Apropos of Ideology

Translation Studies on Ideology – Ideologies in Translation Studies

apropos of ideology

Edited by
María Calzada Pérez

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I FORGET YOUR NAME
I DON’T THINK
I BURY MY HEAD
I BURY YOUR HEAD
I BURY YOU
(Jenny Holzer)

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Introduction

MARÍA CALZADA PÉREZ

1. Why Ideology?

It is a truism that translation is as old as humankind. Ideology, for its part, is hardly a new phenomenon either. Likewise, the combination of cross-cultural encounters and ideological pressures has permeated history. Examples abound. Goldenberg (2000), for instance, points out that – in the Spanish-American War of 1898 – presses played crucial roles in the construction of public opinion regarding their own countries and 'the Other'. Original (ST) and translated (TT) documents contributed to forging ideological stereotypes. These were intentionally sought to raise support for a war that was to change the global order and the hegemonic discourse of the time.

Therefore, the cross-cultural ideological tensions that mark the turn of the millennium are actually nothing new, despite the growing concern they are causing. However, they do contain certain features that make them, in many ways, unusual and unique. Their idiosyncratic nature mainly stems from what is known as globalization: a widely spread neologism that could be seen to designate a form of cultural and economic colonialism.

Whereas, before, tensions were limited by geographical and chronological factors and mainly affected certain social strata directly, now the homogenizing force of globalization is all the greater because it can reach all places and all social levels very fast. To this end, new means of communication (notably the Internet) and media (e.g. satellite and digital television) are being put to use. It is this overwhelming strength of globalization that worries thinkers like Maalouf (1999:152) when he argues:

> I am convinced that globalization is a threat to cultural diversity, especially to diversity of languages and lifestyles; and that this threat is even infinitely greater than in the past [...][1]

Concern about these globalized ideological tensions is resulting in increasing interest on the part of a variety of disciplines ranging from political

[1] All translations into English are my own.

science and anthropology through sociology and cultural studies to linguistics. Linguistics, for example, has developed a relatively new trend of research – critical discourse analysis (CDA) – whose primary aim is to expose the ideological forces that underlie communicative exchanges. This is the common goal of an approach that is far from homogeneous. According to Fairclough and Wodak (1997:262-268), there are at least six main strands within CDA – French discourse analysis (e.g. Pêcheux); the discoursal-historical method (e.g. Wodak); Van Dijk's socio-cognitive school; Fairclough's emphasis on socio-cultural/discursive change; social semiotics (e.g. Kress) and critical linguistics (e.g. Fowler). All of them use slightly different tools and methodologies for their work.

This, of course, does not exhaust the viewpoints from which cross-cultural ideological phenomena may be – and are indeed being – examined. Translation studies (TS) have a great deal to say about these issues. In fact, it has been doing so for over a decade now. TS dig into ideological phenomena for a variety of reasons. All language use is, as CDA contenders claim, ideological. Translation is an operation carried out on language use. This undoubtedly means that translation itself is always a site of ideological encounters (which often turn 'sour'). Fawcett (1998: 107), for instance, provides an eloquent illustration of how

> throughout the centuries, individuals and institutions have applied their particular beliefs to the production of certain effects in translation.

Ranging from the Middle Ages to the present day, Fawcett's chosen cases show that translations have been ideological simply by existing (like Ælfric's transfer of *The Life of the Saints*); by being subjected to various forms of (religious) creeds, which ultimately took translators to be burnt at the stake or to be threatened (and killed) by notorious *fatwas*; or by echoing all sorts of value-related messages such as Marxism:

> As in all good dialectical practice, the thesis (source language) and the antithesis (target language) are resolved in the synthesis of translation. (Fawcett 1998:110)

Furthermore, ideological phenomena may also be legitimately approached from a TS vantage point because, as Emily Apfer (2001) argues, globalization is resulting in an in-built form of (Anglo-American) translatability at which "global artists, video makers and writers con-

sciously or unconsciously" aim. If globalization is unleashing translational mechanisms even within monolingual artefacts, this seems to hint at an ever-increasing need for TS expertise. It is not without reason, then, that Apfer (2001:online) makes a point of stressing TS's important contribution to ideologically-related matters:

> When the problem of a globalizing mass culture and public culture is approached from the perspective of translatability, new and important questions of cultural commodification and thus, ideology, arise.

Hence, both the present interest in today's cross-cultural ideological phenomena and their undoubted relation to the field of translation studies (of which we have only presented a handful of arguments here) explain the reason for a book like *Apropos of Ideology. Translation Studies on Ideology – Ideologies in Translation Studies*. The main aim of this compilation of articles is, thus, to encourage a debate on ideology in translation studies which contributes to the discussion that is currently taking place at various levels. However, to understand what this aim fully entails I will now consider the concepts of 'ideology' (section 2) and 'translation studies' (section 3). A detailed structure of the volume, with an overview of the articles it contains, follows (section 4).

2. On Ideology

There are so many definitions of ideology that it is impossible to review all of them here.[2] Such a profusion tends to confuse scholars and lay readers alike. For the latter, "An ideology is a belief or a set of ideas, especially the political beliefs on which people, parties, or countries base their actions" (Collins Cobuild s.v.). The common political slant of the term often merges with negative undertones so that, for Van Dijk (1998:2), it is sometimes "taken as a system of wrong, false, distorted or otherwise misguided beliefs". This is, of course, the legacy of a Marxist (and neo-Marxist) tradition which saw ideology as tantamount to political domination, in the form of covert manipulation, and always related to

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[2] For a brief outlook of the history of the term and copious bibliography on the topic, see, for instance, Larrain (1979); Thompson (1990); Eagleton (1991); Hawkes (1996); or Van Dijk (1998).

the concepts of power and hegemony (in the Gramscian sense). Along these lines, ideology is imposed surreptitiously. It gradually becomes everyday, common thinking. The more naturalized it is, the more successful it becomes amongst its subjugated citizens. This is precisely why, according to Van Dijk (1998:2),

> few of 'us' (in the West or elsewhere) describe our own belief systems or convictions as 'ideologies'. On the contrary, Ours is the Truth, Theirs is the Ideology.

In this sense, ideology is a pernicious, destructive force that should be opposed, fought, and conquered. However, the political definition of ideology does not need to be tied to these 'negative' (destructive) echoes. Kellner (in *Illuminations. The Critical Theory Website*) explains that, within the Marxian tradition itself, more 'positive' (constructive) approaches, have also developed. These are particularly associated with Lenin, who described Socialist ideology as a force that encourages revolutionary consciousness and fosters progress. Merging the negative/destructive and positive/constructive connotations Kellner (online: 3) describes the term as:

> 'Janus-faced', two-sided: it contains errors, mystifications and techniques of manipulation and domination, but it also contains a utopian residue that can be used for social critique and to advance progressive politics.

The political definition of ideology has indeed had a direct influence on today's academia. Some theorists remain 'faithful' to ideology's most political undertones because, as Fairclough (1995:16) for instance explains:

> My view is that the abuses and contradictions of capitalist society which gave rise to critical theory have not been diminished, nor have the characteristics of discursive practices within capitalist society which gave rise to critical discourse analysis.

Sometimes these scholars underline the negative connotations of the term, in which case they link ideologies to the dominant social power and support the following definition (reproduced by Eagleton 1991:30):

> Ideas and beliefs which help to legitimate the interest of a ruling group or class by distortion or dissimulation.

On other occasions, however, they put an emphasis on ideology's most positive side. Ideology is now viewed as a vehicle to promote or legitimate interests of a particular social group (rather than a means to destroy contenders).

The political definitions of ideology have also had a refracted impact upon other members of the language-related and TS academic community. These scholars realize the importance of the concept as a set of ideas, which organize our lives and help us understand the relationship to our environment. They contend that certain ideologies become naturalized or common, whereas others are pushed aside to the edges of our societies. For them, some ideologies are dominant, they are more useful to succeed in public spheres while others remain chained to more domestic settings. However, they refuse to constrain the term to its purely political meaning. So they open it up to a wider definition. For Verschueren, editor of a compilation on *Language and Ideology:*

> Ideology is interpreted as any constellation of beliefs or ideas, bearing on an aspect of social reality, which are experienced as fundamental or commonsensical and which can be observed to play a normative role. (1999:Preface)

After reviewing various definitions, Van Dijk (1998:48-9) agrees with Verschueren:

> [...] an ideology is the set of factual and evaluative beliefs – that is the knowledge and the opinions – of a group [...] In other words, a bit like the axioms of a formal system, ideologies consist of those general and abstract social beliefs and opinions (attitudes) of a group.

Briefly, the definition of ideology I want to put forward and pursue in this volume is – like Verschueren's or Van Dijk's – not limited to political spheres. Instead, it allows researchers to investigate modes of thinking, forms of evaluating, and codes of behaviour which govern a community by virtue of being regarded as the norm.

There is a final issue that often causes confusion amongst scholars; that is, the distinction between culture and ideology. Whereas the latter, as we have just argued, consists of "the set of ideas, values and beliefs that govern a community by virtue of being regarded as the norm" (Calzada-Pérez 1997:35), culture is commonly taken to be "an integrated

system of learned behavior patterns that are characteristic of the members of any given society" (Khol 1984:17). Both definitions certainly overlap and the difference between them may be so subtle that academics such as Fawcett (1998:106) openly ask: "When is something ideology rather than culture?".

Just answering this question to the full would probably entail a volume on its own and it is not our intention to provide any definite answers to this specific question in this introduction. Suffice it here to say that we have foregrounded 'ideology' rather than 'culture' for two main reasons. Firstly, everyday 'culture' is normally related to what is conventionally known as 'society', in its ethnic sense of "the community of people living in a particular country or region and having shared customs, laws and organizations" (New OED 1998 s.v.). Our definition of ideology aims at enlarging this ethnic framework. Ideology, as is understood here, not only affects 'societies'. It permeates (identity) groups of the most varied nature, which would not always relate to the conventional meaning of 'society'. Disparate communities such as the gay scene or TV interpreters may be the setting of ideological phenomena which would not strictly qualify as cultural.

And secondly, in the same way that ideology has been traditionally associated with negative – political – connotations, culture is normally tied to positive – 'philanthropic' – features. Looking into the former seems to encourage greater 'critical thinking'. Cultures are often regarded as traditions, pasts, roots or knowledge; in short, heritages. Being 'critical' with our own cultures can be seen by some as 'risky' and 'inappropriate' as it is 'politically incorrect' to criticize other cultures openly. By foregrounding 'ideology' rather than culture we want to encourage (self)-criticism from various standpoints within translation studies.

3. On Translation Studies

Apropos of Ideology. Translation Studies on Ideology – Ideologies in Translation Studies has a twofold aim, represented by its two running titles. On the one hand, it is a compilation on ideology, in the sense we have already specified in the previous section. On the other, it is a book clearly conceived within TS. It revolves also, therefore, around 'Ideologies in TS'. This section tackles the latter.

Holmes' (1988) mapping of our discipline has arguably become a standard amongst TS (theoretical and practical) communities. However, this

does not mean that TS is either unified or homogeneous. On the contrary, it is a conglomerate of dissimilar approaches or trends to which Snell-Hornby *et al.* (1994), for example, has referred as an 'interdiscipline'. Each of these approaches or trends favours its own set of ideas and beliefs about the translating task and about the world that surrounds it, and each has its own mechanisms to perpetuate itself amongst (would-be) followers. Ultimately, translation scholars become ideological channels that (re)produce and (re)create translational behaviour to its most minute detail. Translators *qua* translators build their identities upon the (artificial) 'certainties' that they grasp in these different ideological 'niches'. Robinson (online) makes critical remarks about the ideological certainties of both our discipline and practice:

> Translators know certain things: how to regulate the degree of 'fidelity' with the source text, how to tell what degree and type of fidelity is appropriate in specific use contexts, how to receive and deliver translations, how to charge them, how to find help with terminology, how to talk and generally act as a professional, and so on. Translators are those people who know these things, and who let their knowledge govern their behavior. And that knowledge is ideological. It is controlled by ideological norms [...]. If you want to become a translator you must submit to the translator's submissive role, submit to being 'possessed' by what ideological norms inform you [...]

In sum, translators translate according to the ideological settings in which they learn and perform their tasks. These settings are varied and have resulted in a rich 'concoction' of ideologies. Feminists, functionalists, descriptive and polysystemic scholars, sociolinguistic researchers, postcolonial exegetes, corpus studies propounders, critical linguistic theorists, gay and lesbian academics, semioticians, contrastive linguists embody some of the very many 'ideologies' that make up TS. Nevertheless, throughout history, the varied range of TS has often been reduced to series of polar opposites. Studies in our discipline have been presented as in favour of either literal or free strategies; scholars have been classified into literary or non-literary traditions; approaches have been segregated as theoretical or practical; and so on and so forth. TS's ideological complexity has also been jeopardized by the latest of these academic simplifications: strands are either located within cultural studies or 'pure' linguistics. It is already well known that, in its most extreme version, this

dichotomy would claim that linguistically-orientated approaches to translational phenomena are mainly descriptive studies focusing on textual form and failing to address wider, ideological issues. Cultural studies, for its part, targets these issues but would have no systematic formal framework of analysis.

Furthermore, these two sides – as Baker (1996) shows – have been depicted as isolated contenders that can neither communicate nor work together; that constantly attack and exclude each other, disregarding the numerous instances of research in which they do indeed come together. However, more and more voices are currently being raised to contest the dichotomy. Amongst them, Maria Tymoczko (1999:140) has always worked to propound that "seemingly divergent or antithetical translation traditions can function in complementary and symbiotic ways". For example, both in Tymoczko (1999) and (2000) she uses descriptive tools to uncover explanatory, ideological material via the analysis of textual and paratextual data.

This compilation of papers on ideology is born out of both centripetal and centrifugal forces. On the one hand, because of centripetal forces, we want to claim that TS is much richer than the binomial opposites mentioned above would suggest. With Ulrych and Bollettieri Bosinelli (1999:238), we believe that:

> [...] there now exists a variegated and consolidated core of translation scholars working within a variety of approaches and with a variety of methodologies but all focusing on the ultimate aim of furthering their knowledge and understanding of translation as a phenomenon per se.

On the other hand, centrifugal pressures lead us to argue that all these different ideological trends need to approach each other in order to foster dialogue and fusion. The merging of dissimilar issues and approaches around the notion of ideology is one of the main contributions of this book. In effect, whereas it focuses on ideological phenomena of various kinds and from various TS perspectives, it nevertheless, gathers material that up until now would probably be found in separate volumes. We admit the inspiration of three previous volumes: Dingwaney and Maier (1995); Bowker *et al.* (1998); and Simms (1997).

Dingwaney and Maier's work is an exciting project owing especially to its multidisciplinary nature. Amongst its varied range of contributors are poets and writers, social and community workers, sculptors and lec-

turers in diverse fields: literature, anthropology, law, applied linguistics, cultural studies and religion. It is precisely this multidisciplinarity which has served as a model for *Apropos of Ideology.* As mentioned above, the work seeks to merge different traditions in order to give a richer, more dynamic view of ideological matters in translation. At the same time, we propose to draw on the interdisciplinarity of TS itself, rather than to resort to external disciplines.

In turn, Bowker *et al.* (1998) is really a book on the various ideologies within TS and it inspires our theoretical/ideological scope. It approaches a wide variety of topics (e.g. feminism, bilingualism, nationalism, subtitling, machine translation, etc.) from dissimilar ideological viewpoints. Cultural studies, descriptive translation studies, computer-aided translation, and interpreting are represented in this compilation. Our contributions, for their part, seek to maintain TS ideological variety. However, they focus on ideologically related matters only.

Finally, Simms (1997) is, in many ways, a similar product to the present compilation. It includes articles on ideology from different TS traditions. Nevertheless, while it concentrates on linguistic descriptions of legal, religious, political,… products, it excludes other forms of research, such as – for example – poststructuralist criticism. *Apropos of Ideology* sets off with the intention of providing an eclectic, though clearly not exhaustive, picture of the topic.

4. About this book

Apropos of Ideology follows a specific to general approach regarding the notion of ideology. It starts off with the definition of this concept as political thinking, but gradually incorporates other sites of ideological engagement like gender, sexual identity, religion, secularity, technology and translation studies self-criticism.

The political focus is provided by **Christina Schäffner** who, in **'Third Ways and New Centres – Ideological Unity or Difference?'**, examines a joint manifesto produced by the British Labour Party and the German Social Democratic Party in 1999. Schäffner moves from establishing the political background through analyzing ideological features of text production to probing the ideological considerations reflected by the text itself.

As far as the political background is concerned, she briefly introduces the British and German *status quo* and then reviews the process of co-writing (as the result of either parallel work or 'traditional' translation).

When examining text production, the author discusses the extratextual factors which surround the document under scrutiny and which make up this 'peculiar' form of translational event combining parallel writing and translation. The agents of this mixed process are not individual conventional translators, but a team of (unknown) writers who, though politically minded, are not normally connected to translating tasks. Both the British and German versions were ultimately supervised by the then-influential Peter Mandelson and Bobo Hombach and were designed to behave as equifunctional texts, theoretically aiming at comparable addressees with comparable needs and expectations. In effect, the texts ended up fulfilling different functions in what were indeed very different social (and linguistic) contexts. These contextual dissimilarities are clearly portrayed by textural features of the manifestos. Straightforward concepts such as 'social justice', 'state', 'community', 'partnership' have different (semantic) histories in Britain and Germany and this has clear effects on final translations.

Schäffner's paper may, consequently, be seen as the classical top-down approach to ideological phenomena. There are certain elements that make the text innovative. Firstly, while focusing her definition of ideology on politics, she broadens the most traditional descriptions of translation, in order to incorporate cross-cultural practices, such as parallel writing, that some voices (within TS) would leave outside its scope. Admittedly, this is not an entirely new stand, since other TS scholars – notably Bassnett and Lefevere – have supported this theoretical 'enlargement' for some time now. Schäffner shows that linguistic-oriented voices actively contribute to this enlargement. Secondly, like the other contributors to this volume, Schäffner implicitly argues against the pure and neat categorization of TS schools when she borrows, for her study, tools from critical discourse analysis (the textual/contextual link, for example), descriptive translation studies (translational events), German functionalism (emphasis on TT clients and reception; Nord's extra- and intra-textual components) and cognitive and text linguistics (frames, schemata, metaphors,...).

Finally, if linguistically-oriented research on translation has been accused of being detached from the real world, Schäffner proves this criticism wrong when she presents a linguistically-oriented article full of names that were certainly internationally recognized at the time when the manifesto was produced (i.e. Mandelson, Hombach, Lafontaine). As Vidal Claramonte (1998:8) suggests, the author shows that translation studies 'is in this world'.

TS's active involvement in the world remains a constant in this book and is clearly endorsed by **Keith Harvey**'s **"'Events' and 'Horizons': Reading Ideology in the 'Bindings' of Translations"**. Here, after reviewing the apparently antithetical concepts of individual agency and social determinism, the author synthesizes them by drawing on the works of Fairclough and Berman in his discussion of the translations of three American gay novels: John Rechy's *Rushes*; Larry Kramer's *Faggots* and Andrew Holleran's *Dancer from the Dance*. Harvey concentrates on their translated titles, cover photos, and blurbs (his 'binding' or 'peripherals') to examine the repercussions in the receiving environment of what he calls "agency of the translation as event" (versus the responsibility of individual translators).

While complementing Schäffner's definition of ideology with issues related to gay identity, the author fully coincides with the latter in the use of eclectic sources to enrich the scope of translation studies.

Harvey's contribution is, in fact, a fitting illustration of how TS scholars can promote a multifaceted (methodological and formal) alternative agenda from a relatively 'traditional' point of departure. In other words, when the author initially takes up the theoretical challenge of reconciling agency and determinism, events and systems, human behaviour and history, he is hardly taking on a new task. However, in the actual analysis of his corpus he implements an 'interactional/interventionist' working protocol, which sets his 'alternative agenda' in motion.

Harvey's agenda is alternative firstly because his actual methodology is alternative. He favours the exploration of what Tymoczko (2000:26) would call 'the perlocutionary dimension' of target texts; that is their effects amongst the target readership. While today's TS on ideology is basically dominated by – much needed – causal studies of translations (see Schäffner in this volume, for example), he chooses to do otherwise. In other words, Harvey not only isolates plausible reasons for his textural material. He also identifies (potential) repercussions on the readership. Furthermore, he manages to avoid essentialist divisions between causations and repercussions (systems and agency) (cf. Chesterman and Arrojo 2000). In this sense, Harvey shows that translation agency – his focus of study – is a complex concept which has systemic causes and, at the same time, leaves a constitutive imprint on the target site.

Harvey's agenda is alternative secondly because his subject of analysis – translating American gay fiction into French – differs from other, more 'conservative' topics. Consequently, he shows an interest in

'minoritized' translational realities while again escaping essentialist thinking. He underlines the fact that majorities and minorities are not clear-cut, monolithic categories, but that they change with time and appear intermingled: minorities within majorities and vice versa. The topic chosen by the scholar brings to the fore his academic affiliation with gay/queer studies and increases the already high level of multidisciplinarity his research usually displays.

Harvey's agenda is alternative finally because of the specific corpus chosen for analysis. With the aid of semiotics (amongst other tools), he dissects the 'peripherals' of covers (i.e. title and photo) and blurbs to "a degree of detail and systematicity that I am suggesting is new within translation studies"**.** Furthermore, in his subversive attempt to overturn 'normal' practices, he describes this material as paradoxically the "obvious place to begin an analysis of the translation as interface" (Harvey in this volume), when such research does not abound.

The normalization of marginalized (women's) ideologies and the advocacy of alternative, subversive aims are also the main topic of **María del Carmen África Vidal Claramonte**'s **'(Mis)translating Degree Zero Translation and Conceptual Art'**.

Vidal Claramonte complements the political view of ideology with (postmodern) philosophical matters, which, she claims, are also a subject of analysis for translation studies. In this way, she presents living as constant translating; she highlights the ideological dangers of language (hence translation) and calls for a debate about our practitioners' ethical responsibility towards society. She applies her theoretical thinking to the potential rendering of a postmodern mode of expression – conceptual art – which, like Harvey's 'bindings', can also be described as alternative translational matter. Vidal Claramonte refers to Barbara Kruger, Glenn Ligon, Sue Williams, Shirin Neshat, but she particularly concentrates on works by Nancy Spero and Jenny Holzer. She discusses the radical nature of their artistic proposals, which aim at exposing and opposing patriarchal ideologies through popular – deconstructive – formats such as posters, stickers on phone booths, t-shirts, or electronic signs. She then wonders about the options that are open for translators in dealing with this radical input (that depends entirely on language) and even considers financial matters, since conceptual art – for example Weiner's phrases on walls – has been sold at astronomical prices: "Can anybody imagine translating a word", asks Vidal Claramonte in this volume, "that has cost somebody 10,000 dollars?". This contribution leaves us with a large series of questions – rather than

certainties – that bring the author back to the philosophical tone with which the paper starts.

The material Vidal Claramonte looks into, as has been said already, is as 'marginalized' and 'subversive' as Harvey's. However, there is a major difference between the two scholars. While the latter focuses on the ideological causes and repercussions of translated material, the former prefers to investigate the ideological potential of the original artefacts. The rest of her paper comprises hypotheses about translations that, as far as we are concerned, do not yet exist. For what the Spanish theorist may be advocating here is the need for a translational ethos that precedes the translating task itself. This reminds us of the fact that translation studies is currently devoted to the most varied range of interests that legitimately fall within its scope. In the same way translators explore the repercussions of their work amongst the audience, they also decide about their own ethical stance. In the same way they analyze the representation of politics, they debate the politics of representation.

Vidal Claramonte is as multivocal as previous contributors, though this time she brings into our discipline her preferred inspirational sources, which are connected to postmodernism, poststructuralism, and deconstruction. She also puts into question the cultural studies vs. linguistics dichotomy. When she expresses the need to overcome the view of translating as a solely linguistic practice, she quotes (linguistic-oriented) Schäffner to support her arguments. Whereas cultural studies proponents have often been attacked for their mainly theoretical standpoints (versus the more empirical or pedagogical tones of certain linguists), she is careful to explain that the paper's philosophical and ethical questions respond to her concerns as a practising translator. She has to decide on ethics with the same urgency that she faces many other aspects of her profession.

So far, the definition of ideology as political thinking has been complemented by Harvey's and Vidal Claramonte's different – yet symbiotic – approaches to gay and gender issues. With the next two papers, by Christiane Nord and Şehnaz Tahir-Gürçağlar respectively, other sites of ideological engagement are visited through the consideration of religious and secularizing forces.

Christiane Nord, one of the main defenders of the increasingly influential ideology of German functionalism within TS, explains, in **'Function and Loyalty in Bible Translation'**, how she faced the conveyance of biblical and apocryphal early Christian texts. In order to do so, she formed part of a two-person translating team, which worked on the

basis of 'split competence'. While she took care of the cross-linguistic aspects of the joint venture, her male colleague was in charge of the theological and linguistic understanding of the original source. Hence, like Schäffner or Harvey, Nord distances herself from a (canonical?) description of translation as a one-person's task. She argues that co-translating is a common practice that deserves our theoretical attention.

As a convinced functionalist, Nord begins by revealing the three-fold purpose that underlies her article. Firstly, she intends to consolidate functionalism in TS academia. Secondly, she wishes to investigate 'sensitive' texts. Now that *Skopostheorie* has been acclaimed with regard to technical and literary genres, religious documents are further material to test her theoretical framework. Thirdly, she sets out to unveil the way in which both her colleague and she have been affected by their theological and functional stances.

Nord continues with a brief definition of *Skopstheorie*'s main concepts – 'function plus loyalty' and 'skopos' – in order to inform an account of the joint experience of translating sacred texts. From that moment on, the scholar resorts to Fillmore's semantic scenes-and-frames model to illustrate nodes of ideological conflict, the team's preferred solutions and a comparison with other (canonical) versions of the same texts. This paper culminates in a series of theological and feminist debates that are clearly ideological.

Nord's proposal offers translation studies a clear-cut, organized framework, which is not only applicable to pedagogical settings, but which is also relevant to the study of ideological mechanisms and goals. As has been seen, this framework takes the scholar from definitions, through statements of intentions, to the analysis of the actual process/product of translation. Furthermore, it illustrates how traditional concepts in (cognitive) linguistics (such as Fillmore's model) may be used to reach ideological conclusions. The combination of Fillmore's familiar and unfamiliar frames and scenes with reference to source and target texts results in a highly structured identification and explanation of ideological shifts that guide the translators' own decisions.

Equally noteworthy is Nord's overt sincerity when it comes to acknowledging her academic and translating intentions. Her open attitude may be compared to that of other (cultural studies) researchers who set their own (often radical) agendas, revealing their intentions from their very first moves. Finally, the paper challenges the rigid dichotomy of canonical vs. non-canonical translational phenomena. Whereas *Skopostheorie* is gradu-

ally occupying the centre of translation studies (and is indeed setting many a teaching curriculum within training institutions) the transfer choices Nord justifies in this paper are still seen to be competing against a well-established (Bible Studies) tradition that makes it unadvisable to talk lightly about 'canonical' behaviour.

While Nord's paper revolves around the Christian religion, **Şehnaz Tahir-Gürçağlar**'s **'The Translation Bureau Revisited: translation as symbol'** deals with secularizing forces in Islamic Turkey. From 1839 onwards, Western literature has been imported by this country, via translation, with a view to promoting secular European Humanism and Renaissance thinking. This translating activity was part of some form of culture planning that has had institutional support, gained ground in national conferences, and depended on governmental bodies like the Translation Bureau. The Bureau was founded in 1940 and prolonged its work until 1966. Tahir-Gürçağlar describes the periods that preceded, coincided with, and followed its production. She examines historical events such as the replacement, in Turkey, of the Arabic alphabet by Latin characters in 1928; the celebration of the First Turkish Publishing Congress; the creation and disappearance of the Bureau; the change of government in 1946, etc. At present, after some decades of descriptive research, Turkey's academia is still intrigued by this translational experience, which is an appealing topic for further research. Tahir-Gürçağlar herself points to the Bureau's norms of transfer as the next potential stage of analysis.

In an increasingly anglicized academic environment, Tahir-Gürçağlar opens a window to 'other' traditions. She claims, not without reason, that TS scholars from all over the world can learn from the Turkish experience, not just about translation, but also about nationhood, culture planning, shifting ideologies and ideological symbolism. She exposes the fact that translation participates in a wider process that is made up of micro-level agents (e.g. translators, authors, critics, publishers, editors, individual politicians, ...) and macro-level agents (institutions). A critical analysis of this complex process reveals that it is hardly innocent. On the contrary, it actively contributes to the creation and perpetuation of artificial ideologies that are absorbed as natural. Approaching Harvey's conception of agency, Tahir-Gürçağlar implicitly argues that both micro and macro-level agents are responsible for ideological repercussions.

These investigations, according to the author, may benefit from the research tools developed by descriptive translation studies (DTS), another centre of our translation polysystem. In contrast with previous (or

following) papers that examine actual translated material of a more or less conventional type (e.g. traditional texts, conceptual art, 'bindings',…), Tahir-Gürçağlar reviews the extratextual matter that surrounds ideologically inspired translations. Furthermore, contrary to synchronic approaches to translations, the author opts for a diachronic gaze (historical DTS) that is especially helpful in pinning down ideological change. By doing so, she again reminds us that translation may be studied in many different ways, from many different viewpoints and upon a large range of data.

In our globalized, consumer-oriented societies, 'old' religious/secularizing concerns intermingle with 'new' communicative situations created by the emergence (and widespread use) of audiovisual media. The next two contributions by David Katan and Francesco Straniero Sergio, on the one hand, and Peter Fawcett, on the other, discuss the constraints imposed on linguistic/cultural mediators handling television or cinema products.

With **'Submerged Ideologies in Media Interpreting'**, **David Katan** and **Francesco Straniero Sergio** produce a joint paper about the underlying ideologies influencing TV interpreting, a relatively unexplored issue by T(I)S scholars. The scope of translation (and interpretation!) studies widens yet again.

The article proposes a model of intercultural communication based upon a very broad, multidisciplinary and hybrid literature with references from (Marxist) philosophy and sociology, sociolinguistics, psycholinguistics, cognitive linguistics, discourse analysis, interpreting research, media studies and cultural studies. According to this model, the interpreting process may be compared to a system of relations established at three levels. The most hidden of these planes encompasses the values and desires of our societies. For Katan and Straniero Sergio our dominant value system takes the form of 'consumer capitalism'. As for our desires, the authors expound on the concepts of 'popular culture', 'comfort factor', and 'environmental bubble'.

The second plane of the method proposed by Katan and Straniero Sergio is that of the interpreters' identity – their roles in the labour market and the skills they need to survive the selection process which would result in their return to their interpreting jobs. Obviously, values and desires have an important influence upon the creation of identity in the same way ideologies and identities are openly realized in Katan and Straniero Sergio's third plane of visible – linguistic and paralinguistic –

features. This tripartite model, consequently, envisages tied links between ideologies, identities and performance. Like Harvey and Tahir-Gürçağlar, the authors foresee agency as a potential 'detonator' of change and submerged ideologies as only influencing (never determining) factors for co-communicants' conduct.

Their framework allows the scholars to compare the behaviour of (new) TV interpreters with other (traditional) forms of consecutive, simultaneous or dialogue interpreters. This is achieved through tangible units (e.g. voices, lexicon, register, turn-taking, or *décalage*) as the departing point of study. Among other things, Katan and Straniero Sergio conclude that TV interpreters are currently more 'visible' than their predecessors. Whether translators will experience a similar – desirable – 'coming out' in the future is, at present, only a matter of speculation.

Katan and Straniero Sergio enrich our already varied images of translation and ideology. They produce a joint piece of research that, as has already been mentioned, benefits from a high degree of multidisciplinarity. Methodologically speaking they remind us of the existence (and relevance) of quantitative trends as part of our studies. They adopt an implicitly militant tone, through which they demand further space for interpreters. These are constantly isolated by commissioners, colleagues, and clients who regard them as 'passive and slavish' (Vuorinen 1997:169, cited in Katan and Straniero Sergio in this volume) imitators. Yet, they are often equally underestimated by TS academia who even drop the 'interpreting' component from our official label.

Finally, this discussion underlines the hybridization of all communicative exchanges, amongst which TV interpreting is just one example. In the same way that TV interpreting is merging with other (media) genres, so it may be concluded that hybrid texts (original and translations) are definitely the norm rather than the exotic exception.

Peter Fawcett proposes an article entitled **'The Manipulation of Language and Culture in Film Translation',** whose main topic is the shifting ideology of subtitling. This ideology regulates the level of work translators expect from their audiences; the moral, political and legal concerns that dominate our field; subtitlers' perception of their task; and the central discourses that surround this task. All of these constitute a constellation of ideas (i.e. ideology), which are implemented everyday by practitioners and handed down to younger generations through training, instruction, national culture, company culture and general translation culture.

According to Fawcett, film subtitling is exposed to at least three main forces – technical constraints, cultural and ideological issues, and the features and skills of each individual translator. The encounter of all three may result in randomness. However, it may also have, as Fawcett shows, systematic effects on the handling of language in general and the specific treatment of metaphors, cultural allusions, register and bad language. Nevertheless, by the end of the paper, Fawcett highlights the importance of translators' individual agency. He also critically assesses the genuine nature of two important 'technical' constraints: maximum number of characters allowed and synchronization of oral dialogue and written titles. Fawcett identifies a normalizing/domesticating trend in the translated data examined and ends his paper on a critical note, when he argues that English subtitlers have no option but to normalize. The final remark – "But film translation can hardly offer a site for resistance" – is a challenge bound to ignite academic debate.

Again, Fawcett's paper widens our perspective of translation with its focus on film subtitling. His ample gamut of examples illustrates the critical implementation of dissimilar theories by Vinay and Darbelnet, Shveitser, Newmark and Venuti. At any rate, Fawcett warns readers about the fact that isolated data can only offer tentative conclusions regarding ideological shifts.

It is Fawcett's bitterly critical tone that makes his paper particularly enjoyable. The author is critical of British society and its (censored) media. He is critical of technical constraints that are really customary conventions. He is especially (self-)critical of TS scholars, amongst whom he finds normalizers and foreignizers who are equally prescriptive. And it is this criticism that connects him with the final contributions by Rosemary Arrojo and Maria Tymoczko.

Apropos of Ideology encourages self-reflexivity in TS. As practising translators or scholars, it is vital for us to 'deconstruct' and expose the ideologies of 'others'. However, it is of equal importance that we turn to the field of TS with a critical – and constructive – mind. It is only in this way that we will achieve real progress.

'The Power of Originals and the Scandal of Translation – A Reading of Edgar Allan Poe's *The Oval Portrait*', by **Rosemary Arrojo**, contains an exercise of self-criticism, which erodes the essentialist system of representations (or ideology) lying at the foundation of our studies. This system spreads in various ways. One such way is through the naturalization of those metaphors that inform our view of translation at all levels

(from theory to practice, from teaching to learning). According to Arrojo, it is also within the scope of the (postmodern) translator to dismantle these metaphors, to defamiliarize their workings and to unveil their effects. Since literature has traditionally catered for these metaphoric images, Arrojo turns her eyes – and her poststructuralist toolkit – to Edgar Allan Poe's famous short-story 'The Oval Portrait'. This is basically about a narrator who arrives at a chateau, where he finds out about the tale of a painter who, while producing an excellent portrait of his wife, has been punished with her death for violating the clear-cut hierarchy of original/translation, real life/imitation.

The paper becomes a series of chained 'translations' (in the hermeneutic sense of 'interpretations'), reminiscent of Chinese boxes or Russian dolls. Arrojo recounts / 'translates' the tale of a narrator who is, in turn, conveying / 'translating' the story behind a picture of a beautiful lady, 'rendered' / 'translated' by a painter from a real life model, his wife. A complex network of relationships is established between all these mediators / 'translators'. The chain is potentially endless as Arrojo shows by providing multidisciplinary interpretations / 'translations' by Kennedy, Freud and Poe himself.

In the end, Poe's story seems to suggest that painters/translators are never to pursue a creative role or else they will be penalized. Yet, why is the narrator allowed to praise the painter/translator so vigorously throughout the story? Initially Arrojo provides a (purposely) essentialist answer, which she later challenges and which provokes thought in readers.

Arrojo warns us about the fact that metaphors of this kind (translation is painting) abound in TS. They forge the image of our task as servile imitation, secondary reproduction, or defective exploitation of the ST's innumerable treasures. Arrojo urges us to challenge this long-established essentialist ideology, that is by now common ground (protected by Western voices like Freud and Poe). Arrojo's paper expands both our understanding of ideology and our treatment of translation. With regard to ideology, she complements Marxist theory with complex concepts such as Freud's 'subject-formation' and Althusser's elaborate system of ideological practices. Concerning translation, she strengthens our discipline with its critical message and 'other' research procedures. She carries out a study that complements 'other' theoretical and practical works, with the varied help of different TS scholars – such as Hermans, Mounin or Venuti. She abandons observational or empirical approaches in favour of a rather more introspective examination. Arrojo disregards translated texts or

extratextual evidence and bases her work directly upon the system of representations that informs TS.

If Arrojo challenges essentialist thinking in TS, **Maria Tymoczko** turns the critical screw in **'Ideology and the Position of the Translator – In what Sense is a Translator "In Between"'**. She does so by assessing the metaphor of 'translator between' which, in turn, comes from anti-essentialist quarters. With her carefully woven logic, this scholar is, therefore, advocating that all ideological messages are subject to deconstruction and that TS would benefit from a constantly skeptical attitude towards (its own) pre-established ideologies. Avoiding – indeed despising – essentialist arguments, Tymoczko firstly examines general mechanisms of causality, in order to provide a truly scholarly answer to the question in the title. She reviews phylogenetic, physical, ontogenetic and functional reasons for the acceptance of the 'in between' discourse, but accompanies each of them with a warning of caution. Then, she refutes them with the help of a very varied multidisciplinary theoretical framework that draws on literary criticism, linguistics, politics, philosophy, systems theory, mathematics, anthropology, ethnography and descriptive translation studies. Finally, she sheds light upon the potential implications of this supposedly 'progressive' metaphor which, however, grows out of Western capitalist paradigms and perpetuates romantic, platonic constructs.

Tymoczko's informed article is a fitting conclusion to our discussion in *Apropos of Ideology*. It sums up much of what has been defended throughout the book. Its clear, careful argumentation is based on a hybrid theoretical ground that has been a key element of the rest of the contributions. Multidisciplinarity encourages merging and fusion and abandons fruitless oppositions that impoverish research. Tymoczko's gaze runs freely over 'other' non-Western traditions, which are still greatly unknown in dominant TS circles and which will undoubtedly be the most productive theoretical sources in the future. She also investigates different points in the historical spectrum, boosting an increasingly influential historical academic paradigm. Above all, she practises a constantly self-critical attitude, which avoids blindfolded (albeit possibly trendy) militancy. As always, Tymoczko's logic deconstructs simplistic notions and methodologies in order to depict a complex reality that needs to be appraised.

By revisiting various sites of ideological engagement (related to politics, gender, sexuality, religion, secularity, technology) or by taking a long hard look at TS itself, the contributors have all added to a debate that is

neither exhaustive nor complete. It simply aims to provide a common forum in which we talk to each other. Surely the conversation will continue beyond the pages of this volume. Hopefully the volume will inspire many other conversations.

In concluding this introduction, I would like to express my sincere appreciation to the following:

- The contributors to this volume, for patiently and meticulously dedicating their time and effort to sharing with us their own ideologies; for participating in a forum which is by no means exhaustive but which is an attempt to talk to each other; for engaging themselves in a project that foregrounds the importance of our ideological roots and agendas.
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It goes without saying that I alone am responsible for any shortcomings which remain.

Third Ways and New Centres
Ideological Unity or Difference?

CHRISTINA SCHÄFFNER

This chapter illustrates extratextual and intratextual aspects of ideology as related to translation with a case study, a policy document by Tony Blair and Gerhard Schröder, jointly published in English and German in June 1999. Textual features of the two language versions are compared and linked to the social contexts. Concepts and methods of critical discourse analysis and of descriptive and functionalist approaches to translation are applied for this purpose. In particular, reactions to the German text in Germany are explained with reference to the socio-political and ideological conditions of the text production, which was a case of parallel text production combined with translation. It is illustrated that decisions at the linguistic micro-level have had effects for a political party, reflected for example in the German Social Democratic Party debating its identity due to the textual treatment of ideological keywords. The subtle differences revealed in a comparative analysis of the two texts indicate the text producers' awareness of ideological phenomena in the respective cultures. Both texts thus serve as windows onto ideologies and political power relations in the contemporary world.

1. Introduction

The relationship between ideology and translation is multifarious. In a sense, it can be said that any translation is ideological since the choice of a source text and the use to which the subsequent target text is put is determined by the interests, aims, and objectives of social agents. But ideological aspects can also be determined within a text itself, both at the lexical level (reflected, for example, in the deliberate choice or avoidance of a particular word) and the grammatical level (for example, use of passive structures to avoid an expression of agency, cf. Hodge and Kress 1993). Ideological aspects can be more or less obvious in texts, depending on the topic of a text, its genre and communicative purpose. In political texts, ideological aspects are, of course, particularly prominent.

Research into political discourse has been conducted within several disciplines, with scholars pursuing different aims, focusing on different

themes, and applying different methods. Politicial scientists, for example, are interested in the content of texts. Linguists, sociolinguists, and discourse analysts have increasingly become interested in the textual or discursive manifestations of power structures and ideologies and in their specific linguistic realizations at lexical and grammatical levels (cf., for example, Fairclough's and Wodak's critical discourse and discourse historical approaches, e.g. Fairclough and Wodak 1997; Wodak 1999). These approaches mediate between linguistic structures as evident in a text and the social, political, and historical contexts of text production and reception. In the processes of text production and reception, translation and interpreting often play a decisive role. In other words, translation is more and more an aspect of international communication and of intercultural relationships, including ideological relationships. In this respect, translation studies has much to offer to political discourse analysis.

Translators work in specific socio-political contexts, producing target texts for specific purposes as identified by their clients.[1] This social conditioning is reflected in the linguistic structure of the target text. That is, the target text will reveal the impact of social, ideological, discursive, and linguistic conventions, norms and constraints (on norms see Toury 1995; Hermans 1999b; cf. also Simeoni 1998 on the notion of 'habitus' in the context of translation). The – often problematic – aspects of power in and for translation have been highlighted by, for example, Venuti 1995; in the contributions in Álvarez and Vidal 1996; in the special issue of *The Translator* on *Translation and Minority*, 1998, edited by Venuti. In this chapter, I will illustrate extratextual and intratextual aspects of ideology as related to translation with a case study. On the basis of one concrete text, a policy document by Tony Blair and Gerhard Schröder, jointly published in English and German in June 1999, I will compare the textual profiles and link them to the social contexts (Chesterman 1998). In particular, I will try to explain reactions to the German text in the German culture with reference to the textual profile and to the socio-political and ideological conditions of the text production. In doing so, I will apply concepts and methods of

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[1] Following arguments in postcolonial literature, some scholars have suggested to situate the translator in a space in-between, or in an intercultural space (cf. the comments in Snell-Hornby 2000; Pym 2001; Simon 2001). Although this may be a useful concept for studying (translations of) postcolonial literature, I would say it is not contradicting the statement that translators work in specific socio-political contexts. Rather, it means adding a specific perspective; the space in-between too, is determined by constellations of a socio-political context.

critical discourse analysis and of descriptive and functionalist approaches to translation (cf. also Hatim 1999).

2. Political background to the sample text

Within the field of politics, it is increasingly the case that joint documents are produced for common purposes. Cases in point are the manifestoes which were produced by the Party of European Socialists (PES) and the European People's Party (EPP) for the 1994 and 1999 elections to the European Parliament. These texts were produced in all the official languages of the European Union, through the combination of parallel text production and translation. The aim of such documents is to show political and ideological unity to the outside world, to display harmony and a convergence of ideas. They are meant to be evidence of the fact that the political parties that joined together (e.g. in the PES or EPP) share a common ideology and therefore also speak a common 'language'. Despite the declared identity, however, there are a few differences in the linguistic structures of the respective versions of the text (cf. Schäffner 1997a).

The text I will discuss in this chapter is another case in point. The policy document 'Europe: The Third Way/Die Neue Mitte' was officially launched on 8 June 1999 in London and presented as a joint paper by Tony Blair as leader of the British Labour Party and Gerhard Schröder as leader of the German Social Democratic Party. It is about 4600 words long and published in English and in German.[2] The document was presented as an offer for conceptualizing the future of the Social Democracy. The paper argues for the modernisation of Social Democracy so it can adapt to conditions that have objectively changed. Its main content points can be seen in the headings of the five sections and sub-sections (the numbers in brackets denote the paragraphs):

Introduction
I. Learning from experience (7-12)
II. New programmes for changed realities (13-38)
III. A new supply-side agenda for the left (39-80)
- A robust and competitive market framework (44-46)

[2] The texts used here are the versions as they were available on the Internet, http://www.initiativkreis.org/ third-way2.htm for the English text, and http://www.initiativkreis.org/_vorschlag.htm and for the German text.

- A tax policy to promote sustainable growth (47-53)
- Demand and supply-side policies go together – they are not alternatives (54-62)
- Adaptability and flexibility are at an increasing premium in the knowledge-based service economy of the future (63-64)
- An active government, in a newly conceived role, has a key role to play in economic development (65-73)
- Modern Social Democrats should be champions of small and medium-sized enterprise (74-78)
- Sound public finance should be a badge of pride for Social Democrats (79-80)

IV. An active labour market policy for the left (81-99)
V. Political benchmarking in Europe (100-108)

This paper, which was hardly noticed in the UK, caused a stir in Germany, especially within the Social Democratic Party (SPD) itself and the trade unions. The reactions were mostly critical, as is reflected in evaluative media comments such as ‘luftiges Neue-Mitte-Papier’ [hollow New Centre paper, full of hot air], ‘großmäuliges Schröder/Blair-Papier’ [big-mouthed Schröder/Blair paper] (both in *Der Spiegel* 14 June 1999), ‘ominöses Strategiepapier’ [ominous strategy paper] (*Die Zeit* 18 November 1999). The main argument was that the strategy outlined in the paper, with the emphasis on individual responsibilities rather than rights, flexible markets, curbs on public spending, the celebration of entrepreneurship, etc., means abandoning fundamental Social Democratic values. Since this would also mean the end of the SPD’s traditional link with the working class, the paper led left-wingers within the party to argue about the SPD’s identity.

3. Ideological aspects of text production

In dealing with the relationship between ideology and translation, Hatim and Mason (1997:143) make a distinction between the ideology of translating and the translation of ideology. In my case study, both aspects play a role. A first question concerns the conditions of text production. If two political parties decide to produce a joint document, and if they decide to publish the text in two languages, they can either produce the two language versions in parallel, i.e. in a process of bilingual negotiation, or opt for a translation. With the Blair/Schröder paper, we have a case of paral-

lel text production combined with translation.[3] The idea for a joint policy paper originated in the SPD, and the German side produced a draft outline which was largely written in German, with some paragraphs in English (i.e. those that dealt specifically with political developments in the UK). Based on this draft, the actual full text was then produced in English by New Labour, and then translated again into German. In the following revision stages, all paragraphs that were amended or added, by either side, were translated into the other language. That is, both the German and the English version of (parts of) the text functioned alternatively as source text and target text, with some paragraphs being produced in parallel. The whole process of text production was done by a small team of authors, officially led by Peter Mandelson, then Britain's trade minister, and Bodo Hombach, then head of the chancellery and a close aide of Schröder's. However, there were no professional translators involved, that is, all the translating was done by the officials themselves. In other words, they performed the act of translation, and their target texts were checked by Mandelson and Hombach, respectively, who had the political responsibility for the paper's content. Consequently, they checked only whether the content is in accordance with the political aims of the party, but not for the quality of the language used.[4]

The decision to publish the text in English and in German was ideologically motivated. That is, the ideological aspects are related to extratextual factors. They concern the event of text production, as it may be called, which to a considerable extent includes a translation event (Toury 1995). Both texts were simultaneously presented as identical copies. The two texts were meant to fulfil an identical purpose for their addressees in their respective cultures, viz. to convince the party members of the need for modernization and mobilize them to carry out this task. From a translation studies perspective, the text can be described as an example of equifunctional translation (Nord 1997).

The primary addressees of the texts are the members of the two respective parties, but the text also addresses leaders and members of

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[3] I am grateful to Mathias Bucksteeg, head of the Political Analysis Division in the German Chancellery (Referatsleiter Politische Analyse im Bundeskanzleramt, Grundsatzabteilung) for providing me with valuable background information concerning the text production process.

[4] The working language at the meetings of the officials was English. Consecutive interpreting was only provided at the few meetings attended by Mandelson and Hombach.

other Social Democratic parties in Europe. This is reflected more explicitly in the title of the German text, which is slightly different from the English title:[5]

> Europe: The Third Way/Die Neue Mitte – Tony Blair and Gerhard Schröder
> Der Weg nach vorne für Europas Sozialdemokraten. Ein Vorschlag von Gerhard Schröder und Tony Blair (literally: "The way forward for Europe's Social Democrats. A proposal...")

Whereas the English title provides the labels for a new political approach (see the discussion below), the German title signals that this new approach means progress (with 'forward' being a positively valued metaphorical concept, cf. Lakoff and Johnson 1980). 'Ein Vorschlag' (a proposal) is a kind of genre descriptor. The rearrangement of the two names seems to reflect an awareness of the addressees' social contexts of text reception. However, as said above, Blair and Schröder themselves were not the actual authors of the text.

It was argued in the media, that Hombach used his good personal contacts with Mandelson strategically to start and monopolize a debate on the modernization of Social Democracy outside the party headquarters and without involving the then party leader Oscar Lafontaine. Since there was no substantial discussion within the two parties themselves, the paper came as a surprise for many SPD members. The *Spiegel* stated in one of its articles that Mandelson had redefined and reformulated traditional Labour values and concepts and that Hombach just took them over, thereby replacing the classic Social Democratic vocabulary by vague verbiage imported from England ('Wortwolken aus England', *Spiegel* 14 June 1999). In a similar way, *The Economist* argued that "The British side appears to have dominated the writing of the joint document, which is full of New Labour jargon and policies" (*The Economist* 12 June 1999). In the same article, it is stated that the "paper contains language that will be familiar to British readers. With its emphasis on skills, flexibility, innovation, rights and responsibilities, it is a classic New Labour mix of Anglo-Saxon economics with fuzzy talk about social justice, fairness, and traditional values in a modern context". In other words, most of the statements in the document reflect social reality for the UK, which explains the insignificant

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[5] *The way forward for Europe's Social Democrats: A proposal* was actually the original title of the English text as well, but it was subsequently changed for the publication.

reaction to the document in the UK. It could even be argued that the primary addressees of the document were the members of the SPD, with leaders of other European Social Democratic parties as secondary addressees, and the members of the Labour Party as tertiary addressees, or maybe only as 'overhearers' (cf. also Mason 2000). The paper, thus, had slightly different functions to fulfil in different social contexts, for example: mobilizing SPD members for starting political changes (benefiting from Labour's – presumed – success and popularity in Britain); presenting Schröder, who had just come to power eight months before, as a modernizer (such as Blair); demonstrating British-German ideological harmony to other European leaders; and convincing Labour Party members of their party's (and leader's) function as role models.

The text production seems to have happened rather quickly, as in both versions there are a number of coherence problems, ambiguous co-references, and other linguistic inaccuracies (for example, confusions over case, gender, and endings in the German text). There is even a mistake in paragraph (54):

> [54] In the past social democrats often gave the impression that the objectives of growth and high unemployment would be achieved by successful demand management alone.

The German text uses 'eine hohe Beschäftigungsquote', i.e. 'employment', which is the correct linguistic expression, but these problems at the linguistic micro-level seem not to have contributed to the debate within the SPD. In addition to the way in which the text was produced, it was mainly the actual ideas expressed in it that caused the heated discussions and rejections in Germany.

4. Ideological aspects as reflected in the text

Over the centuries it has been fairly common that ideas and concepts have travelled between cultures and nations, due to intellectual exchanges, bi- and multilateral talks and negotiations, etc. As a result, new concepts and the corresponding words have been introduced into a culture, existing words have changed their meaning(s), and some concepts and/or words have disappeared altogether from the discourse, either of a specific socio-political group or of the culture as a whole (such developments are well documented, cf., for example, Williams 1976). In these contexts, translation

plays an important role, since it is very often via translations that cultures learn about each other. It may also be that in the process of intercultural communication and translation it becomes obvious that concepts that seem to be identical in the two cultures are in fact different, thus causing misunderstandings and/or negotiations for meaning.

As said above, the Blair/Schröder paper was presented as a joint document, by two modern party leaders with new ideas for modernizing their societies. 'New' and 'modern' with their related words are indeed keywords in the text, with a fairly high number of occurrences. The policies are therefore carried out by "modern Social Democrats/moderne Sozialdemokraten", and the name for the new policy and the ideology behind it is 'Third Way' for New Labour, and 'Neue Mitte' for the SPD. In fact, in the document itself, the two labels are presented as indicating identical concepts and approaches, cf. the very beginning of the text:

> [1] Social democrats are in government in almost all the countries of the Union. Social democracy has found new acceptance – but only because, while retaining its traditional values, it has begun in a credible way to renew its ideas and modernise its programmes. It has also found new acceptance because it stands not only for social justice but also for economic dynamism and the unleashing of creativity and innovation.

> [2] The trademark of this approach is the New Centre in Germany and the Third Way in the United Kingdom. Other social democrats choose other terms that suit their own national cultures. But though the language and the institutions may differ, the motivation is everywhere the same. Most people have long since abandoned the world view represented by the dogmas of left and right. Social democrats must be able to speak to those people.

> [2] Markenzeichen dafür ist die 'Neue Mitte' in Deutschland, der 'Dritte Weg' im Vereinigten Königreich. [...]

In the German text, 'Third Way' has consistently been rendered as 'Dritter Weg', a literal equivalent. The English text uses both the German name 'Neue Mitte' (in the title and at the very end of the document, paragraph 108) and the 'New Centre' (for the additional three occurrences).

> [108] [...] Let the politics of the Third Way and the Neue Mitte be Europe's new hope.

> [108] [...] Laßt die Politik des Dritten Weges und der Neuen Mitte Europas neue Hoffnung sein.

In the UK media, 'new centre', 'new middle', or 'Neue Mitte' (often in italics) are used, but there is no consistency. Although 'Third Way' and 'Neue Mitte' are presented in the text as denoting identical approaches, the two terms, in fact, have their own specific history.

In the media, it was repeatedly argued that the concept of a Third Way was not Blair's invention, but that it had been introduced in politics before. For example, at the time of the Cold War, when Capitalism and Communism were seen as ideological alternatives, third ways were sought between these two opposite poles. For New Labour, the Third Way is a project for redefining the Left. It is meant to denote a political approach between traditional Socialism,[6] and the welfare state it has produced, and a market-dominated society. In devising this approach, originally in order to present a programme free of old clichés to make Labour acceptable to the voters, Blair (with his advisors, most prominent among them Anthony Giddens from the London School of Economics) took ideas from America's new Democrats (e.g. Clinton's vision that the government does not just provide services but rather creates the conditions in which the people themselves solve their own problems). The new approach also means a changed attitude towards private enterprise which is treated in a more friendly way than in the past (by the 'Old Left'). Critics therefore often argue that New Labour is pretty much continuing the policy of the previous Tory governments while selling it in a new language (cf. also Fairclough 2000).

Is the Third Way then an ideology, or rather a philosophy or practical policy? The term 'ideology' itself is defined differently in the literature (cf. van Dijk 1998). In fact, it first appeared in the English language in 1796 as a direct translation of the French 'idéologie' to denote the philosophy of mind, the science of ideas (cf. Williams 1976:126). If we define ideology with van Dijk (1996) and Lu (1999) as socially shared belief systems of (members of) groups, as patterns of ideas, assumptions, beliefs, values or interpretations of the world by which a group operates, then the belief sytem represented by the notion 'Third Way' can be seen as an ideology. Ideology both shapes discourse and is itself expressed

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[6] The word 'socialism' has disappeared from the official Labour discourse, and it is also not used in the Blair/Schröder paper.

in, formed or changed by discourse.[7] Whereas in the past, Social Democratic parties in Europe defined their ideology and their policies by reference to a left-right spectrum as a fixed ideological scheme, New Labour stresses that this divide is no longer appropriate in the modern world. Ideas and concepts which (are meant to) characterize the Third Way have their origin in several social theories and 'ideologies'. This led *The Economist* (19 December 1998) to argue about the content of the Third Way as follows: "Trying to pin down an exact meaning in all this is like wrestling an inflatable man. If you get a grip on one limb, all the hot air rushes to another".

In Germany, 'die Neue Mitte' was originally an electioneering slogan for the 1998 general elections. Although Germany too had had a Conservative government for 16 years, it had not experienced the same kind of radical transformation as Britain had under Margaret Thatcher. Equally, the SPD had not been radically changed into a 'New SPD' with a new programme. The slogan 'Neue Mitte' was originally chosen with a view to the traditional left-right scheme, i.e. with the intention to draw more of the floating voters to the SPD and also making the party more attractive to voters traditionally on the right (i.e. voting for the Conservative parties in Germany, mainly the Christian Democratic Union, CDU). In addition, since the left-right divide had traditionally been related to social class (i.e. the SPD as the party of the working class in contrast to the CDU as the party of big business), 'Neue Mitte' also had a sociological dimension: with the slogan the SPD was appealing to (young) employees in the information and service industries and to newly self-employed people, who had (not yet) decided for a specific political party. The label allowed for a politically 'innocent' identification, relating to a way of life of a younger generation, rather than a political orientation. Thus, as argued in the daily *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung* (6 December 1999), the victory of the left-wing parties in the 1998 general elections in Germany did not mean a vote for a policy of a Third Way comparable to the situation in Great Britain.

However, in his first policy statement in November 1998, Schröder presented an attempt at redefining 'Neue Mitte' by linking it to designing new policies. In that speech, he was calling upon a new generation of politicians to overcome the stagnation in the country that had been caused

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[7] Fairclough (2000:43) characterizes the Third Way as political discourse.

by the previous government. He announces an alternative policy, which he describes as 'Neue Mitte', intended to encourage and strengthen the individual responsibilities of the people. Six months later, the Blair/Schröder paper is a next step in the attempt to transform the vague electioneering slogan into a programme for reforming the state and modernizing the SPD, or in linguistic terms, to assign a new meaning to an existing term. This led the *Spiegel* (14 June 1999) to state that Schröder alone seems to decide what 'Neue Mitte' and 'Third Way' mean at certain points in time.

It could be argued that the ideologically motivated change in the meaning of a concept is irrelevant to translation. However, the political officials qua translators had to make a decision as to their handling of 'Neue Mitte', and they opted for a combination of a loan word and a loan translation ('New Centre'). In this way, the German concept is introduced into the UK culture and it can become a shared symbol for participation in intercultural political discourse between New Labour and a modernized SPD. This translation solution, therefore, also represents a choice at the level of intertextual and interdiscursive practice.

In addition to redefining 'Neue Mitte' as being synonymous with 'Third Way' in Britain, it was the redefinition of other key concepts in the Blair/Schröder paper that caused the controversial debates in Germany, in particular the value of social justice ('soziale Gerechtigkeit') and the role of the state in this context. Social justice has always been presented as a main objective of Social Democratic policies, and the task of the state has been seen as ensuring a fair balance in people's income and wealth. This was to be ensured by redistributing money from the rich to the poor, and for this purpose, systems of social and economic regulations have been introduced over the years. In the Blair/Schröder paper, this traditional ideology is criticized and social justice is redefined:

> [8] The promotion of social justice was sometimes confused with the imposition of equality of outcome. The result was a neglect of the importance of rewarding effort and responsibility, and the association of social democracy with conformity and mediocrity rather than the celebration of creativity, diversity and excellence. Work was burdened with ever higher costs.

> [8] In der Vergangenheit wurde die Förderung der sozialen Gerechtigkeit manchmal mit der Forderung nach Gleichheit im Ergebnis verwechselt. Letztlich wurde damit die Bedeutung von

> eigener Anstrengung und Verantwortung ignoriert und nicht belohnt und die soziale Demokratie mit Konformität und Mittelmäßigkeit verbunden statt mit Kreativität, Diversität und herausragender Leistung. Einseitig wurde die Arbeit immer höher mit Kosten belastet.

> [84] For our societies, the imperatives of social justice are more than the distribution of cash transfers. Our objective is the widening of equality of opportunity, regardless of race, age or disability, to fight social exclusion and ensure equality between men and women.

> [84] Für unsere Gesellschaften besteht der Imperativ der sozialen Gerechtigkeit aus mehr als der Verteilung von Geld. Unser Ziel ist eine Ausweitung der Chancengleichheit, [...]

The new definition stresses equal opportunities, i.e. calling on the government to provide conditions for everybody to have the same opportunities for getting access to education, work, etc., but the actual financial income will depend on the individual's own performance. 'Eigener' (individual) and 'einseitig' (one-sidedly) in paragraph (8) may have been included precisely to bring this point home to the German readers, although it is impossible to say whether the English or the German text served originally as source text. This new conception of justice is in contrast to the current SPD party programme, which was confirmed once more in 1989 and which states that social justice means equality in the distribution of income, property and power ("Gerechtigkeit erfordert mehr Gleichheit in der Verteilung von Einkommen, Eigentum und Macht"). It is no surprise then, that the notion of social justice is the one which since the summer of 1999 has been most vigorously debated within the SPD. Putting these ideas into practical policy would mean for Germany an end to the welfare state the German people have got used to, and which, for example, provides generously in case of unemployment and old age. In the Blair/Schröder paper, this is formulated in a metaphorical way:

> [83] A welfare system that puts limits on an individual's ability to find a job must be reformed. Modern social democrats want to transform the safety net of entitlements into a springboard to personal responsibility.

> [83] [...] Moderne Sozialdemokraten wollen das Sicherheitsnetz

> aus Ansprüchen in ein Sprungbrett in die Eigenverantwortung umwandeln.

Instead of lying idle in a hammock (the net), relying on the government to provide financial support, people will be mobile, get catapulted into activity. With reference to these metaphors, the *Spiegel* (6 December 1999) spoke of Schröder's attempt at a top-down redefinition of social justice, and of semantic battles within Germany about the 'correct' meaning of this key concept (for 'semantic battles' as a strategic operation with ideologically relevant keywords, cf. Liedtke, Wengeler and Böke 1991). Concepts attain particular meanings in contexts, through association with neighbouring concepts, i.e. they are part of frames or schemata which are mental representations stored in long-term memory on the basis of experience of the physical, social and linguistic worlds (cf. for example Fillmore 1985). Changing meanings of one concept thus ultimately means changing frames, including ideologically determined frames. With respect to the concept of 'justice', the ideologies of the Labour Party and the SPD are based on different historical traditions. Whereas in Britain, the notion of justice in the sense of equality of opportunity is the more longstanding and more generally accepted one (evolving from 19th century Liberalism), the SPD's tradition of justice as equality of outcome is more in line with the ideals of the French Revolution and the arguments of post-war social theorists. In the SPD discourse it has therefore been quite common to find 'Gerechtigkeit' (justice) and 'Staat' (state, government) combined as central concepts. In the Blair/Schröder paper, the concept 'state' also gets redefined:

> [25] The state should not row, but steer: not so much control, as challenge. Solutions to problems must be joined up.

> [25] Der Staat soll nicht rudern, sondern steuern, weniger kontrollieren als herausfordern. Problemlösungen müssen vernetzt werden.

The state (i.e. government) is here metaphorically represented as the coxswain of a rowing boat, who does not loose sight of the ultimate destination. In this sense, 'steer' and 'control' could actually be seen as synonymous metaphorical expressions. Another reading of the English text interprets the verbs as indicating a sense of progression, i.e. steer, but in fact not even steer but actually challenge. The German text has two

contrasting pairs of action verbs in a parallel structure, of which one each is the preferred action (i.e. not row but steer, and not take charge and check but challenge). The slight difference in the two versions may be due to the polysemy of 'control' and 'kontrollieren' (false friends): 'kontrollieren' is typically used to express supervision, inspection, surveillance. This was most probably the concept behind the formulation in the German text. Whether or not this was the originally intended idea, it is fair to say that the two texts make perfect sense in their respective ideological contexts. In the traditional SPD understanding, the state regulates social and economic conflicts and intervenes to correct any social imbalances. Consideration of this knowledge is also evident in the choice of 'korrigieren' (correct) in paragraph (10) which, different to 'address' in the English text, puts the focus on the result of the state's action:[8]

> [10] The belief that the state should address damaging market failures all too often led to a disproportionate expansion of the government's reach and the bureaucracy that went with it.

> [10] Die Ansicht, daß der Staat schädliches Marktversagen korrigieren müsse, führte allzuoft zur überproportionalen Ausweitung von Verwaltung und Bürokratie, im Rahmen sozialdemokratischer Politik.

The addition of 'im Rahmen sozialdemokratischer Politik' (within the framework of Social Democratic policy) contributes to the identification of the agent of an action which is seen to be no longer appropriate in the modern world. The document argues for "a newly defined role for an active state" (paragraph 65), which allows for sufficient flexibility and freedom for economy and businesses, and which renounces its responsibility to provide welfare for everybody (cf. the safety net versus springboard example above). The following paragraph reflects the different traditional perceptions of the role of the state in Britain and in Germany:

> [81] The state must become an active agent for employment, not merely the passive recipient of the casualties of economic failure.

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[8] The German text, however, includes a clumsy collocation: 'Versagen' (failure) is by definition 'schädlich' (harmful) and cannot actually be put right ('korrigieren').

> [81] Der Staat muß die Beschäftigung aktiv fördern und nicht nur passiver Versorger der Opfer wirtschaftlichen Versagens sein. (Literally: ... not only the passive provider for the victims ...)

In Germany, a conventional metaphor is to experience the state as a father figure (THE STATE IS A FATHER, as a more specific instantiation of the conceptual metaphor THE STATE IS A PERSON, cf. Lakoff and Johnson 1980, and also Lakoff's 1996 book on moral politics), obvious in the common reference to 'Vater Staat' (father state). The father, in his traditional role as the breadwinner, provides for the dependent members in the family and thus ensures their well-being. The choice of 'Versorger' seems to be indicative of this conventional metaphor. The resulting collocation 'passiver Versorger', however, is a slight contradiction in concepts, with 'Versorger' denoting an agent, i.e. a person who is performing the activity expressed by the verb. The opposition active – passive in paragraph (81) is more logical in the English text, with 'recipient' semantically linked to 'safety net' in paragraph (83) quoted above (a corresponding conceptual metaphor would be THE STATE IS A SAFETY NET). Thus, there is a more coherent link in the English text between paragraphs (81) and (83).

The new role of the state in relation to industry, trade unions, and the people is explicitly spelt out in paragraphs (33-38) under the heading "New programmes for changed realities". These paragraphs are slightly different in the English and in the German text, once more reflecting different social and ideological traditions. They deserve to be discussed in more detail:

> [33] Our countries have different traditions in dealings between state, industry, trade unions and social groups, but we share a conviction that traditional conflicts at the workplace must be overcome. [34] This, above all, means rekindling a spirit of community and solidarity, strengthening partnership and dialogue between all groups in society and developing a new consensus for change and reform. We want all groups in society to share our joint commitment to the new directions set out in this Declaration.

> [33] [...] [34] Dazu gehört vor allem, die Bereitschaft und die Fähigkeit der Gesellschaft zum Dialog und zum Konsens wieder neu zu gewinnen und zu stärken. Wir wollen allen Gruppen ein Angebot unterbreiten, sich in die gemeinsame Verantwortung für das Gemeinwohl einzubringen. (Literally: This, above all, means

> regaining and strengthening society's willingness and ability for dialogue and consensus. We want to make an offer to all groups to join into the common responsibility for the public weal.)

'Community', 'community spirit' and 'partnership' are core concepts of the ideology of New Labour. Thinking in terms of communitarianism is identical with the rejection of a state interfering in a successful market economy, and also includes relying on initiatives of individuals (see also Fairclough 2000:37ff). In Germany, on the other hand, with strong trade unions and corporate ownership patterns, there has always been a political culture of consultation with the aim of achieving consensus. Therefore, communitarism and partnership would not have been interpreted as a new offer for society. In other words, the SPD political culture has not (yet?) developed the conceptual and lexical packages associated with the communitarian philosophy. Paragraph [34] in the German text reflects the tradition of consultations among the main social forces, i.e. government, employers, trade unions, to work for the common good (and not inviting them immediately to share the commitment to the objectives as laid down in the Blair/Schröder paper, as the English text does). The following paragraph then elaborates on this idea:

> [35] Immediately upon taking office, the new Social Democratic government in Germany gathered the top representatives of the political sector, the business community and the unions around the table to forge an Alliance for Jobs, Training and Competitiveness.

> [35] In Deutschland hat die neue sozialdemokratische Regierung <u>deshalb</u> sofort nach Amtsantritt Spitzenvertreter von Politik, Wirtschaft und Gewerkschaften zu einem Bündnis für Arbeit, Ausbildung und Wettbewerbsfähigkeit um einen Tisch versammelt.

The 'deshalb' (therefore) in the German text, which is not in the English text, establishes a coherent link to 'Angebot' (offer) in (34). In the English text, the coherent link is much closer between paragraph (34) and paragraphs (36-38), i.e. (36-38), set off by bullet points, are specifications to 'the new directions set out in this Declaration'. In addition to the coherence problems, there are a few other points in these paragraphs where differences in the social systems become obvious:

> [36] We want to see real partnership at work, with employees having the opportunity of sharing the rewards of success with employers.

> [36] Wir möchten wirkliche Partnerschaft bei der Arbeit, indem die Beschäftigten die Chance erhalten, die Früchte des Erfolgs mit den Unternehmern zu teilen.

Although 'bei der Arbeit' is rather vague in the German text, the social practice behind the texts is different: New Labour's concept of a stakeholder society for the English text, and the German model of 'Sozialpartnerschaft' for the German text. In German, employers and employees together are usually referred to as 'Sozialpartner' (cf. paragraph 38 below). In the next paragraph, the first sentence is different:

> [37] We support modern trade unions protecting individuals against arbitrary behaviour, and working in co-operation with employers to manage change and create long-term prosperity.

> [37] Wir wollen, daß die Gewerkschaften in der Modernen Welt verankert bleiben. Wir wollen, daß sie den einzelnen gegen Willkür schützen [...] (Literally: We want trade unions to remain anchored in the modern world [...])

The German text accounts for the traditionally strong role of trade unions. It gives them assurance that they will be needed in a changed world. The English text, on the other hand, allows the inference that only modern (i.e. not 'old', left-wing) trade unions will be supported. In the next paragraph again, the German text has been toned down, just stating that the activity of pursuing a dialogue supports change, whereas the English text has the explicit reference that a dialogue which hinders change will not be supported:

> [38] In Europe – under the umbrella of a European employment pact – we will strive to pursue an ongoing dialogue with the social partners that supports, not hinders, necessary economic change.

> [38] In Europa streben wir – unter dem Dach[9] eines Europäischen Beschäftigungspaktes – einen fortlaufenden Dialog mit den Sozialpartnern an. Das befördert den notwendigen ökonomischen

[9] The difference between 'Dach' and 'umbrella' is interesting from the point of view of metaphor in translation (cf. Schäffner in press). Both can be seen as metaphorical expressions of a more general conceptual metaphor BEING PROTECTED IS BEING UNDER A COVER.

> Wandel. (Literally: [...] under the roof of a European employment pact [...] dialogue with the social partners. This supports the necessary economic change.)

There are some more examples of differences where the anticipation of controversial reactions in Germany may have been the reason for deciding on the formulation in the text. Just one more example will suffice:

> [14] The politics of the New Centre and Third Way is about addressing the concerns of people who live and cope with societies undergoing rapid change – both winners and losers.

> [14] Die Politik der Neuen Mitte und des Dritten Weges richtet sich an den Problemen der Menschen aus, die mit dem raschen Wandel der Gesellschaften leben und zurechtkommen müssen.

The phrase 'both winners and losers' has not been accounted for in the German text. The reason for this may well have been that it was felt inappropriate for the German addressees to transform the SPD, which had just been in power for nine months after 16 years in opposition, from the traditional left-wing party of the working classes to a party of the rich.

5. Conclusion

Although the Blair/Schröder paper was fiercely debated in the first months after its publication, the debate has died down. Schröder himself does not mention the document very often anymore and seldom talks these days of *die neue Mitte*. It has been argued that some defeats for the SPD in local elections in the summer and autumn of 1999 were caused by the unpopularity of an imported and ill-defined political approach. In addition, leaders of other European Social Democratic parties have not endorsed the idea of a Third Way. For example, the French Prime Minister, Lionel Jospin, explicitly distanced himself from it.

As said above, it was in fact political officials who acted as translators. Their main argument for not employing professional translators was that they do not understand politics, that is, they do not understand the subtleties and sensitivities involved in political discourse.[10] The differ-

[10] It was also argued that the Blair/Schröder paper was not an official document but it

ences in the linguistic structures in the two versions can indeed be explained by the fact that the authors, particularly on the German side, were to a certain degree sensitive of the potential ideological debates which the text would cause. In an article after the presentation of the Blair/Schröder paper, *The Economist* (12 June 1999) referred to the fact that the working group "ran into problems of terminology that extended well beyond the vagaries of translation". 'Consensus', a favourite New Labour word, meant 'tripartism' for the German side – i.e. government, business and unions working together. That idea, in turn, caused consternation on the British side. A competent professional translator should have been able to make the authors aware of such differences.

To sum up: the comparative analysis of the English and the German text of the Blair/Schröder paper revealed more or less subtle differences which have been explained as areflection and/or awareness of ideological phenomena in the respective cultures. However, the document was presented as a joint paper, as evidence of Blair and Schröder "speaking the same language". To the addressees, therefore, the two versions gave an illusion of identity (comparable to Koskinen's 2000 arguments with reference to translating for the EU Commission). I have tried to show that decisions at the linguistic micro-level have had effects for a political party and society, reflected for example in the SPD debating its identity due to the textual treatment of ideological keywords. Using concepts of linguistics and critical discourse analysis, I have tried to link textual features to the social and ideological context of text production and reception. Both the German text and the English text can thus serve as windows onto ideologies and political power relations in the contemporary world. Critical discourse analysis brings together the discursive with the textual, through a conjunction of analysis of both the text and its intertextual context (cf. Chouliaraki 2000:297). A translation perspective to ideologically relevant discourse can add new ways of understanding politics and can thus make a substantial contribution to the study of cultures in contact.

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was meant as a text to initiate a debate. In the case of official documents, such as treaties or policy statements, for which both content and linguistic structures need to be checked carefully, professional translators as employed. Translation competence includes, among others, cultural and domain specific competence. Politics too, can be characterized as a specific domain, and hence there are indeed professional translators with a specific expertise in the domain of politics.

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‘Events’ and ‘Horizons’
Reading Ideology in the ‘Bindings’ of Translations *

KEITH HARVEY

After theorizing the usefulness of the notions ‘event’, ‘discourse’ and ‘horizon of expectation’ for understanding the ideological strains present in translated literary texts, this paper analyses the bindings of three gay fictional texts translated from American English into French in the late 1970s. The bindings, which are constituted by the titles, cover photos and back cover blurbs of the translations, are shown to be key sites for the figuring of translated texts as interfaces between competing ideological positions. In particular, a fraught understanding and evaluation of American notions of ‘gay’ are revealed to structure and permeate the material of the bindings. The discussion concludes with the implications of such an analysis for conceptualizing the complexity of the agency evidenced by translations.

1. Introduction

This paper analyses the titles, cover photos and back cover blurbs of a group of three translations as evidence of the way the texts were positioned as intercultural events for their potential readerships. In particular, the tensions and strains present in the ‘discourse’ constituted by these material elements of approach to the translated text – referred to collectively as the ‘binding’ – are investigated in order to understand not just the way the text might be *bent* to prevailing target norms (linguistic, translational, socio-cultural) but, also, the manner in which the translation event signals an *interface* between competing ideological positions. Indeed, it is argued that the elements of the translation ‘binding’ identified here are the obvious place to begin an analysis of the translation as interface in that they are, in a quite literal sense, the elements involved in the to-and-fro shuttle between the domestic reader’s perception and the foreign text’s otherness.

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The paper is structured in the following manner: after an exploration of the usefulness of the notions of 'event' and 'discourse' (as they are developed in critical linguistics) and 'horizon of expectation' (as suggested by the French theorist of translation, Antoine Berman), analyses of translation bindings are offered for a group of three 'gay texts' translated from American English into French in the late 1970s. The paper concludes with some thoughts on the issues of agency that the focus on bindings gives rise to.

2. 'Events' and 'Horizons': An interactional model of translation

Critical linguistics, the branch of contemporary linguistics most concerned with the problematic of ideology in and through language, has addressed the issues of context and determinism in ways that could profitably be enlisted in translation studies.[1] For example, Norman Fairclough (1989), one of critical linguistics' most persuasive theorists, raises the question of the location of ideology in a complex model of language use. Arguing that "discoursal practices are ideologically invested in so far as they contribute to sustaining or undermining power relations" (Fairclough 1989:23), Fairclough asks first whether and how ideology should be conceived of as a property of both structures *and* events. He notes that if one subscribes to the exclusive localization of ideology in the 'system' or underlying 'code' (i.e. structure), one emerges with a tightly deterministic vision of constraint and a corresponding lack of space for counter-identification and agency (one notes here a characteristic preoccupation of post-Foucauldian critical thought). In contrast, if a determination to see ideology located in 'events' and 'texts' appears to offer the possibility of transformation and fluidity denied to the systems view, Fairclough points out that the events approach to ideological inscription carries its own limitations, notably in that it downplays the extent to which meaning (and, thus, ideology) is a result of the interpretation of events/texts by social actors who are always already enmeshed in and produced by socio-cultural systems.

Fairclough introduces the third term 'discourse' as a way of loosening up and dynamizing the text versus system – or event versus structure –

[1] Maria Tymoczko has also recently acknowledged the potential usefulness of critical linguistics in translation studies (Tymoczko 1999:287, 294).

binarisms. 'Discourse', in Fairclough's terms, suggests not only the social imbrication of language in concrete practices and institutions; it also importantly implies a simultaneously constitutive and representational force encompassing a conception of the relation between code and event that is fundamentally dialectical. Fairclough then offers a complex tripartite model of discourse which links 'social practice', 'discoursal practice' (including processes of text production, consumption and interpretation) with 'text' (an agglomerate of forms and contents providing traces of and cues for interpretation) (see Fairclough 1992:62-100). Ideologies, in this view, can be at one and the same time present in differing concentrations in the various levels of the discourse model. Neither fully systemic, nor entirely 'evenemential', ideologies sustain the particular configurations of the discourse model, and are themselves sustained through the repeated – and thus 'naturalised' – practices made possible by the model. Fairclough makes it clear that this conception accommodates the possibility of perceiving "change in discoursal events" (Fairclough 1989:20), without suggesting that the effects of ideology are themselves limited to the evenemential level. Ideological change in and through events is signalled typically by (often small) transgressions, contradictions and confusions. It becomes the critical linguist's job to trace these sites of trouble back to a challenge undergoing a process of articulation, a challenge that might not only be to linguistic or textual conventions, but also to subject positions, to ways of conceiving experience.

Such work encourages us in translation studies to operate with a view of ideology in and through translated texts which seeks not only to establish the way the translated text is the product of target systemic forces (often described in the literature in overtly causal terms)[2], but also that construes the text as 'event', i.e. as an active intervention in a receiving context that is thereby liable to register an element of 'trouble' (however small) consequent upon the traces of difference borne by the foreign. Conceived of as an 'event', a translation has the potential to reveal (and should be probed for) challenges, transgressions, contradictions and fissures, all of which are outcomes of the interaction between, on the one hand, an underlying systemic configuration of values and assumptions and, on the other, the irruption of alterity within a domestic sphere. In short, a translation-as-event is not exclusively or primarily the sum of its target systemic pressures. Rather – to borrow Steiner's (1992:317) metaphor to

[2] See, for example, Pym (1998), Chesterman (1998, 2000).

account for the fourth stage of his 'hermeneutic motion' – a translation can be seen as "a mirror which not only reflects but also generates light", i.e. as not merely the outcome of established determinations/manipulations in the receiving socio-cultural system but as an event opening up the possibility (however minor) of ideological innovation.

The French theorist and translator, Antoine Berman, provides us with a similarly productive image of translation as event (although he does not employ such a term). Concerned to reintroduce the figure of the translator into translation criticism in order to destabilize the overhasty rush to systems thinking, Berman straightforwardly contests those that deny the importance of 'author' in contemporary literary criticism.[3] Detailing three specifically translator-related dimensions in the third stage of his critical model, he argues that we need to determine the translator's 'position traductive' [translational position], his/her 'projet de traduction' [project of translation] and his/her 'horizon traductif' [translational horizon] (Berman 1995:73-83). It is the third of these dimensions which is of use to my argument here. Berman defines 'horizon' – a term derived from modern hermeneutics[4] – as "l'ensemble des paramètres langagiers, littéraires, culturels et historiques qui «déterminent» le sentir, l'agir et le penser d'un traducteur" (*ibid*.:79) [the whole set of the linguistic, literary, cultural and historical parameters which 'determine' the feeling, the action and the thinking of a translator]. Interesting and problematic (in view of Berman's stated reasons for his hostility to Tel-Aviv functionalism) is the use of the verb 'determine' in this passage. Its appearance in 'scare quotes' does not quite get Berman off the hook. He claims that the term is not to be understood either causally or structurally without explaining quite what it is to signify. Its signalled precariousness in the text is perhaps best understood as a sign of Berman's own thought articulating itself to itself and forced, necessarily, to employ the vocabulary of the very set of assumptions he is attempting to challenge. As an example, Berman sketches out the 'horizon' of a 1991 French translation of Sappho as a complex of the current state of French verse, a lively contemporary French interest in all things Greek, as well as current retranslations (of which there are many) of the classics. In short, all these factors, according to Berman "attestent d'un certain 'horizon d'attente' d'un certain public français tourné/retourné vers la «chose» grecque et romaine" (*ibid*.:80)

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[3] "Oeuvre et existence sont liées" (Berman 1995:73) [Work and existence are linked].

[4] See Jauss (1988).

[attest to a certain 'horizon of expectation' of a certain French public turning (once more) towards the Greek and Roman 'fact' / 'thing'].

The notion of 'horizon of expectation' turns out to be particularly rich in meanings and worthy of exploration. Beginning with the most suggestively problematic aspect of the image, we can affirm that it is not in the nature of a 'horizon' actually to constitute a physical limit at which an exploration will cease. The question, then, is inevitably left open as to what exactly is to be considered part of a translation's horizon and, crucially, what is *not* deemed a relevant part of the horizon. The notion 'horizon' immediately, then, creates its own intractable problems of inclusiveness and boundary. That Berman also clearly conceives of 'horizon' in terms of limits (however ambivalent) is made clear by the second sentence in the following comment in which a 'horizon' is described as:

> *ce-à-partir-de-quoi l'agir du traducteur a sens et peut se déployer, elle pointe l'espace ouvert de cet agir. Mais, d'autre part, elle désigne ce qui clôt, ce qui enferme le traducteur dans un cercle de possibilités limitées. (ibid.:*80-81, original italics*)*
> [*that-from-which the action of the translator has meaning and can be deployed, it charts the open space of that action. But, on the other hand, it indicates that which seals off the translator in a circle of limited possibilities*]

It might be noted that it is precisely because the notion of 'horizon' fails to designate a finite dimension that it suggests the degree to which the boundaries of influence and interaction proposed by the critic for a given work are in effect a function of his/her own critical stance (just as my horizon is different from that of someone placed elsewhere on the planet). Thus, despite the mention of 'sealing off' ('clôre'), a horizon is clearly conceived of as an endlessly deferred limit which is, in the end, synonymous with the very limit of our powers of observation.

The term 'horizon' is not, however, the only important one in Berman's formulation of the necessary illusion of limits. The notion of 'expectation' ['attente'] suggests an interactive force that not only has the power to shape behaviour (and, thus, could be construed as the 'cause' of that behaviour); 'expectation', of course, can also be 'disappointed' or 'changed', i.e. by something less than or different from what was 'expected'. Expectations, crucially, are susceptible to being altered and widened by the intervention of the unforeseen; in other words, they are sometimes – thankfully – subject to surprise, subversion and resistance

and can in no sense be conflated with unidirectional coercive forces on the behaviour of others. In short, then, 'horizon of expectation' allows an escape from the perceived determinisms of various structuralisms and functionalisms, while nonetheless permitting the relative degree of closure that is necessary if the critical project is to gain a handle on the question of the contextual influences on the translator's work. The fundamental ambivalence of the term – encoded profoundly in the metaphor of 'horizon' itself as both perceived yet illusory limit – is careful not to exclude the factor of influence and causality, but powerfully suggests that it be supplemented with an interactional dimension allowing for agency; that is, in Fairclough's terms, that the text be seen as *event* traversed not only by the forces of determinism but also, crucially, as a carrier of the forces of innovation.

Through this exploration of 'text-events', 'mirrors giving out light' and 'horizons of expectation', we arrive at a singularly interactive and dialectical conception of the way a text – in its elaboration – may respond to the expectations of those who may read it and, also, the way the latter may be imagined to interpret and judge it in the light of their own beliefs and agendas. Of course, there are other scholars in translation studies who are also working with concepts of translator action which, while taking cognisance of the way the translations might be adapted to target norms (linguistic, translational, socio-cultural), construe the translation also as an active *interface* between competing ideological positions. Such 'interactional-interventionist' (my provisional term) work allows for contradictory behaviours, unforeseen effects and small acts of resistance which are not just seen as departures from established norms – or even as 'pure idiosyncracies' (Toury 1995:54) – but rather as deployments of a capacity for translational agency that takes advantage of the otherness of the foreign text (and its encodings of ideology) to make a small but significant intrusion into the domestic space. This intrusion will contain incoherencies and inconsistencies, but these are evidence of the ideological work going on in the production of the text-event in relation to target horizons of expectation.

One example of such work is represented by Edwin Gentzler's (1996) use of Michel de Certeau's (1984) theorizing of the small, multiple acts of difference and non-conformity which characterize everyday behaviour. Critiquing Even-Zohar's analysis of translation in systems for being "highly formalistic and essentialist" (Gentzler 1996:117), Gentzler points out that most methodologies of a systemic or structuralist cast "fail at the task of

linking human agency to historical change" (*ibid.*:122). To remedy this, the interventionism of a translator/translation might be construed as an effect of small, apparently insignificant and inconsistent actions cumulatively constituting a practice of 'evasive conformity' (*ibid.*: 23). We need a translation studies, the argument runs, that will be just as concerned to explore the manner in which translations prepare the ground for new and emerging readerships as it will be to establish how a translated text is bent to prevailing norms. In his history of translation in Ireland, Michael Cronin (1996) has made a suggestion that is congruent with a way of theorizing such agency in translation. Cronin argues for a notion of 'proactive translation' that is distinct from existing conceptions:

> Between semantic and communicative translation we may need a third term such as *proactive translation*. This is translation that is communicative in terms of adaptation to the target language, and exercises a relative latitude with regard to elements of the source text and culture, but is interventionist in that changes to texts are strongly driven by the specific values of the translator in question. Proactive translation is as much an attempt to create an audience as it is to find one. (Cronin 1996:153)

The idea that a translation may seek to *create* its audience is particularly resonant for those domains of socio-cultural practice that are characterized by ideological disturbance (or, which are constructed upon 'faultlines').[5] One such domain in the late twentieth century is that of representations of homosexual experience construed – principally in the Anglo-American cultural arena – through the identitarian and communitarian notion of 'gay'.

In the rest of this paper, I will seek to explore one aspect of three translated texts (their material 'binding') which represented by and through their publication in France in the late 1970s/early 1980s a small but significant 'event' in target thinking about the notions of 'gay identity', 'gay liberation', and 'gay writing'. These bindings respond in various semiotic ways to the horizons of expectation of anticipated target readerships and register both the reservations of the receiving culture faced with American difference while also opening up small, contestatory spaces for the productive intrusion of the foreign.[6]

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[5] See Sinfield (1994).

[6] Tymoczko's work on the translation of Old Irish poetry during the 19th and 20th centuries works with a comparable set of assumptions. She writes of "the dialectic

3. 'Horizons' and 'bindings': Negotiating with *the homosexual*

The term 'binding' is used here to designate the material and contextual factors which circulate between and bring together (i.e. 'bind') (i) the elements of the cover and the translated text itself; (ii) the cover and the perceptions of the target reading subjects; (iii) the book as a whole (cover and text) and the receiving culture.[7] My contention is that these elements occupy a crucial – indeed, *revelatory* – position at the interface of the domestic and the foreign, constituting the opening up of the 'event' that is the translation for the domestic reader and manifested through signals of both resistance and innovation.[8] What the bindings 'say' and

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between subordination and resistance that often occurs within a single translation" (Tymoczko 1999:27) and argues that "the workings of power are not simply 'top down', a matter of inexorable repression and constraint; instead there are many cultural activities, one of which is translation, that can be mobilized for counter discourses and subversion" (*ibid.*:85).

[7] Of course, this is not the first time that such proposals have been articulated, although to my knowledge the degree of detail and systematicity that I am suggesting is new within translation studies. (Outside translation studies proper, Genette's (1987) elaboration of the paratextual 'frange' [fringe] of texts encompasses the kind of material I discuss here (see the discussion in Scott (2000:129-130)). As far back as the seminal volume of essays on literary translation *The Manipulation of Literature* (Hermans 1985), Lambert and Van Gorp proposed a "synthetic scheme for translation description" (Lambert and Van Gorp 1985:52-53) that works down from macro-textual (including what I am referring to as the 'binding') to micro-textual features before proceeding back up again. More recently, Mira (1998) has explored the various ways in which 'homographesis' (a term borrowed from the American queer theorist Lee Edelman 1994) poses a problem for the translator of gay themes as well as the ways in which gay inscriptions can be enhanced in translation. One notable strategy for the latter is the utilization of a gay-marked presentation and packaging of the textual artefact: "There are several ways to 'homosexualise' a text: a gay-friendly image on the cover, or even an image which posits an explicitly gay gaze, extracts of reviews from gay publications on the back cover blurb, camp style in general presentation" (Mira 1998:116). Elsewhere, I describe the effect of the 'packaging' of Genet in translation on my reading of him when I was a teenager (Harvey 2000a).

[8] Of course, I am not assuming that these 'peripherals' will throw light in any direct sense on the discourse of the translation itself. In fact, the possible tensions between the translation and what is said about it are clearly one line of enquiry in the exploration of ideological contradictions and fractures (as has long been the case in discussions of the divergences between the translation and translator paratexts).

'show' (and how), together with what they conceal or confuse, are vital, it is implied, to any full project of translation hermeneutics. Taking each translation binding in turn, we will observe how the co-presence of different discursive attitudes[9] is inscribed in the very objects that the translations constitute.

3.1 *Rush* and *la nouvelle homosexualité*

Georges-Michel Sarotte's translation of John Rechy's (1979) novel *Rushes* was published in France under the title *Rush* in 1980 (Figure 1), just one year after the source text appeared in the United States.[10] A wish

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[9] I take the notion of 'discursive attitudes' from Clem Robyns (1994), who suggests four types of attitude elaborated by a cultural self in relation to possible others: Imperialist, Defensive, Transdiscursive, Defective.

[10] John Rechy's first novel *City of Night* was published in the United States to critical acclaim in 1963. It was soon translated into French by Maurice Rambaud as *Cité de la nuit* in 1965. Indeed, the French translation was only one of many target texts of the novel to appear within a couple of years in several languages: e.g. German, Danish, Dutch, Japanese, etc. In short, the book – which tells the story of a young male hustler's journey through American urban gay underworlds – was an international hit in the mid-1960s. After this successful first book, Rechy's work had less international presence: *Numbers* (Rechy 1968) was translated into Danish, Dutch and German in the late 1960s; *The Vampires* (Rechy 1971) appeared in Dutch in 1973. Not until 1980, with the translation by Georges-Michel Sarotte of *Rush*, did another text by Rechy appear in France. It is striking then that this text was translated (and so soon after the source text) into a literary system that had not sought to translate any of Rechy's works subsequent to the success of his first novel. As for Sarotte, his status as a key intercultural actor becomes clear from a glance at his personal trajectory. A French scholar and teacher of American English language and letters, Sarotte published his doctoral thesis on homosexuality in American literature (completed in 1974) under the title *Comme un frère, Comme un amant: L'Homosexualité masculine dans le roman et le théâtre américains de Herman Melville à James Baldwin* (Sarotte 1976) [Like a Brother, Like a Lover: Male Homosexuality in the American Novel and Theatre from Herman Melville to James Baldwin]. The blurb of this book of literary criticism informs us that after having taught at the University of Paris X, Sarotte "est actuellement Associate Professor à l'Université de Massachusetts à Boston (U.S.A.)" [currently Associate Professor at the University of Massachusetts in Boston (U.S.A.)]. In fact, Sarotte remained in the United States for six years, returning to France in the early 1980s to teach American literature once more at Paris X. It is while he lived and worked in the United States, then, that Sarotte translated John Rechy's *Rushes*. The French *Rush* can be – and perhaps should be – read alongside the 1976 book of literary criticism as a further manifestation of Sarotte's personal commitment to the cross-cultural and inter-cultural developments of homosexual identities and communities.

to communicate something of the desirable strangeness of the American gay scene is detectable in Sarotte's use of an identifiably source-language term as a title. This is confirmed by its subsequent commentary in a footnote in the main body of the target text. In the source text, the term 'rushes' (the name of the bar in which most of the action takes place) permits a bout of word-play about Moses and the bulrushes (Rechy 1979:87). This is translated without any attempt at compensation by Sarotte, who chooses instead to supplement it with the following explanatory note:

> *En anglais, *rush* signifie aussi «roseau». Le sens du nom du bar serait plutôt «rafale», mot qui suggère le désir violent («les rafales du désir»): c'est aussi une marque de poppers: le Rush. (Sarotte 1980:110)
> [*In English, rush also means 'rush'.[11] The meaning of the name of the bar is rather 'burst/gush', a word that suggests violent feelings of desire ('the bursts/gushes of desire')[12]: it is also a brand of poppers: the Rush]

Of course, the source text title (and the name of the bar) uses the plural 'rushes', thereby facilitating the word-play in a way that the singular 'rush' does not. Note, however, that the target text minimizes the foreignness of the item ('Anglicisme' notes the *Robert* dictionary) by using the singular form 'rush' which does indeed enjoy a limited currency in French.[13] What is more, the imported brand of poppers 'Rush', referred to in Sarotte's note, might also have been known by many target culture gay men frequenting the French disco scene in the late 1970s.

In short, the title of the translation manages both to evoke the Anglo-American otherness of the original text, while enlisting already available target language meanings and associations. Indeed, the two target language meanings of 'rush' mentioned by the Robert dictionary are peculiarly apt and evocative given the book's depiction of a post-Stonewall accelerated

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[11] That is, 'rush' as in 'plant'.

[12] This is a French collocation.

[13] The *Robert* dictionary gives its target language meanings (derived ultimately from English meanings) as, firstly, "effort final, accélération d'un concurrent en fin de course" [a final effort, acceleration of a competitor at the end of the race] and, secondly, "afflux brusque d'un grand nombre de personnes" (Robert) [the sudden movement of a large number of people].

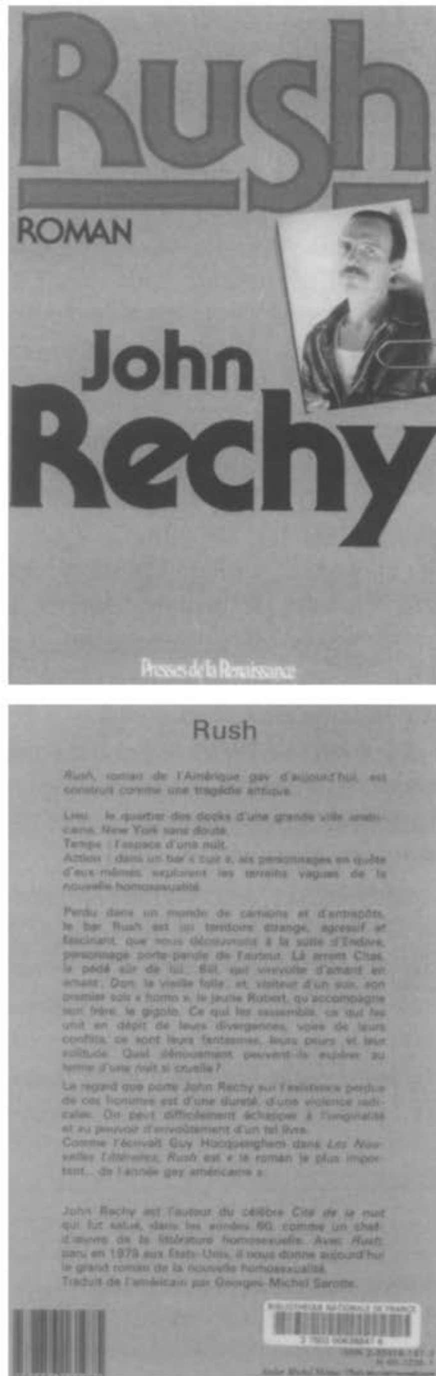

Figure 1: Cover and blurb of *Rush* (Sarotte 1980)

(and possibly out-of-control) mass movement towards an uncertain liberationist goal. As for the brand-name for poppers, this stands as a symbol of that peculiarly American growth in (gay) sexual capitalism which so many contemporary French commentators deplored at the time.[14] The word, then, contributes quite precisely to target (sub)cultural debates in part precisely because of its obvious imported status as a sign of gay America. Already, signs of negotiation with varied discursive practices are detectable here: on the one hand, the term underlines the distance between source and target realms; on the other, a kind of transdiscursive[15] gesture is accomplished by its presence on the cover.

Turning to other aspects of the cover, we note that *Rush* presents a close-up photo of a typical late-1970s thirty-something 'clone', i.e. a representative of that new virility which the text itself takes as a subject of debate. Without being excessively masculine in appearance (there is even a certain soft sadness about his gaze), he has short, unfussy hair, a moustache and wears a black leather jacket with a low-neck white T-shirt. As we know from target culture records at the time, this type – though quickly adopted by many French gay men (see Camus 1988 [1978]) – was still very much associated with the American model of a new masculinity.[16] A prospective French gay reader in 1980 is likely, therefore, to have picked up the book and received its message of American gayness not only from its Anglicizing title but also importantly from its cover photo. As for the blurb on the back cover, this presents the novel as a vital account of the *new* homosexuality, with stress placed on the fundamental Americanness of this phenomenon. Thus, the novel is the "roman de l'Amérique gay d'aujourd'hui" [novel of today's gay America], whose action is set in the docks of "une grande ville américaine, New York sans doute" [a large American city, probably New York]. Its characters explore "les terrains vagues de la nouvelle homosexualité" [the waste lands of the new homosexuality]. Guy Hocquenghem is used as guarantor of the book's

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[14] See, for example, Marc Daniel's articles (Daniel 1970a, 1970b, 1970c) for the conservative homosexual journal *Arcadie*. See also Robert (1979, 1980) on the commercialization of the American gay scene and the disgust expressed by *Arcadie*'s editor, André Baudry, at American political and cultural expressions of homosexuality (Coz 1982).

[15] See Robyns (1994:409, 417-420) on the meaning of this term.

[16] Martel (1996) describes the clone as "la révélation sexuelle de la fin des années 1970" (Martel 1996:189) [the sexual revelation of the end of the 1970s].

importance for contemporary gay history. The French gay theorist and activist is quoted as having hailed the book as "le roman le plus important...de l'année gay américaine" [the most important novel...of the American gay year]. The potential reader is reminded that Rechy is the author of *City Of Night* ("un chef-d'oeuvre de la littérature homosexuelle"[17] [a masterpiece of homosexual literature]), and that his new book is "le grand roman de la nouvelle homosexualité" [the great novel of the new homosexuality].

Such linking of the 'new model' of homosexuality with the book's Americanness is not a coincidence; it is likely to activate in the French reader existing knowledge of the controversies and debates about where French 'gay' is destined and the question of what, if anything, it should borrow from elsewhere. The reinforcement of the link with America (several mentions in the space of a few lines) probably produced a strange mixture of alienation and desire on the part of the French gay reader toying with the idea of purchasing the book. The message seems clearly to be that this text is distinctly un-French, but its very foreignness makes it an object of desire. For the fragile gay identity of its French reader, its promise of a new model of homosexuality might well have acted as an incentive and a comfort. *Rush* may indicate which choices the French gay reader has to make and who he can be, even if its clear foreign provenance signals that this new self might be obtained at the price of a degree of alienation. Indeed, another aspect of the novel emphasized by the blurb might well disconcert a reader seeking a handbook of the new homosexuality. The novel's dark and despairing nature is underlined by its construction as "une tragédie antique" [an ancient tragedy], with the bar Rush described as "un territoire étrange, agressif et fascinant" [a strange, aggressive and fascinating territory]. The characters are said to be unified by "leurs fantasmes, leurs peurs et leur solitude" [their fantasies, fears and solitude] in a "nuit si cruelle" [such a cruel night]. As for Rechy, he is said to observe the "existence perdue de ces hommes" [the lost existence of these men] with "une dureté" [a hardness] and "une violence radicale" [a radical violence]. So, as well as fundamentally imported – and *therefore* desirable –, the new homosexuality is also characterized negatively by violence and cruelty. It is worth noting, however, that while this

[17] This, as I remarked in note 10 above, is the only other text by Rechy that a monolingual French reader is likely to know.

depiction may yet load another paradoxical element on to the supposed aspirations of the French gay reader, it may also justify those others who, out of principle, resist the import.[18] What we can say is that the emphasis on the Americanness of the book is comparable to the frequent tendency in Sarotte's earlier book of literary criticism *Comme un frère, Comme un Amant* (Sarotte 1976) to underline differences between the United States and France, on the one hand, while seeking to promote a cross-cultural awareness in gay readers, on the other.[19]

3.2 *Fags* as *le livre qui a scandalisé l'Amérique*

The title of Brice Matthieussent's (1981) *Fags* – strident in large capital letters on the front cover (Figure 2) – as the translation of Larry Kramer's (1977) *Faggots* constitutes an even bolder intrusion of an English term into the consciousness of a target culture reader than Sarotte's title (with its limited French usage).[20] At the same time, there is something curious about Matthieussent's choice of the precise form of the term. 'Fags' may be in itself an acceptable source language abbreviation of 'faggots', but it is not of course an abbreviation used by the original. In other words, while opting clearly for a title that shocks the target culture perception by its strangeness, Matthieussent has carried out his own transformation of the word. Indeed, a small note at the bottom of the

[18] See, in particular, the grave reservations expressed by commentators in *Arcadie* throughout the 1970s and referred to in note 14 above.

[19] See, for example, the Conclusion of the book, entitled 'Un Autre Pays' [Another Country] (Sarotte 1976:307-319).

[20] *Faggots* was Kramer's first novel and an immediate – if controversial – success, both within and outside the gay community. As the AIDS crisis hit the urban gay community in the United States in the 1980s, Kramer was to become a key activist engaged in raising gay awareness of the risks of the disease and a tireless campaigner against political and corporate indifference to the deaths of gay men. As part of this work, he wrote *The Normal Heart* (Kramer 1985), the first 'AIDS play' (a success in both America and Europe) as well as a collection of essays, *Reports from the Holocaust* (Kramer 1989), based on his AIDS activism. Brice Matthieussent's translation appeared four years after the source text. As Kramer did not enjoy an established reputation in the United States, we must assume that the source cultural success of the novel accounts for the relative speed with which the translation was undertaken. *Fags* was Matthieussent's first published translation, though he has since become a tremendously prolific translator of mainly American twentieth-century fiction.

back cover makes clear that the title term derives from another source language word:

> * Fags: *abréviation du mot faggot, mot d'origine américaine à connotation péjorative. Correspond au français pédé.*
> [* Fags: *abbreviation of the word faggot, a word of American origin with pejorative connotations. Corresponds to queer in French.*]

Why then this change of form? The most likely explanation is target language-internal. Just as the English word 'faggot' also means 'a small bundle of wood and sticks', a cognate French term – 'fagot' – has this meaning exclusively. As a result, to have boldly announced the title of the target text as *Faggots* might have produced confusion and suggested to readers at first glance a variant spelling for a target language item. The effect of the choice of the actual form *Fags*, though, is unmistakably exoticizing. Combined with its tabloid typographic form, it produces a shock of strangeness – a shock which is underlined by the publisher's decision to display the following message in large font (larger than that given over to the name of the author or the generic label 'roman' [novel]) at the bottom of the front cover:

> Le livre qui a scandalisé l'Amérique
> [The book which scandalized America]

The mention of 'l'Amérique' will probably help to explain the provenance of the title word to the French reader and will confirm to him or her that we have here something explosive from that strange and vast country across the Atlantic.

The rest of the front cover is taken up with a much less obvious set of signs, notably a photograph of a red handkerchief tied round a bunch of keys. Unless the potential reader is familiar with the semiotics of handkerchiefs and keys in the gay world, this sign may well be unreadable. However, it is the case that by the late 1970s keys were often worn at the hip by American gay men as a sign of their gayness, just as different coloured handkerchiefs were displayed coming out of the back pockets of jeans as a way of signalling particular sexual proclivities (red was for fist-fucking).[21] These allusions would no doubt have been lost on 'general

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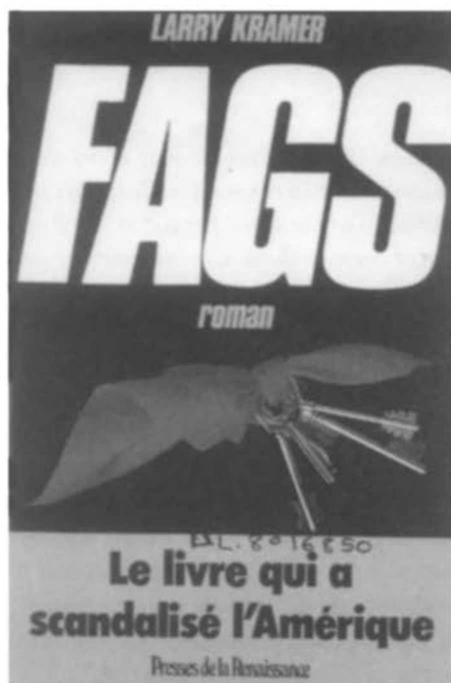
[21] See Worton (1994:53) on colour-coded hankies. Drueilhe (1979:249) gives a contemporary account of American coded handkerchiefs from a French perspective.



Fags*

Figure 2: Cover and blurb of *Fags* (Matthieussent 1981)

readers' in France; indeed, hankies and keys may be counter-productive in the sense that they appear to suggest a kind of domesticity quite distinct from the impact of the title and publisher's 'warning'. It is just possible, however, that the publisher was taking the gamble that enough gay men in the target culture would be aware of these signs by 1981 to pick up the allusions. If that is the case, this could indicate that the book was chiefly marketed at a burgeoning gay readership – the only one likely to recognize these fragments of the international/transdiscursive semiotics of gayness.

Turning to the blurb on the back of the book, the eye is immediately strongly drawn to the central and longest paragraph (four) which is marked out by its topping and tailing with clear horizontal lines. This paragraph summarizes the book as about the quest of the central character, Fred Lemish, for meaning to his life ('un sens à sa vie' [a meaning to his life]) as well as for love, both of which he has as yet failed to find ("l'Amour, en dépit de multiples liaisons ou aventures" [Love, in spite of many liaisons and adventures]):

> il va s'engouffrer plus que jamais dans le monde souterrain de la capitale de l'homosexualité à la recherche de l'âme sœur. Existe-t-elle? Où la trouvera-t-il, dans un bar, aux bains, dans la rue, dans une boîte disco, ou dans un lieu plus secret encore du ghetto 'gay'? [more than ever he is going to rush into the underground world of the capital of homosexuality looking for a soul mate. Does he exist? Where will he find him, in a bar, in the saunas, in the street, in a disco, or in an even more secret place of the 'gay' ghetto?]

The sense of a lugubrious underworld is clear here from the terms 's'engouffrer' [rush into][22], 'le monde souterrain' [underground world], 'ghetto «gay»' ['gay' ghetto]. Note how this last term still calls for speech marks and also how the text slips from a reference to the gay 'capital' to the invocation of the 'ghetto'. Above paragraph four there are three short paragraphs whose main function is to continue and support the front cover's assertion that this is a scandalous book. Paragraph one quotes the first, striking phrase of the book (in translation), with its statistical headcount of the number of 'pédés' [queers] in New York. Paragraphs two

[22] The verb 's'engouffrer' is formed out of the substantive 'un gouffre', meaning 'an abyss'.

and three bring home the shockingness of the text with references to the novel as 'sans précédent' [without precedent] and, again, as having 'scandalisé l'Amérique' [scandalized America]. To support these assertions, the blurb continues:

> Salué par les uns comme un chef d'oeuvre et comme une horreur par les autres, *Fags* ne peut laisser personne indifférent.
> "Révoltant…un écrivain aussi talentueux devrait se décider à sortir des cabinets". *(Washington Post)*
> "Le livre le plus riche, le plus pénétrant et dérangeant sur le sujet". *(Chicago Tribune)*
>
> [Hailed by some as a masterpiece and by others as disgusting, *Fags* cannot leave anyone indifferent.
> "Revolting...a writer as talented as this should decide to come out of the toilet." *(Washington Post)*]
> "The richest, most penetrating and disturbing book on the subject". *(Chicago Tribune)*]

The publisher's marketing strategy relies clearly, then, on the shock value of the text and on the fact that it has produced violently different reactions (in the straight press) in the United States. The invitation to a target text reader is both to experience some of the scandal and also to be able to form a judgement on how justified this is. In other words, the target text reader is being encouraged to form an opinion not just on the book but also on the reactions it produced in its source culture – and, thereby, to form an opinion about the systems of values at work in the foreign space.

Paragraph five changes tack somewhat and attempts to give Kramer's text an enhanced literary stature by enlisting a Homeric reference and suggesting that to dwell on the scandalous elements of the book would be shortsighted:

> *Fags*, c'est un peu l'*Odysée* de l'homosexualité. Ne voir dans un tel livre que son apparence pornographique releverait de la myopie littéraire aiguë.
> [*Fags* is a bit like the *Odyssey* of homosexuality. Only to see in such a book its pornographic appearance would stem from acute literary shortsightedness.]

The 'serious turn' discernible in this paragraph continues in the penultimate paragraph (in italics except for the mention at the end of Brice

Matthieussent as responsible for the 'texte français') in which Larry Kramer's respectable credentials as a professional of the film industry ("*des fonctions importantes à United Artists et à Columbia pictures*" [*important functions at United Artists and Columbia pictures*]) as a screen writer (the 'Women in Love' screenplay, '*tiré du roman de D.H. Lawrence*' [*based on the novel by D.H. Lawrence*]) and as a university teacher of cinema ("*à l'université Harvard, à celles de Yale et de Californie du Sud*" [*at Harvard, Yale and the University of Southern California*]) are detailed. In sum, then, the strategy of the different elements of the book's binding appears to be: first, to grab the attention through an appeal to the text's foreignness as well as its scandalous impact in its original setting; second, to reinforce and clarify this through reference to the homosexual underworld and the representation of explicit sex; finally (and only then), to insist on the ultimate seriousness of the enterprise which the book represents. This last element, then, functions importantly as a guarantor of the book's quality and as a reassurance to the potential buyer that he/she is not just buying a cheap read. Taken as a whole, this strategy constitutes a complex and subtle act of enticement. However, more than is the case with *Rush*, many elements of the binding of *Fags* reveal the unmistakable presence of exoticizing and distancing elements.

3.3 *Le Danseur de Manhattan* and the 'scandal' of *la littérature homosexuelle*

Philippe Mikriammos' translation of Andrew Holleran's (1978) acclaimed first novel, *The Dancer from the Dance*, appeared in France two years after the publication of the source text.[23] The title *Le Danseur de Manhattan*

[23] *Dancer from the Dance* was received with great critical acclaim in the United States when it was first published. Indeed, twenty years later, it is still regarded as one of the high points of the late 1970s emerging 'gay literature' (see White 1999:2). As this was Holleran's first novel, its rapid appearance in a French version cannot be the result (as we noted in the case of Kramer's text also) of the established reputation of its author. Philippe Mikriammos, a poet as well as a prolific translator, published another translation on homosexual themes at around the same time: the translation of the second edition of Vidal's *The City and the Pillar* (see Harvey 1998). It is also worth remarking that he translated other texts by Vidal into French as well as several texts (fiction and non-fiction) by other leading American writers: e.g. Allen Ginsberg, W.S. Burroughs. Mikriammos, clearly, was familiar with the work of major writers

(Mikriammos 1980; Figure 3) betrays that peculiar ambivalence towards American cultural products that we have noted elsewhere: it flags up the Americanness of the story's setting as a potential magnet to the prospective French reader, while at the same time distancing the book's themes from the preoccupations of the target audience. However, Mikriammos realizes this ambivalence in terms that distinguish his translation 'event' from that of *Rush* or *Fags*. The choice to specify 'Manhattan' in the title is motivated by a fascination with the American model of social and cultural life, a fascination which does not preclude – indeed, may even by sustained by – a desire to keep this model simultaneously at arms' length. While comparable in some ways to the use of target-identified terms for *Rush* and *Fags*, such a gesture is arguably more defensive in nature. If *Rush* and *Fags* import their foreign-identified bodies into the French domain through the shock of linguistic strangeness, *Manhattan* positions the text unmistakably in a geographically determinate location in a cultural 'elsewhere'.[24]

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on homosexuality, even if the texts he translated by them were not exclusively on that theme.

[24] Importantly, the non-literal translation of the title has text-internal (including paratextual) implications, the most obvious of which – the relation between the title and the epigraph from Yeats' poem "Among School Children" – the translator can be assumed to have noted. The last two lines of the poem in English, reproduced before the source text, read:

> "O body swayed to music, O brightening glance,
> How can we know the dancer from the dance? "

As an epigraph to a story about New York gay men in the 1970s whose lives revolve around that city's thriving disco scene these lines send reverberations through the text. Interestingly, Mikriammos translates the whole of the epigraph (eight lines), ending with:

> "O corps bercé de musique, O regard illuminé,
> Comment séparer la danse du danseur? "

Although the choice of the verb 'séparer' entails a reversal in order of the nominal elements 'danse' and 'danseur', the translation is close enough. In view of this, it is notable that Mikriammos did not transfer this phrase of the poem to the title more literally. Perhaps a linguistic reason explains this: the target language form 'du' is functionally ambiguous, operating either as a preposition in a verbal structure (as in the English 'from') or as part of a complex nominal structure indicating attribution (e.g. "the dance of the dancer"). Taken in isolation, the target language phrase "la danse du danseur" would tend to encourage the latter of the two possibilities. Only if one were to include the verb 'séparer' (i.e. "séparer la danse du danseur") would the action of separation be made plain. But this, of course, would be a much less elegant solution for a title. Having noted the language systemic difficulty, it is still the case that Mikriammos' choice of a title including the name 'Manhattan' requires further – non-linguistic systemic – explanation.

Le danseur de Manhattan

Malone est homosexuel. Beau et romantique, il semble néanmoins porter sur ses épaules toute l'agressivité et toute la solitude de sa génération. Issu de la haute bourgeoisie, Malone est avocat. Mais un jour, à vingt-neuf ans, son homosexualité lui tombe dessus, « comme un cancer », inévitable. Il abandonne tout pour vivre avec l'homme qu'il aime ou croit aimer. Car son chemin de croix, sa passion ne font que commencer...

Avec Sutherland, la « folle » la plus excentrique de New York, il découvre la jungle homo, un univers étrange et cruel où se côtoient esthètes fortunés et serveurs portoricains. De la discothèque à la mode aux bains publics, tous sont à la recherche d'un absolu. Et pour un temps, cet absolu ce sera Malone, le danseur de Manhattan que tout le monde admire, envie, désire. Mais lui aussi qu'emporte une ronde délirante d'amants, reste prisonnier de sa propre quête. Jusqu'au jour où les rêves inaccessibles s'enlisent dans le drame sordide, à moins qu'il ne s'agisse, au-delà des apparences, d'une des formes suprêmes de la tragédie contemporaine.

Loin de sombrer dans l'exploitation facile de thèmes tabous, *Le danseur de Manhattan* est un roman tendre et bouleversant. Cette histoire d'amour désespéré constitue un document de premier ordre sur un phénomène de société que nul ne peut ignorer aujourd'hui.

Andrew Holleran a signé avec Le danseur de Manhattan *son premier livre. Salué par une critique enthousiaste, ce roman a été accueilli aux Etats-Unis comme un chef-d'œuvre de la littérature homosexuelle.*

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Figure 3: Cover and blurb of *Le Danseur de Manhattan* (Mikriammos 1980)

The cover of *Le Danseur de Manhattan* is dominated by the colour photograph of a young man, shot looking straight into the lens, although distanced from the observer by an unspecified wooden 'frame' (possibly a shed or stable door or window) which the photograph also takes in. This young man's blue eyes fix the observer with an insistent, somewhat melancholy gaze. The blue eyes pick up the blue of the denim jacket he is wearing over a black pullover, sweatshirt or scarf (this man is out of doors; maybe he is walking in search of something). The locks of hair we can discern against the skin of his forehead reveal him to have dark – maybe black – hair, although the rest of his hair is indistinguishable against the black shadows behind him. He has a long, rather beautiful face, pale olive skin, an aquiline nose and full lips. There is a clear trace of dark stubble on his chin (perhaps he is returning home in the morning after a late night). Whatever the speculation about the identity of this figure or what he is doing, it is evident that the type of beauty he represents is anything but out of place – i.e. 'foreign' – on the streets of Paris: the dark hair, the complexion, the nose and lips, the hint of unshavenness (firmly this side of unkempt), as well as the combination of fashionable denim (this is the late 1970s) over dark clothes place this young male recognizably amongst the compatriots of the potential reader who might be leafing through this book in 1980 in a bookshop somewhere along the Boulevard St Germain.[25] The cover, then, taken as a whole, transmits an interesting and productive ambivalence to this reader: the title tells him (I shall assume a gay male reader) that this is a story about that tantalizingly attractive yet foreign place, Manhattan, while the photo suggests strongly that the characters in the book are fundamentally like those young sons of the Parisian middle-classes he will meet outside on the streets of the French capital. Distance and proximity, otherness and similarity: already these profound notions underpinning and motivating translation and translations are here on the cover.

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[25] This potential binding of photo and target readership could not have been obtained by a picture of the typically blond all-American male. On this point, it is made clear in the text that the hero of the book, Malone, is exemplary as the all-American type; the narrator, spotting Malone among a crowd in a fashionable art gallery, writes: "Seule sa merveilleuse blondeur me permit de le remarquer parmi eux" (Mikriammos 1980:108) [Only his marvellous blondness allowed me to notice him among them]. This detail obliges a target reader to revise the potential hypothesis that he or she may hitherto have held to that the cover photo is an image of the beautiful hero.

As for the blurb, there is clear indecision over whether the story of Malone should be interpreted as sordid drama ("les rêves inaccessibles s'enlisent dans le drame sordide" [the unattainable dreams get bogged down in sordid drama]) or high tragedy (maybe it constitutes "une des formes suprêmes de la tragédie contemporaine" [one of the supreme forms of contemporary tragedy]). However, it is acknowledged that Malone – and others in the book – are "à la recherche d'un absolu" [looking for an absolute], although it is made explicit that this leads ultimately to the sterile situation in which the principal character becomes "prisonnier de sa proper quête" [prisoner of his own quest] (his "ronde délirante d'amants" [his crazy succession of lovers] is mentioned as a gloss on this entrapping quest). However, just in case the invocation of "la jungle homo" [the homo jungle], qualified as "un univers étrange et cruel" [a strange and cruel universe], suggests to the serious reader "l'exploitation facile de thèmes tabous" [the easy exploitation of taboo themes], an interpretation of the book as sociological data is offered:

> Cette histoire d'amour désespéré constitue un document de premier ordre sur un phénomène de société que nul ne peut ignorer aujourd'hui.
> [This hopeless love story constitutes a crucial document on a social phenomenon that no-one can ignore today.]

This "phénomène de société" helps us to make sense of the opening sentence of the blurb: "Malone est homosexuel". These three words function as a meaningful unit of text because, in an important sense, they stand for the text as a whole: 'homosexuel' is both narrative theme and underlying problem, subject matter as well as teleology. If the pathology of the homosexual predicament needs further specification then the latter half of the first paragraph obliges:

> Mais un jour, à vingt-neuf ans, son [i.e. Malone's] homosexualité lui tombe dessus, «comme un cancer», inévitable. Il abandonne tout pour vivre avec l'homme qu'il aime ou croit aimer. Car son chemin de croix, sa passion ne font que commencer…
> [But one day, at twenty-nine, his homosexuality hits him, 'like a cancer', inevitable. He abandons everything to live with the man he loves or thinks he loves. For his Calvary, his Passion are only just starting…]

This inflection of the novel's theme of homosexual life and love as one long, slow process of torture is based upon a partial reading of the text,

a reading that corresponded no doubt to one (perhaps dominant) contemporary understanding of homosexuality, but which ignores both the communal joy represented regularly in the pages of the book as well as the evaluative ambivalence that camp injects into the imposition of a tragic mode.[26]

In the context of the pathologizing move encoded by the blurb, the final paragraph of the back cover reads curiously. This curiousness is underlined typographically by its use of italics:

> *Andrew Holleran a signé avec* Le danseur de Manhattan *son premier livre. Salué par une critique enthousiaste, ce roman a été accueilli aux États-Unis comme un chef d-œuvre de la littérature homosexuelle.*
> [*Andrew Holleran has produced with* The Dancer of Manhattan *his first book.*
> *Greeted by an enthusiastic critical reception, this novel has been welcomed in the United States as a masterpiece of homosexual literature.*]

Clearly, at the most material level these final two sentences carry the responsibility of clinching the purchase of the book by insisting on its positive critical reception. However, this reference to "la littérature homosexuelle" – presupposed thereby to exist as a distinct element in the literary polysystem and, what is more, to be assumed to be known to exist by the reading public – sits curiously with the relentlessly negative tone of the rest of the blurb with respect to homosexuality, the homosexual and his tragic destiny. The co-existence of these distinct affirmations in the one text leads one to articulate the following question: if homosexuality, like cancer, condemns one to a slow agony, how is it that it has invested the valued institution of literature with its own distinct cultural forms, i.e. a 'homosexual literature' which, by the very fact of its existence, would seem to constitute a token – a promise – of identity, community and survival? To answer this question, I would like to suggest that the discourse of the blurb is the expression of a particular type of

[26] The 'survival' (not only physical, but moral and critical) of the correspondents whose letters frame the narrative is a clear sign of resistance to dominant oppressive norms – and one which the blurb singularly ignores. See Harvey (2000b: 171-176) for a 'resistant' interpretation of Holleran's text, one which contrasts with, say, Terry Woods' (1990:136) view of Holleran's solipsism.

'scandal' in the target culture. The 'scandal' of *Le Danseur de Manhattan* lies not in its representations of homosexuality *per se* – its references to promiscuity, to oral and anal intercourse, to public sex, etc., all of which can be found in Sade, Genet, etc. – but in its underlying assumption (taken almost as a given by the late 1970s in the United States, but highly contested in France) that homosexuality founds a distinct type of selfhood and, what is more, that this selfhood engenders the possibility of a clearly delineated community within the 'corps social'.[27]

This, then, is the real meaning of that half-fascinated, half-appalled reference to "la jungle homo, un univers étrange et cruel" [the homo jungle, a strange and cruel universe]; this is why the book is, for the French reader, a document about "un phénomène de société" [a social phenomenon] (one which, implicitly, threatens the integrity of the social order through its suggestion of differences); and, finally, this is why in the same text we find the relentless negativity of the summary of theme and action alongside a reference to "la littérature homosexuelle", suggesting an established literary sub-system. It is the emerging difference of 'homosexuals' conceived of as a separate 'universe' – i.e. a distinct 'phenomenon' that is not simply susceptible to psychological or psychoanalytical explanation, but that is also a 'social' and 'cultural' fact, a fact that founds identity categories and generates communities ('they' even produce their own 'literature') – that this imported text encodes. And this emerging difference, while primarily a foreign (i.e. American) fact at the time, is one that the French cannot afford to be complacent about. Indeed, this book (and those like it) could be the very channel through which such discourses of homosexual specificity arrive 'chez nous'. The 'scandal' of the *Danseur* is not psychological, moral or aesthetic; it is institutional and socio-cultural. Read in this way, the blurb may even be seen to encode a kind of socio-cultural health warning about the threat of a specific 'otherness' that has already proliferated as social reality in the United States.

4. Conclusion: On translational agency

These readings of the 'bindings' of three translations linked by theme and period illuminate the domestic discourses into which the foreign text as

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[27] See, for example, White (1994, 1997); Merrick and Ragan (1996) for discussions of French resistance to subcultural differences and its consequences.

event is produced and with which, critically, it interacts. I contend that such material generally deserves more careful and systematic analysis in translation studies as valuable evidence of the interface of the text and its context. Analysis of this material – which is the threshold between reader and text and between domestic and foreign values – is an ideal place to start to identify the processes of negotiation encoded in translations themselves and to capture essential aspects of the ideological trouble caused by them. So, in summary, if the binding of *Rush* is ambivalent to some degree, it also brings home quite clearly that the book is the important vector of a 'new homosexuality' offered to its readership. This is coherent with what we know of the production of the translator, Georges-Michel Sarotte, as literary critic and of his displacements as an intercultural actor in the French and American academies. *Fags*, in contrast, highlights the secret subcultural signs of American 'gay' while contextualizing these for the target reader within half-serious gestures of outrage and public outcry. Just as Matthieussent's text highlights the source text's satire in so many of its choices,[28] so the binding intimates a universe of almost-Swiftian strangeness and absurdity. Finally, Mikriammos' heavily edited and accommodated text is prefigured in the binding's insistence on the individual pathology and collective scandal of 'gay' as a category. Thus, many of the translation's suppressions and reconfigurations[29] have the effect of diminishing a representation – so clearly present in Holleran's original – of an established urban gay community and its values. Note, however, that the sad young (French)man on the cover of *Le Danseur de Manhattan* succeeds, nonetheless, in making a direct appeal to a French reader, thereby encouraging a limited process of identification.

I would like briefly to conclude by addressing the problem of 'agency', a term that has surfaced from time to time in the argument. A question we might ask is: who produced the 'bindings'? Certainly, I am not assuming at any point that the translators themselves are uniquely responsible for title, photo and blurb. Indeed, with respect to the photo it safely may be supposed that each translator's 'agency' is reduced to a minimum. Less certain, it is true, is the degree of involvement of the translator in the title and blurb. Both these textual aspects could receive clear input from the translator, with varying degrees of editorial guidance from commission-

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[28] See Harvey (2000b:185-189, 208-211) for examples.

[29] See Harvey (2000b:225-230, 239-244) for examples.

ing editor, copy editor, etc.[30] However, it is probably very difficult, if not impossible, for the translation historian to reconstruct the chain of likely collective decision-making that results in a particular binding. The documentary evidence that would be needed to ascertain the varying degrees of individual input is probably either unavailable, discarded by publishers (particularly in the case of translations from several decades ago) or even purely hypothetical (aspects of input to the binding would have been realized without specific written instruction, through oral agreement or automatic in-house functions).

Quite apart from such difficulties, I would suggest that the attribution of responsibility to the flesh-and-blood individuals who produced the event that is the translational object is something of a red herring. Indeed, in-house editorial policies make it dangerous to assume that the translator as individual – whose name may or may not be on the cover of the text – is singly responsible for textual outcomes even in the main body of the text (particularly, say, with respect to what Toury (1995:58-59) calls 'matricial' factors). Instead, then, of the attribution of responsibility to isolated human agents I am interested here in the *agency of the translation as event*. This is an agency which may indeed by the product of a fractured and multiple type of human agency. But, crucially, it is not limited to that human agency.[31] I have argued that it is the translation-event's participation in and contribution to collectively elaborated discourses that is central to its agentive role. The binding, as discussed at some length in this paper, is conceivable, then, as the outcome of a collective chain of human decision-making and action whose importance is in its composite, yet necessarily fractured, agentive energy within and across the ideological faultlines of contemporary discourses. In such energy – produced through yet across individual human agents – resides the promise of innovation and resistance.

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[30] Indeed, in my experience, authors and translators are often asked to supply the draft of the text to be used in the binding.

[31] Indeed, the fraught nature of attempting to reconstruct and understand the material and psychological aspects of individual human agency in translation history is well noted by commentators: e.g. Berman (1995:73-74) and Pym (1998) who, despite his enthusiasm for seeing translators as 'effective causes', warns of the danger of "getting lost in biographical details" (1998:160).

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(Mis)Translating Degree Zero
Ideology and Conceptual Art[1]

Mª CARMEN ÁFRICA VIDAL CLARAMONTE

The idea that discourse is never neutral and that language is always charged with ideological connotations provides the starting-point for this paper which reflects on the work of artists who use language in their works of art; for these artists, language is art, an art which in some cases attacks different social injustices related to consumerism, race or gender. This discourse is extremely difficult to translate, because it is pure ideology and because the translator has to translate a work of art. It presents the translator with a real challenge.

> [...] it appears increasingly more difficult to conceive a system of images and objects whose *signifieds* can exist independently of language: to perceive what a substance signifies is inevitably to fall back on the individuation of language: there is no meaning which is not designated, and the world of *signifieds* is none other than that of language.

Roland Barthes
Elements of Semiology (1968:1)

According to Lluís Duch in *Mito, interpretación y cultura*, if living is speaking, and speaking is translating, then, obviously, living is translating. In this excellent volume on logomythics, the Spanish anthropologist presents what I consider to be a totally accurate vision of translation and it is this idea I propose to take up as my starting-point in this essay: translation, an inevitable process to which all human beings are subjected from the moment they come into the world until they die, is a very clear symptom of man's profound alienation; "we speak because *immediacy*, despite the enormous efforts we make to attain it, is something inaccessible to human beings" (Duch 1998:467). We are born into an unknown language,

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says Ulises Drago. Everything else is gradual translation. Speaking and translating are always, inevitably, mediations, acts which have to be continually repeated and which are subjected to historicity, culture and space-time conditions. According to Edward Said (1978) *Orientalism*, what is normally found in culture is not 'truth' but truth's representations. Language, Said goes on, is an organized, codified system which has many ways of expressing, indicating or exchanging messages and information; many ways to, in a word, re-present.

Language is the human being's most powerful weapon. And with language the translator can, as Feyerabend says, put forward his own argument against the system. The word "'hides' far more than it explicitly confesses, disfigures far more than it defines, separates far more than it joins together and insinuates far more than it determines. *Implicits* far more than *explicits*, 'subjective meanings' far more than 'objective meanings' and allusions far more than firm statements constitute the most fertile, but at the same time most difficult areas for human language to move in" (Duch 1998:478). Language is the translator's tool, a dangerous tool, a weapon that he can cause damage with: it is not innocent but always implies a vision of the world which is related, according to the Frankfurt School, to the legitimacy of certain institutions and social practices and the power relations maintaining them.

The translator is a cultural mediator, the interpreter of texts (*à la* Gadamer) which at the same time are intertexts and are never neutral or innocent (cf. Pierre Bourdieu). Therefore, following Heidegger, we understand language as the house of being and humanity as a conversation, we know that language starts where communication is in danger; we know that language is a means of survival; and we know, as Umberto Eco (1992) argues, that we live immersed in signs. Bearing all this in mind, we become aware of the translator's ethical responsibility: the translator is no longer a secondary figure but has become someone who, perhaps better than anybody else, recognizes the importance of re-presentation, knows that any crystallization can turn into snow, salt or flower on the end of a twig. He knows that his task is to unravel connections and clear bridges of any mud with enormous care and great responsibility, because the meaning of words can disappear on wet lips.

This responsibility is particularly important when translating the texts which form part of a work of conceptual art. This type of text exemplifies the idea that Venuti (2000:5) presents in his latest book that "A translation theory always rests on particular assumptions about language use".

And the vision of language adopted by conceptual art corresponds to what he calls, following tradition, 'a hermeneutic concept of language': conceptual art is based on the idea, as I have already said at the beginning of this essay, that language is neither innocent nor neutral but is loaded with ideology and, as such, is an instrument of power. Thus "a hermeneutic concept of language leads to translation theories that privilege the interpretation of creative values and therefore describe the target-language inscription in the foreign text, often explaining it on the basis of social functions and effects" (Venuti 2000:6).

As translation is a rewriting of the original text and the translator, inevitably, a manipulator, we are faced with the problem of what to do with texts with an ideology[2] which does not coincide with our own. I have found myself in this situation more than once throughout my career as a translator, and it is something which is particularly important in the case of texts belonging to the field of conceptual art, where language *is* the work of art. As Butler (1984:97) says, "Ideologies thus tend to promote certainties of a kind we have not encountered before in our argument, and thus may lead to a direct confrontation between the beliefs of the interpreter and those supposedly asserted by the text". In 1969, Joseph Kosuth (1991) published his essay 'Art After Philosophy', where he laid the foundations of conceptual art, especially the idea that art is a series of different formal vocabularies organized according to specialized codes and that linguistic structures are not just a metaphor of art but rather its very essence:

> What is the function of art, or the nature of art? If we continue our analogy of the forms art takes as being art's *language* one can realise then that a work of art is a kind of *proposition* presented

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[2] The interferences between ideology and translation are of interest to many contemporary authors, who tackle it from different perspectives: the so-called Manipulation School, functionalism, post-colonialism or post-structuralism. I find André Lefevere's now classic 1992 publication *Translation, Rewriting and the Manipulation of Literary Fame* particularly useful. Also other texts he wrote with Susan Bassnett like *Constructing Cultures* in 1998. Other useful texts include those written by Edwin Gentzler, Marilyn Gaddis Rose, Rosemary Arrojo, Lawrence Venuti, Mona Baker (especially her article 'Linguistics and Cultural Studies' [1996]), Basil Hatim, Ian Mason, Christina Schäffner (in particular *Discourse and Ideologies* [1996]) or Theo Hermans (from *The Manipulation of Literature* [1985] to *Translation in Systems* [1999a]). They present different opinions, but ratify the importance of ideology in translating.

> within the context of art as a comment on art. In other words, the propositions of art are not factual, but linguistic in *character* that is, they do not describe the behaviour of physical, or even mental objects; they express definitions of art, or the formal consequences of the definitions of art. (Kosuth 1991:19-21)

Language serves here to make the object totally irrelevant: what is important is the proposition: "Objects are conceptually irrelevant to the condition of art" (Kosuth 1991:26). And, from that point of view, translation acquires an unusual importance: when works of conceptual art travel to other countries, the effect the works have on the receiving public depends almost exclusively on the translator. And as these works are loaded with ideological connotations, intentions and accusations, the translation is very important for the artist, who wants to be a catalyst of social change. So, for example, Nancy Spero, Barbara Kruger, Glenn Ligon, Sue Williams, Shirin Neshat or Jenny Holzer raise the question of the relationship between language and violence.[3] They are all artists who use language to create an art that seeks to find an intelligible voice for women, a different voice to the patriarchal voice, and who claim a re-presentation of gender in the field of signs, the area that Mary Jacobus (1979) calls "the traditional arena of women's oppression". The truth is that women who use language in their work do so in a different way from men, as, especially since the sixties, women began to understand that 'womanhandling' language was a privilege which, until then, had been denied to them. Mary Kelly for example, was one of the first to reveal the close relationship between discourse and patriarchal power:

> Because of this coincidence of language and patriarchy, the feminine is, metaphorically, set on the side of the heterogeneous, the unnameable, the unsaid. But the radical potential of women's art

[3] In her project *Irresistible* (1992), Sue Williams exhibited a dummy that looked like a battered woman. On the body spectators could read her executioners discourse: "Look what you made me do", "I think you like it". In some of Shirin Neshat's works – *Unveiling Series (*1993), *Women of Allah (*1994) , *Under Duty* (1994) – there are photographs of Iranian women with their heads covered and guns in their hands. On their faces, palms of their hands and feet their own discourse has been written. In the first case, the woman's body is marked by violent male language; in the second, the woman defends herself with guns and by writing her own discourse on her body.

> practice lies precisely in this coincidence, since, insofar as the feminine is said, it is profoundly subversive.[4] (Kelly 1996:23)

Male domination channelled through language is what Bourdieu calls in *La domination masculine* (1998) symbolic violence, muffled violence, a violence which is insensitive and invisible for its victims, a violence which is mainly exercized by means of purely symbolic ways of communication and knowledge or, to be more exact, of ignorance, recognition or, finally, feeling.

The constant linguistic ironies of these artists becomes a critical method and reveals and deconstructs the reality of the end of the twentieth century, reflecting those linguistic clichés with a profound structure where we can find a specific conception of the world. Language used in this way is like an advertisement which ends up as something generic and is produced and reproduced. These artists know that the meaning of a word is to be found in the way it is used and, like Roland Barthes, they become enthusiastic about what can be done with language, looking in a phrase for its place only to find a false *topos* which is imposed. As it is not innocent, language is inscribed on flesh and is used ironically and cynically to prevent our accepting the world as it appears or to prevent our being obliged to forget what we should remember. The work of these artists deconstructs the language of power and draws the map of the forms of production and of the panoptic; in this way they take into account that, as Frederic Jameson (1986) says, multinational capitalism is a concept that should include within itself both reproduction and production. In the

[4] Mary Kelly, 'Notes on Reading the Post-Partum Document' (1977), in Kelly (1996). The *Post-Partum Document i*s a complex meditation on the relationship that exists between mother and child from the moment of birth until the child can speak. This important document "exists in the paradoxical space between femininity's unsayability and the subversive force of its utterance […] It demonstrates that femininity emerges not from the 'natural' biological character of women, but is defined in great part by institutional discourses such as medicine, psychoanalysis and natural history. The drama of the *Document* – the inevitable separation between mother and son – pivots on the child's acquisition of language, and constant initiation into what Lacan calls the symbolic order. Kelly has used the phrase 'the heterogeneity of discourse' to describe a feminist response to the 'paralegal' model of authorship in Conceptual Art. In place of a single textual statement guaranteed by the artist's intention, the feminist author is *situated* within language not so much its source as its effect" (Joselit 1999:47).

face of these discourses, the translator, like Barthes' writer (in, for example, *To Write: An Intransitive Verb?*, 1969) remains within the writing not as a psychological subject but as the agent of the action.

An example of this situation is that of the translator in the face of works by artists like Nancy Spero (1970-71). In *Codex Artaud*, for example, she uses the French poet to bring to light her own voice. In this work Spero uses texts: she fragments the writings of the French thinker and focuses on his loneliness, trying to express a certain existential anxiety; in this case the voice of the male other becomes an appropriate vehicle for expressing an imposed silence. Spero's work presents many other influences: Julia Kristeva, Hélène Cixous, Luce Irigaray ... Some of the female figures she paints jump ironically on phrases of Nietzsche or Derrida. Language reflects the force of signs to undermine stereotyped conventional representations, and the translator should thus be more concerned with the politics of representation than with the representation of politics.

Translation is, perhaps more in this type of text than in any other, a communication act capable of increasing knowledge but also of provoking irritation. That is why these discourses are much more than linguistic discourses:

> Translation, as an act of communication has always been a unique source of knowledge and wisdom for mankind. Translated texts have enriched the intellectual life in the target communities, they have sometimes introduced new linguistic structures or new genres into the target language and culture, but they may also have caused irritation and confusion on the part of the target readers [...] In other words, the linguistic foundations of translation have to be seen in a wider perspective, i.e. both the source text and the target text are embedded in a situation and a culture, and they fulfil a specific function in their respective situations and cultures [...] The target text, as a result of a translation process, reaches a new audience because it transcends linguistic boundaries. Translation, thus, can also be characterised as cross-cultural communication. (Schäffner 1997b:131)

Jenny Holzer is another artist who talks explicitly about the importance of translation in her work, as language is what should reach the receiver in one piece, with all its connotations. Only in this way can so her art be a vital source of imaginary and symbolical representations in an era characterized by a (false) globalization. When she exhibits her work in other cultures (from Spain to Japan), it is necessary that the receiver should

understand (in the broadest sense of the word) phrases like 'TORTURE IS BARBARIC', 'PRIVATE PROPERTY CREATED CRIME' or 'ABUSE OF POWER COMES AS NO SURPRISE'. How could we translate the following?

LITTLE QUEENIE

ANY NUMBER OF
ADOLESCENT GIRLS LIE
FACE DOWN ON THE BED
AND WORK ON ENERGY,
HOUSING, LABOR, JUSTICE,
EDUCATION, TRANSPORTATION
AGRICULTURE
AND BALANCE OF TRADE.

In these phrases, as in everything she says, the language is charged with ideology and connotations that the translator must transmit in the receiving culture. Translating this kind of message implies putting into practice the vision of translation we mentioned at the start of this paper: that translating is living, that it is a mediation act which is being repeated again and again and that it is subjected to coordinates of time and space.

Ideology speaks through the deconstruction of convention. Jenny Holzer's works are found in very different and unconventional forms: posters in the streets of Manhattan, stickers on telephone booths, t-shirts, electronic signs[5] hanging in football stadiums and airports or giant installations like

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[5] "In Holzer's art, linguistic evocations of physical violation are paralleled by their sculptural performance of the body's inscription. When the *Truisms* are 'worn' on T-shirts they suggest both that the body 'speaks' sartorially, and that ideology may be turned inside out, literally worn on one's sleeve. Such attention to the performative meanings of language in relation to the body was dramatically intensified after Holzer's adaptation of electronic signs in 1982. The mobility of the texts she presents is heightened by intricate programs that vary colour and word flow, while punctuating phrases with flashing lights, schematic images, and changes in direction. These modulations make the viewer vividly aware of the physiological nature of seeing: as words rush across Holzer's signs one must be conscious of his or her capacity, or incapacity, to keep up the pace… Language is imagined as provoking particular responses from the body, sometimes through out-and-out assault" (Joselit 1999:50-51).

the one she did for the Solomon R. Guggenheim Museum.[6] Art is thus trying to put an end to certain representations, it is trying to find out who's who, undermine the singular dominant voice and welcome the feminine subject into an audience that up until now has been male, because we know that power is exercized through words and that, as in Foucault's microphysics, it is dispersed throughout the multiple discourses governing sexuality, education, morals, etc. In the work of artists like Jenny Holzer, Barbara Kruger, Nancy Spero and others, language is used as described by Pierre Bourdieu (1991): it is more an instrument of power than of communication. To translate these messages it is necessary to take into account the social conditions surrounding the production (and reception) of the discourses. They are messages, Bourdieu would say, which force us, as translators, to analyse the power inherent in language itself and also the type of authority or legitimacy supporting it. The translator should reflect, therefore, on the symbolic power, on the symbolic violence which can be exercized through the word and on what Bourdieu (1991) calls 'doxa', everything the receiver accepts without knowing:

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[6] Jenny Holzer has written more than ten series in the last twenty years: *Truisms* (1977-79), *Inflammatory Essays* (1979-82), *Living* (1980-82), *Survival* (1983-85), *Under a Rock* (1986), *Laments* (1988-89), *Mother and Child* (1990), *War (1992), Lustmord* (1993-94), *Erlauf* (1995), and *Arno* (1996-97). Her *Truisms* are one-line messages which are unnumbered and are written from many perspectives. Initially they were simple posters stuck over Lower Manhattan. After a time they were printed on a variety of objects (baseball bats, condoms, t-shirts, pencils, cash registers), displayed on electronic signs and eventually published on the Internet. The *Inflammatory Essays* were also devised as posters to be put up in the streets. Each poster was of a different colour (a change in colour was the sign that a new text was going to appear). Each essay was exactly 100 words long, divided up into twenty lines, and was inspired by the writings of Emma Goldman, Rosa Luxemburgo, Mao and Lenin, among others.

Living was exhibited on bronze plaques. The central theme is daily life. *Survival* was the first series Holzer wrote for electronic signs. It was written in UNEX and designed by the same company that created the Spectacolor screen in Times Square. *Under a Rock* was inscribed on granite benches and electronic signs. It was her first indoors exhibition. It consists of writings on "unpleasant topics – things that crawled out from under a rock". *Laments* first appeared during the AIDS epidemic. Holzer is interested in the subject of unnecessary death. *Laments* was exhibited in the Dia Art foundation on thirteen stone coffins and on thirteen synchronized vertical LED signs. (While she was working on this series, Holzer was pregnant with her daughter Lili). *Mother and Child* was created for Venice: it was programmed on twelve vertical LED signs and was cut on the floor of the American pavilion. The text was reflected on the stone floor. *War* is a series which was created during the Gulf war.

> It doesn't mean that the dominated individuals tolerate everything; but they assent to much more than they know. It is a formidable mechanism, like the imperial system – a wonderful instrument of ideology, much bigger and more powerful than television and propaganda. (Bourdieu 1999:269)

The heteroglossia of the translation and the importance of the receiver is particularly relevant when translating Jenny Holzer. Her *Truisms*, for example, can be found on the Internet (http://adaweb.com/cgi-bin/jfsjr/truism) so that surfers can add truisms of their own or modify the artist's. Every reader, therefore, can incorporate his interpretation of the text, which depends, obviously, on his ideology (in the sense used by Fredric Jameson). Also, one of her latest series, *Lustmord*, presents multiple voices: *Lustmord* was published in *the Süddeutsche Zeitung Magazin* (nº 46, 19 November 1993), the weekly supplement of a German newspaper. Jenny Holzer left the title in German because she could find no English translation (the idea is something like 'rape-slaying', 'sex-murder', 'lust-killing'). *Lustmord* is written from different perspectives: that of the rapist, that of the victim and that of the observer (from a relative to a member of the United Nations). Within each category there are several individuals. For Holzer, the message could not be complete if it were written only from the point of view of the woman who has been raped. And it is very important for the translator to understand that it is not clear from which of the perspectives the artist speaks: it seems that she is speaking from the three perspectives at the same time and from none of them. As Renata Saleci says, "By presenting three different accounts of the same rape, Holzer shows that the other is incomprehensible, not simply because of one's own ignorance, but because of the radical impossibility of comprehending the other's perspective, as well as 'feeling' his or her pain" (Saleci 1999:80). *Lustmord* was born from the horror of the war in Bosnia, but it talks about what happens in all wars and also in times of peace. Throughout almost thirty pages of the magazine, we can see texts were written on women's bodies and on one man's body, the photographs were taken close-up so that the hair, pores, skin and also the words are magnified. Holzer designed a card, which was reproduced on the front cover of the magazine, which she wrote in blood donated by German and Yugoslav women. The effect this caused was sensational and it was received with mixed emotions, from weeping to fierce criticism (the latter especially from men: old taboos about the fear of blood in general and of women's blood in

particular were heard; the idea of the racial, viral impurity of blood, etc.)[7].

As we have already said, the *Lustmord* texts present perspectives which are opposing to unthinkable extremes, and it is logical to assume that the translator, almost unconsciously, is going to take sides. But we must not forget that the voice in these texts, the voice in Jenny Holzer's works, is almost always anonymous (something which does not happen in works by other artists like, for example, Mary Kelly or Martha Rosler):

IT WILL BE DEMONSTRATED THAT NOTHING IS SAFE
SACRED OR SANE
BE CREATIVE IN APPROACH
PUT THIS EFFICIENT PROCESS IN MOTION
RESULTS ARE SPECTACULAR ANY SURPLUS IS IMMORAL
AN ELITE IS INEVITABLE
MEN DON'T PROTECT YOU ANYMORE

In an interview in 1986 Jenny Holzer said: "I always try to make my voice unidentifiable […] I wouldn't want it to be isolated as a woman's voice, because I've found that when things are categorised they tend to be dismissed. I find it better to have no particular associations attached to the 'voice' in order for it to be perceived as true" (Ferguson 1986:114). The author is nowhere and everywhere: she is immersed in a language loaded with ideology, she obliges the spectator/reader to question points of view which are sometimes contradictory and also to take sides.[8] Her *Truisms*, for example, are conceptual *readymades*:

> Phrases like MORALS ARE FOR LITTLE PEOPLE sound like the nasty received ideas or prejudices that roll around all of our

[7] In an interview with Christian Kämmerling in the edition of the magazine we have referred to above, Holzer says: "That's the irony in the whole affair. Hardly anyone is disgusted by how much blood is spilled in this world. But just as soon as the blood gets into our living rooms, we panic. Is the blood germ-free, is it lab-tested, medically inspected, ethical, legal?" (1993: 122).

[8] So, for example, in works like *Sign on a Truck (*1984), where she put a huge screen on the side of a lorry in New York. Spectators were able to watch videos created by other artists who had been invited by Holzer to take part (Vito Acconci, Barbara Kruger, Lady Pink and Keith Haring, among others). Passers-by were invited to tape messages with their views on the 1984 presidential elections and other related topics.

Figure 1: Examples of Jenny Holzer's work displayed at the Solomon R. Guggenheim Museum for the 1989-1990 exhibition: *Truisms*, *Inflamatory Essays*, *The Living Series*, *Under a Rock, and Laments*

> minds while sitting alone on the subway, or cooking a solitary meal. No one knows where such convictions come from, or when, because the nature of a truism is that it comes from nowhere and everywhere at once. Even the most intense of Holzer's texts – like TRUST VISIONS THAT DON'T FEATURE BUCKETS OF BLOOD drawn from the *Survival* series (1983-85) sound like something you may have read in an evangelist's brochure handed out on the street, or what some guy was mumbling on the bus. They are fragments of internalised ideology, dislocated fact, and half-appealing, half-revolting rushes of hatred, assertion and prejudice. They are a vision of what the world looks like when your internal sensor stops functioning and the barrage of information from outside of you feels like your own thoughts. They are instances of authorship turned outside in and inside out […] Holzer's model of authorship is premised on how facts and concepts from outside (ideology) are internalised as thought (conceptual readymades), and then turned inside out to make art (internal monologues as public speech). (Joselit 1999:47)

In these radical cases (and in other less violent cases) the translator's machinery of ethics has to start working. When I translate Jenny Holzer, I immediately think, of course, of the Canadian feminist translators. How would they translate the words written in female blood? Can a text like *Lustmord* (1993) only be understood and interpreted by a woman? Or a text like Mary Kelly's *Post-Partum Document*? (1977). Is translation a political act,[9] as the feminist translators say? Is it ethical for a translator to

[9] "I consider translation a political activity. I'm a feminist, and through my work on language I'm putting my politics into practice via translation. The subject, or 'I', translating is not neutral, has never been neutral, contrary to popular belief". Language must be 'resexualised'. Susanne de Lotbinière-Harwood, following the line of Henri van Hoof, says that translation should serve to discover a culture, to defend political ideas and to fight against oppression: "As a feminist translator, my choices – of words, of works to take on – are informed by the emerging women's culture, which means that our references can now be found within the sphere of work done by women. We have a feminist dictionary, an encyclopaedia, theoretical works, fiction, criticism, translations, prefaces to translations – all of these are beginning to constitute a women's culture. We don't have to go out into the patriarchal space to have our work validated or to seek the authority it confers to the work. Conversely, I feel that the feminist translation strategies I'm developing contribute to this emerging women's culture" (de Lotbiniére – Harwood 1988:44).
Or in Barbara Godard's words (1990:93-94):

change the text at whim?[10]

From this perspective and within the field of contemporary art, the translator must also take into account a factor which is extremely relevant here, more than in any other field: the financial aspect. Let us consider the work of a conceptual artist like Lawrence Weiner (1972). At the beginning of the seventies, Weiner produced a series of works which were only phrases painted on the walls of a gallery:

A STONE LEFT UNTURNED
OVER AND OVER. OVER AND OVER
AND OVER AND OVER. AND OVER AND OVER
ONE KILOGRAM OF LACQUER POURED UPON A FLOOR
FLUSHED
SMUDGED
THE RESIDUE OF A FLARE IGNITED UPON A BOUNDARY

> Like parody, feminist translation is a signifying of difference despite similarity […] Meaning discerned and assigned by the translator becomes visible in the gap or the surplus which separates target from source text […] The feminist translator affirming her critical difference, her delight in interminable re-reading and re-writing, flaunts the signs of her manipulation of the text. *Womanhandling* the text in translation means replacing the modest, self-effacing translator. The feminist translator immodestly flaunts her signature in italics, in footnotes – even in a preface.

[10] For example, what Suzanne Jill Levine does in her translation of *La Habana para un infante difunto* by Guillermo Cabrera Infante (1984[1979]). The translation act is understood here as an inevitable reinterpretation that occurs when a text is moved from one context to another: it is a necessarily subversive act of a translator who wants to be faithfully unfaithful, and who justifies her infidelity by explaining that the author himself agrees with it (cf. Jill Levine 1983:85-94). See also the preface that Susanne de Lotbinière-Harwood writes to her translation of Lise Gauvin's *Letters from Another (*1990), where she admits that the deliberate feminization of the original text is a political intervention. As far as I am concerned, I believe that even although Holzer's texts are feminist and even although they touch on subjects which concern women, one cannot fall into the same radicalisms which have long been characteristic of the patriarchy. Rosemary Arrojo (1994:148) explains this very well:

> In the defence of their authorial role in the production of meaning that constitutes their work of translation, such female translators seem to fall into another version of the same 'infamous double standard' that can be found in our traditional, 'masculine' theories and conceptions of translation… on what grounds can one justify that 'womanhandling' texts is

Each of these phrases constitutes a work of art. At the time Weiner claimed that he was not interested in the object itself but in the concept, and, therefore, the work did not necessarily have to be sold:

> People, buying my stuff, can take it wherever they go and can rebuild it if they choose. If they keep it in their heads, that's fine too. They don't have to buy it to have it –they can have it just by knowing it. Anyone making a reproduction of my art is making art just as valid as art as if I had made it. (Weiner 1972:217)

This last statement by the artist gives the translator *carte blanche*, as it assumes that the work can be reproduced, that the original is not a sacred text and that rewritings of a text are just as valid, just as 'original' as the source text. However, in February 1993, Weiner installed four conceptual works on the walls of the Marian Goodman Gallery in New York. Each work consisted of a phrase. Weiner sold each work for 40,000 dollars. The fortunate few who bought them, says James Gardner in his book *Culture or Trash*? (1993), could not take the gallery walls home with them, nor did they have to peel the paint off the walls as has sometimes happened with Renaissance frescos, because the work was the language used. So, what they took home with them, apart from the language, was a signed certificate which included the words used in the work and the guarantee that the work could not be sold to anybody else. The only thing that can explain why somebody should pay 10,000 dollars for each word in the work is that this word was authentic. We are dealing here with an economic aura of the work of art. Can anybody imagine translating a word that has cost somebody 10,000 dollars? What is the translator's responsibility here? What would our client expect of us? Would he be willing to accept particular translation theories?

It is evident at this point that translation is not an exact science, that translating is – as I said at the beginning – living, and that each of us has his own way of life. Translating is, then, inevitably, rewriting and manipulating insomuch as it deals not with translating languages but cultures.

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objectively positive while 'manhandling' them is to be despised? In what terms is the trope of translation as 'hijacking' non-violent? Why isn't the feminist translator's appropriation of the 'original' also a symptom of the need to retain the 'ownership' of meaning?

But there are always limits. The most radical translation theories – including deconstruction, Blanchot's *L'écriture du désastre* (1980), Quine's theories or feminist theories – start from an idea that became widespread thanks to the postmodernist philosophies of the eighties (Lyotard, Vattimo, Rorty and many others) for whom the *Grands Récits* have ceased to exist. Everybody knows that we are living in an era of revision of traditional values; there is general rejection of our cultural certainties, those certainties on which Western Society has been based and structured for the last two centuries at least. Our commitment to progress and to the political systems which should strengthen it is tumbling. The illustrated project, the humanist ideology which has been dominant in Western culture since the eighteenth century and which aimed at man's political and economic emancipation, now has to face strong opposition: the universalizing theories, the so-called *Grands Récits*, have not come up with the results expected of them.

All these ideas created an atmosphere which impregnated translation theories. And, thanks to the dehierarchization that came about with postmodernist philosophy and poststructuralist practices, translation and translators have now occupied their rightful place. At the same time, it has finally been understood that translation cannot be a pure act nor an innocent act and that the translator's ideology, the patron's ideology and the ideology of the medium the translation is to be published in etc., are all very important factors that alter the final product. But one thing is that culture is a fundamental element of translation and that translating is, in a way inevitably, manipulation, and another is that translation is only an excuse for transmitting the translator's ideology. His responsibility when translating these texts is enormous. As Mason says,

> Empirical studies must seek not to contrast disembodied entities or isolated phrases from the source text and target text but to trace generic, discoursal, and textual developments which reveal ideologies and highlight the mediating role of the translator. (Mason 1992:34)

I totally agree with Roland Barthes' description of the situation of the text: the Author is dead and in his place the figure of the reader/translator is reborn; the text is not a line of words releasing a single meaning but a multi-dimensional space in which a variety of writings blend and clash. Behind Jenny Holzer's texts we can see her readings of Blake, Beckett, Canetti and, above all, a culture and an ideology. Behind Nancy Spero's

texts we can see Kristeva, Cixous, Bakhtin, Artaud… Behind every translator, his world. That is why translations are different. Therein lies the most fascinating thing about the act of translating. The translator's task is not to find the single and absolute meaning of the source text, but, as Barthes (1964) says in his *Essais Critiques*, 'l'intelligible de notre temps'. In order to translate the texts of the conceptual artists, we have to consider the political and cultural values inherent in the practice and research in translation. Language is not therefore a simple instrument for communication but, as Deleuze and Guattari (1980) say in *Mille plateaux*, a collective force, a joining together of forces which constitute a hierarchized semiotic régime which makes all language a *locus* of power relationships where a dominant force rules over minority variants. The translator of conceptual art texts should be aware that the language used by these artists tries to subvert the dominant forms by revealing that these forms are socially and historically constructed and situated and by showing the turn about within the language of contradictions and struggles which construct the social. Translation should, then, follow the description Fredric Jameson (1986) gives of the text in his *The Political Unconscious*: it should be a synchronic unit of elements, generic models and structurally heterogeneous or contradictory discourses. In short, translations should become the literature of minorities that is discussed by Deleuze and Guattari (1980), a literature written by foreigners in their own tongue. For his final discourse to be ethical, the translator must ask himself, like Foucault, who is speaking and who is translating, why that person and not somebody else, what the modes of existence of the discourse are, where it was used and in what circumstances. It is only in this way, taking great care not to overinterpret, that we can penetrate the spirit of a translation, the final aim of which can only be an invitation to common comprehension. What fascinates the translator, and Barthes (1981) in *Le Grain de la Voix*, is how man makes his world comprehensible, the adventure of the intelligible, the problem of signification. But degree zero, absolute verticality, the eternal postponement, the *pharmakon*, is saying nothing by meaning everything, it is another form of impasse, it is returning to an *auctoritas* this time in disguise. The text does not have a closed meaning but it is not a pre-text either. I do not believe in battering the text into a shape that serves the purposes of the interpreter, as Richard Rorty (1982) proposes in *Consequences of Pragmatism*; on the other hand, I agree with Eco when he says that "if there is something to be interpreted, the interpretation must speak of something which must be found somewhere, and in some

way, respected” (Eco 1992:43).

The translator who translates texts charged with ideology (almost all texts as it is practically impossible to find a totally neutral discourse) reminds us of the translator Julia Kristeva (1998) proposes in *L’avenir d’une révolte*: he must be open to the risk of thinking as a search which exposes the *Dasein* to conflict and leads him to the limits of what can be represented or thought. Taking ideology into consideration when translating means having a double spirit which incites the critical spirit and it means considering equally attractive and problematic the originating family and the new community: our translator is an open spirit who does not cease to dream about the opening of all spirits and is determined to build the utopia of a cosmopolitan paradise of which he would be, in the end, the prophet. Translating ideology brings us to the translation of the sensitive that Proust talked about and to the translation of the most intimate of the human being, because, as we already mentioned at the start, translating is living. As Kristeva (1998) says, if we were not all translators, if we did not cause the strangeness of our intimacy to surface constantly to then put it into other signs, would we have a psychological life? Would we be living beings? Speaking another language is simply the minimum, primary condition, for being alive.

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Function and Loyalty in Bible Translation

CHRISTIANE NORD

Based on the author's personal experience of participating in a new German translation of the New Testament, the paper analyzes the influence of ideology or ideologies (in a wide sense of the word) both from the translatological and the theological point of view, illustrating it by means of several examples from the new translation in comparison with other renderings into English, French, Spanish, Italian, or Brazilian Portuguese. From the perspective of translation theory, ideological aspects refer to the definition of the skopos ('Otherness Understood'), the selection of translation strategies and their justification for readers who have specific expectations based on their experience with previous translations of the New Testament or other biblical texts. From the theological standpoint, ideology is at stake in the unfamiliar chronological order in which the texts appear in the book and in the addition of texts from the first two centuries which were not included in the canon of the Church. Ideology also determines the interpretation of passages that are, or seem to be, ambiguous in the original or verses which have been translated in different manners by Catholic or Protestant translators. Last, but not least, feminist ideology has been taken account of in the use of inclusive language (e.g., speaking of fathers and mothers or brothers and sisters instead of fathers or brothers only).

1. Ideology at work

During the last few decades, functionalism seems to have become a rather accepted approach as far as technical translation is concerned. With regard to computer manuals or operating instructions, advertising or public relations texts, hardly anybody can deny that the purpose of the translation is to make communication 'work' – even though this may mean that the original text is not as 'holy' any more as it used to be: it has to be adapted to target-culture pragmatics, norms and conventions or value systems. Practitioners of professional translation, but also many clients, find that, in this kind of translation, 'functionalism' will lead to better communicative results than 'fidelity' or 'faithfulness'. In my opinion, this is not a development we have to lament (something like the general decline of morality in contemporary society).

On the other hand, there are texts or text types where the notion of some kind of equivalence (in style, meaning, communicative effect, etc.) is still – implicitly or explicitly – considered to be the most important (if not the one and only) standard for measuring translation quality or for deciding whether a text can be called a translation of its source at all: this would apply to literary texts, for example, and certainly to biblical texts. Interestingly enough, the German language has two words for what in English is just a (more or less literal) translation: *Übersetzung* ('translation proper') and *Übertragung* (literally: 'transfer'), the latter being often used for free poetic renderings of poetry into another language. *Übertragung* has a negative connotation when contrasted with *Übersetzung* because it implies subjectiveness or even 'unfaithfulness' on the translator's part. Thus, the author of a review published in an important German weekly – a journalist with a theological background – asks the following rhetorical question when referring to a new German translation of the New Testament:

> Wouldn't it be more appropriate, precisely for the sake of hermeneutics, to respect the difference between translation proper (*Übersetzung)* and transfer (*Übertragung)* and thus allow the reader to criticise the interpreter's personal theological standpoint? Has the lecturer (whose responsibility is subjective) the right to assume the disguise of an objective translator – or should the two roles be represented in two different plays? (Leicht 1999; my translation)

According to the social criticism of French enlightenment and Marx, ideology is an evaluative concept that is mostly used to characterize or even discredit the *other* side – it may be difficult to find people claiming an ideology to characterize themselves. However, if we understand ideology simply as a set of ideas supported by a group, a school, a society or even an individual author (who may not – yet? – have followers sharing his or her ideas), it is obvious that ideology is at work on both sides. In the case of translation studies, functionalists claim that any text is meant to serve some kind of purpose, that it is the translator's task first to find out what the intended purpose of the translation is and then to produce a text that suits this purpose. Non-functionalists maintain that a translation should reflect as many features as possible of the original text in order not to change anything the author may have wanted to say. Functionalists, however, think that there is no middle ground between the two following options: In the first option, the translator reproduces as many source-

language features as possible, thus inevitably changing the communicative effect (e.g. giving the target reader an impression of foreignness where the source reader found familiarity), in the second, the translator reproduces (their interpretation of) the source author's communicative *intention* and makes it comprehensible to target-culture readers by precisely changing form and style to patterns which such readers know and are able to interpret correctly.

There is no doubt that, from an empirical perspective, real-life translations very rarely meet the high (or 'utopian', cf. Ortega y Gasset 1937) standard of something called equivalence (of form, function, and effect at the same time). Nevertheless, advocates of equivalence adhere to this concept as an ideal to be pursued, but perhaps never to be attained, whereas functionalists claim that translations would better serve the client's or the receiver's purposes if they were based on skopos-oriented strategies.

Having tried to present some provocative ideas about functionalism in literary translation (Nord 1997:80-103), which obviously did not really provoke anyone, I have now turned to a translation of biblical and apocryphal early Christian texts. This idea stems from a recent personal experience. Together with Klaus Berger, a New Testament scholar at the University of Heidelberg, Germany, I was involved in a new German translation of the New Testament and the re-translation and, in part, first German translation ever of approximately 60 apocryphal texts and text fragments from the first two centuries after the birth of Christ (DNT 1999) – texts that might have been included in the canon around 200 A.D. had they been known or – in the case of those that were known – considered worthy of being included by whomever composed the canon. Some of these texts belonged to the canon at a certain time in history or in specific communities, such as in the Coptic or the Orthodox Church, others have only been rediscovered in the past 125 years, e.g. the *Didache* or *Doctrine of the Twelve Apostles*, which was found in the Patriarch's Library of Constantinople in 1873, or several papyri which had survived in the libraries of Oxyrhynchos or Nag Hammadi.

Apart from the New Testament, which was translated from the Greek standard edition (Nestle-Aland: *Novum Testamentum Graece*), the other texts were available in various languages, such as Latin, Coptic, Syriac, Ethiopic, and Arabic, and a few others. Since my own knowledge of most of these languages is nil (apart from little Greek and some more Latin, supported by my knowledge of modern Romance languages), we worked on the basis of 'split competence' – the theologian's field being the

comprehension and theological interpretation of the source texts in their linguistic and cultural settings, mostly read in their original language, and mine being the target language and culture plus – most important! – translation competence. To ensure that split competence would not be synonymous with 'split ideology', we started defining our common position very carefully before embarking on the translation process (see below).

In this paper, I would like to show where and how our translation was influenced by ideology both from the translational and the theological point of view. Unlike many other translations produced by scholarly commissions made up of Protestants, Catholics, Feminists, Methodists, and representatives of various theological schools and religious denominations, who have to find compromize solutions at every turn, our translation is ideological in that it is based on *one* theologian's interpretation of the sources in their socio-cultural contexts. This interpretation is derived from more than 25 years of scholarly research in the fields of early Christianity and Judaism, and from the theologian's broad knowledge of the various cultures that lived together in the Middle East during the centuries before and after Jesus' birth and life. It is, of course, also based on theological examination of the texts in question. And, last but not least, the translation is ideological in that it is guided by a functional approach to translation, aiming at a clear-cut skopos.

After a brief description of what this skopos is like (addressed audience, intended communicative functions), I will discuss a few examples illustrating the way the translation tries to cope with 'otherness'. The theological ideas, the style conventions, knowledge presuppositions, nonverbal behaviour, etc. described or implied in the texts are 'others' than the ones we are accustomed to, and the comprehension and communicative effect of the texts rely on the readers being sensitized to this otherness. Functionalist models in general, or *Skopostheorie* in particular, have often been stigmatized as mere models of adaptation. However, seen from a less 'ideological' standpoint, they account for both adaptive and reproductive translation strategies according to the *skopos* of an individual translation process, as I have tried to show elsewhere (cf. Nord 1997:45ff).

To facilitate comparison, the examples will be presented in various translations, which are usually not discussed in detail. However, their parallel formulations show that, apart from rare exceptions, they all try to reproduce the Greek original as literally as possible. The corpus consists of the 1984 revised edition of Martin Luther's translation (LUT 1984), the German *Gute Nachricht Bibel* (GNG 1997), the King James Author-

ized Version (KJV, no year), the English *Good News Bible* (GNE 1976), a French translation by Alfred Loisy (NTF 1922), two Spanish translations (SBE 1964 and SBN 1975), a Brazilian version published in 1982 (BSB 1982), the Italian *Bibbia di Gerusalemme* (BDG 1974), whose notes and commentaries have been translated from the French Jerusalem Bible, and the German translation by Berger and Nord (DNT 1999), which will be accompanied by a literal back-translation into English.

2. Function plus loyalty

The canonical Scriptures and the Christian apocryphal texts and text fragments collected in DNT (1999) represent various text types. They include narratives about miracles and healings, parables, letters, hymns, prayers, theological arguments, visions, songs, and a large number of so-called Agrapha, i.e. short, unconnected episodes about Jesus which have been passed on by oral tradition in various, mostly Arabic-speaking Christian communities. Most of these text types could not be used in their original function today even if we knew exactly what function they were intended for in their respective source cultures. Therefore a text-type or equivalence-oriented translation strategy was out of the question. The epistles addressed to early Christian communities in Philippi or Colosse, for example, refer to situations and problems which are only remotely analogous to the situation of Christian communities today.

If we pretended to translate for a virtual analogon of the source text audience, the texts would not be fully comprehensible to modern readers. During the past 2000 years, the history of ideas has changed even the most basic categories of perception and concepts like ‘person’, ‘body and soul’, ‘truth’, ‘love and hate’, etc. (cf. Berger 1995). The existing translations have been a source of considerable misunderstandings – precisely because they were focused on words and not on concepts or functions (cf. example 2, below). Moreover, no reader in central Europe in the twentieth century will read narrations about miracles and healings with the same expectations and reactions as were presupposed in the original audience. Therefore, it would not make any sense to aim at recreating the functions or effects the original texts had or may have been intended to have for their receivers.

However, if the translation of these texts is to be more than a philological exercise, we need some guidelines to determine the function(s) the translated texts may have for a modern audience. These guidelines are

offered by the functional concept of 'function plus loyalty' (cf. Nord 1991:28ff. and 1997:23ff.). In other words, we want the translation to attain new functions for the target audience (= functionality) without betraying the communicative intentions and expectations of both the source-text authors and the target-text readers (= loyalty). Not to betray their expectations does not mean to comply with them all the time – since our skopos may sometimes aim precisely at contravening them. In such a case, loyalty would require that translators lay their guiding principles open and justify them with a view on the translation skopos (e.g. in a preface and/or in notes).

Therefore, loyalty is *not* the old faithfulness or fidelity in new clothes. Faithfulness and fidelity referred to an inter*textual* relationship holding between the source and the target *texts*. Loyalty, however, is an inter*personal* category referring to a social relationship between *people*. It can be defined as the responsibility translators have toward their partners in translational interaction. Loyalty commits the translator bilaterally to the source and the target side. Therefore, we had to think not only of the source-text authors and what their texts could mean for modern readers, but also of the target-culture audience, whose expectations – particularly in the case of the New Testament – have been formed by more than fifty German translations throughout the centuries (cf. Salevsky 1998:275). Martin Luther's famous version, many times revised, but alive in countless idioms and phrases of everyday German, is certainly the best-known and most frequently quoted of them (not only for Protestants); yet its archaic language and the cultural distance of more than four hundred years often have negative effects on its comprehensibility. In order to be loyal to our readers and 'warn' them that the skopos of our translation was different from that of other versions, we explained the specific characteristics of our work in a lengthy introduction (Berger and Nord 1999).

3. Defining the translation skopos

The most important factors for skopos definition are the addressed audience and the intended purpose(s) of the translated text. With regard to the first factor it may be useful to state first who is *not* addressed: (a) theological scholars, who are expected to know the source languages and cultures to a degree that they would not need a translation; and (b) fundamentalists, who think that only a literal translation can provide a faithful rendering of the substance of the 'holy original'.

On the contrary, the main addressees are

- laypersons who are interested in the fundamental texts of their Christian faith, but who very often do not understand the texts in the existing translations, especially when they are read out aloud in Church, for lack of cultural knowledge of the world to which the texts refer; and
- theological mediators (pastors, teachers, ministers, preachers, catechists), who are not sufficiently familiar with the source language and culture(s) as to be able to prepare their classes or sermons using the original texts or a word-for-word rendering.

Apart from these, the translation may also be interesting to laypersons or theologians who are interested in the relationship between source and target text(s) and expect to learn more about the 'information offer' (Reiss and Vermeer 1984) of the source text by analysing and comparing various translations, and persons who live at the periphery of the Christian community, but for whom the translation may offer a way to gain some insights into the Christian faith, or at least to lessen their aversion towards Christianity if such prejudice stems from a lack of knowledge about the cultures in question.

On the grounds of these considerations concerning the addressed audience, we decided that the translation was to achieve two main communicative purposes:

a) Since it is surprising how little modern Christians know about the basis of their religion, the first and foremost aim of the translation is to inform. We wanted to give the readers an account of what (according to the theologian's research) the texts are about, making clear that they were written in a culture distant from ours in time and space and underlining the necessity to recognize the 'otherness' of the world to which they refer. The translation even aims at emphasizing otherness, particularly in those cases where our familiarity with the existing translations (plus many centuries of art history) has produced an impression of 'sameness', making the cultural distance seem irrelevant or even non-existent. But, on the other hand, the translation also aims at comprehensibility, which can only be achieved by filling in the coherence blanks – e.g. by introducing information that could be expected to belong to the

cultural knowledge of the original audience(s) but not to that of modern non-theological readers. This part of the skopos refers to the referential function of the translation.

b) The second aim is a missionary one in the widest sense of the word. We wanted to make the texts appeal to modern readers in spite of their cultural distance, and therefore we tried to avoid strangeness in style by using modern syntax, target-culture cohesive devices, and contemporary vocabulary wherever possible, for example: *unemployed*, *lynch justice* and even *sex* (which some reviewers did not like at all). This part of the skopos belongs to an appellative intention (indirectly appellative, to be more exact, because the readers' attention is drawn towards the analogies between their own world and the one referred to in the text).

In other words, what we are trying to produce is, in my terminology, an exoticizing translation belonging to the documentary type (cf. Nord 1997:48), which is not meant to mitigate but rather to emphasize the foreignness of the source culture by trying to make it comprehensible to a modern audience with the help of explanatory translation techniques and, wherever possible, by showing the similarities with the readers' own situation.

At first sight, these two intentions seem contradictory. At a second glance, it may become clear that they can be subsumed under the heading of 'Otherness understood'.

4. Otherness understood

At least with regard to New Testament texts,[1] modern Christian readers know (or think they know) what these texts are about. There are many

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[1] NEW TESTAMENT TRANSLATIONS

BDG 1974: *La Bibbia Di Gerusalemme.* Testo biblico di La Sacra Bibbia della Cei; note E commenti di La Bible de Jerusalem, nuova edizione 1973 (Paris: Editions du Cerf), edizione italiana e addattamenti a cura di un gruppo di biblisti italiani sotto la direzione di F. Vattioni, Bologna: Centro Editoriale Dehoniano.

BSB 1982: *BÍBLIA SAGRADA,* trad. Mateus Hoepers, Petrópolis (Brazil): Editora Vozes.

DNT 1999: *Das Neue Testament und frühchristliche Schriften,* neu ubersetzt und kommentiert von Klaus Berger und Christiane Nord, Frankfurt a.M.: Insel Verlag.

different translations available, but most people will adhere to the traditional ones – such as the King James Version in English or Luther's translation in German, regarded by many readers to be (second) originals. These texts are so familiar that they are hardly ever questioned, and people seem to think that the familiar sound compensates for any lack of comprehensibility. Thus, one reviewer lamented that DNT (1999) lacked the 'powerful language' of Luther's translation, referring to the first few lines of the Prologue to the Gospel of St. John (which – in Luther's translation – is also quoted in Goethe's Faust).

> **Example 1**: Darkness and the Light (Jn. 1,1-5)
>
> Im Anfang war das Wort, und das Wort war bei Gott, und <u>Gott war das Wort</u>. Dasselbe war im Anfang bei Gott. Alle Dinge sind durch dasselbe gemacht, und ohne dasselbe ist nichts gemacht, was gemacht ist. In ihm war das Leben, und das Leben war das Licht der Menschen. und das Licht scheint in der Finsternis, und <u>die Finsternis hat's nicht ergriffen</u>. (LUT 1984)
>
> In the beginning was the Word, and the Word was with God, and <u>the Word was God</u>. The same was in the beginning with God. All things were made by <u>him</u>: and without <u>him</u> was not any thing made that was made. <u>In him</u> was life; and the life was the light of men. And the light shineth in darkness; and the darkness <u>comprehended it not</u>. (KJV)

GNE 1976: *Good News Bible* (Today's English Version, 1976), publ. by The Bible Societies, Glasgow: Collins.

GNG 1997: *Gute Nachricht Bibel,* Stuttgart: Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft (Cd-Rom).

KJV: *The Holy Bible containing the Old and New Testaments* (S.A.), transl. out of the original tongues and with the former translations diligently compared and revised by His Majesty's special command, Cambridge: University Press.

LUT 1984: *Die Bibel,* nach der Übersetzung Martin Luthers (1984), Stuttgart: Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft.

NTF 1922: *Les Livres du Nouveau Testament,* traduits du Grec en Français par Alfred Loisy, Paris: Émile Nourry.

SBE 1964: *La Santa Biblia,* traducida de los textos originales [al español], Por Antonio G. Lamadrid, Juan Francisco Hernández, Evaristo Martín Nieto, Manuel Revuelta Sañudo, 18ª edición, Madrid: Ediciones Paulinas.

SBN 1975: *Sagrada Biblia,* versión directa de las lenguas originales por Eloíno Nácar Fuster y Alberto Colunga, O.P., 4ª edición (1ª ed. 1970), Madrid: Editorial Católica (= Biblioteca de Autores Cristianos).

> Au commencement était le Logos; et le Logos était près de Dieu, et le Logos était dieu. Il était au commencement près de Dieu; tout par lui s'est fait, et sans lui ne s'est fait rien. Ce qui s'est fait, en cela fut vie, et la vie était la lumière des hommes, et la lumière dans les ténèbres luit, et le ténèbres ne l'ont point saisie. (NTF 1922)

> In principio era il Verbo, e il Verbo era presso Dio e il Verbo era Dio. Egli era in principio presso Dio: tutto è stato fatto per mezzo di lui, e senza di lui niente è stato fatto di tutto ciò che esiste. In lui era la vita e la vita era la luce degli uomini; la luce splende nelle tenebre, ma le tenebre non l'hanno accolta. (BDG 1974)

> En el principio existía el Verbo, y el Verbo estaba con Dios, y el Verbo era Dios. Él estaba en el principio con Dios. Todo fue hecho por él, y sin él nada se hizo cuanto ha sido hecho. En él está la vida, y la vida es la luz de los hombres; la luz luce en las tinieblas y las tinieblas no la sofocaron. (SBE 1964)

> Al principio era el Verbo, y el Verbo estaba en Dios, y el Verbo era Dios. Él estaba al principio en Dios. Todas las cosas fueron hechas por Él, y sin Él no se hizo nada de cuanto ha sido hecho. En Él estaba la vida, y la vida era la luz de los hombres. La luz luce en las tinieblas, pero las tinieblas no la acogieron. (SBN 1975)

> No princípio era o Verbo, e o Verbo estaba com Deus, e o Verbo era Deus. No princípio estava ele com Deus. Todas as coisas foram feitas por intermédio dele, e sem ele nada se fez de tudo que foi feito. Nele estava a vida, e a vida era a luz dos homens. A luz resplandece nas trevas mas as trevas não a compreenderam. (BSB 1982)

> Zuerst war das Wort da, Gott nahe und von Gottes Art. Es war am Anfang bei Gott. Alle Dinge sind durch das Wort entstanden. Ohne das Wort konnte nichts werden. In ihm war das Leben, und für die Menschen ist Leben auch Licht. Das Licht macht die Finsternis hell, und die Finsternis hat das Licht nicht verschluckt. [At first, the Word was there, it was next to God and of God's kind. In the beginning it was with God. All things were made by the Word. Without the Word, nothing could come into being. It contained life, and for humans, life is also light. The light lightens darkness, and darkness did not swallow the light.] (DNT 1999)

The familiarity (and, in Luther's translation, perhaps also the 'power') of the language seems to make us forget that we do not really understand

what the text is all about. In view of a modern idea of what a person is, the relationship between God and the Logos (identity with regard to substance, 'consubstantiality', and difference with regard to person, as SBN 1975 explains in a footnote) is incomprehensible. Especially in KJV, but also in the other translations, which are all absolutely literal, it does not become clear whether *him* – or *lui*, *él*, *dele* – refers to God or to the Word (in the original, it refers to the substantial union of God and the Word), and this increases the confusion about whether the Word is something outside God, but like God, or God himself (NTF 1922 marks the difference by capital vs non-capital letter) or something inside God, as SBN 1975 suggests. Since we have learned that it was God who created the world, we are even more willing to find exactly this message in the text, whereas the original says (to put it simply) that the Word or Logos was God's instrument of creation.

Since 'powerful language' was not part of our skopos, we tried to avoid literalness in order to make the text more transparent. The idea (which is supported by other theological sources) is that the Word is not identical with God, but *of God's kind*. Saying that it was there 'in the beginning', does not mean it was there before God. The source culture never questions God's existence and nobody would ask where he came from. The difficulty of understanding the origin of evil and suffering is often derived from misunderstandings of this kind. Obviously, a literal translation does not 'work' for readers for whom the information itself is absolutely strange to begin with.

Another aspect of theological ideology can be seen in the last sentence of Example 1, which offers two possible interpretations: a metaphorical one (*darkness [= the world]* did not understand or recognize the role of *the light [= Jesus]*) and a literal one (*the light* was so strong that *darkness* could not do anything against it, according to SBE 1964). The metaphorical meaning is rather pessimistic (and thus, modern!), whereas the literal meaning expresses the confidence of being victorious in the end. We opted for the literal and positive meaning because (a) biblical authors generally tend to prefer concrete expressions to the abstract formulations to which we are accustomed; and (b) if you want to attract people to your cause you would not start by telling them that it is not worth the effort in the first place.

The second example refers to our idea of *Wahrheit*, *truth*, *vérité*, *verdad* or *verdade* in contrast to what the New Testament understands by the Greek word *aletheia*, which is something like 'God's real presence' and

which has nothing to do with "accordance with fact or reality" (*Dictionary of Contemporary English* 1978) as we understand *truth* today. We have a similar case in Jn. 14,6, where Jesus says: "I am the way, the truth and the life; no man cometh unto the Father but by me" (KJV). Considering, again, the different concept of *person* prevailing in the source culture, we have to understand this utterance in the sense that *God is really present in Jesus Christ.*

> **Example 2**: The Word made Flesh and full of Truth (Jn. 1,14-15)
>
> Und das Wort ward Fleisch und wohnte unter uns, und wir sahen seine Herrlichkeit, eine Herrlichkeit als des eingeborenen Sohnes vom Vater, voller Gnade und Wahrheit. (LUT 1984)
>
> And the Word was made flesh and dwelt among us, and we beheld his glory, the glory as of the only begotten of the Father, full of grace and truth. (KJV)
>
> Y el verbo se hizo carne, y habitó entre nosotros, y hemos visto su gloria, gloria como de unigénito del Padre, lleno de gracia y de verdad. (SBN 1975)
>
> Das Wort erschien in einem Menschen und wohnte bei uns. Wir sahen seine Herrlichkeit, die so herrlich ist, wie wenn der einzige Sohn von seinem Vater allen Ruhm allein erbt. Dieses Wort ist ganz Gnade und ganz Gottes Wesen. (DNT 1999)
> [The Word appeared in a human and lived with us. We saw its glory, which is as glorious as if the only son inherits all his father's glory. This Word is all grace and it is the essence of God.]

The passages reproduced in Examples 1 and 2 are still rather difficult to understand, in spite of the clarifying additions in DNT 1999. However, a few cohesive devices (repetition instead of pronominal substitution, paraphrase instead of literal reproduction, restructuring of the sentence parts) may help the reader to follow the line of argument. In the following section, we will look at how the otherness of the described reality, the otherness of concepts or the otherness of ways of expression may draw the reader's attention away from the core of the message (which, sometimes, may not be so strange after all) or even make comprehension impossible.

5. Aspects of Otherness

The usual (literal) translations of the New Testament often seem to us incoherent or difficult to understand. A good starting point for explaining this incoherence is Charles Fillmore's semantic scenes-and-frames model (Fillmore 1977), introduced into translation studies by Mary Snell-Hornby (1988:79ff.; cf. also Kussmaul 1998:50f). According to this approach, the linguistic code units or 'frames' (words, syntax, metalanguage etc.) evoke associations with earlier experiences ('scenes') in the receiver's mind. If the frames and scenes do not match, we cannot establish coherence – either because the (familiar) scene associated with a particular frame does not fit into the context, or because the frame is so strange that we cannot associate a scene with it.

5.1 Unfamiliar frames in familiar scenes

Both in German and in English, the translation of Mt. 5,15 has generated an idiom possessing a well-known figurative meaning – although nobody could explain today why a light has to be placed precisely under a 'Scheffel' or a 'bushel'. In the source culture, it was quite normal for a household to have a bushel standing around near the entrance to have it at hand when the grain seller came by. The *Dictionary of Contemporary English* defines a bushel as "a measure, esp. of grain; about 36.5 litres", but this definition does not really help the reader to associate a bushel with a familiar scene. Speaking of a *candle*, however, evokes a familiar scene, *une lampe* or *una lámpara* may even be too familiar unless we are aware that people used *oil lamps* at the time, *a light* (DNT 1999) is neutral and adapts to the situation described in the context. As I have noticed in the reactions to the discussion of this example, modern readers seem to understand that this passage means the lamp or candle has to be protected from being extinguished, whereas the point is to prevent it from not being seen by the others, as is made explicit in GNE 1976 (*hide it*). This shift of focus in the readers' mind may be partly due to the unusual idea (from our modern point of view!) of putting a lamp *under* a bowl or pot or even bushel instead of putting the hiding device *over* the lamp – an adaption to modern ways of looking at things that does not interfere with the purpose of preserving otherness.

Example 3: The Candle under the Bushel (Mt. 5,15)

Man zündet auch nicht ein Licht an und setzt es unter einen Scheffel, sondern auf einen Leuchter; so leuchtet es allen, die im Hause sind. (LUT 1984)

Neither do men light a candle and put it under a bushel, but on a candlestick; and it giveth light unto all that are in the house. (KJV)

A person who lights a candle will not hide it under a bowl, but put it on a candlestick to make it give light to all that are in the house. (GNE 1976)

On n'allume pas non plus une lampe pour la mettre sous le boisseau, mais (on la place) sur le support, et elle éclaire tous ceux qui sont dans la maison. (NTF 1922)

[...]ni se enciende una lámpara y se la pone bajo el celemín, sino sobre el candelero, para que alumbre a cuantos hay en la casa. (SBN 1975)

Nem se acende uma candeia para se pôr debaixo de uma vasilha mas num candelabro para que alumie todos os da casa. (BSB 1982)

Und wer ein Licht anzündet, wird keinen Topf darüber stülpen, sondern es auf den Leuchter stellen, damit es allen im Haus hellen Schein gibt. (DNT 1999) [A person who lights a lamp will not put a pot over it, but place it on a lampstand so that it gives light to all that are in the house.]

5.2 Familiar frames in unfamiliar scenes

On the other hand, a situation can become equally incoherent if familiar objects are used for unfamiliar purposes, as can be seen in the following example. It seems rather improbable that a man who has been lying sick by the Bethesda pool for 38 years can pick up his *bed*. In the source culture, however, people slept on mats or straw mattresses, and these were much easier to carry than a bed!

Example 4: Of Beds and Mats (Jn. 5,8-9)

Jesus spricht zu ihm: Steh auf, nimm dein Bett und geh hin! Und sogleich wurde der Mann gesund und ging hin. (LUT 1984)

> Jesus saith unto him, Rise, take up thy bed, and walk. And immediately the man was made whole, and took up his bed and walked. (KJV)
>
> Jesus said to him: Get up, pick up your mat, and walk. Immediately the man got well; he picked up his mat and started walking. (GNE 1976)
>
> Jésus lui dit: “Lève-toi, prends ton lit et marche”. Et à l’instant l’homme fut guéri, il prit son lit et il marchait. (NTF 1922)
>
> Jesús le dijo: “Levántate, toma la camilla y anda”. Al instante, quedó el hombre sano, y tomó su camilla y se fue. (SBN 1975)
>
> Então lhe disse Jesus: “Levanta-te, toma o leito e anda”. No mesmo instante aquele homem ficou curado, tomou o leito e andou. (BSB 1982)
>
> Da sagte Jesus zu ihm: “Steh auf, nimm deinen Strohsack und lauf!” Kaum hatte Jesus das gesagt, da war der Mann gesund. Er nahm seinen Strohsack und konnte wieder laufen. (DNT 1999) [Jesus said to him: “Get up, pick up your straw mattress and walk!” Hardly had he said this, the man got up, picked up his straw mattress and was able to walk.]

Somebody might argue that modern readers are not so foolish as to think the poor man would carry a *bedstead* around. This may be true, but we must not underestimate the strength of a familiar ‘scene’ that imposes itself even on a mind that is sensitized to otherness. This happened to me when two young students were taking me on a tour of the old city of Hanoi, explaining that all the streets were called after the product which was sold there, e.g. the ‘Street of the Paper’ and ‘the Street of the Flowers’. When we arrived at the ‘Street of the Beds’, I asked: ‘Where are the beds?’ – because I did not recognize the straw mats which were hanging in front of the shops as ‘beds’ (in my hotel, I slept in a ‘proper’ bed, of course).

5.3 Unfamiliar behaviour in familiar scenes

If a situation is (or appears to be) familiar to us, we are sometimes surprised if people do not behave as we expect. Just imagine the following

scene: on (Easter) Sunday morning, Mary Magdalene comes to the tomb and finds the stone rolled away from the entrance. (We know that in Palestine at that time people were buried in caves in the rock, so this is not a comprehension problem.) She is absolutely sure that somebody must have removed Jesus' body during the night and runs back to tell the Apostles. St. Peter and another disciple come with her to the tomb. They go inside to discover that Jesus' body is indeed not there. Then, they go home, probably to tell the others and to discuss what should be done. In the following example, we can read what happens then:

Example 5: Mary Magdalene outside the Tomb (Jn. 20,11-12)

Maria aber stand draußen vor dem Grab und weinte. Als sie nun weinte, schaute sie in das Grab und sieht zwei Engel in weißen Gewändern sitzen, einen zu Häupten und den andern zu den Füßen, wo sie den Leichnam Jesu hingelegt hatten. Und sie sprachen zu ihr: Frau, was weinst du? (LUT 1984)

Mary stood crying outside the tomb. While she was still crying, she bent over and looked in the tomb and saw two angels there dressed in white, sitting where the body of Jesus had been, one at the head and the other at the feet. “Woman, why are you crying?” (KJV)

Cependant Marie se tenait près du tombeau, dehors, pleurant. Tout en pleurant, elle se pencha sur le tombeau, et elle vit deux anges en habits blancs, assis, l'un à la tête, et l'autre aux pieds, (à l'endroit) où avait reposé le corps de Jésus. Et ces (anges) lui dirent: “Femme, pourquoi pleures-tu?” (NTF 1922)

Pero María se quedó fuera, junto al sepulcro, llorando. Mientras lloraba, se agachó hacia el sepulcro, y vio a dos ángeles con vestiduras blancas, sentados uno a la cabecera y otro a los pies, donde había sido puesto el cuerpo de Jesús. Y le dijeron: “Mujer, ¿por qué lloras?” (SBE 1964)

María se quedó junto al monumento, fuera, llorando, Mientras lloraba se inclinó hacia el monumento y vio a dos ángles vestidos de blanco, sentados uno a la cabecera y otro a los pies de donde había estado el cuerpo de Jesús. Le dijeron: ¿Por qué lloras, mujer? (SBN 1975)

> Maria se conservava do lado de fora junto ao sepulcro e chorava. Chorando, inclinou-se para o sepulcro e viu dois anjos vestidos de branco sentados no lugar onde estivera o corpo de Jesus, um à cabeceira e outro aos pés. Disseram-lhe eles: “Mulher, por que choras?” (BSB 1982)

> Maria aber blieb vor dem Grab und weinte bitterlich, von Kummer und Schmerz gebeugt. Als sie aufblickte, sah sie plötzlich in der Grabkammer zwei Engel in leuchtenden Gewändern an der Stelle sitzen, wo Jesus gelegen hatte, einen am Kopfende und einen am Fußende. Die Engel sprachen sie an: “Warum weinst du, gute Frau?” (DNT 1999) [Mary remained outside the tomb, crying bitterly, bent down in grief. When she looked up, she suddenly saw two angels in shining clothes sitting in the tomb, right where the body of Jesus had been, one at the head and the other at the feet. The angels addressed her, “Good woman, why are you crying?”]

The scene is familiar. Mary stands there crying. The entrance to the tomb is rather low, so she can’t look into it, but she does not want to look into it anyway. She is crying because she is sure that Jesus’ body has been taken away. St. Peter and the other disciple had confirmed what she knew from the first moment. So why does she bend down? (Luther omitted this part of the sentence, because he probably noticed the incoherence! Is this ideology?) It seems to be important that she does not stop crying while she is bending down. Therefore, we may safely assume that she has not suddenly decided to have a closer look by herself. In the original text, she does not even *look into* the grave (with an intention), but the verb aspect suggests that she ‘suddenly happens to see’ the angels! Very strange, but perhaps the scene is not so familiar after all. The original text (like the French, Spanish and Portuguese translations) does not say that she is *standing upright* – it uses a generic verb such as *to be*, but in English, as in German, there is no such generic verb or at least none that corresponds to the register used in this text. Thus, the English and German translators envisaged the scene according to their own culture-specific experience (probably supported by images from medieval paintings) and interpreted the verb accordingly. But the others did not see the crucial point either, and this is why their translations are as incoherent as the English and German ones: *Mary’s* way of *crying* involves more than just her eyes and some tears but the whole body. We know how oriental women cry, moving forward and backward and throwing themselves on the ground! During

one of these movements, Mary happens to see the angels sitting in the tomb. The puzzling thing is this: we do have the cultural knowledge, and although as a translator I am highly sensitized to the culture-boundness of any non verbal behaviour, it took me quite a while to realize that the scene I envisaged was determined by these four words: *she stood there crying*.

5.4 Unfamiliar reactions to familiar behaviour

Shortly after the scene described in Example 5, Mary turns around and sees a person whom she takes to be the gardener. She asks him whether he has taken Jesus' body away, but when he calls her by her name, *Mary!*, probably in the same familiar tone in which he has called her many times before, she realizes that it is Jesus.

> **Example 6**: Touch me not! (Jn. 20,16-17)
>
> Spricht Jesus zu ihr: Maria! Da wandte sie sich um und spricht zu ihm auf hebräisch: Rabbuni!, das heißt. Meister! Spricht Jesus zu ihr: Rühre mich nicht an! denn ich bin noch nicht aufgefahren zum Vater. (LUT 1984)
>
> Jesus saith unto her, Mary. She turned herself, and saith unto him, Rabboni; which is to say, Master. Jesus saith unto her, Touch me not; for I am not yet ascended to my Father... (KJV)
>
> Jesus said to her, "Mary!" She turned towards him and said in Hebrew, "Rabboni!" (This means 'Teacher.') "Do not hold on to me," Jesus told her, "because I have not yet gone back up to the Father." (GNE 1976)
>
> Jésus lui dit: "Mariam!" Elle, se tournant, lui dit en hébreu: "Rabbuni!" – Ce qui veut dire 'maître'. ? Jésus lui dit: "Ne me touche pas; car je ne sui pas encore monté vers le Père." (NTF 1922)
>
> Jesús le dijo: "¡María!" Ella se volvió y le dijo en hebreo: "¡Rabbuní!" (es decir, '¡Maestro!'). Jesús le dijo: "Suéltame, que aún no he subido al Padre..." (SBE 1964)
>
> Díjole Jesús: ¡María! Ella, volviéndose, le dijo en hebreo: *Rabboni!*, que quiere decir Maestro. Jesús le dijo: No me toques, porque aún no he subido al Padre... (SBN 1975)

> Respondeu Jesus: “Maria”. Ela virando-se disse em hebraico: “Rabuni” – que quer dizer Mestre. Jesus lhe falou: “ Não me retenhas porque ainda não subi ao Pai...” (BSB 1982)

> Da sagte Jesus zu ihr: “Maria!” Sie machte einen Schritt auf ihn zu, um ihn kniefällig zu verehren, und rief: “Rabbuni!” Das ist hebräisch und heißt ‘Lehrer’. Jesus aber bat sie: “Noch nicht anbeten, bitte! Denn noch bin ich nicht zum Vater hinaufgestiegen...” (DNT 1999) [Jesus said to her, “Mary!” She made a step towards him to worship him on her knees and said “Rabbuni!” (This is Hebrew and means ‘My Teacher!’) But Jesus begged, “Do not worship me yet, for I have not yet gone up to the Father.]

The first peculiar movement is that she *turned herself* (KJV)/*turned towards him* (GNE), although she had been talking to him just a minute ago. The behaviour is familiar, from our point of view, because we are accustomed to looking into people’s faces while talking to them. It is possible to imagine that she had bent down again in grief because the gardener did not answer her question. Yet Jesus’ reaction is still more peculiar. He reacts rather rudely, trying to keep her at a distance: In LUT, KJV, NTF and SBN, he asks her not to touch him, whereas in SBE she has obviously touched him already because he asks her to let him go. Was she going to hold on to him in order to make him stay, as GNE and SBE suggest? This would at least make sense with regard to the reason he gives (*Touch me not; for I am not yet ascended to my Father* [KJV]). But Mary had been his follower long enough to know about this reason and about the impossibility of keeping him just by holding his sleeve. It is more likely that she turned towards him means that she was going to embrace his feet to express her worship for the teacher whom she assumes to have gone up to sit at God’s right side, which for members of her culture would have been the proper thing to do in this situation. In addition, Jesus tells her that it is not yet time to worship him like this. This interpretation is supported by a number of other texts, e.g. Mt. 28,9 (KJV: *and they came and held him by the feet, and worshipped him*). But how can the modern lay reader guess that this is the missing link in the scene?

5.5 Unfamiliar frames in unfamiliar scenes

In a number of New Testament texts, the Greek source text uses a word, *porneia*, which covers a wide range of social phenomena, from immoral

behaviour, adultery and prostitution to intercourse or marriage between Jews or Christians and gentiles. LUT (1984) and many other German translations, even the modern *Gute Nachricht Bibel* (GNG 1997), which in many respects corresponds in style to GNE (1976), use the old word *Unzucht*, which is no longer used in everyday German except in legal or, precisely, biblical language. *Unzucht* refers to phenomena such as intercourse between persons of the same sex, between adults and children, humans and animals, etc. KJV translates *porneia* by using *fornication*, NTF (1922) renders it as *fornications* or *impudicité*, and GNE (1976) attempts to be politically correct by referring to *immorality* or to *immoral* or *indecent behaviour*.

Yet this is not what St. Paul or the authors of John. or Revelation refer to. They focus on sexual greed (e.g. Mt. 15,19), lechers (1 Cor. 6,9) or lecherousness (Hebr. 13,4), prostitution (1 Cor. 6,18; Rev. 17,2), people who break any kind of taboo on account of greed (Eph. 4,19), shameless intercourse with gentiles (Rev. 2,14) and marriage between Christians and gentiles (Rev. 2,20). DNT 1999 translates the word in these different manners. It is part of the referential function to make clear what *porneia* refers to in each case, and part of the indirect appellative function to make the readers see that many of these forms of behaviour – apart from intercourse or marriage with heathens (it may even be difficult to find enough non-heathens nowadays!) – are not exactly uncommon in our modern sex-obsessed societies. The use of such obsolete words can give readers a feeling of self- satisfaction. They will feel quite sure that they never practice something like *fornication* or *prostitution*. Furthermore, references to immoral or indecent behaviour reduce the severity of the biblical laws to something like wearing a miniskirt in Church (indecent!) or cheating the tax office (immoral!).

6. Theological ideologies

When people ask whether our translation is Catholic or Protestant, we claim that it is neither but that we tried to be loyal to our source text authors and their communicative intention, and these authors were neither Catholics nor Protestants in a modern sense. Of course, we cannot 'prove' that our interpretation (against that of all or many learned commissions or individual theologians) is 'the right one'. Nobody can prove this, not even the learned commissions. For the sake of loyalty with regard to both the authors and the readers, our foreword contains the

following explanation: "There is no such thing as a *neutral* translation. In spite of their apparent neutrality, most translations imply that certain interpretations are more likely to be true than others. Our translation is explicit about giving one particular interpretation" (Berger and Nord 1999:30). This interpretation is derived from more than 25 years of research about each and every verse of the New Testament and many of the other texts included in the volume. In this vein, we did not follow Luther's interpretation of the following example, in which Luther introduced the word *allein* ('alone').

> **Example 7**: The deeds of the law (Rom. 3,28)
>
> So halten wir nun dafür, daß der Mensch gerecht wird ohne des Gesetzes Werke, allein durch den Glauben. (LUT 1984) [Therefore we conclude that man is justified without the deeds of the law, alone by faith.]
>
> Therefore we conclude that a man is justified by faith without the deeds of the law. (KJV)
> Car nous estimons que par foi homme est justifié sans œuvres de Loi. (NTF 1922)
>
> Decimos, pues, con razón, que el hombre es justificado por la fe sin las obras de la ley. (SBE 1964)
>
> Pues sostenemos que el hombre es justificado por la fe sin obras de la Ley. (SBN 1975)
>
> Pois julgamos que o homem é justificado pela fé, sem as obras da Lei. (BSB 1982)
>
> Denn nach unserer Auffassung wird der Mensch nie durch Werke gerecht, die das Gesetz fordert, sondern durch Glauben. (DNT 1999) [For we think that man is never justified by the acts required by the law, but by faith.]

Although, in his *Circular Letter on Translation* (1530), Luther himself profusely justifies his translation on stylistic grounds claiming that 'alone' simply serves to clarify St. Paul's idea, experts maintain that it was (theological) ideology which made him strengthen his point that Christians are justified before God by faith *alone*. This little expansion triggered off a century-long debate on the relationship between faith

and deeds and is responsible for the (implicit or even explicit) anti-Judaims of those who think that the greatest achievement of the Christian religion is to have overcome the performance-orientation of Judaism. It is one of the very few divergences between Catholic and Protestant interpretation of the New Testament.

Another ideological aspect of our translation is the order in which the texts are presented. The traditional order of the canon, which puts the four Gospels before the epistles (St. Paul's epistles being arranged according to their length!), followed by the Revelation of St. John (Apocalypse), suggests a historical chronology of contents from the birth of the Messiah to the end of the world and the arrival of God's kingdom. This, however, is not in keeping with the chronology of text production. Moreover, it makes us believe that the testimony appearing first is closer to the historical truth than the testimony appearing later and that it would therefore have to be more authentic or more important. This had a considerable impact on the evaluation of the Epistles of Jude and James, the Revelation of St. John, on Paul's Epistle to the Hebrews, and on the Gospel of St. John. In DNT 1999, the texts are presented according to their (assumed) age: that is, the Epistles are given first, and the Gospels, the Acts of the Apostles and the Revelation of St. John are rearranged (Jn., Rev., Mk., Lk., Act., Mt.), and the apocryphal texts are inserted according to their probable date of production. This has caused quite a bit of irritation among some readers, and surprise among others, because some of the apocryphal texts can be assumed to be even older than certain canonical Scriptures. However, it sheds a new light on both familiar and unfamiliar texts in their intertextual relationships and allows a re-reading of the New Testament.

7. Feminist ideology

Traditional translations of biblical texts into languages that differentiate on the basis of gender do not take into account that Christian communities did not consist merely of 'brothers' but included 'sisters' as well and that some of Jesus' followers were women (in German: *Jüngerinnen und Jünger*), e.g. Mary Magdalene. Modern translations of biblical texts usually make a point of linguistic inclusiveness. So did we, as can be seen in the following example.

Example 8: What about the mothers? (Lu. 6,23)

Freut euch an jenem Tage und springt vor Freude; denn siehe, euer

> Lohn ist groß im Himmel. Denn das gleiche haben ihre Väter den Propheten getan. (LUT 1984)
>
> Rejoice ye in that day, and leap for joy: for, behold, your reward is great in heaven: for in the like manner did their fathers unto the prophets. (KJV)
>
> Réjouissez-vous en ce jour-là et tressaillez d'allégresse; ainsi, en effet, leurs pères trataient les prophètes. (NTF 1922)
>
> Alegraos en aquel día y regocijaos, pues vuestra recompensa será grande en el cielo. Así hicieron sus padres con los profetas. (SBN 1975)
>
> Alegraivos nesse dia e exultai porque grande será a recompensa no céu. Pois assim fizeram seus pais com os profetas. (BSB 1982)
>
> Freut euch und jubelt, wenn man euch das antut. Denn im Himmel werdet ihr reich entschädigt.
> Den Propheten ist es mit den Voreltern dieser Leute genauso ergangen. (DNT 1999) [Rejoice and feast if they do this to you. For you will be generously compensated in heaven. The prophets have been treated like this by the foreparents of these people.]

Of course, Spanish and Portuguese translators do not find any structural problem here since *padres* or *pais* means both *fathers* and *parents*.

8. Conclusions

Owing to the limitations in the length of this paper, I was only able to refer to some of the ideological aspects present in the translation of biblical texts. Yet I hope to have shown that in such translations almost any decision is – consciously or unconsciously – guided by ideological criteria. Therefore, the 'objective translator' does not exist. What we may expect, however, is consistency of source-text interpretation, translation skopos and translation strategies. This means that translators have to decide beforehand what their translation is intended to mean to the addressed audience – in other words: what kind of communicative function(s) it is aiming at. Since in the case of biblical and apocryphal texts there is a large variety of possible *skopoi*, translators should be obliged (*and* given the opportunity, e.g. in a preface) to justify and defend their translational decisions. A team of translators and other experts who do not disclose

their identity (like in GNG 1997) can create the false impression of having translated objectively and thus violate their obligation to loyalty with regard to the target readership. It is always *function plus loyalty* (Nord 1997:123ff.) that is at stake – loyalty being an ethical (and, therefore, ideological) aspect which is particularly important in the translation of religious texts.

The Translation Bureau Revisited
Translation as Symbol

ŞEHNAZ TAHİR-GÜRÇAĞLAR

This paper discusses the ways in which translation was used as an instrument of modernization in Turkey by exploring the ideological backdrop of the state-sponsored Translation Bureau. The Bureau, which was operational in 1940-1966, produced over a thousand translations of mainly western classics and proved to be the most influential translation institution founded in republican Turkey. The paper carries out a critical analysis of the discourse formed around this institution and looks at how it recently achieved a symbol status for certain sections of the society mainly due to its ideological grounds. The paper argues that the Translation Bureau was established in order to create a common cultural basis and a new literary repertoire for the newly forming Turkish nation. This function, which only remained partially fulfilled, was modified as the political context changed through the later decades of the Republic. It was also this initial function that eventually granted a symbol status to the Bureau whereby its products came to be identified with the modernization and westernization project of early republican Turkey.

1. Introduction

"Translation is a political act". This statement has been confirmed many times in the works of numerous translation scholars during the past three decades or so. Translation *is* political because, both as activity and product, it displays processes of negotiation among different agents. On a micro level, these agents are translators, authors, critics, publishers, editors, and readers. Such a view presents translation as a result and determinant of social interaction inevitably placed within an often implicit ideological context. In certain cases, however, the ideological implications are rather manifest. At times, larger entities, such as state institutions which at first sight appear to be irrelevant to translation activity, may be involved in the production, marketing, and reception of translations and attempt to make use of translation in order to achieve certain ideological goals. In specific places and time periods, translation is attached a special mission and its implicit political character becomes exposed. A case in point is Turkey

where translation came to be regarded as an instrument of enlightenment and modernization in the late Ottoman and early Republican periods both by the ruling elite and the intellectuals of the country. This view reached a peak with the establishment of a state-sponsored Translation Bureau set up in 1940 to translate world classics into Turkish. In this paper, I shall review the discourse formed around this institution and look at how it achieved a symbol status for certain sections of the society mainly due to its ideological grounds.

The single-party era in Turkey (1923-1946) was a unique period where translation became a vehicle for nation-building. The newly-founded Turkish Republic needed to create itself a new 'culture', detached from its Ottoman heritage, and translation was one of the instruments chosen by the government in order to achieve this goal. As Itamar Even-Zohar (1997:2) suggests, the making of collective entities, such as nations, is often the product of conscious 'culture planning'. Even-Zohar (1997) defines 'culture planning' as "a deliberate act of intervention, either by power holders or by 'free agents', into an extant or a crystallizing repertoire". In the case of Turkey, the ruling government, backed by the support of certain sections of the intelligentsia, intervened in the field of literature and took the initiative in launching an extensive translation movement. Their aim was to create a 'Turkish renaissance' and a 'Turkish humanism', which they hoped, would establish a common cultural basis upon which the new Turkish cultural and literary repertoire would rise. They were no doubt aware of the importance of a common cultural repertoire to reinforce a sense of nationhood, which they needed with urgency.

Today, it is debatable whether the Translation Bureau was actually able to serve its intended function of establishing a common cultural repertoire for Turkish citizens. The tools needed to measure the actual success of the Bureau would have to include a study on the reception of the products of the Bureau by the readership. On the other hand, carrying out a descriptive study on the translations would also be useful in terms of locating the norms at work in the Translation Bureau and analyzing their relationship to larger political forces. Instead, what I propose to do in this paper is to delve into extratextual sources and tackle the discourse surrounding the products of the Translation Bureau. For the purposes of this paper, I am interested in the way the Bureau and its activities were received (or anticipated) rather than the actual nature or 'effect' of individual translations. I aim to reveal the ideological premises and consequences of the Bureau's activities through a critical analysis of the discourse surround-

ing the Translation Bureau. This will be a diachronic study, demonstrating that the function and image of the Translation Bureau was transformed over time, and that the way it shaped (and was shaped by) ideological considerations also changed.

Descriptive translation studies can be a significant tool in studying not only translated texts, but the discourse formed around them which may indicate collective trends and intentions (see Toury 1995:65). Describing and analyzing extratextual material may serve as a significant explanatory tool revealing the reasons underlying translational decisions, and also serve to complement or challenge textual findings. The study of individual comments or criticisms about translation may reveal some common denominators, as well as variances. This process leads to the formulation of certain 'regularities' which are indicative of collective ways of looking at translation. On the other hand, 'irregularities' may point at interesting directions, drawing one's attention to resistance and conflict.

2. Translation within a political context

Translation, of especially Western classics, was considered to have significant ideological implications in the late Ottoman and early Republican periods. Translation activity was identified with attempts at giving a Western vocation to Turkish culture and society. In fact, translation from Western literatures into Turkish is a rather recent phenomenon. Before the nineteenth century, the Ottoman system of translated literature was dominated by Persian and Arabic works. Translations from Western languages first appeared in technical and scientific subjects and Western literature only started to be translated after the Ottoman Reformation (*Tanzimat*) of 1839. The first Western narrative to be translated into Turkish was Fénélon's *Télémaque*. The work which is also considered to be a milestone in terms of the entry of the Western novel into Turkish as a literary form, was translated by Grand Vizier Yusuf Kamil Paşa and printed in 1862 (Özön 1985:115). From that date on, Western prose started to be translated into Turkish at an increasing rate. However, translations from Western languages were criticized to varying degrees by proponents of different views. Some criticized translations by commenting on the deviant moral values they conveyed (Akbayar 1985:450), some, like the famous author and translator Ahmet Mithat Efendi made clear calls for the translation of Western classics into Turkish as an educational tool (Arıkan 1999:84). Translation activity was very much carried out by private

publishers and especially newspapers which allocated large space to serialized translated novels. Their selection of titles was rather arbitrary and shaped by popular demand, rather than an ideological programme. The Ottoman state attempted to regulate translation activity through several official translation institutions but had only limited success (see Ülken 1997; Kayaoğlu 1998). The idea of forming a corpus made up of translated Western literature in Turkish was often debated, but it remained largely unimplemented.

The situation changed little after the proclamation of the Turkish Republic following a four-year War of Liberation. In 1923, Turkey emerged as a new country under a new name and a new political system whose goal was economic and cultural modernization mainly through Westernization. The Ottoman Empire had not been indifferent to the issue of modernization and Ottoman intellectuals had been occupied with the question since the eighteenth century. However, it was the Republican era which institutionalized and regulated the Westernism trend in Turkey. This trend was especially evident in the first twenty-five years of the Republic when there were clear efforts to build a sense of nationhood and a unique Turkish identity severed from its Islamic-Ottoman heritage. These efforts were carried out through culture planning starting in the 1920s with a series of reforms in a number of fields. The reforms covered general issues such as economics, politics, and education as well as issues related to the private sphere such as dress codes. The intention was to establish a new and secular Turkish identity based on a common culture, language, and history instead of the older order of religion (Güvenç 1997:225-245).

One of the most significant reforms was the alphabet reform of 1928. This reform resulted in the adoption of the Latin alphabet to replace the Arabic-based Ottoman script, which had been in use for centuries. The proponents of the reform mainly argued that the Ottoman script was difficult to learn and was the main cause of illiteracy in the country which stood at around 90 per cent in 1927 (Şimşir 1992:244). However, there was more to the abandonment of the Ottoman script. As the script of the holy Koran, Arabic letters reinforced a sense of Islamic community versus the idea of the modern nation state which the officials were trying to install (Katoğlu 1997:413; Halman 1973:30; Lewis 1961:273). This was why the alphabet change was a delicate issue and was debated quite a long time before it was finally declared.

The alphabet reform had important consequences in the field of litera-

ture. It virtually severed the younger generation from literature written in Ottoman script and there emerged a need to construct a new national library. This is an argument overwhelmingly present in discussions around literature, publishing and translation in the 1930s (see, for example, the Proceedings of the First Turkish Publishing Congress held in 1939). Translation of especially Western classics was regarded as one of the ways this library could be developed (Nayır 1937:163). There was also a general agreement as to how such a wide translation movement could be launched. The intellectuals of the day called for state intervention and suggested that such a large-scale movement could only advance under the auspices of the state (Sırrı 1934:1; 'Klasiklerin Tercümesi' 1933; *Birinci Türk Neşriyat Kongresi* 1939:190). The initiative to start this movement came around the time the First Turkish Publishing Congress was held. The Congress which provided room for the discussion of issues related to the planning of publishing activity was attended by state officials, authors, publishers and journalists.[1] There were seven committees established to prepare reports for presentation in the Congress. One of these committees was the Translation Committee, however translation was also dealt with in the reports of other committees such as the Literary Property Committee, Youth and Children's Literature Committee, Awards, Assistance and Propaganda Committee. The Congress concluded that a Translation Bureau would be launched under the Ministry of Education. This Bureau would oversee the translation and publication of 'classics'.

The Bureau was founded in 1940. It published a total of 1,247 titles selected mainly from among Western classics until 1966. This was a vast translation movement unsurpassed even to our day. Nonetheless, it was never regarded as a 'mere' translation movement, before, during or after the operation of the Bureau. Its goal was not confined to the publication of translations and its political mission was often emphasized by those who wrote about the Bureau.

In the remaining part of this paper I shall explore the changing discourse around the Translation Bureau and discuss an invariant in this

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[1] It is interesting to note that although there were translators among the number, they were usually referred to by their other and more 'legitimate' profession, such as teacher, author or journalist in the official records. This offers interesting evidence about the translator's (in)visibility during that period (Venuti 1995).

discourse: The Translation Bureau as a symbol[2] of a specific kind of modernization. I have chosen to study this discourse in its three stages, the discourse before 1940, stressing the need for a Translation Bureau, the discourse during the activities of the Bureau, i.e. 1940-1966, and retrospective discourse, discourse formulated after the closure of the Bureau until our day, i.e. 1966-2000.

3. Creating the canon

The first stage, leading up to the establishment of the Translation Bureau in 1940 was marked by several interrelated ideas. The first and perhaps the most significant of all was the creation of a 'need' for the translation of classics. This idea was communicated in various articles and books emphasizing the importance of translating Western classics and lamenting a lack of such translations in Turkish. This discourse has largely contributed to the creation of a new literary canon in Turkey. By drawing attention to the significance of certain literary traditions for Western culture and literature, intellectuals of the day created a 'discursive centre' for the Turkish literary system which was suffering from a vacuum mainly due to the alphabet reform and the radical cultural transformation the country was undergoing. It is interesting to note that although terms such as 'Western culture', 'Western civilization' and 'classics' were abundantly used in this period, little was written about what these terms signified. A study of the writings of philosophers and literary figures of the late Ottoman/Early Republican periods reveals that the West was mainly an intellectual construct. It was the idea of a civilization into which the new Turkey wished to transform itself. Author and publisher Yaşar Nabi wrote: "The West is a cast of mind, it is a spirit, a mentality" (Yaşar Nabi in Tunaya 1999:59). Likewise, Hilmi Ziya Ülken (1948:23) held that the concept of the West had no absolute boundaries and that it referred to an open and universal civilization.

With the appearance of translations from Western literatures in the nineteenth century, mainly via French, Ottoman intellectuals started de-

[2] I am using the term 'symbol' in the Barthesian sense as an order of signification to refer to an object (in this case the Translation Bureau) which has acquired through convention and use a meaning that enables it to stand for something else (in this case modernization) (Barthes 1977).

bating the role of this literature in the introduction of Western modes of thought. It is difficult to argue for the existence of a homogenous and dominant ideology of Westernism at that stage. Some intellectuals approved Westernization in both culture and science while some held a partialist view supporting the imports of scientific ideas detached from their philosophical and cultural context. The latter group defended a preservation of local traditions and values from Western influences (Tunaya 1999:118). The proponents of the first view suggested that modernization could only be realized by adopting the whole of the Western civilization with its Greek and Roman roots. This group called for the creation of a Western-inspired culture and morals in Turkey and stressed the importance of exposure to Western literature at an early age (Ağaoğlu 1972: 75-79). The Republican era put an end to the debate between the 'wholists' and 'partialists' and adopted a Western vocation in both sciences and culture. This became the main ideology underlying the series of reforms carried out within the first decade of the Republic.

This brings us to the second idea which emerges from the discourse on translation before 1940: 'Turkish humanism'. The philosophical framework of Turkey's orientation towards the West was to be found in this concept. Humanism was a term widely used through the first couple of decades of the Republic. It covered the body of works representing Western civilization as a homogeneous structure. The aim was to realize a 'Turkish renaissance' by importing these works into Turkey via translation and making them instrumental in creating a new culture and literature which would be national in essence but rising upon Western concepts and ideas. This is why the Translation Bureau and the concept of humanism have been identified with each other even to this day. During the first few years of its activity, the Bureau explicitly propagated the creation of the spirit of humanism in Turkey.

The creation of a Turkish humanism had been laid down as the mission of translation activity in Turkey long before the Translation Bureau was conceived. For instance in 1934, in an article he wrote, Kazım Nami Duru stressed the need to introduce Greek and Roman classics into school curricula and suggested that this would provide a sounder foundation for the teaching of Turkish folk literature (Duru 1934:332-336). Translation was expected to help a national Turkish literature to flourish. For instance, in his *Edebiyatımızın Bugünkü Meseleleri* (Current Issues in Our Literature) in 1937, author, translator and publisher Yaşar Nabi Nayır wrote that the translation of seminal works of Western literature into Turkish

was vital for the development of a contemporary Turkish literature because Turkish culture needed to create a new foundation for itself. He expressed his concern about a lack of basis for this new literature and saw the Ancient Greek culture as a potential source for creating this basis:

> The great civilization and language reforms we have undergone have broken our ties with our former literature and culture which was of a different aspect and language. Since there can be no culture without a basis and since today we do not have the possibility of making use of the literature of yesterday, it is essential for us to base our new literary and cultural works on the artistic and intellectual corpus originating in Ancient Greece which underlies contemporary European literature. (Nayır 1937:162)[3]

İsmail Habib Sevük, in his seminal two-volume anthology on European literature and Turkey, stressed the importance of providing access to Western works for speakers of Turkish. He suggested that the way to become 'fully European' went not through learning foreign languages, but through translation. He wrote:

> The secret for making Turkey fully European lies in reflecting Europeanness in Turkish. The issue of translation is not one of our secondary tasks, it stands before us as a great ideal, as the mission of all missions, as our greatest flag. It is only through 'true translations' that we will arrive at 'true Europe'. (Sevük 1940a:VII)

Much of the discourse on translation and literature throughout the 1930s set the translation of canonized Western works as a priority. However, except for a few scattered efforts by mainly the Remzi and Vakit publishing houses, private publishers remained aloof to translations of canonized literature and concentrated more on the publication of popular works which had a larger market and was therefore more lucrative. The translation and publication of canonized works was expected from the state.

The call by authors and publishers for state intervention was another feature of the discourse around translation prior to 1940. A short article appearing in the literary magazine *Varlık* in 1933 put this very clearly:

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[3] All translations are mine.

> [...] publishers and newspapers do not want to publish these kinds of works [translations of classics] for which there exists only a limited market (...) It is only through the efforts and selection of the Ministry of Education that we can have a well-structured library of classics. Expecting this from private initiative would mean expecting sacrifices which will never be delivered. ('Klasiklerin Tercümesi' 1933)

In the same vein, Nayır (1937:163) wrote that the 'regulating hand' of the state had to be there for a systematic translation movement. Author Ahmet Hamdi Tanpınar (1998:79), in a newspaper article he wrote in 1939, emphasized that translations required money and programme and that this could only be provided by the state. The Translation Committee of the Publishing Congress (*Birinci Türk Neşriyat Kongresi* 1939:125), also stressed the need for state involvement and suggested that an institution be established under the Ministry of Education to start up a planned translation movement. This strong expectation might have originated from past experience, as the Ministry of Education had been involved in planned translation and publishing activity since its conception within the first Grand National Assembly in 1921, first through the Committee on Original and Translated Works (Kayaoğlu 1998:200), then the series of translated literature it launched after the proclamation of the Republic. Yet this series was limited to abridgements and it was discontinued in 1928 after the alphabet reform (Sevük 1940b:38). The call for state involvement is also related to the political context of the day, since one of the major principles underlying the practices of the governing Republican People's Party and the Republican reforms was the idea of étatisme (state involvement) in the fields of economics and culture. State involvement was generally favoured; authors, journalists, and publishers accepted the state's patronage as natural and necessary. In his article published in the magazine *Yeni Adam* immediately after the establishment of the Translation Bureau, Yunus Kazım Köni referred to the establishment of the Bureau as a 'great event' and he made some suggestions about the structure of the newly-founded institution. He called for even more intensive state involvement than the planned structure of the Bureau and wrote: "Translation activity should become a scientific and official state body just like the Offices of Statistics and Meteorology" (Köni 1940:19).

Perhaps the only critical voice raised against state involvement in translation was Ahmet Ağaolğu's, often referred to as 'the First Turkish Liberal'.

He commented on the proceedings of the First Turkish Publishing Congress by saying that culture is made up of the feelings and thoughts of individuals which cannot be planned within a structured programme. In his opinion, such planning attempts would result in a 'standardization' of cultural products (Ağaoğlu in *Birinci Türk Neşriyat Kongresi* 1939:189-190). This view also forms the basis of some of the criticisms raised against the Translation Bureau today.

The Translation Bureau was established following the First Turkish Publishing Congress and its first products were issued in 1940. The Bureau also published a translation journal under the title *Tercüme* which ran for 87 issues until 1966. This was a step towards the creation of a literary and cultural canon in Turkey which had thus far remained mainly rhetorical. A critical review of articles about the activities of the Translation Bureau reveals that the period between the establishment and the closure of the Bureau in 1966 is marked by somewhat different discursive elements than the periods preceding or following it.

4. The Translation Bureau at work

As the above section attempted to demonstrate, the Translation Bureau was a long-desired entity in Turkey and its establishment was more than welcome by the intelligentsia. However, as the Bureau's publications increased in number, critical pieces also began to be published. In fact, the most intensive critique of the Bureau and its products is to be found in this period and pieces emphasizing the Bureau's symbolic meaning are juxtaposed with comments on actual translations and on the working methods of the Bureau. There is also some difference between comments published before and after 1946 which marks a peak for the Bureau's activities. This is as much due to the political context as it is due to a decline in the Bureau's activities as will be explained shortly.

Most intellectuals of the day received the establishment of the Bureau rather enthusiastically and gave large support to its activities especially during its first six years. A few comments selected from many will suffice to demonstrate this. In 1941, Bedrettin Tuncel (1941:22) who was one of the founding members of the Bureau wrote that the first year of the Bureau resulted in great success and praised the state officials for having provided the opportunity for the establishment of such a Bureau. Orhan Burian (1944:17), one of the translators working for the Bureau, wrote that the Bureau was not only successful in terms of its own production,

but also worthy of praise in the sense that it introduced a certain discipline in terms of the content and style of translations which were subsequently adopted by private publishers. An anonymous piece published in *Varlık* magazine ('Klasiklerin Tercümesi' 1946:2) called the activities of the Bureau "the main achievement in the field of culture since the establishment of the Republic, a valuable and honourable effort".

The Translation Bureau which was attributed the mission of creating a Turkish humanism even before its establishment continued to be assigned the same mission during its first six years. This mission did not remain rhetorical. Publications of the Bureau included many Greek classics which were considered to make up the origins of humanism.[4] Burian (1944:17) wrote that translation was a sign for the spirit of humanism and the state, through the Translation Bureau, emerged as the main humanist. Şinasi Özdenoğlu (1949:32) pointed out that the Translation Bureau had been instrumental in bringing the intellectuals of the country in contact with humanist culture. In his introduction to the translations published by the Bureau in the early 1940s, the Minister of Education of the time, Hasan Ali Yücel made the Bureau's mission explicit and wrote:

> The first understanding and feeling of the spirit of humanism starts with the adoption of works of art which are the most concrete expression of human existence. Among art forms, literature is the richest in terms of the intellectual elements of this expression. Therefore when a nation repeats the literatures of other nations in its own tongue, or rather in its own conception, it increases, revives and re-creates its intellect and power of understanding. This is why we consider translation activity so important and influential for our mission. (Yücel 1961a:12)

Humanism was not an end in itself. It was considered to be a tool for modernizing Turkish culture and producing a unique national character.

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[4] For instance, seven of the first 13 translations published by the Bureau were works by Sophocles. By 1955, the Bureau had published 860 works. 80 of these were translations of Greek classics (9 per cent) while 29 were translations of Latin classics (3.3 per cent) (Ediz 1955:3). 78 of these 109 Greek and Latin classics (71.5 per cent) were translated and published between 1940-1946. It is also interesting to note that although the translation of Eastern classics was among the initial tasks assigned to the Bureau, the proportion of these works within the whole of the Bureau's production remained at only 5 per cent at the end of the first 15 years of its operation.

It was also closely associated with the ideas of renaissance, enlightenment and education that were considered to be among the major tasks of the Translation Bureau. The ideological infrastructure of the Translation Bureau was already there. The discourse throughout the 1930s had already defined the way the Translation Bureau would become one of the educational instruments of the state and create a common culture of humanism. Hasan Ali Ediz (1955:3), one of the translators working for the Bureau, formulated the Bureau's tasks as "to enlighten the masses, to strengthen our intellectual life and to enhance our language". However, there is some doubt as to whether the products of the Translation Bureau reached the intended 'masses' and fulfilled their function of edifying them. The discourse around the Bureau is rather paradoxical. Although many articles have references to the popular appeal of these books, some also offer clues showing that they were initially intended for the intelligentsia. The best example illustrating this paradoxical view is Köni's article referred to earlier. Köni (1940:22) writes, "these works are reading material for the intellectuals of the country" and three paragraphs further he adds, "it is pleasing to see the kind of popular interest these works have generated". There are some anecdotal accounts about the reception of these books among lay readers which will be referred to in the next section. However, it seems rather unlikely that a newly literate society would be highly receptive to these works. The readership for popular literature was larger at that time and the style and content of these books were rather incommensurable with the works published by the Bureau. There is indication that the classics were distributed through the Ministry of Education especially to the 'Village Institutes' which made up a unique educational system very much in line with the modernist ideology of the young Republic. Otherwise, they were sold in bookstores along with works marketed by private publishing houses. Nurullah Ataç, the first chairman of the Translation Bureau wrote in a critical article in 1952:

> Why aren't these books [books published by the Translation Bureau] sold? First of all they are expensive. There are other reasons as well. People of this country are not used to reading, it is difficult for people to get used to books telling about things and situations which are not similar to the traditions of the society they live in. (Ataç 1952:231)

The discourse around the Translation Bureau was rather in favour of the movement prior to 1946. The situation changed after 1946 when the Min-

ister of Education Hasan Ali Yücel, considered to be the founding father of the Bureau, resigned from his post. This was a political turn brought about by the adoption of the multi-party system in the country. From 1946 until 1950 when the Democrat Party took over the government, the ruling Republican People's Party had to agree with populist policies shifting gears towards a more conservative line. The Translation Bureau suffered from this shift and in 1947, the production of the Bureau dropped to 58 books from 165 books the year before (Yücel 1961b:18). This illustrates how immediate the effect of ideological changes can be on translation activity.

The demise of the Translation Bureau generated some criticism that is evident in Ataç's article referred to above, as well as the writings of Orhan Burian after 1946. In an article Burian (1944:17) praised the humanist inclination of the Bureau, its editing mechanism, the high fees paid to translators as well as the high print quality of the books. His positive tone appears to have changed in 1947 when Burian (1974:1-5) criticized the selection criteria of the Translation Bureau and wrote that the editing system of the Bureau was failing and that the printing and binding of the books were not up to desired quality. His discourse turned completely hostile to the Translation Bureau in another article published in 1953 where he wrote that the Translation Bureau was no longer competent to deal with its task and was causing large expense. He made a call for the closure of the Bureau and added that the selection and translation of classics could be performed by universities.

Despite a significant decline in production, the Translation Bureau continued to function until 1966. The country went through a great deal of political turmoil during the Democrat Party government that ended with a military coup in 1960. The Democrat Party's ideology had direct implications on the activities of the Bureau. The party, which supported liberalism in economics and conservatism in culture, attempted to reverse some of the cultural reforms of the early Republican Period. The kind of Westernization it sought was a 'partial' one and it attempted to revive Turkey's Islamic cultural heritage. During the Democrat Party government the Bureau gained a different orientation and the publication of Greek and Latin classics lost impetus. The Bureau's symbolic status was not so evident throughout this period and intellectuals remained largely silent about its activities. Its mission of creating humanism was no longer mentioned and the discourse on humanism remained associated with the practices of the single-party era. However, thirty years after the closure of

the Bureau, in the late 1990s discourse on the Translation Bureau was revived as well as the Bureau's symbolic status. This was due to the political context in which Turkey found itself as I will present in the next section.

5. The Translation Bureau in retrospect

Little was written about the activities of the Translation Bureau throughout the 1970s and 1980s. The scarce material from this period presents a very positive picture of the Bureau, concentrating mainly on the activities of the first few years. This is also the period when the Translation Bureau and the Village Institutes came to be associated as different façades of the same movement of modernization. An article written in 1981 by Vedat Günyol, one of the translators who formerly worked for the Bureau, is very telling in this respect. He wrote,

> Although institutions such as the Translation Bureau and the Village Institutes which have been set up and functioned to take Turkey to civilization are no longer here, the seeds they have sown have blossomed despite conservative forces. No doubt, all internationally known Turkish artists have been associated with these institutions. (Günyol 1981:65)

Another feature of this period is the identification of the Translation Bureau with its founder, Hasan Ali Yücel, a trend present also today. Melahat Özgü (1970:183), another translator who worked for the Bureau, wrote in her article on Hasan Ali Yücel's view of translation, "The series 'Translations from World Literature' launched with a humanist spirit and thought is the finest monument erected for the then Minister of Education Hasan Ali Yücel". The focus on Hasan Ali Yücel's role in the establishment and activities of the Translation Bureau increased in the 1990s, especially in 1997, on the occasion of Hasan Ali Yücel's 100th birthday celebrated by books and articles dedicated to the late Minister (a selection includes Çıkar 1997; Anamur 1997; Şengör 1998; *Cumhuriyet Kitap* June 25, 1998).

The late 1990s witnessed increasing coverage of the activities of the Translation Bureau by the press which published critical reviews and comments. Comments from conservative circles included a criticism of the Bureau and the Village Institutes as institutions imposed on the people by the government. These also included a critique of the books published by

the Bureau on the grounds that the focus was mainly on Western classics. The liberalist critique of the Bureau called the classics it published 'a fetish object' and the activities of the Bureau "the official ideology of the state" (Türkeş 1998:6).

Humanism as the major ideological framework underlying the establishment and the early activities of the Bureau once more appeared in the agenda of those producing the discourse around translation. Throughout this period, translation scholars and other researchers started paying more attention to the Bureau and its relation to the concept of humanism. Some academic works adopted a purely descriptive framework, refraining from critical judgement (c.f. Karantay 1991; Paker 1998; Demirel and Yılmaz 1998; Kurultay 1999). Some created descriptive discourse with a degree of critical judgement (Anamur 1997; Kayaoğlu 1998; Arıkan 1999). Most often, they referred to the Bureau and its activities in terms of the translated titles and the discourse created by the members of the Bureau. There exists no study of translational norms at work in specific books published by the Bureau.

On the other hand, in the late 1990s, there were also certain publications idealizing the Bureau and its activities, invoking its capacity as a symbol of Turkish modernization. Some of these drew attention to the edification function of the Bureau and stressed the wide appeal of the classics in the 1940s, referring to stories of peasant boys and soldiers carrying copies of these books and people rejoicing over the release of each new book (Baykurt 1997:130; Yücel qtd. in Kaynardağ 1997:12; Kaynardağ 1998:4; Başaran 1998:6). Some of this discourse appeared in the articles published by *Cumhuriyet*, the oldest daily newspaper in Turkey known for its secular republican stance.

Turkey, which has been experiencing economic and political liberalism for the past two decades, now witnesses the clash of several ideologies: liberalism, political Islam and secular republicanism. Faced with the challenge of especially political Islamists, proponents of secular republicanism, which can be described as the founding ideology of the republic based on Kemalism, started to feel the need to formulate this ideology through a clearer and more elaborate discourse creating their symbols along the way (badges with the founder of the Republic Mustafa Kemal Atatürk's portrait, bumper stickers with republican slogans, organized mass events such as concerts and parades). The idealization of some of the practices and institutions of the early Republican Turkey is another hallmark of this discourse. The secular republican view of the Translation Bureau and

its products is in the same vein, a rather idealized view. Mixed with the idealization one can also sense a lamentation and a longing, creating a tone which presents the Bureau and its products as the symbol of an ideal that was consumed in the past, that of a fully enlightened Turkey.

An attempt to revive the translation movement launched by the Bureau came from *Cumhuriyet* which started to reprint some of the classics published by the Bureau, distributing one work a week free of charge. This effort which complements works published by the Translation Bureau by more recent translations of classics, took place between 1988 and 2000. As the newspaper launched this service, it presented its aim as following the path of Hasan Ali Yücel and his colleagues in forming a 'Library of Enlightenment' (*Cumhuriyet Kitap* June 25, 1998:7). The majority of the thirteen authors interviewed about the classics published by the Translation Bureau on the occasion of the launch of this series, assigned an educational and enlightening function to the Bureau using terms such as 'humanism', 'enlightenment' and 'Turkish renaissance'. They positively associated the translation of classics with concepts beyond the sphere of literature such as peace, civilization, and awareness of world history (*Cumhuriyet Kitap* June 25, 1998:5-7).

6. Conclusion

Translation is always a part of the larger political, economic, and cultural context and is a process that is negotiated, shaping and being shaped by its context. The case of the Turkish Translation Bureau illustrates this in clear terms. The Translation Bureau stands as a unique institution in Turkish translation history and offers translation scholars an interesting case of the ideological mechanisms that rule translation. Such explicit usage of translation as an ideological instrument is indeed rare and translation scholars can learn a great deal from the Turkish experience.

The discourse in circulation during the period leading up to the establishment of the Translation Bureau sets an interesting example of how literature and translation can be used as instruments of creating a common culture to underlie the emergence of a new nation. In cases where no common culture exists, or where the old repertoire is overthrown to be replaced by a new one, importing that culture via translation may be the most convenient and viable alternative.

The case of the Translation Bureau also demonstrates that culture planners do not wish to import foreign literatures only due to their literary

value. They assign translation a specific function and prepare the necessary infrastructure for the fulfilment of that function, often within a patronage structure.

Planners also elaborate the concepts and terms that define the scope and the goals of the translation activity they sponsor. 'Westernization', 'Turkish renaissance', 'humanism' were some of the concepts used by the Turkish state officials and intellectuals to refer to the expected results of the Translation Bureau activities. Nevertheless, such concepts need to be analyzed carefully, for they may carry a paradoxical character. For instance, the Translation Bureau was expected to bring about Westernization in culture, which would, in turn, be used to unearth Turkish history and literature. In other words, the intellectual framework would be imported from the West, while the material to fill in that framework would be supplied locally.

Different perceptions of the Translation Bureau and its products throughout the years show us that shifting ideologies may also bring about shifting perceptions of the same historical facts. The recent revival of the interest in the Translation Bureau can certainly be associated with the ideological challenges republican secularism is facing. Indeed, this interest concentrates on the Bureau's status as a symbol of modernization, rather than results in a serious re-evaluation of the Bureau's activities or an analysis of its products. The activities of the Translation Bureau cannot be analyzed in isolation from their ideological and political infrastructure. Sixty years after its establishment, the products of the Bureau are seen as a collective symbol of an incomplete enlightenment precisely because of the political context surrounding them. Their symbolic status has not been challenged by writers adopting negative or positive views of the Bureau. The symbol is produced and reproduced by the discourse around the Translation Bureau. Nothing has been done to deconstruct that symbol through a study of the translated texts themselves. Such a study may reveal surprising findings about the kinds of norms adopted by the translators working for the Bureau which will, no doubt shake the symbolic status of the Bureau and force one to adopt a fresh view. Only through a study of the translated texts themselves can the framework for a descriptive analysis of all aspects of the Translation Bureau be complete.

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Submerged Ideologies in Media Interpreting

DAVID KATAN AND FRANCESCO STRANIERO-SERGIO[1]

Consumer capitalism and popular television are the two main ideologies moulding an interpreter's performance on television. These two apparently invisible forces form the base layer of an iceberg model, and are creating significant changes in the interpreter's traditional habitus. Gatekeeping opportunities and constraints are provided at every level of the submerged part of the iceberg. The more visible layers of the iceberg illustrate how the interpreter's strategies and performance are regulated and evaluated by norms which result from these ideologies, and are significantly at variance with the traditional prescriptive conference interpreting norms based on the traditional interpreter's identity and status. One overriding norm we call 'the comfort factor': the degree to which the TV audience is entertained. Examples are given of how broadcasters and hosts may – logically, according to this model – control the translation process before, during and after the interpreted event. Finally, from examples taken from our corpus, we sketch what we see as an emerging prototype of the media interpreter, one who is able to manage the interpretation in the new habitus. The media interpreter is, thus, a highly professional and visible performer, able to embody the values of the two main ideologies, and match the expectations of both broadcasters and viewers.

1. Introduction

In this paper we wish to present a model of a system of relations which links an interpreter's performance on television to two basic ideological forces: the ruling sets of beliefs broadcast by the dominant power group in our society (consumer capitalism) and the need to satisfy the desire of the television viewer, the couch potato (popular culture). These forces, as we shall see, act through a logical series of opportunities and constraints and are beginning to transform the traditional interpreter into one whose face is acceptable on television.

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[1] David Katan was responsible for sections 1-6, and Francesco Straniero-Sergio for sections 7-11.

Most of the examples come from a qualitative analysis of 50 hours of Italian talk show material (see Straniero-Sergio 1999a; Katan and Straniero-Sergio 2001).

2. The Iceberg Model

The ideologies of consumer capitalism and popular culture are, as our title suggests, submerged. They are, for most people, for most of the time, as Hall (1982) comments, 'out-of-awareness'; and yet they are the force controlling every visible interpreter's action, and TV host's reaction, in front of the camera. The tip of the iceberg is what we see. However, the rest is not always totally submerged, or 'out-of-awareness'. At times, some more of the iceberg comes into view above the waterline. So, as the model below illustrates there are three levels of 'submergence'.

Ideology and (anthropological) culture, however they are defined, share the same function of giving meaning to, and orienting, human experience through a system of selection of reality to fit its own map of the world. In fact, ideologies, as expounded by Marx, are "made up of sets of beliefs about the world, which nevertheless produce a distorted account of the world". Further, ideologies "mediate and refract reality through a network of existing categories […] selected by the dominant group" (Jenks 1993:73).

The refraction of the dominant group in this particular case is capitalist, consumer driven, and – we argue – is tending to radically change the interpreter's traditional habitus: "their ordinary relations to the world" (Bourdieu 1990:78). In particular, it is the traditional interpreter's beliefs about invisibility, the supremacy of the text and equivalence which are being challenged.

What appears to be happening is that the interpreter is being judged, no longer on source text/target text criteria, but in terms of, as Marx suggests, 'Commodity Fetishism'. The TV show is regarded as a commodity, and is assigned a value on the market. The interpreter is a producer of a commodity and has social relations with other producers according to the high or low value of the 'goods' (the interpretation) in question. Hence the bottom-line, short-term profit and ability to maintain or increase audience share, is becoming the pre-eminent value guiding media interpreting performance. We should remember here that: "Broadcasting is the business of delivering audiences to advertisers […] programmes themselves are merely the 'bait' to attract customers to the advertisements" (Smythe

1981, qtd. in Moores 1997:225). What is more, in Italy, all television, both state and commercial, is dependent upon its commercial sponsors.

3. Popular culture

Audiences have to be found, but, more importantly, they also need to be satisfied. So, a broadcaster's profit is dependent on sufficiently satisfying the desires or needs of the consumer, the TV audience. Interpreted events on TV in general attract a popular culture: "ordinary people as originators, interpreters, and users of symbolic resources" and their "cultural experiences" (Lull 1995:190). This culture, like any other, has its own ideology which "fulfils a need or desire of a particular, […] genuine, kind of taste or tastes" (Jenks 1993:112). Accordingly, the exponents of this culture will have their own set of beliefs about what, how and why they decide to watch a particular programme. What the TV viewer is looking for will be logically related to how the interpreter's production will be valued. In particular, we will be focusing on how the successful media interpreter actively contributes to the 'comfort factor' through entertainment, and also how s/he helps maintain the viewers 'environmental bubble'.

4. The Comfort Factor

The comfort factor, related to Bourdieu's "cultural comfort zones and characteristic ways of acting" (Lull 1995:69), we suggest, is the basic core orientation guiding the viewer. We presume, therefore, that the viewer is looking for maximum cognitive effect for minimum cognitive effort (Wilson and Sperber 1988). This suggests that an interpreted TV programme must first and foremost be entertaining.

Television is also a 'fast message' medium compared to, for example, print (see Hall and Hall 1989). As Hartley (1992:97) puts it, popular culture viewers "have the capacity to apprehend social totality through mere appearance of a single look". This is what he calls 'power viewing'. Hence a programme must capture the viewer's attention immediately, and provide the variety necessary to prevent the consumer from reaching for the remote control: "the deadly click of the thumb" (Hartley 1992:97). This, in turn, suggests that the management of time is a high priority, as is the need for scoops and sensational reporting.

The other side of the comfort factor refers to the 'protective walls' of

"the environmental bubble: where 'familiarity is at a maximum, novelty at a minimum'" (Cohen 1972:166-167). Though, superficially, 'novelty' may be attractive, it is a natural part of the human defence system to react as if "what is different is dangerous" (Hofstede 1991:109);[2] and full immersion in a foreign language or culture can indeed be highly threatening (Katan 1999:175). So, in general, both the tourist and the viewer will expect to stay within the safety of their own bubble, and will expect the interpreter to domesticate (Venuti 1999), localize and appropriate the message, so that the interpreted event is transferred to within the safety and comfort of the viewer's cognitive bubble. The Principle of Analogy (Brown and Yule 1983:64-67) suggests that viewers will expect what they see and hear to fit their existing map of the world. The Principle of Local Interpretation (Brown and Yule 1983:59), likewise, would suggest that viewers will reach for the remote control rather than having to spend more than the minimum time necessary processing what they see and hear. Sternberg (1984:283), who has studied processing behaviour and general intelligence, notes that "'more-intelligent persons' are more likely to spend time in 'global (higher-order)' cognitive processing while their 'less-intelligent' colleagues are more likely to be involved with 'local (lower-order)'" cognitive effort. Hall and Hall (1989) also note how popular culture attention span diminishes in comparison with high-brow culture audiences.

5. The three levels

The most important level of the iceberg model is that of ideology. Consumer capitalism (divided here into the broadcasting and the viewing, or popular, culture) is in direct antagonism with the traditional ideology of the interpreter's model of the world. The ideologies are also totally submerged or rather 'out-of-awareness', being at the base if not the outer frame of the cognitive environments of both media producer and receiver. The three distinct levels can also be explained in terms of Popper's three worlds (discussed in Chesterman 1997:14-15). Though it is not a deterministic world, but the dominant beliefs and values inherent in the ideologies mentioned above largely influence, through a form of natural

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[2] There are, of course, cultural differences regarding the degree of tolerance or avoidance of the unknown. Italy, according to Hofstede (1991), has a particularly marked avoidance of what is different.

selection, the type of interpreter who will be called back to work for the next media event. This would suggest that the ideological cognitive pool of consumer capitalism will have a form of plastic control (to use Popper's term) moulding the interpreter's identity, belief system and role around the mediated event. The 'type' of interpreter selected will also, logically, function as a gatekeeper for certain types of skills or abilities, which in turn will allow both producers (broadcasters, interpreters) and receivers to opt for those strategies which would most likely satisfy the values inherent in the dominant submerged ideologies.

The strategies, such as the organisation and editing of an interpreted interview are certainly less submerged. At times, both producer and receiver will be entirely conscious of the patterns. For the producer, there may well be implicit or explicit, visible, house rules regarding the styling of a programme. Again there will be conflict between a traditional interpreter's beliefs about strategies, and those driven by popular culture.

Finally, the most visible level of the iceberg is the realization of the interpreted media event, in terms of behaviour within a particular environment. It is this reality which is at odds with the traditional interpreter habitus. The model (Fig. 1) may be illustrated as in page 136.

6. *Gatekeeping* and discourse practice

Translating, just like other activities such as news planning, news gathering, news making and news reporting, is a gatekeeping activity: "the process of controlling the flow of information into and through communication channels" (Vuorinen 1997:161). The broadcaster gatekeepers decide not only *what* to translate but also, importantly, *how* an event is to be translated.

Once a situation involving a foreign language (e.g. an interview) has been selected by the programmers, regardless of the fact that the participants directly involved might have the interlinguistic competence to dialogue by themselves, there is *always* some form of linguistic mediation offered on the screen. This is because the actual receivers of the text are not themselves the on-screen (physical) participants but the undifferentiated (invisible) mass audience.

The gatekeeping decision to use an interpreter, whether simultaneous, consecutive[3] or dialogue during social interaction on screen (or only in

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[3] In contrast with other countries (see e.g. Kurtz and Bros-Brann 1996) Italian TV has used 'consecutive' interpretation on a regular basis since the late seventies.

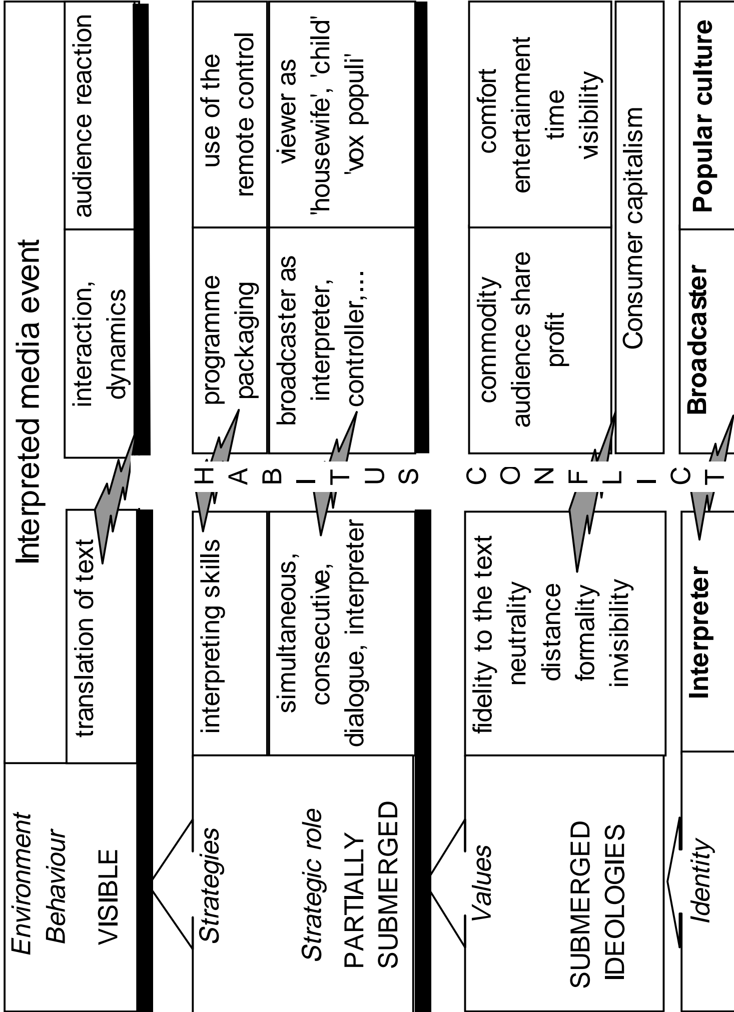

Figure 1: *The Three Levels*

audio) is only one of the ways in which interlanguage transfer is managed. Use is also made of subtitling and voice-over by professional speakers; and 'interpretation' may also be carried out by the journalists and presenters themselves.

The decision to use one modality rather than another (e.g. voice-over or simultaneous interpreting) will be directed by broadcaster and programme controllers according to: programme strategies, general channel broadcasting policies, the TV genre (talk show, live media event, prerecorded interview etc), the target audience, and the particular effect that the programme director wishes to achieve. Clearly, a number of modalities may be used together in one programme, where, for example, simultaneous interpretation might be interspersed by the presenter who steps in to add a narration, a comment or wishes to paraphrase the interpreter's words. Over a period of time these modalities will become established practices and hence 'product norms' (Chesterman 1997:64; Hermans 1999b:79).

Translation is also a discourse practice. The term 'discourse' refers both to the linguistic (propositional) and the social (interactional) aspects of discourse activity, since institutions and the social context play a crucial role in the development, maintenance and circulation of discourses. As McDonnell (1986:1) puts it: "Discourses differ with the kinds of institutions and social practice in which they take shape and with the position of those who speak and whom they address". What is important in media discourse is how texts are produced and received by audiences and how different identities are constructed and negotiated.

Following the iceberg model we will now focus on how broadcasters control the translation process by gatekeeping both the verbal and non-verbal behaviour of the interpreter and how they shape the identity of the interpreter.

7. Voice

Empirical studies on quality in conference interpreting (Bühler 1986; Gile 1990; Kopczynski 1994; Kurtz 1989, 1993; Mach and Cattaruzza 1995; Marrone 1993; Meak 1990; Vuorikoski 1993) though limited in scope have clearly shown that voice quality and other related parameters such as intonation, prosody, accent, pleasant speech rhythm, fluency and delivery rank the *least* important aspects affecting quality. Conversely, in TV interpreting (Daly 1985; Kurtz 1990, 1997; Kurtz and Pochhacker

1995; Kurtz and Bros-Brann 1996; Stimoli 2001) these paralinguistic elements suddenly become the most important.[4]

The quality of the voice, in fact, is one of the most important comfort factor criteria; and a number of valid interpreters are rejected for media work on these grounds alone. Logically, then, an interpreter (like any other producer of a commodity) has to adapt to current broadcast standards set by professional speakers; and at least two generations of TV audiences have grown up with the standards offered by the voices of excellent film dubbing actors and TV voiceover professionals. It is these product norms which now drive the expectation for similar voice qualities from the interpreter.

This quality includes the ability to empathize and to act the part. Many dubbers have now become famous names in their own right.[5] They reproduce the interjections, vocalizations and false starts of an interviewee, and at times follow the phonetics of the guest's words. The voice, then, is not simply the vehicle for transferring the content of a text, but it is also an instrument of emotional orientation.

The interpreter's voice on TV has to be flexible enough to sound like a presenter, a sports reporter or even a veejay, as well as a politician, economist, scientist as well as a whole host of other celebrities.[6] The mediating interpreter also translates ordinary people, those invited not to express an opinion but to share their personal experiences and emotions with a large audience, hungry for the scoops and for sensational reporting. In these cases, the interpreter working on TV will be instructed to give the appropriate emotion and drama to suffering, pain, and disease; to emotional pleas from relatives to find missing loved ones; to live confessions, and so on. Following the norms set by the dubbers, the programmer will attempt to match interpreters for gender, though

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[4] The same results come from the simultaneous interpretation of films as the film festival questionnaire results show (Guardini 1994; Palazzini Finetti 1999).

[5] Ferruccio Amendola, for example, began dubbing films. As a result, he now appears on prime-time chat shows and his voice sells brand name products on national television.

[6] Interviews with pop stars, actors, showgirls, models, soap opera stars and TV advert testimonials form a healthy part of the interpreter's work, which we might call *gossip interpreting (*Straniero 1999b). Personal information about the private lives of the famous is the *raison d'etre* not only for talk shows but also for current affairs programmes and media events (e.g. royal Weddings).

much less often voice and age. In the case of children, the interpreter is usually instructed to use simpler words and to simulate more hesitation.

The conference interpreter, on the other hand, usually translates a number of speakers, one after another, alternating autonomously with a booth-mate rather than according to speaker. During a TV programme, on the other hand, when there is more than one foreign guest (whether physically present or virtual), the norm is 'one guest one interpreter' irrespective of turn length. The partially submerged objective is to improve the viewers' comfort factor by smoothing away the potential incongruencies between what is seen and what is heard. The use of different interpreters is particularly effective during panel interviews when guests have expressly been brought together for their *different* opinions.

The idea of a debate is, however, subordinate to the more important ideological needs to produce a television event which will attract the public in sufficient quantities for a sufficient period of time to warrant payment for the sale of advertising time. The programmers are acutely aware that their public are more interested in *how* the participants speak and argue than in the actual content. This is also true outside the entertainment world, where the dissemination of information in Italy tends towards favouring expert opinion over fact, and feeling over form (Katan 1999:221-226). So, the television, being situated in the lounge (rather than the study or the office), is the logical setting for further sentiment. As a result, the 'conflict' created in a television debate will generally be designed to create argument for its own sake, or rather for the sake of entertainment.

The media interpreter, congruent with this setting, mirrors the performance, the bickering and the squabbling, without worrying about interruptions or overlapping. If the guests get upset then the interpreters should follow suit – for that is exactly what the TV audience is interested in.

The overriding importance of voice can be seen in a scathing article published in a respected national daily, *La Stampa*, the day after the funeral of Lady Diana. The author ungraciously demolished the simultaneous interpretation of the Earl of Spenser's funeral speech. The criticism was based *exclusively* on the quality of voice, the suprasegmental traits, with no reference at all to any other quality. The performance, according to the author, resembled that of 'heavy breathing on a chatline'.

8. Lexicon and register

Given that broadcasters operate under a set of assumptions and expectations about an imaginary interlocutor, they tend to cater to the more popular and the more acceptable. The absence of physical recipients results in a necessary stereotyping of the viewing public in terms of shared values and a collective morality. For this reason, broadcasters attach particular attention to language. There are two particular aspects.

First, language is simplified through 'conversationalization' of the discourse. This is not only true for the (pseudo) science and technology documentaries, where the scientific arguments are explained in lay terms, but also in the talk shows focusing on medicine, health and fitness. The norm is 'Keep it short and simple'. In Italy, this norm is usually reserved for parent-children talk, but is accepted 'for the viewers at home' partly because the TV in the lounge is the setting for entertainment rather than for information. The values behind this norm relate again to the comfort factor, and in particular to relevance theory, this time with reference to the child in the family, or to the family that accepts being cast in the role of the child.

Italian media interpreters are fully aware of these gatekeeping restraints, and feel that they should reduce the quantity of excessive technical terms (personal communication). Hence, in accordance with the iceberg theory these restraints are only partially submerged.

Secondly, broadcasters are also moral gatekeepers. Many of the house rules explicitly given to the interpreters, in fact, refer to language decency. Our corpus shows a high presence of interpreter addition of hedges, downtoning, cushioning, and other 'tact and diplomacy' strategies – as well as a general 'improvement' of style.

On the other hand, in a number of particular situations, the interpreter may also be requested to remain faithful to register (e.g. mirroring the crude style of the French far-right leader, Le Pen). In politically sensitive contexts, broadcasters are particularly aware of a guest's possible reactions. In an interview with Fidel Castro's aide, the Spanish interpreter was instructed to avoid using 'capitalist lexis' where possible. At times these instructions can take the form of actual censorship. For example, during Bill Clinton's hearing in front of the Grand Jury (1998), the interpreters were called to the RAI 2 TV news editor's office before the live broadcast to be told that if Clinton were to speak explicitly about any indecent or embarrassing details of the affair, the interpreters were to limit

themselves to saying the following words:"the President is giving personal details about his affair with Monica Lewinski".

Interpreters may also be obliged or encouraged (depending on their habitus) to use journalistic equivalents even when these are by no means text equivalents. One of the interpreters during the Clinton hearings originally translated 'inappropriate relations' with *relazioni sconvenienti*, the stock equivalent. However, the presenter then rebutted explaining to the audience that the 'right translation' was *relazioni improprie*. Though this collocation is, in fact, 'inappropriate' Italian, the presenter was referring to the expression which had been specifically coined by the not particularly linguistic-minded media.

In media genres, such as talk shows, game and quiz shows, interpreters are particularly expected to abandon their traditional 'conference' style in favour of a more informal and witty style, mirroring that of the presenter. These interpreters comfortably use the language of TV (diminutives, terms of endearment, colloquial expressions, etc.) in harmony with TV culture.

9. Turn-taking

It is in media interpreting, above all, that interpreters have to adjust their turntaking and *décalage* to the wide range of broadcasting requirements (Straniero-Sergio 1999a, 1999b). An emblematic example is that of a journalist who asked the interpreter to wait a few more seconds before delivering her translation of the Queen's live speech to let the audience hear 'the pathos' (personal communication) of the original.

On the other hand, on one of the most popular morning shows (*I fatti vostri*), there is never any *décalage*. The interpreter sits, as usual, next to the guest, but is required to deliver a simultaneous translation, a modality that normally entails the invisibility of the interpreter, and relegation to a booth. The strategy, explicitly stated, is to protect 'the average housewife' from any risk of 'the foreign' which might punctuate the domestic bubble with unintelligible talk. What lies behind this is a response to the perceived threat, that "your average housewife at home might get bored and change channel" (programme director, personal communication).

Evening formats (with different target audiences), for example *Il Maurizio Costanzo Show*, tend to rely on classic consecutive interpreting albeit with shortened turns – again to reduce the impact of the foreign.

10. Interactional control, editing and manipulation

It may well be that the presenter actually takes the interpreter's turn, either anticipating or overlapping the official interpreter's translation. Alternatively the presenter may reformulate, integrate, distort or comment on the interpreter's words. In each case, the presenter is in competition with the interpreter. This rivalry can generate tension and conflict particularly when the presenter, replacing the interpreter, insists on his or her own personal version. This particular behaviour is part of the more general requirement to make the translated text more interesting, entertaining or newsworthy. Thus, for example, the cautious statement made by the Iraqi minister regarding the release of the hostages (including an Italian) taken during the Gulf War, which was translated faithfully by interpreters, was reformulated by the journalist hungry for a scoop as meaning "the imminent release of the hostages" (*Studio Aperto*, Italia 1).

There are three phases to gatekeeping control on television. First, the potential translation is filtered *before* the programme goes on air through instructions to the interpreter. Second, the programme presenter will exert interactional control *during* the programme; and third, there is extensive control during the *editing stage* for the programmes that do not go out live. This is of particular interest, as neither a conference nor dialogue interpreter would ever have the opportunity to return to the text once it has been translated.

During the editing stage, the interpreter may have the opportunity to listen to the text before 'simultaneously' translating it, or alternatively s/he may return to the text to correct or retouch an earlier interpretation on request of the programme director. It is quite possible also, for example, for a simultaneous interpretation during the programme to be re-edited and subtitled, or voiced over, by another speaker – and unbeknown to the original interpreter.

When an interpreter works with journalists on a piece to be translated s/he usually gives them an outline translation before the piece is to be aired. Any stylistic changes are then made by the journalists themselves. In theory, the task of deleting, adding, substituting and generally reorganizing the text should be the interpreter's: it is their habitus. In reality, it is the privilege of the journalist, often due to the fact that "the journalists do not seem to perceive their work as translation but as 'editing' or 'production' [...]" (Vuorinen 1997:169). Ideologically, for the non-translators working in the media, translation is "mere transcoding"

(*ibid.*:165) and a "passive and slavish imitation" (*ibid.*:169) whilst editing is the real creative activity.

With the broadcasting authorities' immense power comes a cavalier attitude towards text fidelity. During the Gulf War, for example, the CNN correspondent, Peter Arnett, was simultaneously interpreted into Italian. However, for the evening news, the editor used the original text at random, as background colour to the interpreted text which was being transmitted. In general, this denotes a declassification of the role of the interpreter. What will be important for the programmer will be rendering the programme as a package. However, as we shall see, through the continued public exposure of a small number of able interpreters, who have had to become active participants in the package, their TV role is being reclassified; and we may hope that this will lead to interpreters in all spheres having more control over their work in the future.

11. Status and identity

From what we have just said, it is clear that interlingual transfer is not only the interpreter's habitus, but may well be co-managed by the talk-show host (or journalist). The results may be a more creative interpretation where meaning is cooperatively negotiated through two mediators. However, as the iceberg model shows there may very well be conflict at the level of role, capacity and text meaning, which means that when working with another 'translator' the interpreter will also be involved in repair and face-saving strategies (Straniero-Sergio 1999a). The TV host's institutional identity *de facto* also encompasses translation and interaction (e.g. turn-taking, interrupting and topic agenda setting). From this viewpoint we have a partially submerged ideology, in that the TV host actually interprets, i.e. takes over some of the interpreter's habitus, even though s/he does not have the status of interpreter.[7]

On the other hand, TV interpreters are being encouraged, through the natural selection process, to enter the media habitus. Broadcasters expect interpreters not just to have the relevant linguistic skills but also to be good performers and to participate in the non-verbal interactions[8]

[7] When a TV host substitutes the interpreter, his discursive and translating behaviour can generate norms (in Gideon Toury's sense of the word) which can influence the perception and expectations of the role of an interpreter within media discourse.
[8] Up to only a few years ago, in Italy's most popular talk-show (*Il Maurizio Costanzo*

(Straniero-Sergio 1999a). The 'deadly click' power of popular culture is obliging or encouraging interpreters (depending on the their own comfort factor) to take on roles which traditionally have not been part of their profession.

Due to these gatekeeping manoeuvres, the identity of the media interpreter is rapidly changing. A prime example is the constant and extremely visible presence over a ten-year period of Olga Fernando, a TV interpreter, on Italy's most popular talk show. Now, for the first time, an interpreter has not only a visible face but also a name. She not only has become a public figure but has also become the prototype of a media interpreter *tout court*. Visibility, and in turn, well-earned popularity, have transformed Ms Fernando into a model (norm-setter), the benchmark for media interpreters, against whom others are judged. The mass-media have become interested in her (and in her colleagues), with interviews and leading articles in national newspapers dedicated to her, regarding not only her performance but also her private life. Interestingly enough, the expressions of positive appreciation used by the critics and journalists about her further confirm the bedrock of the iceberg model: popular culture's overriding desire to satisfy the comfort factor. To quote from the press (*Corriere della sera, Giornale di Sicilia*): "Ms Fernando has a good word for everybody", displays 'delicacy', 'profound sensitivity', 'sympathy', 'emotion', and, importantly "does not limit herself to a cold translation".

Clearly, then a media interpreter's high product value is the ability to reduce tension and lubricate social interaction, to be uplifting, to reassure and be diplomatic. The values which guide this strategy are those of fostering a climate of comfort and hence the maintenance of the domestic environmental bubble.

To conclude, the force of TV's submerged ideology is producing media interpreters who can no longer feel comfortable in their traditional habitus, and are no longer being valued according to current accepted interpreting norms: the mere production of an invisible and neutral link between two languages. On the contrary, as Italian TV becomes more globally oriented, and "the foreign" is brought into the Italian sitting room, so consumer capitalism is demanding a slicker media-professional and a more visible performer to maintain the comfort factor.

Show), the interpreters (along with all the guests) were obliged to walk on stage and parade in front of the invited audience, in front of the TV cameras, and to background music and audience applause. In another talkshow the interpreter entered the studio dancing the signature tune along with the host.

The Manipulation of Language and Culture in Film Translation

PETER FAWCETT

Because film translation operates under a number of technical constraints, it is often assumed that the final target text is largely conditioned by those constraints and nothing else: x was left out because there was no space in the subtitles; x was substituted by another form of wording because of the need for lip sync. It is possible to argue, however, that the apparently objective, material constraints are in fact conventions or, in the terminology of Descriptive Translation Studies, norms, which raises the question: how much of the target text is itself manipulated, consciously or not, by norms rather than constraints? Can we detect normalising, repressing, levelling and censoring strategies in operation where there is no need for them other than the need for ideological, moral, and social control? This paper examines a small corpus of mainly subtitled French films and discovers that although, indeed, such strategies are dominant, film translation, like other modes of translation, is also subject to human randomness and simple cussedness, thereby countering the claims of those scholars who believe that they have found, in the concept of the invisible translator, the key to Western translation practice.

1. Introduction

Much of the literature on film translation, especially that written by practitioners, focuses on the technical constraints, but an analysis of subtitles demonstrates other forces at work, other factors which can be said to form a translational ideology for film transfer:

- what amount of work the translator expects the audience to do in order to receive the work, which is a relationship along the solidarity-power cline;
- the moral, political and legal concerns of the translator and/or the translation commissioner, which is a measure of authority rather than power (power is 'might', authority is 'right'),
- the translators' often fluctuating perception of their task as communicator, mediator and author and their positional attitude to their

role in the translation chain and responsibility to its various elements;
- the dominant discourse on film translation.

All of these form a not always stable constellation of ideas, thus a shifting ideology, derived from a variety of sources, among which we would expect training, practice, instruction, personality, company culture, national culture and general translational culture to be influential. We have described this as fluctuating because, as we shall see, translation in the West is not a matter of blind adherence to a canon of behaviour (normalisation, transparency, invisibility) but a form of behaviour subject in reality to considerable randomness, a characteristic which also affects the 'constraints' on film translation, which are presented as inescapable technicalities, but which are not immune from the effects of culture and ideology, as the next section shows.

2. Constraints or conventions?

In the case of films translated by subtitles, there are supposedly two major 'technical' constraints which influence the end result. The first is to ensure that the number of characters (letters, punctuation marks and spaces) in the subtitle is restricted to what time-honoured calculation suggests is the greatest number that can be read and understood with least difficulty by an averagely educated audience.

None of the literature that I am aware of actually tells us how and by whom this calculation was arrived at. Caillé tells us that film is projected at 24 frames per second, that 16 frames is one foot, and adds "Sur ces données élémentaires est basé le travail du sous-titreur à qui l'on accorde généreusement par pied 8 signes d'imprimeries, intervalles compris" (1960:108) [On these elementary data is based the work of the subtitler who is generously granted 8 characters, including spaces, per foot of film].[1] The 'on' of 'on accorde' (which is the French for 'one/they') is not given an identity by Caillé, and in translation it tends to disappear into the passive, thus losing completely the notion of agency, but equally notable in this quotation is that the number 8 appears as if by magic and stands in no obvious relation to the numbers that precede it.

Writing much later, Delabastita (1989:204) simply talks of a 'first convention'. That the calculation is indeed not a purely technical constraint

[1] All translations are my own and are deliberately as literal as possible.

but is, as the word 'convention' implies, directed by other, non-technical, cultural attitudes, is made clear by two things. Firstly, the 'averagely educated audience' referred to in the literature as the standard receptor presumed to be able to process these 8 characters per second is a social construct without definition. It presumably refers to the same class of audience much favoured by House, namely the 'educated middle-class speaker' (1981:60). The level of educational attainment deemed appropriate to be a translation receiver (in print or on film) is never stated, and is therefore left open to whatever interpretation we want to put on it, but the class affiliation is clear. Secondly there has been some really quite considerable fluctuation over the years in the 'agreed' number of characters that can be comfortably read by such an audience.

In the French system referred to by Caillé the dialogue list delivered to the subtitler indicates for each rejoinder the number of characters allowed for the subtitle based on the allocation of 8 characters per foot of film. But Caillé then adds to the brew the comment that the subtitler is never allowed more than 70-72 characters per title. Marleau later wrote that the maximum number of characters per subtitle "est déterminé par le temps nécessaire à l'œil humain pour lire un seul mot de 5 à 8 lettres. Ce temps est à peu près d'une seconde, temps que dure précisément le déroulement de 24 images, soit 1½ pied (ou 47 cm) de 35 mm" (Marleau 1982:276) [is determined by the time necessary for the human eye to read a single word of 5 to 8 letters. This time is about one second, which is precisely the duration of 24 frames, which is 1½ feet (or 47 cm) of 35 mm film]. Again, however, he gives no indication of where this figure comes from, but concludes that "la somme des lettres, des signes de ponctuation et des espaces entre les mots du sous-titre, doit égaler 50, c'est-à-dire ne pas dépasser 50 ou s'en rapprocher le plus possible" (*ibid.*:279) [the total of letters, punctuation marks and spaces between the words of the subtitle must equal 50, that is not go over 50 or come as close as possible]. Delabastita says "Mostly a maximum of some 60 or 70 characters is accepted (Delabastita 1989:204). Jan Ivarsson does refer to tests done by Hansson in 1974 and Montén in 1975 (Ivarsson 1992:37-38), but these studies postdate considerably the articles by Caillé and Marleau. When Ivarsson himself gets down to the nitty-gritty, he tells us only that "Some film importers […] have established a norm, which may be expressed as follows: 2 lines = 80 characters" (Ivarsson 1992:42).

In other words, the longest reading time 'allowed' is 6 seconds, but the number of characters presumed readable in those 6 seconds has been

set at different times at anything between 50 and 80, implying that we are not dealing with a scientifically or technically defined solution to a problem, but one with an admixture of artisanal guesswork related to cultural expectations of and assumptions about the 'educated middle-class' audience. In his latest work, Ivarrson justifies the increased number of characters in modern subtitles by asserting that "Cinema goers today tend to absorb information faster" (Ivarsson and Caroll 1998:67), which may well be true although he gives no support to the claim. It is not inconceivable, however, that in the power relationship, such as it is, he is giving comfort to the subtitler, rather than the audience, by giving them more leeway than in the past. Their task becomes easier; the spectator lives with the consequences. He further claims that "For many youngsters these days, subtitles merely aid their understanding of the dialogue" (*ibid.*.) because they have a better knowledge of English. However, this seems not to be supported by research done by Luyken *et al.* (1991) which finds that people's estimation of their ability to understand English often exceeds the reality.

The second technical constraint influencing the subtitling process is the need for some degree of time-synchronisation between spoken utterance and written title, which, together with the reading-time constraint, produces the condensation typical of subtitles since it takes longer to read and understand than it does to hear and understand the same utterance. The usual 'instruction' is to leave the title on film for the duration of the spoken words to avoid confusion from overlap. Again, however, this is not purely a technical matter (Delabastita calls it a 'second convention' [*ibid.*]). Different cultures have very different attitudes to what they are prepared to expect in terms of title length, colour, positioning, the number of languages on screen, and so on. There is also some difference of opinion within the profession as to whether it is appropriate for the title to synchronise completely with the spoken sound, whether it should appear shortly before a character begins to speak, and remain on screen for a brief second after the end of the spoken word, or appear on the screen shortly after the character begins to speak in order to give the spectator time to identify the speaker.

Both of these technical, in reality techno-cultural, constraints result in forms of condensation which, at the simple linguistic level, can be achieved by a variety of translation moves which will be explored below and which result in various forms of suppression or replacement of the foreign culture.

At other times, however, the modifications observed in film translation do not seem to be motivated by the need to adhere to the technical constraints, but are rather connected with the ideological/cultural factors referred to in the first paragraph. In this paper we will see how this applies to the handling of language (section 3), imagery, metaphor, and pun (section 4), cultural allusions (section 5), register (section 6) and bad language (section 7). The translator or commissioner may take a particular line on such things as obscenity or the need to avoid offending social or national groups (often by substituting another group in their place), or the translator may believe the audience needs the text not translated but interpreted, explained, or replaced. Sometimes, however, as we shall see in section 8, a particular screen translator may, consciously or not, have an ideology of free translation even when it is not necessary, whilst even within the constraints of film translation it is possible to find unexpected displays of flamboyance which demonstrate that translation behaviour can be just as much self-directed, a form of self-expression, as receptor-, culture- and ideology-directed.

The following is a discussion of the variously culturally, ideologically and idiosyncratically directed moves made at various levels in a small corpus of mainly French films of different genres. The corpus includes the following films:

> *L'Appât* (1995) by Bertrand Tavernier. The French title means *The Bait*. The English distribution title is *Fresh Bait*. The film is a social drama about three young Parisians using illegal means to get the money to go to America.
>
> *Ça commence aujourd'hui* (1999) by Bertrand Tavernier. The English distribution title is *It All Starts Today*. The film is a social drama about an inspirational headmaster.
>
> *Cible émouvante* (1993) by Pierre Salvadori. The French title is a pun on 'cible mouvante' [moving target]: 'émouvant' means emotionally moving. The English distribution title was *Wild Target.* The film is about a meticulous hit man whose life falls apart when he takes on an impetuous assistant and falls in love with his next hit.
>
> *La Fracture du myocarde* (1990) by Jacques Fansten. The French title is a pun on the French for 'myocardial infarction' (heart attack) and means 'fracture of the myocardium'. The English

distribution title is *Cross My Heart.* The film is a story of how a group of children help one of their comrades to hide the fact that his mother has died and so stay out of the orphanage.

Hasta Morir (1994) by Fernando Sariñana. The Spanish title means *Until Death*. The English distribution titles are *'Til Death* and *All the Way*. The film details the violent lives of Mexican street kids.

Le Jeune Werther (1997) by Jacques Doillon. The French title means *Young Werther*. A group of schoolchildren in their early teens stand around talking about their complicated love lives and the suicide of one of their class mates.

Milou en Mai (1989) by Louis Malle. The English distribution title is either *Milou in May* or *May Fools*. It is a comedy of manners narrating the goings-on in a French family in the country during the unrest of 1968.

Une Semaine de Vacances (1980) by Bertrand Tavernier. The English distribution title is *A Week's Holiday* in the UK and *A Week's Vacation* in the US. A schoolteacher suffers a nervous breakdown in the French educational system in the aftermath of 1968.

Stalingrad (1993) by Joseph Vilsmaier. The battle for Stalingrad from the German point of view.

Les Visiteurs (1993) by Jean-Marc Poiré. English title *The Visitors.* Two medieval men are time-transported to modern France and undergo a series of comic adventures.

The following notation and usual sequence are used to present the data:

1. the source text dialogue is given in italics;
2. followed by my own literal translation in square brackets;
3. followed by the subtitled text in italics;
4. with the film title in parentheses at the end.

3. Linguistic condensation: techniques

To match reading time to listening time for a film spectator, it is usually necessary for the subtitles to contain a condensed form of the original

dialogues. To give a flavour of the techniques used to achieve this, and to begin already to see minor cases of how the cultural other may be repressed in film translations, we shall begin with some examples of a purely linguistic nature (with one minor exception). Some reductions are achieved by implementing (almost certainly unwittingly) the translation techniques described in the taxonomies of Vinay and Darbelnet (1958) or Shveitser (1987), which can be found conveniently summarised in Fawcett (1997). Thus, *je ne veux pas que vous ayez l'air d'un sauvage* [I don't want you to look like a savage] is considerably shortened by applying the technique of reverse modulation to become *I want you to look nice* (*Milou en Mai*) with negative-positive commutation and binary reversal of the appropriate terms. By contrast, minor condensation is achieved by the use of syntactic reversal to turn *mangez, elle ne serait pas contente de vous voir comme ça* [eat, she wouldn't be pleased to see you like that] into *she wouldn't have liked to see you not eating* (*ibid.*), the rationale for which is hard to decipher, since a literal translation would have contained only two more characters than the original and so have been well within the acceptable limit. Sometimes mathematics can be pressed into service in a form of the translation technique known as generalisation as in the reduction of *est passé de 0,2 francs à 3 francs le kilo* [has gone from 2 centimes to 3 francs a kilo] into *has more than tripled (ibid.*), a translation which reads plausibly since even the bilingual spectators would scarcely have the time to work out that the maths are wrong, with only that 'more than' to cover the translator's shame. At the same time, of course, the French cultural reference is deleted.

Asset stripping of this kind can be quite savage, as when *il n'est pas spécialement beau mais pas spécialement malin* [he's not particularly handsome but not particularly bright] is reduced and generalised to just the two words *nothing special* (*ibid.*). The long line *Dans un palace où les gamins les plus pauvres ont une poussée d'urticaire s'ils n'ont pas 300 mètres carrés pour étaler leur Lego* [In a luxury hotel where the poorest kids get nettle rash if they don't have 300 square metres to lay out their Lego] undergoes a combination of semantic modulations and omissions to give *In a beautiful hotel where children throw a tantrum if they don't get a suite* (*Cible Emouvante*). On this occasion, for once, the cultural allusion which gets the chop is not French.

Careful study of such moves can reveal what, if any, are the favoured techniques both in subtitling in general and with individual translators, in so far as the latter can be identified, although one comment we can make

about the above translations is that they are quite complex compared to the far more common SVO subtitles of many film translations. The above examples, motivated by technical rather than ideological constraints and showing only minor cases of cultural interference, serve as an introduction to the kind of moves made by subtitlers in the exercise of that part of their job which caused Caillé so much despair: “En condensant des phrases on s’aperçoit qu’on peut presque tout dire en si peu de mots que l’exercice du langage paraît une fonction humaine pour ainsi dire superflue” (1960:109) [In condensing sentences one notices that one can say almost anything in so few words that the exercise of language seems a human function so to speak superfluous]. But what kind of thing happens if, in addition to the technical constraints in which reduction has to be achieved to match reading and listening times, there are other factors to account for, when the language is thickened by form?

4. Formally marked language

Given the constraints of film translation, one might think that puns, rhymes, metaphors etc. would, via simple omission, be a particular victim to the ideology which dictates the presence of nothing complicated in subtitling translation (the ideology of total transparency), but on the whole they tend to be no more problematic than in written translation and there are films where the subtitler seems to have approached the task with relish, as with John Minchinton’s translations of puns in *Une Semaine de Vacances*, done at a time when the dominant ideology meant that censorship was not so rampant on British television. So, for example, he gives us *My first was Ab because Ab-dic-ate* to translate *Mon premier c’était Ro parce que Robespierre* [My first is Ro because Robespierre, where the name Robespierre can be read in French as Ro baise Pierre, ‘Ro fucks Peter’], although the possible spelling of *Ab-dick-ate* to make the reference to fellatio clear was presumably not allowed. A cuddlier example is the translation of the rhyming line *pirouette, cacahuète* [pirouette, peanut] in a children’s song by *topsy-turvy, peanut-curvy* in *Ça commence aujourd’hui*. This particular attempt to emulate form in translation is especially welcome since it goes against the dominant discourse on subtitling songs which allows for three conventions and models which make no attempt to replicate formal features: do not translate a song in subtitles; translate only the first line; translate the meaning but not the form. John Minchinton is another subtitler who goes against the model. In the one song in *Une*

Semaine de Vacances he translates *on vote à gauche parce que c'est dans l'air* [we vote left because it's fashionable] as *we vote left because it's savoir fairy* in order to produce a rhyme with *revolutionary*, while the two lines *Je donne un franc à la madame pipi/Elle me croit propre et gentil* [I give a franc to Mme wee-wee/She thinks me clean and nice] are very successfully translated as *I leave a tip at the local wc/And the attendant thinks the world of me*.

If a pun is not related to a visual element on screen, it requires only verbal imagination in order to preserve rather than suppress the form of the original. In the film *L'Appât*, one character says mock poetically *le temps de ma splendeur est révolu* [the time of my splendour has passed] but his not very bright friend gets it wrong and echoes it as *le temps de ma splendeur est résolu* [the time of my splendour is resolved]. Having selected the cliché *the glory of bygone days* for the first, the translator arrives at *those doggone days* for the second. The same film contains the childish joke *M et Mme Golbien ont un fils. Il s'appelle Henri, Henri Golbien* [Mr and Mrs Golbien have a son. He's called Henri, Henri Golbien], where *Henri Golbien* can be read as *on rigole bien* [we're having a good laugh/ a great time]. In the subtitles this becomes *Mr and Mrs Dewing have a son called Howie, Howie Dewing*. Neither of these examples is a purely linguistic transposition; both have been filtered through a dominant culture. In the first, 'doggone' is pure American, while the second only works with an American accent. Spectators with other varieties of English would either have the irritation of mentally re-reading the subtitle with an American accent to get the intended effect or they would simply not be able to understand the joke at all.

This Americanisation of the original, with its creeping colonisation, is seen also in a text that should be unproblematic. Thus *il n'a pas l'air commode* [he doesn't look easy to get on with] becomes the rather bizarre, and surely by now old-fashioned, Americanism *he looks ornery* (*Les Visiteurs*) while *mon chat* becomes *honey* (ibid.) rather than *darling* or *love*.

Americanisation is a frequently deployed technique in dealing with cultural matters, but it is not the only move that can be made.

5. French culture

Cultural references are inevitably a problem, and are most acutely the sites of ideological interference in film translation. It is often claimed that

one advantage subtitles have over dubbing is the possibility of adding brief explanations where the translator anticipates problems of comprehension, and this certainly sometimes happens. For example, a television documentary on slavery in the modern world contained the subtitle – *in Korhogo [in the Côte d'Ivoire]*, where the words in brackets were not actually spoken in the source language. In actuality, however, space constraints impose severe limits on this possibility, and the main strategies used to deal with these problems are ideologically motivated strategies of cultural repression or colonisation, although the translator may, as always, be unaware that he or she is making an ideological move. The supporters of foreignising translation would, of course, condemn this practice out of hand, but as we shall see, there are, in film translation, perfectly good reasons for adopting the normalising approach.

5.1 Problems can be caused, surprisingly enough, by such apparently simply matters as how to deal with things like money, so that in the film *L'Appât*, a first reference to *2000 francs* was Americanised into *$350*, and yet a second reference to the same sum of money shortly after was transcribed as *2000 francs*, preserving the source culture. Given the earlier colonising translation, the second example is obviously not a sudden burst of political correctness but rather a demonstration of randomness in translation behaviour.

5.2 Similar confusion is seen in handling other cultural allusions. Thus, references to French TV and media personalities in the corpus were never left as such, on the not unreasonable grounds that they would most likely be unknown outside France and that little is gained from obfuscatory transliterations. Sometimes they were dealt with using the technique of generalisation, so that *Quand il y a Foucault à la télé* [When Foucault's on the box] becomes a generic programme type *When there's a chat show on* (*La Fracture du Myocarde*) while *Il ne sait pas qui est Michel Drucker* [He doesn't know who Michel Drucker is] suffers a rather more drastic generalisation into *He says he's never watched TV* (*Les Visiteurs*). French culture again is made invisible in the language of the translation.

On occasion, however, we are witness to some hesitation between translating the function or the style, as when an allusion in the same film to *Eddie Barclay* could have been subjected to the technique of adaptation or substitution to become an equivalent person in the target culture but was in fact dealt with by the translation technique of explanation: *a big*

time agent (*ibid.*), whilst again in the same film a name which sounds like *Estève de Roane* (which no French informant has yet been able to identify for me) is erased and replaced by a full-blown colonising substitute *Madonna*.

5.3 Place names are easier to deal with since they often function in the specific-general dialectic identified by Levý (1969:102-108), so that when a character says *On ferait mieux d'aller dans le 16e ou à Neuilly* [We'd be better off going to the 16th district or Neuilly] where the intention is to commit burglary, this is generalised into its connotational meaning *We'd be better off in the chic area* (*L'Appât*) while *près du Champ de Mars; c'est une bonne addresse* [near the Champ de Mars; that's a good address] is translated by omission, losing the geographical reference to become just an explanation *It's a fancy area* (ibid.). Although one could again denounce the imperialism of suppressing the Other, the reader with no French is spared the misery of trying to read words in a language they can't pronounce, which is no small mercy in a subtitling context. This was probably not a consideration which occurred to the translator, however, who wanted simply to remove an obscure reference, without in this case substituting an alien culture for the French originals.

However, there are occasions in this particular domain when, probably because of insufficient time to do the job, there seems to be little choice other than to reproduce the original and so supply the audience with meaningless text. For example, the not very funny dialogue in *L'Appât*:

- *L'Amérique c'est pas l'Hexagone*
- *L'Hexa quoi?*

is translated literally as:

- *America's no 'Hexagon'*
- *Hexa-what?*

which must be a pretty pointless exchange for most people in the audience, who will have no idea that *Hexagone* means 'France' (a term derived from the country's hexagonal shape). This would seem to be a situation in which the combination of deadline and the translator's over-familiarity with the source language and culture, coupled with the impossibility of a

sensible translation, have drowned out sensitivity to the informational needs of the audience. Deadlines in film translation are, by the way, incredibly tight (counted in days rather than weeks) and they may well be an important factor in militating against the wholesale adoption of a consistent strategy, thereby accounting to some extent for the randomness of the results.

5.4 History and institutions similarly receive confused treatment, so that by a part-whole modulation one phase in the French Revolution, *le Directoire*, becomes the whole thing, *the Revolution* (*Les Visiteurs*) and acceptably so since a film audience is in no position to consult an encyclopedia to find the meaning of a literal translation. However, a first reference in the same film to *Le Saint-Cyrien* (a student or graduate of the French military academy) is translated into what could be taken as an acceptable generic term applicable to any country: *in the Naval Academy* but on its second appearance soon after becomes the very specific *Royal Navy Cadet* which either single-handedly reverses the Revolution and restores the monarchy or puts the training of matelots into the hands of the old enemy across the water.

In a standard metonymical move, a reference to the Tour de France – *il a gagné le maillot jaune* [he won the yellow jersey] – is shifted sideways to another major sporting event in *he won the gold medal* (*L'Appât*) even though the current commercialisation and globalisation of sports viewing means that most people would now understand if not a straight translation then at least a generic reference to the Tour. By contrast, it is perhaps more understandable to see *le calendrier des Telecom* substituted by *the Unicef calendar* (*Les Visiteurs*) although whether they have the same function is open to doubt, as is the number of English-speakers who are aware that Unicef publishes a calendar.

However, hackles may rise amongst supporters of *la différence* to see French culture submerged when *Je ne connais pas d'enchanteur, mais je connais La Rivière Enchantée* [I don't now any wizards (enchanters) but I know the Enchanted River] is Americanised into *No sorry, no wizards, but I know the Wizard of Oz* (*Les Visiteurs*). And although the following declaration from *L'Appât* does not refer to a specifically French institution: *On va faire des casses*, one can still wonder what subliminal liking for and acculturation to American-style violence led the subtitler to substitute it with *We're gonna pull hold-ups* when the characters in the film don't pull any hold-ups but do commit 'break-ins', which is what *casses* means.

5.5 Substances may seem easier to deal with but can still pose problems when they are culture-specific, leading usually and as usual to repression of the cultural Other. While there can be no real exception to replacing *Dragonal* with *Valium* (*Les Visiteurs*) translating *minute-soupe* by the brand name *Cup-a-Soup* (*ibid*.) when *instant soup* would have done may well be seen as a form of cultural colonisation, although in this case simply confirming linguistically the factual colonisation of French cuisine by the instant-mix culture. It is quite sad for those who know and love it to see the delicious *clafoutis* (cherries baked in batter) substituted by *fritters*, especially since for an English audience the most frequent collocation of fritters is with Spam, a substance mocked at by Monty Python. But the only other alternative would have been a generalisation, since the time constraints make a wordy explanation unacceptable.

6. Register: Familiar and slang language

A constant headache in all forms of translation is posed by phraseology marked as familiar or slang. Representing this aspect of another culture is always problematic, and the ideological stance of many translators is that it should be suppressed because, as with dialect, the connotations rarely match. It can be a problem getting the right level. Sometimes it can be a problem just getting it right, and the following examples show why it may well be best to follow the dominant model. The translator who turned *c'est nase* [it's bust] into *it's zilch* (*L'Appât*) has obviously mislearnt one of the words, and has missed out on one of those occasions when it might have been useful to apply Newmark's otherwise silly advice, borrowed from Larbaud, to look up especially the words you think you know (Newmark 1981:16). Similarly, translating *Ils sont tarés* [They're mental defectives] by *They're losers* (*Le Jeune Werther*) was clearly not motivated by a problem with character count, and can only be attributed either to ignorance or to American cliché kicking in. Not giving any translation at all for *il est injuste, le monde, il est brutal, il est dégueulasse* [the world is unfair, it's brutal, it's filthy] (*Milou en Mai*) may have been motivated by technical reasons rather than ignorance. The problem word here is *dégueulasse* which is a very common word, but is described by the *Collins-Robert* dictionary as the kind of word which "should be handled with extreme care by the non-native speaker unless he is very fluent in the language and is very sure of his company" (Atkins *et al.* 1993:xxviii). Translating *Les Romanos* [gippos] as *scuzzballs* (*Les Visiteurs*) either again

shows ignorance and/or laziness or tells us something unpleasant about the translator's internalised ideological values on race.

More marked still is the translation of *Embête pas mon pote* [don't annoy my mate] by *Don't knock my main man* (*Le Jeune Werther*) while translating *dans les apparts des bourges* by *in boojy homes* (*L'Appât*) not only imposes the verbally expressed class ideology of an American subculture, but also for most non-Americans leads simply to incomprehension. As far as I can tell (I've only ever heard the word used by Eddy Murphy and it's not in my dictionaries of standard English), the word *boojy* – the j is pronounced like a French j – is black American slang for *bourgeois*. The translation is therefore semantically accurate and makes some attempt at getting the slanginess of the French abbreviation of *bourgeois* to *bourges*, but a non-American who has never heard the word has no hope of understanding.

In Fawcett (1997:131-2) I spent some time discussing why the translator of *Hasta Morir* chose not to translate the Spanish words in the dialogue exchange *"I want the pachuco with the lady" – "A cholo did that for me"*. An explanation that did not then occur to me has since been suggested by one of my students, Dimitrios Asimakoulas, which is that the translator may have been anticipating a specific receptor, namely an American audience familiar with these words through the register of Hispanic Americans. Although it might be thought refreshing that the translator's ideological stance here involves not repressing the Otherness of the characters, the consequences are once more incomprehension for most spectators.

7. Bad language

The problem of language level becomes even more acute when the phraseology is marked as vulgar or obscene because in something as public as film translation the translator no longer has a duty of simple fidelity to the original but must also take into account the instructions of the translation commissioner and the age and sensitivities of the possible audiences. In this situation, Skopostheorie comes into its own.

In the broad comedy *Les Visiteurs*, although two vulgar puns are still marked as vulgar in the translation, the level of vulgarity is reduced. Thus we are told that somebody called *François Lecul...* [Frank Arse] changed his name to *Lefut* and in translation this becomes *Francis Twat...* changing his name to *Watt* while the name *Jacouille* (*couille* is a very vulgar

word for 'penis', but see also below) is translated as *Jackass*. But otherwise, this same film was on the whole quite coy about translating vulgarity, so that *Oh putain*, which dictionaries usually translate, if they include it at all, as the already not very shocking 'Bloody hell!', became the innocuous *No kidding*. The exclamation is very common among young French people in particular, but they do try not to use it in front of their parents.

Similarly, *La Fracture du myocarde* about a group of 12-year olds, and which the Corel All Movie Guide 2 Compact Disc reviews with the words "Warning: Explicit Language", is translated into tame enough English for the English television channel BBC2 to screen it using the titles on the video version rather than redoing them for a potentially wider audience.

Thus *Elle se fout de notre gueule?* [Is she taking the piss out of us?] becomes simply *Is she having us on?* while *C'est dégueulasse qu'on emmerde les pédés* [it's disgusting the way they harass queers] loses all three of its vulgarities to become the politically correct *It's disgusting. They should leave gays alone*. *Dégueulasse*, which we saw earlier, is common in everyday French, but it can cause offence to some because of its origin in the word for to vomit. The present author was once asked to refrain from using it in polite company. 'Leave alone' is a reverse modulation of the vulgar French word *emmerder* which the dictionary translates as 'to give somebody trouble' but is stronger in French because of its origin in *merde* [shit], and *pédé* is usually translated as 'queer' even though that translation now misses the mark since gays have reclaimed and repositivised the word 'queer' while the French 'pédé, derived as it is from the misconception that homosexual men are paedophiles, remains negatively connoted.

Similarly, *lèche-cul* [arse-licker] becomes just *teacher's pet* while *Il a besoin d'un pote pas d'une pute* (a play on words meaning "He needs a mate not a tart") is not translated at all. The word *chier* in various uses causes the translator some pain: *T'es chiante comme nana* [you're a pain-in-the-arse girl] becomes the painless *You're such a pain* and the shit continues not to hit the fan in *Ça sert à rien de se faire chier* [there's no point shitting bricks] which becomes the innocuous *Why worry?*

8. Letting rip

In the erratic world of film translation, however, repression is not always the order of the day, especially when it comes to language. There are

occasions when the translators, or their commissioners, realize that a film is directed at a specific audience and a decision is taken to allow the translation to reflect their values and attitudes rather than to censor the work. *Le Jeune Werther* is a film about young people who are not much older than those in *La Fracture du Myocarde*, but they are precocious kids with affairs of the heart, and the translator has been allowed to target the translation at a very different audience. *C'est chiant à notre âge* [it's a pain at our age] becomes *It sucks being a kid*, while faecal matter rises to the surface again in the translation of *C'est con ce que tu dis* [what you're saying is rubbish] by *Cut the shit*.

The language gets even stronger when *C'est de la très grosse connerie* [it was a very big piece of stupidity] becomes *It was a major fuck up* not to mention the translation of *Je n'ai jamais dit que le prof n'était pas un enculé* by a way-off-the-scale *I never said the teacher wasn't a motherfucker*. The French word *enculé* is slang for sodomite but gets hurled around as a general insult, especially by car drivers. The word 'motherfucker', which comes up again shortly, once more marks the film as translated for Americans, although in a rare burst of modesty and good manners *J'en ai plein les couilles* is translated as *I'm sick of this*. *Couilles*, which we saw above in the singular as 'penis', becomes in the plural slang for testicles: the French sometimes come across as verbally confused about sexual matters, since *cul* (arse), which we saw in *enculé* (sodomised), is also a general term for heterosexual sex. Finally, still in *Le Jeune Werther* the racism of *Les blondes, ça fait toujours bander les bicots* [blond women give wogs (Arabs) a hard-on] is toned down in the rather bizarre translation *Black guys like Barbie dolls* which, without any help from the context, is likely to be interpreted as meaning that Mattel's best customers are black men.

However, in the film *L'Appât*, addressed to an older audience, the translator does not flinch from bad language. Indeed, he/she even eggs the cake with almost visible relish, since *bande de naves* [bunch of idiots] is translated as *dickheads*, *joue pas au con* [don't act the fool] as *don't fuck us around*, and *fuckfolles* is mistranslated as *fuckups*, although this may be understandable as it does not even figure in any of the slang dictionaries in my possession (I assume it means *sex mad*).

Furthermore, even where there was nothing in the original to translate, this particular translator was unable to resist adding in the words *they fucking think*, which suggests that he or she was getting more pleasure out of the job than one normally does.

Finally, however, the translator is in some doubt as to what sexual practice to identify with our old friend *enculé*. On its first appearance, in a kind of variable geometry, things are turned round to give the translation *cocksucker* (my beginning is in my end, so to speak), while on its second outing we adopt the Oedipal position with the translation *motherfuckers*.

Both of these films would either not get an airing on terrestrial television or would almost certainly have to be re-titled for such a showing, since the BBC re-banned the use by its film translators of the f- and the c-word in the late 70s (personal communication from John Minchinton). One thing is clear, however: when the translator is allowed by the commissioner to aim at a proper representation of the level of language of the original, what we see is still a form of colonisation because the best results seem to be achieved by turning to America for some of its more lively terms of abuse.

This article has chosen to concentrate on translating French films, but the points made can be reinforced by references to other cultural zones. Thus, the hesitation in dealing with potentially offensive language was also found in the Mexican film *Hasta Morir*, where the word 'puto' (not given in my Collins Spanish dictionary, but presumably a masculine form of 'puta' or 'prostitute') is translated by the demure *Don't be silly* for *Es puto* but by *fucker* as a stand-alone lexical item. Likewise, the word 'cabrón', described by the Collins as 'tabu' and meaning 'bastard', is translated only once by that insult, and on other occasions as 'sucker' and 'pimp'. The tendency to Americanise also emerges in some subtitles from *Stalingrad*, where *tatsächlich* [really] becomes *No shit*, *Du Flasche* [you're a dead loss] becomes Jewish-American *You klutz*, and *Drecksack* [dirty bastard] is translated as *Asshole*. Perhaps the translator's fixations are coming to the surface here, because *Pferdepissse* [horse piss] was transmuted into *Horse shit*.

9. Conclusion

It is clear from the above analysis that language and culture in film translation into English tend to be normalised into the target language and culture, or, more precisely, into American language and culture. This normalisation of language may be typical only of subtitles. In film dubbing, Herbst (1994) finds very many examples of the Anglicisation of German

in the production of film scripts, a fact which he attributes to the practice of beginning the dubbing process by the production of a 'raw translation'. Since his study is purely linguistic, he has nothing to say about what happens to the Other in dubbing. For that we have to turn to the long and detailed study by Hesse-Quack (1967), but it should be said that his study may well be outdated. It is over thirty years old, set very specifically within a theoretical framework of modes of social control, and details the effect on film translation of, among other institutions, the German Church. Given the kind of material seen in modern German original productions, it may be that attitudes have changed in film translation. The issue needs to be revisited.

In subtitling, the normalisation of culture, as our examples show, is more variable, although suppression and substitution certainly seem to be the dominant modes. But the question as to whether this is to be deplored in a prescriptivist manner (since the foreignisers are every bit as prescriptive as the normalisers) or simply documented descriptively calls up another question: do film translators really have any other serious option? It is a simple fact that films, like the vast majority of books, can only be translated once rather than being brought out in different versions for different receptors (which casts doubt on the main tenet of Skopostheorie for anything other than very specific text types aimed at very specific audiences). It is also a fact that, in the Western world at least, by far the greater percentage of today's cinema-going audience is below the age of 25. This age group is more familiar with American pronunciation, phraseology and culture than that of any other country apart from their own (as witness the German army conscript in a TV documentary whose immediate reaction to a snarling donkey was to say 'Oh shit', rather than to speak German). And it is finally also a fact that even though the technical constraints of film translation can be shown to be as much a convention as a technical reality, there are nonetheless very real constraints. An audience 'reading' a film has no time to do anything other than absorb the subtitles as fast as possible in order to maximise watching time. The luxury of footnotes is simply not an option. Translators have no choice but to normalise.

There are those who might claim that this makes no difference anyway. Detailed studies of cultural and ideological manipulation of many texts may be completely beside the mark, because the only people to take note of these manipulations will be the researcher and his academic audience. For the general public, especially in the cinema, who are the real

target of the translations, there is simply no time to notice what is being done to them. I am not, however, convinced of this viewpoint. One does not have to subscribe to subliminalism in order to believe that hard-to-notice manipulation has an effect. Cumulative presence and repeated absence build up a world view. And in translated film, that view is dominated by the hegemonic power. But film translation can hardly offer a site for resistance.

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The Power of Originals and the Scandal of Translation
A Reading of Edgar Allan Poe's *The Oval Portrait*[1]

ROSEMARY ARROJO

Most of the dominant discourse on translation usually revolves around the desire to neutralize difference and to achieve perfect repetition. In Edgar Allan Poe's "The Oval Portrait," I intend to examine the main implications of the ethical code that inspires essentialist expectations towards the translator's task. In this exemplary plot, which brings a peculiar twist to the traditional association between translation (as portraiture) and the death of the original, Poe's protagonist miraculously produces a perfect repetition of his model and beloved bride and, thus, seems to achieve the ultimate goal of total fidelity to the original. At the same time, however, he is also punished with (and indirectly blamed for) the death of his beloved as her life and beauty are literally transferred to the portrait. Moreover, to the extent that it punishes the painter/translator for his authorial dedication to the portrait, Poe's plot seems to reflect the same distrust that essentialism generally associates with translation. Also, to the extent that it also shows that the portrait/translation, in spite of its apparently radical fidelity to the model, inevitably acquires an independent life and becomes more real than the (dead) original, Poe's tale offers us an emblematic illustration of the complex relationship that is usually established between originals and translations, and how most of us still react to it.

> Can we not, then, speak of God's jealousy? Out of resentment against that unique name and lip of men, he imposes his name, his name of father; and with this violent imposition he opens the deconstruction of the tower, as of the universal language; he

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> scatters the genealogical filiation. He breaks the lineage. He at the same time imposes and forbids translation.
>
> Jacques Derrida
> Des Tours de Babel
> (1985:170)

The complex relationship between original writing and translation has often been compared to the kind of ambiguous connection which is generally established between painters and their live models, as well as between such models and the portraits which are meant to reproduce them. Such a comparison usually suggests not only the status of translators as mere copyists in their effort at being faithful and invisible, but also the flagrant inadequacy of their work, usually perceived as a clumsy attempt at reproducing an idealized original in another context, language or medium. In the blatant contrast between the model and its portrait, in which the shortcomings of translation are dramatically associated with a form of death, or loss of 'spirit' or 'soul', the translator is the daring perpetrator of such an impossible transferal of essence from the original to its derivation who traditionally bears the blame for whatever happens to go wrong or to get lost in the process. An appropriate example can be found in Du Bellay's *Deffence et illustration de la langue francoyse* (written in 1549) which, in Theo Hermans's words,

> resolutely denies that translation can play a part in the growth of literature or the enrichment of the vernacular [...] because of its inability to transfer intact "that energy, and ? what shall I call it ? that spirit, which the Romans would have termed genius' and which apparently resides in works of art. The translator, then, is like a painter who can depict a person's body but not his soul." (Du Bellay ed. 1948:32, 38, 40-41; quoted in Hermans 1985:104)

The intricacies of such images and relationships, as well as the implications which they entail for a reflection on language and translation, also find an exemplary scenario in Edgar Allan Poe's tale *Life in Death* (*The Oval Portrait*), first published in 1842[2], which I propose to read as a sharp exploration of those age-old metaphors which ultimately associate trans-

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[2] All references to Poe's story in this paper come from a 1983 edition. See details in the reference section.

lation and translators with death and loss. Such metaphors may be particularly revealing if we approach them with an interest in the broad ideological ground, or in the 'system of representations,'[3] which has given implicit or explicit support to the general discourse on translation and translators produced either by the so-called common sense, or by translation scholars and non-academic commentators that share the typically essentialist belief in the possibility of forever stable meanings and texts. It is such a belief which has allowed, for instance, the establishment of a clear-cut hierarchy between original writing and translation which usually attributes to originals and their authors all that which is denied to the translator's work and other forms of 'reproduction.'

The plot of Poe's story is apparently simple: a wounded, feverish narrator resting in an abandoned chateau tells us of his 'reverent awe' towards the 'lifelikeliness of expression' in the oval portrait he found hanging from one of the walls (Poe 1983a:737). One may say, in fact, that the story is constructed on several relationships which basically depend on the mechanisms of translation as transformation. The first one is of course the central focus of the tale and involves the history of the portrait which Poe's narrator finds in a book at his bedside after he "could no longer support the sad meaning smile of the half-parted lips" of the portrayed woman that had moved him so deeply (*ibid.*). As we learn, she was "a maiden of rarest beauty, and not more lovely than full of glee", who "loved, and wedded the painter [..., and who] lov[ed] and cherish[ed] all things: hating only [her husband's] Art which was her rival: dreading only the pallet and brushes and other untoward instruments which deprived her of the countenance of her lover" (*ibid.*). On his part, the 'wild and moody' painter, who was "passionate, studious, austere, and having already a bride

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[3] The expression is borrowed from contemporary Marxist theory, largely indebted to the work of Louis Althusser, which has provided the general conception of ideology which informs this paper. According to James H. Kavanagh, contemporary Marxist theory

> has reworked the concept of ideology in the light of the more complex notion of subject-formation given by psychoanalysis, and the more elaborate system of ideological practices that have developed in late capitalist societies. In this framework, ideology designates a rich 'system of representations', worked up in specific material practices, which helps form individuals into social subjects who 'freely' internalize an appropriate 'picture' of their social world and their place in it. Ideology offers the social subject not a set of narrowly 'political' ideas but a fundamental

in his Art" worked so obsessively that he would not see that his young wife "grew daily more dispirited and weak" (*ibid.*). In the end, "as the labor drew nearer to its conclusion", and as "the painter had grown wild with the ardor of his work",

> he would not see that the tints which he spread upon the canvass were drawn from the cheeks of her who sate beside him. And when many weeks had passed, and but little remained to do, save one brush upon the mouth and one tint upon the eye, the spirit of the lady again flickered up as the flame within the socket of the lamp. And then the brush was given, and then the tint was placed; and, for one moment, the painter stood entranced before the work which he had wrought: but in the next, while yet he gazed, he grew tremulous and very pallid, and aghast, and crying with a loud voice, "This is indeed Life itself!' turned himself suddenly round to his beloved who was dead. The painter then added: "But is this indeed Death?" (*ibid.:*737-738)

Apart from the relationship between the painter and his bride, other relationships in Poe's tale have been associated with translation: "the woman and her painted likeness, [...the] portrait and the wounded narrator, and [...] the quaint anecdote in the art book and the narrator's truncated story" (Kennedy 1987:60). According to J. Gerald Kennedy, each of those pairings "figures an opposition between life and art, between one who gazes and one who is gazed at; more revealingly, each implies a relationship between translator and text or between text and translation" (*ibid.*:61).[4] From such a perspective,

> The painter translates his wife in a double sense – into a visual icon and into a lifeless model. Like all translation, this process entails duplication and effacement, a retracing which both mirrors the original and abolishes it in the sense that every translation sacrifices the letter of the original text to reconstitute its spirit in another

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> framework of assumptions that defines the parameters of the real and the self; it constitutes what Althusser calls the social subject's "lived relation to the real". (Kavanagh 1995:310)

[4] To my knowledge, besides Kennedy's, there are two other texts which explicitly relate Poe's story to translation: Caws 1983a and Caws 1983b.

> language. The young bride and the portrait manifest the fatality of translation, inasmuch as the picture lives by virtue of the wifes death; yet the wife paradoxically 'lives on' in the painting and her essence in effect sustains the life of the translation. [...] The narrator, for his part, translates the painting into writing, into a text which is twice removed from the original. (*ibid.*)

To the extent that such pairings reveal the inevitability of translation as transformation, and, thus, to the extent that they show the impossibility of absolute, eternal faithfulness, they constitute an appropriate illustration of the typically essentialist idealization of the 'original' and its consequent general dissatisfaction with translation. Such a view is also perfectly compatible with the notion that the alleged loss brought about by translation is somehow the translator's fault and as such it might be avoided, or controlled, as Kennedy's synthesis of Poe's tale suggests.[5] However, while the notion of loss is generally related to the translator's unwelcome interference in the translated text, how do tradition and Poe's story deal with the notion of gain in translation?

What I intend to explore in Poe's paradigmatic text is precisely that which for Kennedy is 'the scandal of translation'[6]: the fact that for the painter and for Poe's narrator – that is, for both the translator and his reader, the oval portrait, or the translation, takes on

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[5] According to Kennedy's synthesis of the tale, "the volume of art criticism [...which happens to describe the paintings in the bedroom...] provides a brief account [...] of a 'wild and moody' painter who worked so obsessively to idealize his young bride through portraiture that he did not notice her failing health and so completed his masterpiece *only to discover that he had killed the beloved subject*"(1987:60, my emphasis).

[6] Lawrence Venuti's *The Scandals of Translation – Towards an Ethics of Difference* (1998) is probably the best known theoretical text on translation which explores its 'scandalous' vocation. However, a much earlier text, George Mounin's *Les Problèmes Théoriques de la Traduction,* first published by *Editions Gallimard* in 1963, also associates translation and 'scandal':

> The activity of translation brings a theoretical problem to contemporary linguistics: if we accept current theses about the structure of languages, we will have to say that translation should be impossible. However, translators do exist, they produce translations, we take advantage of their work. It would be almost possible to say that the existence of translation constitutes the scandal of contemporary linguistics. (1975:19; my translation from the Portuguese)

> an independent life more real [...] than that of its original. [...] In its preternatural vividness, the portrait has become a frightening double of the young bride. Its 'lifelikeliness' simultaneously signifies an immortality and a fatality: while the beauty of the portrait will endure, its living counterpart will not; the woman will resemble the sign of herself less and less until she is at last translated into a corpse. (Poe 1987:63)

What stands out in this treatment of the metaphor of the translator as painter – and which goes unnoticed in Kennedy's comment – is that it radically reverses the recurrent equation of life and death usually associated with the relationship between originals and their derivations. While in the usual comparison it is the translation which somehow carries the sign of death, at the same time that the original allegedly remains forever alive and energized, in Poe's plot it is the model that slowly dies as her life is miraculously extracted from her beautiful face and transferred to its representation. Paradoxically, as the young woman is long gone and transformed into a corpse, it is her portrait as translation which lives on and which impresses Poe's narrator who initially "mistakes the head [in the painting] for that of a living person":

> I saw at once that the peculiarities of the design, of the *vignetting*, and of the frame, must have instantly dispelled such idea [that the woman in the painting was actually a 'living person'] – must have prevented even its momentary entertainment. Thinking earnestly upon these points, I remained, for some hours perhaps, half sitting, half reclining, with my vision riveted upon the portrait. At length, satisfied of the true secret of its effect, I fell back within the bed. I had found the spell of the picture in a perfect *lifelikeliness* of expression, which, at first startling, finally confounded, subdued and appalled me. (Poe 1983a:737)

It is also this scandalous reversal which destabilizes the traditional economy of gain and loss which is usually attributed to the relationship between original and translation. In contrast with tradition, according to which what is missing in the translated text is somehow the life, or the spirit, or even the soul of the original, in Poe's main plot, as in the subplot that involves the portrait and the narrator, that is, in the relationships which are established between the translator/painter and the translation as portrait, or between such text/portrait and its reader, there is actually no loss involved. As the story goes, at the very moment that the painter finishes his job he

also realizes the miraculous perfection of his translation which literally managed to capture the life and the expression of the original. And, paradoxically, even though the portrait literally captures the life of the model, it is never truly faithful because at the very instant that it is finished and in itself, at least from the painter's perspective, a perfect repetition of the original, the original is already different and irremediably dead. Thus, it is no longer in the model, but in her translation, that a particular (and privileged) view of her former beauty and liveliness is to be admired and cherished. Similarly, as the narrator/reader gazes at the portrait and as he is so deeply moved – and even 'appalled' – by the beauty of the woman portrayed, it is the translation which interests him, not the original. Thus, even if it is in the name of the original that the translation is done, at the very moment that it becomes a text, it follows a path of its own.

Within such a context, the scandal of translation seems to be related not only to the fact that Poe's narrator appreciates the portrait in itself and, thus, can very well do without the original, but most of all to the painter's 'improper' behavior which is directly associated with his young wife's death. Divided between the original and his own work, Poe's painter/translator clearly forgets about the first and devotes all his attention to the latter:

> [...] he, the painter, took glory in his work, which went on from hour to hour, and from day to day. And he was a passionate, and wild, and moody man, who became lost in reveries; so that he *would* not see that the light which fell so ghastily in that lone turret withered the health and the spirits of his bride, who pined visibly to all but him. Yet she smiled on and still on, uncomplainingly, because she saw that the painter, (who had high renown,) took a fervid and burning pleasure in his task, and wrought day and night to depict her who so loved him, yet who grew daily more dispirited and weak. And in sooth some who beheld the portrait spoke of its resemblance in low words, as of a mighty marvel, and a proof not less of the power of the painter than of his deep love for her whom he depicted so surpassingly well. But at length, as the labor drew nearer to its conclusion, there were admitted none into the turret; for the painter had grown wild with the ardor of his work, and turned his visage from the canvass rarely, even to regard the countenance of his wife. (Poe 1983a:737-738)

At the same time that this (seemingly) efficient painter/translator supposes that he has achieved perfect equivalence, as the essentialist ethics

of translation recommends, and, thus, at the very moment that he rejoices in his success, he is also punished with (and indirectly blamed for) the death of his beloved bride who, instead of resisting her husband's obsession, gave in to his authorial desires and his passion for translation as art.

How can that be explained within the logic of Poe's tale? A plausible explanation may be found in the peculiar relationship which the painter establishes both with his beloved model and with his own work, a relationship which, as we have seen, is clearly marked by excess. If we consider that Poe's character, despite his love for his beautiful wife, literally devotes all his attention to his work and disregards his model's well-being, sacrificing the latter for the first, it is possible to conclude that even though he apparently fulfils the ethical expectations which traditionally regulate the relationship between originals and their reproductions, he breaks one of the fundamental principles implicitly and explicitly established by such ethics, that is, he ignores the asymmetry of power which has generally constituted the opposition between original and reproduction, and between author and translator. Instead of protecting the original above all other interests and, thus, instead of repressing his authorial will-to-power – which also implies, of course, accepting the humble invisibility and self-effacement which is required of translators as they adequately celebrate someone else's right to creation – Poe's remarkable translator dares to feel and behave like an author, subverting the traditional dichotomy between creation and reproduction which is generally taken for granted both by common sense and specialists alike.

To the extent that such ethics is determined by a conception of meaning which establishes a clear hierarchy between origin (as the container of essence) and its usually inadequate or illegitimate reproduction, or between idealized originals and their translations, it is particularly significant that in Poe's plot what seems to be ultimately defended as 'proper' is the Creator's exclusive right to produce or destroy life. After all, the painter is punished precisely because of his excessive dedication to his work and, more importantly, because of his improper success: his uncanny capacity to reproduce his live model and, thus, to recreate life itself. As his passionate dedication to his translating job not only surpasses his commitment to the well being of his model but also manages to achieve a miraculous result, Poe's painter dares to play God and, for that, seems to be severely punished with the death of his beloved bride. Implicitly, thus, the only one allowed to play God in such a plot is the Author himself.

In order to further understand the mechanisms of such complex relationships, it might be insightful at this point to bring to my reading of *The Oval Portrait* two other texts: a piece by Freud, "Creative Writers and Daydreaming" (in Kurzweil and Phillips 1983:24-28), and a well-known essay by Poe himself, "The Philosophy of Composition", first published in 1846 (Poe 1983 b:1079-1089).

As Freud recognizes:

> we laymen have always been intensely curious to know [...] from what sources that strange being, the creative writer, draws his material, and how he manages to make such an impression on us with it and to arouse in us emotions of which, perhaps, we had not even thought ourselves capable". (in Kurzweil and Phillips 1983:24)

The obvious answer, for Freud, is that such 'sources' should be found in childhood:

> The child's best-loved and most intense occupation is with his play or games. Might we not say that every child at play behaves like a creative writer, in that he creates a world of his own, or, rather, rearranges the things of his world in a new way which pleases him? It would be wrong to think he does not take that world seriously; on the contrary, he takes his play very seriously and he expends large amounts of emotion on it. The opposite of play is not what is serious but what is real. In spite of all the emotion with which he cathects his world of play, the child distinguishes it quite well from reality; and he likes to link his imagined objects and situations to the tangible and visible things of the real world. (*ibid.*:25)

Similarly, "the creative writer does the same as the child at play":

> He creates a world of fantasy which he takes very seriously – that is, which he invests with large amounts of emotion – while separating it sharply from reality. [...] The unreality of the writer's imaginative world, however, has very important consequences for the technique of his art; for many things which, if they were real, could give no enjoyment, can do so in the play of fantasy, and many excitements which, in themselves, are actually distressing, can become a source of pleasure for the hearers and spectators at the performance of a writer's work. (*ibid.*).

Moreover, as creative writers, and, particularly, as 'story-writers' rearrange

the "things of [their] world in a new way which pleases [them]", their plots necessarily follow the interests of "His Majesty the Ego, the hero alike of every daydream and of every story" (*ibid.*:26).

Now, if we try to apply Freud's argument to our reading of *The Oval Portrait*, who might be the hero of Poe's tale? If we consider the way its plot seems to condemn the painter for his 'illegitimate' translation, we may infer that there is, implicitly, a legitimate way of creating beauty which transcends the painter's passionate work and which, in this particular case, seems to be equated with the divine itself as the force which created and, ultimately, destroyed the beautiful model's life. From such a stance, the true 'hero' of Poe's story could very well be the Author Himself, the privileged producer of originals, implicitly celebrated as the only legitimate creator of beauty, whose power even approaches the divine. Therefore, to the extent that it surreptitiously takes the place of creation and produces such a perfect simulacrum, the activity of translation as portraiture poses a dangerous threat to originals (and to the Author as Creator) and, as such, should be severely punished.[7] Within such a logic, in order for it to be 'safe' as a reproduction, translation must keep intact the usual hierarchy between origin and derivation and should not (illegitimately) try to replace that which is essential in its model and original. In other words, the portrait as translation should not speak to its reader as if it were the original. From such a perspective, Poe's epigraph to the story ("*Egli è vivo e parlerebbe se non osservasse la rigola del silentio*" ["He is alive and would speak if he did not observe the rule of silence"]) which, as we learn, is an "inscription beneath an Italian Picture of St. Bruno", becomes particularly significant. That is, if we relate Poe's epigraph to his actual plot, the oval portrait, like the picture of St. Bruno, should have "observed the rule of silence", and, therefore, should not have 'spoken' in the place of the original.

Again, it is not the painter as translator but the Author as Creator who can legitimately decide what the work is supposed to say to its readers. And this is precisely what Edgar Allan Poe explicitly proposes to teach us in his widely known essay "The Philosophy of Composition", first published in 1846, whose main goal is to offer the reading public

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[7] In Arrojo 2002, I have also discussed Freud's reflection on creative writing and some of its implications for the general ideology of essentialism which has determined the dominant relationship usually established between translation and authorship.

> a peep behind the scenes, at the elaborate and vacillating crudities of thought – at the true purposes seized only at the last moment – at the innumerable glimpses of idea that arrived not at the maturity of full view – at the fully matured fancies discarded in despair as unmanageable – at the cautious selections and rejections – at the painful erasures and interpolations – in a word, at the wheels and pinions – the tackle for scene-shifting – the step-ladders and demon-traps – the cock's feathers, the red paint and the black patches, which, in ninety-nine cases out of the hundred, constitute the properties of the literary *histrio*. (1983 b:1080)[8]

Above all Poe is interested in discrediting the romantic notion according to which it is intuition that guides a writer in constructing his work and, as he carefully tries to show us,

> nothing is more clear than that every plot, worth the name, must be elaborated to its *dénouement* before any thing be attempted with the pen. It is only with the *dénouement* constantly in view that we can give a plot its indispensable air of consequence, or causation, by making the incidents, and especially the tone at all points, tend to the development of the intention. (*ibid*.:1079)

Since every detail of the text must be subject to calculation, Poe proposes to offer us a description of "the *modus operandi* by which some one of [his] own works was put together" (*ibid*.:1081). The work chosen, as we know, is his poem "The Raven" and it is his "design to render it manifest that no one point in its composition is referrible either to accident or intuition – that the work proceeded, step by step, to its completion with the precision and rigid consequence of a mathematical problem" *(ibid.)*.

Such strict calculations and rigid planning not only have the design "of rendering the work universally appreciable" (*ibid*.:1082), as Poe himself declares but, most of all, intend to make sure that what readers get from the text is exactly that which the author intends them to get. It seems that, for Poe, writing and, particularly, the "literary *histrio*'s writing", is also an attempt at having total control over a reader, whose role is reduced to that of a passive receptor of the author's conscious intentions. As Poe explains, the 'progressive steps' of his composition of "The Raven," we also learn that

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[8] For another discussion of Poe's "The Philosophy of Composition" in connection with Freud's text on creative writing, see Arrojo 1996.

> the initial consideration was that of extent. If any literary work is too long to be read at one sitting, we must be content to dispense with the immensely important effect derivable from unity or impression – for, if two sittings be required, the affairs of the world interfere, and every thing like totality is at once destroyed. But since, to dispense with any thing that may advance his design, it but remains to be seen whether there is, in extent, any advantage to counterbalance the loss of unity which attends it. (*ibid..:* 1081)

In such a coherently essentialist scenario, in which a text is seen as the stable depository of its author's conscious intentions, authorship is, again, almost equated with divinity. After all, it is the writer of originals who has all the power of deciding over meaning and, thus, must keep total control over his text and, most of all, over his reader. In this context, in which reading is viewed as an idealized form of decoding only that which the author has deliberately intended to say, it is understandable why translation (and, particularly, translation as portraiture, or as the reproduction of an original which is supposed to be perfect and full of life,) should be viewed as a somewhat scandalous or illegitimate activity which ultimately endangers the 'essence' of that which it attempts to reproduce in another medium.

As we go back to "The Oval Portrait", after having examined Freud's reflections on creative writing and Poe's "The Philosophy of Composition", we may certainly understand a bit further the intimate relationship that the story seems to suggest between creation (virtually identified with divine creation) and reproduction. As I pointed out earlier, it is the economy of such a relationship which could explain the translator's exemplary punishment at the end of Poe's tale. However, what we still have to try to explain in the complex network of relationships which I have been trying to weave here between Poe's and Freud's texts is the painter/translator's extraordinary success. If we have come to the conclusion that what the story ultimately celebrates is the Author's desire for the exclusive right to decide over meaning – and, thus, also the Author's need to keep an asymmetrical relationship between original and reproduction, and between author and translator – how can we account for the fact that Poe's plot actually attributes so much authorial power to the translator/painter? In other words, if the power to control meaning is to be the exclusive attribute of original writing and their authors, how could Poe's character actually succeed in producing such a perfect simulacrum and, so, how does he succeed in speaking so forcefully to his impressed 'reader'?

The answer may be found precisely in the characterization of Poe's narrator who alsso happens to be the privileged audience of his remarkably successful portrait painter. As the story opens, we learn about the narrator's peculiar state: he is seriously wounded, has lost a lot of blood and his fever has been "excessive and of long duration" (1983a:734). Since "all the remedies attainable" in the "wild Appennine region" where he finds himself have been "exhausted to no purpose", he reaches for his "little pacquet of opium" (*ibid*.). As we learn, he used to smoke a mixture of opium and tobacco and, at times, as a consequence, experienced "symptoms of mental derangement" (*ibid*.). Now, in such a desperate state, he has decided to swallow some of his opium and, as he warns us, he has no idea of how much he should take or, even, what kind of reaction it might produce:

> Pedro [his valet] knew no more respecting the proper quantity to be taken, than myself – and thus, in the sad emergency, I was left altogether to conjecture. Still I felt no especial uneasiness; for I resolved to proceed by degrees. I would take a very small dose in the first instance. Should this prove impotent, I would repeat it; and so on, until I should find an abatement of the fever, or obtain that sleep which was so pressingly requisite, and with which my reeling senses had not been blessed for now more than a week. No doubt it was this very reeling of my senses – it was the dull delirium which already oppressed me that prevented me from perceiving the incoherence of my reason – which blinded me to the folly of defining any thing as either large or small where I had no preconceived standard of comparison. I had not, at the moment, the faintest idea that what I conceived to be an exceedingly small dose of solid opium might, in fact, be an excessively large one. (*ibid*.)

Thus, it is a feverish, wounded, heavily drugged narrator who tells us of the painter's extraordinary accomplishment. In fact, as he tells us, it is his 'incipient delirium' which might have "caused [him] to take deep interest" in the paintings hanging from the walls of his dark chamber (*ibid*.). Furthermore, gazing at such paintings and looking through the book which discusses them becomes an alternative to sleep, or an escape from his feverish condition:

> [...] so that having swallowed the opium, as before told, I bade Pedro to close the heavy shutters of the room – since it was already night – to light the tongues of a tall candelabrum which

> stood by the head of my bed – and to throw open far and wide the fringed curtains of black velvet which enveloped the bed itself. I wished all this done that I might resign myself, if not to sleep, at least alternately to the contemplation of these pictures, and the perusal of a small volume which had been found upon the pillow, and which purported to criticise and describe them. [...] Long – long I read – and devoutedly I gazed. I felt meantime, the voluptuous narcotic stealing its way to my brain. I felt that in its magical influence lay much of the gorgeous richness and variety of the frames – much of the ethereal hue that gleamed from the canvas – and much of the wild interest of the book which I perused. Yet this consciousness rather strengthened than impaired the delight of the illusion, while it weakened the illusion itself. Rapidly and gloriously the hours flew by, and the deep midnight came. (*ibid.*:736)

To the extent that the narrator is not by any means a reliable source, what Poe's intricate plot seems to be literally telling us is that the translator's alleged capacity to recreate life is, quite probably, only a product of the narrator's feverish delirium. In his altered state, and as he approaches his own death, the possibility of a painting that supposedly manages to keep intact the beauty and the life of a woman long dead is certainly a welcome, soothing illusion.

In perfect harmony with Poe's essay "The Philosophy of Composition", which demands an absolutely rational author who can predict every effect his text might produce, as well as every move his reader is allowed to make in order to preserve the original at all costs, "The Oval Portrait" ends up discrediting the legitimacy of translation as a performative activity. Therefore, the possibility of a translation which would rob the original of its life and beauty and, thus, efficiently survive it and even 'speak' in its place, could only be considered from the narrator's obviously unreliable point of view. To the extent that the translator/painter's alleged ability to recreate beauty might be just an illusion produced by an inadequate reader's altered perception, the real notion of translation with which Poe's story ends up leaving us is, after all, permeated by the often repeated belief that translation is indeed unable to preserve the 'spirit' or the 'energy' of the original. In fact, it is such a notion which underlies the whole plot as it is represented, for instance, by the narrator's own 'failed' translation of the painting. According to J. Gerald Kennedy, as the narrator translates the painting for us,

> he can tell us about 'the true secret' of the painting's effect, its astonishing 'lifelikeliness' but the verbal account does not leave

> us "confounded, subdued, and appalled" as it does the narrator. What has been lost is precisely the life of the twice-translated text; what has been gained is access to the idea of the painting. (1987:61-62)

The general 'system of representations' grounded on essentialism and, thus, on a necessarily asymmetrical relationship between original and derivation, which is paradigmatically reflected both in Poe's tale and in Kennedy's reading, cannot accept the transformational nature of translation and keeps idealizing the translator's role in terms of an invisible, non-interfering, absolutely faithful dedication to the original. In fact, in another of Poe's texts, more precisely in one of his best known stories, "The Gold Bug" (first published in 1843) (Poe 1983c:806-836), we can find a perfect counterpoint to the painter/translator in "The Oval Portrait". Mr William Legrand, Poe's impoverished protagonist in "The Gold Bug", might be viewed as an efficent illustration of the absolutely faithful translator whose dedication to the 'original' is generously rewarded with the discovery of a valuable treasure. Our reading of such a plot (which I intend to develop in another text) could be properly guided by the exploration of at least two recurrent metaphors usually associated with translation as a form of submission: the 'footsteps' metaphor, suggesting the need to carefully follow the author of the original step by step; and the image of the translator as a zealous digger of valuable treasures.[9] Thus, just as "The Oval Portrait", "The Gold Bug" can be read as a remarkable illustration of the kind of asymmetrical relationship between writing and interpreting which is taken for granted by essentialism.

The implied ethics of invisibility and blind faithfulness which seems to be implicitly at stake in both stories and in essentialist conceptions of interpretation will find an exemplary reflection in another well-known plot directly associated with translation: the myth of Babel. It is, after all, the confrontation between the sons of Shem – who dared to build themselves "a city and a tower whose summit touch[ed] the heavens [...] and to make [themselves] a name" (Louis Segond's Bible, originally published in 1910, quoted in Derrida 1985:168) – and their punishing God which has destined us to the inevitability of translation. As the myth goes, it is the very need (and, paradoxically, also the very impossibility) of translation which has been inflicted on humans as a punishment for

[9] See Hermans 1985, pp. 106-108.

their desire to be divine. It is precisely such a need and such an impossibility (and the necessary frustration they entail) which marks us as humans who keep longing for a pre-babelic, perfect correspondence between word and object.

It is some version of this exemplary asymmetry between the divine and the human, or between origin and derivation, creation and reproduction, which still seems to inform most of our dominant thought on language. In our (postmodern) world, which has been heavily dependent on the mechanisms of translation as transformation, it is certainly urgent that we try to understand why most of us cannot give up our desire to be divine and still insist on viewing the translator's role as an ideally neutral, selfless tribute to originals.

Ideology and the Position of the Translator
In What Sense is a Translator 'In Between'?

MARIA TYMOCZKO

The ideology of a translation is complex, resulting from the layering of the subject of the source text, the speech acts of the source text, the representation of the content by the translator, and the speech acts of the translation itself, as well as resonances and discrepancies between these aspects of the source text and target text as 'utterances'. If such ideological aspects of a translation are inextricable from the 'place of enunciation' of the translator, which is as much ideological as geographical and temporal, how does the discourse of 'in between' relate to an analysis of the ideology of translation? Why is this trope popular at present? After considering reasons for the use of the trope, this article argues that the discourse of 'between' is ultimately misleading and even retrograde with respect to understanding both the role of the translator and the notion of ideological engagement itself.

Some of the most searching and revealing discussions of translation in the last decade have focused on questions of ideology; indeed, there has been a productive, ongoing academic dialogue about various facets of the issue, extending for years now, with contributions from people on all parts of the globe. Raised principally by those who have an investment in social engagement, questions about the translator as an ethical agent of social change have gone to the heart of both the practice of translation and the theory of translation.[1] Part of the ongoing conversation, this essay is an attempt to clarify issues pertaining to the position of the translator by teasing out some philosophical implications of contemporary discourses about translation. Although successful cultural programs do not necessarily depend on clear and logical philosophical premises, in my experience a firm cognitive and theoretical foundation makes it more probable that a cultural project will draw together groups of people and inspire them to work in concert.

For at least a quarter century now, it has been generally agreed that translation is a text about a text or, to put it another way, a form of

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[1] See Hermans 1999a; Pym 1998; and Tymoczko 2000, as well as sources cited.

metastatement.[2] If we put this seemingly innocuous observation in an ideological context, then we must recognize that the ideology of translation is quite complex. A translation's ideology is determined only partially by the content of the source text – the subject and the representation of the subject – even though this content may itself be overtly political and enormously complicated as a speech act, with locutionary, illocutionary, and perlocutionary aspects of the source text all contributing to the effect in the source context. The ideological value of the source text is in turn complemented by the fact that translation is a metastatement, a statement about the source text that constitutes an interpretation of the source text. This is true even when that metastatement is seemingly only a form of reported speech (cf. Jakobson 1959:233) or quotation uttered in a new context, for in quoting a source text, a translator in turn creates a text that is a representation with its own proper locutionary, illocutionary, and perlocutionary forces which are determined by relevant factors in the receptor context. Thus, even in a simplified model, the ideology of a translation will be an amalgam of the content of the source text and the various speech acts instantiated in the source text relevant to the source context, layered together with the representation of the content, its relevance to the receptor audience, and the various speech acts of the translation itself addressing the target context, as well as resonances and discrepancies between these two 'utterances'.[3]

A concrete example of this layering is found in the well known rewriting and staging of Sophocles's *Antigone* by Jean Anouilh, produced in Paris in 1944 during the Nazi occupation of France. Clearly Sophocles's text had its own ideological significance in its original context. Produced for the Great Dionysia festival held annually in Athens, as a *statement* about the dangers of tyranny and the importance of heroic resistance to tyrants, *Antigone* implicitly *celebrated* Athenian democracy and attempted *to instill independence and moral responsibility* in its audience, as well as *pride in and allegiance to* the city-state of Athens itself, among other things.[4] When Anouilh transposed Sophocles's play into French and staged

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[2] See, for example, Holmes 1994:23-33; Lefevere 1985, 1992.

[3] On speech act theory see Austin 1975, Searle 1969, and Sperber and Wilson 1995. The ideological aspects of reported speech have been discussed by Vološinov 1971:149.ff. and Parmentier 1993. A comprehensive study of translation as reported speech is found in Folkart 1991; see also Gutt 2000; Hermans 2000:269: Mossop 1998; and sources cited.

[4] *Antigone* is the first of the Theban plays written by Sophocles, performed in Athens

it for his own time, however, those early ideological meanings were overwritten with contemporary meanings: he was implicitly commenting on the Nazi occupation of France, *inciting* his contemporaries and *encouraging resistance* against the Nazis, *calling for them to act out* against Nazi usurpation. Here I've tried to emphasize the words associated with the illocutionary and perlocutionary dimensions of Sophocles's work and Anouilh's refraction, as well as to indicate briefly some of the relevant contextual dimensions that must be considered in determining the ideology of Anouilh's play.

Ideological effects will differ in every case of translation – even in translations of the same text – because of the translator's particular choices on all these various levels – on the levels of representation of the subject matter, as well as representation of the relevant locutionary, illocutionary, and perlocutionary effects of the source text, and on the relevant locutionary, illocutionary, and perlocutionary acts in his or her own name as translator. That is, the ideology of a translation resides not simply in the text translated, but in the voicing and stance of the translator, and in its relevance to the receiving audience. These latter features are affected by the place of enunciation of the translator: indeed they are part of what we mean by the 'place' of enunciation, for that 'place' is an ideological positioning as well as a geographical or temporal one. These aspects of a translation are motivated and determined by the translator's cultural and ideological affiliations as much as or even more than by the temporal and spatial location that the translator speaks from.

Although more extensive and more precise vocabulary pertaining to the ideology of translation has been developed in the last few decades,

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probably in 442 or 441 B.C. At the time the democratic system was firmly entrenched in Athens and the prevailing ideology emphasized free speech, free association, and open access to power, limited by loyalty to the laws of the *polis*. These ideals were being actively negotiated with the Delian League and Samos, in particular, having been established in Samos initially by a campaign of 40 ships from Athens. At the period of Sophocles's play, however, the oligarchs of Samos were seemingly fomenting secession from pro-Athenian rule. In 441-40, after the staging of the play, Athens responded with a second expedition to Samos, this time a hosting of 60 ships under the leadership of Pericles and Sophocles himself, designed to remove the rebels and restore democratic, pro-Athenian rule to the island. Thus the play was staged against a highly politicized historical background and its discourses were probably ideological in very specific ways, in addition to the general ones emphasized here. See Sophocles 1999:1-4; 1973:3-4.

these issues of enunciation have been implicitly recognized for years in writing about translation, even if not stated explicitly in the terms that I have used above. Thus, for example, the affiliation and place of the translator were a concern in translation theory as early as 1813 when Friedrich Schleiermacher stated that "just as a man must decide to belong to one country, just so [a translator] must adhere to one language", affiliating himself thus with one particular culture, assumed by Schleiermacher to be the translator's native land.[5] The issues behind Schleiermacher's concerns have continued to be central in translation scholarship and theory. More than 150 years later, for example, in attempting to delineate a descriptive approach to translation, Gideon Toury took up questions pertaining to the position of translation and translators, stating categorically that translated texts are 'facts' of one language and one textual tradition only, namely the target culture's (1980:82-83), and that translators are 'persons-in-the-culture' of the target system (1995:40)[6]. Although one might contest Toury's argument on these points, disagreement should not obscure the importance of his addressing issues of positionality for the evolution of translation studies.

A very nice – albeit brief and circumspect – pragmatic survey of the variety of places the translator can write from is found in an early essay by Norman Simms (1983). Simms shows how the politics of translation intersects with the translator's position. This is true, he indicates, no matter whether the translator is a member of a postcolonial culture using translation into an imperial language as a means of cultural advocacy, or whether the translator holds one of the many possible subject positions within which translation is produced for members of the target culture itself in a specific ideological complex. Descriptive studies and theoretical arguments by many writers, including Simms, illustrate that the translator can be positioned within the receptor culture (the most common case), within the source culture (as, for example, authorized translations of Mao's writings into English that were undertaken in the

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[5] Trans. in Lefevere 1977:84; cf. the discussion in Pym 1998:181 ff.

[6] These notions have been hotly debated. See, for example, Pym 1998:179 ff. and Hermans 1999:40 ff., as well as sources cited. The impact of translation on many contemporary writers – from Borges to Kundera – whose status 'at home' was immediately enhanced by the translation of their works into English or French is a trivial refutation of Toury's view, despite the importance of his insights about descriptive approaches to translation in general.

People's Republic of China during the period 1949-79), or elsewhere (as in a third culture, the case when German philologists translated Irish literature into English and published them in German series, or when U.S. Bible translators translate the New Testament into South American native languages).

Despite the fact that the affiliation and orientation of the translator have been a continual topic in writing about translation for more than a century, the issues remain an active concern in the field, particularly as they impact on questions of the ideology of translation. These questions about the place of enunciation of the translator – both the ideological positioning and the geographical and temporal positioning – are related to the recent development within translation studies of a tendency to speak of translation itself as a place or space somehow disjoined from (or mappable over) the actual physical and cultural space that the translator occupies, and somehow distinct from the ideological position of the translator as well. Particularly employed by progressive and engaged writers on translation theory and practice, translation has been characterized as a place or a space *in between* other spaces. The locution *between* has become one of the most popular means of figuring an *elsewhere* that a translator may speak from – an elsewhere that is somehow different from either the source culture or the receptor culture that the translator mediates between – as well as the culture the translator lives in – an elsewhere that is often seemingly not simply a metaphorical way of speaking about ideological positioning, but that ipso facto affords a translator a valorized ideological stance. An exploration of this discourse – including aspects of its origin, logic, rationale, usefulness, and import – takes us to the heart of the ideology of translation[7].

Let us begin by considering specific recent instances of the figuration

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[7] This is a topic that more people than myself have set their minds to. I am particularly indebted to Annie Brisset with whom I've had conversations on this topic and who has herself published on this topic (1997). Although we come to similar conclusions, we approach the issues from somewhat different directions. The importance of understanding the implications of discourses and metaphors about translation for both the history of translation and the theory of translation has been increasingly recognized. Groundbreaking studies with implications for the ideology of translation are found in Hermans 1985 and Chamberlain 1992. On the general significance of metaphors for the structuration of thought, see Lakoff and Johnson 1980. Because metaphors have ideological power and also structure our thought and our lives, it is important to investigate their implications and to ascertain that they have intellectual integrity.

of translation as *a place between*. Sherry Simon offers convenient examples in her excellent and provocative book entitled *Gender in Translation* (1996). She speaks (1996:162), for example, of "the blurred edge where original and copy, first and second languages, come to meet. The space 'between' becomes a powerful and difficult place for the writer to occupy". She compares the domain of translation to the domain of a person with multiple cultural affiliations: "the space which Bhabha works in is the liminary terrain of the translational, that hybrid space which stands between the certainties of national cultures but does not participate in them" (1996:153). In her usage Simon follows Gayatri Spivak, whose essay "The Politics of Translation" (1992) has become one of the most influential explorations of the ideology of translation. Spivak alludes to translation as an activity "where meaning hops into the spacy emptiness between two named historical languages" (1992:178), clearly using spatial figurations. Similarly, in "Translation and the Postcolonial Experience", Samia Mehrez asserts, "these texts written by postcolonial bilingual subjects create a language 'in between' and therefore come to occupy a space 'in between'" (1992:121). Although examples could be multiplied[8], these instances suffice to indicate the type of usage that has proliferated. Why are scholars and theorists inclined to use the metaphor of translation as a space – a space 'in between' – in talking about the ideology of translation and in delineating a valorized position for the translator to occupy? [9]

Before addressing this question directly, we must make a brief detour to consider what sorts of answers might be considered adequate. We

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[8] For example, the trope is integral to the argument in Iser 1995. Brisset (1997) offers an excellent critique of Iser's position, arguing that his view is ultimately utopian rather than programmatic for translation per se.

[9] Translation studies is not alone in using spatial metaphors. They have become popular in other domains contemporary culture and are perhaps most remarkable in language pertaining to computer activities, as exemplified by such terms as *cyberspace, chat rooms, Web sites,* and so forth. Koppell (2000) suggests that spatial vocabulary has been adopted in the domain of computers to give it status, notably to avoid comparisons with television, to avoid downgrading it to the status of a mere medium, and to avoid the suggestion that Web denizens are passive recipients of electronic signals. Metaphors of space make the Internet seem more intriguing and exciting, helping to sell computers and related products. Moreover, spatial metaphors are part of what has allowed the government to consign decisions about the Internet to profit-seeking companies and commercial interests, skewing its development to favor the corporation rather than the individual or society as a whole.

should note that a question like "why do scholars use the spatial metaphor of between?" admits different responses, depending on the different types of causality to be considered. There are many types of causality. As a starting point on the types of answers provided for the question 'why?', we can consider the sorts of causes that might be given for natural phenomena, say the phenomenon of a sneeze. In this case we could note, first, the proximate cause; in the case of a sneeze, the proximate cause is the contraction of the muscles involved in producing a sneeze. Second might be the ultimate cause or the functional cause; the ultimate cause of a sneeze is to expel material from the breathing passages. Third could be the ontogenetic cause, the developmental reason for a phenomenon; in the case of a sneeze, the ontogenetic cause is that the organism is exposed to irritants which must be ejected from the organism. Fourth might be the phylogenetic cause. In biological phenomena, the phylogenetic cause is the causality associated with the characteristics of the organism's nearest relatives; thus, in the case of a human sneeze, the phylogenetic cause is that primates sneeze, hence human beings sneeze. There would be other ways to respond to such a physiological question as well, but these answers suffice for the present context[10].

As is apparent, within the domain of this simple biological example, there are many different ways to answer the question 'why?'. Moreover, other natural sciences would recognize forms of causality proper to their own domains, with adequate explanation differing from one domain to another (Salmon 1998:323). In addition to the types of causes admitted by the natural sciences, also to be considered are the types of causalities accepted by other disciplines, including the social sciences and the humanities. There are anthropological answers to the question 'why?', philosophical answers, and so forth. These various ways of approaching causality – and the question 'why?' – are not mutually exclusive, nor do the answers invalidate one another (cf. Salmon 1998:74). Thus, in trying to answer the question before us in the domain

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[10] Also troubled by issues of causality, Pym rests a similar discussion on the types causalities distinguished by Aristotle: the material cause, the final cause, the formal cause, and the efficient cause (cf. Pym 1998:144-59). I am adopting a somewhat broader framework than Pym does, incorporating current thinking about causality in the contemporary sciences. For a general discussion of causality and explanation see Salmon 1998; I am also indebted to Julianna Tymoczko for aspects of the argument, as well as to Irven DeVore.

of translation studies, we should expect a number of different ways to respond that are at once disparate and yet do not necessarily undermine or contradict each other. We must also implicitly delineate a theory of causality for translation studies itself.

To turn to the main question before us, therefore, one way to answer the question "why has speaking of translation as a *space between* become popular in translation studies?" is, of course, to seek answers within these established frames of causality. We might, for example, turn to phylogeny and seek a phylogenetic cause. That is, because primates are imitators, humans are imitators: as the English proverb puts it, 'monkey see, monkey do'. Thus, with respect to an academic discourse of the sort we are considering, we see our colleagues using a particular figure of speech, a trope, or a discourse, and as imitators we tend to take up such things ourselves without much reflection. Perhaps the phylogenetic cause in this instance has to do with the specific behavior of our nearest relatives and ancestors in an intellectual or critical sense. From an individual's point of view, the reasoning behind the use of these expressions goes something like this: *between* is a trendy term; if critic X can use the phrase, so can I; indeed perhaps, so should I, insofar as I see myself in her lineage – or phylum – of thinkers. Clearly in the case of intellectual pursuits, a phylogenetic cause for behavior, while perhaps good for accruing patronage, is not the best intellectual reason to adopt a mode of thinking or speaking: we might want to be careful in such circumstances of the impulse to imitate without critical reflection. Moreover, from a phylogenetic perspective, particularly the phylogenetic perspective of creatures who can elect their intellectual lineages and choose their critical and theoretical forebears, we must ask ourselves whether there are other lineages, other contemporary thinkers, whom we as translators and translation theorists might wish to claim as close 'relatives' or 'ancestors', who must be considered as we approach these questions regarding translation as being a *space between*. Obviously, a phylogenetic reason for spatializing translation is not the strongest rationale for the use of these tropes.

A second reason for the easy acceptance of the discourse of translation as a space between may reside in the actual physical location which the translator assumes in the archetypal translation encounter, namely the position of the translator-as-interpreter. In many situations of interpretation, from community interpretation to certain affairs of state, the interpreter literally stands between two speakers, performing the necessary vocalizations of interpretation, turning physically back and forth as

the work proceeds, occupying a physical space between the principals. This physical positioning we might identify as the proximate cause for considering translation as a space between and for conceptualizing the translator as speaking from *in between*.[11] Although this proximate cause deserves our consideration in assessing the idea of translation as a space between, we should be wary of an uncritical generalization of one physical aspect of the interpreter's role to other domains of the activity, particularly the symbolic domain of language transfer. Moreover, it is questionable how far the physical location of the interpreter can serve as a literal or metaphorical guide to the ideological positioning of a translator of written texts.

Perhaps a stronger reason for conceptualizing translation in spatial terms has to do with the meaning and history of the words used for translation in certain Western languages. Such a reason may be looked on as the ontogenetic – or developmental – reason for translation being figured in terms of space in Western translation theory. The source of the English word *translation* is the Latin word *translatio*, which means 'carrying across'. Used originally in the very concrete sense of moving things through space, including both objects like the relics of saints and cultural phenomena like learning and power, its meaning was extended relatively late in time, during the fourteenth century, and applied to the activity of interlingual translation in English (OED s.v.). This usage was pioneered by Bible translators in what seems to be a metaphoric extension of more central semantic meanings of the word, which included the movement from earth to heaven, as well as the transference of things from one spot to another on earth.

This lexical shift is interesting in the context of earlier usages in Western tradition. In Old French in the twelfth century, for example, *to translate* in the sense of textual mediation between languages was to put '*en romanz*'; this was standard usage all over the francophone world, which at the time included the British Isles, and such textual mediation

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[11] This is perhaps one factor inspiring the title *Between f*or Christine Brooke-Rose's novel about a simultaneous interpreter, who literally mediates in the sound channel between the speaker's voice and the audience's ear. In written studies about translation, it is also related to the graphological representation of the translator (and the translator's mediation) as positioned between the source language and text on the one hand, and the target language and text on the other, realized variously in diagrams, such as the following: ST + SL > Translator > TT + TL.

could be rather literal, as indicated in certain saints' lives, but more typically involved fairly free adaptation permitting radical shifts of all sorts in vernacular materials[12]. When the term *translation* comes into use in English in the fourteenth century, it seems to be associated with a new esthetic of translation, one more text based, more oriented to the source text, more literal, and less associated with the informal standards of medieval vernacular literature, ad hoc oral interpretation, and other sorts of refractions: in short, with translation strategies that are seen as more appropriate for the growing movement to translate the Bible into the vernacular languages. In this regard, the earliest citation of the word in the OED is suggestive: in 1340 in his prologue of his translation of the Psalms, Hampole writes, "in the translacioun i folow the lettere als mykyll as i may".

Implicit, then, in the English word *translation*, and as well in the words used for *translation* in the Romance languages deriving from the Latin root *trans-ducere*, 'to lead across', [13] is the idea of a *between*, a *space*, that such an act of mediation will cross or bridge. In this historical sense of the word *translation*, there are similarities with the Greek concept of *metaphorein*, which gives the English term *metaphor* and which also involves the etymological sense of carrying across, namely a carrying across of an idea or relationship from one field of reference to another. Both terms – *translation* and *metaphor* – involve extensions of a known concept (specifically the physical act of carrying across) to new ideas, respectively the transposition of texts from one language to another and the transposition of an idea or relationship from one conceptual field to another.

When we explore the rationale for these words denoting interlingual translation as involving a *between* in a concrete sense, we can hypothesize that these modes of speaking derive from an implicit recognition that ideas and knowledge, modes of understanding and learning, are all ultimately local, bound to a specific place, a specific cultural framework, and a specific linguistic mode of construing the world. Indeed, stated this way, such a view seems singularly modern, congruent as it is with contemporary views that meaning is language specific; these arguments have been developed within translation studies by scholars such as J.C. Catford

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[12] Tymoczko 1986; vernacular translation procedures in the Middle Ages show certain congruences with the processes of translation in oral tradition (cf. Tymoczko 1990).

[13] E.g. French traduction, Spanish traducción.

(1965). Such a framework is also stressed by contemporaries writing about the phenomena of globalization. Anthony King, for example, argues that the "autonomy of cultural competence exists at the local level" (King 1997:17; cf. Hannerz 1997:124) and "meaning only exists within a language game, a discourse, practices, etc., negotiated locally and discontinuously" (King 1997:159).

In earlier times, however, before the modern age, the local nature of knowledge and ideas to be translated was less abstract and philosophical. Indeed, translation of such local knowledge might involve a very concrete crossing of space, for it often presupposed physically transporting yourself (*translating* yourself or *carrying yourself across*) to a new place so as to learn about the ideas current in that place, as a precondition of transposing those ideas from one language to another, from one local cultural system to another. As an alternative to translating yourself across space, of course, you could choose to translate some source of knowledge across space to yourself; such a source of knowledge might take a variety of forms – it might be a scroll, a codex, or even a learned person (such as a wise man, captive, slave, or other native of the source culture), who could then serve as a source and interpreter of that distant local knowledge. Some mixture of the two alternatives was also possible: you might undertake a journey to secure a relic and bring it through space to your own land, so as to have leisure in your own space to make the transposition from one language to another. This idea of translation is graphically illustrated in the ancient Chinese legend about the journey to secure Buddhist scriptures from India so they could be translated into Chinese; this tale is at the heart of the legend of Monkey, one of the most popular and productive literary complexes of Chinese culture, but it intersects with actual historical practice as well. In fact the Chinese versions of Buddhist scriptures were textually translated in the Great Wild Goose Pagoda, still standing in Xi'an at the eastern terminus of the ancient Silk Road, after copies of the Buddhist scriptures had been physically translated along that road to China. The legend of Monkey memorializes for us the material conditions of a time when translation East or West involved travel and transport across and through space.

This conceptualization of translation, then, derives from a time when the movement of religious relics through space was not in fact so very different from the transportation of the precious physical and material bases of new knowledge to be transposed into a receiving language. Such a source of learning – whether a scroll, a codex, or a person – was itself a

relic of another culture, another time or space. Because in former times the translator himself might have to undertake or to underwrite a dangerous journey across space in order to secure a precious document or source for translation, to undertake translation was to undertake adventure: the translator was a culture hero, one who would brave danger for the sake of knowledge. (The appropriation of this concept of translator as culture hero in itself might be an attractive feature of the current discourse in translation studies of *between*, especially when used by translators themselves.)

A reason for the appeal of the discourse of translation as a space between, therefore, is our continued awareness of the residual sense of these older meanings associated with words in Western languages pertaining to translation, such as *translation* in English or *traduction* in French, as well as our historical sense of the difficulty in ancient times of transposing and expanding cultural knowledge everywhere in the world. In this regard, skilled speakers of English still know what the translation of a saint is, and most people are still aware that *trans-* in *translation* means 'across', a meaning we retain cognitively in part because of our knowledge of other words with the same formant, words such as *transcontinental* or even the automobile name *TransAm*.[14] Although it is suggestive to consider these old meanings and associations of the Western words for translation, we must nevertheless be careful of simply and uncritically accepting such old ideas. Not only do old concepts sometimes cease to be relevant as time passes, but they do not always offer theoretically useful perspectives.[15] We should also be especially careful about claiming as universal a theoretical assertion that is based on the particularities and histories of a few Western European languages. It is not at all certain that such a claim would hold for other languages where the words for translation have different meanings and historical associations[16].

A more compelling attraction of the notion of translation as a space between – a reason that might be seen as a functional or final cause – is the importance of the concept of *between* per se in poststructuralist

[14] That is, we don't simply take the current dominant semantic meaning of *translation* as an opaque arbitrary sign.

[15] E.g. Descartes's view that animals (but not humans) are machines is one that few would be inclined to accept in a post-Darwinian period, in light of the vast evidence built up by the life sciences in the last century, illustrating the essential continuities between human beings and other animals.

[16] For example, Arabic *tarjama*, originally meaning 'biography'.

thought. In challenging the binary conceptualizations of structuralism which dominated critical thought in the mid twentieth century in Europe, poststructuralists emphasized alternatives to the oppositional structures and polar opposites of the structuralists. The concept of *between* epitomizes those alternatives – it suggests that not only the poles but also all the positions in between the poles are open for occupation. Moreover, poststructuralists were not alone in mounting such critiques and in searching for alternatives to binaries; they were part of widespread and generalized developments in intellectual history that explored similar issues in many domains. Perhaps the most notable intellectual development in this regard is an alternative to classical logic that goes by the name of 'fuzzy logic'; proponents of fuzzy logic advocate alternate ways of viewing basic logical principles, rejecting a fundamental principle of classical logic which says that a proposition cannot be both *a* and *not-a*, a principle called the law of the excluded middle. Fuzzy logic, by contrast, allows that a proposition can be both *a* and *not-a*. The standard example usually offered of the difference between fuzzy logic and classical logic is the glass half full of water. Is such a glass full or not full? For fuzzy logic such an entity poses no problem, whereas it does for classical logic. Along with poststructuralism and fuzzy logic, developments that reject absolute contrasts can be seen as part of the intellectual shift associated with the breakdown of positivism in the West.

Although the views of poststructuralists have been enormously useful in undermining structuralist binaries, there are limitations in the concept of *between* as a solution to the problems of structuralism, for not all alternatives to a polarity or a binary figuration lie on a line between the two contrasted elements. For example, not all the alternatives to Claude Lévi-Strauss's famous contrast between *le cru et le cuit* ('the raw and the cooked'), can be placed on a single linear scale.[17] Thus, not all polarities

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[17] The structuralists' dichotomy of the raw and the cooked no longer convinces in part because experience in our own kitchens shows other options. The raw, the cooked, and the rotten. The raw, the cooked, and the burnt. The raw, the marinated, and the cooked. The raw, the fermented, the salted, the pickled, the dried, and the cooked. Or, when things are *à point*, the perfectly raw-and-cooked. While I take sides with the poststructuralists here, at the same time, it's also clear that these alternatives do not fall on a single scale between the raw and the cooked. Is the dried more or less cooked than the salted, for example? And how does each of those relate to the rotten? Impossible to say, because there is no single criterion that would govern such assignments. See my treatment of these issues as they relate to translation in Tymoczko 1999: ch. 4.

have a single continuum that we could call *in between*. Moreover, it should be remembered that there are some things that do indeed operate on binary principles – for example, digital computers – and some properties that do follow classical logic.[18]

Whatever its logical limitations, as a metaphor *between* has other values for poststructuralists. Poststructuralist thought has been notable in opposing the idea of an absolute origin, the idea that values, cultural concepts, or systems of knowledge are grounded on a bedrock of certainty, that they rest on essentialist cultural foundations upon which all else can be built with security. Instead critics in this tradition view ideas, knowledge, thought, language, and culture as all being in process, between the uncertainties of the constructions of the past and the uncertainties of the constructions of the future. Rather than being founded upon fundamental or essential realities, such human constructions as language and culture rest upon a chain of signifiers and in turn generate a succeeding chain of signifiers. This conceptual framework has made the term *between* useful, signifying the uncertainty that is inevitably associated with cultural constructions.

There is a third value of *between* as well, related to a more personal and political domain of motivation, that has made this metaphor appealing to poststructuralists. The emergence of poststructuralism is associated with the generation of 1968, and the politics of that generation have coalesced with its critical stances. Motivated by a desire to escape collusion with unsatisfactory political systems and rejecting the compromised, polarized politics of the Cold War, some poststructuralists sought an alternative positioning for their ideological stance, repudiating affiliation with either side in the Cold War. In the period before the dissolution of the Eastern bloc, this desire to escape from and to avoid being trapped by the polarized dominant political alternatives came to be symbolized in certain circumstances by the concept of a *space between*. This is part of the reason for the attraction of the discourse in translation studies as well.

There have been many compelling reasons, thus, for criticism to fasten on the expression *between* and for the term to suggest positive ideological connotations. The concept has been absorbed into translation studies not only because of its use by poststructuralist theorists of transla-

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[18] Logicians often offer as an example the property ‘pregnant’: a person is either pregnant or not pregnant – you can’t be half-pregnant, or a little pregnant, or on the continuum between pregnant and not-pregnant.

tion but also because of its congruence with other aspects that make spatial metaphors congenial and that make gaps in time and space relevant to the activity and process of translation: the physical dimension of interpretation, the history of translation in the West, and the history of words for translation in certain Western languages. Although there are no doubt many other causes for the popularity of the discourse of translation as a *space between*, this brief survey suffices to establish its attraction to scholars. Let us turn then to an evaluation and critique of the discourse to assess its implications for the ideology of translation.

An imperative question is whether this concept of translation as a space between is applicable to all facets of translation, particularly the linguistic dimension of translation. In this regard, we must ask whether poststructuralism is the only intellectual lineage to consider in applying the concept of a space between to translation and in using the notion in the discipline of translation studies. Here I think we must acknowledge that if language is seen in part as a formal system, a code (as it generally has been in modern linguistics), then a spatial concept of translation – the concept of the translator as bridging a gap, a *between*, which the translator can be located within – has a very limited utility in translation theory. That is, when translation is conceptualized in terms of transfer between languages as *systems*, this spatial metaphor of translation breaks down.

In very schematic terms, here is why. In theories of systems, one is seen as acting or operating within a system. In the event that one transcends the limits of a given system, one does not escape systems altogether or fall between systems, but instead one enters another system, generally a larger system that encompasses or includes the system transcended. This is not simply a view of contemporary systems theorists (cf. Luhmann 1995). It can be traced back to the work of Kurt Gödel, whose insights and formulations on mathematics have influenced all of twentieth-century intellectual history. In the incompleteness theorem Gödel demonstrates that questions can always be posed within any formal system (say, arithmetic) which cannot be answered in terms of the formal system itself, and that answers to such questions are formulated not outside of systems altogether but within the framework of another more encompassing formal system.

Such views are not restricted to the domains of mathematics and logic as Gödel has articulated them, or to the domain of systems theory per se. This is also the direction that anthropology and ethnography have taken: these disciplines have come to acknowledge that an ethnographer

or anthropologist can never stand in a neutral or free space between cultures, but of necessity operates within some cultural framework, notably the constraints of his or her own primary cultural system. Increasingly in the social sciences such cultural frameworks within which research is conducted are expected to be acknowledged and specified in the work in some fashion.[19] Indeed, it is only by recognizing the position that the investigator holds within a system, that one can understand the ideological contingencies and presuppositions of the investigation itself.

Clearly these arguments have relevance for both translators and writers about translation. In extending such arguments and applying such models to translation, we must recognize, for example, that insofar as translators mediate between cultures, the concerns of anthropology and ethnography are relevant to translation; insofar as languages are formal systems, the findings of logic and systems theory should apply to linguistic activities like translation. Thus, one can argue that in the act of translation, when a translator interrogates a source text on the basis of a target language, the translator transcends the source language as a formal system, without simply switching to the target language as a formal system. Conversely, when the target language is interrogated using the source text as the basis of the examination, the translator transcends the target language as formal system without simply reverting to the system of the source language. The transcendence of both linguistic codes in fact puts the translator into a formal system that encompasses both languages, rather than being restricted to either. How large such an encompassing system will be has to do with the closeness of the two languages and two cultures in question, the breadth of the linguistic purview of the materials translated, and so forth. Whatever the extent of these parameters, however, the translator doesn't altogether leave the system of language *per se*, nor does the translator strictly speaking leave the domain of either or both languages. That is, one must conceptualize the translator not as operating *between* languages, but as operating either in one language or another, or more properly in a system inclusive of both SL and TL, a system that encompasses both.[20] With respect to a theory of formal sys-

[19] See, for example, the arguments in Clifford and Marcus 1986.

[20] This is what lies behind Pym's concept of an interculture (1998:ch. 11). His diagram of the translator's position (1998:177) indicates that the translator inhabits the junction or union of two linguistic and cultural systems, represented as the space shared by two overlapping circles, but one could perhaps more accurately diagram

tems, there can be no *in between*, no free space that exists outside systems altogether, separate from a more encompassing system: any inquiry or statement or position will fall within the framework of such a larger system. Thus, we can think of systems as a series of Chinese boxes, so to speak, with given systems always nested inside more inclusive ones.

To insist upon a *between* existing with respect to languages is to abandon what the modern age has agreed upon with respect to systems. Such a view of a *between* as occurring in translating from one language to another or from one culture to another *as systems*, is, therefore, incompatible with a view of languages as formal systems that actually *construct* meaning rather than as structures that merely reflect external, language-free meaning. This is the heart of the argument I am making here, and the point must be emphasized and underscored. Spatial metaphors of translation may be useful and even perhaps natural in some contexts having to do with translation, as the ontogenetic and proximate causes considered above indicate; moreover, the concept of *between* may be useful in certain considerations of language as a (single) system, as poststructuralist arguments about the binaries of structuralism indicate. From the perspective of translation as movement from one system of language and culture to another, however, the philosophical implications and limitations of the concept of *between* which have been discussed here must be clearly understood. They return us to retrograde Platonic notions of meaning that were ascendant in the nineteenth century, in which meanings and ideas were thought to exist apart from and above any linguistic formulations. [21]

In her 1987 work entitled *Borderlands*, focusing on identity questions of the Spanish-speaking community that lives in the Southwest of the United States, near the Mexican/U.S. border, Gloria Anzaldúa writes:

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the situation as two small circles enclosed within a larger one, a schema more compatible with some conceptions of bilingualism explored in translation studies (see, for example, Oksaar 1978). Actually both representations are very schematized and ultimately inadequate representations of the complexity of human cultures and languages which are open systems rather than closed ones, as the circles in such diagrams would suggest.

[21] The implications for an assessment of Spivak, for example, are, thus, clear: although she is at the cutting edge of bringing French poststructuralist theory into an English-language context, her views of translation as a movement between formal systems are paradoxically fairly regressive philosophically and at the same time somewhat naive, ironically implying a Platonic view of language.

> Alienated from her mother culture, alien in the dominant culture, the woman of color does not feel safe within the inner life of her Self. Petrified, she can't respond, her face caught between *los intersticios*, the spaces between the different worlds she inhabits. (1987:20)

As in the quotes we began with from Simon, Spivak, and Mehrez, Anzaldúa here conceives of a *space between* cultures, from which one can (or cannot) speak – or, *mutatis mutandis*, translate. Although Anzaldúa is not writing primarily about translation, her writing demonstrates the tendency to use a spatial figuration of between for cultural interface, and her work has in fact been used by writers in translation studies as a means of elucidating the positioning of the translator. Anzaldúa returns us to the central topic of this essay. In view of what has been said about both the causes for its popularity and the critiques that can be leveled against it as a concept, what are the implications for the *ideology* of translation in the use of the discourse of translation as a space between?

Certainly a first implication is that this discourse grows out of Western views of translation – notably the history of the words in the Romance languages and in English for the concept of translation. Thus, *prima facie* this is not a discourse that is easily transferable to other cultural systems – including cultures with other European languages. The view of translation as a space between is a model, moreover, that grows out of a particular Western capitalist paradigm of the translator as an isolated individual worker who independently acts as mediator of languages. It does not fit other paradigms of translation, including the practices used in the People's Republic of China, for example, or practices in China throughout time for that matter, where teams of translators have traditionally worked together, with each member of the team operating primarily within a single linguistic and cultural framework. In the latter paradigm of translation practice, the first stage of translation is performed by a person with primary knowledge of and even loyalties to the source language and culture, followed by a polishing stage undertaken by someone with clear loyalties to the receptor language and culture (for example, a native in the receiving language often with minimal or no knowledge of the source language), with the whole process under the eye of an ideological supervisor.[22] Such

[22] In the early days of translation in China, there were often even more stages, with oral recitation or reading of the source text by a speaker of the source language con-

teams and their members are *ipso facto* together and severally rooted in a specific cultural context and even an institutional framework. One could even argue that the primary translation situation throughout history everywhere and still today in most developing countries – namely oral interpretation – can hardly be modeled as occurring in a space between, where space is understood in terms of culture rather than the physical location of the interpreter. Thus, it is problematic to ground an ideological theory of translation in the historical linguistics and practices of a specific group of Western languages and cultures: *between* is a questionable premise for those seeking ethical geopolitical change for it is a model based on a framework primarily grounded in a rather limited range of Western experiences.

Equally problematic are the traces of romantic sensibility lurking behind this discourse. Rather than promoting a view of a translator as embedded in and committed to specified cultural and social frameworks and agenda, however broad, the discourse of translation as a space between embodies a rather romantic and even elitist notion of the translator as poet. If the place of enunciation of the translator is a space outside both the source and the receptor culture, the translator becomes a figure like romantic poets, alienated from allegiances to any culture, isolated by genius. This view of the translator is obviously congenial and perhaps even welcome to models of translation that efface the difference between translating and (original) writing, between translator and writer. It also coalesces with the model of the translator as a declassé and alienated intellectual cut loose from specific, limiting cultural moorings and national affiliations, suggesting in turn comparison with the political meanings of *between* to poststructuralists who rejected the political polarizations of the Cold War.[23] Again, however, we may question whether such ideas about the translator are in fact typical of translators and translation practices worldwide, and whether they are likely to result in the use of translation for progressive ideological purposes.

Moreover, the concept of the translator as occupying a space between is hardly one that fits with historical research in translation studies, nor

joined with ad hoc oral transation of the text passage by passage by a bilingual. The material was then transcribed into written language by a third team member, and polished and finalized by yet a fourth, the latter two of whom might not know the source language at all.

[23] Not to mention the drop-out mentality of the generation of '68 in the United States.

does it fit with materialist analyses of translation. Over and over again descriptive studies of translation have demonstrated the connection of all facets of translation – from text choice to translation strategy to publication – with ideology, and they have established how translations are grounded in the politics of particular places and times. Rather than being outside cultural systems, descriptive and historical research on translation indicates that translation is *parti pris* and that translators are engaged, actively involved, and affiliated with cultural movements.[24] Historical research rarely supports the view that translators are characterized by romantic alienation and freedom from culture, whatever their place of enunciation.

In part the (intentional) alienation implicit in the model of translation as a space between reflects dissatisfaction with dominant discourses in dominant cultures, a feeling one can sympathize with. However, to suggest that the only alternative to dissatisfaction with dominant discourses is departure from a culture is, ironically, to affirm implicitly or explicitly the view that culture is a homogeneous construct. Here Sherry Simon's definition of 'the translational' as "that hybrid space which stands between the *certainties* of national cultures but does not participate in them" (1996:153, my emphasis) stands as an example of the dubious implications of translation as a space between: we must note that Simon's trope depends on national cultures being monolithic, homogeneous, and characterized by 'certainties'. These implications of a cultural *between* contrast markedly with contemporary ideas about culture that stress the heterogeneity of culture and that assert that any culture is composed of varied and diverse – even contradictory and inconsistent – competing viewpoints, discourses, and textures,[25] which, paradoxically, Simon herself elsewhere espouses and enjoins in translation studies (Simon 1996:137). Recent scholarship in many fields has delineated the coexistence and maintenance of minority and divergent views within cultures. Clearly, from a logical point of view, the introduction of or adherence to ideas and values from another culture does not *per se* eliminate a translator – or anyone else, for that matter – from being part of her own culture. The suggestion that such influence – or even commitment to 'foreign' ideas – moves a person to a position outside her culture (without even granting the subject a position in the other culture, as the use of *between* suggests) is a very peculiar

[24] See, for example, the overview in Lefevere 1992: ch. 5; cf. Tymoczko 2000.
[25] See, for example, the arguments in Hall 1997.

notion that contravenes work about heterogeneity and hybridity that has emerged in recent explorations of the conditions of the diasporic modern world and that can be projected backward in time as well. One can, of course, choose to reject such views and assert that the only discourses of a culture that count are dominant discourses, but to do so would put one very much out of the mainline of current explorations of culture as a varied and heterogeneous construct. Such a position would clearly not be a step forward for translation theory. It is important therefore to look at the logical implications of vocabulary before it is adopted, interrogating in this regard the ideological discourse of translation as a space between.

Finally, from the point of view of the ideology of translation, the discourse of translation as a space between is problematic because it is misleading about the nature of engagement *per se*. Whether translation is initiated for political purposes from a source culture, from a receptor culture, or from some other third culture, translation as a successful means of engagement and social change – like most political actions – requires affiliation and collective action. The discourse of a space between obscures the necessity of such collective work – even if it is the minimalist collective action of attending to the practical needs of getting a translation published and distributed. Effective calls for translators to act as ethical agents of social change must intersect with models of engagement and collective action. This the discourse of translation as a space between abandons.

As Anthony Pym has chronicled (1992: ch. 7), the loyalty of translators is a leitmotif in translation history. Questions about the loyalty of a translator arise not because the translator inhabits a space between, with affiliations to that space between, but because the translator is in fact all too committed to a cultural framework, whether that framework is the source culture, the receptor culture, a third culture, or an international cultural framework that includes both source and receptor societies. Loyal to dissident ideologies internal to a culture, or to affiliations and agendas external to a culture, the translator can easily become the traitor from within or the agent from without. The problem with translators for dominant centers of power is not that translators are between cultures and cultural loyalties, but that they become all too involved in divergent ideologies, programs of change, or agendas of subversion that elude dominant control. The ideology of translation is indeed a result of the translator's position, but that position is not a space between.

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