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FOREWORD

Translation as an activity, a process, a product, a form of knowledge or a business, has been studied and is being studied from multiple perspectives. The term *turn* has been used to mark the different perspectives, even if the concept of 'turn' is somewhat misleading as it creates the illusion that the whole community of Translation Studies (TS) follows the same path, everywhere, at the same time. The diversity of approaches, frameworks and research methods is a hallmark of the current development of TS.

The set of eight contributions in this issue is the third part of the landscape of TS today; the first part (six papers) and the second part (nine papers) have been edited and published respectively in *Slovo* 10 (1) and 10 (3), in 2019. With a total of 23 contributions, we are sharing a substantial view, though naturally not exhaustive, of our poly-discipline. The papers deal sometimes with themes (indirect translation, audiovisual translation, news translation, historiography, etc.), sometimes with concepts borrowed from other disciplines (digitization, voice, ambiguity, sociolect, ethnography, agents, reading, etc.), and sometimes with methodology (ergonomics, corpus-based studies, discourse analysis, etc.).

Now, in this third batch, we begin with a paper on historiography and TS. Şehnaz Tahir Gürçağlar does not offer a history of TS, still a young field of studies, rather what the key research areas and the methodological avenues are if we wish to write an international history of TS. In other words, what kind of history do we need, and to what extent do we have to adopt new methods and forms of analysis?

Hélène Buzelin's contribution seeks to trace back how ethnography has challenged TS, mainly as an object and as a research methodology, to document and analyse translation and interpreting events. This review shows how two disciplines can approach one another yet misunderstand each other's backgrounds and ambitions, but also finally how one can adopt and borrow from the other, both having their own biases and assumptions. The interdisciplinarity — TS with history, with ethnography — can never be taken for granted.

John Milton presents a number of elements of the agency of translation. Based on three Brazilian case studies, namely the editor, author, and translator José Bento de Monteiro Lobato, then Benjamin Moser, translator and editor of the novelist Clarice Lispector, and Liz Calder. Such gatekeepers open the gate to allow in certain works and writers and close the gate to others.

The global spread of English as a lingua franca (ELF) is causing changes to translation and interpreting. The impact of input produced by non-native speakers of English is tackled by *Michaela Albl-Mikasa*. However can we conclude that such new practices imply a paradigm shift in translation and interpreting?

As said at the beginning of this foreword, translation can be perceived and studied in different ways — as a concept useful to describe the daily

world of communication and as a metaphor. What happens, and how does one define translation, when you are confronted with non-verbal elements, such as in musical texts? *Lucile Desblache* emphasizes how intersemiotic translation can bring new thoughts about translation and insists on the interdisciplinary dimension of translation today. Again, the concept of translation, challenged by different agents in different contexts (in which ELF interferes more and more), needs to be revisited now and then, making TS a moving discipline, with moving boundaries.

In the translating process, researchers should not forget reading, starting with the translator as a key reader, or how his/her interpretation influences the reading of the final target readers. *Cecilia Alvstad* and *Åse Johnsen* illustrate how reading and decision-making empower the translator with their analysis of the Swedish translation of a short story written by the Argentine writer J. Cortazar.

The seventh paper, by *Nike Pokorn* and *Timothy Pogacar*, confirms that translators do not live and work outside their social environment, outside history. In studying the different roles played by translations in a periodical of the Slovene-American émigré community, they clearly demonstrate that the choice of authors whose texts were translated and published reflects the ideological positioning of the editors and how the number and types of translated texts have changed over time, as well as the role of the translators (to instruct, to entertain, and to build a cultural identity).

Pieter Boulogne also analyses a literary text (from Russian into French) but drawing on narrative theory. Once again, we assume that reading and translating take place in a certain context. Two translations of *The Brothers Karamazov* exemplify the weight of the context, or how both translations were framed by means of selective appropriation and repositioning of the characters: neither of them were able to withstand the test of time.

To sum up, different agents, different translation strategies, different texts and different languages with different statuses contribute to the history of translation and justify why TS is always adopting different means to better describe or explain the correlation or covariance between what is happening, what is possible and what is acceptable in a society at any given time.

The diversity of the papers in the three special issues of *Slovo* on TS is also emphasized by the geo-linguistic origins of the scholars. In a recent paper,[1] colleagues from Perm National Research Polytechnic University have carried out a bibliometric study of the 124 Russian doctoral and post-doctoral dissertations on translator and interpreter training completed from 2003 to 2013 in "pedagogical sciences". One of the most problematic results is that the most frequently cited authors are "traditional" Russian authors who published decades ago. There were very few citations of younger authors or of non-Russian researchers. The authors' conclusion is an alarm signal: the contemporary Russian translation community works in a bubble. We hope that in sharing what is achieved both here and there in TS, there will be more integration into global literature.

[1] Alikina, E.V., Kavardakova, E.L. and Kushnina, L. 2016. "Scientometric Study of Russian Research into Translation/Interpreting Pedagogy", *International Review of Management and Marketing* 6 (S3), p. 182—189.

A thousand thanks to the authors, who have accepted editing of their texts for *Slovo*, and also to the readers who will hopefully understand more and go on to discuss further these trends in TS introduced in the journal. Thanks also to *Slovo* for welcoming the 23 papers, thus contributing to the dissemination of ideas and questions in a young and moving field.

Here are the contents of the three special issues of *Slovo* dealing with ***"Current trends in Translation Studies"*** (TS).

The first volume is ***Slovo* 10 (1), February 2019**, which consists of six papers. Accessible online: https://journals.kantiana.ru/journals/slovoru/4168/

Editor's notes

1. *Andrew Chesterman* (Helsinki): Consilience or fragmentation in TS today?
2. *Hanna Pieta Candido* (Lisbon): Indirect translation: Main trends in practice and research
3. *Maureen Ehrensberger-Dow* (Zurich): Ergonomics and the translation process
4. *Yves Gambier* (Turku): Audio-visual translation and reception
5. *Lucile Davier* (Genève): The moving boundaries of news translation
6. *Mariachiara Russo* (Forlì): Corpus-based studies in conference interpreting

The second volume is ***Slovo* 10 (3), September 2019**. It has 9 contributions. Accessible through the following link: https://journals.kantiana.ru/journals/slovoru/4290/

Editor's notes

1. *Debbie Folaron* (Montréal): Digital World Communication and Translation
2. *Christina Schäffner* (Birmingham): Translation and Discourse Analysis
3. *Kristiina Taivalkoski-Shilov* (Turku): Textual, moral and psychological voices of translation
4. *Luc Van Doorslaer* (Antwerp/Leuven & Tartu): Embedding imagology in Translation Studies
5. *Ubaldo Stecconi* (Bruxelles): How translations are willed into existence
6. *Elena Boiarskaia* (Kaliningrad): Ambiguity matters in linguistics and translation
7. *Elena Kharitonova* (Kaliningrad): Translation of sociolect texts
8. *Elizaveta Shevchenko & Irina Thomashevskaya* (Kaliningrad): Translation: the puzzle of colour
9. *Lyudmila Boyko* (Kaliningrad): On combining translator training with foreign language teaching

The third volume is ***Slovo* 13 (1), February 2022**. It has 9 publications

Accessible through the following link: https://journals.kantiana.ru/journals/ slovoru/4290

Foreword

1. *Şehnaz Tahir Gürçağlar* (Istanbul). Translation Historiography
2. *Hélène Buzelin* (Montréal). Ethnography in Translation Studies: an object and a research methodology

3. *John Milton* (Sao Paulo). Toil, Passion, Serendipity, Money, and Marketing: a Fresh Look at Agents of Translation

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7. *Nike Pokorn* (Ljubljana), *Timothy Pogacar* (Bowling Green). Entertainment and education through literary translation in a diaspora newspaper. Literary translations in Prosveta, a newspaper of Slovene-American émigré community

8. *Pieter Boulogne* (Leuven). Retranslation as an (un)successful counternarrative: *Les frères Karamazov* versus *Les frères Karamazov*

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Kaunas University of Technology, Lithuania

Предисловие

Перевод как вид деятельности, процесс и результат, форма знаний или профессия изучался и продолжает изучаться с разных научных позиций. Термин *поворот* применительно к исследованиям в рамках науки о переводе используется для обозначения различных точек зрения, даже несмотря на некоторую размытость концепции *поворота*, поскольку создает иллюзию того, что все направления в рамках науки о переводе следуют одним и тем же путем и развиваются параллельно друг другу. Разнообразие подходов, структур и методов исследования — отличительная черта современного переводоведения.

В этом выпуске журнала «Слово.ру: балтийский акцент», третьем из серии, описывающей современный ландшафт науки о переводе, представлены восемь статей. Первые два выпуска этой серии опубликованы в десятом томе журнала за 2019 год — шесть статей в первом выпуске[2] и девять в третьем[3]. Двадцать три опубликованные статьи наглядно, но, конечно, не исчерпывающе демонстрируют полидисциплинарный характер современной науки о переводе. В этих работах рассматриваются отдельные темы (косвенный перевод, аудиовизуальный перевод, перевод новостей, историография и т.д.), концепты, заимствованные из других дисциплин (цифровизация, личность переводчика, неопределенность, социолекты, этнография, участники процесса перевода, прочтение оригинала и т.д.), а также методология исследований перевода (эргономика, корпусные исследования, дискурс-анализ и т.д.).

[2] URL: https://journals.kantiana.ru/slovo/4168/; doi: 10.5922/2225-5346-2019-1.
[3] URL: https://journals.kantiana.ru/slovo/4290/; doi: 10.5922/2225-5346-2019-3.

Третий выпуск серии открывается статьей по историографии перевода. *Шехназ Тахир Гюрчаглар* не предлагает свое видение истории науки о переводе, которая все еще является относительно молодой областью знаний. Он скорее размышляет об основных направлениях и методах исследований, которые могут войти в мировую историю науки о переводе. Иными словами, автор рассуждает о том, какой должна быть всеобщая история перевода и в какой степени переводоведение нуждается в новых методах и формах анализа.

В своей статье *Элен Бюзлен* исследует связь между этнографией и переводоведением. Этнография как объект и методология исследования бросила вызов переводоведению, а методы этнографии используются для документирования и анализа письменного и устного перевода. Автор показывает, как эти две дисциплины могут находиться в постоянном взаимодействии, но при этом неправильно трактовать истоки и задачи друг друга. Каждая из них может перенимать и заимствовать нечто у другой, исходя при этом из собственных предубеждений и предположений. Междисциплинарность науки о переводе — связь переводоведения с историей или этнографией — никогда не может считаться чем-то само собой разумеющимся и требует обоснования.

В статье *Джона Мильтона* анализируется роль участников процесса публикации перевода. Рассматривая три примера из Бразилии — редактора, автора и переводчика Хосе Монтейру Лобату, Бенджамина Мозера (переводчика и редактора романистки Клариси Лиспектор) и издателя Лиз Колдер, — автор исследования пытается найти ответ на вопрос, почему публикуют произведения одних авторов и закрывают двери перед другими.

Глобальное распространение английского языка как *lingua franca* не могло не оказать влияния на письменный и устный перевод. В своей работе *Микаэла Альбль-Микаса* исследует проблемы, связанные с восприятием исходящего сообщения, созданного неносителями английского языка, и задается вопросом о том, можно ли утверждать, что доминирование *lingua franca* в практике перевода может привести к смене парадигмы в письменном и устном переводе.

Перевод можно воспринимать и изучать по-разному — как некую концепцию, используемую для описания повседневной вербальной коммуникации, или даже как некую метафору. Но что происходит, когда переводчик сталкивается с необходимостью передачи невербальных элементов, например при переводе музыкальных текстов? *Люсиль Деблаш* размышляет о том, как интерсемиотический перевод создает новое понимание того, чтó есть перевод как таковой, и демонстрирует междисциплинарный характер современной науки о переводе. В настоящее время сама концепция перевода вызывает много вопросов у участников процесса перевода в различных ситуациях перевода, в которых английский как *lingua franca* начинает играть все более значимую роль. Она нуждается в периодическом переосмыслении, что делает переводоведение динамичной дисциплиной, имеющей подвижные границы.

Исследователи не должны забывать о важности прочтения текста переводчиком, являющимся главным и самым внимательным читате-

лем. Интерпретация текста оригинала оказывает существенное влияние на то, какой текст в конечном итоге получат читатели. На примере анализа перевода рассказа аргентинского писателя Хулио Кортасара на шведский язык *Сесилия Альвстад* и *Осе Йонсен* наглядно демонстрируют, как прочтение текста, его интерпретация и палитра переводческих решений расширяют возможности переводчика.

Седьмая статья выпуска, представленная *Найки Покорн* и *Тимоти Погакаром*, убедительно доказывает, что переводчики не могут существовать и работать вне социальной среды, вне истории. На основе анализа функций различных переводов, опубликованных в периодическом издании словенско-американского эмигрантского сообщества, авторы делают вывод о том, что выбор текстов для перевода и публикации отражал идеологическую позицию редакторов. Авторы прослеживают динамику количества и типов переведенных текстов, а также роль переводчиков, перед которыми стояла задача не только образовывать и развлекать, но и формировать культурную идентичность.

Питер Булонь также обращается к анализу перевода художественного текста (с русского языка на французский), но при этом опирается на теорию нарратива. Данное исследование еще раз подтверждает, что прочтение текста оригинала и его перевод происходят в определенном контексте. Представленный анализ двух переводов романа «Братья Карамазовы» показывает значимость контекста, а также спорность переводческих решений, заключающихся в произвольной и предвзятой трактовке отдельных персонажей. Ни один из рассматриваемых переводов не выдержал испытания временем.

Подводя итог, можно сказать, что разные участники переводческого процесса и стратегии перевода, разные типы текстов и языки, имеющие различный статус, вносят свой вклад в историю перевода и объясняют необходимость использования всей палитры средств для описания вариативности и корреляции между происходящим, возможным и социально приемлемым в любой момент времени.

Разнообразие статей, опубликованных в трех специальных выпусках журнала «Слово.ру», подчеркивается также географической и лингвистической представленностью авторов. В одной из своих недавних работ коллег из Пермского национального исследовательского политехнического университета[4] провели библиометрическое исследование 124 кандидатских и докторских диссертаций по подготовке письменных и устных переводчиков, защищенных в Российской Федерации по направлению «Педагогические науки» в 2003—2013 годах. Исследование показало, что в диссертациях традиционно цитируются российские авторы, опубликовавшие свои работы десятилетия назад, в то время как ссылки на зарубежные исследования или работы молодых переводоведов малочисленны. Вывод по итогам этого библиометрического исследования настораживает и заставляет задуматься: современное рос-

[4] *Аликина Е.В., Кавардакова Е.Л., Кушнина Л.* Наукометрический анализ исследований в области обучения переводческой деятельности // International Review of Management and Marketing. 2016. №6 (S3). P. 182—189.

сийское переводческое сообщество работает обособленно. Мы надеемся, что обмен результатами исследований будет способствовать развитию научного сотрудничества и интеграции переводоведов и внесет свой вклад в создание мировой литературы науки о переводе.

Позвольте поблагодарить авторов, подготовивших свои статьи для журнала «Слово.ру», а также читателей, которые, как мы надеемся, получат более глубокое представление о том, чем живет наука о переводе сегодня, и продолжат обсуждение представленных в журнале научных тенденций.

Я хотел бы также выразить признательность редакционному совету журнала «Слово.ру: балтийский акцент» за публикацию 23 статей, которая будет способствовать распространению идей и обсуждению актуальных вопросов молодой и динамичной науки о переводе.

Ниже приводится содержание трех специальных выпусков журнала «Слово.ру: балтийский акцент» по теме современных тенденций в науке о переводе.

Первый выпуск — том 10, №1, февраль 2019 года. Доступен онлайн: https://journals.kantiana.ru/journals/slovoru/4168/

Editor's notes

1. *Andrew Chesterman* (Helsinki): Consilience or fragmentation in TS today?

2. *Hanna Pieta Candido* (Lisbon): Indirect translation: Main trends in practice and research

3. *Maureen Ehrensberger-Dow* (Zurich): Ergonomics and the translation process

4. *Yves Gambier* (Turku): Audio-visual translation and reception

5. *Lucile Davier* (Genève): The moving boundaries of news translation

6. *Mariachiara Russo* (Forlì): Corpus-based studies in conference interpreting

Второй выпуск — том 10, №3, сентябрь 2019 года. Доступен онлайн: https://journals.kantiana.ru/journals/slovoru/4290/

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4. *Luc Van Doorslaer* (Antwerp/Leuven & Tartu): Embedding imagology in Translation Studies

5. *Ubaldo Stecconi* (Bruxelles): How translations are willed into existence

6. *Elena Boiarskaia* (Kaliningrad): Ambiguity matters in linguistics and translation

7. *Elena Kharitonova* (Kaliningrad): Translation of sociolect texts

8. *Elizaveta Shevchenko & Irina Thomashevskaya* (Kaliningrad): Translation: the puzzle of colour

9. *Lyudmila Boyko* (Kaliningrad): On combining translator training with foreign language teaching

Третий выпуск (текущий) — том 13, №1, февраль 2022 года.

Foreword

1. *Şehnaz Tahir Gürçağlar* (Istanbul). Translation Historiography

2. *Hélène Buzelin* (Montréal). Ethnography in Translation Studies: an object and a research methodology

3. *John Milton* (Sao Paulo). Toil, Passion, Serendipity, Money, and Marketing: a Fresh Look at Agents of Translation

4. *Michaela Albl-Mikasa* (Winterthur). English as a lingua franca — a paradigm shift for Translation & Interpreting

5. *Lucile Desblache* (Roehampton). Translation and the 'soft' bridges of communication

6. *Cecilia Alvstad* (Halden), *Åse Johnsen* (Bergen). Continuity of Texts. Metafiction in a Cortazar Short Story and its Swedish Translation

7. *Nike Pokorn* (Ljubljana), *Timothy Pogacar* (Bowling Green). Entertainment and education through literary translation in a diaspora newspaper. Literary translations in Prosveta, a newspaper of Slovene-American émigré community

8. *Pieter Boulogne* (Leuven). Retranslation as an (un)successful counternarrative: *Les frères Karamazov* versus *Les frères Karamazov*

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TRANSLATION HISTORIOGRAPHY[1]

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The article offers an overview of the development of translation history during the past decade. It focuses on recent debates, research areas and methodological avenues in translation history with special emphasis on interdisciplinarity. Driven by a move away from a Eurocentric view of translation, researchers have become interested in producing connected and comparative histories of translation. The dialogue with the general field of history has led to the adoption of new methods and forms of analysis, such as microhistory, histoire croisée, archival research, oral history and digital translation history, and to the birth of new areas of research such as the role of translation in conflict and war.

Keywords: *translation history, interdisciplinarity, archives, microhistory, connected history*

Translation as a product, process and concept has recently been subject to a great deal of attention. Researchers in many parts of the world and in various cultures set out to 'write' the way translation played a role in the evolution of culture, arts, science, political ties and even wars by using a variety of methods and tools. The growing interest can be traced through international conferences on translation history, the recent establishment of a dedicated summer school at the University of Vienna, and the launch of the translation history journal *Chronotropos*. There are now three book series exclusively focusing on translation history by Routledge, Palgrave, and Franz Steiner Verlag. Translation studies also entered a process of looking at its own history with a higher degree of self-reflexively and set out to "historicize" translation knowledge (D'hulst and Gambier 2018).

As translation historiography branches out into various subfields, some epistemological and methodological complexities continue to concern researchers. One of the main challenges inherent in 'translation history' stems from the ambivalence of both concepts. As a cluster concept (Tymoczko 2006), 'translation' escapes a neat definition, especially across different time periods and regions, while the concept of 'history' refers to both the actual 'history' of translation events *and* the study of the way translation history has been written, i.e. translation historiography (Woodsworth 1998, p. 101). The intention of the present overview is not to offer any historical findings

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[1] Sections of this paper were previously published in Carmen Millan and Francesca Bartina (eds.) *Routledge Handbook of Translation Studies*, Routledge, 2013. I acknowledge the publisher who kindly granted me permission to reproduce parts of the article.

pertaining to translation, but rather focus on some of the ways in which these findings have been gathered, assembled, and mobilized in the writing of narratives about translation.

1. Translation History versus History

The specific reasons for engaging in translation history vary from one researcher to another, which also determines the topics they take up and the methodologies they opt for. Therefore, it is sounder to refer to 'histories of translation' rather than a single and uniform History of Translation. The multiplicity of sources and historical contexts that need to be explored has made translation historians aware of the need to reach out to methods used in the discipline of history and to define their position in the larger field of history. Rundle argues that translation historians need to look beyond the immediate translation events, that is singular cases, and see how translational phenomena can be better embedded in historical contexts in their specificity to serve as sources for historical knowledge (2012; Rundle and Rafael 2016). Rundle also draws attention to the clash between the tendency of translation historians to focus on constants and similarities, and the efforts of historians that often look for difference in each historical context.

2. Key areas in focus in Translation History

Early work in general translation history dates back to Edmond Cary's history of 'great French translators' (Cary 1963). Works of a general nature followed this publication throughout the 1970s and 1980s and a brief list includes works by Steiner (1975), Kelly (1979), Berman (1984), Ballard (1992), Vermeer (1992), Robinson (1997). Since the 1980s a number of developments have enabled an increased focus on the history of the practice of translation, rather than translation theory. This has partly been due to the development of the Polysystem approach to translation (Even-Zohar 1979), followed by the emergence of Descriptive Translation Studies (DTS — often referred to as historical-descriptive translation studies) (Toury 1995). The thrust of DTS led to an abundance of historical case studies on different cultures, periods and translational agents which have also caused a concern that they remain largely disconnected and create the "danger of accumulating a vast archive of heterogeneous case studies that no translation scholar can realistically have the expertise to understand or appreciate as a whole" (Rundle 2012:236). Researchers have started contemplating the possibility of carrying out comparative studies in translation history, although comparison is fraught by numerous problems, such as the difficulty of identifying units of comparison and avoiding overgeneralizations (Van Doorslaer 2017). Nevertheless, various comparative historical studies on translation have taken place and mostly been organized diachronically, comparing different time periods in mostly fixed geographical areas (China, Spanish America, Turkey, etc.) or thematic subjects (such as censorship, conflict, translation of science, retranslation, etc.), although these were mostly of a referential nature, where one of the entities in the comparison acts as a point of reference (Valdeón

2018). Batchelor and Harding's 2017 study on the translations of Frantz Fanon's *Les Damnés de la terre* (1961) across multiple geographical and linguistic landscapes is a pioneer in terms of its depth and breadth. Tackling eight different historical contexts, the book is positioned within *histoire croisée* by its editors, straddling transfer studies and comparative history (Batchelor 2017: 5). Another significant contribution to translation history with a global reach is *The World Atlas of Translation,* which has a wide geographical, historical and linguistic scope and may be considered an 'anti-comparison' (Gambier and Stecconi 2019). The editors of this large-scale project set out to compile a survey of translation in the world with the purpose of exploring whether a cross-cultural notion of translation existed. While such a collective notion did not emerge out of the 21 chapters of the book, the careful consideration of the geographical regions, the identification of traditions and the adoption of a bottom-up approach to research forms a model for future work for exploring different translation traditions comparatively, yet on their own terms. In the meantime, some major language-based projects in translation history have also been published in recent years, including five volumes of *The Oxford History of Literary Translations in English* (2005—2010), four volumes of the history of translations into French (*Histoire des traductions en langue française*) (2012—2019) and the history of translated literary (2 volumes) and non-fictional translation into Finnish (*Suomennoskirjallisuuden historia* 2007, and *Suomennetun Tietokirjallisuuden* 2013).

A general overview of specific historical studies undertaken by translation researchers shows that the nation-state was an initial (practical, yet problematic) tool of geographical delineation as researchers dealt with the history of translation and interpreting in Canada (Delisle 1987), Ireland (Cronin 1996), India (Niranjana 1992), China (Cheung 2006; Lung 2011), and Turkey (Tahir Gürçağlar 2008), among others. A handful of works have entailed the translation histories of alternative localities such as regions (Simon 1989) or continents (Bastin 2004; Bandia 2005). Largely triggered by the challenges raised against Eurocentric thinking in the humanities and social sciences, translation history has broadened its global scope and has been reaching out to translation histories of non-western cultures for the past two decades. The first editions of the *Routledge Encyclopedia of Translation Studies* (1998, 2009) pioneered in offering a glimpse of the historical translation activities in various regions of the world, mostly based on the nation-states but also including entries, which reflect larger traditions, such as the African tradition, Arabic tradition and the Hebrew tradition. The historical overviews have not been reprinted in the third edition of the Encyclopedia in 2019 but are available on the publisher's translation studies portal.

Among various regions under focus in the 21st century, China appears to be one of the leading areas of research. Growing interest in China's translation traditions and practices has resulted in innumerable studies, articles and book chapters covering a broad range of interests from the translation of science to the history of film translation in China. Several collective volumes or monographs have appeared in English. Among those, Martha Cheung's two volumes on historical discourses on translation in China proved to have a groundbreaking impact on creating a scholarly exchange between Chinese and Western ideas on translation (Cheung 2006; Neather 2017). Cheung's

work on the anthology also occasioned the evolution of Cheung's unique method of doing translation history: 'The pushing hands approach', which seeks to create a dialogue between the past and the present (Cheung 2012; Robinson 2016). Rachel Lung (2011) has approached Chinese translation history from the perspective of interpreting, starting her investigation with the earliest mentions of interpreting in archival records in the 1st century AD and covering a wide range of interpreter mediated activities and agents during the first millennium, including guides, envoys and multilingual individuals belonging to various local cultures of the region. Several other book-length studies with an exclusive focus on Chinese translation history have been published in English such as Chan (2010), on the history of reception of translated British novels in China in the 19th-21st centuries, St. André and Hsiao-yen (2012), on the transfer of concepts and knowledge and the images transmitted through translation in China's contacts with other cultures, Hill (2013) on Lin Shu (1852—1924), a prolific translator who was pivotal in introducing Western literature in China, Heijns (2021), on the career and output of Henri Borel (1869—1933), the Dutch sinologist and translator, Huang (2019) a post-colonial critique of the role of translation and translators in China's encounters with the West in the late Qing period, and Gerber and Qi (2021) on the literary translation landscape in China during the course of the last one hundred years. There has also been a surge of interest in the translation histories of other countries in Asia-Pacific such as Japan (Torikai 2009; Levy 2011; Clements 2015; Wakabayashi 2012, 2019a, 2019b and Sato-Rossberg and Wakabayashi 2012), Korea (Kang and Wakabayashi 2019) and the Philippines (Mojares 2017; Sales 2018, 2019 that build on the work of Rafael 1988, 2006). Eastern Europe (Popa 2018; Pokorn 2012) and Russia (Baer 2016; Kamovnikova 2019) have also become more visible in translation historiography.

Apart from the diversifying geographical focus of translation historiography, the field has also started to engender more specialized histories of translation and interpreting. Among those, interpreting, audiovisual translation, retranslation and war and trauma have become foci of interest and developed into areas with their specific interdisciplinary frameworks and methodologies.

During the past two decades, the emphasis on the translator and the notion of agency in translation has started gaining ground. In line with this rising interest, various studies on individual translators have been published. Among those, the pioneer is *Translators Through History* (Delisle and Woodsworth 1995) followed by works by Pym (1998, 2000; Rizzi, Lang and Pym 2019) who called for and practiced a 'translator history' where translators, not texts or institutions, are the main agents of history. Various contributions in Milton and Bandia (2009) and Kinnunen and Koskinen (2010) show that translators and other translational agents (such as editors, publishers or patrons) have now become preferred objects of study for many translation historians. In fact, it may be safely argued that the sociological approach that foregrounds the individual agency of translators/interpreters in a dynamic relationship with their context has been mainstreamed into most of the recent translation historiography.

The history of interpreting has been one of the most productive areas of research during the second decade of the 21st century. As exemplified by the

contributions to Takeda and Baigorri-Jalón (2016), interpreting history is explored from many different perspectives and positions. The periods and spaces studied range from ancient China (Lung 2011), early modern Ottoman Empire (Rothman 2021), the Spanish colonization of the Americas (Valdeón 2014) to the Habsburg Monarchy (Wolf 2015a). The knowledge generated, as well as the different methodologies employed by the individual studies, are truly impressive. One common area of interest for researchers of interpreting history appears to be the investigation of periods or settings that are defined by conflict and trauma, which has also become an interdisciplinary contact point between researchers in interpreting and war history who both argue that co-presence of multiple languages in situations of conflict and war is not a marginal issue, but a central fact that must be tackled head on (Footitt and Kelly 2012; Kujamäki and Footitt. 2016; Tesseur 2019). Interpretation during the Second World War, the Nazi concentration camps and the post-war trials have been receiving a great deal of attention from scholars (Takeda 2010; Baigorri-Jalon 2014; Wolf 2016; Tryuk 2015; Kujamäki 2016; Kujamäki and Pasanen 2019). *Framing the Interpreter: Towards a Visual Perspective* stands out as a unique contribution to the field (Fernández-Ocampo and Wolf 2014) as it brings together articles that tackle the visual representation of war interpreters and open up a new methodological avenue for research.

The history of translation in authoritarian regimes has also started to be researched systematically. Italy under Mussolini, Hitler's Germany, Franco's Spain and Portugal under Salazar have provided a great deal of material for researchers interested in the history of translation under fascism (Rundle and Sturge 2010; Rundle 2010, 2018a). The TRACE research group continues to investigate practices of censorship in Spain throughout the 20th century ("TRACE: traducción y censura"). There is also a range of studies carried out on translation in East Europe under communism, including the contexts of DDR, Yugoslavia and Russia, to mention a few (Thomson-Wohlgemuth 2009; Baer 2011; Pokorn 2012; Kamovnikova 2019; Popa 2018).

The history of audiovisual translation was a latecomer in the field but has been steadily growing in recent years, mostly with a focus on film translation (O'Sullivan and Cornu 2019). Admittedly, studies on the history of audiovisual translation are scattered in different disciplines and cultures, and Gambier and Jin (2019) have called for a connected history of audiovisual translation that will rise up to potential methodological challenges.

3. Methodologies in Translation Historiography

Pym (1992: 8) indicated four epistemological shortcomings in translation history: '(1) archeological accumulation of data that respond to no explicitly formulated problematic, (2) dependence on anecdotal evidence, (3) arbitrary periodisation, and (4) reluctance to see translations as possible agents rather than expressions of historical change.' These are the very points, which translation historians have attempted to address in their search for various methodologies in historical research.

In his quest to create a translator focused approach to translation, Pym (1998: 5—8) divides translation history into translation archeology, historical criticism and explanation to create a framework for exchange and collaboration.

D'hulst has offered an array of possible areas of research for translation historians in the form of a series of questions, including Who? What? Where? With whose help? Why? How? When? With what effect? (D'hulst 2007: 1071; 2001: 24—30; 2010: 399—403). These questions include all three aspects mentioned by Pym and go further than compiling lists or catalogues and require an interpretive framework. Although he admits that 'this list of questions does not constitute a research programme, neither does it want to be exhaustive; it wants to *show* what should be covered by a historiography of translation and translation studies,' (2001, pp. 31), D'hulst's set of questions identify a series of study objects as well as ways of approaching them. In that sense, the list can be of practical use for researchers planning to launch historical inquiries about translation and through proper framing and exploration, they can remedy some of the shortcomings mentioned by Pym.

There are various methodological issues that still need to be addressed by translation historians. One such issue is periodization. Some historians work according to political or social periodization, which largely reflects a western-bias, while some others introduce chronological divisions based on diverging approaches to translation (Foz 2006). Creating a universal periodization for translation history would be an impossible and undesirable task, so each historian is faced with two challenges in deciding on a periodization: his/her subjective vision of the particular historical phenomenon under study and the particularities of the relevant period and culture. Temporality is another methodological challenge, which can be linked to the issue of periodization. Depending on their goals and the methods they select, translation historians will decide on whether they will opt for a short-term, long-term or meso-view of their chosen subject (Rundle 2018b; Wakabayashi 2019c). Other time-related questions include culture-related notions of time, risk of anachronism and recency bias for studies focusing on recent history (Wakabayashi 2019c).

The timescale chosen by a researcher will be defined by whether they adopt a macro or micro view of their research object. Studies that focus on the individuals and their everyday experiences will require a more intensive and small-scale observation. This type of approach is known as microhistory (Ginzburg 1980). It is a type of history from below that does not concern itself with the grand narratives and prefers a focused view of the human experience (Adamo 2006). Microhistory is empirically grounded; it challenges or refines generalizations and has emphasis on the agency of individuals (Wakabayashi 2018a). Microhistory is not limited to the study of individual translators and can be employed in the study of any translation-related phenomenon embedded in its historical context on a micro-scale. However, microhistory should not be confused with the micro approach, or the case study methodology, that is widely used in translation historiography (Rundle 2018b: 239). Rundle argues that few studies in translation history directly

use microhistory as a methodology, mostly because they are often committed to foregrounding the significance of translators and translation in their historical accounts, which does not agree with the "anti-anachronistic stance" of microhistory (ibid.). Microhistory may not serve one's goals if the intention is to explore a more complex and longer-term event. This is why translation historians have increasingly started to turn to *histoire croisée* as a complementary methodology.

Connected history has been proposed as an approach to studying diffuse and fluid exchanges that escape neat compartmentalization. As translations and translators are dynamic entities that often operated across cultures and languages, their study clearly benefits from relational historical approaches such as the one represented by connected history (Wakabayashi 2018b). Entangled, or shared history are also concepts that are compatible with the type of multidirectional cultural movements that translators and other cultural mediators have been engaged in. *Histoire croisée* goes further than the flexibility and dynamism of connected, or entangled, history. It also involves the observer's position and "constructs a specific relationship between the observer's position, the perspective, and the historical object. In so doing, the moment of crossing becomes an active occurrence and can be viewed as the result of historical and present processes" (Wolf 2015b: 229). In their study on translations of Frantz Fanon, Batchelor and Harding (2017) employ both microhistory and *histoire croisée* and find these two approaches compatible for their framework. Batchelor (2017: 6) argues that their study is an example of *histoire croisée* as it emphasizes geo-historical crossings and starts out inductively from the research object that is translations of Fanon, which also makes it a form of microhistory.

The focus on the significance of archival sources in translation historiography has increased as it became clear that they provide a unique vantage point to the working and living conditions of translators and help foreground the translator's agency (Paloposki 2017). Archival material can involve any personal or public documents preserved at an institution or in a private collection, for the purposes of translation history. These can entail a wide range of materials including draft translations, correspondences with publishers, diaries and personal papers, etc. To these, Munday also adds oral interviews and testimonies, which are not always found acceptable by historians due to their mediated nature (Munday 2014). Another form of material available in archives is visual material; photographs and video footage, which currently remains underexplored in translation historiography except Fernández-Ocampo and Wolf's 2014 study.

A rarer but equally rich form of historical source that may be used by translation researchers are interviews, yet not all interviews constitute oral history. Interviews to be included in oral history need to be in-depth, retrospective and conducted for the purpose of being preserved in an archive (McDonough Dolmaya 2018: 267). In her pioneering article on the use of oral history in translation studies, McDonough Dolmaya (2015) raises a number of pertinent questions that translation historians must consider and also draws attention to the importance of archiving recorded interviews which

provides the possibility of further analysis of interview materials. A critical analysis of interviews requires knowledge of tools of analysis for memory and narrative performance (McDonough Dolmaya 2015: 210).

The availability of electronic sources has had a transformative effect on translation research. The Translation Studies Bibliography (TSB) by John Benjamins and BITRA (Bibliography of Interpreting and Translation) by the University of Alicante offer up to date digital information about publications in the field. There are also various bibliographies of translated words available for public use. The website of the research group working on the history of translation in Latin America (HISTAL) offers a bibliography of works on translation history, not limited to the history of Latin America (Bastin 2004). These sources create a point of departure for bibliometric studies that reveal trends and patterns in the publication of translations and discourses on translations (Zhou and Sun 2017).

A significant development in translation history that has not yet made itself fully visible is the arrival of the tools of digital humanities. Wakabayashi (2019d) points out the potential of digital tools for translation history and defines the goals of digital translation history as supporting conventional research, revealing new and more data that may help revise previous assumptions, generating new research questions and new modes of presentation and facilitating teamwork and public engagement (2019d: 132). Among other advantages, digital media increase the capacity of research frameworks, make data accessible, save time, offer flexibility, diversity, and interactivity (Wakabayashi 2019d: 134). Wakabayashi also presents a number of digital tools that are already in use and may be adopted by researchers, such as the Reading Experience Database (RED) related to distant reading, text analysis tools available as DIRT (Digital Research Tools), visualization tools, and spatial analysis tools. She concludes her article by noting that digital resources "can add a dimension to how we understand translation history," yet cannot be a replacement for critical thinking (2019d: 143). A major research project in translation history that makes use of the tools of digital humanities is the Genealogies of Knowledge project based at the University of Manchester and funded by the Arts and Humanities Research Council in the UK (2016—2020). Researchers involved in the project investigate two strands of concepts and their evolution through translation during the past 2500 years in Greek, Latin, medieval Arabic and modern English. To trace the evolution of concepts, the study makes use of Corpus Translation Studies to build electronic corpora in these four languages (Wenjing and Guosheng 2021).

Translation history has evolved rapidly in terms of its scope, themes, and methods in the 21st century. This is evidenced by the recent development of formal structures for translation history, such as the summer school in translation history, the journal *Chronotopos* and the network of scholars working to make translation history visible, accessible at https://historyandtranslation.net/. The field appears committed to interdisciplinary dialogue and collaboration and promises diverse avenues of research for translation studies and beyond.

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ИСТОРИОГРАФИЯ И ПЕРЕВОДОВЕДЕНИЕ

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В статье представлен обзор последнего десятилетия истории перевода. Особое внимание уделяется новым научным темам и областям исследования, а также методологическим направлениям истории перевода с акцентом на их междисциплинарность. Отказавшись от евроцентристского взгляда на предмет истории перевода как науки, исследователи заинтересовались разработкой взаимосвязанных компаративных историй перевода. Исследовательский диалог с историей в широком смысле дал новые методы и формы анализа: микроисторию, histoire croisée, *архивные исследования, устную историю и цифровую историю перевода. Кроме того, возникли такие новые области исследования, как, например, изучение роли перевода во время конфликтов и военных действий.*

***Ключевые слова**: история перевода, междисциплинарность, архивы, микроистория, перекрестная история*

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ПРЕДСТАВЛЕНО ДЛЯ ВОЗМОЖНОЙ ПУБЛИКАЦИИ В ОТКРЫТОМ ДОСТУПЕ В СООТВЕТСТВИИ С УСЛОВИЯМИ ЛИЦЕНЗИИ CREATIVE COMMONS ATTRIBUTION (CC BY) (HTTP://CREATIVECOMMONS.ORG/LICENSES/BY/4.0/)

ETHNOGRAPHY IN TRANSLATION STUDIES: AN OBJECT AND A RESEARCH METHODOLOGY*

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Based on a review of the literature on ethnography produced by translation scholars over the past twenty years, this contribution explores how translation studies [TS] has appropriated this concept, first as a way to solve translation problems (with Eugene Nida), then as an object (within the cultural turn) and more recently as a research methodology to document and analyze translation and interpreting events in context. The author shows how, in the early seventies, both cultural anthropology and TS saw a change in paradigm that brought the two disciplines closer at the surface level (as the metaphor of culture as a text *gained grounds), but that draw them very much apart from an epistemological viewpoint. Indeed, while ethnography was undertaking an interpretive turn, TS chose to define itself as an empirical discipline based on systematic and objective observation; this positivistic bias in early TS could partly explain its late adoption of ethnography as a research methodology. This literary review finally reminds us of the many dichotomies out of which TS has grown and structured itself — text vs context; translation vs. interpretation; experiential vs. scientific knowledge, hermeneutics vs. empiricism, to name but a few — and suggest the need for an interpretive move within the discipline.*

Keywords: translation, interpretation, interpretive ethnography, epistemology, research methodologies

Whereas some linguists elevated translation to the status of science in the mid-sixties (Nida, 1964), literary studies played a key role in its recognition as a proper discipline of research a few years later. James Holmes's 1972 paper *In the name and nature of translation studie*s has been regarded by many scholars, at least in most of the European countries, as a milestone in that matter. Among its merits, this contribution put forward the interdisciplinary nature of the research field in becoming. From then, translation studies (TS) kept on expanding its horizon, exploring the multiple factors, not only linguistic but also cognitive, cultural, historical, social, institutional and material that come into play when transferring texts across languages and cultures and into other semiotic systems. In this process, the discipline kept on borrowing research designs from the social sciences. Hence, the conduct of interviews, surveys, focus groups as well as field observation became parts and parcels of the TS researcher toolkit. Gradually, several studies with an explicitly ethnographic orientation have seen the light (see, for example,

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Wadensjö 1998; Davidson 2000; Buzelin 2006, 2015; Baraldi and Gavioli 2007; Koskinen 2008; Leblanc 2014). These developments led to the emergence of a discourse on ethnography as a valuable research methodology for exploring translators' communities, translating institutions and translation projects.

As a sequel to a discussion initiated in Buzelin (2007), the present contribution revisits the relations between ethnography and translation studies in light of this discourse produced over the past twenty years. A special focus is put on texts with a didactic or programmatic function, such as textbooks and handbooks (see Wolf 2002; Flynn 2010; Hubscher-Davidson 2011; Saldanha and O'Brien 2013; Biagini 2016). The goal is not to show the relevance of ethnography for translation studies, as this question has already been addressed before[1], but rather to reflect on why ethnography, although regarded as essential to translation since the earliest days of translation theory[2], was recognized as a potential methodology for studying translation only fifty years later. Exploring this question will lead us to uncover a few relevant features and boundaries in the development of the discipline: 1) a quest for scientificity in TS that encouraged a positivistic posture at a time where social research was, on the whole, moving in the opposite direction; 2) the very imperfect equivalence between *Translation Studies* and its usual French translation *traductologie*; 3) the lack of connections and dialogue between translation and interpreting studies, largely due to their separate development.

1. On the "Copernican revolution" in the human and social sciences

In the second half of the twentieth century, human and social sciences underwent a revolution as well as a vast expansion that led to a redefinition of disciplinary boundaries and research objects: some disciplines, such as anthropology, had to reinvent themselves (Hymes 1999) whereas others, such as translation studies, saw the light. In cultural anthropology, Clifford Geertz's essay *Interpretation of Cultures* (1973) is probably the text that best captures the change of paradigm, marking the advent of an interpretive turn within the discipline. As for the birth of translation studies, it has come to be associated with James Holmes's communication dated 1972. However, as we shall see, these two seminal texts, released several months apart, engaged their respective disciplines in very different directions.

[1] Among other things, this methodology based on fieldwork has been regarded from the start as a good way to reconcile textual and contextual approaches, to highlight the diversity of agents involved in translation processes, as well as to foster more reflexivity and dialogue among translation scholars and translation practitioners (see Buzelin 2006, Koskinen 2008, Hubscher-Davidson 2011).

[2] For example, in 1945, Eugene Nida argued that ethnology was the best way to solve the semantic problems of translation. Today, the missionary perspective underlying his theory of translation appears highly problematic and questionable. However, his contribution reminds us how much, as practices, *translation* and *ethnography* have always been intertwined, even before the birth of TS as a discipline.

1.1. 1973 — Clifford Geertz and the ethnographer as translator

As the core methodology of cultural anthropology, ethnography was directly impacted by the crisis of representation in the human and social sciences. The intertwining between the rise of cultural anthropology and that of colonial empires, the reflections on the relations between knowledge and power and the role of discourses and representations in power dynamics as well as the more global rejection of positivism were particularly noticeable in this discipline. The crisis led, among other things, to an interpretive and semiotic turn mostly embodied in the works by Clifford Geertz who suggested approaching culture as a text, i.e., a web of signs to be interpreted: "The culture of a people is an ensemble of texts, themselves ensembles, which the anthropologist strains to read over the shoulders of those to whom they properly belong." (Geertz, 1973:452). In this line of thinking, the ethnographer would no longer seek causal or structural explanations but act rather as a translator, reading and interpreting a foreign manuscript: "Doing ethnography is like trying to read (in the sense of 'construct a reading of') a manuscript—foreign, faded, full of ellipses, incoherencies, suspicious emendations, and tendentious commentaries, but written not in conventionalized graphs of sound, but in transient examples of shaped behaviour." (Geertz, 1973:10)

If ethnography, as a research methodology, originated in the field of anthropology, it was soon adopted by sociologists (most notably the Chicago School and its followers), by linguists (in the field of ethnolinguistics) and more recently by other disciplines such as communication studies, education, social psychology, human geography, criminology, etc. This increasing popularity could relate to a global trend in favour of qualitative methodologies in the human and social sciences (Hammersley and Atkinson 2007:2). As it expanded to other fields and as anthropologists returned back home, the definition and modalities of the ethnographic fieldwork also changed, the prolonged immersion within a foreign culture being only one of the many forms it could take. If contextualization remains a central component, the field is not so much defined as a geographical space, but rather as a *community of practices* that the researcher aims at better understanding through observation of and dialogue with those who belong to it. For a number of years now, ethnography textbooks have highlighted this multifaceted aspect. As early as 1983, Hammersley and Atkinson summed up the possibilities in the following terms:

> […] across the numerous fields in which ethnography, or something very like it, has come to be proposed, one finds considerable diversity in prescriptions and practice. There is disagreement as to whether ethnography's distinctive feature is the elicitation of culture knowledge (Spradley 1980), the detailed investigation of patterns of social interaction (Gumperz 1981), or holistic analysis of societies (Lutz 1981). Sometimes, ethnography is portrayed as essentially descrip-

> tive, or perhaps as a form of storytelling (Walker 1981); occasionally, by contrast, great emphasis is laid on the development and testing of theory (Glaser and Strauss 1967; Denzin 1978). […] For us ethnography (or participant observation, a cognate term) is simply one social research method, albeit a somewhat unusual one, drawing as it does on a wide range of sources of information. The ethnographer participates, overtly or covertly, in people's daily lives for an extended period of time, watching what happens, listening to what is said, asking questions; in fact, collecting whatever data are available to throw light on the issues with which he or she is concerned (Hammersley and Atkinson 1983:1—2).

For these authors, fieldwork is what defines best the ethnographic approach. In their view, it is essentially a method, the most eclectic and "the most basic" [3] method of the social sciences (Hammersley and Atkinson 1983:2). For other commentators, ethnography is more of a *methodology*, that is, a research design characterized by particular concepts and values such as participation, immersion, reflexivity, thick description, understanding and a participatory ethics guided toward emancipation of the community under study (Gobo 2007). Still, others hold that it is not so much observation and description in themselves that define ethnography, but a certain gaze (*regard*) and a particular type of writing. This gaze is "neither casual nor uptight [… but] give way to an attitude of drifting (obviously temporary), of availability and floating attention" (Laplantine 1996:16, *our translation*)[4] and in the process of writing, "the researcher produces rather than s/he reproduces." Criticizing the "lazy conception of observation and the indigent conception of language" that anthropology inherited, Laplantine affirms, in a spirit recalling that of Clifford Geertz:

> There exist no such things as "ethnographic data" but always and everywhere a confrontation between a (given) ethnographer and a (given) sociocultural group, an interaction between a researcher and those she/he studies. […] This confrontation and this interaction (not half of it) are what constitutes the very object of the ethnographic experience and the ethnographic makeup. The latter will become truly anthropological when intertwined (in a way that Bakhtin would qualify as dialogical) in an intertextual network (Laplantine 1996:38, *our translation*).[5]

The very diverse definitions of ethnography confirm the polymorphic nature of this concept.

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[3] "basic" meant that the approach was as close as one can get to the type of knowledge acquired from common everyday practices. This mention appears in the first (1983) edition of the textbook but not in the third one.

[4] "ni désinvolte ni crispé [… mais] redonn [ant] toute sa place à une attitude de dérive (évidemment provisoire) de disponibilité et d'attention flottante."

[5] "Il n'existe donc pas, à proprement parler de "données ethnographiques", mais d'emblée, toujours et partout, la confrontation d'un ethnologue (particulier) et d'un groupe social et culturel (particulier), l'interaction entre un chercheur et ceux qu'il étudie. […] C'est cette confrontation et cette interaction (et non "la moitié") qui constituent l'objet même de l'expérience ethnographique et de la construction ethnologique, lesquelles ne deviendront anthropologiques qu'en s'inscrivant (d'une manière que Bakhtine a qualifié de dialogique) dans un réseau d'intertextualité."

1.2. 1972 — The rise of translation studies

The fame of James Holmes's text is to a large part due to Gideon Toury's strategic role in reediting this paper and commenting its key ideas in the introductory chapter of his own book *Descriptive Translation Studies and Beyond* (1995). It is worth reminding Holmes's and Toury's (1980, 1985, and 1995) main propositions to better grasp what unites and what distinguishes them. For Holmes, *Translation Studies* (a denomination he favoured over *translation science* for its inclusivity) defined itself as an "empirical discipline." Quoting Hempel, he further explained that empirical disciplines generally share two goals: "(1) to describe particular phenomena in the world of our experience and (2) to establish general principles by means of which they can be explained and predicted" (Hempel quoted in Holmes, 1972 [1988]: 71). Holmes divided the discipline in two branches: a pure one and an applied one, the former consisting of a theoretical part and a descriptive one. Description was further split in three categories corresponding to distinct viewpoints on translation: namely the *products* (of translation), i.e., translations as texts, the *processes* and the *functions*. The applied branch had four ramifications: translator training, translation aids, translation policies and translation criticism. In conclusion, Holmes insisted on the interdependence and complementarity of the theoretical, descriptive and applied branches, each contributing to the development of the discipline.

While commenting Holmes's ideas, Toury gave them a particular inflection. For instance, whereas Holmes had rejected the term *science*, Toury (1985) made an almost systematic use of it—the term occurring three times on the first page of the book. Along the same line, Toury saw the *descriptive branch*—hence the *pure* one as well—as the cornerstone of the discipline. He also ranked the three possible objects of TS, stating that *functions* determined the *products* which, in turn, governed *processes*. Whereas Holmes insisted on interdisciplinarity, Toury asserted the need to distance TS from comparative linguistics. Last but not least, he relegated applied research to the margin of the discipline, as a mere "extension" (1995:17). All these adjustments had a purpose: "*to make a case for the discipline's* controlled evolution" (Toury 1995:10). So, a year before the release of Geertz's seminal essay inaugurating an interpretive turn in anthropology, Holmes wrote what would come to be regarded as the act of birth of Translation Studies, laying out a research program that, as interpreted by Gideon Toury, would position the discipline in a rather positivist frame.

Holmes and Toury are not the only scholars who have tried to circumscribe the new discipline. Antoine Berman's essay *The Experience of the Foreign* (1992), originally published in French in 1984, included a manifesto engaging *traductologie* in a very different path, closer to history, philosophy and hermeneutics[6]. Whereas Toury considered that translation scholars should

[6] "La traductologie ne se constituera qu'en coopération avec la linguistique et la poétique ; elle a beaucoup à apprendre de la socio- et de l'ethnolinguistique, ainsi que de la psychanalyse et de la philosophie [Traductology will only be constituted in collaboration with linguistics and poetics; it has much to learn from socio- and ethnolinguistics, as well as from psychoanalysis and philosophy]." (Berman 1984: 304, Berman 190 1992 for the English translation)

approach their object from an objective and distanced perspective, Berman defined *traductologie* as "a study of translation based on the experience of translating" (Berman 1989:675). In the nineties, many translation scholars criticized this dissociation, encouraged by Toury, between translators and translation scholars (see in particular Simeoni 1995, Pym 1998, Hermans 1999, Crisafulli 2002). At the time, sociological approaches in TS had gained ground and Pierre Bourdieu's ideas, most notably his sociology of science as well as his concepts of "habitus" and "participant objectivation"[7] helped to reconcile the practical and the scholarly viewpoints on translation and to move from a definition of TS solely based on its object to a definition incorporating the subjectivity (and agency) involved both in performing and in studying translation. Finally, the reflections on the ethics of translation stemming, partly, from cultural and post-colonial approaches, also showed the limits of a strictly descriptive approach along with the ideal of an objective researcher distanced from its object.

As Hermans noted (1999: 31—45), Toury's quest for translation universals was not followed by many and his vision of the discipline was not unanimously shared either. But his legacy remains an important one. It can be traced, for example, in the writings of Chesterman (2000) in favour of causal and linear models of analysis aiming at explaining and eventually predicting translation phenomena; in the rapid and durable popularity of corpus studies; in the long-lasting emphasis placed on the study of translation norms; and more generally in the predominance of functionalist and empirical approaches in TS. It is no coincidence that a textbook as rich and comprehensive as *Research Methodologies in Translation Studies* (Saldanha and O'Brein 2013) leaves no room to historical and hermeneutic approaches. Writing a methodology textbook for an interdisciplinary research field is a challenge and choices inevitably have to be made. So one cannot blame the authors for restraining themselves to empirical methodologies or for referring the reader to Pym (1998) for methods in translation history[8]. But as legitimate as they are, these choices also suggest Toury's long-lasting influence in the evolution of the discipline in the English-speaking world. One may wonder if this quest for scientificity that marked the birth of TS and that is still present today, though to a lesser extent, is not partly responsible for the delayed adoption of the least formalized and most subjective research methodologies of the social sciences: ethnography.

2. Ethnography as a research methodology in TIS

At the turn of the twenty-first century, three books on research methodologies in TS saw the light. The first two are collections of essays edited by Maeve Olohan (2000) and Theo Hermans (2002). The year 2002 also saw the

[7] For a detailed presentation of these concepts, see Grenfell ed. (2013), chapter three (*Habitus*) by Karl Maton and chapter twelve *(reflexivity)* by Cécile Deer.

[8] More surprising though is the absence of reference to Berman's last essay, *Pour une critique des traductions: John Donne* published posthumously in 1995, even if this seminal methodological enquiry into translation criticism was available in English since 2009.

release of *The Map* by Jenny Williams and Andrew Chesterman, a short introductory guide to doing research on translation. Ethnography is not mentioned in the book, but the authors do say a word on *workplace studies* that aim at analyzing the working conditions of professional translators mainly by way of observation. To the readers interested in such studies, the authors give the following advice: "The observer tries not to interfere with the process (as far as possible), but simply observes it and notes certain features of it. […] The very fact of your being an observer may, of course, have some influence on the behaviour of the person you are watching but you just have to try to keep this to a minimum." (2002: 62). In this formulation, *workplace studies* seem to belong to (or derive from) a naturalistic tradition, the positivistic version of ethnography.

Michaela Wolf's chapter entitled "Culture as Translation—and Beyond. Ethnographic Models or representations in Translation Studies" (in Hermans ed. 2002) is one of the first mentions of ethnography in a TS methodology book. This chapter explores how the crisis of representation in the human sciences led to new ways of defining culture and cultural transfers that ought to be taken into account by translators and translation scholars. The author shows how these new conceptions—such as Homi K. Bhabha (1994)'s concepts of "third space" and "hybridity" or Geertz's depiction of the ethnographer as an author—remind us of the partial and incomplete nature of any translation as well as the power relationships and negotiations underlying the process. She highlights some common grounds and differences between ethnography, cultural translation and interlingual translation as various ways of writing and representing alterity. The chapter is an invitation to reflexivity for translators and translation scholars. However, as the discussion remains on a theoretical ground, the methodological challenges and conditions for conducting ethnographies of translation are not addressed. The same remark holds for Peter Flynn's article on "ethnographic approaches" (2010): the author mixes two bodies of literature: 1) contributions that conceive ethnography as a type of translation and, therefore, as a potential *object* of research for TS (see for example Kate Sturge's contribution on translation strategies used in ethnographic descriptions); 2) and contributions that approach ethnography as a *research methodology* mainly based on fieldwork. Adopting Geertz's philosophy, the author insists that an ethnography of translation consists in analyzing translation or interpretation practises *in context* from the viewpoint of those who perform them. Such an approach adds Flynn, requires reflexivity on the part of the researcher.

In the same vein, Séverine Hubscher-Davidson's article on the relevance of ethnographic methods for translation process research (2011) opens on a literary review of TS contributions dealing with ethnography as an object of study, as a discourse on translation and as a research methodology. Follows a long discussion on how ethnography can be useful to translation process research. The author recalls some of the strengths of this approach: reflexivity, flexibility, induction, dialogism, ethical involvement with participants. In conclusion, she argues that "injecting a dose of ethnography to empirical studies in particular could perhaps contribute to providing translation re-

searchers and participants with what Tirkkonen-Condit terms 'empowering experiences' (2009) that will open their eyes" (Hubscher-Davidson 2011:14). This article leaves an ambiguity over the role and nature of ethnography. Is it merely a tool for collecting new types of data, i.e., a "method" (as suggested by the recurring use of this term throughout the article)? Is it a "methodology" (as suggested by values such as reflexivity and dialogism mentioned in the article)? Or is it simply a valuable "supplement" that one just has to take, in small doses, to overpass the limits of traditional approaches? The article does not offer many examples of existing studies combining ethnography with the methods commonly used in process studies such as think-aloud protocols, eye-tracking systems, keystroke logging or video recording. It does not question either to what extent this inductive approach is compatible with the experimental research protocols also commonly used in psychology. Ethnography is not completely foreign to psychology, but according to Sal Watt (2010), a socio-psychologist performing ethnography, introducing this approach in the most formal discipline of the social sciences was not self-evident and its use remains marginal. If Hubscher-Davidson's article is very rich, one can regret that the author does not push the discussion further to explore maybe not so much the relevance of ethnography for process studies (something that had been partly done before), but rather to what extent, under what conditions and what type(s) of ethnography is (are) most appropriate to this area of research.

Unlike *The Map,* Saldanha and O'Brein's textbook (2013) discusses ethnographic research in TS at length, in relation to case studies, in a chapter dedicated to sociological and cultural models. The presentation draws extensively from Kaisa Koskinen's *Translating Institutions* (2008), an ethnographic study of the Finnish division of the translation services of the European Commission. For these authors, ethnography is a "methodological approach" based on a wide range of data collection methods. It is holistic by nature, contextualized and requires "a high degree of personal involvement from the researchers" (2013:209). Quoting Koskinen, the authors conclude that the distinctive features of ethnography are "'[…] engagement with the object of study—going into the field—and a willingness to learn from those who inhabit the culture' (Koskinen 2008: 37) as well as a focus on the researcher's personal involvement with the data" (Saldanha et O'Brein 2013: 209). Hence, beyond observation, what comes out of this overview is the subjective and participatory nature of ethnography[9].

Both Hubscher-Davidson's and Saldanha and O'Brein's contributions present ethnography as a rather new approach in TS—i.e., new at the time these publications were released, i.e., the early 2010s—without mentioning that it had been used for about two decades in interpreting studies. Among the pioneers, Marta Biagini (2016) quotes the works of Susan Berk-Seligson (1990) and Cecilia Wadensjö (1998) on court interpreters, Melanie Metzger on sign languages as well as the contributions of Claudia Angelelli, Brad

[9] On the previous page, the authors mention that contemporary ethnographies are not necessarily based on observation and can rely on the study of written documents or on interviews. (Saldanha and O'Brien 2013: 208)

Davidson, Claudio Baraldi and Laura Gavioli on medical interpreting (Biagini 2016:66—70). These studies revealed, among other things, the gap between the ideal of neutrality (the interpreter as a conduit) put forward in theory and the active role interpreters play in the conversational dynamics between patients and health care providers.

If interlingual transfers are everywhere in society, some forms lend themselves more easily to observation and analysis than others (Poupaud et al. 2009). This diversity could be visualized as a continuum with, on one end, published literary translations that are reviewed and prized (very easy to find) and, on the other end, community interpreting practices. By virtue of being oral (hence more ephemeral, leaving no record more often than not) and quite sensitive (due to the asymmetric power relationship they engage) the latter are probably the most difficult to document and, to some extent, can only be documented by way of fieldwork. As Biagini rightly notes, this type of fieldwork raises methodological and technical challenges: one needs to get authorization from the institution; transcripts of the source-language texts are not always available and there are limits to what can be observed. But the study of community interpreting practices also raises epistemological and ethical challenges. If, as mentioned above, those studies have shown that community interpreters (whether in hospital, in courts or in immigration services) seldom act as neutral conduits, we could argue that the same holds (to a lesser extent as the implication is more indirect) for translation scholars studying those practices. Will the researcher also act as a judge or as an advocate? And in either case, will his/her criticism be directed toward interpreters or toward the institution that they serve? Between a highly involved, activist posture (like, for instance, that of Barksky and Jacquemet) and a more distanced one (like that of Davidson and Baraldi) the possibilities are numerous.

3. For an Interpretive move in Translation Studies

To sum up, at the turn of the nineteen nineties, as cultural studies made its way in the discipline, ethnographic narratives became objects of study for translation scholars. Around the same time, as a sociological eye developed in TS calling for translation/interpretation practises to be studied in their context, ethnography gradually appeared as a valuable research methodology. The literature produced for the past fifteen years over this question is extremely rich, but it leaves some ambiguities and grey areas. To begin with, if they recall key notions related to ethnography, all the contributions discussed above (with the exception of Wolf, 2002) tend to omit the fact that ethnography is a highly polysemous concept (Hammersley and Atkinson 2007:2). So, instead of adopting a particular definition (as Peter Flynn does for example) or refusing to do so (as the case with Hubscher-Davidson where ethnography is called a method but described as a methodology), one could start by acknowledging this diversity of definitions and question which one(s) would be most relevant to translation studies. This is the kind of discussion that Wolf's chapter announces, without going as far as engaging with methodological questions. In that respect, among all the definitions mentioned

above, the one proposed by Laplantine (1996) seems particularly interesting. Indeed, less inclusive than Hammersley and Atkinson's definition, Laplantine's conception of ethnography, inherited from Geertz, has the merit of putting high demands on the researcher. Emphasizing the unique character of both the ethnographic gaze and ethnographic descriptions (rather than just focusing on observation and fieldwork as core features), this definition reminds us that ethnography is an *interpretive* practice as well as a particular type of (dialogical) writing.

TS literature rarely mentions these two sides of the coin: *observation* and *writing*. Indeed, scholars who study ethnographic texts (e.g.: Sturge 1997, Wolf 2002) tend to emphasize this interpretive dimension without looking at the methodological challenges involved in doing fieldwork[10]. Conversely, the literature on ethnography as a research approach in TS (e.g. Hubscher-Davidson 2011, Saldanha et O'Brein 2013, Leblanc 2014, Biagini 2016) tends to focus on fieldwork and do not say much about the interpretive and writing challenges facing TS researchers. Sturge (1997) rightly highlights how much ethnographers have often used translation in a loose metaphorical way, without properly questioning their interlingual translation practices. But if we look the other way round, one must admit that the pioneers of TS, mainly concerned with interlingual transfers, have hardly questioned their own interpretive practices, i.e., the way they read, understand and represent their object and their own relationships to that object, because in an epistemological frame infused with positivism, the only possible ethnographic posture is that of the naturalistic researcher, as suggested by Williams and Chesterman (2002).

So, one of the current challenges of the discussions on ethnography in TS lies maybe in our ability to relate, without mixing them, two types of TS discourses on ethnography: 1) ethnography as a practice of fieldwork based on observation and dialogue; 2) ethnography as a mode of interpretation and writing. This would encourage a dialogue between two distinct orientations suggested in the early days of the discipline: an empirical approach (inherited from Toury and Holmes) and a more hermeneutic one embodied, among other things, in Antoine Berman's 1984's manifesto; a manifesto that, at least within the anglophone tradition (which largely dominates the field) did not have as much resonance as Holmes's proclamation of independence.

Conclusion

To sum up, reviewing TS literature on ethnography reminds us of the many dichotomies out of which the discipline has developed and structured itself — text vs. context, prescription vs. description, applied research vs. pure research, experiential vs. scientific discourse, subjectivism vs. positiv-

[10] The challenges are quite different from those traditionally faced by the ethnographer. Whereas the later used to define its object by its otherness (until this very concept of "otherness" was questioned), translation scholars traditionally had a very close relationship to their object, as illustrated by the rich of "experiential discourses" on translation.

ism, hermeneutics vs. empiricism —, where the second term of each pair refers to the discipline as Toury and Holmes envisioned it. It also reminds us that even in an academic field concerned with translation, the circulation of ideas across national and linguistic boundaries is far from obvious. Toury and Berman, who do not encapsulate the whole discipline but who certainly had a major influence on its development, envisioned two very different research fields. In other words, *Translation studies* and *traductologie*, far from being perfect equivalents, tend to express quite distinct ideas of what it means to study translation, each having its strengths and blind spots. Other languages and nations may also have their own views and probably different ones. Lastly, this overview highlights another structural division: that between translation and interpreting studies. Mainly concerned with literary transfers, the fathers of TS focused on the analysis of written texts. Hence, translation and interpretation studies have developed largely in parallel, independently from one another. Initiatives such as Benjamin's TS bibliography (Doorslaer 2007) or, more recently, the textbook titled *Quantitative research methods in translation and interpreting studies* (Mellinger and Hanson 2017) suggest the desire and possibility for a dialogue. In that vein, one could hope for a similar type of textbook that would be dedicated to qualitative research methodologies in Translation and Interpreting Studies. Such a contribution would give an accurate picture of the role and place of ethnography in TIS, show the common (epistemological, ethical, methodological and interpretive) challenges faced by researchers and the variety of forms that ethnographies of "translation" (in the broad sense) can take, depending on whether they relate to institutions, communities or particular translation projects, as many contexts to which the translation scholar also belongs, though in a slightly different way.

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ЭТНОГРАФИЯ В ПЕРЕВОДОВЕДЕНИИ: ОБЪЕКТ И МЕТОДОЛОГИЯ ИССЛЕДОВАНИЯ*

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На основе обзора литературы по этнографии, созданного переводоведами за последние двадцать лет, в статье демонстрируется, как переводоведение использует наработки этнографии сначала как способ решения проблем перевода (вслед за Юджином Нидой), затем как объект исследования (в рамках культурного поворота), а в последнее время как исследовательскую методологию для документирования и анализа

письменного и устного перевода, осуществляемого в определенном контексте. Автор показывает, как в начале 1970-х годов в культурной антропологии и науке о переводе произошла смена парадигмы, которая не только сблизила эти две дисциплины на поверхностном уровне (поскольку метафорическая трактовка культуры как текста к этому моменту обрела свои научные обоснования), но и очень сильно отдалила их друг от друга с эпистемологической точки зрения. Действительно, пока в этнографии происходил интерпретативный поворот, переводоведение предпочитало определять себя как эмпирическую дисциплину, основанную на систематическом и объективном наблюдении. Этот позитивистский уклон раннего переводоведения отчасти может объяснить запоздалое принятие этнографии в качестве методологии исследования. Представленный обзор литературы заставляет еще раз задуматься о многочисленных дихотомиях, из которых выросла и структурировалась наука о переводе, – текст vs контекст, перевод vs интерпретация, опытное vs научное знание, герменевтика vs эмпиризм и т.д., а также сделать вывод о необходимости развития интерпретативного направления в этой дисциплине.

***Ключевые слова**: перевод, интерпретация, интерпретативная этнография, эпистемология, исследовательские методологии*

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ПРЕДСТАВЛЕНО ДЛЯ ВОЗМОЖНОЙ ПУБЛИКАЦИИ В ОТКРЫТОМ ДОСТУПЕ В СООТВЕТСТВИИ С УСЛОВИЯМИ ЛИЦЕНЗИИ CREATIVE COMMONS ATTRIBUTION (CC BY) (HTTP://CREATIVECOMMONS.ORG/LICENSES/BY/4.0/)

TOIL, PASSION, SERENDIPITY, MONEY, AND MARKETING: A FRESH LOOK AT AGENTS OF TRANSLATION

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Drawing initially on the "Introduction" to Agents of Translation (Milton & Bandia 2009) and my work on Monteiro Lobato (Milton 2010, 2019), this article presents a number of the elements of the agency of translation such as patronage, habitus, and gatekeeping. Agents are also involved in an Actor Network, and they may act as ambassadors for the author or school they are attempting to introduce. The study then summarizes the work I have done on the Brazilian editor, author, and translator, José Bento de Monteiro Lobato. It then introduces two new studies, the first on Benjamin Moser, the translator and editor of the Brazilian novelist, Clarice Lispector, and the second on Liz Calder, former owner of the Bloomsbury Press, and the originator of FLIP, the annual literary festival held in the historic coastal town of Paraty, in the state of Rio de Janeiro.

Keywords: *agents of translation, Monteiro Lobato, Benjamin Moser, Liz Calder*

1. Basic concepts

This article will begin by looking at some of the points Paul Bandia and myself raised in our Introduction to *Agents of Translation* (2009). We initially mentioned Juan Sager's definition of the agent in translation: a person who is "in an intermediary position between a translator and an end user of a translation" (Sager 1994: 321 in Shuttleworth & Cowie 1997: 7). The agent "is at the beginning and the end of the speech act of translation; the previous speech act of writing the document, and the subsequent speech act of a reader receiving the document are both temporally, spatially and casually quite independent" (Sager 1994: 140 in Shuttleworth & Cowie 1997: 7).

Such agents may come from a wide number of areas: they may be writers, editors, revisors, translators of course, but also commissioners and publishers. And they may not just work in the literary world. They may be patrons of literature, Maecenas, salon organizers, politicians or companies which help to change cultural and linguistic policies. In addition, they need not necessarily take on human form: they may also be magazines, journals, websites, or institutions. And they will often combine two or more of these roles as individuals who devote great amounts of energy and whole lives to the cause of a foreign literature, author or literary school, translating, writing articles, attempting to get their author(s) published and read.

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Agents may innovate, introducing little known authors into their culture, and/or translate their author(s) in an unusual, maybe foreignizing way, go against literary norms and even endanger their professional and personal lives, risk fines, imprisonment, and even death.

One of the key terms is we looked at is Patronage, introduced by André Lefevere, who emphasizes the role of the patrons to produce cultural artefacts: the Medici, Maecenas, Louis XIV, and "a religious body, a political party, a social class, a royal court, publishers, and, last but not least, the media, both newspapers and magazines and larger television corporations" (Lefevere 1992: 15). Patrons will have central roles in regulating the literary system, prizes, censorship, and the educational system. Modern day patrons include large publishing companies, prizes such as the Goncourt, Booker, and Pulitzer, research support agencies, and universities. Such bodies also have a large amount of power and act, in the words of Pierre Bourdieu, as "gatekeepers", opening the gate to allow in certain works and authors, and shutting the gate on others.

Another concept of Bourdieu we can use is that of "field". The gatekeeper will be a player in the literary field who will attempt to dominate and control more and more of the area, and of course, the players they allow onto the field may help to give them more power: they will become the patrons of this author (Bourdieu 1993; Inghilleri 2005; Gouanvic 2005).

Habitus is another concept coming from Bourdieu. Daniel Simeoni's 1998 essay introduced both Bourdieu and habitus into translation studies. The habitus of the translator encompasses their lexical, matricial and rhetorical decisions which enable them to be accepted into the profession and obtain work. Differently to norms, which would come from outside the individual, habitus "emphasizes the extent to which translators themselves play a role in the maintenance and perhaps the creation of norms" (Simeoni 1998: 26).

A further conceptual area of interest is that of Actor-Network Theory (ANT). Buzelin (2005: 193—218) links the work of Bourdieu and Bruno Latour. ANT, as originated by Bruno Latour, examines the network of relationships between the different actors. In *Laboratory Life* (1979) written with Steven Woolgar, Latour describes the genesis of scientific facts and artifacts resulting from the networks of relationships developing between the scientists' daily routines: their attempts to find grants, failures, controversies, hesitations and creativity. Indeed, our agents will have to deal with such issues to successfully introduce a foreign author or literary school into their culture. Buzelin stresses that a study of ANT in the literary field would have to examine some of the "strategies, negotiations, struggles, conflicts — but also alliances — and consequently, the modalities and reasons underlying the importation of foreign literature in a given context" (Buzelin 2005: 208—209), examining how texts to be translated are selected, who participates in the negotiations over translation rights, how these participants are recruited, and how they interact and manoeuvre. (Buzelin 2005: 209).

Last but not least, Francis Jones links Actor-Network Theory to Activity Theory and Game Theory to examine how individuals interact to set and

achieve goals. In his article on the translation of post-war Bosnian poetry (2009), he describes a network of agencies and players (source poet, translator, publisher, etc.), the various "ambassadors", as a multi-person "embassy network", in an attempt to get Bosnian poetry published and read.

2. "A Country is Made with Translators and Translations"[1]. The political adaptations of Monteiro Lobato

My first agent is the Brazilian writer, translator and publisher, José Bento Monteiro Lobato (1882—1948), the major figure in the development of a national mass book market in Brazil. After working as a public prosecutor for a while in Areias, near Taubaté, São Paulo state, in 1918 in São Paulo he founded the publishing company Monteiro Lobato e Companhia, and then, when this company went bankrupt in 1925, Companhia Editora Nacional. The dominance of Lobato's companies can be seen by the fact that by 1920 more than half of all the literary works published in Brazil were published by Monteiro Lobato e Companhia, and in 1941, in a much larger book market, a quarter of all books published were produced by Lobato's Companhia Editora Nacional.

Monteiro Lobato was against the dominant Francophile culture, which existed in Brazil until the Second World War, and most of the works he translated or published were from English: *Peter Pan*, *Alice in Wonderland*, *Robinson Crusoe*, *Tom Sawyer*, *Huckleberry Finn*, and *Gulliver's Travels*, works by Conan Doyle, Eleanor H. Porter, Hemingway, Wells, Melville, Jack London, Steinbeck, and Kipling, amongst many others. (Monteiro Lobato 1951: 125—30)

Monteiro Lobato is known today as a children's writer. When he began writing for children, the great majority of the children's literature available in Brazil was written in the Portuguese of Portugal. The desire to provide stories for his own and other Brazilian children stimulated Lobato to write books for children. He believed in developing the Brazilian language; he thought that after 400 years of subservience to Portugal, it was time to break away definitively from Lisbon and to develop a separate Brazilian language (Hallewell 1985:242).

His works for children were immediately amazingly successful, and he has remained, for a hundred years, the most popular children's author in Brazil. His children's works are set in the Sítio do Picapau Amarelo [The Yellow Woodpecker Farm], where grandmother Dona Benta reads to, educates, brings up, and has adventures with her grandchildren, Pedrinho and Narizinho [Little Nose], the irreverent and naughty rag doll, Emília, and the corn doll, the pedantic Visconde de Sabugosa. They are also looked after by the black cook, Tia Nastácia.

The series of children's books include fantasies with fairies; visits from Peter Pan, Don Quixote, Lewis Carroll's Alice, fairy tale characters, Holly-

[1] My adaptation of Lobato's famous phrase, "Um país se faz com homens e livros" ("A country is made by men and books") (Monteiro Lobato 1950:46).

wood stars such as cowboy Tom Mix and child star Shirley Temple, and mythological Brazilian entities; adventures around the world, where they even try to bring the belligerent countries together in the 1930s; paradidactical works on arithmetic, Portuguese grammar, Greek mythology, and geography; and they even find oil on the farm, reflecting Lobato's ideas on Brazil's need to develop its oil industry.

Of particular interest are Monteiro Lobato's adaptations. In *D. Quixote das Crianças* (1936/1957), Emília, Lobato's alter ego, prises a thick book off a high shelf after a great deal of effort, a Portuguese translation of *Don Quixote*, and Dona Benta begins reading to her grandchildren and the dolls. However, they find the elaborate literary style turgid, and so Dona Benta decides to retell the story to the children herself in her own words. The result is a text with many translation shifts including abridgement, explanations, and additions, as well as paratextual commentary from Dona Benta, the narrator, and the audience of the children and dolls. Lobato's message here is that great care must be taken with literature for children. This is made explicit in a letter dated 1943, where he compares the difficulties he faced to cut "literature" from his children's works to killing fleas (in Abramovich 1982: 152).

In *Peter Pan* and *D. Quixote das crianças* this intimate contact with the story is emphasized through the interaction the listeners have with the story and the characters. In *Peter Pan*, for example, Emília makes a hook to put on her hand, and in *D. Quixote das Crianças*, Emília herself, like Don Quixote, suffers from a form of madness.

Monteiro Lobato's rewritings are overtly didactic, and he frequently places his pet themes in the middle of the stories. One of the most prominent themes is that of expanding the book market in Brazil. At the beginning of *Peter Pan*, the children ask Dona Benta who Peter Pan is. She does not know and writes to a bookshop in São Paulo to send Barrie's work in English. Monteiro Lobato thus inserts an advertisement for mail orders for book shops. When it arrives, Dona Benta retells the story in Portuguese, thus reenacting the situation of an oral retelling.

Other didactic elements are vocabulary extension exercises, in *Hans Staden* encouraging the children to read Charles Darwin's *The Voyage of the Beagle* (Monteiro Lobato 1954: 29) and openly discussing the anthropophagy of Indian tribes in Brazil (Monteiro Lobato 1954: 52 passim).

In *Fábulas* (1921/1969), Monteiro Lobato's rewriting of La Fontaine's *Fables*, the lack of social justice in Brazil is clear. In "Os Animais e o Peste" ["The Animals and the Plague"], the only animal to be punished and sent to its death is the ass, who is judged to have committed the worst crime of all: stealing the vicar's cabbage (Monteiro Lobato 1969: 92). After each of the tales, the children make comments and judgements, which serve as a vehicle for Lobato's paratextual social commentary. In the well-known "O Lobo e o Cordeiro" ["The Wolf and the Lamb"], in which the lamb through fear can never contradict the wolf, Dona Benta explains that the fable "reveals the

essence of the world. The strong are always right. There are no arguments against force" ("revela a essência do mundo. O forte tem sempre razão. Contra a força não há argumentos") (Monteiro Lobato 1969: 138).

In his adaptation of *Hans Staden*, Lobato, again through his mouthpiece of Dona Benta, criticizes the way in which history exalts the colonizers of Latin America. Hans Staden (Homberg, c. 1525 — Wolfhagen, c. 1576) was a German mercenary who was captured by the Tupinambá Indians, and, after nine months of managing to avoid being eaten, returned to Germany to write the story of his capture and narrow escape. Despite being cannibals, the Brazilian Indians treat their captives much better than do the Spanish and Portuguese colonizers. By contrast, before killing and eating their captive warriors, the Brazilian tribes treat them well, fattening them up and giving them wives.

When Pedrinho asks Dona Benta why these conquerors are always considered to be great men, she replies that it is they who write history and so turn themselves into heroes (Monteiro Lobato 1921/1976:46).

Lobato's adaptation of *Peter Pan*, through the multiple voices he uses in the retelling of Barrie's story, turns the original narration into a highly political work. The work of Julia Kristeva illuminates the change of emphasis in Monteiro Lobato's translations and rewritings. Kristeva defines a signifying practice as a "field of transpositions"; such a practice is related to the "place of enunciation", but she notes however that the place of enunciation and its denoted object are never single, complete, and identical to themselves but always plural and shifting (Kristeva 1974:314 and passim). Translation will always introduce another voice into the text, and the new voice will always be quoting another, the original author, however invisible the translator attempts to be. "Invisible" translators attempt to maintain the original place of enunciation, though this will never be completely possible. By contrast, Lobato deliberately introduces a series of new points of enunciation, a series of new voices — Dona Benta, the children, and the dolls. Thus, his texts become dialogic and polyphonic (Kristeva 1969:82 passim). These new voices reflect different aspects of Monteiro Lobato's own beliefs; thus, his rewriting and translation methods shift the place of enunciation from the source author to Lobato himself.

When the narrator, Dona Benta, compares Brazilian children to English children, she says that, unlike Brazilian children, all English children have a special room of their own, a nursery, which will be full of toys, and have special furniture and wallpaper. By contrast, the room of the Brazilian child will be "any old room, which doesn't have a special name" ("um quarto qualquer e por isso n.o tem nome especial") (Monteiro Lobato 1971: 59), thus demonstrating the inferiority of the living conditions of Brazilian children. Likewise, he inserts direct critiques of the government into the mouth of Dona Benta. These critiques, together with negative remarks about Brazil in a BBC radio interview, were responsible for his being imprisoned for three months in 1941.

Such are the dangers of an agent of translation going against the system, of attempting to introduce works which are not accepted by the totalitarian, undifferentiated system.

3. A Marriage of Agent and Author: Benjamin Moser and Clarice Lispector

In Brazil Benjamin Moser (1976 -) is best known for his biography of novelist Clarice Lispector (1920—1977), *Why This World* (2009a), and organizing translations of four of her works for New York publisher New Directions, also published in Penguin Classics in the UK. He discovered Lispector's work when taking a Portuguese course at Brown University, and it was love at first sight. *Why This World* received positive reviews and won the National Books Critics Circle Award. In 2015 he was responsible for the publication of *The Complete Stories* by New Directions in the US. It was well received and entered *The New York Times* list of the 100 best books of the year. In 2016, at the Paraty Literary Festival (FLIP), the subject of the next section, Moser was awarded the Itamaraty (Brazilian Foreign Office) Cultural Diplomacy Award for Cultural Diplomacy and in 2017 a Guggenheim scholarship (Benjamin Moser, Wikipedia).

Moser's biography of Clarice, as she is usually referred to in Brazil, was both acclaimed and criticized. Moser, himself Jewish, sees Clarice very much as a Jewish author, with her Jewishness being her defining feature, classifying her as being the best Jewish writer since Kafka (Esposito 2015) and believing this element has been obfuscated in Brazil, where she, with her peculiar poetic prose and intimistic and introspective style, has been greatly admired, both inside and outside the academy, but always considered a Brazilian writer (Aguilar 2017). Moser believes that reading Clarice is a very personal experience and that talking about her in a Brazilian or academic context is a bad idea.

Moser chose to initially do a biography on Clarice, *Why This World*, and then New Directions in the US, together with Penguin in the UK, asked him to organize the translation project, and the translations would be launched simultaneously in both countries. One problem was the "strangeness" of her Portuguese: "No fewer than five Brazilian copy editors went through my biography — and all of them tried to edit Clarice's own prose". And this was the key problem he found in the existing translations. This strangeness in Portuguese was not maintained in the English translations, which "tried to smooth her out, to correct her odd punctuation and her weird phrasings". And this "does her a disservice: if you take out the weirdness of Clarice, you take out Clarice" (Moser 2011). This can be found especially in *The Hour of the Star*, which Moser himself retranslated. The first translation, by Giovanni Pontiero (1992), "took this to an extreme, filling her every caesura with overly explicit phrasings that made her prose plodding instead of poetic" (Moser 2011).

One of the problems was that there had been no coordination of the translations, which had been done by different people. So Moser ended up coordinating the project, choosing young translators, and Moser's task was to "shepherd their work into publication", making them sound like Clarice, and, the translators, who were from three different countries, to sound like one another. They were told "to try to preserve Clarice's strangeness in Eng-

lish, not to muck with her syntax, not to try to iron her out, but to let these books clash and bang as cacophonously and as gloriously as in her inimitable Portuguese" (Esposito 2015). Thus the new fresh work will supersede the old unfaithful version, which now becomes out-of-date.

A glance at the New Directions website will give us an idea of Moser's control over the series. *The Hour of the Star* was "Translated from the Portuguese by Benjamin Moser /

With a contribution by Paulo Gurgel Valente [Clarice's son] and Colm Tóibín". *The Besieged City* is "Translated from the Portuguese by Johnny Lorenz / Edited by Benjamin Moser". *The Chandelier* is "Translated from the Portuguese by Benjamin Moser and Magdalena Edwards". And *The Complete Stories* are "Translated from the Portuguese by Katrina Dodson / With a contribution by Benjamin Moser". *Near to the Wild Heart* is "Translated from the Portuguese by Alison Entrekin / Edited by Benjamin Moser". *A Breath of Life* is "Translated from the Portuguese by Johnny Lorenz / Edited by Benjamin Moser". *The Passion According to G.H.* is translated from the Portuguese by Idra Novey / Edited by Benjamin Moser". And *Água Viva*, whose translation maintains the Portuguese title, is "Translated from the Portuguese by Stefan Tobler / Edited by Benjamin Moser". What is then interesting is that in the case the remaining works by Lispector, which are published by New Directions, and which have not been retranslated by Moser and his team, the names of the translators do not appear on the site, though they can just about be made out on the covers, Giovanni Pontiero, the translator of *Selected Cronicas* (1996) and *The Foreign Legion* (1992), and Alexis Levitin, *Soulstorm* (1992).

However, the translation process was not always so smooth. Edwards states "The truth is that Moser tried to get me fired, arguing that my completed manuscript was not up to snuff, that my level of Portuguese was insufficient, and that he would have to rewrite every line of my translation. What happened?" The book ended up by having Moser's name placed before that of Edwards. However, she states that it was not completely rewritten, merely edited by Moser. She questions the lack of help from New Directions, who were dominated by Moser, and Moser's own lack of professionalism. She also mentions that in his introduction to *The Besieged City*, he uses an unusual metaphor when describing his translation process of Clarice's work, which on occasions will, when dealing with difficult passages, muddy "them further, weird little hairs in the soup." Edwards had previously found this image in Katrina Dodson's "Translator's Note" for *The Complete Stories*: "A comma trips up the pace where it doesn't seem to belong, like a hair she's placed in your soup" (Edwards 2019).

Esteves makes a comparative study of sections Moser's translation (2011) of *A hora da estrela* ([1977] 1988), *The Hour of the Star* (2011) and Giovanni Pontiero's translation *The Hour of the Star* (1992). Her conclusion fits in with Berman's retranslation theory, that a second translation will usually be much closer to the original than the first translation (Berman: 1990). Moser's version is a more foreignizing translation, closer top Clarice's original, while Pontiero frequently softens, levels out and makes the text more explicit (Esteves 2017: 671).

Esteves emphasizes Moser's marketing qualities. He is a "modern professional, cut out to promote the promotion of the work and person of the author abroad" ("profissional moderno e está talhado para realizar a promoção da obra e da persona da autora no exterior") (Esteves 2017: 656). But, in an interview with Scott Esposito, quoted by Esteves, Moser says he does not like to be called a marketeer, believing "the word marketing always sounds a little creepy to me. I would rather speak of translation in the literal Latin sense, which means "bringing across". Moser goes on to detail his agency. One problem is finding a readership: "why people should spend their time on this book and not on the hundreds of thousands of wonderful books in English that they haven't yet read". His belief that Clarice "was one of the handful of great universal artists who were, like the UNESCO monuments, the patrimony of all humanity", gave him the incentive to bring Clarice into English. Then he had to find "the publishers, the reviewers, the booksellers, the readers", which involves sending many e-mails and making contacts with people working in publicity and

marketing and sales, who should not be looked down upon, as many writers and translators, particularly from the academic world do (Esteves 2017: 672—673; Esposito 2015).

Despite the acclaim and prizes he has received, Moser has been a controversial figure. His emphasis on Clarice very much as a Jewish author has been questioned, especially by Gotlib, author of a previous biography (Gotlib:1994).

Benjamin Abdala Júnior summarizes these criticisms of Moser, who believes that a central influence on Clarice's work and life was the rape of her mother by Russian soldiers (Moser 2009b:17, in Abdala Júnior 2010), as when being raped she contracted syphilis, the consequences of which she eventually died after coming to Brazil, when Clarice was nine. However Gotlib questions this: there is no concrete proof of this, and it is no more than a possibility. Clarice's sister, Elisa, states that their mother died of hemiplegia, growing paralysis of the body (Gotlib 2012:63, in Cavalcante Jeronimo, 2018: 12—13). However, this supposition makes for an interesting narrative, which will run right through *Clarice,*: "Thus an "imaginary" narrative of the rape is constructed, as if it were true" ("Constrói-se, assim, a narrativa "imaginária" do estupro, como se verdade fosse") (Abdala Júnior 2010). Esteves believes this may have been a marketing ploy to attract the huge North American readership, including many Jewish readers, by introducing a certain sensational and fantastic element into the biography (Esteves 2017:655).

Abdala Júnior also mentions a large number of sections of Moser's biography which seem to lifted almost directly from that of Gotlib, without due reference being given. In Gotlib's biography there is a sub-chapter "The recipes of the witch" ("As receitas da bruxa"), and in that of Moser a chapter "The witch" ("A bruxa"); Gotlib's "The possible dialogues" ("Os diálogos possíveis") becomes Moser's "Possible dialogues" ("Diálogos possíveis"); and Gotlib's "The hurricane Clarice" ("O furacão Clarice"), "Hurricane Clarice" ("Furacão Clarice") (Abdala Júnior 2010).

In addition, Moser incorporates other elements of previous biographies without giving credit such as maps of Brazil and the Ukraine, with the cities the Lispector family passed through; the family Lispector family tree, which can be found on the last page of Monteiro Ferreira's 1999 biography; and of the 35 images in Moser's work, 32 appear in Gotlib's *Clarice fotobiografia*. This book is included is the bibliography but not as the source of the images (Abdala Júnior 2010).

4. How Harry Potter helped promote Brazilian literature

Not by magic, rather by money! Liz Calder was born in Edgware, London, in 1938 and lived over her family's grocery until she was 11, when her family emigrated to New Zealand. After studying English Literature at the University of Canterbury, she travelled to Brazil with her husband, an engineer, and spent four years in São Paulo working as a model, then, on returning to the UK, began working in publishing in 1971.

It seems she had a gift for recognizing successful authors. At Victor Gollancz Ltd, she published Salman Rushdie's first novel *Grimus*, John Irving's *The World According to Garp*, and Angela Carter's *The Passion of New Eve*. Then, on joining Jonathan Cape in 1979, she published two Man Booker Prize winners, Salman Rushdie's *Midnight's Children*, and Anita Brookner's *Hotel du Lac*. She was also Julian Barnes' editor for his first four novels, including *Flaubert's Parrot*.

In 1986 she became a founder director of Bloomsbury Publishing, where she was responsible for publishing Booker winners Margaret Atwood and Michael Ondaatje, and Nobel literature laureate Nadine Gordimer. But above all, she was responsible for accepting to publish the Harry Potter series, which completely transformed Bloomsbury. In 1997, *Harry Potter and the Philosopher's Stone* was first published, with an initial run of just 500 copies. The publishers reportedly paid author JK Rowling a measly $1,282 (£1,000) advance (Love Money n. d.). Two decades later we find Bloomsbury a profitable large independent publishing house.

In July 2020 Forbes business magazine reported that J. K. Rowling's Harry Potter books have been a "bestseller" during lockdown and that Bloomsbury reported a 28 % growth in its consumer publishing arm, reaching £31.4 million. Its children's division grew by 27 % to £18.7 million, and high demand for digital eBooks also helped the company's total revenues rise 18 % to £49.4 million in the four months to June 30, 2020 (Pocock 2020).

In 2009 Calder helped to set up Full Circle Editions, a publishing house based in Suffolk, in the east of England. In the 2018 UK Queen's Birthday Honours, List, she was made a Commander of the Order of the British Empire (CBE) for services to literature.

We have no information of how much money Calder herself made from the Harry Potter series, but it certainly enabled her to sponsor the Brazilian literary festival FLIP (Festival Literário de Paraty), beginning in 2003 and modelled on the literary festival of Hay-on-Wye, on the border of England and Wales. FLIP has been amazingly popular, with up to 30,000 people attending, and has brought to Brazil a large number of well-known authors

from a wide range of countries: Salman Rushdie, Joanna Trollope, Michael Ondaatje, Colm Tóibín, John Banville, Orhan Pamuk. Julian Barnes, Ian McEwan, Martin Amis, Eric Hobsbawm, Margaret Atwood, and David Hare, with each edition of FLIP paying homage a Brazilian author, including Manuel Bandeira, Mário de Andrade, Lima Barreto, Euclides da Cunha, Cecília Meireles, Jorge de Lima, Lima Barreto, Millôr Fernandes, and Graciliano Ramos. In recent years FLIP has become more international and multicultural, and paying more attention to literature by women and minorities.

In October 2013, Full Circle Editions produced FlipSide, a Brazilian literary and music festival, at Snape Maltings, Suffolk, home of Aldeburgh Music Festival, and subsequent editions were held in 2014, 2015, 2017. Flipside highlighted the work of poet and lyricist Vinicius de Moraes and musician Tom Jobim, and invited the novelists Milton Hatoum, Bernardo Carvalho, and Adriana Lisboa, children's author Ana Maria Machado, actress and writer Fernanda Torres, British journalist Misha Glenny, who authored *Nemesis: Um Homem e a Batalha pelo Rio* (*Nemesis: One Man and the Battle for Rio*), about a Brazilian drug dealer. The festival has a strong musical element and has played host to Brazilian musicians Bebel Gilberto, Adriana Calcanhotto, Paula Morelembaum, José Miguel Wisnik, Mônica Vasconcelos, also providing Brazilian music workshops both in schools and at the festival. Liz Calder's agency of promoting Brazil may have produced a snowball effect in the mid-2010s. Claire Williams (2017: 106) examines the publications of Brazilian literature published in the UK in this period. With Brazil holding the World Cup in 2014 and the Olympic Games in 2016, Brazil was in the news, and publishers took advantage of this. In addition to the four Clarice Lispector works published by Penguin Classics, books on Brazilian cuisine and, of course, football, were in the bookshop windows. At the 2011 FLIP a competition for short stories by Brazilian writers under 40 was launched, and the winners were published both in Brazil and the UK, the latter edition by Granta being launched at the 2012 FLIP.

The anthology *Other Carnivals: New Stories from Brazil* (Gurría-Quintana, 2013) [Outros Carnavais: Novos Contos do Brasil] was launched to accompany the first edition of Flipside by Calder's new company Full Circle, and four of the stories were published in the bilingual anthology *Ten/Dez*, which commemorated the tenth anniversary of the first edition of FLIP in 2013. In 2014 *The Book of Rio: A City in Short Fiction (*O Livro do Rio: Contos sobre uma Cidade), part of a series of anthologies of stories from cities was published by the small Manchester publishing house, Comma Press, and edited by Toni Marques, the curator of the FLIP spinoff festival, FLUP (Festa Literária das Periferias) [Literary Festival of the Outskirts], held on a regular basis after FLIP in the poor outlying districts of Rio since 2012 (Wikiwand) and contrasting with the rather posh FLIP in tony Paraty (Wikiwand n. d.). *Wasafiri* (travellers in Swahili), a British literary journal, founded in 1984, published its No. 82 in 2015, "The Brazilian Contemporary", which included Brazilian poetry, literary texts, and literary essays on Brazil and the concepts of "contemporary" (Durão e Gupta 2015: 1). *Litro* (114 e 129), a free magazine distributed free-of-charge on the London Underground and all published online, devoted two editions to Brazil: *Brazil: Rio*, and 129, *Brazil: The Wo-*

men's Writing Issue. Finally, *Words Without Bor*ders is a website founded in 2003 which promotes international literature, producing two issues on Brazil, in August 2013 and July 2016.

Williams presents some of the features which the various publications have in common: a considerable presence of women, both as authors and translators; an avoidance of the clichés of Brazil: Carnaval, football, and sensuality; indeed, a number of texts contain a melancholy which contrasts with this cliché, and a number of the stories in *Brazil: The Women's Writing Issue* are both violent and sordid (Williams 2017: 116). It remains to be seen whether this interest in Brazil will continue into the 2020s as, with the Coronavirus pandemia preventing travel to and from South America, and, under the government of President Jair Bolsonaro, environmental devastation dramatically increasing, and Brazil becoming the "pariah" of the world (Osborn 2020; Brum 2021).

Thus, we can see Liz Calder as a modern day Maecenas, using her own wealth to promote something very dear to her, Brazilian literature, which she came across by good luck, serendipity, and did Moser when he took a course in Portuguese. Together with Lobato and Moser, she is dedicated to a cause, to which she has devoted passion, energy, and money, managing to bring Brazilian literature to new readers, as did Moser in his passion for Clarice, and Lobato in his attempt to widen the horizons of Brazilian readers.

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ТЯЖКИЙ ТРУД, СТРАСТЬ, ОЗАРЕНИЕ, ДЕНЬГИ И МАРКЕТИНГ: СВЕЖИЙ ВЗГЛЯД НА УЧАСТНИКОВ ПЕРЕВОДА

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Опираясь на предисловие к книге "Agents of Translation" (Milton & Bandia 2009) и опубликованные ранее работы о Монтейру Лобату (Milton 2010, 2019), автор статьи анализирует элементы посредничества при подготовке перевода к публикации, в частности покровительство, габитус и контроль доступа (гейткипинг). Будучи непосредственно вовлеченными в переводческую ситуацию, агенты перевода нередко становятся 'посланцами' авторов или школ мысли, которые они представляют. В работе обобщены результаты анализа творчества бразильского редактора, писателя и переводчика Жозе Бенту Монтейру Лобату, а также представлены два новых исследования, посвященных Бенджамину Мозеру, переводчику и редактору романов бразильской писательницы Клариси Лиспектор, и Лиз Колдер, бывшей владелице издательства «Блумсбери Пресс» и основательнице FLIP — литературного фестиваля, ежегодно проходящего в историческом прибрежном городе Парати в штате Рио-де-Жанейро.

Ключевые слова: *агенты перевода, Монтейру Лобату, Бенджамин Мозер, Лиз Колдер*

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ПРЕДСТАВЛЕНО ДЛЯ ВОЗМОЖНОЙ ПУБЛИКАЦИИ В ОТКРЫТОМ ДОСТУПЕ В СООТВЕТСТВИИ С УСЛОВИЯМИ ЛИЦЕНЗИИ CREATIVE COMMONS ATTRIBUTION (CC BY) (HTTP://CREATIVECOMMONS.ORG/LICENSES/BY/4.0/)

ENGLISH AS A LINGUA FRANCA: A PARADIGM SHIFT FOR TRANSLATION AND INTERPRETING?

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The global spread of English as a lingua franca *(ELF) has caused a fundamental change to translation and interpreting (T&I). Translation and interpreting used to revolve around bilingual mediation between native speakers and native listeners. In interpreting, in particular, more often than not, source speeches are now produced by non-native English speakers. The impact of this development has the potential to uproot our traditional understanding of T&I. This article sets out to describe how ELF or, more specifically, input produced by non-native English speakers under ELF conditions, differs from the native-speaker input, translators and interpreters used to be dealing with. It gauges the consequences of these differences for translation and interpreting and examines how fundamental a change it is navigating between non-native speakers and listeners, as compared to the traditional situation of mediating between speakers and listeners operating in their respective first languages. This culminates in an exploration of the question as to whether there is reason to speak of a paradigm shift in translation and interpreting studies.*

Keywords: *English as a lingua franca (ELF), translation, interpreting, paradigm shift, non-native English speaker, agency*

1. Introduction

Paradigmatic shifts occur when accepted (often mainstream) theoretical frameworks can no longer account for observable phenomena. Notably, these include the shifts from the text-oriented paradigm to process orientation in cognitive translation studies (Halverson 2020: 65), from statistical machine translation (SMT) to the neural machine translation (NMT) paradigm (Moorkens et al. 2018), from instructivist learning to knowledge construction as part of the paradigm of communicative language teaching (Savignon 1983), and so on. The widening of perspectives is an integral part of academic work and scientific progress. This also involves a realization that core concepts, such as those of equivalence and loyalty, may no longer be taken at face value. In translation studies, cultural adaptations as part of Vermeer's skopos theory, Venuti's processes of domestication and foreignization and recent discussions of transcreation almost obliterate traditional norms. In interpreting studies, the classic, neutral conduit model, which Gile describes as "a useful ideal, still widely accepted within the profession as the default standard" (2017: 241), has been challenged by the foregrounding of the notion of agency.

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Paradigm shifts occur within a discipline when the research focus shifts to different areas of interest to account for new developments. In the teaching and learning of English as a foreign language (ELTL), attention had to be redirected to the fact that English learners no longer exclusively target conversation with British or American native speakers, for instance, but more often seek to pursue international communication with other non-native users of English in varied communicative settings or geographical locations. Globalization and the concurrent global spread of English as a lingua franca brought about a shift from the traditional EFL (read 'E-F-L') or English as a foreign language to the ELF (read 'elf' in one word) or English as a lingua franca paradigm. The following table summarizes the differences in perspective based on Jenkins et al. (2011: 284).

Table 1. EFL versus ELF paradigm

EFL modern languages paradigm	ELF global Englishes paradigm
Standard English as norm and benchmark	English varieties and ELF described independently of the native-speaker standard
EFL: *deficient*	ELF: *different*
Deviations from standard *indicative of incompetency*	Deviations from standard regarded as *manifestations of language contact* and emerging ELF-specific features
Theories: interferences and fossilization	Theories: language contact and language development
Code-switching sign of knowledge gaps	Code-switching as a pragmatic bilingual resource
EFL speakers are *learners*	ELF speakers are skilled language *users*
Aim: *correctness*	Aim: *successful communication*
Emphasis on *form* -> errors	Emphasis on *function*: solidarity, accommodation, communicative-strategic approach

In interpreting studies, the rise of (dialogical) community interpreting due to increased migration in the second half of the 20th century placed emphasis on tripartite participation in interpreter-mediated encounters and on the more active interactional and intercultural mediation aspects of the communication, rather than on the cognitive processes involved or interpreters' individual skills and strategies. Consequently, the discourse in interaction (DI) paradigm for community interpreting was set apart from the cognitive processes (CP) paradigm for conference interpreting (Pöchhacker 2015: 69). The main differences have been described as follows (Albl-Mikasa 2020: 93):

Table 2. CP versus DI paradigm

DI paradigm	CP paradigm
Communicative interaction	Mental processing
Conversation management	Capacity management
Role behaviour	Strategic behaviour

Similarly, in both translation and interpreting (T&I), a new reality has been emerging for professionals. In addition to the introduction of a stronger technological component (including machine translation), a rather fundamental change has been taking hold. T&I used to revolve around bilingual mediation between native speakers and native language listeners with translators and interpreters working from their A, B, or C into their A or B languages. This situation has radically changed. English being the number-one working language in conference interpreting, a majority of speakers are now non-native English speakers and interpreting is more often than not from non-native English input and/or for a non-native English audience. Translation, in turn, increasingly involves the challenge of source texts in which source cultures are difficult to pin down. They may be hybrid texts (Taviano 2013: 160) produced by multiple authors with different L1s, which makes for unpredictable norms. Input in both T&I has thus become harder to gauge against common native norms due to varying English proficiency levels, L1 pragmalinguistic transfer, discrepancies between the culture associated with the English language and that of source speakers and writers, unpredictable linguacultural influences and unorthodox usage conventions.

The following sections examine whether such globalized use of English in text and speech production has the potential to uproot our traditional understanding of T&I as it encroaches upon its basic norms, fundamental principles and established concepts. I will start by outlining how ELF is defined and described in canonical ELF research and continue to lay out from an ITELF (interpreting, translation and English as a lingua franca) perspective, what this means for T&I — or rather what it means for interpreters and translators when they receive ELF input as opposed to the English native speaker/writer input they are accustomed to and trained for.

2. How is ELF different?

In Table 1, ELF is marked out as 'different'. Just what is it that makes ELF different?

ELF, as per scholarly definition (see throughout the *Routledge Handbook of English as a Lingua Franca*, Jenkins, Baker and Dewey 2018), is not viewed as a language, or a variety of English, but a communicative mode which non-native English speakers (NNES) engage in in international communication when they do not share a first language. Such ELF communication may include native speakers of English (NSE), but while "ELF does not exclude NSs of English, […] they are not included in data collection, and when they take part in ELF interactions, they do not represent a linguistic reference point" (Jenkins 2007: 3). This is an important point to bear in mind for the investigation of the impact of this global phenomenon on translators and interpreters, because they, too, are mainly concerned with the impact of non-native English input (Albl-Mikasa 2018: 371).

While the notions of 'native speaker' (NS) or 'Standard English' (SE) must be viewed as theoretical constructs and fuzzy concepts, it can still be

assumed that the so-called 'native speakers of English comply with certain shared standards to some degree, because exposure to and participation in speech events result "in idiolects that conform to local community […] norms" and knowledge of SE is developed "as a consequence of schooling and […] literacy practices" (Hall 2018: 78). Moreover, in NSE communication "the pressure to align with 'target' norms is higher" (Hall 2018: 79) leading to conventionalized usage "shared […] and recognized as being shared — by a substantial number of individuals" (Langacker 1987: 100). Such common ground (Clark 1985) of implicit grammatical and lexical knowledge is missing in ELF contexts and communication. As "ELF is the use of English between people who do not belong to the same speech communities, as they are traditionally defined" (Widdowson 2018: 106), "in many, perhaps most cases, ELF users cannot rely on a mutual knowledge of conventionalized norms" (Widdowson 2018: 110).

Investigating interpreting and translation in relation to ELF (ITELF) broaches a communicative context of multilingual speakers/writers and listeners/readers who communicate in English as their second or third language. This differs from English as a foreign language (EFL) use, which is confined to other NNSE contexts, such as foreign language learning in classroom and language teaching environments, in that "ELF lects are used […] in authentic second language use (SLU), by speakers in the real world from professionals to tourists and asylum seekers, and in the digital world by anyone anywhere" (Mauranen 2018: 10). In this world, "English is established as the language of a heterogeneous international community" (Pickett 2011: xii) and as "a contact language arising from complex and varied situations" (Mauranen 2018: 10). In contrast to local, monolingual, and non-mobile speech communities, ELF communities are globalized networks which are multilingual, transient, fluid and often constituted ad hoc (Baker 2018: 28).

Quite obviously, the English idiolects of speakers of the same first language will "display certain similarities in pronunciation or accent, in syntactic features, lexical choices and so on", arising from contacts of a particular L1 with English, thus forming contact varieties or "similects" (Mauranen 2018: 9). Naturally, these conform to norms to a lesser degree than 'SE lects'. While in a typical contact situation speakers of different languages would use one of these languages for communication ('first-order contact'), in ELF situations, a large number of languages come in contact with English, and hybrid similects come in contact with other hybrid similects ('second-order contact') (Mauranen 2012: 30). Global contact between speakers from different similects therefore makes ELF "a higher-order, or second-order language context. Therein lies its particular complexity" (Mauranen 2018: 10).

According to Seidlhofer, there is then a clear difference between ELF and conventional native-speaker interactions:

"It is a sociolinguistic commonplace that all natural languages are variable, continually in flux, complex and endlessly emergent […]. But English, as a global means of communication that it has become over recent decades, is a special case altogether. As a truly post-modern phenomenon, it is used by

speakers from all walks of life in all continents, with hundreds of different first languages and varying degrees of 'proficiency', and in a way that demonstrates very clearly that communicative effectiveness is frequently a function of variability, of the destabilization of established linguistic norms" (Seidlhofer 2018: 85).

How, then, does ELF communication work, how is communicative effectiveness achieved, when interlocutors cannot assume predetermined shared norms and only partial conformity with native-speaker conventions? It is on the basis of "shared communication strategies, a collaborative disposition, and the deployment of linguistic resources shaped by similar Englishing experiences" that they "engage successfully in joint cognition" (Hall 2018: 79). Empirical ELF studies highlight "accommodation, communicative and pragmatic strategies such as pre-empting misunderstanding, repetition, explicitness and code-switching" (Baker 2018: 33) and "the importance of adaptation, negotiation and co-construction" (Baker 2018: 30) as a cooperative means of compensating for the lack of common ground. Enhanced explicitness, known as explicitation (Blum-Kulka 1986) among the universals of translation, has been found to "take the form of frequent paraphrasing, rephrasing and repetition, or syntactic strategies like fronting or tails" (Mauranen 2018: 14) in ELF conversations. Similarly, ELF interaction manifests a preference for the progressive form, the most frequent vocabulary, structural simplification, morphological regularization as well as "a large number of non-standard expressions" (Mauranen 2018: 14).

In order to bridge potential language- and culture-related gaps, people from different primary cultures and communities, in a creative process, continually adapt and appropriate their multilingual resources to meet contextual demands and the requirements of the moment (Seidlhofer 2018: 98). In mobilizing multilingual resources, speakers are found to "'soft-assemble' (Thelen and Smith, 1994) their language resources in the moment to deal with the exigencies at hand" (Larsen-Freeman 2018: 53). In drawing on whatever (multilingual) resources they have at their disposal, users will come up with innovative patterns and non-conformist variants. Among these are what Mauranen calls "approximations" (2018: 18), phrasal or multi-word units which formally or semantically resemble — but do not match — conventional English expressions (e.g. *to put the end on* for *to put an end to*, Mauranen 2013: 241). ELF is viewed as "an open-source phenomenon" (Cogo and House 2018: 210), which is constantly adapted and re-fashioned and varies accordingly. It is this variety and variation that interpreters and translators are confronted with in source texts and speeches.

Interpreters, in particular, would concur with the ELF tenet that it is communicative effectiveness rather than linguistic correctness that matters (Seidlhofer 2018: 93), that 'SE' is an institutionalized construct rather than a reality and that native-speaker usage, too, frequently deviates from standard, at least in spoken usage. However, the particularities of ELF described above impart on it a degree of unpredictability, augmenting the difficulty factor far beyond native English usage.

3. What makes ELF (input) challenging for interpreters and translators?

From the ELF research literature review above and preliminary evidence emerging from the younger sub-discipline of ITELF, the following implications for translators and interpreters can be put forward.

3.1. Multilinguality

ELF contexts are characterized by a complex mixture of several co-present languages. Conference settings can be particularly complex second-order language contexts when speakers with different similects congregate. "Similects originate in cross-linguistic influence" and have "special features resulting from cross-linguistic transfer" (Mauranen 2012: 29, 30). Conference interpreters will therefore be faced with transfer from numerous more and less common languages. Potentially, they may be dealing with an "English [that] comes into contact with virtually the entire range of human languages" (Mauranen 2012: 17), turning a bilingual task into a multilingual one. Albeit in a more subtle way, this impact can also be observed in source texts for translation, as (multilingual) text producers bring to bear on their English their first and other languages. Some relief comes from the "shared languages benefit" (SLB) (Albl-Mikasa 2013: 105), according to which interpreters and translators draw upon any (working or non-working) languages they share with source text producers and which match the L1 that cross-linguistically influences the respective English usage. While this has been found to be a major resource in the recovery of meaning from unconventional English usage (Albl-Mikasa 2018: 375), the number of untraceable L1s is likely to be much higher than that of recoverable ones, due to the diverse origins of conference participants. What adds to the complexity of the mix is the fact that L1 transfer is inversely proportional to language proficiency. The weaker speakers' command of English, the more they depend on direct translation from their L1, according to bilingualism research (Pavlenko 2005: 438, 446).

In fact, ELF contexts being inherently multilingual (Mauranen 2013) and bilingual speakers' languages being constantly co-activated and mutually influencing each other (Jarvis and Pavlenko 2007), L1 transfer and other bilingual phenomena are the norm rather than exception in ELF communication. Anecdotal evidence of stylistic blunders resulting from the transcoding of idiomatic phrases and collocational patterns or the misguided use of false friends and cognates abound among interpreters, who report of housekeeping source phrases such as "don't take the interpreters to your room, lay them on the table" (from German "nehmen Sie Ihre Dolmetschempfangsgeräte nicht mit aufs Zimmer, legen Sie sie auf den Tisch" [do not take the interpreting devices to your room, leave them on the table], Albl-Mikasa 2015). Another example would be an Italian ELF speaker's use of 'voice' from Italian 'voce' meaning both 'voice' and 'item on a balance sheet' in a corporate finance context. An interpreter working from English into German

or French and unfamiliar with Italian would be hard-pressed to recover the intended meaning. A translator unfamiliar with Italian would, at the very least, need to invest extra time on the translation of the expression.

3.2. Norms

Language norms refer to habitual linguistic behaviour emerging from repeated usage and gradual acceptance. Apart from possibly being codified, they "describe what is common in a particular setting" and "are what is expected/accepted in a particular setting" (Hynninen and Solin 2018: 268—269). This means language norms can provide some common ground and guide prediction. In ELF contexts, however, the default assumption of shared community norms (Hall 2018: 75) no longer holds. As outlined above, compensation consists in interactive communicative strategies, common ground negotiation and pragmatic adaptation. This, however, requires an interactive set-up, while (conference) interpreting and translation are predominantly performed under monological non-interactive working conditions, where there is no room for meaning negotiation or the co-construction of common ground. When norms become inaccessible in ELF-based (monological) interpreting and translation settings, they cannot perform their function as a compensatory source of common ground or facilitator of prediction. Prediction, in turn, is fundamental to language processing. It depends on the bottom-up activation of knowledge structures allowing for the creation of top-down expectations on different levels of language processing (Otten and Van Berkum 2008). Such expectations guide coherence-building, i.e. the formation of a plausible mental representation of the (source) text world in the comprehension process. Language prediction is also facilitated by structural symmetry between source and target language (Hodzik and Williams 2017). If, on top of an asymmetrical language pair (e.g. English — German), the input cues are 'non-standard' or 'odd', fundamental prediction and anticipation processes may be undermined. As a result, interpreters and translators will have to normalize (see Hewson 2009: 119) and pre-edit norm-digressing input, adding further to cognitive load. The more norms blur in globalized communication, the more this will be felt by interpreters and translators and weigh on their capacity management.

3.3. Culture

In ELF contexts, there "may be no clearly distinguishable L1 culture that participants identify with or refer to" (Baker 2018: 28). Traditional mediation between source and target culture is therefore no longer applicable. Instead, interpreters and translators face up to English source speeches and texts which they cannot assimilate with a British, American, Australian or other L1 cultural background. This may deprive them of a major contextual determinant for sense-making. Questions arising during translation regarding domestication, foreignization or skopos may be unanswerable. This is not to say that texts produced in native-speaker settings come with a culture tag attached. According to contemporary research, cultures are generally con-

sidered "as complex and fluid sets of beliefs, ideologies and practices that are always transitory, partial and in a constant state of emergence" (Baker 2018: 30). However, globalization acts as an amplifier of social, cultural and linguistic diversity, bringing together people "with very different backgrounds, resources and communicative scripts", destabilizing "assumptions of common ground" and "of mutual understanding and the centrality of shared convention" (Blommaert and Rampton 2011: 6). Patchworked linguacultural backgrounds lead to a widening of culture-related gaps, "interculturally mixed communicative conventions" and "pragmatic hybridity", producing a mix that "poses a challenge" (Ehrenreich 2018: 47). This is accentuated in monological T&I settings, where culturally based frames of reference cannot be negotiated.

3.4. Source text/speech

English as a speaker's additional language will be weaklier cognitively entrenched than their first. Success in the ELF mode depends on the degree of control over L2 resources and their convergence with native speaker ones (Hall 2018: 74). "Indeed sometimes, the speakers who participate in ELF events are 'highly' non-proficient speakers of English or, more generally, insecure communicators, causing more or less visible communicative problems of various kinds" (Ehrenreich 2009: 145). What interpreters and translators will have to reckon with is that their source input — and with it their performance — is determined by "the variety and unpredictability of language parameters: interlocutors' accents, transfer features, and proficiency levels" (Mauranen 2012: 7). Ordinary conversational compensation mechanisms such as "fuzzy processing" and a "tolerance for fuzziness" (Mauranen 2018: 18) or a let-it-pass attitude towards "anomalous […] and […] at times acutely opaque usage" (Firth 1996: 247) are counterproductive for interpreters and translators, since in-depth comprehension as well as accuracy and completeness of rendition are non-negotiable.

Anomalous usage has been described in more detail for English as a lingua franca discourse by Kecskes und Kirner-Ludwig (2019) as "odd structures". A structure is defined as 'odd' if it "violates the structural dimension, i.e. saliently and conventionally expected sequences" or "puts forward contradictory information and breaks the topical or situational frame of a convention" (2019: 76). At the same time, the authors highlight that odd structures "only potentially put mutual understanding and successful communication between the interlocutors at risk" and are not regarded as mistakes on the speaker's part, but considered "the best option a speaker is able to retrieve at the moment of speech in their sincere attempt to get their message across as comprehensively as possible" while "working around any self-perceived grammatical, lexical or idiomatic pitfalls […]" (2019: 77). At the same time, this cautiously optimistic take is again set against the analysis of conversational interactive encounters rather than monological, non-interactive T&I settings. Factoring in this fundamental difference makes the more critical stance taken by many interpreters more plausible. Interpreters, in fact, liken ELF to BSE (Bad Simple English), Globish, Lego English and

even desesperanto (Albl-Mikasa 2018: 372). It must be borne in mind that poor quality source texts are among the strongest predictors of interpreting difficulties (Gile 2009: 200) and that the "problem triggers" (2009: 193) presented by Gile — namely, "*high density of the information content*", "excessively slow speech rate" (chunks of information having to be stored in the short-term memory longer), "*strong accents* and *incorrect grammar* and *lexical usage*" (increasing processing capacity requirements), "*unusual linguistic style* and *reasoning style*" as well as "low anticipability of the source speech" (2009: 193, see also 200, emphasis in the original) — are particularly typical of ELF speech. High information density or an emphasis on factual information, for instance, has been found in ELF speaker output as a result of insufficient resources to engage in meta-discourse or in the delivery of subtler nuances (Albl-Mikasa, Guggisberg and Talirz 2017).

This may call for a rethink of the traditional notions of speaker fidelity and loyalty as part of T&I quality. Adherence to the core principle of an accurate and complete rendition can hardly be an ultimate guideline under ELF conditions. Interpreting and translation will now involve at least elements of normalization and optimization of source texts, and perhaps even autonomous text production. It is almost impossible not to do injustice to the speaker when deciding whether to reproduce source weaknesses or smoothen out the source text into a coherent target text. This decision, in turn, is reliant upon the interpreter or translator grasping the intended meaning in the first place. Having to engage in compromised performance quality may deal a blow to professional ethics.

4. A shift in paradigm for translation and interpreting studies?

As outlined above, ELF changes the T&I task in a rather fundamental way. Interpreters and translators have to make a far broader range of choices regarding both the source and the target text. As mentioned at the outset of this article, in community interpreting, the (active) coordinating role of the interpreter in dialogic interaction (such as during a doctor-patient encounter) has been declared part of the interpreter's choice of specific courses of action under the DI paradigm presented above. Such 'agency' or 'spaces of freer ability to determine interactional moves' (Hlavac 2017: 198) is often seen as a distinguishing feature between community and conference interpreters, the latter held to be committed to the conduit ideal or even norm. While from a situated cognitive perspective, agency is a highly relative matter, depending on the interplay of situational and cognitive determinants in both community and conference interpreting (Albl-Mikasa 2020), it is fair to say that in conference interpreting settings translational choices are usually more narrowly channeled along conduit-related lines and active agency is exercised in a much more subtle fashion with a general preference for a more passive role. ELF conditions may change this picture. Interpreters now have no choice but to make choices. In fact, they are in a constant additional decision-taking loop: plausibility checks when source text expressions or passages are unclear; meta-reflections as to whether speakers can be trusted in their linguistic abilities and in selecting words to reflect their underlying

intentions; out-of-the-box trains of thought as to the meaning underlying L1 transcoding and as to what the speaker would have said had he been able to express himself in English more proficiently; concerns regarding canonical requirements such as speaker fidelity in the light of necessary optimization and compensation measures; etc. Interpreters' search for low-capacity automatized flow is further undermined by constant resource-intensive meta-reflective decision-making.

Moreover, in community interpreting, agency is taken to level out unclear utterances or false claims by migrants or poorly phrased questions and an incorrect understanding of the exchange by institutional providers (Inghilleri 2005: 81). Similar levelling out of unclear, poorly phrased or even incorrect source input may be called for under ELF conditions, albeit in monological contexts. In community interpreting, interpreters' agency may lead to intercultural adaptation, blurring the line between interpreting proper and (intercultural) mediation (Baraldi 2019: 333). Similarly, interpreting under ELF conditions may verge on approximation and some new form of 'interlingual' mediation. This questions the notions of accuracy and fidelity, impartiality and neutrality, shaking the very (ethical) foundations of conference interpreting.

The increased text production autonomy and dissociation from the fidelity norm lead on to transcreation. The emphasis here is on reconstruction rather than reproduction in order to meet the informational needs of participants. For Katan (2016), the logical step forward is for interpreters and translators to leave the traditional 'faithful' path behind and "step into the role of transcreator, which would allow them to take advantage of an already assigned professional recognition of their creative role". While the traditional way forward involves less risk, the transcreational turn promises to give interpreters and translators an edge over machines, not to mention munition to argue that not just anyone can do the job. Such broadening of translators' "professional opportunities and range, developing an extended self-concept as intercultural mediators, adaptive transcreators and language consultants" (Massey and Wieder 2019: 76) is meant to counteract the pervasive inroads being made by machine translation. In the face of the similarly ubiquitous spread of ELF, too, it may seem like a logical step forward. Interpreters and translators might even leverage their special expertise in dealing with the intricacies of ELF as a USP. Whether clients will be prepared to cover the cost of the extra cognitive effort and temporal resources required for compensation, normalization and optimization measures is another question to be answered.

Where does that leave us regarding the question of a paradigm shift? There is no doubt that globalization and information technologies have been causing upheaval in the T&I landscape, embedding translation in new practices and contexts. ELF, in particular, along with the transidiomatic practices, global Englishes and transcultural flows, mobile resources and translingual practices it entails (Seidlhofer 2018: 96), is bound to impact the task. However, pending further empirical research the question remains unanswered. Very little empirical research and robust evidence have been produced due to a dearth in studies into ELF in relation to interpreting and translation (an

overview of studies carried out thus far is given in Albl-Mikasa 2018 and Albl-Mikasa 2021). A notable exception is the current CLINT project (Albl-Mikasa et al. 2020, Ehrensberger-Dow et al. 2020), dedicated to a multi-method study of the extra cost involved in processing ELF and to the question of what interpreters and translators actually do in rendering ELF input: what strategies and coping tactics they use, what rephrasings, fleshing out of proposition and optimized renditions they opt for. The results (expected in 2022) will help to determine the creative and creational liberties necessary in dealing with ELF input, the extent to which the T&I task is actually different and the degree of necessary rethinking of interpreting and translation proper. For the time being, I can only conclude by highlighting that interpreters and translators used to provide common ground between source speakers and target audiences based on the assumption that common ground between source speaker and interpreter/translator was a given or, cognitively speaking, almost automatically established. Now interpreters and translators not only have to make a much more conscious effort to establish common ground (adding to cognitive load), but also have to work with the uncertainty that common ground with the text or speech producer may not have been achieved in their target text rendition. It is one thing to live or work with compromises, but quite another to be held accountable for the possible consequences that may result from source input which is beyond their control.

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АНГЛИЙСКИЙ КАК *LINGUA FRANCA*: СМЕНА ПАРАДИГМЫ В ПИСЬМЕННОМ И УСТНОМ ПЕРЕВОДЕ?

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Глобальное распространение английского языка привело к фундаментальным изменениям в письменном и устном переводе. Ранее перевод представлял собой двуязычное посредничество между носителями английского языка и реципиентами текста перевода. В настоящее время исходящее сообщение чаще создается неносителями английского языка. Этот факт способен перевернуть традиционное представление о процессе устного и письменного перевода. Цель данной статьи состоит в анализе отличий исходного текста, созданного неносителями английского языка в условиях его глобального распространения, от исходного текста, созданного носителями языка, с которым ранее имели дело письменные и устные переводчики. В статье оцениваются последствия и степень изменения ситуации межъязыкового посредничества между неносителями и реципиентами текста перевода по сравнению с традиционной ситуацией, когда перевод осуществлялся между носителями и реципиентами, говорящими на своих родных языках. Кульминацией работы является размышление о том, есть ли основания говорить о смене парадигмы в исследованиях письменного и устного перевода.

Ключевые слова: *английский язык как lingua franca, письменный перевод, устный перевод, смена парадигмы, неносители английского языка, действия*

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ПРЕДСТАВЛЕНО ДЛЯ ВОЗМОЖНОЙ ПУБЛИКАЦИИ В ОТКРЫТОМ ДОСТУПЕ В СООТВЕТСТВИИ С УСЛОВИЯМИ ЛИЦЕНЗИИ CREATIVE COMMONS ATTRIBUTION (CC BY) (HTTP://CREATIVECOMMONS.ORG/LICENSES/BY/4.0/)

TRANSLATION AND THE 'SOFT' BRIDGES OF COMMUNICATION

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Translation Studies scholars, on the whole, have struggled to reconcile abstract, metaphorical concepts of translation with the notion of translation as understood in the commercial world of communication, that of a product to be obtained through quick, efficient and cost-cutting processes of transfer across verbal languages. Yet both ideas of translation imply exchanges of perspective between domains, cultures and senses and are inspiring conceptually, artistically and socially. Bonds between metaphorical and practical ideas of translation are essential today and are conceptualised in this article. Translation is crucial as both instrument of equivalence between things and ideas, and as agent revealing differences between them. I will consider how the translation of texts, which do not primarily rely on the verbal depends on those two elements and can favour a reconciliation between the two ideas of translation. I will use the concept of translation as 'cluster', examining epistemological and social resonances in musical texts, where expression does not depend primarily on semantic meaning. I will show how translation of the non-verbal can be an instrument of empowerment for 21st century humans and work as agent of social and intellectual cohesion in a fragmented world which has to be interpreted in multiple ways to be meaningful.

Keywords: *translation of the non-verbal, translating music, intersemiotic translation, music translation, biosemiotics, Björk*

1. Song translation as a multi-modal instrument of dissidence

Folk songs are usually handed down from generation to generation, forging their shape in the process. They travel in time and space, taking new contours, new meanings, sometimes under the guise of different languages. The Irish folk song "My Lagan Love" is a perfect illustration of how identity can be borne of translation. Although different sources give various accounts of its origins, it was brought out of oblivion by the composer Herbert Hugues (1882—1937), whose name is remembered in translation as was common in his day in the early 20th century, since his original Irish name was Padraig Mac Aodh O'Neill. "My Lagan Love" was included in a volume of Irish folksongs which he published in 1904.

The Irish Gaelic language had been forbidden in primary education in Ireland until 1871 and strongly discouraged since the Gaelic chieftains were defeated by the English in the early 17th century until 1890. It is therefore not surprising that music such as this old song with unmistakably Gaelic melismas came to the ears of Hughes in instrumental form, through an encounter with a fiddler. The song had been stripped of its lyrics, and its melody could

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evoke Irishness without any risk of censorship backlash. The mediation from a song to an instrumental piece was frequently used as a safe instrument of resistance in 19th century Ireland. As the dawn of the 20th century sees linguistic control relax and as a new wave of Gaelic revival emerges, Herbert Hughes and his collaborators undertake what we would call today a new multimodal translation of the song, aimed at promoting both Irish music and Irish identity. Semantically, the lyrics were created in English by the poet Joseph Campbell who also used an English name instead of his original Irish one, Seosamh Mac Cathmhaoll. The song intended to reach out to an audience both in and beyond Ireland. As audiovisual translators know, a translation does not always start from an established source text. Words can be adapted or even created in a target language, with their content shaped and inspired by other elements of an existing piece or programme, visuals and sounds generally.

Symbolically, as well as socio-culturally, the exclusive use of English in this song is meaningful. The new words aim to construct a fresh image of Ireland through translation:

> Where Lagan stream sings lullaby
> There blows a lily fair
> The twilight gleam is in her eye
> The night is on her hair
> And like a love-sick lennan-shee
> She has my heart in thrall
> Nor life I owe nor liberty For love is lord of all.

The lyrics, in fact, express cautious associations with Ireland: devoid of any historical or political allusions, they refer to geographical landmarks (the river Lagan which flows through Belfast) and to exotic figures from the Celtic folklore (for instance, with a lennan-shee, a malicious fairy who seduces men). Those were sure not to offend the English and Anglo-Irish at the time. At the beginning of the 20th century, industrialised lifestyles were also beginning to erase rural cultures, and folk-song collection was at its peak in many countries from Russia to Spain. The revival of this song fits these local and global cultural movements.

Non-semantic aspects of the language are driven by a similar trend of exoticisation which not only suggests that the cultural repression is not fully over, but that Irish people themselves are publicly reconnecting with their own culture in timid ways: the score illustrations evoke stereotyped Irish rural life scenes and the typography boasts Celtic fonts, for instance. A determination to claim an authentic Irish identity also comes over in the text accompanying the volume:

> These old airs were collected in Ulster, the words written and the illustrations drawn in the same province by three Ulster youths. The printing has been done in Belfast and the blocks made there. The paper was made at Ballyclare, in the county of Antrim. The work is, therefore, essentially a home product (Hugues 1904).

This is what Herbert Hugues writes in the text that accompanies the score. His claim for local belonging through home-grown materials sounds a little desperate but it is clear that the Irish authenticity of the song is primarily constructed through the various strands of translation I have just outlined and which do not relate to interlinguistic transfer as is commonly expected in translation.

2. Exploring intersemiotic translation

This musical example is relevant to aspects of the research that has recently occupied me and that investigates the role of translation today in a wider sense than the interlinguistic transfer of meaning through the verbal. For convenience here, I will refer to it as intersemiotic translation, intersemiotic not so much in the sense that the message goes across two modes of expression such as music or painting, but rather, in the sense explored by Steiner (1975) of transfer beyond the verbal, what Umberto Eco calls "the universe of interpretations" (Eco 2003, 171). In a world of communication that rests on a broad spectrum of languages and media modes, verbal expression is only one of several forms of communication. Verbal language, until the Early Modern period, was largely adequate to express the realities perceived by human beings. But as humans explored different forms of knowledge and experience, words no longer satisfied them exclusively to articulate meaning in relation to their actions, thoughts and emotions. Through the expansion of technology, multimodal media led to a wide range of forms of communication in the 20th and 21st century which no longer relied systematically and exclusively on verbal exchange. Translators, always on the receiving end of information exchange developments, were among the first to discover the importance and the consequences of meaning formed through a large array of languages and media modes, which interact with each other (Mozdzenski 2013) but can also run independently. This decline of the verbal in human communication was identified by several thinkers in the 20th century. Steiner (1967), for instance, considered it in *Language and Silence* more than half a century ago. Yet few, not even translation scholars, anticipated the consequences this would have on translation, let alone how translation would drive multimodal exchanges in the 21st century.

Today, effective communicators choose through which modes they wish to express themselves. For instance, the day after Beyoncé announced her pregnancy in February 2017, she published a series of photos intertextually linked to classical painting, posing with her daughter Blue in a position reminiscent of Guido Reni 1639's "Reclining Venus with Cupid," or as Botticelli's Venus. Such visual allusions break the news much more eloquently than words. As John Berger (2010, 107, my translation) noted, "the main function of a metaphor is to re-establish links between disconnected things [… Unlike poetry, and other creative forms of expression based on the verbal, t] he art of painting is not an art of separation. It is the art that brings together things are not naturally together in life." This could also be said of music. For instance, human beings do not engage naturally with a crowd, but will do so instantly at a live concert. In a multilingual landscape that includes both

verbal and non-verbal languages, translation is a tool that can allow communicators to negotiate their messages across different modes of communications, different cultures and different disciplines. While translation is still largely perceived as interlinguistic and while some feel that linguistic translation today is in danger of being neglected, especially in the context of training (Bassnett and Pym 2017, 150), it is vital to remember that today, linguistic translation, non-verbal translation and metaphorical translation are not mutually exclusive. Stating the importance of non-verbal communication, highlighting its consequences and opportunities for translation need not undervalue the importance of verbal language. Recently, Blumczynski (2017), Zwischenberger (2017) and Alfer (2015, 2017), among others, have investigated how translation plays a key collaborative role both in the construction of knowledge across disciplines and in hermeneutic, ethical, linguistic and international practices.

There are many ways of investigating and finding solutions to reconciling the many sides of translation into collaboration, but here, I would like to borrow the notion of translation as a "cluster concept" defined by Chesterman (2006) and Tomyczko (2007) as a metaphor. It allows me to emphasise not only different aspects of semiotic translation across contents, from verbal to visual or other languages, but also the importance of being open to models that are not verbal communication models in order to conceptualise translation. The notion of cluster is also a musical one: it refers to a group of adjacent notes played simultaneously, which produces a dissonant though joined sound, in other words, connecting what is not expected to be connected. It is a suitable metaphor for the idea that understanding implies relating different, at times even seemingly incompatible perspectives or strands of knowledge. This concept of cluster as translation has epistemological and social resonances and I'll explore how they best reveal its importance, taking examples from both musical texts and texts involving non-human or ecological concerns, two areas where expression does not depend primarily on semantic meaning.

I shall start with the epistemological dimension. Translation shapes knowledge both transnationally, transferring content across languages, and globally, with regards to the production and dissemination of content. This is its most visible role. Yet it also contributes to new developments and to interdisciplinary progress. I will give an example for each of these, stressing how, when taking place beyond the verbal, translation plays a crucial role in the expansion of knowledge and information exchange.

3. Epistemological perspectives

3.1. Communication within and beyond the human realm

Translation is at the forefront of new developments. Matters of priorities in any society always require translation, for anything important needs to be disseminated beyond its initial context. For centuries, the notion of translation was confined to that of transfer between verbal languages, just as the notion of text was limited to words. But as mentioned earlier, texts now

come in a range of languages, not exclusively verbal. Besides, in the 21st century, texts are not only intended to be deciphered, but to be interacted with. This entails both a broadening of perspective and new forms of communication across languages beyond the verbal. In the last century, intersemiotic transfers have happened across different media and formats (from books to films, print to the moving image, cinema to television for instance), and they are now taking place across different types of languages. This explains why the form of translation that is at the forefront of 21st century Translation Studies is accessibility for instance. Accessibility involves translating mass media texts for individuals and communities that cannot have full access to them, such as mediating programmes for the Deaf and Blind, and has permeated all mainstream media since the dawn of the 21st century. Information is shared in many different ways which require a wide notion of interculturality, encompassing media, countries and species. As Latour (Haraway 2008, back cover), referring to the image of Noah's ark, reminds us, the ways in which information travels and is exchanged evolves constantly:

> You are embarked on the Ark. The ship has the cloud and wi-fi. Lots of dogs but also baboons, sheep and humans of uncertain status. No one knows exactly how to cohabit with everyone else. They are trying to find a way to co-train one another. It's our future and Noah is a woman. If we are to survive the Flood, we need her and her beasts.

Communication across interpersonal and international boundaries is not only key to living; learning beyond the human language is also driving lifestyles: understanding machine patterns and evolutionary biology have driven computer science and engineering for instance. Professionals working in translation are at the forefront of this expansion, and Translation Studies scholars respond to it, interacting in several areas, including that of biosemiotics. The ways in which non-human beings communicate with each other, how humans can learn from this, and more visibly, aspects of animal-human communication are part of new fields of enquiry. Biosemioticians (Sebeok, Hoffmeyer, Cobley, Wheeler…) and Translation Studies scholars interested in the natural world are only beginning to join up forces in this area, but exchanges between the disciplines are slowly happening (Cronin 2016). To borrow words from recently published titles, humans aren't only interested in how 'forests think' (Kohn 2013) and how to go 'beyond nature and culture' (Descola 2005), but how communication takes place between species. Even commercially, some ventures are attempted. Most have very shaky results, such as the "No More Woof" programme (Nordic Society for Invention and Discovery) aiming to translate animals thought into human language launched in December 2013, and abandoned a few months later to the disappointment of many crowdfunders. These interspecies attempts to transfer thoughts may currently be more entertaining than realistic. Yet cross-species communication, in some areas, is well developed, and these developments are to a large degree taking place within the joint framework of Translation and Disability Studies. In the UK for instance, 7000 people rely on assistance from a trained dog who can help them lead an indepen-

dent life by translating a number of signs or accomplishing specific tasks for them (Assistance Dogs UK): hearing dogs and guide dogs perform spectacularly well in this area.

Emergent research in interspecies communication also unveils attempts at deciphering other species' thought processes and behaviours, and at understanding how different members of their own species conceive and perceive animals. In this, transcultural awareness is a key to social and scientific projects. In 2017 for instance, poverty in Venezuela was at the level of a humanitarian crisis and half of the country's children were malnourished (Caritas 2017). Aiming to both improve his popularity and the critical situation in the country, the President, Nicolás Maduro, started a pilot project: giving baby rabbits to 15 communities in the hope that the animals would breed and provide food high in protein, eventually throughout the country. Yet when his minister of urban agriculture, Freddy Bernal, enquired of the plan, he discovered that most people had adopted the rabbits as pets, put bows on them and that some children took them to sleep in bed with them. The cultural association of Venezuelans with rabbits was one of affection, and most could not see them as food. The project had been misinterpreted and was doomed to failure.

Going further in this exploration entails listening to and understanding other beings and perspectives. Intercultural matters regarding both human relationships to the non-human and interspecies communication are still neglected by Translation Studies. Animals, in particular, are still perceived primarily as metaphors, as mirrors of human life rather than agents of communication. Their biosemiotic condition is mostly ignored. Animals in translation such as the horse in boxwood below are stimulating to human thought, 'good to think with' as Claude Lévi-Strauss famously wrote, and pleasing as aesthetic objects, but we tend to mediate them into objects to reflect who we are more than listen to their voices and attempt to translate what they mean. So, while ecological models have inspired some translation scholars methodologically (Jianzhong 2009; Cronin 2016), the question of the translation of non-human languages is still only nascent.

Figure 1: Horse in boxwood (Hunter Valley Gardens, Australia)

3.2. The interdisciplinary dimension of translation today

This brings me to my second point regarding the epistemological nature of translation which concerns interdisciplinarity, in relation to the field of Translation Studies rather than just within the process of translation. 21st century lives depend on systems that mix politics, technology, science and nature. These rely on efficient understanding across disciplines. Working across a range of disciplines implies depending on and responding to different models, methodologies and technologies. The present era favours a rhetoric of interdisciplinarity, but this often amounts to a superficial blurring of the boundaries between science, the humanities and social sciences. Such blurring does not set a solid foundation for effective passages of understanding created between the disciplines. Anyone who has worked in a truly interdisciplinary project knows the difficulties of mutual sharing and understanding concepts and practices. Translation Studies scholars recognise these issues and have more experience than most in negotiating disciplinary gaps and borrowing methodologies from different subjects effectively, from psychology to phonology, from mathematics to metaphor studies (Ehrensberger-Dow, Göpferich and O'Brien 2013; Gambier and Van Doorslaer 2016). Cognate disciplines such as Terminology or Linguistics have exchanged theories, knowledge and skills with Translation Studies but more distant disciplines have been more reluctant to borrow from them. In a data-centric world, making sense of interconnections between different strands of information is not only essential for science but for the health of all living beings. Moreover, most agents involved in the translation sector interact with technology at a level where they have become experts of fast-changing interplay between material and human languages and systems. This adaptability and interdisciplinary essence mean that translation has borrowed from other areas more than has happened the other way round.

Yet this is changing. The recent AHRC theme (British Arts and Humanities Research council) on Translating Cultures gives evidence of how many disciplines use translation to reconceptualise their domains with regards to hybridisation and mutation for instance, two key elements of translation that seem to become increasingly relevant to all 21st century lives. The music of Björk is a good illustration of this new trend. Her album *Biophilia* (2011) aims to use music as an agent for understanding of science. At one level, the project is educational with an application provided for each of the ten songs as part of a recording package, encouraging an interactive discovery of key natural elements in musical translation in an accessible way that will prompt understanding of music theory and opportunities for composition. For this, Björk uses a major principle of translation, that of equivalence, as a strategy to deepen understanding and foster curiosity. Each song relates to an element of nature and to a specific aspect of music through the principle of equivalence, as the table shown evidences:

Table 1. Equivalence between song titles, natural and musical elements

SONG TITLE	NATURAL ELEMENT	MUSICAL ELEMENT
Thunderbolt	lightning	arpeggios
Moon	moon phases	musical sequencers
Crystalline	crystal structure	structure and spatial music environment
Hollow	DNA	rhythm and speed
Dark matter	dark matter	scales
Mutual core	tectonic plates	chords
Solstice	earth's tilt and gravity	counterpoint
Sacrifice	interaction of the sexes	musical notation
Cosmogony	music of the spheres	equilibrium
Virus	viruses	generative music

Yet Biophilia is not only educational. It is primarily an artistic venture connecting music and nature, and for this venture, Björk uses a second essential principle of translation: transformation, which allows meaning to be transferred across different sensory, spatial, historical, social and intellectual languages and contexts. For instance, she works with cymatics, which mediates patterns of sound waves into visuals, in order to deepen the meaning of music, allow it to be understood more broadly. In her own words, she wants to "build bridges between things that have not been connected before" (Ultimate Björk, 20′ in).

In the song "Dark matter" for instance, the timelessness of space is rendered by a floating rhythm with no pulse, and an atonal flow based on variable scales vaguely attach to one note sung by female voices on wordless vocal lines. An unusual take in popular music, normally based on strong beats, repetitive lyrics and focused on a stable tonality. This take allows Björk to dissolve musical expectations. This open call to creativity blends new and old forms of musical notations and uses interdisciplinarity to celebrate how sound mediates the natural world. This is an exciting time to explore the non-human language in Translation Studies. 21st century human cultures can no longer be conceptualised without taking non-human forms of communication into account. My own experience as principal investigator of the Translating Music network has been rich in encounters not only from different disciplines but from a range of professional sectors: academia, the music and theatrical industries, the media industry and the language service industry. Most professionals from these different spheres were enthusiastic about integrating translation and accessibility further into their systems. Similarly, biosemioticians are open to the fact that human cultures influence the ways in which non- human communication is understood (Cobley 2016; Wheeler 2016) and understand the role that translation can play in developing strands of communication across species. Research is being published (Marais and Kull 2016; Marais 2018; Desblache 2020) and new projects are being formed, tying the work of translation researchers such as Timo Maran, Elin Sütiste or KristiinaTaivalkoski-Shilov with that of established semioticians.

4. Social perspectives

Translation plays an important role in the broadening of communication when transferring minor languages into dominant ones, in other words, allowing small voices to be heard and understood by mainstream society. This leads me to the next and final part of my article concerning the social role played by intersemiotic translation. I will highlight the cohesive and integrative part that non-verbal translation plays in giving prominence and strength to minor voices. In the commercial world of translation as it is commonly understood, the trend is for transfers to take place from a dominant language into a range of minor ones. For instance, most forms of media from print to broadcast, and corporation sites to videogames propose translations from a major language, primarily American English into a range of minor ones. While it is true that the Internet is more multilingual than when it started — 80 % of sites in English in 1996 vs 60.4 % in 2020 (Zuckermann 2013; w3techs 2021), relatively few sites include translation into English, both in old and new media. This trend favouring major cultures is not only prominent interlinguistically. 2017 statistics on publishing show for instance that only a third of books translated into English last year were by female writers (Cain 2017), reflecting the gender bias in all writing and particularly in fiction writing. Until the second decade of the 21st century, unlike its European neighbours, the UK did not keep statistics on its translated literature, which evidences a lack of interest for voices outside the canon. Translation, or the lack of it, mirrors where power lies, as translation scholars have frequently emphasised (Lefevere 1992; Tymoczko and Gentzler 2002; Tomyczko 2007).

Many social theorists from Appadurai (1996; 2013) to Kraidy (2005) have discussed the consequences that the one directional cultural flow from major to minor has regarding exclusion, isolation and inequity. Translation Studies scholars have also emphasised the multifarious ways in which translation is the main instrument of this flow (Cronin 2003; Bielsa 2016). More than ten years ago, Appadurai was hopeful that electronic media could change the field of traditional mass media and give visibility to works of imagination that would force dominant trends of expression into new evolving forms of subjectivities. This has not fully happened. Mainstream entertainment is certainly challenged by online creative content, often generated by individuals. And the viewership is global. YouTube for instance, has 80 % of views from outside the US (YouTube) and a large number of non-English speaking Youtubers who produce content in different languages. Yet videos offering a translation from another language into English are rare. Although media products and services are made available to minority audiences, the flow of translation is primarily one way: marginalised people and linguistic minorities may have access to mainstream content but are mostly denied a voice in mass media.

Even in the area of media accessibility, which is a remarkable and unique story of philanthropy in the corporate world, translation takes place from the mainstream language into the minor ones. Programmes are thus

subtitled for the hard of hearing and audio-described for the blind. Some are even signed for the deaf. While this type of transfer is important and contributes essentially to social inclusion, it is also valuable to make small voices heard. The ways minorities create and express themselves are also worth translating. And sometimes, translations aimed at minor communities can be useful for all. One example is the radio commentary used for the Proms. The Proms (or Henry Wood Promenade Concerts) were founded in 1895, but it is only in 2017 that the decision was made to use the audio-description commentary originally made for the blind for all listeners. Audio-describers are the most skilled and experienced mediators of visual information. What better than an audio-description to give the last night of the Proms' performance all its colours, especially when Peruvian tenor Juan Diego Flórez sings "Rule Britannia" dressed as the 13th century last Inca King Manco Capac? Yet it took 132 years for this to happen.

5. Music and the translation of minor into major

Intersemiotic translation such as I have described favours the listening of other voices and introduces marginal ideas to central or established systems. To illustrate this, I would like to go back to music. While the running of the music industry is still largely male, white, middle-aged and 'able' (Wang 2020), and while even in popular music, most bands are still all-male (Vagianos 2016), the minor into major translation pathway is more prevalent in music than in any other media. Globally disseminated music in the last hundred years has consistently borrowed music from Africa and other non-Western countries and has adapted their rhythms and styles to Western tastes. Because music can use semantic languages but does not depend on them, minor into major adaptation practices in all musical genres and styles have always been common. Music is a perfect instrument of confluence, adaptation, defiance and subversion, whether or not it uses words. The case of jazz, born of oppression and rebellion, but which became mainstream in all cultures and integrated to most musical genres within a hundred years of existence, is one the most blatant examples of this capacity to translate from minor to major. Music thrives not only on appropriating the foreign, in the most positive and creative sense of the phrase, and on subverting dominant references, but on giving local idioms global resonance. Whereas artists who rely exclusively on words may find that the best strategy for resisting dominance may be not to translate at all, to self- translate (such as in the case of declining languages such as Occitan; *see* Lagarde 2017) or to translate to make a point, as Cassin (2014) did with her *Dictionary of Untranslatables,* for instance, musicians' strategies always depend on and gain in translation. As spiritual leader Jiddu Krisnamurti (1948/1961/1992, 2 and 112) wrote more than 70 years ago, relying on words can be limiting:

> Because we do not love the earth and the things of the earth, but merely utilize them […], we have lost the touch of life. […] Words are not reality; they are only means of communication, but they are not the innocence and the immeasurable.

At a time when Translation Studies are undoubtedly shifting into Social Sciences and when Social Sciences are primarily concerned about measurable results, it is useful to be reminded of different forms of translations. Mediations from minor to major can of course lead to impoverishment. Theoreticians such as Adorno (1941/2002; 1967/2001) already highlighted this in the mid-20th century as mass popular music was emerging. Under global market pressures, music can end up in essentialised, diluted or exoticised pieces, as many examples from soulless world or pop music testify. It can also lead to cultural appropriation and othering that leave minority voices disempowered. Yet overall, music has an unrivalled capacity for destabilising the translation flow from dominant to dominated cultures successfully. It gives the latter visibility, and of course soundability. There is an appetite for marginal voices in music which disrupts cultural global imbalance. Music cannot exist without embracing the languages and stories of others. From lyrics translation to style borrowing, it relies on different forms of translation and adaptation to make peripheral voices meaningful to a large array of communities. It can also offer models for translation beyond those that are established through habits and commercial practices or interests.

Conclusion

The capacity to create deep connections between concepts, things, beings and different ways of understanding them is one of the most useful forms of intelligence and a vital one in a fast- moving fragmented world. Earlier on, I borrowed the concept of cluster to illustrate how translation thrives on connecting fragments. But I would like to finish with the traditional metaphor of translation as a bridge, an image that has been shunned by translation scholars recently as too static, not comprehensive enough (Cronin 2013, 75). It is true that a bridge is just a material construction. Yet it remains a powerful image of potential for connection, and exchange. It is no coincidence that since UNESCO started a world heritage preservation project in 1974, so many bridges have been included as sites to be protected (Unesco list of bridges). But as Serres (2013, 33) notes, the hard bridges of construction are nothing without the "soft bridges" of translation. The Mehmed Pasha Sokolovic Bridge in Višegrád was completed in 1577 by Ottoman architect Mimar Koca Sinan. This bridge, close to the border between Bosnia Hercegovina and Serbia, has a long history of destruction, conflicts and bloodbaths, the most recent being the 1992 massacres of thousands of Bosniaks by Serbs. Yet it also has a cultural history of connection and reconciliation between different communities through different forms of mediation. Nobel Prize author Ivo Andrić (1945) has used this bridge as one of the main protagonists of his historical novel *The Bridge on the Drina*. The international success of his novel at the end of the Second World War gave prominence to the meaning of this bridge. This soft bridge of exchange was of course destroyed by the violence that took place, as was the physical bridge. But the decision made to rebuild it and give it the status of UNESCO World Heritage in 2007 was made in order to give communities the courage to rebuild the most challenging bridge of all, the soft bridge that weaves understanding across memories, languages and cultures.

In an era driven by quantifiable material achievement and tangible results, it is often easy to forget the value of these 'soft bridges' provided through verbal and non-verbal forms of translation that go against a current of unilateral dominance. Every country, culture, town and village has bridges waiting to be worked on. They need to be encouraged and supported at all levels of society. Translation and those who work in it have become extraordinarily efficient at making mainstream culture accessible across verbal languages and beyond. What remains to be done is for inclusion to take place the other way round. Then, all languages will be heard and valued much more effectively with translation functioning collaboratively.

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ПЕРЕВОД И «МЯГКИЕ» МОСТЫ КОММУНИКАЦИИ

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Переводоведам с трудом удается совместить абстрактную, метафорическую трактовку перевода с пониманием его как сферы коммерческой коммуникации, то есть продукта, который можно создать с помощью быстрых и эффективных процессов межъязыковой вербальной коммуникации. Однако оба взгляда на перевод подразуме-

вают обмен между областями знаний, культурами и чувствами. Они вдохновляют концептуально, художественно и социально. Сегодня, как никогда прежде, важно осознавать связь между метафорической и практически ориентированной трактовкой перевода. В данной статье предпринимается попытка создания именно такой комплиментарной трактовки перевода. Перевод необходим и как инструмент установления соотношений между объектами и понятиями, и как способ выявления различий между ними. Рассматривается вопрос о том, как перевод текстов, не опирающихся на вербальные средства выражения, может способствовать примирению двух, казалось бы, противоположных трактовок перевода. В статье используется концепция перевода как кластера, исследуются эпистемологические и социальные резонансы в музыкальных текстах, в которых средства выражения не зависят от лексического значения. Невербальный перевод может стать инструментом расширения возможностей человека в XXI веке и послужить источником социальной и интеллектуальной сплоченности во фрагментированном мире, который должен быть интерпретирован множеством способов, чтобы быть по-настоящему понятым.

***Ключевые слова**: перевод невербального, перевод музыки, интерсемиотический перевод, музыкальный перевод, биосемиотика, Бьорк*

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ПРЕДСТАВЛЕНО ДЛЯ ВОЗМОЖНОЙ ПУБЛИКАЦИИ В ОТКРЫТОМ ДОСТУПЕ В СООТВЕТСТВИИ С УСЛОВИЯМИ ЛИЦЕНЗИИ CREATIVE COMMONS ATTRIBUTION (CC BY) (HTTP://CREATIVECOMMONS.ORG/LICENSES/BY/4.0/)

CONTINUITY OF TEXTS. METAFICTION IN A CORTAZAR SHORT STORY AND ITS SWEDISH TRANSLATION[1]

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This article analyzes the Swedish translation of the short story Continuidad de los parques, written by the Argentine author Julio Cortázar and translated into Swedish by the translator Jan Sjögren. This short story is an excellent piece of metafiction as it plays with the relationship between a fictional reader and the real reader. By creating an aesthetic illusion, Cortázar leaves the reader in a tense state with a number of unanswered questions during the reading of the text. The analysis shows that this state of tension is weakened and works differently in the Swedish version of the story. By changing the title and other minor, but substantial, parts of the text, the translator transfers his interpretation of the text onto the Swedish translation. The narrative structure is altered and, as a result, the reader of the Swedish version does not have access to the same multiple interpretations afforded by Cortázar's Spanish text.

Keywords: *decision-making process, literary translation, metafiction, reading, title, translation unit*

1. Introduction

The titles of literary works are frequently subject to changes upon translation. These changes may be due to several reasons, from marketing concerns to the connotations that a title may have in a certain culture. The change may also be motivated by personal and/or aesthetic preferences. Some examples of changes in the translation of titles of Latin American novels to Swedish are: the novel *Los pasos perdidos* [the lost steps] by Alejo Carpentier, translated to Swedish as *Den förlorade porten* [the lost door] (1959/1963), or the novel by the same author *El siglo de las luces* [the Enlightenment], translated as *Detta upplysta tidevarv* [this enlightened era] (1963/1965). Another is the short story that is the object of the present analysis, *Continuidad de los parques* [c*ontinuity of the parks*], by Julio Cortázar (1960/1974), entitled *Drama i park* [drama in park] in Swedish (1960/1969). These three texts were all translated by the Swedish translator Jan Sjögren during the 1960s. In the first title by Carpentier, *los pasos* [the steps] is replaced by porten [the door], in this way losing an important reference to *Les*

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pas perdus by André Breton (1924). In the second, the temporal reference to the Enlightenment in the original title is transformed, as the demonstrative determiner "this" in the Swedish title appears to situate the temporal axis in our time. In the title of Cortázar's short story, *continuidad* [continuity] has been replaced by drama and, moreover, the plural definite *los parques* [the parks] has been changed to the singular indefinite park.

As pointed out by Genette (1987: 7), titles not only present but also condition the reading of a text as a whole. In this article, we will carry out a comparative reading of the original version and the Swedish translation of *Continuidad de los parques*, starting with the changes in the title. We will analyze the differences between the translation and the original in order to show how the translation of certain words influences the reading, and, thus, the possible interpretations of the text. In this way, we will discuss both the causes and effects of the changes made.

A translation is the result of decisions made during the translation process (Levy 1967; Toury 1995/2012). These decisions are conditioned by multiple factors, which include what is linguistically possible and impossible to formulate in the target language (Jakobson 1959/1989). Other aspects that can influence how a translated text is formulated are the aesthetic preferences and the frames of reference of the translator, and what the translator considers will be better received by the reading public that they imagine, that is, the translator seeks to follow "expectancy norms" (see Chesterman 1997: chapter 3.5.2).

Since translation involves decisions conditioned by many different factors such as the source text, language, and culture as well as the creativity of the translator (Malmkjær 2005: x), there will always be differences between a translation and its source text, and also between different translations of the same text. Translations are interesting because they are not copies (Hermans 1999: 95), and it is for this reason that we will look into the results of the decisions made in the translation of some words, with the goal of analyzing how they influence the possible interpretations of the text as a whole.

Decisions about a translation are generally made by a series of professionals, such as the editor, the translator, and the proofreader. As Toury (1995: 183) has pointed out, in a textual analysis, it is not possible to distinguish which of the agents involved is responsible for the decisions made. When we refer to the translator in the present article, we refer thus to the group of people who may have been involved in the decisions made.

We will show how the translation of some words has consequences for the reading of other parts of the text, and, as a result, also for the possible interpretations. To do this, we will use a distinction made by Nord between horizontal and vertical translation units. Nord indicates that a translation unit is usually understood as "[t]he unit of verbal and/or non-verbal signs that cannot be broken down into smaller elements in the translation process" (Nord, 2018: 138). She points out that scholars do not agree on the size of these units nor the linguistic level at which they are located (Nord 2018: 63—4), and specifies that "translation units range from morpheme, word, phrase, sentence, and paragraph to text" (Nord 2018: 138). Nord discusses in detail a series of definitions of translation unit and points out, that what all of these have in common is that they are situated in the horizontal plane of the text (Nord 2018: 64). Nord makes a counterproposal: that instead of defining the

translation unit as a linear element (of greater or lesser scope), it should be defined as functional elements that can appear vertically in different places in the same text (Nord 2018: 64).

We wish to take up Nord's idea and test the hypothesis that there is a central theme in the short story *Continuidad de los parques* that operates vertically in the text, constructed by isolated elements throughout the whole text, from the title to the final words. The most often addressed theme in the numerous analyses of this short story is that of metafiction (e. g., Genette 1972; Lewis 1978; Di Gerónimo 2006; Palmer 2009). The protagonist of the short story is so profoundly absorbed in the reading of a book that he begins to form part of it.

The Swedish translation of *Continuidad de los parques* was first published in 1969 in the volume *Slut på leken* [End of the game], the first by Cortázar to be published in Swedish. The short story was republished by the Swedish publishing house Modernista in 2007. In the 2007 version, some changes were made compared to the 1969 version, for example, the loan words *finca* and *mayordomo* were replaced by Swedish words such as *lantgård* and *förvaltare*, but in general, represents the same translation. We base the present analysis on the version published in 1969, but all the observations that we make also apply to the touched-up version of this translation.

2. Synopsis of the short story

In *Continuidad de los parques* there are two stories that we will call A and B. In story A, a man is reading a novel, seated in a green velvet chair in a room that looks out over a park of oak trees. In story B, readers follow the events of this novel: two lovers meet in a cabin in the mountains to review the final details of an assassination plot. Upon separating, she heads north, and he heads south with a dagger in hand. Following the instructions of the woman, the lover arrives at the house, enters the room where he sees the man sitting in a green velvet chair reading a novel.

At first glance, story A appears to function as a frame and story B as the story which is being framed. However, when in the last paragraph (that is narrated from the perspective of story B), the lover enters the room and sees the back of the protagonist from story A, who is at that very time reading precisely that part of the story, the structure of a framing story and the framed story is broken. The ending is at the same time a symbiotic encounter between the two stories (A and B) and a return from story B to story A, a playful element that is typically Cortazarian.

3. The interpenetration of reality and unreality

This playful aspect is a central theme in Cortázar's work, and many of his short stories feature an interplay between reality and unreality. For Eyzaguirre (1986: 182—183), Cortázar's short stories can be placed in three groups according to the type of relationship that exists between reality and unreality. In the first group, unreality invades reality and disrupts the daily routine. Eyzaguirre mentions *La casa tomada* and *Carta a una señorita en París* as examples of this group. In the second group, there is an inversion of the reality-unreality dimensions that creates doubt about what is real. The short

stories *Axolotl* and *La noche boca arriba* are examples of this group. In the third group, we find *Continuidad de los parques*, about which Eyzaguirre points out:

> In the third category are inscribed the short stories that show the *interpenetration* of the real and the unreal and a *transfer* of individual identities. They are stories that illustrate the fusion of the real and the strange in another reality. In the imaginary space of the text, this fusion and the corresponding transfer of identity is made possible by the well-defined creation of the figure of the double (Eyzaguirre 1986: 182, our translation).

It is exactly this figure of the double that creates the metafiction of *Continuidad de los parques*. According to Eyzaguirre: "the reader that is reading with his back to the door and the lover that, in the text of the novel, kills his rival, and in the space and time of reading kills the absorbed reader with whom the literary figure has been fused" (Eyzaguirre 1986: 182). In other words, as we have pointed out above, reality (story A) and unreality (story B) are fused at the end of the short story.

The interplay between story A and B in *Continuidad de los parques* is achieved using stylistic measures. Palmer (2009) has demonstrated how the framing story and framed story are distinguished from one another by the use of different verb tenses and, below, we will emphasize how the repetition of certain words also contributes to the fusion of the two stories.

As far as verb tenses are concerned, Palmer points out that the preterite dominates in story A, while the imperfect dominates in story B. As the two stories move closer to each other on their way towards fusing, the preterite starts to be introduced in story B, and the short story culminates in a paragraph that lacks conjugated verbs. Through this non-traditional use of language, Cortázar creates more tension, according to Palmer (2009: 210): "The effect of deleting all verb forms from the final part of the narration increases the tension. The image is much like a film in which the physical progression of the killer through the house is told in a series of jump cuts," and the lack of conjugated verbs in the last part can be interpreted as the two stories becoming one:

> The disappearance of all verb forms at the end of story two essentially creates a third story or narration, one on which the distance between story one and story two has disappeared because both are now part of the same story (Palmer 2009: 210).

Palmer argues for the existence of a fourth story, which the reader of the short story creates when they arrive at the end: it is the reader themself that must discover the fusion between the two stories.

According to Palmer, the use of verb tenses is a stylistic resource that serves to differentiate and later unite the two stories. The possibility in Spanish of employing these two verb tenses is absent from many other languages, such as Swedish. As a result, the Swedish reader cannot use the verb tenses as a guide to differentiate the two stories nor unite them. Nevertheless, the fusion of the two stories is also accomplished using other textual resources that are easy to translate to Swedish. Throughout the narration, there is a series of lexical elements that unite the two stories. Not only does the reader from story A reappear at the end of story B, but there is also a series of words that are found in both story A and B. These elements create a parallel-

ism between the two stories and help the reader interpret the ending as a fusion of the two stories. The modifications made can appear small at first glance. From a horizontal point of view (according to the terminology from Nord 2018), these are not big changes, but they are important from a vertical point of view, as they are modifications that concern the linking elements by which the two stories fuse into one. When these lexical elements are not translated in a consistent manner in the Swedish version, the Swedish reader is thus deprived of the possibility of creating a fourth story.

4. The titles

The title of the short story, *Continuidad de los parques*, signals that there are two or more parks, as well as a relationship between them. The reader is invited to guess which parks are alluded to by this suggestive title. The Swedish title *Drama i park* [drama in park], in comparison, is a concrete title that indicates that the reader is going to bear witness to drama that takes place in a park.

The word *park(s)* is a key word in both titles. Despite the plural form in the title (*los parques*), there is only one explicit mention of a park in the original text. This mention is found in the description of the house where the protagonist of story A is located: *miraba hacia el parque de los robles* ["[it] looked out upon the park with its oaks"] (Cortázar 1960/1967, translated by Blackburn). In other words, the only appearance of the word *parque* in the original is in the framing story (A). If there is another park, it is the reader who must identify it.

However, in the Swedish version, there are two explicit mentions of *park*. One forms part of story A and corresponds to the one cited above. The other forms part of story B in which *un mundo de hojas secas y senderos furtivos* ["a world of dry leaves and furtive paths"] (Cortázar 1960/1967, translated by Blackburn). is translated as *parkens torra löv och dolda stigar* [the park's dry leaves and furtive paths], that is, *world* is translated as *park*. In this way, the Swedish version, which only mentions one park in the title, introduces two in the body of the short story.

The word *continuidad* signals a process. It possibly refers to the relationship between the two stories told in the short story, story A and story B. In this case, we identify the word *parques* of the title with the two stories told. However, the matter is complicated since there is only one mention of a park in the body of the text of the original. To relate the *continuidad de los parques* in the title with the continuity of the two stories, the reader has to either identify a park in story B or interpret this as a more metaphorical textual clue. In translating *mundo* [world] to park, the Swedish translator opted clearly for the first alternative and thereby removes for his readers the room for doubt present in the original version.

As we pointed out in the introduction, the choices of a translator are always conditioned by the contrastive differences between the languages involved. Therefore, it is relevant to ask if, seen from a linguistic perspective, it would have been possible to translate the title *Continuidad de los parques* in another way. To explore these linguistic possibilities, we have also studied the translations to other Scandinavian languages, and have found that the other Scandinavian translators have opted to translate the title in a more similar way to the original:

(1) Parkar som går over i kvarandre (Norwegian, *nynorsk*)
[Parks that blend into each other](Cortázar 1960/2002, translated by Fløgstad; backtranslated by the authors)

(2) Sammenhengen mellom parkene (Norwegian, *bokmål*)
[The relationship/continuity between the parks]
(Cortázar 1960/1994, translated by Risvik in 1970; backtranslated by the authors)

(3) Parkernes kontinuitet (Danish)
[The continuity of the parks] (Cortázar 1960/1976, translated by Hasselbalch; backtranslated by the authors)

The three translated titles reproduce both the idea of continuity and the idea of parks in plural. It would thus have been possible to reproduce both ideas in Swedish, since the Scandinavian languages are similar to each other both in terms of syntax and vocabulary. Having opted for *Drama i park* is a decision not imposed by the target language.

5. The structures

In Cortázar's text, it is only in the last lines of the short story that the two stories are united. Prior to those lines, story B clearly belongs to a fictional world within a work of fiction. This is pointed out through frequent allusions to the act of reading in story A: *la ilusión novelesca lo ganó casi en seguida*, ["the novel spread its glamour over him almost at once"], *Gozaba del placer casi perverso de irse desgajando línea a línea* ["He tasted the almost perverse pleasure of disengaging himself line by line], and, *palabra a palabra, absorbido por la sórdida disyuntiva de los héroes* ["word by word, licked up by the sordid dilemma of the hero and heroine"] (Cortázar 1960/1967, translated by Blackburn). They are metafictional allusions that draw attention both to the act of reading that occurs in the text and the act of reading by the readers of Cortázar's short story. Furthermore, these allusions contribute to the creation of a qualitative difference between story A and story B. Story A encourages the reader to reflect on reading and can thus be perceived as more central than story B.

If we set aside the ending of the short story for a moment (in which the structure of framing story-framed story is broken), we propose the following graphic representation of Cortázar's version (Figure 1):

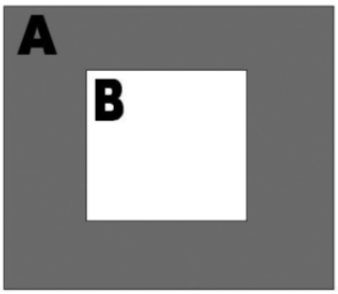

Figure 1. Relationship between story A and story B in the original version

Figure 1 shows how, in the original version, story A frames story B. As we pointed out above, the Swedish version chooses to replace the word *continuidad* with drama, in addition to translating the plural *parques* with the singular park, changes which contribute to the transformation of the relationship between story A and story B. There is no longer a relationship between several parks, but rather drama that unfolds in a park. As this drama forms part of story B, it causes the central focus to move from story A to story B. This reading is strengthened by the omission of various metafictional allusions in the original version: *la ilusión novelesca* [the thrill of the novel] is translated as romanens intrig [the plot of the novel] and *palabra a palabra* [word by word] is eliminated.

We can graphically represent the relationship between the two stories in the Swedish translation as shown in Figure 2 (in this figure, as above, we have also left out the ending of the short story):

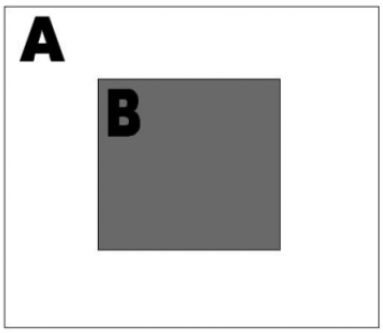

Figure 2. Relationship between story A and story B in the Swedish translation

Figure 2 illustrates that, prior to the ending of the short story, story B is emphasized more than story A. The contrast between grey and white in both figures has to be understood relatively. Story B stands out more in the Swedish version than in the original.

6. The endings

Towards the end of the short story, we find ourselves on the narrative level of story B when the lover enters a house, dagger in hand. Prior to the final sentence of the short story (in its original version), story A continues framing story B. In the final sentence, the relationship between these two stories is altered, simultaneously producing a return to the frame story (A) and a symbiosis between the two stories A and B, as we pointed out in the synopsis. Technically, this alteration is produced by the repetition of a series of words already employed previously in the text: *puerta* [door], *ventanales* [large windows], *alto respaldo* [high back], *sillón* [armchair], *terciopelo verde* [green velvet]. When they are used for the first time, these words form part of story A. At the end of the short story, they form part of story B. The final sentence in its entirety reads as follows: "La puerta del salón, y entonces el *puñal* en la mano, la luz de los ventanales, el alto respaldo de un sillón de terciopelo verde la cabeza del hombre en el sillón leyendo una novela" ["The

door of the salon, and then, the *knife* in hand, the light from the great windows, the high back of an armchair covered in green velvet, the head of the man in the chair reading a novel."] (Cortázar 1960/1967, translated by Blackburn, our underlining, our italics).

We have underlined the repeated words that had previously been used in story A. The word *puñal* (knife/dagger) had been used before in story B. In this sentence, a union between the two stories is produced. One story appears to juxtapose itself with the other, which produces a certain level of uncertainty: Is this the same door that was mentioned in story A? Are these the same windows? When an armchair with a high back upholstered with green velvet is mentioned, there no longer appears to be doubt as to the answers. The last clue, which appears to be decisive, is not found in the repeated use of these words, but rather in the introduction of the man reading the novel. The use of the definite form *el hombre* [the man] signals that this man is already known to the reader, who, as a result, is invited to identify him as the protagonist of story A. We propose the following graphic representation of the ending (Figure 3):

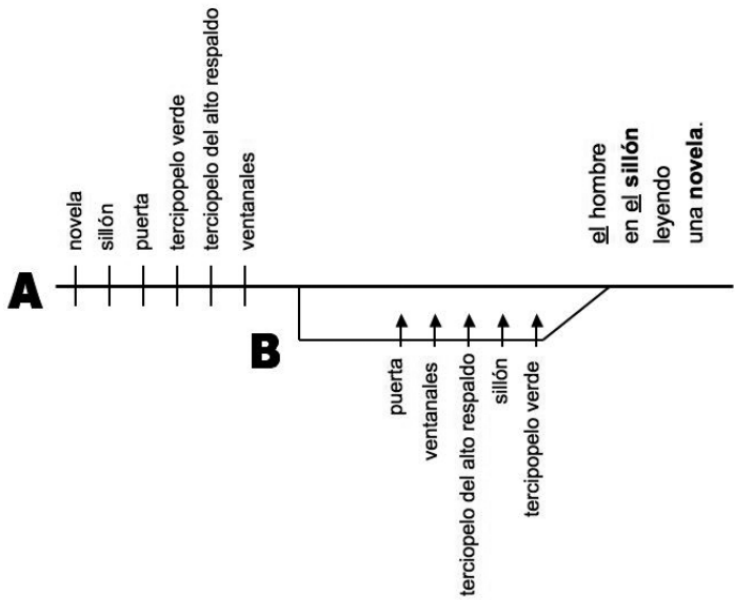

Figure 3. The ending of the original version

Translation:
A: novel, armchair, door, green velvet, the velvet of the high back, large windows
B: door, large windows, velvet of the high back, armchair, green velvet
The man
in the chair
reading
a novel

The repeated use of these words produces parallelism between the two stories. Through the mention of *el hombre* [the man], this parallelism is transformed into union. After this final sentence, the relationship between A and

B as represented in Figure 1 is no longer valid. The narrative frame appears to consume itself, or possibly start to form part of the framed story. The following is a possible graphic representation of this relationship:

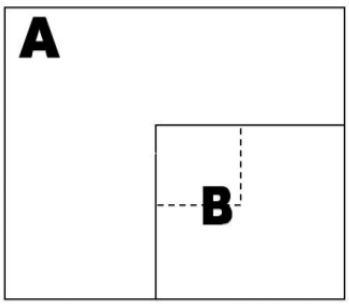

Figure 4. The relationship between story A and B in the short story as a whole (original version)

Figure 4 illustrates how the framing story is fused with the framed story. Neither story disappears, but rather, story A continues existing alongside story B. It appears that story B invades the frame, or possibly overlaps story A. The figure can be interpreted in both ways.

However, these graphic representations of the ending (Figures 3 and 4) are not suitable for the ending of the Swedish translation. Curiously, a different ending is produced in the Swedish translation. This is due to various causes that are not only found in the last sentence of the story, but throughout the text, including the title. We have already mentioned one of these: the replacement of *continuidad* by drama in the title. The Swedish translator has furthermore opted for solutions that contribute to the two stories moving closer to one another earlier in the text. The most obvious of these decisions is the replacement of *mundo* by park, which establishes lexical parallelism between story A and B. In this way, the Swedish translator can anticipate the ending of the short story.

There is another point in the Swedish translation in which the ending is anticipated. The protagonist of story A reads his novel and allows himself to be absorbed by the story: "Palabra a palabra, absorbido por la sórdida disyuntiva de los héroes, dejándose ir hacia las imágenes que se concertaban y adquirían color y movimiento" ["Word by word, licked up by the sordid dilemma of the hero and heroine, letting himself be absorbed to the point where the images settled down and took on color and movement"] (Cortázar 1960/1967, translated by Blackburn). The Swedish translator translated this passage in the following way:

> (4) Fascinerad av den smutsiga uppgörelsen mellan huvudpersonerna lät han sigryckas med så intensivt att gestalterna fick färg och blev levande för honom
>
> [Fascinated by the dirty settling of accounts between the protagonists, he let himself be carried away so intensely that the characters took on colour and came to life for him] (Cortázar 1960/1969, translated by Sjögren; backtranslated by the authors)

The effects of the translation of this passage are complex. On one hand, the metafictional element (*palabra a palabra*) is eliminated. On the other, another image is introduced: the characters *came to life for him.* The encounter between the protagonists of stories A and B is anticipated, an encounter that in the original version is produced only at the end of the short story. As we have seen, one of the characters of story B, did in fact come alive for the reader of the novel in the last lines of the short story.

These two differences affect the relationship between stories A and B. The elimination of *palabra a palabra*, together with other similar eliminations, weaken the stylistic differences between the stories. This is due to the fact that the metafictional references belong exclusively to story A. In other words, the two stories move closer to each other. With the formulation *blev levande för honom* [came to life for him], a more evident rapprochement is produced between the two stories, similar to the effect of the translation of *mundo* as park. We propose the following graphic representation:

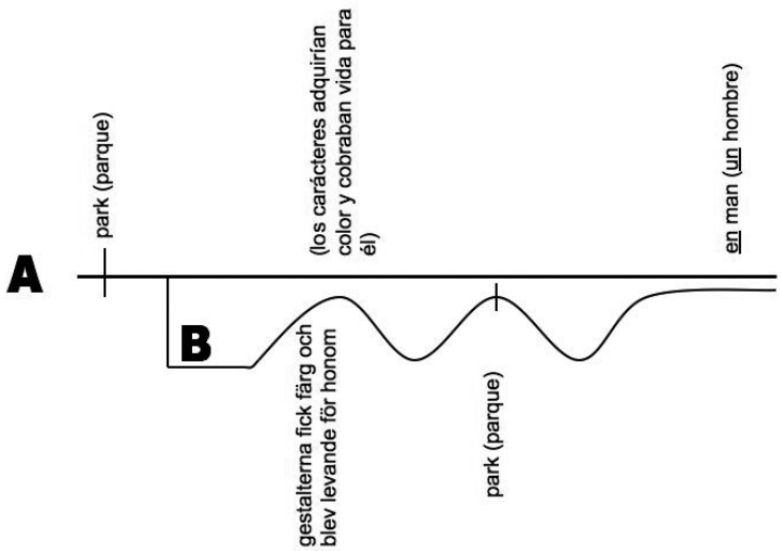

Figure 5. In the Swedish translation, story B is brought closer to story A earlier in the text

Translation:
A: Park
a man
B: the characters took on color and came to life for him
park

In the Swedish translation, story B moves closer to story A earlier in the text and at the end of the translation, the fusion between the two stories is not produced as clearly. Unlike what happens in the original version, in the translation, the parallelism between the two stories does not result in a union, they continue being parallel, which is shown in Figure 5.

As we have pointed out, the final sentence in the original is decisive for the interpretation of the short story. The translation to Swedish of this sentence is as follows:

(5) Där efter dörren till arbetsrummet (och då med kniven i handen). Ljuset från de stora fönstren — det höga ryggstödet på en länstol klädd med grön sammet — och huvudet på en man som satt och läste en roman…

[Afterwards the door of the study (and then with the knife in hand). The light from the

large windows — and the high back of an armchair upholstered in green velvet — and the head of a man sitting and reading a novel…]

(Cortázar 1960/1969, translated by Sjögren; backtranslated by the authors)

The sentence is divided in two and the use of punctuation is different: in the translation, dashes are used and the sentence ends with an ellipse, whereas these are not used in the original.

As we have mentioned, in the original, words are repeated in story B that previously had been used in story A. In the translation, this resource is only partially reproduced. *Sillón* [armchair] is translated as favoritfåtölj [favourite armchair] when it appears in story A, but as länstol [armchair] when it appears in story B and therefore weakens the possibility of identifying the two chairs as the same one. Identification is made even more difficult as the last appearance of the word *sillón* is completely eliminated from the translation.

The aforementioned union is also not achieved in the translation as *el hombre* [the man] has been translated as *en man* [a man]. The indefinite article indicates that this character is unknown to the reader.

In the Swedish translation, there is also a parallelism between the two stories. This parallelism is made evident even earlier in the translation than in the original. However, unlike the original, in which the parallelism is converted into a union of the two stories, we are left with a mere allusion to a possible union between the two stories in the translation. This possible union is produced through the words *puerta* [door], *ventanales* [large windows], *terciopelo verde* [green velvet] and *alto respaldo* [high back] that are repeated in both stories.

In the translation, neither the final symbiosis of the original version nor the return to the narrative frame is produced. Moreover, the Swedish short story is not wrapped up with the final sentence but rather is left open-ended. The ellipse in the translation indicates that there is something more to this ending, but that it is the reader that has to find it. We could even say that story B escapes from the narrative frame, which we illustrate in Figure 6:

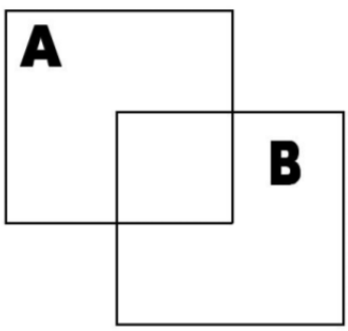

Figure 6. In the translation, the framing story loses control over the framed story, which escapes from the narrative frame of story A

Ending the translation in an ellipse also highlights the dramatic rather than the metanarrative aspects of the short story. In the translation of *los parques* in the title, we have a change from the plural to the singular, and the opposite change at the very end, from singular to plural. These two changes in number that begin and end the translation, shift the focus of the short story to the plot and reduce the emphasis on the metanarrative dimensions.

The graphic representations of the structure of the short story proposed above for the original version, also work for the other three Scandinavian translations. Although the other translators make changes with regards to the original, these changes do not affect the structure of the short story nor its possible interpretations. This is due to the translation of the title as well as the translation of the other elements.

The way in which these examples have been translated to Swedish affects the short story as a whole. The change of the title is reinforced by other elements introduced by the Swedish translator throughout the text. The changes are not necessarily conscious decisions on the part of the translator; nevertheless, altogether they produce an important modification. The typically Cortazarian element of playing with the limits between fiction and reality and between reading and life, is not present in the same way in the Swedish translation.

7. Conclusions

The title is one of several vertical elements that contribute to the metafictional character of the short story. Translating *Continuidad de los parques* as *Drama i park* contributes to a change in the possible interpretations of the short story. This change — together with the other modifications of metafictional aspects — affects the whole text by changing the narrative structure of the short story, more precisely the relationship between framing story and framed story. Moreover, the theme is transformed, since the playful game between reality and fiction is weakened. The Swedish translation also has a metafictional theme, but it has less importance, and the way of presenting it is more traditional and less ground-breaking than in Cortázar's version. Given that linguistic limitations do not exist that can justify the changes, they appear to be the result of choices that either have to do with the translator's interpretation or by what the translator believes to be his readers' expectations. It is a short story that can be read and enjoyed in Swedish, but it is very different from the original. In fact, it differs so much from the original that for a reader that is only familiar with the Swedish translation, the literary analysis presented in section three would not be comprehensible.

Regarding the reasons behind the changes, as we have only analyzed an isolated short story, we cannot know if the changes are typical of the translator and/or the translation tradition in the target culture of the time. To find out, the translation of metafictional elements would have to be analyzed in other literary texts.

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НЕПРЕРЫВНОСТЬ ТЕКСТОВ: МЕТАПРОЗА В РАССКАЗЕ КОРТАСАРА И ЕГО ПЕРЕВОДЕ НА ШВЕДСКИЙ

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В статье анализируется шведский перевод рассказа "Continuidad de los parques" аргентинского писателя Хулио Кортасара, выполненный Яном Сьёгреном. Это произведение является прекрасным образцом метапрозы, поскольку в нем обыгрываются отношения между вымышленным и реальным читателем. Создавая эстетическую иллюзию, Кортасар заставляет читателя почувствовать напряжение и оставляет его с множеством вопросов, на которые не предлагает ответов. Проведенный анализ наглядно демонстрирует, что состояние напряжения, создаваемое автором, передано не в полной мере и оказывает совершенно иное воздействие в переводе произведения на шведский язык. Изменяя название рассказа и внося другие, казалось бы, незначительные изменения в текст, переводчик создает свою интерпретацию текста оригинала. Структура повествования изменяется, и в результате читатель шведской версии произведения не имеет возможности постичь многочисленные нюансы и интерпретации, которыми изобилует оригинальный текст Кортасара.

***Ключевые слова**: процесс принятия решений, литературный перевод, метапроза, прочтение, название произведения, единица перевода*

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ПРЕДСТАВЛЕНО ДЛЯ ВОЗМОЖНОЙ ПУБЛИКАЦИИ В ОТКРЫТОМ ДОСТУПЕ В СООТВЕТСТВИИ С УСЛОВИЯМИ ЛИЦЕНЗИИ CREATIVE COMMONS ATTRIBUTION (CC BY) (HTTP://CREATIVECOMMONS.ORG/LICENSES/BY/4.0/)

ENTERTAINMENT AND EDUCATION THROUGH LITERARY TRANSLATION IN A DIASPORA NEWSPAPER: *PROSVETA*, A NEWSPAPER OF SLOVENE-AMERICAN ÉMIGRÉ COMMUNITY

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The main argument of the article is that literary translation assumed different roles in émigré periodicals: from serving educational purposes, through amplifying the diaspora's cultural identity, to providing entertainment to their readership, and that all these roles conformed to the political and ideological orientation and positioning of the newspaper and its editors. The article focuses on the newspaper Prosveta (The Enlightenment), a left-of-centre progressive newspaper published by the Slovene diaspora in the U.S., and the presence of literary translations in the period from its establishment in 1916 to 1933 when it began appearing only five days a week and its circulation began to fall. We analyzed 5273 issues of Prosveta, identified all literary translations, and classified them into three categories. The results show that the choice of authors whose works were translated and published in the newspaper reflects the ideological positioning of the editors and newspaper, and blurs the distinction between two categories of translated works: between the works selected for the education and those for the entertainment of Prosveta' s readership.

***Keywords**: literary translation, periodicals, diaspora, the interwar period, Slovene Americans*

1. Introduction

In the period between the late 19th century and 1924, when the Immigration Act severely reduced the number of Eastern and Southern European immigrants allowed entry into the country, several hundred thousand people who spoke the Slovene language emigrated from Europe[1] to the U.S. (Klemenčič 2013). These Slovene speakers soon formed diaspora communities and strengthened the links between different settlements by means of periodical publications published in the Slovene language. A Catholic almanac published in Chicago reports that there were 18 Slovene newspapers and 4 almanacs published in the U.S. in 1927, each of them with a distinct

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[1] Slovenes traditionally inhabit the territory south of the Alps in Europe. Today the Republic of Slovenia borders Austria to the north, Italy to the West, Croatia to the South and Hungary to the East. Slovenes speak a specific Slavonic language called Slovene. The first written documents in Slovene date from the 10th century. Today, Slovene is the official language in the Republic of Slovenia and one of the official languages of the EU.

political, ideological or regional orientation: there existed a republican, liberal, socialist, communist, progressive (i.e., left-wing), politically independent, Catholic periodicals, and even periodicals targeting a group of Slovene speakers coming from the territory dominated by Hungary and using Hungarian spelling rules (e.g. *Szlobodna Reics – Free Word*) (Jerič 1927). Today, only one of these periodicals still exists: *Prosveta – The Enlightenment*, and this periodical is studied in this article.

The research presented in this article is a part of a wider research project that studies translation in different periodicals of the Slovene-American émigré community, and also in periodicals of other U.S. diasporas (see Baer and Pokorn 2018). Through quantitative and qualitative analysis of literary translations, we attempt to outline the way literary translation influenced the internal and external dialogics of different periodicals. The term dialogics is originally taken from Mikhail Bakhtin's theory of polyphony. Here it is used in its translatological adaptation by Tahir Gürçağlar. In her article "Periodical codes and translation" (2019) Tahir Gürçağlar uses the term internal dialogics to refer to the way translations impact the relationship between different components of the publication, and the term external dialogics to denote the discursive exchanges with a larger public sphere (see Tahir Gürçağlar 2019). In the case of *Prosveta*, we argue that literary translations were one of the mechanisms that influenced, in particular, the external dialogics of the periodical and assumed different roles largely defined by its editors: some literary translations were geared towards raising the educational level of *Prosveta*'s working-class readers; the English translations of Slovene classics were primarily intended for the creation of a specific cultural identity and were created for the new generations of Slovene-Americans who no longer read Slovene and for other diasporas and mainstream U.S. culture; and finally, the third group of literary translations aimed to provide entertainment to *Prosveta*'s readership. We describe the first two roles (the educational and that of cultural-identity building) of literary translation in *Prosveta* elsewhere (Pogacar and Pokorn 2021; Baer and Pokorn 2018); here we will focus on the role of literary translations as a source of entertainment. We argue that even when literary translations were meant primarily to entertain the readers of *Prosveta*, they still served the political and ideological orientation and positioning of the newspaper and its editors.

After providing a brief review of literature on translations in periodicals and diaspora, we define our corpus and methodological approach. The results, discussion and conclusion follow, in which we focus in particular on the role of those literary translations that served mainly entertainment purposes.

2. Review of Literature

Translations in periodicals have gained an increased interest in Translation Studies of late: in 2019 a special issue of *Translating and Interpreting Studies* was dedicated to translation in periodical publications (Guzmán 2019), and in 2020 a collected volume gathered sixteen articles on literary translations in periodicals, paying special attention to different methodological approaches (Fólica, Roig-Sanz and Caristia 2020). Recently the newspaper *Prosveta* has also been studied more intensely: its transformation through time was presented by Pogacar (2017), and the literary works (including

translations) published on its pages were documented in one MA and four BA theses, all under the supervision of Professor Miran Hladnik, that covered the periods between 1916 and 1935 and between 1939 and 1943 (Oman 2015, Majdič 2016, Plantan 2018, Drožina 2020 and Mavrin 2020).

Translation activity by or for diaspora has been more overlooked in Translation Studies and the emerging Diaspora Studies (see e.g., Asscher 2021: 37), and even when it is studied, researchers tend to focus on cultural translation practiced by diaspora authors in their original writings (e.g. Baldo 2019, Steiner 2009). There are, however, some, notable exceptions: Baldo (2013) studies the specifics of translations of diasporic Italian Canadian writers into Italian, the language of their country of origin. More recently, Asscher argues that textual translation is a particularly useful tool to investigate homeland-diaspora ideological relations and calls for more case studies concentrating on the specificities of such relations (Asscher 2021: 45). Finally, as a part of a wider research project focusing on translations in émigré newspapers and other periodicals, Baer and Pokorn (2018) provide some preliminary results by focusing on the roles of translations in two periodicals of Slovene and Russian diasporas in the USA: the Slovene *Prosveta* and Russian *Novoe Russkoe Slovo*. The results show that the roles of translation in these two newspapers were different, reflecting the divergent political orientations of the newspapers and the distinct make-up of these immigrant communities. This article aims to provide more details regarding one of the roles of literary translation in *Prosveta*: that of entertainment. It is argued here that the choice of literary translations, even when they aimed to provide entertainment to the newspaper's readers, they nevertheless reflected the overall, progressive nature of the newspaper and blur the distinction between works selected for the education and those for the entertainment of *Prosveta*'s readership.

3. Corpus and methodology

3.1. Corpus

The newspaper *Prosveta* was chosen for the analysis because it is the only newspaper of Slovene-American diaspora that has survived to the present time and because it was the newspaper with the widest circulation during its golden age, when it had between 3000 and 7000 subscribers. *Prosveta* was established in 1916 in Chicago by the Slovene National Benefit Society, a life insurance company and a fraternal benefit society offering affordable life insurance and disability coverage to members of Slovene émigré community.[2] Its editors all came from the Slovene-American diaspora: Jože Zavertnik, Ivan Molek, Fran Kerže, Louis Beninger, Anton Garden, Andrej Kobal, and Milan Medvešek (Drožina 2020). The periodical was a progressive newspaper that was at first published as a Slovene-language daily, however, its format and language have changed throughout its history in line with the chan-

[2] Slovene National Benefit Society website, https://snpj.org/ Accessed 28 April 2021.

ges of its target readers from the Slovene American diaspora. Today, it is published online once a month in English only[3] (also Pogacar 2017: 343—44, Sedmak 2004: 77, 78).

When *Prosveta* was published six days a week (all days but Sundays), it would typically consist of four pages. The first page was dedicated to international and national news, page two provided editorials, columns and news from different Slovene settlements in the U.S., and was thus key to the forming and imagined community of American Slovenes (Anderson 2006, Pogacar 2017). Page three brought news from the country of origin, which in the period from 1916 onwards belonged to different political structures: Austria-Hungary, the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes, the Kingdom of Yugoslavia, and socialist Yugoslavia. And the last page was dedicated to literature in original or in translation. Occasionally, some shorter literary works were also published on page two or three. Wednesday editions were longer (8 pages or more) since they provided reports on the functioning of the Slovene National Benefit Society and also gave space to numerous commercial advertisements. From 1926 the Wednesday editions included also the English supplement, called "Prosveta English Section", which provided information on different local lodges, invitations to various sports or cultural events organized by the Society, and occasionally also included English literary translations.

All issues of *Prosveta* (from 1916 to 2002, and from 2004 onwards) are archived in the Periodical Department of the Slovene National and University Library in Ljubljana, Slovenia, and at the Slovene National Benefit Society's (SNJP) offices in Imperial, Pennsylvania (USA). In addition to that, all issues between 1916 and 1948 are available online on the Digital Library of Slovenia — dLib. si portal (http://www. dlib. si/) in a digitalized form in PDF format and as a TXT file.

All printed issues of *Prosveta* published between 1916 and 1961 were analyzed in the archives of the Periodical Department at the Slovene National and University Library in Ljubljana (Slovenia), and those between 1961 and 2020 at the archives of Slovene National Benefit Society in Imperial, Pennsylvania (USA) — in total more than 10,000 issues were surveyed. The paper version was preferred to other forms because the digitalized versions often proved to be too dark and therefore hard to read. In case some issues were missing in the archives or they were too brittle to handle, the online version or the versions available on the microfilm were checked.

The analysis of *Prosveta* revealed that translations of literary works were published on its pages from 1916 until 1979, with the majority of them being published before the Second World War. In this research, we focused on the period between 1916 and 1933, when *Prosveta* was at its peak and was still published as a daily.

3.2. Methodology

The research reported in this article is divided into two major parts: a quantitative analysis of the presence of literary translation in *Prosveta* between 1916 and 1933, and an analysis of the way these literary translations impacted

[3] https://snpj.org/membership/prosveta-publication/ Accessed 28 April 2021.

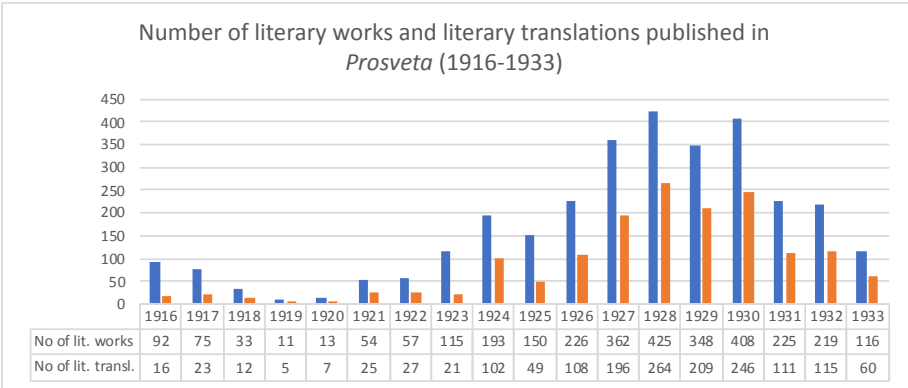
Prosveta's external dialogics with a larger public sphere. First, all issues of *Prosveta* from 1916 to 1933 (i.e., 5273 issues) were surveyed to identify the presence of literary translation. Then a list of authors of these translations was made. The results were then cross-checked with the catalogues, available on Wikisource,[4] and classified into three different categories.

Finally, the biographies of the editors Jože Zavertnik (the editor of *Prosveta* 1916 to 1929) and Ivan Molek (the editor of *Prosveta* from 1929 to 1944) and descriptions of editorial orientations were studied and compared to the list of translated literature published in *Prosveta* to see whether and to what extent the personal, political and ideological preferences of editors influenced the selection of translated works.

4. Results

4.1. Translations

Between 1916 and 1933 almost every issue of *Prosveta* printed at least one, but usually three literary works: some of them were originally written in Slovene, others were translations. We have identified all works published in the newspaper, where an individual work was counted as one item even if it was published in serialized instalments over a longer period of time (for example, Dostoevsky's *Demons* was published continuously throughout the years 1921 and 1922 but is counted as one item in our catalogue). In total, between 1916 and 1933, *Prosveta* published 3122 literary titles (see Fig.), and out of them more than half (51 %) were translations (n = 1596).[5] The newspaper published most of literary works in the period of four years between 1927 and 1930.



	1916	1917	1918	1919	1920	1921	1922	1923	1924	1925	1926	1927	1928	1929	1930	1931	1932	1933
No of lit. works	92	75	33	11	13	54	57	115	193	150	226	362	425	348	408	225	219	116
No of lit. transl.	16	23	12	5	7	25	27	21	102	49	108	196	264	209	246	111	115	60

Fig.

[4] https://sl.wikisource.org/wiki/Prosveta Accessed 28 April 2021. The catalogues are one of the results of the work of graduates from the Department of Slovene Studies at the University of Ljubljana.

[5] Most probably the actual figure is even higher — we have not counted in the category of translations also those literary works that were published anonymously or were written under a pseudonym or were attributed to the author we could not identify.

All identified literary translations were then classified into three categories: first, literary translations into English; second, literary translations into Slovene whose aim was to educate the readers; and third, literary translations into Slovene aiming at providing entertainment.

The vast majority of the literary translations were from different languages into Slovene; however, the newspaper also published translations from Slovene into English in the so-called English section, which was introduced in 1926. Between 1929 and 1933 *Prosveta* thus published six literary translations from Slovene into English: two short novels in instalments (Ivan Cankar's *Yerney's Justice* (1926) and *Comedy of Justice* (1926), and four short stories (Anton Novačan's "Comes and goes" (1927) and "A Village Cyrano" (1929), Zofka Kveder's "The Montenegrin Widow" (1927), and Ivan Cankar's "Discontent" (1929). These translations into English had a specific role: on one hand, they informed the new generations of Slovene diaspora in the U.S. that no longer read Slovene about Slovene culture and literature, and, on the other hand, they presented to the mainstream U.S. culture and other diasporas a facet of Slovene culture that in their mind represented their community at its best. This role is of literary translations is discussed elsewhere (see Baer and Pokorn 2018).

The Slovene literary translations we identified, however, revealed that their role followed the general orientation of the publication, which was defined by the editors and the publication's management in the first issue of *Prosveta*, which appeared on 1 July 1916. In a short editorial published on the first page, we read:

> *Prosveta* will educate our working class in the progressive and modern spirit. There is a huge gap of ignorance, spiritual laziness and cultural backwardness among our people and a lot of work and effort will be needed to seal this gap. The sacred mission of *Prosveta* will be to endeavour to fill this gap.
>
> *Prosveta* will of course provide to its readers the latest news about all-important world, American and domestic events: we will pay particular attention to original news from Slovene settlements. We will bring instructional, scientific and economic discussions along with the regular articles on everyday events, **original stories** and **translations of good, modern writers**, and from time to time also **humorous writings to pass the time**.[6] (*Prosveta* 1916, 9/27: 1; 1 July 1916, all translations and emphases are by the authors)

According to this manifesto, we classified Slovene literary translations in *Prosveta* into two larger categories: a) translations for instruction and education, and b) translations for entertainment.

[6] *Prosveta* bo izobraževala naše delavstvo v naprednem in modernem duhu. Velika je še vrzel neznanja, duševnega spanja in kulturne zaostalosti med našim narodom in veliko bo še dela in truda, preden se ta vrzel zamaši. Sveta naloga *Prosvete* bo, da pomaga z vsemi močmi, ki jih (sic!) bodo na razpoago, pri mašenju te vrzeli.
Prosveta bo seveda skrbela, da dobijo njeni čitatelji vsak dan sveže novice o vseh važnih, svetovnih, ameriških in domačih dogodkih: zlasti bomo posvečali pozornost izvirnim poročilom iz slovenskih naselbin. Prinašali bomo poučne, znanstvene in gospodarske razprave poleg rednih člankov o vsakdanjih razmerah, izvirne povesti ali prevode dobrih, modernih pisateljev, in od časa do časa tudi humoristične sestavke za kratek čas.

The instructional role of translations is particularly visible in a specific section that was introduced by the editors in 1927, called "The Gems of World Literature" ("Biseri iz svetovne literature"). To provide further education to its readers and to empower the working class,[7] the section included critical introductions and short translations from the work of 31 authors from the Western literary canon, such as Giovanni Boccaccio and Giovanni Verga, William Shakespeare, Jonathan Swift, Percy Bysshe Shelley, Charles Dickens and Oscar Wilde, J. W. Goethe and Gerhart Hauptmann, H. de Balzac, Gustave Flaubert, Emile Zola, Guy de Maupassant, Jules Verne and Anatole France, Edgar Allen Poe, Washington Irving and Mark Twain, Fyodor Dostoevsky, Leo Tolstoy, Anton Chekhov, and Maxim Gorky. The section also provided brief introductions to the thought of selected philosophers and political thinkers, such as Francis Bacon, Arthur Schopenhauer, and Karl Marx. The selection of works and authors also reflects the ideological orientation of the journal and its editors (for more details see Pogacar and Pokorn 2021).

We classified all other literary translations as entertainment. This category included longer works published in instalments as well as shorter texts (often defined as humorous sketches or fairy tales). For example, between 1916 and 1933, *Prosveta* serialized 39 longer works: some of them were publicshed throughout two consecutive years (e. g. Dostoevsky's *Demons*, which appeared in more than 230 consecutive issues), for others, less than 10 instalments sufficed (e. g., Hanns Heinz Ewers' short stories). The works that were selected for serialized publication could be classified in five different subcategories: the first group consisted of works taken from the great Western canon, for example, Henryk Sienkiewicz's *With Fire and Sword* (1918—1919)[8] and *The Deluge* (1919—1920), Fyodor Dostoevsky's *Demons* (1921—1922) and *Crime and Punishment* (1929), Leo Tolstoy's *Confession* (1927) and *The Prisoner in the Caucasus* (1928), Ivan Turgenev's "The Unhappy Girl" (1927), and Victor Hugo's play *Lucrezia Borgia* (1929). The second subcategory consisted of translations of more popular works; for example: R. L. Stevenson's *Treasure Island* (1922), Mark Twain's *Tom Sawyer* (1927), Sir Arthur Conan Doyle's *The Lost World* (1930), Alexandre Dumas, père, *The Knight of the Red House* (1921—1922) and *The Wolf Leader* (1928), and Jack London's *The Sea-Wolf* (1928—1929). In the third group, we classified the translations of novels with distinct political and social justice themes: such as Maxim Gorky's "Ninth of

[7] Prosveta editors in the first issue stated this orientation very clearly. They wrote: "*Prosveta* will represent the rights and benefits of the working class. The editors are fully aware that Slovenes in America, with the exception of a few farmers and small traders, consist of a mass of salaried workers, and therefore our daily newspaper will intrepidly defend the interests of workers and fight without mercy against everything that opposes and threatens workers' interests." (*Prosveta* 1916, 9/27: 1)
(*Prosveta* bo zastopala pravice in koristi delavstva. Uredništvo se zaveda v polni meri, da je slovenski narod v Ameriki razen pičlega števila farmerjev in malih trgovcev — masa mezdnih delavcev, in zato bo naš dnevnik neustrašeno zagovarjal interese delavske mase in se boril brez pardona proti vsemu, kar nasprotuje in škoduje delavskim interesom.)

[8] The date in brackets indicates the publication date in *Prosveta*.

January" (1927), Upton Sinclair's *Jimmy Higgins* (1921) and *100 % – The Story of a Patriot* (1932), Jack London's *Iron Heel* (1932—1933), and the Slovene translation of the work of American Slovene Louis Adamic *Laughing in the Jungle* (1933—1934). This sub-category also covers the translations of the works by Socialist writers (the Russian Lidiia Seifullina's *Virineia* (1931) and Leonhard Frank's "Oče" (Father, 1929) and "Vojna vdova" (War widow, 1930), and the translations of the works with an anti-clerical undertone (*Le Grand Village* by Edgar Monteil, 1918), a prominent freethinker and a Communard, Antonio Fogazzaro's *The Saint* (1926), in which the protagonist criticizes the Vatican, and Ernest Werner's *At the Altar* (1928), a novel set in a Benedictine monastery). The fourth sub-category of translations published in a serialized form consists of translations of historical novels, such as Václav Beneš Třebízský's *Kraljica Dagmar* (Queen Dagmar, 1918), Josip Evgen Tomić's *Udovica* (The widow, 1921), Prokop Chocholoušek's *Jug* (The south, 1923), Gottfried Keller's *Don Correa* (1927), and Edwin Erich Dwinger's *Between White and Red* (1931). And finally, the fifth sub-category consisted of the translations of some Slavonic sentimental novels, such as Božena Němcová's *Grandmother* (1922) and Ksaver Šandor Gjalski's Đurđica Agićeva (1922), the adventure novel *The Grand Duke's Finances* by Frank Heller (1922), a satirical novel, *Izlet gospoda Broučka v XV. stoletje* (Mr. Brouček's excursion into the 15th century) by the Czech author Svatopluk Čech (1927), three fantasy stories from Hanns Heinz Ewers' collection *Die Besessenen* (The possessed, 1928, 1930), tales *Dvonožec in druge* zgodbe (The biped and other stories, 1922) by Karl Ewald, in which the Danish author attempted to explain scientific findings in a simple and humorous way, and travel fiction by Joseph Svatopluk Machar entitled *Rim* (Rome, 1926).

Eight of these novels were commissioned by and translated for *Prosveta* only (works by Lidiia Seifullina, Hanns Heinz Ewers, Ernest Werner, Leonhard Frank, Edwin Erich Dwinger, and one work by Upton Sinclair); others were published before in Europe and were reprinted in the newspaper (e. g., by Dostoevsky, Tolstoy, etc.).

Every issue also contained a translation of one or two short stories. The authors whose short fiction was published in *Prosveta* more than ten times between 1916 and 1933 were: A. P. Chekhov (n = 56), Mikhail Zoshchenko (n = 54), Rabindranath Tagore (n = 38), Arkadii Averchenko (n = 37), Maxim Gorky (n = 30), Mark Twain (n = 25), Anatole France (n = 24), L. N. Tolstoy (n = 21), O. Wilde (n = 20), Henri-Georges Jeanne (n = 13), Guy de Maupassant (n = 12), Albert Jean (n = 12), Sandor Rosenfeld (n = 11), and Maurice Renard (n = 11).

4.2. The editors

In the period between 1916 and 1933, the newspaper *Prosveta* was edited by Jože (also Josip) Zavertnik (1869—1929) and Ivan Molek (1882—1962).

Zavertnik was born in 1869 near Ljubljana in the then Austria Hungary. He worked as a sailor and as a steam-engine stoker for the southern railway. When he was fired because of his social-democrat political views, he found a job as a collaborator and later as an editor of a railway workers' periodical in

Vienna and of a transport workers and craftsmen's periodical in Trieste. In 1898, he became the general editor of the *Newspaper of Slovene Socialist Workers in Trieste and the Littoral Region*. He emigrated to the U.S. in 1899, came home after a year, and then returned to the U.S. in 1903 and remained there until his death. He edited several left-wing periodicals before becoming the editor of the newspaper *Glasilo SNPJ* (The Herald of the Slovene National Benefit Society), the forerunner of *Prosveta*. When *Glasilo* was replaced by *Prosveta*, Zavertnik continued as its general editor until 1929, when he retired. A month later he died in Clarendon Hills near Chicago (Rozman 2013, Molek 1979).

From 1929 until 1944 the general editor of *Prosveta* was Ivan Molek. Molek was born near Metlika, near Slovene-Croatian national border in the then Austria Hungary. In 1900 he emigrated to the U.S., where he initially worked in Pennsylvania's steel works and mines. He soon became politically active and started editing left-wing, communist newspapers. He started working for *Prosveta* in 1916 and became its editor in 1929. Besides being an editor, Molek also wrote poems, prose, dramas, popular science text, and also translated. In his essays, such as "Proletarian ethics and morals" (Chicago, 1926), and his translations of works, such as John Keracher's *How the Gods were Made* (Chicago, 1926) or Frank Bohn's *The Catholic Church and Socialism* (Chicago, 1916), his socialist and propagandist views were made explicit (Pirjevec 2013). Pirjevec (ibid.) quotes Molek saying that he "wrote for propaganda and not for literary reasons". That is not to say Molek's writing was devoid of literary merit. One commentator describes it as "…forthright and vigorous. The action is fast moving and unhindered by description, and the language is terse, metaphoric and full of folk idioms. The words used are common place and often harsh and base. The protagonists are invariably the down-trodden and the destitute and those weakened by their own vices. Hence, the tone of the writing often appears pessimistic and depressingly gloomy" (Creber 1976: 5).

5. Discussion

Literary translations published between 1916 and 1933 in the progressive newspaper of Slovene American diaspora *Prosveta* represent an important if not even essential part of this periodical. Translations served several, complementary roles and influenced profoundly the external dialogics of the newspaper. The manifesto of the newspaper, published by its editors and the managers, in the first issue states that *Prosveta* will publish news from Slovene settlements in the U.S.: by doing that *Prosveta* attempted to unite its readers into a community, so that Slovene Americans were able to imagine themselves as a nation in the making (if we borrow Benedict Anderson's terms [Anderson 2006, Pogacar 2017]). In addition to the nation-building enterprise, the newspaper's manifesto states that Prosveta will entertain, and, last but not least, also attempt to instruct and educate the Slovene American diaspora that predominantly consisted at that time of members of the working class. They call this second aim their "sacred mission." Our analysis

of the literary translation in *Prosveta* shows that the editors of *Prosveta* attempted to reach the last two goals (of entertainment and that of instruction) partly, if not almost entirely, through Slovene literary translations.

The results of our analysis show that only a handful of literary translations published in *Prosveta* were explicitly presented as educational material: the series "Gems of World Literature" included the works of 31 authors, while the number of literary translations that were not explicitly defined as instructional is much higher and covers more than 1560 works. However, a closer look at this last group shows that many of the works reflect the worldview and political orientation of the publication's editors and may serve both aims: the entertainment and the instruction of its readers.

The biographies of the editors of *Prosveta* in the period between 1916 and 1933 showed that both of them were staunch socialists who devoted much of their life to socialist and anti-clerical propaganda. Their choice of literary translations of longer works published in instalments reflected their views: the prominence given to socialist, left-wing, anti-clerical authors, such as Maxim Gorky, Upton Sinclair, Jack London, Louis Adamic, Lidiia Seifullina, Leonard Frank, Edgar Monteil and others, shows that even when literary translation was presented as a form of entertainment, it also served to promote socialist, progressive ideas. Similarly, the editors' choice of translations of shorter works was influenced by their political views and ideological positioning. Among the five most frequently published authors of short fiction in *Prosveta* between 1916 and 1933, are found two Soviet authors: in second place Mikhail Zoshchenko, with 54 translated works, and in fifth place Maxim Gorky, with 30 translated works.

6. Conclusion

In our article we have briefly outlined one of the roles of literary translation in a diaspora periodical, that of entertainment. Our initial assumption that literary translations published in *Prosveta* between 1916 and 1933 served different roles, and that these roles were interconnected, seemed to be correct. The literary translations in *Prosveta* that were presented as primarily a means of entertainment, nevertheless often served the political and ideological orientation and positioning of the newspaper and its editors as well. The editors of *Prosveta* wanted the literary translations published in their periodical to instruct, to entertain, and to contribute to cultural identity building, and consequently chose translated literary works that at the same time fulfilled more than one role and contributed to the complex internal and external dialogics of the periodical. It is our belief that this complexity of diaspora's translation activity, and in particular the role of translation in diaspora periodicals, which is at the moment under-studied in Translation Studies, should deserve more intense scholarly attention.

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РАЗВЛЕЧЕНИЕ И ОБРАЗОВАНИЕ ЧЕРЕЗ ЛИТЕРАТУРНЫЙ ПЕРЕВОД: «ПРОСВЕТА», ГАЗЕТА СЛОВЕНСКО-АМЕРИКАНСКОЙ ЭМИГРАНТСКОЙ ОБЩИНЫ

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Основная идея статьи состоит в том, что литературный перевод использовался в различных целях в эмигрантских периодических изданиях — для образования, развлечения, а также укрепления культурной идентичности диаспоры. Эти функции литературного перевода соответствовали политической и идеологической ориентации и позиционированию газеты и ее редакторов. В статье анализируются литературные переводы, опубликованные в прогрессивной левоцентристской газете "Prosveta" (просвещение), издаваемой словенской диаспорой в США, с момента ее основания в 1916 году до 1933 года, когда она стала выходить лишь пять дней в неделю, а тираж

начал падать. Были проанализированы публикации в 5273 номерах газеты, выявлены тексты литературных переводов, которые были разделены на три основные категории. Результаты анализа показывают, что выбор авторов, чьи произведения были переведены и опубликованы, отражает идеологическое установки редакции и стирает различия между двумя категориями переводных произведений – теми, которые были отобраны для образования читателей "Prosveta", и теми, которые предназначались для их развлечения.

Ключевые слова: *литературный перевод, периодические издания, диаспора, период между войнами, американцы словенского происхождения*

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ПРЕДСТАВЛЕНО ДЛЯ ВОЗМОЖНОЙ ПУБЛИКАЦИИ В ОТКРЫТОМ ДОСТУПЕ В СООТВЕТСТВИИ С УСЛОВИЯМИ ЛИЦЕНЗИИ CREATIVE COMMONS ATTRIBUTION (CC BY) (HTTP://CREATIVECOMMONS.ORG/LICENSES/BY/4.0/)

RETRANSLATION AS AN (UN)SUCCESSFUL COUNTER-NARRATIVE: *LES FRERES KARAMAZOV* VERSUS *LES FRERES KARAMAZOV*

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Drawing on Narrative Theory, this article analyses the second French translation of The Brothers Karamazov *as a counter-narrative for the novel's first translation into French. In the mid-1880s, the critic Vogüé blocked the introduction of Dostoevsky's narrative by predicting a clash with the French taste. Taking this warning into account, the first French translators Halpérine-Kaminsky and Morice in 1888 framed the source narrative by means of selective appropriation and repositioning of the characters. Being accused of mutilation, Halpérine-Kaminsky reacted with the logic of good reasons. In 1906, the reader was presented with a counter-narrative:* Les frères Karamazov *by Bienstock and Torquet. However, their retranslation, too, was an abbreviated version of the source narrative. Moreover, a micro-textual analysis shows that they largely neutralized the original couleur locale and use of multilingualism, which the first translators in the context of the Russian literary hype, had reproduced to a considerably larger extent. In conclusion, the extraordinary success of the first French translation of* The Brothers Karamazov *is explained by referring to the normalizing function of narratives. In the long run, however, as a result of the undermining counter-narratives in combination with the so-called 'sleeper effect', neither the narrative invented by Halpérine-Kaminsky and Morice could withstand the test of time.*

Keywords: *Dostoevsky, Retranslation Hypothesis, Narrative Theory, couleur locale, multilingualism*

1. Introduction

Dostoevsky was born exactly two centuries ago, but he still is pretty much alive: he is retranslated on a regular basis, in a multitude of languages. In accordance with the general trend (Skibińska 2015: 237), retranslations of Dostoevsky, too, are legitimized by denouncing shortcomings of previous translations (Boulogne 2019a). Such a marketing strategy is consistent with the Retranslation Hypothesis, according to which translation is a process of improvement from one retranslation to the next, coming closer and closer to the source text (Paloposki and Koskinen 2004). The generally accepted idea that the first translations to popularize foreign writers are more likely to strive towards acceptability than the translations of the same works that follow, can be explained in polysystemic terms: after all, translation norms vary according to the prestige that can be expected in the host culture (Even-Zohar 1978). The implication is that paradoxically, when a target-oriented translation becomes successful to the extent that it increases the prestige of the work in question, it inevitably undermines itself, by creating the need for

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a more source-oriented retranslation. Or, following the suggestion of Siobhan Brownlie (2006) to look at retranslation through the lens of Narrative Theory: it seems that the narrative contained in a first translation of a work by an author yet to be popularized can easily be replaced by a counter-narrative, once the work in question has acquired a certain degree of prestige. This article examines the extent to which these tendencies apply to a milestone in Western European translation history: the first French re-translation of *The Brothers Karamazov*.

2. Blocking the source narrative: the dislike of Vogüé

The fierce breakthrough of Dostoevsky in Western Europe in the 1880s was largely due to the rhetoric talent of the famous critic Eugene-Melchior de Vogüé (1848—1910). With his essays on Russian literature, first published in *Revue des Deux Mondes* and then compiled into the international bestseller *Le Roman Russe*, he was hoping to put an end to the French naturalistic hype surrounding Zola. This is why he framed Dostoevsky by labelling him as a psychologically insightful champion of the humiliated and offended (Boulogne 2015: 181—184).

In line with this selective appreciation, Vogüé proclaimed that the writer's talent was best reflected in his works *Poor Folks, Notes from the House of Dead* and *Crime and Punishment*. The author's subsequent big novels, however, he thought to be tedious and confused. The critic was ostentatiously annoyed by the multitude of vague, talkative figures, constantly digging into other people's souls, in *The Brothers Karamazov*. His analysis of the plot was limited to the curious remark that more or less the whole novel was filled with the chitchat of two phrasemongers who try to steal each other's amorous or criminal secrets and converse about religion and philosophy. On Vogüé (1885:349), the characters of the novel make a crazy impression: they never engage in normal activities and are often in a drunken, dreamy or feverish state.

Vogüé's final touch to his barrier against Dostoevsky's narrative was his justification for the briefness of his plot analysis: he asserted that even among the Russians there were very few who had the courage to finish *The Brothers Karamazov*. Incidentally, already in 1884, he had shared this point of view in a personal letter with the publishing house Plon: 'few Russians support reading it, it would certainly put off the French taste' (quoted by Troyat 1942: 615; my translation).

3. Framing the source narrative: the translation by Halpérine-Kaminsky and Morice

Despite Vogué's warnings, Plon published a translation of *The Brothers Karamazov* as early as 1888. This translation was made by Ilia Halpérine-Kaminsky (1858—1936), an immigrant of Russian origin, and Charles Morice (1860—1919), a symbolist French poet without the command of Russian. Their renewed collaboration was encouraged by the commercial success of their earlier co-translation *L'esprit souterrain* (1886), which is marked by far-

reaching narrative shifts (Boulogne 2019b). As detailed comparative analyses have shown, they have adopted a similar translation strategy to Dostoevsky's latest novel (Hemmings 1950, Boulogne 2011: 399 et seq.).

Dostoevsky's *The Brothers Karamazov* opens with a two-page preface by a fictional author, who explains why the novel's central character, Alësha, remains so passive: his actions will become more important in the novel to follow. Frank (2003: 573) argues that the preface was primarily meant to justify the preachy tone of the novel, by evoking associations with the genre of hagiography. It is a clear indication of their commitment to the preliminary translation norm of 'acceptability' (Toury 1995: 58), that Halpérine-Kaminsky and Morice simply deleted the preface in full, along with all the functions it fulfilled. As Baker (2006: 139) explains, 'erasing the voice of the author/narrator [...] contributes to reconfiguring the balance between personal and public narratives.'

As previously shown by Boulogne (2009), the only point of macrostructural conformity between the translation by Halpérine-Kaminsky and Morice and the source text, concerns the general way in which the novel is divided in entities: both texts consist of four volumes and a large number of numbered books, which in turn consist of numerous chapters. The thematic titles of the various books were generally adequately translated. The titles of the actual chapters — there are about a hundred — on the other hand, have been systematically omitted. Also the order of the chapters has been modified: in the *Les frères Karamzov* (Dostoïevsky 1888:1—74), the first and second books have been switched places, so that the characters are introduced to the reader in medias res.

Even more drastic for the narrative structure are the gigantic shortenings, which can be described as 'selective appropriation of textual material' (Baker 2006: 114): in *Les frères Karamazov* (1888), a large number of paragraphs and even whole chapters were left out (for an overview, see Hemmings 1950: 232—236). These cuts mainly concern passages that seem irrelevant to the main storyline, such as subplots and dialogues. In total, no less than thirty chapters, a little less than a third of the original number of chapters, have more or less completely been cut. The omissions of integral chapters are fairly evenly distributed throughout the text, in the sense that in each book one or more chapters have been left untranslated. The only exception is the fifth book: all its chapters have been translated. The sixth book, 'A Russian monk', which contains a hagiography of Alësha's mentor, omitted in its entirety. The eleventh book, which focuses on the friendship between Alësha and a young boy, has also been completely left out. On the basis of these chapters, the translators wrote an autonomous short story 'by Dostoevsky', published in 1889 under the title *Les précoces* (*The precocious ones*).

Yet, the most extraordinary interventions are to be found in the epilogue, in which the translators repositioned the participants of the source narrative. Dostoevsky, planning to write a follow-up novel, had left his readers dangling on the cliff. His epilogue consists of only three chapters. The first one, 'The plans to save Dmitry', brings up a vague plan to free Dmitry Karamazov, wrongfully convicted to hard labor in Siberia for the murder of his father, from prison. However, in the two following chapters, this plan is not implemented. The epilogue of *Les frères Karamazow* (1888), consisting of eight

chapters, drastically changes this narrative. While the first two chapters are translated from the corresponding Russian chapters, there is no trace of the original third chapter. Chapters III to VIII of the French translation, in turn, originated from the imagination of Halpérine-Kaminsky and Morice, who provided the novel with a happy ending full of action: disguised as a peasant, the youngest brother, Alësha Karamazov, manages to break into Dmitry's prison cell, where he deliberately takes his place, whereupon he is put on trial and acquitted (for a more detailed discussion, see Hemmings 1950, Boulogne 2009 and Boulogne 2011: 532—533).

4. Defending the adapted narrative: the logic of good reasons

Despite the above-described narrative shifts, the publication of Halpérine-Kaminsky and Morice's translation of *The Brothers Karamazov* in a first instance did not lead to controversy in Paris. Only in April 1911, more than two decades later, the newspaper *Le Figaro* published a piece by André Gide (1869—1951) harshly criticizing their translation strategy. Being fully aware of the influential position of Vogüé as a pioneer critic at the time, the French writer first and foremost blamed him for the lack of genuine interest of the French readership in *The Brothers Karamazov*:

> Dostoyevsky… decidedly, was too Russian; M. Vogüé was screaming blue murder. At the very most, he consented to direct the interest of the first translators to the two or three works which he considered the most accessible [...]; but by this same gesture he unfortunately pushed aside his most significant, doubtlessly his most difficult, but also — we dare to say — his most beautiful works. (Gide 1923: 59—60; my translation)

Previously, Gide had read Dostoevsky's works in German and could therefore compare different translations (albeit not with the corresponding Russian source text). The translation by Halpérine-Kaminsky and Morice labelled 'a mutilated version' (Gide 1923: 62; my translation). He did not mention the plot twist in the epilogue, but instead focused on the shortenings: 'here and there, whole chapters were amputated' (ibid.). At the same time, he showed quite some understanding for the historical context, which had made it difficult for the translators to provide the French readership with a source-oriented translation. The reader, however, had the right to know that the translation by Halpérine-Kaminsky and Morice was a greatly shortened version: 'I will therefore only blame it for not admitting its incompleteness.' (Gide 1923: 62; my translation).

In 1923, the piece by Gide, now an established writer, reappeared as a part of his collection of essays on Dostoevsky. Halpérine-Kaminsky, receiving in the very same year the Langlois award from the Académie Française for his literary translations, felt the need to stand up for himself. He retorted in prefaces that he added to reissues of his translations *L'esprit souterrain* (1929) and *Les frères Karamazov* (1932). Although Halpérine-Kaminsky's translation strategy is the subject of his study, these paratexts were not taken into account by Hemmings (1950).

In his preface to *L'esprit souterrain* (1929: xi), the translator replies to Gide's accusation of deception by referring to its title page inscription 'trans-

lated and adapted' (my transl.), which he said to be in full accordance with the customs of that time. More essential to his defense is his argument that back then, the French readers were not yet ready for an unpolished translation of *The Brothers Karamazov*, which he illustrates by quoting from Vogüé's *Le roman russe*. He argues that it was not only desirable to adapt Dostoevsky to the French taste, but even necessary in order to give Dostoevsky's last novel a chance on the French book market:

> As a matter of fact, it is thanks to our adaptation that this masterpiece — made, let's say, less 'abundant' — has become a classic in the eyes of the public and that the critics and Mr. André Gide have been given the opportunity to get to know what was most significant in Dostoevsky's works [...]. (Halpérine-Kaminsky 1929: xii; my translation)

In 1888, Halpérine-Kaminsky was indeed convinced that the fashion for Russian literature was superficial and fragile: he predicted that Dostoevsky would only really be understood 'when the rising nervousness of our century will have reached its climax' (my transl.; Halpérine-Kaminsky 1888: 629). In his 1932 preface to *Les frères Karamazov*, Halpérine-Kaminsky once again asserted that a source-text oriented translation 'would have boiled down to keeping the French readers away from *The Brothers Karamazov* for many years' (1932: 13; my translation). This time, he based his argument not only on the state of mind of the readership, but also on the incompleteness of the original novel: because the planned sequel was never written, the true meaning of many episodes remains hidden from the reader — which hence were eliminated 'in the interest of the brilliant Russian writer' (Halperine-Kaminsky 1932: 14; my translation).

To conclude, Halpérine-Kaminsky (1932: 13—14) elaborates on his motives to provide an invented closed ending to Dostoevsky's novel. In so doing, he did not betray the author, but, on the contrary, acted in good faith, for 'it still is Dostoevsky who speaks, but he does so through the free interpretation of his French interpreters'. Implicitly placing himself in the tradition of the *belles infidèles*, the translator maintains that the added chapters were not really invented, because they were inspired by so-called 'precise indications of the author disseminated throughout the novel itself and his unpublished private correspondence' (my transl.).

To put in the narrative terms proposed by Baker (2006: 168), the self-defense by Halpérine-Kaminsky is not so much based on 'fidelity' or 'the logic of reasons', which involves establishing whether relevant facts have been omitted or distorted, but rather on 'the logic of good reasons', which relates specifically to values — in this case, 'the good faith' and the intention to successfully introduce Dostoevsky's latest novel to the French readership.

5. Providing a counter-narrative: the retranslation by Bienstock and Torquet

Half a decade before Gide had vented his criticism, in 1906, Halpérine-Kaminsky and Morice's version of *The Brothers Karamazov* was challenged by the appearance of a retranslation by Jewish-Russian emigre Jean-Vladimir

Bienstock (1868—1933), who also had been assisted by a symbolist poet, in this case Charles Torquet (1860—1918). The marketing strategy of the publishing house Fasquelle consisted in presenting the retranslation *Les frères Karamazov* (1906) as 'a full edition in one volume' (my translation). A comparison with the corresponding source text confirms that the translation by Bienstock and Torquet is indeed macrostructurally more source-text-oriented than the preceding translation by Halpérine-Kaminsky — if only because the order of chapters was maintained, the thematic chapter titles were rendered into French, and no plot twists were added — but the claim of completeness is certainly misleading.

Just like in the narrative provided by Halpérine-Kaminsky and Morice, in the retranslated version by Bienstock and Torquet, no trace of Dostoevsky's preface can be found. Their overall translation strategy was clearly targeted at the size of the original novel: virtually every original sentence was substantially abbreviated, on many occasions entire paragraphs of the source text were cut out, and the following chapters were entirely omitted: Chapter II 'Children' and Chapter III 'A schoolboy' from the tenth book; Chapter III 'A little devil' from the eleventh book; and Chapter VIII 'Treatise on Smerdiakov' from the twelfth book. Some small text pieces from these deleted chapters, which seem of little importance to the main storyline, were integrated into chapters that were not omitted. The lack of concern about adequacy is also apparent in the translation of the numbering of the books of which the novel consists: whereas Dostoevsky had opted to number the books regardless of the boundaries between the different book volumes, in *Les frères Karamazov* (1906) the numbering of the books in every volume starts from I.

Although macro-structurally more source-text-oriented than the preceding translation of *The Brothers Karamazov*, neither did Bienstock and Torquet's translation *Les frères Karamazov* (1906) escape the criticism of André Gide. In his 1911 article in *Le Figaro*, he devoted the following words to it:

> It offered the great advantage of presenting, in a tighter volume, the general economy of the book; that is to say, it restored in their place the parts that the early translators had eliminated. But, by a systematic condensation, [...] they stripped the dialogues of their pathetic stammering and quivering, they skipped a third of the sentences, often whole paragraphs, and often the most significant ones. The result is crisp, abrupt, shadowless, like a zinc engraving or, even better said, a line drawing based on a deeply layered portrait by Rembrandt. It is hence a true virtue of this book to remain, despite so much degradation, admirable! (Gide 1923: 63; my translation)

Remarkably enough, in the wake of Gide's criticism, Halpérine-Kaminsky, despite the liberties he allowed for himself when translating Dostoevsky, could not hold back from making a contribution to the discredit of the counter-narrative by Bienstock and Torquet:

> I refer the reader to the competent opinion of André Gide himself [...] to get an idea about the betrayal of this 'complete translation'. And M. Gide is obviously unaware of the full extent of its monstrosity, given his impossibility to compare it with the source text (Halpérine-Kaminsky 1929: xiii; my translation)

6. A micro-textual comparison of two contradicting narratives

If we follow Halpérine-Kaminsky's lead, and take a closer look at the micro-textual translation choices made by Bienstock and Torquet, in order to compare them with those of their predecessors, we get a more nuanced picture of their retranslation strategy. Without aiming for exhaustiveness, we here focus on the ways in which they deal with Russian *couleur locale* and multilingualism. The below summary and examples are based on the research presented in Boulogne (2011: 399—719).

6.1. (Re)translating the couleur locale

The Russian *couleur locale* is constructed in *The Brothers Karamazov* through the use of toponyms, proper names, realia, ways of address and literary intertextuality. Roughly speaking, the translator has the choice between various degrees of exoticization or naturalization.

Russian **toponyms**, which we use as an umbrella term for place names, street names and the like, are systematically rendered by Halpérine-Kaminsky and Morice by means of transcription, creating an exotizing effect. Bienstock and Torquet, in contrast, only exceptionally use simple transcription to render Russian toponyms. They tend to prefer simple omission, but also other naturalizing processes were put to use. E.g., the bridge 'Новый Каменный мост' (the New Stone Bridge) was rendered as the familiar sounding 'Pont-Neuf' (Dostoïevski 1906: 53), which is a clear case of naturalization.

In the translation by Halpérine-Kaminsky and Morice, almost all **person names**, including the derived variants and the speaking names, have simply ended up in transcribed form. Bienstock and Torquet, when writing *Les frères Karamazov* (1906), took a less exotizing approach. In most cases they also use transcription. In some cases, for the sake of accessibility, a footnote was added. E.g., the commentary 'Diminutif d'Alexeï' was added in a footnote to explain 'Aliocha' (Dostoïevski 1906: 10). Also a limited number of speaking names was also clarified in such a way. E.g., 'Smerdiatschaïa' was explained in a footnote as 'La puante' (idem, 63). In order to keep the gap between the source culture and the reader bridgeable, other measures, too, were taken. The variety of names was reduced by displaying either the default name of a character, or by simply deleting the name in question. Thus the affective name 'Илюшечка' (Ilyushechka) was reduced to 'Iljucha' (idem, 434), and the surname 'Верховцева' (Verkhovtseva) was simply left out (idem, 441). In some cases, a character, called in the source text by his name, was referred in the retranslation to by his occupation. In a similar way, 'Степанида Ильинишна Бедрягина' (Stepanida Ilinishna Bedryagina) became 'une femme de marchand' (the woman of a merchand; idem, 31). It is also striking that Bienstock and Torquet have systematically replaced the feminine variants of the surnames (ending on -a) by the masculine ones (ending on a consonant). The reader hence comes across 'une demoisele Mikaïlev' (a young lady Mikaïlev; ibid. 361). To conclude, numerous first

names were replaced by French equivalents: 'Марья' (Mar'ya), 'Юлия' (Yuliya), 'Иосиф' (Yosif), 'Лиза' (Liza), 'Андрей' (Andrey), 'Ипполит' (Ippolit) and 'Михаил' (Mikhail) were translated as, respectively, 'Marie' (307), 'Julie' (122), 'Joseph' (38), 'Lise' (33), 'André' (276), 'Hyppolyte' (447) and 'Michel' (197).

Halpérine-Kaminsky and Morice use a multitude of processes for translating typical Russian **forms of address**. Already in earlier translation *L'esprit souterrain* (97, 109, 134), they had introduced the French reader to ways of address as 'ljuouboushka', 'barine', and 'moujik', by which they had rendered the respective words 'любушка' (sweetheart), 'барин' (gentleman) and 'мужик' (farmer, fellow). In *Les frères Karamazov* (Dostoïevsky 1888), most ways of address were rendered with a calque, which also can produce an alienating effect. Bienstock and Torquet, on the other hand, preferred to translate the ways of address in naturalizing ways. For example, 'брат' (brother) and 'голубчик' (literally 'pigeon', to address a male person) were translated as 'mon garçon' and 'mon cher' (Dostoïevski 1906: 83, 234). Many forms of address were simply omitted, which resulted in functional shifts. E.g., the character Svidrigaylov makes excessive use, in a sarcastic way, of the outdated polite form '-c'. In the translation by Bienstock and Torquet these subtle addresses were simply left out (Dostoïevski 1906: 149).

When translating the Russian **realia** in *The Brothers Karamazov*, Halpérine-Kaminsky and Morice have maximally reproduced the *colour local*, by opting for transcription. Words like 'cafetan', 'izba' and 'dvornik', which become understandable in the context, are presented to the reader without clarifying information. Also the Russian unit of length 'аршин' (arshin) ended up in *Les frères Karamazov* (Dostoïevsky 1888 I: 258) as 'archine'. Particularly striking is the extent to which the epilogue was larded with realia, such as 'izba', 'vodka' and 'moujik'. Clearly, Halpérine-Kaminsky and Morice abundantly used these words to reinforce the impression that even the chapters of their own invention were an an inalienable part of an original Russian work. Besides, not only when realia were at stake, these translators showed themselves committed to lexical exoticization. They even used the transcribed word 'tchinovniks' (*Dostoïevsky* 1888 II: 182), just meaning 'functionaries'. Bienstock and Torquet, in contrast, only exceptionally transcribed Russian realia. Among the few realia they chose to maintain, we find words like 'izba' (152) and 'kvass' (81) and 'icôns'. In some cases, they replaced Russian realia by other, more widely known Russian realia: 'тарантас' (tarantas, four-wheeled carriage) was rendered as 'troika' (idem, 246) and 'грош' (grosh) as 'kopek' (276). However, in most cases they neutralized the *couleur locale*. E.g., 'изба' (izba, tree-trunk peasant hut), is sometimes translated as 'chaumière' (idem, 256) or 'cahute' (367), the Russian Orthodox calendar of saints 'Четьи-Минеи' as 'Martyrologue' (ibid. 26), 'водка' (vodka) as 'eau de vie' (235) and 'юродивый' (a fool to whom prophetic gifts are attributed) as 'fou' (130). In other cases, Bienstock and Torquet again opted for omission. E.g., the garment 'поддёвка' (poddjovka, kind of long, fitted men's coat) was left out (idem, 192).

Regarding the reproduction of the *couleur locale*, it should also be noted that Bienstock and Torquet, unlike their predecessors Halpérine-Kaminsky

and Morice, largely have erased the **literary intertextuality** that can be found in *Brothers Karamazov*: explicit references to Pushkin, Gogol, Lermontov, Griboyedov, Tyutchev and to the genre *bylina* were left out (Dostoïevski 1906: 51, 83, 89, 148, 167, 274).

Although the above findings are not the fruit of an exhaustive comparison of the source text with the first French translations, it suffices to conclude that whereas the *couleur locale* was largely neutralized by the retranslators Bienstock and Torquet, their predecessors Halpérine-Kaminsky and Morice, were much more concerned about the reproduction of *the couleur locale*, even to the extent of exotization. This observation is all the more interesting, since on a macro-structural level, we have analyzed their translation as extremely naturalizing, in the sense that they even had adapted the original narrative to their projection of the French taste. The historical context in which *Les frères Karamazov* (Dostoïevsky 1888) came into being, offers an explanation why it was coated with a layer of Russian varnish. From the mid-1880s, Paris was under the spell of a generalized Russian literary fashion. The Russian origin of a work was therefore found to be highly relevant, and had to be emphasized. In 1906, when the retranslation by Bienstock and Torquet was published, however, the Russian hype had already blown over.

6.2. (Re)translating multilingualism

One of the most striking formal features of *The Brothers Karamazov* is its dizzying variation in language use, also in a literal sense: the speech of many a character is larded with short words and phrases in other languages than Russian. These hundreds of foreign-language units can be considered concrete examples of Dostoevsky's 'polyphonic' writing style. His Polish characters, for instance, are walking caricatures, distorting Russian language and now a then falling back on their mother tongue. However, the novel also features instances of French, German and Latin langue use, which fulfill a variety of literary functions (Boulogne 2012).

Halpérine-Kaminsky and Morice have partly reproduced the novel's original multilingualism. They even maintained a number of Polish words and phrases, albeit sometimes with small modifications. For instance, the Polish word 'panowie' (gentlemen) was rewritten as 'panove', which in a footnote was explained as 'the plural of *pane*' (my trans.; Dostoïevsky 1888 II: 47). On many occasions, the foreign language units were translated into French words in italics, subtly suggesting their non-Russian origin. E.g.: '*C'est à ne pas mettre un chien dehors...*' (Dostoïevsky 1888 II: 200). Bienstock and Torquet, on the other hand, neutralized Dostoevsky's multilingualism almost to the full extent. As earlier described, they have deleted numerous sentences from the source text, including legion original foreign language units. The remaining ones, they mostly translated without regard for their non-Russian origin, into standard-French. Only by way of exception, the foreign language was preserved: when the intellectual Ivan says 'хочешь qui pro quo, то пусть так и будет' (you want qui pro quo, so be it), this is rendered as 'Un quiproquo, si tu veux' (Dostoïevski 1906: 169). To compensate

for the loss of Polish language units integrated in a speech of broken Russian, Bienstock and Torquet on a couple occasions used compensation techniques. They added, for instance, the phrase '[il] dit en un russe mélangé de polonais' (he says in a Russian mixed with Polish; Dostoïevski 1906: 282). However, it is more than doubtful whether such compensation yields a high degree of pragmatic equivalence, or, otherwise said, whether it reproduces the comic effect of the source text. In any case, our analysis shows that also in regard to Dostoevsky's multilingualism is concerned, the narrative produced by retranslators Bienstock and Torquet blatantly contradicted the preceding version by Halpérine-Kaminsky and Morice.

7. Conclusion

On the basis of the Polysystem Theory (Even-Zohar 1978), according to which a translation strategy becomes more source-text-oriented when in the receiving culture the translated work gains prestige, and also on the basis of the Retranslation Hypothesis, according to which retranslations tend to be more source-text-oriented than first translations, we would have expected the retranslation *Les frères Karamazov* (1906) by Bienstock and Torquet to be more source-text-oriented than the preceding translation *Les frères Karamazov* (1888) by Halpérine-Kaminsky and Morice. However, the analysis undertaken in this article does not confirm this expectation unambiguously: on the one hand, the structure and plotlines of *The Brothers Karamazov*, which had been radically adapted to the French taste by the first French translators, were retranslated with more concern about adequacy, notwithstanding numerous shortenings, but on the other, as a result of the retranslation strategy, important micro-textual features of the source text, such as Russian *couleur locale* and the use of multilingualism, were massively neutralized. These observations illustrate that it cannot be measured *in general terms* to what extent a given retranslation is more source-text-oriented than a preceding translation of the same source text — which undermines the analytical and predictive value of the Retranslation Hypothesis.

According to Berman (1990: 2), a retranslation with an exceptionally high degree of adequacy can be awarded a prestigious status. In this context, he speaks of 'a great translation'. Such a status would be virtually impossible to achieve for the first translation of a classic work, as translations tend to be less target-text-oriented than retranslations. We would not go that far to label *Les frères Karamazov* (1888) by Halpérine-Kaminsky and Morice 'a great translation', but it is striking that this translation, too, has received an extraordinary high degree of prestige, notwithstanding its deviations from Dostoevsky's main plotline and other important macrostructural and micro-textual shifts. In France, although in 1906 and 1923 retranslations of *The Brothers Karamazov* by Bienstock and Torquet, respectively Henri Mongault and Marc Laval, had been made available, Halpérine-Kaminsky and Morice's version was reprinted on a regular basis until the mid-1930s. Moreover, for many decades, *Les frères Karamazov* (1888) was used as an intermediate text for indirect translations into a variety of languages, not only in Western-Europe, but also in South-America (Boulogne 2015: 192—198).

Given the fact that the translation by Halpérine-Kaminsky and Morice literally provides the reader with a different narrative than the source text, or than the retranslation by Bienstock and Torquet for that matter, it seems only natural to try to gain a deeper understanding of the reasons underlying its success by drawing on Narrative Theory. As Baker (2006: 11) explains, '[one] of the effects of narrativity is that it normalizes the accounts it projects over a period of time, so that they come to be perceived as self-evident, benign, uncontestable and non-controversial'. Although she is referring to narratives in a different sense (as the stories we tell about the world we live in), it is clear that this analysis also applies to strictly literary narratives: doubtlessly, the success of *Les frères Karamazov* (1888) by Halpérine-Kaminsky and Morice in France and abroad, made it look 'normal' that Dostoevsky's last novel ended with Alësha's reversed prison break and trial. The readership got used to this public narrative, and as a result, it was difficult for Dostoevsky's retranslators to replace it with a macro-structurally more source-text-oriented version, especially if it contradicted the already established narrative also on a micro-level. Moreover, Vogüé himself had publicly praised the translators Halpérine-Kaminsky and Morice, which in the eyes of the readership must have increased the general credibility of the storytellers. Taking into account the normalizing function of narratives — which is often overlooked by translation scholars — it seems reasonable to presume, by way of hypothesis, that the larger the extent to which a successful first translation provides the reader with a different narrative than the author, the more difficult it is to replace it by a retranslation. This insight helps explaining why as a counter-narrative, the retranslation in 1906 by Bienstock and Torquet, was unable to put an end to the national and international success of Halpérine-Kaminsky and Morice's translation.

Central to narrative paradigm of Fischer (1985: 86) is the insight that we 'creatively read and evaluate the texts of life and literature'. Over time, despite the above-described normalizing function, dominant public narratives can become the object of mistrust. This happened to *Les frères Karamazov* (1888) in the long run: the various French retranslations of *The Brothers Karamazov* that have succeeded each other in the course of the twentieth century, including the retranslation by Bienstock and Torquet, have each contributed to pointing out material inconsistencies in the translation by Halpérine-Kaminsky and Morice with the source narrative. In the interwar-period, Halpérine-Kaminsky's 'logic of good reasons' was still convincing enough — judging from the reprints of his translation. However, today, this is clearly no longer the case. Here, also the so-called 'sleeper effect' (Baker 2006: 151) must be taken into account: the storyteller is quicker forgotten than his message, which means that with the passage of time, the importance of the credibility of the storyteller fades away. In other words, because the prestige of Halpérine-Kaminsky and Morice, partly bestowed upon them by Vogüé, diminished in the course of the twentieth century, their narrative became gradually more vulnerable, which eventually led to their rejection and replacement by macro-structurally more source-text-oriented counter-narratives.

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ПОВТОРНЫЙ ПЕРЕВОД КАК (НЕ)УДАЧНЫЙ КОНТРНАРРАТИВ: *LES FRERES KARAMAZOV* VS *LES FRERES KARAMAZOV*

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Опираясь на теорию нарратива, автор статьи анализирует второй перевод «Братьев Карамазовых» на французский язык как контрнарратив к первому французскому переводу романа. В середине 1880-х годов литературный критик Вогюэ выступал против знакомства франкофонной аудитории с сочинениями Достоевского, подчеркивая их несовместимость с французским вкусом. Авторы первого перевода (1888), Гальперин-Каминский и Морис, приняли во внимание опасения Вогюэ и изменили оригинальный нарратив путем выборочной апроприации и переосмысления образов героев. В ответ на обвинения в обезображивании романа Гальперин-Каминский ссылался на логику достаточных оснований. В 1906 году читателю был представлен контрнарратив — перевод "Les frères Karamazov" авторства Бинстока и Торке. В повторном переводе оригинальное повествование было значительно сокращено. Микротекстуальный анализ показывает, что переводчики не передали ни местный культурный колорит, ни многоязычие оригинала, по большей части сохраненные в первом переводе, который был выполнен в пору моды на русскую литературу. В заключении невероятный успех первого французского перевода «Братьев Карамазовых» объясняется нормализующей функцией нарративов. При этом противодействующий контрнарратив и так называемый «эффект спящего» не позволили нарративу, созданному Гальпериным-Каминским и Морисом, пройти испытание временем.

Ключевые слова: *Достоевский, гипотеза повторного перевода, теория нарратива, местный колорит, многоязычие*

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ПРЕДСТАВЛЕНО ДЛЯ ВОЗМОЖНОЙ ПУБЛИКАЦИИ В ОТКРЫТОМ ДОСТУПЕ В СООТВЕТСТВИИ С УСЛОВИЯМИ ЛИЦЕНЗИИ CREATIVE COMMONS ATTRIBUTION (CC BY) (HTTP://CREATIVECOMMONS.ORG/LICENSES/BY/4.0/)

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Кант И. Пролегомены ко всякой будущей метафизике, которая может появиться как наука // Сочинения : в 8 т. М., 1994а. Т. 4.

Кант И. Метафизические начала естествознания // Сочинения : в 8 т. М., 1994б. Т. 4.

Howell R. Kant's Transcendental Deduction: An Analysis of Main Themes in His Critical Philosophy. Dordrecht ; Boston ; L., 1992.

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Книга на латинице: Keohane, R. 2002, *Power and Interdependence in a Partially Globalized World*, New York, Routledge.

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Журнальная статья на латинице: Johanson, J., Vahlne, J.-E. 2003, Business Relationship Learning and Commitment in the Internationalization Process, *Journal of International Entrepreneurship*, no. 1, pp. 83—101.

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