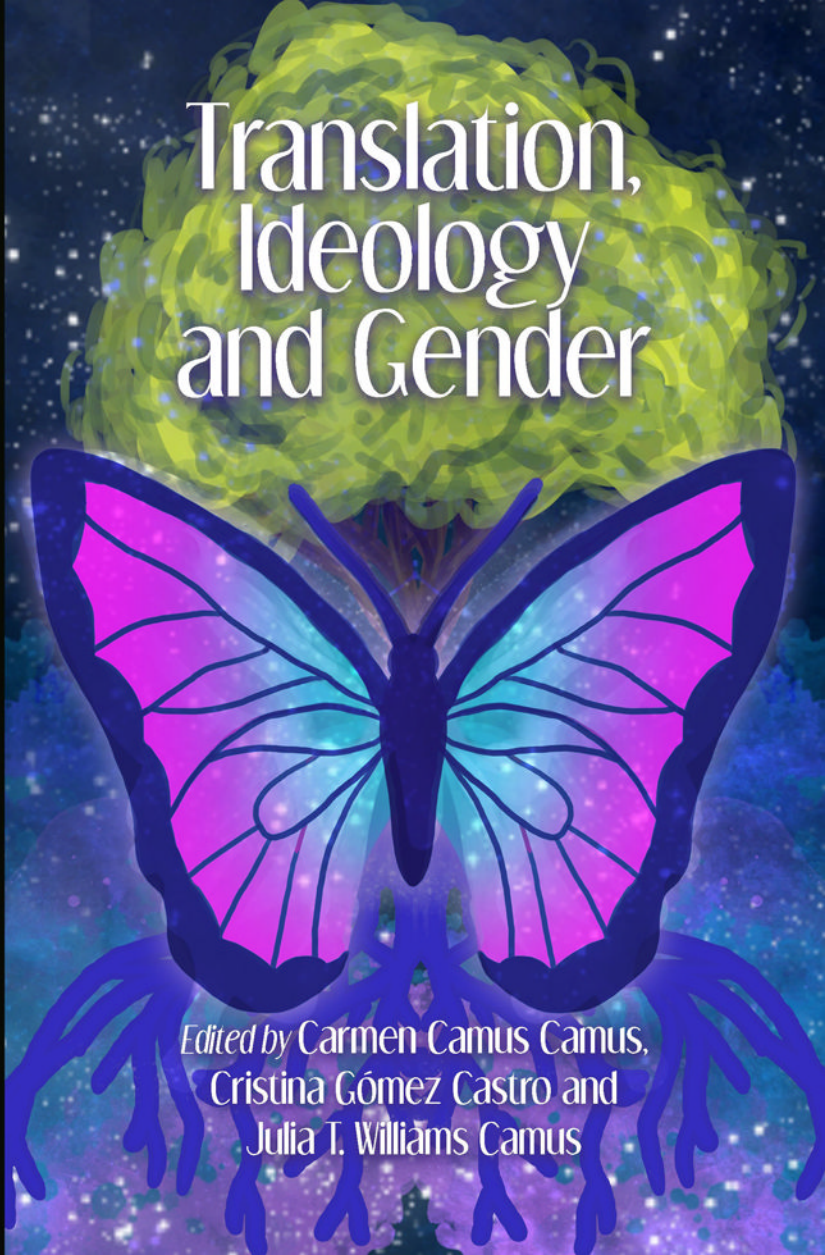
Translation, Ideology and Gender



Edited by Carmen Camus Camus, Cristina Gómez Castro and Julia T. Williams Camus

Translation, Ideology and Gender

Translation, Ideology and Gender

Edited by

Carmen Camus Camus,
Cristina Gómez Castro
and Julia T. Williams Camus

Cambridge
Scholars
Publishing

Translation, Ideology and Gender

Edited by Carmen Camus Camus, Cristina Gómez Castro
and Julia T. Williams Camus

This book first published 2017

Cambridge Scholars Publishing

Lady Stephenson Library, Newcastle upon Tyne, NE6 2PA, UK

British Library Cataloguing in Publication Data
A catalogue record for this book is available from the British Library

ISBN (10): 1-4438-5195-7
ISBN (13): 978-1-4438-5195-4

TABLE OF CONTENTS

List of Illustrations

LIST OF TABLES

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

The editors of the volume would like to express our most heartfelt thanks to Dr Ian Williams for his guidance and insightful suggestions in the difficult task of selecting the papers from the proposals received and for his assistance in the revision of the English manuscripts and the edition of this volume. We would like to express our gratitude to the contributors for their patience and generosity in sharing their most recent work with us. We gratefully acknowledge the support of the editorial staff of Cambridge Scholars Publishing. We wish to thank the University of Cantabria for their financial support and, last but not least, we are grateful to the Spanish Ministry of Innovation and Education for funding the research project TRACEgencsi" (Traducción y Censura en la Representación del Género; FFI2012-39012-C04-04) and for their generous financial support that helped make this volume possible.

CHAPTER ONE

TRANSLATION, IDEOLOGY AND GENDER: BREAKING NEW GROUND

CARMEN CAMUS CAMUS,
CRISTINA GÓMEZ CASTRO
AND JULIA T. WILLIAMS CAMUS

> The novelty of an entity derives from the target culture itself, and relates to what that culture is willing (or allowed) to accept vs. what it feels obliged to submit to modification, or even totally reject.
>
> Gideon Toury (1995, 166)

The topic of gender and translation "has been gaining critical consistency and experiencing a remarkable growth" (Castro 2013, 7) in the past few years, a clear indication that it is a productive field of study. Ever since the emergence of the "cultural turn" (Bassnett and Lefevere 1990) in the discipline of Translation Studies, there have been numerous works devoted to examining the relationship between the translated text and its social and historical circumstances, some of which have followed a gendered approach[1].

However, not much attention has been conferred to the ideological constraints in the translation of gender as manifested in the discourse of the health sciences. The research project funded by the Spanish Ministry of Innovation and Education entitled "TRACEgencsi" (Traducción y Censura en la Representación del Género; FFI2012-39012-C04-04) was conceived to address this gap in the literature. The project was carried out by a group of researchers at the University of Cantabria and the University

[1] See for example: Santaemilia (2005), Federici (2011), Santaemilia and Von Flotow (2011), Castro (2013).

of León to examine, from a gender studies perspective, how the image of women was transferred from English into Spanish translations not only in the realm of literary texts, but also in scientific discourse. Thus, it addressed issues related to the representation of gender in translation and the ideological implications that the shifts of meaning may bear on the construction of the female image. The development of this research project has indeed confirmed the need to broaden the perspective of the implications of gender and ideology beyond the literary domain in Translation Studies.

Under the auspices of the project, the First International Conference "Translation, Ideology and Gender" was held in Santander in November 2015. The rationale for celebrating this event derived from the need to provide an international forum where insights could be shared regarding the three topics addressed at the conference. In particular, the interest lay on how gender representation may be filtered by power and ideology in translated texts in the scientific and literary domains.

The topic of the conference attracted the interest of numerous academics from a number of countries and the most valuable contributions have been selected and brought together for the present volume. In addition, the volume includes other studies that were sent in response to the call for papers, and which enhance the three sections that comprise this book. Written by distinguished scholars in the field, the papers cover the different aspects in a range of discourses, which guarantees both the academic interest and the required level of proficiency in the research reported. We, therefore, consider that this volume makes an important contribution to the field of Translation Studies and believe it will prove of interest to scholars and academics from different areas of expertise.

Part One is devoted to the intersection of translation, ideology and gender within the field of the Health Sciences. It is composed of two chapters which give an innovative insight into the matter. The first one, by Vanessa Leonardi, sets out to explore gender issues, censorship and ideology in scientific, and more precisely, medical texts, both in their original language and from a translation perspective. From a linguistic point of view, translation is made up of words, which may carry with them a particular ideological positioning. Starting with the assumption that language is not neutral in all its forms, the article will argue that scientific language, far from being neutral and objective, is still characterised by masculine bias.

In the second article, Keltouma Guerch makes a very interesting contribution that deviates from the European centred perspective to transfer us to the Moroccan world and the discrimination that Amazigh women suffer when accessing public health services. Guerch offers a

descriptive account of the oppression of these women in an aim to assess both the impact of cultural, geographical and linguistic estrangement on the quality of health services they get, and also the efforts health workers invest to overcome communication barriers.

Part Two focusses on the part played by narrative and poetry in the crossroads of the three topics of the volume, featuring three chapters that share the contextual background of Francoist Spain and its system of censorship (Godayol, Somacarrera and Lobejón), with the implications this had for the representation of gender, and another article by Royano which underpins the use of poison in literature and related to women.

In her article, Pilar Godayol presents three sample moments in the reception of Simone de Beauvoir under Franco's regime, relating to her famous essay, *Le deuxième sexe*, considered the bible of feminism during the last century. This essay was crucial for the sustenance of the intellectuals opposed to the regime and a stimulus for the feminist discourses emerging in Spain in the 1960s, so its inclusion is mandatory in a volume such as the one presented here.

Also centred on Franco's regime is Pilar Somacarrera's chapter, which deals with Margaret Laurence's *A Jest of God,* a novel that would not have been translated into Spanish had it not been adapted into the film *Rachel, Rachel* (1968) by Hollywood actor and director Paul Newman. By looking at the parameters of taboo, power, invisibility, discourse, visual dimension, imposition of values and self-censorship in relation to the novel, Somacarrera offers an insight into the repressive state of control Spanish society suffered during the regime, and, specially, the figure of women as represented in Laurence's work.

Sergio Lobejón's contribution, as previously mentioned, shares the contextual framework of the two previous chapters from this part, in this case with regard to the field of poetry. Poetry has so far been neglected in most studies centred on dictatorship under Franco, due to its scarce presence in the publishing world and to its attributed character of high-brow literature. Therefore, this contribution is of considerable value since it maps the presence of this genre in the translation field. What Lobejón does is offer an analysis of which poetic works translated from English were originally written by women, focusing on their reception and particularly, on the censorial treatment they received. He also offers an examination of the women involved in the translation process at the time, which target languages they used and which authors they translated, in an unprecedented study of this kind.

The fourth chapter in this part of the book is the one written by Lourdes Royano, which tackles the use of poison in narrative, thus

intersecting with the medical field and offering a perspective of the ways authors may finish their creations either through the death of the female protagonists, as in the novel *Madame Bovary* by Flaubert, or through their involvement in solving a murder, as illustrated by *The Thumb Mark of St. Peter* by Agatha Christie.

Part Three of the volume is the one devoted to gender policies and identity issues. In it, the authors of the two chapters included offer their perception of the links between translation, ideology and gender both in the European context (Federici) and in the world of magazines aimed at women (Rodríguez).

In her article, Eleonora Federici focuses on the European state-of-the-art regarding the intersection between gender and translation studies, offering an updated account of the activities, projects and research that currently conform the European map of the field, with a special emphasis on the Italian case. In doing so, Federici intends to increase the attention paid to these important matters, which are nonetheless left in the background of academic studies.

Last, but not least, Irene Rodríguez writes about women magazines in the Spanish context in an attempt to reveal the mechanisms used in these publications to spread the narrative reflecting the imperfections of women's bodies to perpetuate a continuous dissatisfaction, so the consumption of certain cosmetics becomes a liberation process. Her article is another step in the path of shedding light on the hidden discourses existing in the field and of raising questions concerning the social consequences derived from translating a text which may be detrimental to the social construction of women.

By gathering these articles together, this volume aims to make a significant contribution to the knowledge about translation, ideology and gender in different geographical and time contexts. Having studied their intersections more deeply, it can be said that this is a topic worthy of further analysis, something that the research project from which the volume derives has attempted to do. Both economic and controlling interests of several agencies and agents have been shown to have a say in these intersections, highlighting the partiality of translation "in the dialectic of power, the ongoing process of political discourse, and strategies for social change" (Tymoczko and Gentzler 2002, xviii).

References

Bassnett, Susan, and André Lefevere, eds. 1990. *Translation, History and Culture*. London: Pinter.

Castro, Olga. 2013. "Introduction: Gender, Language and Translation at the Crossroads of Disciplines." Special issue of *Gender and Language: Gender, language and translation at the crossroads of disciplines* 7 (1): 5-12. Accessed November, 25, 2016. DOI:10.1558/genl.v7i1.5.

Federici, Eleonora, ed. 2011. *Translating Gender*. Berne: Peter Lang.

Santaemilia, José. 2005. *Gender, Sex and Translation: The Manipulation of Identities*. Manchester: St Jerome.

Santaemilia, José, and Luise Von Flotow, eds. 2011. "Woman and Translation: Geographies, Voices and Identities/Mujer y traducción: geografías, voces e identidades." Special issue of *MonTI* 3. Accessed November 25, 2016. DOI:10.6035/MonTI.2011.3.1.

Toury, Gideon. 1995. *Descriptive Translation Studies and beyond.* Amsterdam/Philadelphia: John Benjamins.

Tymoczko, Maria and Edwin Gentzler, eds. 2002. *Translation and Power*. Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press.

PART ONE:

TRANSLATION, IDEOLOGY AND GENDER IN THE HEALTH SCIENCES

CHAPTER TWO

GENDER, LANGUAGE AND TRANSLATION IN THE HEALTH SCIENCES: GENDER BIASES IN MEDICAL TEXTBOOKS

VANESSA LEONARDI

Introduction

Textbooks are a rich source of information of any discipline, and biases contained in them may influence readers' perception of several issues, such as gender for instance. Textbooks may perpetuate and reinforce gender bias and sexism in several ways (Baldwin and Baldwin 1992; Blumberg 2007, 2015; Brugeilles and Cromer 2009). Starting with the assumption that language is a highly manipulative, powerful and ideological tool for communication, it will be argued that scientific language, far from being neutral and objective, is still characterised by a masculine bias. Crasnow et al. (2015) claim that

> [w]hen science was first identified as having a masculine basis, many asked whether this implies that there is a feminine science or that women would do science differently from men […] [M]ost feminist science studies scholars try to understand the relationships among science, gender, race, class, sexuality, disability and colonialism and how science constructs and applies these differences.

The rise of second-wave feminism in the 1970s was accompanied by an ongoing debate over the ways in which medicine differentiates between social groups and supports hegemonic ideologies defining gender roles, as well as those dealing with race and social class. From a feminist perspective, medical discourse has historically constituted a site of sexual discrimination by using medico-scientific justifications for differentiating women from men on the basis of biology and anatomy. This paper is aimed at exploring gender issues, ideology and sexism in scientific, and

more precisely, medical textbooks (mainly anatomy and physiology texts) used at university level, both in their original language and in Italian, including translations into Italian. Translation is one of the most fertile grounds for studying ideological shifts and manipulation in language, as it is not a neutral activity, as also acknowledged by many scholars (Fawcett 1995, 1997, 2001; Venuti 1992, 1995, 1998; Hatim and Mason 1990, 1997; Leonardi 2007). From a linguistic point of view, a translation is made up of words, which may carry with them a particular ideological positioning. A contrastive analysis of translations of medical textbooks into Italian will help better assess whether sexism is maintained or omitted in the final product. Sexism in medical textbooks will be explored 1) by comparing the titles and their translation into Italian, 2) by analysing and comparing the illustrations contained in the source texts (STs) and in the translated versions (including front covers), and 3) through a corpus-driven analysis of sexist vs. gender-neutral terms used in the Merck Manual and in its Italian translation.

Gender, language and ideology: The phenomenon of sexism

Gender equality has been the aim of feminism since the 18th century. In broad terms, feminism has always fought for two core issues, namely 1) males and females ought to be equally valuable and 2) commitment to social activism towards the goal of full equality of males and females (Blakemore et al., 2009). Throughout the years, feminist movements have been fighting for different aspects of gender equality. According to Mills (2002), first wave feminism can be associated with the suffragette movement in the 19th and 20th centuries; second wave feminism during the 1960s and 1970s can be associated with political resistance against sex discrimination and the promotion of equal opportunities as well as women's emancipation; finally, third wave feminism is concerned with issues of diversity, multiplicity and construction of gender identities and gender (in)equality within specific contexts.

The women's liberation movement, particularly active during the late 1960s and 1970s, sought to free women from oppression and male supremacy in all fields of society. The term "women's liberation movement" is often used synonymously with either women's movement or second wave feminism, although there were, and still are, many different types of feminist groups. Despite this large variety of theories and approaches to women's issues, all feminist theorists seem to share a

common concern towards the elimination of unfair gender roles, thus fighting against the phenomenon of sexism.

Sexism refers to all the different forms of discrimination based on gender and it questions the imbalance of power between men, who have always been regarded as the superior and privileged class in society, and women, defined and treated as inferior and less important beings. Sexism, in other words, implies questions of power and discrimination, ideology and prejudices in all fields and spheres of society worldwide. The intersection between feminism, language and gender has led to the emergence of feminist linguistics aimed at identifying, demystifying and resisting the ways in which language use reflects, maintains, reinforces and perpetuates gender division and inequality in society (Talbot 2010).

Language is a very powerful tool of communication and its manipulation lies in its use, semantics, ideology and connotations. Throughout the years many scholars have explored the relationship between language and ideology from a variety of perspectives. Hall (1982), for instance, believes that ideology is a reproduction of dominant discourse. Dominant discourse can refer to nationalist, racist or even sexist discourse, among others, where the use and manipulation of language exemplifies this theory of unequal power relations and reinforces the issue of discrimination. Thompson (1984, 131) claims that "the analysis of ideology is fundamentally concerned with *language*, for language is the principal medium of the meaning (signification) which serves to sustain relations of domination." A similar opinion is held by Gruber (1990, 195) who acknowledged the fact that ideology is expressed through linguistic forms and, as such, it is created through language. Hatim and Mason (1990, 161) assert that:

> Ideologies find their clearest expression in language. It follows, therefore, that the analysis of linguistic forms is enriched by the analysis of those ideological structures which underpin the use of language […] Behind the systematic linguistic choices we make, there is inevitably a prior classification of reality in ideological terms. The content of what we do with language reflects ideology at different levels: at the lexical-semantic level, and at the grammatical-syntactic level.

In other words, language is never neutral and it represents its society's norms and conventions, along with its forms of dominance and discrimination. In terms of gender differences, "[t]he differentiated use of language by males and females is more than just a matter of linguistic forms; it is the use of these forms in society and is ideologically constructed" (Leonardi 2007, 38). The clearest form of language discrimination in terms of gender, for instance, is sexist language. Sexist

language implies gender discrimination and, from a translation point of view, it is interesting to see how non-sexist texts can be turned into sexist texts, consciously or unconsciously, or vice versa (Langen 1992; Simon 1996; Leonardi 2007). The fight against sexist language calls for a non-sexist or gender-neutral language aimed at reducing gender stereotyping and discrimination by employing two main strategies, namely 1) neutralization (replacement of masculine forms with gender-unmarked forms) and 2) feminization (use of feminine forms to mark women's presence in the language), or even a combination of both. The rationale behind the implementation of gender-neutral language reforms lies in the fact that the use of masculine forms to represent both men and women reflects the traditionally patriarchal society and the gender hierarchy, which grant men more visibility and power, and, therefore, a higher social status than women (Ridgeway and Correll 2004).

Although many countries have provided recommendations to avoid sexism, there are some places, such as Italy, where sexism is still largely evident and, although the Italian Government has issued similar recommendations, these do not seem to have been taken seriously and implemented as they should. In some cases, such as in the editing and translation of textbooks, both at school and university level, they even seem to have been completely ignored or forgotten. Italian feminist concerns regarding language can be found in the late 1960s through an analysis of linguistic theories developed in both academic and political arenas. For Italian feminist linguists, language encapsulates the dialectic of being a woman in a patriarchal world created for men by men.

The first and most important publications released in Italy, in this respect, were by Sabatani. This author was the first scholar in Italy to approach and explore the issue of sexism in language and her research led to an important publication entitled *Il Sessismo nella Lingua Italiana*, published in April 1987. Her work was aimed at identifying the forms of discrimination and proposing alternatives or recommendations. Two important issues highlighted in her work deserve attention. First of all, the use of the male generic terms or unmarked masculine forms, which have the dual function of referring to either males or both genders. In this respect, Sabatini (1987, 24) claims that:

> The Italian language, like many others, is based on an anthropocentric principle: man is the parameter around which the linguistic universe rotates and organizes itself. A paradigmatic example: the very word «man» has a double meaning because it can refer to both the «male of the species» and also the «species in general», while the word «woman» refers only to the «female of the species».

Another interesting objection raised by Sabatini was the rejection of the "derogatory" suffix *–essa* suggesting instead the use of the feminine ending *–a* in job titles. In Cortelazzo's (1995) opinion, however, it is hard to eliminate sexist connotations in well-established languages, such as Italian, thus the author suggested leaving the *–essa* ending with its double meaning. Many scholars have approached the issue of sexism in the Italian language (Von Bonkewitz 1995; Thüne 1995; Spina 1995; Burr 1995) either exploring the phenomenon in different realms of society or suggesting possible strategies and changes to deal with it in line with other countries' policies worldwide. Lepschy (1991, 118), however, acknowledges that the problem does not lie in grammar but rather in discourse, thus implying that sexism is not determined by grammar, and cannot, therefore, be eliminated merely through changes in grammatical rules as it is characterized by more complex issues related to both cultural and social attitudes.

Gender biases in the scientific field

The rise of second-wave feminism in the 1970s was accompanied by an ongoing debate over the ways in which science and medicine differentiate between social groups and support hegemonic ideologies defining gender roles, as well as those dealing with race and social class. Feminist scholars and critics began to question the objectivity of scientific language and identified medical discourse as a site of sexual discrimination which, by using medico-scientific justifications, has always differentiated women from men on the basis of biology and anatomy.

Several educators and feminist scholars claim that science and science education have a masculine image that does not fit female identities (Kelly 1985; Kahle 1985; Kahle and Meece 1994). Others have claimed that science, historically, has been mainly a male domain (Harding 1996). This does not necessarily imply a total exclusion of women, but a significant resistance to their presence in the scientific field can be detected. As a matter of fact, very few women can be mentioned as having been successful in their scientific career. Table 2-1 records some of the most notable exceptions in this respect.

A recent study revealed interesting figures to prove sex inequalities in the scientific field worldwide (Neufeld et al. 2014). According to this work, women are less likely to become scientists in over 80% of countries. As far as academia is concerned, women still face discrimination from early stages in their career on the basis of their "inferior" competence, thus justifying lower wages than those of their male colleagues. Furthermore, the authors claim that sex inequality is also reflected in scholarly

publications and, as a proof, they refer to a recent bibliometric study examining over 5 million publications across scientific disciplines, which showed that fewer than 30% of authors were women and only about one third of the first authors in these publications are women. Finally, their work also found that women are awarded lower research grants than men for their scientific work.

Elena Cornaro Piscopia (1646-1684)	Italian Mathematician	Piscopia was the first known woman to receive a PhD, and went on to lecture in mathematics at the University of Padua.
Maria Margarethe Kirch (1670-1720)	German Astronomer	Kirch was an astronomer who produced calendars and almanacs, and was the first woman to discover a comet, although it was named after her husband Gottfried.
Émilie du Châtelet (1706-1749)	French Mathematician and Natural Philosopher	Du Châtelet was the first to suggest that infrared radiation might exist, and improved on Newtonian mechanics, deriving a proof for the conservation of energy.
Laura Bassi (1711-1778)	Italian Natural Philosopher	Bassi was the second woman to receive a PhD, and the first known female Professor in Europe. She helped introduce Newtonian mechanics to Italy, published 28 papers on physics, and was among the 25 scholars chosen to advise Pope Benedict XIV. Bassi now has a crater on Venus named after her.
Marie Sklodowska-Curie (1867-1934)	Polish-French Chemist and Physicist	Curie gained her PhD from the University of Paris in June 1903, becoming the first woman in France to be awarded a PhD. Curie became the first woman to win the Nobel Prize in Physics, which she shared with Becquerel and Pierre, for their research into radiation.

Table 2-1: Women in Science, adapted from thestargarden.co.uk.

The presence of women in the sciences, feminist critiques and feminist theories has contributed to changes both in modern science and in studies of science. Feminists question many issues in the field of scientific discourse, ranging from women's presence and occupation to language. Scientific language tends to be regarded as neutral and objective, but many

scholars, not necessarily feminists, seem to disagree on this concept. Medical anthropologist Emily Martin (1991), for instance, carried out a study on scientific textbooks to determine whether gender biases can be detected in the field of biology. In Martin's opinion, textbook writers have imbued the sperm and egg with gender stereotypes. The egg is often portrayed as less worthy than sperm, thus depicting women as less worthy than men.

The increased awareness of sexism in different aspects of the medico-scientific fields prompted many theorists and professionals to explore the phenomenon of gender bias in detail. Studies revealed that gender bias led to stereotypical representations of men and women, thus reinforcing and sustaining gender discrimination in the scientific fields. Denmark (1982), for instance, in a review of psychology texts, detected gender differences in the way women and men were depicted in photographs. He claimed that women were portrayed as passive participants whereas men were the active investigators in charge of conducting the experiments. Furthermore, his study revealed that men were more often represented as therapists or researchers.

Gender bias in English and Italian medical textbooks

Analyses of medical textbooks, education material, and examination questions have revealed stereotypical sex/gender patterns and even openly patriarchal views (Phillips, 1997; Lent and Bishop 1998; Alexanderson et al, 1998). Sexism in anatomy textbooks is not a new area of research as, throughout the years, many scholars have explored this phenomenon by focusing on different aspects, such as language both at lexical and semantic levels as well as visual language (illustrations of the human body).

In order to investigate the phenomenon of gender biases in medical textbooks, both in the original language and in translation, three main types of analysis have been carried out:

1) Comparison of titles and their translation into Italian;
2) Analysis and comparison of illustrations contained in the medical textbooks and their Italian translated versions (including front covers);
3) Corpus-driven analysis of sexist vs gender-neutral terms used in the Merck Manual and its Italian translation.

Titles and their translation into Italian

Source Text	Target Text (Italian)
1) *Atlas der topographischen und angewandten Anatomie* ***des Menschen*** (Eduard Pernkopf 1963)	*Atlante di Anatomia Sistematica e Topografica* ***dell'Uomo*** (Tr. Mario Franceschini 1964) *Atlante di Anatomia* ***Umana*** (2nd edition) (Tr. Mario Franceschini, Cesare Ruffato 1986)
2) *Textbook of Anatomy and Physiology* (Catherine Parker Anthony and Norma Jane Kolthoff 1975)	*Fondamenti di Anatomia e Fisiologia* ***dell'Uomo*** (Tr. Francesco Osculati 1977)
3) *Histology and* ***Human*** *Microanatomy* (Hans Elias, John E. Pauly, E. Robert Burns 1978)	*Istologia e Anatomia Microscopica* ***dell'Uomo*** (Tr. Margherita Raineri 1983)
4) *Beschreibende und funktionelle Anatomie* ***des Menschen*** (Kurt Tittel 1980)	*Anatomia Funzionale* ***dell'Uomo*** *Applicata all'Educazione Fisica e allo Sport* (Tr. Giulio Marinozzi 1987)
5) *The* ***Human*** *Brain: An Introduction to its Functional Anatomy* (John Nolte 1981)	*Anatomia Funzionale del Sistema Nervoso* ***dell'Uomo*** (Tr. Francesco Osculati 1991)
6) ***Der Mensch****: Anatomie und Phisiologie* (Johann S. Schwegler 1996)	*Anatomia e Fisiologia* ***dell'Uomo*** (Tr. Carlo E. Grossi 1999)
7) *Essentials of Anatomy and Physiology* (Frederich H. Martini and Edwin F. Bartholomew, 3rd edition 2002)	*Elementi di Anatomia, Istologia e Fisiologia* ***dell'Uomo*** (Tr. Lucio Cocco, Eugenio Gaudio, Lucia Manzoli, Giovanni Zummo, 1st edition, 2007)

Table 2-2: Comparison of titles of anatomy textbooks and their translation into Italian

It is worth noting that in the very first example in table 2-2, the title is translated differently in the two Italian translations. Gender awareness is shown in the translation of this title in the second Italian version, edited in 1986, where the sexist term was neutralized by using the adjective *umana* [human]. The comparison of the source titles with their Italian translations reveals that the Italian translators consistently use *uomo* in their titles, except in the 2nd edition of example 1. However, the source titles sometimes have zero reference (examples 2, 7), two English texts have

non-sexist "human" (3 and 5) and the three German texts have the non-sexist or gender-neutral *Mensch/Menschen* [human/people].

Sexism can be, therefore, detected in the Italian translations, thus suggesting inaccuracy and a certain degree of sexist ideology in the translators' choices. As far as the Italian translations are concerned, it is worth noting how even female translators (not very common in Italian medical translations, which are usually carried out by men), use sexist language, as shown in example 3. This translation was issued in 1983, that is, four years before Sabatini's recommendations for a non-sexist use of language. Nevertheless, although the other translations mentioned above were carried out after 1987, it seems that Sabatini's guidelines were neither followed nor implemented, in other words, they were completely ignored. The most striking fact, however, is to see how gender-neutral language used in the titles of the STs was turned into sexist language in the Italian translations.

This tendency was partly explained by looking at the way Italian authors of anatomy textbooks choose their titles. In Italy, indeed, although many medical textbooks adopted at universities are translated versions from English (mainly American texts), German and French, there are also many textbooks written by Italian authors in Italian. The following texts are among the most commonly adopted textbooks in medical faculties across Italy and they are listed in chronological order:

1) *Anatomia e Fisiologia dell'Uomo e Igiene* (Bruno Monterossi 1944);
2) *Manuale di Anatomia dell'Uomo* (Gastone Lambertini 1972);
3) *Anatomia e Fisiologia dell'Uomo* (Paolo Castano 1983);
4) *Anatomia dell'Uomo* (Paolo Castano, Rosario Donato 1983 / 2006);
5) *Anatomia dell'Uomo* (Gastone Lambertini, Vincenzo Mezzogiorno 1986);
6) *Anatomia del Sistema Nervoso Centrale e Periferico dell'Uomo* (Luigi Cattaneo 1989);
7) *Anatomia Microscopica degli Organi dell'Uomo* (Damiano Zaccheo, Luigi Cattaneo, Carlo E. Grossi 1989);
8) *Struttura Uomo: Manuale di Anatomia Artistica* (Alberto Lolli, Mauro Zocchetta, Renzo Peretti 1998);
9) *Anatomia dell'Uomo – Quick Review* (Lucio Cocco, Virgilio Ferrario, Eugenio Gaudio, Lucia Manzoli, Michele Papa, Giovanni Zummo 2006);
10) *Anatomia Funzionale del Sistema Nervoso dell'Uomo* (Damiano Zaccheo 2012);

11) *Struttura Uomo in Movimento: Manuale di Anatomia Artistica* (Alberto Lolli, Mauro Zocchetta, Renzo Peretti 2015).

Chronological order was chosen in order to determine whether the sexist use of the male generic term *uomo* has changed over the years, especially after Sabatini's recommendations for a non-sexist use of language issued in 1987.

The first and most striking aspect in terms of sexism, was the tendency to use the gender unmarked term *uomo* to include both men and women, as observed in the translation of foreign textbook titles. This can be simply avoided by using the adjective *umano* [human]: thus, instead of writing *Anatomia dell'Uomo* [Man's Anatomy], they could have opted for *Anatomia Umana* [Human Anatomy]. Secondly, nearly all of the publications above were written by men, except example 9, one of whose six co-authors was a woman, thus displaying a male supremacy in medical text authorship. Thirdly, it is interesting to note that five of these Italian authors (Grossi, Cocco, Gaudio, Manzoli and Zummo) are also the translators of some of the publications in table 2-2, whose titles and their translations were analysed. It seems that publications and translations in the medical field in Italy rather belong to an elite characterized by a few recurring names and mainly male authors and translators whose writing and translating practice maintains and perpetuates sexism in the medical field.

Although suggestions for changing the titles of these Italian medical textbooks can be followed, other changes should be taken into account, such as modifying the illustrations on the front covers and those inside these publications, which, at least in the case of anatomy texts, tend to reproduce the male body as the standard model. This graphic material belongs to the so-called non-verbal or visual language and more attention should be devoted to this issue, as also discussed in the following section.

Gendered visual language in medical textbooks

The use of various semiotic resources in communication has shown that meaning is realized not only through language but also through the integrated use of a wide range of semiotic resources including static and dynamic ones (Goldstone 2004; Kress 2003; Serafini 2011). People have always been exposed to texts that contain visual images, which consciously or unconsciously may help reinforce and support specific ideologies, thus reflecting particular cultural and social attitudes.

Halliday (1978) claimed that language is a semiotic mode and any semiotic mode has to represent three communicative metafunctions,

namely the ideational metafunction, the interpersonal metafunction and the textual metafunction. This view of language had a decisive influence on Kress and Van Leeuwen (1996), who extended it in their visual communication grammar. Thus, the authors assert that images, colours, music, typography and other visual modes simultaneously realize the three metafunctions. Therefore, such images and other visual modes can establish a particular social relation between the producer, the viewer and the object represented. In other words, in their opinion, semiotic systems make it possible to determine and negotiate social and power relationships, and images, therefore, express and carry with them ideological positioning.

In this section, we draw on these theories and the notion that visual language contributes to communication and may be ideologically slanted, and examine their implications in relation to gender. We pose the following questions: Is it possible to talk about the existence of gendered visual language? What can illustrations tell us about gender differences? Can gender stereotypes and biases be detected through an analysis of the graphic material used in textbooks? In order to answer these questions, we focus on anatomy textbooks for medical students, where the male body is usually presented as the standard human body.

As far as visual language is concerned, several scholars have focused their attention on anatomy and physiology textbooks, as they are core texts in medicine and their studies revealed interesting insights into the phenomenon of sexism through pictures. Lawrence and Bendixen (1992), for example, explored the ways in which male and female anatomy were presented in 31 anatomy texts published between 1890 and 1989 and made the following claims:

> Anatomists have produced a powerful and authoritative science of the human structure that is vital to advanced work in various areas of medical research and medical practice. Seeing how the normal human body is routinely depicted as male, or male-centered, in illustrations and language hardly invalidates mainstream anatomical knowledge. Yet becoming aware of how much "his" anatomy dominates "hers" in texts designed for medical students exposes unnecessary genitalia, useless comparisons, careless inaccuracies and errors. More important, this process reveals how far Western culture is from creating a non-gendered human anatomy, one from which both male and female emerge as equally significant and intriguing variations (Lawrence and Bendixen 1992, 933).

Mendelsohn et al. (1994) analysed 4,060 images in 12 commonly used anatomy and physical diagnosis textbooks. As far as anatomy textbooks are concerned, their results showed that whereas females were represented

on average in 21.2% of the anatomy text illustrations, males were represented on average in 44.3%, and 34.4% of the illustrations were neutral. Figures dramatically changed in non-reproductive anatomy chapters, where women were depicted on average in 11.1% and men in 43.1% of the illustrations, and 45.8% were neutral images. In the physical diagnosis text, illustrations showed a more even distribution (21.5% female and 24.8% male). Nevertheless, a difference was observed between chapters dealing with the reproductive system, where women were depicted in a mean of 71.1% of the illustrations, and non-reproductive chapters, where the average fell to 8.8%. The authors concluded that in both anatomy and physical diagnosis texts, women are underrepresented in illustrations of non-reproductive anatomy, thus reinforcing and perpetuating the image of the male body as the standard model in medical education. Similarly, Giacomini et al. (1986) analysed 8 textbooks and found that only 11% of the images were female, 64% male, and 25% neutral.

Eight out of the twelve textbooks analysed by Mendelsohn et al. have been translated into Italian. Interestingly, the illustrations were reproduced faithfully in the translated versions, thus preserving the same degree of sexism as in the source texts. Some slight variations were found in several different front covers used in the Italian translations, but they always displayed either a male body or picture or non-gender images. In other words, even in cases where the front cover design was changed in the translated versions, no female images were chosen. It seems, therefore, that no attention is devoted to the graphic material as if this is not considered a form of language. This is potentially a serious error because this content belongs to the so-called visual language and, as such, can maintain, support and perpetuate ideological positioning and gender biases. Words and images go hand in hand and therefore, in translation, they should not be treated as isolated elements. In order to avoid the rising cost of production, advertising and distribution, books are aimed at several countries at once, and the illustrations are created with an international audience in mind. Having said that, however, there are many cases in which the images can be translated to suit the target culture and can be adapted to the target language, such as in children's stories or advertisements. Although in the case of medical textbooks the choice of not translating the illustrations seems to be motivated by economic reasons, it also raises questions into the incapability or (un)consciousness of reading, interpreting and translating the ideology of visual language and, more specifically, sexism through pictures. Responsibility in translation does not depend merely on translators, as also publishers and readers play an important role in this respect. Translators may be capable

and aware of all this but unable to change anything because of constraints imposed by publishers. There could be a whole range of readers both (in)capable and (un)aware with regard to these issues. These factors need to be taken into account in any contrastive analysis of translations.

A further analysis of the front covers of anatomy textbooks revealed that they tended to display a male body or the image of a man on their front cover. A small percentage of books showed non-gender images and, with one exception, no cover displayed images of women or female bodies or both male and female bodies together. The only exception to the rule was a textbook entitled *Essentials of Human Anatomy and Physiology* by Elaine N. Marieb, where changes throughout the years were observed in the different front covers used in the different editions of her book. These covers displayed men, women, both of them and even different races and the illustrations inside these books also showed the same tendency to be gender and race inclusive. All the Italian translated versions faithfully reproduced the images displayed both on the front covers and inside these STs. The only difference noted was that the translation of the title in the earlier editions (until 2010), which still opted for a sexist use of language by translating "human" as *uomo* (e.g. *Essentials of Human Anatomy and Physiology* translated as *Elementi di Anatomia e Fisiologia dell'Uomo*). Later editions, however, changed the title into a more gender-neutral option, thus showing, possibly, a certain degree of gender awareness while remaining faithful to the original STs.

Finally, it was interesting to find that all the textbook covers of muscle anatomy (even current editions both in English and in Italian) always display a male body. Not a single textbook, in this respect, was found to display a female body or picture or both bodies.

Gender imbalance in the way women are represented in anatomical pictures, however, can take on different forms of discrimination and sexism, as reported in a scandal which took place in 1971, when an anatomy textbook[1] published in the USA included 77% of female images (Halperin 2009). Its withdrawal from the market was based on the allegation that much of the female imagery (and commentaries) was considered to be pornographic. Most of the female imagery displayed photographs of women in "pin-up girl" poses as well as nude poses, which were deemed unsuitable for an anatomy textbook whereas male images were cropped to hide the model's face and genitals, as shown in fig. 2-1.

[1] R. F. Becker, J. S. W. Wilson, J. A. Gehweiler (1971) *The Anatomical Basis of Medical Practice*, Baltimore, Md: Williams & Wilkins.

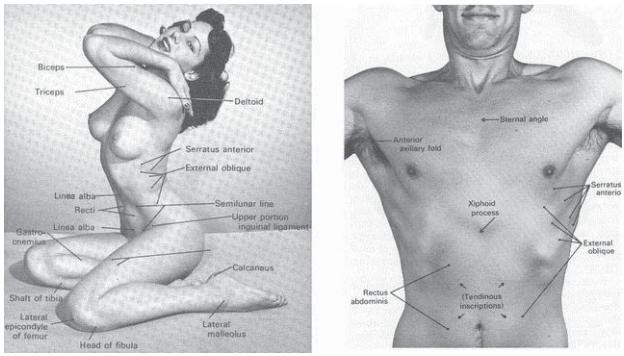


Fig. 2-1: Example of gender differences in anatomical pictures included in *The Anatomical Basis of Medical Practice* edited by Becker, Wilson and Gehweiler in 1971

This text was written by three male authors who found it interesting and "funny" to use these pictures to encourage and motivate anatomy students. In this case, however, the discrimination is aggravated by reflecting a masculine view of women as objects.

In conclusion, as far as gender bias in visual language in anatomy textbooks is concerned, it seems that both past and current authors, editors, translators and anatomists perpetuate sexism by showing the male as the standard and central model of anatomy. According to Lawrence and Bendixen (1992: 933):

> [c]hoosing male illustrations for non-sex specific features, organizing chapters with "the [male]" headings distinct from "the female" sections, using explicit or implicit directional comparisons of female to male structures, placing female terms in parentheses, and directing readers to visualize female regions as altered male ones, all maintain an anatomical hierarchy: male, then female; male as norm, female as different.

Sexist vs gender-neutral terms: The Merck manual

One of the best ways to analyse sexist terms in medical textbooks is through the use of corpora. Corpora have proven to be invaluable resources for lexical studies because they allow a faster search on a large amount of authentic data. For our analysis of sexist terms and gender-biased language in medical texts, the text chosen was the Merck Manual, first published in 1899 as a small reference book for physicians and pharmacists. Since its first appearance on the market, this manual has

grown both in size and scope to become one of the most widely used comprehensive medical resources for professionals and consumers. The manual has been translated into many languages, including Italian. The aim of this analysis is to compare the English (original) version with its Italian translation to ascertain whether attention has been devoted to gender issues in the use of a more neutral or gender-neutral language.

The contrastive analysis was performed on the Merck English and Italian Corpus (MEIC) (Maglie 2007). The MEIC is a parallel corpus created from the Medical English Corpus (MEC - 1,427, 266 words) and the Medical Italian Corpus (MIC - 1,589,364 words) versions of the Merck Manual whose main characteristics are as follows. The first element is the reference to a single period of time, which means that it uses contemporary material. Secondly, all branches of medicine are covered (Endocrinology, Gastroenterology, Orthopaedics, Rheumatology, Pneumology, Otorhinolaryngology, Ophthalmology, Dentistry, Dermatology, Haematology, Oncology, Immunology, Allergology, Study of Infective Diseases, Neurology, Psychiatry, Cardiology, Urology, Gynaecology, Obstetrics, Paediatrics, Genetics, Pharmacology, Poisoning). Thirdly, it represents a single genre (handbook). Fourthly, it is written in one variety of English (American English) and its translation into Italian is the official Italian translation of the Merck Manual.

Due to space restrictions, the terms selected for the analysis were limited to "patient", "doctor", "nurse". These terms were selected on the basis of both their frequent use in the medical language and their ideologically sexist connotation, which consists in the use of masculine forms as the norm when referring to both women and men. From a translation point of view, it is interesting to determine whether these terms have retained the masculine form in Italian, thus supporting a sexist ideology, or have been neutralised, and to ascertain whether gender neutral words in English have been turned into sexist terms in the Italian translation.

For the first term chosen "patient" (and its plural form), the MEC has 7,566 occurrences for the plural and 2,489 for the singular. It is interesting to note that whereas the use of "patients" in the plural allows a more gender-neutral language in English, which is characterised by natural gender, the use of the singular term displayed a more sexist use detected in the agreements, as shown in the sentences below extracted from the corpora:

Example 1
MEC, Sec. 15, Ch. 185, Psychiatry In Medicine
In diabetes, for example, a patient may become depressed because of **his** endless dependence on insulin injections […]
MIC, Medicina Psicosomatica
Nel diabete, per esempio, **un** paziente può deprimersi a causa della dipendenza continua dalle iniezioni di insulina

Example 2
MEC, Sec. 15, Ch. 190, Suicidal Behavior
In persons threatening imminent suicide (eg, a patient who calls and declares that **he** is going to take a lethal dose of a drug […]
MIC, Comportamento Suicida
Nei soggetti che minacciano un suicidio imminente (p.es., **un** paziente che dice di stare per assumere una dose letale di barbiturico […]

Example 3
MEC, Sec. 15, Ch. 185, Psychiatry In Medicine
The physician must decide whether a patient should be held against **his** will to ensure the immediate safety […]
MIC, Emergenze Psichiatriche
Il medico deve decidere se **un** paziente va trattenuto contro la sua volontà per garantire la sua sicurezza immediata […]

These are only a few examples, but they exemplified the tendency of using male generics, thus reinforcing sexism. Sexism is found both in English and in Italian, although the linguistic manifestations are different in these two languages because of systemic differences, that is possessives and personal pronouns in English and indefinite articles in Italian. The use of plural nouns and their relative agreements in both languages is the only way to avoid sexism.

Interestingly, in the MEC, the term "female patient" is only used twice in the singular and twice in the plural form, whereas there are 52 occurrences in the MIC for the singular and 63 occurrences in the plural form. These results show the difference between the specialised language in English and Italian. Italian tends to be more formal and use the word "*paziente*" or "*soggetto*" with the female gender agreement rather than using *donna* [woman] or *donne* [women]. Differences were also found in gender markedness between the MEC and the MIC. The former shows lower frequencies for the terms "woman" and "women" than their counterparts in the MIC because it is clear from the context that women

are involved (e.g. breast cancer). Although the context may be clear, the MIC uses these terms to mark the female gender more frequently, thus reinforcing the ideology of women as different from men. They are not referred to as female patients but rather only as "women". Interestingly, women or female patients, in both corpora, are referred to only when the topic is female-specific (e.g. breast cancer, gynaecology, ovary syndromes). In both corpora, therefore, there is a clear use of male generics to refer to either men or both sexes, thus maintaining sexism and perpetuating gender stereotypes in the field of medicine.

In terms of job titles, a careful analysis of the MEIC revealed a few cases of overt sexism both in English and in Italian. The examples below were selected to show how, despite the differences between natural gender in English and grammatical gender in Italian, authors and/or translators' choices of marking the gender in some particular jobs reflect a particular ideological positioning aimed at reinforcing gender stereotypes.

Example 4
MEC, Sec. 6, Ch. 63, Approach To The Pulmonary Patient
Allaying fear is the most difficult task for the physician and **nurse**, and staying calm is especially hard for the patient.
MIC, Emottisi
Alleviare la paura è il compito più arduo per il medico e per **l'infermiera** e per il paziente è particolarmente difficile rimanere calmo.

Example 4 is the most striking case of sexism found in the MIC and it reflects the tendency to assign the female gender to nurses, even when in the ST this does not occur. In Italy, as in most patriarchal countries, the nursing profession is usually associated with women. This classical stereotype is reproduced in the example above (*infermiera* stands for female nurse). Conversely, both the role of patient (*paziente*) and doctor (*medico*) are assigned to men as in both cases they have masculine agreement in Italian. The use of plural nouns could have been a way to avoid these sexist connotations. Many scholars have studied the phenomenon of sexism in relation to job roles and, in this respect, Gamarnikow (1978) claims that Victorian doctor-nurse-patient relationships could be equated with husband-wife-child relationships. Furthermore, despite increases in the number of women entering medical schools, the profession remains firmly in the hands of men (Elston 1977), as clearly evidenced by both horizontal and vertical segregation within the occupation. According to Elston, women still occupy proportionately far

fewer senior posts than men. Nevertheless, it was still surprising to find this sexist connotation of job titles in the MEC:

Example 5
MEC, Sec. 13, Ch. 163, Human Immunodeficiency Virus Infection
The means of transmission of HIV from the dentist to **his** patients is not understood […]
MIC, Infezione Da Virus Dell'immunodeficienza Umana (HIV)
Le modalità di trasmissione del HIV **dal** dentista ai suoi pazienti non è stata compresa […]

This example makes one reflect upon the real changes implemented in the English language in terms of avoidance of sexism. The choice of "his patients", makes it clear that the dentist mentioned in the text is a man, thus reinforcing the ideology of male supremacy in the medical field. This sexist connotation is maintained in the Italian translation through the use of the masculine articulated preposition 'dal'. This sexist connotation could have been avoided by using the plural forms both in English and in Italian.

Example 6
MEC, Sec. 21, Ch. 291, Rehabilitation
Physicians unfamiliar with writing referrals should consult with a senior therapist, physiatrist, or orthopedic surgeon.
MIC, Riabilitazione
I medici non abituati a scrivere relazioni devono consultare **un** terapista, **un** fisiatra o **un chirurgo ortopedico esperto**.

This example is also interesting in terms of sexism shown in the use of masculine forms to refer to most of the medical job titles. This could easily be avoided, in line with gender-neutral guidelines, by using the plural forms, both in English and in Italian. Although in Italian even the plural form for women is different from men, it does sound less marked in the plural as some of these titles have no female equivalent, thus erasing the article in front of these nouns and opting for a more general group of professionals sounds more gender-inclusive. In other words, both the English author and the Italian translator could have opted for the following version:

Example 7
MEC, (my suggestion)
Physicians unfamiliar with writing referrals should consult with senior **therapists**, **physiatrists**, or orthopedic **surgeons**.
MIC, (my suggestion)
I medici non abituati a scrivere relazioni devono consultare **terapisti**, **fisiatri** o **chirurghi ortopedici esperti**.

Finally, the following examples show the same tendency as that observed in the Italian translations of the titles of most of the anatomy textbooks, that is, of turning the gender-neutral adjective "human" into a sexist term *uomo*. In all these examples, which are gender-neutral in English, it was possible to maintain the same degree of neutrality by using the term *essere umano* [human beings].

Example 8
MEC, Sec. 23, Ch. 308, Bites And Stings
Dermatitis is caused by mites that occasionally bite **humans** […]
MIC, Acari
La dermatite è provocata da acari che occasionalmente mordono l'**uomo** […]

Example 9
MEC, Sec. 23, Ch. 308, Bites And Stings
Mites are seldom found on a patient because they are transitory on **humans**.
MIC, Acari
Gli acari si trovano di rado su un paziente, perchè sull'**uomo** la loro presenza è transitoria.

This corpus-driven analysis, therefore, revealed the use of sexist language both in English and in Italian. In the latter case it was expected whereas in the former it was a surprising feature in view of all the attention devoted to the use of non-sexist language in academic and scholarly publications.

Concluding remarks

Although there has been significant improvement in the use of gender-neutral language in medical textbooks, there is still a long way to go. As this study revealed, language is one of the most powerful and manipulative tools for communication, both in national discourses and in translations

worldwide. Language is the mirror of its society and the way it is used may reflect particular ideologies of discrimination. In Italy, for instance, there seems to be great resistance towards language changes and implementation of non-sexist recommendations to erase gender discrimination. The moral justification lying behind the use of sexist language in Italy was that until a few decades ago, all the most important positions of power and responsibility were occupied by men and, as such, these masculine roles justified the use of masculine words. This is particularly true in the field of medicine, as shown in this study.

Past research on both text and imagery in anatomy textbooks has largely documented their lack of neutrality. Male anatomy and physiology are often represented as the norm, whereas women still tend to be largely underrepresented in non-reproductive anatomy. The analyses of illustrations contained in anatomy and physiology textbooks and on their front covers revealed that the human body is essentially male whereas the female body is depicted to show differences and variation from the "norm". It is worth noting that although biases towards male anatomy as being "standard" might be unintentional, there are several scholars who consider these linguistic and extra-linguistic criteria as deliberately sexist choices (Petersen 1998). Furthermore, Johnson (2005) has recently reported another sexist tendency in the use of medical simulators, which show gender imbalance by using the male body to include also the female body.

This study revealed that gender inequality still exists, especially in the scientific fields, including medicine. The anatomy textbooks analysed show a disproportionate use of male-centred anatomy and, consequently, it seems plausible to conclude that most current anatomy textbooks are still gender-biased. Since sexism in both language and imagery helps reinforce the sexist social structure, it is necessary to re-examine textbooks through a gender lens. It is, therefore, important to rethink language used in all medical publications, including textbooks, and rethink visual language, even in translation. In this respect, there is a call for gendered innovations in the medico-scientific field aimed at 1) revising scientific and medical publications and translations, 2) achieving equal treatment of men and women in different fields both as professionals and as patients and 3) devoting more attention to gender issues in the production of native-language and translated texts including the use of illustrations.

References

Alexanderson, Kristina, Gun Wingren and Inger Rosdahl. 1998. "Gender analyses of medical textbooks on dermatology, epidemiology, occupational medicine and public health." *Education for Health Change in Learning & Practice* 11: 151–163.

Baldwin, Patricia and Douglas Baldwin. 1992. "The portrayal of women in classroom textbooks." *Canadian Social Studies* 26 (3): 110-114.

Blakemore, Judith E. Owen, Sheri A. Berenbaum and Lynn S. Liben. 2009. *Gender Development*. New York: Taylor & Francis Group.

Blumberg, Rae Lesser. 2007. *Gender Bias in Textbooks: A Hidden Obstacle on the Road to Gender Equality in Education*. Paris: UNESCO.

—. 2015. *Eliminating Gender Bias in Textbooks: Pushing for Policy Reforms that Promote Gender Equity in Education.* Paris: UNESCO.

Brugeilles, Carole and Sylvie Cromer. 2009. *Promoting Gender Equality through Textbooks: A Methodological Guide*. Breda: UNESCO.

Burr, Elisabeth. 1995. "Agentivi e sessi in un corpus di giornali italiani." In *Donna & linguaggio*, edited by Gianna Marcato, 141–57. Padua: CLEUP.

Crasnow, Sharon, Alison Wylie, Wenda K. Bauchspies and Elizabeth Potter. 2015. "Feminist Perspectives on Science". In *The Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy*, edited by Edward N. Zalta, http://plato.stanford.edu/archives/sum2015/entries/feminist-science

Cortelazzo, Manlio. 1995. "Perché non si vuole la presidentessa?" In *Donna & linguaggio*, edited by Gianna Marcato, 49-52. Padua: CLEUP.

Denmark, Florence. 1982. "Integrating the psychology of women into introductory psychology." *G. Stanley Hall Lecture Series* 3: 33-71.

Elston, Mary Ann. 1977. "Women in the medical profession: whose problem?" In *Health and the Division of Labour*, edited by Margaret Stacey, Margaret Reid, Christian Heath and Robert Dingwall, 115-40. London: Croom Helm.

Fawcett, Peter. 1995. "Translation and Power Play". *The Translator* 1 (2): 177–92.

—. 1997. "Macerated Malraux: A Study of *La Voie Royale* in Translation". In *Translating Sensitive Texts: Linguistic Aspects*, edited by Karl Simms, 247-65. Amsterdam: Rodopi.

—. 2001. "Ideology and Translation". In *Routledge Encyclopedia of Translation Studies*, edited by Mona Baker, 106–11. London and New York: Routledge.

Gamarnikow, Eva. 1978. "Sexual division of labour: The case of nursing." In *Feminism and Materialism,* edited by Annette Kuhn and AnnMarie Wolpe, 96-123. London and New York: Routledge.

Giacomini Mita, Patricia Rozée-Koker and Fran Pepitone-Arreola-Rockwell. 1986. "Gender bias in human anatomy textbook illustrations." *Psychology of Women Quarterly* 10 (4): 413-20.

Goldstone, Bette P. 2004. "The postmodern picture book: A new subgenre." *Language Arts* 81 (3): 196–204.

Gruber, Helmut. 1990. "Ein Gespenst geht um in Ősterreich." In *Sprache in der Politik: Politik in der Sprache. Analysen zum őffentlichen Sprachgebrauch*, edited by Ruth Wodak and Florian Menz, 191-207. Klagenfurt: Drava.

Hall, Stuart. 1982. "The rediscovery of "ideology": Return of the repressed in media studies." In *Culture, Society and the Media*, edited by Michael Gurevitch, Tony Bennett, James Curran and Janet Woollacott, 56-90. London and New York: Routledge.

Halliday, Michael Alexander K. 1978. *Language as Social Semiotic: The Social Interpretation of Language and Meaning*. London: Edward Arnold.

Halperin, Edward C. 2009. "The pornographic anatomy book? The curious tale of the anatomical basis of medical practice." *Academic Medicine* 84: 278–83.

Harding, Sandra. 1996. *Ciencia y feminismo.* Madrid: Ediciones Morata.

Hatim, Basil and Ian Mason. 1990. *Discourse and the Translator*. London and New York: Longman.

—. 1997. *The Translator as Communicator*. London and New York: Routledge.

Johnson, Ericka. 2005. "The ghost of anatomies past: Stimulating the one-sex body in modern medical training." *Feminist Theory* 6 (2): 141–59.

Kahle, Jane B., ed. 1985. *Women in Science: a Report from the Field*. Philadelphia and London: The Falmer Press.

Kahle, Jane B. and Judith Meece. 1994. "Research on gender issues in the classroom." In *Handbook of Research on Science Teaching and Learning,* edited by Dorothy L. Gabel, 542-57. New York: MacMillan.

Kelly, Alison. 1985. "The construction of masculine science." *British Journal of Sociology of Education* 6 (2): 133-53.

Kress, Gunther. 2003. *Literacy in the New Media Age*. London: Routledge.

Kress, Gunther and Theo Van Leeuwen. 1996. *Reading Images: The Grammar of Visual Design*. London: Routledge.

Lawrence Susan C. and Kae Bendixen. 1992. "His and hers: Male and female anatomy in anatomy texts for U.S. medical students, 1890-1989." *Social Science & Medicine* 35 (7): 925–34.

Langen, Udo. 1992. "Constraints on Non-Sexist Translation." *Babel* 38 (3): 130-38.

Lent, Barbara and Joan E. Bishop. 1998. "Sense and sensitivity: Developing a gender issues perspective in medical education." *Journal of Women's Health* 7: 339–42.

Leonardi, Vanessa. 2007. *Gender and Ideology in Translation: Do Women and Men Translate Differently? A Contrastive Analysis from Italian into English*. Bern: Peter Lang.

Lepschy, Giulio. 1991. "Language and Sexism." In *Women and Italy*, edited by Zygmunt G. Barański and Shirley W. Vinall, 117-35. Basingstoke and London: Macmillan.

Maglie, Rosita. 2007. "Words and terms in medical English: A linguistic study for translation purposes." In *Quaderni di SAGEO*, edited by Graziella Todisco and Maristella Gatto, 53-69. Ravenna: Longo.

Martin, Emily. 1991. "The egg and the sperm: How science has constructed a romance based on stereotypical male-female roles." *Signs* 16 (3): 485-501.

Mendelsohn, Kathleen D., Linda Z. Nieman, Krista Isaacs, Sophia Lee and Sandra P. Levison. 1994. "Sex and gender bias in anatomy and physical diagnosis text illustrations." *JAMA* 272 (16): 1267-70.

Mills, Sara. 2002. "Third-way feminist linguistics and the analysis of sexism." Plenary talk at IGALA 2 conference, Lancaster, 12-14 April, available online at: http://extra.shu.ac.uk/daol/articles/open/2003/001/mills2003001-paper.html

Neufeld, Nicholas H., Bhanu Sharma and Alexander McGirr. 2014. "Sex disparity in academic medical discourse." *BMJ Careers,* available at: http://careers.bmj.com/careers/advice/viewarticle.html?id=20018422

Petersen Alan. 1998. "Sexing the body: Representations of sex differences in Gray's Anatomy, 1858 to the present." *Body & Society* 4 (1): 1–15.

Phillips, Susan P. 1997. "Problem-based learning in medicine: New curriculum, old stereotypes." *Social Science & Medicine* 45: 497–99.

Ridgeway Cecilia L. and Shelley J. Correll. 2004. "Unpacking the gender system: A theoretical perspective on gender beliefs and social relations." *Gender & Society* 18 (4): 510-31.

Sabatini, Alma. 1987. *Il Sessismo nella Lingua Italiana.* Rome: Presidenza del Consiglio dei Ministri, Dipartimento per l'Informazione e l'Editoria.

Serafini, Frank. 2011. "Expanding perspectives for comprehending visual images in multimodal texts." *Journal of Adolescent & Adult Literacy* 54 (5): 342-50.

Simon, Sherry. 1996. *Gender in Translation*. London and New York: Routledge.

Spina, Stefania. 1995. "Lessico, donne e mondo del lavoro: i nomi femminili di mestiere nella letteratura italiana." In *Donna & linguaggio*, edited by Gianna Marcato, 129-40. Padua: CLEUP.

Talbot, Mary. 2010. *Language and Gender.* Malden: Polity Press.

Thompson, John B. 1984. *Studies in the Theory of Ideology*. Cambridge: Polity.

Thüne, Eva-Maria. 1995. "L'acqua in movimento: Questioni di genere grammaticale e lessico femminile." In *Donna & linguaggio*, edited by Gianna Marcato, 111-28. Padua: CLEUP.

Venuti, Lawrence, ed. 1992. *Rethinking Translation: Discourse, Subjectivity, Ideology*. London and New York: Routledge.

—. 1995. *The Translator's Invisibility*. London and New York: Routledge.

—. 1998. *The Scandals of Translation: Towards an Ethics of Difference*. London and New York: Routledge.

Von Bonkewitz, Tatjana. 1995. "Lingua, genere e sesso: sessismo nella grammaticografia e in libri scolastici della lingua italiana." In *Donna & linguaggio*, edited by Gianna Marcato, 99-110. Padua: CLEUP.

CHAPTER THREE

LINGUISTIC, ECONOMIC, EDUCATIONAL AND GEOGRAPHIC BARRIERS DEPRIVE MOST AMAZIGH WOMEN OF ADEQUATE HEALTH CARE

KELTOUMA GUERCH[1]

Introduction: Morocco, The country and the people

Geographical location and a brief history of Morocco

Morocco, officially the "Kingdom of Morocco," is located in the far north-west of the African continent (fig. 3-1). It is the closest African and Arab country to the European continent, only 14 kilometres from Spain across the Strait of Gibraltar, the meeting point of the Mediterranean Sea and the Atlantic Ocean. Morocco shares borders with two states, Algeria in the east, and Mauritania in the south. The coastal borders of the country extend over 3,500 km, shared by the Mediterranean Sea (500km) and the Atlantic Ocean (3,000km), from Saidia on the north-eastern border with Algeria to Guerguerate on the border with Mauritania. According to the 2014 general census, the population of Morocco is around 34 million.

Morocco's history is mainly connected to its native inhabitants, called Amazighs, and the Arab settlers who brought Islam to North Africa 1,430 years ago. During various historical periods, Morocco's geographical location attracted traders as well as invaders, principally from the European continent. The Amazighs were invaded by the Phoenicians, the Romans, the Vandals, the Byzantines, the Arabs, and the Europeans. The latter, the French and Spanish, in particular, invaded Morocco via

[1] The Cultural & Art Studies and Research Unit of Oujda Center for Social & Human Studies & Research, Oujda Morocco (CERSHO). Development and Culture Studies UFR Unit, Mohamed V University, Rabat Agdal, Morocco.

protectorate contracts in the dawn of the twentieth century and started leaving in the mid 1950s. While the French officially left the country in 1956, the Spanish dominated areas in the north and south of the country. Those areas were recovered through various periods of Morocco's independence history, from 1956 until 1975, with the recovery of Western Sahara. The northern trading centres Ceuta and Melilla are still governed by the Spanish.

Fig. 3-1: Morocco and North Africa

While some invaders sought fair economic exchanges, others were mainly targeting colonial establishment aiming to usurp the country's natural wealth and benefit from its ideal geographical location to reach other African and Middle Eastern spots. However, except for the Arabs, all the other invaders and settlers left eventually.

Today, most Moroccans claim Islam as their religion. For centuries, Arabic had been considered the official language of the country and Islam its religion. Less than 1% of the Moroccan population are Christians, notably Europeans, North Americans and, recently, migrants from sub-Saharan Africa. However, with the great waves of migrants from ex-French and Belgian sub-Saharan colonies and a high birth rate among this category, the number of Christians in the country is very likely to rise in the next few decades. The Moroccan Jewish population barely reaches 2000 souls. In fact, their number was much higher before the invasion of Palestine by the Zionists and the establishment of the state of Israel around the mid-twentieth century.

Imazighen and the Amazigh language

Who are the Amazigh/Imazighen?

The Amazighs are the descendants of the great king Mazigh, a native of Yemen and the Levant. The physical presence of the Amazighs extends from Egypt to Mauritania with over a hundred varieties of spoken languages. In 1000 B.C. the Imazighen people were already long established in North Africa. It is important to note that colonial heritage since the Greek times equated Imazighen to Berbers, a term which is rejected by the Amazighs because of its barbaric connotation.[2] Thmazight, in comparison with Standard Arabic, is ranked second to Darija, the Moroccan Arabic-derived dialect, which is itself judged as "impure", "aesthetically and expressively inferior", and deformed as a language. (Almasude 1999, 119)

In Morocco the present Amazighs are the descendants of the three great Amazigh tribes Sanhaja, Zenata, and Masmouda. They constitute at least 45% of the population and comprise three major ethnic groups and several sub-dialect groups (Sadiqi 1997; Almasude 1999). The most recent population census (September 2014) claims the Amazigh-speakers barely make up 28% of the Moroccan population, which stirred up a wave of protests among some famous Amazigh movement voices such as Ahmed Aassid and Cherif Dardak.[3] Ahmed Aassid rejected the statistics relating to the number of Amazigh speakers in Morocco and accused the government of downgrading the Amazighs through these statistics. Aassid alleged that a census run by government officials would obviously serve the aims of an anti-Amazigh government. However, it is vital to note that the Moroccan government and the two Parliament Chambers include a good number of Amazighs.

---

[2] "Barbario" and "barbarous" were used by the Greek to mean "strange" or "foreign", and, in consequence, "rude" and "ignorant". Tailor (1944) supposes the word had its source in the idea of stammering, stuttering, and bubbling unintelligibly. Sophocles used the expression "tongueless" for the barbarous as contrasted with the Greeks who were referred to as "the speakers" (qtd. Hertzler 1965, 251). A lengthy analysis of the term and its uses is also provided by Ziauddin Sardar, Ashis Nandy and Merryl Wyn Davies in *Barbaric Others: A Manifesto on Western Racism.* (1993)

[3] Interviews with Ahmed Aassid, Cherif Dardak and other Amazigh and human rights movement activists by Al-Hassan Abou Yahya for www.aljazeera.net. October 24, 2015. Web. http://www.aljazeera.net/news/reportsandinterviews/2015/10/24/. Accessed: Oct. 24, 2015.

As an ethnic group, Imazighen do not physically display any difference from the Arabs, especially in big cities; hence, the difficulty to distinguish an Arab from an Amazigh unless they engage in a conversation. However, through thousands of years, the climatic conditions, the geographical location, and the continuous waves of immigration could have imposed some differences on the level of skin colour among the Amazighs themselves. Accordingly, a Rifain Amazigh from the north tends to have a lighter skin colour that is more European-like than another Amazigh from Er-rachidia and Zagoura in the south or another one in the High Atlas Mountains.

Thanks to Islam, which was the hallmark of their presence in North Africa, the Arabs were able to become an integral part of this geographical area and contributed to shaping the present cultural and linguistic identity[ies] of its dwellers. The linguistic varieties that emanated from such ethnic fusion—namely, Arab and Amazigh, together with the African dimension—make the North African countries, and Morocco in particular, a meeting point of an amazing mixture of cultures and tongues. Yet, due to the introduction of both religious and modern education in classical Arabic, North African countries are more affiliated with the Arab World than with Black Africa or Europe; hence, the constitutional description of these countries as Arab-Islamic Nations. In addition to the preservation of the Amazigh language, at least in its spoken form, Moroccans speak an Arabic dialect/colloquial Moroccan called Darija, which is a mixture of Arabic, Amazigh and French.

The Amazigh language in life and in the Moroccan national constitution

Fatima Sadiqi (1997) claims that given that Arabic is required for the practice of Islam, most Imazighen feel they are Arabs as well. However, this is now open to debate due to the large influence of the Amazigh movement activists, notably social media activists, who identify themselves as Amazigh Moroccan Muslims. Identity among the Amazighs has always taken many forms, namely, traditional clothes, beauty garments and jewellery, tattoos, community celebrations, artistic and cultural festivals, oral literature, music, and, recently, writing contests organized by some media channels and the Royal Institute of the Amazigh Culture (IRCAM)[4]. The Amazighs closely observe the celebration of their Yannayer New Year, which falls on January 13th of every Gregorian year.

[4] IRCAM is the French abbreviation for l'Institut Royal de la Culture Amazigh.

The event celebrates the victory of Amazigh king Shoshenq I over the Great Pharaoh of Egypt Ramses III, which is believed to have happened in 950 BC, that is 2,966 years ago. The Amazighs are now urging for the Amazigh new year to be made a national holiday.

Furthermore, displaying a strong sense of cultural revival, the Amazigh youth are widely using social networks to make their culture and demands known locally and internationally. Indeed, web activists invest very impressive graphic signs and symbols on their profile pictures and on their clothes such as T-Shirts, hats and scarves, but the spoken language remains the most conspicuous identity marker. Among urban Amazighs, online activism is run via Amazigh-net, an Internet discussion group for people interested in Amazigh issues (Crawford and Hoffman 2000, Almasude 1999). Worldwide, Moroccan Imazighen have been affiliated to the World Amazigh Congress (WAC) since August 1997. The WAC's first meeting in the Canary Islands gathered 350 delegates from North Africa, Mali, Niger, Europe and the Americas. The participants committed themselves to work towards the goal of preserving Amazigh identity, language and culture.

Whether educated or not, the Amazighs are always proud of their language. Very dramatic experiences have been reported, though. Because they have a different accent when they speak Arabic, many small children who receive their elementary education in schools with an Arabic-speaking majority have often been humiliated by irresponsible teachers and spiteful classmates.

Another battle being fought by a lot of Amazigh movement activists and families on both national and international levels is the preservation of Amazigh identity through perpetuating native Amazigh names. Amazigh names that were put on a black list and prohibited until very recently have now become allowed as a response to calls for a fair treatment of all Moroccans in terms of rights and duties and in accordance with the UN Declaration (13 September 2007) on the Rights of Indigenous People against forced assimilation.

Unlike several native languages around the world, spoken Amazigh has resisted all attempts of total erosion. It is important to note that the Arabic language and Islamic religious duties have enriched Amazigh with functional terms and structures. In addition to the strong and proud ties to their native community, Imazighen were partly able to preserve their language thanks to the geographical location of their native villages; some of them were forced not to mingle with urban populations. However, like Arabic, the Amazigh language was infiltrated by French and Spanish words as a consequence of European imperialism. Paradoxically, the

notorious Berber Dahir[5] (Royal Law or Decree), which was initiated by the French protectorate in 1930, was an unsuccessful attempt to divide-and-rule that drove the Moroccan population to express their discontent about colonial oppression.

In the present time and thanks to education and the possibility of participating in politics, the Amazigh Movement activists, who are often Human Rights activists, strive to gain more rights for their Amazigh fellows. Decades of struggle to have their language recognized as an official language eventually paid off in the latest constitution, 1 July 2011, which Sadiqi (2014) describes as "an unprecedented and unique event in the modern history of the country". Back in the summer of 1994, late King Hassan II promised that the Amazigh language would be taught in public schools, although it remained unclear whether it would be the language of instruction or an instructed language. In fact, during the last decade, Imazighen managed to have their language taught in Moroccan elementary schools (Grades 1-5), but that was a limited experience because of the lack of qualified teachers and a clear vision and political will to give the language the same status in education as Arabic and French. Another reason is the monopoly of the Royal Institute for Amazigh Language and Culture by people from the same geographic area.

Last but not least, the competition between the representatives of the three major Amazigh dialects, Tarifit, Tachelhit, and Tamazight (fig. 3-2), created a feeling of injustice among speakers of another dozen sub-varieties (fig. 3-3), whose opinion was not sought and whose voice was not heard all through the negotiations regarding the national language policy in the last three decades. Very recently, some Amazigh members of parliament (MPs) started challenging the government by strongly calling for the representation of Amazigh symbols and language in Moroccan currency.

In the literature, the term Amazigh is used interchangeably with Thmazight and Tamazight, with a slight pronunciation difference on the first syllable. Only a very small minority are able to write the Amazigh alphabet, called Tifinagh (fig. 3-4). Due to technology and speedy communication needs, most users resort to the Latin alphabet to write short texts and e-mails. In fact, during the long years of negotiations as to the procedures of integrating Amazigh in formal education, a large

[5] Apparently, the Berber Dahir aimed to support the Berbers/Amazighs to stick to their tribal laws while settling legal issues and not use Islamic rules which were the basis of Moroccan penal laws. By encouraging the Amazighs to run their economic and legal affairs according to tribal laws, the French wanted them to rise up against the central rule of the Moroccan king and his government.

majority of the Amazigh Movement activists advocated adopting the Latin alphabet for a written form of their language. To make their appeal convincing, these activists referred to the Turkish experience which, according to them, has made it possible for the Turkish language to be read by millions of people around the world. The issue over the right alphabet to use came in for a lot of criticism because of the limited capacity of a language written in a foreign alphabet to carry all the cultural load of that language.

Those who opposed the adoption of Latin alphabet accused its advocators of seeking to please the West rather than serving the Amazigh cause and their local Amazigh communities. Unfortunately, most Tifinagh symbols are still maintained but as a morphological entity rather than a linguistic vehicle of the culture itself. In fact, the teaching of Amazigh at the elementary level does not go beyond recognizing its alphabet, uttering single words, a few numbers, and short sentences.

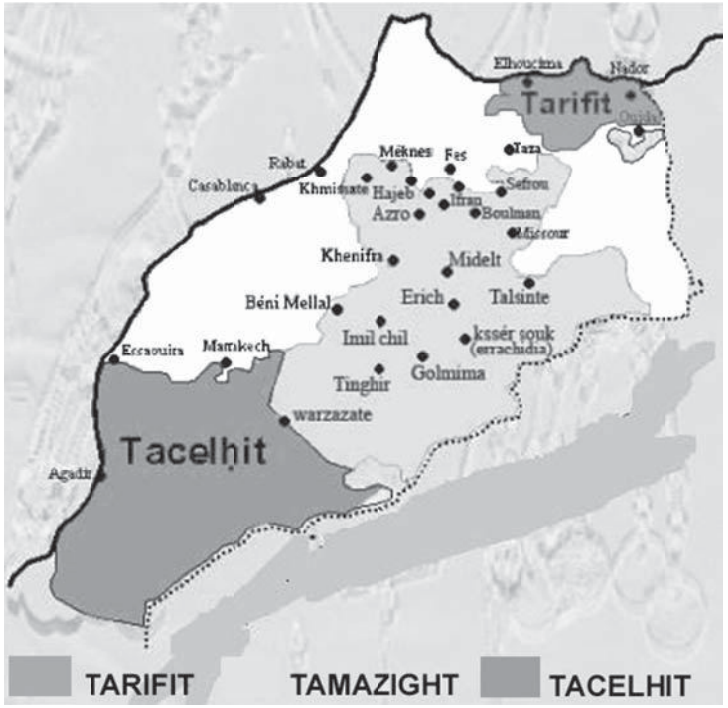


Fig. 3-2. Amazigh-speaking areas in Morocco: a reductive representation

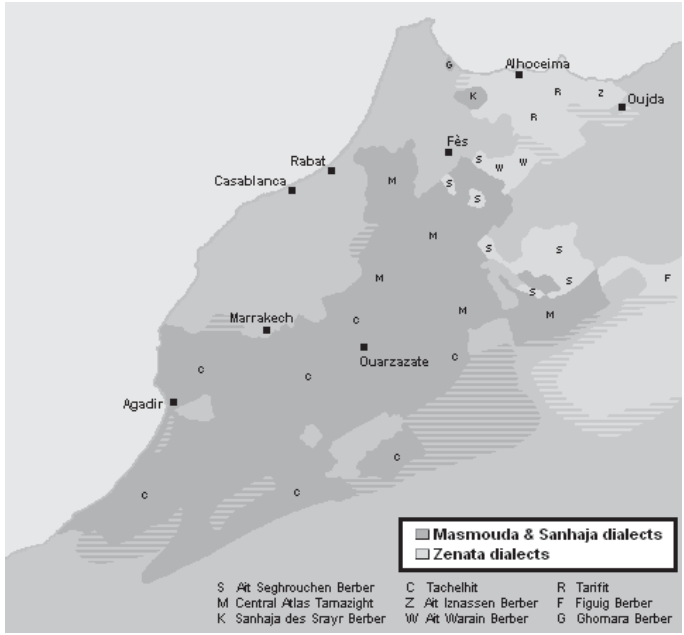


Fig. 3-3: Amazigh-speaking areas: a more realistic representation

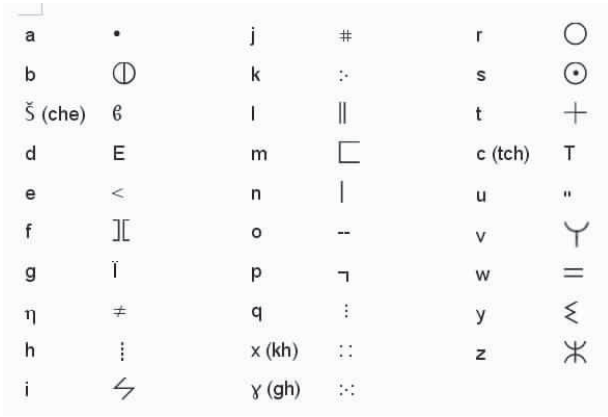


Fig. 3-4: Tifinagh, the Amazigh alphabet

In her article entitled "Arabization of the Amazigh Lands", Madani (2003) characterizes the imposed and strict institutionalized Arabization of Morocco following independence as "racist". Radical Amazigh writer and activist Meriem Demnati (2013) even qualified "injustices" inflicted on the Amazigh community through successive official education systems as tools to downgrade the Amazigh language and its speakers.

Backed by the latest Moroccan constitution, which grants Amazigh the status of the second official language, some MPs have started delivering their speeches in the two parliamentary chambers in their mother tongue. The experience was prompted by the woman Amazigh singer and MP, Fatima Tabaamrant, who asked an oral question in Tachelhit, the southern Amazigh variety. Tabaamrant's initiative was highly appreciated by the Amazigh movement and Human Rights activists but it was rebuked by Arabic-speaking MPs who argued that they were linguistically excluded.

However, damage to Amazigh and its speakers did not come from outside the Amazigh community alone. Contradictions and struggles among the Amazigh elite engendered many innocent victims among the common population. The Amazigh Cultural Movement (MCA) has always been in conflicts with the IRCAM members, who are blamed for being appointed and thus domesticated by the central rule. As a result, by investing time and effort in ideological struggles and political aspirations, the Amazigh elite have overlooked the miserable conditions of underprivileged rural Amazigh communities who struggle daily to survive hunger, cold, and diseases with minimal means. In this economic, political, and ideological context, rural and uneducated women and children seem to suffer the most from marginalization.

The Amazigh woman: The colonized of the colonized

As a major component of the Amazigh community, the Amazigh woman of the past is mainly remembered for being independent, hardworking and beautiful. In an article entitled "Amazigh Civilization: A Lesson in how to Treat Women," El Houssaine Naaim (2015)[6] pays tribute to Amazigh

[6] Referring to Ibn Khaldoun's and other historians' descriptions of the Amazighs in North Africa, El Houssaine Naaim introduces Amazigh queens and knights such as Tihya, Dihya, Tanit, and Tin-hanan, who were only a few examples of Amazigh women who brought pride to the Amazigh society and contributed to its civilization. In times of war and crisis, those women, Naaim argues, were both ferocious and kind depending on the circumstances and on the nature of their enemy. No wonder they are depicted as excellent horse riders and fierce warriors against invaders.

queens and female knights and warriors who displayed unprecedented levels of courage and common sense at the time when pre-Islam, European, African and Asian women were stigmatized, buried alive and considered as witches and as a symbol of bad luck. Fatima Sadiqi (2014) devotes a full chapter entitled "The historicity of Berber women's agency" to celebrate the role of Berber women in preserving the Berber language and culture and their contribution to the making of Moroccan history. Sadiqi asserts that, in spite of being marginalized in official history, Berber female agency is part and parcel of Morocco's past, present and future.

Contemporary writings about Amazigh women tend to deal with their present condition from a comparative social perspective. In the Amazigh culture, the woman has always been the centre of family and social life. Her role is still praised in the Amazigh oral tradition. As the bearer of the native language and culture, she takes on the great responsibility of transmitting them to future generations. The golden age of the Amazighs is often contrasted to the miserable conditions most of them live in the present time, mainly in remote areas, where vital life necessities such as roads, schools and hospitals are insufficient or totally lacking. Moroccan feminism, which has affinities with Middle Eastern, Third World, and Western feminisms, and yet has its own historical, cultural, and social conditionings that make it different (Sadiqi 2003: 35), is criticized for discarding the Amazigh woman's condition from their scope of interest (Demnati 2013).

Sarah R. Fischer (2010, 32) argues that the social divisions, based on ethnic, linguistic, and economic differences, "breed and perpetuate inequality and marginalization; they limit and hinder individual and group success." In the field of education, Demnati (2013) stresses the fact that national policies have marginalized Amazigh women by imposing education and training in the two hegemonic languages: Arabic and French. As a consequence, Amazigh women have become estranged, their native culture eroded, and many of their rights denied.

When basic needs like education and health services are lacking, this marginalization becomes more severe. According to Dr Hassan Semlali (2010, 22) the main challenges within the Moroccan health system are chiefly characterized by the difficulties in accessing health care for the poorest and for rural populations, especially for certain illnesses like chronic illnesses; non-satisfactory management of public hospitals, whose problems relate to centralized management, a deficiency in managerial competence and poor quality service; and, last but not least, the lack of a an efficient policy to manage and improve human resources. When the key

ratios within the Moroccan health system are below international standards,[7] it is obvious that the economically and geographically marginalized will be at risk.

Amazigh speaking populations are found in rural, urban, and semi-urban geographical locations and constantly deal with difficulties relating to communication when seeking public services. Since the introduction of the Spanish and French protectorates in the dawn of the twentieth century, Morocco has been compelled to use European rules and norms to deal with daily issues, notably, legal, health, educational, and administrative arrangements. Hundreds of rights have been lost because of the incapacity of Amazigh natives to claim them as all administrative procedures have been performed either in French, Spanish or Standard Arabic. Being the colonized of the colonized, rural women have been the weakest part, chiefly in domains that directly relate to their safety and sovereignty. Accordingly, health institutions, which have long been run by the French colonists and later by the French-educated Moroccan physicians, rarely offer satisfactory services to rural women, Amazigh-speakers, in particular.

A major aim of my study is to determine the consequences of the lack of adequate infrastructure and sufficient medical staff on rural Amazigh women's right to good health. In modern Morocco, positive achievements have been made such as reductions in several fatal diseases and epidemics which have contributed to the rise of average life expectancy. Additionally, family planning policies have abated the annual population growth rate to 1.4. The discrepancies, however, are mainly caused by social and geographical inequalities. Women, children, the elderly and the disabled are the ones who pay the price of such discrepancies. The poor infrastructure and the lack of equity in distribution of human resources make such discrepancies even more acute in remote areas where large majorities of native Moroccans still survive on small agricultural activities.

Methodology of the research

I performed this study within an anthropological and social quantitative framework. The questionnaires (see Appendix) were administered with the help of Amazigh and Arab colleagues and friends who live and work in Amazigh speaking regions. The questionnaires were emailed, printed and

[7] Dr. Semlali states meaningful figures, based on official 2010 statistics reported by the Service of Studies and Health Information, Directorate of Planning and Financial Resources, and Ministry of Health. The figures show that in Morocco, there is only one doctor, one nurse and one pharmacist per 9,510; 1,134 and 3,626 inhabitants, respectively (Semlali 2010, 23).

distributed to medical professionals who filled them out by themselves, as they were administered in both French and English.[8] The same procedure was adopted for literate women patients, who are actually a very small minority and whose questionnaires were assigned in Arabic. Questionnaires targeting illiterate women patients were adapted into interviews during which my collaborators took note of the answers on the questionnaire sheets.

All the filled questionnaires were scanned and returned via email. The questionnaires and interviews were assigned to 85 Moroccan medical professionals (physicians, surgeons, nurses (polyvalent and midwives), pharmacists, and anaesthetists) aged 23-54. The 70 analyzed answers include the 55 returned questionnaires and the 15 interview notes. For the women patient category, 120 questionnaires were dispatched but only 80 were recovered. The analysis includes an additional 35 interviewed women, which raises the number to 115 Amazigh women patients, aged 36-71. The questionnaires consist of two major sections; the first one targets the person's general information and professional background while the second includes questions relating to the core of this study (see Appendix). For medical professionals, in the public and private sectors, data collection targeted four major geographical areas: the north-eastern region (Nador City and its region); the south-eastern region (Rachidia and Tinghir), and the south-west zone (Agadir City and its region). I personally conducted face-to-face interviews with both medical professionals and women patients in the north-eastern part of Morocco (Jrada, Oujda, Berkane).

In the medical professionals category, 55 paper-based questionnaires were returned and 15 interviews were carried out. Concerning Amazigh women patients, my collaborators returned 80 filled questionnaires and I conducted 35 interviews in Oujda, Jrada, Berkane, Ahfir, and Sidi Moussa in the north-east of the country.

[8] In Morocco, French is the language of instruction in all higher education institutions of science, medicine, nursing, management, economics, telecommunication, and engineering.

Description of the study and analysis of data

Medical practitioners: Physicians, pharmacists, surgeons, anaesthetists, and nurses.

Most answers relating to the capacity of health practitioners in both public and private sectors reveal a presence of language gap between the physician and the woman patient. The 70 medical professionals interviewed included 43 nurses (2 midwives included), 16 physicians (9 generalists and 7 specialists, including 1 psychiatrist), 4 surgeons (including 1 in a private clinic), 5 pharmacists, and 2 anaesthetists. Of these 70 only ten speak Amazigh as their mother tongue. The number is higher among nurses and midwives, six and two respectively, mainly because most of them (6) are women, and the conventional appointment rules are generally on behalf of single female nurses. They are generally appointed in or near their native towns and villages.

As a matter of fact, the other 60 members of the medical corps speak Darija (Moroccan spoken Arabic) as their mother-tongue in addition to classical Arabic, the first language of instruction in elementary, middle and secondary education, and French, which is the second language of education. Only eight doctors and nurses speak good English (5 and 3, respectively) while others can barely maintain their elementary level of the Anglo-Saxon language. Those who studied and lived in Nador or in the neighbouring towns and villages speak Spanish as their second or third language. In addition to the fact that most physicians did their medical training abroad, namely France and Belgium, the forced appointment of Arabic-speaking physicians in Amazigh rural and semi-urban regions makes their output less satisfactory than wished for.

Geographically, health centres are often located in the closest spot to a road, very far from the scattered rural residential areas, called *douars*. Health officials say they cannot build and equip a health centre in each *douar*, which is very realistic; however, roads and bridges that lead to those health centres are either lacking or in a very bad condition. In rural areas where only modest public health centres are available, the absence of decent homes for physicians and nurses makes it difficult and sometimes impossible to serve rural populations on a regular basis.

Twenty-one informants (30%) of the medical personnel who responded to my questionnaire, worked in remote rural areas where the population is 100% Amazigh. This proportion includes 3 physicians, 2 midwives and 16 polyvalent nurses. The other 49 (70%) served in urban and semi-urban

areas with a majority of Amazigh speakers, namely Agadir, Ouarzazate, Nador, Berkane and Tinghir.

Except for 4 nurses, none of the informants reported they have received adequate training to help them deal with the cultural and linguistic specificities of their patients. They all take it as a daily problem-solving routine. Hence, assessment of interaction with Amazigh women patients was reported as satisfactory (10 cases, notably, the 8 Amazigh-speakers mentioned above and 2 physicians who have learned some Amazigh from their assistants and patients during their 2-3 decades service in their private clinics in the same town and neighbourhood), limited (40) and sometimes difficult (18) but never impossible.[9] In the worst cases, some level of communication is ensured, though, for the simple reason that there is always a third person to ensure some level of communication.

Both medical personnel and the interviewed women patients agree that in rural areas it is the husband who generally ensures translation between the doctor and his wife, with few exceptions. The exceptions concern cases when the patient does not need to be taken to a distant health facility. In contrast, in urban and semi-urban regions it is the nurse, the child, the mother, the mother-in-law, and the husband, respectively. The sister-in-law comes as the last resort, and a generalist physician stated that the hospital's woman cleaner was the always available interpreter, most likely because neither the physician nor the nurses and assistants speak Amazigh. The fact that children interpreters come second to nurses is very meaningful. The role of children as translators between their parents and state clerks and teachers is vital especially among uneducated, rural and migrant parents. Morales and Hanson (2005), who explored the literature on language brokering in which children of immigrant parents ensure translation and interpretation, found that it is the parents who choose the family language broker based on specific personal qualities. While the authors confirmed the benefits gained by the parents from this communication medium, they acknowledged that the impact on the children's academic achievement and on the parent-child relationship remains poorly understood.

My reading of my research results is that, in rural areas, only adult male family members speak some Arabic as they go to town and deal with Arabic speaking people. Small schoolchildren have to struggle with school subjects in two "foreign" languages almost simultaneously, namely

[9] Actually, two informants checked "Impossible" as an answer to this question but subsequently explained that, eventually, it was possible thanks to a third party.

standard Arabic and French, which they rarely manage to assimilate in their primary school years.

Medical professionals say they have at least once taken part in mobile hospital campaigns. In this context, translation is generally done by Amazigh nurses, civic society volunteers and/or the *douar moqaddem*, a rural government representative.

In addition to the language barrier, almost all the 70 medical informants agree that women Amazigh patients do not tell everything about their health problems because of timidity, illiteracy, the linguistic barrier and their incapacity to articulate their health problems. Only 11 informants checked "timidity" as the only factor. The other 59 answers conveyed an idea about the complexity and multi-dimensional aspect of the issue; of these five doctors and nurses considered that the presence of a third person influenced whether patients gave a full account of their health problems. Despite these responses, in all cases doctors, nurses, and pharmacists are worried about rural and semi-urban Amazigh women patients' lack of responsibility regarding their own health issues. However, to call it personal responsibility means that other factors are not at stake. When you are poor and live far from the health facility, it is very unlikely that you faithfully follow your doctor's instructions and prescriptions in terms of medication and regular check-ups. Nonetheless, this issue is less severe among younger semi-urban and urban Amazigh women patients who make up 34 of the 115 (30%) of my informants, as most of them have had some level of education and/or joined civic society associations that provide literacy programs.

When asked if they think the Ministry of Health should hire full-time interpreters to help Amazigh patients communicate with their non-Amazigh physicians and nurses, all the 115 women patients who informed my study gave a positive answer. In contrast, the number of agreements and hesitations among medical personnel was equal—15 in each case while of the other 40 informants, 24 said no and 16 left the answer boxes unchecked.

Amazigh women patients: The language issue in rural, semi-urban and urban settings

Table 3-1 gives the demographic data for the interviewed women according to their place of residence. Women patients living in rural areas make up 55.6% of my informant population, that is, 64 women. The other 44.4% include 38 (33.1%) who live in semi-urban and 13 (11.3%) from urban zones, respectively.

	Rural	Urban	Semi-urban
Number of Residents	64	13	38
Languages spoken at home			
Amazigh alone	50	1	8
Amazigh and Darija	14	12	30
Education			
None	62	2	18
1st-6th Grade	2	4	14
7th-12th Grade	0	4	4
University	0	2	0
Adult literacy	0	1	2
Occupation			
None	5	2	8
Housewives	59	6	20
Family business	0	2	1
Social enterprise	0	1	8
Government workers	0	2	1
Marital Status			
Married	53	10	26
Divorced	1	1	2
Widow	5	0	2
Single	5	2	8
Number of children	3-6	2-6	1-4

Table 3-1: Women informants according to residence, education level, occupation and marital status

All the 115 interviewed women speak Amazigh as their mother tongue and about half (56 women) speak Moroccan Darija as well. This does not mean that the other half do not understand any Darija but they find it difficult to carry on a comprehensive conversation. Thirty-one of the semi-urban and urban dwellers (i.e. 27% of the women patients studied) have acquired some level of education. These women, who live in Agadir, Ouarzazate, Tinghir, Oujda, Berkane, Nador, and Jrada, all read and write standard Arabic and some French. Only three of these educated women work in government institutions, some are involved in family business or social enterprise, but the majority (80%) are either housewives or unmarried girls who could not finish their education. The latter category includes women aged 22-58, some of whom some may have lost the reading and writing skills they had learned at school through time.

Rural, urban and semi-urban stay-at-home women and unmarried girls are encouraged to join local women's associations and start income generating activities such as Argan oil products, couscous, carpet weaving,

cheese making, and domestic animal raising (chicken, rabbits, goats...). It is important to note that such associations have opened up a window to the world through making their products known to ecological tourists and local and foreign civic associations. In the recent past women who pursued literacy programs within associations aimed to learn enough Arabic to read the Quran and have some idea about their children's homework. Recently, many associations have started teaching basic rules of the French language but mainly the Latin alphabet. The interviewed women refer to this as some knowledge of French.[10]

Women patients' answers show that the two government workers in the urban category are also housewives. Likewise, of the eight women who work in local social enterprises in the semi-urban category, two are also housewives. Indeed, most successful social enterprises are part of Morocco's National Initiative for Human Development, which was launched by King Mohammed VI in 2005. The number of children per woman is not conditioned by residence area. While we expect rural women to have more children, which is true in most cases, interviews revealed that large families still exist in big cities as they do in villages but this should not be taken as general evidence.

In rural areas, however, education is totally absent among women aged 30 and more.[11] Younger girls who went to school are often compelled to drop out at the 5th or 6th grade for reasons related mainly to local cultures and the absence of transportation and lodging facilities within their regions. Thanks to the National Initiative for Human Development, some girls have made it to the middle and secondary education and a very small minority have reached the university level.

Adopting an aggressive tone in her article written in Arabic and titled "The Amazigh woman and the double-edged injustice," Meriem Demnati (2013) criticizes the Moroccan government for estranging the Amazighs, especially women, by imposing languages and cultures that come from either the East (Arabic) or the West (French) and for pushing those who are forced to adhere to the mainstream education system to failure and loss of identity and language. Demnati highlights the lack of minimum equality

[10] In many Moroccan TV programs that showcase the beneficiaries of literacy programs, the interviewed women say they are serious about learning the Latin alphabet –which they refer to as French– in order to be able to send text messages from their cell phones. It is widely known that most Moroccans, the educated included, use this alphabet to write text messages in Moroccan spoken Arabic. It seems this is a medium that saves the users a good amount of frustration as to the rules of the French and English languages and helps with fast communication.

[11] This rate concerns only the women interviewed.

between men and women in general and between women and women in the same country. According to the writer, being Amazigh, rural, and a woman exposes one to multiple kinds of injustice. Amazigh feminist activists such as Meriem Demnati condemn both male supremacy in the home, where the woman is treated as a mere tool of labour, and government discriminatory policies in terms of education and other public services. Injustice regarding women, according to the writer, has reached the level of macho Apartheid.

Concerning the distance between the closest medical centre or health facility and the patient's home, women provided different answers which are justified by their residence area. In rural areas, this distance often exceeds 10 kilometres while in urban zones it could be less than 1 kilometre. But this should not conceal a bitter reality that the available health facilities only provide basic care. When the patient needs to see a specialist, the distance may reach sixty kilometres and more.

Because of the distance involved, most women in rural areas have to deliver their babies at home. Thanks to civic society and some committed medical practitioners, efforts were made to train local traditional midwives in hygiene and emergency cases. My study did not seek to know how many traditional midwives are available in the geographical areas under study. However, the answers relating to whether mothers had their babies in hospital or at home revealed that, except for one, all the interviewed rural women had their babies at home with the help of the *douar* midwife and senior female relatives. Four urban women (including the 2 government workers) out of eight, and six semi-urban dwellers out of 22 said they had their babies solely in hospital. The others reported they had some of their children at home and the others in hospital, except for one urban mother who had all her children at home when she was living in a geographically remote village before she moved in a big city. Generally, each *douar* has at least two experienced women who fulfil the task of the midwife and are a reference on matters regarding women's and children's health issues. In spite of communication facilities via cell phones, the plight women face during childbirth or on their way to the nearest health centre has not changed much. Women, newborn babies and victims of venomous insects and reptiles still die because of the lack of ambulances, antidotes and medical personnel. Very recently, helicopters have been used to dispatch emergency cases to regional hospitals but access to this facility is still very restricted.

When seeking a health service, older, uneducated, and widowed women are the ones who suffer most. With very little or no income, life for these women is very hard. Either because of the long distance or

limited income, most rural, semi-urban and urban women resort to the services of a traditional midwife and herbal traditional self-medication. Mental disorders and psychological problems are still often treated by superstitious practices or left untreated with a strong belief that they are pure fatality, hence the request by the interviewed women that a number of diseases should be given priority in government health programs.

When asked whether they tell their doctor about all their health problems, most Amazigh women say they rarely do, either because of embarrassment, illiteracy or the language barrier when there is no reliable third person to help. All those who speak Amazigh alone (see table 3-1 above) have to resort to an interpreter or two depending on the efficiency of the family member or neighbour accompanying the patient in the first place. A shocking, but quite frequent, answer, though, does not present the presence of the husband as a third person as something positive especially when their health problem is directly related to the man's treatment of his wife. Such diseases relate to gynaecology, neurology, and domestic violence. This last conclusion was conveyed to me by the women I interviewed in person and also by three nurses. My surgeon informant from Berkane stated that when some of his women patients find it difficult to speak about their health problem, because of the cultural and linguistic barriers, they experience a nervous breakdown and start crying.

As a matter of fact, when asked whether they feel more comfortable with a physician who speaks Amazigh, 100% of the rural women gave a positive answer. Two urban and five semi-urban women said they do, too. However, the three urban women who said they do not care about the physician's medium of communication are educated women who speak Amazigh, Darija, standard Arabic and, apparently, some French. A good number left the question unanswered and were more worried about the sex of their physician.

While 114 women prefer to be treated by a woman rather than a male physician, only one expressed no preference for either gender. This same woman reached her 12th grade in education. These figures stress the impact of education on women's choices for medical treatment.

On another account, one of my informants declared that she was once discriminated against because of her origin and language but only two patients claimed they were requested and/or forced to bribe a medical assistant in exchange for a health service. It is important to note, though, that corruption is not specific to rural or Amazigh-speaking areas. It is rather an urban phenomenon. Indeed, according to a report by Transparency International (October 2015), Morocco is ranked 88 out of

168 countries.[12] Despite the presence of a national institution that is responsible for collecting complaints and issuing reports about corruption, a toll free number (0800004747) to denounce all the parties involved in this practice, and the possibility of videoing government officials while blackmailing citizens and posting those videos on social networks, corruption is still a hindrance to local and national socio-economic development.

Of the 115 interviewed women in the three residence areas, 100 rural and semi-urban informants agree that the infrastructure and health services still have a long way to go to respond to patients' needs. One woman even described the present services provided as mediocre. The other 15 informants did not express any opinion about this issue and only ticked the current serious health problems their fellow citizens suffer. However, it is not only patients but also health practitioners, the media and people from all walks of life that believe that health services everywhere in the country, in rural areas, in particular, are far from satisfactory. To palliate these serious shortages, civic society from Morocco and from European countries, where a good number of Moroccan physicians practice, work together to organize medical caravans for the benefit of rural populations. Twelve generalist physicians, one specialist (ophthalmologist), 28 nurses, a midwife and an anaesthetist confirmed they took part in at least one medical caravan in a rural area. All the participants belong to public health institutions, though. Generally, medical caravans target specific diseases and epidemics according to their prevalence in specific regions. In the southern and mountainous regions, for instance, ophthalmologists are most needed. In the mountainous areas, where it is extremely cold in the winter, rheumatism, bronchitis and allergies are mainly targeted especially among children and the elderly. Other actions that treat children's health problems are mainly run by Morocco's Ministry of Health for regular epidemics, shots, and vaccine campaigns. Obviously, when such campaigns are held in Amazigh-speaking areas, the issue of language is extremely important.[13]

Unfortunately, my study revealed a very alarming finding; that medical and awareness campaigns against cancer, AIDS and sexually transmitted diseases (STDs) are run in semi-urban and urban areas alone. While additional notes provided by women patients focused mainly on the shortage, and often lack, of psychiatrists, internists and primary care tools,

[12] Najib Kounina, Jan. 27th, 2016. www.barlamane.com. Accessed: Nov.19th, 2016.
[13] An example of such campaigns is the three-day caravan organized by a coalition of government and non-government organizations for the benefit of rural citizens in the mountainous regions of Tetuan can be found in a news report published by Chamalpost on March 14, 2015. Accessed October 15, 2015. http://chamalpost.net/

medical professionals regret that the diseases connected with sexual activity and domestic violence are not taken seriously in rural areas. Assuming that rural populations need only basic medical treatment in the twenty-first century is a big and fatal mistake. Unlike urban women, who have many opportunities throughout the year to get tested and assisted medically, campaigns to raise awareness about AIDS among rural populations in general are not heard of. The only exception is the region of Souss (Agadir), which is ranked top of all Moroccan regions in terms of AIDS infections. Knowing that the mobility of rural males to weekly *souks* (markets) and social gatherings puts them at risk as far as STDs are concerned, it is urgent to reconsider the aims and working mode of medical caravans and campaigns. Nowadays, people resort more to social media activists and some electronic newspapers to know more about a coming or a recent campaign targetting different health issues, but official reports tend to be vague when it comes to figures about the ministry's work.[14]

Generally, medical campaigns, especially those targeting women, are sporadic. On International Woman's Day (March 8th) and in December of each year, some women's organizations like the National Union of Women of Morocco and its local branches take it upon themselves to co-organize cancer and AIDS depiction campaigns but they are still scarce even in urban areas. It is the medical practitioners who are supposed to sensitize people that such contagious epidemics and diseases do not discriminate and to drive for proximity when implementing the state health policy. Medical caravans should be arranged to give medical assistance to women living in mountainous areas, where health services are scarce, and often absent. As evidenced in this paper, Amazigh women living in rural areas cannot benefit fully from medical campaigns, when they are available, without a third person to ensure communication between the medical practitioner and the patient.

The analysis of the collected data has shown that limited communication with the medical staff even among urban Amazigh women is not the only cause of their deprivation of adequate medical care even when a third person is available to ensure translation between the patient and the medical professional. Factors directly relating to women's cultural

[14] In his report delivered to a parliament committee on June 24, 2015, Morocco's Health Minister Mr. Houcine Elouardi gave some statistics about past and future projects for the benefit of rural dwellers but he didn't specify the number of medical caravans run by public health institutions and crew. Published on June 25, 2015. Accessed: Nov. 19th, 2016.(www.maroc.ma)

and educational background are also to blame. Cultural factors essentially include women's inability to speak about their bodies and medical needs.

Limitation of the study

One limitation of this research is that I was unable to reach rural Amazigh women who live in geographically extremely remote areas in the highest *douars* in the Atlas Mountains. Another shortcoming is that in some cases my secondary school colleagues carried out interviews with their close relatives (mothers, grandmothers, sisters and aunts) on the phone because they live and work far from their parents' homes. A colleague admitted he skipped a couple of questions and assumed the answers would be similar for all the informants. These questions related mainly to personal information about specifically feminine illnesses. I understand that my collaborator was reinforcing the cultural barriers that compel most rural women not to speak about all their health problems.

Discussion

This paper has addressed two major issues; namely Morocco's history, past and present, in connection with its native dwellers, the Amazighs or Imazighen, and the condition of Amazigh women as far as health facilities and language barriers are concerned.

Even though Morocco signed UN agreements that prohibit all kinds of discrimination against women since 1993 and the Moroccan woman's condition has improved considerably, large female populations are still suffering marginalization in terms of education, job opportunities, health care, and legal rights. Thanks to a large network of civic society associations and human rights organizations, many violations of basic human rights have started to be uncovered. Many initiatives have been either instigated or supported by international human rights organizations, namely, the United Nations organizations concerned with women's rights and children's rights.

However, the geographical location of a large number of Moroccan women makes it difficult to connect with such NGOs and associations given the urban aspect of those institutions. The few exceptions concern mainly educated girls and a limited number of career women who decided to carry out some social work in their native villages. Such social work is mainly carried out through local associations and cooperatives that target literacy and local income-generating activities.

On the level of the language of communication, my study revealed that both medical staff and urban and semi-urban Amazigh women patients resort to code switching for a fruitful communication, which is more an exercise of mixed language vocabulary than full structures from each language. This phenomenon refers to conversations between multilingual medical professionals and urban and semi-urban patients who feel the need to interfere with the translation procedure. An internist surgeon told me that he always encourages his Amazigh patients to say everything they want with any language they feel comfortable with but when he asks them questions in Darija they respond in Darija, too. Indeed, Fatima Sadiqi (2003, 35) highlights "the empowering use that Moroccan women make of the languages available to them." The author contends:

> The significance of this use is enhanced by the fact that Morocco is a multilingual country where languages do not have the same social and political status and where the choice and use of a language is part and parcel of negotiating the power related to gender-making and gender-creating in Moroccan society (Sadiqi 2003, 35).

As my study revealed, Sadiqi's assertions are mainly true in urban and semi-urban regions. In rural areas where education is limited, a third person to ensure communication with medical personnel is a must.

All the interviewed women agree that health care for rural women lacks accuracy in both quantity and quality. All of them agree that the language barrier is still a daily reality, though overcome by the presence of a third person and occasional medical caravans. They all agree that the lack of adequate infrastructure, which takes the lives of hundreds of women and their newly-born and not-yet-born babies every year, is still a nightmare that has to finish soon. My research revealed that the lack of adequate infrastructure is also a hindrance for medical practitioners to work in rural areas. Consequently, many have resigned from public medical institutions and have joined the private sector in big cities or sought better opportunities abroad. This fact is confirmed by the Health Minister's report which states that 45% of the medical personnel work in the Rabat-Casablanca perimeter compared to only 24% in rural areas, and yet, official statistics and reports are not always taken as true by people who suffer daily because the dysfunctions of the public health sectors affect human lives directly. In an angry article written in Arabic and entitled "Moroccan physicians disregard the Hippocratic oath,"[15] Khaled

[15] "أطباء مغاربة يهملون قسم أبو قراط"

Ben Chrif (2016) states that Morocco ranks 75th out of 115 in terms of the number of patients per physician with 1 physician for every 2000 patients.

Nevertheless, my study showed that the language barrier is not always the main reason for getting inadequate medical services. It is rather a problem of education.[16] Many who go to see a doctor accompanied by their husbands, who are illiterate as well but who speak Arabic, assert that they experience almost the same problems of communication with the medical staff as those who are not accompanied at all. This result is supported in Dr. Semlali's report that illiteracy in Morocco is estimated at 43%, and is even higher among women, reaching 54.7% (Semlali 2010, 11). Accordingly, Meriem Demnati, along with other Amazigh activists, calls for an unconditioned right to education for Amazigh women but in their own language and culture not in Arabic or French.

The aloofness of Amazigh women from the centre because of their language does not affect those living in Morocco's rural areas alone. A surgeon interviewed in Berkane, in north-east Morocco, reported that he often receives in his private clinic women patients who live in Holland, France and Belgium and who speak only Amazigh and a little of their host country's official language. These women, who come to Berkane or the Rif region for a holiday, are always accompanied by a Dariji-speaking relative to solve the problem of communication with their physician. Obviously, the issue here is about the linguistic and cultural impenetrability of some immigrant Amazigh communities, the northern ones, in particular. These women did not have any opportunity to mingle with Arabic-speaking Moroccan citizens in their home country and, when they joined their husbands in European countries, they continued to isolate themselves from immigrant communities other than their immediate Amazigh community. To overcome the communication problem, this same surgeon and several other physicians developed a strategy of acquiring the local population's language from their patients and medical assistants.

Conclusion

As shown by the results of my study, the right to good health is the watchword. Despite the great efforts and financial investment in

[16] I myself have been witness of dramatic situations in which illiterate women struggle with heaps of papers and medical transcriptions and others who waste time, money and effort getting to a public medical center and when they are there, they realize they have brought the wrong document. The cost is even higher when they miss their long wished for appointment with a physician and have it rescheduled months later.

Morocco's public health services, they are inconsistent and still unequally distributed among the different regions and populations of the country. Major chronic diseases are still not yet under control especially among the financially underprivileged patients. Many people who suffer chronic diseases, such as cancer, diabetes, renal deficiencies, mental disorders, and heart diseases, still do not receive enough or adequate health care as they do not have any social security or health insurance. This comes in sharp contrast with an article in the Moroccan Constitution that guarantees the right to good health care to all citizens regardless of their social and economic background.

As stated in Morocco's latest Constitution (July 1st, 2011), which came as a response to mob discontent as part of what is known as the Arab Spring, all Moroccans are equal, and the right to good health services and good education must be one of the government's priorities. The long centuries of denigration of the Amazigh by the Arabs, who think they are superior to the former because they are the descendants of the Prophet Mohammed, has created a feeling of injustice among the native Moroccans. Even Amazigh feminists and human rights activists assert that, being the colonized of the colonized, the rural Amazigh woman still suffers marginalization at all levels. However, most Amazigh activists and politicians are accused of fighting selfish battles that exclude rural women from their agenda.

In a world that is empowered by coalitions economically and politically, a small country like Morocco cannot develop unless it benefits from all its human capital and natural resources by adopting actual equity in education, health, and social development. Equity should primarily target infrastructure, the distribution of teachers and medical practitioners, the distribution of national wealth per region, and should fight against all kinds of discrepancies based on geographical, linguistic, or cultural disparities.

Cultural equity can only be achieved through the preservation of native languages and cultures by endorsing all native language varieties. One way to reach this goal is to promote translation works at all levels— legal, educational, medical, and political. As a short term measure, academic and training institutions will have to play a vital role in providing the right personnel needed to ensure translation between government workers and Amazigh citizens. The long term programs, though, will have to ensure education for all Amazigh people in both Arabic and Amazigh, which will eventually bridge the linguistic, cultural and economic gaps that have so far been responsible for spreading a feeling of injustice and inferiority among Imazighen.

Acknowledgements

I am indebted to my colleagues and friends who helped to pass my questionnaires to their relatives and practising medical personnel in their regions. I'm grateful for their willingness to translate the questions and answers in both Arabic and Amazigh and for taking note of illiterate women informants' answers. I here thank my ex-student Hicham Laqnissi, currently a banker in Nador, Mohamed Salhi, a teacher of English in Agadir, and all my colleagues and friends in Tinghir, Errachidia and Ouarzazate for their help with this study. My fullest thanks should be passed to Carmen Camus, Cristina Gómez Castro and Julia Williams Camus, the organizers of the First International Conference on Translation, Ideology and Gender at the University of Cantabria, for their generosity and unconditioned support. I also thank them for their valuable suggestions in the editing phase of this article. Thanks should also be extended to my friend Loubna Bilali, a graduate student at the Department of Translation at Kent State University, Ohio USA, for forwarding the call for papers of the conference.

References

Abbassi, Abdelaziz. 1977. "A Sociolinguistic Analysis of Multilingualism in Morocco." PhD diss., University of Texas, Austin.

Almasude, Amar. 1999. "The New Mass Media and the Shaping of Amazigh Identity." In *Revitalizing Indigenous Languages*, edited by Jon Reyhner, Gina Cantoni, Robert N. St. Clair, and Evangeline Parsons Yazzie, 117-128. Flagstaff, AZ: Northern Arizona University. Accessed August 13, 2015. http://www2.nau.edu/~jar/RIL_10.html.

Ben Chrif, Khaled. 2016. Published Oct. 10, 2016. Accessed: Nov.18, 2016. www.sassapost.com/physicians_morocco/

Crawford, David and Katherine E. Hoffman. 2000 "Essentially Amazigh: Urban Berbers and the Global Village." In *The Arab-African and Islamic World: Interdisciplinarv Studies*, edited by Kevin Lacey, 117-131. New York: Peter Lang. Accessed August 13, 2015. *http://www.anthropology.northwestern.edu/documents/people/CrawfordHoffman2000EssentialAmazigh.pdf.*

Demnati, Meriem. 2013. "The Amazigh woman and the double-edged injustice." **المرأة الأمازيغية والظلم المزدوج.** March 8th, 2013. Accessed September 20, 2015. http://www.hespress.com/writers/74176.html.

Fischer, Sarah R. 2010. "Amazigh Legitimacy through Language in Morocco." *Topical Review Digest: Human Rights in the Middle East &*

North Africa. Accessed: October 20, 2015. http://www.du.edu/korbel/hrhw/researchdigest/mena/Morocco.pdf.

Hertzler, Joyce O. 1965. *The Sociology of Language*. New York: Random House.

Madani, B. 2003. "Arabization of the Amazigh Lands." *International Journal of Francophone Studies* 6: 211-13.

Morales, Alejandro and William E. Hansen. 2005. "Language Brokering: An Integrative Review of the Literature." *Hispanic Journal of Behavioral Sciences* 27 (4): 471-503.

Naaim, El Houssaine. 2015. "Amazigh Civilization: A Lesson in How to Treat Women." *Morocco World News*, Monday, February 2, 2015. Accessed October 15, 2015. http://www.moroccoworldnews.com/2015/02/149995/amazigh-civilization-lesson-treat-women/.

Sadiqi, Fatima. 1997. "The sociology of Berber: The place of Berber in Morocco." *International Journal of the Sociology of Language* 123: 7-22.

—. 2003. "Women and Linguistic Space in Morocco." *Women and Language* 26 (1): 35-43. PDF. www.wilsonweb.com

—. 2014. *Moroccan Feminist Discourses*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan.

Sardar, Ziauddin, Ashis Nandy and Merryl Wyn Davies. 1993. *Barbaric Others: A Manifesto on Western Racism.* London, Boulder, Colorado: Pluto Press.

Semlali, Hassan. 2010. "The Morocco Country Case Study: Positive Practice Environments," developed for the *Positive Practice Environments Campaign. Global Health Workforce Alliance*. Accessed October 20, 2015.
http://www.who.int/workforcealliance/knowledge/PPEMorocco.pdf.

Appendix: Assigned questionnaires

Questionnaire English Version

International Conference on Translation, Ideology and Gender, University of Cantabria, Santander, Spain

This questionnaire is aimed to prepare a paper for the 1st International Conference on Translation, Ideology and Gender on November 5-6, 2015, at the University of Cantabria, Santander, Spain. The conference theme is Translation, Ideology and Gender and my paper will partly seek to highlight the problems of communication between Amazigh women patients and the medical staff in Moroccan health services. I will be very grateful if you take some minutes to fill out this questionnaire.

Thank you.

Keltouma Guerch, teacher of English at Omar Ibn Abdelaziz CPGE Center & ESTO, UMI, Oujda.

General Information: Please tick (√) or highlight the appropriate choice.

- Male □ Female □ Age ……
- Name of institution where you graduated …….
- Country ……..
- Place of work: (name of city or village/…) ……
- Rural □ Urban □ Semi-urban □
- Public □ Private □
- CHU □ Regional Health center □ Local Health center □ Cabinet □ Clinic □
- Number of years of experience ……..
- Languages you speak at work: Darija □ Amazigh □ French □ Spanish □ English □ Other ….…….. (please specify)
- Have you ever worked in an all Amazigh-speaking area? Yes □ No □
- If you ticked "Yes" above, how long? ……..
- During your training program, have you received a course or part of a course to help you deal with cultural and linguistic specificities of your patients? Yes □ No □
- If you ticked "Yes" to the question above, how would you assess your course/part of course? Satisfactory □ Just average □ Unsatisfactory □

A. Core of the questionnaire

- How would you assess your interaction with Amazigh women patients?
  a) satisfactory □ b) limited □ c) difficult □ d) impossible □
- If you ticked b/c or d above, was there a third person to help you communicate with female Amazigh patients? …….
  Please specify:
  Nurse □ mother □ husband □ sister □ mother-in-law □
  father-in-law □ Other: …….. (please specify)
- Have you ever participated in a mobile hospital campaign? Yes □ No □
- Who generally ensures translation during those mobile hospital campaigns?
  a) husband □ b) mqadam □ c) mid-wife from the douar □
  d) chief of the tribe □ e) other ……
- According to your own experience, do you think women Amazigh patients tell all their health problems? Yes □ No □ Somewhat □
- If you ticked "No" or "Somewhat" to the above question, do you think the reason is
  a) timidity □ b) illiteracy □ c) linguistic limitation □ d) poverty □
  e) ignorance of their bodies □ f) the presence of a third person □
  g) other ……..…… (please specify)
- In which area do Amazigh women patients generally find more difficulties?
  a) explaining a health problem □ b) following your instructions and prescription □ c) paper work (e.g., social security, tests at laboratories) □
  d) other ……..……
- Judging from your own experience, does the patient's age affect the way she communicates with you? Yes □ No □
- If you ticked "Yes" for the above question, are younger women more open to speak about all their health problems than older women? ……
- Do you agree that health institutions should have interpreters to help patients from linguistic backgrounds other than Arabic to communicate with their doctors and nurses?
  Yes □ No □ Maybe □

Please, feel free to add any information you think useful or share any stories connected to the content of this questionnaire.

……
……
……
……

Thank you so much for the time and effort you invested in filling in this questionnaire.
K. Guerch.

Questionnaire for women patients

Note: The original questionnaire was assigned in Arabic. As most informants are illiterate, they were helped by a third person to answer the questions and fill in the different sections of the questionnaire.

Please circle or put a cross (X) beside your answer.

General Information:

- Age: ……
- Occupation: ……
- Education: ……..
- Social Status:
  Single… Married… Divorced… Widow… Single mother…
- Address: City/ village …….
  Urban ……. rural …… semi-urban ……..
- Number of children: ……..
- Did you deliver your children at home or in a hospital? ……..
- Languages spoken:
  Arabic… Darija… Amazigh… French… Spanish… English… Other...
- Source of income:
  yourself… husband… father… brother… son… Other…
- Languages used at home: Darija ……. Arabic …….. Amazigh ……..

Specific Questionnaire information

- Are you a member of an association? Yes ….. No …..
- If your answer to the above question is "Yes," please list the activities you do there. ……. …….
  …… …….
- How far is the closest medical center or health facility from your home?
  Less than 1 km… Less than 5 km… Less than 10 km… More than 10 km...
- When you have to go to a health service building, do you go alone or accompanied? …….
- If you chose "accompanied" for the above question, please specify who goes with you:
  Husband… mother… child… mother-in-law… sister… sister-in-law… brother-in-law… neighbor… other……
- Is there a traditional midwife in your area? Yes… No …
- If you ticked "yes" for the above question, how do you evaluate her work?
  Very good … Just good … average … not sufficient enough …

- What language does the doctor and the medical crew in your area speak at work?
  Moroccan Arabic/Darija … Amazigh … French … Spanish … Other …
- Do you understand all the words your doctor tells you?
  Yes all… No only some… Only very few words… I never understand anything…
- Do you tell your doctor about all your health problems? Yes… No… Not all the time…
- If your answer to the above question was "No" or "Not all the time," what could be the reason?
  Embarrassment … illiteracy … language barrier …
  Other reason ……..…… (please specify).
- Do you ever feel you're being discriminated against in public health centers because you do not speak Arabic well? Yes… No …
- Would you prefer that your doctor speaks Amazigh while dealing with your health issue? ……
- Would you prefer to be treated by a man or a woman doctor? …….
- How would you evaluate the health service in your area? Good … average … mediocre … needs improving …
- What are the major and most frequent diseases and epidemics that people in your area suffer most?
  Gynecology … rheumatism … Heart diseases … mental disorders …
  Psychological problems … domestic violence … allergies …
  Other ……..……. (please specify).
- Has your village ever been visited by a medical caravan? Yes … No …
- If your answer to the above question was "Yes," who organized the caravan?
  Ministry of Health … Civic society … A foreign institution … other …..
- Do you wish that the Ministry of Health provides an interpreter to ensure communication between you and non-Amazigh speaker medical staff?
  Yes… No … I don't care …
- Have you ever been requested or forced to bribe a medical assistant in exchange for a health service? Yes … No …
- Which health service would you like to see provided in your health center or region?

……
……
……

- If you wish to provide any additional information or request, please feel free to write it in the space below.

……
……
……
……

Thank you very much for your contribution to this study.

PART TWO:

TRANSLATION, IDEOLOGY AND GENDER IN NARRATIVE AND POETRY

CHAPTER FOUR

SIMONE DE BEAUVOIR: CENSORSHIP AND RECEPTION UNDER FRANCOISM[1]

PILAR GODAYOL

Introduction

During the Spanish Civil War, the French writer Simone de Beauvoir was actively involved in the Republican cause. She signed manifestos, pamphlets and demands, gathered financial and intellectual support, and went as far as to pressurize members of Léon Blum's government of the socialist Popular Front to persuade them to abandon French neutrality and send troops to defend the Republic. This open support for the Spanish Republic was punished with more than twenty years' silence by the government imposed by the victorious army. Her writings were censored, and not until the last years of the totalitarian regime was it possible to legally acquire and enjoy her work.

This chapter presents three sample moments in the reception of Simone de Beauvoir under Franco's regime, relating to her famous essay, *Le deuxième sexe*, considered the bible of feminism during the last century. First of all, we present a subversive review, praising de Beauvoir and her ideas on the emancipation of women, which the publisher and writer Josep Maria Castellet published in December, 1949, in the pro-Falangist magazine

[1] This chapter is the result of work by the consolidated research group "Gender Studies Research Group: Translation, Literature, History and Communication" (GETLIHC) (2014 SGR 62) of the University of Vic–Central University of Catalonia (UVic-UCC) (C. de la Laura, 13, 08500, Vic, Spain), and the I+D project "Traducción y censura: género e ideología (1939-2000)" (ref. FFI2014-52989-C2-2-P), financed by the Ministerio de Economía y Competitividad. Author's ORCID number: 0000-0003-2513-5334. Email: pgodayol@uvic.cat. Translation of the article by Sheila Waldeck.

Estilo, a few months after the appearance of the work in France. This review was a real bombshell amongst the Francoist intellectual circles of the time. Secondly, we deal with a transatlantic story of failure, when, in 1955, an attempt was made to import the Argentinian Spanish translation of *Le deuxième sexe* by the writer and playwright, Pablo Palant. *Le deuxième sexe* in Argentinian Spanish never reached Spain legally, though it did arrive clandestinely, like so many other translations. It was to be found in the back rooms of bookshops or the secret libraries of some intellectuals. Lastly, we present the complicated, but finally successful, case of the Catalan translation of *Le deuxième sexe*. Nineteen years after the publication of the original in Paris, sixteen after the English translation and fourteen after the Argentinian Spanish translation, *Le deuxième sexe* appeared legally for the first time in Spain in 1968, in Catalan, having passed through all the censorship filters of the Ministry of Information and Tourism (MIT).

The intention of this article is to make a new contribution to the bibliography of the reception in Spain of *Le deuxième sexe* by Simone de Beauvoir. Amongst existing studies we would forefront those of Teresa López Pardina (1998, 1999, 2005), Gloria Nielfa Cristóbal (2002 and 2003), Olga Castro (2008), Celia Amorós (2009), María Isabel Corbí Sáez (2010), Rosa María Medina Doménech (2013), Lola Sánchez (2013) and Pilar Godayol (2013a, 2015, 2016b).

1949: A review of *Le deuxième sexe* by Josep Maria Castellet

In 1948, María de los Reyes Laffitte y Pérez del Pulgar (Seville, 1902 – Malaga, 1986), by marriage known as the Countess of Campo Alange, published *La secreta guerra de los sexos* (*The secret war of the sexes*) in which from a Catholic perspective, according to Rosa María Medina Doménech, "she anticipated some of the feminist debates of the second half of the 20th century with regard to the criticism of science and the discussions about identity" (2013, 145). In the prologue to the first edition, María Laffitte debated with works of scientists such as J.J. Buytendijk, Julian Huxley, Jean Rostand or Theilard de Chardin. In the reedition of 1950 (others came in 1958 and 2009), she rewrote the prologue and incorporated text from Simone de Beauvoir's *Le deuxième sexe*, which had been published in France a year previously. Later, in 1961, Laffitte published *La mujer como mito y como ser humano* (*Woman as myth and as human being*), the result of a lecture given for the Spanish Association of University Women. The book summarises de Beauvoir's theses and

attempts to pull to pieces, very subtly and from the standpoint of the National-Catholic morality, the traditional Spanish view of true femininity. Her first words refer to de Beauvoir:

> If we are to believe Simone de Beauvoir, nobody, at this moment, can say with certainty that women still exist, if they will always exist, if we should wish them to exist or not. Nor is it clear in the slightest, what place they occupy in society and even less so what place they should occupy (Laffitte 1961, 7).

In 1950, the politician and lawyer Mercedes Formica-Corsi Hezode (Cadiz, 1913 – Malaga, 2002) wrote a review of *Le deuxième sexe* for the *Revista de Estudios Políticos* (Journal of Political Studies), of the Institute of Political Studies created on 9 September, 1939, by the government of General Francisco Franco as a centre for the specialized political training of future generations. Of the five journals published regularly by the Institute, one of the most important was the *Revista de Estudios Políticos* to which Formica contributed. A member of the Falange Española since its origins, Mercedes Formica was appointed national delegate of the women's *Sindicato Español Universitario* (Spanish University Syndicate, SEU) in 1936 and member of the direction of the Falange by José Antonio Primo de Rivera. Though her review contained some slight but insightful claims, it was perfectly in line with the Francoist thinking of the time: women had a secondary role in Spanish society. There are several studies of the work of María Laffitte and Mercedes Formica that highlight their contributions to the reception of Simone de Beauvoir during the 1950s and 1960s (see Nielfa Cristóbal 2002; Medina Doménech 2013).

Josep Maria Castellet (Barcelona, 1926-2014) was a publisher, writer and intellectual of the Spanish cultural scene during the second half of the 20th century, and responsible for the short-term and long-term promotion of *Le deuxième sexe* in Spain. In 1949, some weeks after the publication of the original work in Paris, he published an incendiary review of de Beauvoir's text, which, unlike the later reviews by Laffitte and Formica, was the object of censorship and warnings. In the issue of December, 1949, the SEU's pro-Falange magazine in Barcelona, *Estilo*, published Castellet's review of *Le deuxième sexe*, which infuriated the local Francoist authorities, especially the Archbishop of Barcelona, Gregorio Modrego Casaus (El Buste, Zaragoza, 1890 – Barcelona, 1972).

In Spain, in the 1950s, Madrid and Barcelona were the main centres of intellectual opposition to the Francoist regime. A series of requisites combined to provide access to ideologies that clashed with the Francoist discourse: they were the seats of powerful universities with active left-

wing students, they printed legal and clandestine magazines that fomented new ideas and they had the support of publishing houses that aided their circulation (see Pala 2014, 185-186). In Barcelona, the magazines of the SEU, the syndicate that all students were obliged to join, were a platform for expression, though risky and with no guarantee of freedom of speech. As they were publications of the Francoist "*Movimiento*", they were not previously censored, which meant that they had a short life, full of ups and downs: it was usual for them to be closed, reopened or re-founded. Frequently, editors were changed, or contributors were incorporated or dismissed when the usual limits were ignored or some high-level governmental or ecclesiastical authority denounced the content of their articles.

Along with *Quadrante* (1946-1947), *Estilo* was the embryo of the magazine *Laye* and survived a complex chronology of closures, rebirths and changes of editors and staff (see Barral 1975, 224; Gràcia 1993, 47-70). During its first period, between 1944 and 1946, its editor was Juan Carlos García-Borrón and contributors included Antoni Vilanova, Joan Perucho and Manuel Sacristán. In April, 1945, at the age of nineteen, Josep Maria Castellet published his first article in *Estilo*, entitled "Futurismo*"*. This was followed by others on Hitchcock, Fritz Lang and John Ford. Just like other contributors, Castellet never lost sight of the ideological bent of the magazine, as can be seen in a letter to his friend Joan Ferreté, dated 17 January, 1949: "I am sending you *Estilo* – repulsive spectacle, vile presentation, nauseating contents – so that you can see, recognize and abjure once again the SEU, the University, us, the students" (Muñoz Lloret 2006b, 54).

In his memoirs, *Años de penitencia* (*Years of penitence*) (1975), the publisher and poet Carlos Barral mentions the magazine. At the age of twenty-one, Barral's first contributions to *Estilo* were the poems "*Arco Iris*" (Rainbow) and "*Al timón*" (At the helm), published in the same issue as Castellet's review of *Le deuxième sexe*. Barral (1975, 225) recalls that Castellet's "scandalous text" was illustrated by drawings of "insinuating silhouettes".[2] His comments refer to the fact that Castellet obviously took the greatest care over the smallest details of the presentation of his review, including sensual and provocative sketches of nude men and women by Gregorio Prieto, a painter and illustrator of numerous books (editions of Shakespeare, John Milton or Luis Cernuda). Prieto was from La Mancha and a member of the *Generación del 27* (the artists and writers of the

[2] Most of the time, the most censored part of books was the explicit drawings or photographs included. Therefore, Castellet's action seems to be more than intentional.

Generation of 1927) and when the review was published he had just returned to Spain after his political exile in London.

Carlos Barral and Josep Maria Castellet coincided at the university, but their friendship only began to consolidate at the time of the magazine *Laye* (1950-1954), which started out as the cultural bulletin of the Association of the College of Graduates and Doctors and, as it was produced by an institution belonging to the National Delegation of Education, was not censored. Many of the university contributors to *Estilo* and *Laye* eventually became members of the so-called "*Escuela de Barcelona*" (the Barcelona School), amongst whom were Alfonso Costafreda, Jaime Ferrán, Jaime Gil de Biedma, José Agustín Goytisolo, Gabriel Ferrater and Joan Ferraté, Manuel Sacristán or Barral and Castellet. At that time their favourite authors were Voltairean, Marxist, existentialist or structuralist. One of the most closely followed by the group was Sartre. Castellet came to de Beauvoir through Sartre and was one of the most active promotors of this French philosopher in Spain during the dictatorship. Carlos Barral, when appraising those years, and remembering his first impression of Castellet, recalls that "He made us all read *Le deuxième sexe*" (Barral 1975, 224).

Castellet's review of *Le deuxième sexe*, addressed to "our university women", is a thoroughgoing manifesto in favour of women's rights. He presents de Beauvoir as "the most addicted, the most original of Sartre's disciples" and her book as "one of the works that has aroused most controversies and been the subject of most comments over this last year in France" (1949, 8). He emphasizes that she has read works by everyone – "doctors, philosophers, lawyers, psychoanalysts, historians" – and insists on "the good synthesis, at times magnificent, of women throughout history" that she has developed, and on the "bleeding nakedness" she has applied to the subject. He also points out that, in spite of being based on the existentialist philosophy, in this book "Sartre is replaced by Freud and the great scientists" (1949, 8). The first part of the review concludes that the main aim of de Beauvoir is "the conquest of freedom for women even at the cost of sacrificing a relative social or bourgeois happiness" (1949, 9). The second part makes even more claims and is therefore more subversive in the official university context of that time. On the basis of de Beauvoir's conclusions, Castellet attacks the traditional role of Spanish women and compares it with that of French women, who are liberated and emancipated:

> *Porque en Francia, como en casi todos los países occidentales, la mujer vive, vive una vida externa, activa, agresiva incluso, que le permite formarse en un ambiente de amplitud, de libertad intelectual y moral que*

repercute de un modo decisivo en la formación de su vida interna y de su vida cultural.

No sucede así en España. Confesamos que lo que nos ha impresionado más del libro de Simone de Beauvoir no ha sido su contenido sino la constatación inconsciente que íbamos haciendo a medida que avanzábamos por sus páginas de lo lejana que quedaba la mujer española actual, de un problema tan interesante y decisivo para ella como este de su limitación y libertad. Sabemos que es temerario, incluso, tratar actualmente este tema porque a la misma mujer española le interesa acallar su conciencia histórica.

[Because in France, as in almost all Western countries, women live, live an external life, active, even aggressive, which enables them to develop themselves in a broad environment of intellectual and moral freedom that has a decisive repercussion on the formation of their internal lives and their cultural lives.

This is not the case in Spain. We confess that what has most impressed us about Simone de Beauvoir's book has not been its content but the way in which, as we advanced through its pages, we were unconsciously verifying how distant Spanish women today are from such an interesting and decisive problem for them as is this of their limitation and freedom. We know that it would be a temerity even to broach the subject because it is not in the interests of Spanish women to silence their historical conscience (Castellet 1949, 9).]

Castellet also refers to the lack of freedom and the censorship of the Francoist regime, subjects decidedly taboo:

Pero la verdad estricta, innegable, es que hoy, ahora, finalizando el año 1949, la mujer está apartada totalmente de la vida intelectual y cultural. ¿Las causas? Es difícil averiguarlas, y una vez conocidas, es posible que sea mejor callarlas. Sin embargo, la mujer española actual está en un estadio muy retrasado de evolución respecto a las mujeres de los países occidentales.

[But the strict and undeniable truth is that today, now, at the end of 1949, women are totally withdrawn from intellectual and cultural life. The causes? It is difficult to discover them, and once discovered, perhaps it is better not to mention them. Nevertheless, Spanish women today are in a very backward state of evolution with regard to women in Western countries (Castellet 1949, 9).]

He concludes the article with a serious call for collaboration, either from the pages of the magazine or at some meeting place to be arranged, addressed "to all university students, and especially women students, of good will, who are able and wish to make a contribution to this subject based on facts" (Castellet 1949, 9). And to round off, he touches on another subject that was prohibited at the time, the prostitution in Spain: "Here at hand we have the statistics of prostitution in Spain, which make those we have previously quoted about abortion in France fade in comparison" (1949, 9).

As was to be expected, Castellet's daring review, praising de Beauvoir and her ideas on the emancipation of women, with, in addition, Prieto's evocative silhouettes, fell like a bombshell in the Francoist intellectual circles of the time. The consequences were not long in making themselves felt. The head of the SEU was dismissed, Castellet was expelled and the magazine was shut down. De Beauvoir, the suspicious atheist, Marxist and feminist, was the partner of Sartre, the existentialist writer whose works figured in the Church's Index of Prohibited Books, which was not abolished until 1966 under the Papacy of Paul VI, just after the Second Vatican Council. Soon after the publication of *Le deuxième sexe*, the Vatican had also voiced its opinion and had included the work in the Index, alongside the more than four thousand other titles.

The most vicious critic of the review was the Archbishop of Barcelona, Gregorio Modrego, who branded it "pornographic" (Muñoz Lloret, 2006b, 56). In the biography *Josep Maria Castellet. Retrat de personatge en grup* (*Josep Maria Castellet. A group portrait*), Teresa Muñoz Lloret (2006b) gathers unpublished letters in which Castellet relates the process and complains to his friend Joan Ferraté about the Bishop's treatment:

> *Su Ilustrísima Padre Modrego Obispo de Barcelona ha prohibido el último número de la revista. Las autoridades competentes han ordenado la recogida del número de la revista. Y todo por un inocente artículo mío, completamente "inocuo" pero que les ha resultado diabólico. El artículo era un comentario al libro de Simone de Beauvoir, Le deuxième sexe. [...] Esta tarde "por orden superior" han clausurado el local de la revista. [...]Por este y otros motivos han destituido el jefe del SEU* (Muñoz Lloret 2006b, 56).

> [His Grace Father Modrego, Bishop of Barcelona, has banned the latest issue of the magazine. And all because of an innocent article of mine, completely "harmless" but which to them seems diabolical. The article was a commentary on Simone de Beauvoir's book *Le deuxième sexe*. […] This afternoon, "on orders from above" the premises of the magazine have been shut down. […] For this and other reasons the head of the SEU has been dismissed (Muñoz Lloret 2006b, 56).]

Gregorio Modrego was of the opinion that the review attacked the moral bases of the Church and demanded that the civil governor of Barcelona, Eduardo Baeza Alegría, close the magazine and keep a watch on the author for being suspected of activities against the regime. It was considered that he belonged to some unnamed subversive group, such as "masons, communists, Catalanists" (Muñoz Lloret 2006b, 56). This disagreeable episode lasted several weeks, during which Castellet received the support of his friends, especially of Manuel Sacristán and Francesc Farreras, members of the Falange.

Castellet wrote his revolutionary review of *Le deuxième sexe* at the age of twenty-three. Even though it brought him reprimands and warnings, it awoke in him a real interest in the author and her work. He waited two decades. When the opportunity came, he made up for lost time by publishing translations of Simone de Beauvoir. As we shall see, he began with *Le deuxième sexe.*

1955: The unsuccessful attempt at importing the Argentinian translation of *Le deuxième sexe*

The Civil War shattered the world of publishing in Spain and generated an unprecedented exodus of publishing houses, publishers, technicians, businessmen, distributors, writers and translators to America, especially to Mexico and Argentina. The consequences of this transformation of the publishing industry in the Spanish language were, amongst others, the establishing of a large number of businesses in Latin America, the creation of valuable catalogues that included the best international contemporary literature and the unquestionable leadership of Buenos Aires as the centre of publishing for Spanish-speaking countries for almost three decades. Fernando Larraz contributes specific data: on the one hand, while Spanish production was collapsing, in 1945 in Argentina, the average figure of the previous decade multiplied six times over; and on the other hand, if in 1938 Argentinian publishers hardly exported books at all, in 1945 their production for abroad was 70% (2010, 83-84). Between 1938 and 1953, Argentina lived, in the words of José Luis de Diego (2006, 91) the "golden age" of its publishing industry.

Thanks to this context, Buenos Aires became a privileged cultural meeting-point of foreign currents and, as a result, the world's nucleus for literary translation into Spanish. As Larraz points out, this made necessary "a professionalization of the translator, as well as a thorough renovation of the national tradition that did not take place when translations were imported" (2010, 85-86). Patricia Wilson wrote a monograph, *La*

constelación del Sur (*The constellation of the South*) on this subject and commented that during those years, the country's intellectuals found in translation a means of developing new literary models: "…thanks to translated foreign texts, new modes of representation and also new materials and patterns of composition made their way into Argentinian literature" (2004, 73).

Since in this period Argentinian publishers enjoyed important economic, cultural and political advantages with regard to their Spanish counterparts (such as not having to submit to institutional censorship, having available cheap, good-quality Swedish and Canadian paper or having low exportation taxes), they began to produce books on an industrial scale to meet internal demand and for export. Many Argentinian publishing houses, both large and small, tried to export books and translations to various countries. As regards Spain, all requests for imports had to go through the Ministry of Information and Tourism (MIT) to be studied and authorized or not. In the case of Simone de Beauvoir, we have specific data that we have checked in the Administration's General Archive (AGA). Although the Archive contains import files dating mainly from 1961, there are many import files referring to Simone de Beauvoir. Most of them are from the last years of the Francoist dictatorship and the majority were rejected imports. It is therefore clear that various Argentinian publishers, aiming to make a profit in foreign markets, attempted to export translations of de Beauvoir to Spain, but without success, as in the following example.

In 1954, the small Buenos Aires publishing house, Psique, brought out the translation into Spanish of *Le deuxième sexe* by the playwright, scriptwriter and translator Pablo Palant. Years later, in 1957, Leviatán bought the rights and re-edited the translation in Buenos Aires. Later, the publishers Siglo XX did likewise, producing various re-editions between 1962 and 1975 (see Sánchez 2013). In 1955, an attempt was made to import it into Spain, as is shown in the censor's report in the AGA.[3] On 24 June, 1955, the Spanish importing agent Eduardo Figueroa Gneco, quite probably an employee of some small publishing house that is not shown in the report,[4] requested authorization from the MIT to import Simone de Beauvoir's *Le deuxième sexe*. The intention was to make a small print run, of 200 copies, in two volumes, and at the price of 180 pesetas. The document shows that it was given to reader number 14. However, as in

[3] AGA 21-11137, file 03487 (1955).

[4] In the 1950s, Oteyza and Edhasa were the two important Latin American publishers that imported into Spain. I am grateful to Fernando Larraz for this information.

most of the requests for imports, the censors' reports are not to be found. A month later, on 27 July, the request was suspended and the file closed.

The Argentinian Spanish translation of *Le deuxième sexe* never entered Spain legally, but it did so clandestinely, as did many other translations. In *Almanaque* (Barral 2000), the volume that collects interviews with Carlos Barral, this Barcelona-based publisher explains how the Francoist censorship functioned with the works both of national and international authors, and refers to the illegality of many of the Latin American translations that circulated during this period. When interviewed in 1966 by Catherine Park for the CBS, Barral stated that "the censors treated foreigners the same as they did Spaniards". As an example he said that "in Spain it is impossible to read [Alberto] Moravia except in Latin American translations sold secretly" (Barral 2000, 32). Other authors such as James Baldwin or Jack Kerouac suffered the same fate: "their works are difficult to find because they are only translated over there and are brought in clandestinely" (Barral 2000, 32). Here it is important to insist on the great influence of the Latin American publishers, especially the Argentinians (amongst others, Edhasa, Losada, Sudamerica, Emecé, Siglo XX, Grijalbo, etc.) in the awakening of a consciousness that led to questioning, subversion and rejection of the Francoist regime by the new generations of young university students. In many cases, young people educated in Francoist institutions were able to advance thanks to the new literature that was arriving from publishing houses outside Spain. The banned books arrived in the ports, or crossed the frontier in packets mixed with inoffensive titles. They dodged the customs with tricks and exchanges and then circulated under the counter and amongst friends (Barral 2000).

The Argentinian translation of *Le deuxième sexe* suffered the same fate as many other works vetoed by the MIT. It reached Spain camouflaged and was only to be found, for many years, in the back rooms of bookshops or the secret libraries of some intellectuals. Much later, with the printing law of Manuel Fraga Iribarne (the Fraga Law, passed in 1966), Latin American publishing houses opened branches in Spain. Nevertheless, *El segundo sexo* was not imported nor was the work translated into peninsular Spanish during the final years of Franco's regime. In 1962, the Argentinian publishers Siglo XX bought the publishing and translating rights, but were still not able to import it. In fact, it did not arrive until 1998, thanks to an initiative of the *Institut Universitari d'Estudis de la Dona* of the University of Valencia and the publishing house Cátedra, in their collection "*Feminismos*". With a prologue by the philosopher and essayist Teresa López Pardina, this translation was by Alicia Martorell, the translator of several works by de Beauvoir and other French writers such

as Jean Baudrillard, Roland Barthes and Julia Kristeva. But this belongs to another phase of the reception of de Beauvoir in Spain.

1965-1967: Censorship under the second period of the Francoist regime and the Catalan translation of *Le deuxième sexe*

In 1962, after the dismissal of Gabriel Arias-Salgado, the new Minister of Information and Tourism, Manuel Fraga Iribarne, revised the regulations for the publication of books and authorized translations into the languages of the State which were not Spanish, i.e. Catalan, Galician and Basque. This was not a complete opening-up, but it was to a certain degree a "liberalization" of censorship. In 1966, the Printing and Press Law, known as the *Ley Fraga*, invalidated the law in force since 1938. The "obligatory previous censorship" of originals became "voluntary consultation", a disguised censorship that lasted until 1976, and in some cases until the end of the 1970s (see Cisquella *et al.* 2002 [1977]); Abellán 1980; Gallofré 1991; Gutiérrez-Lanza 1997; Llanas 2006; Ruiz Bautista 2008; Merino 2008; Bacardí 2012; and Larraz 2014).

Nineteen years after the publication of the original in Paris, fifteen after the English translation and fourteen after the Argentinian Spanish version, Simone de Beauvoir's *Le deuxième sexe* arrived for the first time in Spain, in Catalan. After the two translations into Spanish *Todos los hombres son mortales* (*Tous les hommes sont mortels*) (Edhasa, 1956), and *Djamila Bonpacha* (Seix Barral, 1964), and the four into Catalan *Una mort molt dolça* (*Une mort très douce*) (Aymà, 1966), *El pensament polític de la dreta* (*Privilèges*)[5] (Edicions 62, 1968), *Les belles imatges* (*Les belles images*) (Aymà, 1968) and *Per una moral de l'ambigüitat* (*Pour une morale de l'ambiguité*) (Edicions 62, 1968), *Le deuxième sexe* was the seventh work by de Beauvoir to disembark legally in Spanish territory, having passed all the filters of the MIT's censors. It should be remembered that, at that time, many works by contemporary thinkers were translated into Catalan before being translated into peninsular Spanish: for example de Beauvoir, Gramsci, Marcuse or Sartre (Godayol 2013a, 2013b, 2015, 2016a, 2016b, 2016c). All of these works figured in the Church's Index of Prohibited Books and so, having long been censored by the Francoist regime, they had been translated in Latin America, because the publishers, who had no competitors from Spain, had bought the translating rights

[5] The essay *La pensée de droite aujourd'hui* appeared in the volume *Privilèges* with another two essays.

(Vallverdú 2013). The Argentinian publishers had paid particular attention to the existentialist couple Sartre and de Beauvoir, and had paid for the rights of their works.

In the second half of the 1960s, the MIT began to authorize, though not without prohibitions, delays, erasures, and administrative silence, the translations of de Beauvoir into Catalan, before the translations into peninsular Spanish or the importing of Argentinian versions. Amongst the reasons for this are the interest that the writer aroused in some Catalan publishers and intellectuals (amongst these, Josep Maria Castellet, then literary director of Edicions 62), the limitation of a potential readership by the fact that the translation was into Catalan, and the desire of the MIT, under the *Ley Fraga*, to put on a face of tolerance and modernity before the international community.

Coinciding with the publishing boom of the 1960s in Catalunya, de Beauvoir's passage through the MIT, like that of other dissident authors, was intense and full of ups and downs. The first translations of de Beauvoir into Catalan are all from the second half of the decade of the 1960s. In four years, between 1966 and 1969, six titles appeared. By order of publishing, they were the following: *Una mort molt dolça* (*Une mort très douce*) (1966), *El pensament polític de la dreta* (*Privilèges*) (February, 1968), *Les belles imatges* (*Les belles images*) (March, 1968), *El segon sexe* (*Le deuxième sexe*) (June, 1968), *Per una moral de l'ambigüitat* (*Pour une morale de l'ambiguité*) (July, 1968) and *La mesura de l'home* (*Pyrrhus et Cinéas*) (1969).[6]

The first request to the MIT to translate one of de Beauvoir's works into Catalan was for *Le deuxième sexe*. Nevertheless, even though the petition was received for examination on 7 April, 1965, the book did not reach the bookshops until June, 1968, almost three years later, when four Catalan translations of other works by de Beauvoir had already been published. The AGA holds the two files compiled by the censors for the Catalan translation of *Le deuxième sexe*.[7] The first, from 1965, was drawn up according to the law of 1938 and concluded with the refusal of the request and the subsequent application for a revision. The second, from

[6] In "Simone de Beauvoir bajo la censura franquista: las traducciones al catalán" (Simone de Beauvoir under the Francoist censorship: the translations into Catalan) (Godayol 2015), we have analysed in detail the censors' files, whose dates of entry to the MIT do not coincide with the final order of publication.

[7] AGA 21-16124, file 02681 (1965) and AGA 21-17881, file 00648 (1967).

1967, came under the law of 1966 and concluded with the authorization on 20 June, 1968.[8]

Edicions 62, through its literary director Josep Maria Castellet, presented a request to the MIT for the translation of *Le deuxième sexe*, with a print run of 1,500 copies and a calculation of 972 pages. Because the writer was of international renown, reports were required from two illustrious academics and unquestionable authorities of the Francoist Church, Father Saturnino Álvarez Turienzo (La Mata de Monteagudo, León, 1920) and Father Miguel Oromí Inglés (Sudanell, 1911 – Barcelona, 1974). They had both recently authorized, without any problems, the Catalan translation of the North American feminist classic *The Feminine Mystique* by Betty Friedan (Godayol 2014).

Saturnino Álvarez Turienzo, an eminent member of the Augustine order and a specialist in philosophical works, handed in his unfavourable report to the MIT on 1 June, 1965: it was unrelenting.[9] The report was anything but trivial: it showed that he had read the book very carefully and that intellectually he respected the writer; he summarized the contents, underlined the most controversial aspects and ended by making clear that his discrepancies were strictly on moral grounds. As the text advances, the rigidity of the Church's orthodox morality with regard to sex becomes clear: "it seriously incites morbid pleasure in sexual matters". Finally, he spoke of the great social pillars legitimized by the Church and which de Beauvoir questioned: "certain institutions, such as marriage, come off badly" and "the prestige of virginity or maternity disappears". He concluded: "This must not be authorized". On the day after receiving Álvarez Turienzo's negative report, the MIT asked Oromí for a second report.[10] This was more permissive and agreed to publication after the application of some erasures, particularly with regard to abortion.

With one decision against and one in favour with erasures, a third opinion was requested from Father Francisco Aguirre, a learned authority specialized in second reports.[11] Aguirre's manuscript refers to various

[8] In "Censure, féminisme et traduction: '*Le deuxième sexe*' de Simone de Beauvoir en catalan" (Censorship, feminism and translation; Simone de Beauvoir's '*Le deuxième sexe*' in Catalan) (Godayol, 2013a) we presented the six censors' reports from the MIT.

[9] Type-written reader's report by Saturnino Álvarez Turienzo, dated 6th March, 1965, in Madrid (AGA 21-16124, file 02681).

[10] Type-written reader's report by Miguel Oromí, dated 23 June, 1965, in Madrid (AGA 21-16124, file 2681).

[11] Type-written reader's report by Francisco Aguirre, dated 9 September, 1965, in Madrid (AGA 21-16124, file 2681).

questions that are immoveable for the Church and therefore publication must not be authorized: "abortion and birth-control are considered legitimate", "masturbation is excused", "feminine adultery is excused and almost defended". At the same time, a fourth report was requested from Father Santos Beguiristain (Bell Ville, Argentina, 1908 – Obanos, Navarra, 1994), a member of the Falange and doctor in Theology and Canonical Law.[12] The report is direct and perspicacious: "This book may be considered the most radical and daring feminist manifesto ever written". Of the four, Santos is the one who explains most clearly and firmly, from the standpoint of the Francoist ecclesiastical orthodoxy, the reasons why the book could not be published: "…it would be very harmful in the hands of the general public". He finished off: "There is a lot of venom alongside positive things with regard to a rehabilitation of women".

With four reports, the MIT's verdict was negative. Two weeks later, Edicions 62 presented an appeal for a revision.[13] It underlined the historical, sociological and philosophical interest of the book and the importance of the author. It put special emphasis on the specialized scientific subject-matter of the work and the small erudite readership to which it was addressed, this being a strategy used by the publishers to minimize, in the eyes of the MIT, the risk of its reaching the general public. Nevertheless, the MIT maintained its refusal.

After the new law was passed in 1966, and almost two years after the first request for authorization to translate *Le deuxième sexe*, Edicions 62, on the insistence of its literary director Josep Maria Castellet, presented a new request on 25 January, 1967, which led to the opening of a second file in the MIT.[14] Saturnino Álvarez Turienzo was again required to produce a report.[15] After commenting that the reading was heavy-going "because of its being an anthropological essay" or the need for "a certain formation and discernment" on the part of readers, he gave the go-ahead for the translation, not without repeating that "the work presents serious drawbacks". His closing verdict was: "I would not oppose its admission unconditionally at this time". At last, one of the academic censors who most enjoyed the confidence of the high ranks of the Francoist regime had given his guarantee. A week later, another back-up report was requested

[12] Type-written reader's report by Santos Beguiristain, dated 10 October, 1965, in Madrid (AGA 21-16124, file 2681).
[13] Type-written appeal by Ramon Bastardes Porcel, dated 16 October, 1965, in Barcelona (AGA 21-16124, file 2681).
[14] AGA 21-17881, file 00648 (1967).
[15] Type-written reader's report by Saturnino Álvarez Turienzo, dated 28 January, 1967 in Madrid (AGA 21-17881, file 00648).

from Manuel Pui, who also authorized the translation. The law of 1966 stated that cases should be solved in no more than thirty working days and in this second attempt, only twenty-three days were needed between the presentation of the request and the emission of the favourable verdict. Nonetheless, from the first request in April, 1965, it took almost three years and a total of six reports.

Nineteen years after his daring review of *Le deuxième sexe* in the magazine *Estilo*, Josep Maria Castellet, with the long-awaited permission of the MIT, commissioned Herminia Grau to translate the first volume and Carme Vilaginés, the second. The feminist writer Maria Aurèlia Capmany was to write the prologue. Capmany foresaw that the situation of women in Spain was evolving and that the new generations were seeing the future in a different light: "*El segon sexe* arrives today, twenty years later, in a new climate: the adventure of this translation is proof of this. A new youth tends to call things by their name and not be horrified" (1968, 18).

To sum up, the study of the censors' files relating to the Catalan translation of *Le deuxième sexe* reveals a representative case of the type of actions carried out by the MIT during the second period of the Francoist regime. The four reports of the first file show conclusive opinions that affect the book as a whole, without going into judgements of specific points or suggestions for mutilations. The two reports of the second file lower the tone of the discourse and end up by authorizing the work with no erasures. The international fame of the writer, the specialized subject-matter and the small print-run, since it was in Catalan, the permissiveness of the censors during the final years of Francoism due to the opening up of the government's foreign policy and the desire to avoid the criticism of the international press all added up to a situation that was favourable for the approval of the translation.

Coda: Simone de Beauvoir, a symbolic mother made (in)visible

Teresa López Pardina contributed the prologue to the first translation into peninsular Spanish of *Le deuxième sexe.* Giving it a warm welcome after its delay, she described it as "the most important feminist essay of the century" (2005, 7). Without a doubt, de Beauvoir's classic is one of the symbolic texts of feminism of all time. In spite of being banned by the Church (it appeared in the Index of Prohibited Books) and censored by the Francoist dictatorship, *Le deuxième sexe* was crucial for the sustenance of the intellectuals opposed to the regime and a stimulus for the feminist discourses emerging in Spain in the 1960s. The link with the vanguard

grandmothers of generations before the Civil War had been lost and de Beauvoir emerged as one of the foreign ideological mothers of those years. Along with Marxist manuals, *Le deuxième sexe* was among the most widely read books of the last years of the dictatorship.

In the prologue to the book *El movimiento feminista en España en los años 70* (*The feminist movement in Spain in the 1970s*) (2009), Carmen Martínez Ten and Purificación Gutiérrez López recall that the books most widely read in the university at that time were those of Betty Friedan and Simone de Beauvoir, "books that could only be found in the back rooms of some bookshops or that we brought from abroad when we began to travel" (2009, 8). In this same book, Celia Amorós wrote a chapter on the ideological debates within the feminist movement during the transition period in Spain and indicated that "*El segundo sexo*" was a historical turning point in the last stages of the dictatorship: "it gave character both to an ideology and to many women's way of life in my milieu and of my generation" (Amorós 2009, 192). She added that, at that time, the reception of foreign feminist literature was conditioned and selectively filtered "by the social transformations and political expectations" (Amorós 2009, 192-193).

Branded as existentialist, atheist, communist and feminist, Simone de Beauvoir was one of the chosen few to give theoretical shape to the emerging feminist discourses, both academic and associationist, in the 1970s. Whether it was to corroborate or to contradict its hypotheses, *Le deuxième sexe* was the subject of debate in thousands of cultural and activist gatherings, as well as being the starting point for many works written by ideologues from then onwards. This Beauvoirian explosion was neither fleeting nor circumstantial. In spite of Francoism's attempt to make her invisible, this French writer was very present in the subconscious of left-wing circles of dissident intellectuals, thanks to French originals, banned Argentinian translations or Catalan translations authorized when circumstances permitted.

The three moments in history presented here illustrate three attempts by several committed cultural actors to break the ostracism that the dictatorship imposed on Simone de Beauvoir for her antinational-Catholic implications. The truth is that they never managed to reduce her to silence. She was present from the very moment when, in 1936, faced with the brutality of the Spanish Civil War, she joined the anti-fascist cause.

References

Abellán, Manuel L. 1980. *Censura y creación literaria en España (1939-1976)*. Barcelona: Península.

Amorós, Celia. 2009. "Debates ideológicos en el movimiento feminista durante la transición española." In *El movimiento feminista en España en los años 70*, edited by Carmen Martínez Ten, Purificación Gutiérrez López and Pilar González Ruiz, 189-202. Valencia: Cátedra: Universidad de València: Instituto de la Mujer.

Bacardí, Montserrat. 2012. *La traducció catalana sota el franquisme*. Lleida: Punctum.

Barral, Carlos. 1975. *Años de penitencia*. Barcelona: Madrid.

—. 2000. *Almanaque*. Madrid: Cuatro Ediciones.

Beauvoir, Simone de. 1954. *El segundo sexo*. Translated by Pablo Palant. Buenos Aires: Psique.

—. 1968. *El segon sexe*. Translated by Hermínia Grau and Carme Vilaginés. Barcelona: Edicions 62.

—. 2005. *El segundo sexo*. Translated by Alicia Martorell. Valencia: Cátedra / Universitat de València / Instituto de la Mujer.

Capmany, Maria Aurèlia. 1968. Pròleg to *El segon sexe*, by Simone de Beauvoir, 5-18. Barcelona: Edicions 62.

Castellet, Josep Maria. 1949. "*Le deuxième sexe.*" *Estilo* 5 (December): 8-9.

Castro, Olga. 2008. "(Para)translated ideologies in Simone de Beauvoir's *Le deuxième sexe*. The (para)translator's role." In *Translation and censorship in different times and landscapes*, edited by Teresa Seruya and María Lin Moniz, 130-146. Newcastle: Cambridge Scholars Publishing.

Cisquella, Georgina, José Luis Erviti and José A. Sorolia. 2002 [1977]. *La represión cultural en el franquismo. Diez años de censura de libros durante la Ley de Prensa (1966-1976)*. Barcelona: Anagrama.

Corbí Sáez, María Isabel. 2010. "Simone de Beauvoir en España: sus obras traducidas y se recepción en la prensa." *Feminismo/s* 15: 165-191.

Diego, José Luis de (dir.). 2006. *Editores y políticas editoriales en Argentina, 1880-2000*. Buenos Aires: Fondo de Cultura Económica.

Formica-Corsi, Mercedes. 1950. "Simone de Beauvoir. *Le deuxième sexe*. Recensión." *Revista de Estudios Políticos*. XXXIX (49): 264-270.

Gallofré, M. Josepa. 1991. *L'edició catalana i la censura franquista (1939-1951)*. Barcelona: Publicacions de l'Abadia de Montserrat.

Godayol, Pilar. 2013a. "Censure, féminisme et traduction: *Le deuxième sexe* de Simone de Beauvoir en Catalan." *Nouvelles Questions Féministes* 32 (2): 74-89.

—. 2013b. "Simone de Beauvoir en català." *Bulletin Hispanique* 115 (2): 669-684.

—. 2014. "Feminism and translation in the 1960s: the reception in Catalunya of Betty Friedan's *The Feminine Mystique*." *Translation Studies* 7 (3): 267-213.

—. 2015. "Simone de Beauvoir bajo la censura franquista: las traducciones al catalán." *Quaderns de Filologia. Estudis Literaris* 20: 17-34.

—. 2016a. "Censorship and the Catalan translations of Jean-Paul Sartre." *Perspectives. Studies in Translatology* 24 (1): 59-75.

—. 2016b. *Tres escriptores censurades. Simone de Beauvoir, Betty Friedan, Mary McCarthy*. Lleida: Punctum.

—. 2016c. "Antoni Gramsci sota la dictadura franquista: les traduccions al català". In *Traducció i franquisme*, edited by Montserrat Bacardí and Pilar Godayol. Lleida: Punctum. (Forthcoming)

Gràcia, Jordi. 1993. "Los orígenes intelectuales de *Laye* en dos revistas del SEU, *Estilo* y *Quadrante*." *Anuari de Filologia*, vol. XVI, F, 4: 47-70.

Gutierrez-Lanza, Camino. 1997. "Leyes y criterios de censura en la España Franquista: Traducción y recepción de textos literarios". In *La palabra vertida. Investigaciones en torno a la Traducción*, edited by Miguel-Angel Vega and Rafael Martín-Gaitero, 283-290. Madrid: Editorial Complutense.

Laffitte y Pérez del Pulgar, María de los Reyes. 1948. *La secreta guerra de los sexos*. Madrid: Taurus.

—. 1961. *La mujer como mito y como ser humano*. Madrid: Taurus.

Larraz, Fernando. 2010 *Una historia transatlántica del libro. Relaciones editorials entre España y América latina (1936-1950)*. Gijón: Trea.

—. 2014. *Letricio español. Censura y novela durante el franquismo*. Gijón: Trea.

Llanas, Manuel. 2006. *L'edició a Catalunya: el segle XX (1939-1975)*. Barcelona: Gremi d'Editors de Catalunya.

López Pardina, Teresa. 1998. *Simone de Beauvoir, una filosofa del siglo XX*. Cádiz: Publicaciones de la Universidad de Cádiz.

—. 1999. "Simone de Beauvoir y el feminism posterior. Polémicas en torno a *El segundo sexo*." *Arenal. Revista de historia de las mujeres* 6, 135-163.

—. 2005 [1998]. Prologue to the Spanish edition of *El segundo sexo* by Beauvoir de Simone. Valencia: Cátedra: Universidad de Valencia: Instituto de la Mujer.

Martínez Ten, Carmen and Purificación Gutiérrez López. 2009. Prologue to *El movimiento feminista en España en los años 70*, edited by Carmen Martínez Ten; Purificación Gutiérrez López and Pilar González Ruiz, 7-15. Valencia: Cátedra: Universitat de Valencia: Instituto de la Mujer.

Medina Doménech, Rosa María. 2013. *Ciencia y sabiduría del amor. Una historia cultural del franquismo (1940-1960)*. Madrid: Iberoamericana / Vervuert.

Merino, Raquel. 2008. *Traducción y censura en España (1939-1985). Estudios sobre corpus TRACE: cine, narrativa, teatro*. Bilbao: Universidad del País Vasco: Universidad de León.

Muñoz Lloret, Teresa. 2006a. "Josep Maria Castellet, l'escepticisme combatiu." *L'Avenç* 300 (March): 57-63.

—. 2006b. *Josep Maria Castellet. Retrat de personatge en grup*. Barcelona: Edicions 62.

Nielfa Cristóbal, Gloria. 2002. "La difusión en España de *El segundo sexo*, de Simone de Beauvoir." *Arenal. Revista de historia de las mujeres* 9: 151-162.

—, ed. 2003. *Mujeres y hombres en la España franquista: sociedad, economía, política, cultura*. Madrid: Instituto de Investigaciones Feministas: Editorial Complutense.

Pala, Giaime. 2014. "La recepción del pensamiento de Antonio Gramsci en España (1956-1980)." In *Gramsci y la sociedad intercultural*, edited by Giaime Pala, Antonino Firenze and Jordi Mir Garcia, 185-200. Barcelona: Montesinos.

Ruiz Bautista, Eduardo, ed. 2008. *Tiempo de censura. La represión editorial durante el franquismo*. Gijón: Trea.

Sánchez, Lola. 2013. "Sur les pas du *Deuxième sexe* en Espagne: historiographie féministe et traduction." *La main de Thôt* 1: 04/11/2013. Accessed June 19, 2016. http://e-revues.pum.univ-tlse2.fr/sdx2/la-main-de-thot/article.xsp?numero=1&id_article=Lola_Sanchez-875.

Vallverdú, Francesc. 2013. "La traducció i la censura franquista: la meva experiència a Edicions 62." *Quaderns. Revista de Traducció* 20: 9-16.

Wilson, Patricia. 2004. *La constelación del Sur*. Buenos Aires: Siglo XXI.

CHAPTER FIVE

REWRITING AND SEXUAL (SELF)-CENSORSHIP IN THE TRANSLATION OF A CANADIAN NOVEL

PILAR SOMACARRERA

Censorship under Franco's Regime

Censorship is a highly political and contested term which concerns the manipulation and rewriting of texts in the hands of agents holding positions of power. The harsh, macro-contextual constraints of censorship that often exist in authoritarian regimes are perhaps the most obvious example of ideological manipulation (Munday 2001, 137). But even in a democratic system, which presupposes a certain degree of freedom of speech, several degrees of censorship exist in educational institutions, in the press and in other media. "To censor" means to inspect and make deletions or changes in a text (written or audiovisual) on grounds of obscenity or seditiousness (Brown 2007, 367). This understanding of censorship as government suppression dates from the Enlightenment, an age convinced that society's crucial problems could be solved and reliable norms established through the use of reason (Cohen 2001, 4). However, some critics present censorship as a more subtle, discursive process shaping the very boundaries of what can be said. Initially coined by Bourdieu (1991), the notion of "structural censorship" has been expanded by Richard Burt:

> Censorship may be seen, then, not only in terms of the repressed and free discourses but also in terms of the receivable and the unreceivable—what cannot be heard or spoken without risk of being delegitimated as beyond the pale of discourse (1994, xvii).

Judith Butler refers to "implicit censorship" that "operates on a level prior to speech, namely as the constituting norm by which the speakable is differentiated from the unspeakable" (1997, 137-8).

In Spain, Francisco Franco's authoritarian regime (1939-1975) established a severe censorship system regulating the entrance and translation of any published or audiovisual material (books, theatre and films) into the country.[1] As Alberto Lázaro points out,[2] this system became highly influential in the development of Spanish cultural life for four decades (2004, 22). Since the beginnings of Francoism and even during the Spanish Civil War, censorship was aimed at disseminating the doctrines of the regime, oriented to the "prevalence of truth" and the task of "national reconstruction" (Abellán, 1980, 15). The aim of censorship, in Margaret Atwood's words, is to attempt to establish a utopia, a perfect society, but applying standards involves a regulation of that society (qtd. in Cohen 2001, 49). The main theoretician of censorship in the Franco regime was minister Gabriel Arias Salgado who, challenging the Catholic Church, the traditional authority in matters of censorship, stated that "in the interests of the common good, prior consultation [censorship by another name] with regard to all media that spread ideas is, in principle, perfectly in keeping with Catholic doctrine" (qtd. in Ortega, 2011, 177).

To provide a legal background for the practice of censorship, a *Ley de Prensa* [Press Law] was passed in 1938, followed by the creation of the *Vicesecretaría de Educación Popular* [Vicesecretariat of Popular Education] in 1941. Since then, one institution replaced another in the regulation of censorship. It was first handled by the *Ministerio de la Gobernación* [Ministry of Government]; from 1941 to 1945 it depended on the *Delegación Nacional de Propaganda*, *Sección de Censura* [National Delegation for Propaganda, Censorship Section] integrated in the aforementioned Vicesecretariat (Lázaro 2004, 24-25). From 1945 to 1951, censorship was regulated by the *Ministerio de Educación Nacional* [Ministry of National Education] and, finally, from 1951 on, it was assigned to the Section for the Inspection of Books of the newly created Ministry of Information and Tourism. The shifting of the institutions which managed censorship evinces how the issue, while pivotal throughout the regime, was approached from different angles: first, from the core of political power and, subsequently, as a matter related to the dissemination of information.

---

[1] Spanish censorship and its effects on the translation of British and U.S. novels, plays and films has been studied in depth by the TRACE project (see Rabadán 2000 and Merino 2007).

[2] I am grateful to Professor Alberto Lázaro (University of Alcalá de Henares) for his help, first with the Archive in June 2009, and for his useful suggestions about the topics of reception and censorship.

Following Lázaro's account (2004, 22-30), three stages can be distinguished in the history of Spanish censorship: the first stage (1938-1966) was characterized by the strict control of all media and intellectual production through prior and obligatory censorship so that no book could be printed, imported or sold without the authorization of the Censorship Section. The process involved filing an application in which publishing houses had to provide the main data of the publication. When the application was received at the censorship section, a file was opened containing the request form signed by the publisher, a copy of the text (it could be its galley proofs or the original of the book to be imported or translated) and the censor's reports. Censors were anonymous readers who were usually educated (Cisquella et al. 2002, 43-53) but sometimes revealing flaws and a lack of specific knowledge on certain writers and literatures (Morales 2010, 60). They issued a report which, signed by the corresponding authorities, contained the decision to authorize the publication or not; in its full form or with the suppressions recommended by the reader. This report contained questions about the work's religious beliefs and morals, and its allusions to the Catholic Church and the Regime (Abellán 1980, 19). Earlier versions of the questionnaire inquired about the "artistic and literary quality" of the work because in the extremely difficult economic conditions in postwar Spain, it did not seem convenient to authorize a book without literary value (Lázaro 2004, 26). However, in many reports issued after the 1966 Press Law, censors did not refrain from making a literary judgement of the book they had to assess.

The second stage in Spanish censorship (1966-1983) began with the new *Ley de Prensa e Imprenta* [Press and Printing Law] promoted by the Minister of Information and Tourism, Manuel Fraga Iribarne in 1966. Apparently, it opened a time of "*apertura vigilada*" [supervised openness] (Abellán 1980, 152) but, in reality, it maintained a strict control of publications. A third and last stage of the censorship system began after Franco's death in 1975 when regulations became more flexible. Official censorship was abolished in the Spanish Constitution of 1978, which "recognized the right of Spaniards to express and disseminate thoughts, ideas and opinions through the printed word or any other media" (qtd. in Lázaro 2004, 29, my translation). The censorship files are still kept at the *Archivo General de la Administración* [Administration's General Archive, or AGA] in Alcalá de Henares (Madrid), within the *Fondo de Cultura* [Cultural Files] section, and are available to researchers for consultation.

Margaret Laurence: Censored in Canada and Spain

Margaret Laurence (1926-1987), with Margaret Atwood and Alice Munro, is one the members of the founding triad of English-Canadian women's fiction. A writer and political activist, she is best known for her novels about Manawaka, a fictionalized amalgam of many small Canadian prairie towns where her female protagonists have to construct their gendered identity in a morally repressive background. *The Diviners* (1974), the last novel of the cycle dealing with a woman's growth into love, motherhood and artistry (Xiques 2002, 635), was banned from the school curriculum in her town of residence (Lakefield, Ontario) on the grounds of obscenity. The controversy was initiated by fundamentalist Christians, who wanted *The Diviners* banned from local high schools (Cohen 2001, 89) but the Head of Lakefield High School refused to stop teaching the novel and the dispute was taken to a textbook review committee which decided that the book could be taught. However, after the school had come to an official decision, a minister from one of the Churches in Lakefield circulated a petition "in defense of decency" (Goddard 1987, B8) and displayed copies of *The Diviners* with offending passages highlighted in yellow. There were passages of two kinds: the first contained irreverent treatment of religious issues; and the second, scenes of explicit sex (King 1997, 339-40). The fundamentalist minister took the petition to the Board of Education where, once again, it was rejected.

As the title of Goddard's (1987) article and Laurence's biographer, James King (1997, xviii), suggest, the accusation of being a pornographer deeply hurt Margaret Laurence. This discussion of the 1974 Lakefield controversy[3] about *The Diviners* provides an interesting background to contextualize how *A Jest of God* (1966), her third novel and the second of her Manawaka cycle, would also suffer censorship in Spain. The story of Rachel Cameron, an unmarried teacher in her mid-thirties and a prisoner of repressive religion and her possessive mother, would have had many correlates in the Spain of the late 1960s, so the horizon of expectations (Jauss 1982, 24) of the Spanish society and that of a Canadian small town like Lakefield would have been similar. In order to liberate herself from the fear, guilt and self-consciousness generated by her Scots-Presbyterian religious background and her oppressive mother, Rachel needs to undergo a radical change, not only linked to her first sexual experience with her childhood friend Nick Kazlik, but mainly to her facing up to certain

[3] See King (1997, 339-349) for a full account of the Lakefield controversy about Laurence's novel.

unexpected events like Nick leaving and her possible pregnancy. The episode of Rachel attending an Evangelist meeting some of whose attendees have "the gift of tongues" (Laurence 1987, 26) and the Protestant approach to Christianity stemming from Laurence's own Scots Presbyterian background were disregarded by the Spanish censors, who focused their attention on the erotic passages of the novel.

In this chapter, I intend to analyse the galley proofs of the translation into Spanish of *A Jest of God* undertaken by Agustín Gil Lasierra. Starting from the premise that translating is always a political act (Álvarez and Vidal 1996, 1), through a descriptive-comparative analysis between the original and the edited translation kept at the AGA and the censored edition published by Grijalbo in 1969, I aim to elucidate the political rationale behind their decisions about what was receivable and unreceivable in the Spanish target culture at the time. I intend to analyse both the rewriting involved in the instances of preventive self-censorship exerted by the translator prior to assessment by the censors, and the censors' suppressions which were implemented in the published version. As Santaemilia (2008, 227-28) points out, analysing the translation of sexual language into a specific target language (Spanish, in this case) helps draw the imaginary limits of the translator's sexual morality and, perhaps, gain insights into the moral fabric of a particular community at a specific historical moment.

The Spanish Censorship Files of *A Jest of God* by Margaret Laurence

There are three files in the AGA about the translation of *A Jest of God* titled *Raquel, Raquel* in the Spanish 1969 edition published after the film directed by Paul Newman in 1968. The first file, AGA (03) 050 SIG 66/02853, File Number 3249-69, contains the five official requests filed by the publisher Grijalbo in 1969; the galley proofs of the translation (with the passages suggested for deletion crossed out twice, once in red and once in blue ink); and an original copy of Laurence's novel published by Panther Books with the title of Newman's film. The second file, AGA (03) 050 73/01929, File 5722-72, holds the application sent by the publisher Bruguera to reprint Gil Lasierra's translation in a new edition. Whereas the final dictum of the *Junta de Censura* (Book Censorship Office) for File 3249-69 had been to authorize the publication, in the case of File 5722-72 it was to maintain "*silencio administrativo*," [administrative silence], interpreted by the publisher as an authorization to publish. The third file, AGA (03) 050 73/05946, File 1813-77, corresponds to a reprint of the novel requested by Bruguera in 1977. In this chapter I will be focusing on

the earliest file,[4] which contains the most relevant material about the censorship process, and specifically, the galley proofs of the translation, which will be the central object of my analysis.

Some brief notes about Grijalbo, the publisher who decided to start the translation project, will shed some light on the study of this case. In 1940 Juan Grijalbo founded his publishing house in Mexico, where like many other Spanish intellectuals he had exiled himself at the end of the Spanish Civil War. In 1962 he opened the Spanish branch of his publishing house in Barcelona. Aware of the crude reality of Spanish censorship and how difficult it was to resist it, he submitted all his titles for "voluntary consultation" but some of his best-sellers were removed from circulation (Cisquella et al. 2002, 173). Grijalbo, who as a former delegate of the Book Department of the *Generalitat* (Catalonian Government) during the Spanish Second Republic (1931-1939) knew the intricacies of the publishing world, preferred to engage in the ideological fight for freedom of speech from within the system. He was very skilful at arguing back at the censors who "did not advise" the publication of his books.

In accordance with Bourdieu's theories (1999), Nieves Pascual observes that Grijalbo capitalized on the popularity of Laurence's novel after its adaptation into a Hollywood film by Paul Newman in order to turn the book into a best-seller (2013, 60).[5] But before it could become a best-seller in Spain, Laurence's book had to be approved by the Spanish Book Censorship Office. The first application to publish the book sent in March 1969 was denied on the ground that:

> *La obra, pese al tema, parece tratada con finura por lo que creemos es aceptable, pero conviene se presente el texto traducido para ver cómo se realiza la traducción, pues hay determinados pasajes de sexo en los que habrá que realizar supresiones.*
> [The work, in spite of its subject (a repressed woman whose sexual desire is set free by a relationship with a male acquaintance), seems to have been written in a refined style, so we think it is acceptable, but it would be convenient to have the translated text in order to see how the translation is done because there are certain passages of explicit sex in which deletions should be made.] [6]

[4] AGA (03) 050 SIG 66/02853, File 3249-69, henceforth abbreviated as File 3249-69.

[5] Unfortunately, due to the limited scope of this chapter, the comparison between the film and the novel and the reception of the film in Spain will not be approached. About the first of these two aspects, see Dickinson (2007, 21-30).

[6] AGA (03) 050 SIG 66/02853, File Number 3249-69.

The censors considered the translation as crucial evidence to make their decision because the degree of acceptability of the rewritten book largely depended on the extent to which the translator had exercised prior self-censorship in order to safeguard his/her professional status and the publication of the book. In this process of implicit censorship the translator also transfers into his rewriting the degree of acceptability or respectability he/she accords to certain sex-related (or blasphemous) words and phrases (Santaemilia 2008, 227). During the Franco regime, translators had to be especially careful about sexual language because sexuality was one of the "black"[7] topics for the Censorship Office (Cisquella et al. 2002, 90) even after the theoretically more liberal 1966 Press Law was passed. All the passages indicated by Censor 1 for suppression in the galley proofs of the translation correspond to sexual encounters between Rachel and Nick, providing fascinating material for the researcher to delve into the constructions of sex and gender prevalent at the time. Sex-related language is a site where issues of cultural sensitivity are encumbered by issues of gender stereotyping and cliché (von Flotow 2000, 31). Censor 1,[8] however, ignores other potentially conflictive aspects of the novel, like the aforementioned presence of religious denominations other than the Catholic one, and the novel's allusions to suicide and abortion and the lesbian innuendos of the scene at the end of chapter 2.

Bearing in mind the moral sensitivity of Spanish society of the late 1960s, I am going to refer to some scenes crossed out by the censors in the galley proofs of the translation. Firstly, although the scene describing Nick and Rachel smoking while he places his head on her breast (Laurence 1969, 105) was crossed out, it was relatively receivable and was kept in the published version, even if the rendering seems a bit awkward "*con la cabeza descansándome en los pechos*" [with the head resting me on the breasts] (Laurence 1969, 117). However, the more erotically charged scenes in which Nick tries to touch Rachel for the first time and she openly expresses her desire for him (Laurence 1969, 73); and when Rachel tells Nick to stop talking and continue making love to her (Laurence 1969, 137) were deemed scandalous in a morally narrow society where women were not supposed to feel sexual desire or even speak about it. The longer passage corresponding to Rachel and Nick making love for the first time (Laurence 1987, 89-91) was crossed out from the galley proofs and removed from the published version.

---

[7] "*Malditos*" [English *damned*] as Cisquella et al. refer to them (italics in the original).

[8] I have analysed the comments and deletions by two different censors which I have named Censor 1 and Censor 2 for the purpose of clarity.

When Grijalbo received the negative reply from the Book Censorship Office, he appealed, expressing his surprise at the Administration's "advice" not to publish the novel and requesting a reconsideration. His arguments, grounded on objective data which metonymically identified Laurence's novel with the film based on it, were solid: he first argued that the Catholic Office of Cinema and the National Council of Churches, in New York, had distinguished the film with awards "because of its magnificent and sensitive description of a woman's life who becomes conscious of her personality and chooses her own destiny with the hope of finding herself as she runs away from the moral weight of her past" (Memorandum, File 2349-69); and, secondly, that the film *Rachel, Rachel*, directed by Paul Newman, was a nominee for the 1968 Academy Awards. Grijalbo skilfully avoided mentioning the censor's comments about the sexual scenes in the novel, which explained the denial of permission.

Juan Grijalbo's arguments about the awards received by the film based on the novel granted him a rereading ("*revisión*") of the novel, which was sent to another censor (Censor 2). His report resembles that of Censor 1 in that he seems to disapprove of Rachel's overt sexual desire, describing her as "a woman obsessed by masculine attraction." Like Censor 1, he esteems that the work contains some "*escabrosos*" [touchy] passages (the same pages that Censor 1 had marked) and, therefore, the Spanish translation should be at hand in order to make "*pequeñas*" [a few] suppressions. Censor 2's judgement is rather disparaging about the style of the novel:

> *Narrada con un estilo literario nada más que mediano, no logra convencer en sus personajes ni en los ambientes que describe; el ritmo de la acción es lento y reiterativo*
> [Narrated in a literary style that is no more than mediocre, its characters and the settings described are not convincing enough; the narrative rhythm is slow and repetitive"].[9]

However, he concludes that, excluding the mentioned passages, the book "could be authorized."

Responding to the request of Censors 1 and 2, Grijalbo provided the Spanish translation, which was given to Censor 3 for examination. This reader is clearly more tolerant with Rachel's sexual upsurges than the earlier ones and tries to explain her behaviour by saying that "she is a spinster and primary school teacher who does not know love and, led by her eagerness to get some experience, she gives herself to a fellow

[9] AGA (03) 050 SIG 66/02853, File Number 3249-69.

schoolteacher." Censor 3, judging, like his predecessors, that "the excessively realistic love scenes and the erotic thoughts of the protagonist provoke scenes and passages which should be suppressed" [list of page numbers, 13 in total], finally decided that the book would be "publishable" if these passages were removed. Despite their slight disagreement about the style of the novel—Censor 1 considered Laurence's style refined and Censor 2 mediocre, a reminiscence of the earlier obligatory judgement about the literary quality of the work—the three censors agreed that some passages should be removed on the same grounds.

Suppression of sexual passages and self-censorship

In order to unveil the principles of structural censorship at work and the political decisions taken in the rewriting process of *A Jest of God*, I have selected four significant suppressed passages for analysis for which I indicate the differences with respect to the galley proofs in the version published in 1969 and identify the instances of self-censorship. Self-censorship refers the act of censoring one's own work when dealing with controversial material (mostly sexual, but also religious) susceptible to being censored. It has been identified as one of the norms of translation that ruled the translators' behaviour during the Francoist period, encompassing a variety of textual strategies such as elimination, distortion and downgrading (Santaemilia 2008, 224). It is easy to see self-censorship as a spontaneous phenomenon because as Coetzee (1996, 125) observes, once censorship has established itself as a regime of writing and reading, writers [and translators] can be expected to regulate themselves. Along this line of thought José Santaemilia (2008, 228) has identified a general axiom that prescribes that translation of sex is likely to be "defensive" or "conservative," tends to soften or downplay sexual references, and also tries to make translations more "formal" than their originals. Naturally, following what Chesterman (1997, 65-66) calls expectancy norms, a translator wants his/her publisher to be able to publish books and sell them, an accomplishment which is conditioned by a positive judgement from society and the authorities, although there may sometimes be a clash between them.

I will begin my analysis with the first controversial excerpt found in the novel, Passage 1, which appears at the end of chapter 1. Rachel is having one of her recurrent erotic fantasies:

> *Passage 1*
> —A forest. Tonight it is a forest. Sometimes it is a beach [...] She cannot see his face clearly. His features are blurred as though his were a face seen through water. She sees only his body distinctly, his shoulders and arms deeply tanned, his belly flat and hard. He is wearing only tight-fitting jeans, and his swelling sex shows. She touches him there, and he trembles, absorbing her fingers' pressure. Then they are lying along one another, their skins slippery. His hands, his mouth are on the wet warm skin of her inner thighs (Laurence 1987, 18-19).
> [~~*y muestra un sexo que se va hinchando. Ella le toca allí, y el tiembla, absorbiendo la presión de sus dedos. Luego están acostados el uno al lado del otro, la piel resbaladiza, viscosa. Las manos, la boca de él, están en la húmeda tibieza que esconden los muslos de ella*~~.] [10]

In its depiction of Rachel's reactions, the passage foreshadows the sexual encounters between Rachel and Nick. At the same time, the exotic setting (a forest) and the sensual description of the man's body evoke the style of popular fiction texts like Harlequin Romances. In this kind of novel, just as in some of the passages from *A Jest of God*, sexual organs are foregrounded. In the Christian tradition, as Saint Augustine observes (1945, vol. 2, 47), sexual organs move independently of the will so any description of these parts of the body moving separately should be considered sinful. Similarly, a man and a woman touching each other in order to give each other pleasure was found unacceptable by Spanish censors and, therefore, Passage 1 was crossed out in the galley proofs. In the published version, however, the translator managed to preserve the first two crossed out sentences introducing the sex scene, the suppression of which in the published version would have made Laurence's text impossible to understand:

> And his swelling sex shows. She touches him there. (Laurence 1987, 18)
> *Y muestra un sexo que se va hinchando. Ella le toca allí…* (Laurence 1969, 26)

As a strategy to mark the absence of text, the translator (possibly in agreement with the publisher) inserts suspension dots where the original only has a full stop. By doing this, the translator is using a mark of textual silence to encode knowledge in the Foucauldian sense. As Foucault (1978, 27) puts it:

---

[10] AGA (03) 050 SIG 66/02853, File Number 3249-69, galley proofs of translation, p. 21. I use the cross out effect to signal the passages which were marked by the censors in the galley proofs of the translation.

> There is no binary division to be made between what one says and what one does not say; we must try to determine the different ways of not saying such things, how those who can and those who cannot speak of them are distributed, which type of discourse is authorized, or which form of discretion is required in either case. There is not one but many silences, and they are an integral part of the strategies that underlie and permeate discourses.

In the published translation of Margaret Laurence's *A Jest of God*, the silences marked typographically by blanks or suspension dots point to the removed text in ways that can also be subversive.

Passage (2), which also presents self-censorship and suppression of text, needs to be contextualized. It appears at the end of chapter 3 when Rachel is invoking the man from her earlier fantasy. However, instead of seeing him, she starts daydreaming about a sexual scene between Antony and Cleopatra inspired by a book about Egypt:

> And when they'd drunk enough, they would copulate as openly as dogs, a sweet hot tangle of the smooth legs around the hard hairy legs (Laurence 1987, 59).

The galley proofs of the translation show that the censor crossed out the text from "they would copulate" to "hard hairy legs:

> ~~*copulaban tan abiertamente como los perros, formando un dulce y cálido enredo las suaves piernas, bien torneadas, en torno a los muslos duros y llenos de pelo*~~).[11]

Once again, the translator has saved some text from the crossed-out passage by implementing a strategy of amplification and introducing the adverb "*aprisa*" (which does not appear in the source text). Thus, the published version has: *Copulaban tan abiertamente y aprisa*[12] *como los perros* (Laurence 1969, 71) [they would copulate as openly and as quickly as dogs]. The translator has tried to make the text more receivable for the Spanish readership by suggesting that the point of comparison between Antony and Cleopatra's sexual intercourse with that of dogs is not their lack of control (as evoked by the Orientalist reference), but rather the hurried way in which they perform the act.

---

[11] AGA (03) 050 SIG 66/02853, File Number 3249-69, galley proofs of translation, p. 68

[12] I use the underlining effect to mark words and phrases which the translator has introduced even if they were not in the original.

Unlike Passage 2, where everything is the product of Rachel's imagination, Passage 3 from chapter 5 presents Rachel and Nick making love for the first time and provides the first example of a major suppression (three complete pages, 89 to 92 in the original, are reduced to 5 lines in the published version of the novel). The passage begins with the description of Rachel and Nick kissing:

> *Passage 3*
> We are kissing as though we really were lovers, as though there were no pretence in it. As though he really wanted me. He lies along me, and through our separate clothes I can feel the weight of his body, and his sex. Oh my God. I want him.
> "Let's get rid of some of these clothes, darling," he says.
> I am not good about physical pain. I never was. And how it would shame, to have him know it hurt, at my age, with only one possible reason for it. I can't. Maybe it wouldn't hurt. The membrane went years ago —I made sure of that, years ago. I won't have my wedding night ruined. What a joke. It would hurt, all the same. It would be bound to. I can't let him know that about me. *A woman's most precious possession*. My mother's archaic simper voice, cautioning my sixteen-years self, and the way she said it made me laugh or throw up (Laurence 1987, 89).

This is how the passage was rendered in the published version:

> *Empezamos a besarnos como si realmente fuéramos dos amantes, como si no necesitáramos pretextos. Como si de veras fuera a por mí. Se ha tendido a mi lado, y a través de la ropa respectiva, puedo sentir el peso de su cuerpo. ¡Oh Cielo Santo! ¡Lo deseo!*
> *—Vamos a quitarnos algo de ropa, cariño…—indica*
> (blank space)
> *Calma, Raquel, calma. Esto no puede seguir. Ahora No. Y menos aquí*. (Laurence 1969, 104).

The first difference between the source text and the target text is that the phrase "[I can feel] …his sex" has been suppressed, as advised by the censors in the galley proofs of the translation. In addition to this small suppression in the first paragraph of the passage, the censors crossed-out a three-page passage (approximately 500 words) beginning at "I am not good about physical pain" and ending with "I want to laugh, to rage at him for thinking me a liar, to —" (Laurence 1987, 89-92). This excerpt was eliminated in the published version with the consequent loss of crucial narrative material—Rachel's inner monologue about her virginity, the fear of the pain she may feel when losing it and her final relief when she has finally "*lost her reputation*" (Laurence 1987, 92). The passage was

dangerously subversive in a country where virginity was, as expressed in Laurence's text "*a woman's most precious possession*" (Laurence 1987, 89). The suppression, encompassing the moment of penetration, vividly described with details about Rachel's physical sensations and thoughts, entails a serious mutilation of the text which gravely distorts the meaning of Laurence's novel. Although the translator did not manage to save any of the text on this occasion, he introduced again the textual mark of the suspension dots before the beginning of the deleted passage ("*—Vamos a quitarnos algo de ropa, cariño…—*"). This time he also introduced a blank line between the end of the suppressed passage and the text which follows the eliminated passage. The suppression of the 500-word passage has the effect of completely distorting the meaning of the original, as an intense sex scene does not seem to have taken place at all in the published translation. This effect is voluntarily or involuntarily provoked by the textual collocation of the segments before and after the suppression: after Nick's suggestion to take off their clothes, the censored text continues with Rachel's inner monologue blaming herself for succumbing to pleasure. In this rewritten context, Rachel's words "This won't do. Not now. Not here" (Laurence 1987, 92) seem to exclude the possibility of having sex with Nick when in fact they refer to letting her anger loose.

Suppression by the censors is not the only rewriting undertaken in Passage 3 which also contains two instances of self-censorship:

a) as though there were no pretence in it/ *como si no necesitáramos pretextos* [as though we did not need pretexts]
b) Oh my God. I want him. / *¡Oh, Cielo Santo!* [Good heavens!] *¡Lo deseo!*

Item a) shows the translator rewriting the source text by replacing the word "pretence" by *pretextos*, possibly in order to present the lovers' kissing as a spontaneous impulse without further consequences. He could have been influenced by the general moral belief also held by the censors that kisses (both in films and books) usually anticipated sexual intercourse (Gil 2009, 67). Item b) presents a tour de force between the translator's more conservative decision to attenuate the profane content of the phrase "Oh my God" (unlike in contemporary usage, it was then beyond the pale of acceptability to name God in a moment of sexual passion); and his more risky choice to keep Rachel's phrase "I want him" with its explicit avowal of her sexual desire. His strategy for item b) which may have been triggered by his own religious beliefs was to replace the blasphemous "Oh my God" by the more euphemistic "Good heavens", as well as his adding

exclamation marks with a view to emphasizing the spontaneity of Rachel's feelings.

Passage 4, the last scene for commentary, appears in chapter 8 and, once again, portrays Rachel and Nick having sex. At this point in the story they have already been intimate a few times. There is some continuity between the previous text and this one as they both start with "taking off their clothes":

> *Passage 4*
> "Nick –take off your clothes."
> "Darling —" he says, surprised and smiling, "is it really you first, this time?"
> "Never mind."
> "All right," he says. "Never mind."
> "Go into me. Now. Right now."
> "All right, darling."
> Nothing is complicated. He inhabits whatever core of me there is. I can move outward to him, knowing he wants what I am, and I can receive him, whatever he is, whatever. And then this tender cruelty, already known to him but never before to me, the unmattering of what either of us is —only important that what we are doing should go on and go on and go on—
> "Nick –*Nick*—" (Laurence 1987, 147)

This is how Gil Lasierra rendered this contentious passage. The crossed out text was eliminated from the published version:

> —Nick, quítate la ropa.
> —¡Cariño! — contesta, entre sorprendido y sonriente —.¿De veras tomas la iniciativa esta vez?
> —No tiene importancia.
> —Conforme. No la tiene… Vamos ven…[13]
> ~~Entra ya. Ahora. Ahora mismo~~…
> ~~—Sí, cariño.~~
> ~~Nada resulta complicado. El penetra hasta mi substancia interior, sea cual fuere ésta. Puedo salir al encuentro, sabiendo que quiere lo que yo soy, y puedo recibirle. Se lo que sea él, quienquiera que sea. Y luego esa tierna crueldad, que siempre conoció él, pero nunca supe antes yo, el desencarnarse de lo que cualquiera de ambos sea; sólo importa que lo que estamos haciendo prosiga, continúe, siga sin detenerse.~~
> —Nick... ¡*Nick*..! (Laurence 1969, 163).

[13] This phrase was introduced in the published version.

The first striking feature of this passage is that Rachel is taking the initiative in love making this time, to the point that she directly and hurriedly asks Nick to penetrate her ("Go into me. Now. Right now."). But the importance of her taking the initiative is immediately downplayed by Rachel herself ("Never mind" / "*No tiene importancia*") so that the passage was considered fit for the published version. The second remarkable aspect in the process of the rewriting of this passage is that each of the censors suggests different suppressions. The one who wrote in red ink (possibly Censor 3) crossed out the passage from "Nick –take off your clothes" until "go on —." The other reader (in blue ink), slightly more open minded and probably the *Jefe de Lectorado* (person in charge of the reading section), started the suppression in "Go into me." The translation of this sentence provides another example of self-censorship because it would have been more accurately translated as "*Entra en mí*" and not as "*Entra ya*" (the desexualized and clearly self-censored version in the galley proofs of the translation, which simply means "Go in now"). The 1969 published version offers an even more neutral rendering: "*Vamos, ven...*" [Go on, come here], which was not in the source text. Once again, the suspension dots after "*ven*" are a textual trace signalling the suppressed text. However, unlike Passage 3, Rachel's interjection (Nick... ¡*Nick*..!) suggests the possibility that some sexual activity must have taken place.

Conclusions

Sexual language is one of the best sources of identity construction, of ideological metaphors and of narratives which revolve around the self and try to define it (Santaemilia 2015, 141) in a world where identity is highly determined by gender issues. *A Jest of God* by Margaret Laurence focuses on female selfhood and the gender constraints imposed on it by society. Expectedly, within the ideological context of a political regime which only projected images of women as angels in the house or prostitutes (Morcillo 2016, 51), the publication of a novel of such content would be contentious and outside the accepted norms. As Gideon Toury points out, sociologists and social psychologists have long regarded norms as the translation of general values or ideas shared by a community—as to what is right or wrong, adequate and inadequate (2012, 169). These values are never black and white; rather, there is a cline of acceptability with an infinite number of gradations, from "obscene" or "indecent" to "sensitive." Furthermore, obscenity, according to Carmen Toledano (2003, 67), is also a very slippery and subjective concept. Interestingly, this concept is never used

by the Spanish censors of the translation *A Jest of God* in their assessment of the novel. On the contrary, they downplay their negative comments by softening their language to "*pequeñas*" [a few] suppressions of the "*escabrosos*" [sensitive] passages. These downplaying comments, however, are at odds with the major suppressions enforced by the censors in the passages analysed (Passages 3 and 4), involving severe mutilations in the text. For passage 3 the outcome of the censors' interdictions is the excision of three pages from the novel and the suppression of one of its crucial scenes, when Nick and Rachel make love for the first time. Equally outrageous is the deletion in Passage 4 of the passage beginning "Nothing is complicated" (Laurence 1987, 147) which forcefully portrays the spiritual dimension Rachel assigns to the act of making love with Nick. As King (1997, 340) explains, Margaret Laurence believed sexuality had a strong mystical component to it, emphasizing how the pleasures of the body can put individuals into contact with their essential humanity and vulnerability, so that he deletion of these passages from the published version seriously damages the meaning and the structural integrity of Laurence's novel.

Raquel, Raquel, translated by Agustín Gil Lasierra, is a rewriting of *A Jest of God*. As André Lefevere points out, rewriters adapt and manipulate the originals they work with to some extent, usually to make them fit in with the dominant, or one of the dominant ideological and poetological currents of their time (1992, 8). The kind of rewriting involved in translation involves manipulation, always reflecting a certain ideology and a poetics (Lefevere 1992, 9). The first rewriting that Laurence's text was submitted to in its transference into the Spanish literary system was self-censorship which, as Santaemilia (2008, 221-22) defines it, is an individual ethical struggle between self and context. I have shown that the study of the instances of self-censorship in Gil Lasierra's translation of *A Jest of God*, as kept in the AGA, reveals much useful information about the translator's views on sexuality and religion. Within the moral constraints imposed by the regime and by the need to publish the book, Gil Lasierra appears to be tolerant towards certain aspects of female sexuality, as demonstrated by his struggle to maintain some fragments of the sexual passages with a view to preserving the integrity of Laurence's text. Another sign of this resistance on the translator's part is the introduction, possibly in agreement with the publisher, of suspension dots or blanks in order to leave "textual traces" (Merino 2007, 13) of the deletions. A topic as old as humankind itself, sex became the object of considerable attention during the Francoist regime, if only as a taboo. Such intense interest produced areas of knowledge around this focus of cultural anxiety, rather

than its excision from the discursive agenda (Freshwater 2003, 5). The result is the reconfiguration of censorship as a productive force (Foucault 1978, 15-35) generating strategies of struggle and resistance such as the ones I have just mentioned.

The gender and sexual issues in *A Jest of God* turn the novel into a text "with a powerful political essence" (Hughes 1988, 125). If translating the language of love or sex is a political act (Santaemilia 2015, 141), then the "true museum of Francoism" (Abellán 1978, 12) as the AGA has been called, still keeps invaluable material to explore the political performance —using Butler's term (1997)—of gender in the cultural transference of the "other" into the literary system of the Spain during the Franco regime.

References

Abellán, Manuel L. 1978. "Los últimos coletazos de la censura (II)." *Diario 16*, 439: 12,13.

—. 1980. *Censura y creación literaria en España (1939-1976).* Madrid: Ediciones Península.

Álvarez, Roman and Carmen-África Vidal. 1996. *Translation, Power, Subversion*. Clevendon: Multiligual Matters Ltd.

Augustine, Saint. 1945. *The City of God*. Translated by John Healey. 2 vols. London: Dent.

Bourdieu, Pierre. 1991. *Language and Symbolic Power.* Translated by Gino Raymond and Matthew Adamson. Edited by John B. Thompson, 137-39. Cambridge MA: Harvard U P.

—. 1999. "A Conservative Revolution in French Publishing." Translated by Mieranda Volt and Anthony Pym. http://isg.urv.es/library/papers/bourdieu/bourdieu_revolution.pdf (accessed July 12, 2016). Originally published in *Actes de la recherche en sciences sociales* 126-127: 3-28.

Brown, Lesley, ed. 2007. *Shorter Oxford English Dictionary on CD Rom* (6th Edition). Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Burt, Richard. 1994. "Introduction: the New Censorship." In *The Administration of Aesthetics: Censorship, Political Criticism and the Public Sphere* (Cultural Politics 7), edited by Richard Burt, xi-xxix. Minneapolis, London: University of Minnesota Press.

Butler, Judith. 1997. *Excitable Speech. A Politics of the Performative*. New York: Routledge.

Chesterman, Andrew. 1997. *Memes of Translation*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.

Cisquella, Georgina, José Luis Erviti and José A. Sorolla. 2002. *La represión cultural en el franquismo. Diez años de censura de libros durante la Ley de Prensa (1966-1976*). Barcelona: Editorial Anagrama.

Coetzee, John Maxwell. 1996. *Giving Offense. Essays on Censorship*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Cohen, Mark. 2001. *Censorship in Canadian Literature.* Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press.

Dickinson, Peter. 2007. *Screening Gender, Framing Genre*: *Canadian Literature into Film.* Toronto: University of Toronto Press.

Flotow, Luise von. 2000. "Translation Effects. How Beauvoir Talks Sex in English." In *Contingent Loves*. *Simone de Beauvoir and Sexuality*, edited by Melanie Hawthorne, 13-33. Richmond: Virginia University Press.

Foucault, Michel. 1978. *The History of Sexuality.* Vol. 1. Translated by Robert Hurley. London: Random House.

Freshwater, Helen. 2003. "Towards a Definition of Censorship "*Critical Studies* 22: 225-45.

Gil, Alberto. 2009. *La censura cinematográfica en España*. Barcelona: Ediciones B.

Goddard, John. 1987. "Personal Recollections of Controversy That Made Margaret Laurence Weep. *Montreal Gazette*, 10 January: B8.

Hughes, Kenneth James. 1988. "Politics and *A Jest of God."* In *Margaret Laurence. An Appreciation*, ed. Christl Verduyn, 100-127. Broadview Press and Journal of Canadian Studies.

Jauss, Hans Robert. 1982. *Toward an Aesthetic of Reception*. Translated by Timothy Bahti. Brighton: Harvester Press.

King, James. 1997. *The Life of Margaret Laurence*. Toronto: Albert A. Knopf Canada.

Laurence, Margaret. 1987 [1966]. *A Jest of God*. London: Virago.

—. 1969. *Raquel, Raquel*. Translated by Agustín Gil Lasierra. Barcelona: Grijalbo.

Lázaro, Alberto. 2004 *H. G. Wells en España: estudio de los expedientes de censura (1939-1978*). Madrid: Editorial Verbum.

Lefevere, André. 1992. *Translation, Rewriting, and the Manipulation of Literary Fame.* London: Routledge.

Merino Álvarez, Raquel (ed.). 2007. *Traducción y censura en España (1939-1985). Estudios sobre corpus TRACE: cine, narrativa, teatro*. Bilbao: Servicio Editorial de la Universidad del País Vasco.

Morales, Marisol. 2010. "Banned in Spain? Truths, Lies and Censorship in Kate O'Brien's Novels." *Atlantis* (Journal of the Spanish Association of Anglo-American Studies) 32: 57-72.

Morcillo Gómez, Aurora. 2016. *En cuerpo y alma. Ser mujer en tiempos de Franco.* Madrid: Siglo XXI Editores.

Munday, Jeremy. 2001. *Introducing Translation Studies*. London: Routledge.

Ortega Sáez, Marta. 2011. "The Reception of Rosamond Lehmann in Franco's Spain." In *Censorship across Borders. The Reception of English Literature in Twentieth-Century Europe*, edited by Catherine O'Leary and Alberto Lázaro, 171-191. Newcastle-upon-Tyne: Cambridge Scholars Publishing.

Pascual, Nieves. 2013. "Cosmopolitans at Home: the Spanishness of Canadian Women Writers." In *Made in Canada, Read in Spain: Essays on the Translation and Circulation of English-Canadian Literature*, edited by Pilar Somacarrera, 54-74. London: De Gruyter.

Rabadán, Rosa. 2000. *Traducción y censura inglés español: 1939-1985*. Estudio preliminar. Universidad de León.

Santaemilia, José. 2005. "The Translation of Sex, the Sex of Translation: *Fanny Hill* in Spanish." In *Gender, Sex and Translation: the Manipulation of Identities*, edited by José Santaemilia, 117-136. Manchester: St Jerome.

—. 2008. "The Translation of Sex-Related Language: The Danger(s) of Self-Censorship". *TTR. Traduction, Terminologie, Rédaction* XXI: 221-252.

—. 2015. "Translating Sex(uality) from English into Spanish and Vice-Cersa: A Cultural and Ideological Challenge. *Atlantis*. *(Journal of the Spanish Association of Anglo-American Studies* 37 (1): 139-156.

Toledano Buendía, Carmen. 2003. *La traducción de la obscenidad.* Santa Cruz de Tenerife: La Página ediciones.

Toury, Gideon. 2012 [2000]. "The Nature and Role of Norms in Translation." In *The Translation Studies Reader*, edited by Lawrence Venuti, 168-182. London: Routledge.

Xiques, Donez. 2002. "Margaret Laurence." In *Encyclopedia of Literature in Canada*, edited by William H. New, 634-636. Toronto: University of Toronto Press.

CHAPTER SIX

WOMEN'S SICKNESS IN LITERATURE: THE USE OF POISONS IN NOVELS

LOURDES ROYANO GUTIÉRREZ

In the modern novel, one of the most interesting perspectives to analyze is the death of the protagonist. How does the author dispose of his creation? The methods vary, one very common method being poison.

The theme of poisons in literature is not new, as it is an area of study that has captured the interest of many specialists in literature and readers in general (Gamoneda 1995). The novelist needs to possess medical knowledge to make the description of their characters' illness and suffering realistic. In contrast, there have been doctors who have shown interest in the poisons proposed by novelists (Gerald 1993; Velasco Martín 1998 [2009]).

In this study, we will refer to two emblematic cases relating to poisons in literature: the novel *Madame Bovary* by Gustave Flaubert (1857), and the short story *The Thumb Mark of St. Peter* by Agatha Christie (1932).

According to the *Shorter Oxford English Dictionary* (3rd edition 1973, 1617), *poison* comes from the Old French *puison* (also Modern French *poison*) for a magic potion, and is defined as "any substance which, when introduced into or absorbed by a living organism, destroys life of injures health". For the Greeks, the noun *pharmakon* refers to a substance (drug) and has a double meaning: remedy and poison, i.e., the cure for, or the cause of, an illness. However, references have been found to certain poisons in the books of the *Vedas* (circa 1500 B.C.) and fundamentally in the *Ayurveda*, or *Book of the Science of Life*, which writes of poisons of plant origin (Repetto Jiménez and Repetto Kuhn (2009, 2).[1]

[1] "Alkaloids are a series of complex compounds, of which over 5,000 different types have been discovered and are widely distributed mostly in the vegetable kingdom. Some are well known such as caffeine and nicotine, present in coffee and tobacco, respectively, and other members of the family are the opium-derived

Arsenic is a classical poison that has been used from ancient times for criminal purposes, as Roberto Pelta (1997, 26) confirms:

> From the 16th to the 19th century, arsenious anhydride was the poison preferred by criminals; its malevolent actions have served the Borgias, the Marquise de Brinvilliers, *La Voisin* [Catherine Monvoisin], Madame Lafarge, and Jeanne Gilbert. In his *Opera Omnia*, 17th century author Fabricius von Hilden refers to malignant vapors that arsenic transports to the vital organs reaching the liver via the veins, the heart through the arteries, and the brain through the nerves.

The death of Madame Bovary, one of the most famous protagonists in the history of literature, is fascinating. The description of her suffering as the arsenic infiltrates her system is so vividly portrayed by Flaubert that the reader can often experience the pain. We can say that Agatha Christie is considered the master of the utilization and mixing of poisons. As a nurse she learned about toxicology and the necessary dosages for poisoning, knowledge that she would later apply in her crime novels.

Madame Bovary

Madame Bovary is a novel written by Gustave Flaubert. It was first published in instalments in *La Revue de Paris* in 1856 and in book form one year later (Vargas Llosa 1975). Flaubert was a master at describing symptoms and illnesses. It is fabled that, as a young man, he managed to trick his father, a doctor by profession, with symptoms of a fake illness in order to avoid attending law school and enable him to pursue his writing career.

The novel that concerns us, *Madame Bovary*, recounts in highly detailed descriptions the main protagonist's ills, but what concerns us most is her suicide by poison. The goal of Emma Bovary as she takes the arsenic is to end her life—a life from which she cannot find an escape, in which she fails to appreciate what she has, and she strives for the chimera of idealized love. Dissatisfied, hurt, ruined and desperately unhappy, Emma resorts to arsenic as a method to poison herself. This form of death is not new; it is to be found throughout history from ancient Greece to today. As Velasco Martín points out:

---

morphine and cocaine. Outstanding among the alkaloids are those that display high toxicity for the human organism and which may be responsible for a person's death by poisoning." (Pelta 1997, 81).

> In young people over the age of 15, intoxication is generally due to medicine ingestion and voluntary, deliberate or suicidal intoxication is the most common form in adults, constituting around 90% of all poison-related hospital admissions (Velasco Martín 2009 [1998], 7).

Let us now examine the death of Emma. She thinks that dying by means of arsenic will not be excessively painful. Flaubert describes it as follows:

> She lay down full length on her bed. A bitter taste that she felt in her mouth awakened her. She saw Charles, and again closed her eyes.
>
> She was studying herself curiously, to see if she were not suffering. But no! nothing as yet. She heard the ticking of the clock, the crackling of the fire, and Charles breathing as he stood upright by her bed.
>
> "Ah! it is but a little thing, death!" she thought. "I shall fall asleep and all will be over."

But it is not that easy. Emma begins to feel thirsty and nauseous; the suffering begins:

> She drank a mouthful of water and turned to the wall. The frightful taste of ink continued.
>
> "I am thirsty; oh! so thirsty," she sighed.
>
> "What is it?" said Charles, who was handing her a glass.
>
> "It is nothing! Open the window; I am choking."
>
> She was seized with a sickness so sudden that she had hardly time to draw out her handkerchief from under the pillow.
>
> "Take it away," she said quickly; "throw it away."
>
> He spoke to her; she did not answer. She lay motionless, afraid that the slightest movement might make her vomit. But she felt an icy cold creeping from her feet to her heart.
>
> "Ah! it is beginning," she murmured.
>
> "What did you say?"
>
> She turned her head from side to side with a gentle movement full of agony, while constantly opening her mouth as if something very heavy were weighing upon her tongue. At eight o'clock the vomiting began again.
>
> Charles noticed that at the bottom of the basin there was a sort of white sediment sticking to the sides of the porcelain.

She soon begins to feel severe pain:

> Then she began to groan, faintly at first. Her shoulders were shaken by a strong shuddering, and she was growing paler than the sheets in which

> her clenched fingers buried themselves. Her unequal pulse was now almost imperceptible.
>
> Drops of sweat oozed from her bluish face, that seemed as if rigid in the exhalations of a metallic vapour. Her teeth chattered, her dilated eyes looked vaguely about her, and to all questions she replied only with a shake of the head; she even smiled once or twice. Gradually, her moaning grew louder; a hollow shriek burst from her; she pretended she was better and that she would get up presently. But she was seized with convulsions and cried out—
>
> "Ah! my God! It is horrible!"

We should not forget that time is an influential factor in poisoning. Individuals respond to the effects of a poison in different ways, as every organism has a unique assimilation system. Other factors such as general health, medications, etc. can also influence how an individual reacts to a poison, as Velasco Martín (2009 [1998], 3) explains:

> Time is frequently and undeservedly overlooked in toxicology. From the time of absorption of a toxic substance until symptoms manifest themselves, there is a time lapse we call the "latency" period, whose length depends on the route of administration, its bioactivation, dose, and other individual factors.

In Emma Bovary's case, the latency period is prolonged in the novel. Before the end she seems to be recuperating. Her husband Charles, who is a doctor, explains:

> Then the symptoms ceased for a moment; she seemed less agitated; and at every insignificant word, at every respiration a little more easy, he regained hope. At last, when Canivet came in, he threw himself into his arms.
>
> "Ah! it is you. Thanks! You are good! But she is better. See! look at her."
>
> His colleague was by no means of this opinion, and, as he said of himself, "never beating about the bush," he prescribed, an emetic in order to empty the stomach completely.

This method is still used today to treat poisoning.

> If the toxic substance was administered orally, it is important to evacuate the stomach by inducing vomiting with emetics or by stomach pumping. Both of these measures have the same time limitation: there is a useful period of 4 hours; for after that the substance has passed into the small intestine and has been absorbed (Velasco Martín 2009 [1998], 12).

The same happens to Emma Bovary, our protagonist. Flaubert describes:

> She soon began vomiting blood. Her lips became drawn. Her limbs were convulsed, her whole body covered with brown spots, and her pulse slipped beneath the fingers like a stretched thread, like a harp-string nearly breaking.
>
> After this she began to scream horribly. She cursed the poison, railed at it, and implored it to be quick, and thrust away with her stiffened arms everything that Charles, in more agony than herself, tried to make her drink. He stood up, his handkerchief to his lips, with a rattling sound in his throat, weeping, and choked by sobs that shook his whole body.

We then witness her end in a grand literary moment, which has been portrayed on numerous occasions in the cinema (Royano Gutiérrez 2008):[2]

> Emma, her chin sunken upon her breast, had her eyes inordinately wide open, and her poor hands wandered over the sheets with that hideous and soft movement of the dying, that seems as if they wanted already to cover themselves with the shroud. Pale as a statue and with eyes red as fire, Charles, not weeping, stood opposite her at the foot of the bed, while the priest, bending one knee, was muttering words in a low voice.
>
> In fact, she looked around her slowly, as one awakening from a dream; then in a distinct voice she asked for her looking-glass, and remained some time bending over it, until the big tears fell from her eyes. Then she turned away her head with a sigh and fell back upon the pillows.
>
> Her chest soon began panting rapidly; the whole of her tongue protruded from her mouth; her eyes, as they rolled, grew paler, like the two globes of a lamp that is going out, so that one might have thought her already dead but for the fearful labouring of her ribs, shaken by violent breathing, as if the soul were struggling to free itself. […] Charles was on the other side, on his knees, his arms outstretched towards Emma. He had taken her hands and pressed them, shuddering at every beat of her heart, as at the shaking of a falling ruin. As the death-rattle became stronger the priest prayed faster; his prayers mingled with the stifled sobs of Bovary, and sometimes all seemed lost in the muffled murmur of the Latin syllables that tolled like a passing bell.
>
> Emma raised herself like a galvanised corpse, her hair undone, her eyes fixed, staring. […] And Emma began to laugh, an atrocious, frantic, despairing laugh, thinking she saw the hideous face of the poor wretch that stood out against the eternal night like a menace. […]

---

[2] *Madame Bovary* films: Jean Renoir (1933); Gerhard Lamprecht (1937); Carlos Schlieper (1947); Vincent Minnelli (1949); Zbigniew Kaminski (1977); Claude Chabrol (1991); Tim Fywell for television (2000); *Las razones del corazón*, (2011) by Arturo Ripstein and *Madame Bovary*, (2014) by Sophie Barthes.

> She fell back upon the mattress in a convulsion. They all drew near. She was dead.

Agatha Christie

September 15th, 2015 was the 125th anniversary of the birth of Agatha Mary Clarissa Miller (1890-1976), better known as Agatha Christie, the British author of the most famous detective novels in the world. From an early age, Agatha was a curious reader and this trait would accompany her for the rest of her life. Through this passion she became familiar with the works of Walter Scott, John Milton, Alexandre Dumas, Jane Austen, Arthur Conan Doyle, and Charles Dickens.

During the First World War she collaborated with the Voluntary Aid Detachment (VAD) at the Red Cross Hospital in Torquay, where she first nursed wounded soldiers and then worked in the dispensary. It was in this work that she began to learn the secrets of toxicology: the necessary doses for poisoning, the symptoms of a poisoned patient, and the possible antidotes. Agatha Christie had finished her work having become an expert of the world of poisons; and, of course, she later applied her vast knowledge to her works of fiction in numerous assassinations.

In 1920 she published her first novel, *The Mysterious Affair at Styles*, in which she created the protagonist, Hercule Poirot, the Belgian detective who would later acquire world fame. Another of Christie's best-known characters, Miss Marple, was introduced in *The Thirteen Problems*, a collection of short stories published in 1932. Jane Marple is an elderly woman who solves crimes by using her insight and observation, as well as the extensive knowledge she possesses in the medical field. Jane Marple is the protagonist of the tale we will analyze *The Thumb Mark of St. Peter* (Christie 1932)[3]. As she herself states:

> 'It is true, of course, that I have lived what is called a very uneventful life, but I have had a lot of experience in solving different little problems that have arisen. Some of them have been really quite ingenious, but it would be no good telling them to you, because they are about such unimportant things that you would not be interested -just things like: Who cut the meshes of Mrs Jones's string bag? and why Mrs Sims only wore her new

[3] The story appears as chapter 6 in the collection *The Thirteen Problems:* 1. *The Tuesday Night Club;* 2. *The Idol House of Astarte;* 3. *Ingots of Gold;* 4. *The Blood-Stained Pavement;* 5. *Motive v. Opportunity*; 6**.** *The Thumb Mark of St. Peter*; 7. *The Blue Geranium*; 8. *The Companion*; 9. *The Four Suspects*; 10. *A Christmas Tragedy*; 11. *The Herb of Death*; 12. *The Affair at the Bungalow*; 13. *Death by Drowning.*

> fur coat once. Very interesting things, really, to any student of human nature. No, the only experience I can remember that would be of interest to you is the one about my poor niece Mabel's husband.
>
> 'It is about ten or fifteen years ago now, and happily it is all over and done with, and everyone has forgotten about it. People's memories are very short - a lucky thing, I always think.'

The Thumb Mark of St. Peter reflects a very human custom: gossip. In many English novels we encounter rumours and misunderstandings that give rise to confusion and erroneous interpretations. We see this in the works of Jane Austen and again in the works of Agatha Christie:

> 'Now, as I expect you know, there is nothing more cruel than talk, and there is nothing more difficult to combat When people say things behind your back there is nothing you can refute or deny, and the rumours go on growing and growing, and no one can stop them. I was quite certain of one thing: Mabel was quite incapable of poisoning anyone. And I didn't see why life should be ruined for her and her home made unbearable just because in all probability she had been doing something silly and foolish.'

This story generated controversy, for it changes the format of the traditional detective novel. The author exploits Miss Marple's story to conceal but at the same time to reveal the identity of the murderer. She also introduces red herrings, such as the purchase of arsenic by the suspect, the possibility of death from poisonous mushrooms, or the probable suicide of the victim. The plausibility of these possibilities tricks the reader into believing them as the cause of death. This is why the final surprise is so highly appreciated.

Let us consider each of the options in turn. After a heated discussion, Mabel, the protagonist, who is also Miss Marple's niece, seeks to kill her husband Geoffrey Denman and poisons him with arsenic. Agatha Christie frequently exploited in her stories scenes with which she was familiar. As she puts it in the novel:

> 'She [Mabel] had gone down to the chemist's that morning and had bought some arsenic. She had had, of course, to sign the book for it. Naturally, the chemist had talked.'

This custom is verified by Velasco Martín (2009 [1998]), who states that in Anglo-Saxon countries, it is possible to acquire any toxic substance at a drug store or pharmacy, but the customer must sign his name in a log after making the purchase, a log that is always at the disposal of the police while the receipts of purchases are archived in the pharmacy office for a certain period of time.

Another possible murder mechanism considered in the story was the poisonous mushrooms. Despite the doctor's uncertainty about the cause of death, poisonous mushrooms are still considered a possibility by the townspeople. Miss Marple adds:

> 'I have had too much experience of life to believe in the infallibility of doctors. Some of them are clever men and some of them are not, and half the time the best of them don't know what is the matter with you. I have no truck with doctors and their medicines myself.'

It seems unthinkable that these words come from the mouth of a protagonist from an Agatha Christie novel as Agatha had passed the Apothecary Hall Exam, then gone on to the Pharmacy Service of University College Hospital (UCH), London. Her work as a nurse during two world wars is testified. Also, her studies in chemistry were often reflected in her later post-war novels. For example, she tells us that Harold Davis, the head pharmacist at UCH and later at the Ministry of Health, informed her about the use of thallium as a poison; she later used this information in her novel *The Pale Horse* (1961), and made thallium poisoning the means of murdering the victims, a method that was hinted at by the victims' hairloss. Her description of thallium poisoning was so vivid that it helped resolve a real life medical case that was puzzling medical experts.

The third possible cause of death in *The Thumb Mark of St. Peter*, suicide, reveals to readers that the victim was an expert in poisons and antidotes. However, we must discard this option immediately, for there was no testimony left by the victim nor did he have any motives to end his own life. This cannot be the solution to the case.

Agatha Christie uses wordplay to resolve her story, specifically with the pronunciation of the antidote that would serve to mitigate the effect of the poison. The murderer used atropine, a highly toxic substance used to dilate the pupils. In his last moments, Geoffrey Denman is attended by the house cook, who cannot understand the dying man's words. When Denman mentions "pilocarpine," she understands "pile of carps". Of course, the victim dies and Miss Marple attempts to identify the assassin and free her niece of suspicions.

Agatha Christie contrives to make a misunderstanding result in the death of a character. If only the maid had understood the words spoken by Mr. Denman, he could have been saved, since he himself knew the antidote for his poisoning. However, his words were misinterpreted, as Miss Marple explains:

> ‘Pilocarpine. Can’t you understand a man who could hardly speak trying to drag that word out? What would that sound like to a cook who had never heard the word? Wouldn't it convey the impression "pile of carp"?’

The presentation to readers of all of these possibilities in the story for them to discover the criminal is a hallmark of Agatha Christie’s prose in a genre known as *Whodunit*? It is a type of detective fiction that has been cultivated in particular by English and American writers and is characterized by the reader not knowing who the culprit is until the very end of the novel after considering several possibilities. In this subgenre the author offers the reader several hypotheses to identify the culprit, all of which are valid, as in the case analyzed. The plot allows the reader to test the different hypotheses and to attempt to identify the killer before reaching the end of the story, when the criminal turns out to be the character the reader least expects.

The composure of Miss Marple in solving the case defeats the reader. It is basic reasoning that enables her to deduce that something was misunderstood. The story culminates in an unexpected ending. Agatha Christie fascinates us with the precision of her logic and the correctness of her opinions about people in their setting.

> “I learned (what I suppose I really knew already) that one can never go back, that one should not ever try to go back—that the essence of life is going forward. Life is really a one way street, isn’t it?"
> ―Agatha Christie, *At Bertram’s Hotel* (1965)

References

Christie, Agatha. 1932. “The Thumb Mark of St. Peter.” In *The Thirteen Problems.* London: Williams Collins and Sons. Available at: http://www.ebooktrove.com/AgathaChristie/02%20-%20The%20Thirteen%20Problems.pdf

Flaubert, Gustave. 1857. *Madame Bovary.* Translated from the French by Eleanor Marx-Aveling. The Project Gutenberg Ebook of *Madame Bovary.* http://www.gutenberg.org/ebooks/2413

Gamoneda, Antonio. 1995. *Libro de los venenos*, Siruela, Madrid.

Gerald, Michael C. 1993. *The Poisonous Pen of Agatha Christie*. University of Texas Press, Austin.

Pelta, Roberto. 1997. *El veneno en la historia.* Madrid: Espasa hoy.

Repetto Jiménez, Manuel and Guillermo Repetto Kuhn. 2009. *Toxicología Fundamental (4ª edición)*. Madrid: Ediciones Díaz de Santos.

Royano Gutiérrez, Lourdes. 2008. "El lenguaje literario y el lenguaje cinematográfico." *Studia romanistica* 8*,* Universitas Ostraviensis, Acta Facultatis Philosophicae: 61-68.

—. 2010. "La mujer como protagonista de la novela occidental." In *Actas del XI Congreso Internacional de literatura española Contemporánea*, edited by Diana López Martínez, 565-577. Santiago de Compostela: Andavira Editora.

—. 2012. "El papel de la literatura en las actitudes sociales." In *Actas del XII Congreso Internacional de literatura española contemporánea*, edited by Diana López Martínez, 499-508. Coruña: Universidade da Coruña.

—. 2015. *Yo soy una mujer: nací poeta.* Santander: Ediciones de librería Estudio. Dirección General de Igualdad, Mujer y Juventud del Gobierno de Cantabria.

Shorter Oxford English Dictionary (3rd edition). 1973. Edited by Charles T. Onions. Oxford: Clarendon Press.

Vargas Llosa, Mario. 1975. *La orgía perpetua: Flaubert y Madame Bovary*. Taurus, Madrid.

Velasco Martín, Alfonso. 1998. *Los venenos en la literatura policiaca*, Serie Breve Ciencias de la Salud nº 7. Salamanca: Universidad de Valladolid. *Poisons in Mystery Literature*. 2009. Translated by Zulema Seligsohn. Scottsdale, AZ: Poisoned Pen Press.

CHAPTER SEVEN

THE ROLE OF WOMEN IN ENGLISH-LANGUAGE POETRY TRANSLATION DURING POSTWAR SPAIN (1939-1983)

SERGIO LOBEJÓN SANTOS[1]

Introduction

The Spanish Civil War (1936-1939) left the country's cultural system in a deplorable situation. On the one hand, the economic hardships Spain was facing after the conflict turned books into luxury items, hence drastically reducing the potential reading audience. On the other hand, many of the key intellectual figures of the Spanish Republic died or fled Spain as a result of the conflict, leaving prospective authors without literary models. This was particularly true in the case of poetry, as many of the major poets of the previous generations, the likes of Juan Ramón Jiménez, Rafael Alberti, Luis Cernuda, Emilio Prados, Manuel Altoaguirre, José Moreno Villa and Ernestina de Champourcín, ended up exiled, mostly in Latin America (Pedraza Jiménez and Rodríguez Cáceres 2005, 141). The massive exodus of all those poetic models led some to describe the post-war's generation as one without teachers (Vázquez Montalbán 1988, 129), as it could not count on the example of many of the preceding poets or their works, which were only partially known in Spain, where their publication was systematically delayed (García de la Concha 1987, 253). Furthermore, Spain then started a period of political and cultural isolationism that would last until the mid-1950s and during which it hardly received any exposure to contemporary European, let alone international, literary manifestations. This cultural isolationism was also reflected in the sharp decline in the importance of translation in the Spanish book market. While in mid-1920s Spain the market was saturated with translated

[1] Research Collaborator, Universidad de León

books,[2] very few notable works were translated in Spain in the years following the war, and those that were arrived many years later (Mangini González 1987, 15; Vega 2004, 550). The dwindling numbers of translated works can be partially explained by the death or forced exile of many of the multilingual intellectuals that had previously used their skills in translating […], which meant having to wait until new groups of translators were formed (Vega 2004, 537).

The confluence of all these factors left the country in what Savater (1996, 9) describes as "*un desierto cultural*" [a cultural wasteland]. This precarious initial position would prove to be a singular opportunity to rebuild the very foundations of the Spanish literary scene. For many new publishing ventures this period was their genesis, as they had to fill the void left by those companies that disappeared or were forced to relocate their operations as a direct result of the war (Bayo 1991, 15). At the same time, those involved in this re-structuring, or even re-creation process, would have to deal with the expressive limitations imposed by the censorship system implemented by Franco's regime. This chapter examines the role of women in this new publishing climate, focusing on works of poetry translated from English, and exploring the contributions made by women as poets and as translators.

The following pages outline some of the research done within the framework of TRACEgencsi, a Spanish State sponsored research project on gender, censorship and translation.[3] The TRACE Project started charting the landscape of censorship in Franco's Spain in 1996, covering various types of translated media, such as cinema, television, songs and literary works, including text types such as novels, theatre plays and poetry. As part of the TRACE Project on translation and censorship, TRACEgencsi was born out of the need to examine an area that had been arguably neglected by TRACE, namely, the role of female writers and translators in that new publishing landscape. This paper stems from the work done within TRACEgencsi and aims to analyse which poetic works translated from English were originally written by women, focusing both on their reception in the target culture and on the censorial treatment these works received. It also explores the role of the women involved in the translation process at the time, including which target languages they used and which authors they translated.

---

[2] Ballesteros de Martos (in Gallego Roca 1996, 26-27) estimated that, by 1925, 80% of all publications on the Spanish literary market were translations.

[3] This research project was supported by the Spanish Ministry of Economy and Competitiveness under Grant FFI2012-39012-C04-04.

In the reconstruction of this piece of history, the data presented are drawn from the TRACEpi Catalogue[4] of English-language poetry censored in Spain between 1939 and 1983.[5] The catalogue consists of all the poetic works that were translated into Spanish or into any of the regional languages in Spain (mainly Basque, Catalan and Galician) that were reviewed by the official censorship system between those years. The main sources of information used in the compilation of the catalogue were various bibliographical indexes, such as *Bibliografía hispánica*, *Bibliografía española*, *El libro español* and *Index Translationum*, several online catalogues, as well as the censorship files located at the Administration's General Archive (*Archivo General de la Administración* or AGA) in Alcalá de Henares, Madrid. The TRACEpi Catalogue was conceived as a tool that would have to be as exhaustive as possible so as to present a comprehensive picture of the poetry market in post-war Spain. It contains various fields covering information about three major areas: publication, censorship and sources. The Catalogue consists of 1279 records, each of them representing a different title or edition translated from English, regardless of whether they were ultimately published or not.[6] Of these, 611 records concern works entirely devoted to poetry, while the others are related to books that combine the poetic genre with narrative or non-

[4] For an in-depth analysis of the catalogue, including a description of its design guidelines and its sources, see Lobejón (2013).

[5] The censorship mechanisms imposed by the dictator were still in place some years after his demise in 1975. Censorship was legally abolished by means of the 20th article of the 1978 Spanish Constitution, which established freedom of speech as one of the fundamental rights of Spanish citizens, a right which could not be thwarted through any means of prior censorship. However, the bureaucratic system the regime implemented to carry out the prior censorship duties was not ultimately dismantled until 1985. Censorship documentation was still produced, largely using the same forms that had been used during the dictatorship, in 1983, the final year for which official censorship paperwork was produced.

[6] It is important to note that censorship reports were produced for each edition of a given title. Censorship verdicts for subsequent editions were often based on previous censorship reports of the same work, even of different translations of the same book, meaning that if the first edition of a given work was authorised, the following editions would, in all likelihood, be authorised as well. However, the introduction of new paratextual elements in new editions could sometimes change the censorial outcome. Considering that the release of translations was quite staggered and translated texts were the product of a different culture and time, the censors were often more interested in those passages, which were written by contemporary Spanish authors and publishers who could potentially introduce undesirable references to the current socio-political climate in Spain.

fiction texts, such as essays. For the sake of homogeneity, the study includes only strictly poetic works, mostly those within the genre of lyrical poetry.

Although a thorough examination of the TRACEpi Catalogue occupied a central position in my PhD dissertation (Lobejón 2013) both in quantitative and qualitative terms, there was an important omission in that analysis, namely, the study of the role of gender in the Spanish cultural system. Given the abundance of readily available data in the Catalogue, this was re-evaluated to analyse this topic. To this end, the analysis addressed a series of questions based on key areas that were absent from the previous study.

Firstly, which female writers were translated during this period? Answering this question would entail knowing which English-language female writers were translated at the time, how many of their works were translated into Spanish and who translated them, paying special attention in this last regard to the contribution of female poets to the translation of those works. Second, what was the role of the women involved in translation? Providing a meaningful answer to this question requires knowing how many women translated poetry from English during this period, determining what their contribution was in terms of the number of works they translated and establishing which authors they worked with. Finally, what were the effects of the Francoist censorship apparatus on the reception of translations of English-language poetry written or translated by women in Spain at the time? To answer this question, several censorship files and the various verdicts for these works will be examined in detail.

My main goal is to provide an accurate picture of the contributions made by women in the translation of poetry written in English and to gauge the weight of English-language female authors within the Spanish poetic landscape. The data in the Catalogue will serve as a starting point to put forward several hypotheses to be explored in future research.

However, before delving into those questions, in the following section I provide some fundamental background to the analysis in the form of the contextual parameters that affected the main areas of the present study, namely, the position of women in the Spanish society of the time and the role of female writers and translators in the poetry market.

Women in Franco's Spain

Francisco Franco's National Movement consistently defined itself, from its very inception, as a force in defence of Catholic orthodoxy and in clear

opposition to the values advocated by the legitimate government it replaced, that of the Second Spanish Republic. After the war, Franco's regime started a systematic persecution of anything having to do with democratic liberalism. Francoism escapes positive definitions from an ideological standpoint and only warrants a definition in negative terms: it was anti-liberalism, anti-communist and anti-masonry. Its character was inherently repressive and corrective, which manifested its need to regulate absolutely every single facet of national life (Monleón 1995, 7). This included instilling into the population a number of core moral values that established clear gender roles and eroded the rights acquired by women during the Second Republic. The regime's intentions in regard to the role its members expected women to fulfil were evident even before the end of the Civil War, and were codified in laws such as the Labour Charter of 9 March 1938. This law originated with the *Falange Española Tradicionalista y de las J.O.N.S*, the fascist party aligned with Franco, and was signed by the General himself. It declared as one of its major aspirations that it "*libertará a la mujer casada del taller y de la fábrica*" [will free married women from the workshop and the factory] (Valiente Fernández 2003, 148). With that aim in mind, it precluded women even from doing home-based work (art. 2). Many married women were forced to abandon their jobs (Espuny Tomás 2007), leaving them no choice but to retreat to the domestic world. This law and others passed during Franco's dictatorship were predicated on a view of married women based on traditional Catholic values. These values, in turn, required that decent women fit either of two roles, those of obedient housewives and self-sacrificing mothers, the fulfilment of which required male protection (Escaja 2009, 359; Palacio Lis 2003, 173-175). Women during the regime were thus defined in spatial terms: good women stayed at home, while bad women spent time outside the house (Kruger-Robbins 1998, 77). Girls were taught at school "that their future role was to be religious, moral, lovers of the home and vigilant mothers to their children", an endeavour that the regime viewed as contributing to "the building of the Spanish empire, and the defence of Spain against foreign invasion" (Raftery and Crook 2014: 13). Franco's death put the nail in the coffin for that male-centric rhetoric (Escaja 2009, 359). However, this trend towards independence had begun after the 1960s, as women progressively started to play a more active role outside the domestic realm, with many commencing their professional careers at this point and helping other women do the same, thus achieving a more significant degree of emancipation from males (Mangini González 1987, 135). The last obstacles set to gender equality from a legal standpoint would ultimately

be removed three years after Franco's demise, with the 1978 Spanish Constitution, which declared that all Spanish citizens had the same rights (Cruz and Zecchi 2004, 7, 8).

Women also faced limitations in regard to their writing. Although the official censorship apparatus systematically reviewed every single book, it did not affect the two genders in equal measure, as Abellán (1979, 3) notes:

> *Buen número de escritoras han coincidido en este punto señalándolo como una variable más a la que las mujeres escritoras se han visto sometidas, en virtud de la mentalidad machista imperante en la sociedad española*. [Many female writers have agreed on this (inequality), pointing it out as yet another variable to which women writers have been subjected, by virtue of the sexist mentality that dominates Spanish society]

This same attitude affected women writers in a different way. According to Henseler (2003, 8):

> The post-civil war era was particularly difficult for female writers; they had to conform not only to the censoring pens of the Franco regime but also to the restrictive sociocultural environment to which they were to adhere as women.

During Franco's regime, women writers underwent a stricter kind of censorship, as they were not allowed to choose many of the themes that were perfectly fit for men (O'Connor 1987, 99). In addition, conformity to the pervading social conventions meant that those women who were involved in cultural activities tended either to remain invisible or to be defined by their husbands (Mangini González 1987, 134). Furthermore, although it was socially acceptable for women to write poetry in Spain, as Monleón (1995, 298) points out, they had been historically restricted to a very limited number of topics:

> *Por supuesto, en tanto que vehículo de una expresión personal, la lírica amorosa ha estado tradicionalmente al alcance de las mujeres escritoras (Rosalía de Castro, por ejemplo, viene inmediatamente a la memoria). Los sentimientos espirituales y religiosos han sido igualmente considerados canales aceptables para la voz femenina (Santa Teresa siendo un claro ejemplo por ello).*
> [Of course, as a vehicle for personal expression, love poetry has traditionally been available for women writers (Rosalía de Castro, for instance, immediately comes to mind). Spiritual and religious feelings have also been deemed acceptable channels for the feminine voice (Saint Teresa of Ávila being a clear example of this)].

During the last part of the 19th century, poetry written by women, but for a few exceptional cases, was summarily disregarded as a mere pastime, and was customarily negated access to the literary canon (Acillona 2003, 86). Women were traditionally regarded as either the passive object of male desire in lyrical poetry or the authors of maudlin poems. Female poets started gaining their own voice, particularly by the early 1950s, and began to reject the elements in this dichotomy as their only viable options. They did so in two ways. They rejected and subverted their objectification and adopted a pro-active stance in defining their own role and criticising the very society that had made them invisible, employing in the process a style of writing characterised, not by sentimentality, but by its expressive strength (Redondo Goicoechea and Lledó Patiño 2003, 246). Also, they denounced terminological distinctions aimed at keeping male and female poetry separate. This was encapsulated in the word *poetisa*, traditionally used in Spanish to describe a female poet as the feminine counterpart of *poeta*. Female poets, even back in the late 19th century, started deriding the use of *poetisa*, as it was often used to set their poetry apart as somehow different, often full of sentimentality, and, even, of less value than that written by their male peers (Reisz 1996, 41, 42; Kruger-Robbins 1998, 77). It is not, therefore, surprising, given the negative connotations the term acquired in time, that Ernestina de Champourcín, one of the writers ascribed to the Generation of '27, admitted (in Comella 2002, 20) that

> "*no puedo oír mi nombre, acompañado del terrible calificativo de poetisa, sin sentir vivos deseos de desaparecer, cuando no de agredir al autor de desdichada frase*"
> [I cannot hear my name accompanied by that terrible term '*poetisa*' without feeling an intense desire to disappear, or even to assault the author of that wretched word].

The contribution of women writers was crucial during the years following the civil war, as they were among the actors of the collective process of slowly rebuilding the Spanish publishing and literary market that was taking place at the time. Women were increasingly starting to write poetry that spoke of their own experiences, and more and more of their works were being published (Acillona 2003, 89). They also participated in the turn to social or political poetry during the late 1940s and early 1950s and the movement towards aestheticism and the openness to more international influences that took place by the late 1960s and early 1970s (Brooksbank Jones 1997, 161; Redondo Goicoechea and Lledó Patiño 2003, 246). Their contribution, however, was hardly recognised at the time, as literary criticism and access to the literary canon were still controlled by

the same patriarchal values that were the norm at the time (Acillona 2003, 97; Persin 1998, 114; Jato 2004, 232). Women were, and still are even after the dictatorship, excluded from poetry anthologies (Dreymüller 1993). The years following Franco's death, especially from the 1980s onwards, saw a movement to re-evaluate the work of many women poets and to recuperate the work of many in the exile, such as Concha Méndez or Ernestina de Champourcín, whose works had not been widely published in Spain under Franco (Redondo Goicoechea and Lledó Patiño 2003, 246).

Having briefly examined some of the conditions that affected the reception of the works under study, the next sections address the analysis of the TRACEpi Catalogue, with special consideration of the position of women as writers and as translators within the target culture.

The TRACEpi (1939-1983) Catalogue: Writers

We will start the analysis of the TRACEpi 1939-1983 Catalogue by examining the reception of the English-language female authors that were translated in Spain between 1939 and 1983. The Catalogue records cover works by 66 different writers, of which a mere seven are women. Those figures do not include all the names of the authors included in collective titles, mainly anthologies, as it is often difficult to ascertain their authorship without having direct access to those volumes.[7] Only the following 15 translated works (11 original translations and 4 re-issues of those same titles) were produced from these seven writers (table 7-1).

An examination of this list makes it evident that some of these are simply new editions of prior translations or new translations of previously published titles. Such is the case of the various publications of Marià Manent's anthology of Emily Dickinson's poems, both in Spanish and Catalan, or the two versions of Elizabeth Barrett Browning's *Sonnets from the Portuguese*. It is important to note that many of these works were translated and, in most cases, compiled by women. For instance, Ester de Andreis and Julieta Gómez Paz translated Barrett Browning, and Ernestina de Champourcín produced an Emily Dickinson anthology. Some translators such as María Dolores Macarulla, Vera Whittall and Isabel Robles collaborated on a few of the anthologies on the list. Apart from Macarulla, all of these translators happened to be poets as well.

[7] In some cases, we do know who these writers were. For instance, Diane di Prima and Barbara Moraff are represented in a volume of Beat poetry entitled *Poesía Beat* (Alberto Corazón), compiled in 1970 by Margaret Randall, but unpublished until 1977 due to censorial intervention.

Author	Title Source Text[8]	Title Translated Text	Publisher	Year Edition / Publication TT	Translator
Elizabeth Barrett Browning	Sonnets from the Portuguese	Sonetos del portugués	Librería Mediterránea (Barcelona)	1941	De Andreis, Ester
Emily Dickinson		Obra escogida	Centauro (México D.F.) [IMPORT]	1949	De Champourcín, Ernestina
Kathleen Raine		Poemas	Rialp (Madrid)	1951	Manent, Marià
Elizabeth Barrett Browning	Sonnets from the Portuguese	Sonetos del portugués	Rialp (Madrid)	1954	Gómez Paz, Julieta
Emily Dickinson		Poemas	Juventud (Barcelona)	1954	Manent, Marià
Emily Dickinson		Seis poemas	El Arca (Las Palmas)	1954	Doreste, Ventura
Edith Sitwell		Cánticos del sol, de la vida y de la muerte	Alberto Corazón (Madrid)	1971	Moreno Jimeno, Manuel
Emily Dickinson		Poemas	Alberto Corazón (Madrid)	1973	Manent, Marià
Sylvia Plath		Antología	Plaza & Janés (Esplugues de Llobregat)	1974	Pardo, Jesús
Emily Dickinson		Poemes d'Emily Dickinson	Edicions 62 (Barcelona)	1979	Manent, Marià
Emily Dickinson		Poemas	Alberto Corazón (Madrid)	1979	Manent, Marià
Emily Dickinson		Cien poemas	Bosch (Barcelona)	1980	Jordana, Ricardo & Macarulla, María Dolores
Janis Joplin		Canciones	Fundamentos (Madrid)	1981	Manzano, Alberto & Whittall, Vera
Kathleen Raine	On a Deserted Shore	En una orilla desierta	Hiperión (Madrid)	1981	Martínez Nadal, Rafael
Anne Sexton		Poémes de Anne Sexton	Associació Cultural de Filología (Valencia)	1983	Pérez Montaner, Jaume & Robles, Isabel

Table 7-1: English-language poetry written by women and translated/ published in Spain (1939-1983)

[8] Many of these titles, being original anthologies, lack a single source text.

Of the 15 works, 13 were translated into Spanish, and only one each into Catalan and Valencian. The preponderance of Spanish can be attributed to several reasons, mostly having to do with a wider market, but also with the regime's aversion towards the Spanish regional languages, which was reflected in policies that sought to restrict the publication of works written in those languages (Ruiz Bautista 2005, 143-162; Beneyto Pérez 2008, 86). Most of these volumes, as many as two thirds, were produced as bilingual editions, a publication feature that is particularly relevant in a literary market defined by the restrictions imposed by official censorship.[9] Although bilingual titles were not uncommon during this period, they were not the norm either, as this figure might lead us to believe.

As for the authors themselves, Emily Dickinson, with seven published editions, is clearly an exceptional case. Other female authors were only published once or, in the case of Barrett Browning, twice. This small number of publications per author was not atypical, but rather falls in line with the average number of published works per English poetry writer at the time. In fact, there is only one record for 31 out of the 66 authors included in the catalogue, meaning that only one translation of their work was produced at the time. Most English-language poetry works that were translated in Spain were written by a handful of authors. More than half of all poetry works edited during these years were authored by a mere 10 writers, all of them classic male authors, the likes of John Milton, Rabindranath Tagore, Walt Whitman, Byron, Geoffrey Chaucer and William Shakespeare.

If we analyse the temporal distribution of the translations of English-language female poets at the time, we will realise that their quantitative contribution to the Spanish poetry market was almost negligible. This circumstance was, however, framed within the already marginal position of translated poetry within the cultural system. The numbers for women writers, in any case, pale in comparison with those of poetry written by male authors, as is reflected in fig. 7-1.

Given the increased importance of women writers in Spanish poetry after Franco's death, a surge in the number of works written by female authors would be expected during that period. Instead, English-language poetry written by males was published at a 25:1 ratio compared to that written by women. Translated poetry was a niche in the Spanish literary market, but it was arguably far more popular as a whole than translated

[9] See Lobejón (2015) for a study of the interaction between the official censorship system and bilingual editions of English-language poetry in Franco's Spain.

poetry written by female authors, the interest in which was negligible. However, it would be more accurate to state that it was publishing houses that did not seem interested in releasing such works.

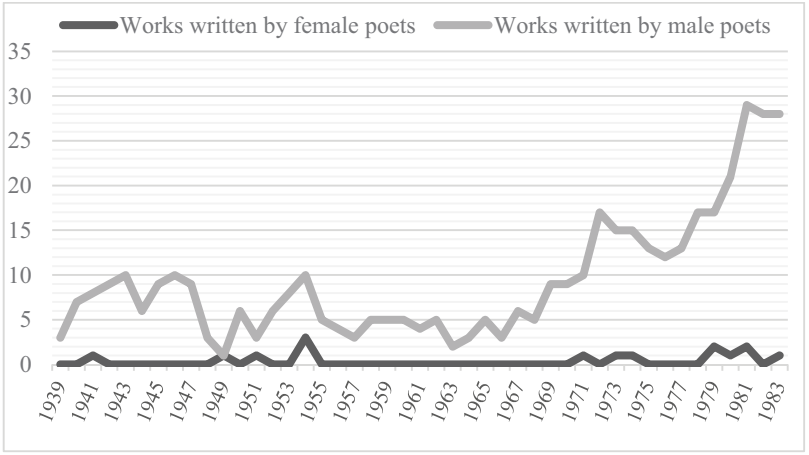


Fig. 7-1: Temporal distribution of English-Language poetry works written by male and female authors

All in all, this timeline does not reveal any clear patterns, given the small number of published titles. Nevertheless, we can observe a period of increased poetry publication starting during the last years of Franco's rule and the era of the Spanish democratic transition. This miniboom in the publication numbers for poetry in Spain that started in the early 1970s did not seem to affect the publication figures of female poets, which were, at best, extremely modest.

The TRACEpi (1939-1983) Catalogue: Translators

Of the 169 translators in the Catalogue, 42 (25%) are women. This figure is much higher than the percentage for female writers, who amounted to roughly 10% of the total of translated authors and whose works represented less than 4% of all the poetry titles translated from English. Given the number of translations produced by women, it is clear that translation was an activity in which females were more consistently engaged, for reasons that will be discussed later. The contribution of these women in terms of translated works is 119 editions, an average of almost three per translator. Of all these titles, 93 were translated into Spanish, 25

into Catalan and 1, the aforementioned Emily Dickinson anthology, into Valencian.

These 119 works are, nevertheless, not evenly spread among these 42 translators: 23 of them translated a single title, whereas the 5 most productive ones accounted for 55 (46%) of those translations (table 7-2).

Translator	Editions	Unique translations	Translated authors	Publishing houses	Target Language
María de Quadras	23	9	2	5	Catalan
Zenobia Camprubí	18	12	1	5	Spanish
Marta I. Guastavino	5	3	2	1	Spanish
Concha Zardoya	5	2	1	1	Spanish
Fátima Auad	4	1	1	1	Spanish

Table 7-2: Most prolific women translators in the TRACEpi 1939-1983 Catalogue

Fourteen of these translators were also poets themselves: Claribel Alegría, María Alfaro, Rosa Chacel, Elizabeth Azcona Cranwell, Ester de Andreis, Ernestina de Champourcín, Julieta Gómez Paz, Carmen Martín Gaite, Clemencia Miró, Elisabeth Mulder, Isabel Robles, Marta Rosenberg, María Dolores Sartorio and Concha Zardoya.

Only two women, María de Quadras and Zenobia Camprubí, are among the 25 most prolific translators in the Catalogue. However, they translated more titles than any other translator. Many of these translators often specialised in the work of merely one or two authors. Examples of this are Zenobia Camprubí,[10] whose name is intimately linked to the poetic

[10] In some editions of Tagore's works translated by Zenobia Camprubí, her husband, poet Juan Ramón Jiménez, appears as co-author or collaborator. In this respect, although it is clear that the author collaborated with Camprubí in those translations, it is quite difficult to ascertain to what degree that collaboration took place (García 2006, 135). It is worth mentioning that publishers used well-known

output of Bengali author Rabindranath Tagore; María de Quadras and Marta I. Guastavino translated, to Catalan and Spanish respectively, several books by Tagore and Kahlil Gibran, while Concha Zardoya translated the poetry of Walt Whitman.

The TRACEpi (1939-1983) Catalogue: Official Censorship

When it comes to the impact of official censorship on poetry translated from English, it seems to have been negligible from a quantitative point of view, as the overall authorisation rate in Franco's Spain is quite high, around 95%. For translations made by women, this percentage is slightly higher (96%). Moreover, every one of the English-language poetry titles written by women was authorised. This apparent permissiveness of the censorial authorities reflected in the overwhelming authorisation rates seems to suggest that, in all likelihood, the same criteria were followed when these types of works were reviewed.

A mere two works translated by women did not escape the censorial treatment unscathed, as they were not authorised by the censors. The first of these is a 1942 bilingual edition of Shakespeare's *Sonnets* translated by Angelina Damians de Bulart into Spanish and published by Montaner y Simón.[11] Although the book was banned, the censor suggested that, in the future, were the publisher to submit a special edition aimed at scholars, it would be authorised. A year later, the publisher, given this opportunity by the censor himself, proposed the publication of a 300-copy limited edition, and the text was ultimately authorised and published in 1944 on that condition. It is worth mentioning at this point that a law passed on the 25th of March 1944 (BOE 07-IV-1944) exempted Spanish literary works written before 1800 from prior censorship. The analysis of the data from the TRACEpi Catalogue suggests that a similar criterion of leniency was consistently applied in the case of English literary works written before the 19th century. Given that circumstance and the censor's own comments in this regard, it is clear that the major obstacle in the publication of this edition was the publisher's original plan to produce a 2,500-copy print run. In this case, the regime's pressing need to publish certain internationally prestigious authors, such as Shakespeare, in order to project a more liberal image clashed with the restrictions to the free circulation of works that were contrary to its basic beliefs and tenets. That, in turn, would lead to

poets as translators or foreword writers on poetry translations as a marketing strategy (Montejo Gurruchaga 2007, 12).

[11] AGA file 823-42.

the implementation of several mechanisms to limit the public's exposure to these books. The four main ones in this regard, particularly during the early years of the regime, were expensive editions, limited print runs, restricting access to certain titles to an intellectual elite (Ruiz Bautista 2005, 296), and regulating or in some cases even prohibiting marketing of some books, including most forms of advertising in the media or displaying them in bookshops[12] (Blas 1999, 290). The regime often employed some or all of these approaches simultaneously in order to ensure that the public's exposure to such works was minimal.

The second of these translations was a 1946 Walt Whitman original anthology done by Concha Zardoya and entitled *Obras escogidas*.[13] The censor pointed out the need to make several deletions in various poems, as he estimated that Whitman's compositions attacked Christian morality. The censorship report, which begins with some set questions the censors were meant to answer to reflect on the book's content and to reach a verdict accordingly, reads.

¿Ataca al Dogma o a la moral? *Sí.*	[Does it attack the established dogma and morality? Yes.
¿A las instituciones del Régimen? *No directamente.*	Does it attack the regime's institutions? Not directly.
Valor literario o documental: *Escaso.*	Documental or literary value: Limited.
Toda la obra es materialista y con cierto resabio panteísta. Canta y exalta la democracia y las virtudes puramente humanas. Considerando que es un libro que pocos han de leer	The entire work is materialistic and leaves a bad pantheistic taste. It sings about and exalts democracy and the purely human virtues. Considering that it is a book that few should read

[12] This was regulated through a 1st June 1945 law (BOE - Official Gazette of the Spanish Government – Issue 29-VI-1945), the second article of which stated:

> "*De las obras toleradas sólo se podrá hacer publicidad mediante su inclusión en catálogos, y por consiguiente, queda prohibida la exhibición de las mismas en escaparates de librerías, vitrinas y demás lugares de exposición y publicidad de los libros.*" [Tolerated works may only be publicised through their inclusion in catalogues; their exhibition is, therefore, strictly prohibited in bookshop windows, display cases, and other places for book exhibition and advertising]
> (http://www.represura.es/legislacion_1945.html: accessed February 7, 2017).

[13] AGA file 63-46.

por su aburrimiento y la estupidez de muchas de sus poesías, creo que no podrá hacer mucho daño y podrá tolerarse en una edición de lujo y suprimiendo lo indicado en las páginas 115-17, 153-157, 170, 175-188, 197-98, 209-214, 216 a 223, 241.

on account of its tediousness and the stupidity of many of its poems, I believe that it cannot do much harm and could be tolerated as a deluxe edition after deleting the marked passages on pages 115-17, 153-157, 170, 175-188, 197-98, 209-214, 216 a 223, 241.]

The book was published that very year and, again, in 1960 and 1967. The textual fragments deleted at the censors' request were, in all likelihood, not restored in new editions.[14]

Conclusions

Reflecting now on the data that have been presented, it would be interesting to determine the reasons why the contribution of English-language female writers to the publishing plans during this period was, by all accounts, minimal. In order to find a proper explanation, we first need to consider the nature of the Spanish poetry market. Given the low economic incentive of poetry publishing, which was even lower for translated poetry, many publishing companies chose to focus on a handful of male authors, most of them regarded as classics. This, on the one hand, minimised financial risks, as the reading public was familiar with such authors and, thus, there was no need for great investment in marketing. On the other hand, the use of these prestigious authors afforded these publishing houses more recognition.

The fact that women were allowed to be involved in translation work to such a great extent is significant. Venuti's (1995) ideas regarding the translator's invisibility in the English-speaking world also fit the Spanish context quite well during most of the studied period. There was no legal framework that protected the translators' rights to certain intellectual property concerning their work, such rights being systematically refused by the companies that hired them (Rodríguez Espinosa 1997, 156). Moreover, translations were consistently plagiarised during the regime, which makes it difficult at times to ascertain who the original translator was (Santoyo 1980, 64; Rodríguez Espinosa 1997, 160). These circumstances

[14] This can be deduced by examining the number of pages on each published edition, which varies by just one page between the first and subsequent editions up to the fourth one. This discrepancy can be accounted for by a mere change in the book's layout or a slight addition in terms of paratextual material.

meant that, more often than not, the role of the translator passed unnoticed and was hardly recognised. However, in the case of poetry, this figure was even less visible, as the readership numbers were extremely limited. This might have been one of the main reasons why a sizeable percentage of women were allowed to translate poetry.

Regarding the effects of official censorship on these books, as most of them were translations of classic works, the censors did not find it difficult to authorise them. Furthermore, the geographical and sometimes temporal distance in which these texts were written, which meant that direct attacks in them against the regime or its values were few and far between, seem to have been advantageous in terms of the treatment received from the censorial authorities compared to that given to contemporary Spanish poetry, which often had as its subject matter the socio-political landscape of the time. Poetry might also have been simply overlooked by the censors due to the poetic language being confusing to them, especially considering that many censors were merely civil servants who were not necessarily well-acquainted with many of the linguistic devices employed by poets (Montejo Gurruchaga 2007, 28). The abundance of rhetorical figures used in poetry meant that poets could sometimes get away with references to the political reality coded in metaphors. Lastly, the limited print runs for poetry books meant that these titles were authorised without any obstacles, for they were considered harmless by the regime.

This analysis is far from a comprehensive picture of the contributions made by women in the production and reception of poetry written in English. There are still several key areas that merit examination, which were beyond the limited scope of this study. One of the major omissions in this regard has to do with the analysis of the role of women in the publishing and censoring processes, or their work as anthologists. It would be interesting as well to examine the comments about women found on censorship reports. Although these questions are at the margins of this chapter, they are not, by any means, any less worthy of consideration.

References

Abellán, Manuel L. 1979. “Censura y producción literaria inédita.” *Ínsula* 359: 3.

Acillona, Mercedes. 2003. “Los estudios de género en la poesía española del último siglo.” In *Problemas de las mujeres, problemas de la sociedad,* edited by María Luisa Setién and María Silvestre, 85-105. Bilbao: Universidad de Deusto.

Bayo, Emili. 1991. *La poesía española en sus colecciones (1939-1975)*. Lleida: Sección de Lengua y Literatura Española del Departamento de Filología del Estudi General de Lleida.

Beneyto Pérez, J. 2008. "La censura literaria en los primeros años del franquismo. Las normas y los hombres." *Represura* 5. http://www.represura.es/represura_5_junio_2008_articulo1.pdf. Original publication: 1987. *Diálogos hispánicos de Amsterdam* 5: 169-180.

Blas, José Andrés de. 1999. "El libro y la censura durante el franquismo: un estado de la cuestión y otras consideraciones." *Espacio, tiempo y forma. Serie V, Historia contemporánea* 12: 281-301.

Brooksbank Jones, Anny. 1997. *Women in Contemporary Spain*. Manchester & New York: Manchester University Press.

Comella, Beatriz. 2002. *Ernestina de Champourcin, del exilio a Dios*. Madrid: Rialp.

Cruz, Jaqueline, and Barbara Zecchi. 2004. "Más que evolución, involución: a modo de prólogo." In *La mujer en la España actual. ¿Evolución o involución?*, edited by Jaqueline Cruz and Barbara Zecchi, 7-24. Barcelona: Icaria editorial.

Dreymüller, Cecilia. 1993. "La presencia de la mujer en las antologías poéticas." *Zurgai* Junio: 20-22.

Escaja, Tina. 2009. "De 'Fuegos fatuos' al 'Coño azul': hacia una nueva historia de la poesía española escrita en castellano." *Destiempos* 19: 359-385.

Espuny Tomás, María Jesús. 2007. "Aproximación histórica al principio de igualdad de género (III): las Reglamentaciones de Trabajo, observatorios de la desigualdad." *IUSLabor* 2. https://www.upf.edu/iuslabor/_pdf/2007-2/Historia.pdf.

Gallego Roca, Manuel. 1996. *Poesía importada: traducción poética y renovación literaria en España (1909-1936)*. Almería: Universidad de Almería.

García, Carlos, ed. 2006. *Correspondencia Juan Ramón Jiménez/ Guillermo de Torre 1920-1956*. Madrid: Iberoamericana.

García de la Concha, Víctor. 1987. *La poesía española de 1935 a 1975. I. De la preguerra a los años oscuros 1935-1944*. Madrid: Cátedra.

Henseler, Christine. 2003. *Contemporary Spanish Women's Narrative and the Publishing Industry*. Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press.

Jato, Mónica. 2004. *El lenguaje bíblico en la poesía de los exilios españoles de 1939*. Kassel: Edition Reichenberger.

Kruger-Robbins, Jill. 1998. "María Victoria Atencia: la deconstrucción poética de las estructuras del ser." In *La poesía de María Victoria Atencia: un acercamiento crítico*, edited by Sharon Keefe Ugalde, 77-89. Madrid: Huerga y Fierro editores.

Lobejón Santos, Sergio. 2013. "Traducción y censura de textos poéticos inglés-español en España: TRACEpi (1939-1983). Translation and Censorship of English-Spanish Poetic Texts in Spain: TRACEpi (1939-1983)." PhD diss., Universidad de León.

—. 2015. "English-Spanish Bilingual Translations of Poetry in Franco's Spain." In *And Translation Changed the World (and the World Changed Translation)*, edited by Alberto Fuertes and Ester Torres-Simón, 47-60. Newcastle: Cambridge Scholars Publishing.

Mangini González, Shirley. 1987. *Rojos y rebeldes: la cultura de la disidencia durante el franquismo*. Barcelona: Anthropos.

Monleón, José B. 1995. "El largo camino de la Transición." In *Del franquismo a la posmodernidad: cultura española 1975-1990*, edited by José B. Monleón, 5-17. Madrid: Akal.

Montejo Gurruchaga, Lucía. 2007. "Blas de Otero y la censura española desde 1949 hasta la transición política. Primera parte: de Ángel fieramente humano a En castellano." *Represura* 3. http://www.represura.es/represura_3_mayo_2007_articulo3.pdf. Original publication: 1998. *Revista de literatura* LX 120: 491-516.

O'Connor, Patricia W. 1987. "Las dramaturgas españolas y la 'otra censura'." *Diálogos Hispánicos de Ámsterdam* 5, Censura y literaturas peninsulares: 99-118. Amsterdam: Rodopi.

Palacio Lis, Irene. 2003. *Mujeres ignorantes: madres culpables. Adoctrinamiento y divulgación materno-infantil en la primera mitad del siglo XX*. Valencia: Universitat de Valencia.

Pedraza Jiménez, Felipe B. and Milagros Rodríguez Cáceres. 2005. *Manual de literatura española. XII, Posguerra: introducción y líricos.* Pamplona: Cénlit.

Persin, Margaret. 1998. "El canon, un tiro más (sin apuntar) de cañón: el lugar y la posición de la poesía femenina en la España del siglo XX." In *La poesía de María Victoria Atencia: un acercamiento crítico*, edited by Sharon Keefe Ugalde, 109-124. Madrid: Huerga y Fierro editores.

Raftery, Deirdre and David Crook, eds. 2014. *History of Education: Themes and Perspectives*. London and New York: Routledge.

Redondo Goicoechea, Alicia and María Luisa Lledó Patiño. 2003. "Las imágenes de las mujeres en las novelistas de posguerra." In *Mujeres y hombres en la España franquista: sociedad, economía, política,*

cultura, edited by Gloria Nielfa Cristóbal, 243-268. Madrid: Editorial Complutense.

Reisz, Susana. 1996. *Voces sexuadas: género y poesía en Hispanoamérica*. Lleida: Universitat de Lleida.

Rodríguez Espinosa, Marcos. 1997. "Editores y traductores difusores de la historia literaria: El caso de Arturo del Hoyo en la editorial Aguilar." *TRANS: revista de traductología* 2: 153-164.

Ruiz Bautista, Eduardo. 2005. *Los señores del libro: propagandistas, censores y bibliotecarios en el primer franquismo (1939-1945)*. Gijón: Trea.

Santoyo, Julio-César. 1980. "Plagio en las traducciones inglés-español." *Atlantis* Vol. 2, 1: 60-64.

Savater, Fernando. 1996. "Ángeles decapitados: la desertización cultural bajo el franquismo." *Claves de razón práctica* 59: 8-13.

Valiente Fernández, Celia. 2003. "Las políticas para las mujeres trabajadoras durante el franquismo." In *Mujeres y hombres en la España franquista: sociedad, economía, política, cultura*, edited by Gloria Nielfa Cristóbal, 145-178. Madrid: Editorial Complutense.

Vázquez Montalbán, Manuel. 1988. "Literatura y transición." In *Política y literatura,* Fredi Chiappelli, Aurora Egido et al., 125-139. Zaragoza: Caja de Ahorros y Monte de Piedad de Zaragoza, Aragón y Rioja.

Vega, Miguel Ángel. 2004. "De la Guerra Civil al pasado inmediato." In *Historia de la traducción en España*, edited by Francisco Lafarga and Luis Pegenaute, 527-578. Salamanca: Ambos Mundos.

Venuti, Lawrence. 1995. *The Translator's Invisibility*. London: Routledge.

PART THREE:

TRANSLATION, IDEOLOGY AND GENDER POLICIES AND IDENTITY ISSUES

CHAPTER EIGHT

CONTEXT MATTERS: FEMINIST TRANSLATION BETWEEN ETHICS AND POLITICS IN EUROPE

ELEONORA FEDERICI

Introduction

In his essay "Gender and Translation: a New European Tradition?" José Santaemilia (2013) mapped a new European tradition of "gender and translation" proposing a "word cloud" field with key issues terms such as gender, sex, woman, translatress, genealogy, archaeology and many others, showing that, after the important work of Canadian writers and translators, a number of European researchers began to explore a growing list of themes and perspectives on "feminist translation". Similarly, I outlined the possibility to retrace a European map on gender and translation in a paper delivered at a conference at the University of Bologna for the Erasmus MA in Gender Studies Gemma (Federici 2013).[1] This search for a European map on translation and gender began in a fruitful discussion with my colleague José Santaemilia in the course of the last years when we met at different conferences on the issue of gender and translation. Two conferences I organized at the University of Calabria, where I worked for some years, were really important to understand the state of art of translation from a gender perspective in different European contexts. The first conference, held in 2009, dealt with translation and gender in an interdisciplinary approach taking into account sociolinguistics, pragmatics, literary studies, media studies, semiotics, cultural studies and philosophy. The results, published in the volume *Translating Gender* (Federici 2011b), clearly outline four major areas of discussion: the theoretical perspective of

[1] *Gemma Erasmus Mundus Master's Degree in Women's and Gender Studies*, coordinated by Adelina Sánchez Espinosa, University of Granada, website accessed 10.11.16, masteres.ugr.es/gemma/

translation from a gender perspective, the linguistic questions of translating grammatical gender, the practice of translation by women translators, and the translation of gender performativity in literary and media texts. The second conference, held in 2011, focused on the gap between theory and practice in feminist translation and the results appear in the volume *Bridging the Gap between Theory and Practice in Translation and Gender Studies* (Federici and Leonardi 2013). Contributors showed how grammatical, semantic and social gender are entangled in the creation of stereotypes and how gender bias can be retraced both in literary and media genres. Another important step for this mapping of a gender and translation in Europe was the seminar on the topic I organized with my colleague Jose Santaemilia at the ESSE (European Society for the Study of English) conference, which took place in Istanbul in 2012. Our work continues and was enriched by the First Valencia/Naples Colloquium on Gender and Translation, which took place in Valencia, on October 27-28, 2016, and added new perspectives on these issues.

What struck me on all these occasions was the wide response by European scholars and the difference in theoretical perspectives, methodological approaches and practical choices among them. I understood there was a variety of studies in the field of Translation Studies through a gender perspective within Europe, which, with its linguistic, cultural, social and political differences, turned out to be an interesting battleground for both theory and practice that take into account the category of gender in translation.

Translation has always been an instrument of widening up literary canons and "translating" knowledge from one culture to another within Europe. Literatures have crossed national borders through translation and they have been influenced by each other. The rich and fruitful debate that occurred within the interdisciplinary field of Translation Studies after the "Cultural Turn", together with changes of perspective and developments within the discipline due to the influence of Postcolonial Studies, Deconstruction, Post-Structuralism, Sociolinguistics, French Feminist Theories, has outlined a different path to the notion of translation itself, to the strategies and tools in the translation process and to the debate on the results of translation of texts into different languages. These different theoretical approaches were united by six major points:

1) the will to write and read the text in a critical way;
2) the importance of the linguistic and cultural context in the writing/reading of the text;

3) the idea of gender as an important category in textual interpretation;
4) the notion of female authorship in writing and translation related to a fluid conception of writing and translation as part of the same process;
5) the performativity implicit in language and the production of meaning; and
6) the social, political and ideological implications of texts.

All these approaches have clearly influenced the way we think about translation from a gender perspective, and the way these theories have been translated (how, when and by whom) certainly has made a difference in the formation of a theory and practice of feminist translation in the various European contexts.

In order to understand how a possible European map on translation and gender may emerge, we have to retrace some important points in question that have arisen in the last decades in the field of Gender and Translation starting from a chronological perspective on feminist translation.

A European Theoretical Framework

The starting points for a possible (and surely partial) mapping on gender and translation in Europe are various, first of all the question of institutionalisation of translation and gender in European countries, that is the academic presence of feminist translation in Europe. For a methodological approach to be influential it should also be visible and form part of the University curriculum. I believe that in the plethora of undergraduate and postgraduate courses in Translation Studies very few are dedicated to these theories. The reasons are many, the main one being the non-instutionalization of Gender Studies or Women's Studies in the European context in contrast to the North American context. These academic choices are clearly due not only to economic factors but to ideological ones. In Italy, for example, notwithstanding the strong feminist wave and political/social struggles of the 70s, academia has not given space to the institutionalization of Gender and Women's Studies. There are no chairs or Departments in these fields; we have only Centres for Women and Gender Studies.[2] At the University of Bologna there are various projects in progress where major scholars in different disciplines

[2] One example is the "Women and Gender Studies Centre Milly Villa" at the University of Calabria (http://www.women-unical.it/).

have worked on the field in a strategical connection with local institutions such as the National Library of Women,[3] which is quite active in promoting women's issues, and there is a European Doctorate in Women's and Gender Studies (EDGES). If we look at the presence of Gender issues in Translation Studies programs, there are no official courses on the subject but feminist theories and practices can be included in more general courses on translation. So, if feminist translation questioned the field of Translation Studies through what has been called "The Canadian Factor",[4] that is to say the work of Canadian scholars which began the debate on this field decades ago, courses and programs on translation and gender have not been institutionalized in Europe and the introduction of these issues occurs in more general courses on translation theories.

In contrast, research in this field has been widely done in various European contexts and many volumes and articles on the subject have been published all through Europe. The main results are in the retracing of women translators' works, a central issue in the field of translation and gender because this kind of archival work has produced a lively discussion on the practice of translation both through a thoughtful analysis of translations of key texts by women authors in different historical periods and through a discovery of women translators in the cultural milieu of their time. Researchers also analysed differences in the adaptations of texts not only to different social/cultural contexts but also in the periods of publication. The European panorama on women translators through time and space demonstrates their role as cultural agents and intellectuals in dialogue with writers, philosophers and men of thought of their time.

From the mid-80s a few books on women's role in translation were published such as, for example, Tina Krontiris's *Oppositional Voices: Women as Writers and Translators of Literature in the English Renaissance* (1992); Gillian Dow's *Translators, Interpreters, Mediators: Women Writers 1700–1900* (2007); Mirella's Agorni's *Translating Italy for the Eighteenth Century: Women, Translation, and Travel Writing, 1739–1797* (2002); or Jean Delisle's *Portraits de traductrices*, (2002). These works emphasised the importance of women translators in historical periods where the notion of female authorship was not even taken into account. They demonstrated that because translation was considered as a secondary activity women could enter it step by step and become cultural agents of their time. These works also demonstrated how the circulation of texts beyond national borders, the passage from one literary national canon

[3] *Biblioteca italiana delle donne* (http://www.bibliotecadelledonne.it/).

[4] I am referring here to main Canadian scholars like Barabara Godard, Sherry Simon, Luise von Flotow and many others working in that context from the 80s.

to a different cultural tradition, the transformation of texts into a target language were always connected to hegemonic practices and power asymmetries. They also made clear the role of ideology beyond translation.

From the amount of scholarly and translators' works that we can retrace in Spain we can say that it is a European country where the issues of gender and translation are increasingly growing and visible notably in academia but also in the editorial world. To give just a few examples of scholarly achievements, in Catalonia issues of identity and language are central to the post-structuralist approach by Pilar Godayol. This is well exemplified by her discussion of translation and of what she defines as "frontier spaces" based on the translator's perception of her identity as hybrid and multicultural. Her work began with *Espais de frontera* (Godayol 2000), and was followed by a massive amount of work on Catalan women writers and translators (Godayol and Bacardi 2011, Godayol 2012). Another region interested in questions about minority languages is Galicia, where scholars like Olga Castro (2009) envisaged a "Third Wave" feminist translation addressing discursive representations of women and men in texts of different typologies. Galicia is also home of Maria Reimondez, writer and feminist translator.[5] Her work is published and visible in the Spanish context, where the feminist translation of Virginia Woolf's *A Room of One's Own* was published in 2003. The translation titled *Un cuarto propio*, which was carried out by María Milagros Rivera Garretas and published by the feminist publishing house Horas y Horas, remains exemplary in the practice of feminist translation.

Another research group in Spain is at the University of Valencia, where José Santaemilia coordinates *Gentext* a project on "Gender, Language and Sexual (in)Equality". Author of *Gender, Sex and Translation: The Manipulation of Identities* (Santaemilia 2005) and many articles on feminist translation, he has recently edited with von Flotow a monographic issue of the journal *MonTi* on "Woman and Translation: Geographies, Voices, Identities" (Santaemilia and von Flotow 2011), beginning to map a European landscape of translation and gender.

Discussing the ethical limits of feminist translation, Carmen África Vidal Claramonte, who works at the University of Salamanca, has discussed the debate on issues of cultural identity and gender referring to discourse analysis as a tool for a wider understanding of translation, and has analysed gender representations in the media as acts of translation (Vidal 1998, Álvarez and Vidal 1996). Another important research group

[5] For an overall view on her translations see her website (http://www.mariareimondez-escritora.com/home-2/)

is coordinated by Mercedes Bengoechea at the University of Alcalà, who published various works on literary and specialised feminist translation. Thus, we can assert that in Spain the activity and publication of feminist translations seems to be more visible than in other European countries, and we can, therefore, assume that the practice of feminist translation has been carried out and has at least been discussed by the media and thus rendered public. Many other scholars are working on this issue in Spain and opening a new debate. For example, Carmen Camus and Cristina Gomez Castro have organized two conferences on "Translation, Ideology and Gender" at the University of Cantabria in the last two years widening the discussion to specialized languages and especially the language of medicine and health,[6] while Adela Martínez García has edited a special issue of *Women's Studies International Forum* (2014) titled *Rethinking Women and Translation in the Third Millenium* (Postigo Pinaza and Martínez García 2014).

In France the research group coordinated by Christine Raguet has focused on the linguistic aspects of translation and gender, and Pascale Sardin (2009) has also published about translation and gender issues. In Austria the seminal work by Michaela Wolf (2005) has been central in a re-discussion of these themes. In England Valerie Henitiuk (1999) has considered translation and gender together with issues about globalization and Marcella de Marco (2012) has dealt with gender stereotypes in audiovisual translation.

It is interesting that scholars in a country like Turkey, which we know is not so open to feminist issues, scholars are showing an increasing interest in translation and gender. For example, Emek Ergun (2010) bridges across feminist translation and sociolinguistics and focuses on "transnational feminist knowledge", that is to say, translation and language in use analyzing gender in power structures as identity marker, resistance to sexist language, the use of masculine forms, feminization of the text and discursive visibility. Some archival work has been done by Arzu Akbatur (2011) on Turkish women writers in English translation, and an analysis of translation as a tool to understand the differences between Western feminisms and Turkish Feminism has been carried out by Ayşenaz Koş (2007). From the work of Turkish scholars we understand that feminist

[6] http://translationgender.wixsite.com/translationgender;
http://translationgender.wixsite.com/translationgenderii
These conferences stem from the research project funded by the Spanish Ministry of Innovation and Education entitled "TRACEgencsi" (FFI2012-39012C04-04) which focuses on translation, ideology and gender in the health sciences field and which has been active from 2012 until now.

translators are making a contribution to feminist translation theory and practice and feminist movements in Turkey. Therefore, the ideological and political feminist stance is perpetuated through the practice of translation in a country which for political reasons, is struggling to enter the European Union, and where tension between Westernization and tradition is strong.

Very interesting areas for translation and gender are also the post-communist countries such as Poland, where scholars like Ewa Kraskowska (2006, 2008, 2010), and Agnieszka Pantuchowicz (1998) have focused on feminist discourses in translation, the debate on translation and gender in Eastern Europe in the 90s, which at the time was highly determined by ethnic, religious and social customs and values. Moreover, they have emphasized how the absence of critical theorizations of identity in translators' approaches to literary texts is reflected in the absence of linguistic practices that can adequately indicate a number of gender and identity related issues. These works make clear how ideology permeated the whole literary and cultural world and where the translation of feminist texts is still influenced by ideological stances.

In these years of great movements of people from one national border to another and from countries outside Europe to the European Union, in a situation of constant migrations and diasporas, the bounded categories of location and space, national identity, national language, literary canon and gender must be reassessed. The urge to rethink Western translation and literary theories is the result of the interweaving of postcolonial theories with Cultural Studies and Gender Studies that have opened even further the fruitful debate on the deconstruction of binary thought and the issue of gender representation. Nowadays the field of Transnational Studies/literatures and its interconnection with Translation Studies is also opening a new perspective on Translation and Gender. From this perspective, the next step in Translation Studies dealing with gender is to take into account a pan-European perspective on "Transnational Studies". Europe has been redefining itself since 1989 with the fall of Berlin Wall and increasingly in the last decades in the light of the vast flux of migrant populations in the literary panorama. European countries have seen an explosion of transnational writings that transcend traditional notions of mother tongue and national literary systems. The cultural European context presents new literary texts which address gender issues from a different perspective. The presence of multilingual and multicultural texts makes us aware of the importance of the ethics of translation, which involves being aware of the risks deriving from speaking for others, erasing a Euro-centric notion of translation and, above all, understanding the geo-socio-political context in which the original texts are produced. Bella Brodzki (2007, 12) asserts that

"translation is now understood to be a politics as well as a poetics, an ethics as well as an aesthetics".

From this perspective two are the main points in this discussion: 1) the role of translating practices in literary/cultural representations; and 2) the importance of the translator and his/her cultural competences. These issues have been strongly debated by feminist scholars in Translation Studies (e.g., Godard 1985; Simon 1996; von Flotow 1997; Godayol 2000; Bassnett 2005; Santaemilia 2005; Federici 2011a, 2011b), who have outlined the ideology behind translating practices and the power of translation in representing "the other" together with the necessity of a gender awareness in translation, that is to say, the recognition of the importance of the context in which the translator lives and the inherent historical, social and political implications. Translating as a feminist means working while keeping in mind differences among women, their diverse "positionality" in terms of race, class, ethnic group, and social and cultural context, the so-called "situated knowledge".[7] Feminist translators have made clear their role as interpreters of texts and have explained their translation choices and strategies utilizing paratextual elements such as footnotes, preface or the technique of "supplementing" in the text. Intentionality and agency became more and more evident in the work of feminist translators and, if translators have always known that a translation carries the voices of the original but also those of the translated text, they have demonstrated that translation can be considered as an heteroglossic, multivoiced practice, a social act for which the translator is responsible and through which s/he becomes a cultural agent. With their use of paratextual elements (prefaces, footnotes, glossaries) feminist translators have unveiled a dialogic relationship between source text (ST) and target text (TT) and claimed a new authority over the ST. The traditional notion of fidelity as objective, transparent and definite truth has been replaced with more problematic concepts such as experimentation, relativity and

[7] Since Adrienne Rich's famous essay on the "Politics of Location" (1987), many feminists have discussed the importance of a contextualised position as women scholars. We will use the term coined by Donna Haraway in "Situated Knowledges" (1988) as the metaphor for an acknowledgement of the "partial" perspective of each writer, a perspective connected to her geo-political, racial and class position. See also Barbara Johnson, *A World of Difference* (1989); Rosi Braidotti, *Nomadic Subjects* (1994); and Susan Stanford Friedman, "Beyond Gynocriticism and Gynesis: the Geographics of Identity and the Future of Feminist Criticism" (1996).

subjectivity.[8] Rewriting in the feminine has meant to affirm the translatress's critical difference while re-reading, interpreting and transforming/re-writing the ST. In the awareness that translation is a discursive act, the feminist translator subverts the linguistic codes of the text and transmits a different cultural value where the question of gender becomes central. Such is the importance of visibility for feminist translators/translators in the feminine that the signature of the translator is given an authority equivalent to that of authorship. The translator becomes a co-writer and the faithfulness to the text passes through her own reading and translating choices. "Translating in the feminine" has meant to take an anti-dogmatic position, an awareness of the work of translation and its influence on the reader according to the choices made. Moreover, feminist translators have pointed out the importance of the issue of textual interpretation. In fact, talking about a "woman-identified approach" Maier and Massardier-Kenney (1996, 60) state that "it is the responsibility of translators to reflect on their thinking in political terms, to reflect on their motives and on the effect their work might have on the reader". A woman-identified translator declares responsibility for the text and the community it is destined for, she takes up a position and is aware of her responsibility as a cultural agent. This is a clear ideological act that in many cases clashes with society's ideological values and norms.

The Practice of Feminist Translation: Is there a Resistance in Italy?

It is very hard to find cases of declared feminist translators working in Italy and one of the biggest difficulties is probably to establish clear principles which allow us to define a translation as "feminist" taking into account acknowledged feminist strategies such as supplementing, prefacing, footnoting and hijacking (see Federici and Leonardi 2012). Translators can refer to the gender issue in language and society and opt for linguistic choices that unveil patriarchal language and representations; they can follow some of these lines but decide they do not want to be defined as "feminist", a highly connotated term. I believe Italian translators can be considered as gender-aware if we consider different aspects:

- if they addressed and subverted gender constructs;

[8] See Eleonora Federici (2011a) "The Visibility of the Woman Translator" in *Translating Gender*, 79-91.

- if their position in the text was visible;
- if their interpretation shaped the translated text;
- if it was possible to retrace the translator's self-reflection process in the translated texts;
- if strategies considered as feminist were utilised or not.

If we look for manipulated texts in Italy, we will not find them. Why? Is the feminist discourse too ideological to be used in the Italian context? In order to answer this question we should focus on two elements: 1) the translator's identity, his/her linguistic/cultural/social identity, education, background and openness about the feminist political stance, and 2) the historical and social dimension of the translation, that is in which period it has been published and by which publisher. Ideologies permeate not only the individual but also the society in which he or she lives. Translation takes on different shades according to the socio-cultural transformations of each country. Contexts shape, influence, change or prohibit certain texts at certain times, so that some cultures are reluctant to accept change to such cultural politics, and different cultural contexts limit or promote gender awareness in translation. In addition to this, the ideology beyond the publishing market is connected to the potential readers of the text. In fact, readers have distinctive cultural and social backgrounds. Publishers think more about selling the books they publish and not so much about what they offer to new readers. Major publishers will certainly be reluctant to publish a feminist translation which manipulates and changes the original text and which forces the reader to read in a critical way. Both the use of paratextual elements – which interrupt the fluency of the text – and a femininised language will probably be seen as problematic for the "common reader".

Feminist translation theories were born in Canada in the 1980s and 1990s in order to make the feminine visible in language. They were published in a very specific context where ideological and political acts were accepted. Feminist translators perpetuated something that had always been common in translation, that is, the idea that the text was a texture to be composed, re-woven and re-ordered by the translator. The translators' intentionality and agency was evident and explained to the reader. Translators play a vital role in society and a discussion on gender issues and translation is certainly necessary in Italy like elsewhere in the world, but from theory to practice there is a step and probably in Italy it is a difficult one for various reasons. The first reason is economic and it is linked to the publishing market; the second reason is related to the idea of translation itself and to the importance of the notion of fidelity in the

translating process; the third reason is more personal and connected to the translator's division between public and private role, that is to say, translators are sometimes feminist thinkers known for their participation in feminist causes, but they seem convinced that their work as translators is something different and completely detached from the political position they can profess in interviews or other forms of writing like newspaper articles and scholarly essays. Translation is a hard, erudite, passionate and difficult form of work, but it seems to be detached from a political use of gender issues in language; therefore, we do not find a clear feminist position.

I will now refer to two texts which have been translated into Italian and where gender issues can be seen to come to the fore: the first is Jeannette Winterson's novel *Written on the Body* (1994) and the second is Michele Roberts's *Daughters of the House* (1992). The choice of these texts is due to the authors' willingness to make the reader think about gender issues. This is done in a very different way: on the one hand, Winterson is a lesbian writer who in all her works explores the relationship between reader and text and between language and gender representation; on the other hand, Roberts has always acknowledged her feminist political stance and admitted it is a central part of her work. We know that the translator should have a competence on the author, on her works, thus the translator should do some "archive work" in order to interpret the text with as many elements as possible.

In the first case, Winterson creates an anonymous and ungendered narrator who obliges the reader to confront himself/herself with the logic of a binary gender system and of gender performativity. It is an ideological text because it forces the reader to transcend established norms of gender expectations (Kauer 1998), and for the translator it is a challenging enterprise especially because the passage from English into Italian is gender marked and the translator must choose between a clear feminine or masculine noun and related agreements. The text has been analysed as an example of feminist translation and the ability to keep the gender ambiguity of the original. We must say that the text possesses many elements which could make the translator opt for a feminist translation: the subject (it is a romance which criticizes gender perceptions in society, and it is a romance among women); the language utilized plays with gender roles; and the awareness that the author is a feminist and introduces feminist discourses in all her texts. Since the translator is first and foremost a reader and an interpreter of the text, if he/she knows something about Winterson's work and life he/she will probably read the story as a lesbian romance. In addition to this, I believe there are some hints in the

text which make the reader think it is a woman: for example, when the narrator compares himself/herself to Alice in Wonderland (p. 10), to Lauren Bacall (p. 41), or to a convent virgin (p. 94). Personally, I would find it difficult to imagine a male narrator making these choices. However, this does not change the choices that must be made when translating an ungendered narrator; so, even if the translator supposes it is a woman, he/she has to maintain the gender ambiguity in the target text in order to do what a good translator does, that is, try to make the text as similar as possible to the original and to the writer's intentions. The translator Giovanna Marrone, who has never declared herself to be a feminist translator, carries out her work very well, opting for different strategies that can maintain the gender ambiguity taking into account the social, historical, economic and cultural specificities of the represented context (Winterson 1995). If the ambiguity of the text is kept in the target text, I believe we cannot define this translation as feminist, but as a translation which focuses on the main element of the text, that is, the uncertainty about the narrator's gender. Scholars have underlined how through different strategies Marrone maintains this gender ambiguity (Casagranda 2013; Cordisco and Di Sabato 2010; Leonardi 2013):

1. the Italian translator managed to successfully find an easy way out to the ambiguity problem by opting for Italian gender-indefinite equivalents:
   Her lover runs her finger (ST): *L'amante fa scorrere un dito* (TT): The lovers runs a finger (backtranslation [BT]);

2. the translator takes out the verb "to trust" and opts for ungendered synonyms which require no gender agreement:
   I can tell you by now that you are wondering whether I can be trusted as a narrator (ST): *A questo punto vi chiederete senza dubbio se sono affidabile nel mio ruolo di voce narrante* (TT): At this point you may well wonder if I am reliable in my role as the narrator's voice (BT);

3. the translator adds a substantive which does not reveal the gender:
   I was the only one breathing the air (ST): *Nella consapevolezza di essere l'unica persona a respirare quell'aria* (TT): In the awareness of being the only person breathing the air (BT);

4. since participles in Italian are gender marked, the translator substitutes with a substantive:

You're bored my friend said (ST): *Noia, ecco di cosa si tratta* (TT): Boredom, that's what it is (BT);

5. the translator uses a periphrasis:
   I felt reprieved and virtuous (ST): *Provai una sensazione di sollievo e mi sentii un esempio di virtù* (TT): I experienced a sense of relief and felt a paragon of virtue (BT);

6. the translator opts for impersonal forms:
   I was exhausted (ST) : *Era stressante* (TT): It was stressful (BT);

7. the translator changes from passive to active forms:
   Did I want to be led? (ST): *Volevo avere una guida?* (TT): Did I want to have a guide? (BT).

These examples clearly demonstrate how the translator chooses to maintain the gender ambiguity at the core of the novel; however, we cannot say this choice is made for a feminist action. Marrone follows Winterson's text and her will to conceal the narrator's gender; she, therefore, decides that she has to maintain as far as possible the central element of the narration. However, in so doing, Marrone demonstrates that it is possible to shape and change a gender-marked language like Italian if we want to translate a text from a feminist perspective. Probably unwittingly, she gives us some hints about the possibility of feminizing the Italian language, if and when as translators we want to deconstruct gender clichés and make the feminine visible in language.

If we look at the second example, the Italian translation of Roberts's *Daughters of the House* (Roberts 1998a), we find something different, that is the decision to render the text less "feminised". First of all, the translator knows that she is dealing with a feminist author because Roberts is an overtly feminist writer and has always acknowledged the importance and influence of feminist thought and movement in her writing (Roberts 1998b; Schiavi 1987).[9] Moreover, Roberts is an author who focuses on language and the ability as a writer to create her own language, what she defines as "the fabric of language" (Roberts 1998b, 25). The utilisation of language as a means to unveil the various aspects of a fictional reality is linked to Roberts's notion of the writer as someone who has the duty to be honest with the reader, catch all the meanings and not shut himself/herself

[9] Giuliana Schiavi, Interview "Michèle Roberts" *Writers in Conversation*, 16 Videocassette, (London: Institute of Contemporary Art Video, 1987).

in the ivory tower. The story of this novel centres on two women: Thérèse, who is a nun coming back home after twenty years in a convent and decides to write her own autobiography entitled "Story of a Soul", where she wants to unveil her family past, and her cousin Léonie, who, unlike Thérèse, prefers to forget events of the past that can be painful to recover and can change the perspective on their present and also future. Léonie, for example, avoids the knowledge of the room where the Jewish family was hidden from the Nazis but later found and shot. *Daughters of the House* is a novel based on childhood memories and the characters' tales about the traumatic experiences and discoveries as adolescents (White 1993). As a matter of fact, talking about the writing of this novel, Roberts affirmed that she was haunted by "news stories in the papers about the resurgence of Fascism in Europe, the desecration of graves in Jewish cemeteries in France, the red swastikas daubed on the headstones" (Roberts 1998b, 194). As a response to this, Roberts decided to represent a period of history through two women's points of view, and to interweave personal and public memory in the novel. As a matter of fact, the author said she was partially influenced by an urge to tell about her family past during the war in France (Roberts 1998b, 195):

> I began to think about my parents' history during the war, and that of the French side of my family who had endured the Nazi occupation in Normandy. Chucked out of their house. I began to wonder about how history was recorded. Could little girls be responsible historians or were they inevitably unreliable narrators? The feminine view is often dismissed as narrow. I liked the idea of exploiting that, of using a feminine peep-hole and perspective, of letting something apparently little (girls' perceptions) stand for, swivel towards, something big (the suffering of France in the war).

For Roberts the recovery of the past through women's voices is founded on a feminine way of using language and this gives considerable food for thought for the translator. Moreover, Roberts's prose is highly poetical, it possesses a mystical and religious rhythm that is reminiscent of the writings of famous mystical women writers such as Margery Kempe or Julian of Norwich. Therefore, it is not easy to translate. The author makes it clear how her use of language is strictly connected with her religious education and her mother when she says: "These rhythms of language, and particularly those of the psalms, are inside me now like my bones. I took them in like my mother's milk" (Roberts 1998b, 66). Roberts is feminist also in her self-portrayal as a writer. In her essay on "Tradition and the Individual Talent by T. S. Eliot", the author affirms that she had no female

model for becoming a poet, and she had to discover and invent a tradition that allowed her to be a poet. She suggests: "I had to imagine a maternal body made of words and milk and music and permissiveness and fierceness and sweetness and power and and and. This invisible woman became my muse" (Roberts 1998b, 121). Roberts's words clearly recall French Feminism theories and the notion of *écriture féminine* and, therefore, prepares the translator for a translation which should emphasise the notion of feminine language (Parker 2000).

The Italian translation of the novel, *Figlie della casa* was published in 1998 by Editrice Luciana Tufani, a small feminist publishing house, a publisher, therefore, that could be interested and allow a feminist translation. In the last decades Luciana Tufani has published only women's works of different historical periods in order to make them visible on the publishing market. The translator is Giorgia Sensi, a well known translator who mainly translates poetry and believes that to know the author and get in touch with him/her as a translator is an important aspect of achieving a better understanding of his/her work.

In the Italian translation we find a postface to the text where the reader can find an interview with the author carried out by the translator. It is an important paratextual element which gives visibility to the translator while offering a key to the reading of the novel. The interview reveals information about the novel, the choice of the themes used and the linguistic choices made by Roberts. The Italian translation is certainly well done and very poetic, but Sensi fails to present to the reader what is visible and central in the text, that is, the pervasiveness of feminine language. Probably, she preferred to give priority to a more accessible reading of the text for an Italian reader rather than to a femininisation of the text that would have rendered the author's choices in the ST. I want to refer to a specific aspect which becomes clear when we compare ST and TT, that is to say, how the use of the feminine pronoun and its repetition so central in the original text is undoubtedly lost in the target text. This choice clearly changes the reader's perception of Roberts's use of the feminine voice in the Italian text:

Example 1.

> S.T. **Thérèse** lay flat on the floor, face down, hands outstretched. **She** lay in the shape of a cross. As still as possible. Eyelashes tickling the floor, mouth kissing its varnished whorls. **She** shut **her** eyes and concentrated on the four last things listed by the catechism: death, judgment, heaven and hell. […] Thérèse performed as many acts of mortification daily as she could think of. […] **She, Thérèse**, would storm heaven to make sure that didn't happen. So **she** jumped under the cold shower every morning. **She**

took **her** coffee black, without sugar. **She** asked for a second helping of spinach. **She** allowed **herself** to read for no more than half an hour day. When **she** sat down **she** didn't let **herself** rest against the back of the chair. Under **her** breath, thousands of times a day, **she** invoked the Holy Name of Jesus. Clearly **she** heard the crackling of the flames, saw **her** mother's flesh scorch and blacken. **She** shrivelled up, fell forwards, like a paper doll. Cancer was a fire. It ate **her** mother away. Thérèse did not possess a hair shirt, or a belt spiked with rusty nails, or a scourge. So **she** lay on the floor in the shape of a cross, and prayed (pp.75-76).

T.T. *Thérèse era sdraiata supina sul pavimento, a braccia aperte. A forma di croce. Immobile. Le ciglia sfioravano il pavimento, la bocca ne baciava i ghirigori verniciati. Chiuse gli occhi e si concentrò sulle ultime quattro cose elencate dal catechismo: morte, giudizio, inferno, paradiso. [...] Thérèse faceva ogni giorno tutti gli atti di mortificazione che le venivano in mente. [...]* ***Lei, Thérèse****, avrebbe fatto irruzione in paradiso per accertarsi che non succedesse. Così ogni mattina si infilava sotto la doccia fredda. Prendeva il caffè nero, senza zucchero. Chiedeva degli altri spinaci. Si concedeva non più di una mezz'ora al giorno di lettura. Quando si sedeva, non si appoggiava allo schienale della sedia. Sottovoce, mille volte al giorno, invocava il Sacro Nome di Gesù. Sentiva chiaramente il crepitio delle fiamme, vedeva la carne di sua madre bruciacchiata e annerita. Si accartocciava, cadeva in avanti, come una bambola di carta. Il cancro era un fuoco. Divorava* ***sua*** *madre. Thérèse non possedeva un cilicio, o una cintura munita di chiodi arrugginiti, o una frusta. Così stava sdraiata sul pavimento in forma di croce e pregava* (pp. 87-88).

In this passage it is clear that the use of punctuation together with the choice to insert short sentences creates a specific reading rhythm which mirrors the content, that is the idea of punishment Thérèse inflicts on herself following her Catholic ideology. This rhythm is lost in the TT in favour of a linguistic fluidity in Italian, but what is more striking in the translator's choice is the way the use of the feminine pronoun is not repeated in the TT. Sensi leaves the pronoun *lei* in only one sentence "*Lei, Thérèse, avrebbe fatto irruzione in paradiso per accertarsi che non succedesse*", and leaves the possessive adjective only in the expression "*Divorava sua madre*". The Italian reader does not perceive how the character is represented through the repetition of the feminine form and how the relationship mother/daughter, also sustained through a "feminised' language", permeates all the text.

Example 2

S.T. Léonie had **her** first period on the day that Madeleine finished replying to all letters of condolence sent to Louis. […] **She** kitted **her** out in a belt and thick wad of gauze. This felt soft, rather comfortable, a bulky caress between the legs. Léonie held **herself** straight so that no one should know her secret. **She** felt different but didn't know how to express it. Not walking around. Not more grown-up. It was like putting on a costume for a play, or running in the three-legged race. […] Léonie strutted stiff-legged like a cowboy. **She** felt wetness leave **her** and sink into the towel. Thérèse didn't seem to have noticed. Léonie wondered if **she** were extremely pale or just moderately so. […] **Her** stomach clenched itself and ached. Between **her** legs the wetness gushed again (p.122).

T.T. *Léonie ebbe il **suo** primo ciclo mestruale il giorno che Madeleine finì di rispondere a tutte le lettere di condoglianze che Louis aveva ricevuto. [...] La fornì di una cintura e di uno spesso tampone di garza. Era morbido, abbastanza confortevole, una carezza voluminosa tra le gambe. Léonie **si** teneva dritta in modo che nessuno si accorgesse del suo segreto. Si sentiva diversa ma non sapeva come esprimerlo. Non come camminare con una ferita. Non come essere diventata più grande. Era come mettersi un costume per una commedia, o fare la corsa a tre gambe in coppie. [...] Léonie camminava dritta con le gambe rigide come un cow-boy. Sentiva il bagnato colare e impregnare il tampone. Thérèse non sembrava essersene accorta. Léonie si chiese se era molto pallida o solo un pò. [...] Le si contrasse la pancia, le faceva male. Sentì un altro fiotto tra le gambe* (pp. 141-42).

Reading in parallel the ST and the TT, it is evident that personal pronouns are used to valorize the feminine body, portrayed as a suffering body because of menstruation. The author describes the feminine body and the physical/psychological response to this important moment in a girl's life. While the centrality of the feminine body is maintained in the TT, the repetitive use of the possessive adjectives and of the pronouns is not transferred in the TT. The sentence "her stomach clenched itself and ached" is transformed into a passive form where the pronominal particle *le* is repeated twice: "*Le si contrasse la pancia, le faceva male*". The translator could have used the pronoun *lei* for the original "she" repeated in the various sentences in order to recreate the same effect as in the ST, but has decided, possibly for a greater fluidity of the text, not to do so.

Similarly in the chapter entitled "The Pillows", where Roberts represents Thérèse's anorexic body, the translator opts for a similar choice by omitting the feminine forms:

Example 3.

> S.T. I'm not hungry. **If she let it**, the food would jump into **her** mouth and swell **her** up to **grossness**. **She** hated the way **her** skirts strained at the seams, the way **her** thighs lolled on **her** chair, rubbed together when **she** walked. **She** hated **her** stomach which stuck out as though **she** were pregnant however hard **she** tried to suck **it** in. **She** hated **her** breasts. Ugly fat cow, **she** told **herself** over and over again. It's puppyfat, it's just a phase, Madeleine had dummed to **her** unhelpfully: I was just like that at your age. Madeleine said now: I hope you're not going on a diet. (p. 73)
>
> T.T. *Non ho fame. Se l'avesse lasciato fare, il cibo le sarebbe saltato in bocca, gonfiandola in modo volgare. Odiava le gonne che tiravano alle cuciture, le cosce che si allargavano sulla sedia, che si strofinavano quando camminava. Odiava la pancia che sporgeva come se fosse incinta per quanto si sforzasse di tenerla in dentro. Odiava il suo seno. Brutta vacca grassa, si ripeteva in continuazione. È grasso di bambina, passerà, Madeleine le aveva sussurrato senza riuscire a convincerla, ero così anch'io alla tua età. Madeleine ora disse: spero che non ti metterai a dieta* (p. 86).

The translator here uses the pronominal particle of the Italian language (*gonfiandola*; *convincerla*) and she makes a significant shift in the translation of "if she let it", translated as *Se l'avesse lasciato fare* emphasising even more Thérèse's idea of control over her body. Similarly, the lexical choices in Italian echo Roberts's description of the anorexic's perception of the body. If, on the one hand, the translator transmits the theme of the difficult relationship with nourishment and the female malady (Sceats 1996), she decides not to adjust her translation to Roberts's "hyper-feminine" language by opting for a translation which reflects a more common use and once again a fluidity in the TT.

Conclusions

The examples from this second text demonstrate that even when confronted with a feminist text, which clearly focuses on gender issues and is written utilising a "language in the feminine", the translator decides to opt for a translation that gives priority to language fluidity in the target language. The translator's ethics seems directed to the text as something detached from the author's life and thought, following a more traditional way of presenting a foreign text to an Italian audience. The Italian translation clearly outlines the main issues of the novel; thus the author's core message and the main themes are trasmitted in the target language, but the TT does not visualize Roberts's work on language to make the

feminine visible in the chinks of the patriarchal language. The translator's political stance is subdued to an idea of translation ethics and fidelity to the original text.

If in literary texts one of the ways to carry out a feminist practice is through paratextual elements, the translator here could have inserted in the postface a discussion of the text from a linguistic perspective, emphasising how Roberts's feminine language could have been translated utilising feminine forms, while underlining that this was not done because of a possible difficulty in reading the text in a less traditional manner. In this way, she could have used the paratextual element to introduce the issue of gender and language in order to make the reader understand what is implied by one linguistic choice or another in a text where the author openly plays with language and gender stereotypes and where the characters are portrayed through a "feminine language". This could have been a practice of useful self-reflexiveness since it implies a more acceptable action than the direct working on the language of the text in a context like Italy, which is clearly not ready for this kind of feminist rewriting/reading.

The problems are not the grammatical, semantic, or syntactical differences in the transfer from English into Italian, but the main point is a cultural one. Feminist translations are thought out and adapted according to the social and cultural ground where they are born and grow. Generally speaking, in Italy translators tend to mould their translations according to the paradigm of dominant discourses. Even translators who know about feminist translation practices and who are feminist (because of their writing, political activity, social visibility) do not dare to publish a feminist translation. However, this does not mean that it is not important to maintain the political aim of feminist translation. If we want to make the common reader aware of gender issues, probably a mediating action is necessary. We can certainly find a political space for "protest" to present to the public something that is different from what they are used to. In the Italian context, this is probably seen as an "over interpretation" as Umberto Eco (1992) said, but to do so would allow the translator to make gender issues visible in translation. Politics can certainly go hand in hand with ethics without manipulating and changing the author's intention, especially when we are dealing with feminist texts and authors, and readers can discover that a language that reflects gender ideology can be read in a pleasurable way.

References

Agorni, Mirella. 2002. *Translating Italy for the Eighteenth Century. Women, Translation, and Travel Writing, 1739–1797*. Manchester: St. Jerome Press.

Akbatur, Arzu. 2011. "Turkish Women Writers in English Translation." *MonTI* 3: 161-180.

Álvarez, Román and Carmen África Vidal, eds. 1996. *Translation/ Power/Subversion*. Clevedon: Multilingual Matters.

Bassnett, Susan. 2005. "Translation, Gender and Otherness." *Perspectives. Studies in Translatology* 13 (2): 83–90.

Braidotti, Rosi. 1994. *Nomadic Subjects*. New York: Columbia University Press.

Brodzki, Bella. 2007. *Can These Bones Live? Translation, Survival and Cultural Memory*. Stanford: Stanford University Press.

Casagranda, Mirko. 2013. "Bridging the Genders? Transgendering Translation Theory and Practice." In *Bridging the Gap Between Theory and Practice in Translation and Gender Studies*, edited by Eleonora Federici and Vanessa Leonardi, 112-121. Newcastle: Cambridge Scholars Publishing.

Castro, Olga. 2009. "(Re)examinando horizontes en los estudios feministas de traducción: hacia una tercera ola?" *MonTI* 1: 59–86.

Cordisco, Mikaela and Bruna Di Sabato. 2010. "Questioni di genere: difficoltà e soluzioni traduttive nel passaggio dalla lingua inglese alla lingua italiana." In *Tradurre in pratica. Riflessioni, esperienze, testimonianze*, edited by Flora De Giovanni and Bruna Di Sabato, 141-162. Napoli: ESI.

De Marco, Marcella. 2012. *Audiovisual Translation through a Gender Lens.* Amsterdam/New York: Rodopi.

Delisle, Jean. 2002. *Portraits de traductrices*. Ottawa: Artois Presse Université.

Dow, Gillian. 2007. *Translators, Interpreters, Mediators: Women Writers 1700–1900*. Oxford: Peter Lang.

Eco, Umberto. 1992. *Interpretation and Over Interpretation*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Ergun, Emek. 2010. "Bridging Across Feminist Translation and Sociolinguistics." *Language and Linguistics Compass* 4: 307-318.

Federici, Eleonora. 2011a. "The Visibility of the Woman Translator." In *Translating Gender*, edited by Eleonora Federici, 79-91. Bern: Peter Lang.

Federici, Eleonora, ed. 2011b. *Translating Gender*. Bern: Peter Lang.

—. 2013. “Gender and Translation: A European Map.” *Transpotcross* 2013 (2). http://www.academia.edu/29638578/Gender_and_Translation_A_European_Map_in_Transpotcross_2013_n._2_online_

Federici, Eleonora and Vanessa Leonardi. 2012. “Using and Abusing Gender in Translation. The Case of Virginia Woolf’s *A Room of One’s Own* Translated into Italian.” *Quaderns, Revista de traducciò* 19: 183-198.

Federici, Eleonora and Vanessa Leonardi, eds. 2013. *Bridging the Gap between. Theory and Practice in Translation and Gender Studies*. Newcastle: Cambridge Scholars Publishing.

Friedman, Susan Stanford. 1996. “Beyond Gynocriticism and Gynesis: the Geographics of Identity and the Future of Feminist Criticism.” *Tulsa Studies in Women’s Literature* 15:13–40.

Godard, Barbara. 1985. “The Translator as She.” In *The Feminine: Women and Words/Les femmes et les mots*, edited by Ann Dybikowski, Victoria Freeman, Daphne Marlatt, Barbara Pulling and Betsy Warland, 193–198. Edmonton: Longspoon Press.

Godayol, Pilar. 2000. *Espais de frontera. Gènere i traducció*. Vic: Eumo Editorial.

—. 2012. *La traducciò i els estudis de genere*, special issue of *Quaderns Revista de Traducciò* 19.

Godayol, Pilar and Montserrat Bacardi, eds. 2011. *Diccionari de la Traducciò Catalana*. Barcelona, Vic: Eumo Editorial.

Haraway, Donna. 1988. “Situated Knowledges: The Science Question in Feminism and the Privilege of Partial Perspective.” *Feminist Studies*, 14 (3): 575–99.

Henitiuk, Valerie. 1999. “Translating Woman: Reading the Female through the male.” *Meta* 44: 469-484.

Johnson, Barbara. 1989. *A World of Difference*. Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press.

Kauer, Ute. 1998. “Narration and Gender: the Role of the First-Person Narrator in Jeanette Winterson’s *Written on the Body*.” In *‘I’m telling you Stories’: Jeanette Winterson and the Politics of Reading,* edited by Helena Grice and Tim Wood, 41-50. Amsterdam: Rodopi.

Koş, Ayşenaz. 2007. “Analysis of the Paratexts of Simone de Beauvoir’s Works in Turkish.” In *Translation Research Projects 1*, edited by Anthony Pym and Alexander Perekrestenko, 59-68. Tarragona: Intercultural Studies Group. http://www.intercultural.urv.cat/media/upload/domain_317/arxius/TP1/TP1_fullbook.pdf.

Kraskowska, Ewa. 2006. “Gender Discourse in Slavic Literature, Literary Criticism and Theory at the Turn of the 21st Century.” *Neohelicon* 33: 119-128.

—. 2008. “Feminism Polish Style: Our Own Tradition or a Borrowed One?” http://womenswriting.fi/files/2008/10/kraskowska.pdf.

—. 2010. “On the Circulation of Feminist Discourse via Translation (V. Woolf, S. de Beauvoir, J. Butler).” *Ruch Literacki* 1:1-14.

Krontiris, Tina. 1992. *Oppositional Voices. Women as Writers and Translators of Literature in the English Renaissance*. Routledge: London and New York.

Leonardi, Vanessa. 2013. “Can we Translate Ambiguity?” In *Bridging the Gap Between Theory and Practice in Translation and Gender Studies,* edited by Eleonora Federici and Vanessa Leonardi, 63-74. Newcastle: Cambridge Scholars Publishing.

Maier, Carol and Françoise Massardier-Kenney. 1996. “Gender in/and Literary Translation.” *Translation Perspectives IX*, edited by Marilyn Gaddis Rose, 225-242. New York: State University New York.

Pantuchowicz, Agnieszka. 1998. “Przekładanie feminizmu czyli o mówieniu 'tak' [Translating Feminism, or on Saying 'Yes'].” In *Przekład artystyczny a współczesne teorie translatologiczne*, edited by P. Fast, 177-185. Katowice: “Śląsk” Wydawnictwo Naukowe.

Parker, Emma. 2000. “From House to Home: A Kristevan Reading of Michele Roberts’s *Daughters of the House*.” *Critique: Studies in Contemporary Fiction* 41 (2): 153-73.

Postigo Pinaza, Encarnación and Adela Martínez García, eds. 2014. *Rethinking Women and Translation in the Third Millenium*, special issue of *Women’s Studies International Forum* 42.

Rich, Adrienne. 1987. “Notes Toward a Politics of Location.” In *Blood, Bread and Poetry: Selected Prose 1979−1985*, 210-231. London: Virago.

Roberts, Michèle. 1992. *Daughters of the House*. London: Virago.

—. 1998a. *Figlie della casa*, translated by Giorgia Sensi. Ferrara: Luciana Tufani Editrice.

—. 1998b. *Food, Sex and God: Inspiration and Writing*. London: Virago.

Santaemilia, José, ed. 2005. *Gender, Sex and Translation: the Manipulation of Identities*. Manchester: St Jerome.

Santaemilia, José. 2013. “Gender and Translation: a New European Tradition?” In in *Bridging the Gap Between Theory and Practice in Translation and Gender Studies,* edited by Eleonora Federici and Vanessa Leonardi, 4-15. Newcastle: Cambridge Scholar Publishing.

Santaemilia, José and Luise von Flotow, eds. 2011. *Woman and Translation: Geographies, Voices and Identities MonTI* 3. http://dti.ua.es/es/monti-english/monti-contact.html.

Sardin, Pascale, ed. 2009. "Traduire le genre: femmes en traduction." *Palimpsestes* 22.

Sceats, Sarah. 1996. "Eating the Evidence: Women, Power and Food." In *Image and Power: Women in Fiction in the Twentieth Century*, edited by Sarah Sceats and Gail Cunningham, 117-27. London, Longman.

Simon, Sherry. 1996. *Gender in Translation: Cultural Identity and the Politics of Transmission*. London and New York: Routledge.

Vidal, Carmen África. 1998. *El futuro de la traducciòn*. Valencia: Institucion Alfonso el Magnanimo.

von Flotow, Luise. 1997. *Translation and Gender. Translating in the 'Era of Feminism'*. Ottawa: University of Ottawa Press.

White, Rosemary. 1993. "Five Novels as History: the Lives and Times of Michèle Roberts's Prose Fiction." *Bête Noire* 14/15: 144-57.

Winterson, Jeannette. 1994. *Written on the Body.* New York: Vintage.

—. 1995. *Scritto sul corpo*, translated by Giovanna Marrone. Milan: Mondadori.

Wolf, Michaela. 2005. "The Creation of A 'Room of One's Own': Feminist Translators as Mediators Between Cultures and Genders." In *Gender, Sex and Translation: the Manipulation of Identities,* edited by José Santaemilia, 15-25. Manchester: St Jerome.

Woolf, Virginia. 2003. *Un cuarto propio*, translated by María Milagros Rivera Garretas. Barcelona: Horas y Horas.

CHAPTER NINE

TRANSLATION AND IDEOLOGY: THE CONSTRUCTION OF IDENTITY IN MAGAZINES AIMED AT WOMEN[1]

IRENE RODRÍGUEZ ARCOS[2]

Introduction

For some decades now, we have been witnessing a process of globalisation thanks to the development of new technologies and the Internet, which in turn has favoured an unprecedented hybridisation of cultures and identities. This new economic, political and social background has radically changed the way in which we understand a number of fields, including both Gender Studies and Translation Studies. This ability to eliminate distances and blur borders allows the almost instantaneous movement of people, goods and discourses which, in their entirety, become a melting pot which represents the alterity and diversity characteristic of the reality in which we now live (Bauman 1998, Beck 2008). In the present chapter, we will mostly address those movements related to discourses and ideologies, taking into consideration that some voices can be heard all around the globe, in particular those of the Anglo-Saxon elite (Vidal Claramonte 2010), and the fact that some others do not even have the ability to speak or, rather, that such discourses are overlooked by the institutions which govern present international agendas (Spivak 1988). In this sense, this so-called globalisation is not a uniform,

[1] Research financed by the Ministry of Economy and Competitiveness of the Spanish Government, in partner with the European Regional Development Fund, as part of the project *"Violencia simbólica y traducción: retos en la representación de identidades fragmentadas en la sociedad global"* (FFI2015-66516-P; MINECO/FEDER, UE).

[2] The author also receives financing from Castilla y León regional government in partner with the European Social Fund (ORDEN EDU/1006/2015).

balanced phenomenon; it involves incredibly complex negotiations of cultures and identities which mostly occur in asymmetrical situations of power between the dominant and the oppressed (Vidal Claramonte 2010). Ultimately, global dominant flows usually find a place in local contexts (Beck 2008, Appiah 2006), in everyday life — it is possible to buy *Coca-Cola*, *Nike* clothes or a *McDonald's* hamburger in the most unexpected of places.

The media, which are fully aware of the power they can exert over the world population, know how to make use of these new, readily-available globalisation tools, carefully selecting which discourses societies will consume, and leaving aside those which are deemed irrelevant, or which may jeopardise the capitalist system created by the elites (Bielsa and Bassnett 2009). Publicity, one of the media's most powerful persuasive tools in spreading their ideologies, is employed to homogenise public opinion through international advertising campaigns, a process which guarantees the perpetuation of consumption. In this study, our objective is to focus on the current messages spread by a particular genre of publication: printed magazines aimed at women in Spain. In the following pages we will analyse both the existing close relationship between advertising and these magazines and the mechanisms employed in order to impose certain discourses and models of female identity which perpetuate the consumption of beauty and cosmetic products. As representations of global media, these magazines need to translate and adapt their contents in order to be present at a local level, that is to say, in a number of different countries in a multitude of languages. Understanding how this multimodal, hybrid and persuasive discourse is constructed is an essential stage prior to the translation process, which bears specific characteristics to the media background: for instance, it is common to observe enormous deviations between source and target texts, usually due to large omissions of original contents (Bielsa and Bassnett 2009). In the case of interviews—the subject of study of the present paper—it is relevant to remember the double mediation of texts: firstly, regarding the modulation derived from transforming words from the spoken into the written mode and, secondly, the modulation implied by the translation process (Hernández Guerrero 2010, 221).

In an era of globalisation and mass-communication, and despite its relevance, there remains an urgent need for research into translation and media (Bielsa and Bassnett 2009, Valdeón 2012, Hernández Guerrero 2009), and into advertising translation. Those studies which do exist are usually limited to the techniques and strategies employed in these contexts, but pay little attention to the domain of ethics, a field that cannot

be ignored any longer. Following Baker (2006, 26), we understand that no translator or interpreter "can escape responsibility for the narratives they elaborate and promote through their translation and interpreting work". Translators become globalising agents when they spread ideologies at a global level, and in some cases these discourses promote conflict rather than acceptance and respect for different oppressed groups. Accordingly, translators must be extremely careful when analysing the source systems, as they may be somehow adhering to certain ideologies and helping to strengthen them. For this reason, they should be aware of which messages they help circulate and the ethical and social consequences which may be derived from their work.

In this chapter, we will deal with discourses aimed at women and how some of them can be detrimental for the social construction of the female gender. We will examine how, through the use of English as the current *lingua franca* and the employment of extremely subtle marketing strategies, editors and advertisers design and impose models of identity which are difficult to achieve. We will also de-construct the signs which form part of these complex mechanisms, not only in relation to translation but also to ensure a full understanding of whose voice is being projected.

The imperialism of English as the current *lingua franca*

Since the Second World War, English has been consolidating itself as the current *lingua franca*, a global communication tool employed in all international institutions which has also become a part of everyday life (Páez Rodríguez 2013). There can be no doubt that English is, first and foremost, the language of science: around 80% of the journals indexed in *Scopus* are published in English (van Weijen 2012). In other words, as Montes Fernández (2007, 33) argues, studies published in other languages will largely be ignored by the scientific community. In fields such as new technologies and computing (and now increasingly with the development of social networks), the use of English is absolutely established; but its presence has also permeated domains like the fashion and beauty industries, gastronomy and sports. In our current globalised world, regardless of our travel destinations, English remains a useful communication tool.

This imperialism of the English language is closely related to the current hegemony of Anglo-Saxon countries in the international order. Montes Fernández (2007, 33) states that their economic supremacy is reflected by the sum of their Gross Domestic Products which is twice the sum of those from Arabic, Spanish or Chinese-speaking countries. English is the voice of the "winners" of globalisation (Beck 2008), of "tourists" as

opposed to "vagabonds" (Bauman 1998). In Cronin's (2006, 54) terms, "language provides privileged access to the community. Language itself becomes a metonymic representation of the culture as a whole. To truly understand the language is to fully know the culture". Thus, in this case, accessing English is synonymous with accessing the language of power.

Given its supremacy in the current asymmetrical globalisation process where the United States is the leading world power, the use of the English language is understood to be far from fortuitous, especially in the field of advertising. In the same line as Bielsa and Bassnett (2009), Baker (2006), Potter (1996) and Vidal Claramonte (2007, 2010, 2012), we argue that the use of language is never neutral or innocent, that each communicative act is intentional and that it takes place immersed in (asymmetric) power relationships. This is particularly true in the case of messages disseminated by the media and advertisers, messages which function as texts designed to persuade and to homogenise public opinion in regard to certain issues. The transmission of ideas is so quick that audiences do not have time to process or rationalise them. Even if antagonistic discourses come together (Bauman 1999), it is not a mutual communicative exchange; advertisers are well aware of how to appeal to emotions (Montes Fernández 2007) in order to make audiences perceive the narratives being sold as rational and logical (Baker 2006; *cf.* Barthes 1972). As we will see in the next section, women's magazines work in the same way as advertising campaigns, and every sign employed—this includes non-verbal signs such as colours, images, font types, faces and gestures made by models, etc.—has a very concrete function (Vidal Claramonte 2012) and plays a specific role in transmitting the desired ideology to the audience. In this way, we aim to highlight that the use of the English language in a Spanish-speaking country (where not everyone will understand it) is a carefully chosen non-translation option which, in turn, becomes a form of translation itself (Vidal Claramonte 2012; Páez Rodríguez 2013; Montes Fernández 2007).

According to Vidal Claramonte (2012), Montes Fernández (2007) and Bueno García (2000), this non-translation strategy is employed when designers want the language to become a symbol of the complex semiotic system behind the execution of many advertising campaigns. These signs are used in connection with existing stereotypes about countries and the emotions associated with them—by Spanish audiences, in this case—although these stereotypes about countries and cultures may vary depending on the target audiences (Montes Fernández 2007). Bueno García (2000, 135-136) argues that French is the language of sophistication, sensuality and romanticism; Italian is associated with musicality, the male fashion industry and love; Nordic languages are a synonym for standards of

quality, and English calls to mind dynamism, vitality, freedom, technology and modernity—an association which becomes logical when we take into consideration that this is the language of Hollywood, of economics and business, whose hegemony is exercised in the current climate of globalisation (Páez Rodríguez 2013). These values are associated with the success, freedom and, ultimately, power of the Anglo-American culture and create a strong symbolic effect on the public, who end up consuming identical products which, in turn, homogenise their own opinions, interests and preferences (Montes Fernández 2007). In this sense, the Spanish Language Academy (RAE) promoted a video defending the use of the Spanish language in advertisements instead of the dominant English, emphasising that audiences have been made to believe that English "sounds better", and criticising the fact that the Spanish-speaking public does not necessarily understand some untranslated terms.[3]

These effects are created with the help of various mechanisms. Some of these are too subtle to be noticed at first glance, but others, such as language, are always present, perhaps because they are too visible for audiences to realise that they conceal other ideologies than that which is most prominent (*cf.* Barthes 1972), a point taken up in the methodology section. Before describing the corpus and methodology, it is necessary first to explain the relationship between women's magazines and advertising companies, in order to understand the nature of this hidden ideology; that is to say, the ideology that is actually being consumed and adhered to.

Advertising and women's magazines: a symbiotic relationship

We have previously mentioned that women's magazines and advertising campaigns work jointly in order to transmit certain ideologies. The case of women's magazines is an exceptional one in which the existing relationship is extremely close. These forms of printed media need funding and, at the same time, beauty products need promotion and advertising. As a result, they have found in each other the perfect match to make sure that their system of consumption works effectively.

Women's magazines provide companies with the ideal opportunity for advertising: they not only resemble catalogues portraying the latest trends in fashion and beauty—this explains the incredibly high percentage of

[3] The mentioned campaign can be watched in the following link: http://elpais.com/elpais/2016/05/18/videos/1463563077_502257.html [Accessed: 18th October 2016]

adverts included—, but they also have the ability to reach a great number of readers. Furthermore, women's magazines need funding, a reality which leads them to include as many adverts as possible (Wolf 1991).

However, the truth is that this system is more complex than merely publishing advertisements: these magazines need to make sure that their readers continue to consume beauty products. This is achieved by perpetuating the continuous dissatisfaction of women in relation to their bodies by creating unrealistic standards and encouraging women to strive to achieve them—e.g. to look like the modified and extremely thin bodies used in advertising campaigns. This cycle is achieved by first convincing women that their bodies are imperfect (wrinkles, cellulite, skin spots, etc.) but that they can always be improved in order to achieve happiness and success (Vidal Claramonte 2012; Gallego 2013; Wolf 1991). This ideology aims to lower women's self-esteem to the extent that they finally experience the acquisition of these beauty products as a liberating process (Vidal Claramonte 2003).

Despite the efficiency of advertising campaigns, women's magazines go several steps further in order to transmit this message: among the contents included in the magazine which are supposedly not explicit advertising[4], we can find beauty tips, weight-loss tricks and fashion trends which impose a very concrete model of female identity. Such tips and hints also work as an authoritative voice considered by readers to set standards in terms of how to dress and look on any given occasion (from work interviews to going to the supermarket, etc.). Interestingly, both women who deviate from these rules and those who follow them to the letter are subjected to criticism by other groups of women[5] (Wolf 1991), a phenomenon which is visible in our analysed corpus.

These sections include small photographs of recommended products, from make-up and jewellery to recently-released books and music albums. In our corpus, which will be described in the following section, we have

[4] Although these sections are not supposed to represent explicit advertising as commonly understood, it is not rare to find the name and price of a special product, which helps to obtain the desired effect as described in the article inserted between the lines or next to the paragraphs.

[5] Naomi Wolf (1991) states that this behaviour is part of what she calls the "beauty myth", a completely institutionalised patriarchal system which encompasses both the regular hatred of women's bodies and the stereotypes of gender roles. This also includes hostility between groups of women regarding feelings of envy or denial towards other women who are in accordance with the imposed beauty standards or towards older women who, instead of being admired for their maturity and wisdom, become invisible and undesirable partners.

not found a single page which does not contain an advertising reference. Our aim is to examine how these apparently "innocent" sections of women's magazines, for example, interviews of famous personalities, serve as an implicit form of advertising and as a means of constructing a hybrid imperialist persuasive discourse in order to impose a model of female identity which most readers will want to emulate (Feliu and Fernández 2010).

Corpus and methodology

The publications selected for this chapter are the August 2015 issues of *Cosmopolitan*[6] and *Telva*[7]. Like newspapers, magazines aimed at women do present some differences in their lines of ideology: *Telva* is addressed to a conservative middle-aged woman with a medium-high purchase level, whereas *Cosmopolitan* is targeted at younger women, with explicit sexual narratives aimed towards personal liberation. These ideological differences constitute one of the reasons for selecting these two publications, as each one caters for a different end of the scale[8].

Despite the ideological disparity, both publications include similar sections: among others, we can find interviews of young international celebrities who are teen idols, and who represent the face of beauty and success for most readers. *Cosmopolitan* interviews Carly Rae Jepsen; while *Telva*'s team meets Taylor Swift. Both texts have a similar relevance in the magazine, featuring a page with verbal language and a question-answer format paired with visual elements. We will analyse how the publications slip a translated, hybrid and persuasive discourse into their

[6] *Cosmopolitan* is a global publication now present in 100 countries and available in 32 different languages, a perfect example of global media. For further information on reader statistics, please refer to the Hearst Group webpage (Hearst Group being the editorial group to which *Marie Claire* magazine, another publication which is another typical example of women's magazines, belongs): https://www.hearst.com/magazines/cosmopolitan. Accessed May 18, 2016.

[7] *Telva* is a beauty and fashion magazine aimed at women and sold in Spain for more than five decades. It releases a new issue every month and reaches 404,000 readers, according to Unidad Editorial (the publishing group to which it belongs) webpage: http://www.unidadeditorial.com/producto.aspx?id=telva Accessed May 18, 2016. The selected issue is Number 916, published in August 2015.

[8] We would find it of great interest to study a more extended corpus, selecting more women's magazines along more varied ideological lines. Due to limitations of space, we can only focus on two of them, which nevertheless will be helpful enough in shedding light on the criteria for the selection of contents and adverts.

issues which works as an original text in order to construct the previously described model of female identity.

To test our hypothesis, we will use an interdisciplinary methodology which combines contributions from different epistemological fields. Firstly, we will use the concepts of "myth", "first order signification" and "second order signification" as coined by Roland Barthes (1972). Applied to our study, "first order significations" are those which seem obvious at first glance, with the apparent meaning conveyed through texts and images; but after closer inspection and deeper analysis of the contents, we realise that, actually, these first order significations disguise "second order significations" which turn out to be the real ideology which is transmitted in the act of communication. Barthes warns us:

> in the second (mythical) system, causality is artificial, false; but it creeps, so to speak, through the back door of Nature. This is why myth is experienced as innocent speech: not because its intentions are hidden – if they were hidden, they could not be efficacious – but because they are naturalized (Barthes 1972, 130).

Secondly, we resort to Descriptive Translation Studies, which provide us with the concepts of "ideology", "power" and "discourse", the latter two being understood in the Foucaultian sense (Foucault 1971, 1978), as well as the notion of "narratives" (Baker 2006), which will allow us to approach our subject of study critically.

As our third point of consideration, since we are dealing with multimodal and hybrid discourses, we find the studies of language, culture and identity in a post-colonial context by such authors as Spivak (1988), Balibar and Wallerstein (1988), Derrida (1996) or Homi Bhabha (1994) to be of utmost importance. Furthermore, the three kinds of translation—intralingual, interlingual and intersemiotic, as established by Jakobson (1959, 233), are useful concepts in order to analyse and link the verbal and non-verbal elements in the source semiotic systems.

In the following pages we will attempt to show how, as previously mentioned, every symbol has a very concrete role to play in the transmission of a message, which in this case refers to the imposition of a model of female identity and of specific beauty standards. In this way, advertisers and editors construct a "myth": they manage to disguise certain ideologies with subtle mechanisms that pass unnoticed and which show us "natural" (in Barthes's sense of the word) relations between elements which appear causal but which are, in fact, arbitrary or imposed.

Case study I: Carly Rae Jepsen (*Cosmopolitan*)

Cosmopolitan employs a large, pink heading emblazoned with the singer's name. Pink is a colour which reoccurs throughout the magazine[9], a colour which carries obvious second order significations associated with femininity, and which is often used to highlight verbal elements. Here, the interview questions appear in bold fuchsia type. In an introductory paragraph, the editors include details aimed at catching the reader's attention, and it is precisely here that the first ideological element appears: *Prepárate, porque vuelve con los tacones bien puestos* [Get ready, because she's coming back with her high heels on]. The first word in Spanish is a direct appeal to the reader, almost serving as a warning for the second part of the sentence, which has first order significations of the fashion industry *tacones* [heels], juxtaposed with an element of strength and authority: *bien puestos*. In Spanish, this expression is highly associated with *tenerlos bien puestos*, the implied subject of the phrase, the pronoun *los* [them] being the male testicles. The overall meaning of the expression carries connotations of strength, courage and maybe authority, a combination often used to present an idealised model of (male) virility. Thus, in the *Cosmopolitan* sentence, the second order signification can be understood to mean that a real woman must wear heels to gain respect, but, also suggests that women need to behave like men in order to access power and achieve goals at work (Wolf 1991).

Throughout the interview the editors opt for an informal tone, e.g. *llevas un rollo muy ochentero* [You're looking very "eighties"], maybe more evident on the part of the interviewer than on the part of the interviewee. It is important to consider that Carly Rae Jepsen's answers are provided in Spanish as if they were part of an original text, although there are serious doubts about the singer's ability to speak this language. We could not find any references to the translation process, and the editors attempt to disguise the fact that it is a translated text to the extent that they actually employ quotation marks in a dictionary definition

[9] According to Montes Fernández (2007), *Cosmopolitan* and other women's magazines do not greatly adapt their layout from one edition to another. The publications look more or less similar, but the individual content can be adapted by editors in each country, a fact strongly reminiscent of the translation of global advertising campaigns mentioned by the author elsewhere in the book: the general design is generally maintained, but in some cases adverts suffer small modifications to make them understandable or to specify some of the features of a concrete product. As mentioned at the beginning of this chapter, global flows tend to find their place in local contexts.

mentioned by the singer, when the quotation is obviously not literal. The use of italics is also noteworthy: album or song titles are italicised, as well as the magazine name and the name of foreign music groups, but not the website "YouTube". Italics are also employed to stress all unnecessary anglicisms in the Spanish text: *popstar, hit* or *mash up*.

The topics addressed are, firstly, Jepsen's musical career, her influences, and her relationships with other artists. Afterwards, the interviewer delves into more personal issues *(¿Lo más complicado de ser* popstar*?* [What is the most difficult part of being a *popstar*?]), in which the singer appears as a successful and mature woman, who has learned to be herself[10] and who has learned to accept her weaknesses. Directly opposite these narratives promoting self-liberation and independence, we find a photograph which shows a slim singer with her hair perfectly combed, posing under a layer of make-up, wearing the aforementioned *bien puestos* heels—a visual representation of Jakobson's (1959) intersemiotic translation of the text. The narratives suggested by the photograph emphasise the importance of youth, as well as of having a perfect body and model looks in order to achieve the values of happiness and success as embodied by the interviewee.

Case study II: Taylor Swift (*Telva*)

This magazine, as opposed to *Cosmopolitan*, does not use big, striking headings to catch the reader's attention. Between some of the photographs of the singer we can read in white colours on a black background *En el backstage de Taylor* [Backstage with Taylor]. As we can observe, the translation into Spanish almost constitutes a non-translation strategy through rejecting the various expressions which exist in the Spanish language (*detrás del scenario* [behind the scenes], *en el camerino* [in the dressing room]) in favour of a direct English equivalent. The word "backstage" is not automatically understood by a Spanish speaker, but it carries connotations of glamour which give the publication an air of sophistication. This represents a perfect example of how English becomes a sign which is also a stereotype.

The publication style is more serious than that of *Cosmopolitan*, hardly using any bold text to highlight the interviewer's questions. The use of italics also varies in *Telva*: again, we find unnecessary italicised anglicisms such as *manager, underground, cookies* or *cheerleader*, but they also italicise special uses of words in Spanish like *re-compruebo, re-*

[10] In the original text, the expression *ser ella misma* [be herself] appears explicitly.

repaso, re-recuerda.[11] In this interview, one of the topics addressed is social networks and all English terms related to this topic are italicised. The most eye-catching aspect of the use of italics may be its inconsistency. In reporting the interventions of Taylor's manager and of Taylor herself, both translated and original-text statements appear in an unregulated mixture of cited text (i.e. between quotation marks) and of italicised text:

> "*Fifteen minutes. No gossips".* Taylor es tajante: "No hablo de mi vida privada"
> [Taylor is strict: "I don't talk about my private life"].

On other occasions, italics are used in quotation marks, in conjunction with reported speech, again mixing translated and original statements:

> "*Estoy deseando salir",* me dice al sentirlos. Yo he estado con ellos antes. Le cuento que dos amigas de Nueva Inglaterra se han pasado seis meses cosiendo botones para customizar los disfraces para esta noche. "*They are so incredible",* me dice.
> ["I'm looking forward to going out", she says when hearing them. I've been with them before. I tell her that two friends from New England have spent six months sewing buttons decorating tonight's costumes. "They are so incredible", she says].

This represents an example of the extent to which the media manipulate original discourses: we cannot be sure which words were the originals, but we do not perceive this incoherence because we are also being given non-translated fragments—which lends an exotic effect to the article—to remind us that Taylor Swift herself does not speak Spanish[12].

In *Cosmopolitan,* hybrid elements which remind the reader that a process of translation has taken place at some point between the interview and the publication of the magazine are harder to find, as everything is disguised as an original text in Spanish, without quotation marks. However, *Telva* resorts to hybrid strategies at the beginning of the text,

---

[11] These words are not technically correct in Spanish; an unnecessary "re" is included in the second and third term, but in this case it is used to stress the idea of repetition. They could be glossed as "re-check", "re-revise", and "re-recall", respectively.

[12] Though we can state that combining original and translated discourse is a strategy employed by the editors, it is difficult to prove the motives of this strategy. We would argue that the inclusion of original fragments is done in order to make readers think that they are consuming a reliable source, instead of realising that the discourse is, in fact, highly mediated.

reminding the reader that the interviewee speaks the dominant language and that the magazine transmits her interventions literally. In the subsequent sections, this discourse is naturalised and combined with the narrative style of the interviewer:

> ***Shake it off*** **es tu mensaje musical para esa negatividad. ¿Te has sacudido algo hoy?**
> (Me mira tras una media sonrisa). No aún no. […] Cuanto más canto la canción, más me reafirmo.
> Taylor hunde sus raíces en una familia acomodada de Wyomissing (Pensylvania).
> [*Shake it off* is your music message for that negativity. Have you shaken anything off today?
> (She looks to me with a half-smile). Not yet. […] The more I sing the song, the more I get reaffirmed.
> Taylor is rooted in a wealthy family from Wyomissing (Pennsylvania)].

Lastly, we will analyse the elements employed by *Telva* in order to construct its model of female identity. Taylor Swift is described as a successful woman. This is explicitly recognised in the following sentence:

> Para la revista *Time* es, además, una de las 100 personas más influyentes del planeta; la mujer más superpoderosa[13] del planeta es inteligente, firme, divertida y cercana.
> [According to *Time* magazine, she is one of the 100 most influential people in the world; the most super-powerful woman on Earth is intelligent, firm, amusing and friendly].

The singer does not speak of her love life (perhaps to portray a sense of independence and decency, although her partner, also a celebrity, is mentioned later and an idyllic photograph of them is included). She is also modern (her fans interact with her on social networks[14]), sensitive (in one of the photographs she is stroking her cat), young, beautiful, and enviously

[13] Even the lipstick she uses loses its brand name and becomes *rojo Swift* (Swift red). It has caught our attention that, in a publication in which so many adverts appear, they do not make the most of this promotion opportunity with the excuse of being the shade worn by Taylor Swift, as is done with the "*jumpsuit made in Spain* (Teresa Helbig)".

[14] An interesting remark included is *ahí es donde se la conoce de verdad* [that is where you can truly get to know her]. It should be noted that these forms of media greatly distort reality: posts are carefully selected by community managers and low moments in celebrities' lives are almost never published. The idea is to give the impression of an unceasingly perfect life, filled only with happiness and success.

slim (we are told that her legs are valued at 40 million dollars). Obviously, Taylor follows the current trends in fashion (in the photographs editors include a link to a page on the magazine's website about her current fashion), and she knows how to manage her popularity and accept criticism. In short, this celebrity is presented as human, as a person who—by her own admission—makes mistakes, in an effort to get the readers to relate to her in order to facilitate mechanisms of identification.

This illustrates how a Barthesian myth is constructed: first order significances (power, success, happiness) are presented before all else in order to disguise the second order significances (whereby a woman needs to be young, slim, fashionable and beautiful in order to gain respect, achieve success and be happy). Finally, the myth—now speaking in Wolf's (1991) terms too— is reinforced with an allusion to one of Taylor's songs, which supposedly accused Katy Perry of theft, demonstrating the tendency of rivalry between women.

Other existing narratives (I): perpetuating the consumption of the magazine

In the previous sections we have briefly illustrated how magazines manipulate discourse in order to impose a particular ideology. Apart from glorifying young, beautiful, slim and fashionable women—a practice which aims at preserving the close relationship with advertisers—, these magazines also conceal other narratives of interest, such as the self-promotion of these media. Both magazines ensure that the reader is obliged to buy the next issue by stating that the successful women who are interviewed read it too, thus representing an identification mechanism which contrasts with the unachievable popularity and success of the celebrities.

Cosmopolitan shows the front page of another issue and a highlighted section of text stating that the singer has explicitly congratulated the publication on their anniversary. For its part, *Telva* does this twice in the section: first, the editors include some photographs in which the interviewer is shown reading an issue of *Telva* while waiting at the airport (the journalist travelled to Germany to meet Taylor Swift backstage before one of her concerts). In the second case, the strategy employed is similar to that of *Cosmopolitan*; one of the photographs of Taylor Swift showing her at one of the high points of the spectacle is accompanied by the following text:

> ANTES DEL *SHOW* Me crucé con ella mientras tomaba fuerzas para saltar al escenario y la descubrí hojeando el TELVA que le acababa de regalar. [Before the show. I ran into her while she was having a quick snack before going onstage, and I discovered her glancing at the TELVA issue I had just given her].

This demonstrates how women's magazines create identification mechanisms between successful singers, who are happy to comply because they fit perfectly into the values imposed by this culture, and the readers, who are fooled into thinking that, by reading the same magazine, they are a step closer to them—although they will most likely never actually attain this level of success. Inversely, this could also be interpreted as a way of making the singers more approachable to other women by emphasising their humanity and, thus, the attainability of their status through the consumption of the products announced next to their photographs.

Other existing narratives (II): English as a dominant language

Jacques Derrida stated in *Le monolinguisme de l'autre ou la prothèse d'origine* the impossibility of adopting a language imposed by a dominant Other in a colonial context as their mother tongue. "How can one write memories, show the deepest aspects of one's soul, in an imposed language?", Derrida (1996, 57) wonders. In the current flow of globalisation, as previously mentioned, winners seek to preserve their condition as hegemonic Subjects at all costs (Spivak 1988), so that they can decide the direction in which economic impulses are guided (Bhabha 1994), as well as homogenising public opinion in accordance with their interests (Vidal Claramonte 2010; Bielsa and Bassnett 2009).

In the present "liquid modernity" (Bauman 2000), nothing lasts forever. Bauman emphasises the importance of the instantaneity and fugacity of goods, relationships, institutions, power, money, etc. In the previous "solid modernity", everything was made to last but, in present times, change and flow are the only certainties we have. Liquids, as opposed to solids, take the shape of the recipient which momentarily contains them, before losing all sense of form when they begin to flow again. They work as snapshots, recording the exact time when they were taken. The question of human identity needs to be considered in the same perspective: authors such as Hall and du Gay (1996), Balibar and Wallerstein (1988), Braidotti (2006), Bhabha (1994) or Bauman (1998) consider identity as a necessary human construct which, in accordance

with the present epoch, needs change and alterity in order to make it last and reach maturity. However, when difference is experienced by means of domination and imposition, it is no longer positive and conducive to maturity and tolerance (Bauman 1998). When colonialists wanted to lower the Other's status—they could do it because they were part of the dominant flow and had a greater power of representation (Hall 1997)—, they resorted to stereotypes, which are to a great extent created by language. The importance of language cannot be ignored, because human identity can also be conceived as a linguistic construct (Derrida 1996; Hall 1997; Hall and du Gay 1996; Balibar and Wallerstein 1988); thus it can be argued that the language in which we purchase, read, eat or put on make-up challenges and re-constructs our personalities and identities time and time again. In this manner, in observing the permeation of the English language through every layer of society, we can conclude that we are utterly dominated by the global and homogenising flow of Anglo-Saxon cultures. However, in order to preserve the alterity and diversity that both characterises and enriches us, Braidotti (2006) warns us about the need to resist North-American hegemony in global markets. Derrida (1996) agrees by stating that we should not let "the hegemony of the homogeneous" absorb us. In this sense, translators should carefully analyse hybrid texts which contain the English language as a sign, taking into consideration the exertion of imperialism in modern society. In the case of the interviews analysed in this study, the use of English is far from being fortuitous and has connotations in the line of the dominance described here: when every ideological flow privileges Anglo-American culture, and is also expressed in English terms, it is impossible to ignore that a change is produced in the identity and way of life of the audience. For this reason, and in order to help subaltern cultures to resist the hegemony of these narratives, translators need to be fully conscious of how an ideology is imposed, even when they cannot exert any resistance to avoid it.

Translation and media: multimodal, hybrid and persuasive discourses, and the ethical consequences thereof

Before drawing our final conclusions, we would first like to outline a general picture of the extent to which translation is present in the media context—some of the particularities of which have already been discussed in previous pages—, as well as to reflect on the ethical consequences that may derive from disseminating such discourses.

Firstly, we should remind readers that translation is present throughout the whole analysed corpus even though it may go unnoticed. However, when we realise that the interviewee does not speak the same language as the target readers, the translation process becomes a logical and necessary step prior to the publication of the interview. A similar situation arises in the case of news agencies and newspapers: even though it may be obvious that translation is necessary when events occur in a different linguistic and cultural context, editors often disguise the fact that the target audience is consuming highly mediated and manipulated discourses (Bielsa and Bassnett 2009). Modifications are usually related to space and ideological constraints. Translations, therefore, tend to be considerably shorter than the originals: we find omissions of whole sentences not only to reduce the length of the original, but also to adapt it to the ideological tendencies of the publication by carefully selecting which content should be included and how. This level of interventionism and the fact that target texts are mostly naturalised, make it incredibly difficult to trace back to the originals, which in some cases are derived from more than one source text (Bielsa and Bassnett 2009). Images, colours, maps and graphics are also localised to different target readers to help them construct a general picture which shapes their opinion according to the political and economic interests of the publication as a whole. These practices all contribute towards making audiences believe that the published target texts are originals, by eliminating any possible trace of the translation process.

Women's magazines work in exactly the same way. Contents are carefully chosen in order to shape readers' opinions. As demonstrated in our case studies, original interventions are almost indistinguishable from the translated ones through the inconsistent use of quotation marks and italics, (if, indeed, any were published verbatim). This is particularly visible in the *Telva* issue where, in some cases, English quotations are maintained with the possible pretext of giving the text a reliable tone.

Given the high level of manipulation which characterises the translation in the advertising and media industries in general, some authors have reinitiated the debate in regard to concepts traditionally linked to Jakobson's (1959) notion of "interlingual translation". In *Translation and Global News*, Bielsa and Bassnett (2009) highlight the need for translation theories which focus on the purpose of the source texts and the effectivity of their translations among target audiences. In this sense, they resort to Reiss and Vermeer's (2014 [1984]) *skopos* theory, which emphasises the effect of the target text, and which is especially helpful in the field of translation and the media, where original texts rescind their authority for the benefit of the target readers, who enjoy an extremely naturalised text

which they are able to understand perfectly. In this particular context, the persuasive purpose of the text is of the utmost importance. This means that, among other reasons, in order to sell a product or construct and homogenise opinions, the general tendency is to greatly modify these texts—even when this means making them almost unrecognisable in comparison to the originals.

In this way, some concepts such as "equivalence" and "original text", so sacred in a number of contexts, are now subject to modifications. With an increasing number of multimodal and hybrid texts which make use of both verbal and non-verbal elements, there is a need to develop new approaches to define and enlarge the concept of translation and the strategies employed, like that of "intersemiotic translation", as coined by Jakobson (1959). Taking a wider view like authors such as Tymoczko (2007), Bauman (1999), Vidal Claramonte (2007, 2010, 2012), Johnston (2013), Gentzler (2003) or Bassnett (2011), translation can be conceived as a form of interpreting reality through signs (Vidal Claramonte 2012) in order to conceptualise it. In this sense, the approach adopted by Munday (2004) of defining adverts as complex semiotic systems is extremely helpful in de-constructing, analysing and translating each of their signs, and re-constructing them once again for them to function in a target culture. This theoretical background justifies our methodology and opens new perspectives for translation in relation to the media and multimodal texts, a field which, despite its current pervasiveness and importance, has yet to be fully explored.

In the end, translators, as in other fields of study, need to demonstrate not only a thorough knowledge and understanding of the source semiotic systems, but also an ability to analyse them in order to guess which second order significances are hidden within these texts and how they are presented, bearing in mind that stereotypes and connotations may vary between countries (Montes Fernández 2007), or even glorify narratives (Baker 2006) which constitute a religious offence[15] in different cultural contexts.

Since every symbol of the semiotic machine has a concrete, predetermined purpose, their translation involves the dissemination of certain ideologies described above (the consumption of beauty products, selling a concrete female identity, the use of English as a synonym of modernity and success, etc.). On this point we agree with Baker (2006) that translators cannot

[15] In certain cases, the translator must also bear in mind the legislative background of target cultures. For example, in some countries the advertising of alcohol and tobacco is highly legislated and, in some cultures, their consumption may be even forbidden (Montes Fernández 2007).

escape a measure of responsibility for their work because giving voice to certain discourses may contribute to conflicts between cultures, or to a lack of respect for ethnical diversity, or may be detrimental to the social construction of the female gender. In this respect, Ricoeur (2004) observes that translation not only raises intellectual and practical issues, it also poses ethical problems. Elsewhere (Páez and Rodríguez 2015, 119) we have defended a sort of "minimum ethical standards":

> For some authors such as Baker, the ethical dimension of the translation depends directly on the ethical level of the narratives we help perpetuate through our work. […] On the contrary, some only consider those translations produced in accordance with the client's criteria to be ethical, without taking into account at any time the possible consequences. Although our notion of ethical translation matches the first mentioned here, we will defend in the following pages a kind of "minimum ethical standards"; according to which an ethical translation would be one in which the decisions have been made with full awareness of everything at stake.

In the present work we agree with these "minimum standards" which every translator must bear in mind together with the client's criteria. It may be extremely dangerous to disseminate certain ideologies or narratives which could result in the complete failure of an advertising campaign. Translators will sometimes feel obliged to adhere to the ideological line imposed by clients, but it is our opinion that, insofar as the translator has the responsibility of fully understanding the consequences of the narratives they are helping to circulate, the matter remains an ethical one.

Conclusions

Nowadays, the media function as a globalising agent in the sense that they impose and disseminate a carefully selected ideology at a global level in a mere matter of seconds. The media and the advertising industry work together in order to reach the largest possible audience and shape their opinion, thus ensuring that consumption habits are perpetuated and that the capitalist system is maintained. Women's magazines employ this strategy by including an extremely high percentage of advertisements and selecting content which will perpetuate the consumption of certain beauty products and the fashion industry: in this way, both advertisers and media ensure their continued survival.

Our objective was to show that, apart from the mere inclusion of advertisements, women's magazines also employ other, more complex, mechanisms in order to perpetuate certain narratives and impose a concrete model of female identity. Regardless of their ideological tendencies or their global or local presence, the model of female identity sold remains the same in the two magazines analysed. Through an analysis of the verbal and non-verbal elements of two representative texts which were part of apparently "innocent" sections (i.e. interviews), we have shown how these publications highly manipulate a specific discourse in order to sell specific identity models, thus glorifying slim, young and fashionable women. According to Barthes (1972), they manage to construct a "myth" in the sense that we are presented with a completely "logical" and "natural", easily recognisable reality which masks the existence of second order significations—the real narratives to which we are adhering.

The translator, being aware of the particularities of a hybrid, imperialist, persuasive and multimodal discourse, and being conscious of the way in which these complex semiotic systems have been carefully constructed, must be fully conscious of the risks involved in the translation of certain narratives. Translators find themselves adrift in an asymmetrical negotiation of cultures and identities, on the one hand compelled to meet the expectations of a client who wishes to sell a product across numerous linguistic and cultural contexts, while on the other hand also attempting to be respectful towards both the source culture and the target culture.

In our current globalised, massively communicated and hybridised world, the power of translators is just as great as the power of language (Vidal Claramonte 2010). Translators carry the responsibility not only for the complete success or failure of advertising campaigns in which companies invest large amounts of money, but also for contributing to the promotion of acceptance or conflict between cultures and identities. As a result, they have to be perfectly aware of the narratives which they help to circulate and decide how best to carry out their work accordingly. Ultimately, ethics is a domain which escapes universal definitions.

Finally, we feel obliged to reiterate the need for research into the fields of translation and media and advertising translation, which, despite their current importance and presence in our lives, have long been left underinvestigated. As we have seen throughout this chapter, these are fields with specific particularities which challenge the traditional definition of "interlingual translation". Therefore, it is of the utmost importance to develop new perspectives and approaches to multimodal and hybrid texts in future studies, and to expand the definition of

translation to take into account the ethical repercussions of these texts, aspects which cannot be ignored any longer.

References

Appiah, K. Anthony. 2006. *Cosmopolitanism: Ethics in a World of Strangers.* New York: W.W. Norton.

Baker, Mona. 2006. *Translation and Conflict: A Narrative Account.* London/New York: Routledge.

Balibar, Étienne and Immanuel Wallerstein. 1988. *Race, nation, classe: les identités ambigües.* Paris: Éditions La Découverte.

Barthes, Roland. 1972. *Mythologies.* Translated by Annette Lavers. New York: The Noonday Press.

Bassnett, Susan. 2011. "From Cultural Turn to Transnational Turn: A Transnational Journey." In *Literature, Geography, Translation. Studies in World Writing*, edited by Cecilia Alvstad, Stefan Helgesson and David Watson, 67-80. Cambridge: Cambridge Scholars Publishing.

Bauman, Zygmunt. 1998. *Globalization: The Human Consequences.* New York: Columbia University Press.

—. 1999. *Culture as praxis.* London: Sage.

—. 2000. *Liquid Modernity.* Cambridge/Malden: Polity Press.

Beck, Ulrich. 2008. *¿Qué es la globalización? Falacias del globalismo, respuestas a la globalización.* Translated by Bernardo Moreno and Mª Rosa Borràs. Barcelona: Paidós.

Bhabha, Homi K. 1994. *The Location of Culture.* London/New York: Routledge.

Bielsa, Esperança and Susan Bassnett. 2009. *Translation in Global News.* London/New York: Routledge.

Braidotti, Rosi. 2006. *Transpositions: On Nomadic Ethics.* Cambridge/ Malden: Polity Press.

Bueno García, Antonio. 2000. *Publicidad y traducción*. Vertere (Books by *Hermeneus* magazine, 2). Soria: Editions by Diputación Provincial de Soria.

Cronin, Michael. 2006. *Translation and Identity*. London: Routledge.

Derrida, Jacques. 1996. *Le monolinguisme de l'autre ou la prothèse d'origine*. Paris: Galilée.

Feliu Albaladejo, Ángeles and Dolores Fernández Poyatos. 2010. "La mujer en la publicidad: hacia nuevos discursos." In *Actes de Congènere: la representació de gènere a la publicitat del segle XXI*, *Girona, Spain, 25-26 May.* Girona; University of Girona.

Foucault, Michel. 1971. "The Discourse on Language." Translated by Rupert Swyer. *Social Science Information*, 10 (2) (April 1971): 7-30.

—. 1978. "Dialogue sur le pouvoir. Entretien avec les étudiants de Los Angeles." In *Chez Foucault*, edited by Simeon Wade, 4-22. Los Angeles: Circabook.

Gallego, Juana. 2013. *De reinas a ciudadanas: Medios de comunicación, ¿motor o rémora para la igualdad?* Barcelona: Aresta.

Gentzler, Edwin. 2003. "Interdisciplinary connections." *Perspectives* 11 (1): 11-24.

Hall, Stuart, ed. 1997. *Representation. Cultural Representations and Signifying Practices*. London: Sage Publications.

Hall, Stuart and Paul du Gay, eds. 1996. *Questions of Cultural Identity*. London: Sage Publications.

Hernández Guerrero, Mª José. 2009. *Traducción y periodismo*. Berna: Peter Lang.

—. 2010. "Translated Interviews in Printed Media – A Case Study of the Spanish Daily *El Mundo*." *Across Languages and Cultures* 11 (2): 217-232.

Jakobson, Roman. 1959. "On Linguistic Aspects of Translation." In *On Translation*, edited by Reuben A. Brower, 232-239. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

Johnston, David. 2013. "Professing translation: the acts-in-between." *Target: International journal of translation studies* 25 (3): 365-384.

Montes Fernández, Antonia. 2007. *Traducción y globalización: Análisis y perspectivas del fenómeno publicitario (inglés-español-alemán)*. Granada: Comares.

Munday, Jeremy. 2004. "Advertising: Some Challenges to Translation Theory." *The Translator* 10 (2): 199-219.

Páez Rodríguez, Alba. 2013. "La (no) traducción como estrategia publicitaria: ¿qué se cuela entre las grietas de la lengua con el (ab)uso de la lingua franca?" *Estudios de Traducción* 3: 57-70. Accessed May 18, 2016. doi: 10.5209/rev_ESTR.2013.v3.41990.

Páez Rodríguez, Alba and Irene Rodríguez Arcos. 2015. "Intersemiotic Translation and Ideology: the Re-presentation of the Narrative of Women as Sexual Predators in Printed Advertising Aimed at Women." *International Journal of Language and Linguistics* 2 (3): 117-128.

Potter, Jonathan. 1996. *Representing Reality: Discourse, Rhetoric and Social Construction*. London: Sage Publications Ltd.

Reiss, Katharina and Hans J. Vermeer. 2014 [1984]. *Towards a general theory of translational action: Skopos theory explained*. New York: Routledge.

Ricoeur, Paul. 2004. *Sur la traduction*. Paris: Bayard.
Spivak, Gayatri C. 1988. "Can the Subaltern Speak?" In *Marxism and the Interpretation of Culture*, edited by Cary Nelson and Lawrence Grossberg, 271-313. Basingstoke: Macmillan Education.
Tymoczko, Maria. 2007. *Enlarging Translation, Empowering Translators*. Manchester: St. Jerome.
Valdeón, Roberto, ed. 2012. *Translating Information.* Oviedo: Ediciones de la Universidad de Oviedo.
Vidal Claramonte, Mª del Carmen África. 2003. *La magia de lo efímero: representaciones de la mujer en el arte y literatura actuales.* Castellón de la Plana: Universidad Jaume I, Servicio de comunicación y publicaciones.
—. 2007.*Traducir entre culturas.* Frankfrut am Mein: Peterlang.
—. 2010. *Traducción y asimetría.* Frankfrut am Mein: Peterlang.
—. 2012. "El lenguaje de las revistas femeninas españolas: la (no) traducción como ideología." *Meta: Journal des Traducteurs/ Translators' Journal* 57 (4): 1029-45.
Van Weijen, Daphne. 2012. "The Language of (Future) Scientific Communication." *Research Trends* 31. Accessed October 10, 2016. https://www.researchtrends.com/issue-31-november-2012/the-language-of-future-scientific-communication/
Wolf, Naomi. 1991. *The Beauty Myth: How Images of Beauty Are Used against Women*. London: Vintage Books.

CONTRIBUTORS

CARMEN CAMUS CAMUS

Dr. Carmen Camus Camus is Deputy Head of the Department of Philology at the University of Cantabria, Spain, where she is a Senior Lecturer and teaches ESP at the Medical Faculty and ELT Methodology at the Teacher Training Faculty. She has an MA (1994) and a Ph.D in Translation Studies (2009). Her research focuses on the incidence of Franco's censorship in the translations into Spanish both in narrative and film. She is the main researcher in a funded Spanish Ministry project, TRACEgensci TRADUCCIÓN Y CENSURA EN LA REPRESENTACIÓN DEL GÉNERO FFI2012-39012-C04-04, working on the censorship of gender in scientific translations during the Franco regime. She has published widely on translation and ideology in the context of Franco's dictatorship.

ELEONORA FEDERICI

Eleonora Federici (M.A. and Ph.D University of Hull, UK) is an Associate Professor of English and Translation Studies at the University L'Orientale, Naples (Italy). Her main areas of research are Translation Studies, Gender Studies, Utopian/Science Fiction and LSP (especially the language of advertising and tourism). Among her publications are *The Translator as Intercultural Mediator* (Uniservice 2006), *Translating Gender* (Peter Lang 2011) and *Quando la fantascienza è donna. Dalle utopie del XIX secolo all'età contemporanea* (Carocci 2015). She co-edited *The Controversial Women's Body: Images and Representations in Literature and Arts* (Bononia UP 2003) with V. Fortunati and A. Lamarra*, Nations, Traditions and Cross-Cultural Identities* (Peter Lang 2009) with A. Lamarra, *Bridging the Gap between Theory and Practice in Translation and Gender Studies* (Cambridge Scholars 2013) with Vanessa Leonardi. She is currently working on a publication about Translation and Transnational Studies in Italy.

PILAR GODAYOL

Dr. Pilar Godayol holds a Ph.D in Translation Studies from the Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona and is sworn translator. She is also a senior lecturer in the Department of Translation, Interpreting and Applied Languages at the Universitat de Vic. She is the coordinator of the consolidated "Gender Studies Research Group: Translation, Literature, History and Communication" (GETLIHC) (2014 SGR 62) at the University of Vic and the principal researcher of the R&D&I subproject "Traducción y censura: género e ideología (1939-2000)" (FFI2014-52989-C2-2-P). She has participated in many conferences and published numerous studies dealing with gender, biography, Chicana literature and history and theory of translation, including: *Traducción / Género / Poscolonialismo* (coord.) (2008); and with Montserrat Bacardí, *Una impossibilitat possible*. (eds.) (2010), *Diccionari de la traducció catalana* (eds.) (2011) and *Les traductores i la tradició* (2013). She coordinates the series "Biblioteca de Traducció i Interpretació" in Eumo Editorial. E-mail address: pgodayol@uvic.ca

CRISTINA GÓMEZ CASTRO

Dr. Cristina Gómez Castro is currently a lecturer of English at the University of León, Spain, where she teaches ESP (Engineering) and English for teachers, both at graduate and postgraduate level. Previously, she taught for several years at the University of Cantabria, Spain. Her main research interests are the theory and methodology of translation, the study of the interaction between ideology and translation and the way (self)censorship and manipulation is present in the rewritings of texts. She has carried out research at the University of Leuven (Belgium), the University of Aston (Birmingham, UK), the University of Lisbon (Portugal) and University College London (UK). She has been an active member of the TRACE project and is now a member of the project TRACEgencsi (FFI2012-39012-C04-04), which deals with gender, censorship and translation in the field of the Health Sciences. She has published on translation and censorship in several journals and books, both nationally and internationally.

KELTOUMA GUERCH

Dr. Keltouma Guerch has been a full-time teacher since 1988 and a part-time professor at the University of Mohamed I, Oujda, Morocco, since 2005. She has also been a Fulbright Scholar at Kent State University, Ohio, USA (2007/ 2008-2012). Her main research interests are Imperialism, colonial and post-colonial discourse, feminism, migration, ICT in education, civic education, and comparative education. E-mail address: kguerch@gmail.com

VANESSA LEONARDI

Dr. Vanessa Leonardi is a researcher and lecturer in English Language and Translation in the Faculty of Economics at the University of Ferrara, Italy. She holds a PhD in Translation Studies and Comparative Literature from the Department of Italian Studies, University of Leeds, UK. She has published profusely in the field of translation and gender: she is co-editor of the volume *Bridging the Gap between Theory and Practice in Translation and Gender Studies* (2013); she has also published articles and book chapters on the topic in prestigious publishing houses such as Peter Lang. In 2011 she organized a conference on the topic that took place in the University of Calabria; she is the person in charge of the Encyclopedia entries of "ideology" and "gender and translation" that appear as "key concepts" in *The Routledge Companion to Translation Studies*, London and New York. E-mail address: vanessa.leonardi@unife.it

SERGIO LOBEJÓN

Dr. Sergio Lobejón Santos holds a Bachelor of Arts degree from the University of León (2009), where he worked as a Teaching Assistant before joining the University of Cantabria for four years. He has a Ph.D in Translation from the University of León (2013) on the topic of translation and censorship in poetry in Francoist Spain (1939-1983). His main lines of research are the analysis of poetic texts in politically charged contexts such as Spain under Franco. He has mainly focused on texts by contemporary authors such as the Beat Generation. He has done research stays and has presented papers in many conferences, both at national and international level. He has several papers both in national and international journals and books.

IRENE RODRÍGUEZ ARCOS

Irene Rodríguez is currently (since 2014) doing her Ph.D in the field of Translation and Intercultural Mediation at the University of Salamanca. Her research mainly focuses on media and advertising translation, analysing identity matters, intersemiotic translation and the representation of the female in different cultures as a space for the confluence of power and ideology. E-mail address: ireneroa@usal.es

LOURDES ROYANO

Dr. Mª Lourdes Royano Gutiérrez holds a Ph.D in Philosophy and Arts (Spanish Language) from the University of Valladolid, and a Bachelor in Spanish and French languages. She studied at the University of Ghent (Belgium) and Rennes (France). Currently, she is Professor of Spanish Language at the Department of Philology at the University of Cantabria (UC). She has also taught Ph.D courses at the UC and at the University of Catania, Sicily, Italy, and Master courses of Spanish as a foreign language in Comillas (CIESE-UC). In 2006, she was awarded the International Research Prize José Vasconcelos, México. She has done research stays at several foreign universities and she has published profusely both at national and international level. E-mail address: maria.royano@unican.es

PILAR SOMACARRERA

Dr. Pilar Somacarrera is an Associate Professor of Canadian Literature at the Universidad Autónoma de Madrid. She has published widely on Canadian women writers and has translated Margaret Atwood's poetry collections *Power Politics*, *The Door* and *True Stories* into Spanish, as well as Tomson Highway's play *The Rez Sisters*. She has edited a collection of essays entitled *Made in Canada, Read in Spain: Essays on the Translation and Circulation of English-Canadian Literature* (De Gruyter-Open, 2013) about the reception of English-Canadian literature in Spain. E-mail address: pilar.somacarrera@uam.es

JULIA WILLIAMS CAMUS

Dr. Julia T. Williams Camus is a lecturer at the University of Cantabria, where she teaches Medical English and English phonetics and phonology at undergraduate level and Discourse Analysis, Speaking and Listening Skills and English for Specific Purposes at postgraduate level. Her research

interests are (critical) discourse analysis, metaphor theory and analysis, and health communication. She has carried out contrastive English and Spanish studies using a corpus-based discourse analytic approach and focusing on the role of metaphor in the recontextualisation of cancer knowledge in the English and Spanish press. She has carried out research in the Department of Linguistics and English Language at the University of Lancaster (January-June, 2011) and in the Department of English Language and Applied Linguistics at the University of Birmingham (December 2015-March 2016). She has participated in three research projects funded by the Spanish Ministry of Education (FFI2014-57313-P, FFI2011-25755, FFI2008-00070/FISO).

INDEX