eigenlijk in onze back catalogue, wat dat eigenlijk heel de Vlaamse literatuur is, en proberen wij over zo'n titel te praten." [And then, yeah, we browse through our back catalogue, which is actually the whole of Flemish literature, and we try to talk about a title of interest to them.]

sheets gives some perspective of its scope and generic distribution. As of September 2018, the flandersliterature.be website contained pages (and printable pitch sheets) for 531 titles by 257 Flemish authors in 5 genres. The most well-represented genre is fiction (194 titles, 36 percent of the total), followed by children's and youth literature (164 titles, 31 percent of the total), non-fiction and graphic novel (each with 67 titles, 13 percent of the total), and, finally, poetry (39 titles, 7 percent of the total). Titles are grouped on the website by genre (and sub-genre) and are presented in descending order by date of publication. As new titles are added, older titles progress down the list, with the newest releases at the front and classics from the Flemish canon at the back. This structure, once again, mimics a publishers' catalogue, which is divided into a frontlist of new titles, a midlist of titles that are not new but are valued enough for inclusion, and a backlist of 'proven' titles that remain available and sell in small but reliable numbers. A publisher's most prestigious and symbolically important titles—its 'classics'—are located in the backlist. For the purpose of analysis, the FLF catalogue can be divided into thirds as well. What does such a division tell us about the diversity of FLF-supported titles? Controlling for average author age, the 'youngest' genre is graphic novel, with a range of only four years between its front- and backlist authors (40 and 44 years old, respectively). The 'oldest' genres are also the two most symbolically laden: poetry and fiction. Authors in the backlist for these genres hail from the national canon and most (67 percent) are deceased (white men).

While there is still much left to say about the FLF's catalogue, the above outline gives an indication of the range of genres and authors it includes. Its generic diversity and mix of contemporary and classic titles reflect the foundation's broad concept of literature. This, I argue, is itself a reflection of the FLF's willingness to subordinate its concept of literature to the needs of foreign publishers, which is part and parcel of its "mission" to "find that one particular title that is the perfect fit for their list". Michiel Scharpé explains:

> We look at the big picture, not just each book separately. For instance, say we're going to a book fair. We need some new titles, and we kind of need a diverse portfolio. Not five books that are all the same. Not five postmodern books by sixty-year-old authors about someone who spends the whole day looking out a window—you know, the same story. You need some different titles. Some highbrow literature alongside the more accessible stuff. A little bit of everything. [...] For example, sometimes

you talk with publishers who are looking for a thriller. We keep that in the back of our minds; we set aside the best literary thrillers. It doesn't make sense to promote just one type of book[9]. (Interview, 30 November 2017)

It is precisely because each individual foreign publisher's needs are so particular that the FLF's catalogue is so diverse.

4. PITCH MEETINGS AT BOOK FAIRS

Scharpé's hypothetical ("say we're going to a book fair") brings us to another tool used by the FLF within the policy area of publisher outreach: pitch meetings at international book fairs and festivals. On a yearly basis, FLF grant managers attend the book fairs in Bologna (for children's and youth literature), London, Göteborg, Frankfurt and Guadalajara and the festivals in Angoulême (for comics and graphic novels) and Leipzig. Depending on strategic goals for that year, they may also attend fairs in language markets they seek to 'break into', most recently Beijing for the Chinese market and Sharjah for the Arab market. Working out of a booth within the cluster of Dutch and Flemish publishers' stands, FLF grant managers carry out two main activities at these gatherings: they provide information about grant opportunities available to foreign publishers (information-sharing), and they meet with foreign publishers for 30-minute meetings during which they pitch titles by Flemish authors they think will be of interest to them. These meetings, which are standard at rights-focused fairs like Frankfurt and London, are scheduled well ahead of the fair and include a mix of publishers that have worked with the FLF in the past and publishers that are unfamiliar with its work. In Scharpé's words:

---

[9] In Dutch: "We kijken naar het geheel, dus niet elk boek afzonderlijk, maar bijvoorbeeld we gaan naar een beurs, we moeten een aantal nieuwe titels hebben, we moeten een beetje een diverse portfolio hebben. Niet vijf dezelfde boeken. Niet vijf, ehm, postmoderne boeken van zestigjarige auteurs over iemand die heel de dag uit het raam kijkt—allez, hetzelfde verhaal. Je moet verschillende hebben. Ook een beetje echt highbrow literatuur naast meer toegankelijkere dingen. Ja, een beetje van alles. [...] Bijvoorbeeld soms praat je met uitgevers die op zoek zijn naar een thriller. Dat houden we ook in ons achterhoofd, de beste literaire thrillers dan. Het heeft geen zin om alleen maar met één type roman [te promoten], als je ook met uitgevers praat die misdaadverhalen zoeken."

> We really try to tailor our work to the specific publisher. So, either we know the publisher already or we get to know them. The first thing we want to find out is what kind of books is this publisher looking for? What would be a good match? And then we browse through our back catalogue, which is actually all of Flemish literature, and we try to find the right title to talk about. And if there's an interest, we follow up by sending additional information[10]. (Interview, 30 November 2017)

Flandersliterature.be has become an essential tool in this last regard: now following up on pitch meetings can be done quickly and effectively by referring publishers to the relevant titles on the site, where they will find all the information the FLF has to offer.

The FLF keeps a running electronic file on every publisher in its network, where it consolidates information about what titles were discussed, by whom (which acquiring editor and grant manager), where (which fair) and when. It also contains notes on the publisher's tastes and the make-up of its list (particularly how many translations it publishes each year), and the work history, personal background and languages of its editorial staff. Publisher files are stored in an internal data management system that can be accessed and added to by any of the FLF grant managers, hence ensuring that the social capital accumulated over the course of the foundation's relationship with a publisher, which often spans many years and periods of varying intensity of contact with multiple different editors, is retained and transferable. It also facilitates a more personalized pitch meeting: not only can the grant manager more effectively tailor his title selection to suit the tastes of the editor sitting across from him, but he can also fall back on previously-gathered (personal) information for the all-important small talk that fills the first ten minutes of most meetings, before turning to the 'business' of discussing titles. To recall Rose Janssens' words, "you have to know the person and you have to know their product".

---

[10] In Dutch: "We proberen echt wel maatwerk te doen, dus ofwel kennen we die uitgevers al, of leren we ze kennen, proberen we eerst na te gaan naar wat voor type boek is die uitgever op zoek? Wat zou passen bij die uitgever? En dan, ja, grasduinen wij eigenlijk in onze back catalogue, wat dat eigenlijk heel de Vlaamse literatuur is, en proberen wij over zo'n titel te praten. Als die eventueel geïnteresseerd is dan kunnen we informatie nasturen."

In addition to titles in the 'back catalogue', FLF grant managers also prepare promotional materials for a small number of new titles (three or four per genre) for each fair they attend. These are 'frontlist' titles they judge to have international potential—books that "have a chance". They may be titles grant managers encountered themselves through their own reading and interpersonal networks, books that have come up through the foundation's internal genre committees, or books suggested to them by Dutch and Flemish publishers.

This last channel is of particular interest because it raises important questions about the FLF's interactions with market agents in the Dutch-language field (and the impact these interactions can have on intralingual power asymmetries *within* Dutch)[11]. How does the FLF go about vetting titles put forward by Dutch and Flemish publishers? Again, it is helpful to quote Scharpé at length:

> The [pitching] work we do [at book fairs] is supplementary. It's meant as reinforcement. But naturally [Dutch and Flemish] publishers want us to promote *all* their books. They might make a catalogue for Frankfurt and there'll be seven new, major titles in it and they'll say: we want you to promote all seven of these titles. So that's where the tension lay. And it isn't always easy but we just try to stand our ground and explain as well as we can how we do things, and in our experience it does get through to them. It's like, we reach a kind of understanding but the lines stay open and what gets communicated is something like: the [Dutch or Flemish] publisher says 'look, these are my new titles', and then we have a look and say: 'ok, you guys are about to publish this book, we might be interested in promoting it, can you send us the PDF?' And then we let them know, 'ok, yeah, this is a title we're going to actively promote'. And that's how it works[12]. (Interview, 30 November 2017)

---

[11] Looking at the distribution of source publishers by national grouping in the FLF's catalogue, we see that titles with Flemish authors and Dutch source publishers (61 percent of the catalogue) are better represented than titles by Flemish authors with Flemish source publishers (39 percent). Clavis, the largest Flemish publisher in terms of number of translated titles, was the source publisher least likely to enjoy FLF support. Only four of its titles are included in the FLF catalogue.

[12] In Dutch: "Wij werken aanvullend, wij werken versterkend maar die uitgever, die zou natuurlijk willen dat wij al zijn boeken promoten. Die uitgever, die maakt een cataloog voor Frankfurt en daar staan 7 titels in en die is ervan overtuigd—die zou willen dat we ook al die 7 promoten. Dus daar is de spanning. Dat is niet altijd eenvoudig maar we proberen gewoon niet toe te geven maar altijd zo goed mogelijk uit te leggen hoe wij werken en we merken dat dat wel werkt, dat er toch een soort van begrip ontstaat maar die lijnen zijn open en er wordt zeker wel over gecommuniceerd van—dus, die uitgever zegt van 'kijk, dit zijn mijn nieuwe titels', dan zeggen we zelf: 'dat gaat bij jou verschijnen, dat lijkt ons interessant, mogen we eens de PDF

Actively promoting a title entails producing a pitch sheet for it (which is also added to the website) and having an English sample translation made. Sometimes, particularly for major frontlist titles, the source publisher will have already produced a sample translation the FLF can also use. For titles that are not immediately prioritized for international promotion by the source publisher but are identified by both the source publisher and the FLF as potential 'travelers', the cost of the sample translation is split equally between both. In some cases, particularly for Flemish titles in the lists of larger Dutch publishers like De Bezige Bij or Prometheus, titles deemed to have high potential by the FLF are not prioritized by their publisher:

> Yeah, [the larger Dutch publishers] have more than just Flemish authors in their lists, of course. And just like us, they make a selection of the titles they're going to promote at a fair, and they only have so much budgeted [for international marketing] so it's usually: they do sample translations for four top titles and those titles just happen to be four best-selling Dutch authors[13]. (Interview, 30 November 2017)

In such cases[14], the FLF funds the sample itself.

5. PUBLISHERS TOURS

Another important way the FLF cultivates relationships with foreign publishers is through publishers tours, "one of the most successful instruments we have to promote Flemish literature abroad"[15]. The format involves inviting a small group of foreign publishers to Flanders for an intensive, week-long program of encounters designed to acquaint them with Dutch literature from Flanders, the

---

hebben?' En dan laten we weten, 'oké dees gaan we actief promoten'. Zo gaat dat in zijn werk."

[13] In Dutch: "Ja die hebben niet enkel Vlaamse auteurs natuurlijk, en zij kiezen ook naar elke beurs; die hebben ook een beperkt budget—vier toptitels waarvan ze een sampletje laten maken die dan toevallig van vier best-selling Dutch authors zijn."

[14] Peter Verhelst's novella *De geschiedenis van een berg* (Prometheus, 2013) is an example of a title for which the FLF funded 100 percent of the sample translation. The title has since been translated into English (*The Man I Became*, trans. David Colmer, Peirene Press, 2016) and acquired for Arabic (Al Kotob Khan).

[15] Publishers tours are mentioned in each *Jaarverslag* since 2010 as "een van de meest succesvolle instrumenten van het VFL om Vlaamse literatuur internationaal te promoten".

Flemish publishing world and the government support on offer by the FLF. The tours place a strong emphasis on personal interaction between the visiting publishers and Flemish authors, illustrators, translators and publishers. Activities may include literary-themed tours of Flemish cities led by authors who have recently published a book, ateliers where publishers can interact with illustrators while they work, breakfasts with translators at the FLF-run Translators House, etc. The first publishers tour was held in 2008 (as mentioned, a watershed year for the FLF in terms of international policy) and fourteen more have been held since. In total, 156 publishers took part in a publishers tour between 2008 and 2016, most of which went on to publish at least one book by a Flemish author.

Tours were differentiated by genre and participants were more or less equally split between publishers that already had an established relationship with the foundation and publishers that were new to its network. Four genre-specific tours were held for German publishers in the two years preceding Flanders' and the Netherlands' 2016 guest of honorship at the Frankfurt Book Fair (organized together with the DFL, see McMartin, forthcoming). 'Regular' tours for publishers of fiction and children's literature were not co-organized with the DFL, whereas those for publishers of poetry and non-fiction were. So, too, was the French-only tour in 2017, which was organized to coincide with the joint guest-of-honor presentation of Flanders and the Netherlands at the *Comédie du livre* in 2018. Contact initiated and deepened during publishers tours often forms the basis for a long-lasting professional relationship. These ties are reinforced at book fairs, either during pitch meetings or at one of the many social events and cocktail hours after gates have closed. While shadowing FLF grant managers at the 2016 book fairs in London and Frankfurt, I heard several publishers reminisce fondly about their time in Flanders.

In line with the 'matchmaker' strategy that drives the FLF's international policy, publishers tours are designed not only to strike a personal chord, but also to demonstrate to foreign publishers that the FLF is a capable curator of a literature that, for most foreign publishers, is and will remain fairly exotic. The FLF takes care to present itself as a "trustworthy, professional and objective partner" to acquiring editors (Van Bockstal, 2015, p. 80). In this partnership, the FLF acts as a risk taker: not only does it hedge foreign publishers' economic risk by subsidizing the costs of translation through translation grants, it also hedges symbolic risk by vouching for the literary quality of the titles it promotes as well as their fitness to travel. Of course, one must but peel

back a few layers to see that the selection processes of the FLF (or any other state consecratory institution) are not 'objective' but rather the product of a socially-embedded system of valuation that includes some and excludes many others. As a gatekeeper straddling national and the transnational literary fields, the FLF both pays the toll and selects the journeymen. But being *perceived* as objective (and therefore also as a legitimate mediator between the Flemish and transnational literary spheres) is essential to its international dissemination strategy.

6. CONCLUSION

In this chapter, I endeavored to investigate the international dissemination strategy of the Flemish Literature Fund and the practices of its grant managers. It was argued that the FLF's foreign publisher outreach efforts, including its English-language website, flandersliterature.be, and its grant managers' work at book fairs, reflect shifting relations between state and market agents. Whereas state-organized circuits of dissemination once dominated this market, government organizations have increasingly modeled themselves after private literary agencies (Heilbron & Sapiro, 2018). The FLF can be taken as a case in point: its grant managers tread a fine line between matchmaking and deal-making and demonstrate a highly professionalized intermediary role where learning and responding to the tastes of individual publishers is paired with cultivating direct interpersonal ties. This strategy turns on what can be called 'double agents': cultural diplomats working on behalf of a national government who act both as patrimony-minded facilitators of translation and market-minded matchmakers. In the FLF's version, cultural diplomats become 'grant managers'—a title that seems to combine 'translation grant administrator' with 'foreign rights manager'—with a double mandate: on the one, hand grant managers seek to support the translation and publication of books from the Flemish national canon and other titles selected as representative of 'the best of the best' of its national literary production. On the other, they leverage their knowledge of the publishing field and carefully cultivated relationships with publishers and editors around the world to place their selected books in the lists of suitable foreign publishers. In this sense, FLF grant managers fulfill a traditional role as state-sponsored representatives of national literatures *and* a role not unlike that of literary agents, pitching titles to foreign publishers on

behalf of national authors and strategically working to maximize the capital potential of the 'national catalogue'.

Taken together, the various forms of target(ed) publisher outreach discussed in this chapter reveal the FLF to be a risk taker: not only does it hedge foreign publishers' economic risk by subsidizing the costs of translation, it also hedges symbolic risk by vouching for the literary quality of the titles it promotes, as well as their fitness to travel. This policy model, which combines a status as a credible curator of Dutch literature from Flanders with the promise of translation support, can exert real influence on editorial decisions. While the 'sociological turn' in translation studies has shifted attention to the agents and institutions involved in the production, promotion and circulation of translated books, there has been only passing mention made of the often-significant impact of government intervention. A relational, transnational stock-taking study of the various kinds of state agents operating in the world market for book translations and their roles in shaping (source and target) publishers' editorial policies and practices would go a long way in determining just how decisive state intervention is in the production of world literature today.

REFERENCES

Anderson, B. (2006). *Imagined Communities. Reflections of the Origin and Spread of Nationalism* (2nd ed.). London/New York: Verso.

Anon. (1999). *Decreet houdende oprichting van een Vlaams Fonds voor de Letteren, 17 maart 1999*. Belgian Bulletin of Acts, Orders and Decrees.

Childress, C. (2017). *Under the Cover: The Creation, Production and Reception of A Novel*. Princeton and Oxford: Princeton University Press.

Franssen, T. & Kuipers, G. (2013). Coping with uncertainty, abundance and strife: Decision-making processes of Dutch acquisition editors in the global market for translations. *Poetics,* 41(1), pp. 48-74.

Greco, A. (1989). Mergers and Acquisitions in Publishing, 1984-1988: Some Public Policy Issues. *Book Research Quarterly,* 5(3), pp. 25-44.

Greco, A. (1999). The Impact of Horizontal Mergers and Acquisitions on Corporate Concentration in the US Book Publishing Industry: 1989-1994. *Journal of Media Economics,* 12(3), pp. 165-180.

Heilbron, J. & Sapiro, G. (2007). Outline for a Sociology of Translation. Current Issues and Future Prospects. In M. Wolf & A. Fukari (Eds.), *Constructing a Sociology of Translation* (pp. 93-107). Amsterdam: John Benjamins.

Heilbron, J. & Sapiro, G. (2018). The Politics of Translation: How States Shape Cultural Transfers. In D. Roig-Sanz & R. Meylaerts (Eds.), *Literary Translation and Cultural Mediators in 'Peripheral' Cultures: Customs Officers or Smugglers?* (pp. 183-208). London: Palgrave Macmillan.

Hesmondhalgh, D. (2007). *The Cultural Industries* (2nd ed.). London: Sage.

Moeran, B. (2003). Celebrities and the name economy. *Research in Economic Anthropology,* 22, pp. 299-324.

Sapiro, G. (2008). Translation and the Field of Publishing: A Commentary on Pierre Bourdieu's "A Conservative Revolution in Publishing". *Translation Studies,* 1(2), pp. 154-166.

Sapiro, G. (2010). Globalization and cultural diversity in the book market: The case of literary translations in the US and in France. *Poetics,* 38, pp. 419-439.

Sapiro, G. (2015). Translation and Symbolic Capital in the Era of Globalization: French Literature in the United States. *Cultural Sociology,* 9(3), pp. 320-346.

Sapiro, G. (2016a). How Do Literary Works Cross Borders (or Not)? *Journal of World Literature,* 1(1), pp. 81-96.

Steiner, A. (2011). World literature and the book market. In T. D'haen, D. Damrosch, & D. Kadir (Eds.), *The Routledge Companion to World Literature* (pp. 316-324). Oxon and New York: Routledge.

Steiner, A. (2018). The Global Book: Micropublishing, Conglomerate Production, and Digital Market Structures. *Publishing Research Quarterly,* 34, pp. 118-132.

Thompson, J. B. (2012). *Merchants of Culture: The Publishing Industry in the Twenty-First Century* (2nd ed.). Cambridge: Polity Press.

Van Baelen, C. (2009). *Jaarverslag 2008*. Berchem: Flemish Literature Fund.

Van Bockstal, K. (2015). *Jaarverslag 2014*. Berchem: Flemish Literature Fund.

Van Bockstal, K. (2017). *Jaarverslag 2016*. Berchem: Flemish Literature Fund

Von Flotow, L. (2007). Telling Canada's 'Story' in German: Using Cultural Diplomacy to Achieve Soft Power. In L. von Flotow & R. M. Nischik (Eds.), *Translating Canada. Charting the Institutions and Influences of Cultural Transfer: Canadian Writing in German/y*. Ottawa: University of Ottawa Press.

A turn of values:
Are the translation and interpreting professions keeping up with society?

Esther Monzó-Nebot
Universitat Jaume I
monzo@uji.es

Abstract

There is evidence that new translation and interpreting practices are emerging, where practitioners engage in extra-role behavior to help members of disadvantaged and minority groups requiring translation and interpreting services. Such practices are at odds with traditional codes of practice, which enshrine impartiality or even neutrality. This contribution argues that such dissonance is justified by a swift in world values from the materialist values represented by models of professionalism developed in industrial societies to postmaterialist values taking prevalence in our current postindustrial societies. The evolution of the reflection on the professions in the sociology of professions and translation and interpreting profession studies (TIPS) is reviewed, where key issues and challenges are identified and connected to the current knowledge on world value changes and the emerging claims voiced by scholars in translation and interpreting studies advocating for a change in the filed's neutrality paradigm.

Keywords: Translation and interpreting professions, professionalization models, in-role and extra-role behavior, role conflict, power, postmaterialism, world values.

1. INTRODUCTION

Profession and *professionalization* have been pervasive concerns in Translation and Interpreting Studies (TIS). When searching the *Translation Studies Bibliography* (Gambier & van Doorslaer, 2004-), "profession" and derivatives appear in 502 registered titles and 2,671 abstracts, and the one keyword referred to *profession* in the database thesaurus retrieves 989 entries. The key concern, which has been revisited time and again, was verbalized as early as 1976 – *how can the professional relevance of translators and interpreters be enhanced?* (see Lippmann, 1976). Translation and Interpreting Profession Studies (TIPS), which is the systematic study of the professional aspects of translation and interpreting (TI), has tried and is still trying to answer that question, to offer formulae and research agendas. Some authors have focused on the lack or loss of status of translation in particular contexts (i.a., Barsky, 1996; Bassnett, 1996; Bielsa & Bassnett, 2009, p. 10; Katan, 2009b; Mirsafian, 2012; Morris, 1995; Pym, Grin, Sfreddo & Chan, 2012; Snell-Hornby, 2006, p. 69), others on the silencing of the translated nature of an important part of the literary (Dimitriu, 2000; Song, 2012) and the legal (Bestué & Orozco Jutorán, 2011) canons, or on the situation of translation studies in academia (Brownlie, 2003, p. 137; Gile, 2004, p. 29; Kuhiwczak & Littau, 2007, p. 17; Munday, 2008, p. 8; Snell-Hornby, 2006, p. 40). Those observations voiced in the literature on TIS share the perception that translators lack influence and are unable to make things happen or to dictate the rules of how things happen in mediated communication. In so doing, they show a core concern on *power*.

In Weber's traditional definition, power is conceived of as the ability of an individual or group to impose their will and achieve their goals, even when others are trying to prevent them from fulfilling their aims or are pursuing their own competing goals (1922, p. 29). The TIS literature on professions argues that any distinctions as to structural and interactional power with the classical professions are unjustified and stresses how TI can be compared with established occupational groups such as doctors or lawyers on the grounds of public utility, relation to clients, or expertise (see, for instance, Mikkelson, 1996, p. 125).

What we can learn from those claims is, first, that the agents in TIS have developed self-awareness. Translation and interpreting practitioners and scholars identify themselves as members of a group, which speaks for its entitativity, its *being* and its *distinction*. Self-recognition as a political subject of

rights and as a social agent is a pre-requisite for demanding those rights to be respected by claiming the general acknowledgement that translators and interpreters are the group to resort to when intercultural communication is at stake. The claims to professional status made by TIPS speak for a will to *political recognition*, to have a say in the redistribution of power within societies and social spaces. Indeed, TIPS has been a political endeavor from its inception, one leading an exploration of the signs and values that distinguish the identities of translators and interpreters and that can increase self-awareness and reflexivity as well as social (interprofessional) power.

This paper will examine how such exploration has been understood within TIPS and how some internal changes in the translation and interpreting realities and the evolution of external social factors have been managed in the reflection on the professional condition of translators and interpreters. To do so, *profession* will be reviewed as a concept. The approaches to professions and their role in societies will be explored within the framework provided by the sociology of professions. A brief overview of models and concepts imported by TIPS will be presented. Issues in and results yielded by such interdisciplinary transfers will be highlighted and the ahistorical transplant of purposes and conceptual structures will be problematized by locating the conceptual origin of professions and of the models used to describe their evolution. The global evolution of societies, from industrial to postindustrial, and the reported change in global values, from self-preservation to self-expression, will be used as the background to shed some light on controversies in TIS over demands on the professionals put forward by TIPS, such as the role and ethical stance of translators and interpreters.

2. PROFESSION, AN ELUSIVE BUT ENTICING CONCEPT

As a goal, the *professional condition* of TI and, of course, the benefits that may be derived from its attainment build consensus among practitioners, association representatives, and scholars. Then what is a *profession* and how does it engender recognition and power? A brief historical glimpse will provide a necessary framework to clarify this question and gain some insights into TIPS.

2.1. The reflection on professions

In the context of industrialization, some groups of individuals related by the service they were providing started to be distinguished as especially useful, especially trustworthy, especially learned, and especially entitled to respect, admiration, and remunerations. In trying to identify what was causing such uneven distribution of esteem and capital, sociologists started to suggest definitions which singled out different sets of traits in what they started terming *professions,* and which might be responsible for distinctions between those groups and the rest of occupations. A first attempt at systematization was published in 1915, where the author (Flexner, 2001[1915]) explicitly states that, for profession to be a coveted state, not any occupation should qualify as such, and proceeds to list the following requisites:

> -Intellectual elaboration needed by the complicated nature of the problems professionals should address.
> -Cooperation with a variety of other agents and resort to abundant and various facilities;
> -Learned and learnable practice but practical and purposeful activity with a specific and clear object of application;
> -"Large" personal responsibility matching a large discretion on the part of the practitioner;
> -Ingroup consensus on professional issues and shared identity;
> -Altruistic motivation.

This list was by no means exhaustive and other proposals fed into these issues a number of other characteristics. In 1964 Millerson reviewed the literature then available and identified up to 23 different traits (Millerson, 1964, pp. 4-5), whereas recent efforts have opted for reducing the analyses to two characteristics: rights of the clients and competency (Grace *et al.*, 2017). The endeavor of finding common traits that may explain the benefits accrued by professionals has been collectively identified as the *taxonomic* or *trait approach*, where *profession*, as a concept, is defined by the features shared by the examined professions. Particularly problematic is the non-exclusive nature of those characteristics, which can also be found in non-professional occupations (Hughes, 1963). A second flaw in this approach is that descriptions are based on specific sets of professions embedded in Western industrial cultures, which does not allow for a generalization of the scope of these proposals.

However, these traits and their chronological or conceptual arrangements have served as the basis for a most successful idea: that the *steps* taken by a given group on its way to professional status can be followed by any other to reach the same goal irrespective of contextual frameworks. These steps are understood as stages, although at times no particular order is established between the different structures to be achieved. The evolution of specific professions (namely clergy, lawyers, and doctors) within industrial Western societies is thus decontextualized.

Tacitly and explicitly agreeing that the social alchemy garnered by professions defied definition, the sociology of professions turned its attention to questioning *why* professions have more power than occupations. The answers focused on the structural power those groups had attained and how they were *extorting* society in exchanging economic and social capital for cultural capital (Halliday, 1985). In what has been known as the *critical* approach, the focus was set on the implications of market and social closure (Murphy, 1986) for the rest of society. Social status and the resulting power assumed a central position and the established hierarchies were questioned.

A third wave of studies within the sociology of professions focused on *how* the differences among professionals and the rest of citizens and occupations were attained and sustained. Methods and research questions emphasized the interaction, the micropractices that could achieve that distinction, and the resulting power (Åkerström, 2002; Beardwood, 1999; Davies, 1996). This resulted in a wave of ethnographic studies and daily-life anthropologies (Cant & Sharma, 1998; Dingwall, 1976).

Yet another approach contextualizes professions in their social and historical structures, and stresses the importance of integrating the groups' cultural and structural background in the study. The central question in this historical glimpse is how professions emerge and develop. Answers explain the coalescence of interests in the formation of new centers of power (Malatesta, 2007) and the structural conditions interacting in their development (Abbott, 1988). The definition of what constitutes a profession is no longer attempted through lists of features, but by asking the societies where they develop (Freidson, 1983, p. 27):

> One does not attempt to determine what a profession is in an absolute sense so much as how people in a society determine who is a

> professional and who is not, how they 'make' or 'accomplish' professions by their activities.

In this systemic approach, cross-cultural studies are, however, overlooked. The differences across societies, the situated nature of professions, and the extent to which their origins and progress are rooted in their respective countries, their histories, and institutional structures are topics which have yet to be scrutinized from a cross-cultural perspective.

2.2. Profession in TIPS

When embracing the proposals of the sociology of professions, TIS has clearly favored some approaches. Specifically, the feature or trait approach has been the most widely accepted (see Greere, 2010; Özkaya-Saltoglu & Navarro-Zaragoza, 2010) and the idea of professionalization projects enjoys success among both scholars and professionals (see Roberts, 2002). The focus has been placed on the structural elements that can determine the degree of professionalization of translators and interpreters in a given context (see Dubslaff & Martinsen, 2003; Mikkelson, 1996; Monzó Nebot, 2002; Pöchhacker, 1999), and sometimes also their sequence and dependencies.

The most influential model was presented as a Master's thesis (Tseng, 1992). Tseng's model describes the situation of interpreting in Taiwan within a stage-based model focusing on structural and collective factors and disregarding the ethnic and ethical ingredients, that is values and signs but also specific features such as altruism, or intellectual efforts and self-investment. The interest of this particular proposal, also when compared to contributions in the sociology of professions, lies in its focus on *agency*. Stages stress who is responsible for the changes involved in reaching a further or more complex phase. However, focusing on structures takes the attention away from the substance of the profession, the merits of interpreting and interpreters. This may actually lead to disempowerment as professionalization is portrayed as a succession of structures rather than a social dynamic process where practitioners offer other societies something they want and trust by taking the vow to serve them, listen to their needs, and establish an acceptable solution on praised values.

Also Mikkelson's views on conference and community interpreting (Mikkelson, 1996) show a stage-based perception of the nature of professions. Nevertheless, the author underscores issues such as training and internal cooperation and dialogue between colleagues, which makes her contribution seminal in identifying the importance of competence in professionalization. Identifying the characteristics of knowledge that can engender trust and cultural authority is central in my own views on translation and interpreting professions (Monzó Nebot, 2009), where the collective values and shared *Weltanschauung* are highlighted but remain underexplored (Monzó Nebot, 2002, 2006).

Trust has also been identified in other contributions as key to professional success (Rudvin, 2007). However, the link between trust and the values portrayed by the professional group has yet to be identified. A first step in that direction are studies focusing on the codes of practice. Under a functionalist perspective, that is, the trait-based approach to the professions, codes of ethics are drafted by professional groups to ensure a common set of values and rules guaranteeing that practitioners are free from undue influence in developing their role and duties, and that society is protected against malpractice. The values and rules which are deemed necessary and common have been seen to vary between different translation- and interpreting-specific codes of practice (McDonough, 2011). A remarkable exception within TIPS is Lambert (2018), who observes those codes under a neoweberian light, as a tool for translators and interpreters to arrogate authority and create trust. This may be one of the few contributions in TIPS to embrace the critical approach and see collective action as motivated by a struggle for power.

Even though Lambert's contribution brings some variety to the scope of TIPS, the available studies are insufficient in determining whether translation and interpreting are served out of a sense of altruism, if customers can trust translators and interpreters to have their rights and society's best interests at heart, even if lay members of society may not fully understand how those are to be achieved. In highlighting both the importance and the neglect of the service ideal in TIPS, the altruistic component in established professions is finally coming to the fore (see Lomeña Galiano, 2018; Ohranovic, 2017).

Whereas preference is given to surveys of perceived status (e.g., Dam & Zethsen, 2012; Katan, 2009a), contributions adopting a systemic perspective are rare. Among the available examples, some focus on particular struggles or

evolutions accounting for their specific contexts and analysing the strategies used collectively by agents (Monzó Nebot, 2009) and others on microsocial practices (Monzó Nebot, 2019; Sela-Sheffy, 2010) providing insights into how to attain and sustain power. This approach calls for a macrosocial counterpart where the positive emotional charge professions invoke (even if it is just a sense of security derived from the application of rationality in healing our bodies) can be explored and harnessed, where the means to achieve cultural authority in our present context are examined, and where translation and interpreting find the ways to align their essence to our current societies' values.

3. PROFESSIONS AND VALUES

The previous paragraphs have highlighted how society's *values* have been neglected or underexplored in macrosocial studies, when establishing the professional character of TI, or even in professionalization models purporting to advance the interests of TI. Durkheim (1893), one of the most influential authors in sociology in general and in the sociology of professions in particular, entered the field of professions precisely by looking at their social values. Durkheim saw professions as acting as intermediaries in establishing the ethical norms within a particular field of expertise which society could trust to be coherent with their own. In his views, some moral rules are universal whereas others have local validity, in the sense that they affect people in specific circumstances, such as the ill or the parties to any specific conflict.

Departing from that functionalist view, where values are seen as universal, my own take in the matter characterizes such values as contingent (Monzó Nebot, 2002, pp. 67, 69, 73), adopting a critical stance where the idealization of the group's identity can be channeled to advance its interests. Values may even be seen as manipulation in rituals, as verbal cues disguising the lack of an essential professional orientation of some occupations (Martín Moreno & de Miguel, 1982, p. 62). If we take an instrumental perspective on values, it may be wise to enact, as a group, the values that can gain cultural authority within specific social and cultural contexts. That would require (1) knowing what those values are, (2) exploring our contribution to those values, (3) ensuring the association of TI with those values, and (4) being alert as to changing conditions.

3.1. World values

In 1977, Ronald Inglehart argued that the values of Western publics had been shifting from an overwhelming emphasis on material wellbeing and physical security toward greater emphasis on the quality of life (Inglehart, 1977). The social, political and economic progress seemed to justify that people were feeling safer in this world, that no threats were to alter their lives in the short run and that they would not starve and would even be able to feed and raise their outspring in an environment of prosperity and stability. This sustained feeling of security had caused some significant changes in Western societies: a new generation had been raised with no food insecurity and its procurement did not take as much energy as it used to in past generations. Under those circumstances, an increasing proportion of the population was developing both interest in and understanding of national and international politics, which brought about a shift in the distribution of political skills. Inglehart's so-called *generational replacement of values* suggests that economic stability in our formative years, that is youth and early adulthood, has a permanent impact later in our lives, namely, a relatively low concern for basic survival needs and a greater interest in the political organization of our communities.

Given that the advanced industrial societies have experienced a first-ever generation raised in sustained stability, Inglehart predicted a change in social values and in the behavior of the population within post-industrial societies. This was termed the *silent revolution*, a revolution where a new generation supporting new values takes over, becomes the adult section of the population, the ones deciding the shape of social and political fates, and creates a new society where so-called *post-materialist values*, which emphasize having a say and letting people have a say in the organization of their common social lives, including important government decisions, takes over priorities such as 'maintaining order' and 'fighting rising prices', which are so-called *materialist* values.

That shift implies an increased emphasis on human choice, individual freedom and autonomy, creativity, the questioning of authority, and increased action tendencies in operating a mass responsive democracy, one that serves all its members, not only the privileged, that caters to the needs of vulnerable and underprivileged populations, and where arguments favoring cooperation for all can genuinely thrive.

Inglehart was involved in developing regional and world-wide efforts to test his hypothesis, to measure the values of societies and generations. The World Values Survey (WVS) is a worldwide collaboration among social scientists and scientific societies, which has been following the evolution of world values since 1981. Inglehart's and other social scientists' work with the datasets produced have revealed significant consistencies. For instance, Inglehart has highlighted a broad cultural shift "from giving top priority to economic and physical safety and conformity to group norms" toward increasing emphasis on the freedom of all individuals to choose how to live their lives (Inglehart, 2018, p. 1). Post-materialists raised in prosperous and relatively prosperous societies grew up taking survival for granted, which allowed them to reach the highest levels of education and of cooperation with other identities, which are celebrated. This has caused increased exchanges materialized in the creation and growth of international associations, signature and ratification of international covenants, gender empowerment indexes, investment in cooperation, fund-raising for and crowd-funding of humanitarian initiatives, among other initiatives.

If industrial societies and their values, focused on survival, were the breeding ground for classical professions – doctors who can heal the body and alleviate the suffering, lawyers who can save our lives and ensure that we are free from confinement – what kind of professions will the post-materialists need?

3.2. Values in translation and interpreting

Social values have indeed been explored in TI and several contributions have either described or advocated for specific and particularly post-materialistic values to take the fore in TI practice. Prunč (2005), Tymozcko (2007), Chesterman (2009), Inghilleri (2011), or Pym (2012) are some of the scholars in TIS who have theoretically approached the values underlying specific translation and interpreting practices. Hebenstreit (2018) examines Chesterman's and Prunč's models against the background of Prunč's (2008) concept of translation/interpreting culture and stresses precisely the democratic essence of translation and interpreting, their contribution to developing and sustaining democratic cultures.

The rise of studies on the agency of translators and interpreters in the construction of societies grounded in the principles of popular control and

political recognition of all groups is well documented in the increasing literature on translation and politics (Baker, 2010, 2013, 2016), particularly in translation and activism (Baker, 2010; Barsky, 2005; Boéri & Maier, 2010; Guo, 2008; Simon, 2005; Tymoczko, 2010; Wolf, 2012), and the political organization of translation activism (Pérez-González, 2010).

However, professional codes of ethics, whose function is mainly to tell society who we are and what values we hold at heart, are portraying translators and interpreters as *neutral*. As mentioned before, Lambert suggests that such neutrality may be more of a marketing exercise rather than a truthful description or mandatory guidelines for practitioners to follow or to expect ostracism otherwise. Practitioners' discomfort with neutrality and prevailing definitions of translation and interpreting, especially the latter, have been perceived and voiced in the literature (Ozolins, 2014). The role of interpreters as defined in codes of practice and specialized literature demand practitioners to stick to an intercultural communicative act and reject any other task, such as providing cultural or situational information, but also social activities such as helping speakers of the non-dominant language find the adequate services by surveying their needs. Pöchhacker (2008) tackles the issue and elaborates a terminological description of both mediation and interpreting to conclude that both terms refer to different and distinguishable roles which may or may not fall in the same person at any given moment. Also from a descriptive point of view, Hale (2008) comments on the different roles demanded from and practiced by court interpreters, from advocates to faithful renderers of others' utterances, and further warns about the risks each of them may entail for interpreters themselves in the specific court setting.

On the other hand, Ozolins (2014) argues that interpreters are usually "the only health workers able to raise issues and advocate for patients", who are otherwise unable to express themselves, and who endure increased suffering due to their lack of understanding of issues such as the role of each participant or doctors' unawareness of particularities they take for granted within their communities and which may affect health care. Such situations, where the personal ethics of practitioners are appealed, may be solved by invoking role ethics (Swanton, 2016), that is, finding solace in the demands of codes of ethics not to engage interpreters' personal values and desires to help beyond what they are strictly liable for.

However, some empirical studies show examples of interpreters who chose to engage in extra-role behavior (Aguilar-Solano, 2015; Anderson, 1978; Bancroft, 2017; Bot, 2003; Inghilleri, 2008; Valero Garcés, 2016), either to fulfill their own doxas on interpreting (Angermeyer, 2015, p. 73; Karlik, 2010; Kouraogo, 2001) or out of extra-role civism in helping other participants (Patel, 2002; Tipton, 2011, pp. 21-22). Without arguing what 'should' be done, this is a sign of substantial cognitive dissonance between the role imparted to professionals and perceived needs in professional situations, an idea supported by the growing surge of discourses against neutrality and impartiality (Angermeyer, 2009; Beaton, 2007, 2010; Beaton-Thome, 2013; Camayd-Freixas, 2008; Koskinen, 2000; Martín Ruano, 2015; Metzger, 1999; Setton & Prunč, 2015; Tryuk, 2012; Vidal Claramonte, 2013).

4. CONCLUSIONS: EMBRACING CHANGES

Our social values as a community of practice are changing and so are the values of the societies we serve. The 20th century became known as the 'century of genocide' (Levene, 2000). Yet, it witnessed the inception of the most complex and productive efforts to prevent armed conflicts, safeguard human rights, and protect vulnerable groups. Reviews on world values (Inglehart, 1971, 2008; Inglehart & Welzel, 2010; Köthemann, 2017; Norris & Inglehart, 2011) have shown drastic changes in the last 40 years and the advent of post-materialistic values in post-industrial societies, focusing on self-expression and democratic participation rather than authority and survival (Inglehart & Welzel, 2005a, 2005b, 2009; Welzel, Inglehart & Deutsch, 2005). We have the opportunity to explore what embracing or rejecting those values may render for the future of translation and interpreting.

In 2018, however, Inglehart published a somehow concerning book (Inglehart, 2018). He argues that, if taking survival for granted allowed us to reach the highest levels of education and cooperation with other identities, with outgroups, with the other and their new ideas, insecurity is having the opposite effect – the *authoritarian reflex*, where intolerance, rejection of outsiders, and strong conformity to group norms are preferred. Inglehart argues that, in high-income countries, the top 1% have seized virtually all of the gains. Correspondingly, the insecurity of those at the bottom 99%, and especially the less-educated, has increased. Brexit and Trump are symptoms of a cultural backlash and a change from class-based to value-based politics, a kind that can

be capitalized by populist discourses appealing to survival and traditional values. Within that discourse, progress is no longer seen as advancing the interests of lower classes, but as advancing cultural change, a change that is felt as a threat by those whose security is not guaranteed.

A small window may be offered by what Inglehart calls the 'Artificial Intelligence Society'. According to this author, the technological revolution is making more and more jobs redundant and killing people not only because of starvation but because of their being forced to live meaningless lives, not contributing to their communities. It is also, however, creating greater resources. What is needed is for governments to embrace the true meaning of distributive justice and repair all those inequalities that have no moral justification (Rawls, 1971). Inglehart's proposal is for governments to "create meaningful jobs that require a human touch" (2018, p. 214) which may improve the quality of life of all members of society. It is precisely that human touch that translators and interpreters are providing when engaging in extra-role behavior in mediating self-expression, acting on their intergroup competence (Monzó Nebot & Renau Michavila, 2016; Monzó Nebot, 2018) to foster cooperation. Scholars, practitioners and representatives have the choice to advance those values and keep up with the evolution of our societies, even to lead the way. And if the choice is to define the arts, the humanities and the social sciences as neutral, we will be taking sides all the same (Freire, 1974[2005]):

> Washing one's hands of the conflict between the powerful and the powerless means to side with the powerful, not to be neutral.

REFERENCES

Abbott, A. (1988). *The System of Professions: An Essay on the Division of Expert Labor.* Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Aguilar-Solano, M. (2015). Non-professional volunteer interpreting as an institutionalized practice in healthcare: A study on interpreters' personal narratives. *Translation & Interpreting*, 17 (3), pp. 132-148.

Åkerström, M. (2002). Slaps, punches, pinches—but not violence: Boundary-work in nursing homes for the elderly. *Symbolic Interaction*, 25 (4), pp. 515-536.

Anderson, R. B. W. (1978). Interpreter roles and interpretation situations: Cross cutting typologies. In D. Gerver & H. W. Sinaiko (Eds.), *Language, Interpretation and Communication* (pp. 130-217). New York & London: Plenum Press.

Angermeyer, P. S. (2009). Translation style and participant roles in court interpreting. *Journal of Sociolinguistics*, 13 (1), pp. 3-28. DOI: 10.1111/j.1467-9841.2008.00394.x

Angermeyer, P. S. (2015). *Speak English or What? Codeswitching and Interpreter Use in New York City Courts*. Oxford & New York: Oxford University Press.

Baker, M. (2010). Narratives of terrorism and security: 'Accurate' translations, suspicious frames. *Critical Studies on Terrorism,* 3 (3), pp. 347-364. DOI: 10.1080/17539153.2010.521639

Baker, M. (2013). Translation as an alternative space for political action. *Social Movement Studies: Journal of Social, Cultural and Political Protest*, 12, pp. 23-47. DOI: 10.1080/14742837.2012.685624

Baker, M. (2016). The prefigurative politics of translation in place-based movements of protest: Subtitling in the Egyptian revolution. *The Translator*, 22 (1), pp. 1-21.

Bancroft, M. (2017). The voice of compassion: Exploring trauma-informed interpreting. In C. Valero-Garcés & R. Tipton (Eds.), *Ideology, Ethics and Policy Development in Public Service Interpreting and Translation* (pp. 195-219). Bristol: Multilingual Matters.

Barsky, R. F. (1996). The interpreter as intercultural agent in convention refugee hearings. *The Translator*, 2 (1), pp. 45-63.

Barsky, R. F. (2005). Activist translation in an era of fictional law. *TTR: Traduction, terminologie, rédaction*, 18 (2), pp. 17-48. DOI: 10.7202/015745ar

Bassnett, S. (1996). The meek or the mighty: Reappraising the role of the translator. In R. Álvarez & Á. Vidal (Eds.), *Translation, Power, Subversion* (pp. 10-24). Clevedon: Multilingual Matters.

Beardwood, B. (1999). The loosening of professional boundaries and restructuring: The implications for nursing and medicine in Ontario, Canada. *Law & Policy*, 21 (3), pp. 315-343.

Beaton, M. (2007). Interpreted ideologies in instutional discourse. The case of the European Parliament. *The Translator*, 13 (2), pp. 271-296.

Beaton, M. (2010). Negotiating identities in the European Parliament: The role of simultaneous interpreting. In M. Baker, M. Olohan & M. Calzada Perez (Eds.), *Text and Context: Essays on Translation and Interpreting in Honour of Ian Mason* (pp. 117-138). Manchester: St. Jerome.

Beaton-Thome, M. (2013). What's in a word? Your enemy combatant is my refugee: The role of simultaneous interpreters in negotiating the lexis of Guantánamo in the European Parliament. *Journal of Language and Politics*, 12 (3), pp. 378-399. DOI: 10.1075/jlp.12.3.04bea

Bestué, C. & Orozco Jutorán, M. (2011). La necesidad de la naturalidad en la reformulación en la traducción jurídica en la "era de la automatización" de las traducciones. [The need for idiomacity in reformulating in legal translation in the "era of automation" of translations]. *The Journal of Specialised Translation*, 15, pp. 200-214.

Bielsa, E. & Bassnett, S. (2009). *Translation in Global News*. Abingdon: Routledge.

Boéri, J. & Maier, C. (Eds.) (2010). *Compromiso social y traducción/interpretación. Translation/Interpreting and Social Activism*. Granada: ECOS, Traductores e Intérpretes por la Solidaridad.

Bot, H. (2003). The myth of the uninvolved interpreter interpreting in mental health and the development of a three-person psychology. In L. Brunette, G. L. Bastin, I. Hemlin & H. Clarke (Eds.), *The Critical Link 3: Interpreters in the Community. (Proceedings of the Third International Conference on Interpreting in Legal, Health and Social Service Settings, Montréal, Canada 2001)* (pp. 27-35). Amsterdam & Philadelphia: John Benjamins.

Brownlie, S. (2003). Investigating explanations of translational phenomena: A case for multiple causality. *Target*, 15(1), pp. 111-152.

Camayd-Freixas, E. (2008). Statement to the profession. *Proteus*, 17 (3), pp. 5-6.

Cant, S. & Sharma, U. (1998). Reflexivity, ethnography and the professions (complementary medicine). Watching you watching me watching you (and writing about both of us). *The Sociological Review*, 46 (2), pp. 244-263.

Chesterman, A. (2009). Ethics of translation. In M. Baker (Ed.), *Translation Studies. Critical Concepts in Linguistics* (vol. III, pp. 34-43). London & New York: Routledge.

Dam, H. V. & Zethsen, K. K. (2012). Translators in international organizations: A special breed of high-status professionals? Danish EU translators as a case in point. *Translation and Interpreting Studies*, 7, pp. 212-233. DOI: 10.1075/tis.7.2.07dam

Davies, C. (1996). The sociology of professions and the profession of gender. *Sociology*, 30 (4), pp. 661-678.

Dimitriu, R. (2000). Translation policies in pre-communist and communist Romania. The case of Aldous Huxley. *Across Languages and Cultures*, 1 (2), pp. 179-192. DOI:10.1556/Acr.1.2000.2.3

Dingwall, R. (1976). Accomplishing profession. *Sociological Review*, 24, pp. 331-349.

Dubslaff, F. & Martinsen, B. (2003). Community interpreting in Denmark: Results of a survey. In L. Brunette, G. L. Bastin, I. Hemlin & H. Clarke (Eds.), *The Critical Link 3: Interpreters in the Community* (pp. 113-126). Amsterdam & Philadelphia: John Benjamins.

Durkheim, É. (1893). *De la division du travail social*. Paris: Félix Alcan.

Flexner, A. (2001[1915]). Is social work a profession? *Research on Social Work Practice*, 11 (2), pp. 152-165.

Freidson, E. (1983). The theory of professions: State of the art. In R. Dingwall & P. Lewis (Eds.), *The Sociology of the Professions. Lawyers, Doctors and Others* (pp. 19-37). London & Basingstoke: MacMillan.

Freire, P. (1974[2005]). *Education for Critical Consciousness*. New York: Continuum.

Gambier, Y. & van Doorslaer, L. (Eds.) (2004-). *Translation Studies Bibliography*. Amsterdam & Philadelphia: John Benjamins.

Gile, D. (2004). Translation research versus interpreting research: Kinship, differences and prospects for partnership. In C. Schäffner (Ed.), *Translation Research and Interpreting Research. Traditions, Gaps and Synergies* (pp. 10-34). Clevedon, Buffalo & Toronto: Multilingual Matters.

Grace, S., Innes, E., Joffe, B., East, L., Coutts, R. & Nancarrow, S. (2017). Identifying common values among seven health professions: An interprofessional analysis. *Journal of Interprofessional Care*, 31 (3), pp. 325-334. DOI: 10.1080/13561820.2017.1288091

Greere, A. (2010). Translation in Romania: Steps towards recognition and professionalization. *Meta*, 55 (4), pp. 789-816.

Guo, T. (2008). Translation and activism: Translators in the Chinese communist movement in the 1920s-30s. In P. Boulogne (Ed.), *Translation and Its Others. Selected Papers of the CETRA Research Seminar in Translation Studies*. Retrieved from https://www.arts.kuleuven.be/cetra/papers/files/guo.pdf.

Hale, S. B. (2008). Controversies over the role of the court interpreter. In C. Valero Garcés & A. Martin (Eds.), *Crossing Borders in Community Interpreting: Definitions and Dilemmas* (pp. 99–121). Amsterdam & Philadelphia: John Bejamins.

Halliday, T. C. (1985). Knowledge mandates: Collective influence by scientific, normative and syncretic professions. *The British Journal of Sociology*, 36, pp. 421-447. DOI: 10.2307/590459

Hebenstreit, G. (2018). Translating and interpreting cultures. Discussing translation and interpreting ethics in a postmonolingual age. In E. Monzó-Nebot & J. Jiménez-Salcedo (Eds.), *Translation and Justice in a Postmonolingual Age* (pp. 61-75). Delaware: Vernon Press.

Hughes, E. C. (1963). Professions. *Daedalus*, 92 (4), pp. 655-668.

Inghilleri, M. (2008). The ethical task of the translator in the geo-political arena. From Iraq to Guantánamo Bay. *Translation Studies*, 1, pp. 212-223. DOI: 10.1080/14781700802113556

Inghilleri, M. (2011). *Interpreting Justice, Ethics, Politics and Language*. London: Routledge.

Inglehart, R. (1971). The silent revolution in Europe: Intergenerational Change in post-industrial societies. *American Political Science Review*, 65, pp. 991-1017.

Inglehart, R. (1977). *The Silent Revolution. Changing Values and Political Styles Among Western Publics*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.

Inglehart, R. (2008). Changing values among Western publics from 1970 to 2006. *West European Politics*, 31 (1-2), pp. 130-146. DOI: 10.1080/01402380701834747

Inglehart, R. (2018). *Cultural Evolution: People's Motivations Are Changing, and Reshaping the World*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Inglehart, R. & Welzel, C. (2005a). The causal link between democratic values and democratic institutions: Theoretical discussion. In *Modernization, Cultural Change, and Democracy. The Human Development Sequence*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Inglehart, R. & Welzel, C. (2005b). Components of a prodemocratic civic culture. In *Modernization, Cultural Change, and Democracy. The Human Development Sequence*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Inglehart, R. & Welzel, C. (2009). How development leads to democracy: What we know about modernization. *Foreign Affairs*, 88 (2), pp. 33-48.

Inglehart, R. & Welzel, C. (2010). Changing mass priorities: The link between modernization and democracy. *Perspectives on Politics*, 8 (2), pp. 551-567. DOI: 10.1017/s1537592710001258

Karlik, J. (2010). Interpreter-mediated scriptures: Expectation and performance. *Interpreting*, 12 (2), pp. 160-185. DOI: 10.1075/intp.12.2.03kar

Katan, D. (2009a). Occupation or profession. A survey of the translators' world. *Translation and Interpreting Studies*, 4, pp. 187-209. DOI: 10.1075/tis.4.2.04kat

Katan, D. (2009b). Translation theory and professional practice: A global survey of the great divide. *Hermes*, 42, pp. 111-153.

Koskinen, K. (2000). *Beyond Ambivalence. Postmodernity and the Ethics of Translation*. (PhD diss.), University of Tampere, Tampere.

Köthemann, D. (2017). Societal development, social stratification and power- and achievement-values. Inglehart's scarcity hypothesis and the theory of the social production functions in the comparative study of values. *European Societies*, 19 (4), pp. 346-369. DOI: 10.1080/14616696.2017.1330488

Kouraogo, P. (2001). The rebirth of the king's linguist. In I. Mason (Ed.), *Triadic Exchanges. Studies in Dialogue Interpreting* (pp. 109-125). Manchester: St. Jerome.

Kuhiwczak, P. & Littau, K. (Eds.). (2007). *A Companion to Translation Studies*. Clevedon: Multilingual Matters.

Lambert, J. (2018). How ethical are codes of ethics? Using illusions of neutrality to sell translations. *The Journal of Specialised Translation*, 30, pp. 269-290.

Levene, M. (2000). Why is the twentieth century the century of genocide? *Journal of World History*, 11 (2), pp. 305-336.

Lippmann, E. (1976). How can language schools enhance the professional relevance of the translator? *Babel*, 22 (4), pp. 161-166. DOI: 10.1075/babel.22.4.04lip

Lomeña Galiano, M. (2018). *Le professionnalisme de traducteurs "natifs" et "professionnels" judiciaires : une étude exploratoire et contrastive en France et en Espagne.* [Professionalism in 'native' and 'professional' court translators: an exploratory study comparing France and Spain]. (PhD diss.), Université Paris X, Nanterre.

Malatesta, M. (2007). La crise de la fin de siècle en Italie et en France: magistrats, hommes politiques et droits humains. [The crisis of the end of the century in Italy and France: judges, politicians and human rights]. *Le mouvement social*, 219/220, pp. 149-168.

Martín Moreno, J. & de Miguel, A. (1982). *Sociología de las profesiones.* Madrid: Centro de Investigaciones Sociológicas.

Martín Ruano, M. R. (2015). (Trans)formative theorising in legal translation and/or interpreting: a critical approach to deontological principles. *The Interpreter and Translator Trainer*, 9 (2), pp. 141-155. DOI: 10.1080/1750399x.2015.1051767

McDonough, J. (2011). Moral ambiguity: Some shortcomings of professional codes of ethics for translators. *JoSTRans: The Journal of Specialised Translation*, 15, pp. 28-49.

Metzger, M. (1999). *Sign Language Interpreting: Deconstructing the Myth of Neutrality.* Washington: Gallaudet University.

Mikkelson, H. (1996). Community interpreting. An emerging profession. *Interpreting*, 1 (1), pp. 125-129. DOI: 10.1075/intp.l.l.08mik

Millerson, G. (1964). *The Qualifying Associations: A Study in Professionalisation*. London: Routledge.

Mirsafian, L. (2012). Inferiority of translation. Governmental publishing houses in Iran. *Interdisciplinary Journal of Contemporary Research in Business*, 4 (1), pp. 744-750.

Monzó Nebot, E. (2002). *La professió del traductor jurídic i jurat. Descripció sociològica de la professió i anàlisi discursiva del transgènere*. (PhD diss.), University Jaume I, Castelló de la Plana. Retrieved from http://www.tdx.cesca.es/TDX-1227102-130850

Monzó Nebot, E. (2006). ¿Somos profesionales? Bases para una sociología de las profesiones aplicada a la traducción. In A. Parada & O. Díaz Fouces (Eds.), *Sociology of Translation* (pp. 155-176). Vigo: Universidade.

Monzó Nebot, E. (2009). Legal and translational occupations in Spain: Regulation and specialization in jurisdictional struggles. *Translation and Interpreting Studies*, 4, pp. 135-154. DOI: 10.1075/tis.4.2.07mon

Monzó Nebot, E. (2018). Translators and interpreters as agents of diversity. Managing myths and pursuing justice in postmonolingual societies. In E. Monzó Nebot & J. Jiménez-Salcedo (Eds.), *Translating Justice in a Postmonolingual Age* (pp. 9-34). Delaware: Vernon Press.

Monzó Nebot, E. (2019). Interviewing legal interpreters and translators: Framing status perceptions, interactional and structural power. In L. Biel, J. Engberg, R. Martín Ruano & V. Sosoni (Eds.), *Research Methods in Legal Translation and Interpreting: Crossing Methodological Boundaries*. London: Routledge.

Monzó Nebot, E. & Renau Michavila, M. (2016). Representacions cinematogràfiques del postmonolingüisme en contextos d'asil i refugi. Una aplicació del cinema per a la formació de traductores i intèrprets des de la hipòtesi del contacte ampliat. [Filmic representations of postmonolingualism in asylum and refugee contexts. Using movies to train translators and interpreters on the basis of the extended contact hypothesis]. *Fòrum de Recerca, 21*, 327-341. DOI: 10.6035/ForumRecerca.2016.21.19

Morris, R. (1995). The moral dilemmas of court interpreting. *The Translator*, 1 (1), pp. 25-46.

Munday, J. (Ed.) (2008). *Introducing Translation Studies. Theories and Applications* (2nd ed.). London & New York: Routledge.

Murphy, R. (1986). Weberian closure theory: A contribution to the ongoing assessment. *The British Journal of Sociology*, 37, pp. 21-41. DOI: 10.2307/591049

Norris, P. & Inglehart, R. (2011). Reexamining evidence for the security thesis. In *Sacred and Secular Religion and Politics Worldwide* (pp. 253-282). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Ohranovic, M. (2017). Quintessence service ideal: The role of the client's best interest in interpreting studies. In E. Monzó Nebot & J. Jiménez-Salcedo (Eds.), *Les llengües minoritzades en l'ordre postmonolingüe* (pp. 15-30). Castelló de la Plana: Universitat Jaume I.

Özkaya-Saltoglu, E. & Navarro-Zaragoza, N. (2010). Interpreting in its own Pyrenees: A comparison of professionalization in Spain and Turkey. *I.U. Journal of Translation Studies,* 1 (1), pp. 107-130.

Ozolins, U. (2014). Descriptions of interpreting and their ethical consequences. *FITISPos International Journal,* 1, pp. 23-41.

Patel, N. (2002). Speaking with the silent: Addressing issues of disempowerment when working with refugee people. In H. Raval & R. Tribe (Eds.), *Working with interpreters in mental health* (pp. 219-237). Hove: Brunner & Routledge.

Pérez-González, L. (2010). 'Ad-hocracies' of translation activism in the blogosphere. In M. Baker, M. Olohan & M. Calzada Pérez (Eds.), *Text and Context. Essays on Translating and Interpreting in Honour of Ian Mason* (pp. 259-288). Manchester & Kinderhook: St. Jerome.

Pöchhacker, F. (1999). 'Getting organized': The evolution of community interpreting. *Interpreting,* 4 (1), pp. 125-140.

Pöchhacker, F. (2008). Interpreting as mediation. In C. Valero Garcés & A. Martin (Eds.), *Crossing Borders in Community Interpreting: Definitions and Dilemmas* (pp. 9-26). Amsterdam & Philadelphia: John Benjamins.

Prunč, E. (2005). Translationsethik. Translation ethics. *lnformatologia*, 38 (1-2), pp. 9-21.

Prunč, E. (2008). Zur Konstruktion von Translationskulturen. In Larisa Schippel (Ed.), *Translationskultur: ein innovatives und produktives Konzept* (pp. 19-41). Berlin: Frank & Timme.

Pym, A. (2012). *On Translator Ethics: Principles for Mediation between Cultures.* Amsterdam & Philadelphia: John Benjamins.

Pym, A., Grin, F., Sfreddo, C. & Chan, A. (2012). *The Status of the Translation Profession in the European Union.* Retrieved from: ec.europa.eu/dgs/translation/.../studies/translation_profession_en.pdf

Rawls, J. (1971). *A Theory of Justice.* Cambridge: Harvard University Press.

Roberts, R. P. (2002). Community interpreting: A profession in search of its identity. In E. Hung (Ed.), *Teaching Translation and Interpreting 4. Building Bridges* (pp. 157-175). Amsterdam & Philadelphia: John Benjamins.

Rudvin, M. (2007). Professionalism and ethics in community interpreting: The impact of individualist versus collective group identity. *Interpreting,* 9 (1), pp. 47-69. DOI: 10.1075/intp.9.1.04rud

Sela-Sheffy, R. (2010). 'Stars' or 'professionals': The imagined vocation and exclusive knowledge of translators in Israel. *MonTI*, 2, pp. 131-152.

Setton, R. & Prunč, E. (2015). Ethics. In F. Pöchhacker (Ed.), *Encyclopedia of Interpreting Studies* (pp. 144-148). New York: Routledge.

Simon, S. (2005). Presentation to the special issue on Traduction engagée/Translation and Social Activism. *TTR: Traduction, terminologie, rédaction*, 18 (2), p. 9. DOI: 10.7202/015743ar

Snell-Hornby, M. (2006). *The Turns of Translation Studies: New Paradigms or Shifting Viewpoints?* Amsterdam & Philadelphia: John Benjamins.

Song, Z. (2012). The Art of War in retranslating Sun Tzu: Using cultural capital to outmatch the competition. *Translation and Interpreting Studies*, 7, pp. 176-190. DOI: 10.1075/tis.7.2.05son

Swanton, C. (2016). A virtue ethical theory of role ethics. *The Journal of Value Inquiry,* 50 (4), pp. 687-702. DOI: 10.1007/s10790-016-9582-5

Tipton, R. (2011). Relationships of learning between military personnel and interpreters in situations of violent conflict. *The Interpreter and Translator Trainer*, 5, pp. 15-40. DOI: 10.1080/13556509.2011.10798810

Tryuk, M. (2012). The judge, the doctor, the immigration officer and the interpreter. Community interpreters' role perception - a Polish perspective. *The Interpreters' Newsletter*, 17, pp. 117-138.

Tseng, J. (1992). *Interpreting as an Emerging Profession in Taiwan — A Sociological Model.* (MA thesis), Fu Jen Catholic University.

Tymoczko, M. (2007). *Enlarging Translation, Empowering Translators*. Manchester: St. Jerome.

Tymoczko, M. (2010). The space and time of activist translation. In M. Tymoczko (Ed.), *Translation, Resistance, Activism* (pp. 227-254). Boston: University of Massachusetts Press.

Valero Garcés, C. (2016). Aproximaciones desde la ética en la interpretación en casos de violencia de género. [Ethics-based approaches to interpreting in cases involving gender-based violence]. *Babel*, 62 (1), pp. 67-85. DOI: 10.1075/babel.62.1.04val

Vidal Claramonte, Á. (2013). Towards a new research model in legal translation: Future perspectives in the era of asymmetry. *Linguistica Antverpiensia*, 12, pp. 182-196.

Weber, M. (1922). *Grundriß der Sozialökonomik. III. Abteilung. Wirtschaft und Gesellschaft*. Tübingen: Mohr.

Welzel, C., Inglehart, R. & Deutsch, F. (2005). Social capital, voluntary associations and collective action: Which aspects of social capital have the greatest 'civic' payoff? *Journal of Civil Society*, 1 (2), pp. 121-146. DOI: 10.1080/17448680500337475

Wolf, M. (2012). The sociology of translation and its "activist turn". *Translation and Interpreting Studies,* 7, pp. 129-143. DOI: 10.1075/tis.7.2.02wol

Training bilingual inmates for translation and interpreting tasks

Carmen Valero-Garcés
Universidad de Alcalá (Grupo FITISPos)
carmen.valero@uah.es

Abstract

According to European legislation (Directive 2010/64 EU of 20 October 2010 and Directive 2012/13/EU of 22 May 2012) all prisoners have the right to information from the moment of their arrest. So, when language or cultural barriers impede the application of these rights, prisoners of foreign origin have the right to receive translation and interpreting services. Based on the available data in Spain, in the absence of professional translators and interpreters (Martínez Gómez, 2008, Baixaulli, 2012, Valero-Garcés, 2017), fellow inmates who speak both the foreign language in question (e.g- Arabic, Romanian, Russian) and Spanish are called upon to carry out linguistic intermediation on behalf of foreign inmates. However, these *ad hoc* interpreters lack the professional training necessary to effectively carry out the interpreter's task, and therefore, the quality of their services cannot be guaranteed. The main objective of this article is twofold: first, to present the qualitative results of a research project on effective communication in Spanish penitentiaries, and, secondly, to present the design and implementation of a pilot training program for bilingual foreign inmates.

Keywords: Language policy, language rights, social cohesion, interpreter and translator's training, penitentiaries.

1. INTRODUCTION. RESEARCH ON COMMUNICATION IN PRISONS

Imprisonment may give rise to traumatic situations since it entails a notorious lifestyle change for individuals. This situation can be aggravated for those inmates who have problems understanding the information they receive in this new environment, as well as when it comes to expressing themselves. In other words, this process is even more difficult in the case of foreign inmates who do not speak the language of the country they are imprisoned in or have very limited knowledge of it.

Interaction in this new environment is considered a first step for subsequent rehabilitation. In Spanish penitentiary institutions, rehabilitation is brought about through a wide range of carefully designed reintegration programs offered by the Directorate General for Penitentiaries. However, these programs might be doomed to failure if the information does not reach every prisoner due to language barriers. In addition, inmates without a sufficient knowledge of Spanish use to suffer strongly from social exclusion and they are unaware of their rights as both citizens and prisoners.

At both national and international levels, prison legislation recognizes the right of inmates to communicate in their own language (Valero-Garces, 2017); not only with family and friends, but also with prison staff, accredited representatives of institutions, and inmates (Secretaría General de Instituciones Penitenciarias (from now on SGIP) *Prison Step by Step* 2010). The presence of foreigners in prisons is also reflected in the specific legislation that exists, such as the right to contact representation from their country or the possibility of serving a sentence in their country of origin. But in general, resources for attention to linguistic diversity are very scarce and translation and interpreting services generally depend on the availability and good will of staff and inmates with language skills (Martínez-Gómez, 2018; Valero Garcés & Mojica, 2014). In any case, legal and regulatory instruments do not establish the manner in which messages produced in the native languages of inmates are supposed to be conveyed to prison staff. Some efforts have been made by the University of Alcalá (UAH) through the Research Group FITISPos-UAH (Training and Research in Public Service Translation and Interpreting)[1] in co-operation with

---

[1] See http://www3.uah.es/traduccion

the Spanish Directorate General for Penitentiaries (SDGP) to help improve this situation, as we will explain below.

In 2011, FITISPos-UAH started to contact SDGP through the MA in Intercultural Communication and Public Service Interpreting and Translation (MICPSIT)[2]. The main aim was to sign an internship agreement so that the MA students would be able to visit Spanish prisons and complete their internship period as interpreters and translators (Valero-Garcés, 2013). This agreement made it possible to send one student to one of the prisons located in Madrid. The student completed her internship by helping with research and translating some documents under her advisor's supervision. Some research was also carried out through interviews with staff members, which revealed once more the need for translation and interpreting services.

 It was not until late 2012 that the agreement was expanded to include another prison and in 2013 this agreement was made extensive to cover every Spanish prison. Two projects were carried out in 2013 and 2014. The first one was conducted at the women's prison (Alcalá-Meco Mujeres I/ Alcala Meco 1-Women), and permission was granted for a wider group of researchers and students to make visits and carry out their internships and research. The main objectives were to understand the reality of communication with non-Spanish speaking female offenders, to identify communication gaps, and to cooperate in the development of projects and solutions to solve communication problems (Valero-Garcés & Mojica, 2014).

The second project was focused on translation only. Previous research had revealed that written communication was necessary in order for the staff to access and manage written documentation, such as the translation of the inmate's file, the translation of application forms into different languages to apply for certain services or to take part in training activities that prepare for life outside prison. During this period (2013-2014) approximately 11 students completed their internships translating and interpreting for prisons (Valero-Garcés & Lázaro Gutiérrez, 2017).

---

[2] See http://www3.uah.es/master-tisp/

2. THE EFFECTIVE COMMUNICATION IN SPANISH PENITENTIARIES PROJECT

Following these experiences, a new research project has been developed under the title of 'Effective Communication in Spanish Penitentiaries'. The project has been financed by the Spanish Ministry of Industry and Competitiveness (FFI2015-69997-R) for the period 2016-2019. The project intends to expand FITISPos' knowledge of this reality by completing an extensive study among a greater number of penitentiary centers covering the central and eastern area of Spain. It should be noted that each prison (or penitentiary center (PC) from here onwards) functions quite autonomously in terms of internal organization and reintegration activities, and the characteristics of the prison population are also different in terms of criminal record and nationalities. The main purpose of the project was twofold: first, to provide guidelines for effective communication using the available resources according to research results about communication needs with foreign population; second, to design training materials aimed at bilingual inmates in order to improve their linguistic and cultural skills and also to introduce and practice some translation and interpreting skills. Due to space restrictions, I will concentrate on the design and implementation of the training course for bilingual inmates.

2.1. Methodology

The project was based on a research – action methodology, in line with the work carried out by Lewin and Kemmis (in Salazar, 2006), Burns (2007) and Herr and Anderson (2005). It was developed in the following phases:

> Phase 1: Contextualizing the study: Gathering data
>
> Phase 2: Data and results analysis and action planning to meet the set objectives.
>
> Phase 3: Research-action: Designing and implementing solutions for the needs detected, phase which is the focus of this article.

2.2. Data analysis and decision on action plan

After completing phase 1 and 2, the next step was to decide which of all the PCs that FITISPos was authorized to operate in would serve as the pilot center. The decision was made based on several reasons: the positive reception from the prison staff, the presence of a group of inmates of different languages ready to follow the course, and the collaboration of educators and inmates in the design and implementation of the programs.

Once a PC in the Region of Aragon was chosen, regular meetings with the different participants in the project were arranged. The first meeting took place in October of 2016. First, a meeting was held with the prison management team and the staff responsible for the education program (director, educators, psychologists, social workers), and after that, a second meeting was held with some inmates previously chosen by the prison staff.

In the first meeting with the prison staff, the person in charge of the project (*IP- investigador principal*) reported on the main objectives to be covered. The director then gave a report on the situation of the center. The main conclusions were as follows:

- There were 1,400 inmates, 61% were nationals (941) and the rest (39%) were foreigners. The Moroccan nationals dominated (150, 8.80%), followed by Romanians (110: 9.80%), Algerians (21, 1.37%), French (17, 1.11%) and with a lower index Gambians, Senegalese, Ghanese, Italians, Polish, Portuguese, etc. In total, there were 39 nationalities.

- There was no regular translation and interpreting service, so communicative needs were covered by the inmates or with the help of NGOs or associations such as the bar association ALAZ (in Spanish *Asociación de abogadas y abogados libres de Aragón*, (Association of free lawyers of Aragon), which provided legal advice and usually provided an interpreter when necessary. All of them agreed that some official documents relating to internal regulations, e.g. permits, prison benefits, voluntary return documents or regulations, should need to be translated.

In the meeting with the inmates selected by the PC director and team of educators, 10 inmates were present, some of whom acted as interpreters for their fellow prison. The languages they spoke, apart from Spanish at different levels, were Albanian, German, Arabic, Bulgarian, Flemish, English, Italian, French, Dutch, Romanian and Bulgarian. The meeting took place in the prison

library. The inmates reported briefly on the situation. There were hardly any dictionaries or books in other languages or translated materials of interest. The documents most needed were texts of legal content such as brochures with basic information about the PC,- available in different languages-, and leaflets with information about permits, activities and educational programs, internal regulations or a summary of laws on foreigners and extradition in Spanish, compiled by a lawyer who collaborated in reintegration tasks. The inmates also suggested that these texts should be translated into the most popular languages.

At the end of the meeting, the following steps were decided:

> 1. To develop a training program for these *ad hoc* interpreters and translators.

> 2. To select some documents in Spanish that would be translated to the inmates' languages.

> 3. To select the working languages for the interpreting training program and translation of documents. The selected languages were: English, French, Arabic, and Romanian.

In successive meetings, different drafts were presented, and the design of the pilot course and its implementation were discussed: didactic objectives, search for materials, development of contents, students' profiles, timetable, implementation, etc. The course had to fit as one more activity within the set of activities or courses offered in the PC to promote social reintegration.

2.3. Development of the pilot course on translation and interpreting

The result of the cooperation between the prison staff (mainly the team of educators), the inmates, the research team of the UAH-FITISPos, and the trainers and students of the MA MICTISP, has been the development of an introductory course and its subsequent implementation

The course is structured in eight units. Each unit follows the same pattern divided into six sections. The first two contain more theoretical information

(modules 1 and 2). They are followed by a summary, activities, recommended readings and bibliography, and self-evaluation.

As for the content, each unit of Module 1 covers different aspects related to life in prison such as entering the prison, types of prisons, staff, training possibilities, rights and obligations, visit regulations and communication with the outside world, and complaints or requests. The sources of documentation, together with the inmate and staff advice, have been:

Constitución Española de 1978. Art 25.2, dedicated to the regulation of fundamental rights and duties, establishes as the purpose of the deprivation of liberty the re-education and social reinsertion of prisoners.

La Ley Orgánica 1/1979 de 26 de septiembre General Penitenciaria, which establishes the guidelines of the Spanish penitentiary system.

Reglamento Penitenciario aprobado por RD 190/1996 de 9 de febrero and its subsequent amendments, where the principles of Organic Law 1/1979 are developed.

Real Decreto 840/2011, which regulates the execution of sentences.

Brochure *La prisión paso a paso* (*The Prison Step by Step*), published by the Ministry of the Interior.

Regarding Module 2, each unit covers information about fundamental concepts and skills related to translation and interpreting, from basic to more complex aspects. Practice starts with different types of exercises from unit 1. The main topics are intercultural communication, terminology and documentation, different registers and levels of specialization, basic interpreting and translation skills and modalities, and finally, ethical principles and deontological codes of professional translators and interpreters.

In the activities section, a series of exercises such as summaries, role plays, rewriting a text in a different register, sight translation, translating short texts into the mother tongue, etc. are designed to consolidate what was explained in the previous modules.

The student must complete these activities and deliver them in a pdf format to the inmate in charge of the course, which in turn will be sent to the main researcher (IP) via internet for marking and feedback.

Finally, a self-assessment exercise is included so that students can check their knowledge.

As a whole, the Introductory Course in Translation and Interpretation in Prisons provides a general overview of the competencies of professional translators and interpreters and helps inmates who act as *ad hoc* interpreters and translators to increase their interpreting abilities by identifying difficulties and practicing with authentic texts.

2.4. Implementing the pilot course

The course on introduction to translation and interpreting in prisons was implemented in a prison of the Spanish region of Aragon between April and May of 2018. It was designed as a blended and distance course for several reasons:

> 1) Difficulties to combine the course with the other activites scheduled in the prison.
>
> 2) Acces to the PC subjected to restrictions, obtaining permission is time consuming
>
> 3) Geographical distance between the research and training team at the UAH in Alcalá de Henares, Madrid, and the PC in Aragón (350 km)
>
> 4) Budgetary restrictions and limited availability of trainers and researchers for onsite teaching.

The course lasted 8 weeks, with 4 hours course time per week divided into sessions of 2 hours, two days a week, which accounts for one unit per week.

The first step was to provide the staff educator with a copy of all the materials: a paper copy of the course, and a USB drive with some videos containing oral explanations of the course, accompanied by a Power Point presentation for each unit, readings in pdf format, and some extra material so that students could extend their knowledge. The educator was responsible for providing all the students with access to a copy of all the materials. The materials were in Spanish. The course was taught in the computer room, so each student had

access to all the materials (videos, readings, activities…), and had to complete the activities in an electronic format. There was no access to the internet.

Three sessions were organized in which the researchers/trainers were present (two initial ones and another at the end with the team of trainers). For the rest of the sessions (5) the inmates worked alone in the computer room. One inmate was responsible for collecting the activities on a USB drive and then passing them to the staff educator, who sent them to the trainers for feedback, as previously explained.

The completion of each unit included the following steps:

> 1) Watching a Power Point presentation combined with an oral explanation about the content of the unit.

> 2) Reading the extended information of Module 1 in the course book and writing a summary in Spanish.

> 3) Reading the expanded information of Module 2 in the course book and answering questions first individually, and later discussing them in a group.

> 4) Completing the activities. Students could check the additional material included as an annex in electronic format (glossaries, readings, vocabulary lists on specific topics).

> 5) Carrying out the self-assessment and checking their answers in the template provided.

3. STUDENTS´ PROFILES

The first edition of the introductory course was taken by 7 students. The following information was obtained from the survey conducted at the beginning of the course. The names of the students have been changed to maintain their anonymity:

> 1. Felipe. Italian nationality. Mother tongue Italian. High level of Spanish due to family relations with Spanish speakers, and intermediate knowledge of English. He has been in the center for 4 years and is in charge of the library loans. He is also responsible for collecting materials and giving them to the educator.

2. María. Spanish nationality. Degree in Business and Economics. Also has international secretarialtraining. Spanish mother tongue. High level of French and intermediate level of English. Together with Felipe, she is responsible for the library.

3. Raúl. Spanish nationality. Bachelor's degree in biology, certified mountain guide. Mother of German origin, he studied in a French bilingual school. He speaks Catalan, Spanish, German, and French, which he usually uses with some interns to practice and he also knows some English and Hebrew, languages that he has learned while traveling.

4. Brian. Dutch nationality. He has been in this PC for three years. He speaks Dutch, Spanish, English and German at an intermediate level. He teaches English to the inmates and uses material that he has created. He has experience as an *ad hoc* interpreter in hearings with lawyers and social workers.

5. Mohamed. Albanian nationality. He has been in the center for 3 years, where he learned the Spanish he knows. He speaks French and a little Italian and English.

6. Asad. Moroccan nationality He speaks Arabic, the Moroccan dialect, some Algerian dialect and Spanish. He admits having problems when writing in Arabic, since he studied in a Spanish school. He indicates that he served as an interpreter with the Prison Surveillance Judge and helps other inmates when they have doubts. He is studying to obtain a degree in Social Work through the UNED (Universidad Española a Distancia).

7. Marius. Romanian nationality. He has been in Spain for years and speaks Romanian and Spanish.

A close look at this data reveals that, of the 7 students, 5 are of foreign nationality. All of them say they speak more than 2 languages apart from their mother tongue. English is one of the languages that all the students - except one - declare they know, as well as some French.

4. MAIN OUTCOMES

Reflection on the course outcomes can be illustrated by the following comments:

Everyone – prison staff and inmates- showed great interest in the course from the very beginning. The educator also comments that - apart from the set hours in the computer classroom-, some students gathered in their free time to continue with their homework, to exchange information or to dedicate some of their free time to reading the texts or finishing the activities because their level of Spanish was lower, and they needed more time to complete the tasks.

Both inmates and staff consider the prison itself to be a multicultural place where conflicts between them are often resolved in a mutually supportive environment.

Everyone agrees on the good atmosphere that usually exists in the prison courtyard and the tendency to solve the communicative problems that may arise using the strategies available to them (gestures, drawings, the use of short sentences or words in languages they know, etc.).

All the students see the course as a good opportunity to improve their communication skills, and a way to improve their position both in the PC and outside in the future.

Finally, all of them completed the course, except the Romanian student, who was unable to continue attending after two sessions due to internal issues. Instead there was another student in the last face-to-face session.

One of the main difficulties pointed out by the prison staff was that of gathering a group of voluntary inmates that meet both the educational and the administrative level. The first one included considerations about knowledge of Spanish and other languages, level of training, certain communication skills and/or experience in a multilingual environment. The second one implies some administrative requirements such as being in the third degree of penitentiary[3], having the approval of the prison director, and complying with

---

[3] The third degree applies to inmates who, because of their personal and penitentiary circumstances, are capable of carrying out a regime of life in semi-freedom. http://www.institucionpenitenciaria.es/web/portal/laVidaEnPrision/clasificacion/sistemaGrados.html

the conditions set by the penitentiary center to carry out activities with a view to reintegrating.

The analysis of the students' profiles and their performance throughout the course reveal the following:

> 1. Of the seven students who took the course, only two had Spanish as their first language, but

> 2. Most of their interventions as *had hoc* interpreters were into Spanish for prison officers, or into languages other than their mother tongue, such as French or English. This situation questions the issue of directionality and the axiom of L1 translation. This issue has already been challenged by some scholars as unrealistic, outdated and lacking in empirical evidence (Whyatt & Kosciuczuk, 2013; Schwieter & Ferreira, 2017).

> 3. There was only one Spanish dictionary in the library which indicates a lack of resources and materials for translation and/or interpreting.

> 4. The level of knowledge of the working languages was very heterogeneous, both of Spanish and of the other languages, despite the fact that they were considered bilingual participants.

> 5. Most of the students also had a very basic knowledge of two or more languages that are usually used to establish some communication between colleagues and with officials.

> 6. The level of knowledge of general and specific legal vocabulary and, in particular, of penitentiary terminology was really low.

> 7. Most of the students had serious difficulties in understanding and translating formal texts.

> 8. There was a widespread ignorance about the interpreting and translation profession and lack of training in interpretation skills and techniques.

4. MAIN CONCLUSIONS

Prison legislation recognizes the right of prisoners to communicate in their own language not only with family and friends, but also with the Administration. However, it does not establish how messages produced in the prisoner's language are to reach the Administration.

The Administration- in this case the Directorate General for Penitentiaries - provides a wide array of carefully designed rehabilitation and reintegration plans. However, these programs might be doomed to failure if the information does not reach every user as a consequence of language barriers.

Research shows that in the absence of professional translators and interpreters, communication with the foreign population in Spanish prisons is mainly carried out by fellow inmates who speak both the foreign language in question (Arabic, English, French or Romanian) and Spanish. These *ad hoc* interpreters lack the professional training necessary to carry out effectively the interpreter's task, making it impossible to guarantee the quality of their services.

This article presents the results of a research project on effective communication in Spanish penitentiaries. It specifically concentrates on the design and implementation of a pilot training program for bilingual foreign inmates in order to improve the detention conditions and strengthen mutual trust.

Some of these challenges discussed include the issue of directionality and the axiom of L1 translation; the issue of language resources and translation technologies and, finally, the issue of languages at work, or less used languages in Spain that are often under-resourced and under-researched with regard to translation.

The next step is to conduct this pilot course again in other prisons. Therefor it is necessary:

> 1. Review and incorporate the observations made by the interns of the pilot course, the educators of the center and the trainers-researchers.

> 2. Obtain from the DGIP the relevant authorizations for access to the PC.

3. Having a group of interns - students of several languages with a high level of Spanish, and who meet the legal conditions required by the PC. The first steps have already been taken and the course is scheduled to be held in another penitentiary center.

The course, as the title of the manual indicates -*Manual de introducción a la traducción e interpretación en centros penitenciarios. Curso básico*- is a course that aims to introduce interns with knowledge of two or more languages to the professional world of translation and interpretation.The aim is to provide guidelines for effective communication in situations where there are language barriers within the prison itself and so that once they have left the prison, they can continue their training and try to gain access to jobs related to their profession.

Both the course and the manual as a key element are conceived as a pilot project of a training nature susceptible to change and adaptation to the needs of this group (specific languages, type of crime, knowledge of their rights and duties, etc.).

REFERENCES

ABC (2018). Tres de cada diez presos que hay en España son extranjeros. Retrieved from https://www.abc.es/espana/abci-tres-cada-diez-presos-espana-extranjeros-201802260257_noticia.html.

Baixaulli, L. (2012). *La interpretació als serveis públics des d´una perspectiva ética. La deontologia profesional i l´aplicació al context penitenciari*. Doctoral Dissertation. Unpublished. Universitat Jaume I.

BOE. 2014. *Proyecto de Ley Orgánica de 5 de septiembre de 2014* Proyecto de Ley Orgánica por la que se modifica la Ley de Enjuiciamiento Criminal para transponer la Directiva 2010/64/UE, De 20 de octubre de 2010, relativa al derecho a interpretación y a traducción en los procesos penales y la Directiva 2012/13/UE, de 22 de mayo de 2012, relativa al derecho a la información en los procesos penales. Retrieved from http://www.congreso.es/public_oficiales/L10/CONG/BOCG/A/BOCG-10-A-114-1.PDF]

Constitución Española de 1978. Retrieved from

https://www.boe.es/legislacion/documentos/ConstitucionCASTELLANO.pdf

El Real Decreto 840/2011. Retrieved from
https://www.boe.es/eli/es/rd/2011/06/17/840.

El Reglamento Penitenciario aprobado por RD 190/1996 de 9 de febrero. Retrieved
from https://www.boe.es/eli/es/rd/1996/02/09/190/con.

Ferreira, A. & Schwieter, J. (2017). Directionality in translation. In Schwieter,
John and Aline Ferreira (Eds.), *The Handbook of Translation and Cognition* (pp. 90-
105). Oxon: Wiley-Blackwell.

Herr, K., & Anderson, G. L. (2005). T*he Action Research Dissertation A Guide for
Students and Faculty.* Thousand Oaks, CA Sage Publications.

La Ley Orgánica 1/1979 de 26 de septiembre General Penitenciaria.

La prisión paso a paso. (2010). Secretaría Técnica del Ministerio del Interior
(SGIP) Prison Step by Step 2010.

Martínez Gómez, A. (2008). La integración lingüística en las instituciones
penitenciarias españolas y europeas. In *Actas del Congreso Internacional El español,
lengua de traducción* (pp. 485-500). Universidad de Castilla-La Mancha. Retrieved
from http://cvc.cervantes.es/lengua/esletra/pdf/04/051_martinez.pdf

Martínez Gómez, A. (2018). Language, translation and interpreting policies in
prisons: Protecting the rights of speakers of non-official languages. *International
Journal of the Sociology of Language.* DOI: https://doi.org/10.1515/ijsl-2018-0008.

Salazar, M. C. (Ed.) (2006). *La investigación-acción participativa. Inicios y desarrollos.*
Madrid: Editorial Popular.

Valero Garcés, C.; Vitalaru, B. & Lázaro Gutiérrez, R. (2019). *Manual de
Introducción a la Traducción e Interpretación en los Servicios Públicos. Curso Básico.* Alcala
de Henares: Servicio de Publicaciones de la Universidad de Alcalá.

Valero-Garcés, C. (2013). Formación de traductores e intérpretes en una
sociedad multicultural. El programa de la Universidad de Alcalá, Madrid.
Cuadernos de ALDEEU, 25, pp. 215-238.

Valero-Garcés, C. (2016). Communicating with foreign nationals in prisons:
The ethical principles of professional interpreting under review. Paper read at

the 8th International Critical Link Conference, Heriot-Watt University. Edinburg, UK. June 2016.

Valero-Garcés, C. (2017). Ethical codes impacting in prison communication. In Valero-Garcés, C. & Tipton, R. (Eds.), *Ideology, Ethics and Policy Development in Public Service Interpreting and Translation* (pp. 105-130). Bristol, UK: Multilingual Matters.

Valero-Garcés, C. (2017). Comunicación en prisión con población extranjera. Notas sobre ética y la visión del funcionario de prisiones. In Valero-Garcés, C. (Ed.), *Superando límites en traducción e interpretación en los Servicios Públicos / Beyond Limits in Public Service Interpreting and Translation* (pp. 115-123). Alcalá de Henares: Servicio de publicaciones de la Universidad de Alcalá: Retrieved from http://www3.uah.es/traduccion /publicaciones.

Valero-Garcés, C. & Lázaro Gutiérrez, R. (2017). Community Translation in Spanish Penitentiaries: a Coordinated Approach. In Taibi, M. (Ed.). *Translating for the* Community (pp. 115-131). Bristol, UK: Multilingual Matters.

Valero-Garcés, C., Vitalaru, B. & Lázaro Gutiérrez, R. (2019). *Manual de introducción a la traducción e interpretación en centros penitenciarios. Curso básico.* Alcalá de Henares: Servicios de Publicaciones de la Universidad.

Valero-Garcés, C. & Mojica-López, E. (2014). La comunicación con mujeres extranjeras en la cárcel. Estudio de caso. In Valero-Garcés, C. (Ed.), *(Re)considerando ética e ideología en situaciones de conflicto/ (Re)visiting ethics and ideology in situations of* conflicto (pp. 7-12). Alcalá de Henares: Servicio de publicación de la. Universidad de Alcalá.

Whyatt, Boguslawa & Kosciuczuk, Tomasz (2013). Translation into a non-native language: The double life of the native-speakership axiom. *mTm,* 5, pp. 60-79.

2. TRANSLATORS' AGENCY, SELF-IMAGE AND SYMBOLIC CAPITAL

Academics in Translation or as Translators? Revisiting the Status of Literary Prize Winners in Brazil

Gisele Dionísio da Silva
NOVA University of Lisbon
giseledionisio@gmail.com

Abstract

The field of literary translation has established a distinction between professional and academic translators, based largely on the issue of status. While the first group faces tougher working conditions and a more "invisible" standing, the second group enjoys a more privileged relationship with publishers and has their work acknowledged through literary prizes and media coverage. Drawing on the notions of "profession" and "cultural consecration", as well as on the sociological approach to translators as social agents, this study reviews the professional *vs* academic translator distinction by focusing on a group of high-profile Brazilian literary translators, all of them university scholars and recipients of a major literary prize. Results indicate that these "academic" translators, while showing awareness of their vantage points in the literary field, view the consecration of translations through literary awards as beneficial to the entire translation community.

Keywords: Literary translation, professional *vs* academic translators, profession, cultural consecration, Jabuti prize.

1. INTRODUCTION

Throughout its long history, translation practice has often been examined from a dichotomous perspective. Stemming from the original *vs* translation divide, other sets of oppositions include literal *vs* free translation, fidelity *vs* treason, foreignisation *vs* domestication, and source-oriented *vs* target-oriented. At the level of the individual and directly related to the original *vs* translation dichotomy is that of author *vs* translator, which has sought to assert the creativity of the authorial voice over the reproductiveness of the translator's task. More recently, however, with the emergence of sociological research in Translation Studies (TS) addressing specific aspects of translators' work, e.g. working conditions, status, ethics, and professionalisation (Sela-Sheffy, 2011; Wolf, 2007, 2010), yet another distinction has come to the fore: that between *technical* and *literary* translators.

As with the other dichotomies mentioned above, this binary opposition is not innocent and foregrounds certain ready-made assumptions regarding how each "type" of translator operates, the main ones being that technical translators are usually organised into associations (Heilbron & Sapiro, 2007), whereas literary translators have a more solitary and dilettante profile (Kalinowski, 2002); that technical translators have better remuneration than their literary counterparts; that literary translators enjoy greater prestige in the media and the publishing market. Notwithstanding such comparisons, the literary translation field itself offers yet another bifurcation with regard to the status of its practitioners: that between *professional* and *academic* translators (Heilbron & Sapiro, 2007; Kalinowski, 2002). Whereas the former are viewed as individuals who translate for a living, i.e. on a full-time basis, the latter are regarded as scholars who occasionally translate works of considerable difficulty for a very restricted –and often also scholarly– readership. In short, following these broad and preconceived notions, professional translators "translate", whereas academic translators "do translations" for intellectual purposes. Thus, the need to challenge such a simplification of the role and status of literary translators is the starting point for this study.

Understanding such a role and status may involve, on the one hand, verifying their own professional perceptions and motivations through surveys and various sociological research tools (Katan, 2009; Milton, 2004) and, on the other, examining the way others assess and reward their work. As regards the latter alternative, a possible and as yet under-researched source of information

consists of literary (translation) prizes and awards, a mode of *cultural consecration* which assesses "the value of artwork according to specific aesthetic criteria" (Sapiro, 2016, p. 2) and offers "a good indicator of the type of constraints that weigh on the literary field" (Sapiro, 2016, p. 2). Such mechanism of recognition is provided by authorities who "consecrate a certain type of work and a certain type of cultivated person" (Bourdieu, 1984, p. 13), hence attributing legitimacy to both producers and receivers of works of literature. If one endorses Casanova's (2002) claim that translation is also a form of consecration for authors and literary works within the international literary field, then the inclusion of a translation category in a literary award amounts to a twofold legitimation for the winning translator.

Literary prizes as tokens of cultural consecration are awarded in many countries, including Brazil. Its most prestigious prize, the Jabuti, was created in 1959 by the Câmara Brasileira do Livro – CBL (Brazilian Book Chamber) to honour all those involved with book production in a given year[1]. The number of awarded categories has grown over the years, and Translation was first designated its own category in 1993, having been preceded by occasional Literary Translation prizes in earlier editions. Presently, Translation is one of seven sub-areas of Literature –which cover "written narratives in verse or prose, in several genres" (CBL, 2018, p. 3, my translation)– and includes "[f]iction and/or non-fiction books translated from any language into Portuguese and published in a new edition in Brazil" (p. 6, my translation). Criteria to be considered by the jury (composed of book market professionals and readers, to be selected by a public vote) are: 1) vocabulary and conceptual accuracy; knowledge of the translated language; 2) preservation of the author's style and elocution; inventiveness and originality in the use of the mother tongue; 3) language accessibility. Translators may be Brazilian, native or naturalised, or foreigners residing permanently in the country. As expected, a prerequisite for submitting a translation to the prize consists of sending a copy of both the source text and the translated text for comparison.

A survey of the Jabuti winners in the Translation category over the past decade –considering the first, second, and third places that were awarded up until 2017[2]– has shown that an overwhelming majority are academics working in Brazilian universities, a finding which has prompted this exploratory

---

[1] See https://www.premiojabuti.com.br/historia
[2] Since the 2018 edition, the prize (which includes a trophy and prize money) is awarded only to one winner from each category (CBL, 2018).

investigation. Focus is given to this restricted group of individuals to shed light on their own views regarding their professional status, profile and expectations; interactions with other editorial agents; personal notions of translation theory and practice; and, ultimately, their understanding of the professional *vs* academic translator distinction and its repercussions for the job market. Since this study seeks to account for the recurrent presence of scholars among the Jabuti's Translation recipients, the research population does not include translators operating outside academia. A comparison of the working practices and views of both groups by future research would certainly contribute to furthering discussion on the topic.

2. THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

2.1. The sociology of translation and of translators

According to the *Oxford English Dictionary*, the word "profession" derives from the Latin *professio*, whose verbal form *profiteri* means "to declare publicly"[3]. From an etymological standpoint, thus, a professional is someone who "professes" to have a particular set of skills, often acquired through formal education or training, in exchange for payment. From a sociological perspective, professions began to be attributed in the nineteenth century as opposed to "occupations", in reference to individuals with "intellectual training, a body of expert knowledge, a degree of self-regulation by a professional body, and often, a royal charter or establishment by statute" (Abbott & Meerabeau, 2003, p. 3).

Many generations of sociologists have attempted to define professions through different –and often contradictory– approaches, one of the most influential being that of *functionalist* or *trait theory*. According to this model, a profession is measured against a specific set of criteria, or traits, which would be ideal or typical of a given professional group. Within this framework, professions are assigned to one of four types: established professions (law, medicine, and the church); new professions (engineering and the natural sciences); semi-professions, which involve the acquisition of technical skills (e.g. nursing and social work); would-be professions, which require neither theoretical nor technical knowledge, but practical skills in business administration, e.g. hotel

---

[3] Retrieved from https://en.oxforddictionaries.com/definition/profession

managers (Abbott & Meerabeau, 2003, p. 3). The trait theory began to be challenged by scholars from the 1960s onwards, particularly in view of its rigid and idealised standards of professionalisation and "because it tells us only what professionals claim to do" (p. 4).

Despite more recent efforts to view professionals as social actors who construct their careers through constant interaction with other individuals and groups, the sociological literature on professions is viewed by some as "largely embedded in the context of the more traditionally institutionalized and prestigious liberal professions known as the 'success stories' of professionalism, notably medicine, law and accounting" (Sela-Sheffy, 2011, p. 3). Therefore, the study of less institutionalised and prestigious activities, including that of the translator, may contribute to furthering the knowledge of professional practices and of the ways they may effect social change.

The discipline of TS has only quite recently begun to consider the (human) figure of the translator as an object of research. Since the "cultural turn" of the early 1990s, a growing group of researchers has endorsed the notion of translation as a social practice performed by someone with specific values, ideologies, expectations and, above all, identity. Such an approach has given rise to what Wolf (2010, p. 341) calls the "sociology of translation", a body of knowledge that incorporates conceptual, theoretical, and methodological frameworks from the social sciences with a view to highlighting "the importance of translations' and translators' role in society".

The sociology of translation, according to Wolf (2007), is an "umbrella" term that encompasses three major research trends which may –and often do– overlap: the sociology of agents; the sociology of the process; and the sociology of the cultural product. As regards the sociology of agents, extensive research has been carried out in the last decade on aspects pertaining to translators' work, e.g. working conditions and routines, ethics, interactions with clients and other agents (both individual and collective), and decision-making processes, seemingly in response to Chesterman's (2009, p. 13) call for the need to produce research on translators (TranslaTOR Studies) as "people behind the texts". Hence, a direct corollary of viewing translators as real people with social identities and roles is that they are also regarded as professionals, a notion that inscribes the sociology of professions among the theoretical frameworks incorporated into TS from the social sciences. However, given translators' varying degrees of professionalisation in different parts of the

world and working contexts, as well as a lack of formal and technical requirements for entry into the profession –factors which, from the perspective of the trait theory, convey translation either as a semi-profession (Sela-Sheffy, 2011) or as a non-profession (Katan, 2009)–, defining who a translator is and what he/she does becomes a difficult task.

Therefore, recent years have witnessed a concerted effort by TS scholars to shed light on issues of identity and status surrounding translators (e.g. Sela-Sheffy & Shlesinger, 2011). This effort follows two main orientations: on the one hand, it examines how translator status is measured through tangible criteria such as payment, accreditation, and quality standards (Katan, 2011); on the other, how it is perceived and assessed by translators themselves (Katan, 2009; Katan, 2011). This study pursues the latter orientation, in an attempt to highlight the ways award-winning literary translators view themselves professionally and situate their work within the wider Brazilian translation community.

2.2. The status of literary translators

Recent studies on the status of translators performing a wide range of activities, from subtitling to localisation, have highlighted the peculiar figure of the literary translator. As well as showing convergences with other groups in the translation community, such as work-on-demand, lack of career structure in the profession, and low pay (Katan, 2009), in addition to home-based work and lack of social rights, e.g. retirement, medical leave, and unemployment benefits (Kalinowski, 2002), literary translators –understood here as those who translate works, literary or not, published by an editor (Kalinowski, 2002)– show more specific traits. These are often tributary to the fact that many of them accumulate other professional roles, which explains –to a certain extent– the common endorsement of the technical *vs* literary translator distinction.

According to Kalinowski (2002, p. 48, my translation), literary translators often conceive of their work as vocational and their isolation "a correlate of the quality of their work, which they call a 'craft'". Such an isolation tends to be equated with independence –with Katan (2009, p. 139) stating that literary translators usually "profess the most autonomy"– and with a sense of loyalty to

the source text and author[4]. Their perception of translation as an act of creation, particularly if what is being translated is a work of authority within the literary canon, tends to compensate for the unsatisfactory wages paid by publishers, making them "intellectually satisfied, independently of pay" (Katan, 2011, p. 149).

The consideration of literary translators as dilettante practitioners on a special calling becomes more pronounced when academics join their ranks. According to Kalinowski (2002, p. 50, my translation), there exists an "antagonism" between full-time and academic translators within literary translation which leads to a material and symbolic split that "excludes, in the majority of cases, access of non-academics to the noblest literary heritage". This antagonism generates a division of labour that assigns to non-academics the translation of "mainly best-sellers, non-fiction, self-help, science, science education, and technical books" (Barbosa, 2005, p. 10, my translation), whereas scholars tend to be associated with "the translation of the great literary work, in prose or verse" (p. 10, my translation). Since professorship usually offers more stable career prospects and satisfactory remuneration, academic translators tend to be at liberty to choose what they want to translate and have greater margin for negotiation with publishers.

This differential attribution of roles may also have gender-related implications, in the sense that, according to Kalinowski (2002), the statistical majority of female literary translators included in her research does little to boost their status in comparison with male translators, particularly with regard to the works that are translated:

> Just as language departments are filled with young women, while the chairs of language professors are largely monopolised by men, one observes in translation a primacy of the gender variable over that of academic capital: at the level of equal qualifications and positions, women are infinitely less numerous than men in feeling invested with the "right" to translate the most consecrated authors. Masculinisation of the translation of the "classics", more than that of contemporary literature, is an obvious fact (Kalinowski, 2002, p. 53, my translation).

---

[4] Katan (2009, p. 149) goes so far as claiming translation to be a "'caring profession'" (for more on this concept, see Abbott & Meerabeau, 2003), to the extent that, despite being "notoriously underpaid […] translators care for the text rather than for the client."

Notwithstanding the gender issue, the apparently transnational scenario of the professional *vs* academic literary translator distinction (cases in point being Kalinowski's 2002 research of French literary translators and Sela-Sheffy's 2005 study of Israeli literary translators) has produced, according to Sela-Sheffy (2002, p. 11), a restricted group of "'stars' of translation, whose fame goes beyond the limits of their profession, as public celebrities". Such highly celebrated literary translators, often taken to be "the translators' spokesmen and those who set the tone in the field" (p. 12), may have their status enhanced through literary reviews[5] or, in the case of this study, through awards and other accolades. However, the question of whether such forms of legitimation of translation practices effectively contribute to increasing the status of the translation community as a whole has yet to be fully explored.

2.3. Forms of cultural consecration

The field theory proposed by French sociologist Pierre Bourdieu (1984) distinguishes two fields of production of intellectual and artistic "cultural goods": the *small-scale* (or *restricted*) and the *large-scale* fields. These originated in a gradual process of cultural autonomisation, which brought about the liberation of intellectuals and artists from external sources of legitimation and demands. With such a liberation and the emergence of works of art as commodities, an opposing trend became equally possible –that of "art as art" (Bourdieu, 1984, p. 3), a pure and ideal creation to be consumed by someone whose "disinterested delectation" (p. 4) is as symbolic and immaterial as that of the producer. While in the large-scale field of production, cultural goods produced under the laws of the market aim for non-producers, i.e. the wider public, the small-scale field "tends to develop its own criteria for the evaluation of its products, thus achieving the truly cultural recognition accorded by the peer group *whose members are both privileged clients and competitors*" (pp. 4-5, emphasis added).

Bourdieu (1984, p. 6) calls this mechanism of internal legitimacy *co-optation*, which involves a circularity of cultural production and consumption "among peers"; in the literary field, this circularity implies that writers, readers, and critics –not to mention translators and editors– share a common set of values and discourses of what counts as "highbrow" or "popular" literature.

---

[5] For a telling example regarding the Brazilian literary context, see Strecker (2006).

Therefore, it is up to the field of restricted production to create its own forms and agents of *cultural consecration*, with the ultimate aim of securing and renewing its claims to legitimacy. These agents may be institutionalised –e.g. museums, academies, and the educational system– or not, such as literary circles and specialised publications, and the value of the forms of recognition they grant depends "on their position in the hierarchical structure of the system they constitute" (Bourdieu, 1984, p. 13). Consecration can take many forms, ranging from "prizes, rewards and honours, election to an academy, [to] publication in a scientific review or by a consecrated publishing house" (p. 13).

As regards this study's particular scope, being awarded with the Jabuti, Brazil's most prestigious literary prize, is both a cause of consecration –above all, to the translator, but also to the publisher– and an effect of a prior, twofold instance of consecration: on the one hand, that of translating a literary work that is most likely canonical, and, on the other, that of having a translation published by a major publishing house. Moreover, translation itself can be viewed as a form of consecration, since, according to Sapiro (2016, p. 7), the emergence of national literatures by the middle of the nineteenth century enabled it to become "the main mode of international circulation of literary works". The inclusion of a translation category in a literary prize, therefore, seems to complete the co-optation cycle envisioned by Bourdieu.

3. RESEARCH DATA

This study's research group includes translators who were awarded the Jabuti prize between 2008 and 2017; awards were given to first, second, and third places every year, with the exception of 2009, 2010, 2013, and 2014, in which additional translation categories (translations of literary works originally written in French, Spanish, German, and English, respectively) also distributed first, second, and third prizes. Out of 47 recipients (four of which were awarded the prize on more than one occasion), 23 currently work as university professors and seven are former academics (in retirement or pursuing other careers); moreover, 26 are men and 4 are women. Therefore, the final research population comprised 30 translators.

Given the physical distance between myself and the group of translators and in order to conform to this study's sociological approach, it became necessary to select a research tool which would enable instant and interactive

communication with participants, as well as offer them flexibility to respond to a set of questions at a time suited to their personal and work schedules. Therefore, e-mail interviewing was chosen, a popular tool in current sociological qualitative research (Gillham, 2005; Meho, 2006) which, while restricting participation to those with access to the Internet –a criterion met by the research group in view of their professional roles–, allows for research democratisation and internationalisation (Meho, 2006).

Following the selection of the data collection tool and the drafting of the interview questions, translators' e-mail addresses were obtained from personal or professional (i.e. institutional) websites and, in some cases, from published journal articles. Of the 30 potential e-mails, two could not be located. Therefore, a total of 28 e-mails were sent, of which 25 went to male translators and three to female translators; three e-mails were not delivered, a technical setback often faced by e-mail interviewers (Meho, 2006). Seven translators (all men) responded to the e-mail, one of whom declined the invitation to participate on the grounds of other professional commitments. A low response rate was, to some extent, expected, both in view of scholars' widely-professed hectic work schedules and of the findings of previous research studies which employed e-mail interviewing for collecting data; hence, according to Meho (2006, p. 1288), "due to information overload, many people delete invitations before they are read". However, this research sample does not claim to be representative in the sense that the targeted group is small and meets very specific criteria, hence the low response rate does not invalidate results. Nevertheless, future investigations on the subject could benefit from the use of mixed methods for data collection, including face-to-face interviewing.

The following section presents and discusses the main results of the data analysis. To preserve the identity of respondents, they are referred to as T1, T2, T3, T4, T5, and T6, with "T" standing for "translator".

4. RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

The interview sent to the Jabuti prize recipients included twelve questions, some of which were further divided into sub-questions. The set of questions covered six major topics: 1) formal education and working languages; 2) professional experience; 3) relationship with publishers; 4) translator status; 5)

translation and teaching; 6) translation prizes. Due to space constraints, only some of the interview questions will be presented below.

As far as the first topic is concerned, covered by question 1, all six participants have master's and PhD degrees in Literature (3), Classical Letters (1), Modern Letters (1), and Linguistics (1), in accordance with the general entry requirements of the Brazilian academic career; one of them completed a postdoctorate research, while two attained the *livre-docência*[6], or habilitation, and are now retired from academic life. All six respondents translate into Portuguese.

The second topic, that of professional experience, was addressed by questions 2 to 5. In answer to question 2, "Which professional activity/activities are you currently involved in?", two respondents replied that they are university professors, whereas three others acknowledged both their scholarly and translation work, in this order (with T2 stating that he works as a "[f]reelance (literary) translator in my spare time"), a hierarchy already signalled by Sela-Sheffy (2005, p. 11); yet another referred to his current retirement and to the habit of "writing every day" (T1), hence only cursorily indicating translation work *per se*. As regards question 3, "How did you start working with translation as a professional activity?", answers varied, despite pertaining directly to respondents' scholarly interests. Two translators (T2 and T6) mentioned having received invitations from publishers, two (T3 and T4) began translating literary works as part of their master's and PhD research, one (T5) referred to "the need to translate texts which I intended to include in the bibliography of some disciplines, but which were not available in Portuguese", and another (T1) began translating as a result of writing essays on works of literature, since "I consider the essay and translation to be communicating vessels".

In response to question 5, "Who usually initiates the translation projects you become involved with: yourself or other people and/or institutions (publishing houses, universities, etc.)?", three respondents (T1, T4, and T6) were quite assertive about their own role in initiating translation projects to be later submitted to publishers, with T4 stressing that, on the few occasions he was approached by publishers, "I usually accept only if I can view the project as mine", elaborating further on this in his answer to the following question. Two respondents (T2 and T3) are usually hired by publishers to translate specific

---

[6] Highest qualification level of professorship still awarded in some Brazilian universities, particularly in São Paulo state.

works, while T5 states he often deals with both situations, the most important factor being that the works "have to be within my range of interests". Replies to both this question and to question 6, which specifically addresses their relationships with publishers, highlight these translators' autonomy and considerable power in deciding on a range of editorial issues, a capacity which most likely stems from their status as members of academia.

Questions 6 to 8 address the third topic, i.e. respondents' relationships with publishers. In answer to question 6, "Describe your translating activity carried out at the service of publishing houses", in which respondents had to consider factors such as deadlines, payment, negotiation of translation choices, and freedom to propose paratexts, all six participants generally agreed on the need to have the last word in their translations prior to publication. Hence, T1 does not consider himself as someone actually working for publishers, given that "I write and/or translate texts more or less 'outside' both the academic world and the editorial world, i.e., outside of its norms, rules, and financial impositions"; T2 acknowledges that, following his first translation for a specific publisher, all the aforementioned factors "became more negotiable, less impersonal and imposing"; T3 concedes that his "freedom of action and choice is very close to unlimited"; T4 claims that "I only accept projects in which I can have considerable freedom of time, of choices, of style, of paratext, etc."; T5, after describing a previous situation in which a proofreader altered parts of his translation without his knowledge and the book was later printed in that form, goes on to say that he only accepts a translation project "as long as I revise the final version of the text". Once again, it is clear that the highly specialised knowledge of scholars in their specific (literary) fields allows them significant leeway when dealing with editors and proofreaders –such leeway actually becomes a precondition for the submission of their translations.

Another relevant finding in respondents' answers to this question refers to remuneration. Whereas T6 claims he "[w]as always paid the best values for translating from a complex and rare language such as Russian", T4 and T5 concede that their academic position make it possible for them to translate for pleasure, not to earn a living: "the wages never cover the working time […] I have this luxury because I combine my work as a translator with my work as a professor and a researcher […] I am very aware that this is not the reality of *professional translators*" (T4, emphasis added); "Remuneration is an old problem for the profession, but, again, this is not my main activity" (T5). Here the words "professional" and "profession" are indicative of respondents'

awareness of the differential treatment reserved for other translators working actively in the publishing market, who are generally submitted to various constraints and have less power to negotiate or, ultimately, to make demands.

In relation to question 7, "Do you have experience with both university and commercial publishers?", four translators (T1, T3, T4, and T5) answered affirmatively, while two (T2 and T6) have only worked with the latter. Respondents reiterated the more academic profile of university publishers, with T3 claiming that they enable "a project characterised as being 'study-related' (more footnotes, more paratexts)" and T5 stating that those "I have worked with so far tend to regard the work as an academic activity (as would be expected, in fact)". T4, in turn, describes the experience of having had one of his translations published by the academic press of the university where he works: "I was able to pick the proofreaders, choose the book cover, decide how many volumes the work would be printed in, in short, I had an experience close to that of an editor". These answers suggest that the autonomy in decision-making processes enjoyed by translators who are also scholars is even more significant when university publishers are involved, perhaps as an indication of institutions' self-preservation and legitimation, in print, of the research carried out within their walls.

Questions 10 and 11 pertain to the fifth topic, that of translation and teaching and their potential mutual effects. In response to question 10, "Does/Did your experience as a teacher influence your translation practice?", all six participants responded affirmatively. The influence exerted by professorship as well as by students can be felt in different ways, e.g. in the very selection of works to be translated, with T5 stating that in such a selection "lies an interest linked to my profession as a literature professor"; in the use of footnotes in the translations, "a direct effect of a didactic concern" (T4); in the revision of ongoing translations, with T2 claiming that "[e]verything that I discuss with my students […] makes me learn new directions […] rethink what I have already done or have been doing", while T1 concedes that his work "grows over the course of seminars I teach". Other contributions of teaching to translation are referred to by T3 and T6 –the former actually teaches courses on translation, therefore he strives "to understand in a more 'analytical' way attitudes and decision-making processes which otherwise might be only passively understood", while the latter views translation and literature theory as "complementary activities within the same field of theory and practice of fiction".

Question 11 focuses, in turn, on the effects of translation practice on teaching. In answer to "Do/Did you address translation-related issues (from a theoretical, practical or theoretical and practical perspective) in your teaching practice? If 'yes', does/did this approach follow a specific theoretical and methodological orientation?", one respondent answered negatively (T5), one did not reply (T6), and four (T1, T2, T3, and T4) answered affirmatively. T4 stated that he teaches seminars on translation at both graduate and postgraduate levels, while T2 asserts that he "tries to introduce to the students the largest possible number of theories and methodologies" and believes that "one of the most important things that translation practice has taught me […] is that nothing is 'all or nothing' […] translation is always negotiation". In short, answers to questions 10 and 11 appear to indicate respondents' more pronounced acknowledgement concerning the effects of teaching on translation rather than those of translation on teaching; replies to question 10, all of them affirmative, were much more explicit in describing how the knowledge stemming from research and classroom experience influenced the translation choices. This trend may be once again indicative of these translators' closer affiliation with their work as scholars, despite a regular translation activity.

Lastly, question 12 referred to the sixth topic of the interview, that of translation prizes. In answer to "As a translator awarded with the Jabuti prize, how do you assess the inclusion of a specific category for translations in book awards?", all six respondents had positive outputs –two considered such an inclusion as "crucial" (T3 and T5), one as "decisive" (T4), and one as "considerable progress" (T1). All in all, respondents showed an awareness of the importance of translation awards towards enhancing the visibility and public acknowledgement of the translator, as summarised by T2: "The author has always been duly acknowledged, but not the translator. Few people are aware that, most of the time, they are not reading the author, but the author translated by someone […] who establishes a kind of co-authorship with the text, in a way, especially in the translation of literary texts". It may be inferred from such a statement that what these translators strive for is recognition of their authorial voice through translation.

5. CONCLUSION

In line with recent efforts on the part of TS scholars to investigate translation and its practitioners from a sociological standpoint, this study has sought to examine in greater depth a relatively under-researched (and, it seems, superficially described) field: that of literary translators working in academia. The collected data corroborate trends already outlined in the literature, e.g. the privileged status which gives academic translators an upper hand in negotiating translation choices with other editorial agents; their self-perception as "scholars who translate" rather than as "translators who teach in higher education"; their professed autonomy in initiating projects or in stating certain terms when projects are initiated by others; and male (pre)dominance as far as the translation of classical literary works is concerned. Nevertheless, they also indicate not only these translators' awareness of the working conditions and difficulties faced by full-time translators, but also their understanding of literary prizes as potentially beneficial for the entire translation community. These findings, despite pertaining to a restricted group of individuals, demonstrate that the discourse of literary translators is capable of accommodating more than "philosophical and emotional deliberations" (Sela-Sheffy, 2005, p. 19). Moreover, they signal the need for a broader debate on the part of translation scholars, trainers, and practitioners concerning the terminological and professional repercussions of differentiating between the domains of academics and "actual" translators –a gap already consolidated in the Brazilian context, according to Milton (2004).

In summary, the act of consecrating translations –an activity which, in turn, also has the power to consecrate at various levels– has the potential to enhance the visibility of translators to the wider readership and to draw attention to their twofold contribution of making available works originally produced in other languages and helping disseminate knowledge in general. To this end, preserving the professional *vs* academic literary translator distinction is detrimental since it reinforces translators' already vague notions of professional identity while perpetuating the differential treatment given by publishers to those who translate from within or outside the walls of academia. Therefore, it is vital that this distinction be critically assessed by the translation community itself, as well as by editorial gatekeepers, with a view to boosting the status of translators in the literary field and to enabling them the professionalisation and social recognition they have long pursued.

REFERENCES

Abbott, P. & Meerabeau, L. (2003). Professionals, Professionalization and the Caring Professions. In P. Abbott & L. Meerabeau (Eds.), *The Sociology of the Caring Professions*, 2nd ed. (pp. 1-19). London: UCL Press.

Barbosa, H. G. (2005). Tradução, mercado e profissão no Brasil. *Confluências – Revista de Tradução Científica e Técnica*, 3, pp. 6-24.

Bourdieu, P. (1984). The Market of Symbolic Goods. Translated by R. Swyer. In P. Bourdieu, *The Field of Cultural Production: Essays on Art and Literature* (Chapter 3). New York: Columbia University Press.

Casanova, P. (2002). Consécration et accumulation de capital littéraire [La traduction comme échange inégal]. *Actes de la recherche en sciences sociales*, 144, pp. 7-20.

CBL (Câmara Brasileira do Livro) (2018). Regulamento – Prêmio Jabuti 2018. PDF file.

Chesterman, A. (2009). The Name and Nature of Translator Studies. *Hermes – Journal of Language and Communication Studies*, 42, pp. 13-22.

Gillham, B. (2005). *Research Interviewing: The Range of Techniques*. Maidenhead: Open University Press.

Heilbron, J. & Sapiro, G. (2007). Outline for a Sociology of Translation: Current Issues and Future Prospects. In M. Wolf & A. Fukari (Eds.), *Constructing a Sociology of Translation* (pp. 93-107). Amsterdam: John Benjamins.

Kalinowski, I. (2002). La vocation au travail de traduction. *Actes de la recherche en sciences sociales*, 144, pp. 47-54.

Katan, D. (2009). Translation Theory and Professional Practice: A Global Survey of the Great Divide. *Hermes – Journal of Language and Communication Studies*, 42, pp. 111-153.

Katan, D. (2011). Status of Translators. In Y. Gambier & L. van Doorslaer (Eds.), *Handbook of Translation Studies – Volume 2* (pp. 146-152). Amsterdam: John Benjamins.

Meho, L. (2006). E-mail Interviewing in Qualitative Research: A Methodological Discussion. *Journal of the American Society for Information Science and Technology*, 57(10), pp. 1284-1295.

Milton, J. (2004). The Figure of the Factory Translator: University and Professional Domains in the Translation Profession. Retrieved from http://https://www.researchgate.net/publication/242525183_The_Figure_of_the_Factory_Translator_University_and_Professional_Domains_in_the_Translation_Profession

Sapiro, G. (2016). The Metamorphosis of Modes of Consecration in the Literary Field: Academies, Literary Prizes, Festivals. *Poetics*, 59, pp. 5-19.

Sela-Sheffy, R. (2005). How to Be a (Recognized) Translator: Rethinking Habitus, Norms, and the Field of Translation. *Target*, 17(1), pp. 1-26.

Sela-Sheffy, R. (2011). Introduction. In R. Sela-Sheffy & M. Schlesinger (Eds.), *Identity and Status in the Translational Professions* (pp. 1-9). Amsterdam: John Benjamins.

Sela-Sheffy, R. & Shlesinger, M. (Eds.) (2011). *Identity and Status in the Translational Professions*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.

Strecker, M. (2006). Grandes tradutores agora recebem status de autor. *Folha de S. Paulo*, 1 abril. Retrieved from
https://www1.folha.uol.com.br/fsp/ilustrad/fq0104200625.htm

Wolf, M. (2007). The Emergence of a Sociology of Translation. In M. Wolf & A. Fukari (Eds.), *Constructing a Sociology of Translation* (pp. 1-36). Amsterdam: John Benjamins.

Wolf, M. (2010). Sociology of Translation. In Y. Gambier & L. van Doorslaer (Eds.), *Handbook of Translation Studies – Volume 1* (pp. 337-343). Amsterdam: John Benjamins.

Saints or Slaves? The Translator as Multiple Mediator in Academia

Martha E. Gaustad
Universidad de Córdoba, Spain
marthagaustad@gmail.com

Abstract

In the academic world it is well known that researchers publish not only to transmit and transfer knowledge to others in their same field, but that the publication of papers is a *sine qua non* requirement to pursue a career in academia. As the unquestionable *lingua franca* of the sciences, the majority of scientific research must be published in English. However, this may be a challenge for non-native and non-English-speaking authors not only in terms of the language, but also the norms governing both textual production and the negotiation process with publishers in the target culture. In this regard, authors tend to lack comprehension of the complexity of the process, while the cultural gatekeepers of academic publishing are unsympathetic to the problems they face. This paper discusses the multiple intermediary roles the translator plays throughout the publication process from the viewpoint of a two-fold patronage, that of the client and the client's client (author and publisher, respectively). The challenges that arise during the translation and mediation process from Spanish into English are examined using authentic examples drawn from professional translation practice. Finally, some recommendations and suggestions are made to overcome these cultural disjunctions and bridge the power balance between sender and receiver.

Keywords: Academic production, Spanish-English translation, multiple mediation, publishing, norms, patronage.

1. INTRODUCTION

It is a well-known fact in the academic world that researchers publish not only to transmit and transfer knowledge to others in their same field, but that the publication of papers is a *sine qua non* requirement to pursue a career in academia and gain renown. As the international language of science, the majority of scientific research must be published in English; a trend that is expected to rise with the growing number of journals being published in the English language for a global readership around the world (Cianflone, 2014, p. 48). However, producing and publishing academic output in English is often a challenge for non-native and non-English speaking authors not only in terms of the language, but also the norms governing both production praxis and the negotiation process with publishers in the target culture, giving rise to a power imbalance between the two. This has important implications as "scholars in other parts of the world must conform to the interests of prestigious journals if they wish their work to be published in them" (Altbach, 2007, p. 3608).

As Nord stated (2006, p. 134), authors need help from someone who is familiar with both languages and cultures and who is willing to play the role of translator or intermediary between them. Campbell (2005, p. 29), however, goes further when he argues that translation "must always be considered in the context of power relations among language communities and the reality of the spread of English in the world." Indeed, it is precisely here where the academic translator plays multiple roles as a mediator with both the client and the client's client (Bourne & Robinson, 2013, p. 6) in a sort of double patronage relationship, where the translator is bound to the needs of the first and subjected to the norms of the second. Such roles, in fact, go beyond the mere rendering of a text from one language into another. According to Bassnett:

> What translation does is to focus attention on difference, because the task of the translator is to negotiate difference, to find ways of avoiding homogenisation while at the same time ensuring that difference does not cause misunderstanding (2011, p. xiii)

In a similar line, Umberto Eco (2001, p. 17) argued that "translation is always a shift, not between two languages but between two cultures. […] A translator must take into account rules that are not strictly linguistic but, broadly speaking, cultural." In this sense, translation is essentially a process of negotiation between parties in which the translator is the negotiator:

> On one side, there is the original text, with its own rights, sometimes an author who claims rights over the whole process, along with the cultural framework in which the original text is born; on the other side, there is the destination text, the cultural milieu in which it is expected to be read, according to whether the translated text is to be put in an academic context or a popular one (Eco, 2003, p. 6)

Although Eco contends that each party renounces something in order to get something and in the end everybody feels satisfied in this process of negotiation, this is not always so. Indeed, as we will see here, it is precisely the fact that the "author claims rights over the whole process" which leads to dysfunctions and disjunctions during the publishing process and where the translator must intercede to ensure that the text is eventually published and "put in an academic context."

In what follows, I will discuss this negotiation process and the shifting norms between the Spanish and English languages and cultures in the academic publishing industry. The article is structured as follows: in the next section I will provide an overview of the dominating role of English as a *lingua academica* and how it has impacted on editorial praxis in this sphere. I will then examine the role of the translator as multiple mediator in the publishing process from a norm-governed approach, which will be supported in real cases drawn from my own professional practice. Finally, some concluding remarks will be made.

2. ENGLISH AS A *LINGUA ACADEMICA*

The notion of English as a global language shared by all in the sciences on equal terms is, to say the least, simply not true. Indeed, Phillipson (2008, pp. 250-251) questions the supposed neutrality of English as a *lingua franca* used between speakers without a common language, preferring more specific and telling terms such as *lingua bellica*, *lingua diabolica* or *lingua frankensteinia* to underline the not such "laudable purposes" of the language. To refer to the spread of English in the language of scholarship to the detriment of other national languages, he coins the term *lingua academica*[1]. Likewise, Altbach (2007) argued that American and British journals dominate scholarship worldwide as they are the most

---

[1] Phillipson cites Swales' (1996) use of the term *lingua tyrannosaura* to describe what he calls the "domain loss" of other languages of scholarship that are on the way to extinction.

prestigious, most influential and most widely cited and circulated and therefore "count" more in the academic domain than non-English journals.

This fact is supported by the SCImago Journal Rank Indicator (SJR) 2017, which measures a journal's impact, influence or prestige based on the number of weighted citations of published papers. A quick look at the first 500 journals in the first quartile (Q1) shows that the top 50 journals are published in the United States (US) or the United Kingdom (UK), with just two exceptions: the Netherlands, which is in 10th place, and Austria, which ranks 36th. Of the first 100 journals, there are six additional exceptions, all published in the Netherlands. And, in the first 500 top ranking journals, there are 85 more exceptions, including the Netherlands, Germany, Switzerland, France, Sweden and Hong Kong. This means that just under 20% (93) of the first 500 journals in Q1 are not published in the US or the UK. It is also significant to note that almost all the journal titles are in English regardless of where the journal is published and, very importantly for my purposes here, all accept submissions in English but none in Spanish.

This is in line with Cianflone, who highlighted how English has impacted on editorial practices:

> Many European and non-European journals to keep pace with this "English-driven" trend and to gain international reputation and world-wide readership within the increasingly globalized audience, have adopted the editorial strategy of selecting English as the official language of publication (2014, p. 57).

Moreover, according to Amano et al. (2016, p. 5), many journals that previously published in local languages now publish in English to reach and have an impact on global scientific communities. As a result, the authors recognize that there is now "an imbalance in knowledge transfer in countries where English is not the mother tongue." Indeed, as Altbach (2007, p. 3608) has stated, English stands unchallenged as the international language of academia.

The need to publish "foreign" scholarship in English is determined by both intrinsic and extrinsic factors. As Cianflone (2014) has argued, the balance is clearly in favor of the English language in academia precisely because it provides scholars greater visibility and the opportunity to exchange and disseminate ideas by publishing in renowned journals (intrinsic factor) and, in turn, earn

recognition in the field and scale the academic ladder (extrinsic factor). In contrast, results published in national languages are undervalued or unknown because they are not published in renowned journals due to this Anglo-academic cultural domination.

It is interesting to note, however, that the national languages of many countries were used for science and scholarship until the mid-20th century (Altbach, 2007). As regards Spanish academic production in particular, Bordons (2004) reported that the number of publications in Spanish in the Web of Science declined by more than 50% over the period 1980-2000 as many Spanish researchers began to "migrate" towards English-language journals to gain greater global recognition, recognizing this to be a useful strategy to increase researchers' international visibility.

Relying on Even Zohar's (1990) polysystem theory and Phillipson's concept of *lingua academica* (2008), Table 1 depicts the defining properties of this imbalance in scientific production between English and other "local" languages.

ENGLISH
VS.
OTHER LANGUAGES

Central	Peripheral
Canonized	Non-Canonized
Prestigious	Lacking Prestige
Accepted	Rejected
Included	Excluded
Powerful	Weak

Table 1. *Linguae academicae*

As can be seen in the table, English-language scientific production holds a central position in the academic community because it is canonized in the sense that its authority is sanctioned and approved by the members of that community. Moreover, it is accepted by the community precisely because it lends prestige to the author (and by extension to the institution he or she represents). And, finally,

because English is the *lingua franca* of academia, it lends the community the power to include some and exclude others on the basis of their competence in the language.

In regard to this last point, Horak (2015, p. 565) pointed out that it is not solely "the addition of the *discursive field* (language) to the *academic space* (institution) that defines the mechanism of exclusion and inclusion. Rather, it is the *articulation* of both moments." In other words, both language and the institutions themselves —in our case the publishing industry and journals that publish only in English— have come together to develop a structure that places barriers on the internationalization of knowledge and the recognition of those on the periphery of the Anglo-centered academic world, while providing a space for those in the center.

3. THE TRANSLATOR AS MULTIPLE MEDIATOR IN ACADEMIA

The cultural "gatekeepers" of academic publishing are unsympathetic and/or unaware of the problems faced by non-native, English-speaking authors, whose foreignness often gives them away (Bennet, 2013). Indeed, "the requirement for linguistic acceptability of research papers may even extend to having an author or joint author with an unquestionably English-looking and sounding name" (Gouadec, 2007, p. 32). The following example of a comment in a letter from an editor to the corresponding author would certainly seem to suggest that this is so: "Finally, it appears that English is not the native language of any co-author. I have noticed many grammatical problems with the writing. You should hire an editor whose native language is English to edit the manuscript." This example, which is one of many similar responses I have encountered in my professional practice, occurs even when the article has been translated or revised by a native English translator. Often, the reviewers who make these comments appear not to be native speakers themselves as can be gleaned from their own mistakes in their correspondence with authors.

In such a situation, translators can be said to be caught between a rock and a hard place (Bennet, 2013). We are expected to produce a text that conforms to the expectations of the target readership (domestication) yet must remain faithful to the intentions of the author (foreignization). At the same time, both clients and publishers lack comprehension of the complexity of the translation process to make "the foreign" accessible. In this sense, translators could be said

to be slaves subjugated to the demands of both authors and publishers and lacking their own agency. Hofmann (2003), in an article published in the *The Guardian* on Umberto Eco's essay on translation *Mouse or Rat?,* echoed this idea:

> The trouble, it seems to me, is that translation is perceived as a function, not an agency. It's not fully personalised and accredited work. No one sees it. You're an ambulance driver, not a surgeon. […] In the English-speaking world (ha!), there is very little empathy with translators. Most readers don't have any experience of translating or indeed of another language at a serious level. Most authors and reviewers don't either.

Unquestionably, translation involves not only two languages but two cultural traditions and two sets of norm-systems (Toury, 2000) which translators have the obligation to understand: that of the source culture and that of the target culture. In the context being analyzed here, it is essential that academic translators have broad knowledge of how both the academic world and the publication industry function in terms of the process and the product, as we play multiple roles not only as translators, but revisers, copyeditors, proofreaders and even advisors and confidantes. Indeed, "the academic translator is the cultural mediator par excellence" (Bennet, 2013, p. 103) since we must mediate with our clients (authors) and our client's clients (publishers, editors, referees) and are subservient to the needs and requirements of both. And, in fact, our own work as translators mirrors that of the authors themselves as shown in Figure 1.
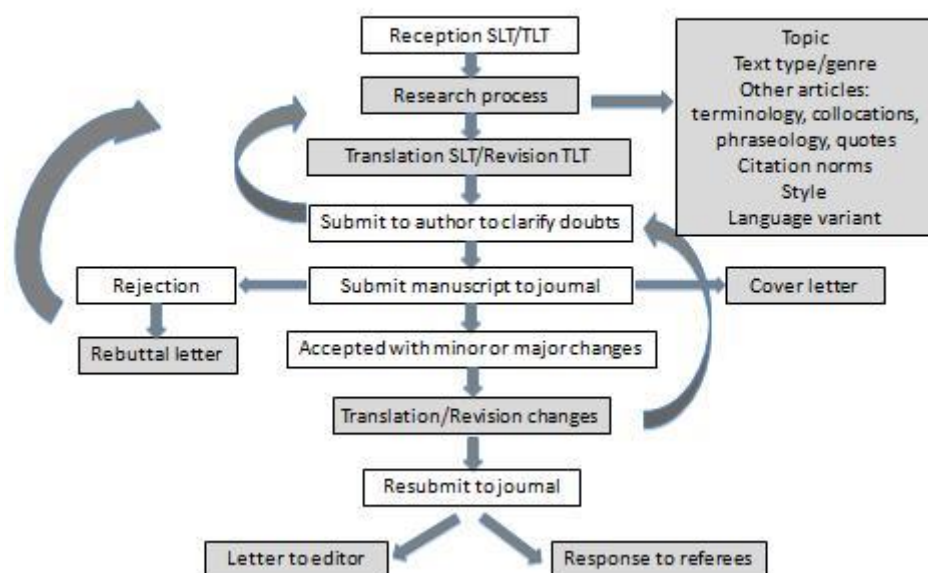
Figure 1. The translation process in academia

As can be seen in the figure, the translator receives the source language text (SLT) to be translated or the target language text (TLT) to be revised.[2] Like the author, the translator must also undertake a research process which involves: i) identifying the type or genre of the text; ii) searching for similar texts on the same topic or articles cited by the author; iii) taking note of the terminology, collocations and phraseology used by other authors in the same field; iv) finding original quotations[3] and v) looking up the citation norms and style guides of the

---

[2] Here, TLTs refer to papers written in English by non-English-speaking authors. However, they are often very poorly written and do not conform to the conventional standards of papers written by native English speakers and in many cases would not be considered TLTs at all due to their linguistic distance from what is considered acceptable in the target culture.

[3] Spanish authors often cite English scientific literature in Spanish either translated by them or from already translated works (particularly classical works in this last instance). This requires searching for the primary source to find the original quotation in English. This is a very time-consuming and cumbersome process that is not always possible due to the restrictions placed on accessing many of these works.

journal and the accepted language variants (almost always American or British English but never a combination of the two[4]).

Following this initial process, the article is then submitted to the author to clarify doubts and the research process, translation and revision moves into its second, but not necessarily final stage. When this stage is completed, the author submits the manuscript to the journal with a cover letter which must also be translated or revised.

After some months or sometimes even years, the manuscripts are usually either accepted on the condition that the author make minor or major changes or may be rejected. In the event that the manuscript requires changes, the translator must go back again and begin a new process of translation or revision of the changes made to the original article. When the manuscript is resubmitted, it is accompanied by a letter to the editor and a response to the reviewers, which must also be translated or revised. The article is then resubmitted to the journal and may undergo a second review process, at which time the whole process begins again for both the author and the translator.

If the article is rejected, the author may send a rebuttal letter asking for the editor to reconsider the decision to reject, which also needs to be translated or revised. If the editor reconsiders the submission, the process begins once again.

From the standpoint of translation, what is important here is that each of these steps during the publication process requires mediation and negotiation by the translator directly with the author and, in an indirect manner, with the journal's editor and referees; a process which is governed by norms of different kinds as we will see below.

3.1. Publication praxis: A norm-governed approach to translation mediation in academia

It is important that the academic translator guide and teach authors about the norms governing publication praxis because, in academia, translators help their clients to achieve real-life goals (Bennet, 2012, p. 94), both an intrinsic one (the

---

[4] In TLTs it is frequent to find that authors mix both language variants, especially in the sciences where several co-authors may contribute to the article.

dissemination of research) and an extrinsic one (to gain merits to scale the academic ladder).

It is interesting here to briefly mention the notion of translation norms proposed by Toury (2000), particularly what he refers to as "operational norms":

> Operational norms as such may be described as serving as a model, in accordance with which translations come into being, whether involving the norms realized by the source text (i.e., adequate translation) plus certain modifications or purely target norms, or a particular compromise between the two. (Toury, 2000, p. 23)

Operational norms have to do with the "threshold of tolerance" of what is permitted, prohibited, tolerated and preferred in both the source language and the mediating or target language and often do not coincide. In this sense, they direct the decisions made during the translation process and can act as a restricting factor.

Figure 2 proposes a classification of norms related to both the product (the manuscript whether it be a translation or a revision) and the process of translation and publication. Those related to the product can be classified as language-based norms (citation, style, gender-inclusive language), while those related to the process include ethical norms, socio-cultural norms and, finally, translation norms.
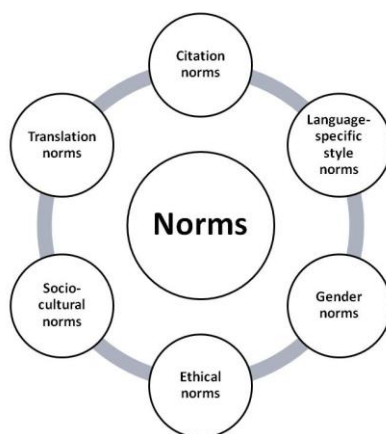

Figure 2. Norm-based publication praxis

In what follows, each of these norms in publication praxis will be discussed with examples drawn from my own professional practice.

Citation norms

Although citation norms may seem obvious to anyone who has worked in academia, my own experience tells me that this is often not the case, regardless of whether the author is new to the field or quite experienced. Indeed, it is easy to be overwhelmed by the enormous variety of citation norms depending on the journal. Some follow the standard ones such as APA, MLA, Harvard or the Chicago Manual of Style, while others are journal-specific with frequently very slight differences from the standard (a comma here, quotation marks or italics there). Then there is a whole body of in-text references and the reference list to take into account depending on the type of work to be cited; a task that has increased in complexity as new types of sources are becoming increasingly common (websites, social networks, blogs, etc.). In this case, it is important that the translator ask the author to provide the name of the journal they intend to submit their paper to. It is then the translator's task to do some research on the journal to find out which norms it follows. Again, this is not always so straightforward, as many journals only provide a few examples that do not cover all the types of works, references or sources cited by the author. In that case, the translator has the obligation to find a paper published by the journal and see how to cite and compose a reference list. This, too, can be a daunting task as translators do not always have access to the journal's publications.

Style-specific or language-specific norms

As mentioned above, the top journals are mostly published in the UK or the US. Therefore, the second question is whether or not to use British or American spelling, grammar and language conventions when translating into the target language. As mentioned above, most journals accept either variant but obviously never a mixture of the two, which means that the English-language translator must be aware of the differences between UK and US English and be able to use them both correctly. Some journals provide very detailed information (i.e., 50-page style guides), while others provide very little. As one international journal makes clear:

- Use British spelling with –ise as preferred style

- In general, italicise foreign words, including Latin phrases.

- Use italics for emphasis. Do not use bold or underlining

- Use footnotes, no endnotes; all notes end with a full stop.

- Use single quotation marks ('…'); use only double quotation marks ("…") for quotes within quotes. Make sure quotes are curly rather than straight.

- Do not use serial commas.

- Do not use commas after abbreviations i.e. and e.g.

- All punctuation marks are followed by one blank space.

Gender norms

Many journals have norms related to gender-inclusive language. In the American Psychological Association's Publication Manual (APA, 2010), for example, an entire section provides guidelines to reducing different types of bias, among them gender biases. As the manual specifies:

> Precision is essential in scientific writing; when you refer to a person or persons, choose words that are accurate, clear, and free from bias. […] For example, using *man* to refer to all human beings is simply not as accurate as the phrase *women* and *men*. Avoid ambiguity in sex identity or gender role by choosing [the appropriate] nouns, pronouns, and adjectives […]. Sexist bias can occur when pronouns are used carelessly, as when the masculine pronoun *he* is used to refer to both sexes or when the masculine or feminine pronoun is used exclusively to define roles by sex. (APA, 2010, pp. 71-73)

Although Spanish authors are becoming increasingly aware of this issue, the example below of a revision commission is just one of many that I have come across in my professional practice.

Case 1. Own correspondence with author

TLT: *In the examples of best practices in empirical papers of analytical sociologists, <u>each author</u> seems to follow <u>his</u> own recipe and the papers do not seem to provide any clue as to how the author proceeded to reach <u>his</u> understanding of this process.*

Reference: Manzo, <u>Gianluca</u> and <u>Delia</u> Baldassarri. 2015. "Heuristics, Interactions, and Status Hierarchies An Agent-based Model of Deference Exchange." Sociological Methods & Research 44(2): 329-387.

Translator's note to the author: Baldassari is a woman. I think you should change this sentence to:

RT:[5] *[…] each of the authors seems to follow <u>his or her</u> own recipe and the papers do not seem to provide any clue as to how <u>they</u> proceeded to reach <u>their</u> understanding of this process.*

As can be seen here, the author made reference to both authors of a work in the masculine. Although this might normally go unnoticed, the fact that the author was referring to sociologists in the plural (and perhaps the fact that I am a woman) lit up a warning signal. When checking the citation against the references, it appeared that the second author was female (Delia Baldassari). However, I decided to search for a picture of the author on Internet simply to ensure that the first name was used for women in Italian and, indeed, found that the author was a she not a he[6]. In this case, the strategy was to let the author know in a note and suggest a more gender-aware alternative.

Ethical norms

Most if not all journals have a statement to the effect that authors' work must not have been published elsewhere or simultaneously submitted to another journal for review. However, it is also true that the publication process can be very long and drawn out and authors may have to wait months or even years to see their work published, as in the following example. In this case, the author asked me to revise and "tone down" an e-mail before sending it to the editor of

---

[5] RT refers to the revision of texts written in English by non-English-speaking authors.
[6] Note that both names end with an "a", which usually indicates the feminine gender in Romance languages. This practice of checking the gender of cited authors is an important task, particularly taking into account names that are used by both men and women or names in distant languages such as Chinese, Arabic, etc. The task becomes a bit more complex when only the first initial of the authors is indicated in accordance with certain citation norms, such as in APA.

a journal where he had submitted a paper. Because the paper had been under peer review at the journal for almost two years and he had had no response as to its status, the author decided to submit the same paper to a second journal. The editor of the first journal found out that he had submitted the article simultaneously to another journal and threatened to report him as it was considered a violation of publishing ethics.

Case 2. Response to editor

TLT:

Mr./s.:

Twenty months ago (20!), I sent a paper to XXXX. It never was not accepted nor reviewed. So, I must not give you any explanation about my works.

Stop the mobbing. My institutional authorities are informed of this awful affair and the world scientific authorities will know your spurious practices soon.

> *Beware!*

> *XXXX, a Spaniard*

RT:

Dear Ms. XXXX,

As you know, I submitted a manuscript to XXXX twenty months ago. In all of this time, almost two years, the manuscript has not been accepted or reviewed. Therefore, I need not provide you with an explanation or any clarifications regarding that paper or any other work I may have published elsewhere.

I request that you stop sending me and the other authors of the manuscript threatening e-mails that are akin to mobbing. I have already informed the authorities at my institution about this awful affair and will not hesitate to inform higher scientific authorities about your spurious practices if you do not put a stop to them.

Dr. XXXX

As regards this particular exchange, I empathized with the author but was stuck between that rock and hard place I mentioned above. Although I toned it down somewhat by rewording (using a request rather than a command, for example)

or removing the exclamation marks and the warning "Beware!", I felt it important to convey the author's anger. It is also interesting to highlight that the author signed off with his first name followed by "a Spaniard" in the original, as if to say that Spaniards' work counts too and merits at least the same attention as other works. In order to reflect this but not sound rude, I omitted "a Spaniard" and chose to include his title instead (Dr. XXXX), thus compensating for a possible loss in the connotational meaning of "a Spaniard".

Socio-cultural norms

Politeness is an important aspect of communication and one of the ways individuals negotiate their position within a social group. However, cultures differ with regard to the socio-cultural norms underlying forms of politeness and the misunderstandings that arise due to cross-cultural differences in communicative styles can have serious implications when the interaction is considered inappropriate (Haugh & Chang, 2015, p. 389; Mills, 2017, p. 28). The following case is an example of the translator's role in mediating and mitigating such misunderstandings.

Case 3. Editor's correspondence regarding an author's response to the reviewers

Editor's note to the author: *Before detailing my suggestions, I think it is of paramount importance to kindly remind the author that all comments made by the reviewers have the goal of improving the manuscript in order to make it publishable. The author's answers to the first revision are quite surprising. Answers to comments using capital letters and expressions like "I don't agree" without providing any additional evidence to support that view diminish dialectics.*

Author's response to editor:

TLT: *In spite of this is not a suggestion of change, I would like to apologize if I offended the reviewer with my answers. In this kind of letter I always try to explain my arguments in detail in order to clarify any possible misunderstanding. At this respect, the use of capital letters in some moments just tried to point out important nuances in my argument that, from my point of view, let it overcame the reviewer's critics.*

RT: *I would like to apologize. It was not my intention to offend the reviewer with my answers. In responding to reviewers I always try to explain my arguments in detail in order to clarify*

any possible misunderstandings. In this regard, I used capital letters only to point out important nuances in my argument. Again, I apologize.

In this fragment, the apparent politeness of the author actually becomes impoliteness and frankly sounds insincere (Fernández García, 2016) as the author disagrees with the referee and attempts to justify his arguments (it's well known that using capitals in writing is akin to shouting). Clearly, the "thank you" culture of Spain is quite different from that of the UK or the US: while in the first it is unusual to show gratitude (especially to someone who is criticizing your work), in Anglo culture it would be unusual not to do so. In this particular case, given the imbalance in power and what was at stake (to publish or not), I decided to omit part of the response, reformulate some of the text ("it was not my intention to offend" rather than "if I offended") and apologize twice, while attempting to respect the author's "voice" at the same time.

Translation norms

Here I am going to discuss two different but related aspects of what I consider a violation of professional translation norms: do-it-yourself (DIY) translations and Google translations. DIY translations are not exactly translations per se because they are texts written directly in English by non-natives with no accompanying Spanish text, albeit probably with the help of some automatic translator (usually Google Translator). Both types may be due to the cost of professional translation services, which many universities and researchers are not willing to pay or simply cannot afford. While I do not deny that the translation of a lengthy manuscript can entail a very high economic burden, I disagree with Cianflone's (2014, p. 54) statement that the costs "far outrun the benefits" since translation (in this case into English) is an investment in terms of both gaining recognition and being promoted in academia for the reasons I have discussed above. Nonetheless, due to the high cost of translation, several universities in Spain will not pay to have works translated but only for revisions of works written in English.[7] I believe this is due to two reasons: firstly, it forces researchers to learn to write in English and, secondly, it is assumed to be less expensive than translation proper. These are both fallacies since not everyone is

---

[7] One of my clients recently asked me to bill him for a revision rather than a translation because otherwise it would look "bad" in the eyes of the department.

good at learning second languages (at least at the level required of academia) and revisions are often as or more expensive than a proper translation.

Case 4. Own correspondence with author regarding the revision of a paper

Client: *I'm sending you this article that we've just finished. It's already in English, you only need to correct it. I trust your criteria to improve the writing.*

My response: *I've started the revision but the article isn't well written in English and there are many things I don't understand. Is there a Spanish version? Are you intending to publish it in a journal or is it part of a doctoral thesis?*

Client: *I don't have a Spanish version, I've been sending my part of the analysis and the two co-authors have been translating it. We want to publish in XXXX.*

This is a very insightful example of two things that occur in academic translation. Firstly, authors will claim that no original version exists in Spanish (when the author here says in fact that the article is being translated by the co-authors) so as to avoid paying full price for a translation and, secondly, authors without proper knowledge of English will translate into the language with potentially disastrous consequences that can be very costly in the long run. As Gouadec states:

> With notable exceptions, scientists tend to have little time and money for translation and are often loathe to admitting that they cannot write properly in English (which is what scientific translation is about). So they do it themselves – often having their papers turned down as 'poor English' – instead of having a qualified translator do it properly (2007, p. 32).

Case 5. Letter from editor to author (translated from the Spanish)

Dear author,

Following the submission of your article in our journal, we are writing to request _URGENTLY _a detailed revision of your abstract in English. The need to maintain high quality standards in the articles published in XXXXX obliges us to be strict in terms of form and content, neither the use of online translators is admissible nor translations done by non-native speakers or without knowledge of the English language and the topic dealt with in the article.

Both of these cases are clear examples of the general lack of recognition of professional translation practice by both the authors themselves and the general public and require an enormous amount of diplomacy on the part of the translator. In cases such as these, it is important that translators defend their work, since only professional translators can guarantee optimal quality during the transfer process, which essentially consists in creating "new" material in such a way that it will meet all the target population's expectations as regards the acceptability of contents, form and language.

4. CONCLUSION

Using examples of real cases in professional translation practice, this paper has shown the important yet often challenging role that translators have in communicating and corresponding with authors, publishers, editors and referees. As Gouadec (2007, p. 10) has rightly stated, the primary aim of any translator is "to work in their clients' interests […] and make sure that their translation will not be detrimental to those interests". As we have discussed specifically here for the field of academic translation, this involves mediating in an empathetic manner between the client and the client's client in a variety of ways and through the provision of numerous services to ensure that the ultimate purpose is attained: to publish.

However, we have also seen that publishing academic output is a process fraught with difficulties for both authors and translators. On the one hand, for the authors because they are obligated to publish in a language that is not their own and comply with often competing norms and conventions to avoid remaining on the periphery of a predominantly Anglo-dominated academic world; something which may entail high personal and economic costs. And for the translator, because she is caught between a rock and a hard place where she attempts to appease both sides and in doing so is doubly subjugated to the wishes (and sometimes whims) of the authors and the publishers. Moreover, academic translation must meet a certain degree of acceptability in the target audience, which requires a process that in many ways mirrors that of the author: thorough documentation, familiarity with the topic at hand and, most importantly, knowledge of the inner workings of the academic world and the norms and conventions governing the publishing industry.

The translator who is able to successfully overcome these obstacles and achieve these aims will surely be a saint and not a slave.

REFERENCES

Altbach, P. G. (2007). The imperial tongue: English as the dominating academic language. *Economic and Political Weekly*, 42 (36), pp. 3608-3611.

Amano, T., Gónzalez-Varo, J. P. & Sutherland, W. J. (2016). Languages are still a major barrier to global science. *PLOS Biology*, 14 (12), pp. 1-8.

American Psychological Association (2010). *Publication Manual of the American Psychological Association (6th ed.)*. Washington, DC: Author.

Bassnett, S. (2011). *Reflections on Translation*. Bristol, UK, Tonawanda, NY and Ontario, Canada: Multilingual Matters.

Bennet, K. (2013). The translator as cultural mediator in research publication. In V. Materese (Ed.), *Supporting Research Writing: Roles and Challenges in Multilingual Settings* (pp. 93-106). Cambridge: Woodhead Publishing.

Bordons, M. (2004). Hacia el reconocimiento internacional de las publicaciones científicas españolas. *Revista Española de Cardiología*, 57 (9), pp. 799-802.

Bourne, J. & Robinson, B. (2013). The translator as mediator in research/referee correspondence. *Skopos*, 3, pp. 5-17.

Campbell, S. (2005). English translation and linguistic hegemony in the global era. In G. Anderman & M. Rogers (Eds.), *In and Out of English: For Better, For Worse?* (pp. 27-38). Buffalo and Toronto: Multilingual Matters.

Cianflone, E. (2014). Communicating science in international English: Scholarly journals, publication praxis, language domain loss and benefits. *Círculo de Lingüística Aplicada a la Comunicación,* 57, pp. 45-58.

Eco, U. (2001). *Experiences in Translation*. Trans. Alastair McEwen. Toronto, Buffalo, London: University of Toronto Press.

Eco, U. (2003). *Mouse or Rat?: Translation as Negotiation*. London: Phoenix.

Even-Zohar, I. (1990). The position of translated literature within the literary polysystem. In L. Venutti (Ed.), *The Translation Studies Reader* (pp. 192-197). London and New York: Routledge.

Fernández García, F. (2016). Being impolite while pretending to be polite. *Círculo de Lingüística Aplicada,* 67, pp. 136-166.

Gouadec, D. (2007). *Translation as a Profession*. Amsterdam and Philadelphia: John Benjamins.

Haugh, M. & Chang, W. (2015). Understanding im/politeness across cultures: an interactional approach to raising sociopragmatic awareness. *IRAL: International Review of Applied Linguistics in Language Teaching*, 53 (4), pp. 389-414.

Hofman, M. (22 November 2003). Speaking in tongues: Making the foreign accessible is an overlooked art. *The Guardian.* Retrieved from https://www.theguardian.com/books/2003/nov/22/classics.referenceandlang uages

Horak, R. (2015). Translation, cultural translation and the hegemonic English. *Culture Unbound,* 7, pp. 565-575.

Mills, S. (2017). *English Politeness and Class.* Cambridge University Press.

Nord, C. (2006). Translation as a purposeful activity: A prospective approach. *TEFLIN Journal*, 17 (2), pp. 131-143.

Phillipson, R. (2008). Lingua franca or lingua frankensteinia? English in European integration and globalisation. *World Englishes*, 27 (2), pp. 250-267.

SCImago Journal Rank Indicator (2017). Retrieved from https://www.scimagojr.com/journalrank.php

Toury, G. (2000). The nature and role of norms in translation. In L. Venutti (Ed.), *The Translation Studies Reader* (pp. 198-211). London and New York: Routledge.

Translator Studies in Iran: Sociological, Cultural, and Cognitive Gaps in the Translation Studies Map

Mohammad Saleh Sanatifar
English Department, Faculty of Humanities,
Imam Reza International University, Mashhad, Iran
msanatifar@imamreza.ac.ir

Abstract

There is always a human translator behind a translation product, of course excluding machine translation. Therefore, translator is considered as the core human agent in the process of translation. Despite their important role, translators and their cultural, cognitive, and sociological behavior are studied much less than their final products. This has turned into the main concern and research interest of a number of translation scholars. As these scholars suggest, it is now translator's delayed due right to bring his or her creativity into full play, his or her turn to be recognized. Chesterman refers to this gap and proposes *translator studies* under or beside Translation Studies (TS). After reviewing the status of 'translator' in the history of TS maps, the present paper investigates *translator studies* in Iran based on Chesterman's 'agent model'. In so doing, papers of the Iranian researchers published in two local journals were examined based on title, keywords, and abstract. The findings reveal that *translator studies,* with sociological themes, is an under-researched area in need of more attention. Finally, the researcher argues the causes behind such a gap in Iran and proposes a set of suggestions as to how we could fill up the gap.

Keywords: Cognitive, cultural, journal publication, Iran, sociological.

1. INTRODUCTION

Robinson (quoted in Zhu, 2012, p. 216) declares that, "it is now the translator's turn to be recognized, to be prominent, to be admired for his or her creativity. Despite this nucleus role, translators are studied and surveyed less than their final products (Chesterman, 2009). This under-researched area has been a major concern of translation scholars among them Chesterman (2009) who speaks of the need to develop an agent-oriented field of 'translator studies' with a focus on cultural, cognitive and sociological aspects of the translator; Studying translators and their (sociological, cultural, and cognitive behavior) would have great academic and practical contributions to the world of translation. Studying translators' observable behavior as individuals, groups or institutions, their social networks, status, profession, working conditions, identity, public and self-image, role perceptions, and their relations with other groups will create a better understanding of the translation process and this, in turn, will give way to more reliable models of translation, translation competence as well as translator training and teaching.

Iran, a country with numerous universities, translation departments and translation researchers, hardly follows the sociological and translatorial trends in its translational research, rather adheres to the linguistic aspects of translation. Most of Iranian researchers have been concerned with this tradition, and few have written on 'translator studies' and its sociological, cultural and cognitive sub-themes (For example, Bolouri, 2018; Atefmehr, 2017; Farahzad *et al.*, 2016; Emam Roodband, 2016). Against this backdrop, the present paper seeks to investigate the status of 'translator studies' in Iran and answers the following questions:

1. Where has translator studies been standing in the context of Iran based on the academic papers published in the local journals?

2. What aspects of translator studies (sociological, cultural, or cognitive) have been published more frequently in Iran?

3. Which journal has published more on different aspects of translator studies (sociological, cultural, or cognitive) and to what extent?

2. 'TRANSLATOR' (NOT) IN FOCUS

Various agents play a role in producing a translation, from the text producers to editors, translators, revisers, commissionaires, publishers, and readers (Milton & Bandia, 2009). Among these, the translator seems to be at the center because s/he undertakes the main part of the translation task, hence justifying Robinson's (1991) 'translator turn'. Douglas Robinson is the prolific scholar who writes about 'translator'. In his translator-centered theory, which addresses more active images of translators in a broad sociocultural context, he states that translators have different ethical tasks with respect to target receptors. In his breakthrough 'translator's turn', Robinson (quoted in Zhu, 2012, p. 216) concludes that "it is now the translator's turn (turn taking) as a long-delayed due right to bring his or her creativity into full play […] it is now the translator's turn to be recognized, to be prominent, to be admired for his or her creativity […]." Berneking (2016) defines 'translator' as the main agent in the socially and culturally determined translation activity. As Berneking (2016, p. 267) puts it, "at the core of this interplay of socially and culturally determined activity lies the 'translator'." Sun and Shreve (2012) enlist 'translator' as one of the main goals of translation studies. Wolf and Fukari (2007) speak of developing the field of sociology of translation agents including the commissionaire, translator, editor, etc.

Research on 'translator' was a missing area in the earlier TS maps and up to the beginning of twenty first century. To elaborate on this missing, it is necessary to review briefly the most influential maps in the history of translation studies[1].

[1] From the early stages of its development, *Translation Studies* has been flooded with different values, standards, terminologies, and concepts with the result that it finds itself in a virtual supermarket of reflections and ideas (Wilss, 1999 cited in Gambier & van Doorslaer, 2009, p. 29). Therefore, a systematizing tool was urgently needed. The 'mapping principle' was the response. As Gambier and van Doorslaer (2009) put it, mapping principle was the "first and foremost a systematizing, organizational and structuring, sometimes even a structuralist principle" (p. 29). One of the earliest attempts, though not called 'map', was Nida's *Toward a Science of Translating* (1964) which is generally considered as a point of reference and the first bibliography. The most outstanding map in the history of translation studies was the one conceptualized by James Holmes in 1972 and developed by Toury in 1995 which came to be known as the 'Holmes map'. All other maps seem to derive and share a lot with that of Holmes' original map (Munday, 2001, 2012). As Gentzler (2001) points out, Holmes' essay *The name and nature of Translation Studies* (1972) has been widely accepted as "the founding statement for the field" (p. 94) which formed "the basic macrostructure of his empirical discipline of Translation Studies" (Snell-Hornby, 2006, p. 42).

However, with under the recent 'sociological turn' in translation studies and shift of focus from 'translation' to 'translator', many studies were concerned with 'translator' in society and address issues such as "the status of translators, their working conditions, identity, public and self-image, translators' networks, role perceptions, power relations, etc." (Dam & Zethsen, 2009, p. 9). Such studies have been accompanied by growing attention to translators as a social and professional group – a new tendency that focuses on the people behind the texts and treats them as social agents in their own right.

Berneking (2016) states that 'sociology of translation' shifts the focus from texts to the translators, their roles, social networks, and lasting effects on society. Hermans (1996 cited in Berneking, 2016) defines translation as a 'socially regulated activity' where the text and various social agencies meet. Berneking (2016) states that Translation Studies has put the translator in full focus – the translator, that is, as a powerful and creative socially constructed and constructive agent and that at the core of this interplay of socially and culturally determined activity lies the 'translator' (Berneking, 2016, p. 267) (Figure 1).

Holmes used the classical distinctions of "pure" and "applied" (Munday, 2016). The Holmes' map has been criticized by Pym (1998) that 'translators' should be included among translation studies research objects and argues for greater concentration on translators rather than text in this discipline. He also made another critical point that Holmes' map does not mention any individuality of the style and decision-making processes of human translators in the translation process (Pym, 1998).

Every country involved in translational research finds it necessary to model and conceptualize a map of translation studies and research. In the past few years, Iranian researchers have also modified and adjusted the original map for translational research in Iran (Arta, 2017; Karimnia & Aboutalebi, 2014; Karimnia & Nouraey, 2013; Nouraey & Karimnia, 2012, 2015; Haddadian-Moghaddam, 2011, 2012).
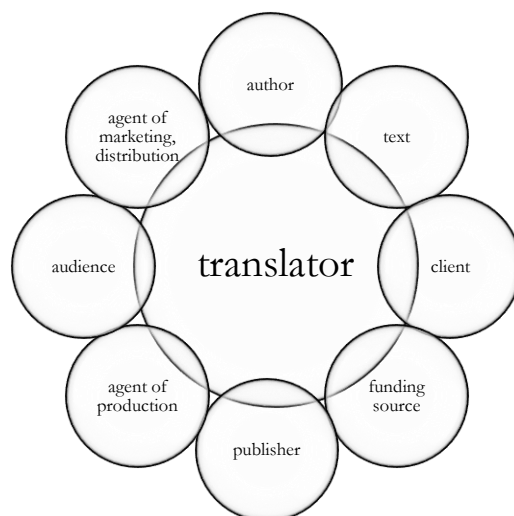
Figure 1: Social networks of the translator (from Berneking, 2016)

To situate the translator as a social agent in sociology of translation, he refers to the Bourdieusian term 'habitus'; habitus is the translators' interplay of free choice and social structures which determines why and how they behave in their social contexts, as socially determined persons (Berneking, 2016, p. 273). He also reviews the various roles (translator's habitus) that Prunč (2007 cited in Berneking, 2016, p. 273) attributes to the translator (translator-priest: as the gatekeeper and constructor of culture – translator-pariah: simply the follower of established rules), depending on the cultural structures of society.

Wolf and Fukari (2007), in their 'sociology of translation', emphasize three areas: *Sociology of the translation process* (the careful consideration of the various factors that shape or constrain the production of the translation in its various stages, those processes and procedures from the earliest stages to the delivery); *Sociology of the translation product* (the relevance and acceptance of the translation as a cultural product which circulates in numerous social settings); *Sociology of the translation agents* (focus on those primary agents involved in the translation, the translators

themselves, as both individuals and collective members of specific social networks. The translator then becomes the central object of analysis and research, recognizing the cognitive, cultural, and social constraints under which the translator operates).

Dam and Zethsen (2009) acknowledged a number of articles in which sociological issues along with close links to translators' image and identity are central concepts. For example, Chesterman outlined a new subfield within Translation Studies which he suggests naming *translator studies*. The article argues that the new focus on the translator is inadequately represented in Holmes' classic map of TS which was highly weighted towards texts rather than the people that produce them, and Chesterman therefore provides an alternative classification of translation studies which allows the inclusion and description of the suggested subfield of *translator studies*. Pym deplored the lack of focus in TS on the social roles played by translators mediating between cultures, and he suggests two methodological principles in order to bring about a 'humanization' of Translation Studies. The first principle is to study translators first and only then the texts they produce […]; the second is to look for so-called professional intercultures, where we typically find translators located, i.e. overlaps between (primary) cultures which function as social and cultural spaces themselves with their own structures and dynamics. Risku and Dickinson take a close look at a contemporary model example of Pym's intercultures, namely virtual translator communities, i.e. online communities of practice that bring together professional translators for the purposes of sharing knowledge, collaborating, and networking. Risku and Dickinson analyse the phenomenon of such online communities, identifying and discussing a number of their key features and the motivations for professional translators joining and participating in such forums […]. Koskinen investigates whether and how different institutional and organisational contexts affect translators' professional activities and professional identities. The data consists of institutional documents as well as interview and observation data from two different settings, a traditional translation unit in Luxembourg and the local representation of the European Commission in Helsinki […]. Katan sets out to investigate to what extent the academic belief that translators have increasingly become empowered to intervene, to mediate and to tackle conflict rather than copy (invisibly) is actually reflected in the workplace (pp. 9-10).

3. CHESTERMAN'S AGENT MODEL

As Courtney and Phelan (2019) put it, the field of translation psychology, which basically relates to the translation process, and more recently to the translator, has attracted interest in recent years. Jaaskelainen (2012, p. 192) suggests that there "is a psychological angle to most translation-related phenomena." Chesterman (2009) argues that a couple of decades after Holmes' map, within the field of Translation Studies, we are witnessing the development of a new branch. He highlights what was then a new focus on *translator studies* in translation sociology, translation history and in research on translators' decision-making processes. He suggests calling the focus on translators the 'agent model'. As Chesterman (2009, p. 15) puts it, "in translator studies, texts are secondary, the translators themselves are primary." Translator studies "covers research which focuses primarily and explicitly on the agents involved in translation, for instance on their activities or attitudes, their interaction with their social and technical environment, or their history and influence" (Chesterman, 2009, p. 20). He argues that Holmes in his original map refers to human vs. machine and written vs. oral translation under medium-restricted partial theories of translation both of which, he believes, implicitly relate to translator studies and his three out of four subtypes under applied translation studies (translator training, translation policy, and translation aids) implicitly or explicitly acknowledge Translator Studies, however, not in a consistent way. Chesterman (2009) has found some gaps in the original map regarding translation sociology, history, and ethics. Consequently, he assumes that Translation Studies has four branches of textual, cultural, cognitive and sociological and claims that only the textual branch lies outside translator studies and the other three deal with the translator in different ways, which are most applicable in the present study (Chesterman, 2009, pp. 19-20):

> 1. *Cultural:* including translator's values, ethics, ideologies, role and influence of translator and interpreters through history.
>
> 2. *Cognitive*: their mental and decision-making processes, attitudes to norms and personality.
>
> 3. *Sociological*: translators' observable behavior as individuals, groups or institutions, their social networks, status, their relations with other groups and with relevant technology.

Chesterman (2009) concludes that some scholars are now using an additional general model focusing not on translations as texts, nor even on the translation process, but on the translators themselves and the other agents involved. That is why he calls this an 'agent model'.

Translator Studies

Cultural   Cognitive   Sociological

Ideologies,   mental processes,   networks,

ethics,   emotions,   institutions,

history   attitudes status   workplace processes
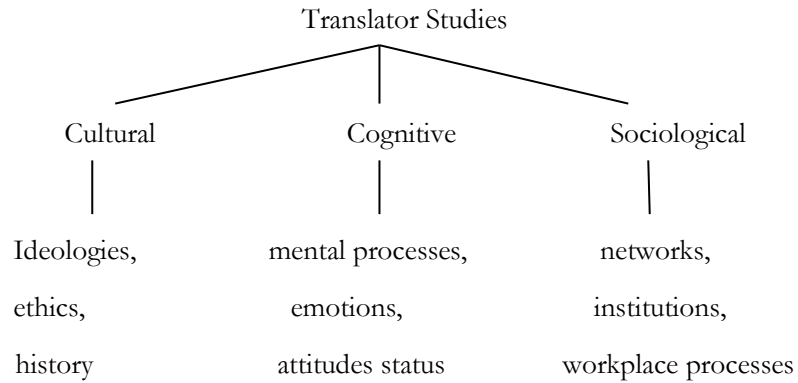
Figure 2: Sketch of translator studies (Chesterman, 2009)

Bolaños-Medina (2016, p. 81) criticizes Chesterman in that focused on sociology rather than psychology. She suggests that his ideas would need to be revised "to account for the inclusion of the psychological aspects" (2016, p. 61). She defines translation psychology as "the subdiscipline of Translatology which addresses the study of translators as complex individuals functioning as a whole" (2016, p. 66). She places the study of individual translators in the applied area of organizational psychology […] (2016, p. 81).

4. METHOD

4.1. The Journals

To carry out the analysis, two Iranian peer-review journals, registered on the EST TS journal list website[2], are selected as the corpus of the study:

4.1.1. Translation Studies Quarterly[3]

TSQ is a private open-access specialized quarterly journal publishing scholarly papers of Iranian researchers in English and Persian in the field of Translation Studies including almost all related themes. The journal accepts papers on a double-blind review process (Table 1).

Editor-in-chief	Farzaneh Farahzad
Duration	2003-2018
Indexed in	ISC and SID databases
Number of issues	59
Total number of papers	527

Table 1: Information about Translation Studies Quarterly (TSQ)

4.1.2. Journal of Language and Translation Studies[4]

JLTS is a quarterly journal based in the Ferdowsi University of Mashhad; it publishes scholarly papers of Iranian researchers written in Persian in the field of Translation Studies. JLTS works on a blind review process (Table 2).

---

[2] http://www.est-translationstudies.org/resources/journals.html
[3] http://journal.translationstudies.ir/index.php/ts/index
[4] https://jlts.um.ac.ir/index.php/lts/about

Editor-in-chief	Mohammad Reza Hashemi
Duration	2010-2018
Indexed in	ISC and SID databases
Number of issues	22
Total number of papers	67

Table 2: Information about Journal of Language and Translation Studies (JLTS)

4.2. Analytical Agent model

The data consists of a collection of journal articles which will be analyzed on a bibliometric basis. All issues of the two journals were reviewed and the papers published were scrutinized for the topic in question, i.e. translator studies in Iran. Chesterman's (2009) categories of cultural, cognitive and sociological factors along with the words 'translator(s) either in their titles or abstracts were adopted as the keywords for this purpose. The papers were then categorized under each of these three categories in the relevant sub-theme.

1. Cultural

- translator's values

- ethics

- ideologies

- role and influence of translator and interpreters through history as agents of cultural evolution

- traditions

- history

2. Cognitive

- translator's mental and decision-making processes

- the impact of emotions

- attitudes to norms

- personality

3. Sociological

- translators' observable behavior as individuals, groups or institutions

- their social networks, status, their relations with other groups and with relevant technology

5. RESULTS

In this section, the papers published in the two journals are studied, analyzed and categorized qualitatively and quantitatively employing Chesterman's (2009) Agent Model. In doing so, the record of the titles/keywords/abstracts of the papers is taken into consideration. Next, the quantitative results for each journal are compared in terms of translator studies and its sub-themes. As for the quantitative part, frequencies (F) and percentages (relative frequencies (rf) multiplied by 100) of the papers are calculated.

5.1. Translation Studies Quarterly (TSQ)

In the following section, papers in TSQ are analyzed and categorized in terms of Chesterman's cultural, cognitive, and sociological themes:

Factors	Themes, keywords	Paper titles	Issue, volume, year	Freq.
Cultural	Translator's values	---	---	0
	Ethics	*Translation and Intersubjectivity*	15(27)2017	3
		Ethics in Translation: Code of Ethics in an Iranian Context	14(53)2016	

		Ethics for Simultaneous Interpreters	3(11)2005	
	Ideologies	*Ideological Aspects of Drama Translation: A Case Study of Persian Translation of Ibsen's "An Enemy of the People"*	12(45)2014	3
		The Role of Ideology in Quranic Translations	6(22)2008	
		Gender and Ideology in Translation with a Critical Discourse Analysis Approach	9(35)2011	
	Role and influence of translator and interpreters through history as agents of cultural evolution	*Women Translators in Contemporary Iran*	13(52)2016	2
		Toward Translator's Agency: A Bourdieusian Insight on Translating the Glorious Qur'an into English	13(49)2015	
	Traditions	*The Development of Norms over Time and its Effect on Translation Process*	12(47)2014	1
	History	*Persian Translation Movement at the Safavid Era*	12(45)2014	1
Cognitive	Translator's mental and decision-making processes	*Dialogism and Polyphony: Silent Cry of Text*	15(58)2017	4
		Competent Translator and the Awareness of Translation Shifts, Norms and Strategies	4(16)2007	
		Translator and Theoretician: Who is Where in Translation Studies?	3(11)2005	
		Supremacy of Translation over Writing: A Psycholinguistic Analysis	1(3)2003	
	The impact of emotions	---	---	0

	Attitudes to norms	*The Relationship of Attitude towards Literature and the Quality of Literary Translation*	9(34)2011	2
		A Study of Iranian Professional Translators' Attitudes: Its implications for Translator Training	4(13)2006	
	Personality	*Gender and Ideology in Translation with a Critical Discourse Analysis Approach*	9(35)2011	2
		The Assessment of Difficulties of Persian Translators of English in Comprehension and Translation of English Compound Words	6(29)2004	
Sociological	Translators' observable behavior as individuals, groups or institutions	*Translator's Presence in Translated Narrative Texts through Shifts Proposed by Leuven-Zwart (3): Descriptive Model*	8(29)2010	3
		Translator's Presence in Translated narrative Texts Through Proposed Shifts by Leuven-Zwart (1)	6(24)2009	
		Translatorial Preface: A Persuasive Narrative "Reframing" Device	15(59)2017	
	Their social networks, status, their relations with other groups and with relevant technology	*A Bourdieusian Perspective on Translator Training: Sociological reflections and Implications*	15(59)2017	1
				22

Table 3: Analysis of papers published in TSQ

As Table 3 shows, of the total 527 papers published, 22 papers deal with translator studies and its different themes as defined by Chesterman (2009). Figure 3 illustrates the percentage of papers on translator studies.
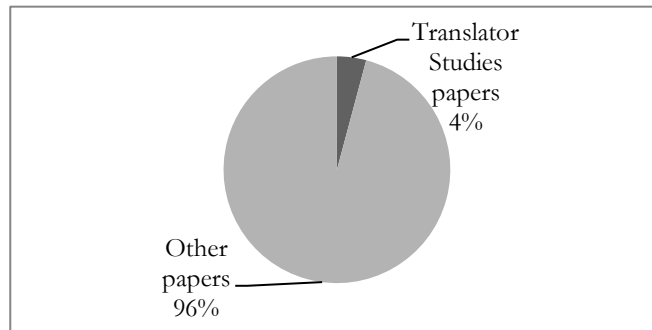
Figure 3: Papers on translator studies in TSQ

Out of the 22 papers published on translator studies, 10 papers deal with cultural, 8 papers with cognitive and 4 papers with sociological aspects of translator studies. Figure 4 illustrates percentages for each category.
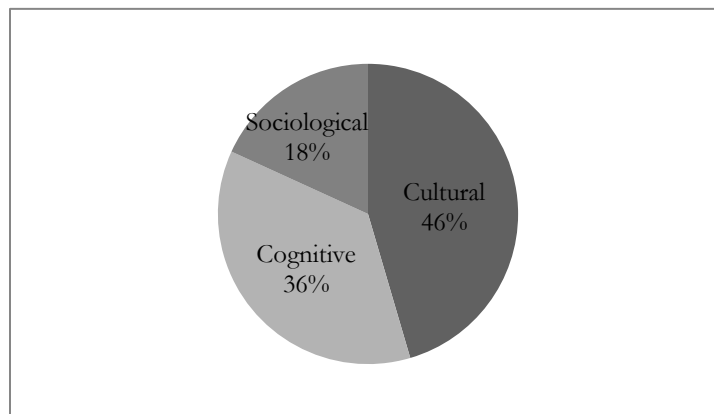
Figure 4: Papers with cultural, cognitive and sociological themes in TSQ

As Table 3 shows, of the 10 papers published by the journal on cultural aspect, 3 papers are on 'ideologies', 3 papers on 'ethics', 2 papers on the 'role and influence of translators', 1 paper on 'tradition' and 1 paper on 'history' of translation in Iran. Figure 5 illustrates the percentages for each of these sub-categories.
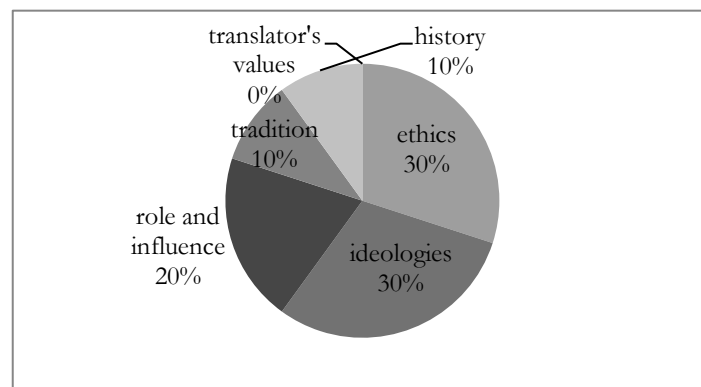
Figure 5: Papers with 'cultural' sub-themes in TSQ

As Table 3 demonstrates, of the 8 papers published by the journal on cognitive aspect, 4 papers are on 'translator's mental and decision-making process', no paper on 'emotions', 2 papers on 'attitudes', and 2 papers on the 'personality'. Figure 6 illustrates the percentages for each of these sub-categories.
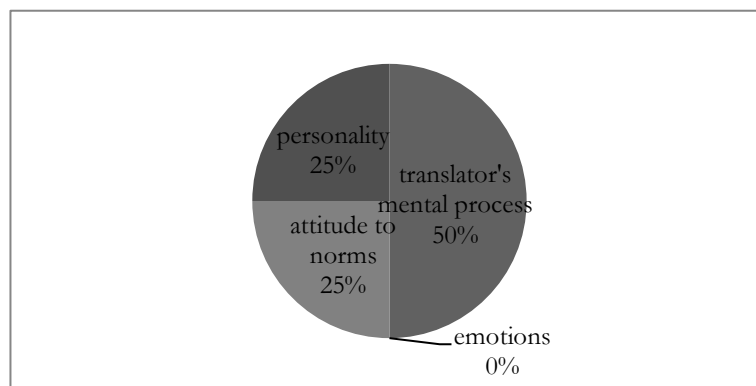
Figure 6: Papers with 'cognitive sub-themes in TSQ

As Table 3 shows, of the 4 papers published by the journal on sociological aspect three are on 'translators' observable behavior as individuals, groups or institutions' and one on 'their social networks, status, their relations with other groups and with relevant technology'. Figure 7 illustrates the percentages for each of these sub-categories.
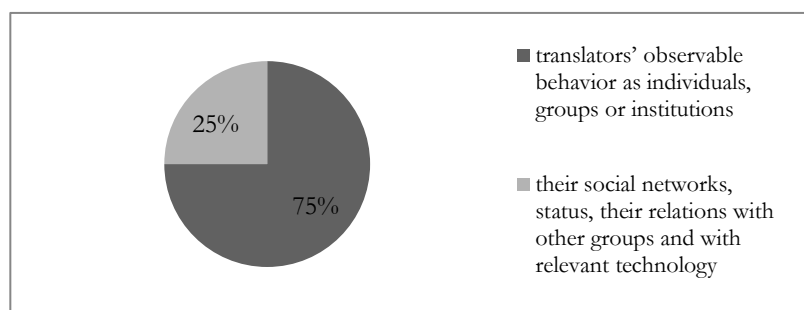
Figure 7: Papers with 'sociological' sub-themes in TSQ

5.2. Journal of Language and Translation Studies (JLTS)

In this section, papers from JLTS are analyzed and categorized in terms of agent model:

Factors	Themes, keywords	Paper titles	Issue, volume, year	Freq.
Cultural		تک صدائی در ترجمه دن کیشوت [*Univocality in translation of Don Quixote*]	42(1)2010	5
		سعدیِ مترجم در «گلستان» ادب پارسی [*Sa'adi, the translator in "Golestan" of Persian literature*	48(4)2015	

Translator's values	بررسی گفتمان پسااستعماری ادوارد براون و انعکاس آن در ترجمهٔ "سفرنامه یک سال در میان ایرانیان" *[Studying Edward Brown's postcolonial discourse and its reflecting on the translation of "A Year's Journey Among Iranians"]*	2015(1)48	
	بررسی رویکرد هرمنوتیک-پدیدارشناسی هانری کربن در ترجمهٔ احمد فردید *[Investigation of Henry Carbon's Hermeneutic-phenomenological approach in the translation Ahmad Farid]*	2014(4)47	
	اهمیت یکدستی سبک در ترجمه با نگاهی به ترجمهٔ غلامعلی حدادعادل از قرآن *[On the importance of style uniformity in translation with a look at Gholam Ali Haddad Adil's translation of the Qur'an]*	2012(1)45	
Ethics	---	---	0
Ideologies	تاثیرات ایدئولوژی چپ در عرصه انتخاب آثار ادبی جهت ترجمه *[The Impact of Left Ideology on the selection of literary works for translation]*	2015(3)48	1
	تأثیر تحولات «میدان» نشر بر «عادت‌واره» مترجمان ادبی از ۱۳۲۰ تا ۱۳۴۵ *[On the Influence of publishing*	2016(3)49	2

		"field" developments on the "habitus" of literary translators from 1320 to 1345]		1
	Role and influence of translator and interpreters through history as agents of cultural evolution	بررسی تطبیقی‌تحلیلی نقش مترجمان بومی و غیر بومی در حفظ هویت ملی *[A comparative-analytical study of the role of native and non-native translators in preserving national identity]*	2016(1)49	
	Traditions	تأثیر هنجارها بر روند ترجمه (موردپژوهی: ترجمه های معاصر قرآن مجید) *[The impact of norms on the translation process (case study: contemporary translations of the Holy Quran)]*	2015(3)48	1
	History	تاریخ‌نگاری ترجمه در ایران: بررسی موردی کتاب با چراغ و آینه از منظر تاریخ‌نگاری ترجمه با رویکرد پیم *[Translation historiography in Iran: a case study of the "with lights and mirrors" from the perspective of translation historiography with Pym's approach]*	2016(1)49	1
Cognitive	Translator's mental and decision-making processes	بررسی نظریة اسکوپوس (هدفمندی) در نهضت ترجمة بغداد *[A Study of Skopos Theory in the translation movement of Baghdad]*	2013(4)46	1

	The impact of emotions	هوش روایی و کیفیت ترجمه *[Narrative intelligence and translation quality]*	48(2)2015	1
	Attitudes to norms	تأثیر زبان زنانه و نگرش های فرهنگی- جنسیتی بر ترجمه *[The influence of feminine language and gender-cultural attitudes on translation]*	46(3)2013	1
	Personality	نقش تفاوت‌های جنسیتی در کیفیت ترجمه: بررسی سبک نگارش مترجمان زن و مرد *[The role of gender differences in translation quality: a study of the writing style of male and female translators]*	42(2)2010	1
Sociological	Translators' observable behavior as individuals, groups or institutions	جامعه‌شناسی ترجمه متون نمایشی در دوره قاجار: با نگاهی بر تأثیر شرایط اجتماعی آن دوران بر انگیزه‌های مترجمان *[The sociology of translation of dramatic texts in the Qajar era: a look at the impact of social conditions of that era on translators' motivators]*	49(4)2016	1

	Their social networks, status, their relations with other groups and with relevant technology	شادی‌ها و غمگنی‌های مترجم: خوانش و تحلیل انتقادی آرای ترجمانی خوزه اؤرتِگا گاسِت [Happiness and sadness of translator: critical reading and analysis of Jose Ortega Gassett's translational ideas]	2015(3)49	2
		توانش های هدف در آموزش مترجم فارسی و انگلیسی [Target competences in teaching Persian and English translators]	2014(3)47	
				17

Table 4: Analysis of papers published in JLTS

As Table 4 shows, of the total 67 translation-related papers published, 17 papers deal with translator studies and its different themes as defined by Chesterman (2009). Figure 8 illustrates the percentage of papers on translator studies.
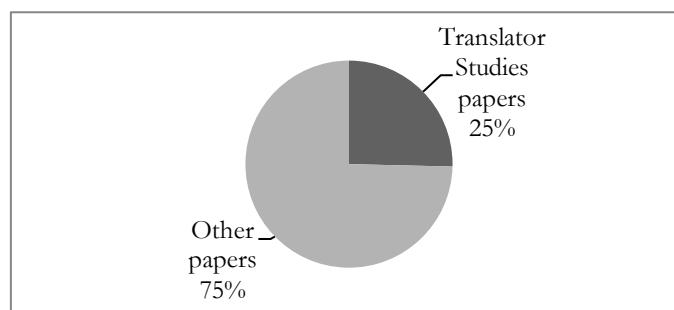
Figure 8: Papers on translator studies in JLTS

Of the 17 papers published on translator studies, 10 papers deal with cultural, 4 papers with cognitive and 3 papers with the sociological theme of translator studies. Figure 9 illustrates percentages for each category.
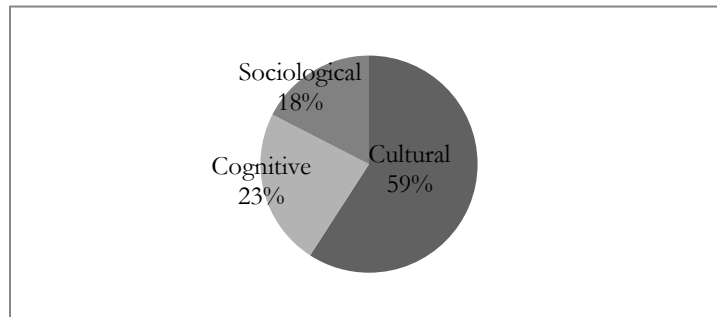
Figure 9: Papers with cultural, cognitive and sociological themes in JLTS

As Table 4 shows, of the 10 papers published by the journal on cultural themes, 5 papers are on 'translator's values, 0 on 'ethics', 1 on 'ideologies', 2 papers on the 'role and influence of translators', 1 paper on 'tradition' and 1 paper on 'history' of translation in the context of Iran. Figure 10 illustrates the percentages for each of these sub-themes.
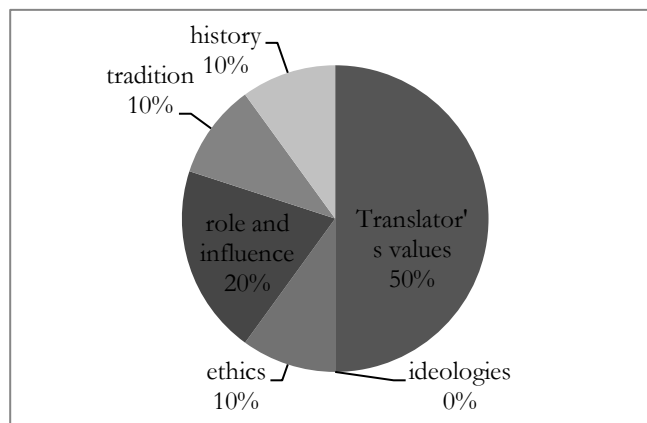
Figure 10: Papers with 'cultural' sub-themes in JLTS

As Table 4 shows, of the 4 papers published by the journal on cognitive themes, 1 paper is on 'translator's mental and decision-making process', 1 paper on 'emotions', 1 paper on 'attitudes', and 1 on the 'personality'. Figure 11 illustrates the percentages for each of these sub-categories.
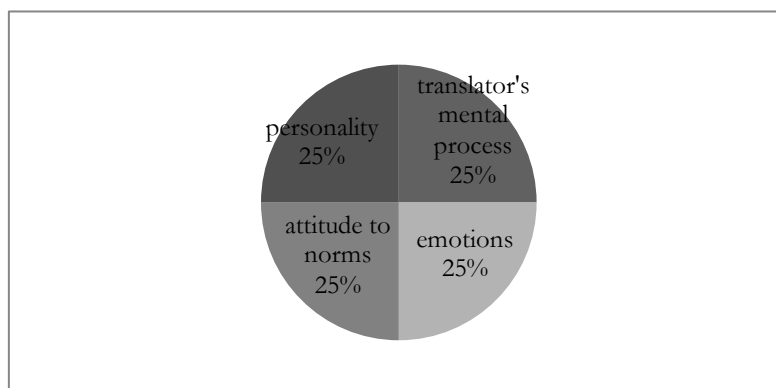
Figure 11: Papers with 'cognitive' sub-themes in JLTS

As Table 4 shows, of the 3 papers published by the journal on sociological themes 2 papers are on 'translators' observable behavior as individuals, groups or institutions' and 1 paper on 'Their social networks, status, their relations with other groups and with relevant technology'. Figure 12 illustrates the percentages for each of these sub-categories.
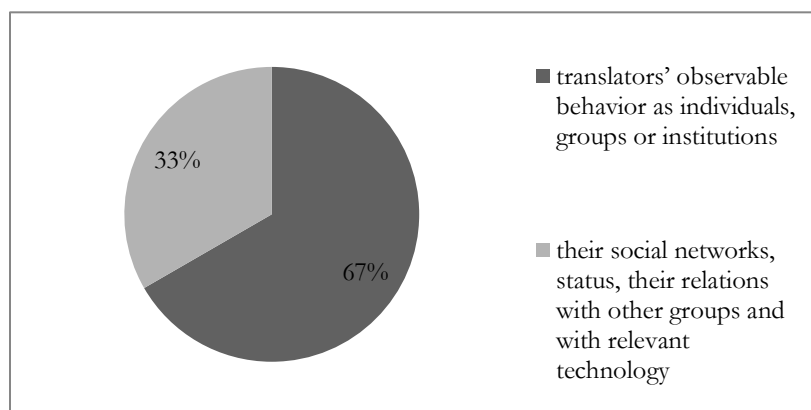
Figure 12 Papers with 'sociological' sub-themes in JLTS

5.3. Comparative Results

Up to its latest issue (issue 59 in 2017), TSQ has devoted only 4% of its total publications to translator studies and its themes and sub-themes. By the same line of judgment, JLTS has devoted 25% of its translation-related papers to translator studies, its themes, and sub-themes (Figure 13).
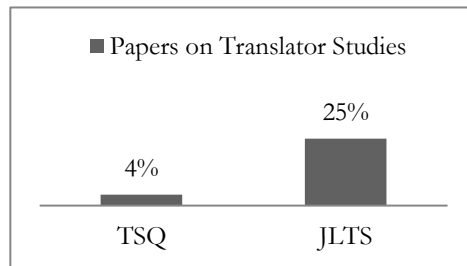
Figure 13: Comparing TSQ and JLTS in terms of papers on translator studies

Regarding the main themes, TSQ has been more contributive in terms of the cognitive and sociological themes. However, JLTS has published more papers with the cultural theme. Nevertheless, the two journals are closely competing each other in terms of the sociological themes (Table 5).

	JLTS		**TSQ**	
Themes	**F***	**P****	**F**	**P**
Cultural	10	58.8	10	45.4
Cognitive	4	23.5	8	36.3
Sociological	3	17.6	4	18.1

* Frequency ** Percentage

Table 5: Relative frequencies of TSQ and JLTS in terms of the themes of translator studies

The comparison of the sub-themes for each of the three main themes reveals that among the cultural sub-themes, TSQ has published more papers on 'ethics', and 'ideologies', and no paper on 'translator's values' while JLTS has published more papers on 'translator's values' and 'role and influence of …', 'tradition', 'history' and no paper on 'ethics'. This implies that JLTS has been more contributive than TSQ in terms of cultural sub-themes (Table 6).

	JLTS		TSQ	
Cultural Sub-themes	F	P	F	P
Translator's values	5	29.41	0	0
Ethics	0	0	3	13.63
Ideologies	1	5.88	3	13.63
Role and influence of …	2	11.76	2	9.09
Tradition	1	5.88	1	4.54
History	1	5.88	1	4.54

Table 6: Relative frequencies of TSQ and JLTS in terms of the cultural sub-themes

With regard to the cognitive sub-themes, JLTS has published more papers on 'emotions'. This is so while TSQ has published considerably more papers on 'translator's mental process', 'attitudes to norms' and 'personality'. This implies that TSQ has been more contributive than JLTS in terms of cognitive sub-themes of translator studies (Table 7).

	JLTS		TSQ	
Cognitive Sub-themes	F	P	F	P
Translator's mental processes	1	5.88	4	18.18
Emotions	1	5.88	0	0

| Attitudes to norms | 1 | 5.88 | 2 | 9.09 |
| Personality | 1 | 5.88 | 2 | 9.09 |

Table 7: Relative frequencies of TSQ and JLTS in terms of the cognitive sub-themes

Regarding the sociological sub-themes, TSQ has devoted three papers to 'translators' observable behavior as individuals, groups or institutions' and one paper to 'Their social networks, status, their relations with other groups and with relevant technology'. JLTS has published one paper on 'translators' observable behavior as individuals, groups or institutions' and two on 'their social networks, status, their relations with other groups and with relevant technology'. Again, this implies that TSQ has been more contributive in terms of translator's 'observable behavior' while JLTS has been more contributive in terms of translators' 'social networking' (Table 8).

	JLTS		**TSQ**	
Sociological Sub-themes	**F**	**P**	**F**	**P**
Observable behavior	1	5.88	3	13.63
Social networks	2	11.76	1	4.54

Table 8: Relative frequencies of TSQ and JLTS in terms of the sociological sub-themes

6. DISCUSSION

RQ1- Where has translator studies been standing in the context of Iran based on academic papers published in the local journals?

Regarding the first question, it should be mentioned that the above results, by evidence and by the analysis of two journals, confirm the lack of research on *translator studies* in Iran. That is to say, not enough attention is paid to translators

and their various cognitive, cultural and sociological aspects and many such areas are left untouched, and in need of research. The results for this question further confirm Chesterman's claim that the new focus on the translator is inadequately represented in Holmes' classic map of TS and that it was highly weighted towards texts rather than the people that produce them.

RQ2- What aspects of translator studies (sociological, cultural or cognitive) have been published more frequently in Iran?

Regarding the second question, the results show that from among the cultural, cognitive and sociological aspects, cultural themes (46% in TSQ and 59% in JLTS) are published more than others. Within the cultural theme, the sub-themes of translators' ethics (30%), translators' ideologies (30%) and translators' values (50%) are published more than the other cultural sub-themes.

RQ3- Which journal has published more on different aspects of translator studies (sociological, cultural or cognitive) and to what extent?

Regarding the third question, it can be argued that contrary to the researcher's expectation, JLTS, though is not purely a translation-related journal in Iran, has contributed more to translator studies (25%) than TSQ which is a translation-related journal (4%). The most probable cause of such a difference relates to the interest of the JLTS editorial board who decide what articles to be published. It is implied that the editorial board members of JLTS are more interested in the 'translator' studies.

Now, the question is why *translator studies* is, by evidence, a less-researched area in the TS map of Iran. A possible reason for such a gap is the process-oriented nature of research in translator studies that is far-reaching and complicated. Process-oriented research under translator studies necessitates researchers step in a complicated process of studying the inner characteristics of translators; these types of research are qualitative, interdisciplinary, and empirical in methodologies that are less accessible to the researchers (Hansen, 2013; Buzelin, 2012).

Translators' lack of cooperation with the researchers, inaccessibility of reliable and valid data, problems in operationalization and low validity of process-based research methods (for example think-aloud protocols), the complexity and non-replicability of translators' profiles, mental processes and communication situations are other possible reasons which might cause the gap. Another possible reason for the gap of *translator studies* in the context of Iran relates to the research training methods at universities. Most papers as surveyed in the present studies are hinging round product-oriented themes and topics because the researchers have been trained as such and are directed through their projects and theses in that way.

It is important to note at this point that due to the huge corpus of the articles, analysis of the papers was based on titles, keywords and abstract of the papers rather than the main body of the papers. It was assumed that titles, keywords, and abstracts reflect the theme of the paper. In addition, in some cases, very few frequencies are observed which necessitates the researcher to generalize the results more cautiously.

7. CONCLUDING REMARKS

The results of the study reveal that *translator studies* is less researched in the selected Iranian journals in comparison with the non-Iranian ones (Dam and Zethsen (2009) refer to a broad range of articles which are concerned with translators in society, see translators as social agents, and address such issues as the status of translators, their working conditions, identity, public image and self-image, translators' networks, role perceptions, power relations, etc. among them Pym, Risku and Dickinson, Koskinen, Katan and Jacobsen. All themes and sub-themes of translator studies are under-researched in Iran, but some sub-themes are critically untouched in both journals, such as 'traditions', 'history' and 'emotions' of translators. Some sub-themes such as 'translator values' and 'their social networks, status, their relations with other groups and with relevant technology' are untouched in TSQ and some like 'ethics' are untouched in JLTS. Studying these less-researched topics will contribute to the quality and quantity of research with sociological, cultural and cognitive themes and filling the gaps in these areas in the following ways.

- Researching translators and their ideological and cultural attributes will influence their position as cultural mediators, their values, their role and influence through history as agents of cultural evolution and will inform them of ethics in their profession.

- Researching translators and their cognitive, personality and affective attributes will influence their decision-making processes and their attitude to the norms.

- Researching translators and their sociological attributes will influence their observable behavior as individuals, groups, institutions, or their social networks, status, their relations with other groups and with relevant technology. All of the above would, in turn, contribute to translation and translator training courses at universities.

Accordingly, the researcher would like to make the following suggestions:

- It is time the Iranian supervisors diverted their graduate and postgraduate students' attention to translator-oriented themes as defined by Chesterman (2009).

- It is time the Iranian researchers focused more on translator studies and its different themes and sub-themes in their projects, theses, and dissertations and get more papers published on translator.

- It is time the specialized journals, as noted earlier, devoted special issues to themes and sub-themes of translator studies. This encourages researchers focus more on this topic. Establishing a journal with the same topic, i.e. translator studies, is another suggestion.

- It is time more national conferences with related themes and sub-themes were held in Iran to motivate debates and discussions on translator studies.

REFERENCES

Atefmehr, Z. (2017). Translator's paratextual visibility: the case of Iranian translators from 1906 until 1926. i*nTRAline*a, 18.

Arta, R. (2017). *Map of translation research in Iran: a local meta-analysis. Translation Studies Quarterly*, 15 (58).

Berneking, S. (2016). A Sociology of Translation and the Central Role of the Translator. *The Bible Translator*, 67 (3), pp. 265-281.

Bolaños-Medina, A. (2016). Translation psychology within the framework of Translator Studies: New research perspectives and pedagogical implications. In C. M. De León & V. González-Ruiz (Eds.), *From the Lab to the Classroom and Back Again: Perspectives on Translation and Interpreting Training* (pp. 59-100). Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang.

Bolouri, M. (2018). Translators' agency in footnotes and notes of contemporary Iranian literary translators. *Language Related Research*, 8 (6), pp. 191-214.

Buzelin, H. (2012). Sociology and translation studies. In M. Carmen & F. Bartrina (Eds.), *The Routledge Handbook of Translation Studies* (pp. 186-200). London & New York: Routledge.

Chesterman, A. (2009). The name and nature of translator studies. *Hermes*, 42, pp. 13-22.

Courtney, J. & Phelan, M. (2019). Translators' Experiences of Occupational Stress and Job Satisfaction. *Translation and Interpreting*, 11 (1).

Dam, H. V. & Zethsen, K. K. (2009). Translation Studies: Focus on the Translator. *Hermes – Journal of Language and Communication Studies,* 42.

Emam Roodband, S. A. (2016). Translating in jails: the case of contemporary Iranian imprisoned translators. *Journal of Research in Applied Linguistics*, 7 (2), pp. 34-54.

Farahzad, F., Mohammadi Shahrokh, A. & Ehteshami, S. (2016). Women translators in contemporary Iran. *Translation Studies Quarterly*, 13 (52).

Gambier, Y. & van Doorslaer, L. (2009). *The Metalanguage of Translation*. Amsterdam/Philadelphia: John Benjamins.

Gambier, Y. & van Doorslaer, L. (2004). *Introduction (Online Translation Studies Bibliography)*. https://benjamins.com/online/tsb/introduction.html

Gentzler, E. (2001). *Contemporary Translation Theories (2nd edition)*. Clevedon: Multilingual Matters.

Haddadian-Moghaddam, E. (2011). Agency in the translation and production of the Adventures of Hajji Baba of Ispahan into Persian. *Target*, 23 (2), pp. 206-234.

Haddadian-Moghaddam, E. (2012). Agents and their network in a publishing house in Iran. In A. Pym & D. O. Tarragona (Eds.), *Translation Research Projects 4: Intercultural Studies Group* (pp. 37-50).

Hansen, G. (2013). The translation process as object of research. In M. Carmen & Bartrina F. (Eds.), *The Routledge Handbook of Translation Studies* (pp. 88-101). London & New York: Routledge.

Jääskeläinen, R. (2012). *Translation Psychology. Handbook of Translation Studies (vol. 3),* edited by Y. Gambier and L. van Doorslaer, pp. 191-197.

Karimnia, A. & Aboutalebi, A. (2014). A meta-analysis of papers published in translation studies journal over the period 2002-2012 based on Chesterman's classification of translation models. *Iranian Journal of Translation Studies*, 11 (44), pp. 7-22.

Karimnia, A. & Nouraey, P. (2013). Towards a global model for translation studies trends: Is it the question of backing to square one? *Wulfenia*, 20 (9), pp. 145-155.

Kuhiwczak, P. & Littau, K. (Eds.) (2007). *A Companion to Translation Studies*. Clevedon, Buffalo, Toronto: Multilingual Matters LTD.

Milton, J. & Bandia, P. (2009). *Agents of Translation*. Amsterdam/Philadelphia: John Benjamins.

Munday, J. (2001). *Introducing Translation Studies: Theories and Applications (first edition)*. London & New York: Routledge.

Munday, J. (2012). *Introducing Translation Studies: Theories and Applications (third edition).* London & New York: Routledge.

Munday, J. (2016). *Introducing Translation Studies: Theories and Applications (fourth edition).* London & New York: Routledge.

Nida, E. A. (1964). *Toward a Science of Translating.* Leiden: E.J. Brill.

Nouraey, P. & Karimnia, A. (2012). A meta-look at current translation studies trends in Iran: insight from translation studies M.A theses. *British Journal of Social Sciences,* 1 (1), pp. 94-116.

Nouraey, P. & Karimnia, A. (2015). The map of translation studies in modern Iran: an empirical investigation. *Asia Pacific Translation and Intercultural Studies,* 2 (2), pp. 123-138.

Pym, A. (2010). *Exploring Translation Theories.* London: Routledge.

Pym, A. (1998). *Method in Translation History.* Manchester: St Jerome.

Robinson, D. (1991). *The Translator's Turn.* Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press.

Saldanha, G. & O'Brien, S. (2013). *Research Methodologies in Translation Studies.* Manchester: St Jerome.

Snell-Hornby, M. (2006). *The Turns of Translation Studies New Paradigms or Shifting Viewpoints?* Amsterdam/Philadelphia: John Benjamins Publishing Company.

Sun, S. & Shreve, G. M. (2012). *Reconfiguring Translation Studies.* Translation Spaces 2.

Toury, G. (1995). *Descriptive Translation Studies and Beyond.* Amsterdam/Philadelphia: John Benjamins.

Tymoczko, M. (2005). Trajectories of research in translation studies. *Meta: Translators' Journal,* 50 (4), pp. 1082-1097.

Vandepitte, S. (2008). Remapping translation studies: towards translation studies ontology. *Meta: Translators' Journal,* 53 (3), pp. 569-588.

Van Doorslaer, L. (2007). Risking conceptual maps: Mapping as a keywords-related tool underlying the online Translation Studies Bibliography. *Target*, 19 (2), pp. 217-233.

Williams, J. & Chesterman, A. (2002). *The Map: A Beginner's Guide to Doing Research in Translation Studies*. Manchester: St Jerome.

Wolf, M. & Fukari, A. (2007). *Constructing a Sociology of Translation*. Amsterdam/Philadelphia: John Benjamins.

Zhu, L. (2012). *The translator-centered multidisciplinary construction*. Switzerland: Peter Lang AG, International Academic Publishers.

Translator's Habitus and Textual Agency in the Chinese Translation of Dylan Thomas's Poetry: The Case of Hai An

Jinquan Yu
Zhejiang Gongshang University, China
sailorpj@163.com

Abstract

The recent sociological turn in translation studies has brought translator studies to the fore. However, drawing on Pierre Bourdieu's habitus, most existing studies are concerned with the macro-level exploration of translators, focusing on their socio-cultural contexts without taking into account the micro textual aspects of their translations. In Michaela Wolf's words, this may lead to a "danger of a sociology of translation existing without translation" (Wolf, 2007, p. 27). In response to this, this article will take a macro-micro approach proposed by Yannakopoulou (2014, p. 171) to explore the implications of habitus for understanding the textual agency of translators, with the Chinese translation of Dylan Thomas's poetry by Hai An as an illustrative case study. By so doing, the article will not only demonstrate that Hai An's mode of textual agency, described in this study as "transcreation", is influenced by his habitus as a poet translator, but also contribute to the sociologies of poetry translation.

Keywords: Translator's habitus, textual agency, poetry translation, Dylan Thomas.

1. INTRODUCTION

In the last few decades, with increasing attention being granted to the agency of translators and the social factors that permeate the process of translation, translation studies have undergone a "sociological turn" (Angelelli, 2014, p. 1). Unlike descriptive and cultural approaches to translation studies that focus on studying texts instead of translators, the sociological approach has brought research on translators to the fore (Pym, 2006, p. 2). With scholars in sociology of translation increasingly taking translators as their primary and explicit focus, Chesterman even advocates to establish a new sub-field called "*TranslaTOR Studies*" in the framework of Translation Studies constructed by James Holmes (Chesterman, 2009, p. 13, emphasis in the original).

In this context, many scholars have drawn on Pierre Bourdieu's concept of habitus to study translators in various cultures (Gouanvic, 2005; Meylaerts, 2010; Xu and Yu, 2015). However, most of them focus on the macro side of translators, exploring their social trajectories and social contexts without taking into consideration the micro level such as textual analyses of translations. Consequently, this strand of research has tended to abandon the text-bound paradigm in translation studies, "bringing out the danger of a sociology of translation existing without translation" (Wolf, 2007, p. 27). However, as Michaela Wolf points out, the impact of external social factors such as the publishing industry and social contexts of translators on "concrete translation practice should not be ignored" and the discussion of "the interactional relations that exist between the external conditions of a text's creation and the adoption of the various translation strategies" is of great importance (2007, p. 28). To fill this gap, habitus can be an effective analytical concept. As Wolf argues, exploring translator's habitus is conductive to tracing "the interaction between (translation) text analysis and social analysis" and disclosing the intense process of negotiation in producing the translation product (Wolf, 2014, p. 13). In other words, habitus can be employed as a productive concept to investigate individual modes of translator's agency at the textual level, explaining the reasons for his or her adoption of certain translation strategies.

In line with the current trend of drawing on Bourdieu's habitus to study translators and in response to the dearth of micro studies of translators from the sociological perspective, the present study will take a macro-micro approach to exploring the implications of habitus for understanding the textual agency of translators, with the Chinese translation of Dylan Thomas's poetry by Hai An

as an illustrative case study. Specifically, the macro-micro approach proposed by Vasso Yannakopoulou (2014, p. 171) combines macrolevel contextual research with microlevel textual study. The concept of textual agency here, theorized by Outi Paloposki, refers to "the translators' voice in the text, to her/his footprints, so to speak, be they deliberate manipulation, stylistic preferences or habits or functionalist-oriented adaptation or anything in between" (Paloposki, 2009, p. 191). To explore translator's textual agency in relation to translator's habitus requires a theoretical excursion into Bourdieu's concept of habitus and translator's habitus.

2. THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK: HABITUS AND TRANSLATOR'S HABITUS

In Bourdieu's sociological theories, habitus is defined as "systems of durable, transposable dispositions, structured structures predisposed to function as structuring structures" (Bourdieu, 1990a, p. 53). In translation studies, when drawing on Bourdieu's habitus, scholars share one point of departure: reading habitus against the backdrop of Gideon Toury's influential concept of translation norms. In his pioneering work of this kind, Simeoni maintains that Bourdieu's concept of habitus and Toury's notion of norms is complementary rather than contradictory (Simeoni, 1998, p. 30). By introducing Bourdieu's habitus into the study of translators, Simeoni attempts to give prominence to the role of translators, but he paradoxically argues for the subservience of translators, which reduces habitus to a deterministic category through which the power of the norms is reiterated instead of being challenged.

While introducing Bourdieu's habitus into the study of translators is seen as a welcome move, Simeoni's argument for the subservience of translators, which goes against the trend toward the highlighting and celebration of translators' active role in various areas, has attracted criticism from some scholars. Rakefet Sela-Sheffy contends that Simeoni's endorsement of translator's submissiveness reiterates "the idea of 'the tyranny of norms' in translation" (Sela-Sheffy, 2005, p. 3). In her article, taking Israeli translators as examples, Sela-Sheffy argues that habitus is "an inertial yet versatile force", which accounts for the tendency of an individual to obey certain norms but also allows for "transformations and continuous construction" in line with the changing fields (2005, p. 4). In a similar vein, Hanna also criticises Simeoni's deterministic understanding of habitus, as it is inconsistent with the "dynamic character of Bourdieu's sociology", where

norms interact with practice and practice challenges norms (Hanna, 2016, p. 8).

It is also noteworthy that although Toury's notion of norms attracts scholarly attention from texts and repertoires to translators' behaviour, it focuses on their collective behaviour and lacks a fully account of individual translator's agency (Hanna, 2014, p. 63). In this regard, Bourdieu's habitus, which combines the side of society and culture with the side of the individual, can serve as a corrective to the notion of norms to fill this gap. The habitus of an individual translator internalises the translation norms through the inculcation of social structures and generates translations related to these social structures. Relating to translation norms, thus partially reproducing them, is what contributes to the translations of individuals mutually intelligible and creates the relative "homogeneity" (Bourdieu, 1990a, p. 58). However, reproduction of translation norms is a process of appropriation instead of replication, in which the habitus of an individual translator revives "the sense deposited in them, but at the same time imposing the revisions and transformations that reactivation entails" (1990a, p. 57).

The habitus of an individual is also "the generative principle of responses more or less well adapted to the demands of a certain field, is the product of an individual history" (Bourdieu, 1990b, p. 91). In other words, it is both "the product of the history of the field of which he/she is a member and the history of his/ her trajectory in the social space" (Hanna, 2016, p. 45). As regards the relation between individual agents' habituses and their social trajectories, Bourdieu places an emphasis on the dynamic feature and cumulative nature of habitus, in the sense that the habitus of an individual is subject to repeated restructuring and developed and shaped along his or her trajectory (Bourdieu, 1977, pp. 86-87).

Moreover, according to Simeoni, to be a translator is "a matter of refining a social habitus into a special habitus" (Simeoni, 1998, p. 19). In this sense, a translator's habitus can be construed as a professional habitus that is shaped through the internalisation of his or her training and the position he or she has occupied in the translation field. This understanding resonates with Inghilleri's view that translators or interpreters "are endowed with specialised competences that both generate and are generated by *forms of linguistic and cultural capital* which, though clearly tied to other fields, are uniquely acquired and differently enacted in particular contexts of training and practice" (Inghilleri, 2003, p. 245, emphasis in the original).

As a professional habitus, a translator's habitus can be summarised as an embodied system of durable dispositions, which are acquired and inculcated through individualised social trajectory including professional training in the areas of multilingualism and multiculturalism, life experiences and education. These dispositions contribute to the cultivation of translators' tastes, preferences and prejudices. In this sense, sketching out an individual translator's social trajectory can be an illuminating manner that helps us to search for his or her habitus. This view is confirmed by Simeoni, who points out that "Biographical research is a legitimate area of social science whose finding can also be solicited" when discussing how to carry out research on translatorial habitus (Simeoni, 1998, p. 31). In a similar vein, Wolf also argues that a translator's habitus can "be identified by reconstructing the translator's social trajectory" (Wolf, 2007, p. 19). Along this line, what follows will explore Hai An's habitus by examining his social trajectory.

3. THE HABITUS OF HAI AN: A POET TRANSLATOR

Hai An, a penname for Li Dingjun, born in 1965, is still active both as a poet and a translator. At present, he also works as an associate professor in the College of Foreign Language and Literatures in Fudan University in Shanghai, China. In 1980, he was enrolled into the School of Foreign Languages in Hangzhou University, which is now called Zhejiang University, one of the most renowned universities in China, to pursue his BA degree in English Language and Literature. In Hangzhou University, he started to receive professional training in the field of English language and literary studies, which laid a solid foundation for his later interest in literary translation. During his study in Hangzhou University, he also had read a considerable amount of English poetry such as the poetry of George Gordon Byron, John Keats and Percy Bysshe Shelley. Moreover, he also often sat in the lectures on foreign poetry given by Fei Bai, an influential poetry translator and critic in China, in the School of Chinese Language and Literatures. Fei Bai's lectures on Thomas's poems raised Hai An's interest in them and it was also Fei Bai who inspired him to turn his attention to poetry translation (Hai An, 2016, personal communication)[1].

After graduation from Hangzhou University in 1984, he intended to pursue a MA in Shanghai International Studies University on the subject of

---

[1] All translations from Chinese to English are mine unless otherwise noted.

Contemporary American Poetry. However, he failed its entrance examination and had no choice but to enter Shanghai Medical University, which has been incorporated into Fudan University, to study Medical English instead in 1986. Such a setback did not preclude him from following his own interest in poetry. When he arrived in Shanghai in 1986, the wave of "上海前浪诗歌" (Shanghai Frontier Tide Poetry) was in its heyday in Shanghai's literary field. In this context, as he was also enthusiastic about poetry and foreign poetry translation, it came as no surprise that he joined the "海上诗群" (Poet Group on the Sea) in Shanghai, which was established in 1984 and consisted of "Shanghai Frontier Tide" poets such as Mo Mo, Yu Yu and Liu Manliu. By discussing his own poems and translations with the poets in the "Poet Group on the Sea", he improved his poetry translation and skills of poetry writing (Hai An, 2016, personal communication). Meanwhile, he also joined the lectures on English and American literature given by Fei Bai in his own university, which provided him further knowledge about Anglophone culture and literature. In 1987, out of his own interest and the invitation of his friend Fu Hao, who was also a poet, Hai An embarked on the translation of Thomas's poems and produced his first translation draft of them in the same year. Later, this first draft was sent to Fu Hao and another friend and poet Lu Meng for revision. With their joint efforts, part of their translations of Thomas's poems was published in the anthology *International Poetry* (Wang, Yang & Wu, 1988). In 1988, he also translated a collection of Samuel Becket's poems, but they were not published due to the lack of copyright. One year later, he graduated from Shanghai Medical University and started his teaching career in the same university.

It was a turning point for Hai An in 1992, when he intended to pursue a PhD degree abroad. However, he was suddenly confronted with the threat of death because of nephritis, which came to him as an overwhelming shock. On the one hand, he had no other options but to give up the opportunity of further education abroad. On the other hand, he was required to take a kidney transplant operation, although it was of high risk due to the poor medical conditions in China at that time. During this time of personal hardship, he turned to revise his translation of Thomas's poems, as he was deeply impressed with their themes of life and death in his earlier translation process (Hai An, 2016, personal communication). He obtained comfort and inspiration from reading and revising his translation of Thomas's poems. This experience could be attributed to his understanding that the theme of death in Thomas's poems was positive, and life and death was like a circle in which death was another way of life (Hai

An, 2012, p. 157). Although he took a kidney transplant operation in 1994, Hai An did not fully recover from nephritis. Hence, he was forced to take another kidney transplant operation in 2000 to survive. For almost ten years, with the support and love of his family, he had been fighting against the death and devoting himself to the translation of Thomas's poetry. In this way, the themes of love, life and death in Thomas's poems find expression in his own experience. Therefore, as Huang Fuhai (2014) has argued, "he has a deeper understanding than others of the prominent themes in Dylan Thomas's poetry: life, youth, love, death and sorrow".

Moreover, he also "acquired infinite power from Dylan Thomas's poems in the themes of life and death to fight against disease and death" (Hai An, 2014, p. VII). He even established and developed an emotional rapport and resonance with Thomas's poetry in his own poetry writing. Therefore, based on his struggle with illness and death, he wrote his own long poem *Elegy* (2012), in "many chapters of which the traces of Dylan Thomas's influences can be discerned" (Hai An, 2012; Wang, 2012, p. 4). The following stanza taken from "The Words in Dream: Six" in *Elegy* is a case in point (Hai An, 2012, p. 85):

气候伸出严厉的手，毁灭了春天

岁月调节一身的汗孔

三根操演签名落款的手指

扼杀了生机，扼杀一座完整的城市

The hand that stretched by the weather destroyed the spring

Age adjusted the whole body's sweat pores

Three fingers that conducted signature

Killed the life and felled a city

This first stanza in Hai An's own poetry bears a striking resemblance to that of Thomas's "The Hand That Signed the Paper" (Goodby, 2016, p. 36):

The hand that signed the paper felled a city;

Five sovereign fingers taxed the breath

Doubled the globe of dead and halved a country;

These five kings did a king to death

As a poet, he is a representative of Shanghai Frontier Tide poets who were avant-garde poets in Shanghai in the 1980s and 1990s. Moreover, he can be labeled as a poet with international influence, which is demonstrated by the fact that he has been invited to attend several international poetry festivals and his poems have been selected for publication abroad. For example, in 2007, he was invited to present a paper in the "15th Rosario International Poetry Festival" in Argentina. He was also invited to attend the "48th Struga International Poetry Festival" in Macedonia (a prestigious and long-established international poetry festival) in 2009, after which some of his poems were collected in the anthology *Poetry from Five Continents* (2009). What's more, his poems have been published as books in Mainland China, Hongkong and Taiwan such as *Sixty Self-selected Poems of Hai An* (2014), *Elegy* (2012) and *Selected Poems of Hai An* (2001). Apart from his poetry collections, some of his poems have been collected in other books. For example, eight of his poems have been collected in *Thirty Poets in Shanghai* (2012) and recently his poem "Tea Tree" has been collected in *Selected Top Chinese Poetry in 2016* (2017).

In parallel, he is also a highly-regarded and active translator who specialises in the translation of poetry from English to Chinese and vice versa. Due to his considerable achievements in translation, he was awarded the prize of "STA Outstanding Translator" by Shanghai Translators Association in 2016. His main contributions in this field include the Chinese translations *In the Stream of Time: Selected Poems of Germain Droogenbroodt* (2008), *Selected Poems of Dylan Thomas* (2014) and *The Complete Works of Samuel Becket: Poetry* (in collaboration with Yu Zhongxian) (2016) as well as the English translation *The Frontier Tide: Contemporary Chinese Poetry* (2009).

As have been stated above, habitus is "the product of an individual history" (Bourdieu, 1990b, p. 91). In this sense, Hai An's professional habitus, namely, his habitus as a poet and a translator can be inferred from his social trajectory. During his studies in Hangzhou University, his extensive reading of English poetry and enthusiasm about poetry began to shape his habitus as a poet. After arrival in Shanghai where poetry writing was prevalent at that time, his habitus as a poet already took shape by acquiring poetic dispositions through joining "Poet Group on the Sea" where he exchanged views with other poets on his own poetry writing. Moreover, his habitus as a poet was further acquired and

inculcated through his practices of poetry writing, publication of his poetry both at home and abroad as well as participation in international poetry festivals.

In addition, his undergraduate and postgraduate studies in the area of English studies formed Hai An's cultural capital when it comes to his translating enterprise. This cultural capital (Note: cultural capital is embodied by education and knowledge while symbolic capital is status and prestige recognised by others, please see Jeremy Munday (2016, p. 237), *Introducing Translation Studies*. The cultural capital here refers to the education and knowledge received by Hai An) shaped Hai An's habitus as a translator, which equipped him with the essential language skills and indispensable qualification for carrying out translation activities. His habitus as a translator began to emerge when he engaged in the translation of Thomas's poetry as early as 1987. But it is noteworthy that habitus is dynamic rather than static. In this regard, Hai An's personal experience of struggling with illness and various practices of poetry translation further structured his habitus as a translator.

4. THE TEXTUAL AGENCY OF HAI AN: TRANSCREATION

As a poet himself, Hai An is familiar with Chinese readers' aesthetic attitudes towards poetry. When practising poetry writing, he spares no efforts to capitalise on his own creativity to meet the aesthetic expectations of Chinese readerships. Such a poetic disposition is internalised as part of his habitus, which plays a structuring role in his translation of Thomas's poetry. In this regard, I will argue in this section that Hai An's habitus shaped by his poetic disposition allows him to display his textual agency in the form of "transcreation" to deal with different specific translation problems.

It is notable that transcreation is still a debatable term in translation studies. Elena Di Giovanni understands transcreated texts as entirely fluent translations that have to be "fully understandable to its target audience" (Di Giovanni, 2008, p. 33). In Gopinathan's view, transcreation can be considered as "an aesthetic re-interpretation of the original work suited to a new target-language audience" (Gopinathan, 2014, p. 237). From the perspective of intercultural mediation, David Katan argues that transcreation will allow translators not only to play their creative role, but also to "take account of the impact of cultural distance when translating" (Katan, 2016, p. 378). Based on the above understandings of transcreation, the transcreation here refers to the target audience-oriented

strategy that Hai An employs to creatively produce a fluent, but not necessarily faithful translation. Specifically, Hai An carries out the practice of transcreation through rhythm creation, creative adaptation and creative invention, as the selected examples discussed in the following sections will demonstrate.

4.1. Rhythm Creation

It is a norm in Chinese literary tradition that poetry should be beautiful. With respect to the beauty of poetry, Samia M. Al-Jabri argues that, "In poetry, beauty is not achieved merely with the choice of words and figurative language, but also with the creation of rhythm" (Al-Jabri, 2013, p. 446). Similarly, Shu Cai (2007, p. 660) explains it in Chinese context that words and forms of poetry such as sound, rhythm and rhyme constitute the beauty of poetry. From this perspective, it is safe to say that rhythm is an important indicator of the beauty of poetry. As a poet, Hai An gives prominence to the beauty of poetry and has a keen awareness of the importance of the rhythm to poetry. Through poetry writing and poetry translation practices, Hai An has internalised the norm of the beauty of poetry in China into his habitus, which in turn structures his poetry translation. In the process of translating foreign poetry, his habitus reproduces the norm of the beauty of poetry, prompting him to pay significant attention to the rhythm in his translated poems. From his own point of view, translation of poetry should be seen as an act of recreation and a poet translator should "reconstitute the original and imbue the target text with a dynamic rhythm distinct to the Chinese language" when translating foreign poetry (Hai An, 2005, p. 27). Therefore, with the influence of his habitus, he employs the strategy of rhythm creation in his translation of Thomas's poetry in order to reproduce the beauty of poetry through creating a rhythm attuned to the Chinese language, which will be illustrated by the following example.

> Example 1
>
> Dylan Thomas:
>
> All the **sun** long it was running, it was lovely, the hay
>
> Fields high as the house, the **tunes** from the chimneys, it was air
>
> And playing, lovely and watery
>
> Hai An:

明媚的阳光整天地泼洒，那么美丽可爱

田间的干草高及屋脊， 烟囱飘出美妙的旋律，

那是嬉戏的空气，动人又湿润 (Hai An, 2014, p. 251)

Back Translation:

All the **bright sun** it was running, it was lovely

The hay in the fields high as the house, the **beautiful tunes** from the chimneys.

It was playing air, lovely and watery

This example is taken from Thomas's well-known poem "Fern Hill". "Fern Hill" celebrates "the literal Fernhill farm of Dylan Thomas's childhood" and is imbued with happy memories of his childhood (Maud, 2003, p. 90). The words "lovely" and "playing" in the example exude the unconstrained pleasure of his childhood. It is noteworthy that there are no adjectives to modify the "sun" and "tunes" in the original text. Confronted with such a situation, Hai An has added "bright" and "beautiful" to modify the "sun" and "tunes" in his translation. "明媚的阳光" (bright sun) and "美妙的旋律" (beautiful tunes) are common collocations in Chinese and more poetic than "sun" and "tunes". Moreover, the similar collocations "明媚的阳光", "田间的干草" (the hay in the field), "美妙的旋律" and "嬉戏的空气" (the playing air) with the same syllables in Chinese echo with each other, creating a rhythm distinct to Chinese language. Hence, by adding "bright" and "beautiful" to modify "sun" and "tunes" respectively, Hai An creates a rhythm in Chinese by taking advantages of common and poetic collocations in Chinese "明媚的阳光" ("bright sun") and "美妙的旋律" (beautiful tunes), thereby meeting the Chinese readers' aesthetic expectations for the beauty of poetry on the one hand, and captures the spirit of happy experience of Thomas's childhood in the original poem on the other.

4.2. Creative Adaptation

As a poet translator, Hai An strives for promoting the reception of Thomas's poetry in China and expects his translated poetry to exert an influence on other

poets' poetry writing (Hai An, 2016, personal communication). As such, target culture's readership is undoubtedly of his paramount concern. Accordingly, the target-oriented translation norms to produce an accessible and reader-friendly translation are internalised and inculcated into Hai An's habitus. In turn, his habitus plays a structuring role in his translation practices, prompting him to make creative adaptations in the process of translating Thomas's poetry to facilitate cultural communications. The following example is a case in point.

Example 2

Dylan Thomas: That breaks one bone to light with a judgment clout

Hai An: 最后一击让一根白骨暴殓 (Hai An, 2014, p. 193)

Back Translation: That breaks one bone to light with a **final clout**

This example is derived from Thomas's poem "After the Funeral" which was written in memory of his aunt Ann Jones. In this example, the word "judgement" and its potential religious references are worth noting. According to John Goodby, the "judgment" refers to the "Judgment Day" when, in Christian tradition, God gives the final and eternal judgment to people in every nation, bringing glorification to some people and punishment to others (Goodby, 2016, p. 339). However, China is a not religious society, thus such Christian tradition is unfamiliar to general Chinese readers. Taking Chinese readers' acceptability into account, when dealing with the word "judgement", Hai An has adopted a strategy of creative adaptation through distilling the implicit meaning of "final" from the word "judgement" while filtering out its cultural and historical connotations. In this way, Hai An reduces the foreignness of Christian tradition in Chinese context in his translation and provides Chinese readers with a culturally more fluent translation.

4.3. Creative Invention

As Jean Boase-Beier points out, for many poets, "the translation of the work of others is not just a way of communicating that work to their own community, but is also a task they see as essential to enliven and improve their own poetic technique" (Boase-Beiser, 2013, p. 475). In this regard, Hai An is exactly a case

in point, for whom poetry writing and poetry translation are a mutual enforcement process. In Hai An's own words, he "为了译好诗, 继而又去写诗,锤炼自己的汉语表达能力;译诗又促进自身写诗技艺的提高" (engaged himself in poetry writing to improve his Chinese language skills, thereby enhancing the quality of his poetry translation, but his poetry translation, in turn, also improved his poetry writing skills) (Hai An, 2012, p. 149). In the process of his poetry writing practices, Hai An has acquired a poetic disposition of creative invention of poetic language, which shapes his habitus as a poet. When such a habitus penetrates into the process of translating Thomas's poetry, Hai An tends to creatively invent poetic language and content in his translation, which can be demonstrated by the following example.

> Example 3
>
> Dylan Thomas:
>
> Though wise men at their end know dark is **right**
>
> Hai An:
>
> 临终时明智的人虽然懂得黑暗逍遥 (Hai An, 2014, p. 237)
>
> Back Translation:
>
> Though wise men at their end know dark is **free and unfettered**

This example is extracted from one of Thomas's highly acclaimed poems "Do Not Go Gentle into That Good Night", which was written and addressed to his father. Although this poem was intended to persuade his father to fight against death, it was in fact never shown to him (Maud, 2003, p. 77). The line in the example describes how wise men deal with death. The word "right" in the line means "natural" or "inevitable" (Tindall, 1962, p. 216). In Hai An's translation, he renders it as "逍遥" (free and unfettered), creatively conveying the connotation of inevitable death and peaceful state after death in the phrase "dark is right" on the one hand, and displaying his own optimistic attitude towards death on the other. Such transcreation of "dark is right" is closely related to his own life experience.

As have been elaborated on in the exploration of his social trajectory, having suffered from nephritis, Hai An has been confronted with the threat of death

twice. Just as what Thomas persuading his father to do in front of death in "Do Not Go Gentle into That Good Night", Hai An has fought against death and never given up, which can be illustrated in his own poem 《时光隧道》 ("Time Tunnel") (Hai An, 2012, p. 132) :

> 人生浮浮沉沉
>
> 太多的无奈折磨凄美的心灵
>
> 大步跨入开启的时光隧道
>
> 我去体会天地间的美妙与辉煌
>
> 永不言败，哪怕末日降临
>
> Life ups and downs
>
> So much helplessness tortures bleak but beautiful heart
>
> Strides into the opened time tunnel
>
> I go to experience the beauty and glory on earth
>
> Never give up, even the end of world comes

This personal experience of being at the edge of death developed in him a strong understanding and appreciation of the theme of death in Thomas's poetry. Such an experience was absorbed by him, inculcated into him and helped to structure his personal habitus, which resulted in his translation of "dark is right" as "逍遥" (free and unfettered) with his creative invention based on his emotional empathy with Thomas.

The examples above clearly indicate the influence of Hai An's habitus as a poet translator on his textual agency in the translation of Thomas's poetry. His textual agency of "transcreation" in the form of rhythm creation, creative adaptation and creative invention reveals his poetic dispositions represented by his habitus. Attributing to his awareness of the importance of rhythm to poetry, he takes advantages of Chinese language and creates a rhythm unique to the Chinese language by adding words to the original text, thereby meeting the aesthetic needs of his Chinese readers in terms of the beauty of poetry. Out of his reader-oriented attitudes as a poet, through creative adaptation of cultural and historical

loaded words, he minimises the cultural distance between the source text and the target reader to meet the readers' expectations in China. By incorporating his own life experiences and practices of poetry writing into his translation, he releases himself from the fortified cage of the original text and brings his own creative invention as a poet into full play.

5. CONCLUSION

The in-depth textual analysis of Hai An's translation of Thomas's poetry provides discernible traces of a poet's work. He has not consistently subjected himself to the voice of Thomas. His habitus as a poet translator is shaped by his social trajectory and translation norms in China, which influences his textual agency displayed in the modality of transcreation in the form of rhythm creation, creative adaptation and creative invention. Thanks to transcreation, his translation of Thomas's poetry presents the features of Thomas as well as his own. Therefore, his translation is not just done by a translator, but also by a poet, creating a new life, or to use Walter Benjamin's term "afterlife", of Thomas's poetry in China (Benjamin, 2012, p. 76).

In addition, according to Hanna, poetry translation is one of the under-researched areas in translation studies based on Bourdieu's sociological frameworks (Hanna, 2016, p. 6). Therefore, having drawn on Bourdieu's habitus to engage with Hai An's textual agency in his Chinese translation of Thomas's poetry, this study has filled this gap and contributed to the exploration of emerging "sociologies of poetry translation" (Blakesley, 2019).

REFERENCES

Al-Jabri, Samia M. (2013). Intercultural literary exchange: Translation of poetry between the "self" and the "other". *Babel*, 59 (4), pp. 445-459.

Angelelli, Claudia V. (2014). Introduction. In Claudia V. Angelelli (Ed.), *The sociological turn in translation and interpreting studies* (pp. 1-5). Amsterdam and Philadelphia: John Benjamins Publishing Company.

Benjamin, W. (2012). The translator's task. In L. Venuti (Ed.), *The translation studies reader (Third Edition)* (pp. 75-83). London and New York: Routledge.

Blakesley, J. (Ed.) (2019). *Sociologies of poetry translation: Emerging perspectives*. London: Bloomsbury Academic.

Boase-Beier, J. (2013). Poetry translation. In C. Millán and F. Bartrina (Eds.), *The Routledge handbook of translation studies* (pp. 475-487). London and New York: Routledge.

Bourdieu, P. (1977). *Outline of a theory of practice*, Richard Nice (Trans.). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Bourdieu, P. (1990a). *The logic of practice*, Richard Nice (Trans.). Stanford: Stanford University Press.

Bourdieu, P. (1990b). *In other words: Essays towards a reflexive sociology*, Matthew Adamson (Trans.). Cambridge: Polity Press.

Chesterman, A. (2009). The name and nature of translator studies. *Hermes*, 22 (42), pp. 13-22.

Di Giovanni, E. (2008). Translations, transcreations and transrepresentations of India in the Italian media. *Meta*, 53 (1), pp. 26-43.

Goodby, J. (Ed.) (2016). *The collected poems of Dylan Thomas: The centenary edition*. London: Weidenfeld & Nicolson.

Gopinathan, G. (2014). Translation, transcreation and culture: Theories of translation in Indian languages. In T. Hermans (Ed.), *Translating others (Volume 1)* (pp. 236-246). London and New York: Routledge.

Gouanvic, J. (2005). A Bourdieusian theory of translation, or the coincidence of practical instances. *The Translator*, 11 (2), pp. 147-166.

Hai An (2005). The translation of poetry by the translator-cum-poet. *Chinese Translators Journal*, 26 (6), pp. 27-30.

Hai An (2012). 挽歌[*Elegy*]. Taiwan: Showwe Information Company.

Hai An (Trans.) (2014). 狄兰·托马斯诗选[*Selected poems of Dylan Thomas*]. Beijing: Foreign Language Teaching and Research Press.

Hanna, Sameh F. (2014). Remapping habitus: Norms, habitus and the theorisation of agency in translation practice and translation scholarship. In Gisella M. Vorderobermeier (Ed.), *Remapping habitus in translation studies* (pp. 59-

71). Amsterdam and New York: Rodopi.

Hanna, S. (2016). *Bourdieu in translation studies: The socio-cultural dynamics of Shakespeare translation in Egypt*. New York and London: Routledge.

Huang, F. (2014). 用生命翻译诗篇——读海岸译《狄兰·托马斯诗选》 [The poems translated with life: Reading *Selected Poems of Dylan Thomas*]. 中华读书报[*China Reading Weekly*], 22 January: 17.

Inghilleri, M. (2003). Habitus, field and discourse: Interpreting as a socially situated activity. *Target*, 15 (2), pp. 243-268.

Katan, D. (2016). Translation at the cross-roads: Time for the transcreational turn? *Perspective*, 24 (3), pp. 365-381.

Maud, R. (2003). *Where have the old words got me?: Explications of Dylan Thomas's Collected Poems, 1934-1953*. Cardiff: University of Wales Press.

Meylaerts, R. (2010). Habitus and self-image of native literary author-translators in diglossic societies. *Translation and Interpreting Studies*, 5 (1), pp.1-19.

Paloposki, O. (2009). Limits of freedom: agency, choice and constraints in the work of the translator. In J. Milton and P. Bandia (Eds.), *Agents of translation* (pp. 189-208). Amsterdam and Philadelphia: John Benjamins Publishing Company.

Pym, A. (2006). Introduction: On the social and cultural in translation studies. In A. Pym, M. Shlesinger & Z. Jettmarova (Eds.), *Sociocultural aspects of translating and interpreting* (pp. 1-25). Amsterdam and Philadelphia: John Benjamins Publishing Company.

Sela-Sheffy, R. (2005). How to be a (recognized) translator: Rethinking habitus, norms, and the field of translation. *Target*, 17 (1), pp. 1-26.

Shu, C. (2007) Translating poetry: The possible of the impossible--A few ideas on poetry translation. In Hai An (Ed.), *A Centennial Anthology of Sino-Occidental Poetry Translation* (pp. 658-669). Shanghai: Shanghai Foreign Language Education Press.

Simeoni, D. (1998). The pivotal status of the translator's habitus. *Target*, 10 (1), pp. 1-39.

Tindall, W. (1962). *A reader's guide to Dylan Thomas*. London: The Garden City Press.

Wang, G., Yang, W. & Wu D. (Eds.) (1988). *International poetry*. Guilin: Lijiang Publishing House.

Wang, H. (2012). Standing on the door of life and death: Review of Hai An's long poem *Elegy*. In Hai An, *Elegy* (pp. 3-11). Taiwan: Showwe Information Company.

Wolf, M. (2007). Introduction: The emergence of a sociology of translation. In M. Wolf & A. Fukari (Eds.), *Constructing a sociology of translation* (pp. 1-36). Amsterdam and Philadelphia: John Benjamins Publishing Company.

Wolf, M. (2014). The sociology of translation and its "activist turn". In *Claudia V. Angellelli* (Ed.), *The sociological turn in translation and interpreting Studies* (pp. 7-21). Amsterdam and Philadelphia: John Benjamins Publishing Company.

Xu, M. & Yu, C. (2015). Translators' professional habitus and the adjacent discipline: The case of Edgar Snow. *Target*, 27 (2), pp. 173-191.

Yannakopoulou, V. (2014). The influence of the habitus on translatorial style: Some methodological considerations based on the case of Yorgos Himonas' rendering of *Hamlet* into Greek. In Gisella M. Vorderobermeier (Ed.), *Remapping habitus in translation studies* (pp. 163-182). Amsterdam and New York: Rodopi.

3. THE POWER OF WORDS: TRANSLATION, IDEOLOGY AND POWER RELATIONS

Re-Narrating the Present:
Activist Translation Blogging as an Act of Translation Criticism in a Globalizing Era

Başak Ergil
Istanbul Yeni Yuzyil University
ergilbasak@yahoo.com.tr

Abstract

New approaches in Translation Studies (TS), translation technology along with such means/modes of communication as New Media have brought about the necessity for the Translation Studies researcher to re-address key concepts of the field, from a broader and multidisciplinary perspective. The present paper aims at following such an understanding of TS research, whereby the concepts of "translation", "translation criticism", "translation ethics" and "(re-)narration" are scrutinized with respect to the ways they can be instrumentalized while addressing Activist Translation Blogging platforms as actors of Translation Criticism in a globalized and constantly globalizing era. Setting out with a theoretical framework consisting Mona Baker's notion of "narrative approach to translation" (Baker, 2005; Baker, 2006), Maria Tymoczko's notions of "translation ethics" and "globalization" (Tymoczko, 2009) and Michael Cronin's elaborations on the relation between "translation" and "globalization" (Cronin, 2003), this paper argues that the agency of activist translation bloggers exceeds mere mediation, transfer or communication, and is characterized by critical and ethical translational "actions". Based on Maria Tymoczko's remarks on the requirement of "complex ethical thinking" when translation in a globalized context is in question (Tymoczko, 2009), and her assertion that "activist translations are performatives" (Tymoczko, 2010), I will argue that the performance of the activist translation blogger is a critical one, providing a "re-narration" of the present and (oftentimes) attempting to deconstruct globalized/globalizing discourses across power differentials. In

this vein, addressed as a performance based on a critical/ethical approach to reproduction of globalized and mainstream discourses via translations, activist translation blogging will be discussed and illustrated with a special focus on Translate for Justice (*tfJ*), an activist translation blog, and the ways they are deconstructing globalizing discourses by means of their activist translation actions and performances will be analyzed.

Keywords: Activist translation blogging, translation criticism, translation and globalization, translation ethics, translation criticism as performative.

1. INTRODUCTION

Recent developments in digital culture and a newly-emerging plurality of modes prevailing in the practices of communication have made it inevitable to re-address -from a brand new perspective- the modes and media of translation, which itself is a basic means/practice of communication and cross-/inter-cultural interaction. The nature of the agency provided and the act of mediation carried out by the translator/interpreter therefore becomes a more complex field of study since such concepts as "new media," "citizen media," "participatory journalism" have come to the fore when media, communication and journalism practices and research are in question. Throughout a research conducted about the agency of the translator or the task of translation within a digital culture-related field, the TS [Translation Studies] scholar now tends to undertake a multidisciplinary approach and eventually study the new and crucial roles of the translator as well as functions of translation. Bearing in mind that the context of such translations is a globalizing one, the complexity of the study deserves further attention. Through this perspective, the present paper aims at questioning the role of the activist translation blogger and the function of activist translation blogging in a globalizing era. Elaborating on the ethical and critical stance of the activist translation blogger in the face of a swiftly globalizing era, I will argue that the agency of activist translation bloggers (particularly translators) exceeds mere mediation, transfer or communication, and is characterized by critical and ethical translational "actions". I will conclude by discussing the nature of this "act" or "performance" of criticism as well as its consequences.

2. GLOBALIZATION, MEDIA AND ACTIVIST TRANSLATION

As quite briefly mentioned above, any research or discussion on *translation as communication* or *translation and communication* requires the inclusion of technology and digital culture as its basic components. To put it in Michael Cronin's words: "Discussion of contemporary translation that does not take into account the changing relationship between translators and things, between translation and the technosphere in the informational economy, is neither possible nor desirable" (2003, p. 23). Cronin finds the intermingling co-existence of translation –in a thoroughly extended sense– and digital culture so crucial that he goes on to declare this age of digital culture and digital interactivity "translation age":

This claim is that our present age, which is often referred to as the information age with its corollary, the knowledge society, should more properly be termed the translation age. The extreme flexibility of digital tools means that they can generate a wide variety of outputs. The most basic laptop with the correct software and internet connections can function as archivist, accountant, game console, library, photo album, estate agent. The variability of outputs of these machines is made possible, in part, by the universal convertibility of binary code, the ability of words, images, sounds to be converted to the universal language of code. In this sense, the radical changes that have been wrought in all areas of life as a result of the advent of information technology are to be placed under the sign of convertibility or translation. It is precisely the metamorphic or transformative effects of the convertible which are at the heart of the digital revolution that makes translation the most appropriate standpoint from which to view critically what happens to languages, societies, and cultures under a regime of advanced convertibility, and to understand what happens when the convertibility breaks down or reaches its limits. (2003, p. 3)

Before proceeding with/into the nature of activist translation and the agency of the activist translation blogger, I will elaborate on what Cronin calls "informational society," (2003, p. 11) "the translation age," (2013, p. 103) and "globalization" (2003; 2009) as well as the insight he brings as he looks into the agency of the translator in relation to these three concepts. Looking at these notions and their interrelatedness in particular and the relation between translation and globalization in general, I will try to provide an account of the theoretical and conceptual background upon which this paper is based.

2.1. Translation and Translation Ethics in a Globalizing Era

The concept of "globalization" in social sciences and humanities in general and in TS in particular is not without the positive and negative reponses it receives. The dominance of English as the *lingua franca*, recent debates on the relation between new cosmopolitanism(s) and translation[1], along with the Eurocentric nature of the notion of "globalization" give way to further questioning of translator's agency within a globalizing context. In this part of my research I

---

[1] For a further discussion of translation and cosmopolitanism, see Bielsa, 2016.

will offer a theoretical and conceptual framework in three stages, elaborating on the ethical discussions of three TS scholars: Michael Cronin, Mona Baker and Maria Tymoczko. This part aims at offering a discussion on "globalization" and calling attention to three categories of translation ethics parameters against a backdrop of a globalizing era:

> (i)   Ethics of difference, plurality, heterogeneity and diversity,
>
> (ii) Ethics of narration in conflicting times and situations,
>
> (iii) Ethics of self-reflexivity, self-awareness, empowerment and self-positioning in the face of political violence.

Michael Cronin addresses the concept of "Globalization"[2] in relation to the advent of information technologies and emergence of what he calls "informational society" (2003, p. 11). Comparing the terms "information society" and "informational society", he argues that the expression "informational" is effective in organizing the economy and the society. As he goes on to address another concept, "informational economy," Cronin highlights the importance of information technologies, the basic means of processing information and generating knowledge (*ibid.*). Cronin's discussion on "globalization" is largely built on these two concepts of "informational society", and the "informational economy" underlying it; he argues that "[A] central feature of the new, global economy which has emerged in the context of intensified relations is that it is informational" (2009, p. 126). According to Cronin, this new form of economy -which emerged at the end of the twentieth century as a result of the opportunities brought about by the information technology revolution- is "global" because

> […] the central activities of production, consumption and circulation, as well as their components (capital, labour, raw materials, management, information, technology, markets), are organized on a global scale, either directly or through a network of connections between different economic agents. (*Ibid.*)

---

[2] For further information about Michael Cronin's elaboration on the concept of "globalization" see Cronin, 2003 and Cronin, 2009.

Cronin argues that this global and informational society requires mediators who are "(double) agents who can self-reflexively mediate information flows between languages and cultures" (Cronin, 2003, p. 67). This requires a new notion of translators' agency and mediation; here, the focus is on the visibility of the agency of the translator in a globalizing context: "[…] it is by revealing, not disguising, their identity as translators that translators can make a legitimate bid to make more central interventions in culture, society and politics" (Cronin, 2003, p. 67).

In the field of TS, the role of the translation -and the translator- to empower and/or avoid "sameness" has long been addressed by many scholars. Cronin's problematization of his notion of "globalization" in terms of "sameness" is remarkable as it also addresses the agency of the translator. Translation as a means to promote or abort linguistic and cultural diversity has been one of the main concerns of scholars studying the agency of the translator across power differentials. One major example of scholarly work calling attention to the relation between "heterogeneity," "difference" and ethics is provided by Lawrence Venuti. In his seminal work *The Scandals of Translation: Towards an Ethics of Difference*, Venuti highlights the ethical value of welcoming linguistic and cultural differences as well as heterogeneity brought about by translation (see Venuti, 1999). The theoretical and ideological roots of such theorization may be traced back to such scholars as Antoine Berman, Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak and Jacques Derrida[3] who have, each in their own terms, foregrounded the concept of "difference" between languages and cultures. Similarly, Cronin regards translation as a way to avoid "sameness". In short, he addresses the role of translation in a globalizing context and emphasizes three points in terms of "sameness" and translation: (i) accessibility of cultural experiences, (ii) avoiding "monocultures of the mind" by means of encounters with different cultural options and (iii) avoiding "cultural amnesia" by means of refreshing linguistic and cultural memory (Cronin, 2003, pp. 73-74). Below is a closer account of these three points and the reasons why they may be regarded in terms of ethics of difference and heterogeneity:

> (i) Cronin's notion of "accessibility of cultural experiences" is a way for an individual to exceed personal textual and cultural experiences and

---

[3] For further information on the contribution of each of these scholars to translation ethics in terms of difference, diversity and heterogeneity, please see the following: Davis, 2001 (for a discussion of Derrida's concept of "différance" and its contibution to TS); Berman, 2000; Spivak, 2000.

therefore welcomes difference and heterogeneity. Cronin asserts that "[translation] expands the range of texts and cultural experiences available to any given individual in a language (so making the individual aware of the existence of other cultures and languages) and because it is a classic language maintenance mechanism, expanding the range and possibilities of language". (2003, p. 73)

(ii) The notion of avoiding "monocultures of the mind" by means of encounters with different cultural options is also regarded as a way to welcome cultural diversity and heterogeneity because "translation is an important way of keeping all our cultural options alive and available". (Cronin, 2003, p. 74)

(iii) The notion of "cultural amnesia" is another concept instrumentalized to discuss cultural diversity and heterogeneity. Avoiding "cultural amnesia" is a way of refreshing linguistic and cultural memory: "Translation allows us to remember what has been done and said and thought before in other languages and in our own. Without it, we are condemned to the most disabling form of cultural amnesia" (*ibid.*). With the inclusion of memory and of a temporal dimension to the notion of cultural difference, Cronin provides a more complete discussion of the relation between translation and cultural heterogeneity within the context of a globalizing era.

As Cronin's conceptualization of the relation between globalization and translation clearly reveals, it depends on the translator's self-positioning and ethical decision-making process whether a heterogeneous, diverse communication will be achieved or not. Translation, obviously, can play a major role in creating diversity and overcoming assimilationist ethics. However, ethics of diversity, difference and heterogeneity is not the only ethical parameter the translator encounters in globalizing contexts.

Among many, I would like to touch upon another ethical parameter prevailing in the translator's decision-making process in a globalizing context: that of representation and narration, which is dedicated place in this research because it involves a critical evaluation of the mass media and will allow us further elucidate the importance of alternative media –and its more specific branch: activist blogging.

Mona Baker's application of Narrative Theory to Translation Studies defines the translator as an agent constituting a reality rather than just articulating it. Through her notion of "Translation as Re-narration," Baker defines the "translation process" from the point of narrative theory and addresses the agency of the translator not merely as that of a mediator but also as the actor establishing or configuring a particular narration and considers narration as a means of relating to reality (see Baker, 2014):

> […] the stories we narrate do not only mediate our access to reality, but also participate in configuring that reality. Translation is thus understood as a form of (re-)narration that *constructs* rather than *represents* the events and characters it re-narrates in another language. Translators and interpreters do not mediate cultural encounters that exist outside the act of translation but rather participate in configuring these encounters: they are embedded in the narratives that circulate in the context in which they produce a translation and simultaneously contribute to the elaboration, mutation, transformation and dissemination of these narratives through their translation choices […] The narrative approach thus grants translators and interpreters considerable agency and acknowledges the decisive and highly complex role they play in their own societies […] as well as globally […] (Baker, 2014, p. 159; italics not mine)

As Mona Baker addresses the role and function of translation as narrative, she focuses on the narration in times and places of conflict. In her seminal book *Translation and Conflict*, Baker highlights some functions of narratives (see Baker, 2006) and how two or more conflicting narratives may compete (2010, p. 32). Among the functions of narratives are "normalizing function of narratives" (with special focus on the effects of translation in times and instances of conflict) which normalize a particular account so that it becomes "self-evident, benign, uncontestable, and non-controversial" (Baker, 2006, p. 11). According to Baker, a translator or interpreter takes an ethical responsibility in each unique task and decides whether to reproduce the ideology encoded in the narrative of a text or to dissociate themselves from those ideologies (2006, p. 105).

The third ethical parameter I would like to focus on is the self-reflexivity and – awareness of the translator as s/he performs the translation task.

Maria Tymoczko (2009), in her article entitled "Translation, Ethics, and Ideology in a Violent Globalizing World", draws the connections between translation, globalization, ideology and ethics. Tymoczko questions the Eurocentric view on the agency of the translator as a means of "transfer" mentioning an encouraged amnesia about the ideological engagement of the conflicts and violence emerging or prevailing in a globalizing world:

> […] the transfer metaphor implicit in Western conceptualizations of translation undermines the self-reflexivity and empowerment of translators, encouraging a sort of amnesia about the ideology in translation processes that facilitates the unexamined ascendancy of the values, discourses and ideological agendas of dominant powers within a culture and throughout the globalizing world, thereby facilitating the enlistment of translators in conflict and violence. This effacement also prevents adequate analysis of engaged translation practices, the role of the translators who act in political violence, and possible activist responses to political violence. (Tymoczko, 2009, p. 175)

Tymoczko concludes by addressing "ethics" as a very complex issue, especially in a globalizing world where coherence of the translator's ethical orientation should be a primary concern (2009, p. 185). Similar to Mona Baker's call for a recognition of translation as a (re-)narration, Tymoczko foregrounds the positionality of the translator as the creator of narrations in the face of political violence in a globalizing world. Naturally, the age of globalization brings about an undermining of "the translator's ethical and ideological self-awareness," "the translator's empowered agency," etc. (*ibid.,* p. 186). Tymoczko calls for not only an ethical reconsideration of the act of translation in such specific globalizing settings, but also for inclusion of such an ethical perspective in translator training instances, programmes and contexts.

Thus far, I have looked into three categories of translation ethics against the backdrop of a globalizing era:

(i) Ethics of difference, plurality, heterogeneity and diversity,

(ii) Ethics of narration in conflicting times and situations,

(iii) Ethics of self-reflexivity, self-awareness, empowerment and self-positioning in the face of political violence.

All these categories, as conceptualized by meticulous conceptualizations and theorizations by outstanding TS scholars, allow us to derive the following about translator's ethical agency in globalizing and/or conflicting contexts:

> (i) the translator is an active agent, whose decisions and acts have consequences on both a local and global scale,

> (ii) the translator's agency is far from being an act of mere mediation or imitation; on the contrary, the translator is an active agent who undertakes the role of a producer and by means of this production plays an active role in shaping a social/cultural reality. In Michael Cronin's conceptualization, the translator undertakes the production and circulation of information through translation; whereas in Mona Baker's approach the translator shapes or constitutes reality by the production and circulation of re-narrations; and in Maria Tymoczko's elaboration, the translator produces discourses that either legitimize political violence or not,

> (iii) neither the translation task nor the translator can be neutral and translators should therefore be vocal as well as visible whenever their agency is in question.

As the discussion above reveals, the translator's role as an ethical agent is very crucial and decisive especially in the context of conflicts brought about by or during globalization. As translation in a globalizing world is clearly an act undertaken across power differentials and political contexts, the translator's decision-making process always takes place between personal versus dominant values, the legal versus the legitimate (or sometimes humane), the vocal versus the silenced. The complexity and diversity of social relations hardly allows for an ethical position of the translator as can be reduced and located in between these binaries. As emphasized both by Baker, Tymoczko and many other TS scholars not named in this research, globalization is often discussed in terms of political violence it brings about[4] and the translator's position in the face of such violence. This violence, which is embodied and legitimized primarily in the discourses and narrations created by the mass media and social media, is sometimes challenged by activist translation bloggers, who -through alternative narrations and discourses- undertake ethical as well as critical roles in undoing

---

[4] For further academic debates and discussions on this issue see *Globalization, Political Violence and Translation* (Bielsa & Hughes, 2009).

or deconstructing the dominant discourses and perceptions imposed by power asymmetries across nations or cultures. The following part elaborates on the agency of activist translation bloggers as ethical and critical agents.

2.2. Activist Translation Blogging as an Act of Translation Criticism

In communication and media studies, the emergence of such new concepts as "new media," "alternative media," "activist media," "citizen media," "participatory journalism" all reveal a powerful challenge against the forms and derivatives of conventional "mainstream media". Leah A. Lievrouw, in her book *Alternative and Activist New Media*, provides the following definition of "participatory journalism":

> *Participatory journalism* projects, and particularly Indymedia, are web-based alternative, radical, or critical news outlets and services that adopt the practices and philosophy of public, civic, citizen, participatory or "open source" journalism to provide alternatives to mainstream news and opinion. This genre includes online news services, where news is gathered and published in much the same way as conventional print and online publications, as well as news and opinion web logs ("blogs"), where authors and readers contribute opinions and debate current events and issues. Both types of projects critique the traditions and prerogatives of establishment journalism and the press (so-called "mainstream media"), particularly the mainstream's marginalization or exclusion of local, minority, unpopular, or fringe communities, issues, and views. (Lievrouw, 2012, p. 25; italics not mine)

The critical nature of participatory journalism and citizen media[5] in general and activist blogging in particular also prevails in activist translation blogging. Activist translation communities, as elaborated and theorized by Mona Baker, form narrative communities based on common values (2009, p. 229) and work towards rejecting dominant narratives -of conflict and state terror- and establishing discourses of peace and justice across national and other boundaries (*ibid.*, p. 239).

---

[5] Mona Baker and Bollette B. Blaagard, in their article entitled "Reconceptualizing Citizen Media. A Preliminary Charting of A Complex Domain" address these agents as "unaffiliated individuals and collectives as they reclaim public and digital spaces in the pursuit of non-instituionalized agendas" (Baker & Blaagard, 2016, p. 1).

My main argument here is that many activist translation bloggers, as they reject the conventional discourses, narrations and representations produced by conventional and dominant organs of the mass media and mainstream media, are performing acts of translation criticism by

(i) criticizing the selection of texts to be translated that are foregrounded by the conventional mass media and proposing a new set of texts through which they can establish more subversive narrations, discourses or representations,

(ii) criticizing the imposed myth of neutrality that prevails in the discourses regarding the agency and positionality of the translator and self-reflexively positioning themselves within each unique task involved in the activist translation blogging process (in other words, they undo the myth of neutrality because the very act of "activism" in each unique translation task they perform is by its very nature far from being neutral and is a challenge against social/translational norms),

(iii) criticizing the translation strategies and norms applied in translated texts and applying or devising new translation strategies that will provide resistance against dominant and conventional translation norms, strategies and approaches,

(iv) criticizing the non-existence of some genres, text types as well as the popularization and over-circulation of dominant genres and text types; thus, introducing (as well as vocalizing) silenced, aborted, censored or disadvantaged text types, topics or individuals into the target language(s) and culture(s),

(v) criticizing the conventional historiographical practices (carried out by means of present translation activities) and contributing to translation as history-writing by providing alternative histories of the present time, archiving translated documents and preserving as well as digitally exhibiting the translated archives, all of which will add up to an alternative history-writing of the present time by means of alternative translated documents, narrations and text types,

(vi) criticizing and deconstructing the sameness of translated discourse imposed by the mass media and mainstream media; promoting an ethics of difference, heterogeneity and diversity by introducing neglected, avoided and silenced components of translation,

(vii) criticizing the proofreading approaches to translated discourses which may sometimes function as promoters of conventional norms;

setting more ethical editorial processes instead of assimilationist, repressive or standardizing editorial approaches,

(viii) criticizing a unilateral and linear movement –or sometimes static positions- of translated texts in cultural systems; instead, promoting a multilingual, multicultural, multilateral and relatively free circulation of translated texts travelling across borders and barriers, which allows for both dialogue across languages/cultures and cultural/linguistic pluralism (see Ergil, 2016),

(ix) criticizing overly individualistic and isolated processes of translation, and instead working towards an ethics of cooperation and solidarity with fellow translators and other agents taking part in this process[6].

This argument and the sub-arguments it brings about are based on the following perceptions of translation ethics and translation criticism:

(i) A perception of translation criticism as a performative act as opposed to the traditional approaches to translation criticism which see it as a meta-text production based on a translation (product); instead, seeing translation criticism as a performative action at all stages covering pre- and post-translation processes as well as the dynamics of the socio-cultural and world-historical context which forms the backdrop of a translation process or a set of translation processes,

(ii) A perception of translation ethics from such a perspective that the consequences, complications and motivations of conflicts brought about by globalization are addressed as crucial and relevant phenomena worth discussing and researching.

The notion of translations as "performatives" (Tymoczko, 2009, p. 178) and as "activist achievements" (Tymoczko, 2010, pp. 229-230) was brought up by Maria Tymoczko in a number of her writings. My argument, however, is that this performative act and activist achievement is an extended (and probably unconventional) form of translation criticism with an ethical nature.

---

[6] This critical view holds true for activist translation blogging communities rather than individuals although it is possible that in some cases individual translation bloggers may cooperatively work with fellow translators, editors, etc.

Below is an illustration of the above-mentioned argument and sub-arguments through the example of *Translate for Justice* (tfj), an activist translation blog which works in 18 languages and is the recipient of two awards given by acclaimed institutions.

3. CASE STUDY: *TRANSLATE FOR JUSTICE* (*tfj*)

Translate for Justice[7] (*tfj*) is an activist translation blog founded in 2013 and is published on https://translateforjustice.com/. It works in 18 languages and provides translations on six focus themes: children's rights, discrimination, forced migration, freedom of speech, repression, resistance (see Focus Themes). There is multilateral translation in the blog where a text in any of the working languages may be translated into any other language. Moreover, *tfj* is the recipient of two awards in 2015 and 2016: "Elif Ertan New Voices in Translation Award" granted by Translation and Interpreting Association Turkey in 2015 and Hermann Kesten Incentive Award by German PEN in 2016[8].

In the "Who we are" part of their online Newsletter, *tfj* is addressed as an alternative online platform,

> - aiming at creating an alternative source of news against the self-censoring, progovernment mainstream media,

> - extending its content in a way that will encompass more topics that may be of international concern,

> - aiming at making silenced and suppressed voices to be heard,

> - highlighting the role of the translator as an "agent in the formation of public opinion and in social and political transformation processes" (Who we are, 2013).

Similarly, in their collective acceptance speech video for the Elif Ertan New Voices Award, Translate for Justice members address themselves as "an

---

[7] Unless it is in the Reference List or an in-text citation, I refer to *Translate for Justice* as *tfj* in this research both for practical reasons and because it is widely known as *tfj* on social media.

[8] To view Hermann-Kesten-Förderpreis 2016 certificate, see "Hermann Kesten-Förderpreis 2016"; to view the laudatio by Hans Thill, see Thill, 2016.

independent alternative community […] on the fringes of the established translation community […] that wanted to counter the one-sided media coverage to satisfy [their] sense of justice and live up to [their] social responsibility" and state that "translators can make the world a more just place" (Translate for Justice, 2016).

Having discussed the ethical-critical approach undertaken by the translator in globalizing as well as conflicting settings in the first two parts of this research, below is an evaluation of *tfj* translations in terms of the three sets of parameters so far introduced:

(i) Ethics of difference, plurality, heterogeneity and diversity:

With as many as 18 working languages as well as translators and proofreaders who are native or near-native speakers of those languages from all over the world, *tfj* is an example of non-Eurocentric and non-ethnocentric cultural and linguistic plurality (see Ergil, 2016). Among the working languages of the website are Chinese, Arabic, Farsi, Katalan, Turkish, Macedonian some which are minoritized languages or languages of minoritized cultures. Although the number of texts translated into/from these languages may not be too many, it is apparently one of the objectives of this activist blog to make communication through these languages possible and effective.

The heterogeneity of the platform is not limited to the non-ethnocentric use and selection of the languages of the blog nor the agents taking part throughout the translation and proofreading processes. Similarly, the multilateral manner of translation across languages, the selection of a variety of "silenced" themes and texts, and a variety of text types or genres selected for translation (articles, interviews, songs, poems, press releases, etc.) all contribute to the heterogeneity and diversity brought about by the translation processes and products of *tfj*. In their newsletter, award acceptance video, and on their blog, *tfj* explicitly claims this diverse and heterogenous approach to translation as well as to the agency of the translator. As their discourse on these platforms reveals, their critical approach to existing discourses and narrations is apparently the main reason underlying the translations and/or re-translations of the texts across languages and cultures, some of which have been minoritized throughout decades or centuries. In this sense, we may claim that

tff provides an example of an activist translation blog functioning in avoiding what Cronin would call "cultural amnesia" (Cronin, 2003, pp. 73-74).

(ii) Ethics of narration in conflicting times and situations:

In line with Mona Baker's understanding of translation as a component of construction of a reality rather than a representation of it, as well as her addressing the translator as a "participant" in constructing cultural encounters rather than a mere mediator, *tff* constructs narrations and re-narrations by means of choosing silenced and underrated themes, topics and authors; translating into/from minoritized languages/cultures; and providing what Mona Baker (2006) calls "competing narratives", which, in this case, challenge the prevailing narrations promoted by the mainstream media across asymettric power relations. These narrations, apart from functioning as informative texts that lead to multicultural participation to discussions about conflicts in globalizing/globalized settings, also form archives that will function as narrations of alternative histories and thus contribute to the alternative and activist historiographical efforts of the present time. With a wide range of texts and text types selected for translation, they do not only archive alternatives to the standardized narrations of the mainstream media, they also archive narrations from a variety of perspectives which will allow for a perception of the present time from a multiplicity of viewpoints of those parties who have been repressed and silenced. To be more precise, the translated archives allow for an access to the responses of various individuals or groups to a particular event. For example, translated documents may reveal the response of a community of a certain professional group (i.e. a press release by a doctor's association), the response of an individual (i.e. interview with an expert or witness; a blog text of an asylum seeker, etc.) or the opinion of a local and/or foreign journalist (i.e. translated magazine articles). These narratives, beyond "competing" their mainstream counterparts, do also complement each other so as to provide the target readers with a multiplicity of responses constructing a fuller view of a particular event or phenomenon.

In terms of competing narratives, *tff* may be considered as a strong voice against that of the dominant mainstream media and the narratives -or silence- created by it. In the "Who We Are" part of their newsletter, they clearly put forward this initial intention, as they refer to why the platform was established during the Gezi Park protests in Istanbul in 2013, when the mainstream media

offered pro-government propagandistic discourse or silenced the protests by means of excluding them from their news agenda:

> The common practice was either self-censorship or offering programming that was little more than propaganda for the government. We started translating in order to create an alternative source for news and to react to the mainstream media's attitude. (Who We Are, 2013).

The mainstream media, which was called "the penguin media"[9] at the time, avoided covering the protests and preferred TV shows, sit-coms or wild life documentaries while people were taking to the streets in Istanbul and all around Turkey. The narrative provided by *tfj* was not only a local means to cover the silenced topic of Gezi protests (and provide a competing narrative to that of the mainstream media) but also provided a diverse dialogue of perspectives on an international level.

> (iii) Ethics of self-reflexivity, self-awareness, empowerment and self-positioning in the face of political violence.

The amnesia, pointed out by Tymoczko, pertaining to the way translator's ideological agency is forgotten in a Western understanding of "translation as transfer", is challenged by the agency of the translator as articulated in discourses of *tfj*. Despite the anonymity of individual translators that makes their personal identity invisible, *tfj* consistently articulates and foregrounds the role and agency of the translators in the construction and transformation of cultures[10], also "inviting young and prospective translators (to) develop a new perspective to the profession" (Who we are, 2013).

In addition to making the role of the translator more visible, the discourse created by *tfj* is (self-)empowering in terms of the translator's role across power differentials and in the face of violence. In their newsletter, they declare the crucial role of the translator as follows:

---

[9] This name comes from the constant show of wild life documentaries, some about penguins' lives, instead of covering news about the protests all over the city (Istanbul) and the country.
[10] See the Translate for Justice Newsletter (Who We Are, 2013) and Award Acceptance Video (Translate for Justice, 2016).

> Translators can contribute to creating a counterbalance to information provided by mainstream media and make voices which are silenced or suppressed heard in other languages. Therefore, the role of the seemingly invisible or 'neutral' translator is redefined in this project. S/he becomes an important agent in the formation of public opinion and in social and political transformation processes. (*Ibid.*)

With this discourse, *tfj* goes beyond *being* self-reflexive and self-positioning. They also contribute to the image of the translator by *promoting a discourse* that creates such an image of the translator as a non-neutral, self-empowering agent. This discourse and image are important in the social perception of the translator (and the prestige of the profession) as well as in the reception of the (TS) researcher questioning the agency of the translator.

Apparently, the reception/perception regarding *tfj* that the platform members have tried to establish has been attained. Hans Thill (2016), in his laudation ends his speech by highlighting the importance of this initiative for "the feedom of the word and the individual".

4. CONCLUSION

Taking into consideration the necessity to think ethically and critically in times of global conflict and violence, this article looks into the ways in which activist translation blogs may function as they re-introduce silenced discourses, themes, text types and voices in a globalizing setting dominated by the mainstream media which is largely manipulated by asymmetric power differentials. The argument in this research is that the ethical and critical performances of the translators throughout these activist translation blogging processes are influential in terms of establishing an ethics of heterogeneity and diversity across cultures, constructing an alternative understanding and narration of the present, contributing to the alternative historiographical processes in the present time, and making the agency of the translator more visible. They may turn into spaces of linguistic/cultural plurality, of intercultural dialogue across borders, and archives providing multiplicity of perspectives as well as a wide range of text types.

In terms of translation studies, on the other hand, activist translation blogs and bloggers as one of the most recent subjects of research, call for new

perspectives and research on the agency of the translator, role of translation and the inter-/multi-disciplinary nature of translation research.

Activist translation blogging, as this paper tried to hint at, is also important as a potential subject of research in such neighbouring disciplines as New Media Studies, Citizen Media Studies, Historiography, Cultural Studies and Memory Studies.

REFERENCES

Baker, M. (2005). Narratives in and of Translation. *SKASE Journal of Translation and Interpretation* 1(1), pp. 4-13. Retrieved from http://www.skase.sk/Volumes/JTI01/doc_pdf/01.pdf

Baker, M. (2006). *Translation and Conflict. A Narrative Account*. London & NY: Routledge.

Baker, M. (2009). Resisting State Terror: Theorizing Communities of Activist Translators and Interpreters. In E. Bielsa, C. W. Hughes (Eds.), *Globalization, Political Violence and Translation* (pp. 222-242). New York: Palgrave MacMillan.

Baker, M. (2010). Translation and Activism: Emerging Patterns of Narrative Community. In M. Tymoczko (Ed.), *Translation, Resistance, Activism* (pp. 23-41). Amherst and Boston: University of Massachusetts Press.

Baker, M. (2014). Translation as Re-narration. In J. House (Ed.), *Translation. A Multidisciplinary Approach* (pp. 158-177). Basingstoke: Palgrave MacMillan.

Baker, M. & Blaagard, B. B. (2016). Reconceptualizing Citizen Media: A Preliminary Charting of a Complex Domain. In M. Baker, B. B. Blaagaard (Eds.), *Citizen Media and Public Spaces: Diverse Expressions of Citizenship and Dissent* (pp. 1-22). London & New York: Routledge.

Berman, A. (2000). Translation and the Trials of the Foreign (trans. Lawrence Venuti). In L. Venuti (Ed.), *The Translation Studies Reader* (pp. 284-297). London and New York: Routledge.

Bielsa, E. & Hughes, C. W. (Eds.) (2009). *Globalization, Political Violence and Translation*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan.

Bielsa, E. (2016). *Cosmopolitanism and Translation*. Routledge.

Cronin, M. (2003). *Translation and Globalization*. New York: Routledge.

Cronin, M. (2009). Globalization. In M. Baker & G. Saldanha (Eds.), *Routledge Encyclopedia of Translation Studies* (pp. 126-129). New York: Routledge.

Cronin, M. (2013). *Translation in the Digital Age*. London & New York: Routledge.

Davis, K. (2001). *Deconstruction and Translation*. New York: Routledge.

Ergil, B. (2016). History writing and formation of large-scale collective cultural memory through blogged translations: The use of linguistic and cultural plurality in Translate of Justice. In *Multilingualism Beyond Linguistic Plurality: The Trajectories of Multilingualism in Translation* Conference (Boğaziçi University, 2016 May 11-12). Unpublished paper. Retrieved from http://multilingualism-translation.boun.edu.tr/Abstract%20&%20Bio%20updated.pdf

Focus Themes. (2013). Retrieved from https://translateforjustice.com/focus-themes/

"Hermann Kesten-Förderpreis 2016" (2016). *Certificate of Hermann-Kesten Incentive Award granted to Translate for Justice*. Retrieved from https://translateforjustice.com/2016/11/22/hermann-kesten-awards-2016/#jp-carousel-3993

Lievrouw, L. A. (2012). *Alternative and Activist New Media*. Polity Press.

Spivak, G. C. (2000). The Politics of Translation. In L. Venuti (Ed.), *The Translation Studies Reader* (pp. 397-416). London & New York: Routledge.

Thill, Hans (2016). Hermann Kesten-Förderpreis des deutschen PEN-Zentrums, 17.11.16 in Darmstadt, LAUDATIO auf die Initiative »Translate for Justice«, Retrieved from https://www.pen-deutschland.de/wp-content/uploads/2016/11/Laudatio-auf-die-Initiative-%C2%BBTranslate-for-Justice%C2%AB-von-Hans-Thill.pdf

Translate for Justice (n.d.). Retrieved from https://translateforjustice.com/

Translate for Justice (2016, September 21). *Tfj Elif Ertan Prize Acceptance Speech* [Youtube] Retrieved from https://www.youtube.com/watch?time_continue=15&v=DqKrr1peq_c.

Tymoczko, M. (2009). Translation, Ethics and Ideology in a Violent, Globalizing World. In E. Bielsa, C. W. Hughes (Eds.), *Globalization, Political Violence and Translation* (pp. 171-194). Palgrave MacMillan.

Tymoczko, M. (2010). The Space and Time of Activist Translation. In M. Tymoczko (Ed.), *Translation, Resistance, Activism* (pp. 227-254). Amherst & Boston: University of Masachusetts Press.

Venuti, L. (1999). *The Scandals of Translation. Towards an Ethics of Difference.* London & New York: Routledge.

Who We Are. (2013, November/December). *Translate for Justice Newsletter.* Retrieved from
https://translateforjustice.files.wordpress.com/2013/12/newsletter01-13_.pdf

A traductological perspective of political speech: Donald Trump's speeches

María del Carmen López Ruiz
University of Córdoba (Spain)
L32lorum@uco.es

Abstract

Political speeches are generally defined by their demagogical characteristics, as well as by certain linguistic resources which enable the speaker to convince the audience. This article presents some perspectives on political translation and the role that language and translation play in communicating a speech to non-source language audiences.

But how exactly should translators address the problems that arise when translating a political speech? How should they translate the large amount of political and discursive resources used to convince the public?

In this paper, we attempt to identify the problems that political speeches pose concerning their written translation in newspapers. With this aim, we analyze the linguistic resources used in political discourse, as well as the speech acts and pragmatic characteristics that define the original speech in order to identify an adequate translation that fulfils all the requirements of the target language text. In this regard, linguistics will be a key point on which our work will be based.

Specifically, we examine in depth some of Donald Trump's transcripted speeches; thus, our field of study focuses on the current political context of the United States. The main objectives are to study the impact of translation in the field of political speech and to identify the differences and similarities between Donald Trump's speeches and their translation into Spanish. In conclusion, we will show that political translation is a matter not only of political affairs, but

also (and unavoidably) of linguistics, which sets up the basis on which translation is held.

1. INTRODUCTION

Studying political texts does not only allow us to take onto consideration political disciplines, directly related to politicians, but also provides us with the opportunity of considering translation, linguistics and pragmatics as part of the study, because all linguistic lines of research can easily adjust to political text.

Political discourse can be fully analyzed thanks to several disciplines (Pragmatics, Linguistics, Translation Studies, for instance). This is one the main characteristics of political texts —that will take the form of political discourse in our study—: the interaction of many linguistic factors that can be studied by more than one specialized linguistic science. Analyzing political discourse means to analyze both the things that the discourse says *per se* —the words, expressions and acts of speech on the elocutionary acts— and all those things that are not expressly said, but which are totally communicated —illocutionary acts.

For our contribution, political discourse will be understood in the following terms:

> Political discourse is identified by its participants (politicians, citizens, pressure groups, etc., when acting as political actors), the activities or practices being accomplished by political text and talk and their political functions and implications, and the context (in terms of political and communicative events and encounters with their owns settings, occasions, intentions, etc.). (Van Dijk, 1997)

Van Dijk's 1997 *What is political discourse* article points out that both participants and [political] activities related to *political text* and *talk* and the context are the fundamental key aspects to consider in any political discourse analysis. Thus, our study will take into consideration whether the translation has conveniently covered these three aspects: the context, based on the communicative situation; the participants, set on the speaker and the target audience of the translation, as well as the target culture; and last, but not least, the activities, which will deal with a discourse talking about any political issue in terms of current politics (international relations, immigration, welfare, etc.).

But, in this sense, what should be therefore understood by the term *politics*? There is not a definite answer for this question, because each science defines this term from a very wide variety of perspectives (i.e., Politology science will

always have a different answer for that question if we compare it with Pragmatics). Our vision will consider the original meaning of *politics* as defined by Aristotle, which expressly[1] characterised human beings as *political animals*[2] living in a *polis*[3]. Human beings need to live in a society following some laws and customs to guarantee the interaction of all the members of such society. Therefore, any human community is delimited by a range of relationships, amongst which there should be mentioned, at least, power and ideology. The vast phrases said by the orator in the middle of a Roman forum were first created to define such relationships of power, always considering ideology. The way the orators had to emphasize what they were saying and to transmit it to their audience was through persuasion and ornaments to their speech, which, throughout history, ended up in what is known as *persuasion,* already studied by the Greeks in connection to rhetoric and elocution as the key standards to guarantee a successful career for a politician. Then, Aristotle again mentioned the three proofs of rhetoric (*ethos, logos* and *pathos*)[4] associated to political discourse. The reasons behind the inclusion of such terms in his treaty *Politics* was to show the importance of studying political discourse, as he first noticed how the words could intervene so that the whole career of a person, of a man amongst others of his same nature, could live to govern the rest of them, following some agreed rules. This leads us to one obvious conclusion: politics are related to power, and political discourse, thus, is settled in order to draw reasons for the audience to get convinced of the motives why they should proclaim an orator as a political man —that is to say, the reasons why they should allow the person giving the speech to come to power and to leader the rest of them—. In other words, power is to politics what strategies of convincing are to political discourse: any person giving a political speech, since the Antiquity and yet today, needs to find the adequate strategies to convince the public of how good this person is in order to leader them all: to have plenty of access to the power, all in all.

---

[1] Aristotle (2013 [IV B.C.E.]): *Politics.* Chicago and London: The University of Chicago Press, 2nd edition.

[2] *Political animals:* 'Politikon zoon', as mentioned in *Politics* (Aristotle). By this phrase the author was meaning that any man becomes a man when he is living with some other men, among others of his same nature, providing that he is living in a society (with a variety of relationships of power) governed by laws and customs, so that the man can be able to achieve his total goal, his fully potential: being able to achieve his natural end in a social context.

[3] *Polis:* from Greek πόλις, *polis,* meaning 'state'.

[4] *Ethos,* in the sense of 'credibility' (of the orator); *logos,* meaning 'reason'; and finally, *pathos,* related to the sense 'emotion'.

Considering these precepts, broad studies have been carried out towards the idea of explaining politics in relations to power[5]. Therefore, we cannot think of any relationship between politics and power without the bond of language. Schäffner and Bassnett (2010) summarize this vision from this point of view:

> Any human community is determined by interaction and relationships, including power relationships. Studies of politics have therefore often explained politics in relations to power [...]. In any case, whether struggle or cooperation, "politics cannot be conducted without language" (Chilton and Schäffner, 1997, p. 206). Human interaction to a large extent involves language, and linguistic interaction is embedded in and determined by socio-cultural, historical, ideological, and institutional conditions. In relation to politics, we can say that the specific political situations and processes (discursive practices, such as parliamentary debates, political press briefings) determine discourse organization and textual structure of a variety of discourse types (or genres) in which political discourse as a complex form of human activity is realized. (Schäffner and Bassnett, 2010, p. 2)

These two authors have mentioned the term *textual structure of [political] discourse,* a concept that has not escaped from the theory framework of many researchers when studying political texts. There is not yet any agreement amongst authors to determine and specify all the different textual types that can be included under the 'political discourse' umbrella term. This means that for the major part of them, a political discourse can be differentiated from any other type of discourse by the terminology employed, which will determine the topic of the discourse; by the superstructure (Van Dijk, 1980); and by the identification of the concrete characteristics which define political discourse (and/or texts) in general terms.

---

[5] See the following references, which we do highly recommend to all readers interested in that line of research: Chadwick, Andrew (2017). *The hybrid media system: Politics and Power.* Oxford: Oxford University Press; Chilton, Paul (1996). *Security Metaphors. Cold War Discourse from Containment to Common House.* New York: Lang; Chilton, Paul & Schäffner, Christina (1997). "Discourse and Politics". In T. VAN DIJK (ed.), *Discourse Studies: a multidisciplinary introduction, vol. 2. Discourse as Social Interaction* (pp. 206-230). London: Sage; Chilton, Paul & Schäffner, Christina (Eds.) (2002). *Politics as Text and Talk. Analytic Approaches to Political Discourse.* Amsterdam and Philadelphia: Benjamins; Khaler, Miler (2009). *Networked politics: agency, power and governance.* Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press.

Following Cap and Okulska (2013, pp. 13-18), we can find at least twelve political types, each of which are examined in different chapters of the volume where their contribution is included. These types include the following:

- Political speeches

- Political interviews

- Policy documents

- Political online advertisements or online ads

- Political blogs

- Political debates

- Political talk shows

- Political campaigns

- Political (television election night) broadcasts

- Political meetings

- Political messages throughout social Media

- Other TV and electronic genres

- Etc.

In any case, our aims are not to describe each one of these political text types. But we think that it is important to mention, at least, a few characteristics of the genre that takes part of this study: the first political text type mentioned, i.e., political speeches. In this occasion, we will describe this genre taking onto account the following considerations: the political discourses that we are going to study tackle majorly political speeches that were written to be spoken. This is the reason why we cannot study some linguistic fields to which linguistic oral marks belong: phonetics and phonology will not be a part of the study. It is important, however, to mark where and when the orator puts on the accent in order to highlight any term or statement, but in this occasion, we will not consider phonetics as part of this study. On the other hand, we must weight up as well that the translations into Spanish have all be found on online newspapers and magazines. This leads us to a conclusion: there is not any

guarantee that the translator is a specialized expert; he/she can be a journalist who is also in charge of translating documents, although this is not supposed to be part of his job. As Gallardo Camacho (2005, p. 79) summarizes:

> Por tanto, el papel del corresponsal, en este caso, puede quedar limitado a la mera traducción de reportajes preexistentes. Las fuentes de la noticia son adquiridas por el reportero que firma el primer reportaje y trasladadas o reinterpretadas por un segundo periodista que puede limitarse sólo [*sic*] a traduci. (Gallardo Camacho, 2005, p. 79)

> Therefore, the role of the correspondent, in this case, can be limited to the simple translation of pre-existing reports. The sources of the news are acquired by the correspondent that signs the first report and translated or reinterpreted by a second journalist who can restrict himself to just translating. (Our translation into English)

Once all the above said, let us take a look at some of the most frequent linguistic and pragmatic characteristics to which Messina Fajardo (2016) relates political discourse. These are the following (the original were written in Spanish —Spanish version of the handbook—; here comes our own translation to English):

- Syntactic characteristics: coordination and subordination (nouns and adjectives)

- Style: ostentatiousness and pomposity (circumlocutions, periphrases), semantic complexity, locutions, collocations, aphorisms, slogans, mottos, etc.

- Lexicon: neologisms, complex terms, technicalities, legal terms, economic terms, etc.

- Rhetoric characteristics: metaphor, anaphor, repetition, antithesis, polysemy, ambiguity, etc.

- Politic strategies: disqualification, insults, explicit and implicit threats, insolences, etc.

All of these features and characteristics will be examined over the two versions of the political discourse that we have chosen for the aims of our study. As we

will explain further down, our analysis will not only consider linguistic and pragmatic aspects, but also traductological ones. Concerning the latest, we will look at the following translation techniques, found on Hurtado Albir and Molina (2013, p. 511), a paper in which these authors revisit the techniques and procedures of Hurtado Albir's 2001 *Traducción y Traductología*. During our analysis, the reader will find many references to the following translation techniques:

- Adaptation

- Amplification

- Compensation

- Description

- Established equivalent

- Generalization

- Literal translation

- Modulation

- Particularization

- Transposition

- Etc.

2. OBJECTIVES AND METHODOLOGY

It is precisely this bond between language and politics that we will take into consideration for the aims of this study. In this sense, we will validate the theories of some scholar academics such as Bassnett (1980), Schäffner (1997) and more concretely Van Dijk (1997) in order to analyse some excerpts of Donald Trump's speeches, the current President of the United States.

These are the objectives that we want to tackle on our study: firstly, we wanted to analyze some political discourses from one politician, and we decided to choose Donald Trump as he is the current President of the United States, one of the most important countries on the world concerning economic, legal, international and global matters. His style is unprecedented, as it varies a lot if

we compare it with any of the precedent presidents of the White House. The manners and tone used by Trump throughout his speeches give a particular idea to the audience on how the president uses rhetoric. Our study will cover two languages: English, majorly, and Spanish, as we will explain afterwards. We wanted to analyze linguistically and pragmatically the total amount of speeches selected for our study, in order to verify if the conclusions drafted after such analysis could be compared to the Spanish translated version or not. And last, but not least, we wanted to analyze, from a traductological point of view, whether the speeches have followed a good criteria in the process of translation and if there is any trace of manipulation in the passage from one language to the other. Thus, we have chosen a second language in our study: Spanish, that will be the target language (TL) of the translation.

We have decided to compile an online database of texts which compose our corpus of work, constituted by a total of 10 speeches. With regards to these speeches, the methodology that we have followed addresses the following steps: firstly, we have selected a total of 10 speeches concerning a concrete topic: international relationships. Once the corpus established, we chose 10 excerpts of each one of these speeches of about 4 / 5 lines long. The justification of selecting such excerpts and no others has followed our own criteria, based on choosing the fragments that from a traductological, linguistic and pragmatic point of view were more interesting. Specifically, we focused on the fragments that could propose more difficulties for the translator, due to ambiguities or to technical and/or cultural terms that were not easy to transfer into another language (and culture). Thus, we wanted to know as well if the translation on the TL was pragmatically equal to the original or not, an objective that only could be achieved by a complete pragmatic analysis. We took into consideration, as well, if the linguistic structures from the original text were respected or not in the translated version, so that to asseverate whether the strategies and techniques used by the translator were the most appropriate or not. The analysis has covered two objectives: on the one hand, we have analyzed linguistically the whole excerpt, considering syntax, semantics and morphology. On the other hand, we have considered Pragmatic Theory, and we have conducted a pragmatic analysis, contemplating the contribution of the following authors, as readers can verify on the bibliographic section: M.ª V. Escandell Vidal (1993); J. Austin (1963); H. Calsamiglia and A. Tusón (1999); H. P. Grice (1975); J. Searle (1969) and finally D. Sperber and D. Wilson (1994). From this point of view, we have examined whether the fragments

included or not some pragmatic items such as elocutionary and illocutionary acts, Grice's maxims, the cooperative principle, etc. in order to investigate what relations could be drawn from the interaction of such items and what they produce as a result. In other words, we wanted to know what conclusions could be reached from a pragmatic point of view.

Finally, we have analyzed the Spanish version of such excerpts, by conforming a new corpus of translated speeches in Spanish that we have found on the Media (concretely, from [online] newspapers) and we have conducted a similar analysis but focusing on the use of language in terms of translation: techniques, mistakes, correspondence between the SL (source language) and TL (target language), etc. As a result, we have reached some interesting considerations that have been added to a biggest research project in translation that we are conducting, and that the reader will find in the results section. Due to the lack of space, we have chosen one of the excerpts of the study in order to show the readers a sample of what the analysis would consist of, although once all the complete speeches will be totally analyzed, we will publish the final results and conclusions. By cause of that, the results and conclusions are called "provisional" and not "definite", since we need to further analyze the speeches and consider the similarities and differences amongst the excerpts and amongst the speeches from a linguistic and pragmatic point of view and acknowledge, too, whether the English version of the original texts have been in general terms correctly transmitted into the Spanish version (target text, TT) or not.

3. A SAMPLE OF AN ANALYZED EXCERPT

We have chosen this excerpt for the current publication, in order to show a sample of what an analysis would consist of for the purposes of our study, considering the objectives that we have noted above. We have considerably summarized the total amount of details that we could draw from the excerpt by cause of space constraints.

Information about the speech

Name of the speech	Speech to the Arab Islamic American Summit

President of the United States	Donald J. Trump
Date of the speech	21st May 2017
Place	Riad, Saudi Arabia
Target audience	Islamic world
Domain	International Relationships

Original fragment (English)

And young Muslim men and women should have the chance to build a new era of prosperity for themselves and their peoples.

God's help, this summit will mark the beginning of the end for those who practice terror and spread its vile creed. At the same time, we pray this special gathering may someday be remembered as the beginning of peace in the Middle East – and maybe, even all over the world.

But this future can only be achieved through defeating terrorism and the ideology that drives it.

Source: *THE WHITE HOUSE [online]:* https://www.whitehouse.gov/the-pressoffice/2017/05/21 /president-trumps-speech-arab-islamic-american-summit. [Last accessed: 20th November 2018].

Translated fragment (Spanish)

Y los jóvenes varones y mujeres musulmanes deben tener la oportunidad de construir una nueva era de prosperidad para ellos y sus pueblos.

Con la ayuda de Dios, esta cumbre marcará el principio del fin para los que practican el terror y propagan su credo vil. Al mismo tiempo, oramos por que esta reunión especial pueda algún día ser recordada como el comienzo de la paz en el Medio Oriente – y tal vez, incluso en todo el mundo.

Pero este futuro sólo puede lograrse a través de derrotar el terrorismo y la ideología que lo impulsa.

Source: *DIARIO JUDÍO MÉXICO [online]:* http://diariojudio.com/noticias/ discurso -completo -dedonald-trump-al-mundo-musulman-en-arabia-saudita/241953/. [Last accessed: 20th November 2018].

Some analytical annotations (a brief sample)

First, we can verify that the translation of the coordinating conjunction *and* has been respected and literally translated into its equivalent in Spanish: *y.* On the other hand, the noun phrase composed by *young Muslim men and women* has been translated into *jóvenes varones y mujeres musulmanes.* Syntactically, we remind that the location of the adjective in Spanish does not have to be before the noun, as English grammar recalls, because the meaning that a sentence can have depends on the position of the adjective. It is further more subjective to locate the adjective before, because it is the meaning of it what will rule over the rest of the sentence, as it is the first word that condition the whole phrase. We consider that for syntactic reasons, it has been a good translator's choice because the position after the noun phrase would have provided sentences like these: *varones y mujeres jóvenes musulmanes,* which is not the preferred location for the adjective considering the whole phrase. Nonetheless, another option would have been accepted following Spanish grammar rules without the necessity of locating the adjective before the noun phrase, in order to avoid a possible translation calque: *varones y mujeres musulmanes jóvenes.* Of course, the subjectivity behind the location of an adjective like this is inherent to the meaning of the sentence. Considering that the translation was found in a Latin American newspaper, we can understand the usage of the substantive *varón* in Spanish. The most common choice for Peninsular Spanish would have been — probably— the word *hombres.* Another option would have been the following: *los y las jóvenes musulmanes,* considering the rules and recommendations of avoiding masculine generics, as some scholars in Spanish[6] have recommended.

Secondly, the modal verb *should* is generally translated into Spanish as *deberían,* using the conditional mode of the verb instead of the indicative one, in order to express the idea of giving an opinion, making a suggestion or expressing a

---

[6] The tendency of avoiding masculine generics in Spanish has been called *gender-aware alternatives in Spanish.* It consists of avoiding the use of masculine nouns and phrases to represent the whole group conformed by both women and men, so that instead of saying *todos* (*all of us,* in English) to mean 'all of us, both men and women', this alternative should be preferable: *todos y todas* (in English, *todos* means 'we all', referring to only men; *todas,* on the other hand, means the same, but referred to women. The suffix *–a* in Spanish is used to represent the feminine case, and the *-s* suffix is used to represent the plural choice. To learn more about gender-aware alternatives in Spanish, you can start reading the following references: Bernal, G. (2007). *Manual para la comunicación no sexista.* Santiago, Chile: Comisión Ministerial de Género, MOP; Jiménez-Rodrigo, M.I., Román-Onsalo, M. & J. Traverso-Cortes (2011). Lenguaje no sexista y barreras a su utilización. Un estudio en el ámbito universitario. *Revista de Investigación en Educación,* 9, pp. 174-183.

preference, as it could be interpreted in English. The rest of the sentence has been literally translated, since the syntactic pattern seems to have been respected: *the chance to build a new era of prosperity for themselves and their peoples* and the Spanish version, *la oportunidad de construir una nueva era de prosperidad para ellos y sus pueblos.* It stands out the translation of *peoples* for *pueblos,* because in some other excerpts of the speech the same translator and in the same document we have been able to find the translation of this word as *gentes,* which would have been the literal translation. In our opinion, translating this word by *pueblos* is the preferable option, since this is the most employed word and the one that is further more found on newspapers and the Media in general, so we can assume that the documentation process of the translation is suitable for this segment. *Themselves,* on the other hand, has much more the meaning of *ellos mismos* (reflexive pronoun in Spanish) than simply *ellos,* in order to express this reflexive idea that is transmitted to the English reader. Pragmatically, the use of both *men* and *women* in the speech is not coincidental, neither in English nor in Spanish, since neutral choices could have been employed. The orator —the US President, in this case— wants to use a political resource of implicating the whole audience, so he refers to his auditory by employing non neutral words and prefers to refer to their masculine and feminine audience separately. This strategy pragmatically enhances the illocutionary force of the message that the orator is transmitting: the equal opportunity that the amount of Muslim people should have to build a better future for themselves and for their children. On the other hand, the wish that the orator transmits in the second proposition of the sentence renews the usage of political strategies of focusing on the audience so that to connect with them and to perpetuate with the illocutionary force of the message: the President expresses his wish of hoping the best future for them and for their children. This idea serves to make a better correlation to his public, emphasizing with them and showing an image of a President worried and willing to provide them with US help.

In the second paragraph, *God's help* has been translated into *con la ayuda de Dios,* using therefore a prepositional phrase in Spanish that has not been used in English, but which totally respects Spanish grammar rules. The rest of the sentence has been literally translated. Let us observe the parallel pattern between the English and the Spanish version: *this summit will mark the beginning of the end for those who practice terror and spread its vile creed* (EN) and *esta cumbre marcará el principio del fin para los que practican el terror y propagan su credo vil* (ES). The use of substantives, verb tenses and verb modes and the semantic modality of the

whole sentence have been totally respected. The second part of this paragraph has also been literally translated, using in some cases the correlative translation in the Spanish version, such as in the following examples: *at the same time* (EN) > *al mismo tiempo* (ES); *we pray* (EN) > *oramos* (ES, eliding the pronoun *we,* which is correct by following Spanish grammar rules); *may someday be remembered* (EN) > *pueda algún día ser recordada* (ES, incorporating the meaning of *may* by using the subjunctive mode in order to express that introduction of a wish or a hope. On the other hand, the compound infinitive formed by *be remembered* should have been translated into *recordarse,* in order to avoid the verb *ser + past participle* in Spanish, as translation guidelines and RAE [*Real Academia Española,* lit. *Royal Spanish Academy of Spanish Language*] recommends). Pragmatically, the use of the word *God* employed in this context, with an audience whose political decisions are very much dependable on religion, is not casual: it emphasizes the illocutionary force of the message that he is transmitting, and seems to connect very well with the audience this way. Also, he tries to make everybody be aware of the importance of such political summit: the elocutionary act expresses the following: *will mark the beginning of the end.* From the illocutionary act point of view, what the orator is trying to tell the audience is that that summit is very important to finish all the terrible circumstances that are taking place in Middle Eastern countries, so he uses this sentence as an argument to emphasize his message and the final goal of his speech: the connection between the US and Middle Eastern countries will provide peace, eradicating the situations of *terror* and *vile* contexts. If the bond amongst these countries is strong enough, it can help not only them, but also —and *maybe*— the rest of the countries in the world which have a similar situation. This is the central message of the whole excerpt, since the illocutionary force of the message seems to be transmitted in this fragment. The orator expresses this idea verbally —as we can see from the elocutionary act—, but behind all these lines, the illocutionary act and the real thoughts and intentions of the orator seems to transmit to the final objective of such summit: the union of these countries in order to seek international cooperation, as he himself expresses.

Finally, the last paragraph can be defined as the real use of a literal translation technique, with some exceptions though: the English verb *be achieved* has been translated into *lograrse,* something that we have commented above, because the translator has not employed the same technique in this occasion. Instead of translating literally the verb *to be achieved* (EN) > *ser logrado* (ES), the translator introduces the translation of what is called *pasiva refleja* (a subtype of passive

voice in Spanish), which was our recommendation, as we have highlighted before. On the other hand, we consider that the translation of *through defeating terrorism* by *a través de derrotar el terrorismo* is not the best choice; in this case, the translation seems to transmit the intention of the speech act, but the language style can be rather polished: instead of *a través de* + infinitive, which is a rare linguistic construction (for this case) in Spanish, we would advise to use some other possibilities of translation, such as: *mediante la derrota del terrorismo* (by using a modulation technique) or *cuando se venza al terrorismo* (by using a modulation and transposition technique).

With regards to pragmatics, the orator tries to emphasize with the audience by showing them the solution for all the bad circumstances that he has described before: in order to achieve a better future, the only solution is to overthrow terrorism, and as he has suggested before, the summit where they all are happens to be the ideal context to talk about the possibility of eradicating terrorism thanks to the bond of Middle Eastern countries and the USA (and also, thanks to *God's help*). This profitable bond would promote an alliance amongst these nations, and also the consecution of the final goal of the speech of the US President: helping Middle Eastern countries to overthrow terrorism by an alliance with the USA through agreements (which he mentions some paragraphs after).

As we can see, the correlation between pragmatics, linguistics and also translation techniques throughout the speech seems to be related, since the whole analysis needs to count on these three domains in order to satisfy all the objectives that we fixed at the beginning of this article.

4. PROVISIONAL RESULTS AND CONCLUSIONS

As we can assume from the analysis above, the translation of this excerpt can be considered as sufficient to transmit the general meaning of this fragment, in terms of linguistics (syntax, semantics, and morphology), etc. This is due to the use of literal translation, which guarantees the insertion of the same linguistic construction, considering that some words (such as adjectives) and especially the location of such words can lead to a different understanding (if we pose the adjective before the noun phrase in Spanish, the semantic meaning of that sentence can be different from the one that can be understood by placing the adjective after the noun phrase; subjectivity plays, in this regard, a very

important role —*cf.* Hernando Cuadrado (1995)—. Maintaining the same linguistic construction can be seen as one of the most employed strategies of translation towards this political speech. Therefore, the aim of translation (i.e., to express what the original message expresses into the target language) has been guaranteed, although with some exceptions, both pragmatic and linguistic ones. The major part of the sentences transmit the full meaning of the original text, but there would have been some preferable options that would have better respected the fluency in Spanish, without a constant calque in terms of syntax, a consequence of the use of literal translation. On the other hand, the aim of the act of speech transmitted considering pragmatics have been respected, so that we can recognise that translation has observed translation guidelines and basic objectives of transmitting the same meaning, pragmatically speaking. For this excerpt, at least, both strategies and translation techniques have been, from our point of view, well chosen for the aims of the translation, although we should consider some of the annotations mentioned before. Given the context and the fact that the translation was carried some hours after the official publication of the speech in English, the quickness that characterizes newspapers and the publications thereof could be seen as some probable factors to be considered in understanding the translator's choices.

The translation has respected, too, some of the items that we consider essential when translating political speeches, as we mentioned before: the context has been considered, both in the source and the target language; the language style and the information of the source text has been linguistically adapted to the target audience. Finally, the target culture has been respected in terms of translation and in terms of linguistics, although some strategies of domestication has been used, so we can say that this translation fully respects the original text and gets to send the same intentions than the original text in English. Any trace of manipulation cannot be notated in this sense —in this excerpt.

Anyways, our objective of showing the power of translation towards political speeches has been fully completed, because we have seen that translation is, in this case, possible; that we cannot observe serious marks of political manipulation, so that the original meaning could be misunderstood to the detriment of the orator in English, which is the source language of this translation; and finally, that the illocutionary force has been guaranteed thanks to the translation strategies used by the translator. In this sense, we can only advice newspapers to count with professional translators in order to supply a

good answer for all the annotations that we have noted before. Anyways, we can only assume these results and the fact that manipulation has not been used through translation as far as this excerpt is concerned; we should look at the whole speech (both the source and the target text) in order to achieve final conclusions. Of course, we are working on this project in order to achieve such final results (considering not only this speech, but a total of 10) as soon as possible, so we will revise these results —provisional for now— in order to find the ultimate answers for our questions.

Once more, translation demonstrates its powerful tools and possibilities of making two different cultures be united, at least, linguistically speaking, and being used without bad intentions, result of some political interests, it could be considered, from our point of view, as one of the best recipes to achieve that bond amongst cultures that we all think it represents.

REFERENCES

Austin, J. (1962). *How to Do Things with Words*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.

Baker, M. (1992). *In other words: a coursebook in Translation*. London: Routledge.

Bassnett, S. (1980). *Translation Studies*. London: Methuen.

Beaugrande, R. *et al.* (Ed.) (1994). *Language, discourse, and translation in the West and Middle East*. Benjamins Translation Library.

Calsamiglia, H. & Tusón, A. (1999). *Las cosas del decir. Manual de análisis del discurso*. Barcelona: Ariel.

Cap, P. & Okulska, U. (Eds.) (2013). Analyzing genres in political communication: an introduction. In *Okulska, Analyzing genres in political communication* (pp. 1-26). Amsterdam: Benjamins, pp. 1-26.

Chico Rico, F. (2015). La traducción del texto político: características pragmático-discursivas y estrategias traductológicas. *Tonos digital: revista electrónica de estudios filológicos*, n.º 29.

Chilton, P. & Schäffner, C. (2000). Discurso y política. In T. A. Van Dijk (Coord.): *El discurso como interacción social: estudios del discurso, introducción multidisciplinaria (*pp. 297-330).

Escandell Vidal, Mª V. (1993). *Introducción a la pragmática*. Barcelona: Anthropos.

Gallardo Camacho, J. (2005). El redactor-traductor en los grandes medios de comunicación con mercados multilingües: caso CNN. *Zer*, 19, pp. 77-87.

García Yebra, V. (1982). *Teoría y práctica de la traducción*. Madrid: Gredos.

Grice, H. P. (1975). Logic and conversation. In P. Cole y J. Morgan (Eds.), *Syntax and Semantic. Speech Acts* (pp. 41-58). Nueva York: Academic Press.

Hernando Cuadrado, L. (1995). Gramática y estilística de la posición del adjetivo en español. *Didáctica. Lengua y Literatura,* 7, p. 73.

Hurtado Albir, A. (2011). *Traducción y Traductología: Introducción a la Traductología*. Madrid: Cátedra.

Messina Fajardo, L. (2016). *El lenguaje político. Características y análisis del discurso político con ejercicios y clave*. Milano: Magglioli Editore.

Molina, L. & Hurtado Albir, A. (2002). Translation Techniques Revisited: A Dynamic and Functionalist Approach. Meta: *Journal des traducteurs/Meta: Translator's Journal*, vol. 47, nº 4, pp. 498-512.

Moliner Ruiz, M. (2007). *Diccionario de uso del español*. 3.ª ed. Madrid: Gredos.

Munday, J. (2009). *Style and Ideology in Translation: Latin American Writing in English*. London: Routledge.

Newmark, P. (1988). *A textbook of Translation*. London: Prentice Hall.

Searle, J. (1959). *Speech Acts*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Schäffner, C. (1997). Political texts as sensitive texts. In *SIMMS Translating sensitive text, linguistic aspects* (pp. 131-138). Amsterdam/Atlanta: Rodopi,

Sperber, D. & Wilson, D. (1994). *La relevancia. Comunicación y procesos cognitivos*. Madrid: Visor.

The White House (21st May 2017). President Trump's speech to to the Arab Islamic World. Retrieved from: https://www.whitehouse.gov/the-pressoffice/2017/05/21/president-trumps-speech-arab-islamic-amer ican-summit.

Toury, G. (1985). A Rationale for Descriptive Translation Studies. In Hermans, Theo (Ed.), *The Manipulation of Literature* (pp. 16-42). Sydney: Croom and Helm.

Van Dijk, T. A. (1980). *Macroestructures. An Interdisciplinary Study of Global Structures in Discourse. Cognitions and Interaction*. Hillsdale (New Jersey): Lawrence Erlbaum.

Van Dijk, T. A. (1989). Structures of discourse and structures of power in James Anderson (Ed.), *Communication Yearbook 12* (pp. 18-59). Newbury Park, CA: Sage.

Van Dijk, T. A. (1997). What is political discourse? *Belgian Journal of Linguistics,* 11, pp. 11-52. Amsterdam: John Benjamins Publishing Company.

4. THE RECEPTION AND PRODUCTION OF LITERARY TRANSLATION

Our shared history. Some thoughts on translation and cultural memory

Elke Brems
KU Leuven
elke.brems@kuleuven.be

Abstract

The disciplines of Memory Studies and Translation Studies can learn something from each other. In this paper I use Astrid Erll's notion of 'travelling memory' to find out how Memory Studies could enrich Translation Studies. I examine the travels of two literary accounts of historical events, one on the colonization of the Congo by Mark Twain and one on the First World War by the British War Poets. By looking at how these literary texts about the past traveled in translation, I can gain insight into the workings of cultural memory in the target culture (in this case Belgium). And by looking at the translations through the lens of cultural memory I can discuss them from a historical perspective: how they do or don't help to 'use' the past in the present.

Keywords: Memory studies, travelling memory, literary translation, First World War, colonialism, cultural transfer.

1. INTRODUCTION

Between 2014 and 2018, the commemoration of the First World War was big business in Belgium. At the end of 2018, when the official commemoration years were almost over, people even started to worry: what would happen after 2018? Did Belgium have to buckle itself for a big decline after four years of prosperity (Geysens, 2018)? Whereas an average of 400.000 tourists visit Flanders Fields in normal years, 2014 saw 789.500 visitors discovering the cemeteries, and museums, the trenches and the Menin Gate. War tourism in Flanders Fields is highly subsidized by the government of Flanders, one of Belgium's communities. They have launched huge campaigns over the four commemoration years, combining tourism and remembrance in a delicate balancing act.

As the symbol of its campaigns, the public company Westtoer chose the poppy, a symbol emblematic for how Belgian war memory has been influenced by British and American symbols and images, and how Belgium's war memory is globalized and even imported.

The fact that the poppy, so to speak, 'travelled' from a real object (a flower) in the battle fields of Flanders to becoming a mnemonic symbol in the anglophone world and to being adopted by the remembrance industry in Flanders a century later is a fine example of travelling memory, a central concept in this paper.

2. TRAVELLING MEMORY

In 2011, Astrid Erll, German professor of Memory Studies, published an article on what she calls Travelling Memory. Her starting point is the idea that it is time for Memory Studies to enter a new (third) phase: the phase of Transcultural Memory Studies. Of course, she says

> There is (…) nothing wrong with looking at the nation-state as a social framework of remembrance. In fact, even in today's age of accelerated globalization it is the nation-state that plays a major role in the creation of memory culture: initiating rituals of public commemoration, setting up memorials, financing museums, conceiving of educational agendas. Also within unifying Europe, it is still the nation-states which provide the occasions and structures for public remembrance. (Erll, 2011, p. 11)

However, she supports the German philosopher Wolfgang Welsch who has sharply criticized the traditional concept of single cultures. Welsch identifies three determinants of this concept, which he calls container culture. First, 'social homogenization', the idea that culture 'moulds the whole way of life', so that 'every act and every object (is) an unmistakable instance of precisely *this* culture' (Welsch, 1999, p. 194). The second false premise, according to Welsch, is that of 'ethnic consolidation', the idea that culture is always linked to the people in that culture (Welsch, 1999, p. 195). Thirdly, Welsch mentions 'outer delimitation', meaning that concepts of single cultures tend to be 'separatory' (Welsch, 1999, p. 195). In Erll's words: 'Cultures are seen as monads, remaining distinguished from one another' (Erll, 2011, p. 8).

Erll continues to argue that

> For memory studies, the old-fashioned container-culture approach is not only somewhat ideologically suspect. It is also epistemologically flawed, because there are too many mnemonic phenomena that remain beyond our field of view with the 'default' combination of territorial, ethnic and national collectivity as the main framework of cultural memory – but which may be seen with the transcultural lens. (Erll, 2011, p. 8)

That is why Erll proposes the concept of 'transcultural memory', which seems to her rather a certain research perspective than a methodology, a focus of attention, which is directed towards mnemonic processes unfolding across and beyond cultures. Instead of talking about the famous *lieux de mémoire*, she prefers to talk about *voyages de mémoire*, travels of memories.

In her view, memory studies should develop an interest in mnemonic itineraries and

> It should also pay close attention to the various ways in which traveling memory is localized (…). It should ask how translocal mnemonic forms and practices are translated and integrated into local repertoires; (…) and how contents of memory are continually hybridized and recombined in often surprising ways. (Erll, 2011, pp. 14-15)

A lot of these thoughts sound very familiar to Translation Studies scholars, especially when they work with reception theory, framing theory or cultural

transfer paradigms. However, Translation Studies doesn't seem to sound very familiar to Erll. When, for instance, she mentions the carriers of memory as one of the dimensions of travelling memory she doesn't think of translators. Translation remains a blind spot. But whereas Translation Studies could teach Memory Studies scholars something about the role of translations in transnational or travelling memory, Memory Studies can teach Translation Studies scholars something about the role of cultural memory in the way translation functions and that will be the stake in this article.

The concept of 'cultural memory' in itself has been the subject of a lot of theoretization. I will not expand on that discussion. In fact Astrid Erll builds on the notion as it was developed by Jan and Aleida Assmann. In their view cultural memory is a form of collective memory: a memory that is not individual but that belongs to a community[1]. As Licata and Mercy put it: 'Rather than providing an accurate account of the past, its main function is to provide a usable past (…); a representation of the past that can fulfill some role in the present.' (Licata & Mercy, 2015, p. 196).

2. CONGO

In what follows I will give two examples of accounts of Belgium's past that are/were potentially usable in the/a present, and that travelled from one culture to another: an account of the Great War and one of Belgium's colonial past: the Congo.

One of Belgium's darkest memories is the colonization of the Congo. A quick reminder: the country that is now called the Democratic Republic of the Congo was a Belgian colony between 1908 and 1960. Before that time it had been private property of the Belgian King Leopold II since 1885. Since Adam Hochschild's famous book *King Leopold's Ghost* from 1998 the international readership, including Belgians, know all about the exploitation of the Congo Free State and the large-scale atrocities committed during that period. The book by Hochschild succeeded in increasing public awareness of Belgian colonial crimes. Yet, recent events have taught us that our Belgian cultural memory with regard to the Congo is still very much under construction. In

---

[1] The communicative and the cultural memory are both forms of collective memory, the more common term originally introduced by Maurice Halbwachs. See Assmann, 1992 and Assmann, 1999. Cultural memory is institutional and communicative memory non-institutional.

August 2018 there was a huge controversy in the press about a racist incident at the music festival 'Pukkelpop'. White youngsters had surrounded black youngsters singing the song: 'chop off those hands, we own the Congo'. Someone filmed it and social media echoed a lot of indignation and shock. Also in 2018 a statue of Leopold was covered in red paint and a bust of him was removed from a park. In June 2018, the first Patrice Lumumba square was inaugurated at the Brussels Matongequarter, a tribute to the murdered first prime minister of the independent Congo (see below). Street names and monuments/statues are amongst the most visible traces of cultural memory, next to museums of course. The Belgian Africamuseum has reopened in 2018 after years of renovation, but the new exhibition immediately led to discussion and controversy. Some of the highlights of the exhibition for instance are recognized war booty, like the statue of King Ne Kuko, which made the discussion flare up on returning stolen cultural artefacts to the people they belonged to. In February 2019 a panel of experts from the United Nations called on the Belgian government to apologize for the colonial past of our country. The experts spent a week in Belgium and were shocked by the many monuments for King Leopold II.

Another example of the ongoing controversy is the comic strip album *Tintin in the Congo*. In 2007, Bienvenu Mbutu Mondondo, from Congo, fruitlessly tried to get a Brussels' court to ban publication of *Tintin au Congo* because, he argued, it was clearly racist. In the same year, the British Commission for Racial Equality urged bookstores to ban *Tintin au Congo* and its existing translations from their shelves (Butcher, 2007). Currently, in the UK, the album *Tintin au Congo* comes with a warning on the cover that stipulates that some readers might find the depiction of African people offensive. It also includes a preface by the translators that offers more context. Moreover, it is the only album in the Belgian comic book series that was not released in the most recent translation in the US because it was considered racist there as the black characters in the cartoons represent colonial stereotypes (Grutman & Prévost, 2010).

2.1. The (non)-translation of a pamphlet

With this example of Tintin we've entered the realm of translation. The book by Hochschild that opened the eyes of the world to the atrocities committed by the Belgian regime in the Congo, dating from 1998, was translated that

same year and has been widely read and discussed ever since. This shows us that Belgian cultural memory by then was ready to accept a book like that. In turn, the Hochschild book itself helped shape our cultural memory of our colonial times, paving the way for another bestseller, the non-fiction book *Congo*, by David Van Reybrouck. Written in Dutch, it has become one of the most successful export products of the Belgian literary scene in the last few decades.

Although in 1998, the time may have been ripe for a successful import of a book denouncing King Leopold, it was a very different story in another case related to the atrocities in Congo[2].

During King Leopold's rule, in 1905, the famous American author Mark Twain (1835-1910) wrote the pamphlet *King Leopold's Soliloquy*, as a protest against the reported crimes against humanity in the Congo Free State. Mark Twain was inspired by the so-called Congo Reform Association set up by the Brit E.D. Morel, whose members published reports on the Congo atrocities in order to raise awareness and protest. The *Soliloquy* is a pamphlet in which Twain portrays Leopold II in a raging monologue about the atrocities in the Congo Free State and the way the public reacts to them.

The translation history of this literary work comes in two stages: first its non-translation in the beginning of the twentieth century and then its niche translation in 1961, which went unnoticed.

Let us first take a brief look at the first stage. You could say that the pamphlet underwent a form of implicit censorship in the potential target culture. I call Belgium a potential target culture for obvious reasons: Congo was the property of the Belgian king, an account of the Congo with this king as narrator could definitely be of interest to the Belgian audience[3]. The non-translation is attributable to the enmity between Britain's Congo Reform Association and Belgium as a result of the so-called African Scramble, the European annexation of large territories in Africa. The rhetoric in Belgian newspapers of that time often displays a very clear sense of skepticism towards the aims of the Congo Reform Association. The idea is that Britain would have ulterior motives and would profit directly from the Congo Free State being criticised openly,

---

[2] This case was researched by Marnik Sarens in his master's thesis in 2018, under my supervision.

[3] I only refer to the Dutch translation here and not to the French translation. The first French translation only appeared in 1987 as *Le Soliloque du Roi Léopold*, translated by Jean-Pierre Orban.

allowing it to expand its own imperial interests or even take over the territory. Morel and his fellow activists were ridiculed and proclaimed liars. In the catholic newspaper *Het Volk* e.g. one of the correspondents who visited the Congo wrote (in 1913): 'I have sought confirmation of mister Morel's stories and I have found nothing that would make the stories about atrocities trustworthy'[4].

Instead of Twain's pamphlet getting translated, the propaganda machine allegedly set up by Leopold's direct circles published *An Answer to Mark Twain* in 1907, expressing great disappointment in Twain's contribution to the Congo Reform Association, as a counter-reaction to Twain's original pamphlet. This is explicitly mentioned in the beginning of the booklet (1907) itself: 'it was somewhat surprising to find the publication bearing Mark Twain's signature as one would scarcely have expected an author of such past reputation to lend his hand to an ugly piece of work of this description' (Anonymous, 1907, p. 5).

An Answer to Mark Twain is one of the most concrete realisations of the propaganda machine set up by Leopold II to counter the allegations concerning his responsibility for the appalling conditions in the Congo. It is striking that it is written in English and not in Dutch or French: the discussion was kept away from the Belgian public, it was a foreign affair, not allowed to 'travel' to Belgium. Most of the booklet is filled with pictures depicting economic progress in the Congo territory, providing 'proof' that, thanks to European intervention, living conditions over there had improved. As for the mutilations, the author(s) of *An Answer to Mark Twain* made an attempt to provide different, more 'innocent' explanations for the wide array of pictures depicting natives with their hands cut off that circulated in the press. Up to four different reasons are put forward as to why the hands were lost, from gangrene to robbery, a hunting accident, or soldiers mistakenly cutting them off because they believed the person in question was already dead. Thus, as the booklet concludes, there was never any violence of white men against natives in the Congo Free State. The cover of *An Answer to Mark Twain* shows two snakes with the heads of Morel and Twain hovering over a very neat and tidy drawing of 'the present Belgian Congo', whilst spitting the words 'Lie' and 'Slander'.

---

4 'Ik heb eene bevestiging van M. Morel's verhalen gezocht en ik heb niets gevonden dat aan de verhaalde wreedheden kan doen geloven' (my translation).

So, at this stage Twain's pamphlet certainly didn't stand a chance of travelling and entering into Belgium's cultural memory via translation, even if Mark Twain was by then a very famous writer with international acclaim.

What about its translation in 1961? The need for a Dutch translation surfaced at a time when post-colonial tensions were high and the issue of European interference was once again a relevant topic, around 1961. Congo had become independent in 1960, and the time seemed ripe for a critical pamphlet like Twain's to be translated. And it was, albeit in communist circles in The Netherlands (Belgium's neighbouring country, sharing Dutch as a language). The translator was Eva Tas, who provided journalistic and editorial work for the Dutch communist party. The publishing company was Pegasus, directly affiliated with the CPN (Communist Party of the Netherlands). Pegasus commissioned translators to carry out translations of source texts originating from a communist environment or that could be linked to the communist struggle. *Koning Leopold's Alleenspraak* was thus not translated as a postcolonial denunciation of colonial times, but was used for the greater benefit of communism. This could be done by linking it to the assassination of Congo's first prime minister, Patrice Lumumba, on January 17th 1961. Pegasus advertized for the translation of the Soliloquy by making that link explicit: 'Despite the fact that this book was written more than 50 years ago, it is still topical, as evidenced by the murder of the Congolese Prime Minister Loemoemba (sic)'[5] (Pegasus, 1961). Lumumba was a figure relevant to many communist thinkers across Europe at that time. Although Lumumba himself was not an (outspoken) communist, the tensions brought about by the Cold War (America and Belgium's interventionism) likely instigated this idea even further and made him an all-the-more inspiring figure for communists.

Pegasus's publications were intended mostly for the close and small circle of communists that usually read the publisher's publications anyway. This 1961 translation is what Erll would call 'idle running': travel without effect. In the transcultural travels of memory, elements may get lost, become repressed, silenced, and censored, and remain unfulfilled. In the beginning of the twentieth century the pamphlet never broke through the language barrier. Even its rebuttal was written in English; it remained outside the Belgian linguistic field altogether. In 1961 it did break the language barrier, but mainly

---

[5] 'Ondanks het feit dat dit boek meer dan 50 jaar geleden werd geschreven, is het toch van een brandende aktualiteit, getuige de moord op de Kongolese premier Loemoemba' (my translation).

ideological aspects stopped it from completing its journey.

3. THE FIRST WORLD WAR

The First World War offers another example of the crossroads between cultural memory and translation. World War I led to the production of a wide range of literary texts throughout Europe and worldwide. According to Geert Buelens, 'the war culture that characterized the First World War (...) was to a large extent a literary and more specifically a poetic culture'[6] (Buelens, 2008, p. 301). Paul Fussell was the first to call the Great War a literary war in his groundbreaking work *The Great War and Modern Memory*, and this view has since been adopted many times. The written and especially artistic representations of the war helped to perpetuate the afterlives of these events and to transfer them to cultural memory, even transculturally.

In Belgium, a mass of literary texts and especially poetry was produced during and shortly after the First World War, but it has almost all been forgotten[7]. According to Buelens, this has to do with the lack of unity in Belgian war memory. Literature couldn't be used patriotically to support the Belgian State as it did e.g. in Great Britain, because during the war the Belgian State had shown itself a failing one.

Furthermore, there is a widespread claim, since the 1920s and still supported now, that Flanders, the Dutch-speaking part of Belgium, has no war literature[8]. Hardly any literary text, be it a novel or a poem has entered Dutch-speaking Belgian cultural memory. In Flanders, the centenary of the First World War has seen efforts to reenter old literary texts into Flemish cultural memory by publishing new editions of older texts (e.g. war diaries), by making literary texts available online (e.g. the diary of the writer Virginie Loveling), by producing new literary texts that deal with the First World War (e.g. the internationally successful *Oorlog en Terpentijn* (*War and Turpentine*) by Stefan Hertmans), or by translating foreign war literature (old and new).

---

[6] 'De oorlogscultuur die de Eerste Wereldoorlog kenmerkte (…) in hoge mate een literaire en meer in het bijzonder een poëtische cultuur' (my translation).
[7] See also our article on reading First World War Poetry (Bouchat, Brems, Klein & Meylaerts, 2019).
[8] This claim was first made by Filip De Pillecyn in 1920 in the journal *Vlaamsche Arbeid*.

3.1. The translation of war poetry

A special case of filling the gap in Flemish cultural memory is the new translation of the British War Poets into Dutch[9] by the Flemish author Tom Lanoye[10]. These British poems are considered as part of the canon of WWI-literature, belonging to the cultural memory of not only the UK but of Western Europe as a whole. Lanoye made efforts to enter the war poets into Flemish cultural memory particularly as I will show.

In 2002 and 2004, he published two volumes of translated international war poetry, collected in a single volume in 2014, during the boom of the literary commemoration of the beginning of the First World War. In the first volume, *Niemands Land* (No Man's Land), Lanoye translated poems by the English War Poets, such as Siegfried Sassoon, Wilfred Owen, Ivor Gurney and Rupert Brooke. It contains mainly traditional poetry, whereas the second volume, *Overkant* (Other side) contains more experimental or avant-garde poetry, with a range of modernist poets writing about the First World War, using a distorted dissonant poetic form to express the horrors of war, such as poetry by Trakl, Marinetti, Stramm, Ungaretti, but also Majakovski and Apollinaire.

My focus in this article lies on the first volume, *Niemands Land* (No Man's Land). The publisher, Prometheus, informed us that the book only had one edition with a print run of 9000 copies, sold both in Flanders and the Netherlands. Since an average collection of poetry has a print run of a few hundred, *Niemands Land*'s print run is rather impressive. Translated poetry especially sells very badly. Lanoye's collection is also very widespread if we look at Flemish library catalogues[11]. The blurb of the volume reads:

> Lanoye did not only compile an anthology of their poems. He adapted them and transferred them to his own idiom and background, in the spirit of his earlier adaptations of Shakespeare and Euripides. This way familiar texts can be read as new: this is the collection that a Flemish

---

[9] Flemish is not a language, it refers to a region in Belgium (Flanders), where Dutch is spoken.
[10] Tom Lanoye (1958) is a Belgian novelist, poet, columnist, screenwriter and playwright. He is one of the most widely read and honoured authors in the Dutch-speaking language area who lives and works in Antwerp and Cape Town (South Africa). His literary work has been published and/or performed in over fifteen languages. Lanoye started out as an *enfant terrible*, but has become an established writer, and even a cultural entrepreneur.
[11] The 2014 collection had a print run of 1000 copies.

soldier, with Lanoye's pen, could have written during the Great War, in a trench at the Yser[12].

In an interview Lanoye states:

> I adapt poems of the War Poets, who wrote from the trenches, as if there were a namesake of mine in the trenches who wrote one big poetry volume in which he cried out his despair. Hence the anachronisms. (...) I want to give us a small literary legacy through which the First World War - and with it all the wars - finds a place in our shared history. (Luyten, 2001)[13]

In the media, Lanoye has had plenty of opportunity to explain why he has translated war poetry. He shares the opinion that Dutch-speaking Belgium has no war poetry and 'therefore' no cultural memory of the war. Lanoye sees it as his task to give Flanders exactly that: a cultural memory of the war, so that it can come to terms with its past. As Kasten says, Lanoye has declared the existing corpus of British war poetry no man's land, and by translating them has claimed them for the Flemish literary tradition and Flanders' cultural memory (Kasten, 2011, p. 87).

Lanoye explains he wants to achieve his goal by pretending to be a poet-soldier in the trenches. Formulating it like that, it almost seems as if Lanoye writes as an author, not as a translator. Tom Lanoye translates one hundred-year-old war poetry by several authors in his singular voice (of an imagined protagonist). He uses Flemish expressions and idiomatic phrases. He changes British place and proper names to Flemish ones: Jim and Bill become Piet and Gaston. Other culturally specific elements too are replaced. For example, the 'hot Highland fling' becomes the 'verhitte Horlepiep': a Scottish dance is

---

[12] "Tom Lanoye maakte niet alleen een bloemlezing uit hun gedichten. Hij bewerkte ze en haalde ze over naar zijn idioom en achtergrond, geheel in de geest van zijn eerdere adaptaties naar Shakespeare en Euripides. Zo laat bekend materiaal zich lezen als nieuw: dit is de bundel die een Vlaamse piot, met de pen van Lanoye, had kunnen schrijven tijdens de Groote Oorlog, in een loopgraaf aan de IJzer' (my translation).

[13] 'Toch bewerk ik gedichten van de *War Poets,* die schreven vanuit de loopgraven, alsof er een naamgenoot van mij in de loopgraven zat die één grote bundel schreef waarin hij zijn wanhoop uitschreeuwde. Vandaar de anachronismen. (…) Ik wil ons een kleine literaire erfenis geven waardoor die Eerste Wereldoorlog - en daarmee alle oorlogen -- een plek vindt in onze gezamenlijke geschiedenis' (my translation).

replaced by a Dutch one. A poem entitled 'Verdun' (after a famous battle in France) now gets the title 'Ieper' (Ypres, the most famous *locus horribilis* in Belgium). Lanoye's translations insert the British poems into Flemish cultural memory, also by using Flemish idiom ('lijfke' instead of 'onderhemd', the standard Dutch term for 'undershirt'). When he uses a title like 'Onze jongens' (Our boys), any adult Flemish reader will notice the reference to the phrase 'Onze jongens in de Golf' (Our boys in the Gulf), linking the WWI soldiers to the soldiers in the Gulf war.

I mentioned above that hardly any Flemish poetry has survived literary history. However, one major exception is the modernist poet Paul Van Ostaijen. His experimental war poetry is still widely known and read today. It is no coincidence then that Lanoye picks this poet to mix his poetic idiom with his own translations of foreign war poetry. In *No Man's Land* the translation of the poem 'The Assault' by Robert Nichols is clearly translated in the manner of Van Ostaijen. In his poetry volume about the occupation of Antwerp during the First World War, *Bezette Stad* (Occupied City, 1921), Van Ostaijen used a very striking and distinctive typography, which Lanoye copied for his translation of 'The Assault' (which in the original was not typographically distinct). He also uses well-known lexical references to Van Ostaijen like the word 'Boem' (Boom) in large bold letters, to link Nichols to Van Ostaijen en thus to link British War Poetry to Flemish war poetry by turning it into an apocryphal Van Ostaijen.

The poems of the British War Poets can be interpreted as cultural memories of the original events. The translations of those poems add an extra layer. Especially in the case of translations after many years, they often function as memory sites, where they are memories of the facts, as well as of the textual rendering of the facts. But while keeping the memory alive, they also add to it, or transform it, by travelling.

4. CONCLUSION

This is how translation and cultural memory are linked: translations give a text a second life, in a new environment (cultural, linguistic, geographic, historical). A 'foreign' text can thus become part of the cultural memory of a target community, which Erll calls 'mnemonic processes unfolding across and beyond cultures'. She remarks that we should 'pay close attention to the

various ways in which traveling memory is localized and (…) how translocal mnemonic forms and practices are translated and integrated into local repertoires'. She means 'translation' in a metaphorical sense, but I took it literally in my two case studies, one on the Congo and one on the First World War.

In the beginning of the 20th century, Belgium's cultural memory about the Congo was actively being shaped by the Belgian government and wouldn't allow for dissident voices. Even in 1961 it was still too much 'in denial' to be able to accept a translated text about the stupidity and cruelty of Leopold II, especially if it came from ideologically suspect agents. The Twain pamphlet left no trace in our cultural memory, it travelled without effect. The case of WWI-poetry on the other hand shows how international war memories were integrated into Flanders' cultural memory, a memory that has still been actively worked on in the last four years of commemoration.

To conclude, what is the advantage of studying translations through the lens of cultural memory? It adds an important historical dimension to the study of cultural transfer through translation. As mentioned above, cultural memory's main function is to provide a usable past; a representation of the past that can fulfill some role in the present. So, as a filter for imported texts, one of its criteria is whether this foreign text from or about the past is useful for a certain community in the present.

When Erll talks about transnational memory she doesn't only think of texts, but also of the import of symbols, rituals, objects, songs, etc. Translation Studies scholars tend to isolate texts from other types of transfer, due to the unique language-bound character of transfer in the field of Translation Studies. This calls for an obvious and very explicit transformation: an interlingual translation. However, when we take the approach of cultural memory, our research becomes much richer if we also take into account other types of transfer that support that textual transfer: think of the poppy e.g. in the case of WWI. Or think of the photographs of black people with their hands chopped off that circulated internationally in the beginning of the 20th century and have become iconic images of Leopold's, Belgium's and colonialism's injustice. This non-verbal transfer of photographs brought Leopold to a rage about the invention of Kodak in his fictional monologue by Mark Twain:

> The kodak has been a sore calamity to us. The most powerful enemy that has confronted us, indeed. In the early years we had no trouble in

> getting the press to "expose" the tales of the mutilations as slanders, lies, inventions of busy-body American missionaries and exasperated foreigners (…) the incorruptible kodak (…) The only witness I have encountered in my long experience that I couldn't bribe. (…) Ten thousand pulpits and ten thousand presses are saying the good word for me all the time and placidly and convincingly denying the mutilations. Then that trivial little kodak, that a child can carry in its pocket, gets up, uttering never a word, and knocks them dumb! (Twain, 1905, pp. 39-40)

Indeed, words are definitely not always the strongest ways to influence a country's cultural memory, but, as I tried to show, they definitely play an important part in it. The fact that they literally need to be translated opens all kinds of opportunities for manipulation and transformation, making them a very dynamic and exciting locus to study travelling cultural memory.

REFERENCES

Anonymous (1907). *An answer to Mark Twain.* Brussels: A. Bulens & G. Bulens.

Anonymous (1913). De wreedheden in Belgisch Congo. *Het Volk*, 3.

Assmann, A. (1999). *Erinnerungsräume. Formen und Wandlungen des kulturellen Gedächtnisses.* München: Beck.

Assmann, J. (1992). *Das kulturelle Gedächtnis. Schrift, Erinnerung und politische Identität in frühen Hochkulturen*. München: Beck.

Bouchat, P., Brems, E., Klein O. & Meylaerts, R. (2019). Dulce et decorum est. Reading First World War Poetry. In G. Warland et al (Eds.), *Experience and Memory of the First World War in Belgium. Comparative and Interdisciplinary Insights*. (pp. 115-137). Münster: Waxmann Verlag.

Buelens, G. (2008). *Europa Europa! Over de dichters van de Grote Oorlog.* Amsterdam: Ambo.

Butcher, T. (2007). Hergé fans in the Congo. Observations on Tintin. *The New Statesman*, 26 July 2007.

Erll, A. (2011). Travelling memory. *Parallax*, 17 (4), pp. 4-18.

Geysens, S. (2018). Na de 'Grote Oorlog' de 'Grote Terugval'? *De Standaard*, 9 augustus 2018. Retrieved from http://www.standaard.be/cnt/dmf20180808_03654919.

Grutman, R. & Prévost, M. (2010). Présentation. *Études françaises,* 46 (2), pp. 5-10.

Hochschild, A. (1998). *King Leopold's ghost: a story of greed, terror and heroism in colonial Africa.* New York: Mariner Books.

Kasten, M.J.A. (2011). Vertaalslag in niemands land: Tom Lanoye en de poëzie uit de Groote Oorlog. In J.J.M. Houppermans, J.G.A.M. Jacobs & R. Kruk (Eds.), *Déjà vu: herhaling in literatuur en kunst* (pp. 71-91). Leiden: Leiden University Press.

Lanoye, T. (2002). *Niemands Land. Gedichten uit de Groote Oorlog.* Amsterdam: Prometheus.

Lanoye, T. (2004). *Overkant. Moderne verzen uit de Groote Oorlog.* Amsterdam: Prometheus.

Licata, L. & Mercy A. (2015). Social Psychology of Collective Memory. In *The International Encyclopedia of the social and behavioral sciences*, 2nd ed., vol. 4, pp. 194-199.

Luyten, A. (2001). Vlamingen hebben littekens, geen geheugen. *De Standaard*, 31 October 2001.

Pegasus (1961). Koning Leopold's Alleenspraak [advertisement], *Politiek en Cultuur*, July, p. 369.

Sarens, M. (2018). King Leopold's Soliloquy and its Dutch translation: on translation delay and history. Master's thesis KU Leuven.

Twain, M. (1905). *King Leopold's soliloquy. A defense of his Congo rule*, 2nd ed. Boston: The P.R. Warren Co.

Twain, M. (1961). *Koning Leopold's alleenspraak. België's kolonialisme in de Congo.* [Translated by Eva Tas]. Amsterdam: Pegasus.

Van Reybrouck, D. (2010). *Congo. Een geschiedenis.* Amsterdam: De Bezige Bij.

Welsch, W. (1999). Transculturality. The Puzzling Form of Cultures Today. In M. Featherstone & S. Lash (Eds.), *Spaces of Culture: City, Nation, World* (pp. 194-213). London: Sage.

Translated Literature and Its Reception: The Role of Reviewing in the Consecration of Orhan Pamuk

Arzu Eker Roditakis
Independent Scholar
arzu.eker@gmail.com

Abstract

Reviewers play a significant role in the recognition of a writer as writer. At the same time, reviews have a considerable influence on the reception of a writer's work in a literary system as they shape the way a literary work is interpreted. Therefore, if "texts circulate without their context" (Sapiro & Heilbron, 2007, p. 103; Bourdieu, 1999, p. 221), then reviews in a target system provide an important site to analyze the recontextualization of translated literature. In this paper, I will focus on the reviews received by the English translations of the Turkish author Orhan Pamuk's novels and explore the kind of consecration the writer received in British and American outlets. In this sense, I do not approach reviews as merely works of literary criticism, but rather as outputs of the reviewers' acts through the analysis of which reviewers' agency can be explored.

Keywords: Orhan Pamuk, sociology of translation, analysis of reviews, reception of translated literature, recontextualization.

1. INTRODUCTION

Writing and being published are important prerequisites of becoming a writer but more importantly, receiving "consecration" (Bourdieu, 1993), that is, being recognized as a writer by certain agents in society plays a more crucial role. In a similar vein, the sociologist Susanne Janssen goes as far as to describe a writer as "not so much someone who writes, but someone who is recognized as such" (1997a, p. 279). The recognition should obviously come from, first, the society in which the writers produce their work; more specifically the readers as well as reviewers, who play a significant linking role between the readers and books in a society. While Pierre Bourdieu points to the role of the reviewers as an influential group along with other "agents of consecration" and as "agents of reproduction and diffusion" (1993, p. 121), that is, other actors in a culture who shape the reception of a literary work, Susanne Janssen highlights the consequences of the reviewers' activities:

> The complementary activities of reviewers, essayists and academics determine to a great extent which texts in a given period are held to be legitimate forms of literary fiction, what rank they are supposed to occupy within the hierarchy of literary works, and what statements count as proper and relevant ways of characterizing these texts. (Janssen, 1997b, pp. 275-276)

Janssen's words attest to the power of reviewers in two ways: First, they determine which literary works reach the literary public so in that sense they act as gatekeepers. In addition, their activities are influential not only because they enable the writer to become recognized as such, but also because they have the power to determine which literary forms count as legitimate, and, more importantly, they provide the reading public with the vocabulary and perspective to talk about and view these works (Janssen, 1997b, pp. 275-276). That is to say, they form and shape the discursive context within which these texts will be read and understood by the readers.

In this paper, I will first focus on how studies that implement sociological and empirical approaches to literature have made use of reviews in their analyses and then discuss briefly what the analysis of reviews can offer to translations studies. I will then move on to my case study on the reception of the Turkish author Orhan Pamuk's novels in the English-speaking world. In my analysis of the reviews, I seek to show how Pamuk's novels have been read and

recontextualized by the reviewers, with speacial attention to the ways in which Pamuk's novels have been connected to larger socio-cultural and political discourses prevalent in the target cultures.

2. SOCIOLOGICAL AND EMPIRICAL APPROACHES TO LITERATURE

As of the 1990s, there has been an increase in studies with a sociological and empirical approach to literature that focus on reviews in order to achieve various aims, one of which was, for example, to explore the reception of certain writers or the influence of reviewing on the careers of writers. In such a study, where the publishing trajectories of 1048 American writers were analyzed, it was found that being reviewed or failing to be reviewed in the *New York Times Book Review* had a significant effect on the future careers of the writers: those writers who had achieved reception in the literary journal had more successful and longer careers (Ekelund & Börjesson, 2002). The results of this particular study confirm those of a previous study that van Rees and Vermunt (1996) conducted on the publishing directories of 18 Dutch writers who had made their debut in mid-1970s. The researchers found that receiving lengthy reviews published in "top periodicals" for their first publications was one of the main criteria that insured the attention from other reviewers both for the reviewed title and the writers' subsequent works (van Rees & Vermunt 1996, p. 325, p. 332). The results of these quantitative studies confirm that reviewers have the power to act as gatekeepers[1] in a literary system because reviews and the attention that writers receive in the form of "journalistic criticism" seem to be a determining factor for other areas of literary criticism. Academic literary critics, for instance, "concern themselves almost exclusively with work by authors who have received wide and positive attention from journalistic criticism" (Janssen, 1998, p. 266; van Rees & Vermunt, 1996, p. 322). These studies establish not only the fact that reviews play a major role in a writer's prospective career but also that they are an important part of the reception process of a writer's work in a literary system. In line with Janssen's

---

[1] While in both studies, the focus of the scholars are on reviewers as gatekeepers, the media in which their reviews appear are in no way overlooked. Van Rees and Vermunt choose to work on reviewers who write in "major periodicals" (1996, p. 325), whereas for Ekelund and Börjesson, "reviewers *for influential newspapers and journals*" (2002, p. 352, emphasis mine) are the second in a line of gatekeepers following publishers (*ibid.*).

statement which I quoted in the first section of the paper, this is mainly because reviews are influential in shaping not only the choices of the reading public but also the reading experience itself, i.e. how a certain work is to be interpreted.

In more recent research, we see that analyses of reviews or, from a broader perspective, the coverage of literary journalism in general could also present implications for the effects of cultural globalization. Two different research papers focus on the same big data that was gathered in a span of 50 years (between 1955 and 2005) from the newspaper coverage in four different countries (France, Germany, the Netherlands and the USA). The first of these quantitative and comparative studies looked at the literary coverage of foreign literatures (Janssen 2009) and the second, of non-Western[2] literary authors (Berkers, Janssen & Verboord, 2011a) in the literary systems of the countries under focus. In the first study, Janssen's findings supported the "centrality hypothesis" (2009, p. 366): the more central a system in the world cultural or literary system, the more limited the internationalization of literary coverage in its newspapers. As, for instance, the USA increasingly became central between 1955 and 2005, the literary coverage of US newspapers remained the lowest in the group in terms of internationalization. On the other hand, the "increasing international orientation" of literary coverage in French newspapers pointed to a decline in the status of French literature in the literary world system (*ibid.*, p. 364). The second study made use of the same data, but this time to achieve a broader aim: to explore "the extent and composition of newspaper coverage given to literary authors of non-Western origin" (Berkers, Janssen & Verboord 2011a, p. 624). Their findings confirm Janssen's previous study on foreign authors: an increase was observed in the French newspapers' coverage of foreign authors of non-Western origin, mainly due to "the erosion of France's central position" and "France's geolinguistic ties with its many former colonies, rendering France as the center of the Francophone literary world" (p. 637). Germany and the Netherlands, the two other countries included in the studies, occupied relatively more peripheral positions within the literary world-system, and consequently Dutch and German newspapers displayed much more

---

[2] Here non-Western refers to both foreign and domestic authors, that is, authors whose works are translated into, and ethnic minority authors who write in the national language of the countries in question. In this sense, it should be pointed out that the studies do not make a distinction between original text production and translation within the target cultures under focus.

attention towards foreign non-Western authors than the New York Times (*ibid.*).

3. SOCIOLOGICAL APPROACHES TO TRANSLATION

In these studies, which explore literary reception through the analysis of reviews or literary journalism in general, reviewers are seen as "core agents in the symbolic production of literature" (Berkers, Janssen & Verboord, 2011b, p. 25) for they influence the way literature is produced through their evaluative practices and they shape how these literary works are then received by other actors. The studies do not, however, take into account translation. That is to say, although their approach is in most cases multinational, they are not interested whether the literary coverage they included in their corpus pertains to a translated work or a non-translation. Nevertheless, their findings resonate with Johan Heilbron's sociological approach to translation, where the international flow of books is seen as constituting a "cultural world-system" (Heilbron, 1999, p. 429). The more central a language is in this global system, the more books translated from this language, which, in return, imports very little itself (*ibid.*, pp. 438-439). Later on, Sapiro and Heilbron incorporated Bourdieu's ideas and called for sociological attention to be allocated to the activities of all the agents in localities of reception for translations (2007, pp. 93-108). In their perspective, also partly inspired by the polysystem theory put forward by Even-Zohar and Toury (Buzelin, 2007, p. 135; Kershaw, 2010, p. 4), translation should be approached, not merely as a textual practice, but as a social practice, and analyses of translations should incorporate the activities of all the agents in the field of reception, among whom critics play a significant part (*ibid.*, pp. 104-105). If we remember Bourdieu's dictum that "texts circulate without their context" (1999, p. 221), then it follows that reviewing is a significant part of the series of "social operations" (1999, p. 222) through which translations come out having gained a new context. Because reviewers label, classify and introduce in their reviews the work to the target readership, they are also significant agents in the recontextualization of translations in their new environment.

In terms of the three paths that sociology of translation can take (Wolf, 2010, p. 342), the analysis of translation reviews is to be categorised in the sociology of the cultural product with its focus on the reception and consumption of translations. As Angela Kershaw showed us in two of her research papers,

reviews can help us explore the workings of a target literary system in terms of its response to a translated literature (2010; 2014). I would like to highlight that they can also serve as primary sources to examine the broader cultural and social context the translations are embedded in. In this respect, reviews provide methodologically the best site to explore questions about the representational function of translations regarding the source culture they derive from. As Maria Tymoczko reminds us, translations are inevitably "metonymic" (1999), that is, they have the power to substitute for the larger whole, the source culture. A perfect example of this representational power can be found in the way Pamuk's American publisher Random House approach translations in the reading guide they provide for Pamuk's novels on their website, where the perceived representative power of literary works is presented as a framework for their interpretation of his novels in English translation. In the guide, readers are invited to reflect on a series of questions the first two of which are:

> 1. Have Pamuk's books changed your perceptions of Turkey? What insights do they offer into the country's history and place in the world?

> 2. Have his books given you a deeper understanding of the Muslim world? Have they altered your opinion about the current situation in the Middle East and other parts of the world where Islam is the dominant religion? Have you become more or less sympathetic?[3]

Referring to all books written by Pamuk, the questions approach his work from a completely non-literary point of view, as social texts, metonymically linking them to Turkey in the first question, and in the second, to the larger "Muslim world," "the Middle East." I should note that the general interpretation of Pamuk's novels abroad have been along this line, but let me get back to my point about reviews, which was: if translations have a role in the construction of cultural images, then reviews present a perfect locus to study those images because it is in the reviews that the metonymic relationships between translated literature and its culture of origin are established, which is itself a metonymic process as reviewers, just like translators when they are translating, have to be selective in their decision to keep and foreground certain metonymic relationships and silence others.

---

[3] https://www.penguinrandomhouse.com/books/126391/the-black-book-by-orhan-pamuk/9781400078653/readers-guide/, May 31, 2019.

Following Tymoczko's "metonymics of translation" (1999, p. 41), I conceptualize this feature of reviewing as the "metonymics of reviewing." I should also add that since reviews are not written in a vacuum, these relationships we can observe in reviews are not independent of the larger political, historical and cultural discourses surrounding the translations in the target culture.

4. RECEPTION OF PAMUK'S NOVELS IN THE REVIEWS

All of the studies I discuss in the previous section express the significance of the study of reviews in order to, for instance, explore the dynamics of international exchange of texts or the reception of (translated) literature and/or authors. However, dealing with broader, macro-level questions, they do not present a methodology for actual review analysis that implements a close, critical reading of the reviews of a single writer. I have tried to overcome this methodological challenge by turning to critical discourse analysis. Since the reviews of Pamuk's fiction translated into English constitute a discourse, their analysis is inevitably discourse analysis. Therefore, in my critical and analytical readings of the reviews, certain conceptual tools from Critical Discourse Analysis, such as "lexicalization", "implication" and "foregrounding and backgrounding" as important aspects of "discourse semantics" (van Dijk, 1995) proved useful. These conceptual tools also work well with the concept of "metonymics of reviewing" I discussed above.

With this methodological perspective in mind, I will now focus on the reviews that the English translations of the novels by Orhan Pamuk, Turkey's most translated author received. Pamuk's first novel in English translation, *The White Castle,* appeared in 1990 and his last, *The Red-haired Woman,* in 2017. He is currently represented in English with more than 12 books and his writing career was crowned with the ultimate consecration, the Nobel Prize for Literature in 2006. In the chart below, we see the number of reviews received by Pamuk's five novels published in English before he received the Nobel Prize in 2006.

Turkish Title	Year of Publication in Turkey	Title in English / Translator	Year of Publication in UK or USA	Number of Reviews (UK / USA)[4]
Beyaz Kale	1985	*The White Castle* / Güneli Gün	1990	22
Kara Kitap	1990	*The Black Book* / Güneli Gün	1994	22
Yeni Hayat	1994	*The New Life* / Güneli Gün	1997	31
Benim Adım Kırmızı	1998	*My Name is Red* / Erdağ Göknar	2001	42
Kar	2001	*Snow* / Maureen Freely	2004	54

Even with his first novel in English, *The White Castle,* Pamuk received quite a few reviews (22) in the UK and US literary systems, and his novels increasingly continued to attract the attention of reviewers. His next two novels *The Black Book* and *The New Life* received 22 and 31 reviews respectively, followed by his two most popular novels in the English speaking world, *My Name is Red* receiving 42 reviews and *Snow* 54 reviews in total, which is a great achievement for a writer from Turkey, given the notorious resistance of the two central systems of world literature to translation. In addition to the increasing interest of the reviewers in a span of 10 years (1994-2004), Pamuk's novels were also consecrated by many literary awards, one of the most prominent being the

---

[4] The reviews included in the corpus are as comprehensive as possible, covering the ones published in the mainstream American and British outlets, such as *Times Literary Supplement, The New York Times, The Independent, The Guardian, The New Statesman, The New Yorker, The Nation and World Literature* as well as scholarly reviews, especially those that have the potential to reach out to more people in printed or soft-copy form on the Internet. The reviews on personal blogs, however, were not included unless published in print form.

IMPAC award, which Pamuk shared with the translator Erdağ Göknar in 2003 for *My Name is Red*. In light of the empirical studies on literature discussed previously, it should also be noted that all these novels were reviewed in major media outlets in the UK and USA, and the numbers shown here pertain to the reviews in print media; reviews published only online were not included in the study.

A plausible question at this point would be how these reviews recontextualize Pamuk's novels in English translation. In this sense, reviews prove fruitful to explore how translated novels were received and refracted by the reviewers, primarily in terms of the metonymic connections the reviews establish between the novels and the larger cultural, political and historical discourses surrounding them. As for Pamuk's novels, it can be argued that they were inextricably articulated with the larger prevalent political, historical and social discourses pertaining to Turkey and its perceived cultural identity at the time. In this respect, the interpretation of the novels by the reviewers was often along the lines of a "civilizational thinking" (Dabashi, 2001, pp. 362-364), which takes "Islam", or the "East", and the "West" as two civilizations forever in conflict. This is also the way of thinking inherent in the infamous clash of civilizations discourse, or what is sometimes shortened as the clash discourse.

4.1. *The White Castle*

This deep irreducible civilizational cleavage between what is sweepingly generalized as the "East" and "West" emerge as the most prominent feature of the reviews beginning with Pamuk's first novel in English translation, *The White Castle*, and some of the reviews reflect this approach in their titles as well. Titled "Turkish Novel as Anti-dote for East-West Despair", the review by Christopher Lehmann-Haupt appeared in *The New York Times*, one of the most influential literary magazines in the world. In the first paragraph of the review, we learn that the despair mentioned in the title is a contemporary one. I quote:

> At a moment, when one despairs of there ever being a meeting of minds between the Muslim world and the West, "The White Castle," [sic.] a new novel by the young Turkish writer Orhan Pamuk and the first of his books to be translated into English, comes as a promising antidote. (Lehmann-Haupt, 1991)

The first part of the sentence bears implications worth focusing on. First, it is implied by the reference to the time that the review is written, the beginning of 1990s, that one had already been doing some thinking on the problematic relationship between East and West, in which the "East" elides into "the Muslim world." Secondly, the use of the word "ever" implies that the "despair" is ahistorical: there has never been a meeting of Eastern and Western minds. In following paragraphs, Lehmann-Haupt states that the appeal of the novel derives from "the odd marriage of Western rationalism and Eastern religious faith", that is to say, the wording of the reviewer continues to reflect the same line of thinking, only this time explicating what causes "the odd marriage": the essential and inevitable distinction between "Western rationalism" and "Eastern religious faith", by implication, Islam. The characterization of Pamuk's novel as "antidote" to this cultural/civilizational conflict resides in its success to bring together these entities, which are presented in Lehmann-Haupt's discourse as mutually exclusive, stagnant and essentialized blocks. However, in the meantime, *The White Castle* is instrumentalized and what is emphasized is the novel's achievement to do the impossible and bring together the two irreconcilable entities.

4.2. *My Name is Red*

Pamuk's fourth novel in English translation, *My Name is Red* was published in 2001 by Knopf in the USA and Faber & Faber in the UK and became Pamuk's commercially most successful book when it was published. It was the first Turkish novel translated into English that was featured on the cover of *The New York Times Book Review*[5]. It was also chosen as one of the finest books of the year in 2001 by *The Economist*[6]. In other words, the novel in English translation received the utmost consecration from two internationally circulating mainstream media.

---

[5] The cover can be seen at:
http://www.nytimes.com/indexes/2001/09/02/books/review/index.html. Published on 2 September 2001, the same issue features the first chapter and Richard Eder's review of the novel, which is included in the reviews analyzed in this section:
http://www.nytimes.com/2001/09/02/books/chapters/02-1stpamuk.html (accessed May 31, 2019).
[6] http://www.economist.com/node/916756 (accessed May 31, 2019).

In a review published in *The Guardian*, the "clash" between East and West in terms of artistic expression as a theme of the novel is presented to the reader as what makes *MNR* relevant to "its time": "Orhan Pamuk's novel is a philosophical thriller constructed around the clash between these two views of artistic meaning, which is also a chasm between two world civilizations. Great fiction speaks to its time; in the week of the American suicide bombings, this outstanding novel clamours to be heard" (Williams, 2001). Or, in another major British newspaper, *The Independent,* for instance, the words of a character in the novel functions as a stepping board to a reminder about the times: "'To God belongs both East and West,' maintains Enishte Effendi, soon to be a corpse. 'May he protect us from the will of the pure and unadulterated.' In the age of Taliban we can only agree" (O'brien, 2001). In fact, it is possible to detect a brief mention of the novel's appeal to its present times in quite a few reviews. For instance, the one published in *The Economist* in October 2001 states that "it is an enlightening, but eerie, experience to read this book at the present moment. For its theme is a clash of cultures…" (*The Economist*, 2001).

4.3. *Snow*

In her sociological study on the consumption of translated literature in the UK, P. Duygu Tekgül discusses a case where *Snow* was read "as a social/political commentary", "an alternative to reading a sociology or politics text on Turkey" (2012, p. 217). Similar reading experiences can be detected in many reviews as well. Therefore, it is not surprising to see that *Snow* was received and presented as a novel that reveals "the critical dilemmas of Turkey. How European is it? How can it respond to fundamentalist Islam?" (Payne, *The Telegraph*), that "illuminates the many voices in his native land" (Miano, *The Observer*), that "presents Turkey as a nation far more unsure of its identity and far crueler on both sides of the secular-Islamic divide, than we imagine" (Evans, *New Statesman*) and that depicts "a schism in [Turkey's] soul between Westernization and the traditional values of Islam" (Eder, *The New York Times*).

One of the most significant reviews of *Snow* was Christopher Hitchens' article published in *The Atlantic Monthly*. The title is "Mind the Gap" and the following sub-headline reads: "Turkey is everyone's idea of a "successful" modern Muslim state. A new novel will make you think twice." They sum up in essence Hitchens' approach to the novel, which Hitchens reads in order to gain insight

into Turkey's position in global geopolitics. This becomes most evident in the last paragraph of the review:

> Prolix and often clumsy as it is, Pamuk's new novel should be taken as a cultural warning. So weighty was the impression of Atatürk that ever since his death, in 1938, Western statecraft has been searching for an emulator or successor. Nasser was thought for a while to be the needful charismatic, secularizing strongman. So was Sadat. So, for a while, was the Shah of Iran. And so was Saddam Hussein … Eager above all to have a modern yet "Muslim" state within the tent, the United States and the European Union have lately been taking Turkey's claims to modernity more and more at face value. The attentive reader of *Snow* will not be so swift to embrace this consoling conclusion. (Hitchens, 2004)

Hitchens' perspective is evident in the paragraph above, reading the world through a civilizational and religious divide where a conflated "Muslim" world has a long way on its path to modernity claimed by the Unites States and Europe. By the same token, Hitchens openly describes Pamuk as "an interpretative guide to the East" in his review (2004, *Atlantic Monthly*). Although reviews written with a similar perspective might not express their views as bluntly, Hitchens' take is not really an exception in the reception of Pamuk's works in English-translation.

There are, of course, several reasons for such a reception and refraction. The most important, perhaps, is that reviewers read and produce in a social setting, inevitably influenced by the larger journalistic, political discourses surrounding them. Secondly, their reception, hence their presentation of Pamuk's novels were heavily influenced by the larger discourse prevalent in the English-speaking world regarding Turkey because of the perceived great distance between the source culture and their own. Another factor was the subject matter of Pamuk's novels, all of which revolve around themes such as Turkish identity, politics, Islam, and Ottoman history. Moreover, Pamuk's novels entered the Anglophone world in the 1990s, when several geopolitical developments were taking place, such as the end of the Cold War and the start of the Gulf War, which turned attention to the Middle East and Turkey as the only democratic country in the region that was an ally to Europe and the United States. One of the most significant findings of this study is that the discourse formed by literary journalism around Pamuk's novels was bound up with a larger political discourse which was shaped by such geopolitical

developments and remained influential in defining the perception of Turkey as a country.

A significant source of this larger political discourse can be traced back to 1990, the year *The White Castle* was published, was also the year Bernard Lewis' article "The Roots of Muslim Rage" was published in the *Atlantic*.
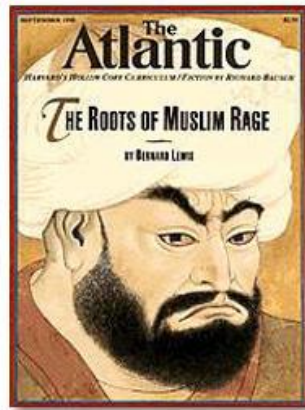
The article shared similar discursive characteristics with many reviews of Pamuk's novels and played a significant role in popularizing the term "clash of civilizations", the phrase which would later be borrowed by Samuel Huntington, and would be referred to frequently by the reviewers of Pamuk's fiction. In this sense, an aspect that many of Pamuk's reviewers share with Lewis is his notion of Islam as "a civilization with a distinct, unique and basically unchanging essence" (Lockman, 2009, p. 132), which completely ignores the cultural and historical differences within that entity. Accordingly, my analyses revealed that a considerable number of reviewers, in their approach to all Muslim populations as a monolithic entity, considered Turkey as part of that entity which hadn't quite completed its modernization project, as a bridge that never reached the other side of the civilizational gap.

5. CONCLUSIONS

The approach displayed in the reviews indicates that the larger clash discourse, which created and relied on a hyperbole of differences, was influential in shaping the reception of Pamuk's novels in the reviews, which resulted in the

very reproduction of the same discourse. Last but not least, I should also point out that such a reception which articulates Pamuk's novels to prevalent larger historical, political and social discourses of the time in the target literary systems is the strength of Pamuk's novels, underpinning their popularity in the English-speaking world. No other Turkish writer's works in translation have so far achieved such a reception matching in impact that of Pamuk's novels. And reviewers, by way of writing about the translations of Pamuk's novels, were certainly among the primary agents in the creation of that impact.

Orhan Pamuk is Turkey's only Nobel laureate and so far has been the most internationally successful writer of Turkish literature. In addition to his writerly genius producing literary works that coincided at the right time with the literary tastes of two significant global literary centers, Pamuk's literary career in English was helped significantly by translation and literary journalism, with the active involvement of influential agents, such as his translators, publishers, reviewers and literary agents.

REFERENCES

Berkers, P., Janssen S. & Verboord, M. (2011a). Globalization and Ethnic Diversity in Western Newspaper Coverage of Literary Authors: Comparing Developments in France, Germany, the Netherlands, and the United States 1955 to 2005. *American Behavioral Scientist*, 55 (5), pp. 624-641.

Berkers, P., Janssen S. & Verboord, M. (2011b). Contra-flows in Literary Journalism? Coverage of Foreign, Non-Western and Ethnic Minority Literatures in French, German, Dutch and American Newspapers, 1955-2005. In P. Broomans and E. Jiresch (Eds.), *The Invasion of Books in Peripheral Literary Fields: Transmitting Preferences and Images in the Media, Networks and Translation* (pp. 23-47). Barkhuis.

Bourdieu, P. (1993). *The Field of Cultural Production*. Ed. Randal Johnson. Cambridge: Polity Press.

Bourdieu, P. (1999). The Social Conditions of the International Circulation of Ideas. In R. Shusterman (Ed.), *Bourdieu A Critical Reader* (pp. 220-228). Oxford: Blackwell Publishers.

Buzelin, H. (2007). Translations 'in the making'. In M. Wolf and A. Fukari (Eds.), *Constructing a Sociology of Translation* (pp. 134-169). Amsterdam and Philadelphia: John Benjamins.

Dabashi, H. (2001). For the Last Time: Civilizations. *International Sociology*, 16 (3), pp. 361-368.

Eder, R. (2004). A Blizzard of Contradictions in Modern Turkey. *The New York Times.* Aug 10. Retrieved from
https://www.nytimes.com/2004/08/10/books/books-of-the-times-a-blizzard-of-contradictions-in-modern-turkey.html.

Ekelund, Bo G. & Börjesson M. (2002). The Shape of the Literary Career: An Analysis of Publishing Trajectories. *Poetics,* 30, pp. 341-364.

Evans, Julian (2004). Veiled hatred. *New Statesman.* May 10, 53. Retrieved from https://www.newstatesman.com/node/159754

Heilbron, J. (1999.) Towards a Sociology of Translation: Book Translations as a Cultural World System. *European Journal of Social Theory*, 2 (4), pp. 429-444.

Heilbron, J. & Sapiro G. (2007). Outline for a Sociology of Translation. In M. Wolf and A. Fukari (Eds.), *Constructing a Sociology of Translation* (pp. 93-107). Amsterdam, Philadelphia: John Benjamins Publishing.

Hitchens, C. (2004.) Mind the Gap. *Atlantic Monthly,* October 1. Retrieved from http://www.theatlantic.com/magazine/archive/2004/10/mind-the-gap/303487/

Huntington, Samuel P. (1993). The Clash of Civilizations? *Foreign Affairs* (summer), 73 (3), pp. 22-49.

Janssen, S. (1997a). Literary Reputation and Authors' Intervention in Critical Reception. In S. Tötösy de Zepetnek and I. Sywenky (Eds.), *The Systemic and Empirical Approach to Literature and Culture as Theory and Application* (pp. 278-297). University of Alberta, Canada and Siegen University, Germany.

Janssen, S. (1997b). Reviewing as Social Practice: Institutional Constraints on Critics' attention for Contemporary Fiction. *Poetics*, 24, pp. 275-297.

Janssen, S. (1998). Side-roads to success: The effect of sideline activities on the status of writers. *Poetics,* 25, pp. 265-280.

Janssen, S. (2009). Foreign Literatures in National Media Comparing the International Focus of Literary Coverage in Europe and the United States. *Arcadia Band*, 44, pp. 352-375.

Kershaw, A. (2010). Sociology of Literature, Sociology of Translation: The Reception of Irène Némirovsky's *Suite Française* in France and Britain. *Translation Studies,* 3, 1, pp. 1-16. London and New York: Routledge.

Kershaw, A. (2014). Complexity and unpredictability in cultural flows: Two French Holocaust novels in English translation. *Translation Studies* 7 (1), pp. 34-49.

Lehmann-Haupt, C. (1991). Turkish Novel as Antidote for East-West Despair. *The New York Times*. April 29. Retrieved from http://www.nytimes.com/1991/04/29/books/books-of-the-times-turkish-novel-as-antidote-for-east-west-despair.html?pagewanted=1

Lewis, B. (1990). The Roots of Muslim Rage. *The Atlantic*, September. Retrieved from http://www.theatlantic.com/magazine/archive/1990/09/the-roots-of-muslim-rage/4643/

Lockman, Z. (2009). *Contending Visions of the Middle East: The History and Politics of Orientalism*. New York: Cambridge University Press.

Miano, S. E. (2004). More than a winter's tale. *The Observer*. May 30, 14. Retrieved from http://www.theguardian.com/books/2004/may/30/fiction.orhanpamuk

O'Brien, M. (2001). Not Just Eastern but Universal. *The Independent*. August 26, 15.

Pamuk, O. (1990). *The White Castle*. Victoria Holbrook (Trans.). London: Faber and Faber.

Pamuk, O. (1995). *The Black Book*. Güneli Gün (Trans.). London: Faber and Faber. (Orig. Pub. 1994 by Farrar, Straus & Giroux).

Pamuk, O. (1997). *The New Life*. Güneli Gün (Trans.). London: Faber and Faber.

Pamuk, O. (2001). *My Name is Red*. Erdağ Göknar (Trans.). London: Faber and Faber. [2001] 2010. Everyman's Library Edition. New York: Knopf.

Pamuk, O. (2004). *Snow.* Maureen Freely (Trans.). London: Faber & Faber. 2005. First Vintage International Edition. New York: Vintage Books.

Pamuk, O. (2017). *The Red-Haired Woman.* Ekin Oklap (Trans.). New York and Toronto: Alfred A. Knopf.

Payne, T. (2004). Alone in Turkey. *The Telegraph.* May 23. Retrieved from http://www.telegraph.co.uk/culture/books/3617511/Alone-in-Turkey.html

Tekgül, P. D. (2012). *Around the World in English: The Production and Consumption of Translated Fiction in the UK between Cosmopolitanism and Orientalism.* PhD diss., University of Exeter.

The Economist (US). (2001). Ataturk's Children: Fiction from Turkey. October 27, N/A.

Tymoczko, M. (1999). T*ranslation in a Postcolonial Context: Early Irish Literature in English Translation.* Manchester: St. Jerome Publishing.

van Dijk, T. A. (1995). Discourse Semantics and Ideology. *Discourse & Society*, 6, pp. 243-289.

van Rees, K. & J. Vermunt. (1996). Event history analysis of authors' reputation: Effects of Critics' attention on debutants' careers. *Poetics,* 23, pp. 317-333.

Williams, H. (2001). Culture Clash. *The Guardian* September 15. Retrieved from http://www.theguardian.com/education/2001/sep/15/highereducation.fiction

Wolf, M. (2010). Sociology of Translation. In Y. Gambier and L. van Doorslaer (Eds.), *Handbook of Translation Studies* – Volume 1 (pp. 337-343). Amsterdam/Philadelphia: John Benjamins.

On Translating Books about
Romania into Romanian[1]

Oana-Celia Gheorghiu
"Dunarea de Jos" University of Galati, Romania
Oana.Gheorghiu@ugal.ro

Abstract

Romania has had a long history of fascination for foreign travellers, who have shared their opinions about its lands and people since the dawns of Antiquity. Some of these narrators are ridden with prejudice, others are looking for peculiarities, and then some try to render an objective perspective and make their original readers understand the basics of Romanianness, as they interiorized it during their unmediated experience. All these texts, at the crossroads of fiction and non-fiction, published as diaries, travel journals, short stories or, in some cases, novels, can be reread through an imagological lens. The stereotypes at play in these books can be inventoried, reinforced or debunked.

Much more problematic proves, in this context, the translation of the Other's views about the national Self. In the more recent years, attempts have been made at growing the Romanians' awareness with regard to their national and cultural representation abroad. Humanitas Publishing features a collection of such writings, from various ages (late 19th century, early and mid-20th century, after the collapse of the communist bloc, and in the present day). It is not easy to read oneself through the eyes of another, and this task is two times more complicated for the translator, who has to side with the author in order to hand in an objective translation, and not a rewriting, to the publisher.

The aim of this paper is to discuss the approach to translation in an imagological context. To this effect, it outlines some choices made in translating certain aspects that might raise imagological questions, encountered in Robert D Kaplan's 2016 book, *In Europe's Shadow: Two Cold Wars and a Thirty-Year Journey Through Romania and Beyond* and in Maude Rea Parkinson's 1921 memoir, *Twenty Years in Roumania*.

Keywords: Auto-image, hetero-image, truth, prejudice, national representation, translation, reader-response.

1. INTRODUCTION

The Romanians' auto-image has long been shaped by their reflection in the eyes of the others. The historical praise of the Dacians, their forefathers, by ancient historians, chief among whom Herodotus "'the bravest and the most honourable of the Thracians tribes", though a rather marginal comment in the historian's text, was common place in the propagandistic Romanian history, being taught since the early school age. A similar 'hallmark' of Romanian pride is Pope Sixtus IV's praise of Stephen the Great as *Verus christiane fidei athleta* ("The true defender of the Christian faith"), during the turmoil of the late 15th century, when the expansion of the Ottoman Empire put great pressure on Europe (Cândea, 2004, p. 140). It is common knowledge that communists went to great lengths to identify such eulogies to various Romanian figures so that they could imprint a positive auto-image on the Romanians' mindset, an aim which they largely accomplished. At any rate, however, the approach rested, whether consciously or not, on aspects of mentality which seem to characterise Romanianness: the exacerbated concern with what others think or say of them and the need for reassurance. Once the political paradigm changed, the Romanians have also had the opportunity to access much less flattering views, especially in the contemporary context of a fundamental acquis of European integration – the free movement of people – which made them face their being negatively stereotyped by the foreign Other. It is in this context and owing to this mental framework that they started to look into accounts of them and of their land imparted by Western travellers since the dawns of writing, looking for more positive accounts made by the foreign Other. This is not to say that all these texts, placed at the crossroads between fictional and non-fictional, render an objective *and* a positive image of Romanianness, as their authors perceived it during their unmediated encounters with the Romanians. Delivered to the world in the form of travelogues, diaries, short stories, journalistic bits and, sometimes, novels and plays, the texts on (any) Other may employ stereotyping, which sometimes may render them prejudiced.

Outlining a constructed image through a "rhetoric of national character" (Leerssen, 2000), interiorised in various degrees of objectivity – from unmediatedness to hearsay or libel – the discourses of otherness acquire literariness and fictionalism whether they have been originally intended as such or not by their authors. This has always been a fact, although it is openly acknowledged only in this post-truth era – any discourse bears the imprint of

the truth of its maker but, what is more, that of the truth as it is understood by its receivers. Therefore, admitting that the truth is negotiated at the level of the writing process, one could admit that negative/positive stereotyping and objectivity/subjectivity are also subject to reader's negotiation, especially on the part of the reader that is not written in the text as implied reader, but rather as a constructed character. In other words, the Romanians reading fiction or non-fictional travel writings about Romania may be placed beyond what is expected from the implied reader, as they might not have been among the original addressees of those texts. The implied reader is, according to Iser, "a textual structure anticipating the presence of a recipient", which designates a network of response-inviting structures, which impel the reader to grasp the text" (1978, p. 34) within the confines it pre-imposes. Thus, the reader's frame of reference, which "develops in the historical moment of [a literary work's] appearance from a previous understanding of the genre, from the form and themes of already familiar works, and from the contrast between poetic and practical language" (Jauss, 1970 p. 11), should also consider, in such cases, the auto-image that the respective reader has of his or her national representation. As Leerssen points out, "the cognitive-psychological model of frame has deepened our understanding of stereotyping […], being fairly close to the social-psychological notion of prejudice, or what Jauss would call an *Erwartungshorizont* or horizon of expectation" (2016, p. 24).

2. READING THE SELF THROUGH THE EYES OF THE OTHER

Transposing both the auto-image, which is valid and real for any nation or ethnicity, and the local interest in what the other has to say about one into cultural marketing, one of the most important Romanian commercial presses, Humanitas, attempts at raising the Romanians' awareness of their national representation abroad by publishing writings which focus on the image of the Romanians, rendered for a different audience by foreign travellers from various ages (late nineteenth century, early and mid-twentieth century, after the collapse of the communist bloc, and in the present day). The success of the collection is moderated, probably because of the fact that, as interested as one may be in the other's opinion, it is still rather difficult to read yourself through other people's lens, provided that the expectations of a positive representation are not always (or even often) met.

The schemata involved in the construction of such writings lead to imagology or, "the study of the representations of the foreign other in a literary work, in a national literature, or in the mental structures prevailing in a cultural community at a given historical moment in its evolution" (Gavriliu, 2002, p. 5). Although the aim of this paper is not to pursue a literary analysis, focus being laid on a theoretical account of the translation of such texts, from the translator's perspective, a brief account of what imagology is and does may prove helpful in decoding the stereotypes involved when it comes to "making sense of the world through ethnicity" as Leerssen (2016) puts it.

Based on "the dynamics between those images which characterise the other (hetero-images) and those which characterise one's own, domestic identity (self-images or auto-images)" (Leerssen, 2007, p. 27), imagology as a critical reading may be defined starting, as above, from the fictional mirror viewed in its discrete components – "in a literary work" – and as a whole - "in a national literature" (although the latter concept is, if not moot, at least obsolete in the context of a fresh understanding of World Literature). It is more appropriate to focus on mental structures because, as Leerssen, remarks, "texts that say something on national character frequently rely, not on a first-hand observation of reality, but almost always on an existing reputation" (1998). Thus, the representation of national characters follows patterns of thought accumulated in many generations. This view is also shared by Dyserinck (2003), who claims that "images and imagotypical structures managed to stay alive for generations by their very consistency and resistance". The phrase "imagotypical structures" may be used interchangeably with stereotype or cliché, which is defined as an image that "remains constant despite historical changes" (Schneider, 2005, qtd in Mohor-Ivan & Praisler, 2007, p. 48). In truth, even stereotypes change over time, due to various factors, most of them extrinsic to the literary text. Perhaps it is better if one regarded Leerssen's and Dyserinck's attributing of an intertextual dimension to the formation and perpetuation of the national stereotype as an accumulation, and not merely as an image that remains unchanged along the centuries. Images represent mental pictures, representations, or "cognitive knowledge structure or schema that controls our opinion and behaviour towards the other" (Mohor-Ivan & Praisler, 2007, p. 48), but also towards the self. There is no self without the other, and the imagology acknowledges this fact, since it focuses as much on auto-image as it does on hetero-image.

3. TRANSLATING THE SELF AS SEEN BY THE EYES OF THE OTHER

A complication arises from the initial part of the process of bringing the other's view on the self into the consciousness of the said self: the translation of a text containing hetero-images that can be biased, prejudiced, or unjustly negative. With consideration to the invisibility of the translator, bound by work ethics to side with the author in order to hand in an objective translation, and not an unfaithful rewriting, to the publisher, the translation of texts that have to do with the translator's own ethnicity may prove demanding. As Bassnett and Lefevere assert in *Translation, History and Culture*, "there is always a context in which the translation takes place, always a history from where a text emerges and into which a text is transposed. […] Translation is always doubly contextualised, since the text has a place in two cultures (1990, p. 11). But it is two times more difficult when one is required to triangulate, in the sense used in contemporary politics, i.e. to place oneself above both the culture they translate into and the one from which they translate. A translator of a text that speaks in prejudiced terms about his or her country must fulfil the role of a cultural mediator, swinging between cultures in a never-ending merry-go-round: *my* culture seen through the subjective lens of *your* culture and then transposed objectively into *my* culture as it were an element of *your* culture. Here is the point where imagology comes to the rescue, the translator, always a cultural mediator, being – ideally, at least – familiar with the mental structures of the source culture and aware of the serious error of "using static approaches or positing stable or essentialist views of cultures and their practices" (Flynn, Leerssen & van Doorslaer, 2016, p. 3). In turn, understanding the non-fixedness of the stereotype helps in construing a national representation at a given time, in a given context, as a mutable discourse, rather than frustratingly regarding the gaze of the Other as a patronising representation of inferiority. Thus, the translator should grasp the source text "in terms of the ways in which the political, social and cultural context of [its] production determined the discursive strategies which lay behind the images of collective self and other that they contain" (McKinnon, 2016, p. 24) in order to be able to produce an acceptable reworking of the text, given that translation is never "ideologically neutral" and that is "always shaped by its social, economic and cultural context," as Lefevere (1992, pp. 1-10) asserted, cited by McKinnon, *ibid*. In other words, minimum two contexts and two ideologies clash in any translated text, but when the ST makes reference to the target culture, the task

of the translator becomes more complicated, as the latter must disregard the cultural and ideological constraints of their own context, and render the representation of their culture as seen through a foreign mirror.

Starting from McKinnon's chapter cited above, on the 16th century English translation of the French *Débat*, which was manipulated and reworked by the translator so as "to make it acceptable within a new literary system and to a new readership with very different social, cultural and political expectations and loyalties" (2016, p. 24), I have carried out an informal survey in an online group of literary translators. I posited the question as to whether the translators would accept a translation ridden with prejudiced views on Romania and the Romanians. Further on, provided that they accepted it, the next question was whether they would alter the text in any way, with glosses, footnotes or omissions. Around 60% of the respondents declared that they would not accept the translation, under any circumstances, because that would contribute to yet another 'masochistic self-flagellation' – which, in imagotypical terms, corresponds, to a certain extent, to the negative auto-stereotyping of the Romanians as pariahs of Europe, very much in circulation in the more recent years. The others claimed that they would accept it because Romanians need to know how they are perceived and that we should not pretend that we live in an ideal world. Nevertheless, the opinion was almost unanimous that the translation should not be altered, that the translators should not be more betraying than they already are – an allusion to the famous Italian phrase *Traduttore, traditore*. The only acceptable addition was considered mentioning the inaccuracies or prejudiced views in a paratext (preface or translator's note).

As for my experience as a translator, I have always been author-oriented and in favour of rendering the source text as accurately as possible, regardless of its contents, which may be uncomfortable and/or against my views or values. Two of the books I translated for Humanitas Press in collaboration with historian Constantin Ardeleanu deal with Romania and Romanianness and, although neither is prejudiced – they are, in fact, clearly positive rather than negative – both contain several instances which can make a Romanian's eyebrow raise. This is the reason why, in what follows, two examples of what could be misinterpreted from the perspective of the Romanian reader shall be provided.

The former, *Twenty Years in Roumania* (the original spelling was preserved), was written in the early 1920s by Maude Rea Parkinson, an Irish governess who

had spent twenty years in the company of high-class families of Romania at the turn of the century, until to the outburst of World War I. Her intention, as announced from the first lines, was to present Romania to her fellow citizens, who then regarded it either as a faraway, mid-eastern wilderness or, best case scenario, as a country full of "the glamour of the Arabian night," populated with "a wonderful **_race of people_** rich in **_primitive_** virtues, dwelling in a charming country amidst scenes of Oriental luxury" (Parkinson, 1921, p. 18). As per Parkinson's amused remark, the Westerners "seemed to have the haziest kind of ideas about Romania – one agent wrote to say that they only covered Europe in their work" (*ibid.*). In point of translation, special attention had to be paid to the adjective *primitive*, because of its two meanings – ancient, primordial, original, but also crude, rudimentary, the latter being offensive. It is obvious from the context that Parkinson's intention was not to offend, which is why the translation employed a more poetical and less susceptible synonym for the former sense, *ancestral*. Another aspect, which in terms of translation strategies could be described as an omission, concerns the noun phrase "a race of people". If in English, according to Cambridge Dictionary, one of the meanings of the word *race* is "a group of people who share the same language, history, characteristics, etc.", the Romanian dictionary provides only the following explanations for the corresponding noun, *rasă*: 1. a group of individuals belonging to the same species of microorganisms, plants, animals, of shared, constant characteristics hereditarily preserved; 2. each of the biological groups of populations, characterised by the colour of the hair, skin, and other external features (DEX 2009, *my translation*). As Romanians do not belong to a different race than that of the Irish author, as per the Romanian definition of the word, keeping the word in translation would have led to a serious misunderstanding. Another aspect considered was the time when the source text was written, when sensitivity to racism was not as acute as it is today. Therefore, the translation reads: "un *popor* minunat, bogat în virtuţi *ancestrale*" (2014, p. 12) (back-translation: a wonderful *people*, rich in *ancestral* virtues), without the changes operated to affect the intentionality of the source text.

Although Maude Parkinson's book offers a rich material for an imagological analysis (see Gheorghiu, 2013), its translation from the same perspective did not pose great difficulties, aside from slight linguistic transpositions as the one above. While many of her wonderments about the Romanians may seem naïve and sometimes inaccurate to the Romanian reader, it is obvious from the entire

tenor of the memoir that she regarded her hosts as characterised by "innate politeness", "very kind and thoughtful for others", with hospitality that "knows no bounds" (1921, p. 197), therefore, on the positive side of stereotyping. This simplifies the translator's task in delivering a rendition likely to elicit a positive reader-response, which would be, theoretically, harder to achieve when translating a book full of negative stereotypes, such as orphans, poverty, AIDS and, of course, the ubiquitous vampirism inspired by Bram Stoker's *Dracula*. What comes to mind is Dan Simmons' horror novel *Children of the Night* (1992), in which "the whole of Romania is "vampirised" and "described as a negative alternative to Occidental values" (Crişan, 2013, p. 7). It is interesting for the present discussion to note that, although Simmons' books are generally appreciated in Romania, the American author enjoying a large and enthusiast readership among SF fans, this book seems to have never been translated into Romanian.

A much more objective stance is to be found in the book of American author, journalist and political analyst Robert D. Kaplan, *In Europe's Shadow: Two Cold Wars and a Thirty-Year Journey Through Romania and Beyond*. "Some 35 years ago, Robert D. Kaplan embarked on what this book portrays as an enduring love affair. The object of his affection and fascination is not a person, but a country: Romania. It is an obsession that has led him to plunge into the surrounding Balkans, and farther afield to contemplate Europe in all its historic complexity" reads the review of *The New York Times* (Smale, 2016), without being too far from the truth. The book, released in Romania at the same time with the American version, is based on Kaplan's three trips to Romania, in three different decades: in 1981, when the totalitarian communism was in full force; in 1990, immediately after the fall of the regime; and in 2014 (this time, the visit also included the Republic of Moldova), in the context of the conflict between Russia and Ukraine. Although the entire volume is written from a subjective, personal, diaristic perspective, it is important for the translator and reader alike to remember that *In Europe's Shadow* is an exercise in realist political analysis, and consequently, certain liberties that may sometimes be taken with the translation of a literary text, i.e. that degree of creativity mentioned by Lefevere, do not apply. The translation, in this case, should be freed from ideological constraints and should come closer to the strictness and precision of scientific translations, all the while paying attention to the pragmatic elements that make up the discourse. There is no other way to achieve the intercultural communication that a political text is capable of mediating.

It is also important to take into account the structures of power that dominate the text, which could – theoretically, again – be imagologically accounted for in terms of Americanism, assumed superiority and the assurance of the might. But this would be an error, because Kaplan is indeed a lover and a connoisseur of Romania and his bias does not make itself felt throughout the more than 300 pages in which he describes Romania of then (the 1980s, but also its historical past), and that of now (2014-2016) from geographical, cultural, and especially political perspectives. "For an appreciation of contemporary Romanian attitudes, Robert Kaplan's book has no equal. As an outsider, yet within, the author offers an analysis of Romania that combines erudition and authority. His sparkling, suggestive reflections, drawing upon history and landscape, capture the DNA of the country and its inhabitants" says Dennis Deletant, a renowned British historian and another great connoisseur of Romania in one of the blurbs included in the English edition. The foreigners' praise generally follows this trend, but it is interesting to note that the Romanians' is similar, which is hardly surprising for an author compared to Huntington and Fukuyama, but which could have become surprising if the Romanian readers had felt themselves negatively stereotyped in any way. What Kaplan does is to place a mirror for Romanians to see themselves as they might have not probably done it with external help:

> Bucharest, as I rode in from the airport and saw the ashen, mouldy faces of the bus driver and other Romanians aboard, crushed in their overcoats and winter hats with earmuffs and their worries, made me instinctually aware of all the history I had been missing the last half decade."

> *La Bucureşti, pe drumul de la aeroport, privind feţele trase şi palide ale şoferului şi ale altor români din autobuz, înfofoliţi în paltoane şi căciuli de iarnă şi copleşiţi de griji, am conştientizat instinctiv întreaga istorie ce trecuse pe lângă mine în ultima jumătate de deceniu.* (2016, pp. 38-39)

or,

> People clutched cheap jute bags in expectation of stale bread. I looked at their faces: nervous, shy, clumsy, calculating, heartrending, as if struggling to master the next catastrophe. Those clammy complexions seemed as if they had never seen the sunlight.

> *Trecătorii aveau în mâini sacoșe ieftine de rafie și așteptau să cumpere pâine. Le-am privit fețele: nervoase, timide, stângace, calculate, îndurerate, ca și cum s-ar fi luptat să prevină următoarea catastrofă. Erau așa de palizi, că păreau să nu fi văzut vreodată lumina soarelui.* (2016, p. 41)

What he also does is to magisterially pinpoint the Romanians' self-image, by resorting to statements made by Romanian cultural and diplomatic personalities:

> A former Romanian diplomat, Ioana Ieronim, told me in 1998, "This is how we were in the interwar period, in the 1930s. We are resourceful, adaptable, exaggerated, pseudocosmopolitan émigrés in a new, global world. We are one-dimensional Latin-Oriental clones of the West." A local philosopher and essayist, Horia-Roman Patapievici, added: "When we buy computers, compact disks, and clothes, we borrow the material consequences of the West without grasping the fundamental values that created such technologies in the first place."

> *Un fost diplomat român, Ioana Ieronim, mi-a spus în 1998: „Așa eram și în perioada interbelică, în anii '30. Suntem descurcăreți, adaptabili, excesivi, niște emigranți pseudo-cosmopoliți într-o nouă lume globală. Un fel de clone unidimensionale, latin-orientale ale Vestului. Horia-Roman Patapievici, filozof și eseist, a adăugat: „În momentul în care cumpărăm calculatoare, CD-uri și îmbrăcăminte, ne însușim consecințele materiale ale Vestului, fără să înțelegem valorile fundamentale care au generat aceste tehnologii".* (2016, p. 70).

While the above references to the depressive physical aspect of the Romanians, also remarked by other foreign travellers, and to their mentality as followers of the West (which he was considerate enough to quote from the opinions of Romanians) did not entail any difficulties in translation, a translation problem arose from the title itself. *To be in someone's shadow*, in one of the Romanian understandings of the phrase, means to be obscured, made inferior by that someone, which could put the readers on a wrong track. The translators' and, afterwards, the editors' decision was to leave the title unaltered, providing a literal translation, *În umbra Europei*. Although the formal equivalence was not affected by this transfer, the dynamic equivalence was somehow lost, because of the implications that the phrase acquires in the Romanian language, a fact

proven by the first question Kaplan had to answer in an interview he gave to a Romanian newspaper:

> *In Europe's Shadow* – the title of your book – does it mean that you are talking about Romania as if it were a faraway country, one barely known by the world you live in, or as if it were a country whose survival depends on the "light of the West"?

Kaplan's reply sheds light on the interpretation of the title:

> In Europe's shadow means exactly this: it is a country that is not at the heart of Europe, it is not France, Germany or Austria. Romania is pushed towards the East, much too close to Ukraine and the former USSR to be comfortable. I felt that Romania had not enjoyed the attention it deserved, from Europe or from the West in general. While there are so many good books on Poland, written by journalists or historians, Romania was somehow left in a shadow cone. Hence the title (Felseghi, PressOne, 2016, my translation).

While the translation as a whole has not received any negative commentaries, on the contrary, two years after its being handed to the publishing house and published under this title, I feel, from this imagological perspective of the self-image, that we should have modified the title in order to avoid this confusion generated, undoubtedly, by a certain national inferiority complex. In the end, Kaplan did not express any negative stereotypes about Romania, "a country resembling a sensual, macabre, perpetually fascinating, and occasionally brilliant *film noir*" (2016, p. 70), but described it as realistically and accurately as possible, and it would be a pity to have misled at least one reader with the translation of the title.

4. CONCLUSION

This paper has strived to prove that, in an age of acute sensitivity with regard to the way one nation is perceived by the foreign Other, the translation of fictional and non-fictional texts concerned with the national representation should rely on imagology, the theory of national representation coming from the field of comparative literary studies. While there is consensus that the text

should not be altered so as to suit the readership's preferences, it is nevertheless important that the translator, aware of the local mental framework, anticipate the readers' response to a text about themselves, and avoid the pitfall of misinterpreting the author's intention.

The paper has shown both an instance in which the translator was aware of such possible traps and resorted to a necessary omission and the use of a more neutral synonym than the one provided by the dictionary as the first choice, but also one in which the literal translation of the title disregarded the possible negative implications of the resulting phrase. While this was not the case, the translation of the title could have induced the sensation that the book assumed a stance of superiority, which, in its turn, could have affected the sales, given the Romanians' exhaustion with being looked down on by Westerners.

REFERENCES

Corpus

Kaplan D. R. (2016). *In Europe's Shadow. Two Cold Wars and a Thirty-Year Journey Through Romania and Beyond.* New York: Random House.

Kaplan D. R. (2016). *În umbra Europei. Două războaie reci și trei decenii de călătorie prin România și dincolo de ea.* Translated by Constantin Ardeleanu and Oana Celia Gheorghiu. București: Humanitas.

Parkinson, M. R. (1921). *Twenty Years in Roumania.* London: George Allen & Unwin.

Parkinson, M. R. (2014). *Douăzeci de ani în România.* Translated by Constantin Ardeleanu and Oana Celia Gheorghiu. București: Humanitas.

Secondary sources

Bassnett, S. & Lefevere, A. (Eds.) (1990). *Translation, History and Culture.* London: Pinter Publishers.

Beller, M. & Leerssen, J. (Eds.) (2007). *Imagology: The Cultural Construction and Literary Representation of National Character–A Critical Survey,* Amsterdam: Rodopi.

Cândea, V. (2004). Saint Stephen the Great in his contemporary Europe (Respublica Christiana). *Etudes balkaniques,* 4, pp. 140-144.

Crişan, M. (2013). *Impactul unui mit: Dracula şi reprezentarea ficţională a spaţiului românesc* (The Impact of a Myth: Dracula and the Fictional representation of the Romanian space). Bucuresti: Pro Universitaria.

Dyserinck, H. (2003). Imagology and the Problem of Ethnic Identity. Intercultural Studies. *Scholarly Review of the International Association of Intercultural Studies (I. A. I. S.),* issue 1. Retrieved from http://www.intercultural-studies.org/ICS1/Dyserinck.shtml

Felseghi, B. (2016). Politologul Robert Kaplan: "România a supravieţuit graţie limbii sale de factură latină" (interview with Robert D. Kaplan). *PressOne.* February 22. Retrieved from https://pressone.ro/politologul-robert-kaplan-romania-a-supravietuit-gratie-limbii-sale-de-factura-latina/

Gavriliu, E. (2002). *Theory and Practice of Imagology: Experiencing the Other in Anglo-Romanian Cultural Encounters.* Galaţi: Editura Fundaţiei Universitare Dunărea de Jos.

Gheorghiu, O. (2013). Romania as Exile. Stereotyping the Other in Maude Rea Parkinson's *Twenty Years in Roumania.* In Alina Crihană (Ed.), *Communication Interculturelle et Littérature – Littérature et exil* (pp. 171-181), nr. 1(20).

Iser, W. (1978). The Rudiments of a Theory of Aesthetic Response. In *The Act of Reading: A Theory of Aesthetic Response.* Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press.

Jauss, H. R. & Benzinger, E. (1970). Literary History as a Challenge to Literary Theory. In *New Literary History,* vol 2 (1), *A Symposium on Literary History* (pp. 7-37). Johns Hopkins University Press.

Leerssen, J. (1998). *A summary of imagological theory.* Retrieved from http://imagologica.eu/theoreticalsummary

Leerssen, J. (2000). The Rhetoric of National Character: A Programmatic Survey. *Poetics Today,* 21 (2), pp. 267-292.

Leerssen, J. (2007). Imagology: History and Method. In M. Beller & J. Leerssen (Eds.), *Imagology: The Cultural Construction and Literary Representation of National Character, A Critical Survey* (pp. 17-32). Amsterdam: Rodopi.

Leerssen, J. (2016). Imagology: On Using Ethnicity to Make Sense of the World. *Iberic@l, Revue d'études ibériques et ibéro-américaines*, 10, pp. 13-31.

McKinnon, S. (2015). Translating identity: *The Debate Betwene the Heraldes*, John Coke's 1549 Translation of the *Débat des herauts d'armes*'. In van Doorslaer, L., P. Flynn & J. Leerssen (Eds.), *Interconnecting Translation Studies and Imagology* (pp. 21-35). Amsterdam/Philadelphia: John Benjamins Publishing.

Mohor-Ivan, I. & Praisler M. (2007). Some Theoretical Considerations on Imagology'. *Annals of 'Dunarea de Jos' University of Galati, Fascicle XIII*, year 19, issue 18, pp. 47-52.

Smale, A. (2016). In Europe's Shadow by Robert D. Kaplan. *The New York Times*, February 3. Retrieved from https://www.nytimes.com/2016/02/07/books/review/in-europes-shadow-by-robert-d-kaplan.html

van Doorslaer, L., Flynn, P. & Leerssen, J. (Eds.) (2015). On Translated images, stereotypes and disciplines. In *Interconnecting Translation Studies and Imagology*. Amsterdam/Philadelphia: John Benjamins Publishing.

Where the Minority interacts with the Mainstream: A Study of select Bengali Dalit Short Stories Translations

Bidisha Pal & Md. Mojibur Rahman
Indian Institute of Technology (ISM) Dhanbad
bdshpaul6@gmail.com/mrahmanelt@gmail.com

Abstract

Bengali Dalit literature remains a minor and non-canonized genre for being constricted under the existing literary and socio-political hegemony for a significant period of time. The literary outputs of Bengali Dalit literature represent the very margin and characterize the marginal society in terms of both language and culture. The present study deals with select Bengali Dalit short stories from two anthologies: *Survival and Other Stories: Bangla Dalit Fiction in Translation* (2012) edited by Indranil Acharya and Sankar Prasad Singha (originally written in Bengali in several short story collections like *Gram Ganjer Galpo*, *Krishnamrittikar Manush,* etc.) and *Stories of Social Awakening: Reflections of Dalit Refugee Lives of Bengal* (2017) edited by Jaydeep Sarangi (originally from *Samaj Chetanar Galpo* (2012) by Jatin Bala). The stories feature the marginalized Dalit Bengali speech communities with different ethno cultural attributes and variegated local dialects and inflections. Translation into English helps the stories to expand the boundary of language and culture to reach to a pan-Indian and global arena. According to Venuti, "Translation that builds minor cultures simultaneously creates identities for them…reinforcing their social presence and challenging the majority that defines their marginal position" (1995, p. 138). Notably, in the narratives, not only a linguistic journey of translation from source to target text happens, but a contextual transmission also occurs. This is the 'Activist Translation' (Mangalam, 2006) where the translation process becomes an epitome of socio-political movement for the

margins to (re)establish identities within the society. Through a careful reading and analyzing of the original and the translated texts and the article explores two-fold perspectives: firstly, how the linguistic and the cultural Dalit minority are both addressed in the texts and secondly, how the 'dalitized' translation becomes a 'glocal' platform where the margin and the center meet and interact.

1. INTRODUCTION

Translation of the minority and marginalized literature in terms of language and culture poses challenging ways of re-viewing the history of the surrounding society which is debatable, argumentative, and supposedly deviating from the norms of the mainstream. Bengali Dalit literature remains a minor and non-canonical genre for being constricted under the existing literary and socio-political hegemony for a significant period of time. Inspite of having a large cultural and social history of nearly hundred years (right from the beginning of *Charyapadas* and Siddha poets of Bengal and the publication of the anthology *Jatiya Jagaran* by the poet Raicharan Biswas in 1921) the Bengali Dalit authors have remained in oblivion. The literature has been a less discussed chapter in mainstream academia and literary circles. The authors start to put assertive efforts in 1992 by founding the *Bangla Dalit Sahitya Sanstha* ("Society of Bengali Dalit Literature") and by organizing several literary programs, symposiums, and discussion forums to spread and form connections with the society. The translation process of Bengali Dalit literature has started to take place only in the recent years (roughly from the year 2007) and is still in the nascent stage.

The literary outputs of Bengali Dalit literature represent the very margin and characterize the marginal society in terms of both language and culture. Translation becomes a "socio-effective" (Hrytsiv, 2017, p. 35) activity when it represents the literary essence of the marginalized people and their lives and activities within the society. Bengali Dalit literature is largely context specific and is deeply rooted in cultural and socio-political contexts that contribute significantly in shaping the domain of literary texts. The thematic ranges of the literary texts also contain the contexts within. Hence, the translation process and agenda have to be aware of the particular context-specificity of the stories. According to some critics' postulations "Understanding that divergent socio-cultural frameworks and socio-political views inevitably shape texts, Translation Studies scholars need to analyze not only textual and linguistic choices, but also how texts are perceived, as their meaning is provided "by the context of reception" (Alvstad, 2012; Sapiro, 2008, cited in Peligra, 2017, p. 55). Analysis of the translation contributes to the very representational socio-geographical issues that revolve around the Bengali Dalit communities. *Survival and Other Stories* (2012) edited by Indranil Acharya and Sankar Prasad Singha is a collective translated oeuvre of short stories of several Bengali anthologies called *Gram-Ganjer Galpo, Chaturtha Duniyar Galpo, Krishna Mrittikar Manush, Kak*

O Anyanyo Galpo, etc., written in Bengali and depicting the very marginalized Dalit community of Bengal. Similarly, *Stories of Social Awakening: Reflection of Dalit Refugee Lives in Bengal* (2017), translated and edited by Jaydeep Sarangi is a collection of stories originated in Bengali *Samaj Chetanar Galpo* by Jatin Bala. A host of characteristically marginalized characters is present in the stories. The Dalits in Bengal witnessed deprivation and subjection to in the backdrop of socio-political layers of history and literary imaginings. Bengali Dalit literature falls under the sub-subaltern category, the very "sitting-home minority" (Asaduddin, 2012, p. xv) within Bengal. The translation is a gateway for venting out the history to the mainstream world that tends to "museumize" (De Kock, 1992, p. 46) the minority within the clutches of the essentialist politics. In this process, it also acts as the 'glocal' platform conjoining both the local and the global where the minority gets addressed and the minority simultaneously interacts with the mainstream by appearing in their social field.

The article reads and analyses both original Bengali texts and the translated texts and reflects on some perspectives like what the 'glocal' platform of translation offers by bridging the local and vernacular history of Bengali Dalits and the global cosmopolitan medium, how translation becomes an effective strategy to represent the marginal socio-political scenario of Bengal and how the minority people address and interact with the mainstream in terms of language and culture.

2. PUSHING THE MINORITY TOWARDS THE MAINSTREAM

Translation scholar Venuti aptly points out the fact: "Translating that builds minor cultures simultaneously creates identities for them, however much hybridized, reinforcing their social presence and challenging the majority that defines their marginal position" (1998, p. 138). "Muted Group theory" (1975) by Edwin and Shirley Ardener is a "communication theory" that focuses on the process of exclusion of the marginalized people who are barred from the social cartography in terms of language. Hence, they are left 'muted' or objectified.

> Bijalwan and Bartwal have shown in an article:
>
> There have been innumerable accounts of Dalit's' pitiable condition in all around the country yet in scarcity of means or modes they have been unfelt by a larger number of mass. Therefore, the translation has become

> a mode to show the indeed condition of the Dalit's in the society and more significantly to draw the attention of the common mass towards them so as to enable them to join in mainstream. (Bijalwan & Bartwal, 2013, p. 7)

Translation acts as the gateway for emancipation towards a new significant society for the Dalits especially to the Bengali Dalits, the most literary wretched personalities of India. For a significant period of time, the Dalit literature has been unnoticed and suppressed by the politics of caste-class dichotomy. In spite of being within the crux of the mainstream society, they have attained the status of the minority even within Bengal. The factions and fractions of language, culture, and socio-historical happenings have aided in constructing sub-liminal borders and boundaries. Thus the Dalit literary personalities have been bounded under the constrictions of regional influence. In "India, English language has widened the scope for realizing the injustice and inequalities existing in the social system and for making inroads into the creation of a new egalitarian society" (Khader, 2015, p. 74). Gopal Guru (2008) reflects on the significant trajectory of translation and Dalit literature: "What is the role of translation? Translations help in bridging the gap between two minds existing in two different spaces and times, viz. the sociological space in terms of the caste location, and the intellectual space it allows the Dalit concerns to occupy" (Cited in Khader, 2015, p. 76).

> Gouanvic reflects upon the very thought in his essay:
>
> Marginalized writers and artists, the so-called *ecrivains maudits*, those who do not play by the rules of the game, protesters … are the maroons of the source culture, as they attempt to remove themselves from the hold of legitimacy. And translators too can be the maroon agents of that source culture, as they break away from the discourses of legitimacy. (2000, p. 107)

"Translation is power" (Gouanvic, 2000, p. 102) because it is such an instrument with which the minor Dalit personalities transcend the cringing borders of 'hidden apartheid' in terms of society, culture, and language. English, being the *lingua franca* dissolves the border politics of language and in broader sense enhance in attributing to the significant corpora of literary repertoires when used in the translation. The mode and medium of translation,

thus, become an important agenda in bringing social transformation to the 'muted' or speech-deprived Dalit community. It is the way they speak for themselves with the hegemonic society. The scaffolding of translation increases the possibilities of building and re-establishing their identities within the mainstream society where they are noticed and discussed for serious consideration. The minoritized position is also shed in the process.

2.1. Addressing the minority (the language and the culture)

Bednarowicz points out in his article:

> The concept of 'minority' with respect to language is dynamic rather than static. 'Minority' is the expression of a relation not an essence" (1995: 86). Hence, with regard to translation practices, languages exist within a hierarchical order and their position depends on their sociolinguistic status. A language that is dominant in one sociolinguistic situation may be dominated in another. (2017, p. 18)

M. Asaduddin (2012) in the preface to the *Survival* brings out an important issue regarding the social position and practice of language that denotes the minority or majority of a language. "Linguistic and literary hierarchy, sometimes chauvinism, has always been a fact of our cultural life, whether it operates brazenly or subtly. For example, Bengali is the language of the dominant majority in West Bengal but is a minority language in Assam, where Assamese is the dominant language, and the stream of Bengali literature written in Assam though it reflects local reality harks back to the literary tradition of Bengal rather than Assam" (p. xvi). One particular language may possess various dialects which in due course become the dominant practicing language within a particular locale or among the group of people. Thus there are internal factions in the usage of languages, whether orally or written and this may often result in a "linguicism" (Pramanik, 2017) or a sort of linguistic imperialism.

The original Bengali stories of *Survival and Other Stories* and *Stories of Social Awakening* create contexts for a twofold belt of language where the rural speech

community utters in *Bangali*[1] mostly and the urban folk use *Rarhi*[2], the standardized form of Bengali. This constructs a divisionary marker for the social and cultural representation of the people who belong to particular language groups. There is opposition between the social and regional groups namely *Bangal*[3] and *Ghoti*[4] in Bengal for whom language is the primary determiner. The marginality lies in the social and linguistic level.

In the story *Manush Ratan* or "The Man called Ratan" from *Samaj Chetanar Galpa* the carpenter Ratan Dhali is the butt of ridicule among his fellow carpenters:

Bengali Original	Established Translation
"Oi je Kathbangal Namah Ratan Dhali asche. Kothar ki Chhiri-jati-khati-nati, dibane khabane kobane…" (p. 95)	"Here comes the Kathbangal Namah Ratan Dhali. How awefully he speaks-jati-khati-nati, dibane khabane kobane" (p. 50)

The line clearly demarcates the socially and linguistically marginalized position of Ratan Dhali who is the sole *Bangal* among the *Ghotis*. Dealing with the issue of the minority visibly shows the untranslatability of the translator who is not able to find exact equivalents for the particular accents or lines which denote the linguistically marginal position of the speaker. Hence, the accentuation is retained as it is in the translated part. The author puts *Bangali* dialect in Ratan Dhali's speech to keep intact his *Bangal* identity. There are instances when Ratan Dhali is heard through long and short speeches:

---

[1] Bengali is said to be divided into five main dialects representing particular locales and intertwining socio-economic conditions of the people. They are namely: i) *Rarhi*, ii) *Bangali*, iii) *Varendri*, iv) *Rajbanshi*, and v) *Jharkhandi*. *Bangali* is spoken in larger areas of Bangladesh namely Khulna, Mymensingh, Barisal, Dhaka, Comilla-Noakhali divisions and Tripura state.

[2] *Rarhi* is spoken in much eastern and southern part of West Bengal in the areas of Presidency division, Kolkata, Nadia, Murshidabad, Hooghly and Eastern Burdwan. *Rarhi* is regarded as the standardized form of Bengali owing to its pervasive presence and usage.

[3] *Bangal* denotes to the people residing in East Bengal (especially Dhaka and Barisal), now in Bangladesh. *Bangal* people are marked by a distinct form of accent.

[4] *Ghoti*, contrary to the *Bangal*, are the people who are the native social group of West Bengal and remained in West Bengal at the time of 1947 partition unlike the *Bangals* who came from East Bengal to West Bengal. *Ghoti* and *Bangals* are social sub-groups and hold contrast with each other in terms of accent, culture, dialects, and cuisine.

Bengali Original	Established Translation
Aah apne ki mone koren thikadar Chatterjee dosh-baro hajar takar binimoyer jonni emonda ami korichi. Kokhono na. Takar jonne aponer pran ami bachaini thikadar Chatterjee. (p. 107)	Ah! What do you think Contractor Chatterjee. Have I done this for the sake of ten-twelve thousand rupees? Never. I have not saved your life for money, Contractor Chatterjee. (p.68)
Ha, ha, sori jan somukh theki. Manuser akriti apone sotti noropishach. Amar mojurir taka poysa sob mitiye dan. Ami apner songi kaj kotti ar ami chai na. Dan, dan, aponer gar gondhe amar bomi pastiche. Dan, mitie dan. (pp.107-8)	Yes, yes, get out of my way. You are indeed a man-eating monster in the form of man. Pay me the wages I deserve. I don't want to work with you anymore. Settle my account. The very smell of you make me nauseate. Pay me quick. (p.69)

Most of the stories project the rural marginality in the colloquial forms of accent while the narrative descriptions are mostly (except in some places) in the standard written form of Bengali. Notably in all the translations the translator modifies the sentences.

There are significant examples that are intermittent in most of the stories where the linguistic and cultural minority is addressed. In *Jole Dangay* or "The Land and the Water" by Gobindadas Shoundo Sashi, the fisherman's speeches and their translations are like this:

Bengali Original	Established Translation
Sunen giye katta, tokhon to, amra somudre mach dhori, bajare bechli chal asto ghore. Khauki khariddar ache to becha-kena holo nahile sob mach fela jay. Ekbar to sanitary inspector asi chokh rangay,-bhoy dekhay. Tumader sokkol k badhi chalan diba. (p. 165).	Listen, master those were the days when we could make a living when we caught fish in the sea and sold them in the markets. Business was possible only if there were small-time customers in the retail market; else, all the fish would have to be thrown away. Once the sanitary inspector came and rolled his eyes upwards in anger. He scared us, "You will all be tied up and sent to prison" (p. 67).

In *Adharer Chayachabi* or "The Montage of Shadows" the village-folk speak in *Bongali* dialect. There is a mark of rustic day to day colloquialism in the drunkard Nagen Dhali:

Bengali Original	Established Translation
Keda re tui? Kon sahose ehane matada thuye geli. Bhalo koroni chand. Keda tui. Kotha kos na kan re. Kota ko. (p. 119)	"Who are you? How dare you leave your head here? It was imprudent of you, love. Who are you? Why won't you talk? Talk, I bid you!" (p. 113)

Characters like Mati Hari, Sabitri, and Nirapada speak in a similar vein:

Bengali Original	Established Translation
Poranda eto magna naki! Icchi holi churi felti para jay. Ore o gukhekhor beta aar jaygapeli ne ehane motti kan ali. Chha, chha, sarada din jabene rokter gondhe gondhe. Chha Chha, Thoo thoo. (p. 119)	"Is life so cheap? Throwing at away like at our whim! Hey you shit-licker's son! Why did you have to come and die here? Yuck! Ew! The entire day will be filled with stench of blood." (p. 113)

Apart from the lines, there are a number of phrases which bear the characteristic particularity of the marginalized folks, their social and regional cartography, and cultural habitats and modifications are noticed in translating them. These consist of slangs, day to day conversation, informal ways of addressing, and terminologies for materials. There are some such instances in the below table:

Bengali Original	Established Translation	Literal Translation
Ber de	hold on to	Fencing around
Ganga	Salvation	The name of a river, the water is regarded pure by the Hindus
Bhui dhan dhele day	Crops rain down every year	Plenty of paddy crops
Dagar dagar ekta gatar	Ripe body	Grown up and beautiful

		female figure
Peter jonno boner bichi chai	The stomach must be satisfied	Food is required for the stomach.
Magir dabnar ki rogroge tej	The spirit of a bitch	The raw and course spirit of a prostitute or fallen woman.
Khanti madi ghorar dapani	How she flailed and writhed	The wild movement of a mare

On a closer reading the above-mentioned phrases and terms in original seem to get steeped in regional dialectical nuances of Bengali and demand explications. The established translation that is provided for the original Bengali phrases tends to make modifications to each to some extent and differ from a word to word correspondence. The phrase *ber de* literally means "to keep fencing around" but here it is substituted with "hold on to" that connotes "hold something tightly or carefully." The word *Ganga* carries cultural significance to the Hindus. River *Ganga* is a symbol of purity and penitence and death at the riverbed of *Ganga* is tantamount to salvation of soul towards heaven. However, the word "salvation" which is used in place of *Ganga* is associated with Christianity and the Christian religion. Then the phrase *bhui dhan dhele day* contains the word *dhan* or "paddy" which carries the flavour of Bengal being the prime crop which steadfastly holds to the Bengali culture. However, the translation uses the word *crops* which stand for crops in general and not for any particular crop. Hence, it loses the cultural essence. In the fourth instance, "ripe" is used for a female body which is not a relevant translation of the Bengali phrase *dagar dagar* which literally means "a grown up and beautiful female figure." The phrase *peter jonno boner bichi chai* has a rustic flavour and carries the rural ambience within but the established translation makes it very polished again and lacks the rusticity that is required to get hold of the sense. The next two phrases contain sexual innuendos on a woman's sexual prowess. However, the translated phrases as visible from the table quite modify the sentences. Whereas in the first phrase the translation uses the word "bitch" as slang for *Magi*, which is literally used for "fallen women" or "those who are looked upon as prostitutes." In another the translator omits the animal imagery (*madi ghora* or "mare") of the Bengali phrases and thus fails to convey the sense of the original. Most of the modifications occur owing to the literal

untranslatability of the original Bengali phrases and they polish the rusticity of the original versions thus.

The stories mostly and primarily revolve around the rustic ethnological environment of Bengal and the rural speech community that belongs to the deprived section of the society and subject to utter peripheralization. There are people ranging in the professions like *jele* (the fisherman), *chasa* (the peasant), *tanti* (the weaver), *kamar* (the blacksmith), *kumor* (the potter), *chhutor* (the carpenter) in addition to the terms like lower caste, refugee, *Bangal, Namasudra*[5] and so on. All of them create the continuum of the minor group, in terms of linguistic and socio-cultural position.

2.1.1. The continuum of translation and society (the Dalit perspective)

In the advent of the twenty-first century, a radical shift in translation theory happens to take place from the literary and linguistic appropriateness of text to look instead at the socio-cultural context. Michaela Wolf discusses the 'Sociological Turn' of translation thus that it "marks paradigmatic changes in reflection on the reasons conditioning a translation process" (2005, p. 8), and "relates to the problem of translators' status, roles, ethics and responsibilities in society. Hence, the process of translation does not remain literal or transfers the literal sense only but also bears the signs of functions in the society and social happenings. Hrystiv has discussed in his article about the development of the sociology of translation, which in general, offers a possibility to see 'beyond the text' and to investigate the roles and viewpoints of various agents behind the translation process" (Hrytsiv, 2017, p. 32).

Dalit literature frames a political as well as a socio-cultural dimension. Bijalwan and Bartwal point out in an article:

> Whenever any work which is translated, it has a significant value of making voices accessible to all and the perspective of the writer is received by the readers. Hence, there are many prospects hidden in

---

[5] *Namasudra* is known to be an Indian *avarna* community who lived outside the four-tier Hindu *varna* or caste system and were considered outcastes. The Namasudra community was earlier known as *Chandala* or *Chandal*, a term usually considered as a slur. (Bandopadhyay, S. (2004). Caste, culture and hegemony: Social dominance in colonial Bengal. New Delhi: Sage Publications).

translated works. The literature of the dalits comprises a group of socially and culturally anguished people who denied presenting their lives according to culturally available scripts. (2013, p. 5)

Untranslatability occurs when there is dissimilarity, both culturally and linguistically between the author and the translator. Interestingly, the translators of Bengali Dalit writings represent the non-Dalit background and thus the translations, at times, happen not to share the cultural and social logic of the source Bengali texts. There are some examples given below:

Bengali Original	English Translation
Eto mach sob pochi gelo. Hater batha je ekhuno moreni go. Jaler fas theke mach khulte khulte angul kete je fala fala. Ar ki udin dben vogman-hai vogman. (p.167)	"We had such a lot of fish, and all gone bad. The pain in the hand still hurts. Having to constantly open the knots on the fishing nets has cut and chipped the fingers. Will ever god give us those days back again-Hai Bahgoban." (p.69)

Explanation: This is a particular example where the original phrase *Hai vogman* has been retained again for lack of proper equivalent or to carry the flavor of the purpose of utterance. The onomatopoeic dual sounded words like *fala fala* are common and used colloquially. The translation tries to bring the essence of being in pained accompanied by mental despair.

In another character, Dhani Bauri from the story *Dhani Bauri Ganga Pelo* or "Dhani Bauri gets Salvation" Sunil Kumar Das puts a particular dialect in Dhani Bauri's words which is different from others. *Bauris* are the marginalized community in Bengal and their dialects have particular accentual tone and characteristics:

Bengali Original	Established Translation	Literal Translation
Ami veibe chilum je, amar swami amak liye jabek. Kintuk por suinlum je, se	"I thought my husband will take me back to his home. Later, I heard that	"I thought that my husband will take me back. But I heard later that he

polashdiha gaye sanga koireche. Tao vebechilum je, se ekdin amake lite aisbek. Kintuk koi aislo? (p. 217)	he had done a sanga at Palashdiha village. Still I was under the impression that he'd definitely turn up some day. He didn't. I was afool." (p. 148)	had married again at Polashdiha village. Still I thought he will come one day to take me back. But did he ??"

Explanation: Here the question form of the original is modified into a declarative form in the translation. Moreover, there are additions and retaining as well. *Sanga* is a particular term meaning 'marriage' but surprisingly the word is retained and not translated. To a culturally oppositional reader, the word is foreign and may not carry the intended sense. As for the addition in the last part of the established translation where the translator adds the expression "I was a fool" which serves as an implied observation on Dhani Bauri's characteristic approach towards her life this becomes the translator's creative comment on Dhani Bauri that may or may not be true. It readily differs from the literal translation that is provided and observed in the table above.

Bengali Original	**Established Translation**
Chora, boile ki. Dhani, amar sathe thakbi? Ei chorarai amadike kharap kiore, pore bhoddorlok seije bole-ui, chori i kharap bote. Aj chora k meirei dibo. (p. 217)	"These upper caste people treat us as commodities. When we resist their moral advances they blacken us by questioning our character. I'll kill such hypocrites." (p. 148)

Explanation: In the above example the word *chora* is substituted as 'upper caste' or sometimes as 'hypocrites.' This is a huge modification on the part of the translator as *chora* can be simply translated as 'a boy' or 'a man'. However, the translator here supposedly wants to focus on the background of the story and the position of Dhani Bauri in the casteist ladder where she is a lower caste and thus a pawn (being also a woman) among the upper castes. But again the advances towards her can come from the boys of her own caste too. But this is not inferred in the established translation.

Bengali Original	Established Translation	Literal Translation
Dadu, tuikcha dara. Tur ma aische tokhon jol dibek. (p. 220).	She tried to divert the attention of Hiru's child, and waited for Hiru's wife. (p.151)	"Grandson, wait for some time. Your mother is coming, she will give water to you then."

Explanation: A severe modification occurs in the example as the colloquial expression is changed into a flat narrative sentence without the equivalent words. The context of pacifying a child, however, is readily represented but it makes a compromise with the complexity of dialect of that particular tribe that Dhani Bauri belongs to. The literal meaning of the expression has been provided in the third column that carries Dhani Bauri's intended sense and endearing addressing to the listener.

Bengali Original	Established Translation
Tumi kan motti ele ehane. Etta niyi sar sar, chute ase ghater mora. Jar hate paye sarna. (p. 120)	"Why do you have to come to die here? So many people around and the dying have to come running to help?" (p. 114)

Explanation: This example again visibly portrays the specificity of dialects of rural marginality but the metaphorical accent and tone fail to attain exact equivalence in the translated versions. Translation aims to standardize the language but loses the regional fervor.

Bengali Original	Established Translation
Komas holo biye koreche. Somotto bou ghor bhora. Or matha katlo k? Hay hay osomoye choli jati holo. (p. 120)	Poor guy had just married a few months back. And now he is gone! Only yesterday we worked together in the fields. Who cut that man's head? Oh! Lord, why did you have to take him so soon. (p. 114)

Explanation: The phrase *somotto bou* means a 'young wife of the age of puberty' but it is missed in the translated part. The vulnerability of the unprotected wife is clearly visible in the original but it does not establish similar sense in the translated part and thus deviates from the original.

Similar dialect is heard from Fatema Amma in *Bhanga Setur Dui Mukh* or "Two Roads of a Broken Bridge" by Jatin Bala:

Bengali Original	Established Translation
Ore bachha, tore ehane ehono dekhti pabo, ami e-jonme kohono vabini. Hay allah, ami kone jabo, kone thobo amar Ratan k! Hay Allah…(p.177)	My child. I ne'er thought I would ever see you again in this life. I prayed 'Oh Allah when will I come to you and then I will see my Ratan! Allah! (p. 75)

Explanation: The word *Allah* is retained to possibly bring home the sense of the Muslim character and focus on her practicing of religion. That to the Muslims, the word *Allah* holds a considerable significance is eked out with its use and retaining in the translation where it might recreate and sustain the cultural background to the much unfamiliar and culturally dissimilar audience.

The narrative of the stories reflects the "trans-contextual language of purity-pollution" (Fuchs, 2009, p. 35). The lines are modified in an explicated and elaborated manner to carry the contextual sense of the speaker of the source text to reach to a yet linguistically and culturally unfamiliar target readers and audience. But the extent of modifications does not occur in an equal manner. Sometimes, there are more equivalents and less modification and at other times, proper equivalents fall short and more modifications take place.

3. CONCLUSION

"The practice of translation can be regarded as "open concept" (Tymoczko, 2005, p. 1085), which today expands beyond the more traditional, given borders" (Nannavecchia, 2017, p. 79). The article attempts to study and

investigate the role of translation in society and how the marginalized, peripheral, and minor Dalit culture and language are addressed within the continuum of translation with analysis and explications of some select examples from the stories of the two anthologies *Survival and Other Stories* and *Stories of Social Awakening: Reflections of Dalit Refugee Lives of Bengal* written by several Bengali Dalit writers. The stories deal with the minor characters of the society who are the victim of "muteness" in mainstream society. There are significant examples where the characteristic roughness and rusticity of both culture and language have been addressed and brought to the fore. The article also makes detailed explanations to point out the cultural and societal aspect of translation. Translating the language and culture becomes a considerable identifying marker for the minority people. It is the medium of translation that acts as the aid to push the minority people into the mainstream where they are noticed, discussed, and taken into serious consideration. It, thus, makes a significant move in reestablishing their identities and shedding their minoritized condition.

REFERENCES:

Acharya, I. & Singha, S. S. (Eds.) (2012). *Survival and other stories: Bangla Dalit fictions in translations.* New Delhi: Orient Blackswan.

Asaduddin, M. (2012). Preface. In I. Acharya & S. P. Singha (Eds.) *Survival and other stories: Bangla Dalit fictions in translations* (pp. xv-xviii). New Delhi: Orient Blackswan.

Bala, J. (2017). *Stories of social awakening: Reflections of Dalit refugee lives of Bengal.* J Sarangi (Ed.). New Delhi: Authorspress.

Bednarowicz, S. (2017). Translation as corpus planning: The Little Prince in the Neo-Aramaic minority language Turoyo. In M. Borodo *et al.* (Eds.) *Moving texts, migrating people and minority language* (pp. 15-30). Singapore: Springer Nature.

Bijalwan, R. & Bartwal, D. M. (2013). Omprakash Valmiki's Joothan: an Untouchable's Narrative of an Untouchable's Life through translation. *Research Scholar: An International Refereed e-Journal of Literary Explorations*, 1 (4), pp. 1-8. Retrieved from www.researchscholar.in

Fuchs, M. (2009). Reaching out; or, Nobody exists in one context only: Society as translation. *Translation Studies,* 2 (1), pp. 21-40.

DOI: 10.1080/14781700802496191

Gouanvic, J.-M. (2000). Legitimacy, marronnage and the power of translation. In Simon, S. & Sl-Pierre, P. (Eds.) *Changing the terms: Translating in the Postcolonial era* (pp. 101-112). Ottawa: University of Ottawa Press.

Guru, G. (2008). *Afterword. In The prisons we broke.* Chennai: Orient Longman Ltd. India. Samya Publications Ltd.

Hrytsiv, N. (2017). Translating from Mariupolitan Greek, a severely endangered language, into Ukrainian: Historiographic and sociological perspectives. In M. Borodo *et al.* (Eds.). *Moving texts, migrating people and minority language* (pp. 31-40). Singapore: Springer Nature.

Khader, S. A. (2015). Inequal and exclusionistic mainstream literature and the marginalization of Dalit literature – a study. *English Studies International Research Journal*, 3 (2), pp. 73-77.

Kock, de L. (1992). Interview with Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak: new nation writers' conference in South Africa. *ARIEL: A Review of International English Literature*, 23 (3), pp. 29-47. Retrieved from http://jan.ucc.nau.edu/~sj6/SpivakInterviewDeKock.pdf

Nannavecchia, T. (2017). Retying the bonds: Translation and reconciliation with the motherland/tongue in Italian-Canadian literature. In M. Borodo *et al.* (Eds.) *Moving texts, migrating people and minority language* (pp. 79-94). Singapore: Springer Nature.

Peligra, C. (2017). The East Indies and the literature of repatriation: A comparative analysis of paratexts in the Italian and English translations of Hella Haasse's The Tea Lords. In M. Borodo *et al.* (Eds.). *Moving texts, migrating people and minority language* (pp. 55-68). Singapore: Springer Nature.

Pramanik, M. (2017, Sept 5). Dalit and Tribal Literature in English Translations (ENG). [Video File]. Retrieved from https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=ZTQasUR2Vws

Tymoczko, M. (2005). Trajectories of research in translation studies. *Erudit,* 50 (4), pp. 1082-1097. DOI: 10.7202/012062

Venuti, L (1998). Introduction. In L. Venuti (Ed.) *Translation and Minority, Special Issue of The Translator*, 4 (2), pp. 135-44.

Wolf, M. (2005). The sociology of translation and its "activist turn." In C. V. Angelelli (Ed.) *The sociological turn in translation and interpreting studies* (pp. 7-21). Amsterdam: John Benjamins.

Struggle for Legitimacy, Forms of Labeling: A Case Study from the Turkish Literary Field[1]

Naciye Sağlam
Fırat University
naciyetasdelen@gmail.com

Abstract

Henry Miller is one of the most controversial writers of all time, with his semi-autobiographical books attracting the attention of many critics around the world. The author was born in New York in 1891 as a son of a German family. Feeling alien to society in the United States, he moved to Paris in 1930 and wrote and published his well-known books there. Until 1961, his books were not allowed into the USA due to elements labeled obscene, and his books remained illegitimate in several countries for many years.

Almost an anti-human himself, Miller deconstructs the whole world, including the values of art, beauty, morality, and aesthetics. The legitimization of his works took several shapes in French, American and Turkish literary fields. This paper aims to question the label of obscenity and explain the struggle for legitimization of Miller's books in the mentioned literary fields, especially focusing on the legitimization process in Turkish literary field. Such an inquiry calls for sociology of translation and in particular Bourdieusian concepts in order to explain the translation practice and the agents performing behind this act. The struggles in the Turkish literary field caused some publishing houses to label Miller's books as obscene due to certain constraints in the field around 1970s, while some other

---

[1] This paper has been produced from the PhD dissertation titled "Bourdieu Sosyolojisi İle Henry Miller Çevirilerini Anla(mlandir)Mak: Müstehcenlik, Kisitlar, Eyleyiciler" on May 2019 in supervision with Prof. Dr. Emine Bogenç Demirel.

publishing houses stood against the label of obscenity and aimed to legitimize Miller as an author of serious value in the Turkish literary field.

1. INTRODUCTION

The practice of translation is one of the basic tenets of the communication between cultures and languages in a global world. Texts as symbolic products baring traces of source culture are reproduced within the context of the target culture. In that case, the practice of translation should be considered as a multidimensional, especially cultural and social activity beyond the circulation of linguistic products. Thus, questions such as with which agents a text is brought to a new culture, the mechanisms of the target field, why the translator translates a certain text, why s/he uses this particular strategy, what strategies and *illusio* agents have are among the questions in the research of translation studies with a sociological focus. Accordingly, this paper aims to trace the label of obscenity on Miller and his legitimization process in French, American and Turkish literary fields. In order to realize this aim, two types of paratexts (epitexts and peritexts) put forward by Gerard Genette (1997, pp. 2-4) are used. Therefore, with the help of peritexts such as book covers and prefaces beside epitexts such as reviews, news, and personal interviews with the publishing houses—containing common questions as well as questions specific to the publishers—it was possible to trace the reception of Miller's books through the years.

As an answer to the search for explaining the act of translation within a wider perspective, the sociology of translation emerged around 1990. This new approach enables the consideration of translation as a practice embedded in social practices, therefore baring traces of social life:

> [O]ne cannot fully understand language without placing linguistic practices within the full universe of compossible practices: eating and drinking habits, cultural consumption, taste in matters of arts, sports, dress, furniture, politics, etc. (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992, p. 149)

The sociologists whose ideas have been adopted in constructing a sociology of translation are Niklas Luhman, Bruno Latour and Pierre Bourdieu. Latour's actor network theory has opened a new perspective to examine human and non-human influence on the act of translation. With Luhman's social systems theory it is possible to look at translation within the system of sophisticated operations. It is possible to claim that in the sociology of translation, the sociologist that is taken as a "central reference" is Pierre Bourdieu (Demirel, 2013, p. 47). With the perspective put forward by Bourdieu, translation practice can be analyzed by

considering factors such as translator-agents, publishing houses, and social, cultural and economic dynamics in which translation is created. The first principle of Bourdieusian sociology is to bridge the gap between theory and practice. Unlike many theories, Bourdieusian sociology takes its roots from sociological practice itself and tries to explain it. Such a compromising perspective is useful for understanding translation practice and bringing a comprising prospect to theory and practice discussion in translation studies.

Bourdieu constructs his approach on the concept of field. In his approach, each *field* can be defined with the struggles, and the elements that can be lost or gained. The *struggle* in the field takes place between the dominant side that is trying to keep the dominant structure and the transformative side that is trying to change the system. In our study, the literary field will be of concern; the literary field has the same basic principles with the *field* in a general sense:

> I would say that the literary field is a force-field as well as a field of struggles which aim at transforming or maintaining the established relation of forces: each of the agents commits the force (the capital) that he has acquired through previous struggles to the strategies that depend for their general direction on his position in the power struggle, that is, on his specific capital. (Bourdieu, 1990, p. 143, cited by Gouanvic, 2005, p. 151)

In this literary field, agents—in our case translators—are inclined to take certain decisions rather than others through their socially constructed *habitus*. By using the *capital* they have, the agents in the field strive for an aim; "*illusio*" within the struggles in the field. The *illusio* in the literary field can be defined as *legitimacy* in the field. Struggles for legitimacy are also in connection with the position of the author within the literary field. According to Bourdieu, struggles are inevitable in order to attain legitimate symbolic violence, that is to have the right to determine what is right and wrong in the respected field. Within the field, while some agents (dominants) practice strategies in order to maintain autonomy since it is desirable according to their illusio, others (dominated) lay claim for a change in the system and therefore practice subversive and transformative strategies in order to change it. In the literary field therefore, there is accordingly large-scale production aiming to increase economic capital and the restricted-scale production in search for symbolic gains (Sapiro, 2016, p. 87). The ceaseless struggle between these groups is the main tenet of the dynamics of the field. The

struggles for legitimacy and the forms they gain through the act of translation will be useful in order to explain Turkish translations of Henry Miller.

Although Bourdieu put forward his approach in the field of sociology, various disciplines have made use of his approach in order to explain the depths of social practices. Regarding *social* factors and circulation of symbolic goods, Bourdieu touches upon the practice of translation and stresses a crucial point. For him, translation problems arise from the fact that texts circulate without their context:

> The fact that texts circulate without their context, that - to use my terms - they don't bring with them the field of production of which they are a product, and the fact that the recipients, who are themselves in a different field of production, re-interpret the texts in accordance with the structure of the field of reception, are facts that generate some formidable misunderstandings and that can have good or bad consequences. (Bourdieu, 1999, p. 221)

Taking this as a starting point, Bourdieu acclaims three processes when a text as a symbolic good enters into a new field/language. The first is the *selection* process that is related to who translated or published what, why and how this work is chosen: the motivation behind this specific decision. The second is the process of *labeling* and *classification*. In this process the work gains a specific label in the field of reception. The third process is the *reception* of the product. The text that has been created with a specific purpose in the field of production gains a new label in the field of reception. After comprehending the structure and the functioning of the field, it is possible to evaluate the circulation of Miller's works in international fields.

2. INTERNATIONAL CIRCULATION OF HENRY MILLER'S BOOKS

Henry Valentine Miller was born as a son of a middle-class German family in Brooklyn, New York in 1891. After a few months at City College of New York, he quit studying. Although he worked in several jobs for short periods, he found working exploitative and "ideal for fools" (Miller, 1934, p. 299). At the age of 30, Miller was an unemployed author-to-be in New York. Being an author candidate making no money in the United States positioned Miller as "the other" and the dehumanizing and homogenizing structure of the United States (Garland, 2010, p. 201) emphasized Miller's marginal position. In 1930, Miller

decided to move to Paris in order to realize his aim of being an author, and published his first book *Tropic of Cancer* in Paris. The reason pushing Miller to Paris is explained with the autonomy of the fields by Jean-Marc Gouanvic:

> Expatriates Hemingway, Dos Passos, e.e. cummings, T.S. Eliot, Ezra Pound and Henry Miller emigrated to Paris in the interwar period to write their works, finding a sort of extraterritoriality there, precisely because the realist American literary field was not yet autonomous, existing only in an embryonic state, and because literature was entirely subject to the dictates of the economy and of politics, as evident in the ban on the distribution of their works in the US. (Gouanvic, 2005, p. 153)

Being an author-to-be meant positioning oneself outside the accepted norms in American social life whereas it was a privileged position in Paris, where the literary field was autonomous and determined its own functioning. Therefore, it was not the politicians or the agents that have the capital but the artists who decided what art was and was not. Even under these circumstances, it was not an easy task to publish Miller since the language he brought into literature was a counter stance against the doxa functioning in the minds of the public. Therefore, Jack Kahane, owner of the Obelisk Press—a small-scale publishing house publishing texts outside the main stream—asked Miller first to write a text on Lawrence Durrel and by doing that his aim was to present Miller as a serious, legitimate artist before publishing *Tropic of Cancer*. This strategy can be regarded as a precaution on the part of the publishing house in order not to be dispelled from the field. After a few years of delay, Miller's *Tropic of Cancer* was published in 1934 and immediately labeled as obscene. Both in France and the USA, beside many other countries, it was subject to lawsuits. However, depending on the structure of the fields, in France and the USA, the books followed different paths to legitimacy. At this point it should be noted that the legitimization process of Miller was shaped by mainly *Tropic of Cancer* in the French and American literary fields, while the situation was different in Turkish literary field. In the French literary field, the strategies practiced by both Miller himself and the publishing house enabled the international circulation of Miller's books. Immediately after publication, Miller sent copies of his book *Tropic of Cancer* to legitimate authors such as Blaise Cendrars, Gertrude Stein, Richard Aldington, Katherine Anne Porter, Ezra Pound, Michael Fraenkel, Marcel Duchamp, William Carlos Williams, and Emma Goldman, and received opposite reviews from most of them. The book, which circulated with the recognition of well-known authors,

was read until it was torn from hand to hand, or caught in the customs and burned (Pearson, 2007, p. 443). It can be claimed that "the attacks on Miller's works by the *Cartel d'action sociale et morale* provoked a strong response in the literary field, thus helping to reinforce the field as the sole structure entitled to rule on what is or is not publishable" (Gouanvic, 2005, p. 153). The second edition of the book was published with a book cover and with appraisal from Aldous Huxley, William Carlos Williams and Cyril Connolly, another strategy that is used in order to legitimate a product. In 1946, the French authorities appealed to the court, accusing Obelisk Press of publishing pornographic material, but legitimate authors such as Albert Camus, Jean-Paul Sarte and Paul Éluard came to the book's defense in court and prevented the decision to ban the book (Gorman, 2007, p. 2771). Consequently, it can be stated that although Miller did not have economic capital, he managed to be legitimized in French literary field thanks to his social and symbolic capital and the autonomous structure of the field. Since the avant-garde tradition is a sort of legitimate tradition in literary field, it was possible for Miller to realize his subversive strategies and bring the unspeakable to the literary domain. At this point it should be noted that Miller's aim was not to eroticize sex in bringing the unspeakable words of the spoken language into the works of literature. In his understanding, the explicit verbalization of sex functions as one of the tools for his transformative strategies to the system, the whole world in which he lived.

Due to the autonomous structure of the French literary field, Miller's books could circulate in international fields. However, the literary field of the USA, from which Miller was trying to escape, was not mature enough to accept this kind of subversive text. Hence, after their publication in Paris, Miller's books were banned from being taken into the USA. However, the dynamics in the field resulted in another kind of legitimization in American territory. The publishers of Miller's books in the USA were New Directions Press and Grove Press, both of whose strategies and struggles affected the reception of Miller. James Laughlin, the owner of New Directions Press first supported the publication of a chapter from the *Opus Pistorum* by Miller in the *Harvard Advocate* magazine, but this issue of the journal was banned and burned. Again, as a precaution strategy, Laughlin gave priority to publishing Miller's other books rather than the obscene labelled *Tropic of Cancer*. In 1939 he published *The Cosmological Eye*, in 1940 *Wisdom of the Heart* and in 1941 *Colllosus of Maroussi*.

The key agent in the author's positioning in the American literary field was Barney Rosset, the owner of Grove Press. With the money left from his late

father, Rosset took Grove Press and aimed at spreading the freedom Miller found in literature to everyone (Glass, 2015, p. 22). He tried to persuade Miller to publish *Tropics* but Miller was reluctant. He expressed his reluctance in one of his letters to Rosset as follows:

> Part of my reluctance to wage open combat with our American authorities arises from the fact that I see no evidence of genuine revolt in the people themselves. We have no real radicals, no body of men who have the desire, the courage and the power to initiate a fundamental change in our outlook or in our way of life. (Gontarski, 1992, p. 53)

However, Rosset wanted to publish the book exactly with the same aim. Eventually, he persuaded Miller with the help of Maurice Girodias, son of Kahane and Heinrich Ledig-Rowohlt, the German publisher of Miller (Glass, 2015, p. 221). Before publishing Miller, Rosset published *Lady Chatterley's Lover* by Lawrence Durrell and defended the book in front of legal authorities, with the result that the book was accepted to be of literary value. However, the case of Miller was far more difficult. In July 1960, the book was banned in Massachusetts and legal cases were initiated (Decker, 2015, p. xviii). For three years, the cost of the cases in many US states was covered by Grove Publishing. At the same time, lawsuits triggered a change in social terms with discussions regarding freedom. After three years, the struggle initiated by Rosset resulted in change in literary, legal and social terms when the court accepted Miller's books as of literary value. At the end of the trials, the lawyer Charles Rembar (1968, p. 766) declared the end of obscenity, and *Tropic of Cancer* was regarded as the first book to defeat censorship. As a result of these nation-wide discussions, Grove Press "revolutionized the publishing industry by rapidly dismantling a regime of literary censorship that had been in place since the nineteenth century", beside "mobiliz[ing] a cadre of publishers, academics and artists to transform the cultural field itself by incorporating the literary underground into the mainstream (Glass, 2015, p. 183). At the end of the struggles, legitimacy in the US literary field had been attained. However, this legitimacy can be interpreted in two different dimensions. Miller's works, published by a subversive but (due to its economic capital) legitimate publishing house have been moved to large-scale publishing by entering the top four in the *New York Post*'s best seller list in the 1960s. This transformation, on the one hand, ambiguated the boundaries between the literary canon and the counter-culture avant-garde tradition (Gontraski, 1992, p. 56) and accordingly large scale and restricted scale

publishing groups, on the other hand, re-positioned Miller as a legitimate author. While legitimacy may seem positive at first sight, given Miller's aim to transform the system, it contradicts the author's aim since Miller depicted himself a counter-art in his works and wanted to stay in the margins, outside the tradition.

2.1. Labeling in the Turkish Literary Field

What makes the positioning of Miller different in the Turkish literary field is the dynamics of the struggle within the field. While discussions on *Tropic of Cancer* have prevailed in French and American literary fields, it was *Tropic of Capricorn* that was banned and started discussions in the Turkish literary field.

 The key agents in the reception of Miller in the Turkish literary field are certain publishing houses and translators. Eighteen books by Miller have been translated into Turkish from 1967 till 2015 by twenty different publishing houses and with twenty-two different translators. Hence, it can be claimed that Miller has a relatively wide circulation in the Turkish literary field. Regarding the first process of Bourdieu that is *selection*, May, Babil and Taç publishing houses—which all published Miller's books in 1971—should be taken into consideration. Four books by Miller—*Tropic of Cancer, Sexus, Plexus* and *Nexus*—were published in the same year by the mentioned three publishing houses. When the covers of the books[2] are examined, it will be seen that especially the Rosy Crucifixion trilogy *Sexus, Plexus* and *Nexus* are represented to imply the obscenity label. In the covers of the books, women bodies associated with sexuality are represented. Furthermore, in several newspapers the books were represented as "the most powerful novel of erotic literature" (Cumhuriyet Gazetesi, 18.09.1971). Although no records of those publishing houses remain today, within the framework of the fieldwork, the owner of Babil publishing house has been reached. After having an idea about the habitus of these agents, it will be noticed that those agents maintained subversive strategies in the field of restricted production. When asked what their motivation was in publishing Miller, it is learnt that the publishing house was established in order to publish avant-garde literature (personal interview [12.03.2019]) and Miller was among them. At this point it should be noted that after the 1971 memorandum of Turkey, the main restrictions in the literary field were on political texts. The restricted-scale publishing houses that published political books against the legitimate symbolic

---

[2] See Appendix 1

power were fined and the books were banned. Since the constraints of the field did not allow subversive, small-scale publishing houses to practice their strategies on political grounds, it can be claimed that the label of obscenity served for the purpose of transformative strategies. This situation can be elaborated with Bourdieu's idea that actors trying to change the order "are condemned to use the strategies of subversion, but, if they are not to incur exclusion from the game, these strategies have to remain within certain limits" (Bourdieu, 1993, p. 205). Therefore, in order not to be expelled from the field, the publishing houses used the obscenity label, a label that is still against the norms and subversive, but at the same time a safe strategy compared to political books. Furthermore, as another outcome of the constraints in the field, the translator —Zehra Enger— preferred to use a nickname (personal interview [12.03.2019]).

Giselé Sapiro (2003, p. 455) claims that exploratory tendencies have been observed in small publishing houses since large-scale publishing houses abandon exploring new voices according to the competition in the market. Within this perspective, the task of discovering Miller and introducing his works into the Turkish literary field was carried out by small scale publishing houses such as Taç, Babil and May. It should also be stressed that although the books have entered the literary field with the obscenity label, this was used as an alternative method to political constraints in the field—which explains the second stage of Bourdieu that is labeling. The works gaining a specific label in the target culture were shaped by the limitations in the Turkish literary field. Regarding the cultural, political and economic dynamics, publishing houses adopted different methods in order both to maintain subversive strategies and protect themselves from the constraints in the field.

The struggle for legitimacy took a different shape during the years 1980-1990. Especially with the 1980 military coup in Turkey, the implementation of sanctions tore down the dynamics of the literary field, moving it away from autonomy: books were banned, writers were convicted, many publishing houses were closed and the book market was on the brink of a turmoil. Under these circumstances, Miller's *Oğlak Dönencesi* (*Tropic of Capricorn*) was published in 1986 by Can Publishing House and banned immediately by the legal authorities on the grounds that it was obscene and could not be regarded as a work of art. The council that the court assigned was "authorized to determine the difference between legitimate literature and sheer pornography" (Üstünsöz, 2015, p. 226). At this point maybe the only revolt of the Turkish literary history took place. As a reaction to the fact that the value of the book was not determined inside the

literary field by literary critics or academics, but by legal authorities, thirty-nine publishing houses came together and re-published the book omitting the parts that were found obscene and added the report of the council, the defense pleas and the court decision. It was possible to read the whole book since the obscene found passages were included in the report of the council. Since it was not a punitive practice to publish the council report, all of the publishing houses were acquitted. This reaction of the publishing houses in the field of literature can be interpreted as a rebellion for the autonomy of the field as well as for the legitimization of Miller as an author of value.

Apart from *Tropic of Capricorn*, seven more books by Miller were published in the late 1980s and 1990s. While many publishers strictly refused the label of obscenity, some of these publishers still used the obscenity label in order to gain economic capital. In these periods, deviations from the originals have been observed. One example is *Karabahar* (*Black Spring*) re-published by Yaba publishing house in 1997. The book consists of randomly chosen chapters and does not present a complete translation. Although the reason was asked to the publishing house during interviews, no answer could be received. In addition, the cover of the book[3] is also striking since it refers to the obscenity label and contradicts with the content of the book. Another striking example is *Pleksus* (*Plexus*), re-published in 1993 by Kabalcı publishing house. Similarly, the cover of the book[4] stresses the obscenity label whereas it contradicts the content. As can be seen, the label on Miller's books was stretched in two different directions during the 1980s and 1990s. While on one side, there is a tendency towards legitimizing Miller as an author of serious value, there are examples where the obscenity label was still used for economic interests. Therefore, the 1980s and 1990s can be defined as turbulent years regarding the labeling and legitimatizing of Miller's books.

However, in the 2000s, Miller's reception in Turkey took a certain shape, moving away from the label of obscenity and leaning towards legitimization. In the beginning of the 2000s, the books of Miller were published by three different publishing houses, namely Parantez, Notos and Siren. All of these publishing houses objected to the obscenity label imposed on the author and emphasized the literary value of the author and his unique style in both their book covers and prefaces. In the interview with Parantez Publishing House, it was learnt that

---

[3] See Appendix 2
[4] See Appendix 3

the main aim for publishing Miller's books was to bring untranslated books into the Turkish language since they regard Miller as an author of high quality (personal interview [15.08.2018]). In 2003, Parantez Publishing House published the only reference book for Miller in the Turkish language, *Günahıyla Sevabıyla Henry Miller* written by Brassai, as well as other books by Miller such as *Aşk Mektupları* (2000) and *Big Sur ve Hieronymus Bosch'un Portakalları* (2002). With the representation of these three publishing houses, it is possible to claim that the reception of the author moved away from the obscenity label.

Among these publishing houses, Siren Publishing House, established with the aim of "filling the gap of bringing together the new, genuine voices of contemporary art with their predecessors" (Öktömer, 2013), can be regarded as the legitimate publisher of Miller today. The covers of the books[5] reveal the opposition of the publishing house against the obscenity label. Especially regarding *Oğlak Dönencesi*, the book cover is designed to refer to the judicial process that the book has gone through in Turkey. Since the book was banned and republished either covering the allegedly obscene parts with black tape or omitting them, the cover of the book is designed in white tape on a black background, metaphorically seeking the freedom of art and books. Siren Publishing House criticizes the obscenity label on Miller and presents the books to the reader with the retranslation of Avi Pardo, demanding a free world where bans on books no longer prevail (2014, p. 8). In the interview with the publishing house, the co-owner Sanem Sirer expressed that prosecution of a book for obscenity is not enough to label it obscene and added that "the accusations of obscenity directed against Miller were configured to ignore the vein of social criticism which was so dominant in his works" (personal interview, [26.03.2018]).

From the representation of Siren Publishing House, as well as Notos and Parantez, it can be concluded that today, the books by Miller are circulating with a certain kind of legitimacy in the field of restricted production by publishers who are searching for a transformation in what is publishable and what is not.

---

[5] See Appendix 4

3. CONCLUSION

Far from fixed understandings, considering the practice of agents and institutions through the sociology of translation enables an investigation of translation as a dynamic concept with multiple elements. Taking the practice of translation to the center, this paper traces the positioning of Miller's books in French, American and Turkish literary fields according to the struggles and structures of the respected fields. Such an attempt requires an understanding of agents (publishers in our case) as determining factors in the legitimization of a symbolic product. The autonomous structure of the French literary field enabled Miller's subversive texts to be welcomed since the value of his books were not determined by legal or governing authorities but by the artists in the field. Therefore, it was possible for Miller to maintain his subversive strategies in the field of restricted production aiming at cultural capital rather than economic capital. The obscenity label on the author was dismissed by the legitimate authors' reviews in the French literary field. The American literary field on the other hand lacked autonomous structure, and therefore it took years of struggle for Grove Publishing House to legitimize Miller in the American literary field. As a result of these efforts, Miller is the first author to defeat censorship in US, thus bringing an end to the obscenity discussions. However, this triumph resulted in Miller's repositioning in the American literary field, since at the end of the trials, Miller's books sold 68.000 in the first week and entered best seller lists. While his aim was always to stay outside the tradition and resist the symbolic violence imposed by power, the struggles moved him to a legitimate position in large-scale production, determined itself by the power mechanisms.

In the Turkish literary field, a different kind of legitimization process was experienced. Books by Miller entered the Turkish literary field with the obscenity label in 1970s. However, the agents that selected the works of Miller were marginals practicing subversive strategies in the field. Under these circumstances, the obscenity label was used for subversive aims as an alternative way to the political constraints. In the 1980s and 1990s, the books of Miller were translated by several publishing houses both to gain economic capital and cultural capital in the restricted field. Therefore, the reception has been bended towards two different directions—those benefiting from the obscenity label and those refusing the obscenity label. In the 2000s, "the publisher play[ed] a major role in the process of legitimating literary product" (Sapiro, 2008, p. 155). With the help of book covers and prefaces, the strategies of the three publishing houses pushed away the obscenity label. Especially the representation of Siren

Publishing House strictly rejected the obscenity label on the writer and repositioned the author as a legitimate counter-author. Today, thanks to the stance of the publishing house and high-quality translations, it is possible to regard Henry Miller as an author of serious value, practicing subversive strategies by questioning the doxa of language and culture.

REFERENCES

Bourdieu, P. (1993). *Sociology in Question. translated by Richard Nice*. London: Sage

Bourdieu, P. & Wacquant, L. (1992). *An Invitation to Reflexive Sociology*. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press.

Bourdieu, P. (1999). The Social Conditions of the International Circulation of Ideas. In R. Schusterman (Ed.), *Pierre Bourdieu A Critical Reader* (pp. 220-229). Oxford: Blackwell.

Cumhuriyet Gazetesi Arşivi. 18.09.1971. Retrieved from https://www.cumhuriyetarsivi.com/monitor/index.xhtml#

Decker, J. (2005). *Henry Miller and The Narrative Form: Constructing Self, Rejecting Modernity*. New York: Routledge.

Demirel, E. (2013). *Çeviri Sosyolojisinin İnşası Bourdieu Çözümleri- Pratiklerden Seçkiler*. İstanbul: Cinius.

Garland, S. (2010). *The dearest of cemeteries': European intertexts in Henry Miller's Tropic of Cancer. European Journal of American Culture*. c. 29 s. 3, pp. 197-215.

Genette, G. (1997). *Paratexts: Tresholds of Interpretation. çev. Jane E. Lewin*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Glass, L. (2015). *Freedom to Read: Barney Rosset, Henry Miller and the End of Obscenity. Censorship and the Limits of the Literary: A Global View. ed. Nicole Moore* (pp. 177-188). New York: Bloomsbury Academic.

Gontarski, S. E. (1992). *Censorship and Literary Canon. The Rise and Fall of Grove Press. Noncanonical American Literature: A Special Issue of the CEA Critic*. c.55 s.1, pp. 47-58.

Gorman, R. (2007). *Miller's Tropic of Cancer Stirs Controversy. Great Events from the History The 20th century* (pp. 2770-2773). California: Salem.

Gouanvic J. M. (2005). A Bourdieusian Theory of Translation, or the Coincidence of Practical Instances. *The Translator*. 11 (2), pp. 147-166.

Miller, H. (1934). *Tropic of Cancer*. Paris: Obelisk Press.

Miller, H. (1939). *Tropic of Capricorn*. Paris: Obelisk Press.

Miller H. (1986). *Oğlak Dönencesi. çev. Aylin Sağtürk*. İstanbul: Can.

Miller, H. (1988). *Oğlak Dönencesi. çev. Aylin Sağtürk*. Ortak Kitap.

Miller, H. (2014). *Oğlak Dönencesi. çev. Avi Pardo*. İstanbul: Siren.

Miller, H. (1971). *Yengeç Dönencesi. çev. Zehra Enger*. İstanbul: Taç.

Öktemer, C. (n.d.). *Kapak Tasarımı Kitabun Ruhuyla Örtüştüğü Sürece İyidir*. Retrieved from http://www.agos.com.tr/tr/yazi/4905/kapak-tasarimi-kitabin-ruhuyla-ortustugu-surece-iyidir

Pearson, N. (2007). *Obelisk. A History of Jack Kahane and Obelisk Press*. Liverpool: Liverpool University Press.

Rembar, C. (1968). *The End of Obscenity: The Trials of Lady Chatterley, Tropic of Cancer Fanny Hill by the Lawyer Who Defended Them*. New York: Random Hause.

Sapiro, G. (2003). The Literary Field between the State and the Market. *Poetics Journal of Empirical Research on Culture the Media and the Arts*. c.31 a.5-6, pp. 441-461.

Sapiro, G. (2008). Translation and The Field of Publishing. *Translation Studies* c.1 s.2 pp. 154-166.

Üstünsöz, İ. (2015). *Censorship of Obscene Literary Translations in Turkey: An Analysis of Two Specific Cases. Translation Tradition and Tension in Turkey. ed. Şehnaz Tahir Gürçağlar, Saliha Paker, John Milton*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.
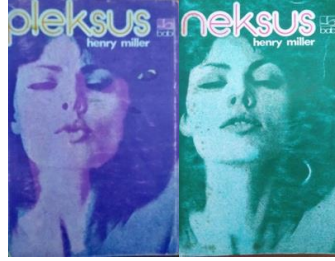
Appendix 1:

Miller, Henry (1971). *Seksus.* Translated by Zehra Enger. İstanbul: Babil.

Miller, Henry (1971). *Seksus (2nd Ed).* Translated by Zehra Enger. İstanbul: Babil.
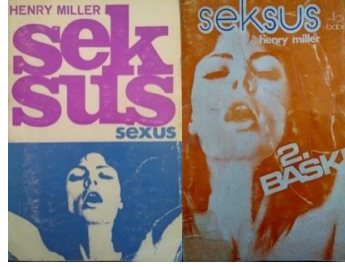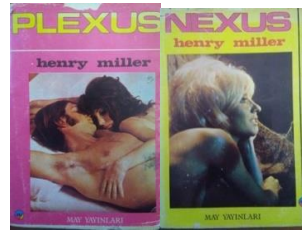

Miller, Henry (1971). *Pleksus.* Translated by Erhan Erman. İstanbul: Babil.

Miller, Henry (1971). *Neksus.* Translated by Erhan Erman. İstanbul: Babil.
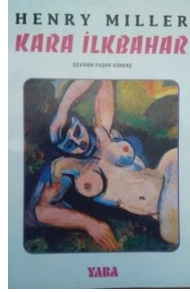

Miller, Henry (1971). *Pleksus.* Translated by Reha Pınar. İstanbul: May.

Miller, Henry (1971). *Neksus.* Translated by Sedat Sertoğlu. İstanbul: May.

Appendix 2:

Miller, Henry (1997). *Kara İlkbahar*. Translated by Yaşar Günenç. Ankara: Yaba.
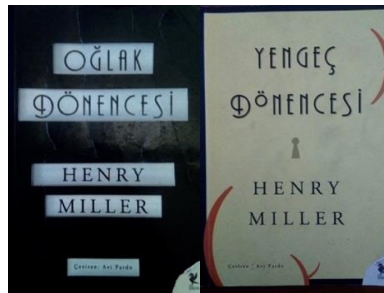

Appendix 3:

Miller, Henry (1993). *Pleksus*. Translated by Reha Pınar. İstanbul: Kabalcı.

Appendix 4:

Miller, Henry (2014). *Oğlak Dönencesi*. Translated by Avi Pardo. İstanbul: Siren.

Miller, Henry (2012). *Yengeç Dönencesi*. Translated by Avi Pardo. İstanbul: Siren.

Spanish Theatre translated into Arabic:
Performability vs. *Readability*

Sherine Samy Gamaleldin
University of Granada
ssamy@ugr.es

Abstract

This paper deals with the ever existing debate in theatre translation regarding *performability* and/or *readability* of the theatre text. In other words, how should we consider a play during translation? As a literary text in itself or as an *incomplete* entity that is realized only on stage? Furthermore, in this paper I offer a third opinion which rejects that polarization, claiming that it is a *reductionist illusion*. In the light of those three different opinions, I examine some examples taken from some of Antonio Gala's plays translated into Arabic with the aim of testing the viability of those three postulates in relation to Spanish theatre translated into Arabic (in this case in Egypt).

Keywords: Theatre translation, performability, readability, polarization, Antonio Gala.

1. INTRODUCTION

This paper deals with quite an important issue related to theatre translation and the ever existing debate regarding *performability* and/or *readability* of the theatre text. In other words, how should we consider a play during translation? As a literary text in itself or as an *incomplete* entity that is realized only on stage? Furthermore, in this paper I offer a third opinion which rejects that polarization, claiming that it is a *reductionist illusion*. In the light of those three different opinions, I examine some examples taken from some of Antonio Gala's plays translated into Arabic with the aim of testing the viability of those three postulates in relation to Spanish theatre translated into Arabic (in this case in Egypt).

To do so, I rely on three names representing each of the above-mentioned opinions: Susan Bassnett, English academic and a translation theoretician, represents the first opinion; Patrice Pavis, French semiotician, represents the second one; and, Ekaterini Nikolarea, Greek scholar, proponent of the third approach. The reason for choosing particularly those three names and not others is because the first two are among the most prominent scholars in this debate, while the third scholar had dedicated her PhD thesis to criticize those two tendencies which led to that controversy.

2. *PERFORMABILITY vs. READABILITY*

First of all, I would like to specify what I understand by the terms *performability* and *readability* applied in theatre translation. With *performability* I refer to the case of the theatre text that is translated with the final aim of being staged, while with *readability* I refer to the case of the play that is translated to be read without bearing in mind its eventual *mise en scène*.

Having clarified this issue, I move on hereunder to highlight the characteristic that distinguish each one of the three before-mentioned postulates:

2.1. Susan Bassnett (1985, 1990, 1991, 1998)

i) Represents the approach that considers the theatre text as a literary work in itself and disassociates its translation from any eventual *mise en scène*. According to that, translation does not necessarily determine performance, but only leaves the field open for eventual directors. Bassnett bases her arguments mainly on

the Czech structuralist's approach, Jíři Veltruský (2011), who distinguishes between drama and theatre. Veltruský considers drama as a literary genre and the dramatic text as a text written according to the conventions of its genre, whereas its eventual relation with performance stays beyond its generic limits. The Czech structuralist (1990) outlines that not all plays are written for their performance. He confirms the existence of a lot of plays which were written only to be read. Bassnett supports that opinion referring to the case of Thomas Hardy –*The Dynasts*–, Lord Byron –*Manfred*– and Alfred Tennyson. She also sustains that there are translations carried out for the reading audience, while others are done with the final aim of being performed on stage, adding that this has led to discard the *performance* criterion from being applied universally (Bassnett, 1998, pp. 98-99).

ii) Bassnett discredits the notion of a *stage translation* and rejects the concept of *performability* describing it as a controversial term which resists to be defined and doubting about its real existence: "very vexed term" (1985, p. 90); "implicit, undefined and undefinable quality of a theatre text" (1985, p. 101); "a meaningless term, since it cannot be defined and appears to be simply something that can only have value in the market place, […]. It is a term without credibility" (1990, pp. 76-77); "performability is seen as nothing more than a liberal humanist illusion" (1991, p. 110); "there is no sound theoretical base for arguing that 'performability' can or does exist" (1991, p. 102); "an abstract, highly individualistic notion" (1991, p. 111). Among the reasons for the appearance of this term, Bassnett highlights the following: finding a solution for the dilemma between the eternal problem of *faithfulness*, from one side, and, from the other, the relation between the written and the performed. Bassnett accuses certain liberties –sometimes unaccepted– taken by some theatre translators because of that term, which had led to the appearance of concepts like *adaptation* and *version* specifying certain types of translations:

> It seems to me that the time has come to set aside 'performability' as a criterion for translating too, and to focus more closely on the linguistic structures of the text itself. For, after all, it is only within the written that the performable can be possible in any play text. The written text, troué though it may be, is the raw material on which the translator has to work and it is with the written text, rather than with a hypothetical performance, that the translator must begin. (Bassnett, 1985, p. 102)

iii) Based on Tadeusz Kowzan's (1992, [1968] 1997) division of the performance act, in which he distinguishes five categories of expression that correspond with five semiotic systems: –i) the dialogue text (which can have or not a written text); ii) body language; iii) actor's external appearance (gestures, costumes, etc.); iv) configuration of the performing space (lighting, props, etc.); and v) unarticulated sound effects–, Bassnett highlights that the dialogue text is merely one component, one system or one code in a complex set of codes that interact together in performance and that the written text, if it exists at all, is found only in the verbal system (Bassnett, 1985, p. 94; 1998, p. 99).

iv) Unlike Pavis, Bassnett (1985, p. 101) examines *deixis* as linguistic structures in the text and not as gestural patterning, emphasizing that the importance of studying them does not lie in their presence *per se*, but in their *function* in the text. Hence, she rejects any *spatial*, *subtextual* or *coded gestural dimension* in the written text's language. This way, she challenges the truthfulness of Pavis's theory regarding the *incompleteness* of the written text till its staging. Bassnett claims the existence of playtexts aimed at a reading audience which were never made to be performed. Furthermore, she criticizes the theory that assumes it to be the translator's task to transform unrealized text *A* into unrealized text *B*. According to her, the translator would have to find the *coded gestural subtext* of the first *incomplete* text, decode it, and then recode it in another *coded gestural subtext* in the *incomplete* text B (Bassnett, 1991, pp. 100-101), which, in her words, makes his task *impossible* or *superhuman*. Moreover, Bassnett accuses Pavis of preferring *performability* to the written text in his hierarchical system, claiming that his system considers the task of the interlingual translator of a lower status in comparison with that of the *adapter* who takes to stage a written play:

> To expect a translator to be able intuitively to decode the source language performance features from a reading of the text is absurd enough; to expect that translator to then encode a set of performance features from a different theatre convention in the target version is simply ridiculous. (Bassnett, 1990, p. 81)

v) Bassnett rejects the idea of the universality of gestures and cultures suggested by Pavis. As an advocate of Theatre Anthropology, she firmly believes in the particularity of gestures within cultures which, by turn, are singular. Moreover, she outlines that cultural differences are enhanced by the presence of *particulars* and understands the *coded gestural subtext* as "a concept that belongs to a particular

moment in time in western theatre history and which cannot be applied universally" (Bassnett, 1991, p. 111). Consequently, she highlights the diversity of staging conventions which exist in the different cultures:

> Physical expressivity is not universal and varies from culture to culture. Gesture and body language is represented differently, understood differently, reproduced differently in different contexts and at different time, in accordance with different conventions, different histories and different audience expectations. (Bassnett, 1998, p. 107)

vi) In her conclusions, Bassnett invites scholars and researchers in theatre translation to reconsider the playtext as literature. She emphasizes the importance of examining linguistic and paralinguistic aspects of the written text more deeply, as, according to her, it is the original and fundamental task of the translator:

> What is left for the translator to do is to engage specifically with the signs of the text: to wrestle with the deictic units, the speech rhythms, the pauses and silences, the shifts of tone or of register, the problems of intonation patterns: in short, the linguistic and paralinguistic aspects of the written text that are decodable and reencodable. (Bassnett, 1998, p. 107)

2.2. Patrice Pavis ([1989]1991, 2005)

i) Represents the approach that prioritizes *mise en scène* over the written text.

ii) Pavis believes that the final target of a playtext is to be staged. Moreover, he claims that a *real* translation of a theatre text takes place on the level of the *mise en scène*. Pavis insists on the hierarchical relation between the written text and the stage, considering the playtext –and its translation– as an *incomplete* entity that is merely realized on stage: "[…] all dramatic writing truly exists only when produced on stage and received by the audience" (Pavis, 2005, p. 89).

iii) Pavis considers the playtext and its translation to be linked to a whole deictic system which liberates the text from the expressions that can only be understood in their context by means of the use of those deictic units (Pavis, 1991, pp. 46-47). In other words, he contemplates *deixis* as a coded gestural patterning within the written text.

iv) As for the translator's task, Pavis adds to the *normal* intertextual and interlingual transfer the relationship between the different *situations of enunciation*. According to Pavis, the translator must adapt a virtual situation of enunciation that has yet to be performed. The starting point is the written text. The translator must then adapt it to another situation of enunciation which will be actual or *real* later on. Thus, Pavis considers the translator's task a *difficult* mission, but not an *impossible* one (Pavis, 1991, pp. 40-41).

v) He claims that making a text *readable* involves making it *visible*, that is, available for concretization on stage, which could lead to the *well-spoken* norm (Pavis, 1991, p. 43). Consequently, he observes that the adequacy of speech and gesture, which he calls the *language-body*, is much more important than the simple criterion of the *well-spoken*. Thus, he considers that the stage takes over from the linguistic text.

vi) Regarding the relationship between translation and *mise en scène*, Pavis considers translation as an operation that predetermines performance.

vii) He advocates gestural universality, as well as a universalization of the notion of culture (Pavis, 1991).

viii) In his conclusions, Pavis insists on the hidden gestural dimension in the playtext which is understood and realized exclusively on stage. He considers that theatre translation is never where one expects it to be: not in the words themselves, but in gesture, not in the letter, but in the spirit of any culture, ineffable but omnipresent (Pavis, 1991, p. 62).

2.3. Ekaterini Nikolarea (1994, 2002)

In her PhD thesis, Nikolarea (1994) carries out an exhaustive study in which she examines to what extent postulates such as *performability* and *readability* are applied in the historical functioning of actual translations and theatrical performances of a play. For that aim, she chooses Sofocles' play, *Oedipus the King*, for being one of the most translated and performed Greek plays in the Western tradition in general and in the English-speaking world in particular. She studies the translations, publications and theatrical productions of that play which took place throughout centuries. In her PhD, Nikolarea carries out a study that defies the theoretical polarization between the notions of *performability* and *readability*, suggesting that this polarization is merely a *reductionist illusion*. Moreover, she

rejects the existence of precise divisions between a performance-oriented translation and a reader-oriented translation, but rather there exists a blurring of borderlines, which she claims is due to two main reasons:

i) Intercultural communication always depends on different and complex processes which influence not only the production of a theatre translation but also its distribution and reception by a multifaceted target public.

ii) The two extreme approaches seem to share the weakness of all prescriptive approaches in translation studies (Nikolarea, 2002).

Nikolarea believes that Bassnett gives priority to existing disparities among different cultures and their theatres which vary along time while analyzing translations of theatre texts. In other words, she moves exclusively in a diachronic/paradigmatic axis (culture variability along time) without bearing in mind the changes a playtext translation might suffer during different performances that take place at the same time in different places. On the other hand, Pavis moves in a synchronic/syntagmatic axis as he focuses his attention on how a playtext translation changes during a particular performance at a particular time and place. This implies that at a given time there can only be one translation of an original theatre text, a consideration that Nikolarea regards to be dangerously presumptuous (Nikolarea, 1994, p. 240).

3. EXAMPLES FROM ARABIC TRANSLATIONS OF ANTONIO GALA'S PLAYS

In the light of the three before-mentioned perspectives, I examine some examples referencing three of Antonio Gala's plays and translated into Arabic by an Egyptian translator. Due to space limitations, I will not include all the cases available. However, I would like to point out that this work is part of my PhD thesis (Samy Gamaleldin, 2016). Hence, you can find there all the examples and the results. The plays are: *Paisaje andaluz con figuras* (*Andalusian Landscape with Figures*), *Anillos para una dama* (*Rings for a Lady*) and *Los verdes campos del Edén* (*Green Fields of Eden*). The first two plays are historical while the third is social. The selected examples follow two main criteria: qualitative and quantitative representativeness respectively.

In my analysis, I adopt the methodology suggested by the Spanish researcher Alejandro L. Lapeña in a paper published in 2014 which, in turn, was inspired

by other previous models. I chose this method of analysis as I consider the translations of my corpus of study not as mere literary texts, but bearing in mind that they are translations of playtexts whose final destination is to be seen or listened to on a stage, even though they have not yet been performed. Thus, I chose Lapeña's scheme of analysis which was originally designed to analyze the modifications a playtext goes through between its translation and staging, and then I adapted it according to the characteristics of my corpus, which are translations for reading that have not yet been performed. The aim of my study is to demonstrate that any deficiencies arising in a reading-oriented translation which might hinder its reading overlap, mostly, with the problems a spectator might not tolerate during a performance. As well, I would like to point out that although the plays of my corpus of study were translated mainly to be read, nevertheless they have failed to meet the criteria that texts with that end should follow. Furthermore, the improvements that could be done in order to remedy those reception deficiencies would quite greatly resemble those that should take place in order to prepare a translation for the stage.

After adapting the methodological scheme suggested by Lapeña to the requirements of my selected corpus of plays, the final scheme would be as follows:

Orality	Immediacy	Multidimensionality
Fluidity	Calque	Forms of address
		i. Polite forms
Cacophony		*ii. Pet names*
		iii. Insults and swearings
		Cultural references
Punctuation and connectors	Ambiguity	Proper nouns
		i. Anthroponyms
Interjections		*ii. Toponyms*
		iii. Plays' titles

As shown in the previous table, the three main analysis criteria I adopt are *Orality*, *Immediacy* and *Multidimensionality*. Consequently, I subdivide each one of them in subsections according to the analyzed elements. Due to space issues, I will offer two examples for only one subsection in each one of the three analysis criteria. Hence, in *Orality* I will deal with *fluidity*, in *Immediacy* with *ambiguity* and in *Multidimensionality* with *cultural references*.

3.1. Orality

3.1.1. Fluidity

Fluidity is a very important element to be taken into consideration when we create or translate a theatrical dialogue. It allows actors to pronounce sentences, even long ones, without any kind of verbal hindrance. It, also, allows spectators to receive the dialogue without any risk of losing sight of the performed theme due to verbal obstructions which could be committed by the actor.

During the *performed text*, the actor is the protagonist of the play. In the same way, the reader is the protagonist of the *reading text*. This way fluidity could be related to the reading ability. In other words, it allows readers to read phrases and sentences without any kind of hindrance that would make them lose sight of the theme they are reading. In the following table, we can find two examples chosen from Gala's plays which highlight how lack of fluidity during the reading process affects negatively the reception of the play:

Analysis Criteria	Play	Original (Spanish)	Translation (Arabic)
Orality (*Fluidity*)	*Anillos para una dama* (*Rings for a Lady*)	JERÓNIMO. –(*Acercándose a* ALFONSO.) El Cid es in-sus-ti-tui-ble. **My translation:** JERONIMO. –(*Approaching* ALFONSO). The Cid is ir-re-pla-ce-a-ble.	خيرونيمو: (مقتربا من ألفونسو) ليس للسيد ب ـ د ي ل. (بديل).

| | | PEDRO –(…) Triste, triste… Haber querido en balde hacer con la clemencia lo que hay que hacer con hierro. <u>Llegar al resultado de que en Castilla hay que optar entre el tirano o la monarquía…</u> Engaños, falsedades, una red de sospechas sobre el alma, me enseñaron a odiar… Ay, triste, triste…

 My translation:

 (PEDRO. –(…) Sad, sad… I wanted, in vain, to do with lenience what should be done with iron. <u>To reach the result that in Castille I have to choose between either the tyrant or the monarchy</u>… Deceits, falsehoods, a network of suspicions around the soul, they taught me to hate… Oh, sad, sad…) | بدرو: (...) حزين حزين.. أني أرغت سدى أن أصنع بالرحمة ما يجب صنعه بالحديد.

 <u>وأن أصل إلي النتيجة هي أنني علي – في قشتالة – أن أراوح بين الاستبداد والفوضي.</u> خداعات، تزييفات شبكة من الشكوك حول النفس، لقد علموني الحقد آه حزين حزين.

 My translation:

 (<u>To reach the results that I have –in Castille- to choose among either tyranny or chaos</u>.) |
| *Paisaje andaluz con figuras: El Alcázar de Sevilla*

 (*Andalusian Landscape with Figures: The Alcazar of Seville*) | | | |

In the first example, we can observe a methodological calque that causes the reader to have some difficulties in reading and, consequently, in understanding the text. The last word in the Spanish original réplique –"in-sus-ti-tui-ble"– is divided in syllables as a sign that this word should be pronounced with or needs to receive some more emphasis on each syllable. In Arabic, when we want to emphasize a certain word we do it in a different way by extending the pronunciation of its last syllable. However, in this case the translator preferred to calque on the Spanish technique, which is not frequent in Arabic, and divided the word in separate letters. At first glance, the Arab reader cannot understand anything when s/he sees four separate letters if it weren't for the following brackets where the translator put the word written in joint letters. There is no doubt that the original's intention of emphasizing the word was totally lost in

Arabic as the reader sees a way of writing with an intention that s/he cannot understand.

The second example shows how sometimes it is necessary to relocate some words in the sentence to obtain the rhythmic harmony, even for reading. Take a look at the adverbial of place "في قشتالة" (in Castile) inserted between the prepositional phrase علىَّ (I should) and the particle أن (to). Those two –علىَّ and أن – normally should go together and, in this case, the prepositional phrase " في قشتالة" (in Castile) would go before or after them. The translator's obvious negligence over grammatical rules of the Arabic language in order to follow closely the Spanish structure affects the reading process significantly, as the reader finds himself/herself faced with an unfamiliar structure. Sometimes, this obliges the reader to interrupt the reading process in order to consider whether this structure fits correctly in the Arabic language.

3.2. Immediacy

3.2.1. Ambiguity

When I looked up the definition of *ambiguity* in the Oxford English Dictionary, I found the following: "[t]he quality of being open to more than one interpretation; inexactness"[1]. This is exactly what I refer to in this section. In other words, I do not refer to the ambiguity that could be found in the original plays, and that should (or should not) be maintained in the translation, but rather the one resulting from unintended deviations committed by the translator due to different reasons. It is obvious that the ambiguity in the cases offered below is not found in the original Spanish plays. Consequently, it introduces certain confusion in the Arabic translation with respect to the original. This confusion might probably produce an undesired reaction in the reading audience of the Arabic text:

Analysis Criteria	Play	Original (Spanish)	Translation (Arabic)
Immediacy	*Paisaje andaluz con*	ALMANZOR. –(…) El ha nacido rey: dejémosle serlo de la mejor manera posible. Que	المنصور: (...) إنه ولد ملكا. فلندعه يكون على أفضل طريقة ممكنة،

---

[1] https://en.oxforddictionaries.com/definition/ambiguity

(*Ambiguity*)	*figuras: Almanzor* (*Andalusian Landscape with Figures: Almanzor*)	reine y que me deje a mí –a nosotros– gobernar. <u>Gobernar es la cara amarga de la moneda de oro del poder.</u> **My translation:** (ALMANZOR. –(…) He was born a King: let him be it in the best way. Let him reign and let me –us– rule. <u>Ruling is the sour face of the gold coin of power.</u>)	فليملك – وليتركني – ليتركنا نحكم، <u>أن الحكم هو الوجه المر لعملة الحكم الذهبية.</u> **My translation:** (<u>Ruling is the sour face of the gold coin of ruling.</u>)
	Anillos para una dama (*Rings for a Lady*)	CONSTANZA. –(…) Lo único que no has dicho, es lo uniquito que tenías que decir. JIMENA. –¿Qué? CONSTANZA. –… y a solas, a Minaya, no delante del público: ay, <u>que exhibicionista</u>. **My translation:** CONSTANZA. –(…) The only thing you haven't said is the only thing you should have said. JIMENA. –What? CONSTANZA. –… and alone, to Minaya, not in front of the crowd: oh, what an exhibitionist!	كونستانثا: (...) الشئ الوحيد الذي لم تقوليه هو الشئ الوحيد الذي كان لابد أن تقوليه. خمينا: ماذا؟ كونستانثا: ... وعلي انفراد، تقولينه لميناﻳﺎ، ليس أمام الناس، آه، <u>يا لك من متهالكة في كشف نفسك!!</u> **My translation:** (<u>How dilapidated you are in exhibiting yourself!!</u>)

In the first example, the translator carries out an unfortunate repetition of the word الحُكْم (to govern) to translate the Spanish words *gobernar* and *poder*, although the second one –"*poder*"– has got a semantic equivalent in Arabic which is السلطة (*power*). This repetition causes an unfavorable redundancy which produces almost a total loss in the original message.

The second example offers a clear sample of an incorrectly used paraphrase. May be the lack of a pragmatic equivalent of the Spanish term "exhibicionista"(exhibitionist) in Arabic is the motive for which the translator chose to paraphrase that term resulting in an exaggeration effect due to inserting the adjective phrase "متهالكة في" (give your life for) in front of the syntagm " كشف نفسك" (exhibiting yourself). In my opinion, the technique used by the translator in this case could have been acceptable if he had used another formula like, for example, "تَهوينَ كشفَ جَسَدِكِ" (you love to show off), with a verb that does not imply any nuance of exaggeration.

3.3. Multidimensionality

3.3.1. Cultural References

Cultural references represent one of the most difficult linguistic phenomena to translate due to the semiotic dimension they usually enjoy, which is not always recognized by receptors in the target culture. Their translation depends always on the translation project carried out and the effect the translator desires to cause in the target receptors. In other words, whether s/he wants to domesticate the text and bring it closer to the target language and culture or aims at granting the text a foreign aura by bringing receptors closer to the original language and culture. However, I believe that the use of the foreignizing strategy in theatre translation could entail negative consequences. Any theatre performance does not offer the audience a second opportunity to reflect upon what they have seen or listened to. If a translator decides to maintain foreign elements –cultural or linguistic ones– in his/her translation, s/he might create certain confusion among the audience due to adding some distraction factors that could lead them away from the main plot, which is the most important element in a play.

Having said that, we should consider the fact that a reader, while reading a play, could experience almost the same as the audience of the same play during its performance. In other words, maintaining the foreign elements within a

translation hinders fluidity during the reading process and, hence, affects negatively the act of enjoying it:

Analysis criteria	Play	Original (Spanish)	Translation (Arabic)
Multidimen-sionality (*Cultural References*)	*Paisaje andaluz con figuras: La Alhambra* (*Andalusian Landscape with Figures: Alhambra*)	BOAB. –¡Ay de mí Alhama! <u>Ese fue el primer grano robado a la Granada</u>. Ahí empezó este daño… **My translation:** BOAB. – Poor me, Alhama. This was the first grain stolen from the Granada. There began the damage…	أبو عبد الله:آه أيتها الحامة، حامتي أنا، <u>كانت هذه هي الحبة الأولى من الرمانة (غرناطة)</u> من هنا بدأ الألم... **My translation:** (This was the first grain of the <u>pomegranate [Granada]</u>)
	Los verdes campos del Edén (*Green Fields of Eden*)	MUJER 1.ª –(*A* JUAN.) Pero ¿no decía que no le gustaba el sitio? ¡Dios mío, que no le gustaba el sitio! ¿Usted ha visto el mercado cómo está esta mañana? ¿De pavipollos con pechugas gordas como melones? <u>De terneras en canal, orondas como mujeres ricas</u>? ¿De perdices con patas coloradas? **My translation:** LADY 1. –(*To* JUAN.) But, didn't you say you don't like the place? Oh my god, he didn't like the place! Did you see how the market is this morning? The poults with fat	امرأة 1: (إلى خوان) لكن، ألم تقل إن المكان لا يعجبك؟ يا إلهي، لا يعجبه المكان! ألم تر السوق كيف كانت صباح اليوم؟ الشمام؟ <u>العجول الذبيحة الحالية كالنسوة الثرية</u>؟ اليمام بسيقانه الوردية؟ **My translation:** (<u>The current slaughtered calves like rich women?</u>)

		breasts like melons? <u>The calves carcasses, plump like rich women</u>? The partridges with colored legs?	

The first example is about a pun employed by Gala by means of the noun *"Granada"* forming a figure with the fruit –as *"Granada"* in Spanish means *pomegranate*– but referring at the same time to the Spanish southern city. The stylistic effect of the pun is totally lost in translation due to lack of semantic symmetry of the used term between Arabic and Spanish languages: in Arabic the fruit is called الرُّمَّانَة (*al-rummāna*), while the city is غَرُنَاطَة (*Garnāṭa*). Thus, the Arabic translation resulted incomprehensible as we find a sentence talking about the fruit in a context full of war and conquests. Then, immediately after the Arabic term that designates the fruit, the translator adds between brackets the name of the city –غرناطة– in an attempt to reduce the ambiguity in the text. Nonetheless, this does not resolve the problem. On the contrary, it might have increased the paragraph's incomprehensibility as the target text's receptor does not have the implicit information that the original text's receptor has got regarding the polysemic character of the word in question.

In the second example, we can see how a methodologically inadequate translation of a figure of speech by a semantic calque can result even offensive in a different culture. The Spanish simile was transferred in the target text as ‘‘العجول الذبيحة الحالية كالنسوة الثرية’’ (the current slaughtered calves like rich women). Indeed, what the Arabic text tries to say is not understood except for that the slaughtered calves look like rich women without knowing exactly in which aspect lies this weird resemblance. Hence, the translation in this sense does not have much luck. Not only that, but most likely it will lead to a totally different effect to the original's intention, if not an opposite one.

I would like to remind again that my PhD thesis (Samy Gamaleldin, 2016) includes a larger and more exhaustive analysis where you can find examples for all the subsections included in the methodological scheme.

4. CONCLUSION

After carrying out the analysis of the Arabic translations of Antonio Gala's plays, I noticed fundamentally two interrelated translational aspects:

i) A high presence of deviations and losses in almost all the analyzed phenomena with respect to the original.

ii) A general tendency to foreignization in the transfer of the analyzed elements to Arabic language in all of the plays of the corpus.

The considerable presence of foreignization as a translational strategy in the target texts represents, with no doubt, negative factors considering a fluid reception in the target cultural literary polysystem. It's true that the analyzed plays are theatre texts that were translated for reading. Nevertheless, I would like to repeat that the scheme I applied in the analysis of the corpus of plays was originally designed to study the changes that occur between a translation and its performance. In this paper, I applied it on a corpus of plays that have not been staged. Yet, it has given some viable as well as reliable results which point in the same direction. Moreover, according to the analysis the improvements that could be done to enhance the deficiencies that hinder the reception of those translations are the same as those that could be applied on a play in order to make it performable. This clearly demonstrates that a single translation that respects the requirements of the theatrical genre could perfectly function in both dimensions: the text and the performance. Thus, there would be no need for two translations of a playtext –one for reading and another for performance–. Rather, only one could serve on both levels.

I would like to point out that the conclusions of the analysis relate to the context of theatrical translation into Arabic language. The analysis was conducted bearing in mind the Arabic linguistic and cultural context. Therefore, the results obtained cannot be generalized. Rather, I consider them an assessment of the theatrical translation context in the linguistic combination in question, in the light of the classical dilemma of theatrical translation. As far as I know, there are no studies elaborated up till the moment that bear in mind those two dimensions together despite of their importance for theatrical translation, from one hand, and, from the other, for the situation of foreign theatre performed in Arab countries, Egypt in this case.

In this regard, I would like to point out a quite relevant thing. In comparison with many other languages, Arabic language is characterized with *diglossia*. All

Arab countries share a standard modality of Arabic –which we call in Arabic *al-fuṣḥa*– by means of which they can communicate with each other –orally and written– without any problem. However, as for the daily use each country has got its own dialect which, in some cases, presents quite big differences regarding the dialect of other countries, as in the case of the Maghreb dialects with respect to the Egyptian one. That said, the Arabic diglossia in the Egyptian context depends on the type of communication that is taking place. In everyday speech, Egyptians communicate with each other using the Egyptian dialect. Television programs use the Egyptian dialect or the standard Arabic depending on the program's type and aim. In contrast, in other fields like in educational or institutional ones, scientific conferences or formal events, standard Arabic is usually used although with different registers and levels of formality. In reference to writing, we usually use standard Arabic, except for the case of literature written in Egyptian dialect. The same diglossia can be seen in theatre depending on the theme of the staged play. Plays that deal with historical themes are usually performed in standard Arabic or, at least, in some modality between standard Arabic and dialect, in this case adopting the dialect some relatively standardized register. On the other hand, plays that deal with social or daily themes, as well as those that have a particular comic character are performed in Egyptian dialect. Otherwise, they would result artificial for the public.

That's exactly what did not happen here with the three playtexts in question. The first two –*Paisaje andaluz con figuras* and *Anillos para una dama*– deal with historical themes, specifically Andalusian events and characters, while the third one –*Los verdes campos del Edén*– develops a social theme from everyday life. This diversity draws its importance in the light of the Arabic diglossia. While a historical play can be performed in standard Arabic, as has happened several times before on the Egyptian stages, the same does not hold true with a play that presents a social theme. In this case, spectators would find the performance awkward and out of context. When I talk about performance, I refer simultaneously to written translation. In other words, as the first two plays are transferred into standard Arabic, the Egyptian reader will not find any kind of problems that would hinder their reception, as s/he is accustomed to reading this type of books in that standard modality. Nevertheless, when it comes to a play dealing with a social theme, the Egyptian reader would complain from inconsistency, as s/he would be expecting to hear some more accessible dialect and registers like, for example, in the dialogue that takes place among the vagabonds or the marginalized people in general in Gala's play *Los verdes campos del Edén*.

In conclusion, I find myself in agreement with the Greek researcher Ekaterini Nikolarea, declaring lack of viability of the polarization between Susan Bassnett and Patrice Pavis, as both positions experience the weakness of prescriptive approaches in translation studies. According to my analysis, the issue of which has greater priority than the other –*readability* or *performability* – cannot be limited to those prescriptive theoretical preconceptions. As well, it cannot be applied in an absolute way to all the cases nor to all the languages. Bassnett has always worked with texts translated into English and in one of her published papers – "Translating for the Theatre: Textual Complexities", 1990, pp. 73-74– she states that tradition in English theatre considers the written text as the dominant and, hence, gives it more priority than stage. Meanwhile, Pavis comes from the field of theatre semiotics. Thus, his attitude can be seen influenced by his formation which has always been interested in the process of translation, its staging and its reception. In my view, differences among languages and their linguistic and sociocultural conventions prevailing in each society determine the oral and written exercises in every language and could be added to Nikolarea's arguments which challenge Bassnett/Pavis's polarization.

REFERENCES

Bassnett, S. (1985). Ways Through the Labyrinth. Strategies and Methods for Translating Theatre Texts. In T. Hermans (Ed.), *The Manipulation of Literature Studies in Literary Translation* (pp. 87-102). New York: St. Martin's Press.

Bassnett, S. (1990). Translating for the Theatre: Textual Complexities. *Essays in Poetics*, 15, pp. 71-83.

Bassnett, S. (1991). Translating for the Theatre: The Case Against Performability. *TTR: traduction, terminologie, redaction*, 4 (1), pp. 99-111.

Bassnett, S. (1998). Still Trapped in the Labyrinth: Further Reflections on Translation and Theatre. In S. Bassnett and A. Lefevere (Eds.), *Constructing Cultures. Essays on Literary Translatio*n (pp. 90-108). Clevedon: Multilingual Matters.

Gala, A. (1874). *Anillos para una dama.* Madrid: Júcar.

Gala, A. (1983). *Los verdes campos del Edén.* Salamanca: Almar.

Gala, A. (1984). *Paisaje andaluz con figuras.* Granada: Editoriales Andaluzas Unidas.

Gala, A. (1985). *Paisaje con figuras.* Madrid: Espasa Calpe.

Gala, A. (1994). *Ŷatamān min aŷl sayyida. Translated by 'Abd al-Laṭīf 'Abd al-Ḥalīm.* Cairo: Al-Hayʾa -l-Miṣriyya -l-'Āmma li-l-Kitāb.

Gala, A. (1995). *Si las piedras hablaran.* Madrid: Espasa Calpe.

Gala, A. (2000). *Ḥuqūl 'Adan al-jaḍrā'. Translated by 'Abd al-Laṭīf 'Abd al-Ḥalīm.* Cairo: Al-Maŷlis al-A'lá li-l-Ṯaqāfa.

Gala, A. (2000). *Paisaje con figuras.* Madrid: Espasa Calpe.

Gala, A. (2005). *Jams masraḥiyyāt andalusiyya.* Translated by 'Abd al-Laṭīf 'Abd al-Ḥalīm. Cairo: Maktabat al-Usra.

Kowzan, T. (1992). *Literatura y espectáculo.* Translated by M. G. Martínez. Madrid: Taurus.

Kowzan, T. (1997). El signo en el teatro: Introducción a la semiología del arte del espectáculo. Translated by Mª del C. Bobes and J. G. Maestro. In Mª del C. Bobes *et al.* (Eds.), *Teoría del teatro* (pp. 121-153). Madrid: Arco Libros.

Lapeña, A. L. (2014). Recalificar el páramo. Bases para un nuevo modelo traductológico de análisis del texto teatral. *Sendebar*, 25, pp. 149-172.

Nikolarea, E. (1994). *A Communicative Model for Theatre Translation: Versions of Oedipus the King in English*. PhD Dissertation. Alberta: University of Alberta.

Nikolarea, E. (2002). Performability versus Readability: A Historical Overview of a Theoretical Polarization in Theater Translation. *Translation Journal*, 6 (4). Retrieved from http://translationjournal.net/journal/22theater.htm.

Pavis, P. (1991). Problemas de la traducción para la escena: Interculturalismo y teatro posmoderno. In H. Scolnicov and P. Holland (Comp.), *La obra de teatro fuera de contexto: El traslado de obras de una cultura a otra* (pp. 39-62). Madrid: Siglo Veintiuno Editores.

Pavis, P. (2005). *Theatre at the Crossroads of Culture. Translated by L. Kruger.* London/New York: Routledge.

Samy Gamaleldin, S. (2016). *La traducción teatral del español al árabe. Análisis de obras en árabe de Antonio Gala: ¿Texto para leer o texto para representar?* PhD Dissertation. Granada: University of Granada.

Veltruský, J. (1990). *El drama como literatura.* Translated by M. Grass. Buenos Aires: Galerna.

Veltruský, J. (2011). El drama como obra literaria y como representación teatral. *Literatura: teoría, historia, crítica,* 13 (1), pp. 349-360.

5. TRANSLATING FOR THE CULTURAL INDUSTRY

Beyond interpretation and adaptation: translation of film titles from the perspective of social mechanism

Zhuoqun Li
Autonomous University of Madrid
zhuoqunlinju13@gmail.com

Abstract

In this paper, we will consider film as a particular artistic form created under certain social environments, and investigate the film titles' translation from the production, communication, and consumption process of itself. We will take a look at some translated titles in European and Chinese film markets to analyze the influential factors in each of these three parts. Bourdieu's concepts of field, capital, and *habitus* also develop our understanding of how social mechanisms operate and determine the quality and the results of the translation.

Keywords: Film title, translation process, Bourdieu, adaptation, social mechanism.

1. INTRODUCTION

Translation, as an activity fundamentally for communication and regeneration of meanings through symbolic conversion, is by far an ancient term embracing a long and abundant history. As Bassnett has indicated, Translation Studies came into academic sight when André Lefevere proposed the urgent need of concretizing the discipline that concerns itself with "the problems raised by the production and description of translation in the 1970s (Lefevere, 1978, pp. 234-235). The research focus of early Translation Studies is limited to the relationship between the translation and the original text, and then gradually expands to the relationship between the objective world and the original text, the reader of the original text and the translator. After the emergence of the reader's Reception Theory in the 1960s, Translation Studies also began to pay attention to the reader's requirements. In this context appeared the Sociology of Literature to think about the social mechanism of translation behavior, such as the creation, communication, and appreciation of the translation (Yu, 2006).

It was in the 1970s, James S. Holmes proposed a translation study from a sociological perspective: "such questions as which texts were (and, often as important, were not) translated at a certain time in a certain place, and what influences were exerted in consequence, this area of research is one that has attracted less concentrated attention than the area just mentioned, though it is often introduced as a kind of sub-theme or counter-theme in histories of translations and in literary histories. Greater emphasis on it could lead to the development of a field of translation sociology (or socio-translation studies)" (Holmes, 2000, pp. 172-185).

In fact, from then on, many researchers of the Manipulation School or Postcolonial Studies have tried to place the translation into the context of social culture, although sociological perspective wasn't be applied. They are concerned not only with the text but also with the social/cultural constraints/motivators outside the text, such as economics, politics, gender, ethnicity, religion, etc.; and the identity of the various participants in these translation activities, its relationships and interactions with other factors. The shift of Cultural Studies and Translation Studies are also divided into linguistic translation studies, literary translation studies, and cultural translation studies.

Since the 1990s, more and more investigators have begun to introduce the sociological theory [1], but in the current translation studies based on the sociological framework, the most cited by scholars is the famous French sociologist Pierre Bourdieu's sociological theory (Bourdieu, 1993) and three core terms: *field*, *capital*, and *habitus* [2].

The society is a vast and complicated system. As a social phenomenon, artistic activity is a self-contained subsystem in this extensive system, consisted of three parts: literary production, literary communication, and literary consumption (Yu, 2006). Examining the process and value of translation as a social activity, it has also experienced the socialization process of production, communication, and consumption. Thus, we will analyze the translation of film titles in the three stages of translation production, communication, and consumption around these three central terms of Bourdieu's sociology.

2. PARTICULARITIES OF AUDIOVISUAL TRANSLATION: THE CASE OF FILMS

The field is one of the core concepts used by Bourdieu to refer a zone of social activity in which a particular agent intends to create a certain kind of cultural product. This product is defined in part by the agent; affected by a range of power relationships; criticized or accepted and circulated among the expectations and values of the public. Thus, a field is a setting in which agents and their social positions are established; a system of social positions structured internally in terms of power relationships. How each particular agent participates in the field is a result of interaction between the specific rules of the field, agent's *habitus* and agent's social, economic, and cultural capital.

Since the emergence of Semiotics and, especially since the appearance of studies on communication and audiovisual communication, the interest of theorists has been progressively moving from written text to multimedia text,

---

[1] Hermans uses Luhmann's social system theory to view translation as a social system with self-referential and self-reproducing characteristics (see Hermans, 1999; 2007); the application of Actor-network Theory (ANT) proposed by the scientific sociologists (French School), especially French sociologists Michel Callon and Bruno Latour, to observe the interaction and influence of various actors (including human and non-human actors) in translation activities, and a detailed analysis of the translation process (see Buzelin, 2005; Chesterman, 2006).

[2] In his sociologist theory, there are also concepts of *doxa*, *illusio*, *interest*, *symbolic violence*, etc. But in this paper, we will mainly focus on the three concepts mentioned above.

from linguistic codes to other codes of meaning. Nowadays, audiovisual media have become the primary vehicle for the dissemination of information, culture, and ideology. Film, which owns educational, cognitive, and entertainment functions, at the same time, acts as a miniature of the extensive globalization.

There are abundant relevant researches on film translation; however, most of them focus on and are, to some extent, limited to the study of subtitle's translation. The applied theories cover Lefevere's translation rewriting theory, intertextual translation theory, cross-cultural factors, ideologic manipulation, etc. As for titles, researches concentrate mostly on the title of news, advertising, and literary works. Besides, most of the researches about audiovisual works' titles are belt on the translation strategies and the discussion of foreignization or domestication. In this paper, we will focus on the translation of film titles, and the subtle changes of translation strategies can profoundly reflect the production process of translation and its influence factors.

If we consider the film in the translation field[3], the translation of its title is even more crucial. When local films enter into foreign markets, the translation involves not only the content of the film but also its acceptance in the target market. It transmits the moviegoer a first impression immediately. In our daily communication, when we talk about a film in foreign language, we often encounter two problems: one is the difficulty on how to mention it with an appropriate translation; the other deals with the failure of matching the corresponding film (non-native) when others are talking about it, even though we have already seen it but just with a different title. Despite the controversy and disagreement in translation skills or strategies, it seems that there is an absence of the equivalence on the sacrifice of *signified* meaning, and only conveys the *signifier* meaning influenced by the translative subject. Why is the translation of film titles a field where chaos reigns[4]? If the field is constrained by power relations, what power relationship is playing the role? What factors or mechanisms influence or even lead to such manipulation and translation

---

[3] There is a discussion on whether exists the filed of translation; for example, Gouanvic considers translation as part of the literature filed (2005, pp. 150-151). Here we won't continue the discussion but regard the concept of field in a general way.

[4] Almost 25 years ago, a local Spanish newspaper already criticized the incomprehensible translations of some American series' titles on television; the criticisms referred for example to "Sad Song of Hill Street", "Moonlight", etc. The problem is not only posed on the small screen, but in many movies (Febles, 1994, pp. 349-354).

effect? Is it necessary to translate the original title by adapting and providing additional information or it's better to maintain the original one[5]?

Christiane Nord, in her comparative study on the typical functions of book titles (1990, pp. 153-162), distinguished several functions as distinctive function (which differentiates a book from another, thus to identify it), metatextual function (which informs the existence of a book or text), descriptive function (which describes the content or form of a text), expressive function (which sometimes expresses a subjective evaluation of the book), phatic function (which establishes the first contact between author and reader) and operative function (which attracts public's attention and interest). According to Ch. Nord, distinctive, metatextual, and phatic functions are fulfilled in all cases, while the others are suitable only in some types. Pascua Febles concreted and emphasized, based on the first three functions proposed by Ch. Nord, the expressive, explanatory and commercial or seductive functions in the case of film titles (1994, pp. 349-354). As she pointed, the explanatory function is to add a subjective explanation so that the audience can capture more information, especially when the original title of a film is short or abstract. The expressive function of cinematic titles contributes to conserve the original information that was intended to convey to the spectators, mainly when the title indicates or shows an opinion or a relationship (positive or negative). And the commercial or seductive function, changing the name of the operative function for Nord, is fulfilled when we can notice, in the original version, the intention of attracting the public in the commercial market.

Returning to the concept of the film, it is a comprehensive artist form that combines creativity, technology, and business (Bordwell & Thompson, 2009). The chaos of the misunderstanding of cinematic titles mainly has to deal with the re-creation that we have mentioned. One of the features of the film is that the presentation of the image is much more important than the written words. Therefore, in the translation field, the reflection of the image, the plot, and the theme in the film title's translation is, to a large extent, more significant than the literal translation. From the perspective of Bourdieu's sociology theory, the creative translation or rewriting of the film occupies a more crucial position.

---

[5] In an online poll conducted in 2013, the web site *Newsring* asked its readers if they were pro or con film title translation; 78 percent responded against (Llanos Martínez, 2017). Thus comes our question about the necessity.

3. THE PRODUCTION PROCESS: INTERPRETATION AND ADAPTATION

It is Marx's significant merit to give artistic phenomena or artistic creations the meaning of "production" and to link it with the production of social materials. When examining human history, he discovered that art production is "a free spiritual production under certain social forms" (Marx, 1867). Material production doesn't directly determine art production but plays an essential role in the development of art through many intermediate links. The development of material production affects the mode of the artistic output. Therefore, we cannot separate the practice of translation from social production. In addition to the social economy, complex social factors also affect the state of translation production. It explains why different races and regions with similar material productivity, produce translation works that may vary significantly from content to form, from subject factor to aesthetic taste.

Like literature, the translation of any art form is, first of all, an interpretation. The translator receives linguistic symbols in source language through sensory organs. Once these symbols are recognized, the idea stored in the translator's consciousness will pick the SL's information to achieve it's conveying and understanding. In the sociologist context, the translator's subjective evaluation and personal emotions also influence the results. It is the translator's imaginative intuition, emotional experience, and ideology that participate in this production process. Translation, thus, has changed from a transformation of linguistic symbols to rewriting and re-creation.

That is what Bourdieu called *habitus*, which refers to the physical embodiment of cultural capital, to the deeply ingrained habits, skills, and dispositions that the individuals possess due to our life experiences. Firstly, as part of the whole society, each translator's artistic work is a product of his epoch. The translator's language ability, knowledge reserve, and life experience are all subject to specific social and historical conditions. Secondly, the translator's artistic accomplishment, emotional experience ability, and creative expression ability are all formed in social practice. The aesthetic perception requires the translation to contain a rational cognition in the intuition, while the translator's psychological structure and innate quality are more complex and systematic. They are factors fostered mainly in this process of socialization. Thus, the translator's differences and uniqueness become prominent under specific social and historical conditions.

It is generally believed that the basic strategies in the bilingual translation are literal translation, transliteration, and free translation (Liu, 1986). There are also views that divide translation strategies into alienation and naturalization (Venuti, 1995). The former is classified on the basis of the textual conversion itself, while the latter is a classification of translation strategies from a cultural perspective. There are a variety of perspectives to interpret and analyze the translation process, leading to the formation of theoretical standards and norms in different epochs. From the adoption of different translation strategies, we can notice the influence of social-historical conditions and the translator's artistic accomplishment on it.

If we take a look at the film titles translated from English to Spanish (table 1), we can find that in most cases there is an adaptation or a re-creation of the translator. In a study published in *Procedia, Social and Behavioral Sciences* (Negro Alousque, 2015, pp. 237-241), researchers analyzed one hundred Anglo-Saxon film titles translated into Spanish and French. They point that strategies like strengthening, mitigation, expansion, reduction, parametrization, and contrast were used to enphasize the referential and expressive function of film titles.

Original film titles in English	Translation in Spanish
Braindead	Tu Madre se ha Comido a mi Perro
Planes, Trains and Automobiles	Mejor Solo que Mal Acompañado
A Funny Thing Happened on the Way to the Forum	Golfus de Roma
The Sound of Music	Sonrisas y Lágrimas
Rolling Thunder	El Expreso (o ex-preso) de Corea
The Searchers	Centauros del Desierto
Eternal Sunshine of the Spotless Mind	¡Olvídate de mí!
Legally Blonde	Una Rubia muy Legal
The Ice Princess	Soñando, Soñando, Triunfé Patinando
Rosemary's Baby	La Semilla del Diablo

The Boat that Rocked	Radio Encubierta
The Big Boss	Kárate a Muerte en Bankok
Judgment at Nuremberg	¿Vencedores o vencidos?
Jaws	Tiburón
Very Bad Trip	Resacón en Las Vegas

Table 1

Among these strategies, the most used one is strengthening, that is, when a concept of the original title is raised to a larger scale, for example, translate "True Lies" into "Mentiras Arriesgadas". Another prevalent practice is to substitute a generic concept of the original title for a specific idea in Spanish, which is known as parameterization. For example, translate "Bad Boys" into "Dos Policías Rebeldes" (in French the original title was maintained). It is worth noting that the use of these cognitive operations is more frequent in Spanish than in French, in which case the original title is preferred to be maintained[6]. In this case, the cultural factor is crucial to determinate the translative strategy, that is, whether to adapt it or leave the original film title as it is.

According to Bourdieu's sociologist theory, there are three basic forms of "capital": economic capital, cultural capital, and social capital (1997, p. 47), and they can be transformed into each other. The *habitus* that participants gradually develop in each field allows them to identify which capital they need in a particular field to exist and gain "interests". When the translator hasn't accumulated sufficient capital to change the rules in the translation field, he/she can only abide by the norms; but when he/she has accumulated enough symbolic capital, thus the rules can be changed. *Habitus* leads to the formation of the rules, which in turn helps to shape the habits of translators in the translation field.

If an adaptation aims to re-write the translation to offer the public more information, then the adaptation of titles in the same language catches a lot of

---

[6] As Hannah Olivennes indicated in *The New York Times*, France is the only European country to offer showings of a foreign film in both a dubbed version and in its original language https://rendezvous.blogs.nytimes.com/2013/03/07/in-france-they-call-it-happiness-therapy/

attention. That is the case of "translating" (adapting) original title in English into another one. We can take a look at the table below (table 2):

Original film title in English	Adapted translation also in English
Silver Linings Playbook	Happiness Therapy
Date Night	Crazy Night
Get Him to the Greek	American Trip
The Hangover	Very Bad Trip

Table 2

In this case, the adaptation deals with the change of meanings to highlight the plot of the film itself. From a linguistic perspective, these titles are kept in the same language; however, what the adaptation changes through *signifier* is beyond the *signified* entailed in the original title, it is the change of references that the public can identify when seeing, hearing or talking about it. It is interesting to see that the changes of expressions in the same language are more likely to add subjective descriptions into the translation, in that it can attract more attention. The rewriting of the original text is a reflection of the influence of the power field, that is, the influence of the power field on the translation field.

4. THE COMMUNICATION PROCESS: MORE THAN LINGUISTIC CODES

The essence of translation is the conveying of information, which is a kind of circulation. We all acknowledge that in the production sector, circulation is a vital intermediate link between production and consumption. The role of communication in translation activities is very similar to the dissemination of the product. When discussing the translation of social interaction, we must first pay attention to the social facilities of communication. Translation communication exists in essence as an instrumental activity, which means that it has certain controllability. This controllability is reflected in the fact that translation's communicative activities are controlled both by the internal work

of communication agency and by many social relationships. It is not a simple circulation from art to art consumption but may experience economic selection, political selection, religious selection, ethical selection, and other complex filtering processes.

Harold D. Lasswell, summarized the process of communication into 5W Models, which focuses on "Who (says) What (to) Whom (in) Which Channel (with) What Effect" (1948, p. 117). The five W patterns involve the subject (communicator), content (information), approach (media), object (audience), and effect of communication. In this production process, it is necessary to pay full attention to the cultural background of the audience to make translation art exert its social effect. The translator not only has one identity but also is a socialized individual. As Meylaerts pointed, "under the influence of social position and individual and collective past, every cultural actor thus develops (and continues to develop) a social identity: a certain representation of the world and of the person's position therein" (2008, pp. 91-102).

A good translation of film titles, on the one hand, should be to the greatest extent faithful to the original one; and on the other hand, spread the social values behind it. For example, the film *Up* (2009) was translated into 《飞屋环游记》 (which means "A Flying House's Traveling Notes") in mainland China, which not only reflected the main content and background of the film but also was filled with childlike episodes. However, in Hong Kong and Taiwan areas, the same movie was translated separately into 《冲天救兵》 ("Soaring Reinforcements") and 《天外奇迹》 ("The Miracle of Heaven") which, in comparison, spread less information. However, the amount of information contained does not mean that the information transmitted is valid. For example, *Life of Pi* was translated in mainland China as 《少年派的奇幻漂流》 (which means "A Fantasy Drifting of Juvenile Pi"). The translator could translate it into 《派的一生》 ("Life of Pi") or expand it slightly as 《派的漂流生活》 ("Pi's Drifting Life"), but actually, the story's fantasy tint was added into the translation, making it more compatible with the 3D effect of the film. The additional word "fantasy drifting" gave people a preconceived feeling, thinking that it is about a fantasy journey, and the 3D effect enhances this feeling. However, what Pi wants to show with this "fantasy drifting" of animals is a cruel murder between people after a shipwreck. To understand the theme, the audience needs to understand the two narrative methods of the whole story, that is, the imaginative coexistence of humans and animals, or an ugly

but true human nature. Unfortunately, the translation of *A Fantasy Drifting of Juvenile Pi* has caused difficulties for the audience to catch this comprehension.

As film combines visual and acoustic elements, the title of movies, therefore, is not merely a written text, like a book title[7]. The audiovisual attributes of films determine the particularities of the translation of its titles, for the codes they transmit are not limited to those of significance, but also the codification of information, for example linguistic, paralinguistic, iconographic, photographic, etc.

In *Cine y traducción*, Frederic Chaume distinguished the channel, code, medium, and mode of discourse (2004, p. 16). The communication channel refers to the physical channel of perception (visual channels and auditory channels) through which we can transmit certain signals. The medium is the physical support used to convey the information which can be *presentational* (such as the voice, face or body) or *representational* (such as books, pictures, writing, photographs, etc.). The translation of film titles would not cause confusion when it comes out through the visual channel with the *presentational* (physical) support since we can identify it with the actor's face, director's name, or images in the poster. In this case, the complicated components that are part of the film (such as an audiovisual text) play a more critical role than the mere translated title. However, in cases mentioned in the previous section, when talking about a film simply through the auditory channel, without the help of the photographic or iconographic codes, an inappropriate or excessively adapted translation will cause the problem of identification. A possible explanation is that besides linguistic codes, the translator tries to transmit more useful codes, such as the central theme, the tone, and the hue of a film, etc. As the same film can be presented with different posters for its diffusion in different markets, the translation of film titles that carry additional information about different *signifier* codes can also be varied in different cultural backgrounds. The interpretation and adaptation of these non-linguistic codes lead to the adoption of different translation strategies, having an impact on the final results.

Also, the translator's habits not only affect the micro-levels of his translation strategies and wording but also influence his choice of text on a macro level. For example, the translator's attitudes and prejudices against the two cultures

---

[7] It is a dynamic text, an audiovisual text in paradigmatic opposition to the concepts of written text and oral text, and differs from scientific, technical, or legal text. An audiovisual text can be about any topic and be presented under the most diverse degrees of formality or informality.

and languages will affect the micro-operations of the translation activities (such as literal translation/free translation) and macro-text selection (choosing content that conforms to or subverts the values of the local country). These habits affect the behavior of translators in the translation field and also demonstrate the interaction between the translation field and other fields at the individual level.

5. THE CONSUMPTION PROCESS: SOCIAL AND CULTURAL BACKGROUND DIFFERENCES

The consumption process of translation is directly related to the audience. Although it involves many factors, such as the audience's social status, comprehensive ability, aesthetic standards, etc., the core problem is the public's ability to appreciate it. It is worth noting that, unlike literary translation, the translator's name does not appear in the translated film titles. The rewriting of the original title reflects the translator's compliance with the norm and how *habitus* breaks the norm to some extent. Also, we can see the influence of the power field, that is, the influence of the power field on the translation field (such as the State Administration of Radio, Film, and Television or authorities on dubbed films). In this consumption process, we will discuss especially the translation of Chinese film titles in foreign languages (table 3), for the cultural and ideologic differences and the selection of certain themes have a great impact on the audience's comprehension and acceptance. An inappropriate translation may even cause misunderstanding:

Original title in Chinese and its translation in foreign languages (i.e., English)	Meaning of the original title	Comments
《没事偷着乐》 *Steal Happiness*	Those tiny happiness of common people in our daily life.	The misunderstanding of this proverb caused a complete mistake, and the word "stealing" also changed a happy mental state into the literal meaning of "stole".

《霸王别姬》 *Farewell My Concubine*	A historical story of the Hegemon-King after his defeat and the farewell with his favorite concubine.	The original title has cultural connotations and historical allusions. It's about a tragic personal destiny and the loyalty of love, but such translation didn't take its historical and cultural values into account.
《倩女幽魂》 *A Chinese Ghost Story*	A deep love beyond life and death, mankind, and ghost.	Such partial translation with "ghost" confuses the audience to think that it is a horror film.
《金陵十三钗》 *The Flowers of War*	A story of thirteen chivalrous prostitutes during the Nanjing Massacre.	This metaphorical translation, although poetic, lacks the social and historical background.

Table 3

If the translation can't be done according to the culture of the source language, then the content of the film should be fully considered when rewriting the title. Otherwise, it is also an appropriate way to directly retain its original name according to the cultural characteristics of the society. Such is the case of 《功夫熊猫》, transliterated into "Kung Fu Panda" using transliteration and explanation, which also facilitates the exchange and communication of different cultures in different societies.

Hong Song summed up the particularities of the film titles' translation as follows: 1. The finiteness of scope, that is, the linguistic differences between Chinese and English causes the asymmetry of the linguistic symbol's range; 2. The broadness of the purpose, that is, the diversity of film classifications leads to different viewing groups and objects when translating; 3. The equivalence of translation, that is, the translation of film titles should be as consistent as possible with the original one in terms of content and style; 4. The commercial nature of operation or manipulation, that is, in order to ensure the box office income of a film abroad, the translation of its title needs to arouse the aesthetic taste and resonance of the foreign audience (2006, p. 58). Behind these translation misunderstandings, we see that whether a film title is attractive, whether the cultural, moral, and social values of a film are consistent with the appraisal of the

audience affect the viewer's willingness to participate in the cinematic consumption.

We have analyzed the problem of non-native film titles' translation in a foreign language before; however, even when talking about a non-native film in native language (translated title), there also exists the difficulty or even failure to identify it. That is the case of three places across the Strait in China (table 4). It is worth noting that generally in Chinese culture it is preferred to use "addition" (providing more information and interpretation of the film) in titles' translation, while in SL we can notice the preference of "subtraction" of information (with a short, concise and even abstract title and leaves the rest to the audience's imagination). However, with different social, political, and cultural backgrounds, in these three areas of China, we manage to figure out how social mechanism affects the translation results.

Original title	Mainland China	Hong Kong	Taiwan
The Curious Case of Benjamin Button	本杰明•巴顿奇事	奇幻逆缘	返老还童
The Shawshank Redemption	肖申克的救赎	月黑飞高	**刺激 1995**
Love Actually	真爱至上	真的恋爱了	爱是您，爱是我
3 Idiots	三傻大闹宝莱坞	作死不离 3 兄弟	三个砂锅
Inception	盗梦空间	潜行凶间	全面启动
Despicable Me	神偷奶爸	坏蛋奖门人	卑鄙的我
The Sound of Music	音乐之声	真善美	仙乐飘飘处处闻
Lolita	洛丽塔	禁忌情迷	一树梨花压海棠

General strategies

1. Compared with the brief and concise original title, the translation in Chinese tends to be longer and more poetic, providing more additional information and subjective interpretation of the translator.

2. Extensive use of literal translation, literal translation + association or expansion of the original meaning.

3. For titles that cannot be translated literally, transliteration, or free translation based on subjective aesthetic judgment is adopted.

4. For literal translation, the translation adequately reflects the characteristics of the film and conveys the most direct information to the audience about the content of the film.

5. Free translation is used as a means of compensation for a literal translation, by adding or reducing words, transliterating and expanding meaning, etc., to maximize the outcome work.

These general strategies are some widely accepted rules. However, *habitus* is the thinking habits and behavioral tendencies that translators develop in translation and various other fields. Norms do not directly affect the translator but are indirectly influenced by the habits that the translator has formed during the socialization process. And as a social individual, the translator's habits are not only related to the translation field.

A brief comparison

Mainland	-	Tends to use slang, idioms, maxims, and four-character expressions.
	-	Pursues succinctness in language and the rhythm of the voice, taking the plot and theme of the film into account.
	-	Complies with the aesthetic standards of "faithfulness, expressiveness, elegance" (Yan, 1897).
Hong Kong	-	Once governed by Britain.
	-	The cultural background is more diverse, and the film industry is more developed. The society pursues high efficiency and output while the public's entertainment is based on the pursuit of stimulation.
Taiwan	-	Retains both the traditional Chinese culture and the influence of the foreign ones.
	-	Pursues the aesthetic values of translation and integrates local values into film, making the title as a propaganda means of the movie itself.

Table 4

Another compelling case is the translation of *The Shawshank Redemption* in Taiwan, which was translated as 《刺激 1995》 (marked in boldface in table 4, which means "Stimulus 1995"). Taking a first look at this translation, we may think that it has nothing to do with the original title. But in fact, owing to the great success of a foreign film presented in 1994 and translated as "Stimulus 1994", this translation aimed to gain more attention and become a top-grossing film in virtue of the influence of its preceding one. Thus, the translated title of this great and classic film about faith, hope, freedom, and institutionalization became a stunt to arouse the public's attention and curiosity.

However, translation is not an immutable work but a (re-)creation with its effectiveness, liquidity, and sociality. *Habitus* and norms represent the

diachronic and synchronic concepts, respectively. Translators' *habitus* is mainly based on the formation, even the shaping of their social character in the field of translation. But the norm is more focused on the cross-section of a certain cultural area and a specific historical period. The norms of the previous period may constitute the formation of habits, but as the social conditions and the translator's position change, *habitus* can also transform the norms in the later historical period. Changes of film title's translation in France can convincingly demonstrate this particular attribute, for example:

Die Hard→ Le Piège de Crystal (1980s) → *Die Hard* (now)

Star Wars→ La Guerre des Étoiles (1980s) → *Star Wars* (now)

These two films' titles were translated, one literally and another with paraphrase, from English to French in the 1980s. However, a few decades later, the translated titles have been changed, keeping the original ones in SL like it were. Beyond this kind of operation, we can detect the shift of the audience's preferences, a better understanding of a foreign language (in this case English) and a higher acceptance level in retaining the original title. Therefore, as translation is a product created under specific social and cultural context, evaluation and appreciation are also made on the basis of the society's aesthetic taste changes. Once the former has changed, the latter one will also need to be modified.

6. CONCLUSIONS

To sum up, translation as a communicative activity needs to be spread in society and accepted by the audience. The art of translation involves both the literary and artistic aspects of the theory and the sociality at the practical level:

1. As a popular art form, the film combines creativity, technology, and business. The translation of films is regulated by the aesthetic taste of the audience and the acceptance of mainstream society. Therefore, the translation of film titles, rather than maximizing the equivalence, is a re-creation of the translator based on certain loyalty to SL to reflect the informational, cultural, aesthetic and commercial values behind it.

2. The translation of film titles is affected by a range of power relationships and should be viewed in its field. It is the result of interactions between specific norms of the field, translator's *habitus* and the social, economic, and cultural capital that he or she possess. However, *habitus* and norms represent the diachronic and synchronic concepts, respectively; and the social factors are always in change as our society and translator's consciousness develop.

3. In the production process, how the translator participates is the most important factor, which is directly related to the translator's social identity, life experience, and aesthetic taste. In the communication process, we need to rethink which kind of information, value, concept or experience (audiovisual codes or linguistic codes) should be conveyed to meet both artistic and commercial criteria. In the consumption process, the public's consumption was influenced by the acceptance and appreciation of the translated film titles in the previous period. While certain societies pursue a more concise and brief title, in other ones, additional information and poetic interpretation are preferred (i.e., China).

4. From production to communication and consumption, it has formed an interlocking process. The production results affect the translation effect, and the translation works lead to consumptive changes. Social acceptance reflected by these changes in the consumption process will also determine the production in return. No matter how complicated the relationship is, sociality is a critical factor in each process. The establishment of aesthetic standards, the recognition of cultural values, and the impact on communication and circulation are all covered in the sociality we have discussed. Reexamining the process of translation from the perspective of social mechanism, film's social attributes as potential factors become more evident and prominent.

REFERENCES

Bassnett, S. (1991). *Translation Studies.* London and New York: Routledge.

Bordwell, D. & Thompson, K. (2009). *Film art. An introduction.* New York: McGraw-Hill Education.

Bourdieu, P. (1993). *The Field of Cultural Production: Essays on Art and Literature.* Cambridge: Polity Press.

Bourdieu, P. (1997). The Forms of Capital. In A. H. Halsey *et al.* (Eds.), *Education: Culture, Economy, and Society* (pp. 46-58). Oxford & New York: Oxford University Press.

Buzelin, H. (2005). Unexpected Allies: How Latour's Network Theory Could Complement Bourdieusian Analyse. Translation Studies. *The Translator*, 2, pp. 193-218.

Chaume, F. (2004). *Cine y traducción*. Madrid: Cátedra.

Chesterman, A. (2006). Questions in the Sociology of Translation. In J. F. Duarte *et al.* (Eds.), *Translation Studies at the Interface of Disciplines* (pp. 9-27). Amsterdam: John Benjamins B. V.

Gouanvic, J. M. (2005). A Bourdieusian Theory of Translation, or the Coincidence of Practical Instances: Field, "Habitus", Capital and "Illusio". *The Translator*, 2, pp. 147-166.

Hermans, T. (1999). *Translation in Systems*. Manchester UK & Kinderhook NY: St. Jerome Publishing.

Hermans, T. (2007). *The Conference of the Tongues*. Manchester UK & Kinderhook NY: St. Jerome Publishing.

Holmes, J. S. (2000). The Name and Nature of Translation Studies. In L. Venuti (Ed.), *Translation Studies Reader* (pp. 172-185). London and New York: Routledge.

Lefevere, A. (1978). Translation Studies. The goal of the discipline. In James S. Holmes, J. Lambert & R. Van den Broeck (Eds.), *Literature and translation* (pp. 234-245). Louvain: ACCO.

Liu, Miqing (1986). *Stylistics and translation*. Beijing: China Translation and Publishing Corporation.

Llanos Martínez, H. (2017). *Why do movie titles in Spain end up with such strange translations?* Retrieved from
https://elpais.com/elpais/2017/02/01/inenglish/1485965463_990505.html

Marx, K. (1867). *Das Kapital. Kritik der politischen Ökonomie*. Hamburg: Verlag von Otto Meissner.

Meylaerts, R. (2008). Translators and (Their) Norms. In A. Pym *et al.* (Eds.), *Beyond Descriptive Translation Studies: Investigations in Homage to Gideon Toury* (pp. 91-102). Amsterdam: John Benjamins B. V.

Negro Alousque, I. (2015). The role of cognitive operations in the translation of film titles. *Pricedia - Social and Behavioral Sciences*, 212, pp. 237-241.

Olivennes, H. (2013). In France, they call it "Happiness Therapy". Retrieved from https://rendezvous.blogs.nytimes.com/2013/03/07/in-france-they-call-it-happiness-therapy/

Pascua Febles, I. (1994). Estudio sobre la traducción en torno a la traducción. In M. Raders & R. Martín-Gaitero (Dir. congr.), *IV Encuentros Complutenses en torno a la traducción* (pp. 349-354). Madrid: Editorial Complutense.

Song, H. (2006). Some misunderstandings in the English translation of Chinese film titles. *Film Reviews*, 15, pp. 58-59.

Venuti, L. (1995). *The translator's invisibility. A history of translation*. London and New York: Routledge.

Yan, F. (1897). *Evolution and Ethics* (tr.). Tianjin: Shiqi Abode.

Yu, J. (2006). *Social studies of translation*. Shanghai: Shanghai Translation Publishing House.

Subtitling cultural humour in the Spanish comedy *Paquita Salas*

María del Mar Ogea Pozo
University of Cordoba
lr1ogpom@uco.es

Abstract

Undoubtedly, audiovisual products display images and narrate a storyline which are always framed in a specific culture. Nowadays, movies, series and documentaries have become a perfect diffuser of a great variety of cultures throughout the world. This cultural diversity poses a great challenge to translators, as they must identify the presence of cultural references in every semiotic aspect of the audiovisual text. Furthermore, translators must bear in mind the audience targeted, as the ultimate purpose of audiovisual translation is to communicate a message to recipients from different socio-cultural backgrounds. When translated audiovisual products reach other cultures, some concepts might not be understood or interpreted in the same way, as the message and the communicative purpose were originated within a language and cultural framework with the objective of producing a certain feeling on the audience. However, this effect may vary in a different language and culture community. This cultural gap increases when dealing with humour, as this is a form of human communication sculpted within a specific culture which may be ethnocentric and be based on national identities, cultural jokes, puns and stereotypes. This study aims to analyse what occurs when the assumption is that the audience do not share such a cultural background and the cultural aspects seem to be "untranslatable", so translators must adapt the text in order to create a new form of humour. Moreover, the study will pose the constant debate on audiovisual translation: whether to domesticate or to foreignize cultural humour in order to provoke the laughs amongst the audience. When dealing with subtitles, translators wonder to what extent humour can be adapted and if a creative

translation might be suitable or not, as they must not forget that subtitling is a type of "vulnerable translation" (Díaz-Cintas & Remael, 2009, p. 56) which is subject to the audience's judgement. Then, this study will analyse some humorous fragments selected from a Spanish comedy with the purpose of identifying the translation strategies applied and determining if the transfer of cultural humour is possible, as well as the realization of a creative translation.

Keywords: Audiovisual translation, cross-cultural humor, cultural translation, subtitling, translation of humor.

1. INTRODUCTION

The audiovisual genre of comedy is conceived with the purpose of providing a mocking vision of the reality within a social context and, as a result, provoking laughter or smiles amongst the audience. That is the reason why it is essential to pursue the so-called "reality effect" (Chaume, 2005, p. 12) during the process of translating humour, so the target audience may be able to perceive the humorous elements in their language as their own and, consequently, react —with smiles and laughs— as the speakers of the source language did. In this regard, Navarro (2017, p. 310) emphasizes the importance of some cultural knowledge for the understanding of humour, since the fact of having the same linguistic code is insufficient if there is not any shared cultural heritage.

Humour is a form of communication associated with certain social groups and this is the reason why its translation implies a comprehensive knowledge of language and culture, as well as a considerable creative effort when transferring the information. In addition, in the case of the translation of humour within the framework of audiovisual translation, this complexity gets even greater, as Martínez points out:

> El lenguaje del humor es complejo, especialmente por su naturaleza cultural. Si a su dificultad intrínseca le añadimos las restricciones propias de las diferentes modalidades de traducción audiovisual, el cóctel resulta de una complejidad considerable. (Martínez, 2003, p. 743)

In this study, we aim to bring forth the great challenge faced by audiovisual translators when dealing with cross-cultural humour, while proving the role of audiovisual products as diffusers of culture. In order to do so, we intend to detect the presence of any humorous, cultural information present in different semiotic aspects of the audiovisual text and, by means of analysing the solutions adopted by the translator, to observe the result of the translation process when cultural humour is dealt with. As we mentioned before, comedies are designed in and for a cultural community, so the message may be misinterpreted when reaching other groups and the humorous effect may not be fulfilled partially or completely. Then, we aim to assess the possible cultural gap between target and source cultures when transferring humour elements, in order to determine whether cultural humour is translatable in its different forms and contents or, otherwise, some extremely culturally-shaped comedies are not suitable for

translation as they will be lost during the transferring process, as may be the case of the Spanish series subject to analysis, *Paquita Salas.*

2. CULTURAL ASPECTS IN AUDIOVISUAL TRANSLATION

Firstly, we would like to point out some ideas about audiovisual translation and its close bond to culture. It seems clear that culture has a fundamental role in audiovisual translation, as movies display images and narrate a storyline that are always set within a specific geographical, social and cultural context. For that reason, we could state that culture is a key element which is always present in audiovisual texts, and is defined as follows:

> A set of rules established and used by a group of people to conduct social interaction. These rules determine what is considered correct communicative behaviour, including both verbal and nonverbal elements, for both physical and social (situational) contexts. (Samovar *et al.,* 2012, p. 16)

The definition above embraces both verbal and nonverbal information, evidencing the importance of the non-linguistic codes of meaning present in audiovisual texts and affecting the translation process. In order to render a coherent target text that provokes the sought effect on the audience, translators must ponder any possible misinterpretation when conveying cultural elements, as stated by Samovar *et al.*:

> We see the importance of having an awareness of the cultural rules governing the context of an intercultural communication exchange. Unless all parties in the exchange are sensitive to how culture affects the contextual aspects of communication, difficulties will most certainly arise and could negate effective interaction. (*Ibid.*)

That leads us to think that, in the case of *Paquita Salas,* the presence of cultural jokes, colloquialisms and swearwords, if not dealt with appropriately, may have a negative effect on viewers, who might feel confused or offended.

2.1. Translating a culturally-marked speech

Films are distributed worldwide and through so many different media that some of them reach an enormous and extremely diverse audience (Díaz-Cintas & Remael, 2007, p. 200), so we could consider that movies have become a perfect diffuser of culture worldwide. Cultural diversity poses a great challenge to translators, as the audience does not share certain experiences and a background, so many cultural items might be misunderstood or unknown, as Díaz-Cintas and Remael (*ibid.*) observe: "The most challenging situation arises when no similar item exists in the target culture and/or it is unknown to the majority of the target audience."

Therefore, the translator's responsibility is to identify any cultural feature within the original version and to determine whether they will be properly interpreted by the target audience, in order to deliver the information and cause the same impact on different socio-cultural environments. Thus, what can translators do in order to render the message and make it understood by the target audience? At this point, we pose the dilemma of whether to domesticate or to foreignize cultural concepts and items. *A priori,* we believe that there is not a unique strategy, so conservative and adaptive techniques must be combined to face every individual challenge, and that hypothesis motivates the work developed in this paper.

For a better insight on this project of audiovisual translation, we must focus on the product instead of the process, as the main goal was to create an audiovisual text to be perceived by the audience as it was designed in their own language and culture. For that purpose, we must address the audiovisual text as a part of a whole —that is, a movie— and it cannot be separated from any other code of meaning, so what is heard or seen on screen must therefore be taken into account. Consequently, we approach audiovisual translation as a complex task that embraces different variables to be taken into account, which are related to cultural facts that may affect the speech, and that will be exposed below:

- Language density and speed. Spanish language tends to use longer sentences formulated in a faster rhythm, so that might be confusing for any target user who is not familiar with this cultural aspect affecting the speech and they may feel confused or lost while following the dialogues. The characters in *Paquita Salas* represent this cliché of Spanish speakers and surely pose a problem for subtitlers, who feel obliged to reduce the dialogues for achieving an adequate reading speed.

- Expressive language with different levels of intensity. It is well known that Spanish has a great lexical wealth, so the load of colourful language spoken by characters may disappear from the English subtitles due to a smaller range of equivalents to be used. The expressive language (including idiomatic expressions, cultural terms and swearwords) used for humorous purposes in *Paquita Salas* will be analysed in depth later in this paper.

- Actors and actresses' personal way of speaking (geographical accent, jargon, personal linguistic features). These oral characteristics should be rendered in order to reflect their idiosyncrasy and to avoid "plain" characters, but those marked by a cultural fact (for example, an accent from a specific region that may sound funny for viewers from the source culture) are not always susceptible to be transferred to a different language.

Translators should focus not only on the semantic aspect, but they should also bear in mind all the previously mentioned aspects when conveying the audiovisual text. That is the case of *Paquita Salas*, when cultural knowledge and linguistic features related to the Spanish culture play a fundamental role in the storyline of this parody.

3. HUMOR WITHIN A CULTURAL CONTEXT

Humour can be defined as a form of human communication intended to produce laughter amongst the recipients. Translators must detect humorous elements and determine their function and relevance in the source culture and language, as well as in the target culture and language. The major characteristics of culture explained by Samovar *et al.* (2012, pp. 12-13) are applicable to humour, as the aforementioned is profoundly marked by cultural aspects. Hence, we could say that humour complies all the following characteristics:

> - Humour is learned, when we acquire societal rules and their functions in our culture.
> - Humour is symbolic, as it turns to words, gestures, and images as symbols used to convey meaning. The community use these symbols to construct and convey humour within a culture.
> - Humour is transmissible, as we learn mocking and funny cultural concepts from relatives, friends, personal observations, and media sources.

- Humour is dynamic, as it is susceptible to innovation and new ideas derived from new cultural realities.
- Humour is ethnocentric, as it responds to a strong sense of group identity, or attachment, produced by a shared culture. (Samovar *et al.*, 2012, pp. 12-13)

We must not forget the interdisciplinary nature of the audiovisual text and the cultural dimension of humour, which lead us to think that each project of translation of humorous content might pose different challenges, since the intersection of humour and translation provides a wide range of topics, research methods and theoretical frameworks, which results in the application of a myriad of translation strategies (Martínez & Zabalbeascoa, 2017, p. 33). These authors suggest expanding research on the translation of humour from different approaches, covering topics such as the interpretation of specific translation problems, the fields of translation, and the relationship between academic and professional research.

In order to facilitate a taxonomy of the types of humour used in audiovisual translation, Zabalbeascoa (1996, pp. 251-254) suggests a model of categorization of jokes that will fundament the analysis of the examples selected and grouped in this study. This model of categorisation, which the author describes as rudimentary but illustrative, is very useful to label and give a logical order to the fragments of humorous dialogues:

- International joke. It is a story where the restrictive force of the language and cultural differences is greatly reduced.
- National culture and institutions jokes. They refer to national, cultural or institutional references with a humorous purpose that must be adapted to retain the humorous effect for a foreign audience.
- National sense of humour joke. That includes certain joke types and joke themes that are apparently more popular in some countries or communities than in others, and constitute a kind of tradition or intertextual frame of understanding.
- Language-dependent jokes. It brings up jokes that depend on natural features of the language for their comical effect.
- Visual jokes. This kind of joke may seem entirely visual but is really the visually coded version of a linguistic joke.
- Complex joke. It is a combination of two or more of the abovementioned types of joke. (Zabalbeascoa, 1996, pp. 251-254)

Besides the categories pondered by Zabalbeascoa, we would like to suggest a new concept that, although it could be deemed as belonging to the national sense of humour, merits special attention in a section apart, due to its relevant presence in the dialogues of *Paquita Salas:* that is what we call "humorous swearing". We understand this type of humour as the use of rude language that becomes funny because of the incoherence of the situation, since it is not expected that a middle-aged enterprising woman expresses herself in such a colloquial —and even vulgar— language at work. We find, thus, a use of the language that differs from the standard language and, for that reason, is perceived as comical (Agnetta, 2015, p. 15), since it violates the linguistic norms generally employed in the oral speech for that particular communicative situation.

3.1. Visual humour: a constraint or a support?

We must not forget that we are dealing with a constrained translation, so images play an essential role, as they are liable to produce humour. A visual factor may build a cultural barrier, as the visual information may not be perceived by the target audience in the same way. Although the translator cannot alter this code of meaning, we find it interesting to include a representative example of a non-verbal joke, in order to demonstrate the significant role of the visual element, which should not be neglected by the translator. In occasions, the information residing in non-verbal codes —for example, an eccentric outfit, a gesture, a facial expression— is susceptible to produce humour by itself and facilitate the understanding of the whole scene. Hence, there is no doubt that visual and sounding components are not always restrictive, but they may entail a support of the action and, in this particular case, contribute to produce humour (Martínez, 2009, p. 47).

In the example, we can see Paquita wearing a shopping bag on her head to protect her hair from the rain. That situation may be really funny for Spanish viewers, as it matches the stereotype of elderly women covering their heads with plastic bags to avoid getting their hair frizzy, as the weather in Spain is not usually rainy and people are not likely to carry an umbrella with them.

Source: Netflix. *Paquita Salas*. Season 02, Ep. 01, 00:28:14

Even if this stereotype is not popular amongst English speakers, the scene will provoke laughs because of the absurdity of the image itself. Therefore, we could affirm that visual elements may help the audience understand the action, as well as contribute to create comicalness (Martínez, 2009, p. 147).

4. PAQUITA SALAS

In this section, we would like to provide a brief information about the series subject to study. *Paquita Salas* is a Spanish comedy created by Javier Ambrossi and Javier Calvo and aired on Netflix. It is starred by a young male actor, Brays Efe, who portrays a decadent, middle-aged woman who works as a talent agent and is still living off the 90s and struggling for saving her outdated company, PS Management.

The humour contained in this comedy is mainly based on specific stereotypes and cultural references referring to Spanish television industry, national iconic celebrities and popular TV shows back in the 90s. Furthermore, every episode comprises plenty of cultural words and idiomatic expressions that pose great challenges to the translator, as part of this irreverent language and randomness of Spanish clichés might not be understood by non-Hispanic viewers.

Source: IMDB

In the following subsections, we group the main types of difficulties detected, with regard to the translation of this comedy, and analyse the decisions taken by the translator.

4.1. Cultural references

As we mentioned before, one of the main hurdles overcome in the translation of this comedy is the presence of cultural-bound terms, that is, "extralinguistic references to items that are tied up with a country's culture, history, or geography, and tend therefore to pose serious translation challenges" (Díaz Cintas & Remael, 2007, p. 200). This difficulty increases due to the inexistence of equivalences in the target language and culture, and these references will not be known or understood by the target audience. We have selected some examples from the second episode of season 2, titled "Solidaria", where several cultural nuances have been identified.

In the first example, the scene is performed by Noemí, a hairdresser who is making fun of her client's back of the neck while washing her hair, exclaiming the following:

> Esto es un camello de los Reyes Magos. → *This is a camel hump, honestly.*

In the Spanish dialogue, the hairdresser compares the hunchbacked, elderly woman with the camels ridden by the Three Wise Men. Here we find a cultural reference to Spanish traditional Christmas, as children expect the visit of the Three Wise Men, but this fact may not be known by English speakers. For this reason, the English version omits this mention and is limited to the main message, which is the comparison between the woman's hump and a camel, so it turns to an international joke and minimizes the cultural presence.

We also find cultural references converged in the linguistic and paralinguistic codes, for example, when Paquita and Ana meet and the first eases the situation by greeting her old friend saying the sentence below, followed by the corresponding gesture:

> Dos besos, ¿no? → *Give me a kiss.*

The translator should bear in mind that the traditional social gesture in Spain when meeting a relative or friend is a double kiss, one on each cheek. This cultural etiquette has been adapted to the target culture by mentioning just one kiss. This arises a problem, as we can see on scene the two women giving themselves a cheek-to-cheek kiss greeting, so the translation is not coherent with the visual code to which it is constrained, and this fact could be confusing for viewers regardless of their cultural background. Then, we reckon that a literal translation should be done even if target users are not familiar with this social convention, as the action seen on screen would be supportive enough to understand that two kisses are a Spanish form of greeting between friends.

In the next example, we can find an idiomatic expression used to warn about the risk they are about to take:

> Nos estamos metiendo en la boca del lobo. → *We are venturing into the lion's den.*

This colourful and expressive expression conveys a colloquial and fresh tone which is perfectly rendered in the target text, as an equivalent alternative has been found in the target language.

4.2. Food and culture

As audiovisual texts are produced within a cultural framework, it is not uncommon to detect the presence of national food, which is considered "the most sensitive and important expression of national culture, subject to the widest variety of translation procedures" (Newmark, 1988, p. 97). We have selected two sentences mentioning Spanish typical *chorizo* and *torrezno*, a cold meat and a snack respectively, both made out of pork meat and very popular in the country.

> ¿Sabes qué me comía? Una pizza de chorizo. → *I'd eat a chorizo pizza.*

> Este es el último torrezno que me como en Tarazona. → *This is the last torrezno I'm eating in Tarazona.*

We can verify that the cultural words found in both examples have been incorporated as cultural loans into the target text, because any adaptation would eliminate their exoticism, which is crucial for the comedy, as Paquita is a lover of traditional and fattening food. Once again, the visual information acts as a constraint —as the food is clearly seen and, therefore, the terms cannot be domesticated— and, at the same time, as a support for the viewer, who can observe Paquita eating *torreznos* —probably unfamiliar to the audience as it is not as internationally known as the Spanish *chorizo*— and get an idea of what this type of food looks like.

4.3 Taboo words and swearwords

The scarcity of literature focused on the translation of swearwords seems contradictory, considering the high presence of this type of language in the oral speech and, thus, in audiovisual texts. García (2013, p. 2) delves into this topic and defines swearwords as words derived or related to subjects considered as not appropriate by their corresponding culture, and used not only to verbally attack a person, but also to affectionately tease a friend, show amazement and

enthusiasm, or as a cathartic way to release frustration. The author underlines their bond to culture, as "the social attitudes surrounding certain concepts, ideas or tropes permeate the meaning of certain words, charging their connotation" (*ibid.*). Accordingly, words that are considered taboo or impolite in certain languages and cultures may vary in terms of intensity or effect when reaching others, as Soler states:

> Global cultures develop diverse swearwords taken from different sources, which can result in divergences in the way people swear between communities. This can be problematic for those who translate literature or other types of texts, such as audiovisual texts. Translators have a social and moral obligation to decide what is essential to transfer into the target language (henceforth TL). (Soler, 2011, p. 74)

However, that is not an easy task, as the target language does not usually share the same cultural features as the source language, so translators feel obliged to make a decision on whether to adapt or to translate them literally (in which case, the result will probably be an unintelligible product).

> Translators act as a link between those communities and should be sensitive and aware of swearword use, in order to recognize them and render them in the target language with equivalent strength. In spite of this, it might be difficult to have an unbiased perspective of the use of such charged vocabulary in different cultures. (García, 2013, p. 5)

To this respect, Ávila (2016, p. 17) asserts that offensive and taboo language exists in most cultures, although the acceptability of this type of linguistic register differs according to the type of society, culture, beliefs and the like. The frequency of swearwords employed in a nonliteral sense, just to fulfil specific functions, such as phatic or exclamatory functions, may vary from one culture to another, and the translator should "identify and evaluate the impact and emotional value of a given word or expression in the source culture" (Díaz-Cintas & Remael, 2007, p. 196), and decide whether to maintain them to keep the overall tone of the film and the characterization, or to soften their intensity as deemed appropriate in the target context.

To start with our selection of examples, we find three situations where the same expletive is employed with different meanings. The use of the word *coño* —which

literally translates as *minge*— is quite common in colloquial Spanish in a figurative sense for different communicative situations and purposes to express irritation and informality, and it is devoid of any sexually-explicit meaning.

> Haz lo que te salga del coño. → *Do whatever you please.*

> Voy a seguir diciendo lo que me salga del coño. → *I'll keep on saying whatever I feel.*

> No estoy loca, estoy hasta el coño. → *I'm not crazy, I'm fed up.*

The expletives have been deleted in every sentence and, even though the main message is rendered in the three cases, the idiosyncratic use of this swearword is lost, and the softened language used in the target text does not match the intensity of the original version. The problem does not seem to be justified in terms of space or time constraints, as the number of characters in English subtitles is lower, so it leads us to think that a form of censorship was exerted, or the translator tried to avoid any cultural misunderstanding. In order to accommodate the same daring utterance, we would suggest the use of "fuck" for the first two examples (*Do whatever the fuck you please* and *I'll keep on saying whatever the fuck I feel*) and the expression "Getting on my tits" to achieve an emotionally charged language (that is *I'm not crazy but you're getting on my tits*) in order to express her despair in the same colloquial and even offensive tone.

Another vulgarism frequently found in the series is the expression *Me cago en…*, which literally means *I shit on…*, but can be used in colloquial Spanish to curse on somebody or something. However, this expression is normally employed to express disgust or contempt, but not to literally offend the mentioned subject and could be translated simply as *Bloody hell* or *Damn it*. Thus, it is quite common to hear a Hispanic exclaiming *Me cago en tu padre, Me cago en la leche,* and a long et cetera. In this episode, we must deal with an expression of the kind, but this one involves a very specific cultural reference: a Basque actress called Edurne Bengoetxea shouts the following:

> ¡Me cago en España! → *Fuck Spain!*

After that event, the actress is forced to apologize publicly, as this expression is taken literally by her followers. This disagreement is a consequence of the

historic Basque separatist conflict in Spain, so the scene is parodying a generalized distrust that occasionally has led the real-life audience to boycott some Basque actors, actresses and producers due to controversial comments. But this cultural information could be not known by non-Hispanic viewers, who could see the fact as an overreaction from the characters in the episode. Unfortunately, there is no way to compensate this cultural loss, but the translation is harmful enough to be understood as a way of laughing at their own country. However, this sense of self-deprecating humour out of a nation might not be accepted graciously in other cultures.

4.4. References to Spanish celebrities

Paquita Salas is a comedy conceived as a sharp satire of the film industry and the ephemeral fame, so it seems logical that every episode is replete with cameos of real out-of-fashion Spanish celebrities who are easily recognized by the Spanish audience and remembered for very popular but outdated shows. These constant references to the old Spanish TV and the forgotten stars indulge national viewers in nostalgia for past times and, at the same time, make fun of how fake fame can be and how *losers* —as called by Paquita— relive their glory days in their minds, so these mentions can be deemed as cultural references which are essential in the plot.

In the second episode of *Paquita Salas*, Ana Obregón is one of the celebrities invited, starring as herself. Paquita and Ana became friends back in 2000, when the talent agency was quite successful and worked for Obregón, who had a leading role in a Spanish sitcom but was also famous because of her love scandals and for declaring to have left her house hidden in the trunk of her car to avoid getting caught by paparazzi. Paquita does not miss the opportunity to joke about that anecdote:

> ¿Quién sospechaba que Paquita Salas llevaba a Ana Obregón en su maletero? → *Who would suspect Paquita Salas had Ana Obregón in her trunk?*

Although this overtone may go unnoticed by a non-Hispanic viewer, the name of this Spanish celebrity becomes unavoidable as we can see her as part of the cast. Nevertheless, the whole situation itself is so bizarre that it may be funny

for the audience, even if they are not familiar with those headlines from Spanish gossip magazines.

Besides, we detect an allusion to the Spanish actor Javier Gutiérrez, currently in vogue for the success of the movie *Campeones,* where he plays a basketball coach sentenced to community service and forced to work with a team of mentally disabled players[1].

> ¡Quiero hacerme la foto con Javier Gutiérrez! → *I want to take my picture with Javier Gutiérrez!*

Although Gutiérrez is not seen on scene, it seems adequate to maintain his allusion as he is internationally known for this film, and that makes sense specially in this episode of *Paquita Salas,* as they are shooting for a Down's syndrome awareness charity calendar.

4.5. TV shows

We find constant references to Spanish TV shows that will surely lay out issues regarding comprehensibility when conveying the information to the target culture and language, as they will be probably unknown and misunderstood by the audience.

The first example refers to a game show broadcasted in the Spanish TV channel Telecinco, which consisted in a random phone call to a spectator, who would then have to answer by shouting this sentence in order to gain a prize. Paquita is in need of money, so she answers every phone call by saying this sentence, although the programme is not broadcasted anymore, and that reflects again that she has become stagnant in an outdated TV industry:

> ¡Otoño mágico en Telecinco! → *I do want to win the lottery!*

The translator has opted for a compensation, making up new semantics to achieve a humorous situation stripped of any cultural charge. In this case, the adaptation is practicable because the oral information does not cohabitate with

---

[1] Synopsis from IMDB: https://www.imdb.com/title/tt6793580/

any visual information bond to the cultural reference, permitting its omission in the target text.

On the contrary, other allusions to TV programmes are used to give shape to the story, as Paquita works constantly to get a part in any popular series for her represented actresses. The title of the two series exposed below has been transferred intact and there seems to be no alternative, as we will explain in the following paragraphs.

> Intimamos más en la época de 'A las once en casa'. → *We became close when shooting 'A las once en casa'.*

The mentioned Spanish sitcom, *A las once en casa*, became very popular in Spain between 1998 and 1999. The leading role was played by Ana Obregón and one of the secondary characters —a girl babysitted by Ana— was performed by a very young Lidia San José, whose acting career came to a standstill after the series ended, until she got one of the main roles in *Paquita Salas*, starring as herself and mocking her own unsuccessful career. As we mentioned previously, *Paquita Salas* is a satire of the filming industry and the ephemerality of fame, so we find it relevant to keep the original name of the program which launched these two actresses to a momentary fame, and then left them forgotten.

In the same way, it is appropriate to keep the allusion to *Puente Viejo* to offer some coherence with the image, as Paquita gets a part for Lidia San José in this low-quality Spanish soap opera, and the young actress will be seen struggling to act properly on the setting of *Puente Viejo* throughout some episodes of *Paquita Salas*.

> Ya verás, hoy nos llaman de 'Puente Viejo'. → *You'll see. We'll get a call from 'Puente Viejo' today.*

4.6. Foreign language issues

Some funny situations take place when Paquita tries to speak English with the objective of demonstrating that she is modernising her company and adapting herself to new marketing strategies, as she experiences some problems with the pronunciation.

In the following example, Paquita is mentioning *coworking* and she pronounces it as "cow-working", sounding like the word *cow*. This oral information is obviously missing in the written subtitle, but the humour resides in the comparison of the words *coworking* and *cowboy* —which sound very similar, according to Noemí—, so even if the presence of a foreign language is omitted, the spontaneous invention of this fake and absurd homophony preserves the comicalness of the scene.

Coworking, como cowboy. → *Coworking, like cowboy.*

The second example presents a mismatch resulting in a loss of humour in the target text. Paquita is comparing herself with James Bond and pronounces this proper name inaccurately, so Ana corrects her.

[Paquita] Me sentí como Jamem'on.

[Ana] James Bond.

→

[Paquita] *I felt like James Bond.*

[Ana] *James Bond.*

The target text does not reflect the mispronunciation and, consequently, is incongruent, as Ana's correction does not make any sense and seems inapposite. We consider that the English subtitle could have included some type of mistake to be corrected, so the viewer could have laughed at the situation derived from Paquita's struggles with the language. That reminds us the importance of producing subtitles which are in harmony with every code of meaning, because we are dealing with a vulnerable translation which is constantly restricted by them.

5. CONCLUSION

From the extraction of examples analysed, we deduce that comedies and parodies based on a national identity usually present jokes based on stereotypes and social topics that might not be understood by a different cultural

community. Therefore, translating these audiovisual products implies a great knowledge of both source and target language, in order to achieve a reality effect in the target text and avoid any situation in which the viewer might feel lost or confused if not familiar with cultural nuances. In order to do so, the translator should decide whether to domesticate or to foreignize any cultural reference, but none of them ensure laughs amongst the target audience if not dealt with carefully and in harmony with the surrounding codes of meaning which may work as a constraint but also as a support for understanding the story. Either way, there is not a rigid method, so adaptive and exotic translations should be combined and applied depending on each challenge.

Regarding swearwords and taboo language, we believe that they should be neither omitted nor softened, as they depict the characters' idiosyncrasy and feelings, and provide intensity and spontaneity to the scene. When dealing with vulgar idiomatic expressions, compensation seems to be an adequate option, so they could be replaced by an idiomatic expression used in the target culture or by any different semantics such as swearwords or colloquialisms, in order to express the feeling experienced by the character and have a similar humorous effect on the audience.

To conclude this work, we venture to address the eternal question of whether Spanish comedy is untranslatable. In the light of the results obtained from this study, we think that audiovisual texts localised in a specific cultural background seem to be partially untranslatable, as references to social and cultural realities, clichés and stereotypes will not be fully or partially understood by the audience, so their amusement is not guaranteed. However, a compensation is possible by using different humorous resources and taking advantage of the visual information in order to produce a coherent text that will provoke laughs amongst the target audience.

REFERENCES

Agnetta, M. (2015). Aproximaciones traductológicas a lo cómico en las comedias de situación estadounidenses. *Quaderns de Cine. Cine, doblaje y subtitulación* 10, pp. 13-21.

Ávila Cabrera, J. (2016). Propuesta de modelo de análisis del lenguaje ofensivo y tabú en la subtitulación. *Verbeia*, 0, pp. 8-27. Retrieved from https://www.ucjc.edu/book/verbeia-revista-de-estudios-filologicos-no-0/

Chaume, F. (2005). Los estándares de calidad y la recepción de la traducción audiovisual. *Puentes*, 6, pp. 5-12.

Díaz-Cintas, J. & Remael, A. (2007). A*udiovisual translation: Subtitling.* Manchester: St Jerome.

García Manchón, P. (2013). *A Corpus-based Analysis of Swearword Translation in DVD Subtitles and Internet Fansubs.* [MA Thesis]. Universidad Complutense, Madrid.

Martínez Sierra, J. & Zabalbeascoa Terrán, P. (2017). El humor como síntoma de la innovación en la investigación. In J. Martínez Sierra & P. Zabalbeascoa Terrán (Eds.), *The translation of humour.* Alicante: *MONTI*, 9, pp. 29-48.

Martínez Sierra, J. (2009). El papel del elemento visual en la traducción del humor en textos audiovisuales: ¿un problema o una ayuda?. *Trans*, 13, pp. 139-148. Retrieved from http://www.trans.uma.es/pdf/Trans_13/t13_139-148_JJMartinez.pdf

Martínez Sierra, J. (2003). La traducción del humor en los medios audiovisuales desde una perspectiva transcultural. *Interlingüística*, 14, pp. 743-750. Retrieved from https://dialnet.unirioja.es/descarga/articulo/918824.pdf

Navarro Brotons, M. (2017). La traducción del humor audiovisual. El caso de la película de animación *El Espantatiburones (Shark Tale).* In J. Martínez Sierra & P. Zabalbeascoa Terrán (Eds.), *The translation of humour.* Alicante: *MONTI*, 9, pp. 307-329.

Newmark, P. (1988). *A textbook of translation.* Hetfordshire: Prentice Hall Europe.

Samovar *et al.* (2012). *Intercultural communication: a reader (13th edition).* Boston: Wadsworth Cengage Learning.

Soler Pardo, B. (2011). *Swearing and Translation: A Study of the Insults in the Films of Quentin Tarantino.* Ph. D. Thesis. Universitat de València.

Zabalbeascoa, P. (1996). Translating Jokes for Dubbed Television Situation Comedies. *The Translator*, vol. 2 (2), pp. 235-257.

Researches in audio description in Brazil: a decade of graduate studies publications

Samira Spolidorio
State University of Campinas
samira.spolidorio@gmail.com

Abstract

Brazil has seen in the last two decades a significant growth in production of accessible audiovisual translation researches. This paper aims to map out the graduate studies researches centered in audio description, in particular the master's theses and doctoral dissertations published between 2009 and 2018. We have gathered all the information available regarding these publications and grouped the data in analyzable categories in order to understand the current scenario of AD researches in Brazil. Our findings have shown, among other aspects, that there is a big concentration of research being developed in few universities and a predominance of applied and theoretical-applied approaches in detriment of only theoretical ones among both master's theses and doctoral dissertations.

Keywords: Accessible audiovisual translation, audio description, graduate researches, accessibility, audiovisual translation.

1. INTRODUCTION

Audiovisual accessibility has increasingly become a focus of interest both for the civil society, through awareness campaigns by the government and non-profit organizations, and also for the academic community that studies different categories of accessibility and prepares professionals for specific market demands. Increasing efforts have been made to centralize both legal and academic initiatives within the area. Examples include the dissemination of laws that guarantee the right to audiovisual accessibility through news in newspapers, magazines, blogs and internet pages, as well as the creation of several accessible audiovisual translation courses and the release of Brazilian Association of Technical Standards (ABNT) regulations and Guide to Accessible Audiovisual Productions (Naves *et al.*, 2016).

The Brazilian academic production on accessible audiovisual translation, although recent, is also quite diverse and relevant. Thus, this article will focus on mapping the content about audio description (AD) produced in Brazil[1] to quantify and analyze the studies and publications already carried out in the country. More specifically, the corpus of the article will present graduate studies research on AD in Brazil, aiming to quantify the doctoral dissertations and master theses undertaken in the area until the present moment and also to understand the nature of these researches and in which type of AD they have researched.

Within this topic, we sought to document, although briefly, the historical evolution of graduate studies on audio description in the country, from the beginning to the current scenario, and to compile and systematize in analyzable categories the researches carried out so far. To this end, the questions that guided the data gathering of this research are:

- How many doctoral dissertations and master's theses centered in audio description were published so far in Brazil?

- Is there a greater concentration of research carried out at some universities and/or a concentration of professors who supervise research on audio description in the country?

---

[1] The data collection is part of an ongoing research project to help upload content on audiovisual translation in Brazil on the Media Accessibility Platform (MAP - https://mapaccess.uab.cat/). Further details on said project can be found in the paper "MAP-ping Accessible Audiovisual Translation in Brazil" (Spolidorio, 2017).

- Is there predominance of theoretical research or applied research and/or applied research aimed at a specific type of audio description?

With the increasing production of research and publications in the area of accessible audiovisual translation, organizing and systematizing the contents can help current and future researchers to avoid the so-called 'Effect of Reinventing the Wheel', which, according to Greco *et al.* (2016), consists of several researches and publications addressing very similar topics that use the same theoretical basis and therefore help little in the advancement of the area. Thus, centralizing and systematizing this information can help in understanding how audio description researches are carried out in the country, in addition to identifying the areas and types most addressed and which ones still need more attention.

2. ACCESSIBILITY, ACCESSIBLE AUDIOVISUAL TRANSLATION AND AUDIO DESCRIPTION

2.1. Brief History of Accessibility and Accessible Audiovisual Translation

Accessibility is considered by the Universal Declaration of Human Rights to be a fundamental and inalienable right of people with disabilities and a need of a modern and egalitarian society. In this context, the United Nations (UN) created the International Convention on the Rights of Persons with Disabilities (CRPD[2]), signed on March 30th, 2007 and ratified on August 1st, 2008 (Greco *at al.*, 2016).

As a UN member, by signing and ratifying CRPD, Brazil has made a commitment to comply with the convention's provisions, aiming to promote, protect and guarantee the rights of persons with disabilities listed in CRPD. It is worth mentioning, however, that even before the signature and ratification of the Convention, the Brazilian legislation already had elements directed to the accessibility with the Laws no. 10.048/00 and 10.098/00[3] (later regulated by Decree no. 5.296/04[4]) culminating in the Brazilian Law of Inclusion of People

---

[2] Available at https://www.un.org/development/desa/disabilities/convention-on-the-rights-of-persons-with-disabilities.html
[3] Available, respectively, at: http://www.planalto.gov.br/ccivil_03/LEIS/L10048.htm and http://www.planalto.gov.br/ccivil_03/leis/L10098.htm
[4] Available at
http://www.planalto.gov.br/ccivil_03/_Ato2004-2006/2004/Decreto/D5296.htm

with Disabilities (Statute of the Person with Disabilities), the Law no. 13.146[5], of July 6th 2015 (Spolidorio, 2017).

When it comes to audiovisual aspects, Brazil also counts with pieces of legislation that date back to long before the CRPD, as is the case of the Audiovisual Law, the Law no. 8.685[6] of July 20th 1993, which generated a mechanism of indirect support for the creation of audiovisual projects through tax incentive to individuals and corporations for the sponsorship of projects previously approved by the National Agency of Cinema (ANCINE).

Audiovisual translation has always been directly linked to the issue of accessibility. At the beginning, however, it was about linguistic accessibility, that is to say, allowing the public access to audiovisual content that was originally created in another language. For this, the subtitling and dubbing modes are the most known and used.

Diaz-Cintas and Neves (2015, p. 1) claim that, today, "audiovisual translation is seen by many studies as the most prosperous and successful branch of Translation Studies", attributing this notoriety to the intrinsic relationship with technology. Theoretical concepts are constantly being reformulated following new media and language practices. Besides the need for translation to cross an existing language barrier, it is important to always take into account the emergence of different forms of audiovisual translation that go beyond the most common two, namely, subtitling and dubbing.

Franco and Araújo (2011) present the categories as inter or intraligual and as oral or written. In other words, written categories include subtitling for listeners, subtitling for the deaf and hard-of-hearing, and surtitling, while oral categories include dubbing, voice-over, narration (or voice-off) and audio description (Franco & Araújo, 2011). Among the categories mentioned above, subtitling for the deaf and hard-of-hearing, surtitling and audio description fall in the category of Accessible Audiovisual Translation. In the "Guide to Accessible Audiovisual Productions" (Naves *et al.*, 2016) and in other more recent studies, the sign language window is also considered an accessible audiovisual translation mode.

Villela (2017) states that the studies of Accessible Audiovisual Translation in Brazil have received a lot of attention in the last decade. However, interest and development in the area were not restricted only to academia and the

---

[5] Available at http://www.planalto.gov.br/ccivil_03/_ato2015-2018/2015/lei/l13146.htm
[6] Available at http://www.planalto.gov.br/ccivil_03/LEIS/L8685.htm

accessibility of the audiovisual is a term increasingly recurring also in the audiovisual market. As an example, the author cites a variety of film festivals, theater shows and other cultural spaces such as museums, galleries and even typical street parties such as Carnival that already include accessible content.

This increase in production, not only theoretical but also practical, highlights the importance of accessible audiovisual translation not only as an object of study worthy of the academia, but also as an increasingly present aspect in our society and an important aspect in the translation market.

2.1. The birth of AD as one of the modalities of Accessible Audiovisual Translation

Franco and Silva define audio description (AD) as

> The transformation of images into words so that visually transmitted key information does not go unnoticed and can also be accessed by blind or visually impaired people (...) with the goal of making the most varied types of audiovisual materials (plays, films, TV shows, dance shows, etc.) accessible to visually impaired people. (2010, p. 23)

Motta and Romeo Filho expand this definition, and include important aspects about accessibility and the various categories of AD. For the authors, AD is

> An accessibility feature that broadens the understanding of people with disabilities in cultural events, recorded or live, such as theater plays, TV programs, exhibitions, shows, musical, operas, parades, and dance shows; touristic, sportive, educational and scientific events such as classes, seminars, conferences, lectures, fairs and others by means of sound information. It is an activity of linguistic mediation, an intersemiotic translation modality that transforms the visual into verbal, opening up greater possibilities of access to culture and information, contributing to cultural, social and school inclusion. In addition to people with visual impairment, audio description also extends the understanding to elderly and dyslexic people, or people with intellectual disabilities. (2010, p. 7).

Aderaldo and Nunes (2017), in the article "Audio description and Visual Accessibility: A Brief History" bring interesting data about the first initiatives of

social inclusion of people with visual impairment, initiated in the eighteenth century during the Renaissance. After both World War I and World War II, the United Kingdom and the United States have also created accessible options for their former soldiers who returned blind or visually impaired.

However, in their article "Audio description: A Brief Historical Overview", Franco and Silva (2010) claim that AD only really arose in the 1970s, starting officially in 1975 with a thesis of a master's degree by Gregory Frazier in the United States. In his work, Frazier elaborated the first premises for AD for a play, after spending years improving his descriptive skills while helping a blind friend watch TV. The first official audio description, in fact, took place only in the 1980s, when Margaret Rockwell and Cody Pfanstiehl made the AD of a play called "Major Barbara".

After this play, Rockwell and Pfanstiehl worked on the elaboration of several other plays for the same theater, The Arena Stage Theater in Washington DC, USA, and subsequently on the preparation of tapes cassettes for visits to museums and historical monuments. In 1982, the first TV show had its first AD, also with the collaboration of Rockwell and Pfanstiehl. Only in 1988, AD made it to the big screen with Francis Ford Coppola's "Tucker" that included some description for selected scenes. After that, more and more movies presented in big film festivals such as Cannes were also presented with AD.

Still according to Franco and Silva (2010), in Brazil, AD appeared much later, only in 2003, at the theme festival "Assim Vivemos: Festival Internacional de Filmes sobre Deficiência" (How We Live: International Festival of Movies on Disabilities). The first DVD film released with AD was "Irmãos de Fé" (directed by Moacyr Goes and not released in English) in 2005, followed by "Ensaio sobre a Cegueira" ("Blindness", directed by Brazilian filmmaker Fernando Meirelles based on José Saramago's novel of same name) in 2008.

Aderaldo and Nunes (2017) propose to expand and update the historical panorama presented by Franco and Silva (2010), adding also the first ADs in theater happened in 2006, in dance performances in 2007, and in museums in 2009. According to the authors, since 2010, the production of films with AD has been greatly intensified, as well as the production of network TV programs. In their overview of AD in Brazil, they go into great details about all the main milestones that led to our current scenario in which not only AD but other accessible categories are an integrated part of Brazilian cultural productions.

This is due greatly to specific legislation that requires 100% of the open TV programming to have some accessible modality, including at least one of the accessible options: subtitling for the deaf and hard-of-hearing/closed caption; audio description; sign language window. All productions sponsored by ANCINE are also required to be released with accessible options. Despite not having specific determinations for all the types of accessibility necessary, the current legislation also demands that all spheres of everyday life such as education, communication, transport, cultural and social events are accessible to all people with disabilities. Therefore, there is a growing effort to make all spaces accessible for people with all sorts of disabilities. We are still, unfortunately, far from making this scenario a reality for everyone, but it is a start.

In Brazil, the AD is regulated by the Brazilian Association of Technical Standards (ABNT), by means of the Norm n.16452/2016, which establishes the specific parameters for the elaboration and development of audio description in order to regulate compliance with the law n. 13,146/2015, the Brazilian Law of Inclusion of the Person with a Disability (the Statute of the Person with Disabilities). In this way, the ABNT norm aims to establish the basic guidelines to which the law is kept, providing the "perception, understanding, and fruition of the information contained in dynamic or static images to people unable to see or with difficulties to understand" (ABNT, 2016, p. 1).

For recorded or live audiovisual contents, the Guide launched by the Audiovisual Department of the Ministry of Culture is currently the most updated and accepted set of parameters used by the industry. The Guide defines AD as:

> An intersemiotic mode of audiovisual translation aimed at making audiovisual production accessible to people with visual disabilities. It is an additional scripted rendition that describes the actions, body language, emotional states, environment, costumes and descriptions of the characters. (Naves *et al.*, 2016, p. 15)

In this instructional material, we have the compilation of the results of many theoretical and applied researches on AD by several authors in the area, to support the development of a series of categories that guide the various aspects of the preparation of itineraries for the AD. Among the topics covered by the guide, we have: technical issues in the production of audio description scripts for films and TV shows; the insertion of descriptive units; the narration of audio description; the audio description of live programs; the audio description of

recorded programs; and the use of equipment to display audio description in cinemas (Naves *et al.*, 2016, pp. 20-23).

The guide also presents in detail the linguistic parameters that must be adopted for the preparation of the scripts. Namely, in the topic "linguistic questions regarding the elaboration of audio description scripts for films and TV shows", regarding the use of language (especially adjectives and adverbs), the description of actions, and the verb tenses and period structures (Naves *et al.*, 2016, pp. 23-25). Other points presented are the "translation questions in the preparation of audio description scripts for films and TV programs" that include framing and points of view, character, costumes, space-time location and environments description, and also the identification of other sounds (Naves *et al.*, 2016, pp. 25-29).

Despite the importance of all these parameters, as the research proposed here does not have an applied approach in which an audiovisual content will be analyzed, we will refrain from presenting them in detail.

3. ANALYSIS

This research has as its initial methodological model based on bibliographic research, seeking theoretical texts in the area for deepening our theoretical understating of what AD is and how it came to be. For the analysis, the methodology adopted will be quantitative and qualitative, once the total amount of research and publications in the area of AD have been established in Brazil, we will try to classify the research and publications within previously defined categories.

The corpus of this research consists of all doctoral dissertations and master's theses published until the year 2018[7] and published in the catalogue of theses and dissertations of CAPES and already uploaded on MAP. The set of date collected included the title of the dissertation/thesis, author's name, data of publication, university and, if the document was digitally available, the link for it. Later, another Excel spreadsheet was created containing the university's name; the program/department in which the research was allocated; the supervisor

---

[7] These data are referring to September/2018, when the data collection process was concluded. As it usually takes between 3 to 12 months for the catalog to upload all the information, there is no way of knowing for sure how many theses and dissertations were published in 2018 until the end of 2019, when all the information should be made available for consultation.

professor; the 3-5 keywords used to index the research; the research approach; and the type of AD.

Once collected, these data were grouped and categorized in order to answer the research questions proposed in the beginning of this paper. These questions will be addressed individually in the next section, where the results are presented and discussed.

3.1. Master's Theses

After the data collection explained above, we will present below the highlights of our findings in order to answer the research questions proposed in the Introduction. Regarding Question 1 ("How many master's thesis centered in AD were published so far in Brazil?"), we have found a total of 61 master's theses published between 2009 and 2018. It is important to notice that AD is a fairly new topic of research in Brazil and that the very first publication was a mere decade ago, in June 2009, with the second one published in August of the same year. In 2010, only one master thesis was published. Starting in 2011, a considerable increase of publications was registered with 6 master's theses published reaching 10 in 2012. Oddly, in 2013, there was a decrease, with only 2 theses being published.

In 2014, there was a renewed growth with 8 theses and the maximum of theses published in a single year so far happened in 2015, with 12 theses in total. In 2016, there were 6, in 2017 there were 9 and in 2018[8], only 4 so far. The graph below represents the annual evolution of master's theses published in Brazil between 2009 and 2018.

---

[8] We believe this number will be increased to match or even surpass publications in 2017, but all the information regarding publications in 2018 are not officially available yet.
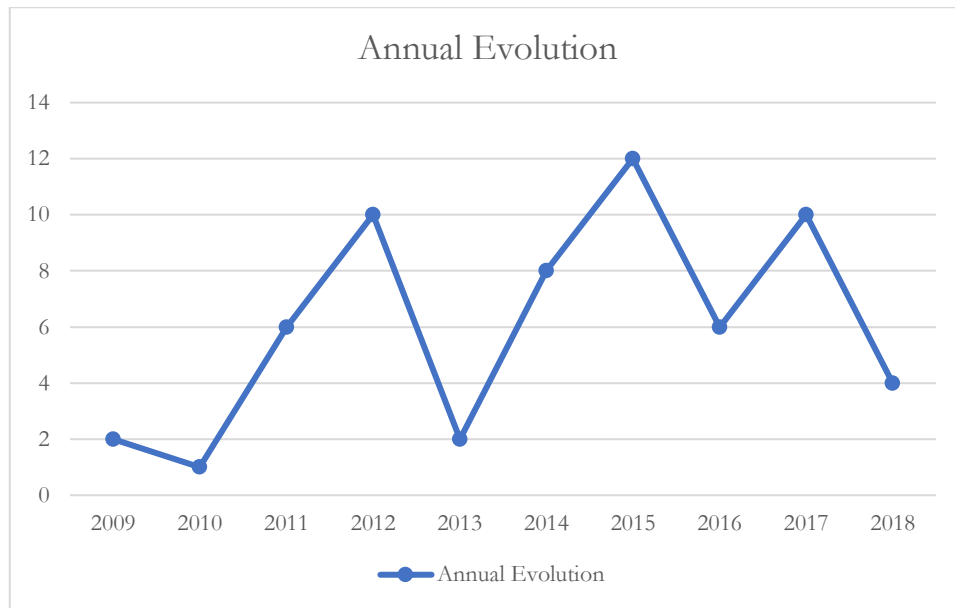
Regarding Question 2 ("Is there a greater concentration of research carried out at some university and/or a concentration of professors who supervise research on audio description in the country?"), we found that the leadership of State University of Ceará (UECE) is remarkable, responsible for a total of 23 master's theses. The second most productive universities are University of Brasília (UnB) and Federal University of Bahia (UFBA), both with 4 master's theses each. Federal University of State of Rio de Janeiro (UNIRIO), Federal University of Paraíba (UFPB), Federal University of Rio Grande do Norte (UFRN), Federal University of Rio de Janeiro (UFRJ) and University of São Paulo (USP) all published 2 master's theses each. The rest of the universities listed[9] all had only 1 master thesis published in the time period researched.

Another important fact to highlight is that, despite vicious and unfounded attacks on public higher education institutions by current far-right and

---

[9] University Anhembi Morumbi (UAM), State University of Bahia (UEBA), University Vale do Sapucaí (UVS), University of Santa Cruz do Sul (USCS), University de Sorocaba (US), State University of Rio Grande do Norte (UERN), State University of Campinas (Unicamp), Federal University of Minas Gerais (UFMG), Federal University of Santa Catarina (UFSC), Pontifical Catholic University of São Paulo (PUCSP), Federal University of ABC (UFABC), Federal University of Paraná (UFPR), Catholic University of Pernambuco (CUPE), Federal University of Rio Grande do Sul (UFRGS) and Federal University of Mato Grosso (UFMT).

outspoken antagonist of education, Brazilian President Jair Bolsonaro, who has claimed 'most of science is developed in private institutions'[10], public universities (federal and state funded) are responsible for more than 91 % of researches developed in accessible audiovisual translation.

Due to the high number of researches developed at UECE, there is no surprise the department of Applied Linguistics where the researches were carried out is the department with higher concentration of researches with the same 23 master's theses. The next departments with more researches are Education departments, with 8 researches in 5 different universities (UEBA, PUCSP, UNIRIO, UFRN, and UFGD). The next most expressive departments are Translation Studies and Communication, each with 4 researches published. The combination of department names as Language, Language Studies and/or Linguistics account for 7 researches. Informatics and Science of Information, although not exactly the same area, account for 4 researches, 2 in each department.

The same is true for Design and Cultural Studies, also with 2 researches published each. It is interesting to note that apart from the departments mentioned above that are more commonly associated with AD, accessibility, audiovisual, and/or translation, researches were found in other less obviously related departments, such as Architecture and Urbanism, Dance, Geography, Engineering and Knowledge Management, and Psychology. This shows that many different knowledge fields can make interesting contributions to research in AD. This imbalance can be better expressed in the graph below:

---

[10] The current president has repeatedly (and wrongly!) stated that private institutions develop more research than public institutions, which is an information debunked by all specialized rankings in Higher Education. An example of such claims and the debunking arguments can be found in news reports as https://br18.com.br/bolsonaro-critica-poucas-universidades-tem-pesquisa/;
https://www1.folha.uol.com.br/colunas/reinaldojoselopes/2019/04/universidades-publicas-produzem-mais-de-90-da-pesquisa-do-pais-resta-saber-ate-quando.shtml
and https://www.unifesp.br/reitoria/dci/noticias-anteriores-dci/item/3799-universidades-publicas-realizam-mais-de-95-da-ciencia-no-brasil.

Departments

Regarding the second part of Question 2, concerning the professors who supervise these researches, given the fact that there is such a high concentration of researches developed at UECE, again, there is no surprise that the professor with most researches supervised is part of UECE staff, Dr. Vera Lúcia Santiago Araújo, who has personally advised and supervised 17 out of the 23 researches carried out at UECE. Professor Dr. Soraya Ferreira Alves, from UnB, appears as second most cited supervisor with 5 master's theses. Next we have professors Dr. Pedro Henrique Lima Praxedes Filho and Dr. Reinaldo dos Santos, from UECE and UFGD, respectively with 4 and 3 master's theses supervised.

Professors Dr. Tiago Maritan Ugulino de Araújo, Dr. Jefferson Fernandes Alves, and Dr. Júlio César Machado Pinto are all cited as supervisors of 2 researches each. All the other 25 researches were supervised by professors who only carried out one research so far regarding AD. Because of this difficulty in grouping the data into categories, this information regarding the supervisors will not be expressed in a graph form it would basically show the seven names mentioned above and a long string of single names.

Concerning Question 3 ("Is there predominance of theoretical research or applied research and/or applied research aimed at a specific mode of audio description?"), the researches were divided within the following classifications[11]:

- **Only theoretical**, when they dealt with the contextualization, historical aspect, conceptualization of AD and/or with different theoretical approaches to the parameters of AD, without effectively applying those parameters to an audiovisual content to be analyzed;

- **Only applied**, when they presented a set of already defined theoretical concepts and parameters and analyzed the application of such parameters to a specific audiovisual content;

- **Both theoretical and applied**, when they discussed/proposed a new set of parameters and/or theoretical concepts AND proposed the application to a specific audiovisual content.

Although this is not a definitive categorization, we believe the results are consistent with what it is expected of master students' researches, most cases falling into the Applied and Theoretical-Applied categories, as the studies in master degree level are considered opportunities to deepen and expand knowledge already existent instead of proposing entire new ways of exploring a particular problem, which is usually a characteristic of doctoral dissertations. In the graph below, we see there were only 4 researches categorized as Theoretical, while all the rest are almost equally divided between Applied (28) and Both (29).

---

[11] This assessment was based in the reading of the researches' abstracts, keywords and Introduction section, in order to better understand the central focus and main objectives of each research. It was not our intention to verify if all the researches actually developed and reached the proposed aims.
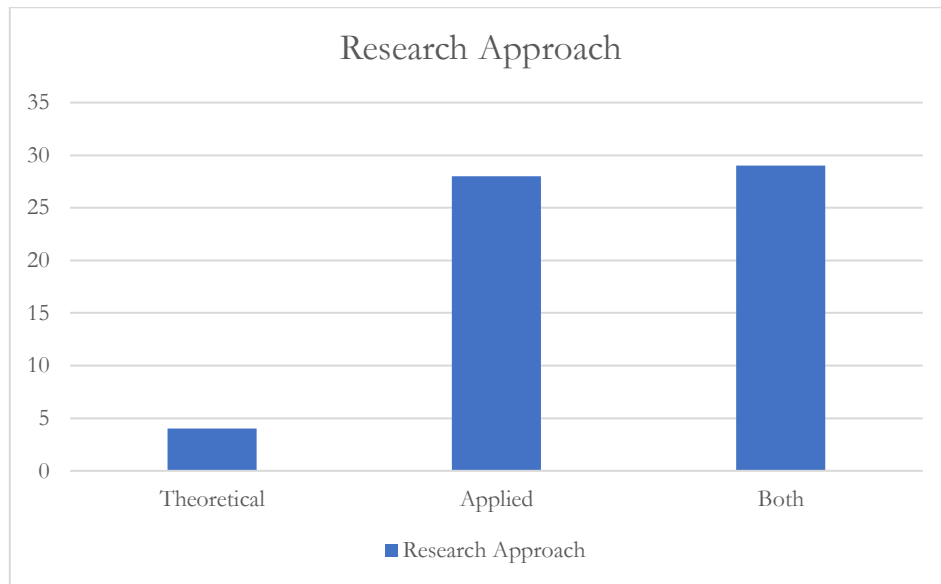
Finally, concerning the types of AD studied, we grouped the results in 7 categories:

- **Movies and TV shows**, that actually included all audiovisual, recorded and live, content screened either in movie theaters or on TV (including TV ads, news, etc.);

- **Artistic performances**, that included all live performances such as plays, parades, dance or music recitals, etc.;

- **Visual Arts**, including all 2D and 3D works of art (such as paintings, drawings, sculptures, etc.) present in museums, books or other spaces;

- **Live events**, including all live events not mentioned above, such as business meetings, political rallies, lectures and conferences, etc.;

- **Educational**, including mainly AD made for video lessons and textbooks;

- **Others**, for any type of AD not mentioned above;

- **Do not apply**, in case of the only theoretical researches that did not specifically dealt with a particular type of AD.

363
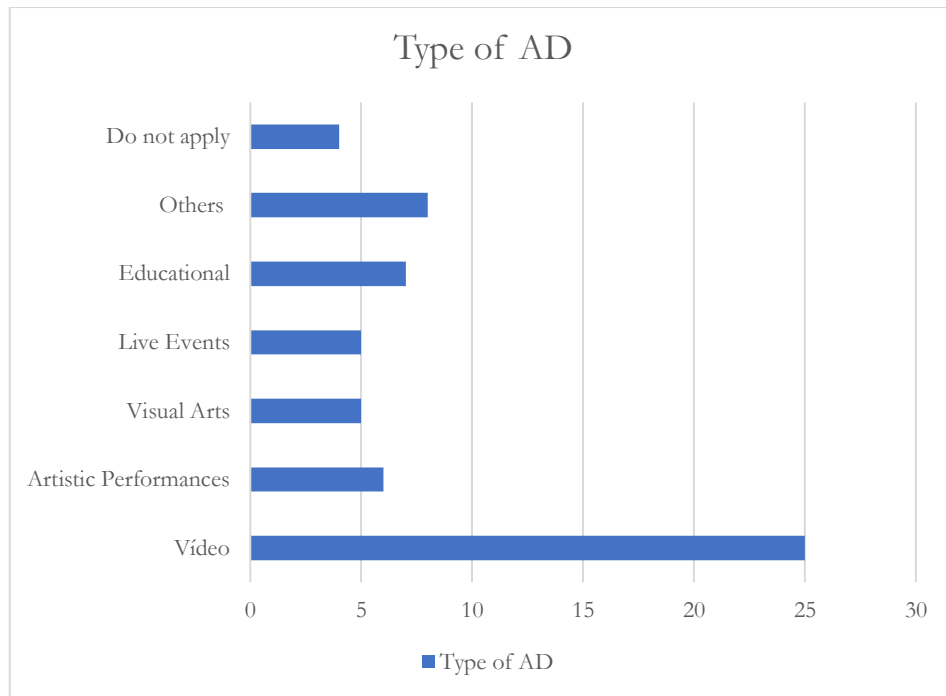
Type of AD

In the graph above, we can see that the audiovisual content is, by far, the most analyzed and researched type of AD with 25 researches. However, it is interesting to note that educational content such as video lessons and textbook material are also highlighted with 7 researches. Artistic performances, Visual Arts and Live Events have similar numbers, with 6, 5 and 5 master's theses each, respectively. Others and Do Not Apply appeared in more researches than we anticipated, showing a growing variety of research possibilities within the AD field.

3.2. Doctoral Dissertations

The analysis of the doctoral dissertations will follow the same structure of the master's theses presented above. However, due to the large difference in content (61 master's theses and only 14 doctoral dissertations) the results are less expressive to be grouped and discussed. The very first doctoral dissertation published was only in 2013. This date is consistent with the fact that, according to recommendations by the Higher Education Research Regulatory Agency in

Brazil, a research department or professor should complete at least 2 supervisions of master's theses before accepting a doctoral student.

With the first master thesis being published in 2009, that sets 2009 or even 2010 as the year the first doctoral student started and as it usually takes between 4 to 5 years to complete the Ph.D. program, it is compatible that the first doctoral dissertation was only published in 2013 because of that rule or a similar internal regulation in research departments. In 2014, there were 2 doctoral dissertations while in 2014 and in 2015, there were 3 and 4 researches published, respectively. Both 2016 and 2017 presented 4 doctoral researches each and until we concluded the data collection period (September/2018), no doctoral dissertation had been published on the official catalog of CAPES, our main database source.

In the graph below, the annual evolution of doctoral dissertations published:
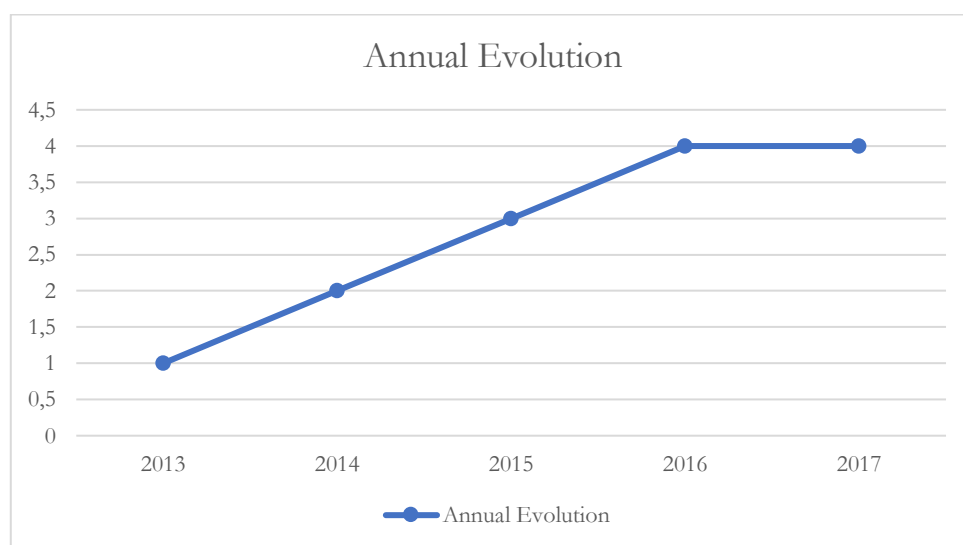
As we can see, contrary to what the graph for the master's theses that showed a big oscillation in the number of publications throughout the years, the graph for the doctoral dissertations shows a steady increase that indicates a higher or at least equal number of doctoral dissertations finished in 2018 and yet to be officially published.

Regarding the universities that have housed these doctoral researches, we have, again, UECE in the lead (3), even though not as unbalanced as we have seen with the master's theses. Federal University of Rio de Janeiro (UFRJ) and Federal

University of Rio Grande do Sul (UFRGS) both presented 2 researches, while all the other universities listed[12] had only 1 research. Again, we highlight the importance of public institutions responsible for 13 out of the 14 doctoral researches, with special note to the federal institutions that accounted for 9 out of the 14 dissertations. In the graph below, a visual representation of these results:


---
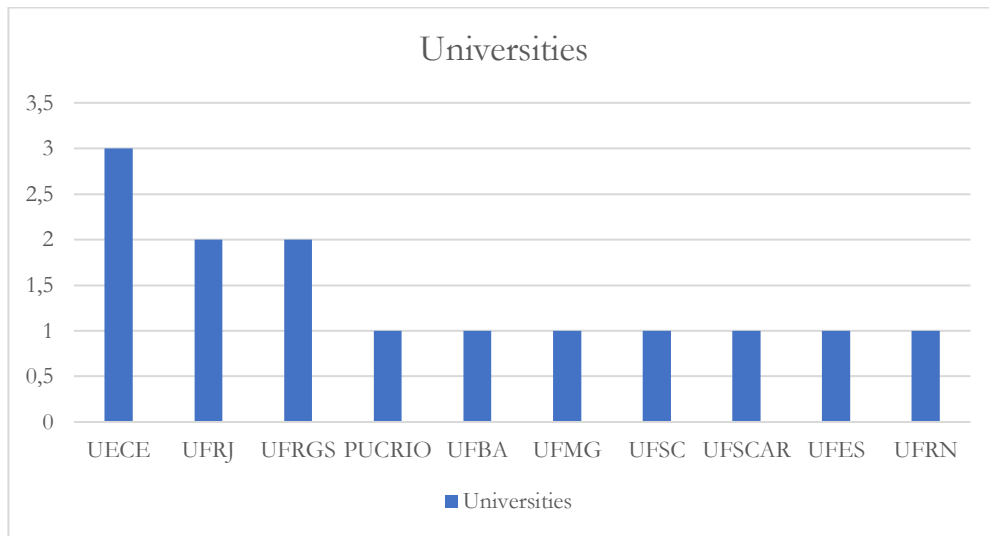
[12] Pontifical Catholic University of Rio de Janeiro (PUCRIO), Federal University of Bahia (UFBA), Federal University of Minas Gerais (UFMG), Federal University of Santa Catarina (UFSC), Federal University of São Carlos (UFSCAR), Federal University of Espírito Santo (UFES) and Federal University of Rio Grande do Norte (UFRN).

In the graph below, we can see a slight difference from the data regarding the master's theses, as we do not have such a wide range of departments carrying out doctoral research related to AD. Education (5 researches) Special Education (1) and Informatics in Education (1) are responsible for a larger amount of researches in doctoral level, reaching half of the total with 7 researches out of the 14 surveyed. Applied Linguistics presented 3 researches, while Language Studies (1) and Linguistics (1) presented 2 dissertations and Engineering and Knowledge Management had only 1.
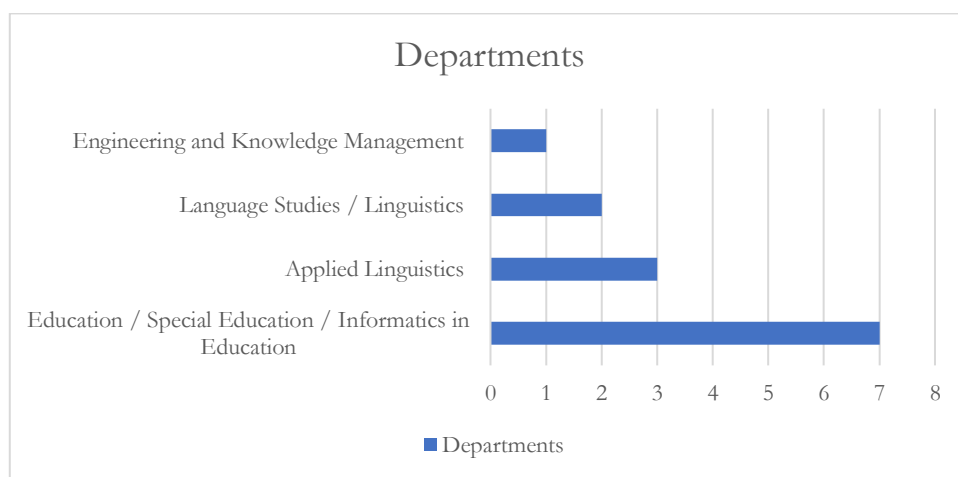

As there is no professor who supervised more than one research so far, we will not present these data as relevant to our analysis as there is no concentration of researches being supervised by the same professors as we have seen in the master's theses. Suffice to say that all the 14 professors have also supervised at least one master's thesis related to AD before supervising the doctoral dissertation presented here.

Concerning the research approach, we have found that a similar proportional division between theoretical (1), applied (7) and theoretical-applied (6) approaches were carried out in the doctoral researches as they were in the master's theses previously presented.
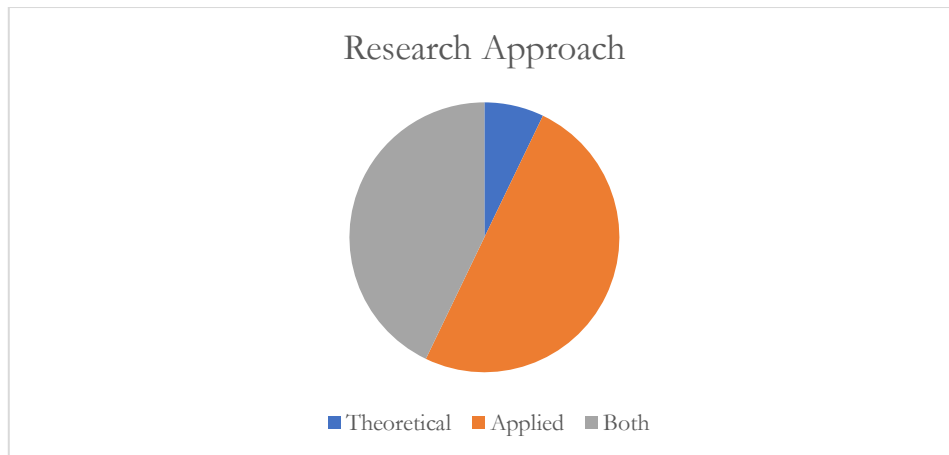
Despite our initial hypothesis that doctoral dissertations would tend to a more theoretical approach, due to the novelty of the topic it is understandable that so many researches have dealt with the applied approach by trying to analyze and evaluate AD and its parameters. The researches in the theoretical-applied approach have also greatly contributed to the deepening and fostering of AD studies in Brazil, as they have discussed and improved international models to better cater to Brazilian context, proposing a practical application as example to help readers and other researchers understand the changes and new parameters they proposed.

Finally, concerning the types of AD researched, we see a big similarity regarding the data analyzed from the master's theses. Again, there is a higher number of researches dealing with AD for videos and Visual Arts, while the other types have fewer or no representants among the surveyed data.

Types of AD
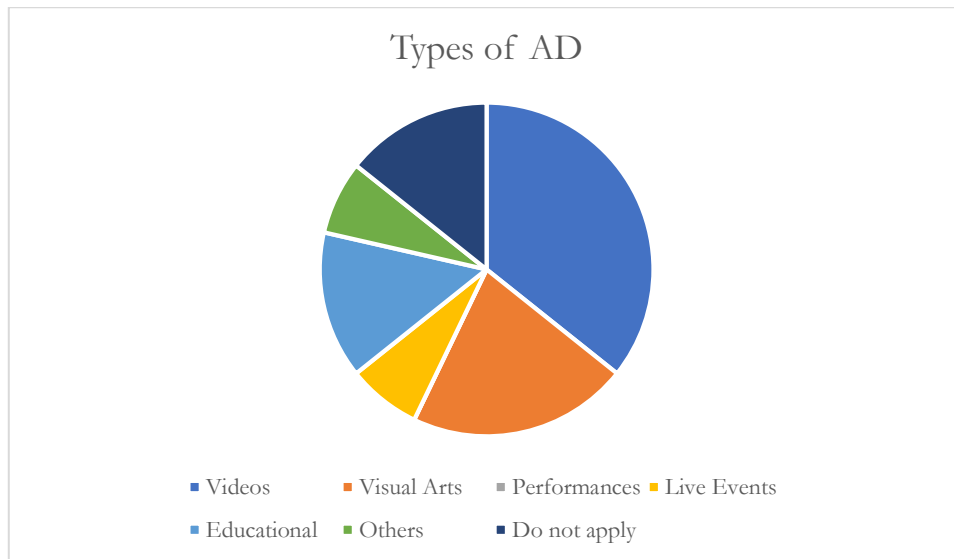
With this we conclude the presentation of the main results for the doctoral dissertations, going back to our 3 research questions. For Question 1 ("How many doctoral dissertations centered in audio description were published so far in Brazil?"), the answer is a total of only 14 doctoral dissertations so far. As for Question 2 ("Is there a greater concentration of research carried out at some university and/or a concentration of professors who supervise research on audio description in the country?"), contrary to the findings for the master's theses where there was a higher concentration of researches published by UECE, regarding the doctoral dissertations, despite a lead of UECE with 3 researches, the difference is not as significant as we have found in the master's theses. There was also no single professor who supervised more than one doctoral research in the time period surveyed. Finally, regarding Question 3 ("Is there predominance of theoretical research or applied research and/or applied research aimed at a specific type of audio description?"), we have found very similar results when comparing the doctoral dissertations and the master's theses, with a larger percentage of applied and theoretical-applied researches, rather than theoretical. The same similarity was also found regarding the types of AD with Video taking an expressive lead compared to other types.

4. CONCLUSION

This paper is part of a larger research project that aims to map out Accessible Audiovisual Translation in Brazil (Spolidorio, 2017). The first results pointed out that Brazil has a significant academic production in the field that is yet to be recognized internationally. One of the main findings so far is regarding the amount of legislation and orientation documents that Brazil has on Accessibility and Accessible Audiovisual Translation, which seems to surpass even countries well known for their lead in media accessibility, such as Spain and the UK[13].

Here, we aimed to discuss the researches carried out at graduate studies departments centered in AD in order to better understand the development of this field of research in the country. As presented in our analysis, we have found that the researches centered in AD are fairly recent, the first one having been published barely a decade ago. During this last decade, though, we have seen an intense growth in publications, mainly of master's theses that amounted to 61 researches published.

The researches at master's degree level are mostly concentrated in a few leading centers and being supervised by recurrent professors. Among these, UECE and professor supervisor Dr. Vera Lúcia Santiago Araújo are the highlights in the master theses publications. Regarding doctoral dissertations, the number is considerably lower, only 14 researches and we did not see the same concentration of researches or recurrent professors supervising these researches. Both master theses and doctoral dissertations had similar results regarding the nature of their research, being the applied or theoretical-applied approach the most common, and also regarding the type of AD most researched, with Video being the most recurrent type.

The ongoing research on Accessible Audiovisual Translation in Brazil has yet many other topics to address with similar methodologies, such as Subtitling for the Deaf and Hard-of-Hearing and Sing Language Window. It is also our intention to map out, in future investigations, not only graduate studies

---

[13] These findings were presented at the 1st International e-Conference on Translation / Translation in and for Society: Investigating Sociological and Cultural Aspects in Literary and Specialized Domains held on 26-28 September 2018 by University of Cordoba and KU Leuven. A paper was produced based on the presentation with the same name "Accessible audiovisual translation in Brazil: a road to media accessibility paved by legislation and orientation documents" and has been submitted to a Brazilian journal and currently awaits for the acceptance or rejection verdict.

researches published as master's theses and doctoral dissertations, but also books, book chapters, papers, and conference proceedings. However, these data are currently far too expressive to be dealt at once and will be subsequentially divided in smaller endeavors and publications.

REFERENCES

ABNT. (2016). Acessibilidade em comunicação na televisão. Retrieved from https://www.abntcatalogo.com.br/norma.aspx?ID=365121

Aderaldo, M. F. (2014). *Proposta de parâmetros descritivos para audiodescrição à luz da interface revisitada entre tradução audiovisual acessível e semiótica social – multimodalidade.* Doctoral Dissertation. Belo Horizonte, UFMG.

Aderaldo, M. F. & Nunes, M. S. (2017). A audiodescrição e a acessibilidade visual: breve percurso histórico. In: Aderaldo, M. F. *et al.* (Orgs). *Pesquisas Teóricas e Aplicadas em Audiodescrição.* Natal: EDUFRN.

Diaz-Cintas, J. & Neves, J. (2015). Taking Stock of Audiovisual Translation. In Diaz- Cintas, J. & Neves, J. *Audiovisual Translation Taking Stock.* New York: John Benjamins.

Franco, E. C. P. & Araújo, V. L. S. (2011). *Questões Terminológico-conceituais no campo da tradução audiovisual.* Retrieved from https://www.maxwell.vrac.puc-rio.br/18884/18884.PDFXXvmi=

Franco, E. P. C. & Silva, M. C. C da. (2010). Audiodescrição: breve passeio histórico. In: Motta, L. M. V.; Romeu Filho, P. (Orgs.), *Audiodescrição: transformando imagens em palavras.* São Paulo: Secretaria dos Direitos da Pessoa com Deficiência do Estado de São Paulo.

Motta, L. M. V. M. & Romeu Filho, P. (2010). *Audiodescrição: transformando imagens em palavras.* São Paulo: Secretaria de Estado dos Direitos da Pessoa com Deficiência.

Naves, S. B. *et al.* (2016). *Guia Para Produções Audiovisuais Acessíveis.* Brasília: Secretaria do Audiovisual do Ministério da Cultura.

Spolidorio, S. (2017). Mapeando a tradução audiovisual acessível no Brasil. *Trabalhos em Linguística Aplicada, Campinas,* 56 (2), pp. 313-345. Retrieved from http://www.scielo.br/pdf/tla/v56n2/2175-764X-tla-56-02-00313.pdf

Villela, L.M. (2017) *Acessibilidade audiovisual: produção inclusiva nos contextos acadêmicos, culturais e nas plataformas web*. Bauru: Canal 6.