Redefining Translation and Interpretation in Cultural Evolution

Redefining Translation and Interpretation in Cultural Evolution

Olaf Immanuel Seel
Ionian University of Corfu, Greece

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Literary Translation and Cultural Evolution

Chapter 1

  Afrinul Haque Khan, Ranchi University, India

The present paper explores how the translators mediate between languages and cultures to rewrite the classical texts, tucked away in the margins and peripheries, and being incomprehensible and inaccessible to the western world on account of their language and location. The present study also examines how the translator's act of "rewriting" empowers the translated text and also the culture it performs, promotes an understanding of other cultures and eventually enables the evolution of a "universal culture."

Chapter 2

  Sanju Thomas, Ambedkar University Delhi, India

The chapter looks into the existing language equation in India through a literary lens. Even though the number of translations from other Indian languages to English has increased, in the national and international market Indian English fiction has come to represent Indian fiction. This complexity is due to the growing status of English in globalized India, which is also reflected in the popularity of Indian English fiction. However, a historical analysis would reveal that the rise of Indian English fiction is a postcolonial phenomenon and this has been at the expense of translations. The chapter substantiates this cultural evolution further through a study of the Malayalam translation of the Indian English novel The God of Small Things and the English translation of the Malayalam novel Chemmeen. The translation strategies and iconography of the book covers are analyzed to discuss the existing equation between English and other Indian languages.

Chapter 3

Gora Zaragoza, Universitat de València, Spain

After the "cultural turn" in the 1980s, translation was redefined as a cultural transfer rather than a linguistic transposition. Key translation concepts were revised, including equivalence, correction, and fidelity. Feminist approaches to translation emerged, for example, the recovery of texts lost in patriarchy. Following the death of Franco and the transition to democracy, Spain initiated a cultural expansion. The advent of the Franco regime after the civil war (1936-1939) resulted in years of cultural involution and the abolition of rights for women attained during the Spanish Second Republic (1931-1939). Severe censoring prevented the publication of literature—both native and foreign (through translation)—that contradicted the principles of the dictatorship. This chapter will examine the link between gender, translation, and censorship, materialised in Radclyffe Hall's The Well of Loneliness (1928), the first English novel to tackle lesbianism and transgenderism, an example of translation in cultural evolution.

Chapter 4

Cristina A. Huertas Abril, University of Córdoba, Spain

Comics are a type of literature with an increasing prestige due to the change in the cultural paradigm, which has surpassed the previous idea of underground means of expression. This cultural change took place with the publication of Spiegelman's Maus (Pulitzer Prize 1992). This chapter aims at analyzing the evolution of key terms in Translation Studies regarding cultural issues, from 'equivalence' to 'transcreation', and reflecting on the importance given to graphic novels since Spiegelman's work. The author analyzes the two Spanish translations published till the date, which have remarkable differences between them, in order to reach homogeneous proposals to reflect linguistic and cultural interferences when translating this graphic novel into Spanish, essential for the adequate understanding of Maus.

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Sonia Vaupot, University of Ljubljana, Slovenia

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Vivian Lee, Hankuk University of Foreign Studies, South Korea

This chapter looks at the cultural mediator role of translation trainees dealing with culture-specific lexis. Translators need to be able to make connections between and across the cultures they are dealing with, and to negotiate and overcome any differences, conveying the message of the source text to the target readers with optimum effect. Five translation classes which placed emphasis on optimal relevance in translation were provided to 10 undergraduate students learning translation in Seoul, South Korea. The chapter highlights the significant role translation of culture-specific lexis can play in forming and developing learners' identities as mediators between source and target text cultures, no doubt an important role in light of cultural change in an era of globalization which calls for culture or cultures to be viewed from a multifaceted and diverse perspective.

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Ge Song, Lingnan University, Hong Kong

In the early 20th century, Chinese communities in the then-Malay and Singapore began to take shape. The sudden shift of living conditions, especially the sociopolitical atmosphere, uprooted these migrated Chinese who had to adapt to new cultural realities of their host lands. This article argues for the cultural dimensions of Chinese overseas, particularly those in Malaysia and Singapore, as an object of translation studies, since these Chinese overseas have already shown a uniquely evolved culture that is different from that in China. Linguistic displacement in the same language is a reflection of cultural discrepancy resulted from cultural evolution, and cultural divergence innately calls for the intervention of cultural translation. This paper is expected to garner fruitful insights into the cultural translation between two geographically and culturally different Chinese communities.

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Mohammad Ali Kharmandar, Islamic Azad University, Shiraz Branch, Iran

This study proposes a new understanding of cultural evolution through translations embedded in subcultures. The underlying argument is that translation does not evenly and equally affect all social strata in a given culture, but there are selective (inclusive and exclusive) mechanisms that diversify a culture into several usually competing sub-groups. Evolution through translation takes place in parallel and very different sub-streams as subcultures. To make this understanding possible, however, some taken-for-granted notions should be revisited in translation studies (TS) and some gaps should be filled before subcultural translation can be framed. This study proposes an analytic whole in which a momentum of change in history leads to a reacquisition of disposition in cultural subjects, ultimately shaping a form of capital realized as semiotic/lingual translation. To explain this process, Foucault's historical discontinuity, Ricoeur's narrative identity, and Bourdieu's capital are incorporated.

Given the massive changes that Brazil has undergone in the past century, particularly in distancing itself linguistically from its former colonizer, this study is an attempt to determine the role of translation in the country's cultural evolution. Translational approaches have developed along opposing poles: on the one hand, a strong resistance to incorporating orally-driven alterations in the written language, while on the other, a slow, halting movement toward convergence of the two, and both approaches are charged with political and ideological intentionality. Publishing houses, editors and translators are gatekeepers and agents whose activities provide a glimpse into the mechanism of national linguistic identity, either contributing to or resisting the myth of a homogenized Portuguese language.

In this chapter, the evolution of Heaney's reception in Italy will be linked to the development of normative behaviors within the publishing industry sector. Therefore, a fundamental aspect highlighted by the present analysis is the connection between the evolution of the publishing sector's policies and agendas and the translation strategies employed to introduce foreign literature onto the Italian market. In this sense, it is argued that the prerogatives of publishers have direct bearing on the nature of Heaney's representations in Italy and thus the impact that his poetic legacy can potentially have on the Italian cultural paradigm. Patrons and practitioners are on the one hand assessed as the objects of cultural evolution, but they are also called into question as agents affecting it, to the extent that they directly influence translation practice and have control of the mediums through which complex literary endeavours such as Heaney's enter the Italian market as a cultural product ready for consumption.

This chapter explores the work and impact of Remzi Bengi and Yaşar Nabi Nayır, two significant figures in the realm of culture planning and cultural exchange during the early Republican Period in Turkey. Bengi was an editor and the owner of Remzi Publishing House, a renowned publishing house, whilst Yaşar Nabi Nayır, also an editor and publisher, was the proprietor of the journal Varlık and the Varlık Publishing House. This chapter argues that, in light of their significant contributions to publishing and translation activities of the period in question and their pioneering roles in the development of new culture repertoires and the cultural evolution of the same period, they should not be seen simply as editors and publishers but also as idea-makers, culture entrepreneurs and, indeed, "carriers" of life images.

The interpreters' cultural role has evolved significantly over time. Understanding the profession's history is necessary to understand its cultural evolution. Prior to professionalization, history portrayed interpreters as intercultural agents who held power as essential players, working as cultural and linguistic mediators. With the advent of conference interpreting in the Nuremberg Trials, a new professional image reflected the primary role of the interpreter as a linguistic medium. Due to the more interactive communicative activities involved, dialogue interpreting reflected a broader cultural role. This chapter discusses how the cultural role of the interpreter evolved over time, and within specializations. It gives an overview of the evolution of the cultural role in historic interpreting, conference interpreting, community interpreting, and in the medical interpreting specialization.

The sociopolitical and cultural evolution as a result of the Reform and Opening up in 1978, facilitated not least by the inexorable juggernaut of globalization and technological advancement, has revolutionized the way China engages domestically and interacts with the outside world. The need for more proactive diplomacy and open engagement witnessed the institutionalization of the interpreter-mediated premier's press conferences. Such a discursive event provides a vital platform for China to articulate its discourse and rebrand its image in tandem with the profound changes signaled by the Dengist reform. This chapter investigates critically how political press conference interpreting and interpreters' agency in China are impacted in relation to such dramatic transformations. It is revealed that, while interpreters are confronted with seemingly conflicting expectations, in actual practice they are often able to negotiate a way as highly competent interpreting professionals with the additional missions of advancing China's global engagement and safeguarding China's national interests.

A leader in community interpreting, Australia provides professional interpreting services within its public health system. Healthcare interpreters face various challenges for a variety of reasons, including cultural differences. Existing research on healthcare interpreting focuses on differences between a mainstream culture of healthcare professionals and ethnically diverse cultures of migrant patients. Interpreters are widely regarded as bicultural professionals able to provide cultural information on behalf of patients as necessary or whenever healthcare professionals ask for it. However, research on healthcare interpreting in a globalized era should consider the changing nature of culture. The question of whether the interpreter should be a cultural broker remains controversial. Based on an ethnographic study of healthcare interpreters at a public hospital in Australia, this chapter aims to survey how multiple perspectives on cultural evolution affect healthcare interpreting.

Foreword

"The growth of Translation Studies as a separate discipline is a success story of the 1980s. The subject has developed in many parts of the world and is clearly destined to continue developing well into the 21st century" (Bassnett & Lefevere, 1990, p ix). These much quoted and prophetic words of Susan Bassnett and André Lefevere introducing the Preface to their path-breaking anthology *Translation, History and Culture* are admirably confirmed by the wealth of material offered in the present volume. It was in their introduction to that famous anthology that the two editors first presented the phrase "cultural turn" (p. 4), which then became crucial to the young discipline of Translation Studies and indeed marked the first major "turn" in its recent history.

The cultural turn provides the point of departure for the collection of essays in this anthology, which takes the topic further and investigates the issue of evolution in culture. In my opinion the volume is both welcome and necessary for three main reasons. Firstly, with the digital revolution Translation Studies has been concentrating over the past twenty years on the technological developments that have radically changed the working modalities of the translator and in part even the process of translation, while the equally dynamic aspects of cultural evolution have tended to recede into the background. Secondly, the impressive variety of subjects dealt with here demonstrates how the concept of translation has broadened since the distant days of linguistic transcoding that simply focused on the criterion of equivalence. Thirdly, and this is perhaps the most significant aspect, the volume clearly refutes the once frequently raised point of criticism that Translation Studies is mainly "Eurocentric". Even in Bassnett and Lefevere's volume of 1990 this assertion was shown to be inaccurate, but the wealth of countries, cultures and topics represented in the following articles demonstrates the increased interest in and importance of translation and interpreting across the globalized world of today: beside aspects of gender and censorship in Spain and questions of patronage in Ireland, for example, we are given fascinating insights into the translation heritage and activities in regions such as India, Korea, China, Iran, and Brazil. While the major part of the volume focuses on literary, linguistic and sociological issues of translation, the final section is dedicated to aspects of interpreting (as in Japan, China and Australia) which were largely neglected in the discipline for too long, and especially in times of mass migration such as we are experiencing at the time of writing they are particularly crucial.

The dramatic and often devastatingly tragic events of the early 21st century, especially those derived from cultural differences, were in the 1990s as unforeseeable as were the digital revolution and the profound effects of globalization on our individual lives and on entire societies over two decades. The

discipline of Translation Studies as transcultural communication continued however to flourish during that time, and the importance of translation and interpreting for human co-existence in a world that is growing ever smaller remains - despite its regrettably modest social status - beyond dispute. With this in mind one can hope that the rich material in the essays presented here will contribute towards the discipline developing even further, in all its aspects, for many years to come.

Mary Snell-Hornby
University of Vienna, Austria
May 2017

Mary Snell-Hornby *graduated with an M.A. (Hons.) of the University of St. Andrews in 1962 and gained her doctorate and Habilitation from the University of Zürich. In 1989 she was appointed Full Professor of Translation Studies at the University of Vienna. She has been Visiting Professor in many European countries and overseas. From 1997 to 2010 she was Honorary Professor at the University of Warwick, UK. She was a founding member of the European Society for Translation Studies (EST) and its President from 1992 to 1998. She retired from the Chair of Translation Studies in Vienna in 2008, and in 2010 she was awarded an Honorary Doctorate of the University of Tampere in Finland. She has a wide range of publications, including Translation Studies. An Integrated Approach (John Benjamins, 1988) and The Turns of Translation Studies. New Paradigms or Shifting Viewpoints? (John Benjamins, 2006).*

REFERENCE

Bassnett, S., & Lefevere, A. (Eds.). (1990). *Translation, history and culture*. London: Pinter.

Preface

Translation and interpretation are inextricably intertwined with culture. While this appears as being an absolutely natural and logical statement today, this was certainly not always the case. Just a quick look back into translation history will offer convincing evidence. In the traditional intellectual purvey on translation (and less on interpretation), which stretches from antiquity until approximately the first half of the 20th century, the majority of theoretical writing was confined to the age-old opposition between faithful and free rendering of a text from the source language in the target language. Even later on, in the '50s, when linguists began dealing with the phenomena of translation, their approaches showed no real affinity to 'culture', as any theoretical thought and purvey on translation was expected to provide merely auxiliary knowledge to research on machine translation in its very first developmental stages or on language teaching. The same goes for the early scientific period of Translation Studies which followed in the '60s and early '70s. This phase of intellectual purvey distinguishes itself by the effort of researchers to implement linguistics in translation. As these efforts were based on the axioms of rationalism, semiotics and the theory of universals, this linguistic paradigm tried to make "the study of translation rigorously scientific and watertight [and] adopted views and methods of the exact sciences" (Snell-Hornby, 1988, p. 14). Hence, translation and interpretation were regarded as mere linguistic operations which focused on the central but rather static aspect of 'equivalence' and in whose context 'culture' as a concept had no place. (See Stolze, 1997, pp. 51-55; Munday, 2001, pp. 18-29; Seel, 2015, pp. 33-34).

The dead-end of this rigid and monodimensional linguistic theoretical approach to translation was recognized in the late '70s by the Israeli scholar Itamar Even-Zohar. His Polysystem Theory (Even-Zohar, 1978, 1990), originally conceived to investigate the effects of literary translations on the target culture, is the first to place culture at the very middle of intellectual purvey in translation. In this context, the source text and its translation are seen as historical objects and, as such, constitute parts of different, very specific and complex socio-cultural systems. Besides its usefulness for the production of culturally and historically adequate literary translations in the target culture, Even-Zohar's Polysystem Theory triggered new thought and a multitude of theoretical approaches to translation and interpreting in the '80s and early '90s. Regardless of the shifting emphasis, all of them had one thing in common: culture. Such theoretical approaches originated from Even-Zohar's close colleague Gideon Toury and his work on 'norms and translation' under the umbrella of Descriptive Translation Studies (Toury, 1980). Just a few years later, Hans J. Vermeer and Katharina Reiß published their book *General Theory of Translational Action* (original German title: *Grundlegung einer Allgemeinen Translationstheorie*, 1984/1991), which, at the same time, constitutes the cornerstone of functional translation theory and of which skopos theory is the core that was put forward by Hans J. Vermeer (see also Vermeer, 1989/1992). In the same year, Justa Holz-Mänttäri scientifically grounded the professionalization of translation and interpreting in her

book *Translatorisches Handeln. Theorie und Methode*, 1984. Furthermore, a little later, Mary Snell-Hornby elaborates on the interdisciplinarity of the field of Translation Studies in her book *Translation Studies. An Integrated Approach,* 1988, in whose context 'culture' plays a decisive part. In this culture-sensitive context, it is absolutely important to mention also Susan Bassnett's book *Translation Studies* (1984/2014) and Susan Bassnett's and André Lefevere's edited volume *Translation, History, Culture,* 1990. Though the two latter scholars are generally associated with what is called the 'cultural turn' in Translation Studies, all the aforementioned seminal works also represent a distanciation from the rigid and unfruitful linguistic paradigm and its central epistemological axiom of 'equivalence'. Thus, they reflect a theoretical and methodological shift from a positivist point of view to a more relative and humanist stance in translation and interpretation where target-culture socialization and cultural specificity are key concepts which may be applicable to all text types (see Snell-Hornby, 1990, p. 84).[1] Since then, translation and interpretation have been regarded predominantly as special forms of mainly *target-oriented intercultural communication on the basis of language*. Of course, the awareness of the importance of culture for translation and interpreting has since then to be taken for granted among translation scholars. In the relatively young scientific discipline of Translation Studies, intellectual purvey on the relationship between translation and/or interpreting and culture have thereafter produced an astonishing outcome of culture-relevant research on e.g. textual, verbal, nonverbal, semiotic, ethic, issues, as well as on translation competence and translation teaching/didactics. Not to mention remarkable culture-related theoretical research partly deviant from the axioms of the cultural turn, as for example conducted by post-colonial theorists (see Bassnet & Trivedi, 1999).

According to anthropology (White, 1959), one of the dominant characteristics inherent in culture is its ability to change and to develop, while the progressive extent and quality of what can be called 'cultural evolution' is dependent on human activity. In view of this, any culture-oriented approach to translation and interpretation has to take into account this major notion of culture, and only by doing so it would be possible to guarantee the most accurate and up-to-date scientific research and exploration.

Given this constant evolutionary nature of culture, it goes without saying that its conceptualizations in time may not be relevant or realistic in different periods of human activity. Or, in other words, in the flux of humanity, the manifestations of culture and, therefore, the way it has to be defined and conceptualized are very likely to vary. And this, of course, is of great significance for translation and interpreting. In these terms, the afore-mentioned research on culture and translation and interpretation, which I would like to all together roughly subsume here under the term 'cultural turn' in Translation Studies, relies, as has been proved (see Seel, 2008), on anthropological concepts of culture (see Göhring, 2002). However, these concepts of culture are more or less static and can be regarded as being identical with the rather rigid one of 'national culture' where culture is characterized by only restricted permeability, permitting external influence to enter the national cultural realm in a more or less controlled manner (see Goodenough, 1964). Thus, culture and, consequently, the central concept of 'cultural specificity'[2] in 'traditional' culture-oriented research in Translation Studies have to be regarded as instrumental and applicable only as long as cultures-in-contact remain cultures with relatively precise national borders and are subjected to some extend of evolution which as such, is yet controlled and gradual. The traditional cultural turn in Translation Studies views cultural evolution in its conventional anthropological sense and, consequently, grounds its theoretical works on this conceptualization. And this conceptualization is to be regarded as methodologically applicable and absolutely sufficient for practical use in translation and interpreting for all human and societal activity from its beginnings in history until about the end of the 20th century. (See Seel, 2008, pp. 58-109)

However, since the 1990s, when globalization started having an impact on human life and societies, cultural theorists (e.g., Bhabha, 1999, 2000; Robertson, 1992; Tomlinson, 1999; Beck, 1997) began investigating the multi-perspective nature of cultural evolution predominantly in view of globalization and its multidimensional impact on culture and its afore-mentioned conventional perception. Key words of post-modern cultural evolution, e.g. homogenization, glocalization, tribalization, hybridization, have since then become eminent. At the same time, Translation Studies reacted to this change and started to investigate and analyze a world that has become more complex, diversified and continuously and rapidly changing. Nonetheless, research in Translation Studies and its relation to the new age of globalization has since then mainly focused on issues regarding technological advancement, such as e.g. the establishment of a new age of information, communication and knowledge and the importance of electronic tools for the translator (Austermühl, 2001), the major changes in world economies, the internet, new technology, machine translation, the world-wide translation industry and their impact on contemporary translation (Cronin, 2003), and less on new text types, for which research in the emerging of the localization industry as a new translation field can be said to be one exception (Esselink, 2000; O'Hagan & Ashworth, 2002; Pym, 2004).

On the contrary, cultural evolution in the era of globalization as such and its permanent diversifications have been only brought rarely into relation with translation and interpreting from a sociological and/or semiotic and/or culture-sensitive and/or (text)linguistic perspective (see Seel, 2008). Yet, given its universal presence, cultural evolution must be considered as being of primary importance for translation and interpreting, as it is constantly reflected in the dominant working instruments of the translator and the interpreter, i.e. language and text.

It is therefore all too evident that the culture conceptualization and, hence, the methodological instruments of the traditional cultural turn has to be regarded as merely partly applicable to the status quo of culture in the globalized era and only partly compatible with cultural data that are historically and semiotically non-globalized (see Seel, 2008). For that reason, it is obvious that the culture-relevant methodological and conceptual mechanisms, tools and working instruments of the traditional cultural turn in Translation Studies are not absolutely sufficient in order to still guarantee accurate research and exploration in every translational and interpretational situation in the era of (post)globalization. It is in these terms completely in line with this argument, when Susan Bassnett points out with regard to the cultural turn in the discipline but, at the same time, insinuating the increased demands of the new perplexity of globalization, that:

[It] is an inevitable result of the need for greater intercultural awareness in the world today. It is greatly to be welcomed, for it offers the best chance we have to understand more about the complexities of textual transfer, about what happens to texts as they move into new contexts and the rapidly changing patterns of cultural interaction in the world we inhabit. (Bassnett, 2007, p. 23)

CHALLENGES

In view of the above and the ever-changing nature of culture, Translation Studies has to make an effort in conceptualizing culture-relevant approaches that take cultural evolution and (post)globalization into account and to place these approaches into its scientific apparatus next to the theoretical culture-relevant conceptualizations of the traditional cultural turn. More specifically, it is one of the greatest challenges

of today's Translation Studies if it wishes to be epistemologically up-to-date, to enhance and promote research and intellectual purvey that investigates textual, linguistic, semiotic aspects of translation/ interpreting in its relation to culture and cultural evolution from both a diachronic and a synchronic perspective, i.e. it needs to investigate the cultural dimension of 'text' in relation to translation and/or interpretation as it manifests itself in the global era and before it. Furthermore, it would be also of value to foster diachronic and synchronic culture-related research from both possible angles, i.e. 1. the angle of how culture and cultural evolution has an impact on translation/interpretation, and, vice versa, 2. the angle of how translation/interpretation has an impact on culture and its evolution.

Regarding diachronic and (less) synchronic research from the angle of how translation/interpretation can influence and/or shape culture and its evolution is a domain which has already been frequently dealt with by the traditional cultural turn in Translation Studies by quite a great amount of book-long contributions (see for example Even-Zohar, 1978, 1990; Toury, 1980; Hermans, 1985; Venuti, 1994, 1995, 1998; Woodsworth, 1996; Tymoczko, 2014, p. 170). In this context, the publication that is particularly noteworthy is Eva Hung's edited volume *Translation and Cultural Change: Studies in History, Norms and Image-Projection*, 2005.

In relation to synchronic and (less) diachronic culture-oriented research in the era of globalization but, especially, from the exactly opposite angle, i.e. how cultural evolution influences translation/interpretation, the status quo of research still leaves a lot to be desired. As to my knowledge, there are some synchronic approaches from this angle (that are not focusing on the technological advancements due to the global era as mentioned earlier), most of which however are only chapter-long contributions (Snell-Hornby, 1990, 1997a, 1997b, 2000; Wilss, 2000; Archer, 2002; Séguinot, 1994; Seel, 2008).

In view of this, the challenges that research faces, both in translation and interpretation in relation to cultural evolution, are numerous and the most important ones can be subsumed as follows:

1. From a diachronic point of view and both from the angle of how translation and/or interpretation influences culture and cultural evolution, as well as from the angle of how and to which extent culture and cultural evolution has an impact on translation and/or interpretation, research can be enhanced with regard to the following aspects: the relationship of the history of translation and cultural evolution, historical and sociological aspects of translational and/or interpretational creativity and cultural evolution, the retranslations (of literary works) and cultural evolution, historical reexamination of norms of specific cultures-in-contact, historical cultural agency of the publishing industry, historic translation policy in specific societies and cultural evolution, the stages of evolution of text types in the (post)global era, the bridging of cultural translation as a metaphor - as used by the post-colonialists - with the traditional cultural paradigm of the cultural turn.

2. From a synchronic point of view and both from the angle of how translation and interpretation influences culture and cultural evolution, as well as from the angle of how and to which extent culture and cultural evolution has an impact on translation and/or interpretation, research can be enhanced with regard to the following aspects: translation-relevant/interpreting-relevant theoretical/semiotic models of cultural evolution, translation/interpreting and hybridization, homogenization, tribalization, glocalization, localization as a genre and cultural evolution, process-orientated translation/ interpreting research and cultural evolution, product-orientated translation/interpreting research and

cultural evolution, translation/interpreting teaching in the global era, cultural competence of the translator/interpreter and cultural evolution, the translator as cultural agent in the global age and cultural evolution, language and language change in translation/interpreting and cultural evolution, sociolinguistic/pragmatic issues in translation/interpreting and cultural evolution, non-verbal language in translation/interpreting and cultural evolution, translation-relevant/interpretation-relevant text issues and cultural evolution, e.g., hypertext, multimodal texts, website localization, video games, fan subbing, transcreation, transadaptation, multilingual translation settings and cultural evolution, translating/interpreting minor to major/major to minor in the global era and cultural evolution, the Self and the Other in the context of translation and cultural evolution, 'cultural' texts and cultural evolution, and, last but not least, new approaches to contemporary epistemological aspects of translation theory and cultural evolution.

AIMS AND TARGET AUDIENCE OF THE BOOK

In accordance with the above, and in face of the challenges that have been described, as well as in the light of all the explorations that have already been carried out in the past by both the traditional cultural turn and the 'new' globalization-oriented research carried out in Translation Studies, this publication aims to provide relevant theoretical framework and the latest empirical research findings in the area of culture-related translation research in the context of cultural evolution, translation and interpretation, both diachronic and synchronic. In these terms, this book is intended to widen the insights into this subject from both angles, the one of translation/interpretation influencing culture and cultural evolution and, vice versa, culture and cultural evolution having an impact on translation and/or interpretation. Ultimately, by giving insights into this important subject from these diverse angles, this book hopes to contribute to improving translation and interpretation practice, as well as to deliver more theoretical insights into culture-oriented research in Translation Studies. For this end, this publication is intended to bring together the studies of scholars and teachers in the fields of translation and interpretation from various cultures in the world and whose research is genuinely culture-oriented.

The book is above all written for researchers and trainees in the fields of Translation Studies, translation and/or interpretation who want to deepen their understanding of the relationship between translation, interpretation and culture and its evolution both diachronically and synchronically, as well as from both angles mentioned above. As the main issues of concern in this context are primarily, but not exclusively, language and text as the dominant working instruments and, consequently, the translation/interpretation process and product, this book is also of concern to the translator/interpreter as a professional cultural agent. The book may also provide insights and support to all other researchers, professionals and trainees of domains that are concerned with culture and communication, e.g. cultural studies, cultural management, communication science, sociolinguistics, pragmalinguistics, adaptation studies, semiotics.

Concluding, this publication is intended to contribute to 'redefining' the relationship of translation, interpretation in cultural evolution. By doing so, it wishes to fill as many 'gaps' in research as possible and to contribute with new knowledge to culture-oriented discourse in Translation Studies in a (post) global age.

ORGANIZATION OF THE BOOK

This book is divided into four sections and comprises 14 chapters. Section 1, which covers Chapter 1 to Chapter 4, elaborates on literary translation and cultural evolution. Section 2, which covers Chapter 5 to Chapter 7, focuses on linguistic aspects of translation in the context of cultural evolution. Section 3, which covers Chapter 8 to Chapter 11, provides theoretical reflections on sociological aspects of translation with regard to cultural evolution. And section 4, which covers Chapter 12 to Chapter 14, deals with interpretation in the context of cultural evolution.

Chapter 1 examines how the English translations of valuable literary texts written in non-western languages open up possibilities of cultural change/evolution by giving the English speaking world access to and an understanding of the culture, traditions, values and beliefs embedded in those texts. The chapter also explores how the translator as the "intercultural mediator", initiate the process of "intercultural transfer", which eventually enables the evolution of a 'Universal Culture'.

Chapter 2 looks into the history of Indian English fiction and translations in India to point to a cultural evolution that has eventually come to privilege the Indian English text and the Indian English writer at the expense of translations. This has been substantiated further by a study of the Malayalam translation of the Indian English novel *The God of Small Things* and the English translation of the Malayalam novel *Chemmeen*. The translation strategies, translator's note and iconography of the book covers are analyzed to discuss the existing equation between English and other Indian languages. This is also a commentary on the ever-diminishing multilingual context of globalized India.

Chapter 3 analyses the Spanish translation and censorship of Radclyffe Hall's *The Well of Loneliness* (1928) – the first English novel to tackle lesbianism and transgenderism - in the context of Spain's Franco's dictatorship (1939-1975) and the early years of the Spanish democracy as an example of translation in cultural evolution. Furthermore, it shows the link between gender, translation and censorship providing evidence of the immense power translation (and ideology) has in the transmission (or blocking) of cultural content.

Chapter 4 focuses on comics as a type of literature with an increasing prestige due to the change in the cultural paradigm, which took place with the publication of *Maus* (Spiegelman, 1991). This chapter aims to analyze the evolution of key terms in translation studies regarding cultural issues, from 'equivalence' to 'transcreation'. The author analyzes two Spanish translations, with remarkable differences between them, in order to reach homogeneous proposals to reflect linguistic and cultural interferences when translating this graphic novel into Spanish, essential for the adequate understanding of *Maus*.

Chapter 5 examines the procedures of translation of proper names as memes, based on the theory of cultural evolution and memetics. Firstly, it proposes an overview of contemporary theories of cultural translation. Secondly, on the basis of the theoretical framework of cultural evolution, the central aim of this paper is to analyse the role of memes in translation. Lastly, the (un)translatability of proper names as cultural memes and the use of some translation procedures are verified from a multilingual point of view (French, English and Slovene).

Chapter 6 looks at the cultural mediator roles of translation trainees dealing with culture-specific lexis. Presenting data from an undergraduate translation practice classroom in Seoul, South Korea, the chapter highlights the significant role translation of culture-specific lexis can play in forming and developing learners' identities as mediators between source and target text cultures, an important role in light of cultural change in an era of globalization which calls for culture or cultures to be viewed from a multifaceted and diverse perspective.

Chapter 7 argues for the cultural dimensions of Chinese overseas, particularly those in Malaysia and Singapore, as an object of Translation Studies. These Chinese overseas have already shown a uniquely evolved culture that is different from that in China. Linguistic displacement in the shared language is a reflection of cultural discrepancy resulted from cultural evolution, and cultural divergence innately calls for the intervention of cultural translation. This chapter garners insights into the cultural translation between two geographically and culturally different Chinese communities.

Chapter 8 emphasizes the importance of subculture and even its priority over culture in Translation Studies and proposes the novel notion of "subcultural translation", which rests on a philosophical foundation and provides a holistic analytic framework. A culture, especially in globalization, is viewed as a fragmented whole composed of constantly transforming streams that are shaped by internal/external forces. Sub-groups in a society may favor a particular type of translation, forming socio-aesthetically or socio-politically distinct translation subcultures. To explain cultural evolution through translation, a theoretical framework is constructed which involves a hierarchy of historical, ontological and sociological concerns. This framework emerges from a dialogue between Foucault, Ricoeur and Bourdieu. The study ultimately suggests four (post)modern subcultural translation samples.

Chapter 9 provides a glimpse of the role played by translation in Brazil's cultural evolution, demonstrating how a slow, steady revolution in Portuguese usage has been partially fostered by translated cultural goods, particularly the representation of oral discourse. Despite the fact that a conservative approach to translation (i.e. consistently high register and archaic grammatical structures inherited from European Portuguese) is still the prevailing norm, agents involved in different spheres of the translation industry are challenging this, resulting in a conflicting contemporary situation.

Chapter 10 seeks to highlight the connection between the evolution of the publishing industry's policies and agendas and the translation strategies employed to introduce foreign literature onto the Italian market. An analytical appraisal of Italian translations of Seamus Heaney's poetry will illustrate, from a diachronic perspective, how changes in the translator's profile and/or the books' paratext and packaging might affect the international reception of complex literary endeavors such as Heaney's poetic career. Specifically, the evolution of Heaney's voice(s) in translation will be assessed in terms of qualitative shifts in the normative behavior of Italian patrons and translators accordingly, showing possible repercussions on the significance of the work and the nature of its cultural relevance within the receiving context.

Chapter 11 discusses the activities of Remzi Bengi and Yaşar Nabi Nayır, two notable Turkish publishers, in the intellectual and literary life of the early years of the Republic of Turkey. It examines and evaluates the roles they played as publishers, editors, translators and sponsors of translation in the formation of a new literary and socio-political culture that stood in stark contrast to the preceding culture of the defunct Ottoman Empire. The chapter argues that their efforts, achievements and influence in the field of literature, translation and cultural exchange mark them not "merely" as editors and publishers but as idea-makers, culture entrepreneurs and, indeed, "carriers of life images that helped shape the culture and the literary scene of their time, a period marked by an accelerated and consciously-directed cultural evolution.

Chapter 12 covers the evolution of the cultural role of interpreters over time and within specializations. Historically, those selected to interpret acted as intermediaries between two groups. The technology and unilateral focus of the advent of professional simultaneous conference interpreting required a more technical linguistic role, and therefore, the only form of 'professional' interpreting precluded a cultural role. The interactive nature of the dialogic communicative event, however, required interpreters to mediate culturally, as well as linguistically. This seems to be most pronounced in medical interpret-

ing, where the goals of the encounter require cultural competency on behalf of all present, including the interpreter. Context, setting, and the goals of the communicative event have determined this role's limitation or expansion.

Chapter 13 engages with the underexplored area of political interpreting and interpreters' agency in Chinese premier's press conferences against the backdrop of sociopolitical and cultural evolution signaled by China's Reform and Opening up in 1978. Critical metadiscursive analysis focusing on government's official website identifies triple and seemingly conflicting requirements in terms of interpreters' expected roles, calling for further critical discourse analysis to investigate how in practice interpreters might negotiate their way between these expectations. Close comparative analysis between the source texts and target texts reveals empirically that the government-affiliated interpreters are often able to negotiate a way as highly competent interpreting professionals with the additional functions of advancing China's global engagement and safeguarding China's national interests.

Chapter 14 investigates the challenges encountered by professional healthcare interpreters, to explore their impact on the success of interpreter-mediated consultations and to recommend strategies to deal with them. The more complex, multifaceted and continuously changing culture in a globalized world also changes the nature of health care interpreting. This chapter is based on the results of an ethnographic study, consisting of observations and interviews of health care interpreters at a public hospital in Australia, which is one of the most multicultural and multiracial countries in the world. The results of this study clearly show that a great diversity of people from various cultural, ethnic, linguistic, and religious backgrounds and the cultural evolution affect the nature of the interpreter's role in health care interpreting.

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ENDNOTES

[1]   While it was Holmes (1988) who set the foundation for the discipline in 1972 when he mapped her (see Stolze, 1997, p. 166), the scientific discourse as outlined here played a major role in also theoretically grounding Translation Studies as an independent academic discipline.

[2]   'Cultural specificity' as a central culture-oriented concept in Translation Studies refers to the 'differences' in cultural manifestation of two (or more) cultures-in-contact (see Seel, 2008, pp. 63-64).

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Section 1
Literary Translation and Cultural Evolution

Chapter 1
Rewriting the "Vanishing Present":
Translation, Mediation, and Cultural Evolution

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ABSTRACT

The present paper explores how the translators mediate between languages and cultures to rewrite the classical texts, tucked away in the margins and peripheries, and being incomprehensible and inaccessible to the western world on account of their language and location. The present study also examines how the translator's act of "rewriting" empowers the translated text and also the culture it performs, promotes an understanding of other cultures and eventually enables the evolution of a "universal culture."

INTRODUCTION

I do not want to stay in a house with all its windows and doors shut. I want a house with all its windows and doors open where the cultural breezes of all lands and nations blow through my house.

Mahatma Gandhi (as cited in Varma, 2010, p. v)

In his Introduction to *Translation/History/Culture: A Sourcebook*, Lefevere (2003, p.1) refers to Petrus Danielus Huetius' definition of translation as "a text written in a well-known language which refers to and represents a text in a language which is not as well known". This, according to Lefevere (2003, p. 1), is the "most productive definition of a translation". He goes on to say, "if you produce a text that "refers to" another text, rather than producing your own, you are most likely to do so because you think the other text enjoys a prestige far greater than the prestige your own text might possibly aspire to. In other words, you invoke the authority of the text you represent. It may be a sobering thought that some

of the masterpieces of world literature, such as Cervantes' *Don Quixote,* profess to be translations of lost originals, i.e. that they refer to non-existent texts in order to derive some kind of legitimacy which, it is felt, would otherwise not be present to the same extent […] Translation has to do with authority and legitimacy and, ultimately, with power" (Lefevere, 2003, pp. 1-2).

Lefevere's assertion regarding authority, legitimacy and power being invoked by translation cannot be overlooked as it points to and explains an even greater and an overtly political enterprise of the third world nations to achieve cultural authority and legitimacy. "The real aim of colonialism," says Ngugi Wa Thiong'o (1986, p. 16) in his important work *Decolonising The Mind*, "was to control people's wealth […] But its most important area of domination was the mental universe of the colonized, the control, through culture, of how people perceived themselves and their relationship to the world".

So the colonizers, Thiong'o asserts, deliberately denigrated the native's culture and to achieve this aim, they used their language, for according to Ashcroft, Griffiths & Tiffin (2002, p. 7) language is "the medium through which a hierarchical structure is perpetuated and the medium through which conceptions of 'truth', 'order' and 'reality' become established". Language being used as a means of establishing hierarchy or as "the primary channel of cultural production" (Christou, 2006, p. 27), it is imperative that language also be used to subvert that hierarchy and assert cultural authority and power.

This explains the recent surge in the number of translations from third world nations, especially India where, according to Ashcroft, Griffiths & Tiffin (2002, p. 29), "the bulk of literature is written in indigenous Indian languages", some of which have been canonized as classics in the native Indian literary tradition. These texts written in the indigenous languages document the native culture and its history, especially those unwritten, unheard and forgotten moments of Indian history which according to Devi (2003, p. 12), are "going away" and "vanishing". The translator "rewrites" those texts in a well known language and relocates them from their circumscribed discursive space to the "loci of power" [1]. Bassnett & Lefevere (1992, p. vii) explain the whole process in the following words:

Translation is, of course a rewriting of an original text. All rewritings, whatever their intention, reflect a certain ideology and poetics and as such manipulative literature to function in given society in a given way. Rewriting is manipulation undertaken in the service of power, and in its positive aspect can help in the evolution of literature and society.

The ultimate aim of translation, then, is the acquisition of power which is, according to Venuti (2004, p. 20), "contingent on the current target-language situation". So, for a people whose culture has been devalued and denigrated, this acquisition of power implies an exercise in the re-visioning/re-evaluation/ recuperation of their culture. This obviously necessitates a performance of the hitherto devalued culture which, through the means of translation is enacted in all its "otherness" but in a language which is well-known and occupies a prestigious status, and hence, the choice of English, the "Hegemonic International Language" (Jeremy, 2008, p. 139).

Mahasweta Devi's *Chotti Munda and his Arrow* and Kalidasa's *The Loom of Time* are translations of writers, to quote Bhabha (2004, p.xi), "who were off-center; literary texts that had been passed by; themes and topics that had lain dormant or unread in great works of literature".

Being rewritten/translated into English, "the complex of values, customs, beliefs and practices" (Eagleton, 2000, p. 37) which these texts represent and which Terry Eagleton terms as culture, is performed in its "otherness" and rendered legible/intelligible to the western readers. The present study endeavors to examine how the English translation of indigenous Indian texts like Mahasweta Devi's

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Chotti Munda ebang Tar Tir and Kalidasa's *Ritusamharam, Meghadutam* and *Abhijnanasakuntalam* opens up possibilities of cultural change/evolution by giving the western world an access to the culturally others' "web of meanings" (Rozbicki & Ndege, 2012, p. 1), which through translation reaches and enthuses the western readers and enables a steady extension of intercultural contact. Thus the translator, capitalizing on his/her ability to mediate between languages and cultures, rewrites the texts tucked away in the margins and peripheries, the texts recording the rare and valuable "vanishing present" [2] but incomprehensible and inaccessible to the western world on account of their language and location. The present study examines, through an analysis of the abovementioned texts, how the translator's act of "rewriting" "the "vanishing present" of the "culturally others" empowers the translated text and also the culture it performs, promotes an understanding of other cultures and eventually enables the evolution of a "Universal Culture. The term "Universal Culture", it is important to note here, has been used by Rabindranath Tagore (Anand, 1992, p. 73) who believed that a "true cooperation of East and West" was necessary for the "Universal Culture in its completeness" and to actualize this goal it was essential "[t]o bring to realization the fundamental unity of the tendencies of different civilizations of Asia, thereby enabling the east to gain a full consciousness of its own spiritual purpose, the obscuration of which has been the chief obstacle in the way of the great achievements of those mutually complementary civilizations". So the "Universal Culture", as conceived by Rabindranath Tagore, can be viewed as evolving from an interaction and integration of the tendencies, values and beliefs of different cultures in contact. It is this *dynamic* conception of culture, being in constant evolution from the interaction between the cultures, that the present study seeks to explore and this requires, first and foremost, an understanding of how translation/translator helps in retrieving valuable literary texts written in indigenous languages and opens them out to the vast western world and how such a retrieval enables the western world to gain a full and comprehensive idea of the culture, traditions, values and beliefs embedded in these indigenous texts, and hence initiate the process of "intercultural transfer".

BACKGROUND

Bassnet & Trivedi (2002, p. 2) contend that "translation does not happen in a vacuum, but in a continuum; it is not an isolated act, it is part of an ongoing process of intercultural transfer". The "intercultural" element in translation makes it clear that translation cannot be seen solely as a linguistic activity. Pellatt, Liu & Ya-Yun Chen (2014, p. 5) argue that "all translation, even of aspects such as paratext, is inextricably linked to at least two languages, two cultures, two political systems and probably multiple ways of thinking". So translation involves not merely two languages but also two cultures, each having its own internal dynamics which may be vastly different from each other and hence remain incomprehensible to each other. Underlying this assertion is the suggestion that any source text is authored by writers who are conditioned in a particular culture and accordingly view and depict the world around them. Taken in this sense, *Ritusamharam, Meghadutam*, *Abhijnanasakuntalam* and *Chotti Munda ebang Tar Tir* are texts written by writers who are reared in the Indian culture and accordingly they perceive and reconstruct the reality around them. This can be explicated better by taking an example from the Kalidas's text, *Abhijnanasakuntalam*. In Scene I, Act IV of the play, Kalidasa (1989, p. 215) mentions a curse given by the sage Durvasa to Sakuntala. After king Dushanta had left for his capital, Sakuntala is lost in the memory of the king and ignores the call of the sage at her door which greatly upsets the sage who then, curses Sakuntala in the following words:

Woe to you, woe, you insolent girl who disregards the honoured guest standing at your door.

You who do not notice me,

a hoard of holy merit

standing at your door,

because you are lost in thoughts of one

to the exclusion of all else,

you shall be lost in his thoughts:

though you goad his memory hard,

he shall fail to remember you,

even as a man drunk remembers not

thereafter, the tale he told before.

So, the curse of a sage possessing the power to cause the loss of memory of a king is a culture- specific concept which only Kalidasa or an Indian reader, firmly steeped in ancient Indian culture and traditions could imagine or comprehend. On being translated into English, such culture- specific ideas or even the whole text embodying a variety of such culture- specific terms, customs, traditions, ideas and activities can be made available to the western readers, but a full comprehension of the essence of the text and the culture which it reflects may still elude the readers, for to quote in the words of Feleppa, (1988, p. 2) "their responses to particular features of most, or perhaps all, incoming stimuli […] are largely channeled by linguistic and broader cultural conditioning". In order to gain a full comprehension of those texts they need to possess a fairly accurate understanding of the rich Indian culture. An understanding of the Indian culture entails an understanding of all those cultural icons, symbols, traditions and idioms, some of which are no longer in use, even in India. Indian texts like Kalidasa's *Ritusamharam, Meghadutam, Abhijnanasakuntalam* or Mahasweta Devi's *Chotti Munda ebang Tar Tir* are inextricably linked with and are also expressions of their cultural contexts and their translation, therefore, pose many difficulties, as Toury (2004, p.199) states:

In its socio-cultural dimension, translation can be described as subject to constraints of several types and varying degree. These extend far beyond the source text; the systemic differences between the languages and textual traditions involved in the act, or even the possibilities and limitations of the cognitive apparatus of the translator as a necessary mediator.

Under these circumstances, "the cognitive apparatus", ability and strategies of "translator as a necessary mediator" are of paramount importance. It is upon the translator that the comprehensibility/ intelligibility of the translated text and the understanding of the source culture depend. Some scholars of translation believe that the translator should employ such strategies which not only bridge "linguistic boundaries" but also remove the "cultural barriers". To achieve this end, one of the key strategies adopted by the translators, including Chandra Rajan, the translator of Kalidasa's *Ritusamharam, Meghadutam, Abhijnanasakuntalam* and Gayatri Spivak, the translator of Mahasweta Devi's *Chotti Munda ebang Tar Tir,* is the use of supplementary information regarding the culture -specific items and activities. Theo-

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rists and researchers in the field have also laid emphasis on the use of supplementary information by the translators. Venuti (2004, p. 122) in his influential book, *The Translation Studies Reader,* refers to House's suggestion that "if the significance of a foreign text is peculiarly indigenous, it requires a translation that is overt or noticeable through its reliance on supplementary information, whether in the form of expansions, insertions or annotations". Similarly Pellatt, Liu and Ya-Yun Chen (2014, p. 8) speak about Mc Rae's assertion regarding the "growing feeling among some translators that a preface or introduction that explains the translator's choices should be provided as part of the paratext of a translated work". The application of such a strategy greatly assists the target readers in bridging the "cultural barrier".

It is only when the "cultural barrier" is removed that translation opens a state of dialogue between the source and target cultures, facilitating "intercultural transfer" and enabling what Rubel and Rosman (2003, p. 1) call "cross-cultural understanding". It is only then that the culture evolves and changes, the change being an indicator of the constant interaction between the source and the target cultures, and of the making of a "Universal Culture" which may be viewed as a synthesis of the components of all the cultures in interaction with one another.

MAIN FOCUS OF THE CHAPTER

Translation and Mediation

The "extra- textual explanations" (Saldanha, 2014, p. 105) provided by the translators to bridge the "cultural barrier" makes it possible to envisage the role of translator as the "intercultural mediator" (Saldanha, 2014, p. 105) who allow, as Huggan says, "for the formulation of links both between and within cultures" (Huggan,1996, p. 132, as cited in Dunlop, 2011, p. 28).

The entire process can well be understood if we consider, for instance, the following episode from Camila Reimers's 2005 prize-winning short story which Cheadle (2007, p. ix) narrates in his 'Introduction' to the *Canadian Cultural Exchange*:

Under questioning in English in an Ottawa courtroom, Ana knows that she is being asked her name, but literally cannot say it until the interpreter, her new friend Nawal, intervenes and talks with Ana in Spanish [...] and thus lays the bridge that enables the little girl to [...] cross from one culture to another.

The translators as "intercultural mediators", thus, construct the bridge that makes possible the "cultural exchange" and "which potentiates, in spite of unequal power relations, the emergence of new cultural forms" (Cheadle, 2007, p. xi), which denote not only the leveling of cultural differences but also the standardization of culture that is elevated to a universal category. An analysis of the two texts under consideration, *Chotti Munda and his Arrow* and *The Loom of Time* would reveal that translators as "necessary" or "intercultural mediators" initiate the process of "cultural evolution" or "cultural change".

Both the texts *Chotti Munda and his Arrow* and *The Loom of Time* are English translations of those Indian texts which may be considered as the repository of the rich Indian cultural heritage. Being translated into English by translators having intimate knowledge of the indigenous languages, these texts unravel the Indian culture for the comprehension of the western readers who learn about that culture and even allow it to seep into their culture. In other words, it is through the agency of the translated text that the Indian culture, its mode of thought or ways of living is made meaningful to the English speaking world.

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Asserting the importance of understanding foreign works and also how it enables the evolution of culture, Lefevere (2003, p. 159) says that "a nation should know the importance of understanding foreign works and want to do so, and that its language should be allowed a certain flexibility. Where those conditions are fulfilled this type of translation becomes a natural phenomenon influencing the whole evolution of a culture and giving a certain pleasure as it is given a certain value".

The Loom of Time is a collection of three important works- *The Gathering of Seasons*, *The Cloud Messenger* and *The Recognition of Sakuntala* originally written in Sanskrit as *Ritusamharam, Meghadutam* and *Abhijnanasakuntalam* respectively by Kalidasa, "the greatest poet in classical Sanskrit literature and one of the greatest in world literature" (Kalidasa, 1989, p. 1). Very little is known about the poet, for according to Chandra Rajan, the translator and compiler of these works, Kalidasa has "chosen to reveal little of himself in his work". She says:

Kalidasa probably lived and wrote at the close of the first millennium BC, though a date later by some five centuries has been assigned to him by some scholars. It is highly probable too that he lived and wrote in Ujjain, Madhya Pradesh- splendid capital of empires, a centre of culture and India's great emporium for a thousand years. (Kalidasa, 1989, p. 1)

Historical sources reveal Kalidasa to be a member of Chandra Gupta II's court. "The Gupta empire", says a historian,

reached its highest glory, both in terms of territorial expansion and cultural excellence, under Chandragupta II […] Ujjain, a great centre of trade, religion and culture, became the second capital of the Gupta empire […] Other than his conquests, Chandragupta II's reign is remembered for his patronage of literature and arts and for the high standard of artistic and cultural life (Lal, n.d., pp. 176-178).

Living as he was at the centre of culture, it is no wonder that Kalidasa, the learned court poet of Emperor Chandra Gupta II, was well versed in the art of poetry and possessed a keen knowledge of royal ways and princely manners which form the subject of *Abhijnana Sakuntalam*, one of the first examples of Indian literature to be seen in Europe, attracting attention of the western world and surprising many that, "such a sophisticated art form could have developed without the rest of the world noticing" (Kalidasa, 2006, p. 15). The eminent Indian historian Romila Thapar (2011, pp. 5-6) says that, "given the status of Kalidasa as a poet, the fine quality of the play in terms of language and structure, and the evocations of masterly metaphors, it is not surprising that it has always been held as an exemplar of Sanskrit drama".

Kalidasa borrows the story of *Abhijnana Sakuntalam* from the ancient Sanskrit epic *Mahabharata*, though he changes it significantly in the creation of his play. Written in seven acts, it tells the story of Sakuntala, the daughter of the sage Visvamitra and the apsara (celestial nymph) Menaka brought up by the sage Kanva in a sacred grove, and Dushanta, a monarch of the mythic past. The first three acts describe the meeting of Sakuntala and Dushanta in sage Kanva's hermitage located in the forest and their love blooming amidst the lush green flora and fauna. The third act ends with Sakuntala and Dushanta meeting in secret and performing *gandharva* marriage [3]. After the marriage is performed, Dushanta returns to his capital city, leaving Sakuntala with a ring as a symbol of his love. The fourth and the fifth acts depict the splendor and glory of the royal court of King Dushanta. Sakuntala bids farewell to her home and reaches Dushnta's court but the king refuses to recognize her. Having lost the ring, the "highly prized token" (Kalidasa, 2006, p. 238) of love gifted to her by the king, the pregnant Sakuntala has no

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other possession that can remind the king of his love for her. Humiliated and abandoned by the king in the royal court, Sakuntala is taken away by "a flash of light in a woman's shape" (Kalidasa, 2006, p. 242). Sakuntala is then taken to the Hermitage of Marica where she gives birth to Bharata. Acts six and seven present an intermingling of the worldly and the divine, it is a world where the mortals move with Gods. Sakuntala's ring is found by a fisherman in the guts of a fish, brought to the notice of the king who instantly remembers everything and is filled with remorse and regret lacking even the will to live. However, he is pulled out of depressive state when he hears the wail of Madhavya, the *vidusaka* (king's jester) and also his close companion. The sixth act ends with the king mounting the chariot to obey the commands of Indra, (the Lord of Heaven) to kill the demons. The last act is enacted in the Hermitage of Marica where the king reaches mounting on Indira's chariot and sees his son Bharata playing with a lion cub. The whole Act seven, says Chandra Rajan, is placed in "the world of Mārica's Hermitage, where the 'highest penances are wrought' in the penance groves of the Perfected Seers; it is a world which ascetics perform the severest austerities to attain. Here Mārica (the luminous) born of the Self-Existent Light, himself performs penance with his consort, Aditi. The last stage direction that brings the play to a close is: *Exit all*. No distinction is made between the characters belonging to the Hermitage and the mortals who have to descend to Duhsanta's capital." (Kalidasa, 1986, p. 83) The last act witnesses the reconciliation of king Dushanta with Sakuntala and his son Bharata after Marica explains that the whole tragedy was caused by the curse of sage Durvasas.

That Kalidasa's play had a great impact on western scholarship and that it continues to influence the western world and culture can be evidenced from the fact that "Jones' declaration that 'Kalidasa was the Shakespeare of India' is still widely quoted" (Thapar, 2011, p. 6). In one stroke, Jones compares and equates the ancient Indian literary tradition, through Kalidasa, with the finest English literary tradition, through Shakespeare, a comparison which instantly levels the cultural differences and points to a more global situation where there is an interplay of two diverse cultures within a shared cultural arena.

Kalidasa's position as court official provided him with ample opportunities to travel and it was during one of these travel assignments given to him by the Emperor Chandra Gupta II which caused him a long separation from his wife, that he composed *Meghdutam*, the first messenger poem or *duta-kavyam* written in Sanskrit, while he was "residing at the Vakataka capital of Nandhivardhana, near the Rama hill of the poem, as advisor to the widowed Queen Prabhavati Gupta, daughter of the emperor, who was ruling the kingdom as regent for her infant son" (Kalidasa, 1986, p. 1). The poem narrates the tale of a Yaksa, who is exiled from his home by his Lord Kuber, the god of wealth, for the abandonment of the duties assigned to him. Pining on the hilltop for his wife, the Yaksa sees a cloud and pleads it to take a message for her. His plea, which includes a description of the journey the cloud will undertake from the hilltop of Rama's hill, which is now the abode of Yaksa, to Alaka, the dream city where the beloved lives, forms the situation wherein the nature is presented in its idyllic state, full of beauty and splendor, even assigned a divine status by comparison with the deities. Regarding Kalidasa's choice of casting a cloud as a messenger Rajan says:

In ancient cultures non-human forms of life, birds, beasts and even trees, were believed to posses super-human abilities and powers; to have a special kind of wisdom and bear a relationship to sacred forces […] But to cast a rain cloud, an inanimate, elemental thing (as the poet himself reminds us in st. 5) as a messenger, is to have made a literary choice of extraordinary imaginative power and poetic sensibility. (Kalidasa, 1986, p. 54)

It was the "extraordinary imaginative power and poetic sensibility" of Kalidasa that made him write *Ritusamharam,* a poem in six cantos, regarded by the scholars as one of the earliest endeavors of the poet, which presents with great particularity the minute details of the world of nature in "all its variousness in the changing seasons: parched under the burning sun and devastating drought, revived and renewed in the rains with brilliant colors splashed all around; mellow in autumn's golden platitude; shivering and pale under the wintry moon's icy glitter" (*Kalidasa, 1986*, p. 38).

It is important to note here that Kalidasa's works have been written in Sanskrit, an ancient Indian language which has preserved in its literature, not only the richness, variety and splendor of the Indian culture and history but has also retained its historical significance, prestige and usage, both within and beyond the academic world. Andre Lefevere (2003, p. 153) says that

language is a historical fact there can be no right sense for it without a sense of history. Languages have not been invented and […] they are gradually discovered and art and scholarship promote this discovery and bring it to fulfillment.

So, according to Lefevere (2003, p. 153), every new work of art that is created in a particular language influences that language and at the same time, it also "contains part of that language's history", and this presents, he continues,

the translator of scholarly works with great, indeed often insurmountable difficulties, for whoever reads an excellent work of that kind in the original language, and is equipped with sufficient knowledge, will not easily overlook its influence on that language […] He will observe how they insinuate themselves into the language through the special needs of the author's spirit and his expressive power, and this type of observation most essentially determines the impression he gets. It is therefore the task of the translation to transplant that very same impression in its reader. If the translation fails to do so the reader will lose part of what was intended for him, and often a very important part. (Lefevere, 2003, p. 153)

A translator, indeed, has to confront insurmountable difficulties while translating a work of art. In her 'A Note on Texts and Translations' Rajan, the translator of Kalidasa's aforementioned works speaks of the difficulties she had to face while translating the works of Kalidasa from Sanskrit to English:

Sanskrit is a highly inflected language; and it has some distinctive features which indeed constitute some of its strengths; for example, the extensive use of compound words and prefixes, and an array of synonyms with slight nuances of meaning that colour the expression of what is being said […] Because Sanskrit is a highly inflected language, word order is not of special importance as it is in English; punctuation is minimal […] This lends the language a musical quality difficult to convey in another language. (Kalidasa, 1986, p. 17)

The need to cater to the requirements of both the source and receiving languages makes it imperative for the translators to possess, what Lefevere (2003, p. 145) says, "precise knowledge and mastery of both languages" to arrive at the "the closest approximation". "This holds true", he argues, "both for the most vivid pictorial expressions in poetical works and for the most abstract terms denoting the innermost and most general components of highest scholarship". (Lefevere, 2003, p.145) That is why, the main concern of the translators has been to establish such principles and strategies that would enable

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them to "overcome dissimilarities between the source language and culture and the target language and culture and produce target texts that are faithful to the original and its intentions at the same time and acceptable and effective in the target setting" (Gile, 2009, p. 53).

However, some translators are of the opinion that Kalidasa's poetry in *Meghdutam* or *Ritusamharam* comes so close to perfection that any attempt to render its "elegance, balance, artistic syntax and flowing verse into another language is doomed to failure" (Lienhard, 1984, p. 120). Perhaps this explains why in her translation, Rajan retains many Sanskrit names of the flora in the Kalidasan landscape like *Kadamba, Kutaja, Kakubha, Saptaparna* etc. She cites two reasons for the retention of such "exotically incomprehensible" (Bassnett & Trivedi, 2002, p. 10) yet culturally specific terms in the translated text. Firstly, according to her, "English equivalents are not readily available (except botanical terms) and identifications are not always definitive", and secondly, "the Sanskrit names form part of the poetic effect in certain passages; they frequently sound like the roll call of epic heroes and their weapons" (Kalidasa, 1989, p. 19).

Such a technique of translation has been termed by Bermann (2014, p. 294) as "foreignizing strategy" and according to her it echoes Derrida, Benjamin, and Spivak. "Such a method is not bound by the ideals of strict equivalence or fidelity" and calls for "a practice that would remain respectful of the source language and culture, open to their differences" (Bermann, 2014, p. 10). Such a usage of Sanskrit names in the translated text serves yet another important purpose. It showcases the splendor, richness and variety of the 'Other' culture to the Western audience, or to say in Venuti's words, it makes the "translated text" a "site where a different culture emerges, where a reader gets a glimpse of a cultural other, and resistancy" (1995, p. 306). This, according to Venuti, is "a translation strategy based on an aesthetic of discontinuity", which "can best preserve that difference, that otherness" (1995, p. 306), and hence, provide scope for the "transformational possibilities of hybridity" (Dunlop, 2011, p. 28) by emphasising the "provisionality of all cultures" and celebrating 'the particular diversity of formerly colonised cultures" (Dunlop, 2011, p. 28).

Translation and Cultural Evolution/Change

Varma (2010, p. 24), in *Becoming Indian* speaks of the importance of translation in the continuity, preservation and dissemination of the cultural values and traditions especially of formerly colonized nations. To underscore his assertions, he cites an incident from his own life. While he was staying in Cyprus with his family, one evening he heard his mother humming "a folk song-a sohar, which is normally sung at the time of the birth of a baby in the family" which was only partially comprehensible to him. Later on his mother translated into English, the folk songs from the region of Allahabad, to preserve the "intangible heritage", "the earthly wisdom" contained in the songs which embodied "the treasure of meaning and ritual, so redolent of the soil", which she thought would never be "sung or practised again" after her and, hence, would be lost forever to her grandchildren. She knew that only the translation of the songs would enable her children to keep in touch with "the old traditions, the culture of which one could be rightly proud of, and the values and 'sanskars' which enrich one's life" and help them to know their "cultural roots and the rich tapestry of the traditions to which they are heir, in order for them to step authentically into the future" (Varma, 2010, pp. 24-25).

Translations undoubtedly preserve and also transfer, across borders and boundaries, "the rich tapestry of traditions" and the "sanskars" especially of those nations that were off-centre and peripheral. Translation challenges, what Mufti calls "informal developmentalism" of "humanistic culture". He says:

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Humanistic culture is saturated with this informal developmentalism –a 'first in the West, and then else-where' structure of global time … in which cultural objects from non-western societies can be grasped only with reference to the categories of European cultural history, as pale or partial reflections. (Mufti 2005, p. 474, as cited in Jazeel, 2011, p. 171)

By rewriting the ancient classical texts from non-western nations in English, the translator brings those literary texts and the culture embedded in them to centre-stage, and hence invests the subaltern cultural history with power, a phenomenon which has frequently been in practice, especially by the translators from third world countries. Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak's translation of Mahasweta Devi's Bengali text *Chotti Munda ebang Tar Tir*, as *Chotti Munda and his Arrow* may be viewed as an instance of this phenomenon. *Chotti Munda and his Arrow*, which articulates "tribal history with colonial and postcolonial history" (Devi, 2003, p. vii), aims at reviving a lost history by evoking the lost world of the tribals, especially of the Santhals, in the modern era. The novel depicts Chotti Munda, the tribal hero, as a "figure of continuity" (Devi, 2003, p. ix), a symbol of the continuous struggle of the tribals of eastern India. Mahasweta Devi, in an interview with Spivak, speaks about the genesis of the novel:

These people do not find anyone writing about them, and they do not have script. They compose the stream of events into song. By being made into song, into words, they become something […] a continu-ity. Their history is like a big flowing river going somewhere, not without a destination […] the tribal world is like a continent handed over to us, and we never tried to explore it, know its mysteries, we only destroyed it. It's very difficult to reknit that entire experience without knowing what their potentiality was […] And so through the figure of Dhani, I wanted to say that there had to be a magic arrow, not magic in the narrow sense, but an arrow that Dhani Munda wants to hand over. This arrow is a symbol for the person who will carry on that continuity. Chotti is an emblem of that. (Devi, 2003, p. x)

In her novel, Mahasweta Devi addresses the socio-political and cultural concerns of the tribal people whose struggle for survival has continued from the colonial period to the postcolonial/present times. To emphasize the continuity of their struggles and to highlight their resistance to the oppressive forces, Mahasweta Devi gives an open end to her novel:

Then he waits, unarmed. As he waits he mingles with all time and becomes river, folklore, eternal. What only the human can be. Brings all adivasi struggle into the present, today into the united struggle of the adivasi and the outcaste. Time still passes. Chotti throws the bow to Harmu. Harmu catches it. Says, Why go on? Catch me? I had but that one arrer.

S.D.O. seems to break some spell and stands up, goes forward. But instantly a thousand adivasis raise their bows in space and cry, No! The non-adivasis raise restraining hands.

Chotti on one side, S.D.O. on the other, and in between a thousand bows upraised in space. And a warn-ing announced in many upraised hands. (Devi, 2003, p. 288)

In the tribal culture, great significance is attached to bow and arrow. It is their traditional weapon and also a symbol of their ancient traditions and customs. Mahasweta Devi's use of the word *Tir* (arrow) along with the name of the tribal protagonist, Chotti Munda, in the title of the novel serves two purposes.

Firstly it foregrounds the intimate relationship between the tribal hero and his arrow: the arrow is essential, rather indispensable for his existence. Such a usage, at the same time, emphasizes, what Spivak (Devi, 2003, p. x) calls, "Galpakatha", the role of story and legends, in the lives of the tribals and how it helps to keep their past alive. The stories and legends are woven into songs which are being sung from generation to generation and, thus keep their culture and traditions alive. "This is why", Mahasweta Devi (2003, p. xi), explains, "the beginning of the book opens into a mythic ancestor—continuity placed within an open frame at both ends. Indeed, it is not only at the two ends that the book is open but also at the centre". She recounts how during her travels she saw an old man whom every tribal revered. He was a legendary figure who had trained all the archers. During an archery competition in a fair, he was brought as a judge and as per their tradition, at the end of the competition "being the best archer of the area, he would shoot last and hit the target" (Devi, 2003, p. xi).

Mahasweta Devi (2003, p.xii) recalls how she felt an urgent need to document that particular period in tribal history, which in her opinion, was "going away", "vanishing". That legendary figure provided Mahasweta Devi with the character of Chotti Munda, the archetypal tribal hero, around whom she wove her tale of the tribal history, culture, customs and tradition. Spivak's English translation of the novel made those customs, traditions and beliefs intelligible to the English speaking world. Her intimate knowledge of both Bengali and English languages enabled her, firstly to fully understand Mahasweta Devi's novel and also the culture of the "Other" depicted in it, and then rewrite it, transforming "otherness" into an acceptable form for consumption by the target readers. Eugene Nida (2001, p. 3) says that

if completely bilingual persons have a clear understanding of a text to be translated from a source to a receptor (or target) language, they do not need to instruct their brains about how to use a noun, verb, adjective, or participle to represent a particular concept or to place a qualifying clause at the beginning or the end of a sentence, all such decisions are largely automatic because our brains are excellently organized to carry out all such decisions in a largely unconscious manner […] Clarity in understanding the source text is the key to successful translating into a receptor language. Translators do not translate languages but texts.

While it is imperative for a translator to comprehend a text in its entirety before he or she translates it, such a comprehension necessitates an understanding of its cultural environs and the context in which it was created. Spivak is very much critical of the "act of wholesale translation in English" where, according to her, "there can be a betrayal of the democratic ideal into the law of the strongest" (Spivak, 2004, pp. 371-2, as cited in Munday, 2008, p. 132). She explains how the translation of Bengali text into English often fails to translate the "difference of the Bengali view" on account of the translator's tendency to "over-assimilate it to make it more accessible to the western readers" (Spivak, 2004, pp. 371-2, as cited in Munday, 2008, p. 132). Hence the wholesale acts of translation may often involve the risk of the destruction of those elements of the source work which are capable of communicating its "cultural and historical specificity" (Levý, 2011, p. 91). In order to preserve "the specificity of the cultural and historical characteristics of the source" (Levý, 2011, p. 91), it is important that the translator intimately understands the language of the source text and the historical and culture milieu of its production and provides "supplementary information, annotations" (Rubel & Rosman, 2003, p. 10) etc. which Chandra Rajan also supplies. Her translation of Kalidasa's work is accompanied by a long introduction, notes, an annotated glossary and appendices. Even Spivak's translation strategy, says Munday, "necessitates the translator intimately understanding the language and situation of the original" (Munday, 2008, p.

132). That she fully comprehends the language and situation of Mahasweta Devi's *Chotti Munda and his Arrow* is made clear through the 'Translator's Foreword' and 'Afterword' apart from the sections titled 'Notes' and 'Telling History' [4] where she explains the cultural and historical significance of the novel along with the meanings of culture specific terms and movements. Spivak's assertion foregrounds the role of the translator in effecting intercultural dialogue/conversation. A translator needs to possess, apart from the proficiency in the source and receptor languages and an intimate understanding of the situation of the original, "mediating skills" (Katan, 2009, p. 72), translator's ability to negotiate between the source and target languages in order to transmit effectively the cultural values of the original without losing much of its originality or without displacing its fundamental dynamics.

In her 'Translator's Foreword' to *Chotti Munda and his Arrow*, Spivak mentions how she played the role of the "faithful bigamist" to deal with Mahasweta's "racy Bengali with its occasional lyric simplicity";

One of the most striking characteristics of the novel is the sustained aura of subaltern speech, without the loss of dignity of the speakers […] For the longest time I was afraid to attempt to translate this characteristic. Yet, as Barbara Johnson says felicitously, a translator must be a 'faithful bigamist.' In the interest of keeping the faith, I had to try; straight, slightly archaic prose killed the feel of the book. To my great delight, among the first things Mahasweta Devi said to me […] Gayatri, what I am really enjoying in your translation is how you've shown that dialect can be dignified. (Devi, 2003, p.vii)

Fluent in both Bengali and English, Gayatri Spivak oscillates with remarkable ease between the source and receptor languages and brings the culture, traditions and beliefs of the subalterns to the notice of the English speaking world. Apart from the names of people and places, Spivak retains the use of culture specific terms and words like *Hul*, *adivasi*, *daroga* (sub-inspector of police), *sadan, pahan, bijoya, lathi* (wooden stick), *dauli, tangi* etc. which effectively communicate the cultural sense of the text and the the intention of the author. Newmark lists certain criteria that determine the effectiveness of the translation of a text from the source language to the target language:

The intention of a text –the translator has to forget about his/her own views about a subject and translate it following the author's intention and never alter it. The intention of the translator -whether s/he is trying to reproduce the emotiveness of the original, or whether s/he is trying to combine the cultural sense of the SL. The reader and the setting of the text: the translator has to think who the reader is –age, sex, class, education– in order to carry out the translation. And the quality of the writing and the authority of the text –the translator has to take into account if the text is well written and also if the author of the SL is a well-known authority (Newmark, 1988, pp.20-21, as cited in Pardo, 2013, p. 7).

Spivak's translation of Devi's text and Rajan's translation of Kalidasa's works seem to have followed all those rules which are, as mentioned by Newmark, necessary for translation and subsequently for the transmission of, what Gideon Toury (2004, p. 199) says, "general values or ideas shared by a community" into another cultural and linguistic context. Cultural transfer/exchange/interaction thus lies at the core of translation. "Works of translations", says Cheung (2014, p. 181),

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are the ideal site for the analysis of cultures in contact […] Each act of interpretation is also an instance of such interaction and the translator/interpreter is a social actor who does not have to be tied down by the stereotypical image of a bridge-builder but can assume a range of identities including, but not restricted to, that of the mediator, negotiator, ideological gate-keeper, activist, and so on.

This "cultural turn in translation studies", says Susan Bassnett (2007, p. 23),

is an inevitable result of the need for greater intercultural awareness in the world today. It is greatly to be welcomed, for it offers the best chance we have to understand more about the complexities of textual transfer, about what happens to texts as they move into new contexts and the rapidly changing patterns of cultural interaction in the world we inhabit.

Learning from and inspiring one another and interacting with one another, the cultures evolve and give rise to a model of culture, which may thus be, in its "range of reference and reception of influence" (Boehmer, 2005, p. 3) global and universal. Such a globalised formation of culture is stimulated by the circulation and dissemination of cross- cultural vocabularies made possible through translation. The shared commitment of these translators towards the retrieval, relocation and empowerment of their nation's cultural heritage and legacy is actualized through translation which is, as described by Bassnett & Lefevere (1992, p.vii), "rewriting of an original text […] undertaken in the service of power".

Translation enables the circulation of non-western literary text and the cultural idiom it carries beyond the boundaries and context of in western world. It brings two different cultures face to face with each other on the global stage. It creates a situation of intercultural contact and gives impetus to processes of cultural change. Each translation, with a new cultural vocabulary affects the overall cultural climate as the western world responds to and even learns new meanings and forms of culture and in so doing progressively transforms the existing culture. As Mulgan (1998, p. 22) says "[m]uch that was different is becoming standardised, but at the same time connexity makes it easier for bits of culture to be combined, hybridised and transformed".

Taken in this sense, translators may be viewed as agents of cultural change and cultural evolution. They decode the richness of the culture, customs, traditions and glorious heritage encoded in the texts written in Indian languages like Bengali, Sanskrit and Prakrit, and make them intelligible and acceptable to the western readers, allow them global focus and emphasis, and thus establish the richness of Indian culture in the international context. Tymoczko (2014, p.170) concedes that

[t]ranslation has the potential to reshape cultures by overtly introducing new ideas […] in some circumstances translation even plays a leading role in reshaping entire cultural systems […] Translation always carries with it the capacity to challenge what is socially established, to expand or overturn what is known, and to foster rebellion against the constraints of local ethical, ideological, and political standards and hierarchies. Translation at times can undermine what has been accepted as foundational at both the level of the individual and the level of whole cultures.

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Translation appropriates the language of the colonizers to communicate and assert the cultural beliefs and values of the formerly oppressed people. Taken in this sense, translation becomes a "potent means of realigning power structures in a shared cultural field and of asserting an independent world-view". (Tymoczko, 2002, p. 34) This increasingly "global situation of literary exchange", according to Viswanatha & Simon (2002, p. 163), is indicative of the drive towards "uniformity and levelling of difference" between cultures and creation of Radindranath Tagore's model of "Universal Culture" by blending the components of all the cultures in interaction with one another.

FUTURE RESEARCH DIRECTIONS

Given the fact that translation activities are playing a crucial role in "reshaping entire cultural systems" (Tymoczko, 2014, p. 170), the recent emphasis on the "cultural turn" (Bassnett, 2007, p. 23) in translation studies is not surprising. It is indicative of the expansion of translation studies into new domains that prompt the scholars in the field to view translation as an essentially "cultural act" (Bermann & Porter, 2014, p. 9) and regard translators as "intercultural mediators" (Saldanha, 2014, p.105), or "cultural ambassadors" (Crouter, 2016, p. 23) who do not simply import values, carrying out a unilateral transfer from a so-called source language or culture to a so called target language or culture" (Delisle & Woodsworth, 2012, p.187) but through mediation/negotiation, they put those values into "circulation" and thus initiate the process of cultural change/evolution. With the focus now shifted to the translators as agents of cultural change, the emphasis is also on the need to preserve and transmit the "cultural and historical specificity" (Levý, 2011, p. 91), "sense of incommensurability" and "foreignness" (Crouter, 2016, p. 23) of the source text which has led the translators to use strategies and techniques that would effectively deal with the "unfamiliar cultural substrata" "by inserting explanations" (Tymoczko, 2000, p. 148) like footnotes, preface, foreword, afterword etc. or "by supplying cultural information that would normally be presupposed or implicit in other literary works". (Tymoczko, 2000, p. 148) These recent developments orienting towards the "cultural turn" (Bassnett, 2007, p. 23) in translation studies are still taking shape and giving way to new areas of inquiry which are likely to be explored by future researchers and scholars to provide a solid base to the emerging trends in translation scholarship.

CONCLUSION

In conclusion, it can be said that translation plays a central role in the evolution of culture. It "is not limited to being the instrument of communication and information from one language to another, from one culture to another" (Henri, 2011, p. 59), rather it is through translation, that different cultures of the world speak to one another and interact with one another, comprehend one another, feel and think with one another and, as discussed earlier, combining the merits of all the cultures, work towards the creation of universal culture. Taken in this sense, it can be said that translation is to culture what "culture is to anthropology" and "what place is to geography" (Richardson, 1989, p. 144 as cited in Christou, 2006, p. 37). If the anthropologists are "listeners who are translating the local culture, creating a picture of it for the outside world (Rubel & Rosman, 2003, p. 16), translators are rewriters, who are making the local cultures encoded in indigenous languages intelligible to the outside world. "The central aim of the anthropological enterprise", say Rubel & Rosman (2003, p. 1),

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has always been to understand and comprehend a culture or cultures other than one's own. This inevitably involves either the translation of words, ideas and meanings from one culture to another, or the translation to a set of analytical concepts. Translation is central to "writing about culture" […]Since its inception as a discipline and even in the "prehistory" of anthropology, translation has played a singularly important role. In its broadest sense, translation means cross-cultural understanding.

Translators are mediators/negotiators who enable this "cross-cultural understanding". They bring the different cultures of the world, the dominant and the minority, in contact/conversation with one another, and the culture continually evolves as a consequence of this interaction, and hence, leads to, in spite of unequal power relations, the gradual emergence of a global or "Universal Culture".

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KEY TERMS AND DEFINITIONS

Adivasis: The people belonging to the indigenous tribes of Jharkhand (state in India).

Bijoya: A feast celebrating the victory of the great Hindu God, Lord Rama over the ten headed demon, Ravana.

Dauli: A small piece of sharp metal used for cutting small pieces of wood.

Hul: A major Santhal rebellion that took place on 30th June, 1855, against the oppression of the British colonialists and the landlords. the tribal people inhabiting Santhal Praganas, a division of the state of Jharkhand.

Pahan: The priest who performs the rituals in a wedding or any other ceremony of the tribal people.

Sadan: Non-tribal natives of Jharkhand.

Santhals: One of the largest ethnic tribal groups in eastern and east-central India.

Tangi: An axe like weapon used to cut logs of wood.

Yaksa: Yaksas have been defined by scholars as creatures who were neither human beings nor Gods but looked like human beings in forms and features. According to the Puranas, they were subjects in the kingdom of Lord Kuber (Lord of wealth).

ENDNOTES

[1]   Judith Butler speaks about the states being "loci of power" in *Who Sings the Nation State.* (Butler & Spivak, 2007, p. 1).

[2]   In the section titled 'Telling History' in G. Spivak's translation of Mahasweta Devi's Chotti Munda and His Arrow, Mahasweta Devi uses the term, 'vanishing present' (Devi, 2003, p. 291) to describe that particular period of the tribal history which has not been documented and the memory of which, according to her, was gradually fading away, vanishing.

3   A type of marriage performed by mutual consent which, though legal, does not require ceremony or sanction of the family.

4   The section titled 'Telling History' contains Gayatri Spivak's interview with Mahasweta Devi where she explains the historical and cultural significance of her novel.

Chapter 2
Towards a Monolingual World:
Indian English Fiction and Translations in India

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ABSTRACT

The chapter looks into the existing language equation in India through a literary lens. Even though the number of translations from other Indian languages to English has increased, in the national and international market Indian English fiction has come to represent Indian fiction. This complexity is due to the growing status of English in globalized India, which is also reflected in the popularity of Indian English fiction. However, a historical analysis would reveal that the rise of Indian English fiction is a postcolonial phenomenon and this has been at the expense of translations. The chapter substantiates this cultural evolution further through a study of the Malayalam translation of the Indian English novel The God of Small Things and the English translation of the Malayalam novel Chemmeen. The translation strategies and iconography of the book covers are analyzed to discuss the existing equation between English and other Indian languages.

INTRODUCTION

The process of translation has come a long way from the debates of truth and beauty to larger questions of politics of culture and language[1]. That translation is not an innocent act of linguistic transfer is underlined by many scholars such as Tejaswini Niranjana, Sherry Simon, and Gayatri Spivak[2] who consider it as a highly political act which gets reflected in not just what gets translated, for whom and by whom but also in what gets lost or gained, often deliberately, in the process. In a globalized world where economic interests evoke equal measures of excitement in anything that can be made a tool to manage and maximize profit, culture and language are powerful resources. Scholars have expounded how language and literature were used by the British in India (Viswanathan, 1989) and elsewhere (Ngugi, 1986) as an effective tool to propagate the cause of colonialism and how far it was successful in creating "Macaulay's

minute men" (Rushdie, 1995, p. 367) who, according to Macaulay, "are interpreters between us and the millions whom we govern; a class of persons, Indian in blood and colour, but English in taste, in opinions, in morals, and in intellect" (Macaulay, 1972, p. 249). Colonialism has been a successful project which long after the masters have physically left maintains its hold on its erstwhile colonies through many different ways of language and culture. This chapter traces the rise of Indian English fiction as against other Indian language writings and goes on to analyse how this has changed the cultural and literary scene in postcolonial India. This will be substantiated further by an analysis of two translations: the Malayalam translation of the celebrated Indian English novel The God of Small Things and the English translation of the iconic Malayalam novel Chemmeen.

BACKGROUND

Indian English fiction, which began to take shape in the late 19th century, was not considered superior to Indian language fiction. Writers such as Bankim Chandra Chatterjee and Madhusudan Dutt started their literary careers as Indian English writers and later turned to their own mother tongue. In fact, the first Indian English novel, Rajmohan's Wife (1864) was written by Bankim Chandra. The 1930s and 40s are considered to be the take off period of Indian English fiction with writers such as Raja Rao (1908-2006), Mulk Raj Anand (1905-2004), R.K. Narayan (1906-2001) and Bhabani Bhattacharya (1910-1988) displaying a keen interest in the politico-social life of the nation. Writers such as Mulk Raj Anand and Ahmed Ali were also part of Progressive Writers' Movement[3]. They were Indian born, Indian-grown authors, and their English, an acquired language of a translator's (see Prasad, 1999, pp. 41-58). However, the bhasha literatures, i.e. literatures written in other Indian languages, were energized by writers who were informed by the literary movements of the West but who could reinvent their knowledge in the backdrop of their own locales that they knew well and identified with, the regional language and its variants being very much a part of their identity. Thus Basheer[4], for example, wrote in the rural Muslim dialect that never failed to touch a chord with the masses. The Indian English writers lacked this strong mass support since they had no regional identity and largely remained the poor cousins of other Indian language literatures.

India being a multilingual country, translations have always been part of its daily existence, language and culture. The Indian concept of translation is to consider all languages equal, and that the translator has the freedom to tell someone else's story his/her way (Trivedi, 2006, pp. 102-119). G.N. Devy observes that Indian literary theory does not attribute a lot of significance to the concept of originality. According to him Indians have a "translating consciousness" and the "very foundation of modern Indian literatures was laid through acts of translation, whether by Jayadeva, Hemcandra, Michael Madhusudan Dutta, H.N. Apte or Bankim Chandra Chatterjee". He elaborates:

The soul, or significance, is not subject to the laws of temporality; and therefore significance, even literary significance, is ahistorical in Indian view. Elements of plot, stories, characters, can be used again and again by new generations of writers because Indian literary theory does not lay undue emphasis on originality. If originality were made a criterion of literary excellence, a majority of Indian classics would fail the test. The true test is the writer's capacity to transform, to translate, to restate, to revitalize the original. And in that sense Indian literary traditions are essentially traditions of translation. (Devy, 1999, p. 187).

Thus he considers the example of the Indian philosophy of soul migrating from one body to another and considers translation brings about a similar act of transformation of essence. During the freedom movement, translations from English to Indian languages and between Indian languages helped in the awakening and consolidation of a sense of belonging and national pride. After the British left India, a number of cultural institutions were set up under the leadership of Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru to promote Indian languages and culture. The idea definitely was to create a sense of pride in the people of India, and to create means of communication among the various Indian languages and art forms. The Kendra Sahitya Akademi and the State Sahitya Akademis are just two examples of these institutions. But ironically, in India it is the decolonization drive that really paved the way for the consolidation of Indian English fiction. The decolonization exercise required colonized societies to identify, respond and react to the hegemony of language and culture as imposed by the West. But in the era of globalization even these responses have been appropriated to become the Centre, paving way to neo-colonialism where the unfinished stories of colonialism continue to find their resonance in the post-liberalisation India. Graham Huggan argues that the success of Rushdie's Midnight's Children in the West is due to the way "the novel has been exploited, directly or indirectly, for the Raj nostalgia it despises; and that its author has been rewarded, not so much for writing against the Empire, but for having done it so amenably, with such obviously marketable panache" (Huggan, 2001, p. 115). Thus, even when the novel deals with the after-effects of colonialism, there is also an attempt to appeal to the western audience and the commercial market. While Indian English fiction stormed the Western markets and academia as Indian literature, they were really the narratives of lives closer to the Colonial self. But, translations from Indian languages into English — the Indian literature written first in Indian languages — failed though they should have ideally flourished. The bulk of Indian literature still is accessible to the West only through translations and India has always been central to the colonial project. Among the world literatures in the non-West category, the vast body of literature in Indian languages legitimately deserves primacy. Still, despite the centrality of translation in the accessibility, acceptability and celebration of a piece of writing – whether fiction, non-fiction, poetry or history – translation from Indian languages into English remains a severely constrained project: critically, commercially, aesthetically and politico-culturally. The lack of success of translations gets amplified with the immense success of Indian English writing in recent times (See Mukherjee, 2008)

There has been an increase in the number of translations, for example from Malayalam into English, in the 80s and more of it in the 90s. A.J. Thomas, translator and scholar, considers that "a benevolent side-view in this intense gaze towards Indian fiction in English" (Thomas, 2002, pp. 46-47) helped the case of translations, too. Publishing houses like Penguin India, Macmillan India, Orient Longman, Harper Collins Publishers (India) and several other smaller publishers began publishing translations. Publishing houses like Katha specifically promoted translations. But the boom has not managed to last. Even the availability of a host of real bilingual translators, who are equally proficient in both the source and target language, has not helped the case of translations because the root cause of the problem lies elsewhere. The easiest way to dismiss translations is to point the finger at the quality of translations. Rushdie attributes his failure to include any Indian writing (except Manto) other than Indian English writing in his The Vintage Book of Indian Writing 1947-1997 (Rushdie and West, 1997, p. x) to lack of good translations. Another argument against translations is the clichéd "lost in translation" and the lament that one culture cannot be fully rendered into a different language and culture. But how does then Indian English writers claim to write Indian experiences in English? Long back in 1939, in the now famous foreword to Kanthapura, Raja Rao wrote:

One has to convey in a language that is not one's own the spirit that is one's own. One has to convey the various shades and omissions of a certain thought-movement that looks maltreated in an alien language. I use the word 'alien', yet English is not really an alien language to us. It is the language of our intellectual make up — like Sanskrit or Persian was before — but not of our emotional make-up. We are all instinctively bilingual, many of us writing in our own language and in English. We cannot write like the English. We should not. We can write only as Indians. We have grown to look at the large world as part of us. Our method of expression therefore has to be a dialect which will some day prove to be as distinctive and colourful as the Irish or the American. Time alone will justify it. (Rao, 2008, p. 5)

If English has been appropriated by the Indians by now as an Indian language as Raja Rao had suggested and if it has ceased to become the oppressor's language especially after Midnight's Children, which 'seemed to set tongues free in India in an odd way' (Jussawala and Dasenbrock, 1992, p. 172 as cited in Talib, 2002, p. 88), it ought to have a similar effect on translations too, for many of the translators are genuinely bilingual. But it seems as if the "double complication" (Mukherjee, 1977, p. 24) of Indian English fiction has worked out in its favor, may be at the expense of translations. The status of English in India is extremely complicated particularly because it was the language of the colonialists, and it was used to further and strengthen their hold over the country. Therefore, generally anti-colonial/anti-imperialist feelings have come to be identified with hostility towards English language. Thanks to the extent of the spread of British colonization, English still remains the world language of trade and commerce. English, no doubt, is an open door to the world of opportunities. In India, English language has also come to be associated with power and social mobility. According to a newspaper report based on the 2001 Census survey on bilingualism and trilingualism, the number of Indians who claim English as their second and third language has increased considerably though the percentage of people for whom English is their first language is still a miniscule minority (Indiaspeak, 2010). Yet English language and literature written originally in English takes predominance over other Indian languages because it is the language of the educated elite. Even translations from one Indian language to another are now channeled through English translations, since multilingualism is fast giving way to bilingualism. The three language formula[5] introduced in schools as a measure to promote the idea of a multilingual nation has been twisted and deformed so much so that students do not even get a chance to master their first language. Once students reach the universities all critical texts are read in English. Most of the critical texts in other Indian languages are not even translated into English and thus knowledge production and dissemination remain with English language. The English language in India definitely seems to have a 'linking effect' on the people from different parts of India, though these people, who are getting linked by English, are only a miniscule minority compared to the population of India. However, Dalit activists, like Chandra Bhan Prasad[6], consider English to be the Dalits' goddess of deliverance from the age-old oppression of Indian culture. The aim here is not to question these qualities of the language but to look into the paradox of two different sets of literature rendered in the same language being meted out different treatment and the inherent politics behind this divide. Braj Kachru observes that there is a "dance of doom of languages" (Kachru, 2005, p. 166) that is happening in all the regions of the world. He quotes Fennel who believes that English, even if it is not a "killer language", can very well be an "accessory to murder" (Fennel, 2001, p. 266 as cited in Kachru, 2005, p. 183). Kachru observes that India is very high on the list of countries with most number of dying languages. Minority languages are fast assimilated into the dominant language of business and communication. Moreover, today the visual media and the School Education curriculum undermine the learning of the mother tongue[7]. Efforts are also on

to enliven languages through props. The Malayalam University set up by the Kerala Government is a case in point. The Malayalam University will exclusively cater to research and teaching of Malayalam language and literature[8].Obviously, everything is not alright if an entire university has to support the teaching and learning of Malayalam in Kerala. Moreover, Malayalam has been recently announced as a "sreshtha bhasha"[9]. A casual surfing of Malayalam channels would tell one that there are very few young anchors who can speak Malayalam that is not spiked with a liberal amount of English. Thus it is important to understand how English is affecting other languages. Is English getting Indianized or other Indian languages getting Anglicized is an important aspect to be considered when one hails the indigenous use of English. This aspect is also reflected in the literature of other Indian languages. It would be worthwhile to figure out whether this equation is any different when an Indian English text is translated into an Indian language. In this chapter, two translations are taken up – the Malayalam translation of Arundhati Roy's The God of Small Things by Priya AS, a reputed Malayalam writer and the translation of Chemmeen by Anita Nair, a well-known Indian English writer. The dynamics that would emerge out of these translations might throw some light on the equation that exists between (Indian) English and one of the Indian languages, in this case Malayalam.

FOREIGNISING ESTHA'S AND RAHEL'S LANGUAGE

The Malayalam translation of Arundhati Roy's The God of Small Things, Kunjukaaryangalude Odeythampuran (2011) received Sahitya Akademi's Translation Prize 2014. The translation came 14 years after the original book in English was published, which means that by the time the book was published in Malayalam,Arundhati Roy was a celebrity. The translator Priya A.S. is a noted short story writer in Malayalam who has also written for children. She made her mark as a translator with the Malayalam translation of Jaishree Misra's Ancient Promises (2000). Arundhati Roy explained that she had so much looked forward to this translation. Her book has been by now translated into numerous languages, even into such minority languages as Estonian. "But no other translation is as important to me as this," The Hindu reported Roy claiming during the book release as Malayalam is "the language of Estha and Rahel", the protagonists. In her Translator's Note Priya A. S. admits that she wondered whether the task of translating the phenomenal novel would end up like the effort of the mythical Naranathu Bhranthan who according to the legends, explained the futility of humankind's enterprise by rolling a stone up the hill from morning to evening only to let it roll down at sunset. She talks about two sets of people who had discouraged her from taking up this translation – people who thought it was too difficult a task, and people who played the moral police and trashed the novel as "a dirty book". Priya AS feels that she can understand the concern of the first set of people but she does not understand the moral code of conduct of the second group. According to the translator, the book is one of sorrows, and every other concern in the book – environment, revolution, party, caste, religion – is secondary. She is disappointed that the Malayali did not understand the sorrow of Ammu that got translated into love and sex. She also feels that the Malayali failed to sympathise with the incest between the siblings. Priya explains that for Rahel it is a never-subsiding wail of reunion and for Estha it is the search for his long lost mother. Priya thus declares her goal in getting into the translation: to make the Malayali see the sorrow in the work and make him/her appreciate the book. That notwithstanding, the challenges of the text were many. One is the visual details of the text which make the reading process similar to that of watching a movie. Priya says that whenever she encountered such details, she felt as if her Malayalam was lacking. But she reiterates

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how she identified with Ammu many times and how her own sensibility as a writer made her narrate the story to her young son, who too seemed to have sympathised with the experiences of the twins in the novel (Roy, 2011, p. 9)

The translator's note, thus, adheres to the regular confessional mode of the Indian translator. Priya qualifies the work as an audacious book; she wonders whether she has lived up to the expectation of the writer, and confesses that "this is all the Malayalam and English that I know" (Roy, 2011, p.8). It is generally observed that every translator's note considers the source text as a perfect product, and her own attempt at translating it, and here doubly so, since the target is to translate it into the "the minor language of Malayalam" (Roy, 2011, p.9) – kochu Malayalam – an impudent task.

Raji Narasimhan commenting on the Hindi translation of the book observes:

The language of The God of Small Things is overpowering…. the immediate effect on the translator of this thrust of language is that it thwarts him from sufficient distancing himself from it and focusing on the thought/thoughts behind it. Such distancing is a necessary step in all translation exercises. (Narasimhan, 2013, p. 141)

Priya's translator's note, however, does not betray any sign of getting overwhelmed by the play of language in the original. She seems to be more overwhelmed by the subject and the success of the book itself. In short, what we might conclude is that the translator had her focus intact, on the theme of the book, but she might not have distanced herself from it, rather she claims that she identified with Ammu, the woman and the mother, many times (Roy, 2011, p.9). Do we then have a great translation that can convey the thought and feeling of the source text, given that there need not be a translation of the cultural context, since the story is set in Kerala and the language the characters would have actually spoken is Malayalam? What is the kind of Malayalam that Estha, Rahel and Ammu speak? In the translator's note, Priya says that she decided to use the Kottayam dialect after listening to the conversation of Arundhati Roy and D.C. Ravi, the publisher (Roy, 2011, p. 8). In The God of Small Things, most of the text progresses through reflection and observation of Rahel and the conversations are limited.

The translator has largely managed to capture the Malayalam tone, except in a few places where the dialogue could have been broken into smaller sentences to maintain the conversational style rather than go for a literal translation. For example, Chacko says: "[…] is it at all possible for you to prevent your washed-up cynicism from completely colouring everything?" (Roy, 1997, p. 70). This has been translated literally, cynicism termed as the correct "doshaikadrikku swabhavam" (Roy, 2011, p. 89). But this is not a normal word to use, one might rather say [ellathilum dosham kanunna swabhavam] or an inclination to find fault with everything. Though doshaikadrikku is the correct word, it sounds too literary and jars in an otherwise normal conversation. Words like biological father sounds simple enough in English, but jeevasasthraparamaya pithavu (Roy, 2011, p. 21) does not give that effect, because jeevasasthraparam is a scientific word and is never used in everyday conversation. Priya A. S has mostly gone in for a literal translation and the conversations where the sentences are supposed to be in English really sound absurd in Malayalam. One such example is Larry's sentence: "A nipple in the air" which is a play on "nip in the air". This has been translated as "anthareekshathilevideyo oru mulakkannu" (p. 91) – a nipple in the atmosphere – which sounds absurd. Even though the children's normal conversations are captured well, Ammu's sentences do not yield to translation easily. The conversation of Ammu with the children warning them about their disappointing behavior at the airport is typically English, and thus, hinting that even in the absence of Margaret and Sophie Mol the family speaks in English. The translator retains

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the expression "jolly well" and "literally" which has no relevance in Malayalam. Even the word "later" that the children hear as "Lay.Ter" has to be only in English even when in the original the author writes: Chacko said to Ammu in Malayalam, "Please. Later. Not now." (Roy, 1997, p. 145). The translator puts "later" as "pi-nee-du" (p. 164) and mentions Lay-ter in brackets. All the creative adjectives of Roy have been literally translated: for example, charithrabhavanam [history house] (p. 303), bhagyathettu (p. 331) (lucky mistake), sharikkartham (p. 152), ammuvaya (p. 313) [ammumouth], marakkanpattakalippattan-gal (p. 327) (impossible-to-forget toys). Priya also tries some cautious creativity by coining words like "ammatham" (p. 62) for motherhood that could easily have been "mathrithvam" (p.62), sharikkartham (p.152), santhoshahridayangal (happy hearts) (p. 220) and "rathrisneham" (p. 63) (love by night). Chacko waiting at the Cochin airport with two roses in his hand is qualified as "Fatly. Fondly." (Roy, 1997, p.137). This has been translated as "bheemakaranayi, tharalahridayanayi" (p. 154). A simpler "thadiyanayi, tharalahridayanayi" at least would have saved the alliteration.

Arundhati Roy's vocabulary is not complex, but it is the way that the seemingly simple words are used that makes the language complex. The irregular punctuation and staccatos only add to this complexity. All the irregular capital letters are rendered ineffective in Malayalam since there is no concept of capital letters in the Malayalam script. This, however, does not affect the narrative making one wonder if it was required in the original at all. Pronouns are usually a problem in English-Malayalam translations. The children call Velutha and Kochu Maria "nee" which could be in keeping with his lower status in society, but Ammu also has been referred with an "aval" (Onarthano nammal avale? p. 23) which is an error because children do not refer to their mother as "aval" in Malayalam. Elsewhere, the translator has not used any pronoun for Ammu when the children address her and has used the word Ammu itself: "Ammu, njampurathu poyi padikkotte?" (Roy, 2011, p. 118). The structure of the English original is also retained with many passive constructions marring the flow of Malayalam: "Chilathu shikshayodukoodithanneyanu sambhavikkuka" (p. 132), [some things come with punishment] "Njan dinner kazhikkathirikkatte enikku oru punishment enna nilakku?" (p.132), [shall I miss dinner as my punishment?] "Aarodum mindiyilla aval atharam divasangalil" (p.62), [she spoke to none on such days] Veettilekku swagatham nammude Sophie Molkku (p. 182) [welcome home, our sophie mol]. Another problem is that all the condescending remarks and observations about comrade Pillai's English are rendered ineffective in Malayalam. For example, "issue" has been translated as "child" which is what comrade Pillai actually meant and thus, the play on the word "issue" is completely lost (p. 151). The many capitals cannot be obviously retained but the italics are consistently maintained: "ente factory, ente acharu, ente currypowder" (p. 139). These are the only alterations from the original. Otherwise, we see that the Malayalam translation is a most faithful, almost literal translation of the original.

The problem with the translation, however, lies somewhere else. Flip through the translated text and one would be struck by the many English words scattered all over. A close look would make one realize that the use of English words in the text is not uniform. In some places large chunks of the original English is retained. Elsewhere, passages/lines/words are transliterated. Sometimes, words are retained in English and glossed. Some others are transliterated and glossed. The words, phrases and sentences are listed below:

- Retained in English:
  ◦ Song: "Rejoice[…] (p. 54)
  ◦ The passage from The Great Gatsby: Gatsby turned out all […] (p. 56)
  ◦ Emperors of the Realm of Taste E, T (p. 291)

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- ○ Balliol (p. 66) Eng, Transliterated (p. 259)
- ○ "There's a sad sort of clanging[…]" (p. 105)
- ○ Song: "Three women in a tub"
- ○ Song: "I am Popeye the sailor man" (p. 116)
- ○ Songs of The Sound of Music: She climbs a tree […] (p. 117)
- ○ There was a girl […] (p. 158)
- ○ Stoppited (p. 158)
- ○ Doctor is in […] Doctor is Out (p. 150)
- ○ What is your name? (p. 144)
- ○ Shit wiper (p. 70)
- ○ No locusts stand I. (p.76)
- ○ Stop/pots (p. 77)
- ○ Be Indian, Buy Indian (p. 77)
- ○ The adventures of Susie squirrel – Inverted (p. 78)
- ○ Malayalam, Madam I'm Adam (p. 78)
- ○ Satan in their eyes (p. 78) inverted
- ○ His/hers (p. 112)
- ○ Raubadub dub (p. 114)
- ○ Welcome to the Spice Coast of India (p. 157) Inverted
- ○ Fast, faster fest […] (p. 121)
- ○ Infinnate joy (p. 131)
- ○ Girls in white dresses with blue satin sashes (p. 123)
- ○ Use me (p. 155)
- ○ Twins for tea (p. 165)
- ○ When Ulysses came home […] (p. 174)
- ○ Esthappen and Rahel (p. 173)
- ○ Nictitating (p. 205)
- ○ Nictitating, ictitating […] (p. 205)
- ○ Ferus, Learned, Neither, Carriages, Bridge, Bearer, Fastened (p. 174)
- ○ Margin? And joint handwriting in future, please! (p. 174)
- ○ Estha's story: When we walk on the road […] (pp. 174-175)
- ○ On Saturday we went to a bookshop […] (p. 175)
- ○ Latha's recitation, Lochinvar (p. 287)
- ○ Lenin's recitation of Lend me yawyers […] (p. 290)
- ○ We hereby certify that […] (p. 291)
- ○ Politeness […] (p. 317)
- ○ Politeness inverted (p. 326)
- ○ To Stop Train […] (p. 337), inverted
- ○ But that will be never, Not ever (p. 339)
- • Transliterated: English words, phrases, sentences written in Malayalam script
- ○ The quality or condition […] (p. 33)
- ○ Backless blouse (p. 58)
- ○ Tropical reshuffling (p. 68)
- ○ Drawing room (p. 69)

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- ◦ Anglophile (p. 70)
- ◦ Cuff+link (p. 70)
- ◦ Dispossessed (p. 70)
- ◦ Despised (p. 72)
- ◦ Reading at Oxford makes you come down (p. 75)
- ◦ Go to oxford, read at oxford (p. 75)
- ◦ Bedside lamp (p. 77)
- ◦ Passage from The Jungle book: now chill the kite … (p. 77)
- ◦ Where the bee sucks […] (p. 78)
- ◦ In future we will not […] (p. 78)
- ◦ It is a far far better […] (p. 79)
- ◦ Refugee stick insect (p. 81)
- ◦ Male chauvinist pig (p. 168)
- ◦ A rose by another name (p. 88)
- ◦ Things go better with coca-cola (p. 81)
- ◦ Swimming pool (p. 144)
- ◦ You are welcome my sweetheart (p. 153)
- ◦ Hello, sister what is your name please? (p. 98)
- ◦ Et, tu Brute? (p. 101)
- ◦ Slow, fast, and (p. 114)
- ◦ Dinner (p. 131)
- ◦ Punishment (p. 132)
- ◦ Stoppited (p. 158)
- ◦ Just ignore him (p. 161)
- ◦ Fithankyou (p. 162)
- ◦ All right. Later. (p. 163)
- ◦ Stupid dwarf (p. 202)
- ◦ Nictitating membrane (p. 205)
- ◦ Sophiekins (p. 164)
- ◦ Jollywell (p. 165)
- ◦ Boot (p. 170)
- ◦ Sturdy (p. 170)
- ◦ Surname (p. 174)
- ◦ Esthappan Unknown (p. 174)
- ◦ Cocktail sausage (p. 187)
- ◦ Mobile republic (p. 218)
- ◦ Promise (p. 241)
- ◦ Qantas koala (p. 280)
- ◦ Half trouser (p. 286)
- ◦ Delivery date (p. 291)
- ◦ My dear fellow (p. 294)
- ◦ I love you (p. 310)
- ◦ Sleeveless T-shirt (p. 312)
- ◦ For men of action satisfaction (p. 315)

- ◦ AC-DC (p. 324)
- Tap, Tap (p. 334)
- Glossed:
  - ◦ Nevertheless, my dear (p. 74)
  - ◦ Rice-christians (p. 92)
  - ◦ No locusts stand I. (p. 76)
  - ◦ Bow (p. 115)
  - ◦ Infinnate joy (p. 136)
  - ◦ Hello wall. (p. 160)
  - ◦ Lay-ter (p. 146)
  - ◦ Afternoon nap. (p. 200)
  - ◦ Afternoonmare (p. 217)
  - ◦ Yooseless goose (inverted gloss) (p. 325)
  - ◦ We be of one blood, ye and I (p. 180)
- Hybrid words/phrases/sentences: Malayalam and English
  - ◦ Perfect aayirunnu avarude pronunciation (p. 171)
  - ◦ Oralarm clock (p. 82)
  - ◦ Cocktail viplavam (p. 85)
  - ◦ Lock cheythirunnilla (transliteration p. 98)
  - ◦ Chuvanna steppukal (p .131)
  - ◦ Dinner manangal (p. 140)
  - ◦ Arabian kadal (p. 141)
  - ◦ Heart shapeilulla stickerukal (p. 176)
  - ◦ Oru teabagil ninnu tea (p. 187)
  - ◦ Snap-snap enna mriduswanam (p. 240)
  - ◦ Jollywell behavilekku (p. 339)

Priya A.S. is most impressive when she translates police torture of Velutha and the love making of Velutha and Ammu. No English words, original or transliterated, come up in these passages. It seems that Priya put her heart and soul into these passages to mark it as a book of sorrow and a book of love and lovemaking. The translator, as already mentioned, says in her note that her aim is to make the Malayali look beyond the love and sex, and accept the work as a book of sorrow. One cannot ascertain whether the Translation Prize of Sahitya Akademi translates into a wide readership or a change in the way the novel was perceived initially. But, the question remains, who is the book translated for? Why can't a reader capable of negotiating the English language potholes of the Malayalam translation, not read the English original? The many words that are retained and the many that are transliterated prove that the translator is in awe of the original and wanted to restrain herself from bringing in her own creativity in the task. It is also quite clear that the novel does not yield itself to Malayalam easily. Thus one is forced to conclude that Arundhati Roy is an internationally acclaimed English writer from India; but that she was born to a Malayali mother does not have any impact on the language of the novel's locale. Quoting 2-3 lines of songs from the legendary movie Chemmeen, or introducing snippets of Malayalam such as "alleydi?" and "orkunnilley?" does not make her language the translator's language. In short, Arundhati Roy writes in English and not in Indian English. Ismail Talib in his book quotes Marrin who has an interesting take on Roy's connection with English language: 'one of the great tributes to the British Empire, and to the

intrinsic quality of our literature, which obviously needed an empire to spread it, was that Arundhati Roy's The God of Small Things is written in English'. He further comments:

Arundhati Roy's novel is in English because English is her element. It is her first language; it is 'the skin on my thought', she says, and 'the way I think'. Clearly she loves it. Using English both in speaking and in writing obviously gives her immense joy. And yet she speaks English only because it was imposed on her; it was imposed on her forebears by conquest, imposed on her immediate family by all kinds of painful social and religious identifications and interests, and imposed on her by them. (Marrin, 1998, p. 26 as cited in Talib, 2002, p. 8)

TRANSLATING CHEMMEEN: AN EXERCISE IN DOMESTICATION

Anita Nair's status as a writer is slightly different from that of Arundhati Roy. Nair has not won any international prizes, though her novels have been translated into many languages. She stays in Bangalore but has been in touch with Kerala, either through academic lectures or by editing books based on Kerala. Translating Chemmeen (1956) too has been one way of keeping touch with her roots. In her Translator's Note Anita Nair also confesses that she has no formal education in Malayalam, but insists that she "has an ability to understand and comprehend the nuances of the language" (Pillai, 2011). She completely relied on her sense of hearing to surmount the issue of translating the fishing community's dialect in the novel. What she found difficult with the translation was the need to keep her creativity as a writer out of translation. She writes in the Translator's Note:

A translation would require me to walk the way of another writer and see his landscape and characters through his eyes. Would I have the restraint to bridle the desire to tweak a thought here, add a dimension there? I am a writer of fiction first and it was going to be hard to keep myself out of Thakazhi's Chemmeen. To bring forth the beauty of a book without succumbing to the need to edit. To let the grammar of the region prevail without making it seem like an idiomatic translation […] In contrast, the author has it easy. Write as your heart leads you and damn everything else […]. (Pillai, 2011)

Chemmeen is set in the coast of Alappuzha, and Thakazhi has written most of it in the dialect of the fisherfolk, which has more to do with the way it is spoken and less to do with the vocabulary itself, though some proverbs and words are very peculiar but not very hard to understand to a Malayalam speaker. Chemmeen's first translation by Narayana Menon was published in 1962. The work garnered attention and praise in bringing alive a local tale of love and loss in "a language that is alive and contemporary" (Mukherjee, 1972, p. 59). A.J. Thomas (2002) in his thesis dealing with the problems of translations of Malayalam fiction points out the many appropriations and omissions from the translation to suit the taste of the western readers (pp. 68-69). He concludes in his thesis the need for another translation that is more faithful to the original (Thomas, 2002, p. 266) Anita Nair's translation is definitely a faithful one in that there are no omissions of long lyrical passages, and the additions are so minimal to be negligent. But, contrary to her claim in the "Translator's Note", an understanding of the nuances of the language is what is missing in the translation. In fact, it is quite clear that she was influenced by the iconic movie version of Chemmeen. Anita Nair says in her "Translator's Note" that, when she thought of translating Chemmeen, the first thoughts were the following:

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From somewhere the strains of a song wafted in my head. The desolate Pareekutty singing his heart out on a moon-drenched seashore. The restless Karuthamma standing with her bosom heaving, wanting to escape everything and run to Pareekutty's side. The gleam in Chembankunju's eye when she spots Palani for the first time. Scenes from the film played out in my head. (Pillai, 2011)

Some concrete instances which prove lack of nuanced understanding of the language are listed below. One expression that is repeated throughout the novel is kadalu kariyuka which is a familiar local reference to the famine in the sea. Chakki warns her daughter:

Sometimes there's famine in the sea, because the sea mother ruins everything when she gets angry. Otherwise, she will give her children everything. There's gold in the sea, my child, gold! (Thakazhi, 2011, p. 19)[10]

This has been translated as follows:

Do you know why the sea cries at times? The sea knows that if the sea mother gets angry, all will be ruined. But if she is pleased, she will give you everything, my child. There is gold in the sea, my daughter, gold! (p. 9)

The translator has obviously misunderstood the expression kariyuka, which means to burn/to wilt, as the fishermen's slang for karayuka which means to cry. She does use it correctly on the same page when Chakki says:

You should not be the reason why this shore turns barren or be the reason why the mouths of its people are filled with mud. (p. 9)

Again, on page 20, Karuthamma, when she finds out how her father was planning to cheat Pareekutty, tells Chakki:

'Look, the sea's crying,' she said abruptly.

It reads as if she meant that her parent's deception had made the sea cry. But when read together with the next line, the correct translation should be the following:

'This is why the sea goes barren', she said.

Didn't she mean that her father and mother have done a terrible deed that brings famine in the sea? Chakki got furious. (Thakazhi, 2011, p. 20)

After the first fight with Palani, Karuthamma bursts into tears and "through her sobbing he could hear her saying, "I […] I will not become unfit for the shore." (Thakazhi, 2011, p. 130)

This has been translated as Karuthamma's confession! "Through her sobbing came a plaintive cry, 'I […] I […] I am unfit for the shore!' (p. 145)

Karuthamma's thoughts before she decides to meet Pareekutty are translated as following:

[…] She was confident about life. She would never go hungry; she would never know what it would be to be troubled by the world. All of this had given her confidence. Her Palani was strong. And his spirit too was formidable. A man loved her. She would always be a beloved to him! And it was the one who loved her so standing before her. (Pillai, 2011, p. 233)

The Malayalam reads:

[…] She was confident about life […] Confident that she will not have to starve, that no harm will come to her from the world outside. Her Palani is strong. (Now) the same way her soul became confident. A man loves her. She is one who is loved, forever! The man who stands before her is the one who loves her that way! (Thakazhi, 2011, p. 203)

Here it is very clear that Karuthamma feels blessed by the presence of two men in her life. Palani's love made her feel secure in a worldly way while Pareekutty's love gave her soul the courage to confront the truth about her own feelings. This reading is completely absent in the translation. This confusion happened because in the Malayalam, the sentence does not have a pronoun. A literal translation of the problematic sentence would read: "The same way, a confidence came to the soul."

On page 40, Chakki laments: 'Oh my sea mother, that scoundrel has seduced my daughter'.

The Malayalam however mentions koodothram which is black magic. The line would read: "Oh my Sea mother, I think that sinner has done some black magic on my daughter" (Thakazhi, 2011, p. 40). The reference to black magic is important because superstitions along with traditional legends were part of fisherfolks' lives. A Muslim is also referred to as "nalaam vedakkaran" (Thakazhi, 2011, p. 40), one who follows the fourth Veda, i.e. the Atharva Veda which details out the art of magic. Also, it shifts the entire blame of the relationship on Pareekutty. Karuthamma however dismisses the allegation as 'rubbish'.

In the translation, no word is italicized and a casual look would pass it off as an English text. Still there is a glossary provided where ammachi, acccha, chedathi, ichechi and cultural words such as chakara, mannarshala ayilyam etc. are explained. The use of relationship words is one great difference of Nair's translation from Narayana Menon's translation. Anita Nair uses only one relationship word in English for some reason, which is 'auntie' (Pillai, 2011, p. 103) for Kochamma. It occurs only once in the text, and Nair might have decided not to burden the readers with too many relationship words. But her experiment to bring in the dialect of the fisherfolk in English does not go well. For example, Big Momma Fisherwoman for Valyamarakkathi sounds strange. So is the usage 'Bossman' for mudalali. None of the major dictionaries list the word. Merriam-Webster Online Dictionary (Bossman, 2013) cites the word as a synonym for boss but uses it as two words. According to Urban dictionary (Bossman, 2009), Bossman "is considered a mix of both formal and casual. You say this to someone when you respect them in the sense that you acknowledge they're in charge of the situation. It can also be defined to the equivalent of the phrase, "Cool guy"". Kochumudalali or mudalali is a feudal salutation and in no way is it casual. Nair uses Khadar Boss (Pillai, 2011, p. 58) and Abdullah boss (Pillai, 2011, p. 61) for Khadar mudalali and Abdullah mudalali. The words marakkathi and marakkan have been generalized as fishermen and fisherwomen while marakkan belongs to a specific sub-caste and is different from, say, valakkaran, who is also a part of the fisherfolk. Further, Nallapennu calls Papikunju "moodhevi". Nair translates it as "double-faced woman" (Pillai, 2011, p. 198). It may also be translated as inauspicious

woman, the antonym of which is sridevi. Inauspicious is important here because Papikunju herself believes that she has brought ill luck and ruined Chembankunju. The contrast is between Chakki who even when she was skinny and dark, brought prosperity to Chembankunju. Pappikunju describes Panchami as "asathu" and Nair translates it as monster (Pillai, 2011, p. 196), which is too far-fetched. Though the literal meaning of asathu means "that which does not exist, unreal", in normal Malayalam it is used as a minor abuse for "spoilt".

While the meanings of some Malayalam words are given in glossary, some others are retained, but not italicized, nor explained. Some others are explained but without the Malayalam equivalent. For example, mundu is retained understandably but in the glossary is explained as "a sarong made of white cotton cloth", uruliis mentioned as cauldron in one line (Pillai, 2011, p. 65) but retained as uruli in the next line and also explained in the glossary. Podava at one place has been substituted with sari "I want a silk blouse and a nice sari now" (Pillai, 2011, p.141), while in another it has been retained – "Papikunju had been offered a podava by Chembankunju and brought home" (Pillai, 2011, p. 212). Podava is a set of mundu and neriyathu (two pieces of cloth that cover the lower and upper torso), which is the traditional Malayali attire and is different from a sari, which is just one piece of cloth. In olden times, a wedding was sanctioned by an offering of the podava, and did not even require the bride and the groom to go to a temple or to register the marriage with any authority. The term could have been retained in the first instance too since a poor fisherwoman wearing a sari is not a probability in the times the novel is set. Another aspect that is noticeable is that all the language markers like Ayyo, Asho have been dropped. But the greatest disappointment is Nair retaining the same absurd coinage of Narayana Menon, "pot of gold" (Menon, 1962, p. 216) for the everyday Malayalam term of endearment "thankakkudam". This is one phrase that was criticised widely for lack of creativity in an otherwise successful translation by Menon (Thomas, 2002, p. 68). Nair, without mentioning Menon's translation, justified retaining the phrase with the argument that the saying "At the end of every rainbow is a pot of gold" is a legitimate usage in English language (see Nair, 2013, p. 42). However, Pareekutty being addressed as pot of gold becomes a little ironical in the context of Chemmeen. Thus, one finds that a nuanced reading is what is lacking in Anita Nair's translation, even though omissions and additions are minimal. The glossary, explaining words such as mundu, pottu, indicates that the translation is expected to reach out to an international market. This is also evident from the cover.

THE POLITICS OF ICONOGRAPHY

The cover of Chemmeen has the image of a blouse-lungi clad Sheela from the Chemmeen movie poster, smiling on the sea shore with one pot balanced on her hip and the other on her hand. The back cover mentions the movie director Ramu Karyat's name in the backdrop of beach sand. The blurb says that the novel was "adapted into a film of the same name and won critical acclaim as well as unprecedented commercial success." The write up about the author is given below:

Thakazhi Sivasankara Pillai (1912-1999) was a Malayali novelist and short story writer whose work focused on the oppressed classes. He has written several novels and over 600 short stories. His best-known works include Kayar and Chemmeen. He won the Kendra Sahiya Akademi Award in 1958 and the Jnanpith award in 1984. (Pillai, 2011)

The write up on Anita Nair says: "Anita Nair is the bestselling author of The Better Man, Ladies Coupe, Mistress and Lessons in Forgetting. Her books have been translated into over thirty languages. This is her first work of translation". (Pillai, 2011)

The write up on Thakazhi fails to mention that the Kendra Sahitya Akademi Award was won for the novel Chemmeen itself. The novel is a milestone in the history of Malayalam literature, since it was the first novel in Malayalam to win the prestigious award and it put modern Malayalam literature on the national map. The book has been translated into many languages. The first English translation by Narayana Menon, as already mentioned, helped in the popularity of the novel. That the President's award in 1966 for the best film also came its way adds to its glory. But the blurb focuses more on the film than the novel itself. The sensuous cover picture of Sheela also helps to reinforce the images of the film. More importantly, the cover mentions the author as T. S. Pillai in small letters on top of the right side of the page, while the translator's name appears in capital letters towards the right side in the middle of the cover. The spine of the book mentions T.S. Pillai, but highlights the name of Anita Nair which is in capital letters highlighted by orange colour. Any Malayalam reader would need a second reading to identify T.S.Pillai. Thakazhi was always known as just Thakazhi on the book covers or Thakazhi Siva-sankara Pillai to the reading public. There is no writer in Malayalam called T.S. Pillai. In fact, Thakazhi is the name of a village, from where Pillai hails and it should not be reduced to an initial. If one goes by the iconography of the cover, Anita Nair is a more familiar name than T.S. Pillai and seems to be a more popular and successful writer than Thakazhi. Interestingly, the novel's national and international reach is not even mentioned anywhere on the cover. The cover blurb also outlines the story in a sensational way:

A deeply affecting story of love and loss set amidst a fishing community in Kerala, the novel transports us into the lives and minds of its characters, Karuthamma and Pareekutty, whose love remains outside the bounds of religion, caste and marriage. Then one night, Karuthamma and Pareekutty meet and their love is rekindled while Palani, Karuthamma's husband, is at sea, baiting a shark.

The suggestive passage read together with the information about the commercial success of the movie and the image of the lungi-blouse clad Sheela's image reduce the novel to a love triangle. It is true that Thakazhi himself had qualified his work as "painkili",a mushy romance, very different from his social novels. But the novel now has acquired the status of a classic in Malayalam, the lovers Karuthamma and Pareekutty enjoy the iconic status of legendary lovers like Laila-Majnu (Chandran, 2007, p. 56). Moreover, the novel is also about the lives and relationships of the members of the fishing community with each other and the Sea. The novel is also about the imposition of the burden of chastity, and familial and communal wellbeing, on women at the expense of their individual lives and decisions. The first translation by Narayana Menon, in fact, highlights the myth of the Kadalamma and the survival of the fisherfolk as a community. However, it is obvious that in the second translation the publishers have pinned their hopes more on the reputation of the translator and the mass appeal of Chemmeen, the movie.

The Malayalam translation of The God of Small Things retains the cover picture of the lotus pond[11]. The novelist's name is prominently displayed in the middle of the cover in a font size that is slightly bigger than the title of the novel itself and a tagline at the bottom says "The novel that won the Booker Prize." The translator's name is not mentioned on the cover, at all. Arundhati Roy takes the centre-stage on the first page where a young Roy's photograph is displayed, while a write up on the translator appears on the next, left-side page. The blurb contains extracts from the reviews of The Daily Telegraph, London: "It is rare to find a book that so effectively cuts through the clothes of nationality, caste and religion

to reveal the bare bones of humanity" and The Pioneer, Delhi: "A sad story told very hilariously, very tenderly and very craftily", which is in keeping with the translator's opinion of the novel as a book of sorrow. The spine of the book predictably does not mention the translator.

It is not difficult to deduce the hegemonic pattern in these works. There is of course no denying the status of English as a global language and the vast ever-evolving English vocabulary in comparison to a language like Malayalam. In fact, it would be difficult for any educated Malayali, especially the younger generation, to speak pure Malayalam. Priya A.S writes in the Malayalam of the elite and the upper middle class that has co-opted a lot of English words, for which there are no ready equivalents. For example, a term such as male chauvinistic pig does not have a similar term in Malayalam, but a creative writer like Priya could have tried to write a new Malayalam that would also help the language to expand. More than a colonial hangover, the translation points towards what could be termed "a neocolonial" reassertion of the hegemony of English. A lot of English phrases and usages creep into other Indian languages because these terms are used in academic discourses and the intellectuals who use these terms do not feel the need to invent an equivalent. Moreover, in the specific instance of The God of Small Things, even when there are equivalent words, the translator decides to coyly imitate the author. "Chuvanna steppukal" [red steps] is an example. The Malayalam equivalent for steps is 'padavu' or 'padi'. Another word is "heart shapeilulla stickerukal". There are no equivalents for sticker, but there are regular words in use for 'heart' and 'shape'. Another example for uninspired usage is "snap snap enna mriduswanam" (p. 240). It would rather be something soft for a Malayali ear as there is nothing soft about "snap" in Malayali imagination as it is just another English word.

Raji Narasimhan comments on The God of Small things:

The book's very being springs from what seems an umbilical connection between the narrator and the narrative. Call it autobiographical, if you like. Call it anything. But all its characters — Estha, Rahel, Mammachi, Baby Kochamma — seem like intimates of the narrator, genetically connected to her. All its events seem like tests of fire gone through by the narrator. Its searing quality comes from this knife-edge closeness. A closeness paralleling this cannot be established (by the translator), however conscientious (his) pursuit of the word. (2013, p. 141)

In the Translator's Note to Kunjukaryangalude Odeythampuran, Priya A.S. claims to have gone through these experiences vicariously (Roy, 2011, p. 7). But that too is just not enough for an effective translation especially when the translator is already convinced about her lack of knowledge in English, and strangely in Malayalam too.

To sum up, Anita Nair, even when she is not trained in formal Malayalam and cannot even read the Malayalam text, has the confidence to be creative with her work of translation. But the Malayalam translation of The God of Small Things by Priya A.S. retains in various ways a whole lot of English words, phrases and usages. Since the narration and the general tone of the language are not in Indian English, the peculiar characteristics of Indian English, which are attributed only to certain characters, are lost in translation. This would lead one to conclude that either the novel even when set in Kerala is removed from the sensibility of a Malayali, or the translator has been so much overwhelmed by the author and the status of an international award winning novel that she decided to curtail her own creativity. Anita Nair, on the contrary, has used very few Malayalam words in the translation. Most of the words that are retained are relationship words and cultural words such as names of festivals or attire. These are explained in the glossary. Though she has been faithful to the original, some errors creep in due to her lack of nuanced

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reading. It is also apparent that she is not too familiar with the Malayalam original, and depends heavily on the film. It can also be concluded that even when Priya A.S. is a Malayalam writer with her own share of achievement, as a translator she suffers from the stereotypical inferiority complex, a feeling her publisher seems to share which is in stark contrast to the absolute confidence Anita Nair exhibits, and the display she enjoys. This confidence may be because of the status she enjoys as a successful Indian English writer. Priya A.S., the Malayalam translator of The God of Small Things, is also an established writer and translator, but in Malayalam, which seems to make a big difference. Mini Chandran in her article, "Writer-Translators of Ethnicity Translations and Literatures Written in English" analyses Roy's The God of Small Things and the Anita Nair's translation of Chemmeen to comment that Roy's use of Malayalam tend to exoticise by means of content and foreignize by means of language while Anita Nair's use of colloquial American English betrays a tendency to domesticate in favour of English.

Apart from the knowledge that their implied readers are from outside their cultures (almost invariably at the centre as far as these writers from the periphery are concerned), what is apparent in Roy and translators such as Anita Nair is their distance from the source culture that they are translating in their different ways. Their ethnic subjectivities are constituted by metropolitan centres and are aimed at a culturally diffuse readership inhabiting a globalised world. (Chandran, 2014, p. 275)

The balance of power between any Indian language and English – whether it is Indian English or international English – tilts towards English which emerges as the dominant language during an exchange. In India, English is the language of social acceptance and mobility. Moreover, it remains the world language of commerce and capital. It continues to be the language of knowledge production and, therefore, power. Michael Cronin writes in his book Translation and Globalization "Minority languages that are under pressure from powerful major languages can succumb at lexical and syntactic levels so that over time they become mirror-images of the dominant language." (Cronin, 2003, p. 141) The aura around English language is so strong that even an established writer like Priya has to succumb to the pressure of retaining the "Englishness" of the text so much so that even the parts that are supposed to be originally in Malayalam gets anglicized in translation. Usually, a survey of translator's note in translations from other Indian languages to English would read like apology notes, the translator claiming her inefficiency in English language to capture the nuances of the source language. Priya's Translator's note is no different. In fact, she mentions "this is all the English and Malayalam that I know." Anita Nair's translator's note however reads as a confident insight of a well-known writer. She is not overwhelmed by the successful Malayalam novel, which has an iconic status in Malayalam literature, and later became a legendary movie. She is not over-awed by Thakazhi's reputation as one of the pioneers of modern Malayalam literature because after all T.S. Pillai is lesser known in the English speaking world than Anita Nair. The translation strategies employed by the two translators compared also are a reflection of the majority-minority equation of the languages.

FUTURE RESEARCH DIRECTIONS

The chapter has attempted to look into the politics of translation and publishing to point to the unequal power relationship between English and Malayalam. It would be interesting to further explore whether the equation of other Indian languages and literatures with English, especially Hindi is any different.

The biased focus on English also to a large extent eclipses the importance of translations between other Indian languages. The Government of India has always acknowledged the requirement for an effective translation project in India. Right from the setting up of the Sahitya Akademi to the establishment of National Translation Mission (NTM) under National Knowledge Commission in 2008, which promotes translation through academic pursuits and publications the Government of India has been engaged with the idea of translation in building a composite India. One of the long-term goals of NTM is also to build a network of translators and to establish a translation industry. A visit to the NTM website would inform that there are about 5000 translators registered with the organization. Considering the paucity of good translators in English and in other languages as well, this seems to be an inflated figure and an instance of quantity compromising on quality. Though NTM primarily aims at making available knowledge texts through translation into English and into other Indian languages, literary translation might also gain from the project if undertaken by qualified and trained translators. NTM can go a long way in coordinating courses in Universities, creating databases and generating jobs for translators. This would ensure that translation becomes an accepted and respected activity and translators would be looked up to as cultural ambassadors of language and culture encouraging exchange of ideas freely

CONCLUSION

The role of translation in heralding in social change cannot be denied. In a continuously evolving society, translation serves as an agent of change, facilitating transport of ideas between cultures. Translations from English to Indian languages in the late 19th century onwards have helped in the spread of values that were hitherto alien to Indians. Translations from one Indian language to another created a sense of unity in the people and this helped to consolidate a sense of national belonging during the freedom movement. In a multilingual, multicultural context an ideal situation would have been if this trend continued. But increasingly in India the growing status of English language and therefore, also Indian English fiction has resulted in a strange situation where Indian English fiction is more visible in the domestic, as well as the international market. Indian literature in translation is either not appreciated, or is still domesticated in favor of English. The decreasing multilingual space of urban India calls for a more nuanced understanding of the language of politics and cultural translation. In an era when digital spaces and technology are bringing people together without borders and boundaries it is imperative that translation is considered a powerful tool for the enrichment of humanity. But it is also important to resist any attempt to twist the world into monoculture. Professionally trained, creative and confident translators who are aware of the politics of language and culture are the need of the hour. Translation should not be used to homogenize but rather it should be a celebration of plurality and multiculturalism.

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KEY TERMS AND DEFINITIONS

Chemmeen: A much popular novel by Thakazhi Sivasankara Pillai, the iconic Malayalam writer. The word in Malayalam means prawns.

Domestication: A translation strategy that tones down the foreign elements of a text to many times appropriate it into the target language.

Foreignisation: A translation strategy by which a translated text is allowed to retain its cultural elements, which makes it identifiable as a foreign text.

Indian English Fiction: Fiction written in English by authors of Indian origin.

Kunjukaryangalude Odeythampuran: The Malayalam translation of The God of Small Things. The book won Sahitya Akademi's Translation Prize 2014.

Malayalam: The language spoken in the south Indian state of Kerala.

The God of Small Things: The celebrated novel written by Arundhati Roy that is set in Kerala. The novel has a lot of identifiable autobiographical elements. The book created a record in publishing history and won the Booker Prize for fiction in 1997.

ENDNOTES

[1]   Susan Bassnett in her book Translation Studies gives an overview of the theory and practice of translation, which is comparatively a new field, but now fast gaining the dignity of an independent discipline. See Bassnett, S. (1992). Translation Studies. London: Routledge.

2   Gayatri Spivak blends postcolonial criticism and feminism into translation theory while Niranjana elaborates on how translation has always helped to promote hegemonic relations and helped the cause of colonialism. Sherry Simon has detailed the role of gender in translation. For details, see Spivak, G. (2009). The Politics of Translation. Outside in the Teaching Machine. New York and London: Routledge Classics, 2009, pp. 200-225. Niranjana, T. (1992). Siting Translation: History, Post-structuralism, and the Colonial Context. Berkely: University of California Press.

3   An anti-imperialist radical movement in pre-independence India. Most of the writers leaned towards a socialist ideology. Many prominent writers of the time such as Premchand, Sajjad Zaheer, Manto, Ismat Chughtai, Rajinder Singh Bedi, Kishan Chander Ahmed Ali were part of the movement.

4   Vaikom Muhammed Basheer was popularly called "Beypore Sultan" and is one of the most widely translated Malayalam writers

5   The three-language formula was put forward by the Ministry of Education in 1968. According to this, a student was to be taught Hindi, English and one modern Indian language (preferably one of the southern languages) in the Hindi speaking states and Hindi, English and the Regional language in the non-Hindi speaking States. This was supposed to promote multilingualism and also help in making Hindi if not the national language, at least a link language eventually.

6   Chandrabhan Prasad, the dalit intellectual elaborates on why Lord Macaulay's birthday should be celebrated as English Day by Dalits. Available at chandrabhanprasad.com/party/English_Day.pdf

7   In CBSE curriculum while English is taught from nursery to Class XII, Hindi is compulsorily taught till class VIII. A third language is introduced in class VI. Students can opt for either Hindi or the third language from class VIII till class X. Thus, a CBSE student in Kerala may learn Malayalam just for three years.

8   The university website elaborates: "Thunchath Ezhuthachan Malayalam University will be an Institution of Excellence. Dedicated to the study of Kerala's language, literature, arts, other cultural expressions, intellectual traditions and the life of people in depth, with a view to generate new perspectives, knowledge and ideas and connect them with the present; To constantly watch the contours of the cultural changes in the present and evaluate its complexity and To equip Malayalam language and Kerala's cultural and intellectual life to meet the challenges of the future." See http://malayalamuniversity.edu.in/eng/

9   This is a title given by Kendra Sahitya Akademi to languages that are considered to be 1500-2000 years old. There are also other criteria to determine what would make sreshtha bhasha. The most important highlight of this title is that the Centre will now devote 100 crores for the development of the language.

10   All translations are mine against Anita Nair's translation.

11   For a detailed discussion of the significance of the cover picture of The God of Small Things see, "The Making and Marketing of Arundhati Roy" by Padmini Mongia.

Chapter 3
Gender, Translation, and Censorship:
The Well of Loneliness (1928) in Spain as an Example of Translation in Cultural Evolution

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ABSTRACT

After the "cultural turn" in the 1980s, translation was redefined as a cultural transfer rather than a linguistic transposition. Key translation concepts were revised, including equivalence, correction, and fidelity. Feminist approaches to translation emerged, for example, the recovery of texts lost in patriarchy. Following the death of Franco and the transition to democracy, Spain initiated a cultural expansion. The advent of the Franco regime after the civil war (1936-1939) resulted in years of cultural involution and the abolition of rights for women attained during the Spanish Second Republic (1931-1939). Severe censoring prevented the publication of literature—both native and foreign (through translation)—that contradicted the principles of the dictatorship. This chapter will examine the link between gender, translation, and censorship, materialised in Radclyffe Hall's The Well of Loneliness (1928), the first English novel to tackle lesbianism and transgenderism, an example of translation in cultural evolution.

INTRODUCTION

The Spanish Second Republic (1931-1939) was a period of cultural effervescence and concretion of rights for women in Spain. The end of the Spanish Civil War (1936-1939) and the advent of the Francoist dictatorship (1939-1975) resulted in years of cultural involution and sterility. Women were negatively impacted by Spain's severe social relapse. A censorial apparatus was established to filter literature and ideas contradicting the regime. Despite efforts by translators and editors, large amounts of English literature did not make it to Spain. Entire pieces of work were denied publication. Additionally, several

works suffered internal censorship as sentences, paragraphs, and sections were suppressed (López, 2000). Today, not only are key works by major English novelists unavailable in Spanish (those that suffered full censorship), but others (where partial censorship was performed) are abridged versions of their original texts, as is the case of older publications currently in circulation. This can affect the Spanish reader's image of the many English novelists affected. It may also, as a whole, influence the literary image of the source culture.

Researchers have studied the impact of translation on the literary history of cultures (Massardier-Kenney, 1997). However, some aspects (such as the censoring apparatus) have had few studies, including how it worked, the agents engaged in the process (i.e., reader, censor, censorship board), and the process itself (from the editor's request for publication to the work's acceptance or rejection). There is limited research on the translation process, including who translated whom, how, when, who ordered the translations, and who for.

Recurrent translator names appear for specific literature, such as the case of English literature from women novelists of the 20th century. Little is known about these repeated names. In most novels, they are reduced to a timid name on the novel's credit page as though they are an unimportant agent who are not responsible for their performance of rewriting a source text or key text. This is true for Radclyffe Hall's *The Well of Loneliness* (1928), the first English novel to tackle lesbianism and transgenderism. In addition, little is known about their contract with the editor within the commissioned work, how they dealt with censorship, or whether self-censorship was recommended to avoid future censorship or subterfuge.

Another aspect that deserves specific reflection is the censorship files that contain the justification for a work's rejection (i.e., judgemental comments based on ideological fidelity to the Francoist regime). It is important to note the difficulty in tracking censorship files. It is even more challenging to know which of the books in use are censored versions.

This period in Spain's history illustrates the changing role of the translator: from invisible to actively present in translated text. In the 1980s, the cultural turn in translation studies coincided with Spain's first democratic government (Godard, 1977/1990). During this time, translation transcended linguistic transposition and focused on cultures. "Since languages express cultures, translators should be bicultural, not bilingual" (Lefevere & Bassnett, as quoted in Vidal, 1998, p. 51). It was in this cultural turn—and new context of liberty reinstatement and cultural momentum—that translators made themselves visible. They chose to translate a specific writer and assert their active presence in the translated text (Godard, 1983). Through footnotes or prefaces, they reflected on the author, text, and/or the inner translation act (i.e., existing translation strategies adapted for a specific cause; Massardier-Kenney, 1997).

The translation of Hall's *The Well of Loneliness* into Spanish is an example of the link between gender, translation, and censorship during the Francoist regime. It illustrates the evolution of translation and the translator's agency: from invisibility in the translated work's credits page to a full signature on the inner cover of the text as a commercial device and guarantee of translation quality. It was increasingly understood that translation was an act that entailed difficulties beyond linguistic transfer. Several other factors were considered, including who translates, for whom, where, and why. *The Well of Loneliness* also shows that translation does not start and finish at the inner linguistic exchange. It demonstrates the endurance of translation, while reflecting on political, social, and cultural settings.

Today, two Spanish versions of *The Well of Loneliness* (1928) exist. Yet, a new version will not substitute for a previous one. Each is a cultural reflection of the context (time and place) in which it is embedded and of the translation norms prevailing at a specific time (Toury, 1995). Since translations are an integral part of a broader social, historical, and literary framework, it is possible to identify the

norms at a specific time in history (in this case, Francoist Spain). Whereas earlier translation studies suggested that translations affected the rules and conventions of the given target culture, descriptive translation studies claim that the norms of the target system affect translators' aesthetic assumption and decisions (Birsanu, 2014).

BACKGROUND

This chapter will set the theoretical, social, and political framework to this study. First, the chapter will discuss major changes in translation studies during the second half of the 20th century. This is crucial in understanding new practices impacting the role of the translator. Second, the chapter will review the political environment where the translations (and censorship) took place.

Prior to the 1980s, translation was considered a duplication of an original text. Quality and validity of the reproduction were measured in terms of fidelity and equivalence to the original text. Translators were invisible subjects whose activity was considered secondary, mechanical, and subordinate to the creative work of the author. Translation was limited to its effectiveness in the learning of a foreign language. These concepts evolved thanks to the influence of other disciplines, including literary criticism and philosophy. Inspired by the "death of the author" (Barthes, 1982), which implies that each text is eternal because it suggests different perceptions to multiple readers, translators began to be considered as cocreators.

The growing interest and development of the discipline crystallised into translation studies (Holmes, 1972). One of the first concepts to be questioned was that of equivalence. "No matter how hard he [the translator] may try, not even the optimum translation can ever fully and entirely match its original, ever be more than a map to it" (Vidal, 1998, p. 29). The principles that previously ruled any translation process were that of equivalence, scientific rigor, and objectivity. Text became central as the functional theory of translation was replaced by culture as the translation unit (Reiss & Vermeer, 1996). According to Snell-Horby, Jettmarová, and Kaindl (1997), translating was an intercultural process and an act of communication rather than a process of transcoding (Snell-Horby et al., 1997). The role performed by text in the target culture (the "skopos") became fundamental. It focused on the text in context as a verbalised cultural item rather than an isolated linguistic fact. Therefore, translations are conditioned by the sociocultural context in which they are immersed. Toury (1980, p. 43) pointed out:

[…] the initial question is not whether a certain text is a translation (according to some preconceived criteria which are intrinsic to the system under study) but whether it is regarded as a translation from the intrinsic point of view of the target literary system, i.e., according to its position within the polysystem.

Just as there is no single reading of a text, there is no single translation. The context, place, and historical period explain the differing translations. The relationship between source and target text is determined by a set of norms. It is the study of these norms that replaced the search for equivalence.

Norms determine the degree of correction of a translation. According to Hermans (1996, p. 36), "[…] the notion of what constitutes 'correct' behaviour, or 'correct' linguistic usage, or 'correct' translation, is a social and cultural construct." During the translation process, it is essential to be aware of norms because these determine the translation to be produced. Therefore, translation depends on the respect of

these norms. Acknowledging them allows for proper communication in the target culture. It is necessary to identify norms in a translation process. According to Toury (1995, p. 53):

[…] the acquisition of a set of norms for determining the suitability of that kind of behaviour and for manoeuvring between all the factors which may constrain it, is therefore a prerequisite for becoming a translation within a cultural environment.

A study of norms shows a network of power relations underlying any translation process. Translating would consist, therefore, in the manipulation of a source text that adapts to a certain model and to a certain idea of "correction" to ensure social acceptance. There are no objective or ideologically neutral translations; translator choice is due to a personal reading and manipulation of interpretation with regards to its target recipients (Rabadán, 1994). A correct translation is one that integrates the notions of correction that prevail in a particular system (Hermans, 1993).

Norms, however, are not directly observable. Two sources are used to reconstruct them: (1) a textual perspective analysing the translated texts; and (2) an extratextual approach to focus on editor and translator comments. In addition, norms – just like ideology, social values, and literary traditions – can change. Therefore, translators need to be aware of changing norms to adapt translation strategies.

TRANSLATING CULTURE

Norms further define translation as an act of social interaction. The cultural turn of translation studies was responsible for the revision of the role of the translator. The translator, now considered to be a cultural mediator, was a vehicle for the transmission of values from one culture to another. According to Rodríguez and Vidal (1996, p. 5):

If we are aware that translating is not merely passing form one text to another, transferring words form one container to another, but rather one entire culture to another with all that it entails, we realize just how important it is to be conscious of the ideology that underlies a translation.

Translating no longer represented the replacement of source language textual material by equivalent material in the target language. Rather, it found equivalents in the target language that were culturally correct in the target context. The cultural turn of translation studies defended the idea of culture as a unit of translation. Translators needed to possess knowledge of the two cultures involved in the translation process beyond familiarity with two languages. "Since languages express cultures, translators should be bicultural, not bilingual" (Vidal, 1998, p. 51).

Language equivalence was abandoned in favour of a descriptive approach to translation. The focus shifted to the performative implications of translation: What do translations do? Binary oppositions collapsed in favour of a description of the process rather than the translation product. This fostered the revision of a key translation process. Fidelity was redefined in line with a text's function in its context and no longer in terms of linguistic equivalence. Linguistic fidelity was subordinated to ideological and cultural factors. In this context, translation may be defined as a manipulation of the text to suit existing cultural requirements. Abandonment of the concept of faithful translation implied the rejection of "translation" (i.e., a meaning exchange in favour of a "traductio" to account for cultural factors).

IDEOLOGY IN TRANSLATION

The "manipulation school" describes the translation process as an activity that acquires special significance given that it can modify target culture literary trends and canons, all translation implies a degree of manipulation of the source text for a certain purpose. Before undertaking a translation, one must consider: Who to translate? Reflections within this theoretical context defend the translation process as an intercultural transference. As Lefevere (1992) highlighted, translation is a rewriting and interpretive operation that must take several factors into account, including: economic variables, ideological aspects, poetic constraints, linguistic peculiarities, source text, and the universe of discourse.

Translating as a rewriting and manipulation of the original text based on ideological criteria is a key element in a feminist approach to translation given that "all rewritings, whatever their intention, reflect a certain ideology and a poetics and as such manipulate literature to function in a given society in a given way" (Lefevere & Bassnett, 1993, p. vii). To rewrite is to manipulate at the service of power. This, in turn, can cause literature and society to evolve. Rewritings can also introduce new concepts, genres, or mechanisms. The history of translation is also the history of linguistic innovation. It is a restructuring power exerted by one culture over another. Translators are aware that translations are not innocent; communication holds a distinct power. Translators can choose to report incorrectly or withhold information (auto-censorship).

GENDER, TRANSLATION, AND CENSORSHIP

The revision of fidelity, authorship, and manipulation was key in the feminist approach to translation. Women and translation have long been linked. Whether metaphorically, to describe both in terms of faithfulness, as can be inferred from 17th century French translation trend *les belles infidèles* (coined by Nicolas Perrot d'Ablancourt) suggesting that translation, as women, could either be beautiful or faithful; or realistically, since translation, a minor, secondary, reproductive activity, was for years, the only licit means for women to access literature. When women were not allowed to write, they sought out translation to share their ideas. From as early as the Renaissance, women could earn a living through translation (something that was unthinkable in the case of writing). Translation provided the perfect means to introduce and expand ideas and literary genres. This was especially true during the 18th and 19th centuries (for example, Madame de Staël or Margaret Fuller). In the second half of the 20th century, women saw translation as a way to subvert languages they perceived as inherently misogynist (for example, the case of the Quebec experimental writers of the 1970s).

Feminist translation practice was defined as a "transformance" or re-writing in the feminine. It was a political and ideological practice to subvert patriarchal text by highlighting and adding the feminine that was missing. Von Flotow (1991, p. 70) stated that this type of translation was "an anti-traditional, aggressive, and creative approach to translation." It was often described as a hijacking where the (feminist) translator changed titles, phrases, expressions, and fragments to alter sexist contents in the name of feminist truths. An example can be found in Levine's (1984) translations of Cuban writer Guillermo Cabrera Infante, whose literature she considered "oppressively male."[1] She justified her subversion of his original text by stating: "Where does this leave a woman as translator of such a book? Is she not a double betrayer to play echo to this Narcissus, repeating the archetype once again" (Levine, 1984, p.

92). It was a sharp declaration of intent and a reconstruction of the translator's role and agency that was hitherto an active (ideological) presence in the translated text[2].

Central to these new conceptions, reflections, and practices was the adapting of existing translation strategies in the name of women to introduce, recover, and comment on particular, "lost," authors or on the labour of translation itself. These include the rediscovery of two leading authors, the aforementioned de Staël and Georges Sand, and the publication and translation of text unknown until the 1990s (for example, *Mirza* by de Staël's [1823]). These contributed to a tradition of feminine writing, as well as to French Idealism and Romanticism. As Massardier-Kenney (1997, p. 59) stated: "[…] because these writers have been published and translated, the outline of French literary history has shifted."

LITERARY TRANSLATION, GENDER, AND CENSORSHIP DURING THE FRANCO DICTATORSHIP

It is difficult to estimate the amount of indigenous and foreign literature censored during this period in Spain's history (1936-1976). Women were affected in terms of social liberties and rights. Under Franco's dictatorship, a woman's path toward emancipation, equality, and citizenship was pitilessly thwarted. The authoritarian regime generated decades of repression, derogation of rights, and lack of freedom. The redefinition of the woman's role was a key element in the repressive machinery, disciplinary power, and imposition of a patriarchal national Catholic society. Through laws, regulations, educational models, and the women's section, the Franco regime promoted an archaic, submissive, feminine archetype that expelled women from all activity in the public sphere. Home and family were the only authorised spaces. It is important to note the influence of the Juntas de Ofensiva Nacional-Sindicalista (JONS), the female section of La Falange, whose objective was to form obedient women in their role as mothers. On the other hand, the repressive policy in Spain imprisoned women who were on the republican side. This fact was aggravated by conditions of hunger and overcrowding in prisons. The political rights and social conquests of the II Republic were systematically rejected. The Franco regime prevented the presence of women in the public sphere, paid work, politics, and culture.

As Billiani (2009, p. 28) suggested:

Censorship is a coercive and forceful act that blocks, manipulates and controls cross-cultural interaction in various ways. It must be understood as one of the discourses, and often the dominant one, articulated by a given society at a given time and expressed through repressive cultural, aesthetic, linguistic and economic practices. Censorship operates largely according to a set of specific values and criteria established by a dominant body and exercised over a dominated one; the former can often be identified with either the state or the Church, or with those social conventions which regulate one's freedom of choice at both public and personal levels. In contrasting fashions, both censorship and translation influence the visibility and invisibility, as well as the accessibility and inaccessibility, of the cultural capital enjoyed or produced by a given text or body of texts.

Censorship was particularly acute with Spanish women writers who modestly attempted to create a space for themselves in literature. To publish their work, they often resorted to pseudonyms and further literary subterfuge. Women suffered double censorship: in their mother tongues and translation. Censorship was a practice of ecclesiastical origin, destined to keep the faith of the Spanish Catholic state

(Abellán, 1980). However, according to supporters of the Franco regime, censorship was not conceived to prevent freedom of expression. It was performed for the sake of the homeland's truth and happiness.

From 1939-1977, different stages of censorship existed. The first stage (1939-1951) was a period of great political turmoil in the country. This period's main legal document was the Law of 1938, drafted by Minister of Home Affairs Serrano Suñer, to control the press. An April 1938 ordinance on books and printed text meant the imposition of the obligation to obtain prior authorisation for the publication, distribution, and sale of books, leaflets, and printed materials. The second stage (1951-1966) landmark is the Law of 1966, the "Fraga Law," which pursued limitations of freedom of expression while striving to improve the image of Spain abroad. This was the period of frustrated attempts to import the Spanish translation of *The Well of Loneliness* (1952, 1955, 1956, and 1957). The third stage (1967-1978) experienced a short liberalisation of the system with Pío Cabanillas. Franco's death in 1975 did not mark the end of censorship. It remained active until 1981. The second translation of *The Well of Loneliness* took place in 1989 during democracy.

The authoritarian regime did not have a corpus of clear criteria. Instead, it had basic principles, including respect for the Franco system, its ideological principles, and its sources of inspiration, as well as a public morality governed by the Catholic ideology. These principles affected sexual morality, political opinions, language, and religion (Abellán, 1980). These criteria did not change during the 40 years of dictatorship. Each censor had to adhere to guidelines when completing forms on each of the works. The following questions shaped the simple inquisitorial scheme:

1. Does it attack dogma? Pages.
2. Morals? Pages.
3. The church or its ministers? Pages.
4. The Regime or its institutions? Pages.
5. The people that collaborate or have collaborated with the Regime?
6. Do objectionable passages qualify the total content of the work?[3]

According to Abellán (1980), the criteria could be summarised as:

1. Sexual moral, understood as a prohibition of freedom of speech, especially as referred to the Sixth Commandment (thou shalt not sin against chastity), abortion, homosexuality, and divorce
2. Political opinion
3. Unseemly, improper, or provocative use of language
4. Religion, understood as both institution and hierarchy

With regards to literary genre, the novel was the most affected by censorship (Abellán, 1980), followed by poetry and theatre. According to Buendía (2003), the novel injects into the world a tension capable of subverting norms, renewing genres, overcoming idealism, opening frontiers, dissolving communities, dematerialising and naturalising morality, and arousing desire to transform it into something earthly. It is a multiple, multifaceted genre, which is firmly linked to controversy, subversion, and the antitraditional. It is not surprising that in 18th century Spain, the novel became the main route for the introduction of obscenity. The novel came to be considered an indecent genre, aggravated by the popularisation of the book thanks to the development of the Spanish publishing industry. The novel was an indecorous genre

from a poetic and ideological point of view. This may partially explain the strong link between censorship and literary genre.

Similar studies have focused on the link between gender, translation (and literature), and censorship during the Spanish dictatorship. Montejo Gurruchaga (2010) analysed how censorship negatively affected the production of Spanish women novelists who strove to carve their space in literature in the years after the Spanish Civil War. These include Dolores Medio, Carmen Kurtz, and Ana María Matute.

Many writers of this same generation suffered the same harassment and with the same virulent results. […] The severe moral imposed by the Franco regime denied any claim to sexuality and feminine sexuality in particular. (Montejo Gurruchaga, 2010, p. 55)

Likewise, Godayol (2016) analysed the translation and censorship of writers Simone de Beauvoir, Betty Friedan, and Mary McCarthy in Francoist Spain. This is a good example of how the regime silenced three key pieces within feminist theory. Godayol (2016) explained that if imports were not authorised, de Beauvoir was secretly read in Spain through original translations from France or camouflaged arrivals from Latin America. In the second half of the 1960s, the Spanish Ministry for Information and Tourism (led by Manuel Fraga) began to allow the Catalan translations of de Beauvoir that were filled with bans, delays, scratches, and administrative silence. Other studies focused on the translation and censorship of other English contemporary novelists like Winifred Holtby, whose 1933 novel, *Mandoa, Mandoa*, was fully censored during the Spanish dictatorship (Zaragoza Ninet, 2012). It has not hitherto been available in Spanish, just like Virginia Woolf's 1931 masterpiece, *The Waves*, which underwent several censorship commissions until it was published in 1972 (Lázaro, 2000). Recent efforts along the same line (Zaragoza Ninet, Martínez Sierra, & Ávila-Cabrera, 2015) are equally insightful in analysing the mechanisms of powerful cultural and ideological blocks.

THE WELL OF LONELINESS (1928) IN SPAIN: TRANSLATION AS A CULTURAL AND IDEOLOGICAL FILTER

Ideology and culture are intertwined. Ideology can maintain or transform the social, economic, political, and cultural system. Fascism is the political ideology that has had the greatest impact in the Spanish culture. Censorship is an example of how target culture constraints can indeed block cultural information through translation. Montejo Gurruchaga (2010, p. 19) stressed the role of censorship in the ideological transformation of the cultural and literary scenario:

Censorship was not only a practice consisting of obliterating paragraphs or suspending imports, but also the means of circulating a type of discourse, in short, a type of book. Its function, therefore, was not to mutilate, to hijack or to immobilize books, but to let others circulate without obstacles. The firm application of censorship aimed at the ideological transformation of the cultural and literary panorama, within the framework of a new conception of State and Nation.

This portion will analyse the translation and importation of *The Well of Loneliness* (1928) in Francoist Spain. Together with other works by the English novelist (such as 1924's *The Unlit Lamp*), it will unveil the link between gender, translation, and censorship. It will also study how the latter functioned as a

barrage against gender-related issues to maintain the ideology, political construct, and religious beliefs of the patriarchal society and culture imposed by the dictatorship.

Marguerite Radclyffe Hall was born on August 12, 1880, in Bournemouth and died on October 7, 1943. She spent her childhood raised by nannies. Later, she attended King's College London and a school in Germany. As an independent woman, she travelled to Europe and North America. The author adopted the nickname "John," a name chosen by a partner because she looked *à lo garcon* (like a boy).

The Well of Loneliness (1928) was the first novel in English to tackle the subject of lesbianism in a mature and honest style. It was an attempt to elevate lesbianism from its status as sexual aberration to a distinct sexual category, the so-called "third sex." It is not surprising that *The Well of Loneliness* is dedicated "To Our Three Selves," which stands as a reference to the man trapped in a woman's body, to Lady Troubridge (the third person alluded to in the dedication; Souhami, 1999), or to "the complicated triangle of relationships that brought her into the courtroom before she had even penned her first novel. In Hall's cosmology, her identity and destiny were intertwined with two other 'selves': Mabel Batten, who died in 1916, and Una Troubridge, who lived with Hall from Batten's death until Hall's death in 1943" (Medd, 2012, p. 76).

However, Hall is not an author whose presence is prominent in histories and anthologies of English literature. She represented an antimaternal woman against the late Victorian archetype of the model lady. Though she was not particularly prolific, *The Well of Loneliness* (1928), which was forbidden at the time, is now considered the bible of lesbianism. The critique of patriarchal society enjoys an iconic status confirmed by as the novel's re-editions.

The novel narrates the life of Stephen Gordon in the last Victorian period. He was born a woman to an upper-class family whose parents named her like the son they believed—and hoped—they had. It is an autobiographical novel with hints of the writer's relationship with Una Troubridge (translator of French writer Colette) embodied in the relationship between Stephen and Mary. It discusses her frequenting of London's literary gay circles and her troubled relationship with her mother. Her mother described Stephen as an "unbalanced mind and undisciplined body." In contrast, her father secretly studied a theory of homosexuality defined as genetic and permanent.

Soon after its publication, a massive campaign in England aimed to ban the novel because it boosted lesbianism and was inherently obscene[4]:

[…] in order to prevent the contamination and corruption of English fiction it is the duty of the critic to make it impossible for any other novelist to repeat this outrage, I say deliberately that this novel is not fit to be sold by any bookseller or to be borrowed from any library. […] The publication of the book […] would risk its being read by a large number of innocent persons, who might out of pure curiosity be led to discuss openly and possibly practise the form of vice described.

The Well of Loneliness underwent a trial for obscenity under the 1857 Obscene Publications Act, also known as Lord Campbell's Act. The Act banned the sale of obscene material and immoral practices, as well as urged its destruction. According to Billiani (2009, p. 29), the Obscene Publications Act marked the beginning of official censorship of texts considered insulting to readers in Britain. Despite endorsements from writers like Virginia and Leonard Woolf, E. M. Forster, Rose Macaulay, and Violet Hunt, the novel was withdrawn from every library and bookshop. *The Well of Loneliness* was published in Paris by Pegasus Press; it was not allowed in England until 1949.

The paratext (book covers, prologue, blurbs, etc.) surrounding the re-editions and re-printings of the novel in English suggests a progressive exaltation of the novel's lesbian content:

A powerful novel of love between women, The Well of Loneliness brought about the most famous legal trial for obscenity in the history of British law. Banned on publication in 1928, it went on to become a classic bestseller.[5]

Its numerous re-editions and re-printings suggest both validity to the contemporary reader and commercial success.

The Index Translationum shows just one register for the Spanish version of the novel:

the first published Spanish translation of *The Well of Loneliness* (translated by Montserrat Conill) published by Ultramar Editores in 1989 (Hall, 1989). That is a 61-year lapse after the publication of the banned manuscript in English. Conill, whose name is shown in the credits page, is an emeritus professor of the Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona. Conill had been lecturing in translation since 1994, a member of translation associations (the Associació Col·legial d'Escriptors de Catalunya and the Associació d'Escriptors en Llengua Catalana [AELC]), and a professional translator for leading national publishers (including Salvat, Ultramar, Carroggio, Editorial Destino, Susaeta, RBA). He translated from English to Spanish, as well as from French, Italian, and Catalan. His experience includes more than 40 works from classics such as *Little Women*, *The Silence of the Lambs*, fiction, biographies, art, and archaeology.

The Spanish translation includes the introduction to the 1982 edition of the novel in English by Alison Hennegan. Hennegan is a professor in the Department of English at the University of Cambridge and editor of the *Gay News* magazine. A prominent gay and lesbian rights activist, her introduction acknowledged the transgressor character of the novel, highlighting that the work was accused of transmitting inappropriate messages. The novel is placed among the top 10 on lesbianism works. Hennegan described the work as a bible for a generation of women and pointed out that, since its publication in 1928, innumerable girls and women have found guidance and support through *The Well of Loneliness*. She emphasised the novel's controversies, the campaign for its withdrawal, and its prohibition in England.

However, two facts are key in order to rewrite a comprehensive history of translation of key literature by women. Firstly, the 1989 version by Montserrat Conill is not the first Spanish translation of the novel (Hall, 1989). Indeed, there is a 1966 version published by the Argentinian Hemisferio based in Buenos Aires, the same publishing house that started the import attempt of the novel in Spain in 1952. It is important to note that, during the Francoist period, a great deal of foreign literature was first imported and translated in Argentina. Next, it travelled to Spain where it would reach the target culture in vernacular languages like Catalan.

This version is signed by Ulises Petit de Murat (1907-1983), a well-known Argentinian poet, journalist and playwright. It was donated to the library at the Faculty of Psychology of the University of Valencia (although the book flap highlights that it is not a psychological novel). However, there is no direct mention to the lesbian relationship; the love between Stephen and Mary is described as an intense, troubled passion. Surprisingly, his translation of *The Well of Loneliness* into Spanish is not emphasised when the writer and translator is investigated. Instead, other works by male authors are highlighted, including his translations of Eugene O'Neill (in collaboration with Jorge Luis Borges), D. H. Lawrence, and Charles Baudelaire.

It is important to note that the first version into Spanish omits the author's crucial dedication "To Our Three Selves," which instead of an accidental deletion may stand as an example of translator self-censorship to adapt to what he believed as acceptable practice in 1966 Argentina. In this sense, it is important to note that a great deal of foreign literature, in particular British literature, was first translated into Spanish and published in Argentina because of a climate of freedom absent in Francoist Spain. However, it appears in the second as: "A nuestras tres identidades." The only sentence in the novel that is a reference to the sexual act itself is also attenuated (separated vs. divided) in the first (Hall, 1966) version:

*And that night **they were not divided**. (The Well of Loneliness, 1928)*

*Y esa noche **no se separaron**. (Version 1, 1966)*

*… Y aquella noche **no estuvieron divididas**. (Version 2, 1989)*

During the Francoist dictatorship, several attempts to import the text were systematically thwarted by the censorship board. On December 16, 1952, the importation of *The Well of Loneliness* was suspended (see Figure 2 in appendix), an example of total censorship. As can be inferred from the censorship file:

1. (The novel) Does not attack dogma
2. Does attack morals
3. Does not attack the Regime or its institutions.
4. Does not attack those who collaborate or have collaborated with the Regime.
5. The censurable sections do NOT qualify the total content of the work

The editor, Eduardo Figueroa Gneco, instigated this first import attempt for his editorial Hemisferio, an Argentinian publishing house based in Buenos Aires. The report shows import details including book length (662 pages) and print-run (200 copies).

The reader in charge of censorship, whose name is shown in the file, did not skimp on misogynistic comments. They referred to the heroine's homosexuality with derogatory qualifications equating homosexual relationships with abnormality, repulsion, and further value judgments (see Figure 1 in appendix):

An inverted who must live with successive lovers clears the way—though with deep renouncement—so the last of her lovers can seek regeneration in the normal love for a man. A novel with serious formal and content drawbacks. Those make it unpleasantly repulsive. These make it a work that needs further revision and opinion by other readers. Dangerous, therefore not acceptable

These observations are reminiscent of James Douglas, editor of the *Sunday Express*. Douglas, in his devastating campaign against the writer and the novel, claimed that [he] would rather give a healthy boy or a healthy girl a phial of prussic acid than this novel (King, 1928).

This import attempt, as well as subsequent attempts in 1956 (see Figure 4 in appendix) and 1957 (see Figure 6 in appendix), is fully censored.

The editor, abbreviated as follows, initiated the 1956 failed import attempt: "Soc. Gral. Esp. de Libr.," which stands for "Sociedad General Española de Librería." Founded in 1914, SGEL (as known in the Spanish market) specialised in international press and books. The report shows the book details: 437 pages and a print-run of 300 copies. The reader's report shows the use of the adjective "invertida" (invert) or "amor invertido" (inverted love) to describe homosexuals pejoratively. It is not surprising that the censor who wrote the report referred to the author of the book in masculine terms: "el author" (the "he author"). Like many women writers who often resorted to a masculine pen name to get their books published, Hall signed her works with her surname, Radclyffe Hall. She hid her evident feminine first name, Marguerite, as observed in Spanish newspaper archives dated before Franco's death:

Those who read the disturbing novel "The Well of Loneliness" could not harbor doubt about the sex of its author, even if it was presented only with the surname Radclyffe Hall (Marguerite, her first name, had been replaced in ordinary life by John). Our "John" had an early love with Mabel Batten, a famous beauty known as Ladye and much older than her partner. (Mesa de Redaccion, 1975)

The heroine's mother is further presented as "the most repugnant being within motherhood" for she hated her daughter for not being born a boy (see Figure 3 in appendix). The import was suspended on February 16, 1956.

The 1957 failed import attempt was conducted by the editing house, Pocket Books. In the censorship file, both the number of pages (437) and the print-run (300 copies) are indicated (the same as with the 1956 import attempt). Pocket Books, based in New York, was renowned for revolutionising the book industry when it produced the first mass-market paperback pocket-sized book in the late 1930s. It is not surprising that the import attempt came from an American publishing house rather than an English one. Shortly after the book was banned in England (following its publication in 1928), the editing house Covici and Friede managed to publish the book in the United States. They were backed by lawyer Morris Ernst who defended that lesbianism was not obscene nor illegal against the New York Society for the Suppression of Vice (based on the 1873 Comstock Law) against obscene literature (Machlin, 2013). The censor's report is clear on why the novel was to be fully censored: "This novel is the story of a woman who was ... fully a man … it is not just lesbianism but transgenderism (the heroine's and author's *three selves*, present right from the novel's dedication) that is disqualified: Ever since adolescence, her love life is abnormal. She looks like a boy and her first love is a girl" (see Figure 5 in appendix).

The Spanish version would not see the light in Spain until Montserrat Conill's 1989 version.

The translation into Spanish of Hall's 1924 *La lampara que no ardió* (*The Unlit Lamp)* constitutes an example of partial censorship and illustrates how Francoist school of manipulation operated. On January 19, 1947, there was a request for its publication. In the reader's report, the heroine is described as:

[…] a young woman whose life is totally destroyed by the selfishness that surrounds her and the sick love of her mother and her governess must resign to her own personal ambitions[5] […]

The reader in charge of censorship urged the deletion of whole sections from the book: "On pages 160, 166, 188, 189, 190 there are paragraphs whose suppression is advisable even though the novel does not constitute an offense to morality (my translation)." Partial censorship represents a lack of fidelity to the source text and deliberate manipulation. It is an example of ideological translation that can have dangerous implications on the image the target language reader has of both the text and author.

On March 8, 1949, the authorisation request to translate the reference work was resolved. The edition and sale of the Spanish version remained subject to the prior submission of galleys by the editor with the deletions specified for pages 160, 166, 188, 189, and 190. Editor José Janés deleted the banned extracts and returned the translated (censored) volume on August 14, 1950. The book was published the same year.

DISCUSSION

Several issues arise from the initial approach to a study of translation in cultural evolution illustrated by Hall's translation of *The Well of Loneliness* into Spanish. It raised the question: How much translated literature into Spanish is an abridged, corrected, or altered version as conceived by the original author, beyond total censorship, as in the case of the first Spanish translation of *The Well of Loneliness*? A previous study of the translation into Spanish of 96 English 20th century women novelists (Zaragoza Ninet, 2008) suggested that 40% of the writers who were explored and analysed, as well as who expressed a sensitivity toward gender-related issues or who explored feminist themes, remained untranslated. Further research will need to focus on censorship during the Spanish dictatorship to investigate whether these authors were translated but denied to the public.

This research shows that several novelists were fully or partially censored during the Franco dictatorship. Such is the case of Richmal Crompton (1890-1969). It is surprising that a writer who wrote fiction for children was subjected to corrections and silenced during the 1960s in Spain. This is especially remarkable with her *Just William* collection, which was read by both children and adults. Despite the existence of 1938's *William the Dictator*, Crompton was translated. It is assumed that the censorship board was unaware of this work. It seems that the Spanish publishing house, Molino, hid the volume in a most clever editorial manoeuvre. However, other *William* stories did not make it as a whole; they were corrected and extracts were suppressed. In 1922's *Just William* (*Las travesuras de Guillermo*, 1935), the Spanish translation erased an entire scene depicting a little girl who tries to kiss William.

Censorship also impacted other novelists. Similar to Hall's *The Well of Loneliness, Pointed Roofs* (1873-1957), by Dorothy Richardson, was censored in 1944. It was finally published in Spanish in 1982. Major English works, including novelist Winifred Holtby (1898-1935), did not make it into Spanish even after the dictatorship. This is also the case of *Mandoa, Mandoa!*, a comedy published in 1933 and censored in 1944 (it has never been published into Spanish).

The Franco Regime was a bleak period for the history of Spain. It was also a culturally dark time due to the repressive board of readers and censors akin to the dictator who controlled literature translation and publishing. The translator is a missing agent in the files. On the contrary, the dialogue for the translation publication request is always between editor and censorship board (reader). There are no translator names in the files, no allusions, and no records. It is difficult to establish the existence of auto-censorship in order for some works to get over censorship. Further investigations should focus on translators' self-censorship to overcome literary censorship and how this worked.

In the context examined, it seems that translators were invisible for half a century. In the works that did make it, whether with or without alteration, elisions, or substitutions after the reviewing process, the translator's presence is only visible in a signature hidden in the credits page. It is rare to find introductions, blurbs, an afterword, or other commentary strategies (Massardier-Kenney, 1997) reflecting on the translation labour or the author being translated, apart from a few scarce translator notes in the traditional *N de T* (*Nota del Traductor*, "Note from the Translator" in English) to generally explain culture-specific terminology.

Following democracy in the 1980s, and in line with the direction taken by translation studies, translators were visible beyond a signature. They became a commercial device as a guarantee of literary expertise. Once in democracy, key figures of English literature (for example, Virginia Woolf) were translated by renowned contemporary Spanish women writers. Carmen Martín Gaite translated Woolf's *To the Lighthouse* in 1978, establishing a sense of sisterhood and collaboration in feminist terms. Translators made use of translation strategies, including the use of paratext to reflect upon translation practice and the author being translated. The study of paratext is essential to a study of translation practice and reception. The use (or non-use) of paratextual devices can tell us about the author, the target readership, the translation role, and translation norms.

In this sense, (literary) translations in the Franco period are aseptic texts with no paratextual information. Showy covers rarely sponsored works; few blurbs or prefaces, just as in the case of *The Well of Loneliness*, existed. Since the 1980s, translation products have operated under a significant change. Translators, editors, and publishing houses are aware that a work is a commercial product. As such, a complex commercial machinery is put into practice to obtain an author and sell the text. Stimulating blurbs, colourful front pages, and professional/academic introductions thrive.

Hall's second translation, introduced by Hennegan, is deliberately made to accompany the second translation of *The Well of Loneliness*. It is the only one that made it into a democratic Spain after the text was censored more than three decades ago. The importance of this introduction and use of a paratextual device accompanying the translation lies in introducing this (previously censored) key text by a major English novelist, the first to explore women's lesbian relationships in British literature. Once blatantly censored by the Franco censorship board, in 1989 democratic Spain, the first edition emphasised the first translation of *The Well of Loneliness* in every subsequent edition.

Translation is more than a mere linguistic transfer. It is the translating of one culture – an ideology – into another. It is the affirmation of an authority, which, upon context and norms (literary, social, and political) of the target culture, cannot, at a certain moment in history, be passed and is therefore censored. Yet others are faithfully conveyed, passed on, highlighted, and promoted. Though there are no hints of translator-centred translation strategies, Conill was undoubtedly aware of the importance of translating *The Well of Loneliness* for the first time in democratic Spain.

Just as one cannot – or should not – censor a text, author, ideology, or expression of a culture in the name of a dictatorial regime's dominant religion and dogma, translation should not be understood as the hijacking of a text in feminist terms. This is reminiscent of Arrojo's (1994, p. 157) criticism of feminist translation double standards:

[…] on what grounds can one justify that "womanhandling" is objectively positive while "manhandling" it is to be despised? In what terms is the trope of translation as "hijacking" non-violent? Why isn't the feminist translator's appropriation of the "original" also a symptom of "the need to retain the ownership" of meaning?

Indeed, the censoring or hijacking of text poses a serious problem. If they are not authentically passed on, the literary image of the source culture is endangered. This is more serious when gaps are filled after the conception of the original text. The target reader finally gets to know the author and the key text – in this case Hall's *The Well of Loneliness* – nearly a half a century later. Its message and implications of the source text might have changed; the target text might not have the same impact as if it been translated and published in the 1950s.

55

FUTURE RESEARCH DIRECTIONS

Further investigations should analyse the translator's role and labour during this period, as well as their use of self-censorship strategies, their exchange with editors and/or readers, and their engagement in the transfer. A comprehensive history of translation should indeed tackle the translator's role, from complete inflicted invisibility during Franco's regime in Spain from the late 1930's to the late 1970's to an active and engaged practice in the late 1980's. Though translation should not equal the hijacking of any text in the name of a particular ideology, there are translation strategies a translator can use to reflect on author, text, and translation labour. In this regard, a thick translation can add advantages to the source text. A thick translation is one that "seeks with its annotations and its accompanying glosses to locate the text in a rich cultural and linguistic context" (Appiah, 1993, p. 817) in an effort to explore "the harder project of a genuinely informed respect for others" (ibid., p. 818). This form of essentially academic translation does not consider a text as something to be bought and consumed. As Massardier-Kenney (1997, p. 62) points out, it is a linguistic, political, commercial, and historical (gender-marked) event.

Secondly, this chapter opens channels to investigate authors, rescue and analyse files, and investigate translations during and after the Franco regime. In turn, we can finally translate, retranslate, publish, and recover censored writers. There is a great deal of work that needs – and deserves – recovery to build a faithful history of literature (and of translated literature) that includes works by women.

CONCLUSION

This chapter aims to contribute to the translation and censorship of English writers during the Franco regime. It sheds light on translated works that are incomplete, biased, fragmented, and still circulating in the Spanish literary market. This chapter finds a close link between translation, gender, and censorship. Therefore, ideology, inherent to the act of censoring itself and the criteria for censorship handled by the board but also in the censorship files with the reader's comments where women are equated with children and women's relationships with other women, whether lover or mother systematically despised and where literary value is never emphasised as in the case of the original work (Machlin, 2013, p. 1):

The judges of the obscenity trial in London for The Well of Loneliness refused to admit expert testimony from the defence as to the literary value of the book, despite endorsements from esteemed authors such as E. M. Forster, and Virginia and Leonard Woolf.

Fascism is the political ideology with the greatest impact in the Spanish culture. Censorship is an example of how target culture constraints block cultural information through translation. Spanish readers at the time could not reach this novel which in 1928 was revolutionary for tackling for the first time both lesbianism and transgenderism, since this was an attack on moral according to the regime's firm political beliefs. As a consequence, generations of women missed this literary masterpiece. This is only one example of the solid and well-structured censorship machinery of the Franco administration and of the power translation (and non-translation) has in the transmission of cultural representations. The Spanish cultural legacy still echoes this period of repression.

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KEY TERMS AND DEFINITIONS

Censor (Noun): An official who examines books, plays, films, and other media to ban parts considered unacceptable on moral, political, or religious grounds.

Censor (Verb): To alter or remove parts of a text judged to be immoral or against a particular religion or ideology.

Culture and Ideology in Translation: An activity involving two languages and two cultures. Ideology and culture are intertwined terms. Ideology can maintain or transform the social, economic, political, and cultural system. Fascism is the political ideology with the greatest impact in the Spanish culture. Censorship is an example of how target culture constraints block cultural information through translation.

Gender: The cultural, social, political, psychological, economic, and legal construction of the sexes (as opposed to sex, which is biological). Constructions vary across history.

Paratext: Material supplied by editors and publishers, including blurbs, covers, illustrations, a preface, endnotes, an afterword, etc.). A study of paratext can be insightful from the point of view of the introduction, marketing, and reception of an author in the target culture.

Press Law of April 22, 1938: This law, the work of Ramón Serrano Suñer, was enacted in the middle of the Civil War. It aimed to suppress the republican press, making the whole of the press an institution at the service of the State, transmitter of official values, and instrument of political indoctrination. The law established strict effective control mechanisms, which were enforced until the 1966 reform (Fraga Law). However, this did not mark the end of censorship.

Radclyffe Hall: Born Marguerite, Hall is an English writer who signed her works with the name John, which was her daily pseudonym. Known for writing the first English novel to address lesbianism, Hall confronted several censoring procedures in different countries (cultures) owing to the fact that she did not fit the postVictorian feminine canon or the religious, political, and moral values of the Franco regime.

Spain: Spain's history is sadly marked by the 1936-1939 Civil War. This resulted in the Franco dictatorship (1939-1975), which was a period of cultural repression and restriction of freedoms, as well as severe regression for women's opportunities and fundamental rights.

ENDNOTES

[1]   Lévine translated *La Habana para un infante difunto* (Guillermo Cabrera Infante, 1979) as *Infante's Inferno* (1984).

[2]   My translation.

[3]   *The Sunday Express*, August 19, 1928

[4]   Blurb to the 2014 Virago Press edition (first published in1982 and reprinted in: 1983, 1984, 1985, 1987, 1990 -twice-, 1991 -twice-, 1992, 1994, 1996, 1997, 1998, 1999, 2001, 2002, 2004, 2005, 2007, 2008 -twice-, 2009, 2010, 2011)

[5]   My translation.

APPENDIX

Figure 1. 1952 failed import attempt: censors' comments

INFORME

¿Ataca al Dogma?　No　　　　　　　Páginas

¿A la Moral?　Sí　　　　　　　　　Páginas

¿A la Iglesia o a sus Ministros?

　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　Páginas

¿Al Régimen y a sus instituciones? No

　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　Páginas

¿A las personas que colaboran o han colaborado con el
　　Régimen? No

　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　Páginas

Los pasajes censurables ¿califican el contenido total
　　de la obra? No

Informe y otras observaciones: *[handwritten] Una invertida, trás de vivir con sucesivas amantes deja, con gran renunciamiento por su parte, el camino libre para que la altura de ellas busque la regeneración en el amor normal por un hombre. Novela con diversos e importantes inconvenientes de forma y fondo. Aquellos la hacen desagradablemente repulsiva. Estos la convierten en obra que merece ser revisada y opinada por otros lectores. Peligrosa y por tanto, no aceptable.*

　　　　　　　　　Madrid, 12 de dic de 1952

　　　　　　　　　　El Lector,

　　　　　　　　　[signature]
　　　　　　　　　(EMILIO GONZÁLEZ G. de ORO)

Figure 2. 1952 failed import request
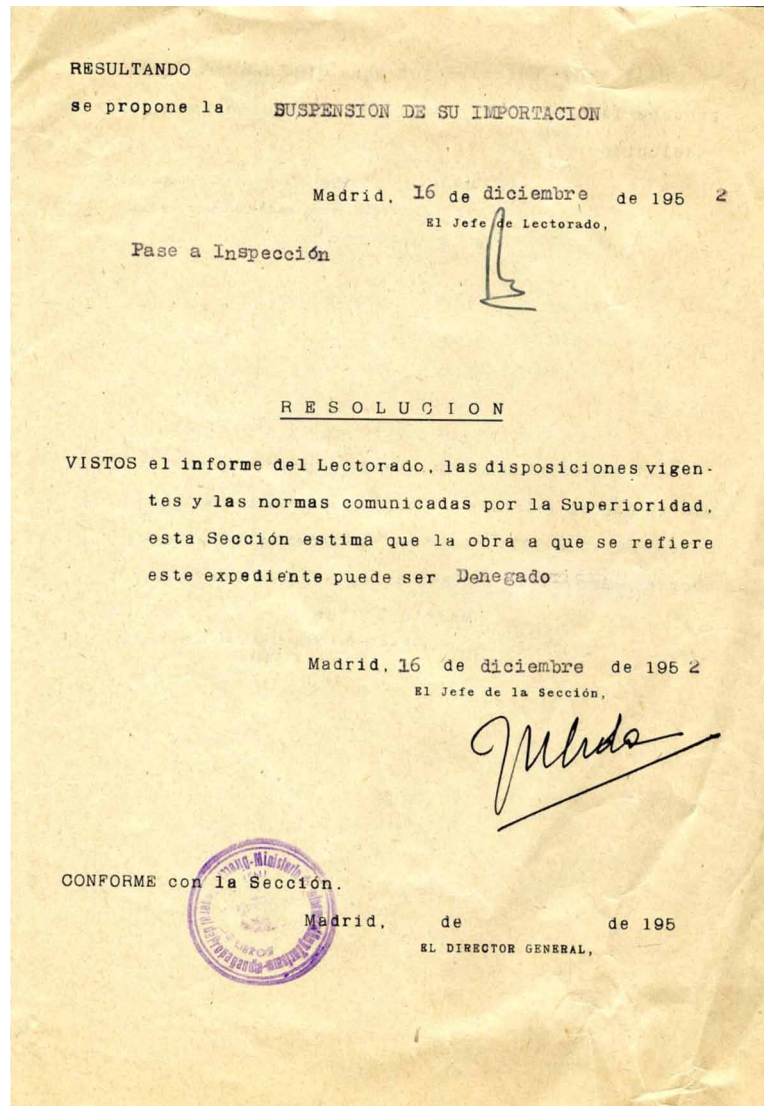
Figure 3. 1956 censorship file: readers' comments

Figure 4. 1956 failed import request
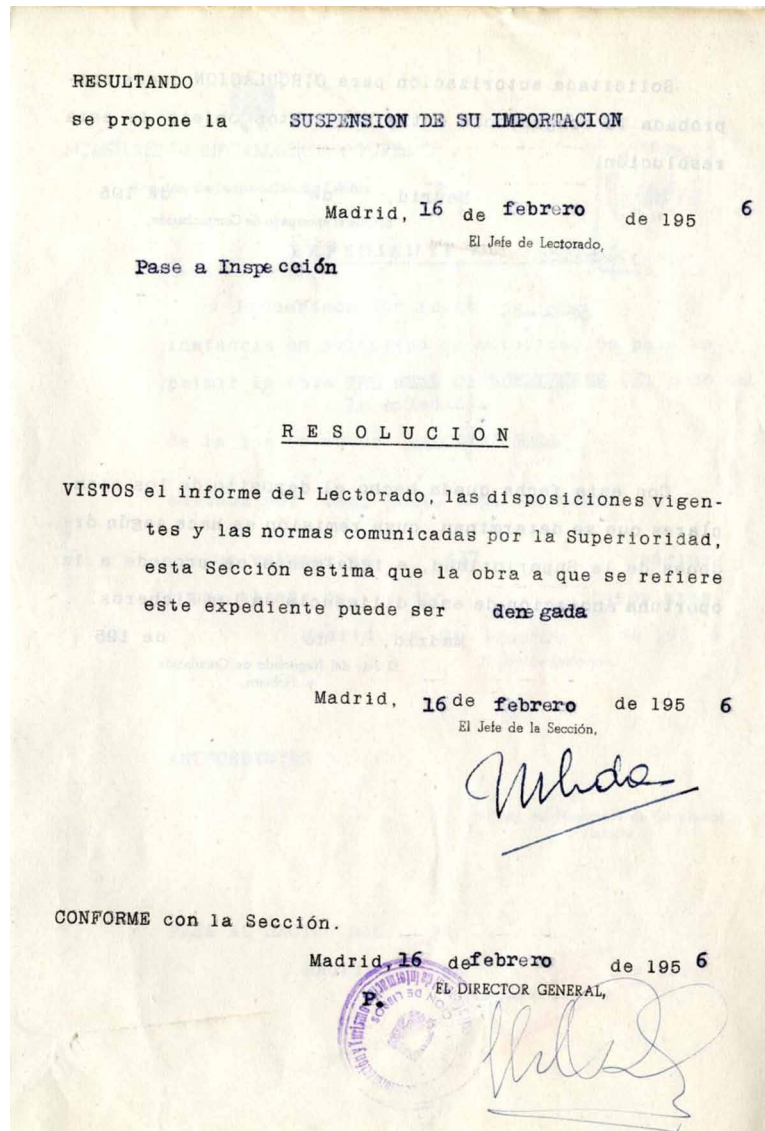
Figure 5. 1957 import request: censors' observations


```
                        I N F O R M E

¿Ataca al Dogma?                        Páginas

¿A la Moral?                            Páginas

¿A la Iglesia o a sus Ministros?
                                        Páginas

¿Al Régimen y a sus instituciones?
                                        Páginas

¿A las personas que colaboran o han colaborado con el
   Régimen?
                                        Páginas

Los pasajes censurables ¿califican el contenido total
   de la obra?


Informe y otras observaciones:

    Esta novela es la historia de una mujer que era...todo un hombre.
    Desde la adolescencia su vida sentimental es anormal. Tiene el aspec-
    to de un muchacho y su primer amor es una muchacha. Rechazada, más
    tarde, por la sociedad, se marcha a Paris, donde se enamora de otra
    mujer, con la cual conive en su casa. Hasta el fin se sacrifica, re-
    nunciando al amor de Mary, para que esta se pueda casar con un hom-
    bre que la amaba.
        NO PUEDE AUTORIZARSE LA IMPORTACION.

                            Madrid,   de 15 de abril   de 1957
                                        El Lector,
```

Figure 6. 1957 censors' decision following import request

RESULTADO

se propone la   NO PROCEDE SU IMPORTACION

Madrid, 25 de   abril   de 195 7

El Jefe de Lectorado,

R E S O L U C I O N

VISTOS el informe del Lectorado, las disposiciones vi-
gentes y las normas comunicadas por la Supe-
rioridad, esta Sección estima que la obra a que
se refiere este expediente puede ser   suspendida

Madrid, 25 de   abril   de 195 7

El Jefe de la Sección,

CONFORME con la Sección.

Madrid, 25 de   abril   de 195 7

P.   EL DIRECTOR GENERAL,

Chapter 4

Cultural and Linguistic Interferences in the Translation of *Maus* Into Spanish:
Proposal of Homogeneous Translation Strategies Based on Transcreation

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ABSTRACT

Comics are a type of literature with an increasing prestige due to the change in the cultural paradigm, which has surpassed the previous idea of underground means of expression. This cultural change took place with the publication of Spiegelman's Maus (Pulitzer Prize 1992). This chapter aims at analyzing the evolution of key terms in Translation Studies regarding cultural issues, from 'equivalence' to 'transcreation', and reflecting on the importance given to graphic novels since Spiegelman's work. The author analyzes the two Spanish translations published till the date, which have remarkable differences between them, in order to reach homogeneous proposals to reflect linguistic and cultural interferences when translating this graphic novel into Spanish, essential for the adequate understanding of Maus.

INTRODUCTION

Comics are a type of literature with an increasing number of readers in recent years, thus demanding new approaches to translation with restrictive features (i.e. space, images/drawings, paratextuality). Comic translation entails certain problems beyond language transfer, as it belongs to a specific category called 'constrained translation' (Mayoral, Kelly & Gallardo, 1988; Valero, 2000). As a consequence, several parameters must be kept in mind during the translation process: i) the message does not only depend on written words; ii) there may be constraints; iii) images and paratextual elements have a direct influence on the main image.

Furthermore, comic translation could be considered as a semiotic system. In fact, several definitions and concepts of translation from the semiotics' point of view have been established from Jakobson's (1971) distinction between interlinguistic, endolinguistic, and intersemiotic translation. According to more developed and recent models (Toury, 1986; Torop, 2003), and following Zanettin (2004), several types of inter- and intrasemiotic comics translation can be established, such as the change of reading direction (e.g. Western translation of Japanese manga) or the reproduction in black & white in colour or vice versa.

We cannot forget to suggest that comics translation must be seen as intercultural translation among several semiotic culturally-determined environments, which is also conditioned by space and time. These semiotic culturally-determined environments are marked by what Barbieri (1991) called 'languages of comics': i) visual systems; ii) temporality systems; and iii) mixed systems of images and temporality.

These specific features of comic translation may not be properly understood without the consideration of translation as a key factor in cultural evolution. There is no doubt that translation as a process has an extensive tradition from the beginnings of history; the theoretical reflections, however, have a remarkably more recent development, with a special emphasis from the 20th century onwards (cf. Background section).

In this light, one of the major concepts of translation developed just some decades ago was 'equivalence' (Vinay & Dalbernet, as cited in Kenny, 1998, p. 77). As it is widely known, Nida (1964) established two types of equivalence: 'formal equivalence' (from 1982 referred as formal correspondence (Nida & Taber, 1982)) and 'dynamic equivalence'. Dynamic equivalence is a culture-bound concept originally related to Bible translation, even though its evolution allowed its use in all fields of translation: according to this principle, the translator aims to translate the meaning of the original text, so that the target text wording can trigger the same impact on the target culture audience as the original in the source culture audience (cf. Background section).

More recently, the concept of 'localisation', which has been developed recently (cf. Esselink, 2000; O'Hagan & Ashworth, 2002), focuses on translating the meaning of the words in a way that is culturally appropriate for the target culture audience, in order to maintain the meaning but adapt it to meet the target audience expectations. Going a step further, however, in the analysis of the considerations of culture in translation studies, it is necessary to reach the concept of 'transcreation'. Despite the novelty of this concept, an increasing number of publications in recent years underlines its importance. The reason for its relevance derives from its purpose, as transcreation aims at 'recreating' the text in the target language to meet the linguistic and culture expectations of the target audience, including the proper translation, but also the linguistic and cultural adaptations needed for this purpose.

The main objective of this chapter consists of analysing the evolution of culture-bound concepts of Translation Studies, from the traditional 'equivalence' to the current idea of 'transcreation', regarding the cultural and linguistic interferences in the translation of Maus (Spiegelman, 1980-1991) into Spanish, considering the special characteristics of comic translation and its direct links with the reflection of culture in different contexts and languages.

BACKGROUND: TRANSLATION AS A KEY FACTOR IN CULTURAL EVOLUTION: FROM EQUIVALENCE TO TRANSCREATION

The crucial interplay between language and culture emphasizes the consideration of translation as a key factor in cultural evolution. The role of translation as a tool – or even process – has been present

throughout history, and this is especially evident (although not exclusively) in commercial exchanges, science and literature. The theoretical reflections on translation, however, have a noticeably more recent development. In fact, some authors establish a 'pre-linguistic period of writing on translation' (Shakernia, 2014, p. 1), comprising from Cicero and St. Jerome to Luther, Dryden, Goethe, Schleiermacher and Ortega y Gasset, among others.

In 1964, Nida marked a milestone when he surpassed the traditional concepts of 'free', 'literal' and 'faithful' translation in favour of two essential types of equivalence: (i) 'formal equivalence' (from 1982 referred as formal correspondence (Nida & Taber, 1982)) and (ii) 'dynamic equivalence'. Together with the change in perspective, which now focusses in the reader, Nida's definitions of equivalence entail cultural implications for translation, especially in the case of dynamic equivalence: 'A translation of dynamic equivalence aims at complete naturalness of expression, and tries to relate the receptor to modes of behavior relevant within the context of his own culture; it does not insist that he understand the cultural patterns of the source-language context in order to comprehend the message' (Nida, 1964, p. 160).

Nida (1964) also highlighted the importance of linguistic and cultural distance, and when discussing the equivalences (structural or dynamic), three different kinds of relatedness must be considered as conditioned by the linguistic and cultural distance between the codes of the messages. These three types are: (i) comparatively closely related languages and cultures, (ii) not related languages but closely related cultures, and (iii) significant differences in linguistic connections and highly diverse cultures. Nevertheless, regarding the potential problems of correspondence, Nida confers equal relevance to the linguistic and cultural differences between the source language and the target language, and defends that "differences between cultures may cause more severe complications for the translator than do differences in language structure" (Nida, 1964, p. 130). As can be seen, and although Nida's approach was originally developed in the context of Bible translation, this cultural awareness in the translation process and theory originated a revolution in the field, and has triggered numerous theoretical studies since the second half of the 20th century, as can be seen below.

Explaining the translation process, Nida and Taber (1969) stated that translating consists of reproducing the most natural equivalent of the source language message in the target language, both in terms of meaning and style. This process involves the transposition of messages and thoughts expressed in a specific language (even by a concrete community or social group) into the adequate expression of another group, so that it is necessarily a process of cultural de-coding, re-coding and en-coding.

This idea is later followed by Toury (1978) who stated that "Translation is a kind of activity which inevitably involves at least two languages and two cultural traditions" (p. 200), whose definition is closely related to Lotman and Uspensky's approach (1978), who consider that "no language can exist unless it is steeped in the context of culture; and no culture can exist which does not have at its centre, the structure of natural language" (p. 211).

Even though Newmark (1988) said that he did "not regard language as a component or feature of culture" (p. 95), he approaches culture "as the way of life and its manifestations that are peculiar to a community that uses a particular language as its means of expression" (p. 94). To express this culture in a different context, translation is essential. In this light, Newmark's proposal on 'foreign cultural words' is interesting as he regards them as culture-bound words that may present difficulties in the translation process (1988). Adapting Nida, Newmark (1988) organized these 'foreign cultural words' according to several categories, namely: (1) ecology; (2) material culture (artefacts); (3) social culture – work and leisure; (4) organizations, customs, activities, procedures, concepts; and (5) gestures and habits.

It was also in the 1980s when the 'cultural turn' (Snell-Hornby, 2006) took place, and translation studies managed to establish themselves as an independent discipline, gaining recognition in the early nineties thanks to Bassnett and Lefevere's (1990, 1998), and Venuti's (1995, 1998) works. This situation allowed translation studies to firmly emerge as an interdiscipline not only limited to languages, but which deals with approaches beyond language.

The previous approaches were reinforced when reflection on the translation of software and technological products started to take place, and the concept of 'localization' – mainly applied to these sectors – was developed. The Localization Industry Standards Association (LISA) defined the process of localization as "taking a product and making it linguistically and culturally appropriate to the target locale (country/region and language) where it will be used and sold" (Esselink, 2000, p. 3). This definition entails a double perspective: i) multilingualism needs to be considered even in a single country/region, as well as geographical language variations; and ii) the appropriateness of a product extends beyond language, as culture plays a key role in the process. As mentioned above, originally, this concept focused mainly on software products, but it has gained more and more importance in other contexts, and now it can be found in fields like exports in order to meet target culture expectations.

Going a step further, however, it is necessary to reach the concept of 'transcreation'. The numerous publications which have appeared in recent years highlight its importance in the context of Translation Studies (Pedersen, 2014; Gambier, 2016; Melby, Fields, Hague, Koby & Lommel, 2014). Despite the apparent novelty of this approach, 'transcreation' has existed for decades, as can be seen in the works of Lal (cf. Munday, 2013; Di Giovanni, 2008; Pedersen, 2014), being defined as a "readable, not strictly faithful translation" (Di Giovanni, 2008, as cited in Pedersen, 2014, p. 58). In this light, De Campos (1999, p. 97, as cited in Pedersen, 2014, p. 58) considers transcreation to be a "transformative recreation of inherited traditions". Nevertheless, transcreation has specially emerged in a more commercially oriented field: marketing and advertisement. According to Pedersen (2014, p. 58), "transcreation in this context seeks to perform all the adjustments necessary to make a campaign work in all target markets, while at the same time staying loyal to the original creative intent of the campaign". Moreover, it is relevant to highlight that,

while 'transcreation' is used to stress the creative and transformative nature of the process, 'the skopos of game localisation is to produce a target version that keeps the "look and feel" of the original, yet passing itself off as the original [...]. Here, the creativity behind the new term 'transcreation' is combined with the description 'look and feel', which comes straight from the discourse of localization and translation. (Munday, 2013, p. 287)

Thus, from a global perspective this concept aims at 'recreating' the text in the target language in order to meet the linguistic and cultural expectations of the target audience, including the translation as well as the linguistic and cultural adaptations needed for this purpose.

This evolution and development of approaches in translation studies related to cultural issues, from equivalence to transcreation, "contribute to raising awareness of the complexity of processes and encourage rethinking the more traditional views" (Schäffner, 2012, p. 881). Therefore, before finishing this section, in order to emphasize once again the cultural evolution of the concept of translation, according to Hurtado (2011), any reflection on translation must always bear in mind the following principles, namely:

1. The raison d'être of translation is the difference between languages and cultures.
2. Translations must have a communicative purpose.
3. A translation is addressed to a recipient who needs the translation as s/he does not know the language and culture in which the original text is expressed.
4. Translations are conditioned by their aims, and these aims may vary depending on the cases or circumstances.

CULTURAL AND LINGUISTIC INTERFERENCES IN THE TRANSLATION OF *MAUS* INTO SPANISH

Maus, a Cultural Change in the Perception of Comics

The history of comics has been relegated to the background for decades, mainly due to two main reasons: i) lack of recognition, and ii) links with certain underground movements. As a result, it is not risky to say that comics have until recently been considered to be 'minor art' in the context of cultural expressions. Thus it is not surprising that authors, among others McCloud in his textbook Understanding Comics: The Invisible Art (1994) reflects on his idea of what comics were when he was a kid: 'Comics were those bright, colorful magazines filled with bad art, stupid stories, and guys in tights. I read real books, naturally. I was much too old for comics' (McCloud, 1994, p. 2, emphasis by McCloud). But McCloud firmly defends that it is absolutely necessary to reject this shared prejudice: "Today the possibilities for comics are – as they have always been – endless. Comics offers tremendous resources to all writers and artists: faithfulness, control, a chance to be heard far and wide without fear of compromise […] It offers range and versatility, with all the potential imagery of film and painting plus the intimacy of the written word" (McCloud, 1994, p. 212).

The decade of the 1980s is considered, however, as a turning point, as comics started to become much more story-oriented (e.g. The Watchmen, V for Vendetta). Furthermore, Skinn (2008, as cited in Petrič, 2009, p. 71) considered that the genre experienced an unparalleled milestone when it "realized the potential it was born with". It is also during this decade when Maus: A Survivor's Tale appeared, serialized from 1980 to 1991 (1991). The collected volume, published in 1991, was the first graphic novel to win a Pulitzer Prize (1992) and this allowed it to receive such remarkable attention from academia. From this moment on, the idea of 'graphic novel' – which was beginning to gain currency in the beginnings of the 90s – allowed the popularization of this cultural expression, previously primarily known as comic, to reach a consumption, attention and respectability traditionally limited to 'traditional' literature and the 'major arts'. In fact, the term of 'graphic novel', apart from trying to distinguish itself from the low cultural status of comics in the English-speaking world, shaped new possibilities, as it also opened up the idea of 'book-form comics'.

In 1992, Maus was awarded a Pulitzer Prize in a special category because the Pulitzer board members had found the work 'hard to classify.' Just as Maus did not sit easily in any of the existing 21 categories for a Pulitzer Prize, it also was unclear where it belonged in bookstores and libraries, for it seemed out of place in history or even biography, and especially in the humor section, where the other comic titles

were kept. The publisher, Pantheon, promoted the book as a 'graphic novel.' Yet, though Spiegelman acknowledged that Maus had novelistic qualities, he was ambivalent about describing all long-format comics as graphic novels because the term seemed more an effort to validate the form than to actually describe the contents of the work. (Petersen, 2011, p. 222).

Maus opened a wide range of possibilities, and even triggered a cultural change in the perception of comics both for the general public and the academia. Nevertheless, it is necessary to mention that before publishing Maus, Spiegelman was a key cartoonist and editor in the underground 'comix' movement, whose main targets were small press or self-published comic books characterized by their satirical or social nature, different from mainstream comics due to their content. In this alternative context, Spiegelman wanted to create a strip denouncing racism, and firstly considered the possibility of Ku Klux Klan cats chasing African-American mice (cf. Spiegelman, 2011, p. 113), as it was a controversial issue in the 1970s in the USA.

The author finally changed his initial idea and focused on the Holocaust, starting just with an initial three-page strip partially based on an anecdote from his father's experience as a Holocaust survivor. After showing the tale to his father, Spiegelman decided to record a series of interviews of his parents' experience in Auschwitz from which, with further information and research, originated Maus.

From a cultural point of view, this choice is relevant, as it highlights the search for identity of second- and third-generation American Jews; as Kallen (1996, as cited in Petrič, 2009, p. 69) stated: "Men change their clothes, their politics, their wives, their religions, their philosophies, to a greater or lesser extent: they cannot change their grandfathers". Moreover, there is no historical or cultural moment from the last century of a greater importance than World War II, along with the Holocaust, which led it to become a recurrent topic in the works of Jewish American authors (see Wirth-Nesher & Kramer, 2003; Furman, 2012; Furman, 2000, among others). In light of this, the following remark by Petrič (2009, p. 70) is interesting:

In the graphic novel the two stories alternate; both are stories of struggle and survival, Vladek's in wartime Poland and Art's in modern New York. When the novel begins, the father-and-son relationship has reached its lowest point; consequently Art's ties with his Jewish roots are severed as well.

Spiegelman's multi-layered graphic novel juxtaposes the survivor's (Vladek's) with his son's (Artie's) story. It is an attempt to pay homage to his parents and, by extension, to all the victims of the Holocaust.

This graphic novel, divided into two parts 'My Father Bleeds History (Mid-1930s to Winter 1944)' and 'And Here My Troubles Began (From Mauschwitz to the Catskills and Beyond), presents a remarkable metaphorical and artistic value in its illustrations as the biography of a Holocaust survivor. Firstly, from an artistic perspective, the metaphorical image in the relationship cat/mouse is far from being frivolous or cynical, but it represents the constant feeling of hunting and escape. Like Orwell's Animal Farm, where the leaders are shown in the image of pigs, the choice of cats and mice in Maus is even clearer when considering an anti-Semitic quote attributed to Hitler: "The Jews are definitely a race, but they are not human." This representation, impossible to be connected to humour, "portrays the Nazis as cats, the Jews as mice, the Poles as pigs and the American as dogs. They are all terrifyingly human" (review published in The Times, quoted in Spiegelman, 1991, p. 160). Furthermore, "[t]he reader is the only one

who is privy to this literal masquerade. Maus' animal metaphor authenticates Spiegelman's account of the Holocaust by calling attention to its own artificiality" (Zuckerman, 2008, p. 61). Secondly, from a more literary perspective, Maus is also marked by its outstanding novelistic qualities. Spiegelman, thanks to his detailed interviewing of his father, builds a story dramatically connected to its structure as a sort of confession in first person, with no precedents in the cultural tradition of comics: "But when I asked as a young adult and he finally did slow down to tell me his story, he seemed to respond like it was my birthright to know these things" (Spiegelman, 2011, p. 14). In this context, and according to Steingold (2015, par. 5):

At its core, Maus is much more than just a comic; the work is, in actuality, a postmodern journey through the bruising and paradoxical identity politics of wartime Poland and postwar America. As Art comes to terms with the consequences of postmemory as an after-effect of his father's Holocaust experience, his father in turn works to find identity in the wake of that same experience.

Issues, Controversies, Problems

Maus is a continuous inversion of the norm, from the mere fact that Spiegelman used a traditionally 'low genre' (comic book) for a serious story, to the inconsistencies the author showed when trying to classify his work. With regard to the genre, Maus poses issues as it can be seen as a brain teaser, as it continuously defies conventions, both in medium and subject. At first, when it was published as a comic book, it was considered as fiction, but Spiegelman asked that it was changed to non-fiction (and then he changed his mind again and defined it as fiction).

The second issue that arises is: Is it a biography or autobiography? This is not an easy question, as there are two primary narratives: i) his father's experiences in the Holocaust, and ii) the father-son relationship during the interviews. In both cases, thus, Maus is deeply personal, as not only events are told, but also the complex amount of emotions. In this regard, it is necessary to also consider the extensive research carried out by the author, so that his father's testimony is supported by actual, accurate representations. In fact, according to the author:

Although I set about in Maus to do a history of sorts, I'm all too aware that ultimately what I'm creating is realistic fiction. The experiences my father actually went through, there's what he's able to remember and what he's able to articulate, and what I'm able to put down on paper. And then of course there's what the reader can make of that. Maus is so many steps removed from the actual experience, they're so distant from each other that all I can do is hint at, intimate, and try for something that feels real to me. (Spiegelman, 1987, as cited in Liss, 1998, p. 54).

This intention of "reality" is necessarily marked by cultural references. In this light, when analysing the cultural component in comics, the approach by Iwabuchi (2002) is interesting, who distinguishes between "culturally odourless" products with only "little cultural imprint of the producing country" and products with a "cultural odour" with "cultural features of a country of origin and images or ideas of its national, in most cases stereotyped, way of life" (p. 27). When these cultural associations are appreciated and valued for their distinctiveness, "the cultural odor […] becomes a 'fragrance' – a socially and culturally accepted smell" (Iwabuchi, 2002, p. 27).

In order to maintain this 'cultural fragrance' in the translation of Maus, special attention needs to be paid to the unique use of the language. In his strive for verisimilitude, indeed, the author says to his father in one panel of the comic "I want to tell your story, the way it really happened" (Spiegelman, 1991, p. 23). Thanks to this special use, not only do we know the story per se, but also certain features of the characters. In this context, and as a consequence of this verisimilitude, we cannot forget that the protagonist, Vladek (the author's father), speaks English as a second language, while Polish is his main language – so there are several recurrent mistakes in the text, deliberately introduced in the story, to show these cultural origins. Baccolini and Zanettin (2008) analysed the account of Vladek's experience during the Shoah regarding the role of language in foreign editions, and argued that the concept of 'translation' is a key feature in this graphic novel, both in a technical and metaphorical way. On the one hand, the authors use the term 'translation' to refer to Spiegelman's process of dealing with his family's traumatic experience by using the blending of text and images that adapts and shapes the actual transcription of the interview. On the other hand, 'translation' is also unavoidable in this work, and it is shown as the shift from the language spoken by Vladek in the past (standard Polish translated into Standard English) and in the present (broken English, a poorly spoken version of the English language that could be even seen as Pidgin English). It should be highlighted that Vladek's broken English is the 'language of telling', that is, it represents 'the traumatic experience of the Holocaust and at the same time mirrors the impossibility of making sense of it' (Zanettin, 2008, p. 25). The following remarks need thus to be considered:

Maus's complex structure, separating apparently "translated speech" from apparently "untranslated" narrative, where the latter is "broken" in the sense of being imbued with exile, trauma and non-assimilation, is one of Spiegelman's most effective strategies to translate what is unrepresentable. The foreign editions of Maus add yet another layer of complexity. In this respect, the different strategies employed by the two Italian translators, regardless of any assessment of translation quality, further testify to the crisis in representation and language that often follows trauma (Baccolini & Zanettin, 2008, p. 128).

The role of language is thus essential here, and we can consider that a certain part of the characters' essence and soul can be easily missed if these mistakes are not reflected in the translation. Surprisingly, however, from the two Spanish versions of Maus initially used as the corpus for this study (1. translation by Roberto Rodríguez, 2001; and 2. translation by Cruz Rodríguez, 2010), only the second translation includes a series of recurrent mistakes in Spanish in order to compensate the translation, while in the translation by Roberto Rodríguez no intentional mistakes are found. For this reason, in this analysis we focus on the translation by Cruz Rodríguez (Spiegelman, 2010). Moreover, in this translation there is a note for the reader (in fact, a translator's note) at the beginning of the story, warning the reader that "Vladek todavía comete errores al hablar inglés, sobre todo en los tiempos verbales y en el uso de las preposiciones" (a sentence that we can translate as follows: "Vladek still makes mistakes when speaking English, mainly in verb tenses and in the use of prepositions") (Spiegelman, 2010, p. 13).

Data Analysis

Our corpus is based on the original comic (Spiegelman, 1991) and the translation by Cruz Rodríguez (Spiegelman, 2010) – as the latter includes certain linguistic mistakes that enable this research. Due to the fact that the first part of the comic has been previously analysed from a linguistic perspective (Huertas, 2016), for this analysis we focus on the first chapter ('Mauschwitz') of the second part ('And Here My

Troubles Began (From Mauschwitz to the Catskills and Beyond)'). The number of intentional mistakes in Vladek's speech is representative and in line with previous studies (a total of 69 hints), and allows us to examine the different types of mistakes, as well as the impact on the translation (more limited, with a total of 30 mistakes). The first result derives precisely from the significant difference between the mistakes of the original comic (69) and the Spanish translation (30). From a quantitative point of view, there is a loss of 57%, with less than half of the mistakes (43%) reflected on the translation. Prior to a more detailed analysis, however, it is necessary to highlight that a literal translation is not always valid when trying to reflect this deliberated mistakes in the target language (here, Spanish), so several strategies need to be considered.

Regarding the original comic, six types of deliberated mistakes can be found (Table 1), whose distribution is as follows.

Moreover, regarding the Spanish translation, other six types of mistakes have been identified (Table 2).

As can be seen, the most frequent mistake in the original version is related with the order in the sentence structures (e.g. 'All your things I put already in order in the bureau, there' (Spiegelman, 1991, p. 18), 'Only to light the oven I use them. These wood matches I have to buy! The paper matches I can have free from the lobby of the Pines Hotel' (Spiegelman, 1991, p.20)). This is an interference from the Polish language: even though its logical order follows the structure S-V-O, it is a flexive language, thus allowing changes in the order. The English language is marked by its rigidity in terms of order structure,

Table 1. Categories of deliberated mistakes and distribution in Maus

Mistake	Distribution	Percentage
sentence structure (order)	42/69	61%
verb tenses	14/69	20%
deictics & references	4/69	6%
it was / there was	4/69	6%
Prepositions	3/69	4%
comparatives	2/69	3%
TOTAL	69/69	100%

Source: (Spiegelman, 1991) (Own elaboration)

Table 2. Categories of deliberated mistakes and distribution in the Spanish translation of Maus

Mistake	Distribution	Percentage
ser / estar	15/30	50%
verb tenses	5/30	17%
estar / haber	5/30	17%
prepositions	3/30	10%
omission of articles	1/30	3%
nexus	1/30	3%
TOTAL	30/30	100%

Source: (Spiegelman, 2010) (Own elaboration)

so these structures are not completely adequate. Nevertheless, this situation is different in the case of the Spanish language, where phrases can be placed in several parts of the sentence without altering the meaning nor being wrong. For this reason, a similar resource would not reflect the cultural and linguistic interferences derived from not speaking his main language. In contrast, the most frequent mistake in the target language (50%) is the misuse of the verbs 'ser / estar' in Spanish (e.g. 'En Florida, <u>somos comprando</u> un piso' (Spiegelman, 2011, p. 180), '[…] <u>Era tan contento</u> que lloraba […] y yo rompí a llorar con él (Spiegelman, 2011, p. 194)). This is a very common mistake in non-native Spanish speakers, as languages like English do not distinguish them (the verb 'to be' reflects both realities).

With a similar percentage, the second typology of mistakes both in the original comic (20%) and in the Spanish translation (17%) is related to the wrong use of verb tenses. Although the structures may not be the same, it is true that the effect on the target reader is similar in both cases, and in many cases for the same panel (e.g. 'But <u>she didn't like I'll put for you</u> and Pinek anything' (Spiegelman, 1991, p. 18), 'Pero a Mala <u>no le gustó que os pondría</u> a ti y a Pinek […]' (Spiegelman, 2011, p. 179)).

Although more frequent in the Spanish translation (17%) than in the original strip (6%), there is also a certain correlation between the mistakes in the use of 'it was / there was' and 'estar / haber'. Therefore, in both cases the effect on the reader is immediate and can be easily identified as part of these interferences (e.g. '<u>It was</u> very hard work and very little food' (Spiegelman, 1991, p.35), '<u>Estaba</u> mucho trabajo y muy poca comida' (Spiegelman, 2011, p. 195)).

Finally, in this direct correlation, we have the case of prepositions in the original comic (4%) and in the translation (10%) – although literal translation does not always work, the category of mistakes allows a direct compensation in other panels of the strip (e.g. 'I can't eat <u>on</u> my diet any sodium' (Spiegelman, 1991, p. 19), '¿Y? Cuando os vayáis, me iré con vosotros. ¿Qué voy a hacer <u>en</u> aquí solo?' (Spiegelman, 2011, p. 184)).

The other categories of mistakes used in Table 1 and Table 2 do not present the correlation in terms of percentages nor in type of mistakes, so the analysis is not direct, but based on compensation. In fact, as a final consideration, it is remarkable to remember that the Spanish translator (Spiegelman, 2010, p. 13) highlighted that Vladek had problems mainly with verbs (50%+17%+17%=84%) and prepositions (10%), while in the original comic verb tenses represent 26% (20%+6%), and the most recurrent mistake is related to the order of the phrases in the construction of sentences.

SOLUTIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

The previous results show the translator's awareness in order to keep the interferences in the language mistakes of the Spanish version. This is essential, as cultural and linguistic interferences are a key element of the essence of Maus, so avoiding or omitting these references will entail a substantial loss of the identity of the text.

Nevertheless, only 43% of the mistakes are reflected in the translation, while there may be homogeneous translation strategies to maintain these interferences. Considering the categories used in the previous section, the following table (Table 3.) shows how the different types of mistakes could be reflected in the same panel of the translation thanks to the use of transcreation (mainly through the use of compensation as a translation strategy). With this objective, thus, we use examples taken from the 69 mistakes identified in our research.

Table 3. Proposal for maintaining the cultural and linguistic interferences and examples of use (own elaboration)

Mistake	Source Text	Translation Solution
Sentence order	'We'll have now everything to do again' (Spiegelman, 1991, p. 23).	'Tendremos ahora que todo hacerlo de nuevo'.
Verb tenses	'But she didn't like I'll put for you and Pinek anything' (Spiegelman, 1991, p. 18).	'Pero a ella no le gustó que os pondré a ti y a Pinek nada…'
Deictics & references	'Auschwitz was in a town called Oswiecim. Before the war I came often here to sell my textiles' (Spiegelman, 1991, p. 25).	'Auschwitz estaba en una ciudad llamada Oswiecim. Antes de la guerra, venía a menudo aquí para vender mis telas'.
it was / there was	'Now it was very few hands, so I approached' (Spiegelman, 1991, p. 31).	'Ahora estuvieron pocas manos, así que me acerqué'.
prepositions	'I can't eat on my diet any sodium' (Spiegelman, 1991, p. 19).	'No puedo comer para mi dieta nada de sodio'.
comparatives	'He was older as me…' (Spiegelman, 1991, p. 29).	'Era más mayor como yo…'.

As can be seen, the six categories of mistakes identified in our analysis could be translated into Spanish maintaining its peculiarities derived from the interferences. For this reason, an exhaustive, comprehensive analysis of the original comic language deviations should be carried out prior to the translation. The identification of the categories, thus, may help the translator to follow a homogeneous approach in the translation process, so that the target audience may appreciate that these deliberated language interferences originated in a different previous background.

Furthermore, in those cases where mistakes cannot be maintained due to several potential issues (i.e. limited space, visual reference, different effect on the target audience, possible misunderstandings), compensation arises as an efficient translation strategy (e.g. the confusion between the Spanish verbs 'ser' and 'estar' because of languages like English where only one verb makes both functions – 'to be').

FUTURE RESEARCH DIRECTIONS

As frequently stated, the issue of culture and its relationship with language – specially in terms of culture-specific elements – are among the prickliest issues that can be faced in the context of translation studies. Specific uses of language, as an essential way of expression of a specific cultural community, need to be considered in the context of translation, as avoiding them may lead to the confusion of the target audience or even to a loss in meaning. Further studies are needed, so other chapters of Maus could be analyzed, as well as other graphic novels whose own culture-bound elements could be considered for analysis, such as Satrapi's Persepolis (2008), Sacco's Footnotes in Gaza (2009), or Delisle's Chroniques de Jérusalem (2011), among others.

CONCLUSION

The development of comics and graphic novels in the last decades, where more attention to the stories is paid, have triggered a change in the cultural paradigm, and thus have surpassed the previous idea of

underground products for very limited circles. The cultural change in the perception of comics now seen as cultural products has a direct impact in translation and its connection to cultural evolution. This derives from two main factors: on the one hand, comics translation entails a wider spreading of cultural-bound perspectives due to the combination of written text and visual resources; on the other hand, the specific characteristics of comics have motivated a number of reflections on how the translation can convey the same purpose, intention and meaning as the original text, using similar or compensation strategies. In this context, homogeneous translation strategies can help the target audience understand and identify specific language variations connected to cultural-bound issues.

Maus, A Survivor's Tale has been one of the first graphic novels to receive substantial attention from academia, as can be seen in papers from cultural studies, sociology or translation studies, among others. From the point of view of translation, it is surprising that the number of studies on Maus is limited, in spite of the difficulties derived from comic translation as a type of 'constrained translation', as well as the linguistic and cultural interferences of the original comic. In this light, the evolution of key concepts in Translation Studies regarding the language-culture connection is essential in order to carry out this type of constrained and linguistic- and culture-bound translation. This is necessary for two main reasons: i) to maintain the specific features and references of the original, and ii) provoke the same impact on the target culture audience as the original did in the source culture audience. The effort made by the translator when trying to compensate the deliberate mistakes present in Spiegelman's work is undeniable. Here, compensation and transcreation arise as relevant translation strategies to be considered in order to maintain homogeneous strategies for the same type of source elements. Thus these homogeneous strategies can be applied both in comic and other types of constrained translation, as well as in further research on these areas.

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KEY TERMS AND DEFINITIONS

Constrained Translation: Type of translation conditioned by imposed stricture, restrictions or limitations.

Dynamic Equivalence: Translation technique in which the message of the source text has been translated into the target text so that its effect on the target audience is essentially like the effect on the original audience.

Functional Equivalence: Translation technique which goes a step further than the dynamic equivalence, as it not only aims a similar function between the source text and the target text, but this function is an essential part of the text, and the equivalent conveys the same purpose and meaning as the original.

Interference: Language variations, different from the 'norm', mainly derived from the direct contact or familiarity with another language, which are produced in the most structured aspects of a language (phonetics, morphology and syntax).

Localization: Process and techniques of adapting a product previously translated in order to be introduced in a specific country, region or 'locale'.

Paratextuality: Category of transtextuality that consists of the combination of elements and meanings that are referred to, above of beyond the verbal text, including images, supplementary information (e.g. titles, subtitles, prologues, etc.), links and even readers' interpretations.

Transcreation: Process and techniques of adapting a text or message from a source language to a target language while maintaining the style, tone and purpose of the original.

Translation Strategy: Procedures used by the translator to solve potential translation problems, as well as to improve their efficiency regarding their specific needs. These procedures can be both conscious and non-conscious, verbal and non-verbal, and cognitive or external.

Section 2

Linguistic Aspects of Translation and Cultural Evolution

Chapter 5
Cultural Evolution, Memes, and Proper Names

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ABSTRACT

Based on the theory of cultural evolution and memetics, this paper examines the procedures of translation of proper names as memes. Firstly, it proposes an overview of contemporary theories of cultural translation, including the theory of cultural evolution. Secondly, on the basis of the above-mentioned theoretical framework of cultural evolution and the use of the proper name, the central aim of this paper is to analyze the role of memes in translation. Lastly, after presenting and categorizing the proper names as realia words and memes, this paper will verify the (un)translatability of proper names from a multilingual point of view (French, English and Slovene) and illustrate the use of some translation procedures for the rendition of proper names as cultural memes.

INTRODUCTION

It is common knowledge that the shift to a cultural emphasis in translation studies took place in the mid-1980s. For Aixelâ (1996, p. 56), everything in language is cultural, including the language itself. This point of view has equally given rise to what Bassnett and Lefevere (1990) refer to as the cultural turn in translation. The authors (1990, p. 7) consider that translation exists to respond to the needs of a culture. Furthermore, on the cultural level, no translation is neutral, and therefore translation, especially literary translation, is not only a linguistic operation, but also an activity that involves intercultural or multicultural communication. From this point of view, translation is seen as a general communication activity between cultural groups. Lastly, the concept of "cultural translation" can be used in many domains, such as in sociology and postcolonialist studies, in approaches to the concept of cultural hybridity and, of primary importance, with regard to those that relate to the concept of cultural evolution. The author of this chapter will start with polysystem theory (Even-Zohar, 1976; Toury, 1995; Bassnett & Lefevere, 1998; Venuti 1995) and postcolonial theory, based on the work of the cultural theorist Bhabha (1990). Then, the theory of the meme will be considered within the framework of cultural evolution (Sperber,

1996). This will ultimately allow us to map out a new sense of cultural translation. In order to achieve this goal, and after an overview of the contemporary approach to cultural translation, this paper illustrates the role of the meme in translation. Indeed, Chesterman (1997, p. 1) claims that Translation Studies is a branch of memetics. He explained in a previous work that "[…] a meme is simply an idea that spreads"; it is "[…] a unit of cultural transmission, or a unit of imitation" (1996, pp. 2-5). He notes (Chesterman, 1997, p. 2) also that the meme metaphor allows us to see translation in the context of cultural evolution. By referring to proper names (henceforth PrNs) as realia words or culturemes, in this chapter the author will propose to verify whether or not PrNs can also be considered as memes when the meaning and the culture are transmitted by imitation. Three different groups of languages have been selected to verify if the cultural units of transmission can be considered as universal: French (a Romance language), English (a West Germanic language*)* and Slovene which belongs to the group of South Slavic languages and is spoken by approximately 2.5 million speakers worldwide. After the presentation and the categorization of proper names as memes, the paper will consider the (un)translatability of proper names from a multilingual point of view (French, English and Slovene) and illustrate the use of some translation procedures, especially the notion of equivalence and untranslatability proposed by Chesterman (1997, 2009), for the rendition of proper names.

THEORETICAL BACKGROUND

The concept of the cultural turn was presaged by the work dealing with polysystems and translation norms by Even-Zohar (1976) and by Toury (1980). They focus on the interaction between translation and culture, inter alia, on the way culture impacts and constrains translation. Toury (1995, p. 26) indicates that translation processes are determined by the norms of the target culture. He also notes that the standards used are unstable and specific to a culture. Toury defined norms as "the translation of general values and ideas shared by a group – as to what is conventionally right and wrong, adequate and inadequate – into performance instructions appropriate for and applicable to particular situations" (1999, p. 14). For Even-Zohar (1975, p. 43), an adequate translation realizes in the target language the textual relationships of a source text with no breach of its own linguistic system.

The polysystem theory developed by Even-Zohar and Toury had remained almost a marginal approach (Snell-Hornby, 2006, p. 481), before theorists seized on it to develop the cultural paradigm of translation. This theory has favoured the emergence of the cultural turn, but historically it is part of the so-called cultural theory (Hermans, 1999, p. 110). Within the framework of this theory, Lefevere (1990, p. 102) was probably one of the first to consider translation from a more cultural angle. His work is associated with the development of polysystem theory. The cultural turn is also included in the works of Bassnett and Lefevere (1998). It is oriented, as is the polysystem theory, around the notions of culture and historicity. Culture is shaped by a network of interrelationships between "[…] a totality of knowledge, proficiency and perception" (Snell-Hornby 2006, p. 55) and the related notions of "ideology" and "representation" (Gentzler, 2001, p. 193). According to Bassnett and Lefevere (1998, p. 39), keeping translation away from linguistic approaches and bringing it back to cultural studies is fundamental. They see translation as an essential link between two cultures. Moreover, the creativity of the translator establishes a relationship which seems to be harmonious between the cultures involved. Bassnett and Lefevere propose the concept of the "cultural grid": "A diagram of the communicative relationship in the process of translation

shows that the translator is both the receiver and emitter, the end and the beginning of two separate but linked chains of communication: Author - Text - Receiver = Translator - Text - Receiver" (1998, p. 5).

For Venuti (1995), translation is a question of power between cultures and within the same culture. It is an appropriation of foreign cultures for several purposes. Venuti considers that the translator has the choice between two strategies of translation in the face of the foreign text: domestication and foreignization. He believes there is violence residing in the activity of domestication. As domestication erases cultural differences and reduces the foreign text to target language cultural values, the author tends rather to foreignization, in which the aim is to reproduce the cultural aspects of the source text in the target text. This method of translation emphasizes the alterity of the source text. Venuti (1995, p. 20) considers that such a strategy of resistant translation is desirable, because it can restrain the violently domesticating cultural values of the English-language world, the inequality of cultural exchanges, but also the dominant cultural values. However, foreignization may damage the cultural codes of the target language, but does reflect the linguistic and cultural differences of the foreign text.

By valorizing and assimilating the target culture to the detriment of the source culture, cultural theories may sometimes seem extreme. They move towards postcolonial studies to examine, inter alia, the basis of discourses and their practices. The representatives of the descriptive approach also have an ambiguous attitude: on the one hand, they recommend being uncritical, but on the other they advocate a translation that does not assimilate the source culture: "[…] we need to find out how to translate the cultural capital of other civilizations in a way that preserves at least part of their own nature, without producing translations that are so low on the entertainment factor that they appeal only to those who read for professional reasons" (Bassnett & Lefevere, 1998, p. 11).

This approach towards translation does not really correspond to an exchange between cultures, but rather tries to adapt or rewrite the translation in order to comply with the expectations of the receiving culture.

Cultural Translation

Other approaches, such as postcolonial theories, take the view that literary translation is a point of contact between languages and different cultures: "Postcolonial times are definitely times of hybridity and recreation of local identities and surprisingly these would be the terms most often associated with the concept of translation studies," notes Tranquille (2000, p. 3). Translation thus serves to convey an ideological image of the colonized cultures and to recognize ex-colonial cultures.

The notion of postcolonial is also in line with the process of "cultural translation", one of the important contributions to the subject presented by the Indian cultural theorist Bhabha, who began investigating the multi-perspective nature of cultural evolution. Bhabha (1990) contends that plural and democratic societies can encourage cultural diversity. But two problems arise; one of which is that we seek to contain cultural diversity:

A transparent norm is constituted, a norm given by the host society or dominant culture, which says that 'these other cultures are fine, but we must be able to locate them within our own grid'. This is what I mean by a creation of cultural diversity and a containment of cultural difference. (Bhabha, 1990, p. 208)

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The second problem concerns societies in which multiculturalism is encouraged. In these societies there is still endemic racism because universalism permits diversity, but masks ethnocentric norms, values and interests. Bhabha addresses the notion of cultural difference rather than cultural diversity. The difference of cultures does not recognize the universalist and normative stance:

Different cultures, the difference between cultural practices, the difference in the construction of cultures between cultural practices, the difference in the construction of cultures within different groups, very often set up among and between themselves and incommensurability". (Bhabha, 1990, p. 209)

Bhabha thinks that it is difficult to fit together different forms of culture. Relying on Benjamin, he introduces the notion of cultural translation (Bhabha, 1990., p. 208). By translation, he means a process by which there has to be a process of alienation, in relation to itself, in order to objectify cultural meaning. He also suggests that the forms of culture are related to each other, because culture is a symbol-forming activity and underscores the claim to an original or originary identity. The theory of culture recalls a theory of language, as part of the process of translation, using a word as a trope "[…] for the activity of displacement within the linguistic sign" (Bhabha, 1990, p. 210). The translation is also a way of imitating, but the original is never finished and is always open to translation. Bhabha argues that cultural translation is a way of imitating, and that the originary term is open to translation: "What this really means is that cultures are only constituted in relation to that otherness internal to their own symbol-forming activity which makes them decentred structures – through that displacement or liminality opens up the possibility of articulating different, even incommensurable cultural practices and priorities" (Bhabha,1990).

Bhabha also introduces the notion of hybridity (1994, p.4) which is the 'third space' that enables other positions to emerge and comes from the idea of translation. He means that the act of cultural translation denies the essentialism of an original or originary culture. Hybridity is important because, like translation, it is marked by feelings and the practices of others: it is a "[…] process of identifying with and through another object, an object of otherness" (Bhabha, 1994, p. 211). The process of cultural hybridity gives rise to a new area of negotiation of meaning and representation.

Cultural Evolution

The notions of imitation and replication are central to the theory of cultural evolution. As we'll come to that late on in this chapter, the words "evolution" and "culture" have meant many things to many authors (e.g. Darwin, 1859; Dawkins, 1976, etc.). The theory of cultural evolution needs a way of modelling the effects of cultural inheritance or heredity. One such approach is memetics which is the theoretical and empirical science that studies the replication, spread and evolution of memes. Memetics may be seen as a general textual or literary theory where it is possible to highlight, among other things, some ideas or catchphrases.

The anthropologist Sperber (1996, pp. 159-163) considers that cultural evolution follows a logic of propagation which reminds him of epidemics. He contends that ideas and representations spread from one brain to another through a kind of contagion of ideas. The author stresses that the propagation of cultural units seldom occurs through identical replication (Sperber, 1996, p. 115). More often than not, ideas change when going from one brain to another. Such volatility prevents us from considering cultural representations as replicators. According to Sperber (1996, p. 148), transformation, and not replication, is the general law of cultural transmission.

The concept of cultural evolution is central to any discussion of memes. The proponents of memetics insist that memes are independent of genes. But the socio-biological concept of memes refers, inter alia, to ideas or practices that have spread, like genes, in cultural evolution. Snell-Hornby (2006) notes that the "discussion of translational norms, rules and conventions was to continue during the 1990s with extensions, differentiations and individual variations. […] Such should be the case with the term meme introduced into the discussion on translation theory in 1997" (Snell-Hornby, p. 76).

The Oxford English Dictionary (https://en.oxforddictionaries.com) defines a meme as "An element of a culture that may be considered to be passed on by non-genetic means, esp. imitation". According to Dawkins (1976), a meme is a replicator and a unit of cultural evolution, "[…] a unit of cultural transmission, or a unit of imitation" and examples of memes are "[…] tunes, ideas, catch-phrases, clothes fashions, ways of making pots or of building arches" (Dawkins, 1976, p. 206). Blackmore (1999) also introduces the notion of imitation and distinguishes it from conditioning:

When I say 'imitation' I mean to include passing on information by using language, reading, and instruction, as well as other complex skills and behaviours. Imitation includes any kind of copying of ideas and behaviours from one person to another. (Blackmore, 1999, p. 43)

The major source of imitation is likely to be education: From our infancy, we try to reproduce adults' behaviours, including their linguistic behaviour. Blackmore also brings the biological and the cultural fields closer:

Genes are instructions for making proteins, stored in the cells of the body and passed on in reproduction. Their competition drives the evolution of the biologic world. Memes are instructions for carrying out behaviour, stored in brains (or other objects) and passed on by imitation. Their competition drives the evolution of the mind. Both genes and memes are replicators and must obey the general principles of evolution theory and in that sense are the same. Beyond that they may be, and indeed they are, very different – they are related only by analogy. (Blackmore, 1999, p. 17)

A meme is also "[…] a unit of information residing in a brain" and "[…] the phenotypic effects of a meme may be in the form of words, music, visual images, styles of clothes, facial or hand gestures" (Dawkins, 1982, p. 109). Memes are ideas that spread through human cultures and across generations. So, any cultural object or potentially any text, may be included in this definition.

Consequently, a meme is a cultural element which is identifiable, like a concept, idea, habit, behaviour, piece of information, usage, social phenomenon, style, etc. This element is replicated and transmitted via the imitation of a collective behaviour by each individual. It spreads from one person to the next within a culture. Memes evolve rapidly: a meme which has just been introduced into our brain may mutate, due to the power of our imagination, into something utterly different. Culture is thus defined as a huge pool of memes (a mememic pool) which aims to be replicated. Some perish, others survive and reproduce. Memes evolve because variation not only occurs through the selection of units, but also through their modification. When we have been told a story, for example, our own interpretation may induce us to tell it in a different way: a mimetic variation takes place. We also make memes evolve through interpretation.

Memes and Translation

The theory of memes was introduced to Translation Studies by Vermeer (1997, 1998) and by Chesterman (1996, 1997) who proposed the theory of translation memes. Memetics appears relevant to the whole of the cultural turn that has taken place in Translation Studies (see, e.g., Bassnett & Lefevere 1990). For Chesterman (2009, pp. 75-88), memetics has become a theory of cultural transfer, cultural evolution and cultural similarity. As a branch of memetics, translation studies are also a way of studying memes and their transmission. Translation can be considered as an adaptive phenomenon, since it allows the survival and replication of the meme, even in an environment previously hostile and infertile. So, Chesterman sees translation as a memetic process.

For its part, Vermeer (1983, p. 8) combines the notions of meme and the cultureme. According to Vermeer and Witte (1990, p. 137), the cultureme represents a social phenomenon with a specific cultural meaning. Assessing the cultural meaning of a term is an individual cognitive and emotional process, so it is important that the translator is able to identify the cultural traits while s/he keeps in mind that what is significant for one culture is not necessarily significant for an individual from another culture. But the translator has the power to change the status of the cultureme. Indeed, while some culturemes might disappear during a translation, other elements might become culturemes. So, culturemes have a particular form and function in a given culture (see Vermeer, 1983, p. 8; Oksaar, 1988, pp. 26-27; Nord, 1997, p.34; Vaupot, 2015, pp. 107-111). According to Vermeer, "Cultures can be considered 'meme pools' where memes are [considered to be] interdependent" and the translator is a meme-transmitter" (1998, p. 59).

According to Chesterman (1997, p. 7), culturemes have the status of memes. He sees them as units of cultural transfer which can be transmitted across cultures through translation, and as a cultural phenomenon that is present in culture X, but not necessarily present and existing in the same way in another culture, Y. He agreed that memes can replicate and mutate like genes. They are transmitted via human activities and are part of our everyday lives. Memes can therefore spread via culture, language and translation. As the author points out (1997, pp. 3-4), the relationship that the translation establishes with the meme is not a relation of identity (when the source meme A is identical to the target meme A') or a relation of transfer (the meme A transforms itself into the meme B in the target culture). It is an additive relationship (the meme A', which spreads in the target culture, is added to the meme A which does the same in the source culture).

Considering a meme as a unit of cultural transmission which competes, as do the genes in their Darwinian contest, with other memes for dominance, Chesterman (1997, pp. 7-14) introduces the concept of dominant supermemes in translation studies. He proposes five memes or dominant ideas which he elevates to the status of supermemes of translation: the source-target metaphor, the idea of equivalence, the myth of untranslatability, the free-vs.-literal dichotomy, and the idea that all writing is a kind of translating. Because of the idea that a proper name is often untranslatable, the concepts of equivalence and untranslatability are particularly interesting for the study of proper names and their translations.

PROPER NAMES AS MEMES

Darwin's theory of evolution (1859) considers the interaction of the mechanisms of variation, selection and transmission. The chapter 1 of his book is devoted to documenting the existence of variability in some populations and the effectiveness of artificial selection. Darwin means that "The key is man's power of

cumulative selection: nature gives successive variations; man adds them up in certain directions useful to himself" (1859, p. 30). For Darwin, variation occurs because code transmission does not necessarily entail exact duplication. Selection tends to do away with mutated organisms which do not fit their environment and transmission implies a mechanical transcription of sign encoding: for instance, the author (Darwin, 1859, p. 383-410) compiled examples of the transmission of traits down several generations of pedigrees. Modern evolutionary theory pinpoints these mechanisms and introduces the notions of 'replication' - the ability of the selected organism to replicate itself - and 'interaction':

[E]ntities that directly interact as a cohesive whole with their environment in such a way that replication is differential. (Hull, 1980, p. 31).

The above-mentioned mechanisms may apply to linguistics, for instance to the proper name. From a theoretical point of view, PrNs have attracted attention since the Ancient Greeks, but, theoretical onomasticians started to emerge only in the 20th century. In order to succinctly introduce proper names, we will rely on Jonasson's cognitivist approach:

Les Npr nous permettent d'isoler des entités uniques et spécifiques […] Ainsi la fonction cognitive fondamentale du Npr serait de nommer, d'affirmer et de maintenir une individualité. (Jonasson, 1994, pp.16-17)[1]

PrNs may be used in all kinds of texts, i.e. in literary or non-literary texts. They are ubiquitous. Linguists (e.g. Kleiber, 1981, 1995; Molino, 1982; Allerton, 1987; Gary-Prieur, 1994; Lehrer, 1994, 2006) have acknowledged the relevance of onomastics from a variety of viewpoints, including theoretical perspectives and, inter alia, culture-specific aspects. As many authors point out (e.g. Pulgram, 1954; Algeo, 1973; Lehrer, 1994), there does not seem to exist any culture or civilization not having recourse to the use of PrNs in its communicative acts. Algeo points out:

Not only name-bearing, but also name-building is a universal human practice, with the same physical and nervous performance of human speech production and comprehension, regardless of the multitude and variety of languages. It is commonly accepted that there are universals of naming – specifically, that all languages provide for a class of items that can be called proper names, that in all cultures there are events that are identified as "namings". In each society each person has at least one personal name, and in large technological societies, a family name as well. (Algeo, 1973, p. 20)

The PrN can contain a cultural value, but did it spread from culture to culture? The author of this chapter argues that the PrN can be considered as a meme when there is a transmission of the meaning and the culture by imitation, but also when it meets at least the criteria related to transmission (heredity or replication). The fact that some cultural representations seem to be universal and are fairly stable may be due to the existence of some cultural attractors. Fairy tales are a typical example of memetics and cultural evolution. For example, the story of *Little Red Riding Hood* underwent many variations when passing from one individual to another, one country to another, from one individual to a book or from a book to an individual. The subjects of cultural evolution and memetics could even be extended to the translation of fairy tales, which are typical examples of memetics. Indeed, fairy tales are rooted in oral traditions, have spread around the world and meet the criteria of universal memes as basic units of cultural transmission (see Zipes, 2012, p. 17).

Moreover, some similarities can be discerned between the nature of memes and proper names. Like memes, proper names may be found, for instance, in clothes-style brands (e.g. "Jeane"), tunes or songs (e.g. "Java" or "Frère Jacques", "Brother Jone" or "Mojster Jaka"), etc. Some proper names (e.g. "Danses macabres"; "Dance of Death"; "Mrtvaški ples") are replicated in music, paintings, frescoes, woodcuts, etc. So, proper names and memes are terms given to a unit of cultural information. Some of them may be transmitted by heredity: For example, the PrN "Marianne" is an historic and national symbol of France which symbolizes reason, liberty and the ideals of the French republic. The author of this chapter argues that the PrN "Marianne" may be considered as a meme and a unit of cultural evolution. Typically, Marianne emerged as a single figurehead and she is depicted with a "Phrygian cap". The portrait of Marianne is frequently seen in France, on statues, coins or stamps. But the origins of the name Marianne remain unclear. It may have come from a song which was popular at the time of the Revolution ("Garisou de Marianno" or "la Guérison de Marianne") or possibly because "Marie" and "Anne" (Marie-Anne) were common and popular forenames during the 18th century. Nowadays, French women, whether well-known or anonymous, looking like women of the people, are chosen as models for the bust of Marianne in France. Therefore, we notice that the symbol of Marianne was replicated and transmitted by "imitation". Indeed, many copies or replicas of the French Marianne have been created. We may conclude that it is a meme in the sense that it is a unit of information which is transmitted from individual to individual. It is a symbol which has also been subject to "variation" and "heredity" given the number of objects and users it implies, but also to "selection" because some new changes or new faces were periodically introduced with the multiplication of busts in French town halls, law courts, schools, etc. If we generalize, the relation between the PrN and the concept of heredity is undeniable because of the number and the immense variety of PrNs, while PrNs may be replicated and transmitted through heredity with or without changes or variations.

Categorization of Proper Names

PrNs have a communicative function and are immersed in culture. According to the geolinguistic theory of Vereščagin and Kostomarov (1980), certain elements in fact stand out in the semantics of PrNs, reflecting elements of extra-linguistic reality: Everything that is related to their geographical and natural conditions, e.g. history, economy, art, social training or national specificities. So, there are cultural traits or realia words (culturemes) which contain a complex mix of cultural information and the peculiarities of an area: for instance, its history, ethnography, politics, society, geography, etc. On the other hand, linguoculturological theory, which studies the reflections of culture in language (Vorobjev, 1997) and in discourse, considers, inter alia, that toponyms are related to national culture. PrNs, therefore, often carry a cultural load, especially a shared cultural load. In that sense, they are realia words and cultural memes.

PrNs can become the bearers of culturally meaningful information. The author of this chapter proposes to classify them from a sociological point of view. This means that the classification is based on words which take up the characteristic traits of a civilization. It is composed of several non-exhaustive sections:

Ideas and Symbols

The symbolic dimension refers to sacred or symbolical objects and everything relating to tradition or inheritance. That is, all the cultural elements like beliefs, religion, spiritual life, ethics and mythology which correspond to the mores of each society (proper names relating to legends, folklore or religion).

It mostly includes one of the main meanings of the notion of culture: literature, whether oral or written, sciences and art as expressions of human activity and means of communication, in short, everything relating to intellectual culture (poetry, novels, plays, philosophy, arts, artists and authors, etc.).

Institutions, Their Organization and Function in Society

Although different, the various institutional systems function in the same way. Institutions structure cultural behaviour in so far as they link the individual to the collective and refer to a social or institutional set of rules imposed by custom (usages, family rules); models, standards, roles or conduct rules relating to the position of an individual within a society; social organization, etc. Indeed, a society is organized around many institutions: those responsible for legislation, regulation, justice, police; political, economic and social life; political and sports functions; associations, family, group structure; the way authority is wielded, justice delivered, how political powers are distributed and managed, etc. A whole specific lexicon defines the organization of society and its institutions.

Contexts

History deals with the whole of a society in the past. Historic events also exist in the collective and semi-collective unconscious. The dimensions of time or space may sometimes appear through the sacred which is set within history. In addition to historic facts and symbols, different contexts may infer different ways of seeing things, and impose a cultural decoding to interpret the past in the light of present-day references.

Geographical Context

This includes physical geography, climatology, the fauna and flora which all shape a culture and are apparent in language. It also encompasses the way land and space are occupied; the way habitats and works of architecture are organized. As a consequence, cultural heritage is closely linked to its historical background, but also to the geography or the physical environment in which it resides. The cultural traits of one country look all the stranger to another when the countries concerned are far from each other in time, space and society.

Objects, Materials, and Daily Life

This category deals with, on the one hand, the material aspect of things – for instance types of dwelling; techniques, instruments, traditional tools; objects of art and production; but also materials and material goods. On the other hand, the non-material dimension and traditional stock also constitute a source of cultural and social information. This field shows clearly the unbreakable connection between lexicon and culture. For a reader of the source language, these data are familiar, but they mostly play the role of local colour for a reader who is only a guest in the country. Finally, all the words relating to daily life, which is a vast domain, are endowed with the inner and outer manifestations of a culture. These encompass daily objects: food, cooking customs, gastronomy; clothes; games, entertainments, sports; media; tools; prices, sizes, measures and currency; also, the collection of customs; of ways of dressing oneself; of behaving at table; of exchanging presents; the way in which people talk to an interlocutor, manners

and greetings; logistics; and a culture's appeal to tourists ('traditional' clothing, rites and traditions in relation to festivals and seasons).

Consequently, it appears clearly that PrNs as realia words vary according to cultures or societies; hence, it is impossible to classify them precisely. The cases mentioned show that these representations of the world give expression to the many features, social realities and ways of seeing the world that are specific to each people. The different levels do not look alike and do not apply to each culture in the same way. The levels of culture differ according to their content and the society or ethnic group they belong to. Similarly, ignoring one or several cultural referents may hamper communication and pose a translation problem.

TRANSLATION OF PROPER NAMES

The study of proper names offers a certain interest in translation. Within the framework of the translation, a more precise categorization of the proper name is useful. Based on the lexical database of PrNs, Prolexbase (CNRTL, 2012), it is possible to categorize PrNs as anthroponyms, toponyms, ergonyms and pragmonyms (see Table 1). This categorization will help to define the strategy to translate PrNs as a cultural meme.

The widespread idea that PrNs are generally not to be translated is not recent and there are divided opinions about their (non)-translation. Some, like Vendler (1975, p. 117), consider that PrNs should not be translated as they are an incomplete linguistic sign or, on the contrary, should be rigorously respected. PrNs can be simply informative or may stay as markers of local colour in the target text. But might we admit exceptions?

In translation, the concerns of translators and the solutions they adopt seem to be diverse. Indeed, it may be difficult to translate some PrNs with a shared cultural load. The first problem that arises consists in understanding the PrN, and then the difficulty of finding a perfect equivalent - all the more so as some words or groups of words may contain more of a cultural dimension than others. For instance, French words like "le sourire" (the smile) or "le muguet" (lily of the valley) are not confined to the mere object they name. They also refer to PrNs such as "Mona Lisa" and "Labour Day". True enough, those words can be translated, however the cultural dimension may not be shared by everyone.

There seem to be a few trends as to the non-translation of PrNs, but that depends, among others, on the translator, the language and the type of text. These trends could be ranked, non-exhaustively, in the following way:

Anthroponyms

Anthroponyms are prototypes for PrNs, that is to say the most characteristic representatives of the category of PrNs (see Molino, 1982; and Jonasson, 1994). The primary semantic trait of anthroponyms is the human characteristic. They fall into two sub-categories: individual anthroponyms referring to a single

individual (patronyms; first names; names of deities; mythological or fictional characters) and collective anthroponyms referring to two or more individuals (ethnonyms and demonyms; names of dynasties; companies and firms; associations or political parties; artistic or athletic groups; institutions, whether public or private; international and non-governmental organizations. Individual anthroponyms are not translated as a rule, except for the anthroponyms corresponding with an antonomasia or a set phrase; names of historical characters (including kings); religious figures; and names of deities ("Charlemagne" becomes "Karl" in Slovene; "le Pape François" or "Pope Francis" becomes "Papež Frančišek" and "Zeus" becomes "Zevs"). As for collective anthroponyms - institution names (Humbley, 2006), organization names (Grass, 2011), or the names of political parties - several strategies can be adopted. Some institutions or organizations, known worldwide, have official translations ("l'Organisation du traité de l'Atlantique nord" becomes "North Atlantic Treaty Organization" or "Organizacija severnoatlantskega sporazuma"); in other cases, the translator chooses to translate or not translate the PrN. In theory, it is recommended to keep the word in its endonymic form, adding if necessary an explanatory commentary. In practice, many translators translate the names of institutions or organizations with no official translation (the French political party UMP, "l'Union pour un Mouvement Populaire", becomes the "Union for a Popular Movement" and "Zveza za ljudsko gibanje"). As for the names of companies or firms or groups, the part of the name which corresponds to the trading name is not translated in general (Renault or Gorenje, for instance, do not get translated), while artistic denominations sometimes do, or else their words are used ("Londonski simfonični orkester"; "l'Orchestre symphonique de Londres" and "The London Symphony Orchestra").

Toponyms

These are composed of proper names whose primary trait is place. Names of places can be natural or artificial, either built or marked out by men: names of countries or groups of countries; regions, towns and villages; paths, buildings; hydronyms, geonyms and astronyms. Ethnonyms and demonyms usually have an official French translation which has been validated by the national Commission of Toponymy, just as the translations of the toponyms they derive from. According to Grass (2006), the translation of toponyms follows four translation devices: borrowing ("Le quartier latin" or "Latinska četrt"; the expression "Tous les chemins mènent à Rome" becomes "All roads lead to Rome", but "Vse poti vodijo v Rim" in Slovene); total translation ("Saint Mark's Square", "Trg sveti Marko" and "la place Saint-Marc"), or a much rarer technique which consists in translating only the appellation.

Ergonyms

Ergonyms (Bauer, 1985) define the names of facilities created by people and used for production: names of brands or products; of works of art, theories and major thoughts; objects, ships. In the case of works, it is customary to use the name which has been used in the certified translation ("Potovanje v sredino Zemlje" for "Voyage au centre de la Terre" by Jules Verne, and "Journey to the Center of the Earth"); brand names are usually borrowed from the source language (l'Oréal, for example), whereas techniques vary for names of products ("Jogurt Activia Danone" and "the Laughing cow" for "la vache qui rit").

Pragmonyms

These stand for the names of events or disasters, whether man-induced or natural, which marked collective memory: acts of God; festivals, sporting or artistic events; the names of historical or political events, either natural or recurring. For names of weather events or disasters, only the appellation is translated, the PrN part is usually kept (komet ISON, orkan Klaus); names of events such as festivals or cultural events, whether recurring or one-time occurrences like historic events are often translated. The translation may be literal or an adaptation (Christmas, Noël, Božič).

According to their referential category, PrNs can be translated, transposed or retained untranslated. However, these trends are not absolute and they can also differ according to the kind of text the PrN is in. Indeed, PrN translation in the field of literature does not raise the same difficulties as PrN translation in scientific texts. In literature, poetry, or comic strips, PrNs refer to precise criteria. As Ballard (2001) points out: "In this case, the translator's work is mostly dictated by rhyme and […] there are also cases when that priority leads him to use different proper names than the ones in the source text" (Ballard, 2001, p. 42).

Table 1. The translation of Proper Names

FRENCH	ENGLISH	SLOVENE
Anthroponyms		
Renault, Gorenje	Renault, Gorenje	Renault, Gorenje
Charlemagne	Charlemagne	Karl
Zeus	Zeus	Zevs
le Pape François	the Pope Francis	Papež Frančišek
l'Organisation du traité de l'Atlantique nord	North Atlantic Treaty Organization	Organizacija severnoatlantskega sporazuma
l'Union pour un Mouvement Populaire	Union for a Popular Movement	Zveza za ljudsko gibanje
Londonski simfonični orkester	The London Symphony Orchestra	Londonski simfonični orkester
Toponyms		
Le Quartier Latin	Latin quarter	Latinska četrt
Tous les chemins mènent à Rome	All roads lead to Rome	Vse poti vodijo *v* Rim
La place Saint-Marc	Saint Mark's Square	Trg sveti Marko
Ergonyms		
La Renault Clio	The Renault Clio	Renault Clio
Le Titanic	The Titanic	Titanik
La Symphonie fantastique	The Symphonie fantastique	Fantastična simfonija
Voyage au centre de la Terre	Journey to the Center of the Earth	Potovanje v sredino Zemlje
Pragmonyms		
La prise de la Bastille	Bastille Day	Padec Bastilje
Ouragan Klaus	Klaus Ouragan	Orkan Klaus
Les jeux olympiques	Olympic Games	Olimpijske igre
Noël	Christmas	Božic

Translation of Popular Expressions With PrNs

A corpus of eighty-seven French popular expressions has also been created to verify the translation of PrNs within the sentence. These popular expressions are taken from the site "La France pittoresque" (n.d.). The power of a popular expression may depend on the human agent's receptivity to it and use of it in the social-cultural context and translating it. Their dissemination is prompted by the cultural significance it has achieved in a given population or culture. Thus, popular expressions may become embedded as cultural memes because they can be defined as units of cultural transmission. They have also been transmitted in different languages and various cultures.

Expressions belong to the following categories: mythology (22 occurrences); history (17); geography (13); religion (11); literature (8); nationality (6); festivals (6); popular wisdom (2); art (1); and fashion (1). The translation devices used for each category have been examined in more detail. The results show that English translations of French expressions contain PrNs for the following categories: mythology (22 occurrences); history (8); geography (2); religion (5); literature (2); nationality (1); festivals (2); popular wisdom (0); art (1); fashion (1). Slovene translations of French expressions also contain some PrNs for the following categories: mythology (18 occurrences); history (1); geography (1); religion (8); literature (4); nationality (2); festivals (0); popular wisdom, art and fashion (all 0).

The first focus is on the mythology-related PrNs (see Table 2) because these are the only ones with an equivalent term. In most cases, the PrN is translated with an equivalent PrN English or Slovene.

Also, three expressions are translated thanks to a different PrN: "riche comme Crésus" (*rich as Midas*); "un travail de Titan" (*a Herculean task*); and "se croire sorti de la cuisse de Jupiter" (*to think that someone is the bees' knees*). Others have several possible translations, some of which are without a PrN: "tomber de Charybde en Scylla" (*jump out of the frying-pan into the fire*; *to go from bad to worse*) and "jouer les Cassandre" (*spread doom and gloom*). We may therefore conclude that the translation trends are not the same. They differ according to the language and the culture.

In English, unlike Slovene, some expressions of historic origin (see Table 3) also have a great number of equivalents for the PrN:

On the other hand, the popular expressions drawn from the corpus don't have a PrN equivalent; they mostly define or explain the expression with the PrN, without really translating it. That is why they cannot be considered as memes. In a general way, the translation of cultural traits whose meaning is considered "opaque" seems to give rise to hesitation and even non-translation.

Consequently, some cultures happen to detect a reference or a behavior and replicate it identically. A mythological reference may spread in the midst of a population first and then from one population to the next. That is also why these expressions belong to the field of memetics: they have been replicated and then circulated. Their translation is coherent and calls in the "equivalence meme" to follow the translation strategies, inter alia, those proposed by Chesterman.

Translation Consistency

This paper has presented a preliminary study in corpus on the categorization of proper names. This has allowed us to establish a referential categorization of proper names and their equivalents in translation. This categorization is essential for the recognition of proper names as realia words; it has also allowed us to show the need for an evolutive categorization according to the corpus. On the other hand, it indicates that translators' concerns, and the solutions adopted, are often the same for the translation of PrNs as

Table 2. Mythology-related proper names

French Expression	English Expression	Slovene Expression
Le talon d'Achille	the Achilles' heel	Ahilova peta
Beau comme un Adonis	to look like a Greek god	Lep kot Apolon
un fil d'Ariane	for Ariane's thread	Ariadnina nit
Nettoyer les écuries d'Augias	clean the Augean stables	Augean hlevi
Une tour de Babel	a tower of Babel	Babilonski stolp
Tomber de Charybde en Scylla	to fall from Charybdis into Scylla	Krmáriti med Scílo in Karíbdo
Jouer les Cassandre	play the role of Cassandra, to be a Cassandra	*no equivalent*
Riche comme Crésus	rich as Midas	Bogat kot Kres
Le tonneau des Danaïdes	the Danaides' jar	Danaidski sod, danaidsko delo
L'épée de Damoclès	the sword of Damocles	Dámoklejev meč
Les travaux d'Hercule	the labours of Hercules	Herkulova dela
Se croire sorti de la cuisse de Jupiter	think of oneself as God's gift to the world	*no equivalent*
Etre dans les bras de Morphée	in the arms of Morpheus	Morfejev objem
Le complexe d'OEdipe	the Oedipus complex	Ojdipovski kompleks
Ouvrir la boîte de Pandore	to open Pandora's box	Pandorina skrinjica
Une victoire à la Pyrrhus	a Pyrrhic victory	Pírova zmága
Un lit de Procuste	a Procrustean bed	Prokrustova postelja
Une tunique de Nessus	Nessus' tunic, the Shirt of Nessus	Nesusova srajca
Un jugement de Salomon	Salomon's judgment or sentence	Salomonova modrost, Salomonova sodba
Le rocher de Sisyphe	the Sisyphean task	Sizifovo delo
Un cheval de Troie	a Trojan horse	Trojanski konj
Un travail de Titan	Herculean task, a titanic task,	Titansko delo

Table 3. Historical-related proper names

French Expression	English Expression	Slovene Expression
travailler pour le roi de Prusse	work for King of Prussia	*no equivalent*
franchir le Rubicon	cross the Rubicon	prekoráčiti Rúbikon
les délices de Capoue	delights of Capua	the Parthian shot
aller à Canossa	go to Canossa	íti v Canósso
riche comme Crésus	rich as Midas	bogat kot Kres
dépouiller Pierre pour habiller Paul	rob Peter to pay Paul	*no equivalent*
c'est le chien de Jean de Nivelle	it is the dog of Jean de Nivelle	*no equivalent*

for cultural memes, which may be also called "culturmemes" by analogy with the term "cultureme". We can notice that when there is no equivalent for this source meme in the target language, foreignization (see Venuti, 1995) or an explanation could be adopted, while the merit of domestication is to convey the information accurately, perhaps to avoid misunderstanding or confusion. The strategy of domestication is adopted in the translation of fixed (popular) expressions with PrNs in order to give familiar and explicit memes.

It can also be noted that some expressions survive the cultural evolution through, and thanks to, translation. PrNs can be, and are, often translated. But can they be considered as supermemes? Chesterman (1997, pp. 249-250) proposes five dominant supermemes of translation: the source-target meme, which is the concept of carrying information across from one language to another; the equivalence meme, which is the desire for faithfulness; the untranslatability meme or the concept that a word should not be tampered with; the free vs. literal meme, centred on how free or literal a translator should be when translating; and the all-writing-is-translation meme, which breaks down the distinctions between translating from one language to another. However, the author suggests, with the advent of postmodern theory and the awareness that this equivalence will never be achieved, that this meme is on the decline.

If we apply the notion of equivalence to the translation of the PrN, we notice that the idea that PrNs are never translated is not a rule. The PrNs spread information from one language to another. They often have an equivalent, but this depends on the nature of the PrNs: for instance, a patronym will not be generally translated, while toponyms can be translated. In most cases, we can observe that the mythology-related French PrNs are the same in English and French, while they are translated and have a Slovene PrN equivalent. Even if the translation strategies differ among countries and their cultures, the equivalence and faithfulness have been achieved in such a situation. Similarly, the strategies used, especially in terms of free or literal translation, depend on some elements such as the text type, context, stylistic choices, etc. and the translational trends of each country, which may differ and may not be universal.

The aforementioned translation of PrNs referred to the supermemes suggested by Chesterman in the three languages, French, English and Slovene. We may conclude that PrNs can be considered as supermemes, since they are endowed with a high level of generality. They are supermemes which remind us of the notions of formal and dynamic equivalence which can be found in Nida's work (1964), of semantic and communicative equivalence developed by Newmark (1981), of documentary and instrumental equivalence developed by Nord (1991), and of imitative and functional equivalence in Jakobsen (1994).

FUTURE RESEARCH DIRECTIONS

PrNs are present in our culture and society. As cultural memes, PrNs can be passed from generation to generation, and they are closely related to a specific culture. They may be subject to the same criteria of transmission as memes. However, this will require more extensive empirical observations and a better conceptualization of what a meme is in concrete terms. Thus, future research could be extended to phraseology, especially to phraseology derived from a cultural background transmitted in written or spoken language, and the phraseology created by kinship or folklorists. The author of this chapter thinks that it will be possible to demonstrate that the extralinguistic reality, the conditions of civilization, customs, or sometimes superstitions in different cultural contexts are often similar. Indeed, we can find some phraseological expressions in most European languages. It will be interesting to verify whether or not these expressions can be considered as memes, and what are the most common translation strategies used.

CONCLUSION

The theory of memes is a branch of the cultural evolution. The purpose of this chapter has been to analyse the theory of memes in the framework of cultural evolution, not only from a theoretical point of view, but also in terms of the application of theory to concrete examples. We have shown that the proper names found in popular expression can be considered as memes because they are a cultural trait; they can be transferred by imitation; they show some similarities; they can be adapted to a target culture; they can be identified as universal; and they have the status of universal memes. The theory of memetics and cultural evolution tend toward a better understanding of the propagation of ideas and behaviours. Memes can be realia words or cultural traits or culturemes which may be spread through translation. Translation promote the transmission of memes because, as Bhabha (1990, p. 210) suggests, while translation is a way of imitating, the original remains and is always open to subsequent translation.

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KEY TERMS AND DEFINITIONS

Andrew Chesterman: He applies the theory of memes to the evolution of thinking about translation. He identifies eight memes and associates these with metaphors illustrating some ways of theorizing the phenomenon.

Cultural Turn: It is a term proposed by Snell-Hornby (1990) and legitimated by Lefevere and Bassnett (1990). It makes culture the focus of contemporary debates and it emphasizes the important role that culture played in translation.

Cultural Translation: It examines the way culture effects translation. It is a process in which there is no start text and usually no fixed target text. In the sense of Bhabha (1990), it is a set of discourses that enact hybridity by crossing cultural borders, revealing the positions of translators.

Memetics: It is the theoretical and empirical science that studies the replication, spread and evolution of memes. It may be seen as a general textual or literary theory where it is possible to highlight, among other things, some ideas or catchphrases. The proponents of memetics insist on the fact that memes are independent from genes.

Meme: It is an element of a culture that may be considered to be passed on by non-genetic means. According to Dawkins (1976), a meme is a replicator and a unit of cultural evolution. It refers to ideas, practices, creations and inventions that have spread and replicated, like genes, in the cultural evolution.

Proper Names: It includes all proper nouns as well as noun phrases that designate a particular person, place, or object. Proper names account for culture-specific words (realia) in any language.

Realia Word: It is a word or an expression for culture-specific items. The realia words denote objects or concepts characteristic of the culture of a nation.

Richard Dawkins: The theory of memetics is put forward by Dawkins (1976) who apply evolutionary thinking to culture. Dawkins gives a list of some exemplary memes and notes that while it is sometimes assumed that all memes are ideas and vice versa.

ENDNOTE

[1]   We propose the following translation [PrNs allow us to isolate unique and specific entities [...]. Thus, the fundamental cognitive function of the proper name would be to name, affirm and maintain an individuality.]

Chapter 6
Cultural Change and Cultural Mediation in the Translation of Culture–Specific Lexis

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ABSTRACT

This chapter looks at the cultural mediator role of translation trainees dealing with culture-specific lexis. Translators need to be able to make connections between and across the cultures they are dealing with, and to negotiate and overcome any differences, conveying the message of the source text to the target readers with optimum effect. Five translation classes which placed emphasis on optimal relevance in translation were provided to 10 undergraduate students learning translation in Seoul, South Korea. The chapter highlights the significant role translation of culture-specific lexis can play in forming and developing learners' identities as mediators between source and target text cultures, no doubt an important role in light of cultural change in an era of globalization which calls for culture or cultures to be viewed from a multifaceted and diverse perspective.

INTRODUCTION

Today's world calls for translators who are mediators between languages and cultures. This paper looks at the cultural mediator role of translation trainees in the translation of texts involving culture-specific lexis (henceforth CSL). Translators require the ability to make connections between and across the cultures they are dealing with, i.e. the source and target text cultures, and to negotiate and overcome any differences, conveying the message of the source text (henceforth ST) to the target readers with optimum effect. The translator is a mediator (Hatim & Mason, 1997) and it is the translator's role to identify differences in things which may have significance or value in one culture but not in another.

In the 1990s, translation studies went through a cultural turn (Lefevere & Bassnett, 1990). It is argued that translation as an activity is always doubly contextualised in both the target culture and the source culture as the text has a place and a history in two cultures (1990, p. 11). Foreign text and translation

are both derivative, for they consist of diverse linguistic and cultural materials that neither the foreign writer nor the translator originates. According to Venuti (2008), a foreign text is the site of many different semantic possibilities that are fixed "only provisionally in any one translation", and may vary according to cultural assumptions and interpretive choices, in specific social situations and in different historical periods. Meaning in translation is "plural and contingent" (p. 13).

Advancements in translation studies in relation to the cultural turn has meant that culture is no longer viewed as static and limited to national boundaries but as multi-faceted and flexible. In this context, members of a social group may have access and exposure to the same culture-derived concepts. Translation of culturally-specific concepts and lexis requires such members to be aware of, and evaluate, the ways members of their group view the world, and to communicate within two cultures effectively to another social group. Culture is embedded in text, and as such the translator has to mediate between cultures, taking the messages embedded in the source culture text and communicating these effectively to the target culture. As mediators between cultures, translators require the ability to make connections between and across the cultures they are dealing with, and to negotiate and overcome any differences, conveying the message of the ST to the target readers with optimum effect.

The translation of CSL warrants the making of such connections. The translation of words which are specific to culture is a challenge for all translators, and requires knowledge of any connotations the words may contain. Then, the translator will need the ability to communicate such words and connotations into the target text (henceforth TT). In communicative translation, translators need to render the exact contextual meaning of the original in such a way that both content and language are readily acceptable and comprehensible to the readership (Newmark, 1988, p. 41). The relationship between translation and culture, and the way of transferring signs of the source culture into the TT, is viewed as an integrative process which comprises two aspects: the recognition of the aim of using cultural references and the way of responding to that aim in translation (Savic & Cutura, 2011).

In a world which is complex and diversified, the translator is seen as a mediator who, as a language user of the source and TT languages, draws on his or her linguistic repertoires to negotiate and construct meaning between source and TT cultures. Today's translator is regarded as someone who is a mediator between cultures: as translators they possess intercultural and communicative competence and are able to communicate and interact across cultural boundaries, determining what is communicatively appropriate in both source language (SL) and target language (TL) communities. They negotiate the cultures of the two languages they are working with, mediating to deliver the message of ST into TT in the most appropriate way. Interculturally aware, they are able to draw upon their knowledge to communicate and interact while being conscious of how culture-derived aspects can influence such communication. Miller (2003) describes the representation of L2 identities as closely linked to social interaction and contexts – it is through the process of learning and sharing of meanings and understandings between speakers and hearers that identities can be constructed. During the process of translation, learners of translation consider different social contexts and delivering to the target audience, through the process of which they learn and come to understand, and perhaps make meaning in their identities.

In light of the discussion, this chapter will look at the cultural mediator roles of translation trainees dealing with culture-specific lexis. Five translation classes which placed emphasis on optimal relevance in translation (Gutt, 2000) were provided to 10 undergraduate students learning translation in Seoul, South Korea. This paper presents data from one of the five classes. The results highlight how participants' roles as translators turned them into mediators between the source and TT cultures. As students studying translation, they already possessed an awareness of the differences between the cultures. However, transla-

tion classes involving the translation of CSL and a translation brief, which enabled them to contemplate the target reader, combined with a taught session which placed emphasis on optimal relevance, enabled the students of translation to be motivated to go beyond simply 'being aware' to 'actively mediating'. By drawing on the knowledge they had of the two cultures, the learners brought such knowledge into interaction and mediated, delivering messages contained within the ST to the TT audience.

The chapter aims to highlight the role translation of CSL can play in forming and developing learners' identities as mediators between source and TT cultures, which is no doubt an important role in today's world. The chapter places emphasis on the important role CSL can play in relation to cultural change; our world of globalization means a need for culture or cultures to be viewed from a multifaceted and diverse perspective.

The chapter will first discuss relevant background and literature to the study. This will be followed by the research questions which are proposed for the study, description of the study and data collection analysis. Next the results will be presented and the discussion section will follow. Future directions for research will then be discussed. Finally, the last section will conclude the chapter.

BACKGROUND

The field of translation studies has seen a development in the way it has evolved over the years, seeing a gradual move towards today's globalized era. The notion of equivalence between ST and TT from a linguistic approach became a topic of focus in the field after Jakobson wrote on the topic in 1959 (Jakobson, 1959, 2000). Equivalence became a dominant topic in the field for the decades 1960s and 1970s, and by the end of the 1970s many typologies of equivalence had been devised. According to Koller (1989), equivalence may be "denotative," depending on an "invariance of content"; "connotative," depending on similarities of register, dialect, and style; "text-normative," based on "usage norms" for particular text types; and "pragmatic," ensuring comprehensibility in the receiving culture (Koller, 1989, p. 99–104). Nida (1964, 2000) distinguishes between dynamic and formal varieties of correspondence; while the former places emphasis on close approximation to the ST, the latter places more focus on the effects the translation creates in the TT.

Since the 1970s, translation studies has seen the linguistics-oriented 'science' of translation continue strongly, but with the questioning and reconception of the concept of equivalence, while Germany saw the rise of theories centred around text types and text purpose, such as the Reiss and Vermeer's Skopos Theory (Vermeer, 2000). The Hallidayan (Halliday, 1985; Halliday & Hasan, 1985) influence of discourse analysis and systemic functional grammar, which views language as a communicative act in a sociocultural context became prominent from the 1990s, particularly in Australia and the UK (Munday, 2008). This was applied to translation by various scholars such as Bell (1991), Baker (1992) and Hatim & Mason (1990, 1997). The 1990s saw the incorporation of new schools and concepts, and the cultural-studies-oriented analysis of Venuti (1998; 2008) in the USA called for greater visibility and recognition of the translator (Munday, 2008). Toury's (1995) descriptive approach to translation studies situated translated texts within the socio-historical contexts that translation functions in: the translator's decision is influenced by socio-cultural constraints specific to a culture, society and time or norms. Further, since the mid-1980s, a cultural turn took place in translation studies (Lefevere & Bassnett, 1990), which led to an increased awareness of the importance of culture for translation and interpreting. Since then, translation has been regarded predominantly as a special form of intercultural communication on

the basis of language and not as early translation theories of the earlier decades such as the 1950s and 1960s, which saw translation as a mere linguistic operation which focused on the central but rather static aspect of "equivalence". In the beginning of the cultural turn, the concept of culture was still regarded from a relativist point of view as being identical with the rather rigid one of national culture i.e. being bound to national boundaries. Yet, since the 1990s, when globalization started its impact on human life and societies, cultural theorists (e.g. Bhabha, 1999, 2000; Robertson, 1992; Tomlinson, 1999) began investigating the multi-perspective nature of cultural evolution and cultural change predominantly in view of globalization and its multidimensional impact on culture in its conventional perception. The field has since seen a move towards a special interest in the relationship between translation, globalization and resistance (Cronin, 2003; Baker, 2006). Translation Studies started to investigate and analyze a world that has become more complex, diversified and continuously changing, focusing on issues, such as the major changes in world economies and their impact on contemporary translation (Cronin, 2003), or the emerging of the localization industry as a new translation domain (Esselink, 2000; O'Hagan & Ashworth, 2002).

As such, the relationship between translation and globalization has been an area attracting profound interest in recent years (cf. Cronin, 2003, 2006; Ho, 2008). In the scope of translation and its role in today's globalised world, the development of translator competence is an area which has long been widely discussed in translation studies and translator training (Adab, 2000; Alves & Goncalves 2007; Campbell, 1998; Colina, 2003; Kelly, 2005; PACTE group, 2003, 2011; Presas, 2000; Pym, 2003; Schäffner & Adab, 2000; Way, 2008). The definition of translator competence is far from straightforward, and various models of translator competence have been presented in translator training research (cf. Gile, 2009; Kelly, 1998, 2005; Neubert, 1994, 2000; PACTE, 2003). The connection between translation and intercultural communication (Schäffner, 2003) has also been emphasized. A globalized era and the proliferation of the internet and technology mean that it is ever the more crucial for the translator to act as a mediator between the languages he or she is working with.

CULTURAL MEDIATION IN THE TRANSLATION OF CSL

One area which would enable insight to translators' mediating roles in translation would be the translation of CSL. CSL refers to items in a text which are considered to be unique to a particular culture, and may pose problems for translation from the ST into TT. An important area in translation studies, such culture-specific content has been investigated by many (Baker, 1992; Davies, 2003; Maasoum & Davtalab, 2011; Newmark, 2010; Nord, 1997). Nord defines such culture-specific content to be those which are present in culture X but not in culture Y (Nord, 1997, p. 34), and according to Aixela, such items can be "recognized only with indication to a certain ST (Aixela, 1997, p. 57). These items are a challenging area for translation as the way these are dealt with directly affects the finished product – potential problems could be for example, what Venuti (1998) calls the 'foreignization', when the characteristics of a text unique to the ST culture are preserved as much as possible but perhaps sacrificing readability, or on the opposite side, 'domestication' of a text. A problem translators face is the question of how to deal with cultural aspects which are contained in a ST, and finding the most appropriate way to successfully convey these in the TT. Examples of cultural references could be places or shop names, such as Soho or Marks and Spencer in the UK, or Hongdae and the Galleria Department Store in Seoul, South Korea. These cultural references may be taken for granted by the members living in that society; however,

the translation of such references warrant knowledge which goes beyond word at denotative level and encompasses the delivering of messages contained within, in the connotations or feelings evoked by the word. In addition to such cultural references, CSL also includes lexical items specific to a culture's language, and which carry certain connotations for the L1 users of that language.

The translating of CSL has warranted great interest from researchers and practitioners in the translation studies field. To date, research in translation studies has explored various techniques or methods to deal with the challenging problem of translating culture-specific content in texts. There have been many studies exploring how CSL have been translated in various texts, such as in literature and news articles in the form of comparative analysis (Matthews, Nicolle, & Rountree, 2011) and discourse analysis (Olk, 2012). Santamaria (2010) looks at the translation of cultural referents in subtitles for a TV sitcom, and presents models which show how cultural referents become mental representations. While the study does not propose strategies for dealing with the translation of cultural referents, it supports the fact that culturally specific items in translation require greater effort for the target audience to understand. The author also points out that, while the decision lies with the translator, certain techniques such as using calques and loans would increase the cognitive effort of the target audience (Santamaria, 2010 p. 526).

Olk's research (2001a, 2001b, 2002a, 2002b, 2003, 2009, 2012) is particularly notable as his studies have been based on empirical research into how English and German undergraduate students translate CSL. Olk's (2002b) study looked into the mediating involvement in the translation process, and found that students may not be conscious of certain lexical choices conformed to common stereotypes of Britain. Olk (2002a) explored the processes of language students when dealing with CSL, and found that students tended to fixate on questionable word-level parameters than text-level processes. Olk (2009) revealed the surprising result that students seemed to lack familiarity with some native culture concepts and had difficulty rendering them for target readers. Translation involving CSL from learners' L1 into their L2 will enable them to consider such native culture concepts and explore how to render these for the target readers. For instance, when L1 speakers of a particular culture hear CSL, what connotations are evoked? These could be perhaps a particular image, concept or even emotion which members of a society or culture may share.

When a translator translates a text, they have an imagined or implied target reader for whom they are translating the text for. The notion of such a target reader, according to Assis Rosa, is important for translation studies as it will "motivate or constrain the translation process and product" (Assis Rosa, 2006, p. 104).

Furthermore Assis Rosa looks at the TT from the perspective of communicative interaction: The TT is a type of reported speech, in which the translator reports a message from the ST, forming communicative interaction between one author and the readership. Two participants of this exchange have the role of implied author and implied reader, and these two intratextual participants in the interaction of the ST may also be transferred to the TT and take on the roles of implied author and implied ST reader (Assis Rosa, 2006). The translation of CSL, which is rich in connotations, will emphasize communicative interaction between the translator and intended target reader by drawing on Gutt's (2000) relevance-theoretic account of translation, with an emphasis on 'communication', 'context' and relevance. According to Gutt (2000), ostensive communication is assymetrical and the communicator is responsible for ensuring the audience can recognize the informative intention, for the translator is responsible for the formation of the informative intention. The translator is confronted by both the questions of how to communicate, as well as what can reasonably be expected to convey by means of translation. As such, when dealing with CSL, translators need to be aware of the original communicator's informative intention, and then

consider how or what they can expect to convey to the target audience. The greater the contextual effects the audience achieves, the greater the relevance of the text and the greater the processing effort the audience needs to obtain these effects, the lower the relevance.

The translation brief will state a target audience and purpose of the text, which will be different for each translation task, to enable exploration of learners' negotiating and mediating of CSL in the texts.

Building on existing literature and based on the discussion in the previous sections, in light of the requirements of the translator in the aftermath of cultural evolution and change, which calls for a multifaceted perspective of culture, the current study aims to answer the following questions:

1. What considerations of the notion of relevance to the target reader could be observed in Korean into English translation tasks containing CSL?
2. What instances of cultural mediation could be observed in these tasks?

The students were all undergraduates at Hankuk University of Foreign Studies in Seoul, South Korea. All the students were Korean and used Korean as an L1 and English as an L2. They had varying overseas experience, from none to eight years. The participants were all majoring in English Interpreting and Translation (some were double major students) and they all had prior experience of taking a translation class for their course.

For the first taught session, the students were introduced to the notion of 'relevance', with an emphasis on 'communication', 'context' and relevance'. The researcher incorporated taught content in the class which prompted discussion and consideration of relevance to the target reader's background knowledge, and examples of geographical place names in London and Seoul were used for discussion. After the translation of a text containing CSL, an English translation of the same text was presented for discussion, and questions were asked regarding relevance and connection to the target reader's existing background information. Thereafter, students were prompted each time with discussion questions before and after their translation tasks regarding communication and relevance to enable contemplation of such issues. Focus was made on 'context' through the use of translation briefs and prompt questions relating to the target reader.

The data presented here is from the third translation class which involved the translation of a Korean news article (Lee, 2014). The article was about a type of accommodation in South Korea, *oktapbang*, which is a type of rooftop housing traditionally tenanted by those with lower income. The conditions are known to be poor, with bad heating and water. The news article discussed how recent media, such as TV drama series and programs, have beautified the *oktapbang*, making it seem more attractive than reality. Before translation, two translation briefs were presented to the students:

*   **Translation Brief 1:** You have been asked to translate the following text for an online magazine which targets the foreign community living in Korea.
*   **Translation Brief 2:** You have been asked to translate the following text for a Busan-based English language radio station.

Before translating, students formed three groups of 3 (one student was absent), and discussed the questions: 1) What points do we need to consider when we translate for the target reader for Translation Briefs 1 and 2? And 2) What is the intended ST message?

The students then proceeded to translate three parts of the translation: two extracts and the text in the cartoon from the article. They were assigned one translation brief for the first translation, and then switched briefs for translating the second extract and the cartoon.

Following translation, they then had another discussion, with the questions: 1) Was this communicated successfully in your translation? and 2) Were there parts which were not communicated successfully in the translation? If so, what? What are the possible reasons you think these parts were challenging to communicate? They were given the prompts 'Remember: What is the purpose of the TT? What was the intended ST message? to remind them of their previous discussion. For the second discussion, they worked together in smaller groups of two and three.

The group discussions for both pre and post-task discussions were recorded. The researcher then transcribed the data verbatim. The excerpts from the discussions which were related to 'Relevance' and 'Cultural Mediation' have been extracted for analysis and discussion.

DISCUSSION

This section will discuss the findings in two sections: excerpts related to relevance to the target reader, and those related to cultural mediation. The translation of CSL and its role in developing the cultural mediator roles of translator trainees is an important focus of the current study; culture or cultures need to to be viewed from a multifaceted and diverse perspective, and as such the role of the translator as a mediator between these cultures is all the more crucial.

Excerpts from the data are presented in their original form, to retain the participants' authentic voices, and parts for focus are underlined. In order to provide the reader of the chapter with some background information, the CSL in the ST which are discussed in the chapter are detailed in table 1 below.

Excerpts: Relevance/Target Reader

Before translating, students formed three groups of 3 (one student was absent), and discussed the questions: 1) What points do we need to consider when we translate for the target reader for Translation Briefs 1 and 2? and 2) What is the intended ST message? The excerpts below are from their in-class group discussions.

Table 1. CSL from ST discussed in data

CSL	Explanation
Seoul	The South Korean capital
Oktapbang	A type of rooftop accommodation
Banjiha	A semi-basement accommodation
dosimui penthouse'	A penthouse in the heart of the city
'one-room'	A studio-type of accommodation, with no separate bedroom
samgyeopsal party	A barbecue-like party where pork belly (a favourite of many South Koreans) is cooked over a grill

Group 1 Excerpts

1.   Question 1

P1: More detail? Yeah. And for target 2, radio station.
P2: I guess they will be more interested in thing happening in Busan than all over the nation. Maybe small incidents happen in Busan.
P1: So if we give certain districts in Busan they will be able to understand it from target 1.
P3: It's Seoul. Ahh.
P2: Maybe because the article is about Seoul we need to explain more about the place and people.
P1: Yeah.
P2: And actually because I'm from Busan the price of housing is much different than here.
P1: Except for Haeundae.

The excerpt above shows how the participants are considering how to deal with context-specific information for the target reader. As the translation is for those residing in Busan, Participant 2 mentions how it might be necessary to explain more about the South Korean capital such as geographical areas and its residents. The data show how the translation brief situates the participants in the reader's position, and enable focus on how to connect to background information the target reader may or may not possess.

2.   Question 2

P2: I also hate that. Okay. How can we translate in a relevant way?
P1: Relevant way…
P2: Well you know for the target 1, do they have this kind of system? I mean the people…the house on the roof?
P1: No, I don't think so. So…I think for target 1 we should give some more detailed information about… description of that.
P2: yeah.
P1: But for target 2 they live in Busan so of course they have some oktapbang there.
P2: Yeah. They might have some knowledge. Also if they're looking for a house in Seoul, they don't really have enough money for a good place so they might consider this kind of house. Then they might be interested in this.
P1: Yeah. That's interesting.

In excerpt 2, the Group 1 participants are thinking about the target readers for both translation briefs. The CSL discussed here, *oktapbang*, is a type of roof-type accommodation often thought to be cheaper in rent but to have less favourable conditions. As the target readers for Translation Brief 1 are assumed not to have cultural background of the ST, the participants are discussing the option of adding more details about this accommodation type. For the target readers in Translation Brief 2, as they are living in South Korea (although in a different city) the participants assume they already have knowledge of this accommodation type and as such may not need further explanation of the CSL.

Group 2

P1: For number one…hmm…the community we're talking about is ambiguous
P2: Right
P1: So I'm not so sure how should…they can…how…how…much they can understand English. If they're from Japan and China there are more possibility of them not speaking English than Americans.
P3: But still I think if they're good enough to read an online magazine in English, they'd be pretty good but what we have to…what we should consider is their cultural background. For example the Thanksgiving that was mentioned earlier, if we know the target reader is like American we can use the word 'Thanksgiving' but even Chinese who are good at English may be familiar with Thanksgiving so the examples that we draw should be very conventional. If we're going to draw examples from their culture it has to be conventional.

The participants in the above discussion are thinking about relevance in relation to the target reader's cultural background. Participant 2 mentions the English levels of the target readers, while Participant 3 mentions the importance of their cultural background. According to Participant 3, cultural concepts of CSL should be rendered with examples from the target reader's culture, and that the examples need to be conventional for relevance.

Group 3

P3: So probably we should find something for 'oktapbang'.
P2: We said that for target number 1 that we need to find some examples to explain this Korean-specific cultures and in this article it seems that this seems to be the most problematic one.
P1: How can we translate this in a relevant way?
P3: banjiha…
P2: I'm not sure if other countries have this system. Like this housing.
P3: For 'dosimui penthouse'… 'oktapbang'… how luxury is a penthouse and it is the luxurious version of an 'oktapbang'.
P2: 'dosimui penthouse'…that's…
P3: I think we have to draw a universal example.
P2: I think they do have darakbang in Western countries because I think I've seen it but I'm not so sure.
P3: It's kind of different. It's a part of the house
P2: Yeah but it's inside, so it's different. How about target number 2? Target number 2. If we can find some kind of housing system that exists in English culture that works like oktapbang, then we could use that.
P3: Isn't it like….number 2 is not English-speaking countries but an English-language radio station. And number 1 is also not only focused on English-speaking countries so I don't think we should really find an example from American culture.

For Group 3, the topic of using universal examples for ease of relatability is also brought up in the discussion. They compare similar or differences in accommodation type between the ST culture and 'Western'

cultures or 'English' cultures. However, P3 then decides that as the target reader is not necessarily someone from an English-speaking country, it may not be appropriate to draw examples from American cultures.

The excerpts in this section have shown how the translation tasks of CSL from Korean into English for a certain target reader has enabled contemplation of the target reader. As the data show, participants considered the context of the ST and target reader and sought to make connections to the target reader's existing background knowledge, aiming for relevance in translation.

Excerpts: Cultural Mediation

This section focuses on the data which show cultural mediation during the translation tasks. As discussed in the chapter until now, cultural mediation is an important focus as translators need to be able to mediate effectively between cultures in order to enable successful conveying of messages from source to TT cultures. The role CSL translation can play in translators' mediator roles is integral in the light of cultural change. Data presented indicate ways in which the participants mediated between the source and TT cultures in their translation decisions and considerations.

Group 1

P1: *Because I translated for target 2 for the first part of translation, I think for target 2 is more easier than target 1 to translate for in my opinion. Because they are familiar with Korean culture rather than the target 1. So I don't need to put much detail.*
P2: *I was translating for target 1 so I put actual explanation of what a rooftop house is.*
P3: *Did you put extra information?*
P2: *Yeah that it's an extra house on the rooftop, and that it's not suitable to live in so I just said that. And I also explained what 'one room' is.*
P3: *Ah 'one room,'?*
P2: *Yeah cos the foreigners are not aware of the 'one room'…it seems like Konglish.*
P3: *Ah yeah! Yes. So you translated successfully, I think. Cos even though I was translating for target 1, I didn't put additional detailed explanation for 'one room' or 'oktapbang'.*

In the post-translation discussion, Group 1 discusses how they translated the ST. Participant 1 mentions how the requirement of additional details differs according to the target reader, and that for those reader groups with background knowledge of the ST culture, less explanatory details are needed. Participant 2, who was translating this part of the text for an online magazine targeting the foreign community living in Korea, decides to add an explanation to her translation about *oktapbang* and *'one-room'* accommodation types. Participant 3 also thinks that this is a good idea, as even though she was translating for the same translation brief, she did not add any explanation of the CSL.

Group 2

P2: *I just translated samgyeopsal party as 'barbecue party' cos you know people…I think if I actually wrote 'pork belly party' like 'roast pork belly party' most foreigners would probably go 'huh'?*

P1: Yes and even for me when I…like say 'pork belly' it has a totally different image. I used to work in a restaurant and when the pork belly comes out it's not what we are thinking of. It's more like a starter…appetizer and it comes in tiny little chunks and it had with other condiments.
P2: Yeah mostly when we think of pork belly it's
P1: cooked and like fatty and
P2: Well I mean it's pork, it's supposed to be fatty but not like the way we think of it.
P1: It doesn't really have a direct cultural reference like for those who have not lived in Korea.

The participants in Group 2 compare how they dealt with certain CSL. They think about the connotations contained in the CSL *samgyeopsal party*, which conjures up certain images for those familiar with the ST culture. Participant 2 decided to render it as 'barbecue party' as it was believed this would be closer to the feeling of the ST CSL.

Group 3

P1: The first paragraph I was handling target 1 and for 2, 1. When we talked about the target number 1 we thought was that we had to have some universal examples so I'm not sure but I used ' barbecue party' for 'samgyeopsal party '.
[…]
But people from other countries may not understand what this is so I just called 'oktapbang' rooftop house. Oh! One thing I considered was this 'one room' it…in the ST it just says 'one room' but if I were to translate it as 'one room' I thought that would not deliver the message that the whole apartment itself is one room. So I made that a 'one-room apartment'. That's what I thought.
P2: I changed it to 'studio'.
P3: In my case, about the 'oktapbang' I gave an explanation after the lines about the fireworks and things, after that I wrote that 'oktapbang' is a type of housing in Korea and afterwards I kept using the phrase 'oktapbang' rather than using 'rooftop house' to show that it's a Korean type of room…residence. Yes erm…yeah.

In Group 3, Participant 1 also mentions something similar to Group 2 regarding the same CSL. While this participant also decided to use 'barbecue party' for *samgyeopsal party,* there was a dilemma when it came to the CSL for Korean accommodation types. Participant 2 renders 'one room' as 'studio' and Participant 3 decides to add an explanation to explain the romanized CSL.

As the data in this section of the discussion show, the participants took on roles as mediators between the source and TT cultures by making decisions in their translation of CSL; decisions were made based on judgment of the most optimum TT word or words based on the assumptions they had of the target reader.

The excerpts show how the translation brief enabled consideration of target reader in relation to relevance which thus led to mediation between source and target cultures. The excerpts demonstrate contemplation of the notions of relevance, particularly factors such as the extent of the target reader's background information of the ST culture and TT equivalents or examples for ST CSL which would make connections to the target reader's background knowledge. Although in some instances participants made differing decisions to each other, mediation between ST and TT cultures took place with the aim of optimum communication to the target reader.

The designating of a translation brief for translation enabled participants to situate themselves in a given context. The provision of two different briefs for different parts of the same text also enabled varied perspectives. Such a classroom design appears to have worked in harmony with the approach derived from the relevance-theoretic approach to translation, which placed emphasis on context, communication and relevance, for the translation of texts containing CSL. Results indicate the effects of the approach in both contemplation of context and mediation in translation. As the current study shows, the translation of CSL drew participants' attention to the difference in source and TT cultures, and in turn warranted active mediation during the translation process with the goal of communicating and conveying the information in the most efficient and effective way.

Due to its culture-specificity and embedded connotations, the translation of CSL enables language users to negotiate meaning and mediate to convey and communicate such meaning. CSL in the STs required an understanding and then negotiation and mediation on behalf of the participants. Through the translation tasks, the participants negotiated their understanding of such culture-specific content and in turn worked to communicate the messages in the ST to the target readers of the TT. CSL and references have the quality of being unique to a given culture, but in today's globalised world, which sees change in culture as well as the proliferation of technology, translators need to have the capacity to mediate such lexis in flexible and diverse ways fitting to the given context and situation. Translators as mediators should be as multi-faceted as culture is in the world we live in today. The translation of CSL can aid the developing of the role of the translator as a mediator. Cultural change and the advancement of technology mean that it is ever more important that culture-specific elements in a given text be made relevant and accessible to the target reader.

FUTURE RESEARCH DIRECTIONS

As this chapter shows, CSL and its translation can play an important role in forming and developing learners' identities as mediators between ST and TT cultures. In light of the change in culture and the fact that translation is an activity which is always doubly contextualised in both the target culture and the source culture as the text has a place and a history in two cultures (Lefevere and Bassnett, 1990, p. 11), it is essential that the translator draws upon his or her linguistic and cultural resources to mediate in a flexible way. Advancements in the field in relation to the cultural turn, which means that culture is no longer viewed as static and limited to national boundaries but as multi-faceted, mean an ever-more important role for translators, who work with at least two languages, to be mediators. Decisions need to be made in consideration of the target reader of a translation and the ST should be communicated in the most optimum way.

Further research can be conducted to investigate the role of CSL from various dimensions and perspectives. CSL in specific categories from both linguistic and pedagogical perspectives will no doubt contribute to the current research. In addition, CSL in other language pairs can be investigated to enable comparison and to further and advance the discussion.

CONCLUSION

In the aftermath of the cultural turn, today's world calls for translation which responds to diverse linguistic and cultural elements contained within both ST and TT cultures and languages. As translation is 'plural and contingent' the translator needs to act as mediator to respond flexibly in various situations and contexts. As translation is an actively which is doubly contextualized in both target and source cultures, the translation of texts, in particular the areas of CSL and their content, needs to be handled bearing in mind the diverse linguistic and cultural possibilities which may differ according to situation and context. As such, translation tasks involving CSL and involving a translation brief which enables analysis of the target reader allows for the development of the translator required for today's post-cultural turn world of translation.

It is hoped this study serves as a piece of evidence highlighting both the potential CSL has in developing translators' cultural mediator roles as well as its important place in the world we live in today.

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KEY TERMS AND DEFINITIONS

Connotations: Meanings embedded in words which surpass the denotative meaning.

Context: The intentions, assumptions and presuppositions of a speaker or hearer, including aspects such as cultural background and knowledge.

Cultural Mediator (in Translation): Translators who can make connections between and across the ST and TT cultures and convey the message of the ST to the target readers with optimum effect.

Culture-Specific Lexis (CSL): Words specific to a given culture. Such words can originate from both/either the culture or language, and can include language-specific lexis and/or cultural or geographical references.

Intercultural Communication: Communicating and interacting across cultures.

Optimum Effect: An adequate amount of contextual effect, without causing the expending of unnecessary effort on behalf of the target reader.

Relevance: Connection with the cognitive context of a given reader of a text.

Chapter 7
Cultural Evolution and Cultural Translation:
A Case of Malaysian-Chinese and Singaporean-Chinese

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ABSTRACT

In the early 20th century, Chinese communities in the then-Malay and Singapore began to take shape. The sudden shift of living conditions, especially the sociopolitical atmosphere, uprooted these migrated Chinese who had to adapt to new cultural realities of their host lands. This article argues for the cultural dimensions of Chinese overseas, particularly those in Malaysia and Singapore, as an object of translation studies, since these Chinese overseas have already shown a uniquely evolved culture that is different from that in China. Linguistic displacement in the same language is a reflection of cultural discrepancy resulted from cultural evolution, and cultural divergence innately calls for the intervention of cultural translation. This paper is expected to garner fruitful insights into the cultural translation between two geographically and culturally different Chinese communities.

INTRODUCTION

Cultural evolution with respect to multiculturalism is where the study of Chinese overseas and the discipline of Translation Studies meet. Translation Studies is able to offer an alternative perspective that illuminates the linguistic and intercultural aspects concerning Chinese overseas.

In the past three decades, there have been numerous studies on Chinese overseas[1], and there has been no lack of efforts to describe and explicate the cultural issues related to Chinese overseas. Such studies include *The History of Overseas Chinese in Malaysia and Singapore*, *A Study on the Chinese Identities of Malaysian Chinese and Singaporean Chinese: 1949-1965*, *Southeast Asia and Ethnic Chinese: Selected Theses of Prof. Wang Gungwu*, *A Study on the History of Overseas Chinese*, and so on and so

forth. These studies have been mainly published in Chinese and conducted by scholars from Singapore, Malaysia, and the southern part of China. They mostly focused on case studies, historical narratives and cultural description. As early as 1988, Wang Gungwu, founder of the studies on Chinese overseas, has pointed out that "some theories are too general to effectively interpret the specifics of different situations" (1988, pp. 269-270). However, this problem remains to this day, hindering the emergence of a renewed approach to this area of study. In this chapter, I wish to contribute to the debate about the reach and diversity of translation studies by proposing the cultural dimensions of Chinese overseas, as opposed to China-based Chinese, as a site of cultural translation. Although the Chinese language used by Malaysian/Singaporean Chinese (M/S-Chinese) and China-based Chinese (C-Chinese)[2] remains largely the same, these two historically rooted language communities feel a sense of strangeness and alterity, and therefore, the cultures embedded in this common language are foregrounded. As Meylaerts (2004, pp. 309) asks: "What happens when translations take place among communities that share geographical and cultural references?" The notion of "cultural translation"[3] which means translating culture to get the literal meaning across in this chapter, can be introduced to foreground the cultural differences behind language sameness. In this respect, the perspective of cultural translation can respond to potential misunderstandings between M/S-Chinese and C-Chinese as their cultures evolved in different directions.

By examining these two Chinese groups, namely C-Chinese and M/S-Chinese, with a shared language but non-shared realities from a translational perspective, this chapter provides insights into cultural displacement and cultural evolution. In this chapter, cultural evolution means a constant, systematic and large-scale cultural change. The following five sections integrate linguistic mismatch into cultural discrepancy, each section, by progressively touching on the term "Chinese" and presenting proof of cultural evolution in the light of the latest observations, advancing a little bit towards the nature of cultural translation intrinsic and implicit between M/S-Chinese and C-Chinese. Meanwhile, this chapter seeks to position translation in the process of cultural evolution, exhibit a new manifestation of translation, and possibly extend the reach of Translation Studies.

BACKGROUND

Immigration has always been one of the themes of Southeast Asian history (Wang, 1988, p. 285) of which Chinese immigration constitutes a significant part. After the First Opium War (1840 - 1842) and the Second Opium War (1856 - 1860), a growing number of Chinese in China's southern provinces left for Southeast Asia, mostly for better commercial opportunities. Mass travel has long been acknowledged as a significant pull factor in language shift (Nettle & Romaine, 2000, pp. 82-90). In the early 20th century, Chinese communities in the then-Malaya and Singapore began to take shape (Lu, 2014, p. 31). The sudden change in living conditions from China to Malaya and Singapore, especially the sociopolitical atmosphere, uprooted these Chinese migrants who had to adapt to the new cultural realities of their host lands.

People of Chinese ethnicity currently make up a striking portion of the population of Malaysia and Singapore, mainly intermingling with Malays and Indian immigrants. These Chinese, especially those born and bred in Malaysia and Singapore, have lived through very different experiences from those in China. Consequently, M-Chinese and S-Chinese, out of necessity, revolutionized their ancestral culture in the light of their actual daily needs, and gradually developed a cultural type that is different from C-Chinese, giving rise to another Chinese world that has become increasingly complex, diversified

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and distinctive. Globalization and multiculturalism have long been familiar to M/S-Chinese, who have sought to cope with globalization and multiculturalism in manifold forms and varying intensities over the past century or so. In this process, they developed a set of sophisticated attitudes towards their cultural traditions brought from their ancestral lands in China, for example, whether they should stick to their Chinese customs or not, or how to make a balance between their own cultural traditions and the Malay world (Wang, 2005, p. 205).

Apart from China[4], M/S-Chinese make up the world's largest Chinese community. "Their economy is among the best in Asia, and their social and cultural life may be the most sophisticated among Chinese communities around the world. More importantly, their political life is more open to the world than any other groups of Chinese overseas in the world" (Wang, 2005, pp. 224-225). In fact, M-Chinese and S-Chinese historically and geographically constitute one group (Lin & Zhang, 1991, pp. 9-10), and today, a great number of M-Chinese intermingle with S-Chinese in work and life. Over the past three decades, for example, both have officially adopted simplified Chinese characters as their writing standard, distinguishing themselves from other Chinese overseas. Although the ethnic Chinese enjoy different levels of equality in Malaysia and Singapore, their linguistic and cultural change is of more similarity than difference. Therefore, this study regards M-Chinese and S-Chinese as a single group to be contrasted with C-Chinese.

The above background information mainly introduces the history of M/S-Chinese and the relation between C-Chinese and M/S-Chinese so as to lay a foundation for the following discussion.

THE MEANING OF "CHINESE": TRANSLATION PROBLEMS

In the English-speaking world, the term "Chinese", when it refers to people, gives rise to ambiguity, as it can be understood as *zhongguo-ren* (generally citizens of China), *hua-ren* (ethnic Chinese), or *han-ren* (the Han Chinese, an ethnic group to which most Chinese belong). The distinct and increasingly altered sociopolitical environment in Malaysia and Singapore entails a challenging existence, creating a set of new cultural norms and aspirations that constitute an evolutionary route fostering a tightly knit community. Under these circumstances, what do we mean when we use the term "Chinese"? To be specific for example, does "Chinese literature" include the literature produced by M/S-Chinese? Does the phrase "Chinese Taipei", a compromised title used so that Taiwan can participate in international affairs, indicate that Taipei is under China's control? These questions, however, are totally nonexistent in the Chinese language because the term "Chinese" equate with either *zhongguo* or *zhonghua* on different occasions so that no ambiguities ever occur. For example, *zhonghua* Taipei, as distinct from *zhongguo* Taipei, is basically accepted everywhere, because the former acknowledges the connection with the Chinese civilization[5], which is undeniable, while the latter implies political affiliation with the PRC which has been widely regarded as the sole representative of China since 1971 when the PRC replaced ROC (Taiwan)[6] in the United Nations. The translation of "Chinese" as *zhongguo* or *zhonghua* reflects different perspectives in terms of world order.

Before the 20th century, China had for millennia regarded itself as the only "civilizational magnet" in the world that attracted "barbarians". As long as "barbarians" could cultivate themselves with mainstream Chinese culture, they could immediately become "civilized". However, around World War I (1914 - 1918) there emerged many nation-states in the Western world where, generally speaking, one ethnicity speaking the same language could form a sovereign state, such as France, German and Italy. As Western

civilization spread across most of the world partly through colonization, countries such as China had to update themselves with a renewed mentality of world order. If we adopt the idea that "there is no such thing as primordial ethnicity" (Geertz, 1993, p. 56) and "it is all politically constructed" (Gao, 2008, p. 280), then "Chinese" gradually changes from a politically constructed term to a culturally constructed one, breaking free of the "nation-state" formula and embracing the concept of "civilization-state" which had once underpinned the order of Asia and beyond for centuries. Paradoxically, the mentality of "Middle Kingdom" (the literal meaning of *zhongguo*) or "civilization-barbarian" is not traceable in present-day China, indicating that being "Chinese" is a sophisticated experience since the feeling of being Chinese has collectively changed several times. Therefore, perceiving "Chinese" needs ever-changing eyes.

When it refers to language, the term "Chinese"[7] is also obscure since it can be translated into different Chinese phrases depending on the locale and occasion. This diversity is mainly caused by the waves of Chinese immigration into Southeast Asia during the past two centuries or so, which makes "Chinese" an ever-dynamic language with growing hybridity (Wang, 2007, p. 20). In China, it is called *hanyu* (language of the Han Chinese), *zhongwen* (China's language), *putonghua* (the Common Language), or *guoyu* (the national language of the Republic of China). These all convey China-centered connotations and apparently not proper for Chinese overseas given their specific sociopolitical background. In the 1950s, Malaysia and Singapore began to call the Chinese language *huayu* (language of the Chinese ethnicity) (Guo, 2006, p. 44), conveying the meaning that M/S-Chinese are descendants of Chinese civilization, and distinguishing themselves from other ethnicities, such as Malays and Indians.

Wang (2007, p. 13) contends that the Chinese language is border-ambiguous and has been culturally constructed. It originally referred to the language spoken only by the Han people, but it is now the official language of the whole China. The term *huayu* indicates that this language has obviously long transcended Han ethnicity to embrace a "civilization" rather than a "nation-state".

However, it is still often assumed that "'Chinese' are too China-centered in the world outlook" (Ang, 2001, p. 82), partly because its complexity is unwittingly obliterated by the broad English term – "Chinese", which is increasingly ineffective in describing such a complicated language phenomenon in the age of globalization. Published studies concerning the differences between the Chinese language in China and in Malaysia/Singapore are ample in Chinese but few in English, partially because this issue has escaped the attention of Western academia due to the overly inclusive nature of the term "Chinese" and also due in great measure to the real difficulty in accurately expressing the subtle differences in English. However, studying the differences triggers a need to re-position Chinese and even reexamine the ecosystem of world languages. More importantly, what lies behind the differences is cultural evolution taking on two different courses, which will be studied in the following sections.

CHINESE IN CHINA AND MALAYSIA/SINGAPORE: CONNECTION AND DIVERGENCE

The different Chinese expressions for the term "Chinese" in China and Malaysia/Singapore illustrates subtle political intricacies and a continued commitment to seeking a balanced cultural and political identity. This section, still taking "Chinese" as a point of enquiry, explores the fertile interconnection between the C-Chinese and M/S-Chinese, whose cultural connection and sociopolitical divergence generate two developmental routes over the past decades.

Language is a significant carrier of culture (Humboldt, 1999). Chinese immigrants and their offspring had to learn Malay and English. The relationship between M/S-Chinese and their surrounding ethnicities has been changing, because the ethnic composition and the traditions of Malays and Indians were continually changing (Wang, 1988, p. 285). Even though most M/S-Chinese today are still capable of speaking and writing Chinese, a small number are not, which poses a threat to the continuation of the Chinese traditions dearly valued by their preceding generations. To tackle this problem, classical Chinese literature such as *Romance of the Three Kingdoms* and *Journey to the West* was translated into Malay, so that some of the later-born Chinese who had little Chinese literacy could know their ancestral culture. Similar to domesticized translation, in daily activities in Southeast Asia, by formulating an identity that is acceptable to the dominant culture, some Chinese altered their behavior so as to conform to the target culture's image of the source culture. The portraits of the Chinese often involve "intense manipulation and simplification for the sake of gaining recognition" (Sengupta, 1995, p. 160). This statement gains greater credence when it applies to Chinese overseas. Translation, textual or behavioral, helped to hold these Chinese overseas on the new land without totally cutting off their ancestral culture.

Gradually, however, the focus of translation between C-Chinese and M/S-Chinese shifted from inter-lingual to intra-lingual translation, because Chinese as their shared language was and still is used, albeit with increasingly different cultural attachments. Over the past half century, M/S-Chinese had to weather adversities and learn how to get along with non-Chinese. During the 1940s and 1950s, China underwent civil war and power transfer, and, the then-Malaya and Singapore also witnessed historical transition, which not only affected the interaction between China and Malaya/Singapore, but also pushed M/S-Chinese to observe and react to every move of China (Lu, 2014, pp. 46-50).

Since the 1970s, the cultural landscape in China has altered dramatically due to its reform and opening-up to the outside world, resulting in a sophisticated melting-pot that mixes Chinese traditions with Western popular culture, with the latter taking on increasing momentum. In the 21st century, cultural inter-penetration is an indisputable fact in the increasingly shrinking "global village". As a result of globalization and the ongoing concerns of M/S-Chinese over China, the changing cultural landscape in China has profoundly influenced Chinese communities in Malaysia and Singapore, where in the publishing industry, for example, the vertical arrangement of Chinese characters (read from right to left) was replaced by horizontal left-to-right lines. This action was first initiated by China, and Singapore and Malaysia soon followed suit. It was inspired by the simple idea that the Chinese could conform to the so-called international standard by abandoning their traditional arrangement and instead, adopting Western arrangement.

Another example of China's influences is that in the 1980s Chinese communities in Malaysia and Singapore began to introduce simplified Chinese characters which were mandatorily promoted across Mainland China as early as 1956. While simplified Chinese characters sometimes incur criticism and are even ridiculed as "handicapped Chinese" or "communist characters" especially in Hong Kong and Taiwan, the prestige and prosperity of Singapore helped disassociate simplified Chinese from such negative images. In this case, politics and culture are so interwoven that the slightest cultural changes are likely to become a sensitive yet complex identity indicator. In addition, the democratization of Taiwan in the 1980s aroused quite a different voice among M/S-Chinese, some of whom supported the experience of Taiwan to modernize Chinese ethnicity, leading to a variety of hybridized cultural aspirations and developmental courses. Meanwhile, M/S-Chinese have experienced constant ethnic discrimination and even massacres (Fang, 2001, pp. 152-153), which compellingly shaped their cultural choices. Before the 2010s, a great number of M/S-Chinese liked to watch the TV series produced in Hong Kong. At

present, the TV series and entertainment TV shows from Mainland China receive more attention from M/S-Chinese who tend to browse the websites built by C-Chinese and write their own comments on certain TV series or shows. This soft power helped to connect M/S-Chinese to C-Chinese.

However, the influence has never been unilateral. In fact, M/S-Chinese were involved in many significant incidents in China, from the 1911 Revolution to the Second Sino-Japanese War (1937-1945) and to the present. They raised funds to support the overthrow of the Qing dynasty (Yan, 1992, pp. 79-105) and assisted the Chinese fight against Japanese invasion during the Second World War (Yan, 2010, pp. 309-328). Since the late 1970s, a great number of M/S-Chinese have generously invested in their ancestral homes in China. At present, most M/S-Chinese regularly go to China to seek their ancestral lands and worship their ancestors (Fang, 2001, pp. 112-122). It is in this way that a close contact between M/S-Chinese and C-Chinese has been maintained.

The above analysis demonstrates that "Chineseness", which is usually defined by blood relationship, is not fixed once for all, and cultural identity should also be taken into consideration (Wang, 2005, p. 185). "Chinese" is not a bound category, but takes on varying shades of meaning as people use it to define themselves in relation to others[8]. For C-Chinese, their Chineseness is called into question by China's rapid and even brutal modernization, for M/S-Chinese, their Chineseness is problematized by their incessant exposure to a dynamic multi-ethnic society which largely belongs to the Malay world, quite different from China.

Chinese have acted out their own Chineseness in different locales and situations. For M/S-Chinese, the accumulated experience of how to get along with Malays, Indians and other ethnic minorities pushed them to domesticate their Chinese characteristics, exemplifying a kind of multiculturalism with ubiquitous intercultural awareness. By contrast, this feature is not pronounced in China, because China is a relatively homogeneous society with little need or everyday experience of dealing with omnipresent cultural and ethnic others. As a result, the definition of "Chinese" takes on various manifestations, and cultural evolution of Chinese ethnicity becomes multi-directed and ever more robust. When Chinese as an ethnicity is examined in the context of different socio-cultural realities, intercultural dimensions contributing to the divergent routes of cultural evolution are highlighted. Since the late of the 1970s, Mandarin, instead of other Chinese dialects, has been successfully popularized among M/S-Chinese, and gradually become the shared language between M/S-Chinese and C-Chinese. However, this seemingly shared language is found not exactly shared because of its different cultural attachments analyzed above. Therefore, intra-lingual, rather than inter-lingual translation, prevails between C-Chinese and M/S-Chinese in various ways.

TRANSLATION IN TALK: LINGUISTIC DISLOCATION AND DIFFERENT CULTURAL MILIEUS

Due to the historical entanglement of C-Chinese and M/S-Chinese, especially with the growing vigor of the latter on the international stage, the meaning of "Chinese" can be potentially expanded and reconsidered. The Chinese language is also expected to be hybridized, which brings out the cultural evolution induced by the long-term cultural adaptation. When M/S-Chinese diverge from C-Chinese to a certain degree, the cultural gap between them widens, and translation of various forms is needed to help bridge the gap. In this respect, translation can be understood against the background of cultural movement and cultural adaptation.

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Four or five generations of Chinese have lived in Malaysia and Singapore. Most M/S-Chinese are decidedly loyal to Malaysia and Singapore, and naturally they are psychologically distant from the current sovereign state of China. Those who were recently born have even less identification with China. Therefore, even though they share the same language (Mandarin), different generations exhibit differences in language preference, political views, and lifestyles (Wang, 1987, pp. 216-217). In a word, M/S-Chinese have their own daily realities derived from the relentless negotiations and active adaptations steadily made by their immediate ancestors. The Chinese language they use has changed accordingly so as to be able to conveniently describe this evolved reality in detail. As a result, it is easy to detect whether the Mandarin is spoken by C-Chinese or M/S-Chinese. In other words, the same language carries two sets of daily experiences and sociopolitical circumstances.

It is widely believed that every language embodies a unique worldview, but within one language there can also be several worldviews. Writing about the Indian diaspora, Salman Rushdie (1991, pp. 17) says, "Having been borne across the world, we are translated men", using translated here in much the sense that people talk about "cultural translation" (Tymoczko, 2010, p. 106). This statement also holds true for M/S-Chinese who feature an indelible diasporic experience. In general, they identify themselves with C-Chinese not only by their Chinese-looking faces (and sometimes by habits and customs), but also by Mandarin – the *lingua franca* among most Chinese, overseas or otherwise.

Yet when C-Chinese talk with M/S-Chinese, they are more likely to detect alterity, as the two are sometimes not mutually comprehensible and also not completely comfortable. M/S-Chinese use slightly different phrases from C-Chinese, and the difference can be puzzling and misleading. For example, in daily conversations, M-Chinese constantly use the word *ba-xian*, which is the Chinese transliteration of the English word "percentage". However, C-Chinese have never heard this. In addition, frequent mentions of "percentage" in casual talk are not very acceptable in China, indicating a discrepancy in thinking. In the light of the tortuous history of Chinese immigration to Southeast Asia, we can speculate that the mentality of "percentage" derived from the constant debate over and awareness of demographic composition and ethnic policy, which are politically sensitive issues in Malaysia and Singapore. Particularly in Malaysia, policies encouraging discrimination against the Chinese are still in effect. Against this background, adaptation to the local sociopolitical environment contributes to a change in thinking, which in turn is reflected in a slightly altered lexical preference and frequency. Another manifestation is the Singapore-coined Chinese phrase *xin-yao* (Dai & Cai, 2007, pp. 147-162), which makes no sense to C-Chinese. *Xin-yao* is a genre of songs that is unique to Singapore, where the songs are composed and sung by Singaporeans, including non-Chinese, and are often about life in the country.

The gradual change and enrichment of the Chinese language in Singapore and Malaysia suggests that local culture has infiltrated the Chinese language, which had once been totally detached from Southeast Asian realities. With pervasive cultural contact due to the massive immigration and ultimate settling-down, the Chinese language progressively became equally capable of describing in detail in Southeast Asia. Such intimate cultural contacts facilitate cultural evolution that is directly different from that in China.

Linguistic dislocation, on the other hand, also gives rise to misunderstanding. After having a meal in a restaurant, for example, we need to pay the bill. However, the expression "pay the bill" as expressed by M/S-Chinese leaves C-Chinese at a loss. The latter favor the phrase *fu-qian* while the former prefers *huan-qian* — literally means "return or repay the money". The interesting thing, however, is that customers don't need to "return" or "repay" because they only need to "pay" or "give". Despite the error in logic, *huan-qian* is a habitual way of saying "pay the bill" and has been taken for granted by M/S-Chinese.

Explanation is needed to get the meaning across, which involves translating the meaning of this phrase in the same language. It is also through such linguistic displacement that cultural identity is mutually felt and distinguished, and also, it is through such cultural translation that communication becomes smooth.

Ethnic issues can also be complicated by linguistic games in English. As a rule, we call people who are American except for their Chinese faces "Chinese Americans". Likewise, we have terms such as "African Americans" and "Hispanic Canadians". The first half of these compound words indicates ethnicity, while the second half indicates nationality or citizenship. However, when M/S-Chinese have to express their identity in English, they usually reverse the conventional order and say "Malaysian Chinese" or "Singaporean Chinese", especially in the academic sphere. This is another linguistic phenomenon that warrants serious attention as it is a reflection of ethnic inequality, which is a political taboo in Malaysia and Singapore. By putting the word "Chinese" after "Malaysian" and "Singaporean", the two phrases shift focus from nationality to ethnicity. Even though Singapore has long achieved ethnic equality, the miserable experience of being repressed lingers in the minds of S-Chinese. In present-day Malaysia, Chinese tend to socialize with each other, with far fewer connections with Malays than Chinese Americans have with other Americans in the US. "Birds of a feather flock together, but for people, the familiar plumage is culture" (Kottak, 2015, p. 23). All these facts reduced the chance of the ultimate assimilation of the Chinese into Malay society, so as to guarantee the privilege of Malays. In Singapore, however, the Chinese enjoy equal opportunities with other ethnicities, resulting in or because of the fact that most of the top leaders themselves are Chinese (Wang, 1987, p. 260). It is safe to say that the living conditions of M/S-Chinese and the English expressions discussed above are related. With the ever-changing sociopolitical realities as well as the rise of China, many M/S-Chinese have to choose whether to actively assimilate themselves into Malay society or maintain their Chinese ways of life. This choice not only demands a flexible and long-term view of culture, but also calls for an updated identity among the Chinese community (Wang, 1981, p. 244), which would involve a simultaneous process of shaking-off and picking-up of socio-political atmospheres so that M-Chinese and S-Chinese can be further integrated. This process is a kind of ongoing cultural evolution for M/S-Chinese, generating more cases of linguistic displacement that testify to the divergent cultural landscapes of the Chinese in China and Malaysia/Singapore.

Clearly, cultural evolution has brought about and is still bringing about, primarily but not exclusively, to language. If we regard the Chinese language as a discourse, then the thesis proposed by Nakamura, Perkins and Krischer (2013) is of particular relevance: "Indeed distance exists not only between the outside and inside of a discourse, but between positions within a discourse as much as across discourses" (p. 21). The Chinese language serves as an identity-confirmer when C-Chinese and M/S-Chinese meet, but constant linguistic dislocation implies that Chinese has transcended the status of "local language" and is on its way to becoming a globally prevalent language with many slight variants. Meanwhile, it is exactly through linguistic dislocation that cultural difference becomes visible, thus highlighting cultural divergence and evolution. The meeting of C-Chinese and M/S-Chinese generates "a third space" in which the borders of Chinese and "Chineseness" become blurred, and hybridity and globalization become prominent. In this "third space", we need to think twice when translating words such as "percentage" or "China" into Chinese or when conveying the meaning of "pay the bill" or *xinyao* to different Chinese groups.

Translation of this kind is distinctive in that it is from Chinese into Chinese but is between two differently evolved cultures. Whenever C-Chinese and M/S-Chinese attempt to translate or speak, they are somewhat pitched into a crisis of alterity. The entanglement of C-Chinese and M/S-Chinese against two divergent courses of cultural evolution calls for a renewed recognition of translation.

RECEPTION TRAP: A REAL NEED FOR CULTURAL TRANSLATION

On the surface, C-Chinese and M/S-Chinese are able to communicate smoothly in Chinese, resulting in a lack of perception of foreignness, at least at the beginning of their interaction. Because of this, cultural adaptation and cultural translation seem unnecessary. However, the fact that their reception of certain linguistic items can be vastly different goes beyond linguistic confusion and reveals the dimension of cultural evolution.

Puzzlement can be found in casual conversation. M/S-Chinese are likely to feel puzzled and culturally anxious when, for instance, they hear *dongbei-sansheng*, which literally means "three provinces in the Northeast China". The reason can be as simple as that they lack China-related knowledge. After all, the knowledge in humanities M/S-Chinese learn at school is centered on Southeast Asia, rather than on China, even though the language of instruction can be Chinese. Therefore, for the Chinese born and bred in Malaysia and Singapore, their ancestral history happened overseas, and Malaysia and Singapore are their central reality while China exists at their periphery, if not solely in their imagination. An immediate example is that some M-Chinese wonder if most people in present-day China still practice Confucianism. The life experiences of M/S-Chinese do not cover the cultural and geographical meaning of "three provinces in the Northeast China". As cultural gaps widen, Mandarin – the shared language – turns out to be a false friend seemingly promising a barrier-free dialogue, an illusion that, time and again, is shattered by the alterity felt in each other.

Different educational and social environment leads to divergent receptions of the same phrases. Even the word *zhongguo* (China) seems to cause problems. C-Chinese refer to it as a sovereign state including Hong Kong, Macau and Taiwan, while M/S-Chinese are likely to exclude these three regions. Even in the same academic work written in Chinese, contributors from China and Singapore gave the term "China" different borders. For example, in the book *Chaoyue jiangjie: quanqiuhua, xiandaixing he bentu wenhua* [Transcending Borders: Globalization, Modernization and Domestic Culture], phrases such as *zai zhongguo, xianggang he taiwan* [in China, Hong Kong and Taiwan] and *zai zhongguodalu, xianggang he taiwan* [in Mainland China, Hong Kong and Taiwan] were used in two different chapters contributed by a S-Chinese and a C-Chinese respectively, suggesting that C-Chinese and M/S-Chinese have slightly yet significantly disparate maps of China in mind.

The reasons can be traced from two perspectives at least. Firstly, the educational and political atmosphere in China makes its citizens develop a sense of "sovereignty" from childhood. Although they are fully aware that Taiwan is now under the control of another government and that Hong Kong and Macau enjoy a high level of autonomy not directly affected by the Chinese Communist Party, they still firmly see the three regions as belonging to China's sovereignty. By contrast, M/S-Chinese seem reluctant to say *zhongguo dalu* (Mainland China, or China's mainland), or simply do not know how to refer to the territory directly ruled by the Chinese Communist Party if they don't use "China". Secondly, out of expediency, M/S-Chinese treat China, Hong Kong and Taiwan separately, because this always works when they deal with international affairs, especially when applying for a visa, if they need one, to go to any of the three regions. Therefore, both C-Chinese and M/S-Chinese need to be psychologically prepared to accept alterity and discomfort through translating each other's experience into mutual understanding and tolerance.

It is a trite observation that the understanding of a text (including a translated text) depends on readers' cognitive systems which vary to different extents among different readers. This is also true for M/S-Chinese who invest in the Chinese language a different cultural reality from C-Chinese. That is to say,

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they have different culturally transmitted feelings about certain things. For instance, a C-Chinese tends to laugh at parodies of China's political news texts, but a S-(or M)-Chinese would not get the point. As Hillis Miller (1996, p. 207) observes, "A work is, in a sense, 'translated', that is, displaced, transported, carried across, even when it is read in its original language by someone who belongs to another country and another culture or to another discipline". In this sense, when the target reader is a M-Chinese or S-Chinese, this text is a bad translation because it fails to convey the humorous effect. Clearly, in the eyes of C-Chinese, M/S-Chinese belong to another culture and are already highly hybridized and culturally "translated", thus they interpret the same text differently.

Different understandings of this kind are also illustrated by different feelings towards the same otherness. Many C-Chinese say they feel a strong sense of exoticism when they travel in Cambodia, but M/S-Chinese barely agree with this remark. One reason is that China basically consists of a homogeneous society[9] where the C-Chinese take their cultural identity for granted and thus lack substantial intercultural awareness. However, M/S-Chinese remarkably excel at dealing with multicultural and multi-ethnic issues. They are fully aware of ethnic difference and cultural diversity. In China, on the other hand, the general public seldom shows any interest in Chinese overseas, let alone cares about them. In fact, C-Chinese, especially those who have never travelled to Southeast Asia, are largely ignorant of Chinese overseas who especially the M/S-Chinese have once made striking contributions to the First Sino-Japanese War (1894), the 1911 Revolution, the Second Sino-Japanese War (1937-1945), and the development of China after the implementation of the policy of opening-up to the outside world since the late 1970s. Their significance has been rarely mentioned in textbooks and classrooms in China. Furthermore, most C-Chinese are trained to be patriots while M/S-Chinese have less national consciousness, resulting in different attitudes towards otherness, hence different receptions.

Another revealing example of the need for cultural translation is when M/S-Chinese came to China. C-Chinese are likely to treat M/S-Chinese as C-Chinese and talk to them the way they talk with other C-Chinese. Due to the fact that M/S-Chinese do not have sufficiently enough local knowledge about China, they might feel puzzled when they see the daily practices that are taken for granted by C-Chinese but are quite strange for M/S-Chinese. In China, when M/S-Chinese see simplified Chinese characters, they feel a sense of intimacy. However, they only recognize the Chinese culture, not China – the sovereign state. As a result, most M/S-Chinese tend to feel that they are foreigners when they travel in China. On this occasion, since C-Chinese simply do not know that the people they are dealing with are actually foreigners, let alone have intercultural consciousness. This example, however, shows that cultural translation is needed between C-Chinese and M/S-Chinese for a comfortable dialogue.

Sharing the same ancestral roots, C-Chinese and M/S-Chinese are mutually "geographic others" and now have increasingly become mutually "cultural others". Conflicting with the other, both physically and psychologically, destabilizes the self's identity, which can be edifying if seen from the perspective of cultural translation. As the self and the other interact, cross-cultural interpretation and translating of cultures inevitably occur in various manifestations.

Therefore, different receptions for a certain thing become a cultural and political phenomenon providing a specific context for cultural translation. Mandarin – the "common" language – plays a vital role in developing a sense of affinity among different Chinese communities and, to a large extent, removes communicative obstacles. However, the same language carries two different realities and perspectives, signaling different directions of cultural evolution and a real need for cultural translation to mediate and (re)configure two disjunctive Chinese cultures.

TRANSLATION BETWEEN C-CHINESE AND M/S-CHINESE IN REAL LIFE: AWARENESS AND SKILLS

The previous sections reveal that C-Chinese and M/S-Chinese, over the past century or so, have undoubtedly formed a tangible cultural and cognitive gap in many socio-political aspects, and there do exist many linguistic and receptive dislocations not to be neglected between the two Chinese groups. Theoretically and practically, the two groups demand a kind of translation to get each other's intended meanings across despite their common language.

At the first glance, it seems that this kind of translation, happened between the same ethnic and language groups, must be easy to be achieved in comparison with the cases in which inter-lingual translations are needed. Paradoxically, the case of the two Chinese groups prove the opposite, because it is exactly the false appearance of easy communication that makes intra-lingual yet at the same time cross-cultural translation be constantly ignored, or at least makes translation receive little attention. The fact is that both sides lack, to different degrees, the awareness of translation, especially C-Chinese.

On the one hand, when M/S-Chinese come to China, C-Chinese tend to regard them as pure Chinese citizens just like themselves. This is definitely understandable because C-Chinese cannot tell the difference only based on the latter's face and language. The thing is, however, even if when C-Chinese begin to know that whom they are talking to are foreigners (Malaysians or Singaporeans), they are still likely to get confused as to why M/S-Chinese do not identify themselves as pure Chinese, and why it may be an offense to M/S-Chinese if C-Chinese kindly say "Welcome BACK to China" to M/S-Chinese.

On the other hand, when C-Chinese visit Malay or Singapore, even though M/S-Chinese also cannot differentiate C-Chinese from themselves at the beginning, they tend to immediately talk in another way as soon as they know they are talking to foreigners from China. However, this change in way of talking does not guarantee a smooth communication afterwards. One might believe that M/S-Chinese will not have any problem in talking with C-Chinese because they habitually have the consciousness of intercultural communication and innately excel at dealing with foreign otherness. However, this opinion only holds true when M/S-Chinese deal with foreigners other than C-Chinese. In fact, M/S-Chinese entertain a different and subtle feeling towards C-Chinese. M/S-Chinese, although have a different political identity from C-Chinese, cannot deny the fact that they have more or less the same cultural identity and ancestral origin. The same language they speak, the same Chinese face they wear, and the same cultural practice they inherit, all makes M/S-Chinese unable to treat C-Chinese the way they treat other foreigners. That is to say, either group cannot psychologically regard the other as clear-cut foreignness. Such a tricky situation makes both groups always unable to take intra-translation seriously.

Therefore, the first and foremost thing that either C-Chinese or M/S-Chinese need to do is to dismantle their stereotyped impression and develop an awareness of cultural translation between the two Chinese groups. Of course, this awareness cannot be developed immediately, but as the two groups have more opportunities to interact with one another (as is shown by today's situation), with the help of the Age of Internet, the intercultural awareness is expected to be increasingly enhanced.

According to the analysis above, the translation skills required between C-Chinese and M/S-Chinese are different from those applied to inter-lingual translations. The first and foremost skill for both groups is mutual respect, including a respect for each other's specific historical course. Second, they need a skill to tell their own stories in their shared language with mutually comfortable effect. That is to say, when a C-Chinese hear a word that s/he does not (totally) understand, s/he should be willing to let the M/S-Chinese know in the first place, and M/S-Chinese need to interpret this word in a way that is acceptable

to the C-Chinese. For example, when a C-Chinese hear the phrase *huan-qian* (an example mentioned above), even though s/he can guess the meaning correctly in the specific situation, s/he should still be encouraged to confirm the meaning with M/S-Chinese. This step is important because it to some extent guarantees a confident dialogue hereafter. These two translation skills should be especially prioritized in the case of C-Chinese and M/S-Chinese.

THE PROSPECT OF BEING CHINESE: CHINESE CIVILIZATION WITH CULTURAL TRANSLATION

The changing cultural scenes in Chinese communities in Malaysia and Singapore have reinforced M/S-Chinese's cultural hybridity and cultural identity, to which translation bears significant relevance (Sun, 2007). Moreover, cultural hybridity and identity give rise to tension between two differently evolved Chinese cultures. Immigration stimulated cultural change, which has been constantly reinforced by the locally born generations. The significance of this process is that "the immigrants have indeed determined the direction and scope of cultural evolution happened within the Chinese community in Malaysia and Singapore" (Wang, 1988, p. 279). The disparities between their social, cultural, and political environments determine the differences in actions, thought, lifestyle and loyalty (Wang, 2005, p. 187). Then what kind of "Chinese" do they respectively identify themselves with?

Compared with Chinese living in Mainland China and Taiwan, M/S-Chinese have an irreplaceable advantage regarding cultural evolution. Since 1949, two regimes, namely Beijing and Taipei, have appeared in China. They presented politically opposing ideologies and cultural policies, especially after the 1980s when Taiwan successfully transited into a democratic institution. The Chinese under both regimes are educated to be loyal to their own government. However, in Malaysia and Singapore, there still exist many independent publishing centers for Chinese books and newspapers, in which, standpoints in favor of both Beijing and Taipei can find supporters among M/S-Chinese (Wang, 2005, p. 277). These unregulated thoughts and opposing opinions have somehow formed a loosely knit Chinese aspiration which is conducive to accepting foreign cultures in general and Malay customs in particular, leading to a robust mode of cultural evolution that is unconceivable in China.

With the introduction of foreign cultures, M/S-Chinese experienced a different reality from C-Chinese. Naturally, cultures carried by the Chinese language are different in a dynamic manner, because the sociopolitical situation in Malaysia and Singapore has also been changing, and a rising China has never failed to influence M/S-Chinese in one way or another. In fact, cultural translation has been consciously or unconsciously practiced on occasions when C-Chinese and M/S-Chinese meet. For the latter, most of their ancestral roots are in China's southern provinces, especially Guangdong and Fujian, which for thousands of years before the 20th century had existed only as a complement to China's mainstream culture – Confucianism, Taoism and Buddhism, which were enshrined in the central part of China. In other words, the cultures embodied by Guangdong and Fujian, which are the ancestral home of most M/S-Chinese, were quite marginal and insignificant in China's historical context. To be specific, the essence of these "marginal" cultures depends on one's affinity with his or her ancestral place, and with the folk religions. As Wang remarks:

Compared with overseas Indians, Chinese overseas took vastly different attitudes towards the prominent parts of Chinese culture. We have ample evidence to prove that it is the folk cultures, rather than

mainstream cultures that helped Chinese immigrants to take roots in exotic territories without cutting off from their ancestral homeland in China. (Wang, 2005, p. 202)

However, what was once a marginal culture in the Chinese context took a central position among M/S-Chinese. This demonstrates that folk culture matters a great deal for M/S-Chinese to settle down in a new place. In this sense, the Chinese culture exemplified by the Chinese communities in Malaysia and Singapore traces its roots to the combination of this marginal Chinese culture derived from China and the local tradition in Malaysia, as well as the culture brought by the British colonists. This calls to mind Tu's viewpoint crystallized in his seminal article titled *Cultural China: the Periphery as the Center* (1994). As a result, M/S-Chinese have largely cast off the dichotomous mindset of self and other, and their daily life and thinking patterns prove that they seamlessly switch their mentality between the self and the other without even noting the shifts. Theoretically, they have been doing constant translations between the self and the other, but the hidden translations even escape their own minds, since they have become so accustomed to this daily experience of translation. Internalized intercultural awareness is the primary feature of the new Chinese culture as it has evolved in Malaysia and Singapore. By contrast, a self-and-other mentality still exists in the minds of Chinese living in China. With this great difference, China ushers in another mode of cultural evolution, which is different from but in parallel with that in Malaysia and Singapore, by introducing another set of non-Chinese elements.

However, the new culture currently salient among the M/S-Chinese is still evolving, as can be seen by the continued flow of M-Chinese to Singapore, which present a more subtle situation where cultural translation demands continually flexible strategies. For example, many M-Chinese, especially the young generations, feel proud to say "I am a Malaysian Chinese, but I now hold a Singaporean passport". Remarks like this convey their dissatisfaction with the racial discrimination policy enacted by the Malaysian government and reveal their expedient pursuit of a comfortable life with greater equality. Being a S-Chinese means enjoying the same opportunities as other ethnic groups.

It is safe to say that ethnic discrimination against Chinese in Malaysia prompts continued cultural adjustment within the community of M/S-Chinese as a whole. This evolution is facilitated not by non-Chinese elements but by a further integration of M-Chinese and S-Chinese, whose most important difference lies in the fact that the government of Singapore currently attaches extreme importance to English education and almost all Chinese middle schools have been abolished. According to Gao (2008, p. 281), the number of families using Chinese at home has been steadily declining, while more families are taking up English. Although an increasing number of young S-Chinese do not, or cannot, speak Chinese, they still feel at ease in daily life with no intention of discarding their Chinese identity. This trend stimulates many M-Chinese to sharpen their English skills and obtain, if possible, Singaporean citizenship. Therefore, cultural adjustment and transformation happens when M-Chinese are in the process of identifying themselves with S-Chinese, resulting in a culture that is more Singaporean, which is global, than Malaysian, which is multicultural. At this stage, cultural translation calls for a reciprocal cultural empathy between M-Chinese and S-Chinese, both of whom are expected to better understand each other's words and deeds through identifying with each other's cultural background.

Obviously, in Malaysia and Singapore, there has emerged a new type of Chinese culture that is different from the one in present-day China, which means that the two groups of Chinese experience varying degrees of cultural conflict as they interact. Cultural dislocation is tackled by translating each other's culture. A vivid example is that a C-Chinese and a M-Chinese sit together at dinner table, and they were told a funny story happened during the Cultural Revolution period (1966-1976) in China. The

C-Chinese burst into laughter immediately, but the M-Chinese could not catch the point. Only when the C-Chinese explained the cultural background and the specific language trend of Cultural Revolution, the M-Chinese began to laugh hysterically. Clearly, this example shows that cultural translation is needed to guarantee mutual understanding between C-Chinese and M-Chinese, and it is also through cultural translation that an intended laughter finally came, even though it was a delayed laughter. That is to say, the untranslatability embedded in Mandarin, which is shared by the two Chinese groups, is caused by ignorance of each other's complicated stories either personal or collective. Although translating culture is necessary, cultural conflicts are greatly alleviated by the language that C-Chinese and M/S-Chinese share, and in this sense the two Chinese groups should call each other a "secondary other", rather than a "complete other" as poles apart as Chinese and English native speakers. "The experience of secondary otherness then emerges from the encounter with untranslatability" (Budick, 1996, p. 22). In a nutshell, cultural untranslatability is the source of cultural anxiety felt by the C-Chinese and M/S-Chinese when they talk; it is caused by the inability of C-Chinese to empathize with the M/S-Chinese's process of cultural evolution, and vice versa. When these two groups of Chinese meet, they are likely to identify themselves as C-Chinese or M-(S-)Chinese. The story of each other's cultural evolution needs to be told by strategic interpretation with non-confrontation.

Cultural evolution requires cultural translation, which assists mutual understanding among Chinese in different locales. Mutual understanding would then engender a mutually recognized new Chinese community, encompassing C-Chinese and M/S-Chinese. Therefore, "Chinese" becomes a constantly renewed concept, manifesting a changed and still changing cultural landscape of the Chinese community at large. To better describe the changing situation of "Chinese", three notions have been proposed: Cultural China (Tu, 1994, pp. 1-34), Greater China (Shambaugh, 1993, p. 654) and Transnational China (Kuah, 1998, pp. 87-90). Kuah (1998, p. 86) summarized these notions as an all-encompassing notion of "globalized Chinese culture". However, the strength of all these notions is directed to only one dimension — blurred political boundaries. As a result, the divergent developmental trajectories of Chinese culture recede to the margin of the explanatory power of the three notions.

To overcome this limitation, I put forward the concept of "Translational China", which emphasizes the mutual influence of C-Chinese and M/S-Chinese and the cultural agitation felt by both sides as a result of cultural displacement, which is brought about by cultural evolution in divergent directions. The concept of "translational China" attaches particular importance to the cultural translation embedded in the present-day communication between C-Chinese and M/S-Chinese and highlights this largely ignored dimension. To be specific, "translational China" means that Chinese in different locales interact with each other with a need to translate each other's living realities despite their common language. Whether it is "Cultural China" or "Greater China", it is unrealistic to form a cultural and ethnic unity without having different Chinese understand each other in the first place. Cultural anxiety between C-Chinese and M/S-Chinese should be anticipated; each Chinese group should not take the other's understandings and habits for granted. With an awareness of translation in mind, C-Chinese and M/S-Chinese would better tolerate and appreciate each other while pursuing their respective cultural ideals. In so doing, the two groups as one ethnicity can at least simultaneously realize cultural diversity and civilizational unity. Wang (2007, p. 18) states that "the development of world culture depends on the tension between globalization and localization". Cultural evolution as exemplified by M/S-Chinese is exactly illustrated by "glocalization", and the "tension" can be adequately explained through the two-way traffic of translation.

FUTURE RESEARCH DIRECTIONS

This research, for the first time, emphasizes the translational aspect between C-Chinese and M/S-Chinese, after the latter's cultural development and ethnic identity have been studied a lot. The discursive framework, which progressively examines the Chinese translations of the English word "Chinese", linguistic dislocation, reception trap, and finally the proposal of "Translational China", will lay a foundation for further research on this issue.

One direction may be that more examples of cultural translation between C-Chinese and M/S-Chinese can be explored to enhance, enrich and revise the theoretical framework explained in the section "The Prospect of Being Chinese: Chinese Civilization with Cultural Translation" of this chapter.

Another research direction may be that the notion of "Translational China" can serve as a point of departure. "Translational China" is proposed in this chapter after a progressive analysis of the cultural translation issues between C-Chinese and M/S-Chinese, as well as after a critical examination of other similar notions, such as "Greater China" and "Cultural China" put forward by other scholars. That is to say, "Translational China" comes as a theoretical conclusion, from which a plethora of questions can be raised and explored, such as how the notion of "Translational China" can apply to the description of the contact between C-Chinese and M/S-Chinese.

Last but not least, the research methods used in this study may inspire other related research concerning Chinese overseas. For example, the relations between C-Chinese and American Chinese, between M/S-Chinese and Canadian Chinese can also be studied anew.

CONCLUSION

Within Chinese civilization, cultural divergence inherently calls for the intervention of cultural translation, which becomes indispensible as the world becomes increasingly globalized and the interconnection between M/S-Chinese and C-Chinese becomes more intimate. Linguistic displacement in the same language is a reflection of cultural discrepancy resulting from cultural evolution; hence this displacement can be smoothed over only with cultural empathy, which is expected to be realized through cultural translation.

The cultural dimension of Chinese overseas can be studied from the perspective of cultural translation. Distinct from China, the cultural practices of M/S-Chinese offer another developmental possibility for Chinese ethnicity. Currently, the significant role played by M/S-Chinese in Southeast Asia and beyond disassociate the meaning of "Chinese" with the People's Republic of China to encompass the ever robust Chinese civilization, which, boasting a long tradition of absorbing and domesticating foreignness, is further enriched by the cultural evolution as achieved by M/S-Chinese. How M/S-Chinese have adapted to the sociopolitical atmospheres in Malaysia and Singapore might serve as a reference for China. Chineseness in different parts of Asia functions like a storyteller telling many Chinese stories that have their cultural content and value hierarchies changed.

Ultimately, this chapter hopes to enhance our knowledge and refresh the research methodology about cultural issues involving Chinese overseas in Malaysia and Singapore. It also seeks to improve the effectiveness of translation and interpreting practice especially when C-Chinese and M/S-Chinese appear in the same place.

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KEY TERMS AND DEFINITIONS

Chinese Overseas: People of Chinese birth or descent who live outside the People's Republic of China (the Mainland, Hong Kong, Macau) and Taiwan. In this chapter, it exclusively refers to Malaysian Chinese and Singaporean Chinese ancestrally from southern provinces of China throughout the Ming, Qing and Republic period.

Cultural Adaptation: The process of re-settling oneself down when one moves from one culture to another where assimilation happens. In this chapter, it mainly refers to the Chinese overseas who had to adapt to new cultural conditions in Malaysia (or Malay) and Singapore, as well as the new cultural traditions which become steady and collectively practiced after the ultimate adaptation.

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Cultural Hybridity: The capture of the mixture and interrelations between previously separate cultural units or an overcome of what is perceived as a problematic conception of clearly distinguishable cultural units. Cultural hybridity is closely related to an increased awareness of global cultural flows, influences, and interdependences. In this chapter, it particularly demonstrates how cultures come to be represented by processes of migration and continued cultural adaptation on the part of Chinese overseas.

Cultural Identity: The identity or feeling of belonging to a group. It is part of a person's self-conception and self-perception and is related to nationality, ethnicity, religion, social class, generation, locality or any kind of social group that has its own distinct culture. In this way, cultural identity is both characteristic of the individual but also of the culturally identical group of members sharing the same cultural identity. This chapter mainly stresses the cultural identity made visible when China-based Chinese conduct a deep interaction with Malaysian Chinese and Singaporean Chinese.

Glocalization: A portmanteau of globalization and localization. It is used to describe and explain the adaptation of international products and ideas around the particularities of a local culture in which they are sold or assimilated. It is usually a process that allows integration of local markets and culture into an international scene.

Intercultural Awareness: Having an understanding of both one's own and other cultures, and particularly the similarities and differences between them. It is the foundation of effective cross-cultural communication and it involves the ability of standing back from oneself and becoming aware of one's and others' cultural values, beliefs and perceptions. In this chapter, it particularly means a particularly trained or acquired cultural attitude that China-based Chinese and Malaysian/Singaporean Chinese show towards each other that guarantees the comfort and understanding of each other.

Translating Culture: Translating the culture of others with different cultural background to get literal meanings across. In this chapter, it primarily means that one Chinese group translates the culture of another Chinese community which has long developed another kind of cultural traditions and habits, despite the fact that the same language – Mandarin – is used by both Chinese groups.

Wang Gungwu: Wang Gungwu (b. 9 October 1930, Surabaya, Indonesia–) is an internationally renowned historian famed for his scholarship on the history of the Chinese diaspora in Southeast Asia, as well as the history and civilization of China and Southeast Asia.

ENDNOTES

[1]	In this chapter, the phrase "Chinese overseas" means the ethnic Chinese living out of China, despite the fact that "overseas" may indicate a position of observation. In addition, the author avoids using the term "Chinese diaspora" too often as it conveys a more complex connotation that is beyond the scope of this research. The expression of "overseas Chinese" may also cause confusion as it sometimes indicates Chinese citizens dwelling abroad, so it is also avoided in this chapter.

[2]	"Malaysian Chinese *and* Singaporean Chinese" will be abbreviated as "M/S-Chinese" in the remaining part of this chapter. Similarly, "Malaysian Chinese" will be written as "M-Chinese", "Singaporean Chinese" as "S-Chinese", and "China-based Chinese" as "C-Chinese". In addition, this chapter does not adopt the expression of "Chinese Malaysians" and "Chinese Singaporeans", and the reason will be given in the later part of this chapter.

3   The notion of "cultural translation" has been taken up by many disciplines. Its meaning and its application to translation studies are still in debate. For a comprehensive debate, please consult: Mary, L. P., Wagner, B., Carbonell I Cortes, O., Chesterman, A., & Tymoczko, M. (2010). Translation Studies Forum: Cultural Translation. *Translation Studies*, 3(1), pp. 94-110. For a more recent comprehensive summary and argument about "cultural translation", please consult: Sun, Yifeng. (2016). Wenhuafanyi de kunhuo yu tiaozhan [the Puzzle and Challenge of "Cultural Translation"], *Chinese Translators Journal*, 3, pp. 5-14.

4   In response to the term issues to be mentioned in later parts, the term "China" in this chapter means Mainland China, Hong Kong, Macau and Taiwan. However, "PRC" (the People's Republic of China) in this chapter specifically refers to the territory directly controlled by the Chinese Communist Party -- Mainland China.

5   Chinese civilization does not equal Chinese ethnicity. Some ethnic Chinese in Malaysia and Singapore abandoned their Chinese tradition and completely embraced non-Chinese communities.

6   ROC is the abbreviation of "the Republic of China", which was founded in 1912. ROC represented the whole China from 1912 to 1949, and was still widely accepted as the sole representative of China from 1949 to 1971. But it retired to Taiwan after 1949 when the PRC (People's Republic of China) was founded in Mainland China by the Chinese Communist Party, and the PRC replaced ROC as the sole representative of China in UN since 1971.

7   When it refers to language, the word "Chinese" only means Mandarin in this chapter.

8   This idea is demonstrated in an exhibition called "Chinese More or Less: An Exhibition on Overseas Chinese Identity" (24 June 2016) housed in the Chinese Heritage Center, Nanyang Technological University, Singapore.

9   Although China has 55 ethnic minorities, they make up less than 10% of the whole population. In addition, most of the minorities have been largely assimilated into the Han Chinese, the majority. In the most populous areas of China, C-Chinese feel easy to get along with ethnic minorities.

Section 3

Sociological Aspects of Translation and Cultural Evolution

Chapter 8
The Strata of Subcultural Translation:
Sources of Fragmentation in Globalizing Societies

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ABSTRACT

This study proposes a new understanding of cultural evolution through translations embedded in sub-cultures. The underlying argument is that translation does not evenly and equally affect all social strata in a given culture, but there are selective (inclusive and exclusive) mechanisms that diversify a culture into several usually competing sub-groups. Evolution through translation takes place in parallel and very different sub-streams as subcultures. To make this understanding possible, however, some taken-for-granted notions should be revisited in translation studies (TS) and some gaps should be filled before subcultural translation can be framed. This study proposes an analytic whole in which a momentum of change in history leads to a reacquisition of disposition in cultural subjects, ultimately shaping a form of capital realized as semiotic/lingual translation. To explain this process, Foucault's historical discontinuity, Ricoeur's narrative identity, and Bourdieu's capital are incorporated.

INTRODUCTION

The discourse of "culture and translation" has incorporated a considerable number of theoretical and practical studies. Although the first major movement, called "the cultural turn" (back in 1980s), was concerned with literary analysis and theory, newer trends have been showing an extensive thematic tendency toward sociology. The sociological stream of culture and translation studies (TS) is characterized by novel theoretical foundations and usually empirical approaches. Yet, despite this promising outline, there are still gaps to be filled in the sociological line of TS. Most sociologically oriented theories of culture and translation, contrary to the postmodern atmosphere, seem to have taken for granted modernist notions, such as nation-state, the epistemology of society, and even unified national culture.

Novel methods of research into culture and translation need to concentrate on the ways globalizing cultures are undergoing fragmentation. The digital revolution and unprecedented migratory movements worldwide have brought about a situation in which cultures can no longer be regarded as endogenously united wholes. Along with cross-cultural communication facilitators, there are stratifying forces, such as nation-state policy, skeptical thinkers, and individuals' lifestyle/taste, that divert, impede or resist the axiological content transferred across cultures. This condition involves overriding implications for the burgeoning sociology of culture and translation, although the theoretical/practical apparatus that this field of studies suggests has to be revisited and further expanded.

One of the areas of social research into culture has focused on the notion of "subculture", which appears to be underdeveloped in TS. A new theoretical construct founded upon subcultural research could situate the important issues mentioned above (e.g. the postmodern condition of fragmented cultures) in translation theory. To accomplish this, the contributions of and criticisms on the sociological approach to culture in translation should be scrutinized. For instance, although scholars concerned with the sociology of translation admit that the formation of cultural capital is not "ahistorical", there are, as far as the literature shows in TS, no coherent historical theories that can explain capital formation, especially in a fragmented (subcultural) space. Similarly, although globalizing subcultures have intensified cultural diversity and difference, one must acknowledge that difference does not represent cultural essentialism but a progressive, narrative formation.

The purpose of this study is to propose the notion of "subcultural translation" as a novel and potentially fruitful way of investigating sub-groups and spaces formed as a result of semiotic/lingual translation (or any of its perceived derivatives). The study argues that cultural evolution through translation is accomplished when subcultures with specific motives and interests are shaped within a society. A culture is not a monolithic whole but a composite of several, parallel lines which favor a particular type of translation. The study primarily explores the background of subcultural theory including its traditional and postmodern variants and then examines the contributions in the culture and translation literature. Next, to construct subcultural translation with a view to the theoretical assets/gaps, the study incorporates Foucault's notion of historical discontinuity, Ricoeur's narrative identity, and Bourdieu's notion of capital. Finally, four modes of subcultural translation are suggested in (post)modern conditions of Iran (leftist intelligentsia, ethnic localization, diasporic literature, film subtitling), through a content analysis which relies on research in history, sociology, demography, visual arts and TS.

BACKGROUND OF SUBCULTURAL THEORY

Before the notion of subcultural translation can be conceptualized in this study, an overview of studies concerned with subcultures is presented here. The major issues addressed are attitudes toward subcultures, their possible sources of gaining capital, and their traditional typology. Subcultures have been defined in very different and in some cases relatively contradictory ways (Nwalozie, 2015, p. 2). In their early configurations, studies concerned with subcultures relied on abnormal/criminal psychology. Research into subcultural deviancy has covered a wide range of *real* crimes that may appear in diverse forms (e.g. electronic crimes) (Holt, 2007, p. 172). Yet, a recurrent emphasis on the possible threats of subcultures could encourage people in a society to internalize negative views about such communities. As a result of negative approaches, subculture, in its early stages of theoretical development, was used to refer to "lower, subordinate, or deviant status of social groups" (Nwalozie, 2015, p. 2).

The assumption that bias against subcultures might have been somehow influenced by the dominant culture inspired Hebdige (1979) to lay the foundations of his theory on ideology. In his critical study of style and subculture, Hebdige tries to describe how unconscious ideology leads social classes to frame common-sense assumptions about the world. As a result of critical approaches, researchers have focused on how the media label and marginalize subcultural identities. New studies of subcultures, then, no longer subscribe to the criminal/deviant psychology backdrop.

Subcultural studies have shifted their attention to novel topics (e.g. ethnic, artistic, political subcultures). In a rich rethinking of the problem, Jenks tries to trace subculture in the works of sociologists and thinkers (e.g. Durkheim, Weber and Marx), finding the root of subculture in postmodernity (see Jenks, 2005, pp. 10-11). In doing so, he first criticizes the totalizing concept of society, which theoretically constitutes major assumptions in sociology and anthropology.

Ontologically speaking, the notion of society presupposes several ideals such as nation-state, solidarity, and togetherness, without any actual explanatory functions. According to Jenks (2005, p. 11), "[s]ociety is a structuralist trope routinely employed to designate and summarize all of the universal, ideal, essential and peculiarly human dispositions that ensure their tendency to opt for clustering rather than isolation." Conceiving society as a fragmented whole (Jenks, 2005, p. 45), then, is crucial to understanding how subcultures work, especially those shaped or influenced by foreign sources including translation.

Meanwhile, another line of subcultural theorizing has focused on the formation and social capital of subcultures. Factors such as relative distinctiveness from the mainstream culture, a sense of identity, and some degree of autonomy can account for individuals' tendency to join or form subcultures (see Nwalozie, 2015, p. 3). To explain the value system embedded in club subcultures, Thornton (1997) has drawn on the notion of cultural capital suggested by Bourdieu, the renowned French sociologist.[1] Although traditionally known as an economic concept, capital has been given a new sense in Bourdieu's theory of action.

Cultural capital, for instance, refers to the specific sources of value appreciated by a group of agents. For example, Britain accent and university degrees are considered to be modes of cultural capital (Thornton, 1997, p. 202). Subcultures, too, invest in gaining capital in their specific ways, depending on their socio-aesthetic status. According to Thornton's observations, "[j]ust as books and paintings display cultural capital in the family home, so subcultural capital is objectified in the form of fashionable haircuts and carefully assembled record collections" (Thornton, 1997, pp. 202-3).

Along with theoretical discussions that have delved into the nature and specificities of subcultures, other investigations have looked at the typology of subcultures. Broadly speaking, subcultures could be divided into traditional and postmodern types. Samples representing the latter are mentioned in the next sub-section. The traditional variants are usually decided by artistic/aesthetic taste, socio-political tendencies, and ethnic background. Aesthetic taste has been a major theme for traditional studies, including musical subcultures (Huq, 2003; Kveberg, 2012), cult cinema (Mathijs & Sexton, 2011), and literary subcultures (Gelder, 2007).

Subcultures could also appear in socio-political configurations, usually enforcing a mode of resistance on the dominant political system (Corte, 2012; Nwalozie, 2015; Paris & Ault, 2004). Studies concerned with ethnicity usually look at local policy-making and governmental strategies adopted with respect to lingual, racial and cultural minorities (Ghooshchi & Naderi, 2015; Lieske, 1993). The next section looks at newer modes of subcultures.

THE POSITION OF SUBCULTURE IN GLOBALIZATION

Although the previous summary focused on the central issues underlying the general understanding of subcultures, there is still another important dimension from the perspective of the present study. Subculture finds a fertile ground in postmodernity (Jenks, 2005), and there is evidence that members of different subcultures could be connected to each other via social networks and the cybernetic world (Holt, 2007). These assumptions allow us to consider the notion of subculture in a globalizing, cross-cultural situation, which in turn helps to decide how the notion should be approached in translation theory. Of course, as argued below, there are forces (nation-state policy, critical thinkers, and individuals' taste) that can stratify and dislocate the smooth progression of globalizing subcultures.

Studies concerned with subcultures have been re-structuring their postulates based on the conditions shaped in the postmodern world. Although traditional studies mainly focused on mono-lingual and uni-cultural societies, a new line of studies has been initiated in the twenty-first century and tries to incorporate postmodern concerns into the original, subcultural research. This new line, according to Weinzierl and Muggleton (2003), is called *post-subcultural theory*. The purpose of this new strand is to probe into "the implications of contemporary 'post-modern' changes for the ethnic structure and composition of new, post-traditional subcultural forms" (Weinzierl & Muggleton, p. 16).

A central concern in this recent approach is the formation of cultural hybrids in a world in which borders are losing their former delineation. Weinzierl and Muggleton (2003, p. 17) contend that two major developments inspire research into post-subcultures: (a) the re-positioning (or what they call re-territorization) of Black and Asian diasporas; and (b) the actual movement of people all over the globe in the form of migration, international students, and so on. Of course, one has to include the highly expansive cybernetic universe, international media, social networks, and the Internet in the matrix of relations in the postmodern era (see Cronin, 2013).

Yet, despite the plurality of cultural hybrids, violence and "cultural conflict" have also escalated (Anheier & Isar, 2007). In fact, cross-cultural interconnections do not take place smoothly, because certain forces contribute to the formation of fragmented societies. A fundamental concern here is to unfold the forces that stratify members of a native culture into several, usually competing groups that react in different ways to the introduction and distribution of foreign, (sub)cultural values, styles and behaviors. As the literature of postmodern subcultures suggest, three major forces of stratification can be identified: (a) nation-state policy of cultural development; (b) skeptical scholars who criticize the negative influence of globalization; and (c) mere individuals who feel reinforced or threatened in their encounter with foreign axiological sources. These factors are explored in further detail below.

One of the problems that globalization and cultural multiplicity have brought about for nation-state policy-makers is the loss or erosion of national sovereignty. On the one hand, globalization engenders political consequences which can lead to "an erosion of national autonomy", and on the other, it generates cultural impacts that result in "more fragmentation through the rise of locally oriented movements" (Jotia, 2011, p. 244). Mann (1997, p. 474), in his transitional/global networks model, talks about an element he calls identity politics, which seems to "increase the salience of diverse local and transitional identities at the expanse of both national identities and those broad class identities which were traditionally handled by nation-state." Similarly, in the face of foreign or domestic subcultures, nation-states are expected to display different, possibly defensive, reactions.

Another force that can stratify the stream of globalizing subcultures is the critical response that skeptical thinkers show to the internalization of such movements. European thinkers, especially those within the Continental tradition, have long expressed their dissatisfaction with the notion of hegemonic globalization. Taking a look at the origins of the French word *mondialisation* and its differences from globalization, Naas (2008, p. 86) states, "Derrida reminds us in several texts [...], within the philosophical tradition he is working with, *mondialisation* has connotations very different from *globalization* insofar as a globe is precisely not a *monde*, not a world." Similarly, Schiller (1976) has criticized a condition he calls "cultural imperialism", and Habermas (1989) has expressed his distrust in the role of mass media in the public sphere. Globalizing subcultures, too, as cross-cultural movements, have to pass through skeptical thinkers' criticism.

The last force mentioned here is the most natural one from the perspective of subcultural theory: individuals' taste, style, interest, ethnic groupings, and so on. Subcultures are known for their identity collage; with their specific creative taste, they normally integrate various elements from different styles into a self-customized one. As Cohen observes,

Mods, Parkers, skinheads, crombies, all represent, in their different ways, an attempt to retrieve some of the socially cohesive elements destroyed in their parent culture, and to combine these with elements **selected from other class fractions** *[emphasis added] …. .(Cohen as cited in Gelder, 2007, p. 88)*

More interestingly, one could observe highly diversified, individual reactions to foreign subcultures. In a study on global music youth cultures, Huq (2003, p. 197) observes that despite their differences, "militant Muslim rap of Fundamental and *bhangra-star* Punjabi MC's dhol (drum) driven rhythms [...] combine Western pop styles with Indian influences." Other samples of postmodern subcultures include virtual social networks, video gaming networks, and diaspora (Weinzierl & Muggleton, 2003). The range of selectivity and perception of difference in globalizing subcultures, of course, are topics that deserve further exploration. What is most obvious is that post-subcultural consequences, contrary to an idea of increasing universalism, hugely contribute to multiplicity, plurality and conflict at a global level. Situating these concerns in TS is yet another interesting topic for further discussion.

THE BACKGROUND OF CULTURE AND TRANSLATION

Retrospectively considered, there is no shortage of cultural theory-building in TS. Broadly speaking, the early version of the culture and translation discourse mainly rested on various modes of cross-cultural literary renditions, although newer trends have been showing a particular interest in sociology. The most significant movement in translation and culture took place in 1980s, when many studies started to take into account the impacts of culture on translation. This movement is known as the *cultural turn*, which could refer to many strands of translation theory development. As Snell-Hornby (2006, p. 47) states, "[t]he 'cultural turn' is a name [...] given to a development that several of the various camps of the now generally (if grudgingly) accepted band of translation scholars like to claim as their own."

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Despite the variegated spectrum of culture and translation research, the major streams remain Toury's (2012) descriptive translation studies and Bassnett and Lefevere's (1998) conventionalized version of the cultural turn (see also Bassnett, 2014a). Bassnett and Lefevere have explored various modes of (extra)textual productions, such as re-writing, innovation, and manipulation, as well as conditions hosting such productions, including patronage and the poetic system. Among others, one of Bassnett's prolific fields of inquiry lies in her interrogation of "technical" differences between translation and other modes of textual production, demonstrating translators' creative and effective agency (Bassnett, 2007, 2014a, 2014b, 2016). The ambiguous distinction between writing and literary translation (see Bassnett, 2007, p. 173), for instance, emphasizes how the re-contextualizing process places texts in a different matrix of relations.

Yet, contrary to the early literary background of the cultural turn, the new trends of investigating culture and translation show a remarkable shift toward sociology. New concepts that have emerged in the postmodern world revolve around spaces that are socially motivated such as migration and diaspora (Cronin, 2003), the Internet and the visual world (Cronin, 2013), globalization and cosmopolitanism (Cronin, 2006), and international translation systems (Heilbron, 2010). These new trends are radically different from what could be found in the atmosphere of the 1980s and 1990s.

Scholars working in this growing sociological trend have started to re-visit some of the established notions in TS, while contributing novel ideas to the discipline. Placing culture in a sociology of nation or nation-state, Tyulenev (2014, p. 26) points out that, "[t]ranslators are culturalised as human beings and more specifically as human beings representing a particular national culture." As a result, the translator is bound to institutional values and prevailing ideologies regulating the culture they belong to (Katan, 2009). To coherently frame the collection of factors affecting the sociology of translation, researchers have turned to major works such as Bourdieu's action theory (e.g. Wolf, 2007).

The most important Bourdieusian ideas that have inspired TS scholars are reflexive sociology, social agency, and the components of the action theory (habitus, field and capital). These readings, along with criticisms, are so important that they can help researchers to spot and fill gaps in the sociology of culture and translation. According to Inghilleri (2005, pp. 138-9), Bourdieu's reflexive sociology pursues a critique of power relations and is theoretically in line with postcolonial translation theories (as suggested by Niranjana, 1992 and Tymoczo, 2010). Agency, arising from Bourdieu's theory of practice, has been one of the frequently addressed topics in the sociology of translation (Wolf, 2007). The notion of agency suggests that translators are social actors who can implement effective changes in a society (see Kharmandar, 2016, pp. 143-4).

Perhaps one of the most important concepts that *could* shed light on practical translation is the "translation field" scrutinized by Wolf (2007), who finds Bourdieu's original field theory insufficient in TS. Citing several investigations into the translation field hypothesis, Wolf demonstrates that the practice of translation can hardly be identified as an autonomous field and continues to be part of other fields (e.g. literary or political) (Wolf, 2007, p. 117). The translation field, in fact, could be seen at best as a "mediation space" (Wolf, 2007). Under such circumstances, defining a genuine "translation habitus" can prove to be even more challenging, especially considering Bourdieu's original postulates such as the biology of the individual.[2] Venuti's (2016, p. 8) recent observations also emphasize "symbolic and cultural capital" in the relationship between translation and world literatures. The studies, then, suggest that the social analytic of translation mainly falls under Bourdieu's notion of *capital*.

PROBLEMS IN SITUATING SUBCULTURE IN TRANSLATION THEORY

Although the sociological background of translation, particularly from a Bourdieusian perspective, has been relatively structured, there are still problems to be addressed before fragmented cultural evolution/renewal through subcultural translation can be conceptualized. The most important advantage of the sociological approach to culture and translation lies in its relatively coherent and objective theorizing, as opposed to approaches which lack rigor, metaphorize translation, and fail to have a strong connection with TS scholarship (for samples see Pym, 2014, pp. 138-141). The sociological approach can in turn highlight the social applicability of cultural analysis in TS, which is an important concern ignored in many cultural translation theories (Katan, 2016, p. 366).

Yet, even this growing line of socially oriented studies has ignored highly important issues, without which cultural evolution through translation cannot be conceptualized. Framing renewal as a concept demands exploring the movement of cultures through time and investigating the ways subjects exposed to cross-cultural difference transform their identities. In this section, two central concerns are addressed. First the need for historical discontinuity as a "momentum of change" is stressed and then cultural difference is revisited from the perspective of the "multiculturalism versus deconstruction" debate. These problems are respectively addressed by recourse to the works of Foucault and Ricoeur, whose ideas shape the body of subcultural translation, along with Bourdieu's notion of capital (see the next section).

History represents a ubiquitously addressed theme in most of studies concerned with culture, society, literature and translation, although there has been no coherent framework with a *major* philosophy of history. The flourishing sociological research into translation has generally missed the historical backdrop. Although Wolf (2007, p. 110), in a criticism of Bourdieu's field and translation, admits that the evolution of the translation space is not "ahistorical", sociological theories seem to have taken for granted the momentum that activates field formation or novel capital production.

Discussing the macro-event of cultural evolution through translation, even at a subcultural level, without understanding the historical backdrop of evolution, seems to be an insufficient attempt. This lack of historical theorizing is further highlighted when one discovers the significance of history in the theories of Bourdieu, whose works have inspired research in the sociology of translation. For instance, Bourdieu's theory of action has been called "historical sociology" (Steinmetz, 2011, p. 54). Yet, despite the interest of thinkers like Bourdieu in historical theorizing, sociological narratives of translation have rarely included historicity in their scenarios.

Cultural evolution through translation in the course of history, of course, demands an understanding of "rupture" which initiates evolution before it is fully realized as a social, cultural or economic existence in the receiving culture. This rupture expands into a momentum that disturbs the smooth progression of history in the receiving national culture, as well as the subcultures embedded in it. As a result of this disturbance, the continuity of native axiological and ideological systems encounters an inflow of foreign forces. Foucault's (1969) notion of "discontinuity" can be used to explain this condition in the theory of subcultural translation[3] (see the next section for a detailed discussion).

The second issue addressed in this section is about culture, difference and essentialism. One of the implications of this study is that globalizing (sub)cultures are extensively adding to the complexity and diversity of lifestyle and individual taste, leading to a condition that differs from universalism. This emphasis on difference, however, might imply that cultures are essentially or irreconcilably distinct

from each other. In the Forum on cultural translation, cultural studies critics, Buden and Nowotny have expressed their opinions about translation and culture, receiving responses from TS scholars (Simon and Cronin) (see Translation Studies, 2009). One of the central topics the critics raise is "multiculturalism versus deconstruction", which, as they believe, represents two opposing views on culture: the essentialist and the constructivist.

Cultural essentialists believe in an "intrinsic connection between culture and 'racial', gender or ethnic origins" (Buden & Nowotny, 2009, p. 198). According to this belief, every culture is a unique and original source; a multitude of unique cultures shape "multiple" and essentially distinct formations. This assumption, as Buden and Nowotny (2009) explain, could lead to relativism in defining cross-cultural values. For instance, members of a given culture may be subjected to discrimination on the basis of their racial origins. This relativistic tendency rests on the assumption that human/social rights only apply to members of a select number of cultures, while others because of their essential differences should be deprived of these rights.

The alternative Buden and Nowotny suggest is cultural constructivism, as a reading of Derrida's deconstruction: "[f]or deconstructionists, a culture is a narrative without any historical or physical origin" (Buden & Nowotny, 2009, p. 198). The deconstructive reading of culture questions the existence of a "pre-given essence" (Buden & Nowotny, 2009) that would constitute the identity of cultural subjects. Cultures are, in fact, traces or copies, rather than pre-determined formations. It must be noted, however, that belief in difference does not necessarily entail essentialism especially if difference is seen as a continuum shaped by history, community and interpretation, as well as a fluid entity subjected to change. Cultural difference is a necessity and a momentum for cross-cultural evolution. It would be extremely difficult to conceive of cultural evolution through translation without a sufficient understanding of the mechanisms of difference. Relying on Ricoeur's (1990/1992) narrative identity, this study brings about a new constructivist understanding of difference, as a movement from a given state toward another.

SUBCULTURAL TRANSLATION

The theoretical basis of cultural evolution through subcultural translation is shaped as a dialogue between Foucault, Ricoeur and Bourdieu. As a result of this dialogue, a hierarchical network of relations is constructed in which what is called "capital", as a contribution of translation sociology, occurs at the last stage of subcultural translation. More specifically, Foucault's (1969) historical discontinuity hypothesis explains how transformation is initiated. Ricoeur's (1990/1992) qualitative measure of identity constitution, represented by *ipse*, is a unique and straightforward analytic of the "self and other" disunion. Bourdieu's (1984) sociology of action, too, provides a substantial system of social affiliation analysis and capital production. Ricoeur has a mediating function in the dialogue. The reason for this is that the mechanism of change in disposition within a cross-cultural context rests on an understanding of the self and other, in which case "other" should be construed as "foreign." The ultimate capital, as the social realization of subcultural translation, represents some degree of change in disposition.

Postmodern societies are characterized by stratification and fragmentation. Nations are growingly placed in international systems of various types (e.g. economic and political), while diversity is becoming a dominant property of globalizing cultures. This situation has led to a break in world histories which were formerly understood as endogenous progressions. Today, however, world histories seem to affect and interact with each other more than ever. A fundamental conception, which helps place culture

with respect to a global incident, could be found in Foucault's reading of historical discontinuity. In his groundbreaking book, *The Archeology of Knowledge*, he raises major questions about history. He observes a new paradigm of conceptualizing history in different disciplines which have shifted their attention "away from vast unities like 'periods' or 'centuries' to the phenomena of rupture, of discontinuity" (Foucault, 1969/1972, p. 4).

Foucault is specifically interested in discovering events that primarily take place as *interruptions* but subsequently lead to forces that shape moves in history. In further describing such hypothetical interruptions, Foucault states:

There are the epistemological acts and thresholds [...]: they suspend the continuous accumulation of knowledge, interrupt its slow development, and force it to enter a new time, cut it off from its empirical origin and its original motivations, cleanse it of its imaginary complicities; they direct historical analysis away from the search for silent beginnings, and the never-ending tracing-back to the original precursors, towards the search for a new type of rationality and its various effects. (Foucault, 1969/1972, p. 4)

Foucault's observation, of course, suggests that events in old history could be re-read in the light of discontinuity as well. Nonetheless, massive discontinuities occurring in today's world could be attributed to a multitude of factors, but as far as globalizing cultures are concerned, two substantial processes can be thought of: (a) the digital revolution that has brought about all kinds of information technology advancements (Imre, 2009); and (b) huge physical movements of people all around the world, especially from Africa and Asia (Anheier & Isar, 2007). As a consequence of these intercultural interactions, translation or any of its perceived derivatives is resorted to for various reasons such as communication. From this perspective, translation could be regarded as a facilitator of historical discontinuity. "Cultural renewal" (Bassnett, 2014b, p. 174) could only be properly conceptualized when translation is perceived as a rupture in native or world history.

Evolution or renewal, however, does not take place simply as a smooth process. There are forces that divert, impede or resist the transfer of cross-cultural values. As mentioned earlier, forces such as nation-state policy, skeptical thinkers, and sheer individual lifestyle/taste can direct cross-cultural encounters toward specific margins. Globalizing cultures are in reality composites of underlying strata with divergent socio-aesthetic tendencies. As a result of these tendencies, subcultures are formed. The notion of subculture must be prioritized over culture in intercultural and translational studies, because it challenges many modernist assumptions, such as national culture and even society (Jenks, 2005).

Following the momentum of change realized as historical rupture, indeterminate consequences may emerge. A fundamental concern is to figure out how human subjectivity responds to and internalizes change as a result of the encounter with the foreign. This change is made possible through a "re-formulation" of disposition. To understand this change, the selection of dispositions from one or several foreign cultures could be conceptualized within Ricoeur's *narrative identity*. Reassessing the history of the concept of identity in the Western philosophical tradition, Ricoeur (1990/1992, p. 116) talks about two different senses of the term: sameness (Latin *idem*, German *Gleichheit*, French *memete*), and selfhood (Latin *ipse*, German *Selbstheit*, French *ipseite*).

Ricoeur draws attention to the distinction between *idem*-identity and *ipse*-identity, explaining that the former denotes permanence in time while the latter describes the acquisition of (new) habits (1990/1992, p. 117-121). In simple words, *idem* is a measure of structure (stability) and *ipse* is a measure of event

(instability). The permanence in time assumed in *idem* can best serve intercultural studies in which race, manhood/womanhood, skin color, or genetic code are of significance.

However, in a speculation of identity (*self*-hood), *ipse* can independently be employed. *Ipse* involves a narrative formation of identity. To understand this narrative event, one must first concentrate on the notion of character; in fact, it is the character that makes the temporal (narrative) movement possible in *ipse*, while connecting *idem* to *ipse*.[4] This "narrativization" of identity, according to Ricoeur, constitutes a theory of disposition, which rests on two core components: habit and acquired identifications. Although habit is itself formed and acquired, it becomes a strong part of the individual's lifestyle, constituting a sort of "pseudo-*idem*."[5] Along with such individualistic habits, there are *acquired* identifications "by which the other enters into the composition of the same" (Ricoeur, 1990/1992, p. 121).

To a large extent, in fact, the identity of a person or a community is made up of these identifications with values, norms, ideals, models, and heroes, which the person or the community recognizes itself. Recognizing oneself in contributes to recognizing oneself by. (Ricoeur, 1990/1992, p. 121)

Meanwhile, as explained in Ricoeur's original and extended translation theories (Kharmandar, 2015), the *other* can also be interpreted as the "foreign." As the Continental philosophy critic, Jervolino (1984/1990, p. 144) states:

The subject who finds his identity in the narrative of the manifold possibilities for living is not an "idem," […] but an "ipse," the self, shifting and tractable, willing to be called into question and to open to others, saving his life by accepting the risk of losing it.

Jervolino (1984/1990) further emphasizes change, transformation and reacquisition in *ipse*. This theory of disposition, besides solving the lingering problem of the translation habitus, missed out in the literature, demonstrates that belief in difference, including cultural difference, does not posit cultural essentialism. The character subjects itself to transformation, questioning its former acquisitions (the process Jervolino calls "reacquisition"). It expresses a narrative continuum along which subjects actually "select" and "internalize" dispositions, both native and foreign, in shaping their identity collage. It also emphasizes that communities themselves adopt layers of habit and identification peculiar to their social character. This explains how subcultures, such as ethnic ones, are embedded in a dominant culture.

In the world of translation, following the momentum of change, new sets of disposition are diffused through the receiving society, which is usually internally fragmented. In cases where selective zones influenced by foreign sources are constituted in a society, subcultures may take shape. The social dimension of subcultural translation represents a realization of Bourdieusian (usually cultural) capital produced by the members.

Prior investigations have shown that the social regime of translation is far from a unified "translation field", but it sets at best a "mediatory space" distributing (symbolic/cultural) capital (Wolf, 2007; see also Venuti, 2016). Furthermore, research into subcultures also suggests that they too are normally zones of producing capital (Thornton, 1997; Gelder, 2007). Therefore, the social aspect of subcultural translation should be concerned with different types of capital characterizing the subculture in question. Bourdieu (1984) has distinguished four types of capital. Economic capital refers to fortune, income and revenues that are convertible to monetary resources. Social capital is the privilege that an individual gains from his/her interpersonal relations, leading to class recognition, prestige, or access to (in)tangible resources.

Cultural capital involves institutionally or socially approved values that give an individual a particular position within the field/space with which s/he is affiliated; such values may appear in an incorporated state (e.g. intellectual qualification), a material state (e.g. books, ornaments), or institutionalized forms (e.g. certificates) (Bourdieu, 1984). Finally, symbolic capital refers to any property that brings about an individual's recognition, authority and reputation in the eyes of other social agents in the field/space (e.g. honor, royalty) (Bourdieu, 1998, p. 47); symbolic capital is not a distinct capital type but a measure of how other capitals are valued.

INVESTIGATING SUBCULTURAL TRANSLATION IN A CONTEXT

The practical part of the study relied on qualitative, content analysis to investigate some modern and postmodern modes of subcultural translation in an actual context. The information used was collected from authentic research in the fields of history, sociology, demography, visual arts and TS. The condition under study included cultural and intercultural relations in Iran (1941-2016), as a context that has undergone various modes of socio-cultural transformation over the past decades. This initial sample of analysis was guided by the postulates of subcultural translation as proposed in this study (a momentum of change initiated by the foreign other, a reacquisition of disposition in a sub-group of people, and a social realization of this internalized change in a form of semiotic/lingual translation). As a result, four subcultural translation modes were suggested: leftist intelligentsia, ethnic localization, diasporic literature, and film subtitling.

Leftist Intelligentsia

The Communist Party gradually took shape as a political system within 1905-1917, significantly affecting the fate of the twentieth century. The major seat of the Party was in former USSR. The important programmes that the Party followed were the collapse of monarchal and capitalist systems of governance, prohibition of private land ownership, and establishment of secular states (Shearer & Khaustov, 2015). By the time of the 1917 Revolution, the Iranian socio-political structure was characterized by aspects deeply in clash with the ideals of a Socialist system.

Factors such as the geographical proximity of Russia and Iran, the predictable influence of an advanced society on a traditional one, and the need for the spread of Socialist ideals led to events that finally marked a rupture in the Iranian history. The establishment of the Iranian Party of Masses (October 1941) was perhaps the most significant event. Iranian subjectivity had internalized centuries of monarchy and faith and a largely (although not entirely) lord-peasant system of agriculture.

Party of Masses, in contrast, set a center of ideologies that were directed toward aligning the collective Iranian *ipse* with the Party's newly internalized Russian *ipse*. Translation was the major apparatus for internalizing the acquired identifications coming from the Russian *other*. A sharp, poetic symbolism of the working class conditions depicted in Russian literature was associated with the political agenda pursued by the Party. Taking a sociological approach, Khalighi, Khazaeefarid and Nazemiyanfard (2015, p. 10) surveyed the influences of the Party of Masses on translation between 1941 and 1953. According to their findings, themes such as democracy and social realism were promulgated through the translation of consciously selected works of literature (from Russian, French, German, and English).

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After 1953, the Party was largely marginalized due to nation-state policies, and was turned into a political and literary subculture. Civil disobedience and resistance as characteristics of political subcultures (Paris & Ault, 2004) were evident in the activities of the Party. Furthermore, as a literary subculture, too, the Party tried to initiate a line of poetics (normally based on European works of fiction) with remarkable differences from the Persian literary canon.

Sociologically speaking, the Iranian Socialist disposition realized as the Leftist intellectual subculture of translation invested in cultural and symbolic capitals. Translators could gain an intellectual quality in incorporated state in the translation space and produce material goods (e.g. books and articles) by having access to considerable publication facilities provided by the Party (Literature and Revolution, 2015, p. 21). "An opponent to oppression" or "a defender of public justice" could be symbolic titles attached to the cultural capital, although as a subculture, the Iranian Socialist party never won the favor of the critics and the majority who firmly believed in religious faith.

Ethnic Localization

Ethnic subcultures in globalization can be a major topic for intercultural and translational investigations, especially as it is believed that only four percent of communities worldwide are mono-ethnic (Brown, as cited in Ghooshchi & Naderi, 2015, p. 59). In the postmodern era, technological advancement culminating in the Digital Revolution (Cronin, 2013) has disrupted the previously balanced condition in world histories (Kharmandar, 2015), setting the stage for the appearance of a whole new set of relations. A corollary of this situation can be seen in center-margin distinctions in world languages. According to the international translation system hypothesis, languages are of four types: the hyper-central English, central, peripheral, and semi-peripheral (Heilbron, 2010, pp. 308-10).

As a result, information has been massively transferred from central languages to peripheral ones. An ecological approach to domesticating foreign products in translation is called *localization*, which can be defined as, "taking a product and making it linguistically and culturally appropriate to the target locale (country/region and language)" (Pym, 2014, p. 119). Iran has relied on localization to produce various kinds of information including educational material. Yet, as a multi-ethnic society with different racial/lingual groups and sub-groups of people, Iran has mainly produced localized information in the dominant Persian language according to the Constitution.

The disturbance in information dissemination in the modern world history raises questions concerning "self-identity" for ethnic subcultures (Ghooshchi & Naderi, 2015, p. 61). Local ethnic subjects in peripheral languages shape their identities through a mediation of symbols materialized in the national language, which is itself usually under the influence of central languages. The formation of such a variable disposition rests on incorporating layers of acquired identification including *native* others and *foreign* others. Teaching educational material in local languages has been envisaged as a political strategy to protect ethnic identity (Ghooshchi & Naderi, 2015, p. 81).

The implication, however, is that ethnic localized martial itself will require a mediatory stage in which Persian plays a role, generating a condition that looks like a localized version of the international translation system (Persian as the center and other languages as the margins). The ethnic subcultural translation space, as small as it may be, would gain some degree of social capital, bringing about recognition for the whole local community. However, because such a community *re*-produces localized, secondary knowledge, it could hardly lead to consequential economic or cultural capital at a national level.

Diasporic Literature

Diasporic subcultures represent a mode of postmodern fragmentation (Weinzierl & Muggleton, 2003). The physical movement of people across geographical borders has significantly contributed to the formation of discontinuity in the progression of world histories. Diasporas set the perfect example for nations to observe how their native identities are perceived in multilingual/multicultural spaces. Following the massive event of the Iranian Islamic Revolution in 1979, a proportion of the Iranian population decided to migrate to Europe, North America and other territories. Since then, agents interested in the historically rich Persian literature have formed a dispersed literary subculture outside of the country. Although translation in a foreign country has been probed into in TS, especially in Cronin's (2006, p. 14) reading of micro-cosmopolitan, another interesting question is how diasporic subcultures add to the target culture's symbolic and literary diversity.

In a study on English diasporic translations of a Persian book (*A Feast in the Mirror* by Khorrami and Vatanabadi), Safdari and Mollanazar (2012) observed that the translation drew on various strategies of "othering" to reflect the cultural distinction of the source text. Such strategies included "transliteration, highlighting unfamiliar lexical items […], intensive use of proper names where unnecessary, and also, the verbatim translation of Persian idioms, which disturbs fluency and naturalness of the translation" (Safdari & Mollanazar, 2012, p. 119). Through narrative identity one learns that such strategies constitute a re-formulation of the self through the other. The Iranian *ipse* in such translations is transcoded into a whole new network of (symbolic) relations and values.

Literary diasporas create a dual source of capital: on the one hand, they can add to the poetic diversity of host culture. Diasporic translation in the host culture produces cultural capital, especially in the forms of poetic innovation and objective goods such as literary books, articles and (auto)biographies. More importantly, literary diasporas send signals to their native cultures (home countries) about the success/failure of semiotic/lingual trans-codification strategies.

Film Subtitling

Subtitling has never been a dominant method of translation in the official, televised productions in Iran. The Islamic Republic of Iran Broadcasting (IRIB) enjoys a highly active and well-structured system of dubbing which has transmitted foreign material to the local audience over the past decades. Meanwhile, IRIB has always followed an ethics of family, distributing age-limited material. This has led to a high degree of selectivity of materials in all sectors of (literary) publication, such as novel translation (Farahzad & Bolouri, 2014, p. 106).

In recent years, however, the transfer of audiovisual productions, especially cinematic products, has reached an unprecedented rate. The use of data transmission technology (e.g. ADSL and wireless connectivity) has created a new condition never seen before. According to Mathijs and Sexton (2011, p. 5), "the increasing embedding of the internet into people's lives and the success of DVDs have led to new patterns being observed within cult studies." Such studies address media consumption and various modes of film use in subcultures.

As far as translation is concerned, with a view to the official restrictions on the distribution of audiovisual material, subtitling has found a specific space to grow for the Iranian film fans (usually shared on YIFY Subtitles, 2017 among others). Movies translated through subtitling bring about a whole new

aesthetic world to the Persian literature, while serving as a channel for transferring foreign cultures' lifestyle and ideology. Exposure to a large variety of genres (e.g. supernatural horror), radically different cultural trends (e.g. all sorts of interpersonal relationships alien to an Asian life scheme), and a considerably different mode of media consumption are among the factors that can renew the disposition of a proportion of the society. Such very shapeless subtitling subcultures normally produce economic capital, but they have not reached a level of maturity to produce other sources of capital.

FUTURE RESEARCH DIRECTIONS

These observations show that cultural evolution through translation does not follow a straight, smooth line, but it involves many maneuvers within roughly formed groups of people who share specific interests. In fact, instead of studying culture as a monolithic whole, in many cases translation researchers need to focus on fragmented sources within a society. Meanwhile, lack of research and available data about subcultures seems to be a shortcoming in subcultural translation, although this same problem can be a motivating factor for further research. The initial sample provided here needs further investigation and enrichment. Every culture may involve different themes in its subcultural translation sub-systems.

There are also theoretical concerns to consider. The framework proposed here regards translation as a discipline and is regulated by actual mechanisms of semiotic/lingual translation. The framework suggests that there are underlying structural relationships between cultures prior to transformative acts of translation; change tends to be rapid and effective when the axiology (ethics and aesthetics) of a central culture appears to be in clash with that of a peripheral one (as in the case of Leftist intelligentsia). Underground translation groups (e.g. subtitlers), as invisible as they may seem, have an important impact on the formation of socio-aesthetic spaces that may renew part of a society's lifestyle or literary taste.

Future studies can investigate important questions that can contribute to the idea of subcultural translation. Are translation subcultures formed as a representative of another foreign subculture (e.g. cult cinema) or as a small version of an entire foreign culture (e.g. Communist society)? How many different types of subcultural translation can be enumerated? Is there a well-defined structure that initiates the momentum of change when culture A can supplement a sort of gap in culture B?

CONCLUSION

This study proposed the notion of *subcultural translation* to provide an insight into translation and cultural evolution as a process that takes place unevenly in various strata of a society. Subcultural translation could be defined as a socio-cultural phenomenon initiated by a momentum of change as a result of exposure to a foreign other that leads to a reacquisition of disposition in a sub-group of people in a given culture, and is ultimately realized as a capital in the form of semiotic/lingual translation. To make this understanding possible, the study explored subcultural theory and the culture and translation literature. To explain how cultures meaningfully interact with each other, Foucault's notion of historical discontinuity was drawn on. As a result of a rupture in the progression of knowledge due to a source of fragmentation such as digital media and/or migration, cultural subjects start to re-identify themselves. This questioning and transformation of selfhood was explained as a mode of Ricoeur's narrative identity. The change, however, was said to be diversified or controlled by factors such as nation-state policy, skeptical think-

ers' criticism, and sheer individual taste. The change of disposition would represent itself as some sort of capital according to Bourdieu's action theory. The practical section provided an investigation into subcultural translation in (post)modern conditions of Iran, and four samples were suggested. Subcultural translation as proposed here can prove to be an important direction in translation studies, although as the analysis showed all of the sub-types needed further exploration. Moreover, the philosophical and theoretical construct proposed here could serve as a socio-historical dynamics framework that could help explore various topics such as poetic development, social dynamics, multicultural assimilation, and socio-cultural diversification.

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KEY TERMS AND DEFINITIONS

Cultural Capital: Institutionally or socially approved values that give an individual a particular position within the field to which s/he belongs.

Cultural Renewal: The gradual re-formulation of a people's lifestyle, literature and social structure usually through a perceived foreign force.

Cultural Translation: A specific mode of translation in which, instead of linguistic specifications, the ethnic, social and political conditions of people are studied, especially as far as ethnography, immigration, assimilation and resistance are concerned.

Fragmentation: A postmodern condition in which a society is internally stratified and no longer defined in terms of national culture.

Historical Discontinuity: A radical maneuver in historical progression that interrupts, suspends and renews accumulated knowledge.

Narrative Identity: The motion of an individual's dispositions, including habits and acquired identifications, through the variable of time.

Subculture: A group of people with a lifestyle, taste, language, race or ideology different from those expected in the dominant/national culture.

ENDNOTES

[1]   The three central elements of Bourdieu's action theory are habitus, capital and field. According to Bourdieu (1972/1977, p. 72), "[t]he structures constitutive of a particular type of environment […] produce *habitus,* systems of durable, transposable *dispositions,* structured structures predisposed to function as structuring structures […]" Thus, habitus is a theory of disposition that studies "structured structures" which regulate human behavior, explaining how an individual starts his/ her socialization processes. Capital denotes the specific sources of value appreciated by a group of agents. Capital is of four types: economic (fortune and income), cultural (qualifications and achievements), social (interpersonal network of relations), and symbolic (honor, recognition, and usefulness) (see Bourdieu, 1984). The third element is field, which is the massive context in which all social interactions take place. Coherent, autonomous and authentic fields consist of diverse types such as literary, academic, political, legal, and so on (see Bourdieu, 1984).

[2]   Without an accurately defined translation field, it would be difficult to conceive of a translation habitus. Habitus, as a theory of disposition, rests on subconscious, normally "taken for granted" schemes internalized by the individual. In contrast, translation demands a transformative theory of disposition; one that can conceptualize a continuum of change with an underlying component of difference.

[3]   It must be emphasized here that this understanding is original and has not been formulated in TS. Although Sakai (2009) has discussed "translation and discontinuity", trying to explore bordering and difference in translation, he does not rely on Foucault's discontinuity and his notion is not cultural. The question he seeks to answer is, "how do we allow ourselves to tell one language from others? What allows us to represent language as a unity?" (Sakai, 2009, p. 73). Although he passingly mentions the most ordinary idea of Foucault's "power and discourse" (Sakari, 2009, pp. 85-6), there is basically no philosophy of historical movement underlying culture and translation in Sakai's work.

[4]   For instance, the identity "African-America" involves a character that carries some relatively stable genetic codes of African people (*idem*), with an American selfhood (*ipse*).

[5]   A person's habitual lifestyle cannot be considered to be the same as *idem*. In fact, the frequency and predictability of habits make an "impression" of permanence, although habits are acquired and subject to transformation.

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Chapter 9

When Cultural Evolution Calls for Translation Revolution:
Resistance and Rupture in Brazilian Translations

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ABSTRACT

Given the massive changes that Brazil has undergone in the past century, particularly in distancing itself linguistically from its former colonizer, this study is an attempt to determine the role of translation in the country's cultural evolution. Translational approaches have developed along opposing poles: on the one hand, a strong resistance to incorporating orally-driven alterations in the written language, while on the other, a slow, halting movement toward convergence of the two, and both approaches are charged with political and ideological intentionality. Publishing houses, editors and translators are gatekeepers and agents whose activities provide a glimpse into the mechanism of national linguistic identity, either contributing to or resisting the myth of a homogenized Portuguese language.

Turning and turning in the widening gyre

The falcon cannot hear the falconer

WB Yeats (The Second Coming, 1920)

INTRODUCTION

The amazingly rapid pace of cultural evolution in the globalized world calls for a much faster reinterpretation and redefinition of concepts and scenarios than what perhaps would have been considered necessary centuries or even decades ago. In order to understand more complex and ever-shifting realities, much more comprehensive views on cultural changes and exchanges must be attempted. And translation stud-

ies are emerging as an important tool for analyzing not only "the big picture," but also the fine details of cultural evolution. Therefore, this chapter sets out to apply this tool from a descriptive perspective to a paradoxical context: Brazil, where rupture and resistance can be seen in a constant dialectical movement when translations are considered.

This text provides an initial overview of Brazilian translation culture in recent decades, considering the many actors and aspects involved in this current process of cultural evolution. To paraphrase Niranjana (1992, p. 1), in postcolonial contexts, such as the situation in which Brazil currently finds itself, translation serves as an effective lens for examining historical questions of representation and power. Given the extraordinary prevalence of translation in this country, the importance of associating Brazilian culture and translation is undeniable. Translation's role here has been as a protagonist rather than a supporting actor with respect to cultural goods: according to Wyler (2003, p. 13), in 1987 80% of all books read in Brazil were translations. But this complex system and recent developments within it can only be understood if properly contextualized, both historically and linguistically.

The historical and linguistic contextualization proposed here is not as simple as it may seem at first sight. As a nation, Brazil is quite young: although claimed as a colony by the Portuguese Empire in 1500, it was proclaimed a United Kingdom with Portugal in 1818, granted nominal independence under Prince Pedro de Alcântara in 1822 and became a full republic only in 1889 (for further information on Brazil's ambiguous and contradictory path to independence, see Gomes, 2010). Brazil is also the fifth largest country in the world both in area and in population, as well as the largest Lusophone nation (and the only one in the Americas). The impact and implications of such facts, both currently and historically, tend to be overlooked, even by language, literature and translation scholars. Thus, this chapter is a preliminary attempt to connect Brazilian history, language and culture with translation studies from the perspective of cultural and linguistic cohesion, language-determined relations of power and translated language as cultural capital, as well as to point out certain recent developments in translation practice which indicate that a revolution is underway. However, such a task must begin with a critical consideration of Brazil's general background, deconstructing or problematizing myths of the Portuguese language.

BACKGROUND: THE LANGUAGE(S) OF BRAZIL

Brazil's two official languages, Portuguese and Brazilian Sign Language, are accompanied by a number of minority languages still spoken in the country. According to the 2010 Census, 274 different indigenous languages are in use in Brazilian territory, mainly in the north (i.e. Amazonian) and midwest regions, even though many of these are at risk of extinction. Furthermore, there are significant bilingual communities, particularly in the south. Although most of these consist of German and Italian descendants, Japanese-, Dutch-, Arabic- and Spanish-speaking communities also exist. But this is not the full extent of the national linguistic panorama.

At the dawn of the colonial era in what would come to be called Brazil, approximately 1,200 indigenous languages were spoken (Rodrigues, 2005, p. 36). However, within a few years of the Portuguese arrival, a Tupi-based pidgin was being used throughout the country, becoming known as the língua geral ('the general language'). Thus, Portuguese colonization did not automatically entail imposition of the Portuguese language or even its widespread use; its expansion within the vast territory was irregular, both in distribution and speed. Only in the 18th century was the colonizer's language finally institutionalized by the government. The língua geral began to wane and virtually disappeared, as did many of the

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other indigenous languages that either died with their speakers (i.e. many indigenous tribes were literally exterminated during colonization) or were acculturated into oblivion. After its slow start in Brazil, strict government policies were implemented to enforce and legitimize the use of Portuguese. By 1758 the teaching of any indigenous language was forbidden, and subsequently, the languages of other European immigrants, who mostly arrived after 1850, were also forbidden. Well into the 20th century, the Vargas regime (1930-45; 1951-54) was notorious for repressing minority languages in Brazil: the use of foreign languages during his dictatorship was considered a real crime, and many people were arrested for it, particularly German and Italian immigrants in the southern region. According to Oliveira (2009, p. 4), in the 1940s more than one million Brazilians used a language other than Portuguese on a daily basis, at a time when the total population was about 41 million. However, government enforcement was efficient: although more than 600,000 Brazilians spoke German in the 1940s, the current estimated number of German speakers is 200,000, despite considerable growth in this ethnic population. And of course the Brazilian melting pot would not be complete without considering its African component. According to Petter (2005, p. 199), between 1502 and 1860, 3,500,000 to 3,600,000 Africans from numerous tribes were enslaved and brought to Brazil. This immense population spoke as many as 300 different languages.

It is important to point out that Portuguese was not simply imposed by the colonial powers on these masses; at a certain point it also became desirable to them, being seen as the language of social ascension, a necessary evil due to its prestige as the court language and the language of rich and successful Brazilians. And these new, non-native speakers of Portuguese and their children, including Africans, Native Brazilians, Europeans, etc., little by little folded their own yeast into the linguistic dough, arriving at what is known today as Brazilian Portuguese. According to Sérgio Buarque de Hollanda, an important Brazilian historian and literary critic, the flow of this development has been subject to certain principles: "Experience and tradition teach that, in general, a culture absorbs, assimilates and elaborates upon cultural characteristics only when it finds some way of adjusting them to its own framework of life" (1936, p. 15, my translation). [1] As Moreira (1996, p. 419) explains, these many languages were overpowered by Portuguese, but not without changing the colonizer's Portuguese in some way. It should also be borne in mind that for much of this process the language was for the most part learned in a purely oral fashion, since the vast majority of the population was illiterate. And, as Kirby, Cornish & Smith (2008, p. 10681) put it, "languages transmitted culturally evolve in such a way as to maximize their own transmissibility". They go on to emphasize that the process is also unconscious: "[...] this structure emerges purely as a consequence of the transmission of language over generations, without any intentional design on the part of individual language learners" (Kirby, Cornish, & Smith, 2008). If that is indeed the case, Brazilians learned to speak this "new" Portuguese, with its many exotic features, without necessarily harboring a hidden political/ideological agenda: its development was simply shaped by the dynamics of cultural evolution.

What became known as Brazilian Portuguese can now be understood anywhere in the nation's vast territory, except certain isolated indigenous areas. Despite regional variations in accent and in vocabulary, the gaúcho from the extreme south and the ribeirinho from the extreme north will be able to communicate with little more effort than southerners and northerners in the United States, for example. Despite its national consolidation, however, Brazilian Portuguese harbors two interrelated dichotomies that have been unfolding for many decades, and these are coming into focus in scholarly debate: First, a considerable divergence has developed between the oral and written versions of Brazilian Portuguese and, second, there has been a historic divide between European and Brazilian Portuguese, which several international accords have unsuccessfully attempted to bridge. Both dichotomies, in fact, are two sides of the same coin.

Although intensive training in "grammar school" may lure people into losing sight of the fact that language is primarily an oral phenomenon, Walter Ong is quick to point out that "human society first formed itself with the aid of oral speech, becoming literate very late in its history, and at first only in certain groups" (Ong, 2002, p. 2). Nevertheless, confusion about this subject has risen to an emergency level in Brazil: "[…] unlike in Portugal, the grammar of speech and the 'grammar' of writing [now] present such differences that children's exposure to the latter may have acquired the character of learning a second language" (Kato 2005, p. 131, my translation).[2] The written/oral divide has become a major conflict in academia, with linguists such as Marcos Bagno (2000, 2007, 2010, 2011) calling into question the utility of language curricula that insist on constructions which, for all practical purposes, have become extinct a long time ago. Verb tenses such as the pluperfect and the synthetic future, as well as pronominal structures such as ênclise and mesóclise (discussed in detail below) are a few conspicuous examples of grammar phenomena taught at school and expected in written texts that are totally ignored in oral discourse. Many decades ago, in 1925, modernist poet Oswald de Andrade used his poem Pronominais to openly criticize the pronominal dichotomy between ênclises and próclises in written versus oral language in Brazil. It is only natural to wonder why the written form of Brazilian Portuguese differs so much from the oral form, particularly since these two systems appear to converge much more harmoniously in other languages.

However, to answer this question, the historical relations between Brazil and Portugal must immediately be drawn into play. According to Martins (2012, p. 174), significant grammatical changes were occurring in Brazilian Portuguese as early as the 19th and possibly even the 18th century, differentiating Brazilian speech from that of its European colonizers. That this differentiation was essentially isolated to the oral level is not by chance, since the vast majority of the population was illiterate. Youth of means were sent to Portugal or other European destinations for education,[3] and, thus, it follows that the written language would have developed in synchrony with that of the colonizers. Also, as might be expected, the oral expression of the more historically literate Portuguese conforms more closely to the above-mentioned grammatical traits. In this sense, therefore, the two dichotomies become one, irrespective of lexical differences such as trem vs. comboio (for "train"), since the question at hand is really about literacy, colonization and, of course, power.

Having said this, nevertheless, the focus of the present study is not on Portuguese in Brazil, but rather translation in Brazil, i.e. the application of one set of linguistic norms over other considerations in the representation of discourse; thus, like the dichotomies embedded in the language, translation, too, involves questions of power. Given the above-mentioned linguistic contextualization, how do these forces play out in Brazilian translations? How is oral discourse depicted in writing, particularly when the source text presents strong markers of orality throughout? Is linguistic homogenization now eroding or being reinforced? Examples from different genres will demonstrate that alternative translational approaches have recently been attempted, although they have met with strong resistance, while, from the periphery, voices charged with political and ideological intentionality seem set on altering the course of entrenched tradition.

THE WORLD THROUGH A BRAZILIAN LENS: RESISTANCE AND RUPTURE IN LITERARY TRANSLATIONS

In the 2012 blockbuster The Avengers, or rather, Os Vingadores in Brazil, the subtitles varied sharply from what was actually being spoken. The problems did not hinge upon questions of space or time limitations inherent to subtitling, but upon the register chosen (or allowed) to represent the heroes' discourse. Who put the word somnolent ("estou sonolento") in Captain America's mouth when he said that he was (the appropriately low-register) "sleepy"? Although this may seem an exaggerated case, it is hardly isolated, and neither is this phenomenon restricted to audiovisual translation. This cinematic gaffe is actually just a small example of an intertwined web of relations of power that result in systematically high-register translations.

Despite the fascinating possibilities in film translation, to better focus the study, a selection of literary translations was chosen as the main corpus. Three English originals and their Brazilian translations were considered as case studies, particularly due to the fact that English-speaking countries have a more proletarian literary tradition, i.e., realistic depiction of the speech of lower social classes more frequently finds its way into print (Milton, 2002, p. 52). Thus, works featuring such language would tend to foreground questions of orality in Brazilian translation. An examination of Brazilian translational dynamics would be unsatisfactory without acknowledging Lambert and van Gorp's methodology (1985) of simultaneously embracing the microlevel, i.e. specific word choices, and the macrolevel, i.e. the actors (translators, editors, publishing houses, text revisers) involved in the dynamics of the literary system as a whole, which together more clearly reveal the intricate web of relations involved.

Microlevel Considerations

Since it would be impossible in a short chapter to introduce the full spectrum of grammatical features involved in the immense gap between the Brazilian vernacular and its written representations (or, much less, to compare these with the features of oral European Portuguese), a simple test was chosen to easily and clearly gauge the European-orientation of Brazilian literary translations: the presence of a single feature – ênclise. Ênclise is sufficiently distinct and pivotal to illustrate the complex post-colonial linguistic situation in the Lusophone world. It is a hyphenated pronominal construction consisting of an indicative verb[4] followed by an oblique pronoun (e.g. disse-me: "s/he told me"). This term cannot be discussed, however, without mentioning the fact that in contemporary Brazilian oral discourse, it has almost been completely eclipsed by another type of construction, próclise, a similar construction whose verb-preposition order is inverted. Machado (2006) claims that próclise is the norm in the oral modality of Brazilian Portuguese. This corroborates Morais and Ribeiro (2004), who explained that in Brazil "quantitative studies in different corpora reveal that próclise has become the basic standard" (p. 24, my translation).[5] In fact, the use of ênclise is, historically speaking, a common characteristic of European Portuguese. Antonelli (p. ix) explains that

[…] until approximately 1700, the use of the próclise is quantitatively higher than that of the ênclise. However, starting in the beginning of the 18th century, there is an inversion in this proportion, to such a degree that in Modern European Portuguese the same contexts that before admitted the use of próclise now present a categorical use of ênclise. [6] (My translation)

Ênclises are, nevertheless, taught throughout Brazil as normative grammar. Even though Brazilians do not use this structure to speak, they must know it to write, as well as to read, as will be demonstrated below.

For this study, the frequency of ênclise was considered in a sample from three different translations of Kipling's The Jungle Book, which was first published in 1893-1894 in serial form. It was first translated in Brazil in 1933 by acclaimed writer Monteiro Lobato, as O Livro da Jângal. Due to Lobato's drastic translation strategies, journalist and translator José Francisco Botelho (2014) classifies Lobato's effort as a different, yet equally great book when compared to Kipling's original. In 1997, Vera Karam's translation, O Livro da Selva: as Aventuras de Mogli, o Menino Lobo, was first published, while in 2015 Julia Romeu's translation was released under the title Os Livros da Selva: Mogli e Outras Histórias, a combined volume containing both The Jungle Book and The Second Jungle Book, a sequel first published in 1895. The Jungle Book was chosen for closer analysis since it has been translated and retranslated over a considerable period of time, which allows longitudinal comparison of the linguistic dynamics in a limited sample.

As supporting evidence, examples were taken from recent translations of Solomon Northup's Twelve Years a Slave (1853; the first Brazilian translation, by Caroline Chang, entitled Doze anos de escravidão, was published only in 2014 in the wake of the successful film) and The Red Badge of Courage, by Stephen Crane (1895, translated by Sergio Rodrigues in 2000 as O emblema vermelho da coragem). These two works were selected because: 1) both stories featured non-standard English, which would further indicate the extent that European Portuguese grammar standards dominated, even when translating dialect-based conversations; 2) the fact that both titles were recently released by major publishers would broaden the glimpse seen in The Jungle Book of Brazilian language policy trends.

Since the focus here is on the dichotomy between written and spoken Portuguese, only written representations of spoken language, i.e. instances of direct discourse, were considered. "Mowgli's brothers", a chapter in the first story of The Jungle Book, was selected in the main corpus (containing between 11 and 16 pages of text, depending on the printing style and wording of the translated editions). All cases of ênclise in direct speech were tabulated for diachronic and synchronic comparison. The results were as follows: The oldest translation (1933) features 15 ênclises, the 1997 translation contains 9 and the 2015 translation includes 13. It is important to point out that these three books were published by three different publishing houses, a fact that will be explored further in the next section. Although, as previously indicated, ênclises should not be considered part of Brazilian speech, The Jungle Book indicates that other norms are at work for treating the speech of literary characters in Brazil.

However, this small sample has yet more to say. In the 1933 translation, not a single instance of incorrect usage from the perspective of prescriptive Portuguese grammar was to be found. On the contrary, there is even one case of mesóclise, the most formal pronoun collocation in Portuguese (in which the pronoun is inserted, hyphenated, between the root and conjugational suffix the verb). But, on the other hand, the 1997 translation contained two non-standard pronoun collocations that, according to normative Portuguese, should require an ênclise (deem ele and traga ele vs. the standard deem-no and traga-o). The 2015 translation contained one such case (Me dá vs. Dê-me). According to protocol, these texts would

have undergone copyediting prior to publication; yet, these small attempts to represent living Brazilian Portuguese were allowed to remain. This could indicate that many other such attempts in the original manuscripts were eliminated, and this subject will also be further discussed in the next section.

The concept of error both within Brazilian Portuguese as a vernacular and within the field of translation studies cannot and should not be minimized, since much debate has arisen among scholars who have successfully demonstrated the complexity of these themes. Therefore, it seems important to briefly describe what is meant by the use of "incorrect" and "non-standard". The terms "incorrect" or "non-standard" are not a reflection of this author's opinion about proper usage, but rather what has been historically prescribed in traditional normative grammars, such as that of Infante and Cipro Neto (2003). The validity of such rule-making has been challenged by many linguists, such as Bagno (2007), for not reflecting actual Brazilian Portuguese usage. Moreover, concerning the concept of error within translation studies, Hansen (2010) points out that "the perception of what constitutes a translation 'error' varies according to translation theories and norms" (p. 385). Considering that the theoretical background of this study is descriptive translation studies, the concept of error per se is not of primal importance; rather, the purpose at hand is to problematize different approaches to translating that are more or less accepted within the Brazilian context by the many actors at play – or what Toury (1995) would call the (more or less) prevalent translation norms. Thus, within the plurality of competing translation norms, some may see the innovative attempts made in the 1997 Kipling translation as 'errors', while others may see them as the seeds of a growing trend that is little by little subverting the predominant normative 'correctness' in translating.

Selected microlevel examples from Twelve years a slave and The Red Badge of Courage also attest to this timid innovative trend. In Doze anos de escravidão (2014), two different approaches to the use of ênclise were observed. Slaves whom Northup originally depicted as using dialect-based discourse were also represented with non-standard Brazilian Portuguese, specifically the systematic avoidance of ênclise and other high-register structures. On the other hand, white slave owners and overseers (e.g. Peter Tanner and Edwin Epps) who, according to Northup, also spoke in dialect, were represented with high-register standard written Portuguese, including ênclises. Below, a line spoken by Epps is shown in the original and in the 2014 translation with the ênclises underlined:

Take it – no; devilish clear of it. Why, he's a reg'lar genius; can make a plough beam, wagon tongue – anything, as well as you can. Marshal wanted to put up one of his niggers agin him and raffle for them, but I told him I would see the devil have him first. (p. 283)

Aceitar? Não, de jeito nenhum. Por quê, se ele é um gênio, sabe fazer eixo de arado, de carroça – tudo, tanto quanto você. Marshall queria <u>juntá-lo</u> a um de seus negros e fazer uma rifa, mas falei que preferia <u>cedê-lo</u> para o diabo. (p. 228)

The same approach to white dialect can be found in the 2000 translation of The Red Badge of Courage: compensation strategies such as slang and generally informal lexemes are used to represent dialect at times; however, at other points, formal structures such as ênclises can be observed in the text, as in the example below:

'We're goin' t' move t' morrah—sure,' he said pompously to a group in the company street. 'We're goin' 'way up the river, cut across, an' come around in behint 'em.' (p. 1)

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'Vamos levantar acampamento amanhã', disse, em um tom convencido, a um grupo reunido na rua. 'Vamos subir o rio, atravessar, e <u>rodeá-los</u> por trás'. (p. 42)

Although only a single case is presented for each of these works, they illustrate the distinction between what Cronin (2003, p. 20) calls translation as communication and translation as transmission. Whereas these literary translations communicate sufficiently for the reader to understand the storyline, there is little vivid, socially-engaged transmission of culture, i.e. the character of the characters is, to a greater or lesser extent, washed away. Translations presented in this generally traditional vein tend not to leave "enduring traces on societies" (p. 20), since some aspects of their social and ideological content, which rely heavily on the use of nonstandard language, are lost on readers of the Brazilian translation. The intention here is not to point fingers at translation professionals for the quality of their work, since, as will be further discussed, their translation choices are frequently overridden by editorial agents; however, these examples should at least serve to introduce a phenomenon to which the Brazilian reader of translated texts is systematically exposed.

Macrolevel Considerations

Another important factor involved in the selection of these titles was that all three (Os Livros da Selva, Doze anos de escravidão and O emblema vermelho da coragem) were recently published under a new label called Penguin Companhia, which was created from a partnership between British publishing house Penguin Classics and Brazilian publisher Companhia das Letras, or rather, the outcome of 45% of Companhia das Letras being sold to Penguin. Predictably, Penguin Companhia has, since its beginning in 2010, released a series of new translations of titles from the Penguin Classics catalog in Brazil.

Thus, books from this new label and, to a certain extent, new publishing house, were chosen to see whether new language policies, as a reflection of a more globalized approach to translated literature, would be developed, which would add a new wrinkle to Brazilian translation culture. And this suspicion proved correct: Generally speaking, Penguin Companhia has adopted what could be called a 'mixed approach' to oral discourse. For example, certain characters were ascribed a lower register than others in the same novel, despite the fact that, in the original, all spoke with the same degree of informality. Occasionally, there was variation within the discourse of a single character, alternating between high and low register, which showed a degree of uncertainty regarding how to deal with the discourse of blacks, white southerners, etc. However, certain attempts have been made to overcome the woodenness of older translations, such as the previously mentioned use of slang and generally informal lexemes in the 2000 translation of The Red Badge of Courage. The struggle between tradition and innovation can be read between the lines of every translation selected here for analysis.

It is important to point out that these innovations have also come during a period of heightened politicization in Brazil. As Tomlinson (2003, p. 270) puts it, globalization has not only victimized Brazil, but has also engendered more informed debate on identity and empowerment, including in linguistic spheres. Thus, there is more tolerance and space for intentional deviation from grammar norms in translation in order to conform to what is perceived as cultural and political correctness. However, attempts to represent the discourse of certain groups with non-standard Portuguese are not a complete novelty: literary works with an accentuated sociopolitical bent have been granted special status for some time. A few examples include Burgess's A Clockwork Orange (translated in Brazil in 1972, by Nelson Dantas, and in 2004,

by Fábio Fernandes), Orwell's 1984 (translated by Wilson Velloso in 1957), and Walker's The Color Purple (translated in 1986 by Betúlia Machado, Maria José Silveira and Peg Bodelson). Even though these three books deal with very different themes, they are united in their outspoken sociopolitical criticism. In this light, non-standard language becomes a tool for portraying the conflicts faced not only by the protagonists, but the translators and publishers responsible for their distribution in Brazil, since the prevailing norm has been that all translated literature must sound like canonized Portuguese literature. And a curious historical twist sheds light on why this norm was perpetuated: in the 1930s Brazil was actually exporting translations to its former colonizer, with only very minor changes.[7]

Nonetheless, cultural (r)evolution was already underway, and more recently took another important step through L&PM publishing house. It is not by chance that the second translation of The Jungle Book (L&PM 1997) featured the fewest cases of ênclise. The reason why L&PM, founded in 1974, is growing in relevance and plays such an important role in current Brazilian translation culture is that it is the only publishing house to have openly and systematically allowed the use of non-standard language, i.e. current oral Brazilian Portuguese, in translated dialog, including for authors with no clear political agenda, such as Agatha Christie. This policy legitimizes, in a certain way, decades of previous isolated attempts at rupture with the language of Portugal by translators such as Clarice Lispector and Rachel de Queiroz. This corporate trend has developed little by little in a pocket book collection that has added new titles every year since its launch in 1997. Translators have progressively gained more voice in this series: one clear example is a new translation of the Adventures of Huckleberry Finn (2011), the fourth translation to be published in Brazil. This version contains two important innovations: the first use of a pseudo-dialect to represent Jim and Huck's speech and a long introduction by translator Rosaura Eichenberg that explains her translation choices to readers.

L&PM's more flexible policy greatly contrasts with that of other mainstream Brazilian publishers (i.e. "the establishment"), who remain attached to traditional translation standards. Editora Globo is one clear example: Even their new (re)translations contain generally high-register represented speech (see, for example, their most recent translations of Agatha Christie). The same can be said of Editora Nova Fronteira: this publisher not only has historically adopted a high register in its translations but is also still republishing decades-old translations (again, Agatha Christie serves as a good example) in a new pocket format through a recent partnership with Livraria Saraiva, one of the largest Brazilian bookstore chains. These recycled translations serve to reinforce old language policies, which are being challenged by L&PM and, to a lesser extent, by Penguin Companhia.

Further evidence of the Brazilian book market's strong conservatism can be seen in the work of a key, but quiet actor in the translation process: the text reviser or copyeditor. Analysis of a 2010 reedition of a 1971 translation of Christie's At Bertram's Hotel, published by yet another traditionalist publishing house, BestBolso, reveals that numerous cases of ênclise, besides other high register indicators such as synthetic future, were added to the reedition. What is shocking, however, about these alterations is that they were grafted onto a translation by acclaimed author Rachel de Queiroz (1910-2003), the first female member of the Brazilian Academy of Letters (elected 1977) and recipient of many literary prizes. Even the prestige of this 'immortal'[8] was insufficient to intimidate BestBolso's copyeditor. This reviser expunged even tiny traces of colloquialism, some of which were by no means grammatically incorrect. Below is an extreme case from a single passage of direct speech (English original and Queiroz' translation followed by the revised edition):

'I wouldn't if I were you, ma'am. It is very nasty, this fog. Even in a taxi it won't be too easy'. (At Bertram's Hotel, p. 219)

– Eu, se fosse a senhora, não fazia isso. O nevoeiro está muito feio. Mesmo num táxi, não é fácil. (1997 Queiroz translation of O caso do Hotel Bertram, p. 142)

– Se eu fosse a senhora, não faria isso. O nevoeiro está muito feio. Mesmo em um táxi não será fácil locomover-se. (2010 re-edition of O Caso do Hotel Bertram, p. 136)

A normatively incorrect verb conjugation used by Queiroz was changed (fazia was replaced by faria), a contraction that gives more informality to the text was removed (num became em um), the pronoun Eu in the beginning of the sentence was removed and stodgy vocabulary (locomover) was added. The reader should bear in mind that the character speaking here is a hotel doorman. This shows the free hand allowed to a text reviser in the name of "good Portuguese". The focus is neither on what is being said nor its context, but simply the manner it is being said (i.e. does it violate normative patterns?). Britto, a Brazilian author who debates the occasionally abusive role played by texts revisers, states:

In general, revisers contribute to the construction of a language model in which a legislative principle prevails – i.e., that of a written law. The role of the reviser (even if unspoken) is not to help the author write what he wanted the way he wanted […], but rather to adjust the text to a hypothetical "official" standard. (Britto, 2003, p. 84, my translation)[9].

An anecdotal example may further illustrate what is being said: in 2011, during a PhD defense at Universidade Federal de Santa Catarina, a top-ranked Brazilian university, the question of revision was brought up and debated for quite some time due to its relation to the dissertation. During this debate, one of the panel members, a prestigious Brazilian scholar and respected translator, who has been translating Joyce and Shakespeare for mainstream Brazilian publishers for many years, claimed that he often had to deal with strong opposition both from text revisers and editors whenever he attempted, prestige notwithstanding, to utilize non-standard Brazilian Portuguese to represent oral discourse. He mentioned one occasion when, to pacify him, the editor promised that a certain translation of his would be published 'as is' with its non-standard language, but then later simply shelved the manuscript. This shows that resistance to the prevailing translation model may be much greater than what can be deduced from published books: if even highly successful professional translators have to face such difficulties in getting their manuscripts published 'intact', gauging the quantity of the creative translation effort that is never allowed to reach Brazilian readers would indeed be a difficult task.

RESISTANCE AND RUPTURE: PREDICTIONS AND PERSPECTIVES

In light of this challenging situation, it is clear that no magic formula exists to interpret or, much less, resolve the bundle of language, post-colonialism and translation questions currently besieging Brazilian media. Nonetheless, it cannot be ignored, as Mesoudi (2011) points out, that as Brazilian culture evolves it will be subject to a "Lamarckian-like process of guided variation, where people modify what they learn from others before passing it on." (p. x) Dramatic linguistic and, consequently, translational changes

have been taking place, and the future is quite unpredictable: all that can be ascertained is that cultural evolution has led to a (slow) growing translation revolution in an ex-colony that has overshadowed its colonizer in several respects (e.g. population, GDP, etc.), yet cannot truly break free from a linguistic point of view. Even if concrete answers were possible, they would fall beyond the scope of this study, which is intended to merely describe an unfolding situation that may not be unique to Brazil, although several of its nuances may be. From a descriptive standpoint, therefore, the impression left by all this is that Even-Zohar's polysystems theory is practically epitomized by current Brazilian translation culture: just as in his formulation (1990), the periphery of the Brazilian translated literature polysystem is very much alive and is daring to question what is determined by the traditionalist center, and the partial results of this daring posture are beginning to gain visibility after many decades of resistance to corporate editorial pressure, making the center uncomfortable about its supposed (or imagined) homogeneity.

This conflict is well illustrated by a volume organized by Benedetti and Sobral (2003) containing interviews with nineteen illustrious Brazilian translators, where all of these professionals answered the same ten questions. One of these questions had to do with the Portuguese language and the translator's responsibility regarding what happens to the language. The different voices from the field were very revealing: Mário Laranjeira and Alfredo Barcellos Pinheiro de Lemos, for example, both advocate a conservative approach to the language, focusing on its preservation. Literary translator Lia Wyler, however, views the translator's use of Portuguese from a much broader perspective, questioning the fact that there still is not an officially recognized Brazilian Portuguese grammar that reflects the country's use of the language.

Therefore, even though the future is unpredictable on the one hand, conjectures are unavoidable on the other and, in this author's view, what has been described above as the 'mixed approach' of Penguin Companhia in recent translations (i.e., the use of mixed registers to represent oral discourse) will tend to grow and, little by little, stop being so mixed, reaching something much closer to the actual vernacular. The same editorial policy that today allows African Americans to speak in non-standard Portuguese may tomorrow extend the same privilege to southern whites, for example. Although, of course, this is the optimistic scenario, such a trajectory seems supported by recent developments. According to Bourdieu's general assumptions (1986, p. 83), the heretofore embodied cultural capital, i.e. the mental disposition/desire of Brazilians to use a language of their own is little by little being turned into objectified cultural capital, with the oral version of the language rising in status to a literary level and eventually culminating in a truly Brazilian written language.

However, the power of major agents who favor a traditionalist policy, e.g. publishers like Globo and Nova Fronteira, cannot be ignored. In such a conflicting situation, the role of the academy becomes invaluable: the university is where future professionals are being trained. Those concerned with developing a single, consistent Brazilian Portuguese should invest in the next generation of text revisers, translators and language teachers who will either span or reinforce the oral-written gap in coming years. William Labov's studies have raised awareness of African-American English, not only in the US but worldwide (including Brazil), to the effect that it has been recognized as a scholarly theme; and the same type of debate regarding Brazilian Portuguese is overdue in Brazilian academic circles, even at the undergraduate level. Although such debate has indeed already started, this chapter of Brazilian history is unfolding under the responsibility of Brazilian scholars. If African-American and Chicano cultures have been empowered by their insertion into scholarly discussion, Brazilian Portuguese could certainly gain, as well, from this same kind of dialog.

FUTURE RESEARCH DIRECTIONS

Of course, this topic has barely been broached in these pages; there is much work to be done on the relation between centuries of translation and cultural evolution in Brazil. A further step in this process would involve a more systematic, broader analysis synthesizing current and previous data on different literary genres and publishing houses. The logical course would then be to step outside translated literature, systematizing data from other kinds of translated media such as cinema (comparing, for example, official subtitles to fansubs), games, advertising, etc., to gauge the strength of both grammatical formalism and resistance to it in the broadest possible spectra of Brazilian culture. Although such would be a difficult achievement for an individual researcher, a dedicated research group could make much headway toward a full profile of this phenomenon.

The phenomenon of high-register translations has been recognized in a number of societies, both colonizer and colonized alike.[10] This rich field of research could be pursued on new levels through international scholarly partnerships. Chances are good that Brazil's situation will resonate, at least to a certain extent, in other places and languages, and such a hypothesis deserves investigation.

Judging from the lack of similar such studies, the use of isolated linguistic traits such as ênclise as indicators of register in literary translation seems to be a novelty both in Portuguese and in translation studies as a whole. The validity of this methodology should be further explored in other languages with similar or parallel structures to either strengthen the credibility of this sociolinguistically-based methodology or to point out its problems.

CONCLUSION

The goal of this paper was to offer a brief sketch of Brazilian translation culture in the 20th and early 21st centuries, providing glimpses of the roles played by different agents in this ongoing process of cultural evolution, in which the colony's language, although set upon a different course from the beginning due to factors such as its indigenous population, slavery and multinational immigration, has remained normatively bound to that of the colonizer. The actors involved in this evolution were introduced, and the complexity of their contribution as agents of change or uniformity was demonstrated in a series of specific cases. This framework should serve to demonstrate that the Brazilian linguistic context is hardly "simple", despite its monolingual status. Discourse is charged with intentionality and fulfills more than a single purpose; in Brazil represented oral discourse, especially translated discourse, has historically been used to reinforce a position of dependence and linguistic inferiority, even into the postcolonial era. Fortunately, the history of translation also shows that certain Brazilians such as author and translator Clarice Lispector have been keenly aware of this positioning (see Hanes, 2015, p. 145), trying to alter the notion that written discourse is acceptable only when in conformity to the colonizer's usage.

That translation studies should focus on this already complex debate seems both fitting and urgent, considering the centrality of translated cultural goods in Brazilian society. This brief analysis indicated that translation professionals have been attempting, if in small ways, to subvert a literary imposition that has long been overthrown in the streets. The foregoing examples make it clear that traditional translation norms are now being called into question, although a substantial rupture is being resisted on many levels.

Inasmuch as it has promoted a more representative discourse, Brazilian translation, particularly in literature and cinema, seems to have served as a means of expressing a national desire to break with

the linguistic standards of Portugal. Although this movement, which has as much to do with culture as with grammar, is still timid, its persistence and increasing acceptance will confirm the prominent role of translation in the country's cultural evolution. Such a protagonistic role could be easily verified by demonstrating an intensification of culturally appropriate register to translate non-standard oral discourse, as well as by increasing abandonment of archaic verb tenses, pronoun structures and expressions in translated texts.

It is hoped that these initial thoughts will contribute to the much broader debate about the place of translation in the dynamics of culture, whether as an important tool for change in postcolonial environments or as a means of maintaining the status quo. Brazilian translation culture illustrates the surprising complexity of an apparently straightforward linguistic situation, and how such a system is developing in a globalized, postcolonial era.

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KEY TERMS AND DEFINITIONS

Gaúchos: Term used to refer to the natives of Rio Grande do Sul, the southernmost state of Brazil.

Pluperfect: Indicative Portuguese verb tense, used to refer to something that occurred earlier than the time being considered, when the time being considered is already in the past, similar in function to the past perfect in English.

Pseudodialect: A fictional dialect which may contain and/or combine elements from actual dialects.

Register: In linguistics, register is understood as a variety of language expected to be utilized for a specific purpose or within a specific social situation.

Ribeirinhos: Term used to refer to traditional Brazilian populations, mainly from the Amazon region, who live by rivers on subsistence fishing.

Synthetic Future: What linguists, grammarians and philologists usually call futuro sintético in Portuguese. It functions like the English simple future (i.e. 'will', not 'going to'), even though in today's Brazilian Portuguese the futuro sintético occurs mainly in high-register written format.

Tupi: An extinct indigenous language which was spoken by the Tupi people of Brazil until the 18th century. Part of the Tupi-Guarani language family. Its speakers lived mainly by the Brazilian coast.

ENDNOTES

[1]	Original quote: "a experiência e a tradição ensinam que toda cultura só absorve, assimila e elabora em geral os traços das culturas, quando estes encontram uma possibilidade de ajuste aos seus quadros de vida."

[2]	Original quote: "No Brasil, ao contrário do que ocorre em Portugal, a gramática da fala e a "gramática" da escrita apresentam uma distância de tal ordem que a aquisição desta pela criança pode ter a natureza da aprendizagem de uma segunda língua." (2005, p. 131).

[3]	Unlike the rest of Latin America, universities were repressed as a matter of policy in Brazil (Teixeira, 1969), with the first appearing only in the 20th century (this is not to say that there were no medical or law schools, however). The oldest university in Brazil with uninterrupted activity is the Federal University of Paraná, which was founded in 1912.

[4]	Indicative tenses excluded from the use of ênclise include futuro do presente (simple future) and futuro do preterito (past conditional); these require mesóclise, a construction in which the pronoun is located inside the verb (e.g. comê-lo-ia: "I would eat it").

5   Original quote: "estudos quantitativos em diferentes corpora revelam que a próclise tornou-se o padrão básico."

6   Original quote: "Até por volta de 1700, o uso da próclise é quantitativamente maior que o da ênclise. No entanto, a partir do início do século 18, começa a haver uma inversão nessa proporção, de tal modo que, no Português Europeu Moderno, os mesmos contextos que outrora admitiam a colocação proclítica apresentam agora a ênclise de maneira categórica."

7   An excellent discussion on the importation of translations from Brazil to Portugal can be found in the fourth chapter of Maria de Lourdes Sampaio's doctoral thesis (University of Porto, 2007).

8   Members of the Academia are wont to be called Os Imortais.

9   Original quote: "De modo geral, os revisores atuam exatamente na construção de um modelo de língua em que prevalece a idéia de um princípio legislativo - de uma lei escrita. O papel do revisor, para ele próprio (mesmo não dizendo), não é contribuir para que o autor do texto escreva o que quis do jeito que quis (...), mas o de ajustar o texto a um hipotético padrão 'oficial'."

10   Leroi (1978), for example, conducted a comprehensive study of French translations of Agatha Christie novels and concluded that they were overly sophisticated compared to Christie's English, i.e. the discourse was recharacterized at a higher register in translation.

Chapter 10
Factoring the Agency of Patronage in the Production of Meaning:
The Evolving Landscape of Literary Translation Practice

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ABSTRACT

In this chapter, the evolution of Heaney's reception in Italy will be linked to the development of normative behaviors within the publishing industry sector. Therefore, a fundamental aspect highlighted by the present analysis is the connection between the evolution of the publishing sector's policies and agendas and the translation strategies employed to introduce foreign literature onto the Italian market. In this sense, it is argued that the prerogatives of publishers have direct bearing on the nature of Heaney's representations in Italy and thus the impact that his poetic legacy can potentially have on the Italian cultural paradigm. Patrons and practitioners are on the one hand assessed as the objects of cultural evolution, but they are also called into question as agents affecting it, to the extent that they directly influence translation practice and have control of the mediums through which complex literary endeavours such as Heaney's enter the Italian market as a cultural product ready for consumption.

INTRODUCTION

Translation has been studied as a means of creating culturally significant images of the Other since Friedrich Schleiermacher drew attention not so much to untranslatability but to translation as such as a problematic process.[1] Subsequently, the connection between translation and culture has entered the debates amongst the Romantics,[2] and since then translation has increasingly become the object of observation and (self-)critical reflection. One of the most interesting contributions in terms of shifting

the focus from language to culture is Even-Zohar's work on polysystems and translation norms (1978), followed by Toury's a few years later (1980). Polysystem theories are concerned with the norms at work in the translation process and are amongst the first to place hermeneutic value on conventions. In this sense they can be seen as anticipators of the "cultural turn" in translation studies famously enunciated by Susan Bassnett and André Lefevere (1990/1995), as they effectively propose treating translation as a cultural rather than a linguistic transfer. Accordingly, they look at the text as an "integral part of the world" rather than as an isolated specimen of language.[3] Fundamentally the focus is shifted from individual items to a web of interrelated meanings, which measure their relevance only within a larger context. It is a critical perspective that recalls what, in other theoretical contexts, has been labelled an "integrated approach" to translation, and it gives prominence to the "global" vision of the text (Karamanian, 2002, para. 8). This "holistic" view of translation is relevant to setting up a theoretical framework that can be fruitfully employed in the analysis of the discrepancies existing between the potential reception of literary works "at home and abroad" and therefore how the significance of given literary texts can evolve synchronically by way of their "afterlives" (Benjamin, 1923/1996), fostered by translation activity. Such critical approach stresses the role played by the time, space, and socio-political situation in which texts are constructed, and it insists on the cultural constraints posed by the receiving context in terms of domestic history, politics, tradition, conventions, and ideology.

This chapter aspires to an awareness of all these critical developments within the discipline of translation studies while approaching the case of Italian translations from poet Laureate Seamus Heaney as a narration of "otherness," thus implicitly interrogating the epistemological boundaries defining the extent to which the "other" can be known. Nonetheless, as Frawley points out:

There is information only in difference so that translation is a code in its own right, setting its own standards and structural presuppositions and entailments, though they are necessarily derivative of the matrix information and target parameters. (Frawley 1984, quoted in Venuti, 2004, p. 216)

This implies that the terms of intelligibility and modalities of introduction of foreign texts into a system are usually dictated by the linguistic and cultural context of reception, because, for a translation to be effective, the identity of the source culture must be articulated in ways that are recognizable and accepted by the target culture. Hatim and Mason sum up some of the most important aspects of translation by listing what is involved as follows:

At least, an understanding of the cultural and experimental worlds that lie behind the original act of speaking or of writing […]. Secondly, an understanding of the potential of the two semiotic systems in terms of their image making. Third […] a making intelligible of the linguistic choices expressed in the message. Fourthly an opportunity to explore the social psychological intentions of the originator of the message matched against one's own. Lastly, a challenge to match all of this with our appropriate response in our semiotic and linguistic system, and our culture. (Hatim and Mason, 1990, p. viii)

While all those levels of analysis are important when considering the transformation that a target text may undergo compared to the source's initial meaning, this chapter will mainly seek to evaluate literary translation as an activity that prompts the incorporation, re-elaboration, and release of new conceptual entities in the receiving context. By considering translation as a moment of encounter between two culturally defined semiotic systems, it is possible to see target texts as counterpoints that construct an

image of Heaney and his poetry in Italy. This hybrid image constitutes a site of contact between the two cultures in dialogue, which can potentially foster cultural or even societal changes.

BACKGROUND

The semiotic approach that partly sustains this inquiry posits cultural identities as discursive and textual practices that are historically located and hence unstable and contextually determined. The interaction and confrontation of cultural identities through literary translation is mainly explored through the dialectic relationship that target texts establish with their sources. This relationship, that Umberto Eco maintains can be read in terms of "negotiation" (2004), is often not evenly balanced, as translation is constantly subjected to "ideological" and economic constraints, which make its representativeness inevitably "partial." Yet, as Tymoczko and Gentzler put it, "this partiality is not to be considered a defect, a lack, or an absence in a translation; it is a necessary condition of the act" (2002, p. xviii). In other words, a translated work cannot travel between cultures intact: "a translation is directly dependent on its prescribed function" (Bassnett & Lefevere, 1990/1995, p. 83), and the target texts are often meant to fulfil different needs from those of their source texts. This may ultimately denote the evolution toward an alternative level of signification.

The differences inherent to this evolutionary phase are mostly determined by the forces *in actu* behind the act of translation itself, like the translator's "ideology" or rather the ideology imposed upon the translations by publishers and patrons. For this reason, the "ethic of translation" frequently clashes with its practice. As an activity ultimately aimed at enabling "access to knowledge," translation needs to be understood within a broader framework that transcends the limits of abstract conceptions of language transfers, partly because, as pointed out by Raymond Williams (1981/1995, p. 188), "its general distribution is of course socially mediated and in some cases directly controlled."

Factors that elude the translator's own decision-making process as an individual actively regulate translation as a practice, with a specific set of requirements ranging from tight deadlines to alleged audience's expectations notably impinging on the final outcome. In an Irish–Italian context of exchange, the "advantage" is that the translation function is not immediately related to ideological pressures in the political sense of the term, as might happen between countries with a legacy of remarkably imbalanced power relations. Homi Bhabha's theoretical contribution to cultural translation, which has been widely influential over the last two decades, promotes a reading of translation as a means of desacralization of the cultural assumptions behind structural forms of power. This critical perspective relies heavily on the polarities of past and present, the West and non-West. Translation is seen a "hermeneutic project for the restoration of cultural 'essence' or authenticity" (Bhaba, 1994 p.179). Hence, postcolonial critique primarily focuses on political constellations inherited from the past, and it is no coincidence that many studies within this field have been inclined toward discussing the translation of foreign literature into "first-world" English. This trend includes Venuti's conspicuous work on *The Translator's Invisibility* (2006), despite the more traditional orientation of his general approach primarily concerned with issues of language transfer and comparative literature. By centering the discussion upon minority languages and cultures being absorbed by the Anglophone, hegemonic sphere of influence, it is common to rely on a Gramscian reading of reality, which notably describes a system in which the ruling political, social, and intellectual structures of dominant groups have an invested interest in preserving the subordination of members of marginal groups (Gramsci, 1948/2001). Clearly, translation can play a role in perpetuating

the status quo when it comes to negotiating the norms of one culture in terms of the norms of another. In times of political upheaval, the importation of foreign literature has often been labelled as a dangerous, subversive act. In Italy, for instance, cultural self-sufficiency became one of the main goals of the fascist regime. Indeed, the influence of any foreign material was carefully monitored, as it could "contaminate" the ideal image of the country portrayed by the dictatorship's propaganda.[4] Even in times of no obvious political commotion, translation remains an act that is potentially ideologically charged. A passage from *Translation and Power* eloquently tackles this matter:

> *[. . .] translation is not simply an act of faithful reproduction but, rather, a deliberate and conscious act of selection, assemblage, structuring, and fabrication – and even, in some cases, of falsification, refusal of information, counterfeiting, and the creation of secret codes. (Tymoczko & Gentzler, 2002, p. xxi)*

Although these considerations are not limited to exceptional historical circumstances or a postcolonial critique of translation highly reliant on political constellations inherited from the past, some of these elements are only marginally pertinent when discussing Italian translations of Northern Irish poet Seamus Heaney, as neither of the two cultures brought into contact holds, or has held, direct supremacy over the other. As a consequence, it is an exchange that can be treated as almost exclusively economically driven. Thus, by analyzing the evolution of the established policies of translation and the social pressures surrounding them, it is possible to uncover the function ideally assigned to them by the power that triggers the process without the "burden" of a politically charged environment. In other words, the European identity and the relative marginality of Italy and the Irish island in the global picture are crucial to the definition of the nature of their cultural relationship and the literary exchange deriving from it.

By investigating the theoretical challenges posed by translating Heaney's empathetic imagination in relation to objects, landscapes, and people from his homeland in county Derry into Italian, this chapter strives to incorporate reflections on translation as a cultural practice historically and socially embedded. The main contention is that at the core of the polyphonic nature characterizing Heaney's Italian voice(s) lay the normative behaviors of the translation industry and its evolution. A comparative evaluation of features of Heaney's Italian collections will reveal the praxis of considering every translation entering the Italian market as an independent project, even when by the same author and published as a part of the same poetry series. To fit the length requirements of a chapter, the analysis will focus primarily on some collections belonging to Heaney's latest production, as they happen to correspond to a period of significant changes in Italian policies relating to poetry translation, especially within the agenda of publishing behemoth Mondadori, which has been holding the rights for Heaney's Italian translation since the early nineties.

The changes that will hereby be analyzed pertain in particular to the profile sought by the publisher for the task of translating Heaney and the format of the publications themselves. The chapter is predominantly focused on the translation of two poetry collections: *Electric Light* (Modandori, 2003) and *District and Circle* (Mondadori, 2009). They serve as examples of how the potential appeal of the books as cultural products was deliberately redesigned following an evolution in the parameters of the products' packaging, including the front covers and the nature and quantity of paratextual elements allowed inside the volumes. This level of analysis, especially in the first part of the chapter, is complemented by an exploration of how entrusting Heaney's poetry to a new translator, skilled in the use of everyday speech and open to employing extremely informal intercalations, was also arguably part of Mondadori's broader attempt at redefining the audience for its contemporary poetry series Lo Specchio.

Even if the cultural constraints surrounding the translation process are abidingly related to the specificity of the historical and geographical situational context of the Italian publishing industry during the early 2000s, the direct engagement with textual aspects of the translated work constitutes an essential element of the analysis. In the assessment of both volumes, practices that can be described as partial and localized are linked to verifiable linguistic inscriptions, which reveal how minor shifts in the target texts may bear significance to and determine an evolution in the overall reception of Heaney's poetry in Italian.

DISTRESSING HEANEY'S IMPERTURBABLE POETIC TEMPERAMENT: THE EFFECTS OF THE PUBLISHER'S AGENDA ON INTER- AND INTRA-AUTHORIAL BONDS

A selective assessment of Heaney's work is a rather challenging undertaking, as chronologically different interpretative moments are often very strictly intertwined. This engenders a circularity, with no affinity to the spinning meaninglessness of nihilism, where the poet constantly retraces his own steps in order to dig deeper into the substance of places and things. Especially in his later production, Heaney's journey often transcends even the boundaries of his own authoriality by including tributes to poets who address subjects he is also keen to explore.

The decision to focus an initial assessment of Heaney's poetry on literary allusions, however, is not solely dictated by the fact that they contribute an integral aspect of his poetics. More importantly, they constitute one of the nodes where target texts are most likely to depart from their sources and are forced to evolve into something new because they are unable to accomplish Heaney's balanced conversation between self and others in which both remain solidly estranged, and yet the individual signification of each one is altered by their combination. In their Italian translations, many different agencies contribute to shaping those changes in ancestral voices triggered by Heaney's poetry as well as in the more contemporary voices reminisced in his rhymes. Translation is often forced to modify those re-elaborations in order to function within the receiving system, and this frequently means that Heaney's attempt "to see himself" while reproducing signature traits of other artists cannot be successfully accomplished. Some links might be sharpened, as mostly happens with Italian authors whose authentic voices can be recovered; others' voices emerge confused on the other side of the linguistic barrier for want of an Italian counterpart.

This latter case is especially true with complex and yet subtle interactions, such as those set up in collections like *Seeing Things* (1991), an earlier collection by Heaney, and *Electric Light* (2001), principally in relation to authors less immediately recognizable by Italian readers, such as Philip Larkin, Wallace Stevens, Henry Vaughan, or the Eastern European wave. *Electric Light* in particular is the collection where translation takes center stage also as a theme: the metaphor of the downpour, famously applied to the bog bodies in Heaney's earlier work (*North*, 1975), becomes now the action of translation in the "guttural glen" of the *breac-Ghaeltacht*. It is an evolution of Heaney's metaphorical universe linked to the elemental, which sees "The bilingual race/ And truth of that water/ Spilling down Errigal" ("Sruth"). However, the main novelty brought by *Electric Light* is that translation categorically ceases to be a meaningful supplement to Heaney's own work, similarly to his critical output, and becomes embedded as integral to, and indiscernible from, his own voice.

As Guerneri, the Italian translator of this collection, states in his *postafazione*: *"l'infanzia, il luogo, ma anche le forme letterarie, dal sonetto all'ecloga, vengono rivisitate"* (p. 197, "childhood, places, but

also literary forms, from the sonnet to the eclogue, are re-visited").[5] The English translation of "Bann Valley Eclogue," inspired by Virgil's work, becomes the site where Heaney's fascination with miracles and divinatory tones are cultivated, and the seeds planted in *Seeing Things* flourish into what appears to be a salvific aura of poetry, able to substantiate its own prediction of prosperity on occasion of the birth of Heaney's granddaughter, as well as for the land where she will be born, the North of Ireland. The challenge of translating poetry where the demarcations between originals and translations, public and private, are blurred to such extremes, is to negotiate ways of subsuming other voices in Heaney's, and at the same time effecting definition by difference. Obviously, changes in the use of paratext will affect the translator's ability in bridging some distance, as this is the site normally directed at recovering part of those references and private background that keep alive poetry of this type, as well as compensating for a diversity of subtly tuned vocal registers that a translation proper is often inevitably precluded from fully articulating.

Refracting *Electric Light*: Instances of Dis-Intellectualization of Heaney's Voice

As has been noted, the Italian translator of *Electric Light* comments on the poet's use of eclectic material and even more so on the adventurous forms of engagement with it typical of this collection. However, the most private aspects of some of the poems are almost totally overlooked. Conceivably, this is partly dependent on the new "economy of space" the translator had to adhere to due to the important novelties in the modalities and total quantity of paratext included in the books published as part of the poetry series *Lo Specchio*. As previously mentioned, the advent of the new millennium brought evident changes in the format of the books, which became smaller in size and lighter and tended to display fairly bright covers. Perhaps more crucially, the impression of lightness was largely achieved by substituting robust introductions with much briefer *postfazioni*.

In the case of *Electric Light,* the volume was also Guerneri's official debut as Heaney's translator. Despite acting as collaborator to Roberto Mussapi's translation of *The Spirit Level* (Mondadori, 2000) and vaunting an interest in Heaney dating back to an undergraduate thesis for the University of Bologna, the profile of Guerneri—whose main occupation was that of high school English teacher—stood out as innovative in this role, previously fulfilled by a series of prestigious Italian poets and scholars. In tune with his credentials, the tone and content of Guerneri's critical insights displayed the brevity and didactic clarity typical of somebody involved with a pedagogical environment, more so than somebody versed in the elitarian language of literary circles. His references seemed to be crafted to appeal to students and young readers rather than to seasoned academics. Indeed, the first name quoted by Guerneri is American rapper Eminen, as the translator chooses to report an indirect endorsement Heaney once made for him. Another clue that Guerneri has molded his target readers according to parameters different from those followed by his predecessors is revealed by his use of words, simpler and more direct, such as *"Heaney ha scritto cose bellissime sulla poesia"* (p. 198, "Heaney wrote wonderful things about poetry"). This by no means implies that the quality of the critical appendix is brought to lower standards, as all information provided remains pertinent and accurate, but they are supplied in a tone and manner that seem directed to target readers animated by interests other than engaging with an authoritative intervention within the domain of theoretical discourses in literary criticism, as had been the case with many of Heaney's Italian collections up to that point.

Guerneri's approach exposes significant novelties even in relation to the translation proper, since his poetry, just like his prose, tends to be less hermetic than that found in previous translations. To the

conservative elegance of metrics and diction, he seems to prefer the elemental directness inherent in Heaney's speech. For instance, he brings to unexpected heights the notion of literalism, to the point of reproducing compound forms such as *tetto-acqua* to translate "water-roof" ("Perch"), *mondo-catena* to translate "world-chain," or *labbro-sfioramento* as translation for "lip-brush ("Lupins"). One problem with the technique of creating compounds in Italian is that this is an extremely uncommon procedure, because Italian is a language that necessitates the use of prepositions to define the dependency between two words. The simple juxtaposition of two nouns by hyphenation does not say anything about their relations, so that an expression like *mondo-catena* not only might mean *mondo in catena* (chained world), *catena del mondo* (chain of the world), *mondo della catena* (world of the chain), or whichever other more or less meaningful combination one may think of, but effectively does not mean anything at all. Being unable to provide in one expression the full range of meanings opened up by the English language, because of target language constraints, the translator opts for a solution that brings experimentation a step further than the source text, as it effectively substitutes a clear and grammatically correct expression with a neologism which lacks grammatical and semantic coherence. This is one of the instances where Guerneri's strategy largely diverges from the more established practice of adding connective and grammatical particles in response to Heaney's omissions. Quite the opposite, Guerneri's compounding often fuddles meanings even in places where Heaney's constructions were not ostensibly obscure. Although the use of compounding in the translation of contemporary poetry is not completely new—and can be found in Italian renditions of avant-garde poets, such as Medbh McGuckian, for instance (Biancheri, 2012)—they have been generally avoided as re-elaborations of Heaney's style, as his experimentations are always contained enough to be re-absorbed within classical forms. Heaney's metaliterary drives never slide into post-modernism or narcissist exercises of self-referentiality, and this is perhaps the reason why his language has always been tentatively normalized, usually toward a more sophisticated register.

The instances where Guerneri dares to explore linguistic possibilities that might be perceived as too uncommon or indeed too common to be associated with Heaney, however, are relatively few and far from extreme. The closing of "The Bereaved," for instance, "And then the savagery/ of the piano music's music going wrong," is rendered as *"E poi la ferocia/della musica nella musica per piano a catafascio."* It is not so much the informality of an expression such as *a catafascio*, roughly comparable to the English "higgledy piggledy," to be remarkable, but the fact that it drives Heaney's register, as stated above, in the exact opposite direction that had been traditionally pursued by Heaney's Italian translators. The point, therefore, is not that Guerneri's approach is worse: even if this study did mean to provide a qualitative evaluation, which it does not, this would not be the conclusion. The point is that "Guerneri's Heaney" is fundamentally different from the one(s) with whom Italian readers have been engaging up to that point.

This is one case in which an evolutionary drive fundamentally implemented at the level of patronage is tainting the perpetuation and stability of pivotal hallmarks in Heaney's representational universe. The main contention is that, within the economy of Heaney's work, the transfusions of various kinds punctuating *Electric Light* are manifestations of a growing mystical sense in his vocation that has been consistently explored since the early nineties. Retellings or the borrowing of forms are functioning as signposts of a writing mode that flaunts emplacement. In the Italian context, though, the poet's integrative rationale is jeopardized by consigning his organic imagery to translators drawing from ostensibly different linguistic and contextual resources. Although the divide between Guerneri's translation and the Italian *Vedere Cose* (1997), translated by the "conservative" Gilberto Sacerdoti, is only of about six years, Italian readers might be at a disadvantage when trying to appreciate the subtle dialogue and indeed the numerous references and resonances between those two collections.

The argument is that the combination of Mondadori's new policy and Guerneri's practice was meant to address remarkably altered constructed readers, expected to perceive Heaney's poetry in a fundamentally new manner. The possible effect on the overall reading experience will be briefly illustrated by means of one amongst many possible examples, the poem "Lupins" from the collection Electric Light:

They stood. And stood for something. Just by standing.

In waiting. Unavailable. But there

For sure. Sure and unbending. (12)

This incipit is a typical illustration of Heaney's poems being "open" in the sense that they require the readers' efforts to endow them with meaning, as this is not immediately evident or incontrovertibly clear. If we were to approach Heaney's work as an "inter-poetic" journey, as suggested in an essay by Leonard O'Brian (1996), it would come natural to perceive a relation with the epistemological quest initiated with *Seeing Things*. Guerneri's translation, though, seems to preclude some of the poetic possibilities of a form of discursive speech that does not shun abstractions, which is precisely the major novelty in this later phase of Heaney's career.

Lì stavano. Stavano per qualcosa. Semplicemente stando.

In attesa. Non disponibili. Eppure là

Senza dubbi. Senza dubbi e senza piegarsi. (13)

The discrepancies are mainly due to Heaney's playfulness with language, his reliance on idioms and puns, which his poetry partly literalizes, but not quite. Guerneri's process of literalization instead is absolute, because it has to be. The implied meaning of "stand for," to "represent," is occluded by the Italian expression, just as "unavailable" ceases to mean simultaneously "not available" and "out of reach," as the Italian translation only covers the former acceptation. Similarly, "sure and unbending" is reduced to meaning exclusively "without a doubt and without bending." This might preclude the overall impression of those lupins as both signified that lost their signifiers and vice versa.

The linguistic rendition, nonetheless, of this and many other poems undergoing shifts of a similar nature, is after all a minor element within the macrostructure composed by the book format and paratexts, which is arguably the main "culprit" for the compromised continuity of Heaney's poetic trajectory in his Italian rendition. And even then, the continuity would have been with something already derailed from the track beaten by Heaney, as each translation exists in a lightly displaced universe, as if reaching out toward the source text's meanings without achieving a total overlapping. The gaps between those translated volumes are increased by the fact that, although each one of them might be only slightly displaced, this is often in different directions. This is partly because the same translator is never in charge for more than a couple of volumes and because the overall inscription of meaning is affected by the changing terms of publications' policies and practices.

In this sense, Guerneri's *postfazione* provides a very insightful statement about *Electric Light,* which could indeed apply to the overall conception of translation that this chapter is attempting to explore:

Colpisce in questa nuova raccolta di Heaney la necessità di sviluppare i temi attraverso più punti di vista, [. . .] come se la cosa non si desse altro che nella somma dei riflessi, nell'incastro delle prospettive multiple. (197)

(It is striking in this new collection by Heaney the necessity to develop themes across multiple viewpoints, [. . .] as is the thing would not reveal itself but in the sum of its reflections, in the interlocking of multiple perspectives)

He also adds, specifically about Heaney's use of translation and re-elaboration of pre-existing material in this collection:

Le ossessioni antiche vanno ora filtrate e rifiltrate attraverso un gioco di specchi, gioco di rimandi che scompone la luce via nelle sue componenti essenziali ('the ancient obsession must now be filtered and re-filtered through a mirror-game, a game of references that gradually diffracts light in its essential components').

In what could be defined almost as a metaliterary turn of events, poetry itself is indicated as the site of articulation of those notions of "rewritings and refractions," as theorized by Lefevere (1982), that are fundamental pillars of translation practice, especially in the case of the multifaceted landscape of Heaney's Italian translations.

CULTURAL EVOLUTION AND THE CORRELATIONS BETWEEN COMMERCIAL PRIORITIES AND DIFFERENTIAL TRANSLATIONS

Throughout the 1990s, the Italian publishing industry witnessed a steady increase of emphasis on the entrepreneurial side of the sector (Cardioli, 2004, pp. 143-156). A publishing house, before being a cultural institution and a research center, became first and foremost a business. Hence the production of knowledge, although it could be a welcome side effect, was rarely the ultimate objective. This had important repercussions for the selection of material to be translated, the translation strategies adopted, and the overall format of presentation of the translated texts, mainly treated as commodities transacting literary capital across the international literary space. In this light, it is possible to explain most of the changes already noted in relation to the collection *Electric Light* (Mondadori 2003), whose main features are kept and perhaps brought to greater prominence with *District and Circle* (Mondadori, 2009). The main novelty is the graphic style of the book cover, where abstract images and colors come together to reproduce bright silhouettes from Julian Opie's *Walking*. It is interesting to note that this new outlook partly coincided with reading statistics suggesting a less drastic configuration within the reading population than those emerging in relation to the previous decade, which suggested that 5–6% of the total Italian population would be sustaining 80% of the entire publishing market (Signorini, 2002, para. 5.1.1). *District and Circle* was published in 2009, when an official report on the Italian publishing market showed that 14% of the Italian population catered for 41% of the sales (AIE, p. 1). Although still reflecting a rather unbalanced distribution of the reading population, these figures drastically softened the earlier

numbers. Whether Mondadori's restyling of its poetry series was meant to capture a specific mood or trend within the publishing industry, aimed at tapping into the resource of more occasional readers, is hard to establish without access to internal information, which major publishers such as Mondadori keep securely guarded from whomever is not directly involved in the company as a business. It is also difficult to establish whether it was the rise of occasional readers that called for the restyling or whether it was a successful restyling that broadened the books' accessibility. It is, however, indisputable that the way Mondadori chose to "package" the main Italian poetry series *Lo Specchio* had an enormous impact on the way contemporary poetry in translation would be perceived in Italy.

The example of Heaney's Italian translations during this timeframe is just one example serving to show how the reception of important and complex literary works can be heavily influenced by the publishing market's general dynamics and temporary trends. Even if most of what happens "behind-the-scenes" remains hidden from external observers, the published volumes are there to speak for themselves, and to the readers, and what the hardback white cover and heavy format of *Station Island* (Mondadori, 1991)—the first entire poetry collection by Heaney ever to be translated into Italian—had to say to prospective readers seemed rather different from the light and seemingly light-hearted *District and Circle,* presented by the same publisher in 2009—and the promises of the peritexts are at least partly delivered. *Station Island* required from Italian readers a rather serious commitment. A translator's note and a long introduction, building on a critical tradition owing to Dante as much as it does to Heaney, were further complemented by a rich endnote apparatus, where Anthony Oldcorn, renowned academic, shared the details of his scholarly competence with target readers. The Italian edition offered a type of thorough commentary that, in theory, would prove quite helpful even for Anglophone readers approaching Heaney's poems by way of providing an interpretative framework and precise guidelines that enabled access to the poems' many cultural references. It was an example of what could be defined as "thick translation" (Appiah, 1993), representative of an approach invested in revealing the multilayered nature of the source texts. Oldcorn's interventions in *Station Island,* as well as those of the second translator, Gabriella Morisco, were marked by a careful justification of the solutions adopted in the translated volume, whose ultimate goal was to highlight the deepest structural and symbolical resonances in their source texts. This strategy denoted a conscious effort to elicit a mutual pushing of the boundaries of the two cultures in contact so that Heaney's poems in translation come to occupy a space of dialogue *between* them.

With the "thin," lightweight Italian edition of *District and Circle*, on the contrary, readers are invited to dive straight into Heaney's poems, without being preliminarily provided with highly refined critical tools meant to facilitate a pertinent understanding of the textual reality they have to engage with. The book's translational dimension is not actually hidden, as the English language title reveals, but the necessity to bridge a distance that the act of translation implies is somewhat downplayed by the lack of a robust critical apparatus. Readers with a good disposition will still find a few pages of pertinent appraisal of Heaney's work in Guerneri's *postfazione* "Intersezioni, tra *district and circle*," but the type of engagement proposed is akin to the one described in relation to *Electric Light*: both the tones and substance are less hefty than those of previous introductions, befitting a clear general introduction to Heaney's oeuvre more so than an in-depth critical analysis of the volume in question.

The staple question goes back to whether this change in presentation and critical approach is somehow reflecting, or it is at least apposite to, an actual development in the way Heaney's poetry demands to be read; or else it is purely reflecting a change in the publisher's wishes to profile its prospective readers following a perceived social evolution in the target audience. First, it should be noted that Heaney's publisher for Ireland and the UK has consistently been Faber&Faber throughout his celebrated

career, and this prestigious publisher has made consistency and sobriety the greatest hallmarks of his distinctive style. This observation, however, would not automatically prevent the change in outlook of the Italian volume from being a reflection of a change of direction intrinsic to Heaney's poetic evolution at that point of his career; although, admittedly, such coincidence would have had to be accidental rather than carefully planned, as the characteristics mentioned above have been imposed on the whole of Mondadori's series of contemporary poetry. Still, the question remains pertinent, as it is useful to distil the effects those changes might have had on the Italian reception's evolutionary phase pertaining these later poetic outputs by Heaney.

A Poetic Universe Where London's Tube and Hades Simultaneously Coexist: Translation as Disruption in *District and Circle*

Overall, the contemporary feeling seems to be highlighted by the Italian edition of *District and Circle* not only through the appearance of the piece of modern art on the front cover, displaying a dynamically stylized walking crowd carrying briefcases, but by terminological choices within the target texts as well. As already noted with *Electric Light,* Guerneri's strategy favors the straightforwardness of Heaney's tone by shunning the pompousness and sophistication preferred by other translators. This also means that lines are seldom difficult to decipher, and whenever the source text actually is ambiguous, the less distant and obscure option is usually chosen. An illustration of this is the translation of the very first line from the title poem "District and Circle": "Tunes from a tin whistle underground." Although, from reading further, it appears that the setting is actually compatible with a modern underground, as in the Tube in London, Guerneri's translation of *metropolitana* is a case of early disclose, which can partly interfere with Heaney's construction of an indefinite atmosphere that recalls the Dantean entrance to Hell, or links back to his own re-visitation of Aeneas's descent into Hades. In the Italian poem, the spotlight is on the modern-day setting of "District and Circle," already in the first line of the stanza, containing perhaps the most Dantean depiction of modern London in the poem, one reminiscent of the Eliotian crowd of the "so many" flowing over London Bridge in his "unreal city." A comparison between the two should highlight the different ambiance evoked by the verses:

Another level down, the platform thronged.

I re-entered the safety of numbers.

A crowd half straggle-ravelled and half strung

Like a human chain, the pushy newcomers

Jostling and purling underneath the vault,

On their marks to be first through the doors,

Street-loud, then succumbing to herd-quiet... (42)

Più giù di un livello, il binario s'affollò.

Feci ritorno alla sicurezza del branco,

Una massa metà sfrangiata metà allungata

Come una catena umana, gli invadenti nuovi arrivati

Che sgomitavano e turbinavano sotto la volta,

Ai blocchi di partenza per essere i primi alle porte.

Dalla chiasso della strada alla quiete del gregge... (43)

While Heaney's language deliberately relies on a skillful interplay between words with Dantean and literary echoes and modern acceptions, in the Italian text the contemporary and the scenario of London's underground takes precedence, as in the decision to translate "platform" with *binario*, for instance – a word that in this context, according to an Italian semantic matrix, can only refer to a train station platform. "Platforms," instead, can be found in train stations, but not exclusively, in the sense that it is the setting to determine what denotative meaning will prevail. By virtue of Heaney's hazy contextualization, it seems fair to state that the Italian *binario* is almost functioning as a hyponym for "platform," which within the source text could still potentially function as a superordinate of more general meaning. Mainly because intended in a looser fashion, the English term leaves open the possibility of maintaining an underlying parallelism with the underworld, especially because of the expression "loading platform," which specifically refers to the operation of loading and unloading cargo carried out at docks. Heaney is carefully choosing his language to construct a prismatic perspective that allows alternative interpretations to simultaneously coexist so that the image of a hoard of souls approaching the barge that will assist their transit to the otherworld is never completely eclipsed.

The Italian translation, instead, here and in other instances, is effectively limiting the interplay between alternative intended meanings. This somewhat causes a shift toward a modernized, universally sanitized version of Heaney's prismatic world where the contemporary, the ancient, and the local conflate. The Orpheus-like figure of "District and Circle's" young musician, for instance, in the source text functions not only as a liminal character between the City, an "unreal City" of artistic procreation, and the primeval fantasies of myth, but he is also the object of the poet's "gaze." Two sonnets after the encounter at the very beginning of the poem Heaney still ponders the significance of this mutual staring:

Had I betrayed or not, myself or him?

Always new to me, always familiar,

This unrepentant, now repentant turn

As I stood waiting, glad of a first tremor,

Then caught up in the now-or-never whelm

Of one and all the full length of the train. (42)

As often happens with Heaney, this is a moment where his poetic inspiration metaliterarily reaches out to define itself by re-iteration, when re-iteration is also the subject and object of reflection. Yet this can hardly be the case with a translation standardizing his language:

Avevo forse io tradito, lui o me stesso?

Sempre nuova per me, sempre consueta,

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questa non contraria, ora contraria svolta

mentre stavo in attesa, felice di un primo sussulto,

poi sommerso dall'ora o mai più,

del tutti insieme per tutta la lunghezza del treno. (43)

The paradox is that the vagueness of Heaney's language helps define the symbolic meaning, while the resolutions required by the Italian language tend to obfuscate it. First, the only apparent juxtaposition between new (to me)/familiar is rendered by the adjectives *nuova* and *consueta*, where the latter, close in meaning to "habitual," substitutes the very common "familiar" already used in numerous poems in *District and Circle* and whose fundamental concept, in all its blatant simplicity, is central to this book. A minor change of preposition, from "to me" to "for me," also partly shifts the focus from the intrinsic nature of the perception as something happening from within the narrating self, and as such determined by the act of experiencing more so than the experience itself. The Italian *per me*, in fact, does not fully capture the strict interdependence between the familiarity and the subject who is positing it, as the preposition "for" seems to be casting it against an external reality. Moreover, the feminine declination of *nuova* and *consueta* indisputably attaches them to the following *svolta*, turn. In Heaney's hazy world of loosened grammatical ties, instead, the new/familiar trope emerges as a recognizable rock amongst the haze, whose ties seems to extend indefinitely—not only toward the young musician recollected in the previous line, also described as known and yet stranger, but radially, to become pervasive and simultaneously perceptive to everything written by Heaney up to then. This moment of conflation of space and time is further strengthened in the following lines, with "now-or-never whelm/ of one and all," which also relates back to the human chain mentioned earlier in the poem and, with hindsight, points forth toward a new development in his poetic career, too, in consideration of the title given to his last poetry collection: *Human Chain* (2010).

In Italian, the pervading sense of unity and transcendence is partly weakened by elements of normalization in the language, like the absence of hyphenation in *ora o mai più*, which is less strongly evocative than the source text of a time flux where linearity has collapsed and the present is omni-significant. *Del tutti insieme* is also seemingly referring to as something that happens to "everybody together," while the "one and all" in the source text is conducive to an appreciation of that human chain not as a composition of single elements but as a unitary "whelm." This impression in the source text is further reinforced by the verbal expression "caught up in the [. . .] whelm," rendered in Italian by *sommerso*, used as a past participle referring to the Self and functioning as a supporting pillar to the two closing lines. But of course in this case the individuality of the self is much less patently challenged than in the source text's construction. While for the most part Guerneri's tendency to write his translations in a neat and clear Italian displays a simple decor that is far from being incongruous with Heaney's own stylistic preferences, on some occasions it can have its drawbacks. If simplicity is achieved at the expenses of source texts' nuanced formulations, this may have repercussions on the way translations construct their meanings in comparison to Heaney's poems, especially when the unravelling of his lines are consciously made more elusive by his adroitness with the English language, used to cleverly deploy prepositions as a source of ambiguity and overlapping meanings, which is often meant to incentivize the readers to actively interrogate what they are reading.

The process can be arguably described as a translator complying with the ideological pressures of a dominant norm implicitly dictating the parameters of "acceptability" in terms similar to those described

by Toury (1995, pp. 53–69). This is not domestication, and not even a deliberate universalization or dis-intellectualization of the material, it could be argued. It is not a case of foreignness being assimilated or cultural references being omitted; rather, the material is morphed into something that is linguistically more stable and therefore less evocative of the greater picture depicted by Heaney.

The overall feeling of *District and Circle* read in English is that of following a path that moves back and forth from underground persuasions, going back to probing the darkness after the airy parenthesis of a search for light carried on in the chronologically intermediate collections of *Seeing Things* and *Electric Light*. At the end of the poem "District and Circle," the last adjective, powerfully isolated by bringing *a capo* in the second half of the *caesura*, is "Flicker-lit," which refers to the preceding "window mirror-backed/ By blasted weeping rock-walls." The Italian translation keeps the layout that emphasizes this final image, yet the accent of *Illuminate d'intermittenza* is slightly shifted. If the flickering was clearly dominating the source text's finale, in Guerneri's solution, although interesting and creative, the "luminous" evoked by the Italian adjective *illuminate*, well-lighted, seems to prevail on the following *intermittenza*, intermittence, thus affecting a brighter impression, which is in tune with the packaging of the book. This difference in "lighting" has quite an effect on the general impression of this poem, haunted by the shadow of death in its symbolic articulation of Hades, but also as a reflection on human fragility. The flickering lights in the underground stand for those human lives so easily subdued by the blasts in the station of Edgeware Road during the 2005 terrorist attacks in the London underground. The flickering, then, does not only represent fragility but also the fear of impending darkness as well. As the interplay between shadows and light is a remarkable symbolical layer of Heaney's work, the brighter exposure of this poem in particular, and the Italian volume of *District and Circle* in general, is likely to affect its reception as a single collection and perhaps the way it functions within the overall economy of Heaney's *oeuvre,* too. In its strive to literally come full circle, with this collection written in 2006, the poet is tentatively returning to penumbral moods akin to those evoked by his younger self in *Death of a Naturalist* (1969): Aeneas' journey is remembered not with the goal of foregrounding the subsequent ascent to light, as it was in *Seeing Things* for instance, but as a "harrowing" descent into hell. This adjective is actually cleverly employed by Heaney in the poem immediately following "District and Circle," "To George Seferis in the Underworld," for its double evocation of an excavation and something excruciating. This poem is therefore strictly connected to the preceding one, whose downward movement, already commented upon, becomes all the more noteworthy, as it transcends the immediate significance of the individual poem to figuratively overflow into the next. For this reason, it could be interesting to note another mild normalization occurring in the Italian translation, where the implied emphasis of verbs such as "walking down" and "descending" is not fully conveyed by the Italian verb *scendere*. While the correspondence of meaning is not in question, it is the focus of the graduation that might have blurred. The insertion of a prepositOion like *giù*, literally translating "down," or the employment of the more literal and archaic *discendere* could have better served the underlying theme of the Descent, in its more literary articulation. The sense of movement is also partly stifled by the translation *il mio sguardo era basso* for "my gaze was lowered," where an adverbial clause denoting position substitutes the verb indicating an actual motion in progress.

The changes are minimal, but in the poems' representations, where the London underground and the entrance to Hades become one single entity, the slightest allusion contributes to keeping the balance and avoids one image prevailing over the other to the point of erasing it. From this perspective, the sense of moving downwards contributes to an appraisal of the narrating voice as a pilgrim, or one of the damned swirled by the crowd, fiddling with "hot coin held at the ready," although not for Charon but for

the Orpheus-like figure of the street musician. It is true that a compensation of sorts take place in "To George Seferis in the Underworld," where the theme of the underworld, already evident from the title, is made even more explicit by the use of a term like *inferno*, Hell, or the explicitation of "harrowing" as *discesa*. Yet, precisely because "District and Circle" in Italian is pulled toward the more prosaic level of its representation, this tweak in the opposite direction might contribute to increasing, rather than narrowing down, the gap between those two strictly intertwined poems.

The presence of the trope of the descent into Hades as an integral part of "District and Circle" is admittedly briefly mentioned in Guerneri's *postfazione*, but the role of critical insights provided after the reading experience differs from those within an introduction. Following the evolutionary phase in Mondadori's policy, readers are now not preliminary alerted to independently look for particular themes or tropes but rather they are retrospectively informed, as if the appreciation of the poems was not strictly dependent on the acquired knowledge of the notions supplied there. Obviously, one might argue that a reader can go back and re-read and that a printed book is after all a flexible tool. Its format, however, does provide specific coordinates meant to guide the readers' approach to the material. These might be disregarded, and in other instances they may be totally irrelevant, as the readers' knowledge may even surpass the scope of information supplied by the critical apparatus. Yet the readers' individual minds are an unattainable subject for a study that is not relying on the supporting pillar of a cognitive approach. The only factual material that can be empirically assessed is the evolution of the book as a printed object and how this is meant to fulfil its role of guiding readers' response to Heaney's poetry. Methodologically, this might provocatively resemble the attempt to gauge whether a translated manual has the potential to help users assemble their new piece of furniture by assessing the accuracy of the terminology, the clarity of the layout and correctness of the sequence, and the appropriateness of tone and register. With literary translation the parameters under scrutiny may vary, but this mundane comparison serves to highlight that how the piece of furniture is actually going to be built within each single dwelling eludes the study's reach. Being the users' discipline in following instructions and dexterity in building furniture, or acquired literary knowledge and poetic sensibility instead, there are elements influencing the final outcome that cannot be factored into a theoretical assessment of reception. Yet, even if the outcome itself might remain speculative, the way target texts have evolved in constructing meanings and inscribing comprehension in relation to the genre of poetry can be meticulously described. Although trying to determine whether these inscriptions are going to be followed by the recipients is, as Heaney would have it, like prying into the unfathomable, a more careful assessment of the relation between publishers' diktats, the practice of translation and their possible effects on reception, could help in identifying important passages in the evolutionary phases of many forms of literary translation.

FUTURE RESEARCH DIRECTIONS

It might seem like stating the obvious, but it is worth pointing out that the findings of this study, just like the act of translating, cannot be but partial. From the point of view of an assessment of the evolution of Heaney's work in translation, and the impact of its legacy in Italy, even a full-length monograph could hardly account for the sheer number of poems, essays and interviews, even when the scope of the discussion is being limited to what has been actually translated into Italian. The difficulty of inclusiveness is made more poignant by the fact that the size of the *corpus* constituted by Heaney's writing is matched by an extraordinary density of meaning, as evident from the few textual examples provided in

this context. One way to complement this research, therefore, would consist in tracing a more exhaustive evolution of Heaney's Italian profile in relation the his publications history, seeing as what has been discussed here was specifically chosen as representative of an important phase of transition highlighting the interdependence between such profile and changing priorities in the patrons' agendas. Yet, it had to overlook other aspects of the significance of Heaney's work in Italy that are also strictly interlocked with predominant translation strategies at a given time.

The open-endedness of the material under scrutiny further sanctions the need for other examinations of this subject matter. While the poet's passing might have stopped his original production, it has not stopped the activity of translation and the critical discourse about his work. Quite the reverse, the fact that new work will not be coming to life has fuelled Heaney's afterlives, as seen with the new wave of international interest and the flourishing of critical interventions in the last few years, a phenomenon that has added more and more layers of complexity to the ineffability of Heaney's literary heritage in the very attempt of grasping it more securely.

On the other hand, I believe that the critical framework of analysis hereby proposed could be employed to investigate important relationships existing between the reception of literary works in translation and the evolution of the publishing industry not necessarily restricted to Heaney's work, and perhaps not even to poetry. Quite a controversy, for instance, has very recently arisen in relation to a drastic and ground-breaking change in the graphic appearance of another iconic series in the Mondadori catalogue, "Oscar," which collects classics form a variety of literary genres in affordable paperback editions.

CONCLUSION

In tune with a critical movement increasingly concerned with translation as a transformative practice affecting, and affected by, the cultural circumstances of its production and reception, this chapter sought to evaluate the work of newly appointed translator Luca Guerneri both as the effect of a specific evolutionary phase within the Italian publishing industry and the cause for important changes in the Italian projection of Heaney's poetic voice. The discussion has taken into consideration the reduced space accorded to critical framing in the editions published in the early 2000s, meaning that the translator's excursions on Heaney's poetic themes, even if pertinent and to the point, had to be extremely concise. Moreover, the tendency to treat a single translated volume as autonomous compelled Guerneri to be inclusive of a wider range of themes touched upon during Heaney's career: place names, bog, Ulster, memory, classics' influences, and poetry itself. The necessity to provide such a wide survey, however, meant that the comments specifically touching on the actual collections being translated were reduced to the very minimum. The fact that a rather brief *postfazione* came to substitute the robust introductions of previous collections bore more relevance than a mere consideration about the length. Its change of collocation was just as crucial, if not more. While the presence of an introduction suggests that a certain critical framing is essential to orient the readers, a *postfazione*, as revealed by the name itself, occupies a "secondary" role, both positionally and in terms of importance. The translator's critical frame is therefore divested by the urge to be read that being placed as an introduction would impose. The message conveyed by a *postfazione* to prospective readers is the relative independence of the poetry from its critical interpretation: reading it becomes optional, as the core material can be enjoyed in advance without availing it.

The centrality of poetry *per se* is also confirmed by the presence of two stanzas on the back cover of Mondadori's new editions. At a first glance, it might seem almost paradoxical that this centrality is

counterpointed by Guerneri's "less poetic," more colloquial elaborations; yet, the fact that the source language poems are also present moves the focus back to Heaney's work. While previous translators were mostly placing their translation more firmly within the Italian poetic tradition, Guerneri is happy to leave Heaney securely anchored to the English language literary canon, as shown by the choice of keeping the English titles for the Italian volumes. The cultural experience of Italian readers engaging with Heaney's work is dramatically altered by these changes. The major evolution in the presentation of Heaney's poetry identified in this chapter however concerns what might be referred as the overall appearance of volumes such as *Electric Light* and *District and Circle,* which seems to suggest the publisher's attempt to endow its poetry series with a new sense of lightness. Not only had the paratexts, including the weight of endnotes, been significantly reduced, but the volumes became smaller in size, and the front covers displayed recognizable images rather than being purely topographical.

Furthermore, Guerneri's critical outlook and translating style seemed to be in keeping with this broader agenda. Although he arguably was not purportedly attempting to occlude the Irish elements in Heaney's work, his translations displayed certain signs of dis-intellectualization and universalization, by way of tentatively transcending the local and the theoretical. Such imprint is especially visible in terminological choices, like the translation of "brogues" with the neutral superordinate *scarponi*, which deprives this type of shoe of its social and historical locality. While such changes might seem to pertain to extremely marginal elements, Heaney's manifesto should be remembered, as powerfully uttered at the beginning of "A Stove Lid for W. H. Auden": "The mass and majesty of this world I bring you/ In the small compass of a cast-iron stove lid." It is not even the "stove": it is the "lid" "that carries weight and always weight the same," as the "epigraph" to this poem recites. This is a testimony to Heaney's ability to merge mythology and daily life, to incite their significance to "work off each other," so that each single prosaic element is imbued with depth of meaning. Overall, these features of Heaney's poetry appear to have been partly jeopardized by the decision of its main Italian publisher to promote poetry in a seemingly more accessible format, as an art form that might be enjoyed without the need of an in-depth understanding of its context. What could have been promoted as a moment of transcultural encounters, celebrating the transnational nature of poetry in translation, was effectively thwarted of fundamental characteristics of inward/outward interconnectedness. For the first time in relation to Heaney's poetry, the translator was prevented from extensively commenting upon the material presented to target readers. This decision arguably left many of them at a loss of interpretative tools necessary to engage with such complex literary work.

Nonetheless, while this might prevailingly seem a negative account of Mondadori's policy, the purpose of this chapter was mainly descriptive: the goal was to disclose the situational evolution behind the changing circumstances and their effects on translation practice. Moreover, from a broader perspective, the ideological pressures described shaped Guerneri's translation practice in such a way that, by the time he engaged with Heaney's final collection (*Catena Umana*, Mondadori, 2011), he had perfected a style based on a remarkable syntactical adherence to Heaney's structures, which effectively maintains the same line distributions of the English language poems whenever possible. Therefore, if on one hand the "streamlined" approach adopted for the production of *Electric Light* and *District and Circle* often entailed a higher level of "domestic representation," on the other it resulted in Italian versions textually closer to their English sources, which importantly were also always included in Mondadori editions. In addition to this, the apparent dis-intellectualization imprinted on Heaney's latest production by the joint action of the Italian publisher and the translator could be seen as an evolution that triggered a compensation of sort in the game of weights and balances played by each discursive representation of Heaney's work in Italy.

In view of his important international stature, the majority of previous translations, literary articles, and reviews were heavily geared toward an academic appraisal of Heaney's poetry. In this sense, the drastic swerve caused by Guerneri's mode of translation could be seen as highlighting precisely those elements of humor and humanity that were often underplayed in the nineties' publications. Animated by careful balancing acts between emotional appraisals and an almost pedagogic drive, Guerneri's intervention ultimately provides a novel counterpart not only to the notion of poetry as *arte aulica* still prevalent in many Italian intellectual circles but, more crucially to this study, shows a manifest evolution from the translation strategies previously employed to engage with Heaney's poetry precisely in those "elitarian" terms. This indicates that parameters of translation have progressed in accordance with the newly appointed translator's expertise and personal sensibility, thus effectively embodying a response to complex dynamics with a direct dependence from operating networks of powers, observant of patrons' guidelines and their handling of readers' perceived demands.

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KEY TERMS AND DEFINITIONS

Acception/Acceptation: What is generally regarded as the more common accepted meaning of a word; its signified or regular denotation.

Afterlife: *Überleben*, in the sense of the crucial role played by translation in determining the survival and transmission of texts, as famously articulated by Walter Benjamin ([1923]1996).

Arte Aulica: in relation to poetry, it indicates that this literary genre is conceived as an erudite form of fine art meant to be appreciated by a relative minority of highly educated people with sophisticated tastes and sensibility.

Breac-Ghaeltacht: An Irish definition used to describe districts where the use of the Irish language existed concomitantly with the use of English.

Caesura: Conventional division occurring within a metric line of poetry.

District and Circle: Name of an Underground station in London chosen as the title of one of Heaney's poetry collection. In the title poem, "circles" also functions as the definition used by Dante to refer to the infernal dwellings where the multitude of the damned is lodged. In Italian, this specific denomination could only be achieved by employing the word *gironi*, as used in the *Divine Comedy* (Dante Alighieri, *La Commedia* 1472).

Graduation: Category defined by Martin and White Martin, J., & White, P. (2007) in *The language of evaluation: appraisal in English*, UK: Palgrave Macmillan (p. 137), and subsequently employed by Munday, J. (2012) in *Evaluation in translation: Critical points of translator decision-making*, Taylor & Francis (p. 33), for the discussion of translations whereby the degree of a word's semantic scope can vary in relation to its "focus" or "force."

Hyponym-Hypernym/Superordinate: Indicating a relationship between classes of words, from the more specific to the more general term logically embedding it (e.g., ring is a hyponym of jewelry).

Ideology: Within the boundaries of this study, the notion of "ideology" is based on Michael Cronin's use in the context of translation (Cronin, M. [2000]. Ideology and Translation. In *Encyclopedia of Literary Translation into English* (pp. 694-696). London/Chicago, Fitzroy Dearborn) and inspired by Terry Eagleton's definition. It serves the purpose to investigate the norms inherent to the system of reception and evaluate how they can influence the translation process, mainly in terms of the translator's behavior—be it spontaneously accepted or imposed by patrons—but also in the form of compliance with the leading aesthetic standards at the time the translation is produced.

Refractions: Term used by André Lefevere to account for a level of divergence from the source text inherent to each translation. By encompassing readers' expectations as an integral part of the translation process, Lefevere acknowledges the role played by reception already in the phase of production.

ENDNOTES

1. Re-elaborations and critical commentaries of Schleiermacher's theory have been numerous throughout the years, but its pioneering role is particularly evident in Lawrence Venuti's article: "Genealogies of Translation Theory: Schleiermacher." *TTR: Traduction, Terminologie, Rédaction* 4.2 (1991), 125-50.

2. A concise account of the role of the German Romantics in defining the cultural aspect of translation is given in the section "The Romantic theory of cultural translation" of the following article: Buden, B., Nowotny, S., Simon, S., Bery, A., & Cronin, M. (2009). Cultural translation: An introduction to the problem, and Responses. *Translation Studies, 2*(2), 196-219, doi:10.1080/14781700902937730.

3. A succinct outline of these aspects, drawn from an account of new trends in German translation theory, is provided by Mary Snell-Hornby in her contribution to Bassnett's collection of essays (1990/1995, p. 82).

4. See for instance Billiani, F. (2007). *Culture nazionali e narrazioni straniere. Italia, 1903-1943*. Firenze: Le Lettere; a book that explores "the channels, the discourses, the modes of reception and appropriation of translations from editors, writers, readers, intellectuals and the fascist regime" ('i canali, i discorsi, i modi di ricezione e appropriazione delle traduzioni da parte di editori, scrittori, lettori, intellettuali e regime fascista,' p. 15).

5. All translations from Italian into English are mine, and they are meant as glosses to understand the literal meaning and stylistic peculiarities of the Italian sentences they represent.

Chapter 11
Exploring Agency in Translation:
The Case of the Early Culture-Planners During the Republican Period in Turkey

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ABSTRACT

This chapter explores the work and impact of Remzi Bengi and Yaşar Nabi Nayır, two significant figures in the realm of culture planning and cultural exchange during the early Republican Period in Turkey. Bengi was an editor and the owner of Remzi Publishing House, a renowned publishing house, whilst Yaşar Nabi Nayır, also an editor and publisher, was the proprietor of the journal Varlık and the Varlık Publishing House. This chapter argues that, in light of their significant contributions to publishing and translation activities of the period in question and their pioneering roles in the development of new culture repertoires and the cultural evolution of the same period, they should not be seen simply as editors and publishers but also as idea-makers, culture entrepreneurs and, indeed, "carriers" of life images.

INTRODUCTION

Although Venuti uses the term *invisibility* to describe the status of the translator in contemporary Anglo-American culture (Venuti, 1995), this chapter suggests that the term may also be applied in the discussion of the role(s) of those agents that initiate and sponsor the translation process and promote the product – and production – of translation. These agents may be defined (though not exhaustively) as the editors and the owners of publishing houses that are seemingly visible publicly but invisible in terms of their contributions to the cultural evolution of a community and/or nation in the context of their roles in the translation activities of the Republican period. In this chapter, the aim is to shed light on the role of these agents – namely the owners and editors of publishing houses – but without excluding the translators. Referring to the initial and formative years of Turkey's Republican Period, it is suggested

that the role of these agents in the process of cultural evolution, or culture planning (Even-Zohar, 2002), may become more visible when analyzed in the context of Even-Zohar's "culture entrepreneurs", "idea-makers" and "makers of life images" (Even-Zohar, 2010, pp. 194-198). It is also suggests that a new term – namely, "carriers of life images" – can be added to these terms in certain cases where the aim is not only to create new life images but also to import or transfer them from other cultures by way of translation, as was the case in Turkey. Many of the ideas expressed in this chapter are developments of ideas from Bozkurt 2010 and Bozkurt 2014.

BACKGROUND

Şehnaz Tahir Gürçağlar (2009, p. 163), in her article 'A Cultural Agent Against the Forces of Culture: Hasan Âli Yücel', emphasizes the fact that, though perhaps still not adequate, most studies on the concept of agency have focused on the translator as an active agent in the field of translation studies. She introduces Hasan Âli Yücel as a cultural agent, or agent of change, who was not directly connected with the production of translation but who contributed greatly to translation activities during the early Republican Period roughly between the years 1938-1946 when he served as the Minister of Education. In his capacity as a major political figure, who founded the state-sponsored Translation Bureau and the Village Institutesin 1940, Yücel also launched the influential journal of translation *Tercüme* in 1940. Tahir Gürçağlar (2009, p. 164) defines agents of culture as "individuals who are equipped with special assets and abilities". She makes use of Pierre Bourdieu's description of these agents as possessing a special type of "capital" and goes on to say that as agents, "they at times have cultural or economic capital, or both, yet there is little doubt that they hold a vast amount of "symbolic capital", i.e. "accumulated prestige, celebrity, consecration or honour" (Bourdieu, 1993, as cited in Tahir Gürçağlar 2009, p. 164). In her article, she draws attention to the significance of focusing on translational agents, not only those who produce translations but also those that are 'further away' from the textual production of translations, such as Hasan Âli Yücel (Bourdieu, 1993, as cited in Tahir Gürçağlar 2009, p. 164).

In his more recent papers such as 'The Making of Culture Repertoire and the Role of Transfer' and 'Idea-Makers, Culture Entrepreneurs, Makers of Life Images, And The Prospects of Success' (2010), Even-Zohar draws attention to the role and importance of agents in culture planning. Although in his paper 'The Making of Culture Repertoire and the Role of Transfer' (1997, p. 166), he argues that when we are dealing with incidents of transfer, the activities of the makers of repertoire (who are at the same time agents of transfer) deserve special attention, he does not provide specific information as to who these makers of the repertoire are. Nonetheless, in a recent paper, he differentiates between three kinds of agents in the process of culture-planning; "idea-makers "culture entrepreneurs", and "makers of life images" (Even-Zohar, 2010, pp. 194-195, 98). "Idea-makers-as-options-devisers," or, in short, "idea-makers," are those agents who "[produce] ideas that may be converted to new or alternative options for the cultural repertoires of social groups" (Even-Zohar, 2010, p. 194). They are capable of mentally designing new options (Even-Zohar, 2010, p. 192). As Even-Zohar points out, "It has always been the task of a 'small dedicated group of thoughtful' people (to use Margaret Mead's famous expression) to get engaged in the business of thinking, generating or providing alternative or unprecedented new options" (Even-Zohar, 2010, p. 6). Even-Zohar develops his concept of idea-makers by adding another dimension to their task, but this time refers to them as "culture entrepreneurs" (Even-Zohar, 2010, 195). He defines culture entrepreneurs as active idea-makers who are also engaged in the promotion of their

options. These people not only produce and preach (their) ideas but also implement them and make their ideas not only "heard and accepted but also converted to socio-cultural reality by implanting them into the active repertoire of the relevant group" (Even-Zohar, 2010, p. 10). Another type of agency Even-Zohar mentions is the "maker(s) of life images", an activity mostly carried out in literature, as will be explored below, through images, metaphors and the presentation of new models of life (2005, p. 13). It will be suggested in this chapter that by selecting, translating, and promoting the works of Western literature, the editors, publishing house owners and translators of the Republican Period can be considered as "carriers of life images", if not "makers of life images".

This chapter shall focus on two significant figures: Remzi Bengi (1907-1978) and Yaşar Nabi Nayır (1908-1981), who not only made significant contributions to the translation of Western classics into Turkish but who also, as shall be demonstrated, contributed greatly to the design and construction of a new lifestyle for Turkish people through the journals and publishing houses they established in the aforementioned period. The chapter shall go on to argue that these two publishers-cum-editors, and the translators and authors that gathered around them, became, via the translations they published, idea-makers, culture entrepreneurs and "carriers of life images", if not indeed "makers of life images", by using the media available to them in the creation not only of a new Turkish literature but a new way of living and thinking for Turkish people.

TRANSLATIONAL AGENTS: IDEA-MAKERS, CULTURE ENTREPRENEURS, "CARRIERS OF LIFE IMAGES"

What differentiates agents like Remzi Bengi and Yaşar Nabi Nayır from others who were also involved in translation-related activities at the time is the role they attributed to the contemporary translations and translators. Previous studies on the recent history of this field in Turkey have alluded to the major role translation has played in the creation of new literary canons and the formation of new bodies of works to be offered to a newly developing readership (Tahir Gürçağlar, 2008; Berk, 2004). However, a closer examination of the contributions made by Remzi Bengi and Yaşar Nabi Nayır would suggest that they did not consider the act of translation simply as a means whereby Western literary works could be transferred into Turkish to subsequently become reading material for Turkish readers and examples of a new literary canon; rather, they viewed translation as a means of creating a platform whereby translation and translators could trigger a change in the system of literature itself as well as in other systems of socio-political life and thus in the lives of the people of the Republic overall.

Another significant point which makes Nabi and Remzi's efforts so striking is that the proclamation of the Republic in 1923 represented not just a political, social and cultural transformation but also, to an extent, an epistemological break with the past. The Republican People's Party was actively involved in the production of a new culture, both as a result of the already seemingly discredited status of the previous (Ottoman-Islamic) culture, as well as by actively attempting to further discredit said empire in order to replace its central image-making capacity with an imported (viz., Western/modern) culture. Whereas during Ottoman times, culture (in terms of "high" or "grand" culture") was located, generated and produced in the upper echelons of power, in the palace and courts (see Moran, 1997), whilst the people-slash-masses were 'restricted' to a folk culture that was distinct from the rarified culture of the palace, Remzi Bengi and Yaşar Nabi Nayır were laymen who were also central players in the planning of a culture that was to be imbibed, consumed and adopted by the people and – critically – not just the elite.

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As Benedict Anderson (1996, p. 113) explains, the end of the First World War also marked the end of the great dynasties of the world, such as the Habsburgs, the Hohenzollerns, the Romanovs and the Ottomans. They were all replaced by nation-states, as it was the nation-state that had become the legitimate international norm throughout most of the world at the time. The Turkish Republic was a result of this movement, emerging as an ostensibly unitary nation-state after the break-up of the multi-national and multi-lingual Ottoman Empire, an empire in which societal order was interlaced, intertwined and enhanced by Islam and its teachings. The Ottoman Empire was a political unit in which the sultan was also the Caliph, and thus the paramount religious and political leader in the Islamic world.

As Even-Zohar points out, "[g]iven the hypothesis of heterogeneity in socio-semiotic systems, there is never a situation where only one repertoire may function for each set of circumstances in society. Concurrently, different options constitute competing and conflicting repertoires" (Even-Zohar, 1997, p. 21). When taking into account the fact that the Republican Period was a period of transition from empire to nation-state, the effects of the old regime and its competing and conflicting repertoires or options were still present in the Republican Period, concurrent and in conflict with the new options introduced by the (new) power-holders and free agents. Both Remzi Bengi and Yaşar Nabi Nayır attracted writers, translators and intellectuals who were not only active in the literary field but also in the socio-political life of the Republic. The mediums they provided for these figures, such as journals and collections of translated works, became spaces in which the notion of translation in relation to politics and socio-cultural matters was discussed. More specifically, Even-Zohar points out that "the making of new options has also been carried out in history through images, metaphors, and the depiction of alternative, different, or new models of life" (2010, pp. 198-199), which he calls "life images". He goes on to argue that these images appear chiefly in the sphere of "literature", and may, according to Even-Zohar, either reinforce socio-cultural control by promoting preferred interpretations of existing lifestyles or clash with prevailing preferences (Even-Zohar, 2010, p. 199).

It is argued in this chapter that in Turkey, these culture entrepreneurs, idea-makers and makers of life-images, or, to use an alternative term, 'carriers of life images', with the mediums they provided for translations and translators, not only aimed at contributing to a poetics that would lead to a (revived as well as new) national literature but also endeavored to create changes in the socio-cultural and political life of the Republic by enabling translation and literature to be discussed in relation to political affairs and to social and cultural life. Thus, it can be stated that the ultimate aim of these discussions was, arguably, to bring about a transformation in the lives of the Turkish people.

In the aftermath of the collapse of the Ottoman Empire, the Republican Period can thus be considered the beginning of a completely new chapter in Turkish history. This is because the aim (of the new republic) was not only to change the political regime but entire principles underlying the socio-cultural structure. Doğan Özlem (2001, p. 460) argues that Mustafa Kemal Atatürk was himself, to a great extent, a positivist, and the ideology of Kemalism thus expressed fundamental principles of positivism. This republican promulgation of positivism, at least until the mid-1950s, took as its cue the French model and was discernible not only in politics but also in different fields of socio-political life, including education. This chapter shall attempt to demonstrate how individuals like Remzi Bengi and Yaşar Nabi Nayır created a platform, whereby the discussions of translations from Western literature both as product and process bore the signs of Kemalist ideology and constituted a bridge between the political aspirations of the period and literature.

The method that will be adopted in this analysis is Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) which regards "discourse" as "a *practical*, *social* and *cultural*, phenomenon" (van Dijk, 1997, p. 2). According to Fairclough and Wodak, in order to understand whether a discursive event does ideological work, it is not enough for texts to be analyzed; "how texts are interpreted and received and what social effects they have" (1997, p. 275) must also be taken into account. In this study, the aim will be to study how the platforms allotted by Remzi Bengi and Yaşar Nabi Nayır to the translators and intellectuals of the period were "interpreted" and "received", and "what social effects" they had by both displaying how these platforms were used by the senders and how they were interpreted by the addressees.

Remzi Bengi and Remzi Publishing House

Remzi Bengi, who was known as the *Cumhuriyet Kitapçısı* ('the Publisher of the Republic')[1], founded the Remzi Kitabevi (the Remzi Bookshop) in 1926, which remains one of the most prominent publishing houses in Turkey. During the Republican period, Remzi published 960 books, volumes and series from various genres; considering that the number of books published in one particular collection of translated classics sponsored by the state was 1,170 (Baykurt, 1979, pp. 15-16), Remzi's output was remarkable. More importantly, Remzi Bengi launched a collection which included 127 works of Western literature translated into Turkish, earning him the sobriquet of "the man who achieved what the state could not" (Baykurt, 1979, p. 16). This was primarily because of the series *Translations from World Authors* (which also included a supplementary journal entitled *Kalem* ['The Pen']), a venture that set a precedent for a collection of translated works that was subsequently published by the state Translation Bureau that had been set up by the Ministry of Education under Hasan Âli Yücel.

The series included translations from canonical works of Western literature such as *La Terre* and *Travaile* by Emile Zola, *The Portrait of Dorian Gray* by Oscar Wilde, *Histoire de la grandeur et de la décadence de César Birotteau* by Honoré de Balzac, *Little Roque* by Guy de Maupassan and *The Charterhouse of Parma* by Stendhal, as well as more contemporary works such as *The Narrow Corner* by Somerset Maugham, *The Mother* by Pearl Buck and *Tobacco Road* by Erskine Caldwell. In a book published as a tribute to Remzi Bengi, most of the contributors, including Muhsin Ertuğrul, emphasized the pioneering role Bengi and his publishing house played:

Who could have imagined: on top of a stone at that last stop, in that box draped in embroidered cloth, lies a man who would carry within his slight frame the drive and the will to make happen, all on his own, what the state would later attempt with the might of its thousands of limbs. Who could have thought that he would become a role model for the Ministry of Education! (Ertuğrul, 1979, p. 41)

Remzi Bengi should be considered first and foremost an idea-maker and a culture entrepreneur because, as mentioned in an earlier work (see Bozkurt, 2010), his series 'Translations from World Authors' can be seen as the first genuine Republican attempt to systematically translate Western classics into Turkish, in contrast to the prevailing general belief that the first systematic and comprehensive attempt to translate Western classics into Turkish was the (state) Translation Bureau's 'Translation from World Classics' collection.

The Remzi Publishing House also had a special place among the other publishing houses, which published of western classics in that period. The first of them was a series called *Dün ve Yarın Tercüme*

Külliyatı ('Translated Works of Yesterday and Tomorrow'), which was launched in 1933 by Vakit Publishing House. The others included *Hilmi Kitabevi Neşriyatı* ('Publications by Hilmi Kitabevi'), launched in 1934 by Hilmi Publishing House, *Dünya Klasiklerinden Tercümeler Serisi* ('Translations of World Classics') launched in 1938 by the Suhulet Publishing House, *Ankara Library* launched in 1938 by Kanaat Publishing, *Tercüme Romanlar Serisi* (Series of Translated Novels) launched in 1938 by İnkılap Kitabevi and the *Şarktan Garptan Seçme Eserler* (Selected Works of West and East) by Ahmet Halit Publishing House (Berk, 2004, p. 123). Özlem Berk (2000, p. 156) points out that translation series published after the proclamation of the Republic were long-lasting but the series *Translations from World Authors* was probably the largest initiative in this field.

Remzi Bengi states in an interview given to the newspaper Cumhuriyet that when the first books of the series were published, they presented a set to (President) Atatürk, the Prime Minister İsmet inönü and the Minister of Home Affairs Şükrü Kaya, going on to say that in return they received a letter of appreciation from Atatürk in which he expressed his pleasure and hoped they would continue this endeavor, which he described as a service to Turkish culture (Bengi, 1979, p. 14). Fakir Baykurt (1979, pp. 111–112) points out:

It was 1942- 43 […] It was as if all of the shelves were filled with its books. The bookshelf of the Gönen Village Institute was, for me, nothing less than a palace. Maksim Gorky was published in that series, in a translation by Mustafa Nihat Özön. All the works of Panait Istrati were in that series, translated by Yaşar Nabi. Zola, Balzac, Pearl Buck, Steinbeck, Caldwell, Stendhal, Turgenev, Chekhov, O'Henry were there too. Who was it? Was it the state behind this publishing house?

With its extraordinary leadership at a time when none of the renowned publishers of our time existed, Remzi Kitabevi was a publishing pioneer. Each and every book that it has published is of the same high quality that should mark the output of any state business.

Because the collection contained such a wide range of works by prominent names in Western literature, the series also attracted attention because its translators, men like Mustafa Nihat Özön and Yaşar Nabi, were equally prominent figures of Turkish intellectual and publishing life. Remzi Bengi gathered around himself a circle of equally active idea-makers, culture entrepreneurs, and "carriers of life images" and much of his economic, as well as social and cultural, capital was added to the publishing sector. In a previous study in which I focused on translators' prefaces to translations published in the series *Translations from World Authors* in the 1930s and 1940s, 43 prefaces were analyzed and it was observed that these prefaces served as a platform whereby translators could freely discuss issues related to translation, literature, politics and the major events of the time (Bozkurt, 2010). While in one preface it is possible to find criticisms of World War II and France (that written by Halit Fahri Ozansoy [1941], a notable Turkish poet, to his translation *Yaralılar* ('*Civilisation*') by George Duhamel), it is not surprising to see the promotion of the short story as a genre in another (the preface written by Hasan Ali Ediz [1938], a prominent Turkish intellectual of the time, to his short story collection entitled *Rus Hikayeleri* [*Russian Short Stories*]).

Another significant aspect which distinguished Remzi Publishing House from other private publishing houses which were active during this period was that Remzi Bengi himself established an advisory board which he consulted when considering books to be translated. These advisors were also either translators themselves or prominent figures in their respective literary and/or political fields (Yetkin, 1979, p. 47). In

this way, the works to be translated were selected by an advisory board or by the translators themselves. Although there was of course a filtering process in the selection, including criteria as to whether a work could be included in the series, it was Remzi Bengi who ultimately decided whether the translated work would be published or not (Yetkin, 1979, p. 48). We can therefore think of the selection of works to be translated as a three-step process, thus demonstrating that *Translations from World Authors* was not the product of purely arbitrary selections. Arslan Kaynardağ (1979, p. 37) points out,

[Remzi Bengi] advanced very rapidly thanks to the bibliophile passion and intelligence backing it. He set up a kind of literary advisory board in the vicinity of the publishing house in order to reroute the publications pursued to date through coincidences and friendships. He took the business seriously and always got advice when needed.

As pointed out above, the series *Translations from World Authors* had a supporting journal, *Kalem*, the editor-in-chief of which was Mustafa Nihat Özön, the same man who was also the chief editor of the series. This was also a pioneering venture as the Translation Bureau (1940-1967), which, as mentioned above, went on to publish a series of translations from world classics under the auspices of the Ministry of Education, was likewise supported by a journal, namely *Tercüme*. However, it could be argued that Remzi Bengi should be considered as both an idea-maker and a culture entrepreneur not only because he published the series *Translations from World Authors* and set an example for consequent translation and publishing activities during the period, but because of his major contributions to the ideological aspirations of the state. Hasan Âli Yücel, a close friend of Remzi Bengi, stated:

Brother Remzi is not only aware of the direction the world is going but also which direction Turkey should go in [...] This is an important trait, the trait of leadership. In the world of publishing, having such a trait ultimately leads to the founding of eternal institutions. First he set about gathering information about Western intellectuals and writers, which led him to become interested in their works [...] Then he gathered around himself writers and translators, like advisors and members of a family, and established an enlightened domain together with them, which was revolutionary and Kemalist. (Yücel, quoted in Verel, 1979, p. 103)

As Yücel points out, what Remzi Bengi was serving in that period was the revolutionary spirit and the Kemalist ideology, an ideology that consisted of six principles represented by the six arrows on the flag of the ruling Republican People's Party, those six principles being republicanism, populism, secularism, revolution(-ism), nationalism and statism. This was most noticeable in the prefaces written by Hasan Ali Ediz to his translations, published in the series 'Translations from World Authors'. Ediz was a particularly well-known socialist figure at the time, actively engaged in communist activities in Turkey. However, he was also a prolific translator from Russian and an intellectual who published articles in journals such as *Yeni Edebiyat*, *Kalem*, and *Ayda Bir*. Nine out of eighteen translations from Russian literature in the series published by Remzi were completed by Hasan Ali Ediz and the prefaces he wrote included his ideas about the Czarist Regime, which he compared to the Ottoman Empire – both of which he duly condemned – and his praise of the new regime in Russia. What is particularly fascinating is the fact that he was expressing his opinions on the regime in Russia by employing such concepts as *populism* and *revolutionism*, concepts which were also foundational principles of the ruling Party's ideology (Bozkurt, 2010, pp. 80-84).

Two of the most significant journals of the period, *Oluş* and *İnsan*, were also published by Remzi Publishing House. Tahir Gürçağlar states that *İnsan* was a journal that was devoted to the dissemination of the concept of humanism (2008, p. 160). She explains that humanism "was presented as a philosophical basis for the republican reforms" and "was used as a significant instrument in the planning of the educational and literary repertoire in Turkey" (p. 60). It is arguably not a coincidence that Topuz (2005, p. 112), a prominent Turkish author and journalist, asserts that it was through the pioneering translations of *Translations from World Authors* that the youth of that period began to learn about Western culture and humanism. However, it was not only in the translations published in this series that were considered humanist; humanism was also one of the many issues appearing in the *prefaces* to the translations. Mustafa Nihat Özön, in his preface to Gorky's *Stepte*, describes Gorky who was one of the most influential socialist writers of his time as a humanist. When the political context of the day is taken into consideration, it is easily noticed that the term, namely humanism, takes on an interesting connotation in Özön's reference. According to Özön, the humanist aspect of Gorky is derived from his success in depicting his characters, as well as his detachment from his work (Özön, 1939, pp. XX–XXI). When taking into account the fact that a whole generation, indeed more than just one generation, grew up reading translations published by Remzi, Remzi's ideological aspirations, as the quote below by one of the prominent authors of the 1950s, Tarık K. Dursun reveals, should not be underestimated:

The publishing house of our preceding generation, commemorated today as the generation of the 50s, is Remzi. That generation complemented its cultural needs with Remzi Publishing House's series of books called 'Translations from World Authors' in addition to the sulky, gloomy and unappealing classics of the Ministry of Education. The two generations, both the 50s and the 60s, owe much to Remzi Publishing House with respect to the way they were perceived and in terms of their impact. (Dursun, 1979, pp. 117–118)

This enormous impact Remzi had on the generations referred to above is of crucial significance and mostly results from the fact that the people Remzi gathered around his publishing house were renowned figures of the period, respected and looked up to by the general public, figures that deserve to be considered idea-makers, culture entrepreneurs and "carriers of life images". One of the most notable of these figures was Hasan Âli Yücel, who, after being elected to parliament, became Minister of Education. Most important of all, and the initiator of this process, Hasan Ali Yücel was one of the first members on the advisory board of Remzi Kitabevi (Baykurt 1979, p. 16) and was also among the advisors who proposed the creation of the 'Translations from World Authors' series (İmer, 1979, p. 219). He convened the 'First Publishing Congress' where it was decided that a Translation Bureau supported by the state would be founded. It is perhaps not mere coincidence that the chief editor of Remzi Kitabevi, Mustafa Nihat Özön, was the minute-taker for the Translation Committee during this First Publishing Congress (*Birinci Türk Neşriyat Kongresi*, p. 35). Among the members of the Translation Committee that decided on the establishment of the Translation Bureau were Halit Fahri Ozansoy, Sabri Esat Siyavuşgil, Sabahattin Rahmi Eyüboğlu, Sabahattin Ali, and Suut Kemal Yetkin, all of whom, in addition to being major names in literary circles, were also advisors at Remzi Kitabevi.

Not only was Remzi Bengi's publishing house a meeting point for intellectuals of the time, it also played a prominent role in the discovery of new translators and authors who had been nurtured and moved by Remzi's translations. As Baha Dürder points out:

In a letter to the esteemed Mustafa Nihat Özön, one of our famous writers (either Kemal Bilbaşar or Fıfat [Rıfat] Ilgaz) wrote: "We grew up under the cloak of Gorky. You introduced him to us." Today's socialist and realist Turkish writers truly learned about the world of novels through these translations, and thereupon found their direction. (Dürder, 1979, p. 82)

One of the more significant writers and translators and, most importantly, a figure I would describe as an idea-maker, a culture entrepreneur and a carrier of life images who published his translation in the series 'Translations from World Authors', was Yaşar Nabi Nayır. Below I dwell on his role in the culture planning process of the Republican Period and the significance of his journal *Varlık* in the development of Turkish literature and Turkish translation activities.

Yaşar Nabi Nayır and *Varlık*

Yaşar Nabi Nayır was the founder and editor of the journal *Varlık* ('Presence'), which began circulation on July 15, 1933, and continues to be one of Turkey's major literary and cultural journals, as well as its longest-running. Yaşar Nabi continued to personally publish the journal once or twice a month for a full 48 years. After his death, his daughter Filiz Nayır Deniztekin took charge of the journal. Yaşar Nabi also established the Varlık Publishing House in 1946, which, like the Remzi Publishing House, contributed to the development of both indigenous and translated works of literature. As explained above, while Remzi Bengi and his publishing activities contributed greatly to the ideological inculcation of the period, Yaşar Nabi was no less active in this regard. Emre Kongar, in his article *Yaşar Nabi Nayır'ın Türk Edebiyatındaki Yeri: Varlık Dergisi ve Varlık Yayınları* ('The place of Yaşar Nabi in Turkish Literature: the journal *Varlık* and Varlık Publishing House', 2010), goes so far as to argue that with his journal and publishing house, Yaşar Nabi Nayır constituted a pillar of the official ideology.

As Kongar (2010, p. 22) goes on to state, Yaşar Nabi was strongly attached to the ideology of the Republican People's Party, the sole (and ruling) party of the period, which could be summarized via the following principles (known as the *altı ok* ('the six arrows', as mentioned earlier): revolutionism, statism, nationalism, populism, secularism and republicanism. Kongar (2010, p. 26) argues that, along with İsmail Hakkı Tonguç and the *Köy Enstitüleri* ('Village Institutes') and Hasan Âli Yücel and the Translation Bureau, Yaşar Nabi, with his journal and the publishing house, constituted one of the three important pillars of the "*resmi sacayağı*" (official ideology). Kongar goes on to say that:

Whatever the individual relations between Nayır, Yücel and Tonguç, they can be considered the three leaders, the three symbols of a thrust forward, of a thrust to "make national Turkish culture universal by developing it," which was initiated in the 1930's and which notwithstanding the fact that it harbored various deviations and fluctuations within the framework of "official ideology", basically was supported by the dominant ideology. (Kongar, 2010 p. 26)

As Kongar (2010, p. 23) points out, Yaşar Nabi's commitment to the official ideology was highly influential in determining the path *Varlık* followed in that period. Nurullah Ataç, one of the major writers, poets and critics of Turkish literature, states that *Varlık* is not only a literary journal but the journal of revolution and novelty dealing with every aspect related to the revolution:

Was Varlık just an arts journal? No, because it approached all matters encompassed by the concept of revolution, and tried to be as useful as possible in the reestablishment of society. A literary journal […] Yes, but literature in the widest sense of the word, a kind of literature that was not content with literature itself, but aimed also to develop minds, and to ensure the progress of society. (Kongar, 2010, p. 81)

What is most revealing in this passage about the vision of the journal is that *Varlık* did not just regard literature as an artistic endeavor but also as a medium which would contribute to the development of Turkish society by changing the mindset of its people. This brings to our attention an important function of literature pointed out by Even-Zohar (2010, p. 199) who, following Russian semioticians like Lotman, Uspennskj, and Ivanov, regards literature as a medium which offers readers "potential models of life" referred to above. It can be argued that the journal *Varlık* played a significant role in offering "potential models for life" for Turkish people during the Republican Period, especially when considering that, as Doğan Hızlan points out: "Intellectuals, and especially teachers read it. Because in addition to publishing the output of new literature, that magazine was also championing the world view of Kemalist thought" (2010, p.89).

Besides being a significant literary journal strongly connected to the official ideology, much like Remzi Publishing House, *Varlık* was also a school of literature for many writers and poets during the early Republican Period. Various writers or poets published their first works in *Varlık* (Hızlan, 2010, p. 89, Kongar, 2010, p. 31) and writers such as Orhan Veli, Melih Cevdet Anday, Oktay Rifat, Sait Faik, Orhan Kemal and Mahmut Makal, to name but a few, were among some of the authors and poets that were introduced to Turkish literature and readers by *Varlık* (Kongar, 2010, pp. 30-31). Mustafa Şerif Onaran (2010, p. 62), one of the many Turkish poets that published their poems in the journal, states that *Varlık* was like a school for him because he found the opportunity to meet Abdülhak Şinasi Hisar, Sait Faik, Ziya Osman Saba, Azra Erhat, important contemporary names in Turkish literature.

Cemal Süreya, an outstanding figure in Turkish poetry, draws attention to another aspect of *Varlık* and emphasizes the importance of the journal for literary historians. He also points out *Varlık*'s unique role in the development of Turkish literature in the Republican Period, especially in the 1940s:

Varlık was a veritable carrier of literature or even of culture, and it occupied a very important place within the process of development of our society. A historian of literature of the future will carry out a great part of his studies through Varlık, and will follow the development of the arts, especially in the years 1940-1956, on the pages of Varlık. From this point of view, we can state that Varlık is more important than the other magazines, including Servet-i Fünun. (Süreya, quoted in Onaran, 2010, p. 68)

Cemal Süreya distinguishes *Varlık* not only from other journals of the period and but also from *Servet-i Fünun*, another major literary journal published between 1891 and 1944, and thus attributes a special role in the history of Turkish literature to the journal. According to Süreya, it is possible for literary historians to trace the evolution of Turkish literature, especially its development between the years 1940 and 1956, via readings of *Varlık*. Mustafa Şerif Onaran 2010, p. 66) also draws attention to the 1940s, stating that it would not have been possible for the generation of the 40s to have had such a transformative effect on Turkish literature without *Varlık*. Like Bengi, Yaşar Nabi may be considered an idea-maker, culture entrepreneur and "carrier of life images" not just because of his ideological inclinations and the manner in which he disseminated them but also because of his contribution to a young generation of authors in terms of their discovery and encouragement. However, he mostly deserves these accolades

because of the way in which he managed to bring together translated literature and indigenous literature in *Varlık* and contextualize them in line with the official ideology during a period in which translation was expected to feed Turkish literature.

Hasan Bülent Kahraman, a significant Turkish writer and critic also points to the 1940s, not only in terms of the journal's contribution to indigenous writing but also to translated literature:

Varlık perceived indigenous and translated literature as if they were elements of Republican ideology. This was so much so that the birth of a new literature in the 1940's and the fact that this birth happened in Varlık was an extremely interesting phenomenon, since many people would present this literature as a literature that was indigenous, but that did not manage to be indigenous. (Kahraman, 2010, p. 16)

Kahraman emphasizes the importance *Varlık* placed on both indigenous and translated literature and how the journal regarded them as elements of Republican ideology. He also draws attention to the rise, thanks to *Varlık*, of a new literature in the 1940s and states that this literature was regarded by many as one that was indigenous whilst simultaneously unsuccessful at being indigenous (in that it resembled the foreign). According to Kahraman (2010, p. 15), the reason for this is the method of *içkin sentez* ('natural synthesis') adopted by the journal in that period, which he explains by referring to the role of journals in the socio-cultural development of Turkey, especially during the Second Constitutional Era (1908-1920) and the early Republican Period.

Designating the aftermath of the Second Constitutional Era as 'the period of the journal', Kahraman emphasizes the contribution made by these journals to the socio-cultural formation of the period: "Journal publishing was the phase during which a real awareness was attained in Turkey, and social awareness and cultural phenomena were experienced at the highest level" (2010, p. 14). According to Kahraman (2010, pp.15-16), one of the main contributions of journals to the Second Constitutional Era and the early Republican Period was their encouragement and support of translation activities. However, Kahraman distinguishes *Varlık* from other journals of the Republican period in its treatment of the indigenous and the foreign.

It can be inferred from Kahraman's discussion that, with the method of natural synthesis, he both refers to the balance established in the journal between translated and indigenous literature and also to the components in the indigenous works of literature which arose from *Varlık* and which reflect the features of both foreign and indigenous literature. According to Kahraman (2010, p. 16), in the period between 1930 and 1950, the Republic arrived at a crossroads where the need to choose between the indigenous and the foreign arose. Kahraman (2010) goes on to say that, since in that period the Republic internalized both, this should not be thought of as an opposition in which one excluded the other. That is why no matter which side a journal of this period advocated, it consisted of a quest for a synthesis and, as Kahraman (2010) points out, this quest resulted in the politicization of the journal. In particular, Kahraman (2010) goes on to state, the journals published after 1930 were divided into two regarding their choices and endeavored to be a supporter or a pioneer of either one or the other – namely, the foreign or the native/indigenous. On the contrary, instead of giving more weight to one or the other, *Varlık* wanted to be the symbol of the aspiration to merge or synthesize the two. Kahraman states that this was part of a larger aspiration or ideology, namely that of being the founding component of a new culture which *Varlık* would achieve with the method of *içkin* sentez; bringing about a balance between translated and indigenous literature. He also states that the same method can be observed in Varlık Publishing House too, which concentrated on both indigenous and translated literature.

However, with the method of *içkin sentez*, Kahraman (2010, p. 16) refers also to those features of indigenous literature which could not be regarded as either indigenous or foreign. In this context, he argues that *Varlık* made room for structures which were a melting pot for the indigenous and the foreign and explains that this could also be observed in *Köy Edebiyatı* ('Village Literature'), which was led by *Varlık*. This movement can be said to have started in 1950 with the publication of Mahmut Makal's *Bizim Köy* ('Our Village') and was represented by authors that graduated from the Village Institutes and depicted Anatolian village life in their works. According to Kahraman (2010), in this movement, *Varlık* again resorted to the method of *içkin sentez*. Thus, as in the literature of the 1940s, in village literature, too, there existed an aspect that was both indigenous and foreign.

Although Hasan Bülent Kahraman does not mention any specific characteristic(s) of this method or provide any precise examples from Turkish literature, apart from a brief mention of the 1940s and the village literature which bears the characteristics of the method, he takes us to the greatest of Yaşar Nabi's aspirations; namely, to lay the foundations of a new Turkish literature by following the examples of Western literature translated into Turkish. In his book, *Edebiyatımızın Bugünkü Meseleleri* ('Contemporary Issues of Our Literature'), published in 1937, Yaşar Nabi wrote:

From this point of view, confirming always our opinions with examples will be the soundest method. We can find many examples among our literary output that will give us an idea about the literature that we want to describe. But obviously, if we want to show the kind of summits attained by real maturity in this field, we shall have to present examples from the literatures of other nations. (Nabi, 1937, p. 29)

When we analyze *Varlık*, as pointed out earlier, what we see are extracts or translations from works of world literature, along with local works of literature, and a discourse created around them via literary criticism, articles and reviews of those works, both translated and indigenous. This body of writing resulted in the conceptualization of realism in the journal not only via examples from world literature, as desired by Yaşar Nabi, but also through its re-contextualization of other concepts such as *cemiyetçi* (social), *milliyetçi* (nationalist), *halkçı* (populist) and *inkılapçı* (revolutionist/-ary), which in turn led to the contextualization of published works, both indigenous and translated, as examples of a contemporary literature created in line with the official ideology.

In the period between the years 1933-1939, *Varlık* described itself as a *Sanat ve Fikir Mecmuası* ('A Journal of Art and Ideas') and what is meant by this description becomes clear in the explanation provided by the journal at the end of the first issue. Bearing the title '*Varlık Ne İçin Çıkıyor*' ('Why is Varlık being published?'), the explanation – as the title suggests – addresses the reasons behind the publishing of the journal. In the first few lines of this passage, we learn that the journal was born out of a gap that was assumed to exist in the field of art during that period – namely the lack of a serious art journal – and the intention of the journal was to fill this gap. As we proceed, we learn that the journal also aimed to demonstrate that the Turkish 'revolutionary generation', the *inkilap nesli*, could prove their existence in the field of art with the help of *Varlık*. It is also made clear that the journal had the intention of working for this generation. This may be interpreted as an opportunity given to the new generation of the Republic to express itself in the journal but it should also be noted that at the same time, the journal seemed to regard this new generation as its target audience (Nabi, 1933). It also maintained that although *Varlık* would devote most of its space to indigenous works, they would also include the masterpieces and literary movements of the West (Varlık, 1933). It can be seen that most of the journal's space is allotted to literature and includes many genres, including literary criticisms and translations of short stories, in-

digenous short stories, extracts from published or soon to be published indigenous or translated works, plays, serials, poems (either indigenous or translated from different Western languages) and debates on literary issues, as well as interviews with significant literary figures of the period.

In the last issue of 1938 and the first issue of 1939, the journal announced that it would change its publishing policy from the next issue forthwith, articulating the same rationale in the first pages of both of these issues; in the 132th issue of 1939, the description of the journal changed from that of a '*Sanat ve Fikir Mecmuası*' ('A Journal of Art and Ideas') to that of a *Milliyetçi ve Memleketçi Fikir Mecmuası* ('A Journal of Nationalist and Native (*Memleketçi*[2]) Thought'). The passage goes on to say that:

Even though Varlık did not wander outside the areas of literature and art, it became a serious journal publishing scholarly and carefully written studies. Economic matters and especially social issues, cultural and linguistic subjects occupied a place of honour in the magazine.

The general criterion for choosing articles for Varlık was like this: being valuable not from the point of view of abstract science, but of utility for the country. (Varlık, 1939, p.1)

This explanation reveals that the primary focus of the journal had changed from literature to socio-cultural and economic issues related to the Turkish Republic. It also states that although domestic issues would be the journal's top priority, wider, global issues would also be dealt with in the journal to the extent that they concerned the Republic. The most significant point related to this announcement is the one which reveals the journal's link to the People's Republican Party "We shall attribute importance to the study, interpretation and commenting of the acts of parliament and government in the areas of economics, justice, agriculture, culture and public works" (Varlik, 1939). It can thus be inferred that as of 1939 onwards, the journal became a medium, through which the Party would be able to communicate its various policies and policy ideas to readers.

When these two announcements related to the publishing policy of the journal are compared, one may erroneously surmise that before 1939 the journal did not include anything other than literature in its content. On the contrary, between 1933 and 1939, the journal consisted of different sections in different issues dealing with the various socio-political events of the period. For instance, in most issues, the journal begins with a section entitled *Muhasabe* ('Evaluation'), which later evolves into *Konuşmalar* ('Speeches'), and in this part, we mostly encounter Yaşar Nabi as a writer commenting on the significant debates or subjects of the day. Other issues included writings in this section by Hasan Ali Yücel, a member of parliament who was appointed Minister of Education in 1938. This part is followed in different issues by titles such as *İdeoloji* ('Ideology', 1933), *Polemik* ('Polemics', 1933), *İktisat Bahisleri* ('Economic Matters', 1934), *Sosyal Bahisleri* ('Social Matters', 1936), Sosyoloji Bahisleri ('Sociological Matters', 1936) and *Ahlak Meseleleri* ('Ethical Issues', 1937). There were also various titles which were not placed under any section but which explored ideas about contemporary issues of the day; such subjects included *Cumhuriyetin Onuncu Yılı* ("The Tenth Anniversary of the Republic", 1933) and *İnkılap ve Milliyetçilik* ("Revolution and Nationalism", 1933). In other issues, we find articles such as *Türk Resim Sanatı* ("The Art of Turkish Painting", 1933), *Sinema, Terbiye Vasıtası* ("Cinema as a Medium of Education", 1935), *Mektep ve Halk Terbiyesi Bakımından Sinema ve Radyo* ("The Cinema and Radio in the Context of the Schooling and Education of the People", 1935) and *Gazeteler ve Halk Terbiyesi* ("Newspapers and the Education of People", 1935), as well as articles on various other topics, such as the purging of language and literature courses from high school curriculums etc. It may thus be stated that the subjects mentioned

in the proclamation were already the concern of the journal, but after 1939 they were given even greater weight than that given to literature or literary matters alone.

According to Hasan Bülent Kahraman, the significance of journals in the socio-political context of the Republican period arises from their stake in the construction of the political via the cultural: "The priority for culture of establishing the political" ["Kültürün siyasal olanı kurma önceliği" (Kahraman, 2010, p.15)]. Indicating the years between 1930-1950 as the period of ideological clashes but with the priority given to the establishment of the political via the cultural, he points out that:

This context will signify the mobilization of journals. And unfortunately it is a process that has not been studied sufficiently. But if there had been an effort to carry out a more careful reading and analysis, it would be seen that the choices – of being a supporter or an opponent of republican attitudes – were established through journals. An uncounted number of magazines, from Aydede to Ülkü, from Hayat to Ağaç, from Yaprak to Yeni Adam, from Yeni Ufuklar, to Yedi Tepe, have drawn the topography of the awareness of this period. (Kahraman, 2010, p.15)

Delving into the Republican period, Kahraman points to a gap in the studies and draws attention to journals of the period such as *Ülkü*, *Hayat* and *Yeni Ufuklar* and many others in terms of their potential for revealing clues about the socio-political developments of Republican Turkey. As already pointed out, *Varlık* not only contributed to the political debates of the period but was also instrumental in encouraging translation activities and in shaping literary discussions in accordance with the ideology it supported – in other words, the official ideology of the state – and established a link between literature and politics. It can thus be said that the journal created a platform consisting of both indigenous and translated works that would reflect the tenets of the Party's ideology and offered the reading public "potential models for life" which suited the expectations of the founders of the Republic both through this literature and the discourse created around it.

FUTURE RESEARCH DIRECTIONS

The transition from empire to nation-state has been a tremendous upheaval for Turkish people, a task that was as tumultuous for the public as it was for the regime. The new regime adopted Westernization as the overarching ideology and displayed every effort to make people internalize the Western style of life. Intellectuals of the period who became the part of this process made use of every channel available to access the people of the Republic and present them with the beliefs and the values of this new life style. Remzi Bengi and Yaşar Nabi are only two examples of "idea-makers", "culture entrepreneurs" and "makers of life images", men that established publishing houses and published journals to provide space for other intellectuals and for translators who went on to contribute to the construction of the new Turkish culture. The spaces they provided became a platform on which translation and literature were discussed along with the socio-political issues that pertained to the new republic.

One of the aims of this chapter was to draw attention to the significance of the agents that took part in the process of translation at a certain period in history but remained invisible in terms of their contribution to translation activities and the establishment of a new culture. By attributing to them the roles they deserve, the aim was to shed light on the relations among different systems of culture such as literature, translation and politics. Following from here, numerous studies may be carried out both into the history of translation both in Turkish culture and in other cultures.

CONCLUSION

In the introduction part, it is suggested that it is not only translators who could be considered as "invisible" when translation is thought of as a process starting with the commissioning of the translation job and ending with the publication and promotion of the translated work; the publishing house owners and editors who choose the work to be translated and subsequently publish and promote it may also be regarded as 'invisible'. The chapter attempted to expand upon this notion by referring to two significant figures of the Republican Period in Turkey who contributed to the evolution of Turkish culture at a critical point in the country's history when 'modernization' became the overarching target of the ruling party.

It should be noted that the Republican period is not the beginning of modernity in Turkish history. On the eve of the nineteenth century, the problems faced in the traditional order which had been established by and consecrated around Islam gave rise to the initiation of a modernization programme in the Ottoman Empire but the reforms taken up in this period were mostly for improving the state of the army; when modernization expanded into the cultural and political fields, it was only to ensure political unity and the economic prosperity (Alkan, 2001, p. 381). However, during the early Republican Period, modernization (or Westernization) was taken up as a more comprehensive and totalizing endeavor and became a planned initiative (Alkan, 2001, p. 382). The leading idea-maker during the early republican period was Atatürk. He was, however, not a singular personality in this regard. As this chapter has argued, there were other "culture entrepreneurs", "idea-makers" and "carriers of life images" contributing to these endeavors in both the political and the socio-cultural realms during the early years of the Republic. Both Remzi Bengi and Yaşar Nabi Nayır attracted writers, translators and intellectuals who were not only active in the literary field but also in the socio-political life of the Republic. The mediums they provided for these figures – the journals and translation collections mentioned in this chapter – became spaces in which the concept of translation in relation to politics and socio-cultural matters was ardently debated and discussed.

Thanks to Remzi Bengi and Yaşar Nabi Nayır, contemporary translators and intellectuals – generally regarded as invisible – were given the opportunity to contribute to the cultural evolution of the Republican Period by creating a discourse in the spaces allotted to them which bound translated texts to the socio-cultural context, which in turn framed the translated texts further. Delving into these spaces and analyzing the role these agents played in this process will yield results not only for researchers working in the field of Translation Studies but may also prove fruitful for those working in other areas of the humanities and social sciences.

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KEY TERMS AND DEFINITIONS

Carrier of Life Images: Those agents who are involved in the transfer of life images from other social groups into their (native) culture repertoire.

Culture Entrepreneur: Those agents who not only produce ideas for a community or a nation but also actively promote them.

Culture Planning: The deliberate intervention into the repertoire of an existing culture of a society/community by certain agents active in that culture.

Idea-Maker: Those agents who create ideas which may later be converted into new options for the culture repertoire of a social group.

Invisibility: The status of the editors and owners of publishing houses that are seemingly visible publicly but invisible in terms of their contribution to the cultural evolution of a community and/or nation in the context of their roles in the translation activities of the period.

Makers of Life Images: Those agents who are involved in the creation of life images for the culture repertoire of a social group, mostly (although not exclusively) via literature.

Translational Agents: The individuals involved in the process of translation as the initiators and the sponsors of the act of translation.

ENDNOTES

1   Unless otherwise stated, all translations in this chapter are mine.
2   Devoted to the country, to the indigenous, to the native, to the 'homegrown'.

Section 4
Interpretation and Cultural Evolution

Chapter 12
The Interpreter as a Cultural Agent:
The Cultural Role of Interpreters Over Time

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ABSTRACT

The interpreters' cultural role has evolved significantly over time. Understanding the profession's history is necessary to understand its cultural evolution. Prior to professionalization, history portrayed interpreters as intercultural agents who held power as essential players, working as cultural and linguistic mediators. With the advent of conference interpreting in the Nuremberg Trials, a new professional image reflected the primary role of the interpreter as a linguistic medium. Due to the more interactive communicative activities involved, dialogue interpreting reflected a broader cultural role. This chapter discusses how the cultural role of the interpreter evolved over time, and within specializations. It gives an overview of the evolution of the cultural role in historic interpreting, conference interpreting, community interpreting, and in the medical interpreting specialization.

INTRODUCTION

The view of what constitutes interpreting underlies the discussion of whether the interpreter is innately a cultural agent, or not. For the purposes of this chapter, the cultural role of the interpreter will refer to the role of the interpreter related to bridging the cultural gap between the individuals he or she interprets for. The historic view of interpreting portrays the interpreter as a link (AIIC History Group, 2013). The interpreter mediated between individuals or groups with different languages and cultural constructs. Interpreters were seen as cultural interfaces to communicate with another culture for different purposes. In contrast, the newer professional image of interpreters, formed in the 1920s, and later with the onset of the development of the first professional association for interpreters, the International Association

of Conference Interpreters, AIIC, in 1953 (AIIC History Group, 2013) involved the complex linguistic activity of conveying messages from one language to another, simultaneously or consecutively. The cognitive skills required to interpret accurately, as well as the linguistic complexities, dominated this conduit model (Wilcox & Shaffer, 2005). However, dialogue interpreting brought about a sociological and interactional approach to the research (Wadensjö, 1998), which reintroduced the cultural role of interpreters in practice.

This chapter will discuss two different views: 1) the linguistic role or conduit model, also called the invisibility model, and 2) the cultural role of acting as an intercultural mediator of the interpreting process. How have these views affected the evolution of the profession's cultural role? While exploring the evolution of the cultural role of interpreting over time, it will ultimately explore the characteristics of various interpreter specializations that seem to curtail or to enhance their cultural role.

BACKGROUND

The Cultural Role of the Historic Interpreter

Interpreting has probably been in existence ever since man used spoken or signed language to interact with different cultures. It has always played a vital role in relationships between people of different origins (Delisle & Woodsworth, 1995, p. 18). Throughout the centuries, the need for intercultural communication spread due to several factors.

One prevailing factor involved the friendly or unfriendly contact of tribes, peoples, and communities for trade and/or invasion. When intercultural communication needs arose, the identification and recruitment of a bicultural and bilingual individual was sought out. This individual needed to speak the *other* language to a certain degree. In order for that to be the case, the individual must have at some point had contact with the *other* culture due to personal history, experience, or heritage. This individual would be drawn into this powerful position of mediating between two cultural groups for a specific reason. S/he may or may not have had a position of power in the community before the need arose. Accepting this new role as an intermediary between two cultural groups may have increased his/her status in the community. Generally, the group that initiated the intercultural communication had an interest or a message to discuss with the other group. This individual would be selected to represent the objectives of one group and to help achieve certain goals (Steward, Schein & Cartwright, 1998).

Until the 20th century, travel opportunities were not as prevalent. It is perhaps noteworthy to mention that these individuals, acting as interpreters, were not easy to find. Speaking foreign tongues was historically seen as a privileged skillset enjoyed by those who had the opportunity to visit and experience different cultural groups. This means that they were also probably not easily replaceable. These individuals did not simply aid in daily communications, but were called for specific purposes between different group leaders. By representing individuals who were key figures in enabling mutual agreements related to trade, religion, or other issues, they themselves became key figures to a lesser extent. As official messengers, these intermediaries needed to be trusted by the hiring party to act in their best interests (Angelelli, 2004, p. 24). Both parties were obliged to rely on what these intermediaries stated. They were forced to trust the interpretation of a message from one language into another without the possibility to ascertain its accuracy. Were they able to interpret every message accurately from one party to the other? Regardless of their linguistic ability to interpret accurately, were they given permission to

edit the messages or interject their own opinions, to achieve the goals in question? These are questions that remain unanswered.

Terms of peace or war, invasions, and trade treaties were the primary objectives of these early intercultural communication encounters requiring mediation. Linguistic proficiency in both languages was just one of the skills to convey such propositions. Kinship, relationships, position in a tribe, and other factors, may have been just as important as the person's ability to mediate. The mediator, acting as an interpreter, was given specific instructions to relay targeted messages to achieve a particular outcome. This may have influenced how messages were relayed. While both parties relied on the mediator, the individual spoke on behalf of the group that hired or recruited him (Stewart, Schein & Cartwright, 1998, pg. 97). Individuals hired to interpret were hired by one party to communicate with another party, and to accomplish the objectives of the hiring party. It is safe to say that their loyalty may have been with the hiring party, as impartiality was not a requirement.

Another historic wave requiring the services of individuals to interpret included the proselytism of religions. People from different religions throughout history journeyed beyond their territories to share and teach their beliefs and spread their religion. Prior to the professionalization of interpreters, religious individuals were tasked with utilizing their linguistic and cultural skills to spread religion to new cultural groups. In these cases, bilingual individuals were not seen as intermediaries, but as religious emissaries. They needed to be devout and knowledgeable about the religion to be able to communicate its messages. They were viewed as religious instruments to achieve religious goals. Preoccupation for the understanding of the message increased. Since the religious message was considered divine, it needed to be clearly understood and relayed, content expertise was required (Andres, 2012, p. 34). Pope Francis' primary interpreter, Monsignor Mark Miles (working primarily from Spanish to English), is not a professional interpreter. Msgr. Miles, a British Catholic priest, attended Pontifical Ecclesiastical Academy of Rome, and had official postings in Ecuador and Hungary (Chu, 2015, para. 6).

One may argue that the cultural role in practice began before professionalization, with those performing the function of interpreting acting as mediators, powerful cultural agents who helped shape history (Andres, 2012; Angelelli, 2004b). The cultural role of the mediators was integral to the development and the success of the objectives for which they were hired for, whether these were religious, trade related, or political. At that point they were not performing a linguistic service, but instead were performing an intercultural mediation service as a team member of a particular cultural group. As discussed, throughout history, the role of individuals called to 'interpret' was mostly related to convey a message or objective to the targeted cultural group. The act of interpreting was communicative, and was not seen as separate from the issue at hand. The interpreter was therefore seen in the cultural role of the official messenger of a particular group. The perspective of the interpreter as a cultural agent will change drastically when the professional identity of the interpreter is formed.

The Cultural Role of Professional Interpreters

Advances in interpreting came in the 20th century. Professional interpreting started in the 1927 International Labor Conference in Geneva, Switzerland, where simultaneous interpreting first took place (AIIC History Group, 2013, p. 23). However, it was during the 1945 Nuremberg trials that the world heard of important milestones in humanity through the voices of conference interpreters (AIIC History Group, 2013, p. 24). This informed the public of interpreting as a professional activity. A few years later, in 1953, the first International Association of Conference Interpreters (AIIC) was founded in Paris. Conference

interpreting had become *the* established form of professional interpreting. The prominence of this form of interpreting in the news gave the public a concrete image of what professional interpreting represented. The image of conference interpreters with headsets in a booth have been present in the media ever since. European conference interpreters became the first practitioners, educators, researchers, and experts in interpreting, and as such were influential in defining the profession (AIIC History Group, 2013, p. 89).

In order to understand where the cultural role fits in the practice of conference interpreting, one needs to understand their work. Conference interpreters work in a very specialized conference environment, under the constraints of the simultaneous interpreting equipment used. When they interpret the speech of the speaker to the audience, they have limited, if any, ability to interact with the speaker. They generally interpret unilaterally, in one linguistic direction, as in from English into French, for example. Conference interpreters usually work inside an enclosed booth with glass so that they can see the stage, speaker, or presentation. These booths are usually at the very back of a conference hall, and are either permanent or mobile. Due to the simultaneous equipment utilized, they are often physically invisible to an audience who hears the interpreter's voice through headsets. Remote conference interpreters work from a remote location, being completely invisible and not in the same location to one or more clients. The work of interpretation is also cognitively invisible to the speaker and the public. The audience simply listens to the interpreters speaking in the target language.

The linguistic skillset required for simultaneous interpreting and its related technology became the professional focus of attention. The cognitive processes of simultaneous interpretation, as well as the recording and analysis of such renditions (discourse analysis), became paramount (Wilcox & Shaffer, 2005, p. 112). The highly cognitive-linguistic identity of the interpreter was born, taking center stage. Venuti (1995) argued for a paradigm shift in the way translators considered their role, calling for them to curb the traditional domestication, adaptation, or transcreation of translations to allow foreign influences to infiltrate translated texts (Venuti, 1995). According to the invisible paradigm, which also became prevalent in the field of interpreting, a successful interpreter conveyed the message to the audience in a way to allow the audience to forget the language barrier (or interpreter) existed. Hence the concept of 'invisibility' was born. This view shifted the role of translators and interpreters to become more focused on being faithful to the source language and not necessarily focusing on the functionality of the communication of the message. The conference equipment and this concept of invisibility curtail the ability for the interpreter to be present and visible, and as such, to have any cultural role, as there is no interaction. In other words, the cultural role was highly affected by the low level of interaction in the technology and unidirectional interpreting. How did conference interpreters adapt?

The primary goal for conference interpreters it is to ensure that the speech they are interpreting is interpreted, or rendered correctly in the other language. Because unidirectional information sharing restricts them, they are not able to interact or have a voice of their own as professionals, while providing their services. In the booth, the interpreter is always the voice of the speaker. While they may desire that the audience understand the message, that is not their concern or role, since they have no means to control or manage the messages they are interpreting. If the speaker is difficult to understand in one language, he or she will probably be difficult to understand in the other language. There is no opportunity to clarify a message or ask the speaker a question, even if the interpreter does not understand what was said. Attempts by the interpreter to interrupt the speech are seen as intrusive, and are reserved for technical glitches. In addition, the audience does not have access or ability to communicate with the interpreter for clarifications either. Even in cases where equipment is not used, such as when the sign or spoken language interpreters are standing by the speaker on stage, interruptions are considered highly

intrusive and will likely break the speaker's stream of thought. The beauty of the invisible paradigm is that the goal, to produce the best possible rendition in a seamless manner, matches the expectations of clients. In unidirectional information sharing, understanding is not always required. The invisible paradigm approach elicits the desired effect of linguistic interpretation in terms of transferring meaning from one language to another.

Due to the fact that conference interpreting is the specialization with the highest linguistic requirements, standards and status worldwide, some still view conference interpreting as the only professional form of interpreting. Conference interpreting will remain a frame of reference for the highest professionalism and quality for interpreting. While their cultural role 'in practice' is limited, their cultural role in society was present and sometimes prominent, depending on which political leaders and other known figures they interpreted for. Conference interpreters participate in top-level diplomatic meetings and negotiations with individuals who represent people or interests with defined agendas, as well as business settings where there is dialogue communication (Torikai, 2009, p. 14). However, due to the high level status of these participants, which can be intimidating, and the strict professional rules of conference interpreting, they follow the invisibility model and do their best to remain unobtrusively behind the scenes as they serve as instruments or mediums of communication. This invisibility or conduit model remains strong among conference interpreters, allowing them to focus on the complex linguistic aspects of their work. A well-known conference interpreter stated:

My job as an interpreter is to be invisible. The audience should feel they are hearing the speaker on their own rather than through an intermediary. You see history unfolding before your eyes. But you also realize every day how much is lost in translation because of cultural differences and nuances, different modes of speech. (Harding, 2014, para. 33)

The clients, work environment, and physical constraints of conference interpreters may explain their need to operate under this paradigm of invisibility, focusing on their linguistic role. In the quote above, the conference interpreter confirms her goal of invisibility and acting as a conduit (intermediary), which is rooted in achieving a seamless flow of information. However, she acknowledged that much of the cultural context is lost when achieving linguistic equivalence. It is seen here that the cultural role of the conference interpreter nearly disappears when attempting to become invisible. The invisibility model clearly does not allow the interpreter to have any active role or to address any cultural issues.

FOCUS OF THE CHAPTER

The Cultural Role Outside Conference Interpreting

In its most fundamental form, all interpreting is the same, especially when looking at the primary task of the profession: linguistic interpreting.

However, interpreting diversified. Demand grew for interpreting in other settings. Sign and Spoken language interpreters were already practicing in specialized settings (schools, courts, hospitals, refugee camps) in several countries, when the concept of Community Interpreting was formalized in 1995, when the first conference of community interpreting took place (Carr, Roberts, Dufour & Steyn, 1995). In some countries, legal and medical interpreting specializations evolved separately, whereas in other countries

interpreting opportunities continue to be available through broader community interpreting programs, preparing individuals to work in multiple settings or specializations. How did these specializations integrate with the well-established world of conference interpreting?

For many decades, conference interpreters dismissed community interpreting, labeling it as a nonprofessional form of interpreting. This can be seen in the first definitions given to community interpreting:

Community interpreting has been defined in a variety of ways, ranging from the kind of interpreting that takes place informally in neighborhoods and community agencies, and is performed by amateurs or ad hoc interpreters. (Gonzales, Vazquez & Mikkelson, 1991, p. 29)

As stated before, the concept of professional interpreting was synonymous with conference interpreting. With this perspective in mind, the statement above is accurate, in the sense that the first individuals interpreting in the community settings (courts, hospitals, schools) were in fact not conference interpreters, as inclusion to the profession was limited to conference interpreting. According to the quote above, there seems to have been some difficulty in accepting these newcomers into the established field of interpreting. Part of this may be due to the fact that conference interpreters knew very little of community interpreting. Community interpreters have historically been paid much less than conference interpreters, and this posed a threat to the established and more powerful conference interpreting community (Mikkelson, 1999, para. 4). It also prevented conference interpreters from engaging in community interpreting, creating a gap between conference interpreters and community interpreters. This is described to the professionalization phases of the Tseng model, where the first phase in professionalization is market disorder, followed by fierce competition among practitioners of an occupation (Tseng, 1992).

As the need for community interpretation increased, with increased migration, the professionalization of community interpreting emerged separately from the organized profession of conference interpreting. Community interpreting, as a category, and its specializations, continue to professionalize. New language pair demands continue to emerge as new migrants emerge in different countries. This has proven to create an added level of complexity in community interpreting, as the practice requires not only interpreting in both directions (unlike conference interpreting), but it also requires the emergence of new professionals in new language combinations. Efforts continue to include and increase opportunities for minority language interpreters. This is especially true in order to meet the changing needs of refugee organizations and conflict zones (Moser-Mercer, Kherbiche & Class, 2014, p. 151). So how did these changes in practice affect the cultural role of the interpreter?

In 2007, Canada published the first national guide titled *National Standard Guide for Community Interpreting Services* (Healthcare Interpretation Network, 2007). This document describes the work of interpreters in community environments—medical, legal, educational, etc.—without detailing the intricacies of each setting. It states:

The interpreter must be able to understand and convey cultural nuances without assuming the role of advocate or cultural broker (Healthcare Interpreting Network, 1996, p. 18).

This sentence seems to reflect the contradiction of conveying cultural nuances within the linguistic interpretation, assuming the invisibility model of non-interference. It may be due to the fact that this guide also needed to work in unilateral settings, such as in courtroom proceedings, as well as in highly interactive settings, such as in healthcare. In Annex 1, the standard is compared to other published

healthcare interpreting standards from other professional organizations, including California Healthcare Interpreting Association, National Council on Interpreting in Health Care, International Medical Interpreters Association (IMIA) & Education Development Center, and ASTM International F2089-14. The Canadian Standard Guide for Community Interpreting Services states:

While the LITP Standards of Practice integrates the work of several previously published standards of practice, they differ (significantly) in the expectations for interpreter role boundaries (and the interpreter's responsibility to intervene as needed to remove barriers to communication). Unlike the CHIA, NCIHC, and IMIA standards, the LITP Standards of Practice do not endorse cultural brokering and advocacy. Like the ASTM Standards, the LITP Standards of Practice differs in purpose as it is intended to be a broad guide for interpreting in several settings, and not exclusive to the health care setting. (Healthcare Interpretation Network, 2007, p.21)

As stated, these standards must act as a broad guide for interpreters in several settings. Another standard, *ISO-13611 Interpreting – Guidelines for Community Interpreting,* was published by the International Standards Organization, or ISO. Like the Canadian standard, it focuses on characteristics common to all community interpreters (International Standards Organization, 2015).

Interpreting Studies Also Diversify

Interpreting studies have developed several approaches and undergone various paradigm shifts. Non-linguistic research has allowed for the non-linguistic analysis of the profession of interpreting. This has led to a recent surge of sociological studies of interpreters, their working conditions, and their goals (Pöchhacker, 2009, p. 27). It is worthy to mention that in medical interpreting specifically, there seem to be more research papers published in sociological, psychological, and medical journals than in linguistic journals (Pöchhacker, 2009, p. 29). Ultimately, the research of non-linguistic issues in interpreting brought to light the cultural role of the medical interpreter.

In most language publications, interpreting studies are focused on linguistic issues. As the settings requiring interpreting diversified, so did the studies about interpreting. In medical journals, for example, studies focus on how interpreting affected healthcare or patients, and not language (Souza, 2016, p. 53). Other researchers studied medical interpreting with sociological, anthropological (Kaufert, 1999), and psychological lenses where interpreting is studied an interactive communicative activity (Angelelli, 2004; Pöchhacker, 2009; Hsieh, 2006). It seems this specialized practice has unique characteristics, challenges, and merits. The context of the work has become an important factor in interpreting studies. The characteristics of the practice in healthcare do not seem to differ greatly from country to country, at least with respect to the cultural role of the medical interpreter (Souza, 2016, p. 239). With the diversification of the literature about the profession, contextual research emerged to study interpreting within the context of the work environment's system, expectations, and objectives. Researchers have challenged the invisibility paradigm in healthcare (Angelelli, 2004; Dysart-Gale, 2005; Hsieh, 2006; Kaufert, 1999; Solomon, 1997).

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The Cultural Role in Dialogue Interpreting

Dialogue interpreting is a communicative event, where the interpretation of a conversation between two parties requires the understanding of the receiver, in order for that same receiver to elicit a meaningful response (International Medical Interpreters Association, 2007). This form of interpreting required mediation in order to achieve meaningful responses. Interjecting questions or statements to clarify the understanding of two parties constitutes a form of mediation. Any time an interpreter clarifies a cultural issue that is affecting the communication of two parties, that is a form of intercultural mediation.

While the linguistic role of the interpreter is clearly present in the interpreted speech of the interpreter, the cultural role is much less visible. However, when the interaction has a communicative element, the cultural role gains prominence. In such a communicative event, the function of the interpreter is as the communication link between two main parties (with or without company) who do not share a language or culture. The interpreter interprets for both parties within an intercultural interaction in both directions. The concept was first used to differentiate this form of interpreting from conference interpreting (usually unidirectional from the speaker to the audience) which was the prevalent conceptualization of professional interpreting (Wadensjö, 1992).

A pivoting point in interpreting occurred when the role of the professional interpreter not working in conferences was better understood. It needed to incorporate back the cultural role or mediation task, lost in conference interpreting. For the first time, interpreting was studied as an activity within intercultural communication. In order for communication to occur, understanding of the messages needed to occur, and in order for understanding to occur, the interpreter needed to get involved as self, in order to ask a question or to clarify an issue for one of the parties. When engaging as self, the interpreter is in effect facilitating or mediating communication. Prior to this, professional interpreting (as conceptualized in conference interpreting) was mostly seen as the accurate simultaneous interpretation of messages in the transmission of information from one group to another (Tipton & Furmanek, 2016).

Community interpreting flourished in countries concerned with the equal treatment of its residents, including the foreign-born or others who did not speak the dominant language. This is seen in the first definition of the community interpreter as a professional practice, found in the announcement of the First International Conference on Interpreting in Legal, Health and Social Service Settings:

Community interpreting enables people who are not fluent speakers of the official language(s) of the country to communicate with the providers of public services so as to facilitate full and equal access to legal, health, education, government, and social services. (Carr, Roberts, Dufour & Steyn, 1995, p. 25)

As seen by the quote above, the objective now is to enable people to communicate, and not to simply to interpret. However, enabling people to communicate may take on different forms in different specializations. In some of the countries where the influx of immigrants is significant, the professionalization of community interpreters occurred in two main areas separately: (1) legal and (2) medical. How does the cultural role of interpreters compare between medical and legal interpreting? The differences can be seen through the lens of the education, ethics, and standards of community, legal, and medical interpreters. While it has published a standard for community interpreting, the International Standards Organization is developing specialized standards for legal and medical/healthcare interpreting, acknowledging the need for specialized standards of practice to address the intricacies of more specialized interpreting.

The Cultural Role in the Education of Community Interpreters

Most academic programs for interpreters are designed for Conference Interpreting. Some community interpreting programs involve non-academic education. One such consortium, The Canadian Language Interpreter Training Program (LITP) states that community interpreting is interpreting at a community level in the legal, medical, and public service sectors. The LITP curriculum, which is taught in six universities, continues to expand. The program, at its current state, is a 180-hour non-credit certificate program aimed at developing foundational skills for community interpreters. The LITP integrates theory, principles, and concepts with practical application and skills development. The program offers an introduction to: spoken language interpreting; skills development practice; consecutive interpreting; sight translation and note-taking; simultaneous interpreting; and setting-specific interpreting. Setting-specific interpreting is one of the six 30-hour courses. Four interpreting settings are explored: (1) court interpreting; (2) interpreting with child victims or witnesses; (3) healthcare interpreting; and (4) interpreting in violence against women. One-fourth of the 30 hours (or 7.5 hours) are dedicated to healthcare interpreting. As a generalist-training program, it provides an overview to healthcare interpreting in 7.5 hours (Humber College, 2015).

While the Canadian Standards, under the heading of Roles and Responsibilities of Interpreters, explains that, "The interpreter must be able to understand and convey cultural nuances without assuming the role of advocate or cultural broker" (Healthcare Interpreting Network, 2007, p. 19).

Later, on page 21, the document states:

In Ontario, the role of the oral language interpreter has evolved and become more refined over time. Historically interpreters were identified as "cultural interpreters" with a role to bridge "cultural misunderstandings" between service providers and non/limited English speakers. Determining how and when an interpreter should intervene created conflicts for all parties for a variety of reasons. Expecting an interpreter to perform that function, in and of itself, contravenes the ethical principle and standard of practice to remain impartial, and furthermore begs the question of the demonstrated competence of the interpreter to perform that function. Therefore, it should be noted that the LITP Curriculum Development Team recommends that the role of the interpreter focus on the delivery of messages between individuals who do not share a common language rather than "cultural differences/nuance" of the speakers.

Interpreters in Canada once were identified as cultural interpreters and served as a cultural bridge. According to the statement above, the word 'cultural' was removed from the scope of practice due to its complexity and the inability to include it in their training. The question remains if the healthcare or legal fields do require the interpreter to act as a cultural agent. If the answer is yes, then the educational community may not be taking this practice reality into account when training interpreters for the expectations and demands in the field. However, when only 7.5 hours are dedicated to provide an overview to healthcare interpreting, perhaps that simply does not provide enough time to explore the intricacies of the specialization at hand. It seems that at least in this case, where the curriculum is mostly language role focused, it seems that there is no time allotted to focus on the cultural role of the interpreter.

The Cultural Role in the Education of Medical Interpreters

Similar to community interpreting education, specialized medical interpreter education is mostly not for academic credit, according to the International Medical Interpreters Association Educational Registry

(see www.imiaweb.org). These trainings vary widely, from a minimum of forty hours (required for certain medical or healthcare interpreting certification schema) up to over 200 hours. As of 2015, the majority of the programs were housed in academic institutions, versus in private companies. This indicates that there may be an increasing trend of non-conference interpreting educational academic programs.

Due to the fact that all of the standards of practice and codes of ethics for this specialization include the cultural role in practice, it seems to be a less controversial topic in healthcare interpreting. Educational programs may have adequate materials from the specialized professional organizations to teach this specialization. Studies specifically focused in medical interpreting, from social, psychological, linguistic, and medical journals, are also extensive. This may also aid instructors in developing curricula specific to the needs of the healthcare field.

The Commission for Medical Interpreter Education (CMIE), a division of the International Medical Interpreter Association, developed curriculum standards for the medical interpreter education specialization, accrediting programs that meet its standards through a rigorous accreditation program. The Mission of the IMIA Commission on Medical Interpreter Education is to enhance both the competitiveness of medical interpreting educational entities and to provide consistent quality of medical interpreter education by evaluating and accrediting Educational Programs against the professional minimal educational standards established by the IMIA. These standards include the importance of teaching the cultural role to medical interpreters. As the specialized education of medical interpreters evolves, opportunities to address the cultural role of the interpreter more appropriately may become more prominent.

Ethics and The Cultural Role of Medical Interpreters

The National Code of Ethics for Interpreters in Health Care, developed by the National Council on Interpreting in Healthcare (2011) in the United States, is comprised of eight ethical principles: (1) accuracy; (2) confidentiality; (3) impartiality; (4) respect; (5) role boundaries; (6) accountability; (7) professionalism; and (8) continued competence. These ethical tenets, by NCIHC reflect the interactive work of medical interpreters. This National Code of Ethics is grounded on three core values: 1) Beneficence, 2) Fidelity, and 3) Respect for the importance of culture and cultural differences. In this section of the code, it explains the following:

Currently, there are more and more initiatives in health care facilities and educational programs for health care professionals that include cultural competence as an essential skill. However, until such time as all health care professionals are fully prepared to address cultural differences in their practice, it falls upon the health care interpreter to be cognizant of, and able to alert both the patient and the provider of the impact of culture in the health care encounter. (National Council on Interpreting in Health Care, 2004, p. 9)

The medical interpreter code of ethics clearly states that the interpreter has a role other than the linguistic interpretation role. The cultural role of the interpreter means that the interpreter needs to be cognizant of, and be able to alert both parties of a cultural issue that may impact the encounter. It also discusses ethical tenets that are medical in nature, such as beneficence. Medical interpreting is a specialization in interpreting that is concerned with the patient's health and well-being. In certain occasions, these medical ethical rules (such as beneficence) have become part of their ethical framework, and on occasion may trump another interpreter's ethical precepts (confidentiality). For example, an interpreter

may have to disclose a message that was not meant for interpretation because the patient may harm himself or another person. The role of the interpreter in the context of healthcare includes a linguistic role, a cultural role as well as a medical role (Souza, 2016, p. 249).

Ethics and The Cultural Role of Legal Interpreters

In contrast, the Code of Ethics and Professional Responsibilities by the National Association of Judiciary Interpreters and Translators, NAJIT (National Association of Judiciary Interpreters and Translators, 2011) lists the function of court interpreters as:

The function of court interpreters and translators is to remove the language barrier to the extent possible, so that such persons' access to justice is the same as that of similarly situated English speakers for whom no such barrier exists. (National Association of Judiciary Interpreters and Translators, 2011, p.1)

The absence of language regarding the function of removing the cultural barrier infers priority to the linguistic barrier. The only reference to culture in the NAJIT Code of Ethics is the following:

All hedges, false starts and repetitions should be conveyed; also, English words mixed into the other language should be retained, as should culturally-bound terms which have no direct equivalent in English, or which may have more than one meaning. (National Association of Judiciary Interpreters and Translators, 2011, p.1)

The excerpt above asks the interpreter to retain any culturally bound term in its original form, and does not include any mention regarding addressing cultural issues in an interpretation encounter. It seems that the issue of understanding the culturally bound term in its source language is left unresolved. This code seems to be intended for the interpreter who interprets unidirectional court proceedings, and recorded depositions, and not for highly communicative events. In highly structured legal proceedings, interpreting is more akin to conference interpreting than it is to medical interpreting. As seen in the previous comparison of the ethical codes, the practice and role of interpreters differs significantly between legal and medical interpreting in their main objective and work environment. While in medical interpreting the cultural role is explicit, in legal interpreting it is not.

Culturally and Linguistically Appropriate Healthcare Service and the Interpreter

Since the 1970s, certain countries and regions (Europe, Canada, U.S., Israel, Australia, UK) have focused on providing healthcare services in a culturally competent manner. This means that hospitals are bound, whether voluntarily or legally, to provide patient-centered care that considers and adapts to the culture of the patient. This is the context in which some medical interpreters work in.

Healthcare staff, including interpreters, participates in cultural competency training to learn how to be sensitized and aware of cultural differences affecting communication, trust, and respect. There is significant evidence that interpreters are actually improving the quality of care (Karliner, Jacobs, Chen & Mutha, 2007, p. 728). Interpreters are key in this endeavor because they understand the cultures in an interpreted communicative event. In a recent study on the cultural work of medical interpreters (Souza,

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2016), 458 interpreters in 25 countries discussed: 1) their roles as intercultural mediators; 2) how they educate providers on the intricacies of patient culture; and 3) how they educate patients on the intricacies of the healthcare system. This research relied on the professional medical interpreters' renditions of their work. The reasons behind their actions were related to the medical working environment rather than to linguistic interpreting practice guidelines or ethical tenets. Most of their actions were caused by the following concerns: patient safety; provider-patient rapport; and the provision of linguistically- and culturally-appropriate services. This research showcased interpreters acting as cultural agents. The most interesting discovery was specifically that their primary reason for bridging the cultural gap was not linguistic, but medical. The wellbeing and health of the patient was their primary consideration when addressing a cultural issue. This research suggested that the working environment influences the professional identity of the interpreter. There seems to be a medical component to their professional identity, influencing their behaviors and actions as medical interpreters (Souza, 2016, p. 263). More research is required in this area.

Medical interpreters have a more prominent cultural role in healthcare, when compared with their other interpreter counterparts. The work of bridging the linguistic and cultural gap involves other activities in addition to linguistic interpreting. The highly communicative characteristic of the provision of healthcare, and the need for patients to understand and agree with their care, requires interpreters to engage in the cultural role. When cultural issues arise, they need to adapt to these intercultural communicative demands and facilitate discussions. They are bridging cultural and linguistic gaps. They are also enhancing the therapeutic rapport of culturally discordant clinician and patient, and ensuring the cultural competency of the healthcare services being provided.

FUTURE RESEARCH DIRECTIONS

The following questions are beginning to be addressed in research: What does being a member of the healthcare team entail? How can an interpreter be an impartial, neutral, or passive team member and still participate in the discussion, when needed? How can the interpreter participate as a team member, if they are voiceless conduits? Is the interpreter liable for unaddressed cultural misunderstandings? When is there justification for the interpreter to leave the conduit role and address the communicative event as a participant, bringing his or her own professional views into the conversation? More studies are needed to explore how interpreters interact with the end users in different settings, and how that affects the care of the patient.

According to the latest study in intercultural mediation (Souza, 2016) medical interpreters actively and systematically intervene in interpreted interactions not only to achieve culturally sensitive care, but also to achieve optimal patient care. This additional work of acting as a cultural agent within healthcare does not negate or simplify the complex linguistic activities of interpreting. However, the team member metaphor for interpreting demonstrates the relevance of working conditions and environments. The relationship between the linguistic and the cultural agent roles must be addressed and further studied. This could involve developing research on the intricate dance between cultural and linguistic mediation (Angelelli, 2004, Souza, 2016). It can also involve research about the user perspectives of the role of the interpreter. Ultimately, the demands of the environments interpreters work in need to be better understood. Interpreters will continue to have different roles in different areas, and perhaps these roles will vary with the type of communication (bidirectional or unidirectional), regardless of specialization.

CONCLUSION

Interpreting specializations continue to evolve and become better understood within the context of their working environments. This diverse profession of interpreting is now practiced in many different contexts (i.e., legal, medical, education, artistic, conflict zones, diplomacy, business, conference, religious, etc.). Diversification may be an irreversible trend. With globalization, traditional United Nations language combinations are no longer the most requested. Likewise, conference interpreting is no longer the largest segment of interpreting demand. Demand for minority languages continues to grow. These changes enhance the profession and create new dimensions of exploration. The U.S. Department of Labor Bureau of Labor Statistics (2016), states that the profession is projected to rapidly grow at a rate of 29% between 2014 and 2024.

The profession is acknowledging its diversity and the differences between specializations are emerging. In certain situations, such as in healthcare for example, the interpreter is part of a service team in a very interactive communicative environment, where understanding is key to health outcomes and patient safety. This has strong repercussions for the practice of medical interpreting and the cultural role of the medical interpreter. The provision of culturally competent healthcare services is an expectation that requires the interpreter to act in a cultural role. Other interpreting behavior due to teamwork demands needs to be further explored.

Academically-based educational programs are needed for non-conference interpreters. Occupational training is not the most appropriate to develop professionals who are sufficiently prepared to act as interpreters in specialized settings. Newly trained interpreters may be unequipped with sufficient knowledge and skills to adequately mediate. Educators should consider enhancing the cultural role of the interpreter in their programs. Interpreters need to understand their cultural role and responsibilities in the delivery of culturally competent services when working in healthcare. There is a need to acknowledge the differences in expectations and practice within different sub specializations of community interpreting.

Is the interpreter a linguistic conduit or a cultural agent? Perhaps the biggest problem with this dichotomy is the belief that the interpreter needs to identify or find more importance in one of these roles. Both have existed in the cultural evolution of the profession. What is important is for interpreters to know when to engage in the cultural role and when it is not appropriate to do so. Culturally or socially learned information affects behavior (Richerson & Boyd, 2005, p. 55). Specializations are starting to acknowledge the interpreter as an active professional who adds non-linguistic benefits to intercultural interactions. The role of the interpreter as both a cultural agent and a linguistic agent is gaining attention (Souza, 2016).

This chapter described how in interpreting history, the first practitioners were primarily intercultural communicators. This perception of interpreting included a strong cultural agent component. Then the professional identity of conference interpreting changed that, viewing and studying the practice as a linguistic and technical activity. Perhaps this view was derived from or influenced by technology reflected a very specific unidirectional process of interpreting. The linguistic conduit and the invisibility paradigm reigned. Community interpreting injected a different view, as the interpreter enabled full and equal access to legal, health, education, and other services. However, the cultural role seems to be directly related to the level of interactive communication present in the interpreter's work, than with the type of

interpreting in question. This poses a difficulty for characterizations of community interpreting as one unit, when the different specializations may require different levels of communication interactivity. Due to the highly interactive nature of healthcare encounters, and due to the cultural competency demands in the delivery of healthcare, medical interprets seem to have a prominent cultural role to play. By looking at the cultural role of the medical interpreter, there is a newfound understanding of the specialization. The cultural role may be not only adequate, but also necessary, to meet specific needs and expectations of this specialized environment. As other specializations evolve, and cultural needs change, perhaps the cultural role of the interpreter may change yet again. For now, the concept of the interpreter as a cultural agent has come full circle in its evolution.

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KEY TERMS AND DEFINITIONS

Agency: The capacity of an individual to act independently and to make independent decisions and/or statements, which includes the extent to which one is enabled or constrained to act and/or speak.

Cultural Advocate: An individual who publicly supports culturally competent care.

Cultural Agent: An individual who understands or empowers cultural group(s). An individual who acts on behalf of another, takes an active role, and produces a specified effect.

Cultural Interpreter: An interpreter who provides linguistic and cultural mediation. A visible impartial third party intercultural communication facilitator, who acts as a linguistic and cultural expert, and is educated in interpreting.

Cultural Role: The act of undertaking the role to bridge a cultural gap between individuals.

Equivalence, Functional (Dynamic): The principle of equivalent effect where an interpreter will interpret the source language (content, form, and intent) to elicit the same effect as if it had been stated in the target language.

Equivalence, Linguistic (Formal): The idea that interpreting involves two equivalent messages (form and content) in two different codes. This includes grammatical, linguistic, register level, and pragmatic equivalences.

Intercultural Mediation: In healthcare, it is a learned skillset, where an impartial mediator uses a combination of culturally-based language(s), behaviors, interventions, and information, with the goal to improve the therapeutic rapport between culturally-discordant healthcare providers and patients, and avoid miscommunication.

Chapter 13

Towards a Re-Definition of Government Interpreters' Agency Against a Backdrop of Sociopolitical and Cultural Evolution:
A Case of Premier's Press Conferences in China

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ABSTRACT

The sociopolitical and cultural evolution as a result of the Reform and Opening up in 1978, facilitated not least by the inexorable juggernaut of globalization and technological advancement, has revolutionized the way China engages domestically and interacts with the outside world. The need for more proactive diplomacy and open engagement witnessed the institutionalization of the interpreter-mediated premier's press conferences. Such a discursive event provides a vital platform for China to articulate its discourse and rebrand its image in tandem with the profound changes signaled by the Dengist reform. This chapter investigates critically how political press conference interpreting and interpreters' agency in China are impacted in relation to such dramatic transformations. It is revealed that, while interpreters are confronted with seemingly conflicting expectations, in actual practice they are often able to negotiate a way as highly competent interpreting professionals with the additional missions of advancing China's global engagement and safeguarding China's national interests.

INTRODUCTION

Interpreting is not conducted in a vacuum but a "situated" (Monacelli, 2009, p. 61) and contextualized activity inextricably linked with the broader sociopolitical and cultural settings. Far from being a randomly established communicative practice, the interpreter-mediated Premier-Meets-the-Press political press conferences in China can be seen as a natural response to and direct product of the sociopolitical and cultural changes that have ensued in the wake of the Reform and Opening up in 1978, a pivotal inflection point in China's recent history. This interpreted discursive event in turn serves to further facilitate China's global diplomacy and engagement, thus highlighting the decisive role of interpreters from the vantage point of discourse.

Looking beyond an essentialist and thus restricted understanding of culture that is reducible to national culture (Goodenough, 1964), this chapter considers it useful to understand culture in a multifaceted, multidimensional and inclusive manner given the increasingly blurred boundary between culture and various other elements. This is in the sense that, rather than a fixed and static entity, culture is a porous concept that encompasses and internalizes other political, socioeconomic, diplomatic and even technological dimensions of a given place and is subject to change and historical (re)definition over time. Using this dynamic understanding of culture as a starting point, this chapter focuses on the interpreting practice as well as interpreters' agency in China's political press conferences against a backdrop of sociopolitical and cultural evolution signaled by the open-door reform since 1978. With this overarching aim in mind, the specific objectives of this chapter are three-fold: firstly to contextualize this transformative interpreter-mediated event, secondly to investigate on an empirical level how such an evolution is reflected in the official metadiscourses prescribing government-affiliated interpreters' expected roles and responsibilities, and thirdly to illuminate interpreters' agency through an in-depth critical discourse analysis of their actual interpreting.

This study on the underexplored area of interpreters' agency in China's political press conferences fills many gaps. Traditionally, political scientists and Chinese studies researchers tend to focus on political systems, policies, activities as well as the role of major political actors in effecting change (cf. Fewsmith, 2010; Wang, 1994). Within media and communication studies particularly in relation to political press conferences in China, attention is mostly paid to the communicative practice per se as well as the two-way dynamics between politicians and journalists (cf. Wu & Zhao, 2016; Yi & Chang, 2012; Yi, 2016), thereby overlooking the crucial part played by interpreters as indispensable co-participants in the meaning-making and communicative process. Even in interpreting studies, a relatively new area compared with its considerably better researched translation counterpart, scholarly research has only rather recently begun to consider various cultural, sociopolitical and ideological dimensions (cf. Beaton, 2007; Beaton-Thome, 2010), following the "cultural turn". In the specific Chinese context, the vast majority of studies on premier's press conference interpreting have thus far focused on various grammatical elements, norms, and interpreting strategies, largely taking a prescriptive view (cf. Deng, 2013; Li & Hu, 2015; Wang, 2012). To the best of my knowledge, no study has (systematically) investigated interpreters' mediation from the vantage point of political discourse against the backdrop of China's political, cultural and social evolution to date. As such, bringing interpreter into the equation as a valid player in the triadic encounter, this chapter promises to further contribute to research on interpreter agency, constituting a current addition to the existing (historical) accounts of political/diplomatic translators and interpreters' role (cf. Baranyai, 2011; Delisle & Woodsworth, 2012; Roland, 1999). Inherently interdis-

ciplinary in nature, this chapter also serves to enrich scholarship in Chinese studies, political science and communication studies alike.

CONTEXTUALIZING THE PREMIER'S PRESS CONFERENCES: A BRIEF GENEALOGY

The premier's press conference in China is held in Beijing each year towards the conclusion of the two sessions, which are the National People's Congress (NPC) and Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference (CPPCC). They respectively constitute China's top legislature and political advisory body, representing an important symbol of China's consultative and deliberative democracy. This section explores the nexus between the institutionalized practice of the premier's press conferences and the broader economic, political and cultural changes following China's economic reform engineered by visionary Deng Xiaoping in 1978.

Similar in essence to *Perestroika* and, to a lesser extent, *Glasnost* initiated by Mikhail Gorbachev in the former Soviet Union, China's Reform and Opening up, or *Gaige Kaifang*, has witnessed China's meteoric rise as a global powerhouse in economic, political and military terms. The period since the Dengist reform is designated "post-socialism" in recent scholarship (Dirlik & Zhang, 2000, p. 7) where China is increasingly open and seeks to construct "socialism with Chinese characteristics" in the aftermath of its previous endeavors. While the structural contradiction between China's market-oriented economy and its ideological formations still persists (Wu, 2001), there is little denying that this watershed moment, if not a complete sea change, signifies China's transition from a closed, homogeneous, inward-looking and ideologically isolated party-state in Mao's era to a more open, diversified and dynamic nation that is increasingly (and perhaps irrevocably) interwoven into the international community.

Post-socialist China is characterized by a more relaxed and pragmatic culture. This attitudinal change in favor of (economic) pragmatism is best epitomized in Deng's audacious and explorative learn-as-you-go approach of "crossing the river by feeling the stones" (*mezhe shitou guohe*) and his famous cat metaphor that "it does not matter whether it is a black cat or a white cat, as long as it catches the mice it is a good cat" (*buguan heimao baimao zhuadao laoshu jiushi haomao*). This way, policies and decisions were made based upon empirical criteria and pragmatist considerations and the corresponding ideological discourses were then rationalized and justified accordingly *post hoc* (Ji, 2011, p. 203). Alongside such economic pragmatism were diplomatic pragmatism and relative political relaxation, which have in turn given rise to signs of evolution particularly in the way China engages both domestically and internationally.

Pragmatic performance-based legitimacy, as Zhao (2009, p. 426) observes, has been key for Chinese leaders since Deng**,** resulting in a noticeable trend of engagement on the domestic front. This is in the sense that, in addition to the maintenance of government-citizen ties forged by political and ideological propaganda (Chen, 2003, p. 99), the government is increasingly keen to promote itself as accountable, efficient and equitable among the Chinese public. Internationally, while sporadic tensions and frictions still exist, China is increasingly involved in global affairs as a responsible key player in what Henry Kissinger (2011, p. xiii) calls "a process of mutual rediscovery" between China and the West. Perhaps marked by such milestone events as China's entry into the WTO, the Beijing Olympic Games and the Shanghai World Expo, the country is seeking to further project and refashion its image in the global arena. This trend of increasing openness and global engagement also manifests itself in such post-1978

guiding 'metadiscourses' (Zhang, 2010, p. 24) and slogans as Jiang Zemin's repeated call for "linking up with the international track" (*yu guoji jiegui*) and "keeping pace with the times" (*yushi jujin*), Hu Jintao's emphasis on enhancing China's "cultural soft power" (*wenhua ruanshili*) as well as Xi Jinping's focus on the "proper telling of China's story" (*jiang hao zhongguo gushi*).

Such far-reaching changes, without doubt, have left an indelible mark on the communicative practice in China. This, in particular, is reflected in the establishment of the interpreter-mediated premier's press conferences in China as an institutionalized practice. Openly held political press conference was an extreme rarity in China's pre-reform era. In actual fact, as Yi (2016, p. 228) observes, between the founding of the People's Republic of China in 1949 and the Reform and Opening-up in 1978, only one public press conference — chaired by the then vice premier Chen Yi and attended by foreign journalists — was held in 1965 with the purposes of announcing China's response to the sensitive military issues between China and the US and making clear China's official attitude towards the US War in Vietnam. Not surprisingly, at a time when the world was more markedly defined along ideological lines, political interpreters affiliated with the government should be viewed as instrumental in propagating overwhelmingly propagandist message in the (mutual) antagonism between China and the West.

If government-affiliated press conference interpreters in the pre-reform era mostly performed a role akin to that of an ideological mouthpiece, their role needs to be re-examined and re-defined in tandem with China's transition from hostility and ideological isolation (self-imposed or otherwise) increasingly to engagement and integration on an international scale. It was precisely against such a backdrop in post-socialist China that the premier's press conferences began to emerge as one-off *ad hoc* events and then started to institutionalize in 1993. This sociopolitical and cultural evolution, facilitated not least by the rapid technological advancement (Yi, 2016, p. 231) as well as the inexorable trend of globalization (Liu, 2004, p. 2), called for increasing transparency on the part of the government, accentuating the urgent need for speedy and effective transmission of information both internally and externally. As such, the premier's press conference started to be televised nationwide in China in the year 1998. Since then, the interpreted event has become the centerpiece of each year's two sessions, attracting widespread attention from Chinese and international journalists alike.

Nothing short of a defining moment in itself, this consecutively interpreted press conference, focusing on a wide range of topical issues, has enabled journalists to gain a deeper understanding of China straight from the horse's mouth and, at the same time, offered China's top decision-maker an opportunity to present China's domestic developments and global diplomacy to an international audience. While this institutionalized practice can be viewed as an important landmark of open engagement in post-socialist China, it is worth noting that, rather than merely a product, this interpreter-mediated event is also capable of effecting change in social reality. According to Giddens' structuration theory, a formal structure can both constrain and enable social actions (1984, p. 18). The premier's press conference, once established as a structure, can help further facilitate China's international engagement, proactive diplomacy and active discursive legitimation over time with possible human agency.

As a matter of fact, it is observed that, even over the years since the interpreter-mediated event started to institutionalize in 1993 until now, there is a pronounced trend towards further openness and engagement on the part of the Chinese premier. A potent testament to this is the quantitative study (Wu & Zhao, 2016) on the premier's press conferences. Their study shows that in the premier's answers over the last twenty years or so there has been a decline in aggressiveness and an increase in accountability and open engagement with the year 2003 being a "watershed" (Wu & Zhao, 2016, p. 462), possibly as a result of the SARS epidemic which hit China that year. This is exemplified in a comparison between the answers

given by then Chinese premier Li Peng in 1996 and by incumbent Chinese premier Li Keqiang in 2013 on a very similar question regarding Sino-US relations.

In the first instance, Premier Li Peng stated that China tried to "avoid confrontation" but the government and people "would never accept that a country imposes its own will on another country", warning that "any threat of force to China would not lead to any good results". However, 17 years later, Premier Li Keqiang answered a similar question rather differently by first making complimentary comments on the foreign journalist's excellent Chinese and then joking with a warm smile on his face that since the journalist translated his own question he "should get paid double" from his news agency. Premier Li Keqiang candidly admitted to the existence of differences between the two powers and conveyed the reassuring message that as long as they were well managed the two countries can make their "common interests surpass" their differences with an appreciative "thank you" at the end. The relaxed, interactive, cooperative and engaging answer is in stark contrast to the relatively antagonist and adversarial reply in the first instance. This, therefore, provides a snapshot of change towards further openness and engagement since the establishment of the institutionalized practice. In a nutshell, this section has contextualized the premier's press conferences *vis-à-vis* a background of change. The sociopolitical evolution necessitated the establishment of the televised press conferences, which has in turn facilitated China's further openness and engagement.

PREMIER-MEETS-THE-PRESS CONFERENCES: AN IMPORTANT SITE OF DISCURSIVE POWER

While a lot has been made about China's hard power (e.g. Caffrey, 2013) and more recently soft power (Kurlantzick, 2007; Lai & Lu, 2012), the significant discursive power (Gustafsson, 2014) of China remains largely neglected in existing scholarly research. This is even more so for the potentially important power of China's discourse. Discursive power, according to Gustafsson (2014, pp. 411-412), refers to "the production of effects through the mobilization of particular discourses" and can be viewed as stemming from concrete material hard power underpinned by economic and military superiority. As such, if a state is capable of achieving its various (political and diplomatic) goals through discourse it "might be less willing to resort to" other hard power such as military force (Gustafsson, 2014). This section discusses China's political discourse and its significance for China.

The notion *Chinese discourse* can be taken as an umbrella concept, or ensemble, that constitutes and is reflective of China's overarching ideology, policies and stances. This ensemble contains layers of China's discursive formulations and can thus be subdivided into a number of more specific components (e.g. Chinese discourses on Africa, the US, North Korea, the Middle East, climate change, democracy, corruption), all of which contribute to China's overarching discourse. These layers of discourses can be viewed as temporarily stable yet open to change nevertheless just as the overarching Chinese discourse, collectively, is subject to historical (re-)interpretation and (re-)definition over time.

It has been observed that Chinese discourse is unique in a number of ways. As Kluver (1996, p. 133) emphasizes, Chinese discourse is more hortatory, justificatory, educational and theoretical in nature. This is in the sense that it exhorts, justifies and aims to teach the public about the proper normative stances to take. Also, as Shi-xu (2005, p. 45) contends, the Chinese discourse is distinctive in essence as it is embedded in China's culture and traditional thoughts, thereby calling for a non-universalist and culturally differentiated approach to studying China's discourse. However, despite its apparent uniqueness

and distinctiveness, there is little denying that Chinese discourse, perhaps just like its American, British, Russian or Japanese counterparts, is essentially ideological and persuasive in nature, serves certain political functions and, if articulated, can have potentially far-reaching discursive consequences. Similar to Russian president's end-of-the-year press conference, the transformative Premier-Meets-the-Press conference enables China to spell out its domestic and international policies, justify its actions, defend its national interests, and engage with the world proactively in an unprecedented way. The complex nature of this interpreter-mediated event means that it must be understood from more than one perspective. In many ways, it is arguably both a site of power and one that empowers.

It is a site of power in the sense that its ultimate aim is to offer some sort of authoritative closure from an official position and to convey political and inescapably ideological messages just as with all governments. A locus of power and site of ideology, this interpreter-mediated press conference is *per definitionem* discursive, constituting a vital technology in the Foucauldian sense to help the government produce a version of desired truth (Foucault, 1988). Meanwhile, the premier's press conference is also a site which empowers, making it possible for China to effect change through, *inter alia*, its discursive formulations. This is of particular significance at a time when non-Western developing countries like China oftentimes are still being portrayed as the cultural or ideological other (Said, 1978; Shi-xu, 2005) with their discourses marginalized and voices drowned out by the more vociferous West. As such, the Chinese discourse arguably functions as a counterbalance and force of resistance that can help level the playing field discursively in a way that is commensurate with China's growing political, economic and military prowess. Put differently, this institutionalized event has enabled China to challenge the almost naturalized Western hegemonic discourse, construct an appropriate image for itself, and further pursue its discursive power in the run-up to the (perhaps inevitable) changing of the guard in the future.

INTERPRETED DISCOURSE: CHINA'S CRUCIAL GLOBAL VOICE

Having explored the significance of China's discursive power in general, this section discusses, with examples, China's interpreted discourse in English, which is gaining growing attention from China's top leadership. While efforts to boost China's discourse and global image are multifaceted, multidimensional and multimodal in nature, interpreters' utterances (in English in the premier's press conferences) represent a particularly powerful subset in the ensemble of *technologies* and communicative instruments at China's disposal. In order for China's discourse to carry discursive power and effect change on a regional and international scale, its interpretation, for instance, into English, the global *lingua franca*, is not just necessary but paramount. This therefore highlights interpreters' important role as interlingual and intercultural agents in communicating beyond the national border in China's increasing bid to engage with the outside world through discursive means. The increasingly globalized and mediatized world we live in means that the interpreted discourse is often taken for granted as the officially sanctioned and, thus, indisputably correct version of China's voice. As such, press conference interpreters' words (in English) are often headlined on international newspapers, quoted *verbatim* by news presenters from influential media outlets like BBC, CNN and Al Jazeera, and presented in the form of news ticker crawling across the bottom of the TV screen as part of the breaking news. Interpreters' utterances, moreover, are also extensively invoked by researchers in various scholarly works as a valid and useful source of information in analyzing China's official policies and positions (often without mentioning that what is quoted is actually the English interpretation).

The following is a particularly telling example showcasing the importance of China's interpreted discourse. In the Premier-Meets-the-Press conference in March 2016, China's economic downturn was a focal point which drew global attention. Premier Li Keqiang answered questions about China's economy in Mandarin Chinese and almost instantly he was quoted *verbatim* on the BBC website as conveying the reassuring message that China will "not suffer a hard landing, we have full confidence in the bright future of the Chinese economy" in English (BBC News, 2016). Similar information was also widely quoted on influential media outlets and TV networks such as Reuters, ABC News in Australia, the English version of China's Xinhua news, as well as on many lesser known media outlets from countries like Canada, India and Bangladesh. The seemingly ordinary message in Chinese, once interpreted into English, mediatized on TV and then re-mediated and re-contextualized in various other forms, can have far-reaching ramifications on a global scale in reassuring the international community and projecting a potentially positive image of the government as being confident, competent and in control.

Given the discursively consequential nature of China's discourse in English, the Chinese leadership is paying unprecedented attention to its complete, effective and nuanced articulation. Two examples are given here to illustrate the point. During the Premier-Meets-the-Press conference in 2007, a potentially sensitive and challenging series of questions were raised by a journalist affiliated with the French daily newspaper *Le Monde* in relation to democracy in mainland China. To answer this question, Wen Jiabao, the then premier of China, offered a detailed answer in Mandarin Chinese to justify and clarify his points, emphasizing the government's determination to pursue "socialist democracy" in order to let the people be "the masters" and highlighting the government's resolve to accomplish the "two major tasks" and "two major reforms". However, approximately 1 hour and 14 minutes into the press conference, upon the interpreter's completion of his consecutive interpretation, the premier can be heard double-checking with the interpreter rather audibly to see whether the sections regarding two major tasks and social equity and justice were interpreted into English. In response, the interpreter confirmed in a low yet still audible voice that both points were successfully rendered. Presumably, the above information constituted the core message the Chinese premier intended to convey and was discursively indispensable enough to merit double-checking with the interpreter in front of the audience.

Another apt example showcasing the Chinese leadership's fixation on the effective and nuanced interpretation of China's discourse is as follows. During Chinese premier Li Keqiang's visit to the US in September 2016, a welcoming dinner was organized by the Economic Club of New York, the National Committee on U.S.-China Relations, and the U.S.-China Business Council. Premier Li made remarks regarding globalization, as well as its impact on China's own development. His remarks were rendered consecutively into English by his interpreter that the UK and US have been the biggest beneficiaries of globalization and trade liberalization and "China is also a big beneficiary from this trend". The Chinese premier, with a reasonably good knowledge of English, made a rare move to interrupt the interpreter's onsite delivery, correcting her in a jocular way that China was only "one of" the beneficiaries.

This unexpected act drew laughter and applause from the audience. The ideological message behind such a correction, that is, the addition of the emphatic "one of", is clear nonetheless. This appears to be an implicit intertextual response to the comments made by former US president Obama in an interview with *The New York Times* that China is a "free rider" (The New York Times, 2014) in the international community. The seemingly more emphatic wording "one of" suggests that, rather than free riding, China's rise has in part been the result of globalization, where China is but one country out of many that have benefited from this broader trend (and this is in exactly the same way as the UK and US once did at various times in history). Again, it was precisely the discursively consequential nature of the English

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interpretation that prompted the premier's uncustomary intervention. To sum up, as the above examples have demonstrated, the successful conveyance of the government's intended (ideological) message is predicated upon the interpreter's effective interpretation in a holistic, nuanced and even tactful manner. As such, far from being an inconsequential derivative or epiphenomenon, interpreted discourse in English represents in many ways China's global "voice" and is capable of effecting change in its own right (perhaps even more so than the original).

A CRITICAL ANALYSIS OF CHINA'S OFFICIAL METADISCOURSES ON GOVERNMENT INTERPRETERS' EXPECTED ROLES

The government interpreters, usually Communist Party members themselves, are, first and foremost, recruited as civil servants affiliated with the Chinese government and, more specifically, the Department of Translation and Interpretation of China's Ministry of Foreign Affairs (FMPRC). The translation and interpretation department is "responsible for providing English, French, Spanish and Portuguese translation of important state diplomatic events and diplomatic documents and instruments, as well as simultaneous interpretation and coordination of interpretation in multi-languages for major international conferences" (Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the People's Republic of China, 2014). Many of the interpreters enjoy something of a celebrity status among China's vast number of foreign language learners and trainee translators and interpreters. Also, as members of the upper echelon of China's ruling élite, quite a few interpreters and translators from the Department of Translation and Interpretation have even gone on to take prominent government positions as key diplomats and politicians.

In order to reveal how the broad trend of change towards openness and engagement in post-socialist China might be reflected in the institutional metadiscourses (Diriker, 2004; Diriker, 2009; Zwischenberger & Pöchhacker, 2010) prescribing interpreters' expected roles and responsibilities, official documents are critically examined as primary sources. The metadiscourses enacted in official documents are of great import as they are reflective of the broader sociopolitical reality and the prevalent expectations of interpreters at a given time and, at the same time, serve to shape the actual interpreting practice through the guiding and regulatory power they possess.

For this purpose, the FMPRC website and in particular the webpage pertaining to the normative and prescriptive metadiscourses on interpreters' expected roles and responsibilities are systematically studied. Critical scrutiny of the foreign ministry's webpage (Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the People's Republic of China, 2013) dealing with interpreter recruitment reveals the following. Apart from possessing excellent bilingual skills and comprehensive knowledge in various domains, being calm, confident and flexible, government-affiliated interpreters are required to "accurately convey the message" and "guarantee the interpretation is complete, accurate, and fluent". This seems to be in line with Reddy's conduit metaphor (1979) and the traditional normative perceptions that interpreters should translate like a channel, faithful echo or input-output robot (Roy, 2002).

On the other hand, however, the webpage also indicates that qualified interpreters are required to be "adamant in stance" and have the ability and willingness to "resolutely safeguard China's national interests", "devote to the motherland's diplomatic cause with a high sense of mission" and "fight at the forefront of the diplomatic work for the party and country". This, not surprisingly, is in harmony with the generic requirements for all civil servants affiliated with China's foreign ministry, who must, among

other things, "safeguard national sovereignty, security and interests on behalf of the state; run diplomatic affairs on behalf of the state and the government" (Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the People's Republic of China, n.d.).

Moreover, another key aspect featured prominently in the official document is that these government-affiliated interpreters should be able to "build the bridge for communication", as "China is actively exploring major-country diplomacy with Chinese characteristics" in order to "build a world of enduring peace and common prosperity" through "working in collaboration with peoples of all nationalities". In other words, these interpreters are also duty-bound to help facilitate China's proactive international diplomacy and global engagement. This is indeed well aligned with and reflective of the post-1978 change in mainland China towards increasing open engagement and global integration.

Such metadiscourses on interpreters' expected roles are also reflected in an invited talk given by China's chief interpreter Zhang Lu at Beijing International Studies University. Zhang Lu is currently the division chief of the Department of Translation and Interpretation with extensive experience interpreting for Chinese leaders on various occasions. In her talk regarding diplomatic/political interpreting and a day in the lives of government-affiliated interpreters, she mentioned that the interpreters "are representatives of the whole country and need to convey China's voice in a comprehensive, accurate and vivid manner" and to provide interpreting services for the country is "a very honorable and glorious vocation". Furthermore, she also emphasized that a good command of China's official stances and policies on "sensitive issues" represents the "life and soul of diplomatic interpreters". This is precisely what distinguishes them from freelance interpreters in the market.

As such, the metadiscursive analyses on primary sources available on China's official FMPRC website have identified three key areas of (seemingly contradictory) requirements. On the one hand, government-affiliated interpreters need to be highly qualified linguists to interpret accurately and presumably in a mechanical and impartial manner. On the other hand, however, it is explicitly stipulated that they need to be patriotic civil servants to act adamantly and, at the same time, be staunch guardians of China's national interests. Furthermore, they are also duty-bound to help facilitate China's proactive international diplomacy and global engagement. While interpreting is never conducted in a vacuum and absolute accuracy, impartiality and invisibility on the part of interpreters are an unrealistic "myth" (Angelelli, 2004, p. 21), the juxtaposition of the three requirements is nonetheless conflicting (at least *prima facie*). This sort of active agency and mediation explicitly stipulated in the official document is of particular interest here as it is unheard of in the competence requirements in institutions like the United Nations and also something in stark contrast to the prevalent codes of ethics in organizations like the AIIC and NAATI (where the principles of accuracy and neutrality are strongly emphasized and espoused).

The mutually contradictory requirements are suggestive of the government interpreters' work (the inherently complex nature of which defies any essentialist conceptualization). This, however, raises the further question as to how interpreters might negotiate their way between the seemingly irreconcilable expectations (e.g. How do they remain accurate and faithful if China's national interests are at stake? How can proactive international diplomacy and positive engagement be possible if they are also required to take an unequivocal and stern stance? Do they oscillate between different expected responsibilities or do they prioritize one over the others?). With these in mind, a CDA analysis is carried out to examine how interpreters juggle between these expectations in their actual interpreting in an era of political, economic and cultural change.

A CRITICAL DISCOURSE ANALYSIS ON INTERPRETERS' AGENCY

Having identified the triple requirements in the government's institutional metadiscourses, this section focuses on how, in practice, the interpreter might negotiate a way between the divergent expectations of being a faithful and impartial voice machine, an active promoter of China's global diplomacy and image as well as a staunch guardian of China's national interests with great allegiance. Looking beyond any reductionist and prescriptive readings of the interpreters' role, an in-depth critical discourse analysis (CDA) is conducted to explore empirically interpreters' agency against a backdrop of change signaled by the Dengist reform in 1978.

With this in mind, the theoretical framework, corpus data and methodology used are briefly discussed here. Viewing discourse as a form of social practice that is both socially shaped and socially constitutive (Fairclough & Wodak, 1997, p. 258), the descriptive, interdisciplinary and problem-oriented CDA provides the useful theoretical framework and analytical tools to reveal instantiations of power and ideology in language use which are often "out of sight" (Paltridge, 2006, p. 178). "Critical" here by no means refers to criticism. Instead, it refers to the critical attitude of taking nothing for granted and taking nothing at face value in order to make more explicit the (often) opaque relationship between discourse, power and ideology. In this study, Fairclough's three-dimensional model (1989) is adopted, which entails detailed analyses on the micro (textual), meso (discursive practice) and macro (sociocultural practice) levels.

The CDA analysis is conducted on a corpus consisting of transcribed data extracted from 20 consecutive years of interpreter-mediated Premier-Meets-the-Press conferences (1998 to 2017). The Chinese premier is ranked second in position within the government (immediately after the Chinese president) and is the highest level government official answering journalists' questions. In terms of topics, a wide array of issues is addressed (with questions ranging from the global economy to climate change, from China's agriculture to human rights, from Taiwan election to Hong Kong's prosperity, and from Sino-Japanese relations to Crimea). The discourse articulated at these press conferences constitutes China's most authoritative take in terms of government policies and positions (see previous sections for more details).

To investigate interpreters' agency and explore how their role is negotiated between the conflicting responsibilities, attention is paid specifically to the "added value" made on the part of the interpreters. As such, careful comparative and contrastive CDA analyses are carried out, focusing on the differences between the source and target discourses. This makes "shift" a particularly instrumental concept in the data analysis process. "Shifts" signify changes that have come about between the ST and TT in the translation or interpreting process (cf. Leuven-Zwart, 1989, 1990; Toury, 1995). It is observed by Toury (1995, p. 57) that there exist two major types of "shifts": namely "obligatory shifts" and "optional shifts". Due to the systematic (grammatical) differences between the ST and TT, "obligatory shifts" are often considered inevitable. Therefore, the focus of the present study is on the "optional shifts" that occur in the interpreting process, particularly those of ideological salience. Ideologically salient shifts can be viewed as concrete instantiations of interpreters' agency and ideological mediation as civil servants and members of China's ruling elite.

It is worth bearing in mind that the researcher does not take any explicit positions or aim to provide any value judgment with regard to China's political discourse and the interpreted one *per se*. The analyses are based solely on careful examination and identification of salient shifts, without foisting any predetermined *a priori* categories upon the data. Also, while CDA on monolingual discourse is sometimes critiqued for making conclusions based on an imagined version of what could or should have been

written or said, the essentially comparative nature of analysis focusing on the "added value" concretely evidenced in discourse can be considered relatively more objective.

DATA ANALYSIS

Close critical readings of the source and target discourses reveal that the majority of information has been relatively accurately rendered. The fact that the interpretation is accurate and faithful in the main is not surprising. Having had to go through rigorous selection processes before being recruited into China's foreign ministry, the interpreters are highly well-trained and competent (who together are arguably the national team of translation and interpreting in China). Having said this, however, instances of interpreters' agency are also abundant (which does not in any way suggest that these are interpreting errors or the consecutive rendition is undependable or of subpar quality professionally).

Due to the limited space and the sheer number of salient cases identified in the corpus data, only representative examples are presented and discussed to illustrate the range of discursive strategies employed. The first type of agency pertains to interpreters' discursive fine-tuning of the ST to add an additional layer of engagement and interactiveness and portray the government in a more positive light. This, among other things, involves synthetic personalization, modality shifts, foregrounding as well as ideologically salient additions.

Synthetic Personalization

"Synthetic personalization", according to CDA scholar Fairclough (1989, p. 62), is the discursive strategy commonly used in commercial advertisements and political language where mass audiences are addressed in a conversation-like manner as though they were addressed individually. This usually involves the use of the second-person 'you'. Example 1 below illustrates its use by the government-affiliated interpreter.

- *Example 1*
- **Source Text:** 第三,是要促进社会公正。公正是社会创造活力的源泉,也是提高人民满意度的一杆秤,政府理应是社会公正的守护者。我们要努力使人人享有平等的机会, 不论是来自城市还是农村,不论是来自怎样的家庭背景,只要通过自身的努力就可以取得应有的回报。不论是怎样的财富创造者,是国企、民企还是个体经营者,只要靠诚信公平竞争,都可以获得应有的成果。
- ***Target Text:*** *Third, we will promote social fairness. Fairness is a source of societal creativity and the yardstick for improving people's satisfaction with the work of the government. The government should be the guardian of social fairness. We need to work hard to create equal opportunities for everyone, for people from urban and rural areas, and for all those people regardless of their family background, so that people's hard work will be duly rewarded. And whatever type of wealth creator you are, a state-owned enterprise, a private enterprise or an individually run business, as long as you compete in a level playing field and conduct your business in a clean and honest way, then you will be able to taste the success.*

In this short stretch of text taken from 2013, the Chinese premier spells out the government's determination to help create a fairer society where everyone can be successful through hard work and fair play.

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In the original discourse in Chinese the third-person concept (e.g. 人人everyone) is consistently used as an example in terms of the government's vision for a just and equitable society. However, although the third-person concept in the English interpretation is more or less maintained at the beginning through the use of "everyone" and "people", there is an obvious shift towards the repeated use of the second-person "you" and "your" at the end that "as long as *you* compete in a level playing field and conduct *your* business in a clean and honest way, then *you* will be able to taste the success". This way, the more objective and impersonal tone is replaced using the more dynamic and interactive second-person pronoun "you", thus constituting a typical case of synthetic personalization. Rather than treating the addressee as an undifferentiated whole and a remote irrelevant *other*, the use of "you" and "your" in the interpreted discourse seems to be talking with the audience as various individuals in a targeted manner. This, resultantly, forges a degree of intimacy and personal rapport, conveying the intended message in an arguably more appealing and convincing manner that in an equitable China success is not far away as long as you comply with the rules and go the extra mile. As such, a positive and personal image of the government has been constructed by the interpreter, demonstrating clear traces of China's open interaction and discursive engagement in general terms.

Modality

Political discourse is imbued with modality use, expressing a wide range of opinions, attitudes and stances. This makes modality another interesting area indicative of interpreters' agency and mediation in the corpus data. This is exemplified in the following two extracts below.

- *Example 2*
- ***Source Text:*** 不是人们常说穿鞋要合脚吗,施政应该利民惠民。谢谢*!*
- ***Literal Translation:*** *Don't people often say that wearing shoes needs to fit the feet (rhetorical question)? Administrating/governing should serve the people and benefit the people. Thank you.*
- ***Target Text:*** *Just as shoes must suit the feet, our administration must meet people's needs and deliver real benefits. Thank you!*

This example is excerpted from the press conference in 2015, where premier Li Keqiang answered questions posed by a journalist affiliated with Bloomberg regarding streamlining administration and delegating powers. Close comparative analyses between the original and interpreted discourses reveal that marked shifts have occurred in the interpreting process. It can be observed that "要", literally "need" or "want to" in Chinese, is re-modalized into English using the modal verb "must". And "应该" ("should") is also interpreted into English using "must". The employment of the high-modality "must" denotes a very strong sense of obligation that the government is duty-bound and highly determined to deliver "real" tangible benefits in order to truly satisfy the people's needs. The fact that both "need" and "should" are repeatedly re-modalized into English as "must" can also be viewed as a case of overlexicalization (*cf.* Halliday, 1978; Fowler et al., 1979). This is highly significant ideologically and helps add an extra layer of resolve on the part of the government through interpreting.

- *Example 3*
- ***Source Text:*** ...政府的一切权力都是人民赋予的,一切属于人民,一切为了人民,一切依靠人民,一切归功于人民。

- **Literal Translation:***...All of the government's power is granted by the people, all belongs to the people, all is for the people, all is dependent on the people, and all is attributable to the people.*
- **Target Text:***...All the power of the government is bestowed on us by the people or the power belongs to the people. Everything we do should be for the people; we must rely on the people in all our endeavors,* and we need to attribute all that we have achieved to people's power.

This example is taken from Premier Wen's opening remarks in 2007, where he sums up a lesson the government has learned over the years, that is, the centrality of the people. This extract, again, clearly demonstrates interpreter's active agency through modality use. While the original message relating to people has generally been maintained, it is worth noting that the interpreter has peppered the short sentence with modality "should", "must" and "need" (which are not triggered by the ST). It is also worth noting that the first-person plural "we", "our" and "us" have been repeatedly added by the interpreter. This not only demonstrates the interpreter's institutional identification with his employer but also helps reinforce the primacy of the government. In doing so, the relatively plain sentence discussing the centrality of people has become a site of image construction. In other words, a more active image of the Chinese government has been constructed as a result of interpreting with an extra layer of volition, responsibility and obligation.

Foregrounding

"Foregrounding" refers to the strategy to make certain elements in text more prominent, the use of which can be ideologically salient. Close scrutiny of the corpus data identifies a pronounced tendency for the interpreters to foreground the government as the key social actor (see example 4).

- *Example 4*
- **Source Text:** 政府工作走过了四个年头,它告诉我们,必须懂得一个真理...
- **Literal Translation:** *The government's work has gone through four years. It told us that (we) must understand one truth...*
- **Target Text:** *This government has been serving the people for four years. The four years of government work has taught me three things...*

Also extracted from the premier's opening remarks in 2007, example 4 is an apt case in point in terms of foregrounding. The sentence "政府工作走过了四个年头" (the government's work has gone through four years) is a rather mundane statement referring merely to the passage of time. This, interestingly, is rendered into English as "this government has been serving the people for four years" by the interpreter. As such, rather than the relatively static, vague and intangible "government's work", the Chinese government has been foregrounded as an active agent with concrete institutional presence. The employment of the present perfect continuous "has been serving" has further strengthened the prominent image of the government as a dedicated "servant of the people", indicating that such service and commitment are a consistent ongoing process which started in the past, is happening now and will continue into the future. Also noteworthy is that the concept "people" (untriggered by the ST) is brought into the equation. Such emphasis on "people" is well aligned with the government's increasingly people-oriented approach of governance signaled by the reform and opening up in 1978. Interestingly, however, it seems to suggest that the people (object) need to depend on the government to be served, thus further legitimating the

firm leading position of the government as the worthy actor (subject) every step of the way in the maintenance of government-citizen ties.

In addition to example 4, another salient case of the foregrounding of the Chinese government can be found in example 2 above. It is evident that in the original discourse "施政应该利民惠民" (administrating/governing should serve the people and benefit the people) is a generic statement applicable to all governments, where the word "施政" is similar to a gerund in English as the general practice of administrating or governing. This, however, is rendered into English as the concrete agent "our administration", thereby bringing to the fore once again the active presence of the Chinese government. Also, the ideologically salient addition of the first-person plural possessive adjective "our" sheds light upon the interpreter's in-group (van Dijk, 1984) identity as a member of China's ruling elite and emphasizes that this specific government is the social actor that is capable of delivering "real benefits" to the Chinese people. These techniques taken together have constructed a positive image of the government as being highly accessible, dedicated, determined and responsible on the part of the interpreters.

Ideologically Salient Additions

As illustrated above, the government-affiliated interpreters do indeed play a role in China's active engagement using various discursive strategies. Close readings of the ST and TT also reveal that interpreters often step in and act as defenders of China's core national interests especially when sensitive issues are touched upon (although in a relatively subtle way). Example 5 and 6 below illustrate how ideologically charged expressions are added by the interpreters when China's interests are (potentially) at stake.

- *Example 5*
- *Q: I am Jaime FlorCruz with CNN. During your last visit to Washington, President Bush clearly indicated his caution to both sides of the Taiwan Straits against taking unilateral steps that may change the status quo. But he also clearly indicated opposition to Taiwan's plans to hold the referendum next week, which is a departure from the usually ambiguous US position on Taiwan. What did you do to make the United States change its position on this one? [...] Do you think it will change or influence the outcome of the elections and the referendum in Taiwan next week?*
- *Example 6*
- *Q: Mr. Prime Minister, Tibet is a focus these days. US Congress, the Obama administration and the European Parliament asked China to resume talks with Dalai Lama. Of course China answers that is an internal affair, but what is your position on this issue? Are you ready to restart talks with Dalai Lama and to work on his demand for real autonomy? And this issue has made a relation between China and France quite cold for a few months since last September [...] what do you concretely expect from France? Thank you.*

The questions in example 5 and 6 are posed by journalists with CNN and Le Figaro respectively in 2004 and 2009. These questions are potentially sensitive and face-threatening in nature as both have touched upon matters concerning China's sovereignty and territorial integrity (Taiwan and Tibet). According to the government's official position, these are sensitive issues which brook no external interference. Meticulous comparative analyses reveal that in both examples the word "所谓的" (so-called), which usually carries negative connotations in Chinese, is deliberately added before "referendum" and "real autonomy" by the interpreters. These additions are ideologically revealing in nature. On Taiwan, it is

the Chinese government's consistent position that there is but one China and both mainland China and Taiwan belong to the same China. The proposed referendum in Taiwan was strongly opposed to by the mainland as it was perceived by the PRC government as provocative and an exercise ultimately aimed for Taiwan independence, a precedent the mainland did not want to see.

In example 6, Tibet is an autonomous region considered to be an inalienable part of China's territory by the Chinese government and the Dalai Lama is believed to be inciting and fomenting "splittist" activities aimed at separating Tibet from the "motherland". The ideologically salient additions of "所谓的" in both cases are striking, suggesting that the "referendum" in Taiwan and the demand for "real autonomy" in Tibet are not recognized by the PRC government and are deemed wrong, groundless, illegitimate and perhaps even farcical. By intervening in the process and dismissing the Taiwan referendum and demand made by the Dalai Lama as unreliable and not factual, the interpreters seem to have taken a stern stance and made a very clear statement. This is done through choosing to distance themselves from the foreign journalists and position themselves with the government instead. Such small and seemingly insignificant tweaking, without doubt, signals the government interpreters' agency in safeguarding China's core national interests.

DISCUSSION

The CDA analysis based on transcribed corpus data shows that, while the majority of information is accurately rendered in the interpreted discourse, the government interpreters are far from being mechanical "voice boxes". As demonstrated in the salient examples above, interpreters do indeed mediate in the process as active agents. Such agency manifests itself in two major aspects: active engagement to help construct a more positive image of China and the government and also, if need be, the defending of China's core national interests. Such agency is realized in various linguistic and discursive means (e.g. synthetic personalization, modality, foregrounding, overlexicalization and ideologically salient additions). This seems to suggest that, in practice, interpreters affiliated with the Chinese government are usually able to strike a balance and negotiate their way through the seemingly conflicting metadiscourses evidenced on the official FMPRC website. As such, the triple responsibilities identified are not just reflective of the complexity of China's political interpreting culture but also, in actuality, afford interpreters sufficient institutional and practical wiggle room for some discretionary (ideological) tweaking through discursive means.

FUTURE RESEARCH DIRECTIONS

The CDA analysis, predominantly qualitative in nature, illustrates a range of discursive strategies in interpreters' mediation vis-à-vis the broader sociopolitical and cultural changes. The investigation of interpreters' agency, however, would stand to gain from the use of corpus linguistics tools for more systematic and (perhaps) objective analysis. It would also be interesting to examine the corpus data from a diachronic perspective to identify patterns over time or to investigate whether any gender differences might be observed between male and female interpreters for more refined studies.

CONCLUSION

To conclude, the reform and opening up in 1978 has revolutionized the way China communicates domestically and internationally. Situated within such a period of drastic transformations in post-socialist China, this chapter, descriptive in nature, has firstly contextualized the interpreter-mediated premier's press conference, contending that its establishment was not idiosyncratic but highly reflective of China's political, economic and, resultantly, sociocultural changes towards increasing engagement and openness. Once established, such an institutional practice in turn serves as a useful platform to further advance China's diplomacy and facilitate China's continued openness and engagement with the international community.

This broader shifting culture highlights the need for a re-evaluation and re-definition of China's press conference interpreting and government interpreters' agency. With a view to revealing how the change towards openness and engagement is reflected in the metadiscourses in relation to interpreters, the official FMPRC website prescribing their expected roles is critically scrutinized. The metadiscursive analysis on the official document has identified triple perceived contradictions (faithful and impartial voice machines *versus* active promoters of China's global image and diplomacy *versus* staunch and loyal guardians of China's core national interests), thus bringing to the fore the necessity to examine empirically how their role is negotiated between these conflicting expectations in actual interpreting.

The empirical CDA-informed analysis focusing on careful comparisons between the ST and TT has shown that the majority of interpretations conducted by the interpreters, arguably the finest China has to offer, are relatively accurate. However, contrary to the traditional prescriptivist view, these interpreters are indeed far from being disinterested and neutral translating machines. As evidenced in the illustrative examples, signs of interpreters' agency are visible and abundant in the corpus data and are realized through various discursive means (synthetic personalization, addition, overlexicalization, modality and foregrounding *etc.*). On the one hand, these interpreters have actively facilitated China's international engagement and helped promote a more positive image of the Chinese government. On the other hand, they have also intervened in the process as guardians of China's core national interests (particularly when sensitive topics are touched upon and China's sovereignty and territorial integrity are potentially at stake). Rather than a drastic and conspicuous overhaul, the interpreters' agency can be viewed as discursive fine-tuning, which by and large is achieved in a remedial, cumulative and perhaps individually insignificant fashion.

From this perspective, the government interpreters are usually able to negotiate a way between the multiple and seemingly contradictory expectations. Instead of being solely an institutional constraint, the multifarious and *prima facie* conflicting metadiscourses to some extent provide the discretionary leeway for interpreters to function as active co-constructors of China's discursive formulations in this triadic interpreting encounter. Therefore, if government-affiliated interpreters in Mao's era served more or less as ideological mouthpieces in conveying tough propagandist messages in the (mutual) antagonism between China and the West, these interpreters of today must be understood differently. While the interpreters are still very much mouthpieces of the government, they should be re-defined as well-trained and highly competent interpreting professionals with the added responsibilities to project a better image for China in its global engagement and to safeguard China's core national interests, when necessary. As such, against the backdrop of the post-1978 sociopolitical and cultural changes, a certain degree of agency and discursive engineering, I argue, can be deemed as of strategic importance and something part and parcel of China's increasing engagement and interaction with the outside world.

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KEY TERMS AND DEFINITIONS

Critical Discourse Analysis: An interdisciplinary approach to the critical investigation of discourse (language use). The aim of CDA analysis is to make explicit the otherwise hidden power and ideology enacted in discourse.

Discourse: Language use as a form of social practice that is both socially shaped and socially constitutive.

Discursive Event: A (public) event which enables the discursive formulations of certain social actors (e.g. political parties and social groups) to be articulated and transmitted.

Interpreter's agency: Interpreter's active involvement in the interpreting process in relation to certain sociopolitical or institutional settings. Interpreter's agency can be realized in various forms.

Metadiscourse on interpreters: The language used in describing interpreters' expected roles and responsibilities often in a prescriptivist manner. Such metadiscourse can be found in the codes of ethics and other similar documents, for example, in organizations like AIIC or NAATI.

Post-Socialist China: A period in China marked by the Reform and Opening up initiated by Deng Xiaoping in 1978. China in this period actively pursues 'socialism with Chinese characteristics' and is increasingly integrated into the global market.

Premier-Meets-the-Press conference: An interpreter-mediated event held in Beijing towards the end of each year's "two sessions". At the press conference, a wide range of questions are posed to the Chinese premier by Chinese and international journalists.

Chapter 14
Intercultural Communication Challenge:
The Interpreter's Role in Health Care Interpreting

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ABSTRACT

A leader in community interpreting, Australia provides professional interpreting services within its public health system. Healthcare interpreters face various challenges for a variety of reasons, including cultural differences. Existing research on healthcare interpreting focuses on differences between a mainstream culture of healthcare professionals and ethnically diverse cultures of migrant patients. Interpreters are widely regarded as bicultural professionals able to provide cultural information on behalf of patients as necessary or whenever healthcare professionals ask for it. However, research on healthcare interpreting in a globalized era should consider the changing nature of culture. The question of whether the interpreter should be a cultural broker remains controversial. Based on an ethnographic study of healthcare interpreters at a public hospital in Australia, this chapter aims to survey how multiple perspectives on cultural evolution affect healthcare interpreting.

INTRODUCTION

Translation and interpreting studies, especially in community interpreting, have so far regarded the notion of culture as ethnic or racial differences commonly expressed in languages (see Angelelli 2004a, Lee, 2009). However, the conventional assumption that cultural differences align with ethnic diversity, and language would reflect them, can easily limit the study of intercultural communication[1] in community interpreting to stereotypical ideas of comparing two mainstream cultures from which the parties come. This dichotomous thinking was the main methodological approach when intercultural communication was explored in interpreting studies in general (Kagawa-Singer & Blackhall, 2001, Kaufert & Putsch 1997, Lee, 2009).

For example, researchers have drawn attention to the cross-linguistic challenges in community interpreting between English-speaking Australian legal professionals and Korean-speaking customers in Australian courts (Lee, 2009), as well as cross-cultural problems and interpreter strategies for working with English-speaking American healthcare professionals and Spanish-speaking patients in American hospitals (Angelelli, 2004a, pp. 48-49). Not many studies have paid meticulous attention to the cultural, ethnic, or linguistic diversity of the medical or legal professionals who use the mainstream language. Also, they merely surmise that all interpreters are migrants who have a shared cultural, ethnic, and linguistic background with the culturally and linguistically diverse (CALD) communities. Most studies have not considered subcultures or individual traits of each participant in any context, and have used generalized definitions of the culture of each ethnic group to broadly delineate cultural differences. However, culture cannot be divided into dichotomous or homogeneous groups.

According to a report published by the Department of Immigration and Citizenship of Australia (2012), the number of estimated resident population who was born overseas is around 6.0 million (p.94); temporary entrants, including visitors, international students, working holiday program visa holders, and temporary business workers, are more than 3.5 million (p.47). Thus, now Australia has a culturally diverse population and is undergoing a social transformation. For example, the mobility of highly skilled personnel is growing, and regional migration flows are becoming more varied. Healthcare professionals are one example of migration trends.

Based on the *Australian Social Trends – Doctors and Nurses* statistics (Australian Bureau of Statistics, 2013), the number of healthcare professionals who were born overseas and who work in Australia have increased in recent years. In 2011, 56% of general medical practitioners (GPs) and 47% of medical specialists were born overseas, and these two categories of professionals have increased by 46% and 37% respectively since 2001. By comparison, 28% of the total employed population in 2011 was born overseas. One-third (33%) of the nurses in Australia in 2011 were born overseas, compared with 25% in 2001 (Australian Bureau of Statistics, 2013). Thus, healthcare professionals are already culturally diverse, based on their ethnic and linguistic backgrounds, making it unlikely to claim that all healthcare professionals who work in Australia have a white, Anglo-Saxon, and English-speaking background.

As many studies have proved in various contexts (Angelelli, 2004a, Hale, 2007, Kagawa-Singer & Blackhall, 2001, Karliner et al. 2007), effective communication and mutual understanding are essential in building trust between healthcare professionals and patients in healthcare settings. However, this communication can be problematic and break down when the patient and the medical practitioner are unable to communicate effectively due to cross-linguistic or cross-cultural differences. This communication breakdown has been of particular concern in multicultural countries such as America, Canada, and Australia. However, communication breakdown is now becoming a broader and growing apprehension in most countries all over the world, due to the phenomenon of great waves of migration. In a globalized era in which people exchange worldviews, ideas, and other aspects of culture, the notion of culture is becoming increasingly complex, multifaceted, and difficult to define.

The questions of whether interpreters should act as cultural brokers between patients and healthcare professionals (whereby interpreters intervene and actively participate in the communication to explain cross-cultural issues), and the extent to which they should bridge cultural gaps, remain controversial issues among researchers and practitioners (Hale, 2014, p. 7). This chapter aims to provide an overview of how the multiperspective nature of cultural evolution affects healthcare interpreting[2] and the interpreter's role, which form the part of the doctoral thesis of the researcher on intercultural communication issue in

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health care interpreting of an ethnographic study consisting of observations and interviews of healthcare interpreters at a public hospital in Australia.

BACKGROUND

The concept of culture is difficult to define and getting more complicated due to great changes in the movement of population. A considerable amount of literature has investigated the idea of culture and cross-cultural differences in various contexts, including interpreting and medical studies (Angelelli, 2004a, Butow et al., 1997, 2011, 2012, 2013, Hale, 2007, Kelly, 2000, Pöchhacker, 2000). Among them, Schouten and Meeuwesen (2006) clearly note the connection between culture and communicative behavior, and the existence of subcultures within one ethnic group. According to their description, communication through language can reflect culture (p. 31); at the same time, other communicating parties may not directly detect some of the cultural values reflected in nonverbal communication cues. In addition, in some contexts, the definition of culture is limited to ethnicity or language group, but it can also extend to other groups or communities with different values, moral standards, or codes of behavior (see Hale, 2014, Mindess, 2006, for examples of medical culture or deaf culture).

On one hand, people who share a language can have different cultures, depending on the country in which they live. On the other hand, people from different countries can share common cultures. Thus, ethnicity or language can only represent single elements of culture. Each individual has a worldview or beliefswhich are influenceddirectly or indirectly by many factors, including country of origin, religion, age, sex, education level,and country of residence.Besides, individuals have been and will be influenced by more and more varied factors due to the cultural evolution of globalized era. The complication of communication breakdown due to the individual traits influenced by various cultural factors has been a particular concern in Australia, one of the leading countries for community interpreting services.Patients from CALD communities can access healthcare services with the help of nationally accredited professional interpreters. The Translating and Interpreting Services (TIS National) provided nationwide free of charge interpreting to medical professionals and staff who work with non-English speakers.

In the *Code of Ethics and Code of Conduct* by the Australian Institute of Interpreters and Translators (AUSIT) (2012), role boundaries have been clearly provided: "Practitioners do not, in the course of their interpreting or translation duties, engage in other tasks such as advocacy, guidance or advice" (p.6). *AUSIT Guidelines for Health Professionals Working with Interpreters* (Australian Institute of Interpreters and Translators, 2007) also state that "health care professionals should not be asking interpreters to give information about the patient's culture, unless communication has broken down"(Australian Institute of Interpreters and Translators, p. 10). However, on a Web page of the Western Sydney Local Health District Health Care Interpreter Service (WSLHD HCIS) (2016), which provides information to a wider public, "Provision of information regarding clients' cultural background to health care providers"(p. 1) is included in the services provided by healthcare interpreters. The South Western Sydney Local Health District (SWSLHD) (2015) also describes the primary role of the healthcare interpreter as to "provide culturally relevant information to Health Care Providers on an individual client basis" (p. 1).

In the research, some healthcare professionals raised the matter of cultural sensitivity in healthcare settings (Butow, Tattersall, & Goldstein, 1997; Kagawa-Singer & Blackhall, 2001). They looked at the patients' views on cultural attitudes and beliefs, and concluded that healthcare professionals should in-

crease cultural sensitivity and receive specialized training in such matters. Their studies could not clearly define the interpreter's role as a cultural broker, and reported the mismatch among patient, interpreter, and healthcare professional understandings of the interpreters' role boundaries (Butow et al., 2011). Their publications also suggest research on interpreters' perceptions of intercultural communication challenges. Even though general guidelines exist, as they were established for interpreters and healthcare professionals to follow by government agencies and a national association, further research is needed to clarify the interpreters' role and to seek potential improvements to apply to the current system.

RESEARCH METHODS

This study is a mixed-method qualitative study, based on observations and semi-structured interviews. Observations and interviews were conducted in one of the major hospitals in Sydney, which serves a large population of immigrants. According to the 2011 census (Australian Bureau of Statistics, 2013), 43% of the District's residents were born overseas, compared to 27% in all of New South Wales. In addition, 45% of the residents spoke a language other than English at home, compared to 24% in all of New South Wales. Health Care Interpreter Services (HCIS) is the largest provider of state healthcare interpreting services, providing interpretation and translation for all areas in New South Wales. Three participant groups were involved in these observations: English-speaking healthcare professionals, Korean-speaking patients, and healthcare interpreters. A total of 26 healthcare professionals, 5 interpreters, and 34 patients and their family members participated in this study.

The criteria for the selection of interpreters were that they be Korean-language interpreters who work in healthcare settings. The author, who is a native Korean speaker and a Korean translator and interpreter who can understand both English and Korean, took notes for the purpose of analyzing the data. Five Korean interpreters volunteered to participate in the study, and all were born in South Korea and were native Korean speakers. Only one sessional interpreter had studied interpreting at the university level and holds a Master's degree, while the other three staff interpreters and one sessional interpreter had completed a short course at Technical and Further Education (TAFE) institutions over one semester, and have a Diploma. All three staff interpreters had more than 30 years of residence in Australia, and between 16 and 25 years of practice as interpreters. All five interpreters are female and have paraprofessional-level accreditation in interpreting in both directions.

According to a comprehensive outline of the different levels of National Accreditation Authority for Translators and Interpreters (NAATI) accreditation, the clear outlines of NAATI credentials are:

Professional Interpreter (formerly known as Level 3): This represents the minimum level of competence for professional interpreting and is the minimum level recommended by NAATI for work in most settings, including banking, law, health, as well as social and community services. Professional interpreters are capable of interpreting across a wide range of semi-specialized situations, and can use the consecutive mode of interpret speeches or presentations.

Paraprofessional Interpreter (formerly known as Level 2): This represents a level of competence in interpreting for the purpose of general conversations. Paraprofessional interpreters generally under-

take the interpretation of non-specialist dialogues. Practitioners at this level are encouraged to obtain Professional-level accreditation. (NAATI, 2010, p. 1)

The observations consist of 20 interpreter-mediated medical consultations at a hospital in New South Wales, Australia, over a period of six months in 2015. During the consultations, the author took notes to document the observations, using a prepared template as a starting point. The handwritten notes were converted into a word document and coded for themes. The codes were categorized based on the findings that emerged from the data. After each observation, the interpreters who participated in the observation were invited to act as respondents in semi-structured interviews, to provide their views on challenges that may have occurred and their strategies for overcoming them. In addition to the indicative interview guide, the interpreters also built anecdotes, stories, and examples into their responses.

DATA COLLECTED

Once consents were obtained from all parties, a consultation usually started with healthcare professionals making seating arrangements, mostly triangular among the patient, the healthcare professional, and the interpreter, except when physical examinations were carried out on a bed, sometimes behind a curtain for privacy. For a general post-surgery checkup, a CT-scan result consultation, or a pre-surgery information session, a consultation lasted about five to twenty-five minutes in total. However, if the consultation was for a cognitive assessment for a stroke patient, or an initial assessment to book a midwife for a pregnant woman, the consultation went on for more than an hour.

Since the cross-cultural differences and the patterns of interactions among the participants were to be analyzed in detail, and not the linguistic selection or language exchanges, it had been decided to take notes during the observations, but not to audio-record. A prepared template used as a starting point to document the observations included a description of the setting, any issues that emerged during the consultation, reflections, and reminders to follow up after each consultation. When a communication breakdown occurred, details of the interactions were recorded, including how the conversations took place, what triggered a certain behavior, how the other party/parties reacted, whether the communication breakdown was retrieved or not, and, most importantly, what the interpreters did in such situations. Although the primary aim of the study and the central focus of the observation were on the cross-cultural communication challenges, other problems that emerged were also documented, such as interpreters' poor working conditions, inappropriate behaviors of healthcare professionals or CALD patients, and inappropriate or unethical behaviors of interpreters.

After each consultation, interpreters were asked to have an interview with the researcher, initially using the indicative interview guide, and then in a bit more unstructured and open way, where interpreters were allowed to speak openly about their thoughts on healthcare interpreting and healthcare interpreters' role in general. Broader topics that were not observed within the time and the place limitations of the consultation came to light during the interviews with the interpreters. They included challenges during home visits or palliative care, or on inpatient units, excluded from this study due to the limitations imposed by the ethics approval. All interviews were audio-recorded and transcribed by the researcher.

TESTING PERCEPTIONS ABOUT CULTURAL INFLUENCES ON DOCTOR-PATIENT COMMUNICATION

Cultural diversity directly challenges complex features of communication in medical consultations. Some researchers argue that the source of the communication challenges in healthcare settings resides mainly in the language barrier (e.g., Ferguson & Candib, 2002, p. 354). However, many studies have shown the same challenges in intercultural communication remain present with the use of healthcare interpreters (Butow et al., 2012, p. 244; Butow et al., 2013, p. 2517). For example, CALD patients in their studies still reported high unmet needs in terms of insufficient information they had been given, not enough consultation time, or unsatisfactory treatment by healthcare professionals, which then led to anxiety, depression, lower satisfaction levels, or poorer outcomes. At the same time, healthcare professionals also stated their concerns about the possibility of interpreters filtering important information, and hindering, rather than helping, communication with patients. Interpreters have appeared reluctant to provide cultural information in such situations (Hudelson, 2005, p. 314), and the need for cross-cultural training of healthcare professionals has consistently arisen (Butow et al., 2011, p. 2806; Putsch, 1985, p.3347).

Some of the previously explored issues regarding cross-cultural communication challenges have emerged from the observations for this project, including nonverbal communication, a tendency to ask questions, culture and cancer, patient autonomy, and family involvement. However, no interpreter easily identified cultural issues, not all interpreters of the same language combination agreed on the explanation of such difficulties, and not all interpreters dealt with the challenges in the same way. The results of the interviews with the interpreters show that their explanations regarding the cultural broker's role did not coincide.

Demographic characteristics of the participating healthcare professionals were not collected for this study, as no such information is available in the hospital. However, based on the *Australian Social Trends–Doctors and Nurses* statistics (Australian Bureau of Statistics, 2013), the number of healthcare professionals who were born overseas and worked in Australia had increased in recent years. Even though the demographic characteristics of the participating healthcare professionals were not collected, the diversity of their ethnic backgrounds was in line with the *Australian Social Trends – Doctors and Nurses* statistics. This cultural diversity of healthcare professionals added another layer of complexity to intercultural communication in interpreter-mediated encounters. Moreover, even though all five interpreters were born in South Korea and are native Korean speakers, they had various views on whether certain challenges were due to cultural differences or individual traits.

Nonverbal Communication

Tone of voice, eye contact among interlocutors, the meaning of smiles, and personal space were noticed during the observations. Interestingly, the use of each type of nonverbal communication was not consistent among participants, and interpreters differed in how they understood the meaning of nonverbal cues. The various understanding of the meaning of nonverbal communication cues can be influenced by newly established cultural diversity in Korean verbal and nonverbal communication due to the impact of globalization on migration. The levels of acculturation among all participants, including medical professionals, can be varied in both interacting cultures regardless of the years of residence in Australia.

In case 1, the interpreter deliberately added euphemisms and used a soft tone when she delivered the result of the CT scan to the patient, an incurable cancer diagnosis. The interpreter later confirmed

that she intentionally added expressions for the benefit of the vulnerable elderly patient. This interpreter regarded successful delivery of the messages by adding nonverbal cues as an interpreter's principal role. However, another interpreter who participated in an interview considered changing tone of voice as unnecessary to an interpreter's facilitating communication. She added that changing a tone of voice would also be a breach of impartiality, one of the most important mandates in the code of ethics by which all interpreters should abide. Angelelli (2004a, p. 26) argues that interpreters may feel more related to one party than other, rather than having sense of kinship with both parties at the same time. She explains that this bias is because of the power differentials between doctors and patients. Kaufert and Putsch (1997, p.75) also insist that the health care interpreter plays the vital role in engaging in cultural brokerage and mediation when necessary.

Research supports the premise that many Asians, including Chinese, Japanese, Korean, Hmong, and Vietnamese, tend to avoid direct eye contact in order to show respect, especially to a person in a superior position (Abbato, 2011, pp. 27, 42, 61, 92; Galanti, 2015, p.56; Queensland Health, 2013, p. 31). However, in most cases throughout the observations for this study, patient and healthcare professionals made direct eye contact while talking to each other, and each party using it to signal the end of their speech acts and permission for the interpreter to take his/her turn conveying messages in another language. Most of the Korean patients made direct eye contact with the interpreters and the healthcare professionals, which can reflect the widespread phenomenon of changed Korean culture. One interpreter explained this changes saying that Korean culture is westernized. In case 12, an Irish doctor did not have any direct eye contact with either the interpreter or the patient, even when he made a joke. Two other cases were also observed where Caucasian nurses or midwives, or an Asian midwife, did not make direct eye contact with the patient. Except for these few cases, more than half of the healthcare professionals made direct eye contact with the patients throughout their consultations, especially when talking about their illness, including diagnosis and prognosis.

Many healthcare professionals of Asian or Indian background conformed to this trend. Most Korean-speaking patients made direct eye contact with the healthcare professionals in a similar manner, except for one particular case, where a pregnant woman with a depressive symptom showed shyness and passivity throughout the consultation. The patients' age group, sex, or period of residence in Australia did not seem to have any effect on whether they preferred to have or avoid direct eye contact with healthcare professionals. The five interpreters did not all agree with the argument that it would be inappropriate to establish direct eye contact with Korean patients.

One interpreter claimed that she is convinced she should explain the meaning of silence or the meaning of a smile to either participant, to avoid any misunderstanding or misinterpretation of one participant by the other. During the interview, this interpreter indicated that on one occasion she had recognized the patient's tension and nervousness, and had to initiate conversation and explain to the patient that the nurse does not smile a lot during the consultation, but that she is very nice and the patient needs not be intimidated or nervous. The interpreter believed that comforting the patients with culturally appropriate ways of communicating is healthcare interpreters' role. However, another interpreter stated that she does not believe any difference in the meaning of silence or smiles between Australian and Korean cultures exists. Angelelli (2004a, p. 26) explains these various degrees of an interpreter's intervention based on the intertwined relationship among societal, interpersonal, and discourse factors that interpreters bring into the communication. This is the concept of visibility, as Angelelli points out, which is normally present in the form of the interpreter's ownership of text.

Wadensjö (1995, p. 127) also emphasizes the social and interactive skills that interpreters need to have. Based on the discourse analysis, she concludes that the interpreter's role should go beyond the level of a basic language channel. She argues that interpreters co-construct meaning together with the other participants, and that all interlocutors should have a shared responsibility to the interpreter-mediated conversation. In this sense, the co-construction of the meaning and the shared responsibility of all the interlocutors provide evidence that other interpreting skills need to be trained and practiced to interpreters, rather than simple linguistic skills education. Many researchers point out the importance of social skills and interactive skills, and the lack of resources on those skills in current literature (Angelelli, 2004b, p. 18; Kaufert & Putsh, 1997, p. 84; Wadensjö, 1995, p. 127).

As to personal space, one interpreter argued that Korean patients do not respect it, while the other interpreter insisted that Korean patients are not familiar with physical contacts, such as a friendly hug or gentle touch on hands, for the purpose of comforting or reassuring. Moreover, in order to compound the problem, how interpreters perceive the meaning of any nonverbal cues by other participants can significantly vary according to the interpreter's individual beliefs. As explained in the previous examples, all five interpreters disagree on how Korean cultures regard nonverbal communication cues, although their years of residence in Australia, years of practice as an interpreter, educational levels, and age groups were rather similar.

Hierarchy and Patients' Reluctance to Ask Questions

In case 6, a staff interpreter and the patient had a talk in the waiting area before the patient's name was called. The patient asked the interpreter questions about why she had to have blood tests so many times, and the interpreter advised the patient to ask the questions to a healthcare professional during the consultation. The interpreter explained the interpreter's role and the code of ethics that she should abide by, as the reason the interpreter could not ask questions on the patient's behalf. However, during the consultation, when a healthcare professional asked the patient to have another blood test in three days, the patient looked and smiled at the interpreter without saying anything or asking questions. When noticing the patient's smile, the interpreter asked the healthcare professional why the patient had to have another blood test, which is indeed not what the interpreter had explained in the waiting room. This concept of the interpreter leads to what Metzger (1999) calls "the interpreter's paradox" (p. 21), or the fact that "[i]nterpreters have expressed the goal of not influencing the form, content, structure, and outcomes of interactive discourse, but the reality is that interpreters, by their very presence, influence the interaction" (p. 23). Interestingly, during the interview after the consultation, the interpreter did not remember the fact that she had asked questions to the healthcare professional on the patient's behalf. On the contrary, the interpreter reconfirmed that it would be a breach of the code of ethics if she had asked questions on the patient's behalf.

As a result, this interpreter defines patients' shyness and reluctance to ask questions, especially in front of authorities, as a distinctive characteristic of Korean culture:

That is one of the biggest cultural differences. Korean patients are not trained to ask questions or express themselves, especially in front of doctors. They all just wait until doctors give all the possible options or maybe a precise answer for everything. They barely ask any question to doctors in a consulting room, and then all their questions and curiosities eventually come to the interpreters after the consultation. (Interpreter 3)

However, in 6 out of 20 cases, the patients or their family members actively asked questions and sometimes disagreed with the healthcare professionals' opinions or suggestions. The age group, gender, or years of residence in Australia varied among these active patients. The way the healthcare professional asked questions did not significantly affect the patient's participation or his/her activeness. Different ways of speaking among the healthcare professionals were observed: (1) Any questions? (2) Do you have any questions? (3) No question? (4) Any more questions? (5) Anything you would like to ask me? (6) What's your question? The patient's assertiveness throughout the consultation, rather than the healthcare professional's way of speaking, played a more crucial role in whether the patients actively asked questions. The differences in interpreters' perceptions of this cultural trait of Korean patients appeared through their behaviors during the observations. One interpreter consistently asked questions on the patients' behalf whenever she felt the need, based on her interpretation of the patients' reactions or behaviors, while the other interpreter asked the patient and the family members to direct their questions to the healthcare professionals.

As to asking questions on the patients' behalf, one very fascinating factor stood out. Four interpreters asked questions in the patient's name at least once, while one sessional interpreter encouraged the patient to ask questions directly to the healthcare professional. This interpreter was the only one with a postgraduate degree in translation and interpreting studies, obtained in Australia. Her statement about this point illustrates her position:

I don't think so. I think Koreans are very much westernized these days in a sense that they easily express their personal opinions whenever it is needed and they actively participate in a conversation with doctors. And of course it's not my job to find all the answers for the patients. I think it would be rather a breach of conduct anyway if I add any question without being asked by any party. I don't want to risk myself in that situation. (Interpreter 5)

She has a master's degree in interpreting and translation studies, and is the only one, among five interpreting participants in this research, who stressed the importance of the training regarding intercultural communication challenges that health care interpreters can face. Although other four interpreters also had some relevant educational backgrounds, they consisted in short courses (i.e., from few weeks to six months at the longest) by individual institutions rather than university-level education, which more likely has a systematic training curriculum and practices more diverse interpreting skills. Angelelli (2004b, p. 21) points out the troublesome approach of some interpreting schools or courses, where instructors teach interpreting students that the interpreter's role has to be limited to language decoder-encoder. Undoubtedly, this restricted approach will significantly impede interpreting students' ability to learn and explore the interpreter's multifaceted role.

Culture and Cancer

Four out of a total of twenty observations were in a cancer-care clinic. Three of the four cases were in a breast-cancer clinic, and the patients were either confirmed as not having cancer or in the process of receiving proper treatment. In two cases, the patients were diagnosed at a very early stage or pre-stage of breast cancer. Both consultations took fifteen minutes, which is relatively short for this type of consultation, and neither patient talked nor asked many questions. The patients were not planning to get any further treatments, but the healthcare professionals asked them to make appointments within a few

months. In another case, the patient had completed the first operation and was about to start chemo-therapy. In this case, the healthcare professional mostly initiated to talk, and the patient was passively involved in the consultation.

However, one particular case involved a patient who had a confirmed case of terminal cancer. The patient was an elderly female, and her husband had accompanied her. When the doctor said that the CT scan result was not good and the interpreter delivered the message to the patient, the patient asked in Korean how long she could live. The doctor directly provided a certain timeframe to the patient, and both the patient and her husband seemed to accept it well, although there were moments of silence and sobbing. In this case, the patient actively participated in conversation directly with the doctor, and both the patient and her husband had no issue with disclosure of the diagnosis and the prognosis of cancer.

All five interpreters who participated in the interviews have had experiences where the patients' family members, especially children of elderly patients, asked the interpreters not to use the word cancer or not to provide detailed information about the patients' terminal illness. Three out of five interpreters, however, insisted that this should not be the case anymore, since Korean culture has significantly changed and is still gradually changing. Interpreters also pointed out variations in the understanding and the strategies healthcare professionals adopted with regard to this issue.

Patient Autonomy and Family Involvement

Along with deciding whether to reveal a terminal diagnosis to the patient, the issue of family involvement in decision-making can be challenging for interpreters in healthcare encounters. Patient autonomy refers to the patient's rights to make an informed decision about healthcare, and is related to the patient's assertiveness and involvement in choosing or refusing healthcare options during medical consultations. While doctor- or nurse-centered decision-making usually applies only in emergency situations in Australia, it is the main method which is used in some Asian countries (Queensland Health, 2013, p. 6). Patient autonomy and informed decision-making have been broadly emphasized in Western medical cultures (Butow et al., 2012, p. 238; Huang, Butow, Meiser,& Goldstein, 1999, p. 208). Variations in one cultural group and diversity in subcultures, especially within Western culture, are important points to address (Blank, 2011, p. 207; Kagawa-Singer & Blackhall, 2001, p. 2994). The current status of cultural transition from doctor- or nurse-centered decision-making to patient-centered one should be further researched.

In this study, one or more of the patient's family members attended their consultations in more than half of the cases (13 out of 20). Moreover, most of them were actively involved in conversation and the decision-making process. In most cases, family members tried not to directly answer the questions that the healthcare professionals had asked. Conversely, they asked questions on the patients' behalf on many occasions. Furthermore, the patient can clearly excluded due to the language barrier when the patient's family members ask questions in English, which are not interpreted into Korean for the patient. The diverse levels of English language capacity among Korean-speaking participants can be influenced by the degree of exposure to English based on the globalization.

In case 2, both the elderly patient and his daughter could speak English. Even though the patient actively participated in a conversation, his daughter answered some of the questions, including those about changes in the patient's medical history, or the names of his medications. The doctor had direct conversations with the daughter during the process of collecting the patient's medical history. None of these direct conversations were interpreted into Korean for the patient. During the interview, and after the observation, a staff interpreter who had participated in this consultation insisted that she did not

interpret the direct conversations between the healthcare professional and the patient's daughter because she assumed that the patient's comprehension level was very high, so the patient could understand most of them. The patient had had a stroke a few years before, so the main purpose of the consultation was to conduct a cognitive assessment test. Also, the interpreter was booked for accurate results, even though both the patient and his daughter could have basic communication in English. When the memory test started for the cognitive assessment process, the doctor asked the daughter to leave the consulting room, so as to achieve an accurate result without any interruption or aid from the daughter. An adequate explanation was given, and she followed the instruction without resistance. Again, direct conversations between the healthcare professional and the daughter were not interpreted into Korean. Since the interpreter assumed that the patient could understand the conversations, and judged situations in which it was not necessary for her to interpret all the direct conversations, the patient might have been excluded from the conversations in case the interpreter was wrong about the patients' ability to understand.

In cases 8 and 20, family members made a decision on the patient's behalf because he/she was either an elderly individual or a child under the age of 18. In another example, in case 10, a scan result for a possible breast cancer was given to the patient, along with two options. The patient, who came to see the doctor herself with two toddlers, could not decide what to do. The doctor personally recommended one option, and the patient took the advice.

In one very interesting case, the patient had undertaken extensive research on the possible treatment options and asked for confirmation about the information for which he had searched. After providing detailed information and considering advantages and disadvantages for three different treatment options the doctor offered, the patient rephrased all the details, based on his understanding. While explaining the complicated surgery options, the doctor had to use a diagram to help the patient understand it completely. The interpreter also had to explain the complicated process, pointing at the same diagram the doctor had drawn. In the end, the patient actively suggested that he would try the first option for a while and come back to see the doctor within a few weeks' time to have a further discussion. The whole process of decision-making in this particular case was fully dependent on the patient, who had actively prepared and analyzed the information, and determined exactly what to do regarding treatment options and other future plans.

Despite family members' active involvement in consultations and decision-making, the patients were never excluded from the decision-making process in all 20 observations, except for the situation where side conversations in English were not interpreted into Korean for the patient. The patients contributed to some extent, unless they were children under the age of 18. Thus, throughout the observations, decision-making did not seem to be the primary duty of the family, but rather, a patient-centered process with the support of family members. Whenever decision-making was needed, healthcare professionals gave a detailed explanation to the patient, along with the advantages and disadvantages of possible treatment options or procedures, and patients and family members made the decision.

FUTURE RESEARCH DIRECTIONS

This study had some methodological limitations, which undoubtedly influenced the conclusion to some extent. First, the study was limited by intercultural communication challenges between English-speaking healthcare professionals and Korean-speaking patients in Australia, due to the cultural and linguistic suitability of the researcher, so aspects of cultural difference were somewhat limited. Furthermore, the

setting for observations was restricted to one particular hospital in Sydney, and only in outpatient clinics, due to the complex process of ethics approval. As an external student researcher, getting ethics approval was a rather complicated and time-consuming process that took thirteen months in total. Since various participants were involved, and they were often in a highly vulnerable situation, obtaining consents from all participants for observations and notetaking, including permission for outsiders to stay in a consulting room and share their private stories, was not an easy task.

Lastly, the number of interpreters who participated in this study was relatively small. Putting aside the fact that it is not possible to reach all the interpreters who are practicing in Australia, nor to encourage active participation in the study, many interpreters would either not want to participate or simply do not feel the need to do so. It would have been better if newly accredited interpreters who had an extensive educational background had been involved in the study, so that broader perceptions from different groups could have been gained and compared for a much more thorough analysis. Any follow-up research to this topic will endeavor to explore cross-cultural communication challenges in diverse groups of interpreters in different language combinations, with a larger number of participants in various contexts, to contrast interpreters' perceptions of what constitutes cultural differences and how they deal with cross-cultural communication challenges.

CONCLUSION

This chapter has explored the issues regarding what constitutes intercultural communication challenges in healthcare interpreting, and how interpreters can address these challenges. Intercultural communication challenges in community interpreting have been an interest among both researchers and practitioners. However, the issues remain controversial due to lack of ethnographic study of this topic. Based on the observations of the interpreter-mediated medical consultations and the interviews with the interpreters who participated in the observations, the author has tried to stress three major points: The cultural complexities of each participant in interpreter-mediated medical encounters, which makes the intercultural communication challenges more complicated for interpreters; the diverse perceptions that the interpreters have of the interpreter's role as a cultural broker; the potential risk that the interpreter can pose when they provide cultural information on the patients' behalf.

One very interesting point in this study is that healthcare professionals' cultural diversity has been noticed, which added another layer to the complexity of intercultural communication in interpreter-mediated healthcare consultations. This aggravated complexity will be growing in Australia, and supposedly in any other country in near future, as globalization already started creating dramatic impact on our communities. In previous studies, these multidimensional views of healthcare professionals were often ignored, and a dichotomous comparison between cultures of CALD patients and healthcare professionals from the mainstream community was generally used. In the same sense, the varieties of cultural beliefs within one ethnicity, which interpreters from the same language group can hold, were not thoroughly explored. However, the interpreters' nature of cultural evolution must be taken into account while exploring the interpreter's role as a cultural broker.

The results of the observations and follow-up interviews clearly showed these multifaceted characteristics of the notion of intercultural communication. All five interpreters who participated in this study not only disagreed on what Korean culture is, they also managed the culturally challenging situations in different ways. In addition, patients did not necessarily display behaviors that have often been described

in the literature – for example, not wanting to know the diagnosis of a terminal illness, being reluctant to ask questions, avoiding direct eye contact, or participating passively. The results of this study show how cultural change in the context of globalization affects healthcare interpreting, and how complex the intercultural communication challenges can be for the interpreters. It would be nearly impossible for the interpreters to provide cultural information on behalf of each patient, without knowing patient background information, and perceptions of the interpreter's role as a cultural bridge must change accordingly.

Australia has relatively strict policies and guidelines regarding interpreters' role boundaries, including the roles of advisor or advocate. The National Institute of Interpreters and Translators and the government organization that provides interpreting services both have well-formulated and practical policies and guidelines regarding the interpreter's role as a cultural broker. According to the policies, interpreters are not allowed to act as cultural advisors or advocates for CALD people. Also, guidelines for healthcare interpreters and healthcare professionals clearly state that interpreters should not provide cultural information on patients' behalf, and healthcare professionals should directly address patients when communication breakdown occurs, possibly due to cultural differences. Despite the policies and guidelines, and the constant effort by various organizations to educate both interpreters and healthcare professionals on this issue, a mismatch among participant understandings and interpretations of the interpreter's role was still observed in this study.

Thus, the problem now is to work out how to adequately implement these policies and guidelines in practice. As previous studies emphasized, education and training of healthcare professionals about how to work with interpreters, especially on intercultural communication, and how they can be culturally sensitive, maintain mutual respect, and negotiate with patients from culturally diverse communities, can help to avoid communication breakdown. As the results of observations and interviews proved, the interpreter who has a postgraduate degree in translation and interpreting studies showed more neutral and professional perspective regarding the understanding of cultural differences and the interpreter's role as a cultural broker. Thus, training and professional development for practicing interpreters, regarding the interpreter's role boundaries and providing cultural information, should be mandatory.

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KEY TERMS AND DEFINITIONS

Communication Breakdown: A situation where communication does not reach comprehension by one or more party among interlocutors.

Cross-Cultural Communication: A comparison between communications in two different cultures.

Cultural Broker: The person who acts as a bridge between two interlocutors of various cultural backgrounds.

Culturally and Linguistically Diverse (CALD): A description of ethnic diversity. Culturally and linguistically diverse people are usually born overseas and use a language other than the one which the mainstream community widely uses.

Informed Decision-Making: The act of patients who make decisions based on the general guidance which healthcare professionals provide.

Intercultural Communication: A form of communication that is established between interlocutors from different cultures.

Patient Autonomy: A concept where the patients have the right to actively make decisions on any medical decisions.

ENDNOTES

[1]   Intercultural communication refers to a situation where two or more interlocutors from different cultures facilitate communication; cross-cultural communication refers to a comparison of two different communications from different cultures. Although the term *cross-cultural communication* is widely used for the former meaning in interpreting studies, the term *intercultural communication* is used throughout this chapter in order to avoid confusion with other disciplines.

[2]   The terms *health care interpreting*, *healthcare interpreting*, and *medical interpreting* are all widely used to refer to interpreting that mainly takes place in doctors' offices, clinics, or hospitals. Although all three terms have been used both in the literature and the field, the term *health care interpreting* has been officially adopted by AUSIT and NSW HCIS in Australia. However, the term *healthcare interpreting* is used throughout this chapter to maintain consistency with global use and to avoid confusion about the meaning.

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