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A Translation Journal

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Book Reviews

ReOrienting Translation Studies: Towards Commensurability

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Abstract

Debates about the relationship between 'Western' and 'non-Western' traditions and discourses of translation are linked more broadly to the dialectic connection between universal and culture-specific theories. The imbalance and gaps in the existing 'international' discourse highlight the need to 'reOrient' the field of Translation Studies from more diverse perspectives. Without exploring alternative cultural and intellectual resources it is premature to assume that Western thinking on translation is superior or universally pertinent. While acknowledging the potential risks of emphasizing site-based understandings, this paper takes up the example of translation in Asian contexts to identify some sample practices and ideas that offer somewhat different perspectives. It also calls for further research and a mutually respectful dialogue between culture-general and culture-relative discourses on translation so as to transcend provincialism and essentialism and contribute to epistemic change. The paper draws on relevant concepts such as traveling theories, complementarity, commensurability, micro-cosmopolitanism, Other-literacy, and the relationship between past ideas and practices and Translation Studies today and in the future.

Introduction

Differing viewpoints are a necessary and welcome impetus for scholarly progress, yet the discipline of Translation Studies remains characterized by a narrow over-reliance on knowledge of and from Euro-American cultures. Although recently there has been an encouraging upswing in studies of the translational activities that have occurred in other cultures and in research by scholars from a broader spectrum, as well as greater openness to such contributions, there is a residual imbalance and many blank spaces. The worldview and the theoretical and methodological frameworks that underpin Translation Studies continue to derive predominantly from the Western paradigm, which is roughly synonymous with Euro-American thought[1].

Yet the nature and scope of translation theory and practice are not exhausted by understandings established in Euro-American contexts. The superiority and universal applicability of these ideas remain to be proven (there is no consensus even within the West as to which theory is superior), and without knowledge of alternative frames of reference there is no way of making such a determination. Accepting the authority of theories originating in Western contexts without verification of their validity in different situations precludes other insights that

[1] Constructs such as 'the West' and 'non-West' are notoriously problematic, but I use them here as an expedient, while acknowledging their fluidity, fuzziness, mutual relativity and internal heterogeneity.

might be more relevant in a particular context and can lead to theoretical closure. Although translation theorizing in some parts of the world might not be highly formalized, this does not necessarily mean that local reflections and practices lack interest or value and that this situation is static.

Moves to expand the existing framework of Translation Studies are aimed at presenting a counterpoint to the status quo, fostering broader intellectual links and ensuring discursive equality. One way to do this is by exploring the richness and diversity of concepts of translation in non-Western contexts, such as Asia (a choice based simply on my background in this area)[2]. Although it is unhelpful to reinforce *here/there* and *us/them* binaries, the differences between 'the West' and 'the Rest' are clearly greater than those within the West (or within Asia). Greater knowledge of how Asian ideas and practices of translation differ from those in the West can help us move beyond such regional differences to a higher level of understanding. Cheung (2011: 52) rightly suggests that understanding is a prerequisite for a dialogue on equal terms, but we could also argue that dialogue is a precondition for understanding.

1. Universalism

Let me start by acknowledging the advantages of focusing on cross-cultural similarities rather than differences, which might turn out to be superficial rather than intractable. Without recognition of any commonalities inherent in the act of translation or any similarities across schools of thought there is no basis for dialogue. Finding areas of agreement is clearly possible[3], particularly when discussing contemporary practices, although the further we go back in time the less solid might be these common grounds.

Wang and Kuo (2010: 153) point out that "theories are by definition aimed at establishing generality and universality", so culture-specific theories represent a paradox. Yet allegedly universal concepts and approaches are often based on a relatively restricted number of Euro-American experiences[4], and exaggeration of

[2] By 'Asia' (itself a European concept) I am referring primarily to the geographical space (although there is no consensus on its scope) in all its cultural and historical diversity, but also to the imaginary mental space that denotes the West's 'Other'.

[3] He Yuanjian (2001: 180) suggests that in the translation context universal principles are "likely to be identified in the areas of (1) cognition, (2) linguistic processing, and (3) human cultural and social fundamentals". More specifically, Tan (2001: 64ff) proposes five areas of similarity between the Western and Chinese traditions of translation. Apparent resemblances can, however, be misleading. For instance, the *chokuyaku/iyaku* dichotomy in Japan does not map directly onto the ostensible equivalents of literal and free translation.

[4] It is true that one of the leading approaches in the field, Descriptive Translation Studies (DTS), is chiefly associated with scholars from Israel, a nation in the Middle East (albeit with strong ties to

their significance can result in the difference-leveling imposition of 'central' values. The assumptions underlying the selection and interpretation of data can also be culturally biased[5], so it is important to be aware of this and of the geohistorical specificity of much knowledge in Translation Studies. Theories developed in one location do not necessarily remain unchanged when adopted in new contexts. In his article "Traveling Theory" Said (1998: 157) argues that such movement "necessarily involves processes of representation and institutionalization different from those at the point of origin", and he suggests (1998: 161) that when a theory travels to a new situation we can learn about its limitations and possibilities. Different starting points are also likely to lead to differing outcomes, and at different sites even the same elements are "put together (reticulated) in a unique and contingent formation in response to local culture and politics" (Gaonkar 2001: 15-16). Foregrounding sameness at the expense of real differences – whether "historically created" or "the result of interpretation" (Said 1993: 31-32) – is less likely to produce original ideas that can move the field forward. Once a theory acquires authoritative status it easily becomes dogma[6], whereas "pluralism limits the authority of any one tradition" (McCarthy 2001: 232). Hence alternative approaches can help query, denaturalize and expand existing theories.

Claims to universality gain in legitimacy if they are underpinned by particularity – i.e. based on "an attempt to add up, make links between, or otherwise relate various localities" (Law and Mol 2003: 1). The problem is when universal validity or value is assumed or claimed for ideas or practices originating within a particular polysystem without testing such assertions elsewhere or exploring neglected aspects. If they are to find a continuing place, universal claims need to be supplemented by more fine-grained approaches that reflect not only the historical and social contexts from which these conceptualizations emerged, but also different constructions of knowledge.

Rather than viewing universal and culture-specific approaches as binary opposites, it is more productive to regard them as existing in a continuum or in a relationship along the lines of the Taoist *yin-yang* dialectic – "they may be

the West). Nevertheless, the ideas of these scholars were informed not only by the role of translation in the Israeli context, but also by the ideas of Russian Formalists, and DTS is also associated with scholars in the Low Countries. In relative terms it falls within the parameters of 'European', rather than non-Western, thinking on translation.

[5] Even apparently scientific research methods such as surveys and think-aloud protocols might be affected by their cultural context.

[6] Although the recent interest in Western theories of translation on the part of many Asian scholars is to be welcomed, it is often uncritical, perhaps as a residual effect of colonization (formal or mental).

contradictory, but also complementary and mutually constitutive. Through clashes and interactions, convergence and divergence, they define and transform one another" (Wang and Kuo 2010: 159-160). From this holistic/dialogical perspective it is no longer necessary to choose between universal and culture-specific approaches – "Any theory has local resonance and may have global significance" (Miike 2007: 277). This might seem self-evident, but it bears repeating until we see not a Westcentric, homogenizing 'universalism', but a more genuinely universal (multicontextual) universalism based on utility in deepening our understanding of translation, not on power or origin.

2. Culture-specific approaches

One rationale for broadening the focus beyond Western thinking on translation lies in the mismatch or 'remainder' when it is transplanted to other contexts – i.e. situations to which Western theories do not apply or which they overlook, hence offering the greatest potential for new insights. Theorizing from Asian vantage points does not mean replacing the current Westcentric bias with an Asiacentric bias or rejecting Westcentric analyses outright – only those aspects that are inapplicable in particular Asian contexts. Just as it is essential for Asian scholars to adopt a critical attitude when importing Euro-American ideas, ideas on translation originating in Asia should be valued only if they represent a better way for understanding specific Asian circumstances in the past and/or offer new insights and a more productive way forward.

Admittedly, focusing on site-based understandings carries the risk of reducing theories and theorists to their origins, so that they lack broader relevance. Our research narratives are influenced by, but do not necessarily coincide with, our sociocultural embedding[7]. Moreover, it is important to acknowledge that today the West is an inextricable part of Asia. With growing scholarly interconnectedness, such categories and boundaries are becoming increasingly meaningless. Gunaratne (2009: 376) argues that

> the West connotes all those who evince allegiance to the Eurocentric worldview (including Western-trained non-Western scholars who eagerly advance European universalism for their scholarly productivity), and the

[7] It would be overly deterministic to claim that theories and disciplines are *inevitably* shaped by the cultures in which they originated. Although it is reasonable to assume that cultural background often plays a role, scholars are also shaped by their other individual qualities and intellectual commitments. Martha Cheung (2011) has written a thought-provoking article that addresses the appropriateness or otherwise of asserting local identity in academic discourses on translation, particularly for Third World intellectuals.

East connotes all those who see merit in the Oriental worldview (including Western scholars who strive to replace Eurocentrism with universal universalism).

It is also important to recognize that research motives are not always politically innocent. For instance, attempts to give Asia a higher profile in Translation Studies could be interpreted as a desire to make 'scholarly capital' out of Asia or as another instance of exoticizing/Orientalism. Conversely, as Spivak (2008: 219) has suggested about some Hong Kong academics, arguments as to the superiority of Western theories might reflect a resistance to changing from a colonial to an independent status. A preference for a 'universal' and descriptivist theory might also be safer in centralized societies – or, conversely, it might constitute resistance to politically motivated insistences on local distinctiveness (see Cheung 2011: 44).

Site-based understandings also carry the risk of fragmentation of the field as a result of failing to communicate across differences, the risk of intellectual ghettoization, the risk of unexamined and misguided cultural exceptionalism, and the associated risk of "'polarizations' that may rationalize ignorance and dogmatism more than they promote tolerance" (Shamma 2009: 194). It is important not to romanticize or exoticize ideas that are based on the particular, especially if this fosters a neo-Orientalism or self-Orientalizing that leads to confrontation rather than engagement. Otherwise we might end up simply perpetuating or legitimizing the same binaries we set out to challenge, dispel and deconstruct. Another risk is pointed out by Liu (1995: xv-xvi), who notes "the irony that, in the very act of criticizing Western domination, one often ends up reifying the power of the dominator to a degree that the agency of non-Western cultures is reduced to a single possibility: resistance" (whether simply for the sake of resistance, out of a desire for equality, or for nationalistic or essentialistic reasons). Such hazards are not, however, an *inevitable* outcome of calling attention to differences in thinking, and nor do they necessarily negate the potential benefits.

3. Valuing local traditions

Chang (2010) contends that foregrounding cultural differences turns an "is" to an "ought", "providing conservative forces in Third World cultures with an excuse to maintain the status quo and suppress desires for progress." He interprets the valuing of the local by some Chinese translation scholars as a way of supporting existing power structures in Chinese culture and a pretext for not challenging them. This argument is understandable, given the political circumstances in China, yet it would be misguided to hence reject all valuing of the local.

Foregrounding cultural differences does not inevitably lead to stasis or a turning inward. And exploring the categories, assumptions and intellectual achievements of the past is not necessarily an escape into nostalgia or a desire to continue existing in tradition, but an attempt to acknowledge the roots of present-day thinking and 'leverage' the past so as to prompt further epistemological change. Although it is anachronistic to measure traditional ideas on translation against contemporary theories, the traditional is always already part of the new, and the new builds on the traditional (even by contesting it). Highlighting differences across time and space can lead to an opening up of a narrow worldview, prompting developments in previously overlooked directions. Although a descriptive approach might be appropriate when studying translation history, engagement with the present state of our *discipline* calls for a more proactive approach. Moves to focus attention on non-Western ideas about translation have already begun to produce change at the international level (concretely in the form of articles, books and conferences, and abstractly in terms of the ideas contained therein), although it will take time for the ripple effects to become apparent in terms of altered perspectives.

Traditional non-Western ideas should be studied not as a means of 'enrichment' for the West[8], but because of their historical value, their ongoing relevance in their cultures, and so as to continue their living evolution. Abandoning the ideas of the past would result in a disconnect with that culture's intellectual heritage and the neglect of potentially valuable ideas whose development might have been arrested by the importation of Euro-American ideas. The rich cultural and intellectual traditions of such great multilingual civilizations as India and China, for example, surely have something to tell us about translation. Dissayanake (2009a: 23) regards tradition not as a site of ossification, but one of "invention and negotiation", while Taylor (1997: 44) has argued that "A successful transition [to modernity] involves a people finding resources in their traditional culture to take on the new practices". This might necessitate some modification of traditional ideas *and* the imported ideas. Kim (2009: 416) cautions, however, that adaptation of Western theories "still falls under working within the Western paradigm". A contrasting perspective presented by Yameng

[8] We need to be wary of a relationship of knowledge production whereby non-Western traditions are 'the analyzed' or the supplier of 'raw data' that is then appropriated and given 'meaning' by Westerners – a situation that would perpetuate colonial power relations. The fact that some non-Western scholars now have the cultural confidence and the knowledge to challenge allegedly 'universal' theories is an indicator of moving beyond an erstwhile colonial mentality.

Liu is mentioned in Baker (2006: 25), who writes that

> adopting the terms (or narratives) of the dominant party allows the weaker party … to exploit the fundamental heterogeneity and contentiousness of domestic discourses in the West by appealing to different constituencies and thus ‘turning their … cross-cultural debate with the West into a domestic controversy of the West’ (1999: 304). [...] It is a subversive strategy presented as one of accommodation and compliance.

Baker continues on to say that

> In attempting to legitimize its own position, the dominant party thus finds itself having to legitimize and circulate the discourse of the weaker party, to adopt its terms of debate. [...] The boundary between dominance and resistance thus becomes even more blurred.

The adoption of Euro-American translation theories in Asia today does not seem to have adopted this particular subversive strategy of exploiting internal differences in the West, although some Euro-American theorists (e.g. Edwin Gentzler, Theo Hermans, Maria Tymoczko) are indeed starting to circulate non-Western discourses, if not going so far as to adopt their “terms of debate”. As noted above, however, it is important to keep in mind that research agendas are not always politically neutral.

4. Identifying deficiencies and potential insights

One step to moving beyond the limited generality of current thinking is to identify any incommensurabilities between Western and non-Western concepts and practices of translation and determine how non-Western views might help address any lacunae in Western perspectives. For reasons of space, I will restrict the discussion of limited generality to a single example. Many of the value assumptions and concerns of translation in the West are based on or influenced by concepts from Greek philosophy and rhetoric and by Judeo-Christian concepts of God, the sacredness of the word and so on. Walter Benjamin’s notion of pure language and the mind of God (1923/2000) is just one example. How might our conception of translation shift if it were reexamined on the basis of other philosophical or religious systems or on the basis of secular belief systems?

For instance, unlike Western communication models that trace back to Greek philosophy, communication models originating in Indian philosophy are “oriented inwardly toward the goal of self-knowledge rather than outwardly toward the goal of informing and influencing others or manipulating the external world" (Kincaid 1987: 19). Cheng (1987) has identified six principles of Chinese philosophy that he argues are relevant to communication theory[9]. Some Asian writers (e.g. Devy 1998: 48) have pointed out that the anxieties about faithfulness and equivalence that are linked to the Judeo-Christian story of the Tower of Babel and the ensuing 'confounding' of language were traditionally of little concern in India, given the Hindu belief in transmigration of the soul and the resulting acceptance of a change in form, as well as the absence of the notion of a fixed original. The fact that Buddhism lacks a single, absolute scripture (unlike Christianity and Islam) might also help explain the lesser attachment to the sacredness of the word in India, for example[10]. On the secular front, much might be gained from exploring important Asian literary and aesthetic texts as potential sources of ideas about translation. One example of such a text would be the *Natyasastra*, a key Indian text on dramaturgy written by Bharata Muni sometime between 400 BCE and 200 CE, while an example of a potentially relevant concept would be the Japanese notion of *kotodama* (the spirit of words).

Taking Western practices and thinking as the reference point against which other approaches are compared (and perhaps implicitly found 'lacking') simply entrenches the centrality of Western thinking. So how can Translation Studies in the 'non-West' constitute itself in a way that does not always relate to the West? One obvious approach is to focus on Asia's own conceptions and practices. Because it is important to support abstract arguments with specifics, below I mention some factors discussed in a little more detail in Wakabayashi (2011), along with some additional aspects[11].

1. The very **definition of translation** differs in (and within) Asia, suggesting alternative conceptions to those listed in, for instance, the *Dictionary of Translation Studies*. See Wakabayashi (2011: 25) for some examples.
2. **Transferring ideas is not always the motivation behind translation.** In addition to the motivations mentioned in Wakabayashi (2011: 28, 30), others include shrugging off a more powerful language (Prasad 2009), using

[9] (1) The Principle of the Embodiment of Reason in Experience; (2) The Principle of Part-Whole Determination; (3) The Principle of Epistemological-Pragmatic Unity; (4) The Principle of Dialectical Completion of Relative Polarities; (5) The Principle of Infinite Interpretation; (6) The Principle of Symbolic Reference.

[10] In Japan, Shinto does not have a written doctrine at all. Japanese translators' traditional attachment to the form of the original has non-religious roots.

[11] See also Tymoczko (2006: 15-23).

translation as "a mere aid to accessing texts that are already largely understandable" (Wakabayashi and Kothari 2009: 7), and

> 'infusing the spirit of the host culture into deserving texts from other languages' … – a very different perspective from that of adapting source texts to fit the target culture's needs, even though both might seem to fall under the Western label of 'domestication' (Wakabayashi and Kothari 2009: 7).

Another aspect is symbolic translations, which use "the plot and characters and names of Text 1 minimally ... to say entirely new things, often in an effort to subvert the predecessor" (Ramanujan 1991: 45). The implications of these and other roles of translation merit further study.

3. It is sometimes the very ***lack* of understanding that constitutes the main attraction** of translated words or texts – a phenomenon dubbed the 'cassette effect' by Akira Yanabu (e.g. Yanabu 1976). In Japan, therefore, translational language has long lacked the negative connotations that translationese typically carries in the West (see Wakabayashi 2009).
4. Views on the **relationship between word and meaning, and/or between language and the world**. Examples of classical Indian concepts of potential relevance include the views on language and meaning of the Buddhist thinker Nagarjuna (150-250 CE; see Dissanayake 2009b: 456-461), as well as the concepts of *apoha* (exclusion or differentiation) and *auchitya* (propriety in text selection, methodology and conveying the intended meaning) (see Gopinathan 2000). Shi-xu (2009: 393) notes a "wariness about the limit of language" in Chinese, Indian, Japanese and Korean cultures, while Marra (2011) explores interpretative concepts that have shaped hermeneutics in Japan. Shi-xu (2009: 393) mentions Asian interpretative rules and techniques such as "resorting to classics, imagery (*xiang*), intuition, sudden enlightenment through intersubjectivity (*dunwu*/*satori*), meditation (*jingsi*), checking praxis (*xing-dong*)".
5. The **cognitive aspects** of translation: Of potential interest here, for example, are some concepts propounded by the fifth-century Sanskrit author and grammarian-philosopher Bhartrhari, such as his theory of *sphota* (semantic realization) and his receiver-oriented concept of *pratibha* (a flash of insight), which allows hearers (or in the case of translation, we could include readers) to decode the received forms into sense.

6. One of the five "Asiacentric" perspectives on communication that Miike (2007) suggests as potentially informative for Eurocentric traditions is the **affective (emotional) dimension**, which has tended to be overshadowed in the West by the conceptual – i.e. reason, rationality and clarity. Chen (2009: 400) maintains that the more intuitive Asian mode of communication "tends to favor a more subjective, non-linear, ambiguous, ritual, and accommodative pattern of communication", in contrast to the "objective, linear, analytical, justificatory, and manipulative way of communication" of Western cultures. These tendencies are evident in both spoken and written communication and have implications for translation.
7. In Western societies the main responsibility for communication lies with the speaker (writer and/or translator). By contrast, in Japan, for instance, there is greater reader-responsibility (Hinds 1987). Another difference is the "individually oriented perspective" of Western cultures in contrast with "the societal functions of communication" in Asia (Chu 1998: 205-206). The **receiver- and group-oriented nature** of much Asian communication, with an emphasis on harmony (deriving from Confucianism and Taoism) that "dictates an indirect, subtle, adaptive, consensual, and agreeable style of interaction" (Chen 2009: 400), contrasts with much Western communication, which demands "a direct, expressive, dialectical, divisive, and sermonic style of communication" (Chen 2009: 400). Dissanayake (1988: 5) links the "communicator-based, unidirectional and manipulative" Western model of communication to Aristotle's *Rhetoric* and contrasts it with the Buddhist concept of conditioning, which leaves "freedom to behave and respond in a way unanticipated by the person who initiated the communication act" (Dissanayake 1988: 18). Although descriptions such as the above can verge on stereotyping, these are simply tendencies, and internal variations exist within both 'Western' and 'Asian' cultures.
8. Also relevant are the Indian concept of *dhvani*[12] – i.e. "suggestive meaning or transfer of poetic meaning, involving active participation of the recipient" (Shi-xu 2009: 393) – and the fact that **what is *un*stated is often of considerable significance** in Asian cultures. This raises questions about translation between linguistic communities that value suggestion, implicitness, ambiguity, indirectness, intuitive interpretation and the taciturnity of nonverbal communication and communities that value directness, explicitness, clarity and verbal communication.
9. Different attitudes towards **originality**. For instance, Wakabayashi and Kothari

[12] This concept originated with Bhartrhari.

(2009: 4) note that in India

> there are even cases where a translation is more privileged than the original. […] the anxiety of what came first and what followed is absent from the Indian discourse. This can be attributed to a long-standing oral tradition that remained free of notions of 'fixity' of text and the need to respect the text's boundaries.

10. **The assumption that the writer and translator are two separate entities** (except in self-translation) **is challenged**. For instance, in India "translators are replaced to some extent by writers working in several languages" (Wakabayashi and Kothari 2009: 12).
11. The multilingual nature of many Asian cultures has contributed to a greater awareness of linguistic communities (as distinct from nations) – i.e. **a focus on sub- or supra-national units**.
12. Devy (1998: 55) suggests that the multilingual cultures of many Third World countries have led to a "translating consciousness" that treats the source and target languages "as parts of a larger and continuous spectrum of various intersecting systems of verbal signs". Wakabayashi (2011: 28) observes that

> **Distinctions between source and target languages/texts are rendered problematic** by certain practices and attitudes in Asia, where source texts were sometimes produced by educated locals in an elite language not regarded as foreign but requiring translation for a broad readership (e.g. Classical Chinese in Vietnam, Sanskrit in medieval India). Translation's resulting potential to reorganize social hierarchies has led to claims that purely linguistic or textual theories cannot account for such intracultural contexts [Emphasis added].

13. The standard notion of the translator as a single bilingual figure is challenged by the practice of **team translation** (e.g. when translating Buddhist sutras in China and Tibet, where it was not uncommon for a 'translator' to have no understanding of the source language[13]). Given trends in the language industry today, where translators often work as part of a team in which different people assume different roles, it is important to give greater consideration to

[13] A related feature is that relay translation has historically been more important than is often acknowledged. St. André (2010) has argued that translation scholars have internalized the public distrust of translation and superimposed that on relay translation.

collectivity (not just individual agency) and to how interdependent group structures affect the translation process.

14. **Certain oral milieux and practices blur the written/oral distinction**. See Wakabayashi (2011: 25-26).
15. **Different bases for equivalence** – not on linguistic but cultural, aesthetic and communicative grounds (Gopinathan 2000: 171).
16. **Practices that transcend the unidirectional notion of intersemiotic translation** proposed by Jakobson (1959: 233). See Lindsay (2006: 14-15).
17. Intra-Asian translations involve "**permutations of cultural power balance beyond the usual 'centre-periphery' combination**" (Hung and Wakabayashi 2005: 8; emphasis added).
18. The **special status of English** because of its global prestige means "it does not carry the usual connotations of a 'receptor' language" (Kothari 2003: 34) when regional literature is translated into English. Nevertheless, while acknowledging that such translations render regional languages "less relevant", Kothari (2003: 33) suggests that these translations put English to use for their own purposes and in the process internalize and appropriate English.
19. The **impact of script-related factors on translation** – e.g. the effects stemming from the prestige associated with Chinese characters in Japan; the use of superscript *rubi* glosses to convey additional meanings and different effects in Japanese translations (Wakabayashi 2006); the possibilities for orthographic play; and the impact on translation of changes to the orthography (e.g. the Azeri alphabet in Azerbaijan or the introduction of hangul in Korea).
20. The richness added to contemporary Translation Studies by **postcolonial approaches**, which were largely instigated by Asian scholars and scholars working on non-Western contexts of translation, is an example of insights that can benefit the entire field. In turn, Chan (2000: 54) claims that "the uniqueness of the Chinese case forces us to revise the parameters within which postcolonial theorizing functions".
21. Some Asian cultures have an **anti-theoretical tradition**, contrasting with and hence problematizing the recent Western emphasis on 'theoretical theory' (see Wakabayashi 2011: 24). Shi-xu (2009: 386) concludes that "the preference of Western discourse studies to privileging etic, minute, abstract phenomena over emic, societal, practical issues and concerns is something that developing Asian societies at this stage of history can ill afford". This comment suggests a teleological viewpoint whereby Asian societies will in time reach the 'goal' of theorizing. Yet perhaps it is this very goal that needs reconsidering. In this way 'Western' and 'Asian' approaches can "interrogate each other" (Dissanayake

2009a: 24).

Although rudimentary and far from exhaustive, the above account hints at some potential insights from Asian experiences of translation. Space and the limits to my regional expertise preclude an exploration of the implications of these notions or a discussion of other potentially germane Asian concepts of communication, philosophy, rhetoric, linguistics and literature. Much work remains in order to determine the relevance of particular traditional concepts to present-day circumstances and translation behaviour, both in and beyond Asia, and to reformulate them across time and space[14]. The fact that some Asian concepts have existing counterparts in Western thinking, both traditional and contemporary, does not negate their significance; rather, it helps build a sounder foundation for claims to universalism.

5. Towards commensurability and interpenetration

Let us conclude by returning to the question of how to reconcile a desire for agreement on fundamental principles with a recognition of diversity (even incompatibility) in a way that expands and cross-pollinates our understanding of translation. In the midst of a growing awareness of pluralism and situation-based understandings, how can we accommodate explicit and implicit differences in thinking, epistemologies, beliefs, values, practices, models, and methods?

Unity in diversity is one (albeit abstract) possibility, based on respect for individual cultures' right to define and pursue translation in their own ways, as are the notions of "diversality" (see Cronin 2006: 131) and 'equal but different'. The notion of overlapping consensus allows for lack of agreement on certain aspects arising from a particular cultural context. Wang and Kuo (2010: 161-162) advocate progressively establishing a broader basis of commensurability[15]. In this way, they argue, the conflict between culture-specific approaches and universalism can be overcome, because "the former is but a step in the process of building the latter". The result would have been tested in the crucible of diversity, emerging as more refined than the universalism so often assumed in the past on the basis of a limited number of experiences of translation. Wang and Kuo (2010: 163) stress that this is "a never-ending process, as the goal is by nature a *moving goal* … Hence, we are really talking about imperfect commensurability and

[14] Note, however, that traditional views remain influential in Asia today, as Chan (2001: 162) remarks in a discussion of ten contemporary books published in China, Hong Kong and Taiwan.
[15] They suggest that commensurability "stresses similarity and equivalence, and not commonality and uniformity" (Wang and Kuo 2010: 157).

partial universalism".

Another notion that might contribute to greater interaction is micro-cosmopolitanism, as advocated by Michael Cronin. Its goal is *not* to focus solely on the local, but to articulate and reconnect the relationship between local and global. Cronin (2006: 15) argues that micro-cosmopolitanism allows "a patient undermining of conventional thinking from below" (2006: 16). A better understanding of the diversity and interrelated nature of micro-units and translation processes would preclude a unitary conception of translation. Likewise focusing on interconnectedness, Dissanayake (2009b: 461) distinguishes between traditional Asian theories and concepts and Asian approaches "that seek to engage modern Western conceptualities critically", such as postcolonial theory. He argues that *both* types are important and concludes that "one of our tasks should be to clarify those connections [between the two] and give them greater definition." (ibid.: 466).

Thus culture-neutral and culture-specific approaches both have validity – just different focuses – so thinking in terms of a binary choice is unproductive. Culture-neutral approaches have the potential for greater breadth and for providing at least some common basis for engagement; culture-specific approaches offer the needed depth and can nudge the field in new directions. What is most productive is interaction between the two, with a different weight being accorded to each depending on the particular situation and research goal. Through such a process we can progress to new levels of understanding and a broader and more nuanced consensus.

Still lacking is widespread 'Other-literacy' on the part of translation scholars, who tend to be familiar with the leading Euro-American theories and with theories rooted in their local context but largely unacquainted with key ideas elsewhere. In terms of reciprocity and engaging with others across lines of difference, Asian scholars of translation outdo their Euro-American counterparts. It's time for Western scholars to become better acquainted with – and more open to – key non-Western ideas, practices and academic conventions[16]. Since those on the peripheries are likely to know more about those in the centre than vice versa, contributions from scholars in the 'margins' might actually reveal more than those of people "trapped, ironically, by [their] own power and cultural arrogance" (Lowe and Fitz 2007: 12). The 'deafness' afflicting many Western scholars has

[16] Language is a form of power, and scholarly norms can in turn constitute an academic hegemony that marginalizes those who adhere to different norms of intellectual production and presentation. Translation scholars from non-mainstream cultures who lack facility in the dominant languages and conventions of academia are doubly marginalized, making it even harder for their voices to become part of the broader discourse – to the detriment of the 'international' discourse itself.

been compounded by the "aphasia" on the part of many Third World intellectuals that has resulted in a muting of non-Western voices "to mere echoes of the West" (Cheung 2011: 44). Martha Cheung (2011: 48-50) has identified four specific approaches to revitalizing traditional discourses on translation so that these voices can become part of the broader discourse today. These and other efforts will help us move beyond the current predominantly hierarchical mode in which the West is the bestower of knowledge – to a more rhizomatic approach in which there are multiple entry points for understanding translation.

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Translating Minor Languages on University Websites

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Abstract

This paper explores the status of minor languages in institutions of higher education by analysing a corpus of websites of universities based in the European Union. The study aims to dissect the language policy of institutions within the framework of the European Higher Education Area (EHEA) in order to establish to what extent these strategies are in tune with the particular situation of the member states of the European Union. In order to achieve this, the research is based on empirical data from a study comprising more than 400 university websites that have been screened and analysed. The article intends to shed some light on the current panorama of multilingualism in Europe and approach the question of minor languages on the Web, considering the fact that the provision of information in these languages is a useful resource for reducing the digital divide. This research underlines the relevance of translating online content into various languages; the paper explores the hypothesis that, in the context of a multicultural society, the number of academic institutions with multilingual websites is still very low. Furthermore, even though globalisation has enhanced the role of English as the international lingua franca, there is now a resurgence in the use of minor languages on the World Wide Web, and these are used by some institutions to represent regional or national images.

1. The importance of languages in the global-local tension

The powerful effects of globalisation and the evolution of new technologies have clearly influenced the way people communicate in the 21st century. We currently live in a smaller world in which the unavoidable force of globalisation has led to the creation of a more homogenous and uniform 'global village' where content, resources and materials are shared and made available to an international audience online. Even though in many aspects a clear 'standardization tendency' can be observed, marker of social, cultural and economical differentiation are still to be found amongst different nations and territories, reflecting the heterogeneity and diversity of our cultural backgrounds.

Arguably, globalisation has been largely supported by the evolution of new technologies that have enabled the creation of communication tools in real time. In this regard, the Information Society has relied on the communicative, informative and promotional values of the Internet, a communication channel which has contributed to what Ritzer has called the "McDonaldisation" of the world (Ritzer 2010: 1). In fact, the Internet has provided millions of users with immediate and (usually) free access to information from any part of the world (Cronin 2003: 43; Schäffner 2000: 1).

Surprisingly, in the context of the framework of a 'web-based' society, we still need to pay attention to the most relevant communicative tool we possess for conveying digital content throughout the world: that of languages. The remarkable growth of online content should imply that the demand for translation increases accordingly (Pym 2001: 1). However, there are a number of questions to be addressed here. On the one hand, the power of English as a lingua franca is also visible on the Internet, where English accounts for 26.8% of the total number of users, and the language penetration reaches 43.4% (Figure 1). Interestingly, this hegemony of English is being challenged on the Web due to the emergence of other languages that are growing at a much faster pace in relation to the amount of online content: the growth of English on the Internet between 2000 and 2011 was 301.4% (Figure 1). In the same period, Chinese rocketed with 1478.7% growth and Spanish use increased by 807.4%. The following table shows the total numbers of Internet users by language, as well as the Internet penetration and the world population of the corresponding language. In this regard, the geographical distribution is not taken into account, as languages are not restricted to the specific territory where a website is hosted (for example, there are translations into English on websites of many non-English speaking territories. In addition, it is not unusual to have translations into Chinese or Japanese on many tourism websites, although this tendency is only in an initial stage on university websites).

Top Ten Languages Used in the Web (Number of Internet Users by Language)					
TOP TEN LANGUAGES IN THE INTERNET	Internet Users by Language	Internet Penetration by Language	Growth in Internet (2000 - 2011)	Internet Users % of Total	World Population for this Language (2011 Estimate)
English	565,004,126	43.4 %	301.4 %	26.8 %	1,302,275,670
Chinese	509,965,013	37.2 %	1,478.7 %	24.2 %	1,372,226,042
Spanish	164,968,742	39.0 %	807.4 %	7.8 %	423,085,806
Japanese	99,182,000	78.4 %	110.7 %	4.7 %	126,475,664
Portuguese	82,586,600	32.5 %	990.1 %	3.9 %	253,947,594
German	75,422,674	79.5 %	174.1 %	3.6 %	94,842,656
Arabic	65,365,400	18.8 %	2,501.2 %	3.3 %	347,002,991
French	59,779,525	17.2 %	398.2 %	3.0 %	347,932,305
Russian	59,700,000	42.8 %	1,825.8 %	3.0 %	139,390,205
Korean	39,440,000	55.2 %	107.1 %	2.0 %	71,393,343
TOP 10 LANGUAGES	1,615,957,333	36.4 %	421.2 %	82.2 %	4,442,056,069
Rest of the Languages	350,557,483	14.6 %	588.5 %	17.8 %	2,403,553,891
WORLD TOTAL	2,099,926,965	30.3 %	481.7 %	100.0 %	6,930,055,154

Figure 1: Statistics for the top ten languages used on the Web. Source: www.internetworldstats.com. Accessed December 23rd, 2011.

On the other hand, the translation of websites into languages other than English and the design of multilingual websites should be an issue aimed at reducing the digital divide and allowing the largest possible audience access to information. Indeed, accessibility and usability are on the agendas of institutions like the World Wide Web Consortium (W3C). Similarly, multilingualism is on the radar screen of the European Union as a means of preserving the multicultural essence of the old continent and of guaranteeing the right of European citizens to read digital information in their own language:

> Language is an integral part of our identity and the most direct expression of culture. In Europe linguistic diversity is a fact of life. In a European Union founded on 'unity in diversity' the ability to communicate in several languages is a must for individuals, organisations and companies alike. We are committed to preserving and promoting this key feature of the European project (European Communities 2008: 1).

Within this framework, it is interesting to study the existing dichotomy between the tendency to create globalised or standardised websites and the design of localised or customised web pages (Singh and Pereira 2005: 17; Yunker 2002: 463). Although there is a clear tendency towards standardization in website design (e.g. the use of conventions, icons, the distribution of elements on the websites, the use of colours and other non-verbal components etc.), we can also observe how companies and institutions try to keep a local theme in order to maintain the essence of their brand (e.g. a French wine company might keep a French slogan in order to maintain their "flavour" and car manufacturers such as Opel or BMW exploit the German technological stereotype to convey a sense of reliability, using the German language on their international websites and in their advertisements).

This tension can be extrapolated to the field of languages: although English 'rules the roost' in terms of the Internet and reaches the widest audience, some institutions use minor languages[1] even when the number of potential users may not support this decision from an economic or technical point of view. The current status of English as the lingua franca and the growing amount of content being written in (or translated into) other languages has been referred to by Anthony Pym as the 'diversity paradox':

> The diversity paradox may be expressed as an apparent contradiction between the rise of an international lingua franca, which should lead to lesser linguistic diversity, and increased use of translation, which should produce greater linguistic diversity. The paradox is that both these tendencies are occurring at the same time (Pym 2001: 1).

[1] In this paper, the term 'minor language' is used to refer to low dissemination languages with a small number of users (e.g. Irish Gaelic) and not to other major European languages such as French, German or Spanish.

For the scope of this paper, it is interesting to test whether this paradox (the observance of both tendencies simultaneously) can also apply to the case of the European university websites. Therefore the number of multilingual websites (i.e. those providing information in more than two languages) is assessed by comparing this total with the amount of websites translated solely into English. It is also necessary to explore the language policy in the design of university websites and the translation into minor languages (such as Irish Gaelic) or co-official languages in the corresponding member states (e.g. the case of Catalan, Galician or Basque in Spain).

The main hypothesis to be tested here is that there are still few universities with multilingual websites. Universities should supply information in *several* languages for a number of reasons: to meet European regulations, to contribute to creating a multilingual society and to grant universal access to the Web. In the context of the current European Higher Education Area, universities should create real models for multilingualism and cultural diversity and establish best practices by providing information in various languages on their corporate websites

On the other hand, using minor languages on the Web can be understood as being a strategy to resist the driving force of globalisation (represented by the role of English as the international language) and as a tool to preserve the national or regional culture, tradition and essence. In this sense, the concept of competition among languages (introduced by José Lambert) can be applied here: "it would be a better hypothesis that the number of 'languages' in competition increases steadily, which means that the rules need to be rendered more open (and competitive) than before" (Lambert 1994: 29).

2. Internationalisation and localisation of websites

The globalisation of websites has already been studied by several scholars (Corte 2002; Fernández Costales 2008; Jiménez Crespo 2008; Pym 2010; Singh and Pereira 2005; Yunker 2002). Beyond the 'simple' linguistic transfer from the source to the target language, translators and localisers face a number of challenges including non-verbal, paralinguistic, semiotic, cultural, technical and even legal issues.

Website globalisation is usually understood as being a complex task that includes internationalisation and localisation as two sub-processes, integrated into the acronym GILT (Globalisation, Internationalisation, Localisation and Translation). Internationalisation is a process intended to make a website accessible to an international audience by designing a culture-free product that can be easily adapted in subsequent stages (Pym 2011: 412; Yunker 2002: 171), while localisation is a later stage aimed at effectively making a website suitable for a particular locale or a target audience (Esselink 2000: 1).

This paper focuses on the socio-cultural side of these processes in order to analyse the language policies and cultural issues behind the globalisation of university websites. Thus, technical aspects will not be commented upon and nor will the eternal question as to the possible differences or similarities between translation and localisation be addressed here, since this has been already approached by a good number of authors (Esselink 2000; Fernández Costales 2010; Jiménez Crespo 2008; Pym 2011).

2.1 Globalising trends of university websites

University websites are the main tool for institutions of higher education to disseminate information, not only to the university community but also to society as a whole. University websites have three main duties to accomplish: to inform prospective students and researchers, and to promote and communicate the academic subjects studied and the teaching conducted at the institution in question. They inform users by offering relevant information on university courses, graduate and PhD programmes, fees etc. They also allow students and lecturers to interact (communicate) with the institutions by means of web-based applications. Finally, they are an essential resource for promoting the international visibility of the university in the global village.

The definition of the target audience is a key element that may have a clear influence on the design of a website and the selection of the specific languages into which the content is to be translated. Although many institutions customise their websites for "local users" (i.e. the university community) or even target a particular group (e.g. incoming students from specific countries with mobility agreements with the particular institution), it seems quite clear that the potential audience of any website cannot easily be shaped and defined. In other words, the user profile has been blurred due to the exponential growth of the Internet and its extension into locations where English is not spoken (Cronin 2003: 14). Furthermore, the changes in the kind of users interacting with new technologies need to be taken into account (i.e. the ageing process in Europe is a central issue in the study of e-inclusion). To illustrate this with an example: 98% of British university websites are not translated into any language under the assumption that "all prospective students should be able to communicate in English"[2]. However,

[2] This was the most frequent answer to the question "Is there any plan to translate the corporate website of your institution into any language?" which was included in a questionnaire sent to all

this statement could be severely questioned since university websites are not *only* accessed by prospective students, but by any person with an Internet connection: international researchers, government officials, university representatives, parents, etc.

The design of websites for a 'global audience' poses a key question: is it a requirement that university websites are translated into English? Also, which language(s) should be used on university websites? Since one of the main objectives of a website is to be read by the largest possible audience, is it profitable to develop (or translate) a website in a minor language?

3. Multilingualism in Europe: Jihad vs. tribalism

The relationship between translation and power has been studied using several different approaches: geopolitics (Cronin 2002: 45), discourse analysis (Hatim 1998: 67; Munday 2001: 89) and theories of postcolonial translation (Bassnett and Trivedi 1999: 1-18; Munday 2001: 133; Snell-Hornby 2006: 92; Chen Eoyang 2008: 174).

The cultural diversity and the plurilingual nature of Europe is one of the most representative features that define the very essence of the European Union. In fact, multilingualism has become a major issue for the European Commission, which has implemented specific measures intended to promote foreign language acquisition; one of the proposals of the European Commissioner for Multilingualism was the so-called 'Barcelona Objective': an initiative aiming to create a situation whereby Europeans are able to speak two languages besides their mother tongue[3].

There are currently 23 official languages in the European Union. However, the multicultural puzzle of the area is much more complex and the linguistic diversity of many territories does not allow a homogeneous panorama. The traditional classification between monolingual and plurilingual countries may have several problems associated with it, and this taxonomy can be further divided into more categories. On the one hand, countries like Germany or France (which can be regarded as "monolingual") do have important immigrant communities (currently, the Turkish community in Germany has a population of more than two and a half million[4]). Thus, the existence of minor linguistic (and cultural) communities

universities in the United Kingdom as part of a previous piece of research (Fernández Costales 2010).

[3] Information on the Barcelona Objective and the EU language policy can be found on the official website of the European Commission for Multilingualism: http://ec.Europa.eu/education/languages/eu-language-policy/index_en.htm. Accessed December 22nd, 2011.

[4] Source: Statistisches Bundesamt Deutschland. www.destatis.de/. Accessed December 22nd, 2011.

should not be ignored. On the other hand, the category of 'multilingual' or 'plurilingual' countries is usually applied to those territories where several languages have been given official status in the national territory. This is the case in countries such as Belgium or Luxembourg (as well as non-EU member countries such as Switzerland), but it can lead to the oversimplification of the issue of linguistic diversity in Europe, since the situation in other territories such as Spain[5] is much more complex.

Providing information in several languages is required in the current globalised and web-based society in order to meet the expectations of people who are not able to communicate in other than their native tongue. In the case of multimedia products, users should be able to access digital content in more than one language and significant advances have been made in the field of audiovisual translation with the advent of the DVD and other technological developments (Díaz-Cintas 2008: 8). However, even though the adaptation of digital products such as films, TV shows and video games into several languages has long been promoted and encouraged by companies and institutions alike, in the case of multilingual websites this has occurred far more recently[6]. Designing multilingual websites would contribute to improved usability and accessibility at the same time as allowing society to meet the objectives of e-inclusion by guaranteeing universal access to the Web.

In the particular case of university websites, it seems quite clear that institutions of higher education should be committed to developing strategies to promote multicultural and multilingual values in the context of the European Higher Education Area. This is especially apparent if we take into account the fact that the situation regarding languages could certainly be improved: a survey conducted by the European Commission clearly shows that there are many member states where the ratio of people who are not able to speak one or more foreign languages is still very high. This is the case for Ireland (66%), the United Kingdom (62%), Italy (59%), Portugal (58%), Hungary (58%) and Spain (56%). These figures prove that in many parts of Europe there is still a long way to go as far as language learning is concerned (European Commission 2006: 9).

As has been commented upon in previous sections of this paper, nowadays English is the international lingua franca and has become the main

[5] Within Spain, Catalan, Basque and Galician are co-official languages in Catalonia, the Basque Country and Galicia.

[6] The creation of the European Thematic Network "Multilingual Web" is a good example, as this group is devoted to exploring standards and best practices that support the creation, localisation and use of multilingual web-based information. http://www.multilingualweb.eu/. Accessed December 22nd, 2011.

communication tool in the field of science and research, overcoming competition from other European languages such as French or German (Anderman 2000: 49; Phillipson 2003: 3). However, as has previously been explained, in the case of the Web, English is losing its dominance. The number of users accessing the Web in English currently accounts for 26.8%[7] of the total, meaning that 73.2% of the world still prefers to read online content in a different language. It is worth mentioning that in 2008 the percentage of people accessing the Web in English accounted for 30.1% of the total – English has therefore lost 3.3% of its share in only four years. In addition, statistics show that other European and Asian languages are gaining momentum and will be able to supersede English at the top of the list in the long term (see Figure 1).

In this sense, it is interesting to highlight the fact that more and more websites are being developed or translated into minor languages. This emerging tendency might be seen as a way of reacting against the established role of English as the international lingua franca: in other words, the overwhelming effect of globalisation and the cultural standardisation that we have witnessed in the last decades are somehow being confronted by certain countries and regions in a struggle to protect their cultural heritage.

The exportation of American English into other cultures and the emergence of the so-called 'international English' can be studied from different perspectives. In 1992, Benjamin Barber wrote an article for *The Atlantic* titled "Jihad versus McWorld" (Barber 1992) that would provide the basis for his book *Jihad vs. McWorld: How Globalism and Tribalism are Reshaping the World* (Barber 1996). According to him, the world is threatened by the pincer effect of two dangerous forces: on the one hand, 'globalism' or the tight rules imposed by international markets aimed at defining a homogeneous, uniform and docile consumption society willing to accept the dogma of globalisation. On the other hand, we find 'tribalism', or the 'libanisation' of states that will fight amongst other states in a constant battle that will not allow for any kind of cooperation or interdependency.

The idea proposed by Barber of "Jihad vs. McWorld" (1992: 53) is understood by Snell-Hornby to be a metaphor that can be effectively applied to the field of languages to explain the dichotomy between 'McEnglish', as the representation of the globalised world, and the growing (re) tribalisation which occurred during the 1990s, following the fall of the Berlin Wall (Snell-Hornby 2000: 12). This process not only affected the political and social scenario with the fragmentation of many areas of Eastern Europe, but it also had linguistic consequences which resulted from the battle to preserve the cultural heritage of certain countries. The

[7] Source: Internet World Stats. www.internetworldstats.com. Accessed December 22nd, 2011.

awakening of new national identities provoked the clash of many ethnic groups and triggered linguistic conflicts such as the split of Serbo-Croatian into several different languages (Snell-Hornby 2000: 13). In this context, the term linguistic tribalism was coined by Hale to define the situation in many European territories:

> The second threat, different in nature, is driven by a return to a primitive form of nationalism termed 'tribalism', including (by extension) 'linguistic tribalism'. This process is said to be particularly manifest in some of the former Iron Curtain countries, with the emergence of Bosnian, Serbian and Croatian as separate languages being singled out as a striking example. Paradoxically, this presents us with a picture of a world (in the words of an article by Benjamin Barber), which is 'falling precipitantly apart and coming reluctantly together at the same moment' (Hale 2000: 52).

Although the terminology proposed by Barber can be regarded as largely metaphorical, it does not seem entirely accurate in describing the current scenario, since in the Western world the term 'Jihad' has negative connotations due to its use (and abuse) by the mass-media (Hale 2000: 54). Furthermore, the idea of McWorld seems too vague and opaque to be applied to the case of Europe, where homogeneity is only appreciated in the use of English as the global language, but where linguistic and cultural diversity are core characteristic. Thus, grouping the heterogeneous nature of Europe under a single label does not seem fair. In this regard, Christiane Nord states the following:

> In Central Europe, on the other hand, many people struggle to believe there are cultural differences between France and Italy, Belgium and the Netherlands, Denmark and Germany. Perhaps the use of international languages in Europe, notably English, adds to the illusion that we are all one harmonious family. Yet the biggest culture shock I ever experienced was when I lived in Austria for a year and a half: speaking the same language does not prevent you from culturally putting your foot in your mouth every second time you open it (Nord 1997: 134).

If we consider the complexity of the European melting pot, the expression tribalism vs. globalism can be used to define the language policy of certain institutions of higher education that deliberately rely on minor languages. However, the term tribalism could also evoke some negative feelings due to its possible association with underdevelopment or even aggressive behaviours or attitudes. In this paper, we still prefer the more neutral 'regionalism' or even 'localism' to refer to the process undertaken by some institutions and areas of Europe that struggle to preserve their specific cultural heritage.

Within this framework, it is interesting to observe how universities can provide a faithful representation of the linguistic scenario for a certain area, mirroring the everyday situation in a particular region or territory. Furthermore, it can be stated that institutions of higher education also conform to particular interests and political strategies in their corresponding countries. In this context, the use of certain languages can also hide some underlying elements, as we will see in the following section.

4. Minor languages on university websites

In order to study the language policy of European universities on the Web, a thorough analysis was undertaken, taking into account corporate websites of institutions of higher education of the 27 member states of the European Union. The methodology employed relied on three different stages: firstly a corpus was selected by applying different criteria; secondly, a database was created in order to gather all the relevant data and information from the selected corpus; finally, this information was analysed using quantitative and qualitative methods.

4.1 Corpus analysis

The corpus was originally composed of 400 corporate websites of universities in the European Union. In order to include websites in this study, three primary criteria were applied: firstly, only corporate websites were taken into account (i.e. websites representing a whole university or institution, not those linked to specific faculties or centres); secondly, only those universities providing undergraduate and graduate programmes were included; thirdly, the analysis was restricted to universities from the 27 member states of the European Union.

In a second stage, further filters were then applied to select a reduced group of universities: a) the foundation year of the institution (universities with a long tradition were included, but recently created institutions were also accepted), b) the number of students (both large and small universities were analysed), c) the number of incoming international students (taking into account those institutions with a high ratio of students from abroad but also those with a low number of international students), d) the international rankings as published by *The Times* and the Jiao Thong University of Shanghai (including both those institutions included in international rankings but also those that are not listed in these classifications) and e) the type of institution (either private or public).

The established criteria aimed to gather a corpus that was sufficiently large and able to represent the existing diversity of higher education in Europe. After applying the filters, the number of institutions included in the database comprised 215 institutions from the 27 member states of the European Union.

The corpus was gathered during one year (2009) and the corporate websites were downloaded and studied offline. The main purpose of this was to avoid the constant flow of changes to institutional websites (indeed, many of the universities analysed subsequently launched new versions of their corporate website or translated their online content into additional languages).

4.2 Main results

The analysis of the selected corpus produced interesting results insofar as languages are concerned. Figure 2 shows the target languages into which the 215 websites analysed had been translated. Firstly, it is worth mentioning that all the websites included in the corpus were (either partially or totally) translated into English. This supports the idea that English is still regarded as the lingua franca in the case of the Web, and also that it is the international communication tool for institutions of higher education.

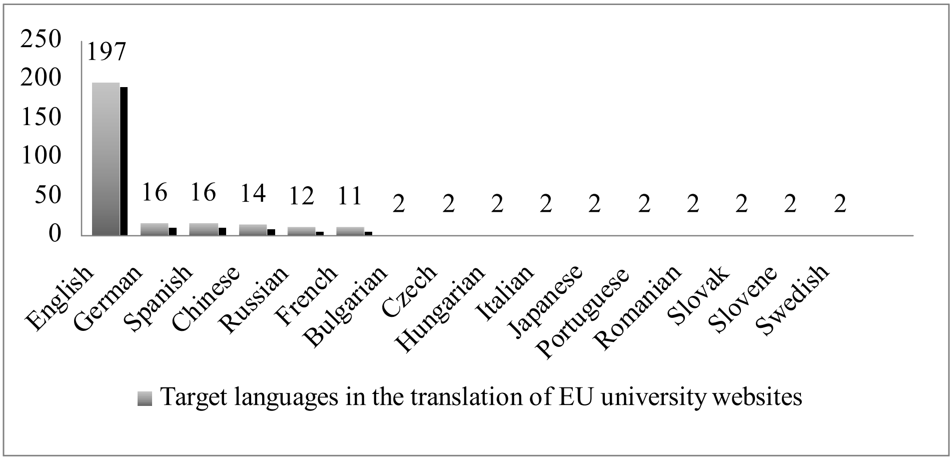

Figure 2: Target languages[8] in the translation of EU university websites.

[8] In order to elaborate this graph, only target languages are taken into account (languages in which the websites have been *translated*): i.e. websites originally developed in English (10 from the United Kingdom, 7 from Ireland and 1 from Malta) were not included in the statistics for the English language. The result is that out of the 215 websites studied, 197 were translated into English.

Secondly, as can be observed in Figure 2, the preferred target languages for the translation of university websites are German (with 16 websites), Spanish (16), Chinese (14) and Russian (12). It is worth mentioning how Chinese has surpassed other important European languages such as French and Italian. This striking fact may be explained on the basis of the increasing interest of European universities (especially those in the United Kingdom) in attracting students from Asia willing to undertake graduate courses. On the other hand, the level of the "multilingualism" of university websites is still very low, as very few contain information in more than two languages. In this regard, Luxembourg is at the top of list, since the only university settled in its territory provides information in English, French and German. With the exception of Romania (where the figure is 32%), the remaining 25 countries all have below 25% of their university websites with information in several languages.

Position	Country	% Multilingual webs
1	Luxembourg	100%
2	Romania	32 %
3	France	25 %
4	Estonia	20%
5	Italy	16%
6	Bulgaria	15 %
7 - 8	Poland	13 %
7 - 8	Slovakia	13 %
9 - 10	Germany	12 %
9 - 10	Netherlands	12 %
11	Spain	10 %
12 - 13	Czech Republic	9 %
12 - 13	Lithuania	9 %
14 - 15	Belgium	8 %
14 - 15	Finland	8 %
16	Hungary	7 %
17	Portugal	3 %
18 - 27	Austria	0 %
18 - 27	Cyprus	0 %
18 - 27	Denmark	0 %
18 - 27	Greece	0 %
18 - 27	Ireland	0 %
18 - 27	Latvia	0 %

18 - 27	Malta	0 %
18 - 27	Slovenia	0 %
18 - 27	Sweden	0 %
18 - 27	United Kingdom	0 %

Figure 3: The 27 EU countries ranked according to the number of universities with websites translated into several languages.

As regards the use of low dissemination languages on university websites, this research shows how minor languages are effectively used by certain regions or areas willing to preserve their cultural and linguistic heritage. Irish Gaelic is used in all the university websites of the Republic of Ireland: in some cases Irish is the source language, since the websites were originally developed in this language and have subsequently been translated into English, whereas in other cases the minor language can be regarded as the target language into which digital content has been translated from English. Irish Gaelic has been an official language in the European Union since 2007[9] and is spoken by 42% of the population of Ireland[10], although it is the native tongue of only 3% of citizens, most especially in the *Gaeltachtai*. Irish Gaelic has been promoted by the *Official Language Act* issued in 2003 by the Department of Community, Equality and Gaeltacht Affairs of the Government of Ireland. This initiative aims to regulate the use of this language at an institutional level and also to promote and disseminate its use beyond the scope of those areas where it has traditionally been spoken.

The corporate websites of Irish universities provide a good example of the role and importance of minority languages on the Web. They are clearly aimed at promoting the national image of the country beyond its own borders: besides the use of Irish Gaelic, the universities all rely on specific semiotic elements in order to contribute towards building the national identity. For example, all the websites analysed include references to the Irish landscape and to nature in order to evoke the image of the green Ireland, and national symbols such as the *Cláirseach* (or Gaelic harp) can be seen in various different sections of the websites. In addition, the terms ‘Irish’ and ‘Ireland’ are included in the keywords of the metadata of all the Irish websites studied.

A similar strategy can be observed in the case of Welsh universities, where English and Welsh are used in all cases, and different elements (mainly Celtic

[9] Source: http://europa.eu. Accessed December 22nd, 2011.
[10] Source: Government of Ireland (2006): *Statement on the Irish Language*. http://www.pobail.ie/en/IrishLanguage/StatementontheIrishLanguage2006. Accessed December 22nd, 2011.

symbols) are included to build the national image through corporate websites. Surprisingly, a similar tendency cannot be observed on the websites of Scottish universities, as there are only two cases in which information is provided in Scottish Gaelic.

It is worth mentioning that, in the case of the United Kingdom and Ireland, the golden rule is that corporate university websites are not translated into any language (with the exception of Irish Gaelic, Welsh and Scottish Gaelic) under the premise that all users accessing them should be able to understand English.

A second focus of interest for this study is the case of Spain, which is a country where several co-official languages are recognised: Catalan, Basque and Galician are protected by their corresponding Statutes of Autonomy and were also awarded special status in the European Union in 2006. After analysing the websites of all the universities based in these territories (Catalonia, Galicia and the Basque Country) it can be concluded that institutions based in these areas provide information in three languages: Spanish, English and the corresponding co-official language of the region. Although there are slight differences among these territories (Catalan websites are commonly developed in Catalan and are subsequently translated into English and Spanish, whereas in the Basque Country Spanish is the source language and Basque or *Euskera* the target language), it is worth mentioning that all the websites have been either partially or totally translated into English, something which is not a general rule in the case of Spanish institutions of higher education. Therefore, it could be concluded that in these regions, there is a greater awareness among the universities of the importance of offering multilingual Web content.

This is an interesting approach which could be regarded as a model of best practice, since the design of multilingual websites provides users with the opportunity to read digital content in their own language – a practice that is in tune with the related guidelines of the European Commission (European Communities 2005: 3).

Quite the opposite can be observed in the case of Belgian universities, whose websites provide a clear representation of the linguistic and cultural fragmentation of the country: while all the corporate websites of those universities based in the francophone area are developed in French and translated into English, all websites for institutions from Flanders have Dutch as the source language and English as the target language. In other words, there are no translations into French or Dutch in the twelve universities analysed. In addition, German is ignored by higher education institutions although it is an official language across the whole country.

In the same vein, the higher education landscape in Cyprus seems clearly influenced by the political setting established in the country, which is separated into two halves. Although Greek is the only official language of the whole territory, in the northern part of the country, Turkish is widely spoken in the so-called 'Republic of Northern Cyprus' (an entity not recognised by the international community). This political and social confrontation has been exported into the institutions of higher education, whose websites represent this fragmentation. While websites for universities in the centre and south of Cyprus have been developed in Greek and translated into English, all the institutions in the northern area (which are private universities) provide information in Turkish and English, deliberately avoiding the use of Greek.

The examples so far commented upon seem to support the argument that in the case of corporate university websites, languages are also used for political reasons. More precisely, languages are intentionally used in order to build an image of national identity that is exported to the world by means of the promotional, communicative and informative values of the Internet. In other words, the aims and goals of minor languages on the Internet are not to reach the greatest possible audience but to support the maintenance of the local traditions and image.

Having said this, the use of minor languages on institutional websites can be supported within the context of the struggle of European territories to counter the 'butterfly effects' of globalisation and the overwhelming supremacy of English as the international lingua franca in the global community. Although the use of low diffusion languages in the Web could be regarded as inefficient due to the small portion of users being addressed (translating a website into French, German, Spanish or Chinese would be more cost-effective than rendering it into Irish Gaelic or Basque on the basis of the total number of speakers who could read online content in these languages), it does not seem that universities using the strategy of translating (or developing) their websites in a minor language are solely aiming to reach the largest possible audience. Indeed, the main objective of institutions when relying on minor languages for conveying their message on the Web is to represent their national identities, culture and essence by means of one of the most vital tools societies have for defining a particular community: language.

In this context, we can return to the idea of tribalism vs. globalisation, as the strategy of using minor languages on the Web can be placed into this particular framework. As has been discussed in the course of this article, English is still the international lingua franca when it comes to the amount of online content. However, the supremacy of Shakespeare's language is being gradually challenged by other emerging languages such as Chinese and Spanish, with an increasing number of pages being translated into these two languages on websites hosted in territories where they are not spoken. Moreover, it can be observed that there is a growing tendency for multilingualism on the Web, and we are heading towards a more heterogeneous and dynamic situation.

Although English will keep its status as the main communication tool among universities and will be widely used as a target language in the translation of websites, we can hypothesize that the tendency towards the use of minor languages will continue to grow in the medium term. Beyond the role of minor languages in university websites, there are other language-related issues that should also be addressed by academia: one of the most interesting lines of research focuses on the relevance of language communities or minorities within the member states of the European Union, as the flow of migration in the last decades has resulted in a more complex and dynamic panorama, with well-established communities settled in certain countries (e.g. in the cases of Chinese, Turkish and Russian citizens living in EU states).

5. Concluding remarks

This paper approaches the current situation regarding the translation of university websites in the European Union. A number of multilingual university websites is examined (those providing information in several languages), and specifically the presence of minor languages on the corporate pages of institutions of higher education.

The results obtained lead us to conclude that the number of multilingual university websites remains very low, since in only 4 of the 27 countries analysed did the number of websites providing information in more than two languages exceed 20% (Luxembourg, Romania, Estonia and France). In addition, in English speaking countries (e.g. the United Kingdom, Ireland, Malta and Scotland) university authorities do not perceive the translation of online content into other languages to be relevant for international users. Paradoxically, according to official statistics of the European Union (European Commission 2006: 9), citizens of these countries have a lower command of foreign languages than nationals from other member states.

Secondly, the paper addresses the tension between ‘global’ and ‘local’ forces by analysing the importance of English as the international lingua franca, alongside the presence of minor languages in university websites. The research confirms that English can also be regarded as the global language in the case of institutions of higher education, as all websites analysed have been translated into it. On the other hand, the use of minor languages on institutional websites should not be regarded as a mistake simply on the basis of the number of users potentially being addressed, but perhaps should instead be considered a comprehensive strategy, one aimed at promoting the cultural identity of the institution represented. The development or translation of websites in Irish Gaelic, Welsh, Catalan or Basque is not aimed at reaching a large pool of users or an international audience (as is the case with English, German and Spanish – the target languages which top the list of university websites translations) but instead seeks to disseminate an image of the regional language, culture and traditions. In this regard, to use minor languages in the Web can be seen as a case of linguistic branding.

According to the results presented herein, we can confirm that the 'diversity paradox' (Pym 2001: 1) also applies in this case, since the tendency towards using English as the common language coexists with a strategy in which minor languages are used by many universities to convey information.

Within the context of the global village, the analysis of minor languages is an essential element for understanding how regions and countries in Europe struggle to maintain their national identities. By referring back to their origins, European territories will be able to look ahead and find their place in the ever-changing linguistic and cultural vistas of the 21st century.

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Paradoxes d'une éthique de la traduction théâtrale. L'«annexion respectueuse» comme acte militant

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Abstract

A sort of received idea which is quite widespread, and rarely discussed, in "prescriptive" translation studies sees the respect of the original text and a careful reproduction of the *difference* of the source language as indisputable priorities. If this position often deserves to be shared, there are situations in which it becomes difficult – if not impossible – to resort to it, and in which this attitude could even become harmful to the very otherness that it tries to preserve. This article seeks to justify the translation strategy we adopted while editing an Italian anthology of theatre texts written by Quebec authors, where we normalized the most local linguistic features of the plays. We will seek to defend a translation position which, while being somewhat annexationist on the formal level, tries to be, at the same time, *ethical* and *poetical*, if we may use two of Antoine Berman's favourite terms.

Introduction

Un lieu commun assez répandu, et rarement mis en discussion, des études «prescriptives» sur la traduction voit le respect du texte de départ et une reproduction la plus attentive possible de la *différence* de la langue-source comme des priorités indiscutables. Selon cette optique, ce serait par l'émergence de l'altérité de l'original qu'une traduction peut être définie comme «éthique». Il est suffisant d'aller chercher du côté d'un Berman, d'un Meschonnic ou, pour le domaine linguistique anglophone, d'un Venuti pour que cette nécessité soit mise en avant avec une énergie que, dans la plupart des cas, il est possible de saluer comme positive et partageable.

Ainsi, Antoine Berman (1999/1985: 25-26; les italiques sont de l'auteur) pouvait affirmer:

> …la traduction est traduction-de-la-lettre, du texte en tant qu'il est *lettre*. […] L'immense majorité des traductions, aujourd'hui comme hier, se détourne d'un tel rapport à la lettre. Non seulement la majorité des traductions, dans leur opération, se détourne d'un tel rapport, mais la plupart des «théories» de la traduction qui s'édifient à partir de cette opération, la régissent, la justifient ou la sanctionnent, condamnent ce qu'elles appellent dédaigneusement le «mot-à-mot», le «littéralisme». […] Dans ladite figure, la traduction est caractérisée par trois traits. *Culturellement* parlant, elle est *ethnocentrique*. *Littérairement* parlant, elle est *hypertextuelle*. Et *philosophiquement* parlant, elle est *platonicienne*.

> L’essence ethnocentrique, hypertextuelle et platonicienne de la traduction recouvre et occulte une essence plus profonde, qui est simultanément *éthique*, *poétique* et *pensante*. […] l’éthique, le poétique, le pensant […] se définissent par rapport à ce que nous appelons la «lettre».

Et Lawrence Venuti (1995: 148; nous soulignons) d’écrire, quelques années plus tard et sur un ton tout à fait semblable, bien que plus militant:

> Foreignizing translation is a dissident cultural practice, maintaining a refusal of the dominant by developing affiliations with marginal linguistic and literary values at home […]. On the one hand, foreignizing translation enacts an ethnocentric appropriation of the foreign text by enlisting it in a domestic cultural political agenda, like dissidence; on the other hand, *it is precisely this dissident stance that enables foreignizing translation to signal the linguistic and cultural difference of the foreign text and perform a work of cultural restoration, admitting the ethnodeviant and potentially revising domestic literary canons*.

Or, il est des situations où – tout en gardant une fascination certaine – ces préceptes deviennent difficiles, sinon impossibles, à appliquer, et parfois même nuisibles pour cette altérité même qu’ils souhaitent préserver. La traduction théâtrale – de certaines pièces, du moins – constitue précisément, à notre avis, un de ces cas.

Les lignes qui suivent partent d’une constatation de ce genre, à laquelle nous nous sommes confrontés lors de la publication récente d’un ouvrage (Regattin et Tierno 2011) recueillant les textes de quatre auteurs dramatiques québécois (François Archambault, Frédéric Blanchette, Catherine-Anne Toupin et Larry Tremblay) qui étaient tous inédits ou quasi-inédits[1] en Italie. Les lignes qui suivent chercheront à motiver le choix traductif que nous avons adopté à cette occasion, et qui a normalisé les traits les plus franchement québécois des textes recueillis; elles chercheront, aussi, à défendre une position traductive qui, tout en gardant un côté annexioniste, se veut cependant *éthique* et *poétique*, pour reprendre deux des termes bermaniens cités plus haut.

1. Histoire, enjeux

Pendant longtemps le langage a été considéré comme «un personnage additionnel

[1] Un texte de Larry Tremblay (*Il ventriloquo*) ayant paru en Italie en 2003.

dans la plupart des textes de théâtre québécois» (Linda Gaboriau, citée in Bowman 2003: 43). Et, en effet, en parcourant l'histoire de la dramaturgie québécoise d'après-guerre, il est possible de remarquer une importance constante de l'élément linguistique du moins jusqu'aux dernières décennies du siècle dernier.

Après l'essor du «théâtre canadien-français», qui pendant les années '50 va marquer les débuts d'une véritable modernité théâtrale, la dramaturgie québécoise deviendra bientôt le lieu privilégié d'un combat idéologique («derrière le débat linguistique, il y a un débat politique», Lesage 2010: 47). Entre les années '60 et '80, notamment, les auteurs de cette aire, écartelés entre la nécessité de faire entendre leur voix dans un continent entièrement anglophone, d'un côté, et le désir de garder une indépendance vis-à-vis de l'hégémonie culturelle française, de l'autre, vont donner naissance à une production qui, se distinguant peut-être plus au niveau stylistique que du point de vue thématique, fait un usage assez large de variétés de langue propres à la région et totalement absentes ailleurs. Nous pensons en particulier au joual, dont le manifeste est sans doute *Les Belles-sœurs* de Michel Tremblay (1965), mais il est également possible de citer les travaux en acadien d'Antonine Meillet ou ceux de Jeanne-Mance Delisle, écrivant ses pièces en dialecte d'Abitibi.

A cette époque, un tel usage représente une double singularisation, en ce qu'il permet de promouvoir en même temps les deux instances primordiales de l'identité québécoise par la définition de deux *outgroups*, au sens sociologique du terme: le théâtre se fait en «français», ce qui donne la possibilité de marquer un éloignement du voisinage anglophone tout proche, mais dans un français qui se singularise de façon considérable par rapport à celui qu'on parle de l'autre côté de l'Océan; de cette manière, la prise de distances par rapport à la culture-mère est également assurée (voir aussi Greif et Ouellet 2004: 81-91).

Son côté politique, tout à fait primordial, rend ce théâtre parfaitement adapté à exprimer des revendications identitaires semblables ou analogues à celles qui l'ont engendré. C'est sans doute cette raison qui a conduit à la réalisation de travaux à succès comme ceux que Bill Findlay, traducteur de Michel Tremblay et de Jeanne-Mance Delisle, a réalisés en Écosse. Le cas des traductions de Bill Findlay constitue ici un cas de figure exemplaire: l'analogie[2] entre les textes originaux et les textes traduits est ici doublée par une analogie au niveau macroculturel, les situations relatives du Québec par rapport au Canada et de

[2] Dans son sens primordial de «mapping of knowledge from one domain […] into another […], which conveys that a system of relations that holds among the base objects also holds among the target objects» (Gentner 1988: 64).

l'Écosse par rapport au Royaume Uni étant comparables sous plusieurs aspects. Un rapport de similarité unit les deux auteurs au niveau biographique aussi: tout comme Tremblay, qui appuyait avec force le Parti Québécois, Findlay a toujours été «[a] Scottish republican and liberal socialist by conviction» (Ross 2005). Souvent aidé par d'autres traducteurs, tels que Martin Bowman, l'intellectuel écossais a produit à partir des années '80 une longue série de traductions de textes théâtraux québécois, dont plus d'une dizaine de Michel Tremblay.

Les traductions (dont celle des *Belles-sœurs*, *The Guid Sisters* dans la version Findlay/Bowman) ont été effectuées en scots, langue au statut incertain, considérée tour à tour comme un dialecte de l'anglais parlé en Écosse ou comme une langue germanique à part entière, bien que très proche de l'anglais. Si l'usage de cette langue en tant que langue-de-traduction n'est pas nouveau (voir par exemple Corbett 2007 pour une vue d'ensemble de la traduction théâtrale en scots), cette activité avait longtemps eu une visée politique et littéraire plus traditionnelle: on cherchait, par les traductions, à redonner des lettres de noblesse à une variété linguistique «vaincue» (voir Nadiani 2006 pour le concept de *lingua sconfitta*[3]), une pratique qui s'inscrit parfaitement dans une vision «polysystémique» de la traduction, où celle-ci joue un rôle primordial dans la construction et le façonnement des systèmes littéraires «périphériques». Au contraire, le travail de Findlay – ou de Findlay/Bowman selon les occasions – ouvrait, par le choix des textes et par le caractère analogique des revendications identitaires québécoise et écossaise, une perspective nouvelle; on ne se contentait plus de «renforcer» la langue vaincue, mais on le faisait aux dépens de la langue dominante. Cette posture a été comprise et appréciée par le public écossais[4] à sa juste mesure, tant il est vrai que Tremblay a été longtemps considéré comme «the most popular contemporary playwright in Scotland» (Harvie 1995), *The Guid Sisters* étant même «the most published "Scottish" play text of the 90s» (*Ibid.*).

Mais, si la version Bowman/Findlay peut être considérée comme exemple paradigmatique d'une traduction qui respecte dans une mesure maximale le texte-source et qui, en même temps, arrive à l'utiliser pour ainsi dire à ses propres fins, le choix de traduire le français québécois (le joual dans le cas des *Belles-sœurs*)

[3] «Per "lingue sconfitte" s'intendono qui tutte quelle lingue, a forte valenza orale pur con significativi monumenti scritti, prive di uno status culturale e funzionale riconosciuto e riconoscibile da parte dei potenziali parlanti o presunti tali, anche in presenza di uno status "politico" ufficiale, in preda dal punto di vista socio-linguistico a un definitivo processo di *patoisement* (in una situazione di lingue in contatto i parlanti una data lingua assumono e accettano mentalmente e praticamente la svalutazione ufficiale del loro codice, visto come meno prestigioso e incapace di rinnovamento con il conseguente abbandono dello stesso)» (Nadiani 2006: note n. 1).

[4] Et, par la suite, international, *The Guid Sisters* ayant même franchi les frontières pour être mis en scène de l'autre côté de l'Océan, à Toronto, en 1990.

par une autre variété marquée n'est pas le seul possible.

La version anglaise (dont le titre, en français, reste *Les Belles-sœurs*) montre par exemple un recours à une langue assez proche du standard, bien qu'il s'agisse d'un standard colloquial. L'importance de l'élément linguistique est certes prise en considération par les deux traducteurs, John Van Burek et Bill Glassco, qui toutefois affirment: «We realized quite soon that there was no point in trying to translate it [le joual en tant que variété marquée]. There's no equivalent. We just have to rely on the situations and Tremblay's talent for characters» (John Van Burek, cité in Ulicki 1997: 31). Un court extrait des trois versions (l'original français, la version de Findlay/Bowman et celle de Van Burek/Glassco) permettra de mettre en évidence de façon plus claire les stratégies adoptées par les deux couples de traducteurs:

> J'comprends rien pantoute pis j'veux rien savoir! Parle-moé pus… Désâmez-vous pour élever ça, pis que c'est que ça vous rapporte? Rien! Rien pantoute! C'est même pas capable de vous rendre un p'tit sarvice! J't'avertis Linda, je commence à en avoir plein le casque de vous servir, toé pis les autres! (Tremblay 1972: 17).

> Ah dinnae waant tae understand. Ah dinnae waant tae even hear aboot it. Ye caw yir pan oot bringing thum up an whit dae ye git? Damn all! Just sweet bugger all! An you cannae even dae me a wee favour. Ah'm warnin you, Linda. Ah've hud it up tae here wi servin you hand an fit. You an the rest o thum (Tremblay 1991: 7).

> I don't want to be reasonable, I don't want to hear about it! I kill myself for you and what do I get in return? Nothing! A big fat nothing! You can't even do me a little favour! I'm warning you, Linda, I'm getting sick of waiting on you, you and everyone else (Tremblay 1992: 7).

Même sans rentrer dans le détail des trois textes, il est évident que le traitement de la diversité linguistique de l'original est foncièrement différent dans les deux traductions. Les traits québécois, qui font surface à chaque niveau, sont pris en charge par la première traduction – celle de Findlay et Bowman – alors qu'ils sont ignorés par Van Burek et Glassco[5]. Il convient de souligner que, même

[5] Nous ne sommes pas en mesure d'évaluer le texte en scots mais un détail assez parlant reste compréhensible même dans ce petit morceau: c'est la traduction du «Rien!» du texte original par un «Damn all!» dans la version écossaise, un cas de compensation qui rend évidente la tentative

en l’absence d’une variété connotée du point de vue diastratique et diatopique, le choix des traducteurs américains n’était pas obligé, et d’autres solutions auraient été possibles. En effet, comme le fait remarquer Alanna Ulicki (1997: 35-42), face au même problème d’autres traducteurs ont adopté des stratégies différentes, en essayant de rendre compte d’une différence par d’autres moyens. Luis de Céspedes a par exemple décidé, dans sa traduction de *La Sagouine*, d’Antonine Meillet (écrit en acadien), d’inclure dans son texte des traits appartenant à l’anglais oral, en les marquant explicitement à l’écrit (par exemple, *’em* pour *them*, *didn’* pour *didn’t*, et ainsi de suite).

Quelle que soit la stratégie adoptée par les différents traducteurs, le fait que chacun d’entre eux, face à ces œuvres, éprouve la nécessité d’utiliser un langage également connoté ou, à la limite, de se justifier pour son absence, montre déjà toute l’importance de l’aspect linguistique dans ces textes. Ce qui compte, à y bien regarder, c’est en effet que les instances identitaires et politiques s’expriment avant tout, dans les textes des années ’60 et ’70, *à travers le langage*; de ce fait, l’intervention du traducteur – de tout traducteur, même de celui qui se montrait peu intéressé aux positions idéologiques des auteurs de la culture-source – devra forcément être problématisée. Ici, une approche traductive «venutienne» paraît ainsi presque s’imposer d’elle-même: ces œuvres, explicitement et consciemment enracinées dans leur territoire et dans leur langue, semblent *demander* une traduction qui en respecte, de quelque manière, la diversité. Les traduire dans une variété linguistique standard est certes un choix possible, comme le démontre le travail de Glassco et Van Burek; toutefois, éviter d’accorder au langage la tâche primordiale qu’on lui attribue dans les textes originaux, le faire déchoir du rôle de «personnage» à celui de simple figurant et le normaliser ne peut que se connoter comme un choix marqué et, du moins dans une certaine mesure, impérialiste, puisqu’il abolit la différence intrinsèque de ces œuvres et la force de leur voix. Comme le résume Martin Bowman, «since Tremblay uses non-standard language, then non-standard language is the best medium for translating him. *Point final*. If you translate him into standard language, you’ve lost something» (Babington 1992: 1079).

2. Actualité, contre-enjeux

À en juger par les lignes qui précèdent, on pourrait être tenté de conclure que la «traduction du théâtre québécois» est bel et bien une opération douée d’une certaine spécificité. Or, le fait que dans le passé (et aujourd’hui encore, lorsque nous nous confrontons à des textes d’il y a quelques décennies) il ait été possible

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d’utiliser un langage populaire.

de traiter ce théâtre comme un objet culturel et social spécifique, et de le traduire en conséquence, ne signifie pas que depuis lors rien n'ait changé, et que cette spécificité soit encore aujourd'hui agissante.

Avec Tremblay et ses *Belles-sœurs* nous avons affaire à une situation où un texte paradigmatique devient en quelque sorte la métonymie d'une production plus vaste, en imposant «un certain type» de stratégie traductive même lorsque le système théâtral a entre-temps évolué. Considérer cet auteur et ce texte comme les représentants éternels du théâtre québécois n'est plus qu'un stéréotype, qui reste toutefois très vivant. En effet, chaque fois que le théâtre québécois ou sa traduction sont nommés, la pensée revient aux *Belles-sœurs*, comme le démontre une littérature assurément très vaste sur le sujet, certains traducteurs (tels que Glassco et Van Burek, mais surtout Findlay et Bowman) ayant même acquis aussi une certaine célébrité grâce à leurs versions du chef-d'œuvre de l'auteur québécois[6].

Face à cette grande popularité le risque est sensible, toutefois, d'enfermer le théâtre québécois à l'intérieur d'un cadre interprétatif restreint. Il s'agit d'un risque plus sensible encore pour les traducteurs, étant donné que c'est surtout dans des publications relevant de la traductologie que la plupart des interventions sur ce sujet a eu lieu. Voyons alors pourquoi cette attitude pourrait poser problème, et pourquoi (c'est du moins notre avis) il faudrait chercher à la dépasser.

Les auteurs francophones canadiens continuent certes, aujourd'hui encore, d'utiliser un langage qui présente des éléments spécifiques, et dont les déviations par rapport au français hexagonal sont nombreuses et consistantes, surtout aux niveaux lexical et phonétique (nous en verrons quelques exemples par la suite).

Cependant – et cela grâce aussi aux batailles culturelles des décennies précédentes – un usage semblable de leur part ne correspond plus à la nécessité de revendiquer une indépendance sur le plan culturel ou littéraire, celle-ci étant désormais donnée pour acquise. Cet aspect ne touche pas seulement au langage, mais se reflète aussi sur les thèmes abordés, beaucoup moins locaux, beaucoup plus plongés dans un «occidental contemporain» qui pourrait avoir lieu tant au Québec comme en France, aux États-Unis ou ailleurs. Alors que les textes de Michel Tremblay ou de Delisle étaient profondément ancrés dans la réalité socio-culturelle dont ils étaient l'expression, les travaux plus récents, du moins à partir d'auteurs comme Normand Chaurette[7], montrent un caractère plus universel, en

[6] Notre article – et la place que nous avons consacrée à l'«affaire Tremblay» dans un texte qui, somme toute, veut s'occuper de ce qui est arrivé (et de ce qui devrait arriver) aux auteurs de la génération suivante – le démontre aussi.

[7] Nous nous concentrerons ici seulement sur les auteurs au sens littéraire du terme, aux *producteurs de textes* pour ainsi dire, sans toucher à ces dramaturges qui prennent en charge personnellement la

mettant en scène des préoccupations occidentales au sens large et s'ouvrant sur le monde dans toute sa complexité.

C'est donc du moins à partir des années '80[8] que la question identitaire semble perdre une grande partie de sa force: les nouveaux auteurs déplacent leur attention en se consacrant à des thèmes variés, de plus en plus en prise avec le monde et l'occident en général. Ainsi, Marie-Christine Lesage (2010) reconnaît, dans la dramaturgie québécoise contemporaine, deux tendances générales: une écriture plus proche du réel (qui explore des questions «politiques» au sens large, de la désagrégation de certaines institutions sociales au désarroi des jeunes dans la société contemporaine), une autre qui travaille plutôt sur la théâtralité et sur le côté poétique du langage, en s'éloignant (chaque auteur à sa manière) d'une certaine tradition réaliste héritée de l'entourage anglo-saxon. Une caractéristique qui cependant semble unifier encore ces différentes tendances est l'attention à la matérialité de la langue: comme a pu le souligner encore Lesage (2010: 45), «un des traits qui demeurent particuliers au Québec est un certain usage de la langue: la langue théâtrale est le terrain de fertiles inventions poétiques, les auteurs aiment jouer avec elle, la tordre, la faire entendre autrement».

3. Définir une position traductive: exemples, stratégie

Pour définir une stratégie traductive qui puisse prendre en compte cette évolution, nous voudrions partir ici d'un «noyau minimal», représenté par les textes qui composent un petit recueil publié récemment en Italie, *Teatro contemporaneo del Québec* (Regattin et Tierno 2011). Les quatre textes en question sont *La société des loisirs* (*Giochi di società*), de François Archambault, *Le Périmètre* (*La distanza*), de Frédéric Blanchette, *À présent* (*D'ora in poi*), de Catherine-Anne Toupin et *Abraham Lincoln va au théâtre* (*Abramo Lincoln va a teatro*) de Larry Tremblay. L'anthologie recueille des pièces mises en scène, au fil du temps, lors des six éditions du festival international «In altre parole», organisé à Rome par Pino Tierno et Marco Bellocchi. Le tri des œuvres a donc été fait «sur le terrain», et ne correspond pas à une posture spécifique de la part des directeurs de la publication.

Une courte description des quatre textes précédera quelques citations qui – c'est du moins ce que nous espérons – permettront de faire remarquer comme ces théâtres, tout en restant ancrés dans leur lieu de provenance, montrent des

mise en scène aussi – nous pensons par exemple à Robert Lepage ou Wajdi Mouawad – et dont l'attitude a marqué récemment un tournant dans la production de la région. Voir Lesage (2010: 55).

[8] Il serait peut-être possible de situer un tournant primordial au 20 mai 1980, jour de la défaite du référendum sur la souveraineté-association.

caractéristiques bien différentes par rapport aux travaux d'il y a quelques décennies, et méritent pour cela une traduction tout autant différente.

Le texte qui ouvre le recueil, *La société des loisirs*, est sans doute le plus franchement comique (bien qu'il s'agisse d'un comique grinçant et d'un rire souvent vert). Nous assistons aux évolutions d'un jeune couple qui décide de faire le ménage dans sa vie et dans ses fréquentations; leurs tentatives de rejoindre un idéal de perfection assez paradoxal feront naufrage lorsque les deux protagonistes inviteront, pour un dîner d'adieu, un ami célibataire (qui ne peut avoir de place dans leur nouvelle vie rangée) et sa jeune «amie-plus».

Le deuxième texte de l'anthologie, *Le Périmètre*, met en scène un rapport de couple qui a touché à sa fin. Dans un dialogue qui se caractérise par la reproduction d'une oralité pragmatiquement vraisemblable, faite d'interruptions multiples, de phrases inachevées et d'allusions, les deux protagonistes cherchent à garder des relations amicales, ou du moins acceptables, pour sauvegarder le bien-être d'un enfant commun et, aussi, le leur. Petit à petit, toutefois, les rapports se dégraderont, en laissant la place à des jeux de pouvoir de plus en plus explicites et violents.

Dans la pièce de Toupin, *À présent*, c'est encore un couple qui se trouve sur le devant de la scène. La détérioration progressive de l'amour et de l'attraction mutuelle des deux protagonistes n'est pas représentée de façon réaliste, mais par l'irruption dans leur vie d'une autre famille (un père, une mère, un fils), de plus en plus présente, de plus en plus envahissante. Dans un mélange inextricable de réalité et de cauchemar, les trois nouveaux venus accéléreront la crise jusqu'à une conclusion qui – dans une représentation réussie de l'inquiétante étrangeté freudienne – voit un renversement inattendu des rôles des deux jeunes hommes de la pièce, chacun prenant l'identité de l'autre.

Un point commun parmi ces ouvrages paraît de façon immédiate: il s'agit de l'attention à la famille nucléaire. Celle-ci constitue le centre de ces trois premières pièces et, par son caractère prototypique, permet de porter (sur des modalités différentes: symbolique pour Toupin, réaliste pour Blanchette, comique pour Archambault) autant de critiques à la société au sens large.

Quant à la quatrième pièce, *Abraham Lincoln va au théâtre*, elle fait ici figure d'exception. L'intrigue, très compliquée, se développe sur plusieurs plans, dans un jeu de boîtes chinoises qui voit sur l'estrade un metteur en scène et deux acteurs jouant l'assassinat d'Abraham Lincoln. Une mise en abîme multiple les transformera tour à tour en Laurel et Hardy, en deux acteurs jouant Laurel et Hardy, en deux autres acteurs jouant les deux premiers comédiens et ainsi de suite. Un travail métathéâtral et très compliqué, qui cache une réflexion profonde sur la mort, le pouvoir, la violence.

Si la thématique, dans tous ces cas (le jeu de réfractions du quatrième texte s'insérant dans une esthétique postmoderne assez établie), reste occidentale au sens large, vu son peu de spécificité et de «couleur locale», il n'en va pas de même pour la localisation linguistique, qui n'est pas en discussion. Les personnages sont bel et bien québécois, bien qu'à des degrés différents. Si les textes d'Archambault et Blanchette affichent en tout et pour tout leur québécité au niveau linguistique, cet aspect est beaucoup moins présent dans les travaux de Toupin et de Tremblay (le fait que les deux ouvrages les moins «réalistes» soient en même temps ceux où le langage est le moins connoté du point de vue local n'a rien de surprenant); dans ces pièces aussi, par ailleurs, une localisation peut parfois faire surface, bien qu'à un niveau secondaire: tout en affichant un langage résolument hexagonal, les deux auteurs ne renoncent pas à utiliser quelques traits lexicaux québécois ou à donner à leurs personnages des noms «canadiens», en les faisant évoluer dans un milieu tout aussi localisé. Nous montrerons quelques exemples, tirés surtout des deux premiers textes, et se situant aux niveaux phonétique et phonologique, lexical, syntaxique et «culturel» (au sens large, pouvant indiquer tant des noms comme des *realia* de tout genre).

Phonétique/phonologie
*Y'*est onze heures et demie (Toupin); Mais y en a *pus* de famille normale. / *Ouin* (Archambault); J'ai l'impression de *toute* signer deux fois. / Oh. *Chu* pas inquiet. / J'*vas* signer pareil / *Ouains*… (Blanchette).

Lexique
Appelle-moi sur ton heure de *souper* / Je lui ai fait des crêpes au *bleuets* (Toupin); On donne du *quality time*. / … on trouve ça *cute*. / Vous buvez pus *pantoute*? (Archambault); C'est *plate* aussi parce qu'à part l'ambiance… / … c'est pas ton *bag* à toi. / Tu te fais *crouzer* dans cour d'école? / *Câlisse*, c'est normal … (Blanchette).

Lexique/syntaxe
Je suis juste frustré, *là*. J'aurais aimé *ça* la fumer comme une dernière. / Les filles *ont vraiment le tour avec*. (Archambault); Ben, y'a *tu* des choses… des choses que je devrais… / *Y'en a ben de t'ça, coudonc*. On a *tu* toute en double? (Blanchette).

Culture/realia
… pendant que je reste ici à lire tes vieux numéros de *Châtelaine*. / …

comme on a une piscine, je me force pour faire une baignade une fois de temps en temps (Archambault); noms des personnages: Léonard Brisebois, Christian Larochelle, Sébastien Johnson, Marc Killman … (Tremblay).

Comme il est possible de le remarquer, les niveaux touchés sont multiples: phonétique (la réalisation nasale de «oui» étant présente, avec des graphies différentes, chez deux auteurs), lexical (avec des emprunts de l'anglais tout proche, comme *cute* ou *bag*, ou avec des variantes locales du français, comme pour *pantoute* ou *plate*), lexical/syntaxique (c'est le cas des locutions figées, comme *avoir le tour avec*), syntaxique (reprise de l'objet avec *ça* ou introduction du *là* comme marqueur de fin de discours), et culturel aussi (des revues, telles que *Châtelaine*, la présence de la piscine dans le jardin de la maison d'un couple de la classe moyenne, les noms des personnages). Regardons enfin deux répliques en entier, qui montrent la superposition de tous les niveaux que l'on vient d'identifier:

ANNE-MARIE - Tu m'as traitée comme de la marde! Tu le sais que j'hais ça quand tu te comportes comme si j'étais ta blonde!
MARC-ANTOINE - Niaise pas, là. Viens te coller, un peu. C'est une belle façon de faire la paix, non?
ANNE-MARIE - J'ai pas envie de faire la paix. Décolle! (Archambault).

J'avais pas regardé l'heure avant le film. On est arrivé pis j'ai demandé à la fille au guichet: «*le film avec le dinosaure, ça joue-tu?*» Y voulait voir ça. A dit que oui. Je dis «*quand?*» A dit: «*Là…*». Fait qu'on est rentré. Pis après le film, j'ai pas regardé l'heure non plus, c'est mon erreur, parce que je l'ai emmené à la place …tsé y'était déjà allé…c'est une place à Sundae, …un bar laitier, sauf que toutes les affaires, les condiments sont là s'ul comptoir pis c'est toi qui fais ton sundae. T'aurais dû y voir la face au p'tit. Ça valait 100 piasses. Pis là, j'ai vu l'heure. Faque Annie est venue me reconduire à job en vitesse, parce que j'ai vu que j'étais déjà en retard, pis elle a gardé l'char… (Blanchette; les italiques sont de l'auteur).

Dans le premier extrait, il est possible d'identifier des variantes québécoises du point de vue phonétique (*marde*), lexical (*blonde*, *niaiser*), syntaxique (la reprise par *ça* – «j'aime ça quand tu te comportes…» – et l'utilisation de *là* en fin de phrase). Le deuxième en présente une quantité beaucoup plus vaste. Au niveau phonétique, il est possible de signaler par exemple *A* pour «elle» («A dit que oui»), *pis*, *Y voulait*, *s’ul comptoir* etc.; le niveau lexical est également très riche, avec, entre autres, *piasses*, *Fait que* ou *Faque*, *job*, *char*, ou l’usage de la préposition *à* dans la locution *à job* (comme dans les analogues *à soir* ou *à matin*, voir Remysen 2003); de même, au niveau syntaxique il est possible de remarquer du moins l’usage épithétique du *tu*, pour signaler une question («*ça joue-tu?*») et l’usage réitéré de *pis* comme conjonction; finalement, on peut aussi remarquer la collocation américaine du texte grâce à la présence du bar à sundae, le niveau culturel étant aussi touché.

Dans les textes que nous venons d’analyser la langue, tout en gardant un côté local, revêt des habits nouveaux. Non plus véhicule identitaire, elle remplit deux fonctions différentes: tantôt elle devient un simple instrument mimétique, qui représente une langue parlée vivante, réelle, non littéraire; tantôt, au contraire, elle se fait poésie, en jouant de façon novatrice – mais non connotée du point de vue local – sur et avec les mots. Dans ces textes (et dans le théâtre québécois contemporain au sens large) la langue paraît donc de plus en plus expression d’un vraisemblable discursif ou d’un intime poétique et expressif (au sens jakobsonien des deux termes) où l’identité – un terme si important à l’époque des *Belles-sœurs* – fait surface, certes, mais sous la forme d’une *individualité* et non pas d’une collectivité «nationale». La différence que ces textes mettent en place – lorsqu’ils le font – est celle qui sépare le moi de l’autrui, et non celle qui individualise une communauté langagière et sociale de son environnement.

Dans ce nouveau contexte, et face à ces fonctions nouvelles, comment faire vivre les pièces dans une culture autre? Comment en respecter les qualités, et ce qui fait leur force? S’il reste essentiel de marquer la différence éventuelle d’une *parole* (ce qui pourrait passer par la différenciation des voix multiples des personnages, ou par la recréation des jeux de mots ou des qualités poétiques, toujours au sens jakobsonien, des textes), il faudra veiller à ne pas tomber dans le piège d’une reproduction exotisante de la *langue* (ce qui marquait au contraire, comme on l’a vu, la traduction des œuvres en joual ou, en général, plus localistes).

La solution, pour paradoxal que cela puisse paraître, pourrait alors passer par une stratégie traductive explicitement annexioniste, «ethnocentrique» (pour reprendre le terme d’Antoine Berman) mais encore éthique. Le gommage des caractères linguistiques locaux, loin de mettre à mal l’altérité du parler québécois tel qu’il est représenté dans ces textes, permettrait en effet au traducteur de «mettre au même niveau» le texte québécois et les textes français qui lui sont contemporains, là où souligner une différence correspondrait uniquement à privilégier le français de France par rapport à ses variantes locales. C’est ce dernier choix qui constituerait, dans ce cas, le choix véritablement ethnocentrique.

Il faut considérer par ailleurs un autre argument favorable à une traduction «annexioniste» telle que nous la proposons ici. Dans toute œuvre de traduction, il est nécessaire de composer avec les normes traductives de la culture-cible. Or, il est incontestable que, pour ce qui est des arts de la scène, les normes actuelles se situent, aujourd'hui, plutôt du côté d'une approche cibliste[9]. Si dans d'autres cas la «mise en difficulté» d'un canon accepté peut avoir une valeur certaine – comme nous le disions au début de ce texte, nous croyons que les positions d'un Venuti ou d'un Berman sont souvent positives et parfois même indispensables – il est quand même nécessaire de distinguer des stratégies différentes selon la fonction qu'un certain texte devra remplir dans la culture-cible. Nous venons de dire que le théâtre se caractérise, par rapport à d'autres genres, par une approche en moyenne plus cibliste[10], et c'est par rapport à ce point qu'une traduction dans un langage proche du standard prend tous son sens. En effet, une grande partie du public italien – mais les mêmes considérations peuvent peut-être s'étendre à bien d'autres aires géographiques – sait déjà, lorsqu'il s'approche à un texte québécois, que ceci lui vient d'une région francophone, où le français est quand même différent de celui qu'on parle en France; dès lors, toute *différence* au niveau linguistique ne sera pas interprétée comme une différence par rapport à la langue-cible, en l'occurrence l'italien, mais comme une différence par rapport à un français «standard», ce qui nous ferait retomber dans l'exotisation. La distance culturelle perçue ne serait pas celle qui sépare l'Italie du Québec, mais celle qui sépare ce dernier de la France.

De façon cohérente avec ce qui précède, le langage des quatre textes qui composent le recueil italien – mais il devrait être possible d'avoir recours à cette stratégie partout où les mêmes conditions de départ avaient à se vérifier – ne montre pas de différence immédiate au niveau diatopique. Il varie, bien sûr, dans les voix des différents auteurs, mais sur un axe relevant plutôt du distratique, et qui correspond à l'usage assez différent de la langue de la part des personnages. Reprenons les morceaux dont il a déjà été question dans notre analyse des textes-source, et voyons comment ils ont été traduits[11]:

[9] Et cela, de façon plus ou moins générale, dans tout système littéraire et dramatique occidental.

[10] Tant il est vrai que Sirkku Aaltonen, dans son *Time-Sharing on Stage* (Aaltonen 2002: 8), peut considérer la traduction au sens strict, celle qui traduit «le texte dans sa totalité» («[texts] translated in their entirety», une règle que la traduction littéraire, quel que soit son but, peut difficilement ignorer), comme étant la stratégie la plus fidèle parmi bien d'autres, indépendamment du résultat de cette «traduction de tout le texte».

[11] Nous tenons à signaler que les traductions ont été réalisées par quatre traducteurs différents, mais la révision – et par cela la responsabilité définitive des choix traductifs – a été effectuée par l'auteur de ces lignes et par l'autre directeur de la publication, Pino Tierno.

Sono le undici e mezza. (Toupin); Ma le famiglie normali non esistono più / Sì (Archambault); Mi pare di firmare tutto due volte. / Oh, non mi preoccupo. / Firmo lo stesso / Sì… (Blanchette).

Chiamami verso ora di cena. / Gli ho fatto le crêpe ai mirtilli. (Toupin); Ci teniamo al “quality time”. / … pensiamo sia una bella cosa. / Non bevete proprio niente? (Archambault); Poi è frustrante perché a parte l’ambiente… / …non è il tuo genere, lo so. / Ti fai abbordare davanti a scuola? / Cristo, è normale… (Blanchette).

Mi sento frustrato… Avrei voluto fumarla come se fosse l’ultima. / Le ragazze ci sanno fare coi bambini. (Archambault); Be’, ci sono cose… cose che dovrei… / Cacchio, ma quanta ce n’è di questa roba. Ma che è, tutto in doppio? (Blanchette).

… mentre io me ne sto qui a leggere vecchi numeri di *Châtelaine*? / … visto che abbiamo una piscina, mi sforzo di fare un tuffo ogni tanto. (Archambault); Léonard Brisebois, Christian Larochelle, Sébastien Johnson, Marc Killman … (Tremblay).

ANNE-MARIE - Mi hai trattata come una merda! Lo sai che detesto quando ti comporti come se fossi la tua amichetta.
MARC-ANTOINE - Non fare la stupida. Vieni qui vicino. È un bel modo di fare la pace, no?
ANNE-MARIE - Non ho voglia di fare la pace. Lasciami stare! (Archambault.)

Non avevo guardato l’ora prima del film. Siamo arrivati e ho chiesto alla cassiera: “C’è il film coi dinosauri?”. Lui voleva vedere quello. Ha detto di sì. Io ho detto “quando?” e quella ha risposto: “Ora…”. Quindi siamo entrati subito. E neanche dopo il film, ho guardato l’ora, è colpa mia, perché poi l’ho portato in un posto… ci siamo pure stati insieme… è una paninoteca… un bar paninoteca, solo che lì tutte le robe, i condimenti sono sul banco e sei tu che ti fai il tuo panino. Avresti dovuto vedere la faccia del piccolo. Quella faccia valeva cento milioni… E lì, ho visto l’orologio. Quindi Annie è venuta a prendermi per portarmi di corsa al lavoro, perché ho visto che ero in ritardo, e lei ha tenuto la macchina… (Blanchette).

Pour ce qui est de la variation diatopique, il est possible de remarquer que tous les niveaux linguistiques ont subi une normalisation. Les différentes voix des personnages ont pu quand même être préservées, grâce à la prise en compte de la variation sur tous les autres paramètres. Ainsi, les niveaux diastratique et diaphasique, virant plutôt au populaire et à un langage oral, du texte de Blanchette ont été gardés par le recours à plusieurs interruptions et à une syntaxe où la topicalisation se fait par le ton et par la position en début de phrase[12], ainsi qu'à des termes passe-partout tels que «*robe*» (qui pourrait être traduit par «machins»). En général, nous avons par contre cherché à garder les aspects relevant de la culture des textes (comme les noms des personnages chez tout auteur, les noms des revues, etc.). À cet égard, la traduction du «place à sundae» par «paninoteca» mérite qu'on s'y arrête un instant: il s'agit d'une véritable faute de traduction, qui – bien que nous ne soyons pas le traducteur du texte en question – n'est à attribuer qu'à nous-mêmes; dans une éventuelle réimpression, il faudrait sans doute corriger ce choix.

4. Pour conclure

Traduire des pièces de théâtre est déjà, en soi, une opération douée d'une certaine spécificité. Traduire un théâtre qui se fait dans et par le langage, comme c'est le cas ici, l'est peut-être encore plus. De là, la nécessité d'une traduction normalisante, qui, par le recours à cette stratégie même, permet d'apprécier le théâtre québécois contemporain à sa juste valeur, sans l'enfermer dans des grilles de lecture exotisantes. Une dernière note, en guise de conclusion: nous croyons que cette «traduction annexioniste qui n'en est pas une» ne devrait être limitée en aucune manière au couple de langues dont il a été question dans ces lignes; au contraire, il serait intéressant d'élargir (ou de découvrir s'il est possible d'élargir) cette pratique à d'autres textes, d'autres genres, d'autres langues.

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[12] Voir par exemple «E neanche dopo il film, ho guardato l'ora …», qui, à l'écrit ou dans un oral soigné, aurait été plutôt «E non ho guardato l'ora neanche dopo il film …» ou «E l'ora non l'ho guardata neanche dopo il film …».

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La traducción de la literatura vasca a otras lenguas[1]

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Abstract

This paper offers a general overview of Basque literature in translation. Our main objective is to know what has been translated from Basque and in which way. The paper will present a detailed analysis of a catalogue of Basque literary works in translation. We will show which are the most translated books, the most representative authors or the main target languages. The paper will show the difficulties that a minority language such as Basque has to face when being translated into other major as well as minor languages. The analysis will show the dependency of a peripheric language on a hegemonic language and in which way this dependency is reflected in the translation process. On the one hand, we will show that self-translation is a common activity when translating into Spanish and, on the other hand, data from the catalogue will demonstrate that indirect translation is often needed when translating into other languages.

Introducción

El estatus de cada una de las lenguas que participan en una traducción es un factor de vital importancia para definir la relación que se establecerá entre lengua de partida y lengua meta. Rainier Grutman divide en tres grupos las posibles combinaciones: la traducción de un idioma simbólicamente dominante o "central" a un idioma "periférico" y, por lo tanto, dominado en el sistema mundial de las lenguas y viceversa, la traducción de un idioma dominante a otro idioma dominante y la traducción de un idioma dominado a otro idioma dominado (Grutman 2009: 128). En esta contribución veremos en qué medida podemos encontrar traducciones de una lengua minoritaria y diglósica a lenguas dominantes o a lenguas igualmente minoritarias.

La literatura vasca[2] es una literatura minoritaria dentro del amplio polisistema literario. A pesar de contar con más de cinco siglos de historia no ha sido hasta

[1] Este artículo es parte de los trabajos que realiza el grupo de investigación Tralima (IT518-10) en la UPV/EHU con la ayuda del Departamento de Educación, Universidades e Investigación del Gobierno Vasco.

[2] La denominación literatura vasca no es del todo equivalente a lo que en vasco se denomina *euskal literatura*. La denominación en euskera, etimológicamente, hace referencia directa a la lengua en que está escrita dicha literatura, mientras que la denominación "literatura vasca" puede estar ligada tanto al aspecto lingüístico como al cultural o incluso al geográfico. Por lo tanto, en el fondo existe un problema de traducción entre una y otra. La terminología utilizada en castellano puede resultar confusa, puesto que se utiliza más de una denominación para designar una sola cosa, como literatura vasca, literatura en euskera, literatura escrita en euskera, literatura en vasco, etc. En el presente artículo utilizaremos la denominación literatura vasca, limitándonos a su sentido lingüístico y, por lo tanto, haremos referencia a la literatura escrita en euskera, dejando de lado las obras escritas en castellano o en francés dentro del País Vasco.

finales del siglo XX cuando ha empezado a estandarizarse. La traducción hacia el euskera ha contribuido a la normalización de la literatura por lo que, al tratarse de una literatura joven, ha sido y todavía es más abundante que en la direccionalidad opuesta. En los últimos años, sin embargo, la traducción hacia otras lenguas ha ido abriéndose camino, aunque hoy por hoy todavía sea una actividad bastante reducida y llevada a cabo principalme a través de traducciones indirectas[3].

El principal objetivo del presente artículo será ofrecer una imagen general de la traducción de la literatura vasca a otras lenguas y analizar esta realidad desde diferentes puntos de vista. Para ello, en primer lugar trataremos de describir las características principales de la literatura vasca y después presentaremos el catálogo que hemos completado con las obras traducidas desde el euskera. El principal eje de este artículo será el análisis detallado del catálogo que nos ayudará a conocer las vías de exportación desde una lengua minoritaria como el euskera. En tercer lugar, mostraremos qué papel desempeña el castellano como principal lengua receptora y mediadora en la relación hacia otras lenguas, en qué medida se puede percibir la dependencia de una lengua minoritaria hacia una lengua central.

1. La realidad de una lengua minoritaria

El euskera es una lengua minoritaria que cuenta con unos 800.000 hablantes situados a los dos lados del río Bidasoa. Una parte del País Vasco está situado dentro de Francia, mientras que la otra parte pertenece a España. En la parte francesa el euskera no es una lengua oficial, mientras que en la Comunidad Autónoma Vasca y también en ciertas partes de Navarra la lengua es cooficial junto con el castellano desde 1977. Esta división política junto con la falta de oficialidad de la lengua hasta hace pocos años han contribuido a que su situación no esté del todo normalizada y, por lo tanto, que la producción literaria haya sido bastante escasa. La traducción al euskera ha tenido una gran importancia en el desarrollo de la literatura y no ha sido hasta las últimas décadas cuando el sistema se ha estabilizado y se han podido exportar obras literarias a otras lenguas.

La condición de literatura minoritaria se refleja en la falta de medios suficientes para realizar traducciones a otras lenguas. Cada libro que se traduce desde el euskera y se publica en una lengua meta con un mercado literario estable

[3] Con traducción indirecta nos referimos a las traducciones realizadas mediante una versión intermedia y no a partir del original. Se puede referir a esta práctica mediante diversas denominaciones como retraducciones, traducciones de segunda mano, traducciones mediadas o mediatizadas, etc. El término traducción indirecta es el que estudiosos del fenómeno como Ringmar (2006) utilizan. En el reciente glosario sobre los Estudios de Traducción de Anthony Pym (2011) también se recomienda denominarlo de este modo.

es como una gota en medio del mar. La falta de recursos suficientes se refleja en las dificultades que tienen las literaturas minoritarias para promocionarse en otras culturas meta más potentes, por lo que sería necesario contar con proyectos de promoción bien definidos y medios económicos para ello.

El hecho de ser una lengua de poca difusión que comparte ámbito geográfico con una lengua dominante contribuye a la situación de diglosia. Esta situación se refleja en los diferentes ámbitos de la sociedad y en diferentes situaciones de comunicación, incluidas la creación cultural y literaria. La influencia de la lengua hegemónica estará presente también en el ámbito de la traducción, que marcará la relación de la literatura periférica con otras literaturas.

Si tomamos como referencia el esquema del sistema literario propuesto por Even-Zohar (1990: 31) y analizamos uno por uno los factores implicados en el (poli)sistema literario (institución, repertorio, productor, consumidor, mercado y producto) podremos ver que ningún elemento funciona de forma autónoma en euskera y que de algún modo u otro siempre hay alguna relación de dependencia hacia otra lengua hegemónica. Por ejemplo, los productores o escritores son bilingües y muchos de ellos escriben tanto en la lengua minoritaria como en la mayoritaria, sea en forma de trabajos originales o de traducción. Por otra parte, los consumidores también son lectores bilingües (o multilingües), por lo que la literatura que leen estará en más de una lengua. En el mercado se pueden encontrar productos en más de una lengua, por lo que el repertorio no es monolingüe. Las editoriales también publican obras en una y otra lengua. Por lo tanto, podríamos decir que la institución, la literatura vasca, no es totalmente monolingüe y, por consiguiente, no podemos diferenciar dos sistemas literarios puros, uno en euskera y otro en castellano. Se trata de una literatura en parte bilingüe (o trilingüe), y toma además la forma de un bilingüismo diglósico. Este hecho será un condicionante a la hora de traducirse y relacionarse con otras literaturas y afectará al modo de traducción.

2. Obras traducidas desde el euskera

Al crear un catálogo de obras traducidas nuestro principal objetivo ha sido conocer *qué* se ha traducido. Como hemos mencionado en la introducción de esta contribución, la actividad traductora hacia otras lenguas es algo bastante reciente en la literatura vasca y está cobrando cada vez más importancia, como se podrá ver a través de los datos presentados en el siguiente apartado. Por ello, creemos necesario analizar a fondo cómo es esa realidad.

Al completar el catálogo hemos tenido en cuenta toda la historia de la literatura vasca, desde sus comienzos en el siglo XVI hasta la actualidad. Por otra parte, en lo que se refiere a las lenguas meta, no hemos establecido ningún límite para que, de este modo, podamos reflejar toda la realidad traductora. En lo que se refiere a la lengua de origen, hemos tenido en cuenta libros originales que hayan sido escritos en euskera, tanto si han sido traducidos directamente de dicha lengua o si han sido vertidos a la lengua meta por medio de una versión intermedia en castellano. Por último, en relación al soporte de publicación, hemos tenido en cuenta únicamente los libros y hemos excluido de la búsqueda todo aquello que se ha publicado en revistas o en soporte informático.

Con la intención de completar un catálogo lo más exhaustivo posible hemos rastreado catálogos de bibliotecas y bases de datos, páginas web de diferentes editoriales, prensa, así como trabajos que recogen información sobre obras traducidas. No es una labor fácil completar un catálogo que únicamente tiene en cuenta la lengua origen; en muy pocas fuentes se puede establecer ese criterio como único elemento de búsqueda, por lo que en ocasiones hemos tenido que establecer los nombres de autores u otros criterios, restringiendo los posibles resultados.

Cada entrada del catálogo está dividida en 18 categorías y en cada una de ellas hemos introducido datos de la obra de origen así como de la obra meta: autor, título, editorial, fecha y lugar de publicación, número de páginas y número de ISBN. También hemos especificado la lengua meta, el género al que pertenece cada obra y el tipo de traducción que se ha realizado, si es que hemos podido definirlo en la consulta.

El catálogo cuenta hoy en día con 1.175 entradas, entre las cuales hay un total de 935 títulos meta[4]. Hemos realizado varios análisis desde diferentes puntos de vista basándonos en los datos recogidos y a continuación mostraremos los resultados de los mismos.

3. Análisis del catálogo

En este apartado analizaremos los datos desde diferentes perspectivas con el objetivo de ofrecer el panorama general de la traducción desde una lengua minoritaria como el euskera. Comenzaremos analizando el aspecto cronológico y seguiremos con los autores, los títulos de las obras, los géneros hasta llegar a las lenguas meta. En ese último punto centraremos nuestra mirada en dos fenómenos bastante comunes en la traducción de lenguas minoritarias, como son la autotraducción y la traducción indirecta.

[4] Los demás son reediciones. En la primera versión del catálogo completado en 2006, éste contaba con un total de 851 entradas. Los resultados de dichos análisis están disponibles en Manterola 2007.

3.1 Análisis cronológico

Como hemos mencionado en la introducción del presente artículo, la literatura escrita en euskera cuenta con cinco siglos de historia – la primera obra se publicó el año 1545, la obra *Linguae Vasconum Primitiae* de Bernard Etxepare– , aunque no ha sido hasta el siglo XX cuando se ha desarrollado y la producción se ha estabilizado.

A continuación observaremos la evolución cronológica de las traducciones desde el euskera año por año. A primera vista podremos ver que ha habido pocas traducciones hasta las últimas décadas. Como acabamos de señalar, la producción de la literatura vasca ha sido bastante escasa hasta el último cuarto del siglo XX y, en consecuencia, el número de traducciones es a su vez reducido, tanto en lo que se refiere al número de obras como al número de lenguas meta.

Según nuestro catálogo el primer libro que se tradujo se publicó en 1657 en un volumen bilingüe en euskera y francés. Pocos años después, en 1665, también se publicó otra versión bilingüe en la misma combinación lingüística.

Tuvieron que pasar dos siglos más hasta que se publicara la siguiente traducción. Según nuestro catálogo, en el siglo XIX se publicaron un total de 20 traducciones, entre los cuales podemos encontrar colecciones de canciones, proverbios, leyendas y libros religiosos.

A finales del siglo XIX y en los primeros años del siglo XX la cultura vasca tuvo un periodo de florecimiento, que fue denominado como Euskal Pizkundea. Durante aquellos años hubo un movimiento cultural considerable, por lo que la cultura vasca y la lengua vasca cobraron importancia. Esta época dorada se vio interrumpida por la Guerra Civil Española en el año 1936 y durante los años del franquismo la producción literaria fue casi inexistente. No fue hasta el final de la dictadura en 1975 cuando se oficializó la lengua y volvió a ser utilizada en el ámbito cultural y literario.

En este resurgimiento de la cultura vasca la literatura comenzó a afianzarse. El nuevo sistema político posibilitó que la producción en euskera aumentara[5] y se crearan entidades en torno a la literatura, como la asociación de escritores vascos (EIE) o la asociación de traductores, correctores e intérpretes (EIZIE). En los primeros años de democracia, en el periodo 1980-1989, hubo un total de 56 publicaciones traducidas del euskera.

A finales de la década de los 80 la producción se va estabilizando y muy poco a poco va creciendo el número de traducciones a otras lenguas. En esa década

[5] En el periodo 1960-1975 se publicaron 1.315 libros en total, es decir, la producción anual fue de 82,18 libros, mientras que en los siguientes 15 años (1976-1991) hubo un total de 9.248 publicaciones, es decir, 578 libros al año (fuente de los datos: Torrealdai 1997).

hubo un total de 56 traducciones, en comparación con las 11 que hubo en la anterior. El sistema literario se va abriendo camino con la creación de nuevas editoriales y el número de libros publicados sigue en aumento. El año 1989 Bernardo Atxaga ganó el Premio Nacional de Literatura con su obra *Obabakoak* gracias al cual se dio a conocer en diferentes lenguas y literaturas. Era la primera vez que un libro en euskera recibía un premio de esas características. El libro se ha traducido a 28 lenguas, a través de la versión intermedia en casi todos los casos, y ha obtenido la aceptación de crítica y público. "Tanto la crítica extranjera como la nacional se rindió ante la calidad literaria de la obra y las lecturas que se sucedieron enriquecieron, sin duda, la propuesta literaria que nos presentaba el autor" (Olaziregi 2001: 142). La literatura vasca no sólo se dio a conocer en el extranjero sino también dentro del estado español. Por lo visto, hasta la fecha era una literatura bastante desconocida en el ámbito nacional. Con todo y con ello, la obra *Obabakoak* abrió una nueva era para la literatura en lengua vasca.

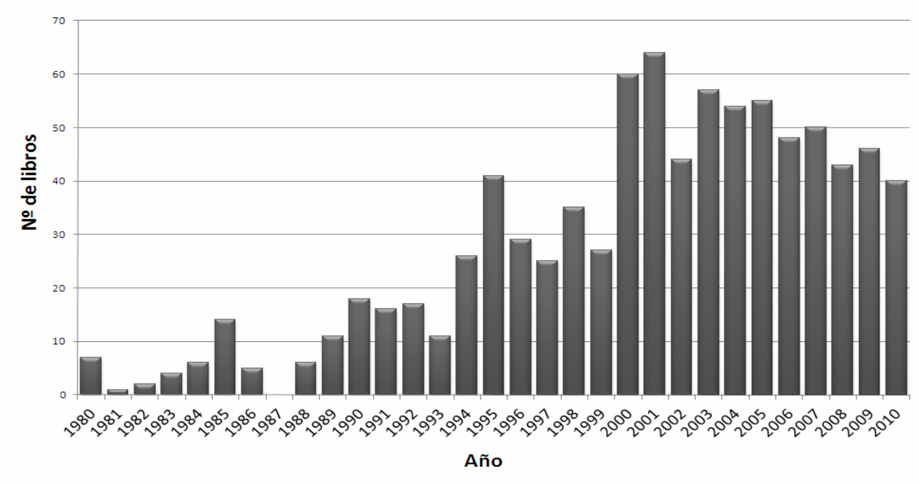
En la década de los 90 se publicaron un total de 245 traducciones en otras lenguas, por lo que observamos un salto cuantitativo en comparación con el periodo anterior.

En la tabla que presentamos a continuación se pueden apreciar los datos referentes al siglo XX divididos década a década. En ella se puede apreciar claramente que el periodo más productivo es el de 1990-1999.

La producción en el siglo XX	
Décadas	Nº de obras
1900-1909	1
1910-1919	1
1920-1929	1
1930-1939	7
1940-1949	1
1950-1959	5
1960-1969	6
1970-1979	11
1980-1989	56
1990-1999	245

El último periodo recoge los datos correspondientes a 2000-2010. Durante esta época el número de libros traducidos ha sido el más cuantioso de todos, con 562 títulos en total. En estos últimos años, la producción en euskera se ha estabilizado y la traducción a otras lenguas va cobrando cada vez más importancia. Por otra parte, en el año 2000, por primera vez, el Gobierno Vasco concedió ayudas para la traducción a otras lenguas. Hasta entonces había dos programas (Literatura Unibertsala, desde 1989, y Pentsamentuaren Klasikoak, desde 1991) para impulsar la traducción hacia el euskera. Desde 2006 dichas ayudas se conceden anualmente[6].

Si observamos los datos desde la década de los 80 nos daremos cuenta de la progresión que ha tenido la publicación de las traducciones. El descenso que se muestra en los últimos años puede deberse a la falta de catalogación de las obras más recientes.



3.2 Obras originales por autores

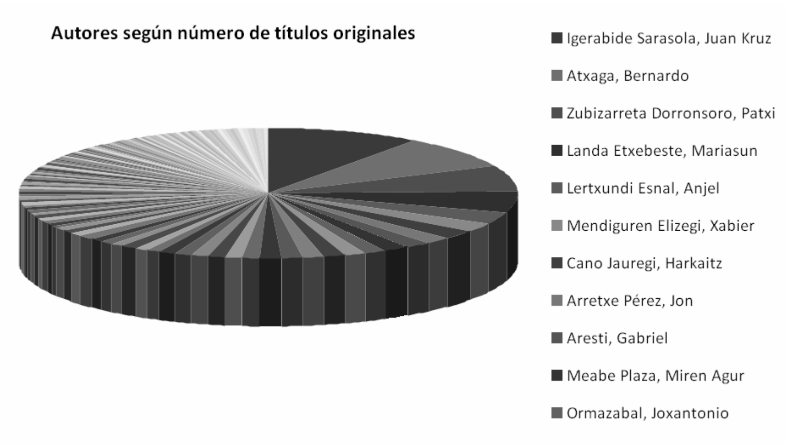
Nuestro catálogo recoge 480 títulos originales[7] de un total de 161[8] autores. En primer lugar encontramos al autor Juan Kruz Igerabide con 44 obras originales, seguido por Bernardo Atxaga, con 35. En la primera versión del catálogo del año 2006, los dos autores aparecían empatados con 33 títulos cada uno, pero en los últimos años vemos que el primero ha publicado más obras, casi todas pertenecientes a la literatura infantil y juvenil (LIJ). En tercer lugar aparece Patxi

[6] El año 2010, por ejemplo, la cantidad para la promoción de obras vascas que se concedió fue de 110.750 euros.

[7] Hemos dejado fuera de este número los casos en que se han publicado únicamente partes de libros originales así como libros que originalmente se han publicado en versiones bilingües y no monolingües en euskera.

[8] Los editores y los autores recogidos en antologías quedan fuera de este cómputo.

Zubizarreta, con 29 obras, seguido por la autora Mariasun Landa con 23 libros y, en quinto lugar, el autor Anjel Lertxundi, con 14. En el otro extremo del listado se encuentran 69 escritores que han publicado una única obra traducida a otra lengua.



La mayor parte de la producción, 14,37%, lo conforman los autores que han tenido una única traducción, mientras que las obras de Igerabide suponen el 9,61% de toda la producción y las de Atxaga, el 7,5%.

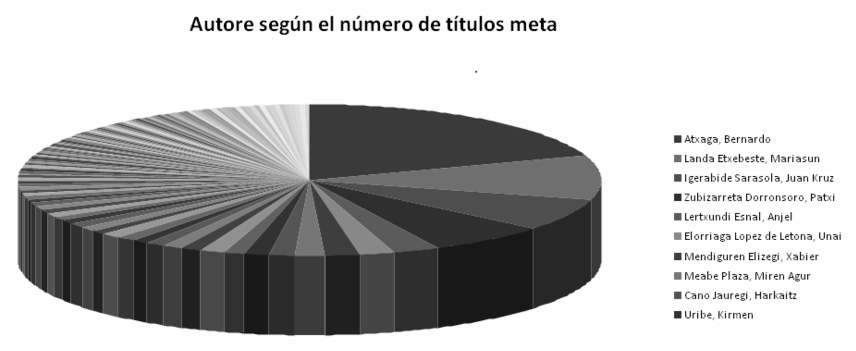
Estas cifras muestran claramente que dos son los autores que tienen más títulos traducidos. Aunque los dos hayan tenido un número considerable de obras traducidas, existen algunas diferencias entre ellos. Bernardo Atxaga ha publicado obras de literatura para adultos así como de literatura infantil y juvenil, mientras que Juan Kruz Igerabide se ha centrado sobre todo en este segundo género.

El número de autores vascos que hayan visto traducida alguna de sus obras no es desdeñable, puesto que 161 escritores no son pocos. Sin embargo, si observamos el amplio número de autores que ha visto traducida una única obra veremos que la mayoría la ha publicado en castellano, lo que significa que esa es nuestra lengua meta principal y que publicar en otras lenguas es algo que está al alcance de pocos.

3.3 Títulos meta por autores

En esta sección analizaremos los datos por autores y el número de títulos meta que cada uno ha publicado en otras lenguas. En total hemos contabilizado 935 títulos en 40 lenguas meta traducidos de obras en vasco.

Existe un único autor que cuenta con más de 100 títulos en otras lenguas. Se trata de Bernardo Atxaga, quien ha publicado un total de 173 traducciones y teniendo en cuenta las reediciones, tendríamos más de 300 publicaciones. La autora Mariasun Landa se encuentra en segundo lugar con 83 títulos. Se trata de un número considerable, pero que se sitúa muy lejos de Atxaga. En tercer y cuarto lugar se encuentran Juan Kruz Igerabide y Patxi Zubizarreta con 61 y 57 publicaciones respectivamente. En quinto lugar, muy alejado de los anteriores, tenemos a un autor consagrado de la literatura vasca, Anjel Lertxundi, con 23 títulos meta. Todos los demás autores han tenido menos de 20 traducciones. De nuevo, un número considerable de autores, 70 en total, han publicado una única traducción.



Tal y como nos muestra el gráfico, Bernardo Atxaga, con el 18,52% de todas las traducciones, es el máximo exportador, seguido por Mariasun Landa, con el 8,88%. Los ocho autores que encabezan el listado conforman la mitad de toda la producción a otras lenguas. Según estos datos, podemos afirmar que tenemos un único autor que se aleja de los demás. Por decirlo en otras palabras, Atxaga es el mayor exportador de literatura vasca y los demás se encuentran en un segundo nivel. En lo que se refiere a la traducción desde el euskera, se puede apreciar un especial predominio de Bernardo Atxaga.

3.4 Títulos

Dedicaremos este apartado a analizar cuáles han sido las obras originales que más veces han sido traducidas a otras lenguas. En la siguiente tabla aparecen los veinte títulos más traducidos[9]:

[9] En la tabla siguiente no especificamos si las traducciones han sido realizadas a partir del euskera o de la versión intermedia en castellano, puesto que no siempre la información paratextual lo

	Libro	Autor	Nº traducciones
1	Obabakoak	Bernardo Atxaga	25
2	Gizona bere bakardadean	Bernardo Atxaga	18
3	Soinujolearen semea	Bernardo Atxaga	14
4	Behi euskaldun baten memoriak	Bernardo Atxaga	13
5	Zeru horiek	Bernardo Atxaga	11
6	SPrako tranbia	Unai Elorriaga	8
7	Sugeak txoriari begiratzen dionean	Bernardo Atxaga	8
8	Bi letter jaso nituen oso denbora gutxian	Bernardo Atxaga	8
9	Bi anai	Bernardo Atxaga	7
10	Xolak badu lehoien berri	Bernardo Atxaga	6
11	Joxepi dendaria	Mariasun Landa	6
12	Zazpi etxe Frantzian	Bernardo Atxaga	6
13	Tsan fantasma	Mariasun Landa	6
14	Izar berdea	Mariasun Landa	6
15	Niri ez zait futbola gustatzen, eta zer?	Andoni Egaña	6
16	Nik eserita egiten dut, eta zer?	Arantxa Iturbe	6
17	Etxe bitan bizi naiz	Miren Agur Meabe	6
18	Zergatik ez du kantatzen txantxangorriak?	Xabier Mendiguren Elizegi	6
19	Arreba txiki bat dut, eta zer?	Jesus Mari Olaizola	6
20	Ostiraletako opila	Patxi Zubizarreta	6

Los primeros veinte libros cuentan con al menos 6 traducciones. Tal y como podemos observar en la tabla *Obabakoak* es el libro que más se ha traducido, con 28 traducciones, cada una de ellas a una lengua diferente, seguido por *Gizona bere bakardadean*, *Soinujolearen semea*, *Behi euskaldun baten memoriak* y *Zeru horiek*, todos ellos de Bernardo Atxaga. Entre los primeros 10 títulos más traducidos, 9 corresponden a este mismo autor. Todos ellos han sido traducidos a

especifica, por lo que hemos preferido no aportar datos erróneos o poco fiables. Se puede consultar Manterola (en prensa) para más información en torno a los datos paratextuales. Profundizaremos más en detalle el tema de la traducción indirecta en la sección 3.6.2.

un amplio número de lenguas y han tenido muchas ediciones, tanto en la lengua de origen como en las lenguas meta.

Entre los siguientes 10 títulos observamos que el número de autores es más amplio y que, aparte de Bernardo Atxaga, podemos encontrar autores como Mariasun Landa, Andoni Egaña o Arantxa Iturbe, entre otros. No deja de llamar la atención que entre estos 10 títulos, dejando de lado la novela *Zazpi etxe Frantzian* de Atxaga, todos los demás pertenezcan a la literatura infantil y juvenil, y que entre las lenguas meta se encuentren en casi todos los casos, lenguas del estado español[10].

Por lo tanto, podemos afirmar que los títulos más traducidos son obras de literatura para adultos de Bernardo Atxaga, lo que no deja de ser una excepción debido a la gran cantidad de literatura infantil y juvenil que se traduce.

3.5 Géneros

Antes de nada nos gustaría ofrecer una panorámica de lo que se produce en euskera en cada género. En lo que se refiere a la literatura para adultos, tal y como ocurre en las literaturas que nos rodean, la narrativa es el género por excelencia, tanto novelas como cuentos cortos. Por otra parte, la poesía ha ido perdiendo el predominio que tuvo a principios del siglo XX. El ensayo es un género que cada vez va tomando más fuerza, pero todavía no tiene una presencia notoria[11]. Y en lo que al teatro se refiere, es un género marginal hoy en día.

Si observamos la literatura infantil y juvenil, veremos que es un género muy importante. Una vez acabado el franquismo el euskera se introdujo en el sistema educativo y ello hizo que la demanda de este tipo de literatura incrementara. Por lo que, desde la década de los 80 la LIJ en euskera ha sido y sigue siendo, el género de más producción.

En lo referente a la traducción, el género de más producción ha sido también el que más se ha traducido. Hemos contabilizado un total de 446 libros traducidos de LIJ. En segundo lugar se sitúa la narrativa, con 197 publicaciones de novela y 83 de cuentos breves. La poesía se sitúa en tercer lugar con 86 traducciones y, en cuarto lugar se encuentra el ensayo, con 25. Por último, encontramos otros géneros más marginales como pueden ser las colecciones de canciones, teatro, comic, etc.

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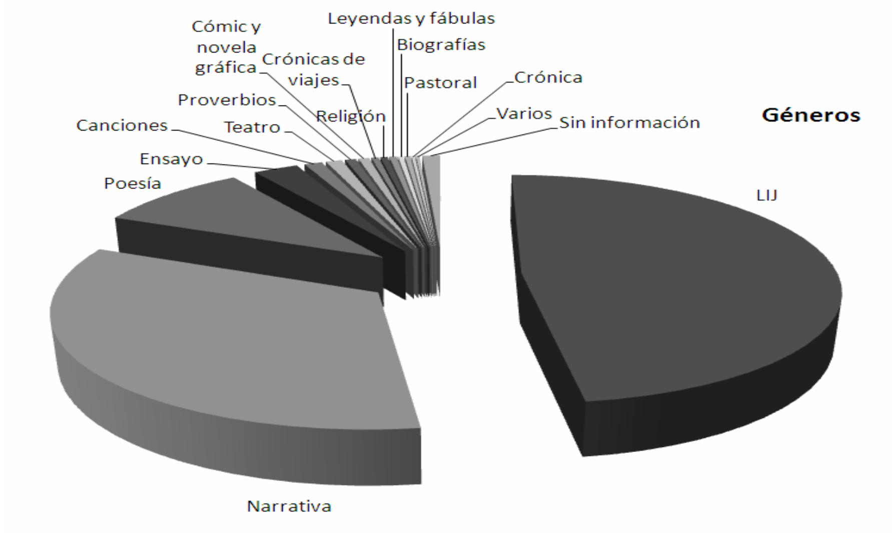
[10] Con las lenguas del estado español entiéndase aquí castellano, catalán, gallego, asturiano y aragonés.

[11] El año 2008, por ejemplo, los libros de ensayo constituyeron el 3,5% de la producción de libros en euskera (Torrealdai 2010: 42).



Si desglosamos estos datos por lenguas, veremos que las obras de LIJ se traducen mayoritariamente a las lenguas del estado español, que suponen el 74,88% de todas las traducciones de LIJ. Habitualmente, suele tratarse de convenios entre editoriales de diferentes comunidades autónomas y lenguas regionales.

La hegemonía de los géneros también ha ido cambiando con los tiempos. A finales del siglo XIX y principios del XX se publicaron libros en torno a temas religiosos y también varias colecciones de canciones, proverbios, leyendas y demás. A partir de los años 80, una vez que el euskera obtuvo la oficialidad y se introdujo en el sistema educativo, la LIJ fue tomando cada vez más fuerza.

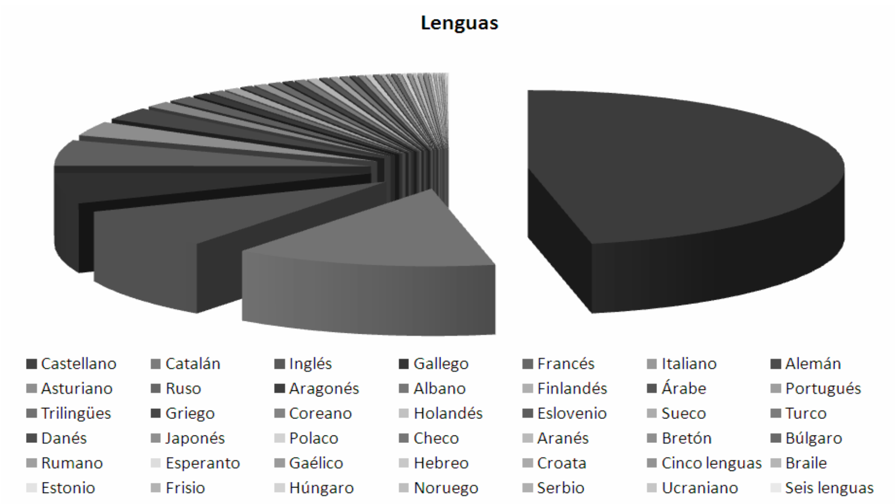
3.6 Lenguas meta

En el presente apartado haremos un análisis detallado de las lenguas meta. En total han sido 38 las lenguas a las que se ha traducido alguna obra del euskera, pero encontramos grandes diferencias entre unas y otras. Sin duda, el castellano es la principal lengua meta; por una parte, debido a la cercanía de las lenguas o al hecho de compartir ámbito geográfico y co-oficialidad y, por otra parte, al bilingüismo de los hablantes euskaldunes de la parte española del País Vasco, donde se puede encontrar un amplio número de autotraducciones. Según los datos recogidos, han sido 436 los libros traducidos al castellano[12].

El catalán se sitúa en segundo lugar con 125 obras traducidas hacia esta lengua

[12] De los cuales 359 fueron monolingües y 77 fueron bilingües en euskera y castellano.

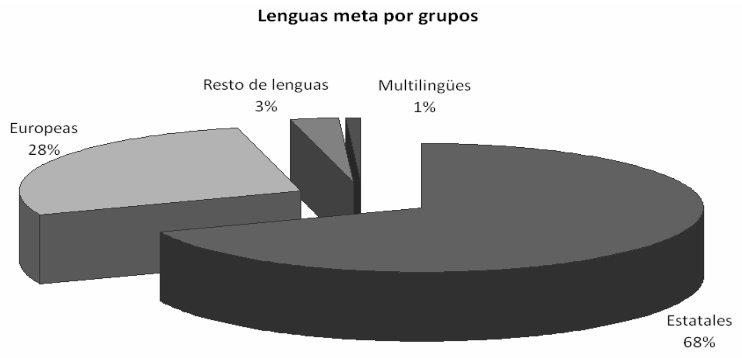
desde el euskera. La similitud de la situación diglósica de las dos lenguas y los convenios firmados para traducir obras de LIJ la sitúan como una de las lenguas meta principales. A continuación se encuentra el inglés con 79 libros. Hay que tener en cuenta, sin embargo, que 56 de esos libros son bilingües en euskera e inglés y publicados por una editorial vasca y que, por lo tanto, se trata de obras dirigidas principalmente a un público vasco. En cuarto lugar tenemos la lengua gallega, con 60 traducciones, y en quinto lugar el francés, con 50.



En este gráfico se aprecia claramente que el castellano es la principal lengua receptora con casi la mitad de las traducciones. En referencia al polisistema literario, ese dato nos muestra qué tipo de relación existe entre las dos lenguas. Por otra parte, también observamos que teniendo en cuenta las principales lenguas cooficiales españolas, es decir, el castellano, el catalán y el gallego, se completan las dos terceras partes de toda la producción traductora.

Mónica Domínguez (2010: 61), haciendo referencia a Durisin (1993) nos habla sobre las comunidades interliterarias específicas o CIE que son "grupos de literaturas nacionales especialmente vinculadas entre sí". Esta noción nos parece muy acertada para describir la relación existente entre las literaturas del estado español, si tomamos como referencia los datos mostrados. Dentro del polisistema literario encontramos subsistemas donde existen relaciones entre diferentes grupos. Las diferentes literaturas españolas constituyen una CIE propia, donde la literatura escrita en español es la hegemónica y las demás están en una segunda posición.

En el gráfico que mostraremos a continuación hemos dividido las lenguas receptoras de nuestro catálogo en tres grupos: lenguas estatales, lenguas europeas y lenguas de otros países. No hemos hecho ninguna distinción según la lengua fuente utilizada, es decir, el euskera o el castellano.



La cercanía de las lenguas desempeña un papel fundamental, como podemos ver. Tal y como hemos dicho antes, las diferentes lenguas españolas abarcan las dos terceras partes de toda la producción. En este primer grupo hay un total de cinco lenguas, mientras que en el segundo grupo encontramos 26, con únicamente una cuarta parte de la producción al exterior. Siete lenguas no europeas han recibido alguna obra del euskera, las cuales constituyen únicamente el 3% de todas las traducciones.

Si nos centramos en las traducciones al castellano podríamos identificar diferentes circuitos dentro de esa lengua. Las traducciones intraliterarias (Domínguez 2010: 73), es decir, las traducciones publicadas en el País Vasco para un público no vascoparlante o analfabeto en euskera, constituirían uno de los circuitos. En este grupo se incluyen traducciones publicadas por editoriales como Txalaparta, Hiru o Alberdania. El principal objetivo de dichas editoriales es acercar las obras originalmente escritas en euskera a un público que pertenece al mismo territorio pero no tiene los conocimientos necesarios para leer literatura en euskera. En este caso, cambia la lengua pero no el ámbito geográfico. En un segundo grupo incluiríamos libros de literatura para adultos publicados por editoriales españolas que tienen como fin acercar la literatura vasca a todo el país. Un tercer grupo, lo forman las versiones bilingües publicadas en euskera y castellano.

Por otra parte, el catalán también forma un circuito propio. Tanto el euskera como el catalán tienen una situación lingüística comparable en referencia a la oficialidad y ello ha contribuido a una cierta colaboración. Podemos encontrar varias obras traducidas directamente al catalán y, en ocasiones, traducidas únicamente al catalán. El gallego, al ser una lengua más minoritaria dentro del territorio español, también lo introduciríamos en este grupo, pero el número de traducciones realizadas es mucho menor.

Etxaniz Erle y Lopez Gaseni clasifican la LIJ traducida como un circuito propio, pues las traducciones se realizan partiendo de convenios entre editoriales de diferentes comunidades o entre las filiales que una misma editorial tiene en diferentes comunidades (2005: 116).

Los certámenes literarios también han contribuido a promocionar y dar a conocer la literatura vasca, con premios tanto dentro del País Vasco como fuera de él. El Premio Nacional de Literatura concedido a Bernardo Atxaga en 1989 por su obra *Obabakoak* ha sido relevante para la traducción de la literatura vasca. Gracias a ello, muchas editoriales de otros países se interesaron por la literatura vasca en general y por Atxaga en particular (Etxaniz y Lopez Gaseni 2005: 117). Tal y como hemos señalado antes, la traducción de esta obra no sólo supuso abrirse a Europa sino también darse a conocer dentro de España.

Podríamos decir que la recepción de literatura vasca en lenguas europeas comenzó con la traducción de *Obabakoak*. Antes de este hecho hubo alguna que otra traducción (sobre todo al francés), pero gracias al premio obtenido por Atxaga el número de traducciones fue aumentando en la década de los 90. Entre los autores más traducidos a estas lenguas tenemos a Bernardo Atxaga y Mariasun Landa, así como a Unai Elorriaga o Ramon Saizarbitoria. Poco a poco el número de autores va aumentando, pero tal y como menciona Olaziregi (2001) "casos como los de Bernardo Atxaga siguen siendo absolutamente excepcionales y la literatura en lengua vasca todavía carece de medios para presentarse al mundo como lo que es, literatura con el objetivo principal de producir placer estético" (154-155).

Si nos centramos en el número de autores que han traducido su obra lengua por lengua la tendencia es parecida. Ha habido únicamente 8 lenguas que han traducido obras de más de 10 autores: castellano (137), catalán (36), inglés (33), francés (21), gallego (21), asturiano (12), alemán (11) y ruso (10). En italiano y aragonés se han publicado traducciones de 9 y 8 autores respectivamente y las demás lenguas meta únicamente han recibido obras de 3 o menos autores. Entre las 19 lenguas a las que se ha traducido a un único autor en 13 ocasiones ha sido la obra de Bernardo Atxaga[13].

[13] Los restantes cuatro casos son los siguientes: al aranés se ha traducido una obra de Mariasun Landa, al frisio se ha vertido una obra de Maite González Esnal y, al estonio y al serbio, una obra de Unai Elorriaga.

En referencia a las traducciones a lenguas de fuera de España tendríamos que hacer una puntualización. Los datos presentados hasta ahora nos muestran que existe una cierta dependencia de la literatura vasca hacia la literatura en español. Otro indicio de esa dependencia sería el hecho de traducir las obras en euskera a otras lenguas dependiendo del éxito que haya obtenido el libro no en euskera sino en castellano. Muestra de ello son el libro *Obabakoak* de Atxaga o *Un tranvía en SP* de Unai Elorriaga.

En lo que se refiere a la publicación de las traducciones desde el euskera no hay que olvidar que la mayoría de los libros se han publicado de la mano de editoriales pequeñas, por lo que algunos autores canónicos de literatura vasca no han obtenido el reconocimiento esperado. Publicar en editoriales de referencia es algo que hasta el momento ha estado en manos de Bernardo Atxaga únicamente:

> Al contrario de lo que ocurriera en el caso de Atxaga, cuyas editoriales europeas son empresas prestigiosas de la talla de Einaudi en Italia, Christian Bourgois o Gallimard en Francia, o Hutchinson en el Reino Unido, la mayoría de las editoriales que han publicado obras traducidas de autores euskaldunes son editoriales pequeñas o con una capacidad de difusión escasa (Olaziregi 2001: 140).

No se puede obviar el hecho de que Bernardo Atxaga haya contribuido notablemente a difundir la literatura vasca en otras culturas, sin embargo, en ocasiones se presenta como único representante de toda una literatura y, por ello, la obra de los demás autores queda a la sombra.

Al observar la evolución cronológica de la traducción por lenguas vemos que hasta 1977 las principales lenguas meta fueron el castellano y el francés. En los años 80 esta realidad comenzó a cambiar y se pueden encontrar, además de las lenguas mencionadas, traducciones hechas al catalán y al gallego, en libros de LIJ sobre todo, y también alguna obra traducida al inglés o al alemán.

El caso del francés es llamativo, puesto que pasa de ser una de las principales lenguas receptoras a ser una de las que menos traducciones reciben. Este dato nos muestra que la organización política influye en las políticas traductoras y que las literaturas en lenguas minoritarias que se hablan en Francia, tienen verdaderas dificultades para acceder al mercado en la lengua hegemónica. El euskera no tiene presencia institucional en Francia, por lo que la relación de las instituciones francesas con la cultura y la literatura vascas es casi inexistente.

En lo que se refiere a la década de los 90 y en relación al número de lenguas meta, observamos que a medida que aumenta el número de traducciones aumenta también el número de lenguas meta y llegan a ser un total de 40.

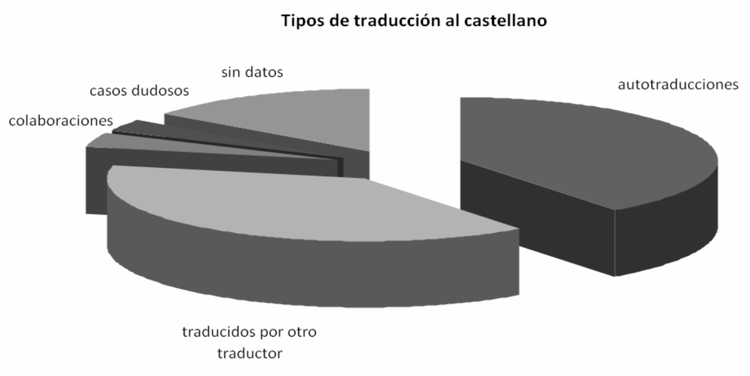
A continuación haremos especial hincapié en dos fenómenos que muestran la hegemonía del castellano en cuanto a principal lengua receptora de literatura vasca. La situación de diglosía del euskera y, por consiguiente, la relación de dependencia que existe hacia el castellano contribuye, por una parte, a que haya un número considerable de autotraducciones en nuestra literatura y, por otra, a que el castellano sea el filtro a través del cual las obras escritas en vasco llegan a otras lenguas. Estos dos fenómenos, entre otros, son indicadores de la CIE española según Domínguez (2010).

3.6.1 Autotraducción

Dentro del sistema literario vasco, la autotraducción es una actividad que mayoritariamente se da en obras escritas en euskera que se vierten posteriormente al castellano. La traducción en la direccionalidad opuesta es bastante más reducida. Dasilva (2009: 152) nos habla de la realidad gallega en los mismos términos y Domínguez también lo constata: las autotraducciones desde lenguas centrales a lenguas periféricas son menos frecuentes (2010: 63). Por lo tanto, podríamos decir que la direccionalidad de periférica a central es un hecho generalizado en las autotraducciones entre lenguas asimétricas.

Según la casuística que hemos encontrado en nuestro catálogo, la traducción hacia el castellano puede ser de tres tipos tomando como referencia al traductor: traducciones hechas por un traductor que no sea el autor, traducciones de autor y traducciones hechas en colaboración entre el autor y un traductor. Entre las 436 traducciones al castellano, 39,67% son autotraducciones mientras que 38,53% son traducciones hechas por un traductor diferente al autor. Vemos que los datos son muy similares en los dos casos y que la diferencia es muy reducida. En tercer lugar se encuentra la colaboración, que según los datos, ocurre en el 4,12% de los casos, por lo que podríamos afirmar que se trata de una actividad poco frecuente. También hemos encontrado 13 casos en que no hemos podido clasificar la traducción, debido a la recopilación de datos contradictorios en las diferentes fuentes consultadas. En muchos casos, 14,67% del total, en la publicación en castellano no aparece ningún dato sobre la traducción o no se aporta el nombre del traductor en los paratextos. Ello puede deberse o bien a que las fuentes consultadas no recojan este dato o bien que las mismas publicaciones no hayan ofrecido el nombre del traductor. Todo ello nos haría pensar que el número de autotraducciones puede ser mayor, puesto que en ocasiones se tiende a esconder ese dato.

En el siguiente gráfico[14] se pueden apreciar a simple vista la relación entre los diferentes tipos de traducción.



En ocasiones, las traducciones no ofrecen información referente al proceso de traducción, como pueden ser el nombre del traductor o el título del original. Las traducciones gozan de un prestigio menor que los libros originales y, por miedo a obtener peores beneficios, algunas editoriales prefieren esconder esa información para obtener mejores ventas. En el caso de las autotraducciones, además, al ser el autor mismo quien ha realizado la traducción suelen ponerse al mismo nivel que el original, dejando en una segunda posición el original en lengua minoritaria.

La traducción al castellano de obras en euskera puede funcionar como un trampolín hacia un nuevo público, pero también puede eclipsar la obra original. Según Grutman,

> […] la autotraducción (sobre todo la de tipo asimétrico, de la que estamos hablando) puede convertirse en un arma de doble filo. […] tanto puede aumentar la visibilidad de la versión en lengua mayoritaria que termina ocultando su creación en una lengua menos difundida, descalificándola de algún modo y confirmando al mismo tiempo la posición dominante del idioma central (Grutman 2009: 131).

La identidad de la cultura minorizada puede llegar a quedar a la sombra si las obras (auto)traducidas se presentan como originales. “La literatura española tiende a adueñarse de las obras de las literaturas periféricas que aparecen

[14] En el gráfico hemos contabilizado únicamente las autotraducciones al castellano. También existen algunas autotraducciones al francés, pero son muy escasas.

autotraducidas al castellano, propiciando que la identidad lingüística de muchos escritores acabe desvaneciéndose” (Dasilva 2009: 146). La invisibilidad del traductor mencionada por Venuti (1995) puede ser aún mayor si el traductor de una obra es el propio autor. Por eso, la información que aparecerá en los paratextos es vital para que esa identidad lingüística se reconozca. De algún modo u otro, la literatura hegemónica se adueña de esas obras y fagocita la producción de la literatura minoritaria mediante la (auto)traducción. Sin embargo, trasladar la obra a una lengua mayoritaria será casi el único modo de llegar a otras culturas y, para ello, en ocasiones se tendrá que pagar un peaje en ese camino.

3.6.2 Traducciones indirectas

Las traducciones indirectas son aquellas que se realizan, no a partir de la versión original de una obra, sino de una traducción de la misma. Es decir, existe una versión mediadora entre el orginal y la traducción final. Se podría pensar que no es lo mismo realizar una traducción directa o una indirecta; en el primer caso, damos un paso desde el texto original al texto meta mientras que, en el segundo caso, hay que dar dos pasos en el proceso para llegar a la versión meta. Siempre que se traduce un texto, ese texto original sufre algún tipo de modificación. Por lo tanto, creemos que esa modificación puede ser mayor en el caso de las traducciones indirectas, puesto que la distancia entre original y texto meta es mayor.

La traducción indirecta ha sido una actividad bastante frecuente a través de la historia y su reconocimiento ha sido diferente dependiendo de la cultura meta, la lengua original o la época. Hoy en día, sin la existencia de las traducciones indirectas las relaciones entre culturas minoritarias podrían ser inexistentes o necesitarían un espacio de tiempo mayor para llevarse a cabo. En el caso de la literatura vasca, sería casi imposible realizar traducciones a otras lenguas minoritarias o lenguas que nos son lejanas sin la mediación del castellano. Por lo cual, como manifiesta Jianzhong, “indirect re/translation should be accepted although it loses some information with respect to the original; it is a reasonable interim solution in the absence of direct translation” (Jianzhong 2003: 200).

Para poder publicar traducciones en lenguas que no sean el castellano hace falta un traductor que domine la lengua meta y sea capaz de entender el euskera. Como constata Zabaleta, se traduce menos de lenguas de pequeña difusión a lenguas de mayor difusión, puesto que los hablantes de lenguas de mayor difusión no tienen necesidad de aprender lenguas minoritarias o porque esa necesidad suele ser menor (1991: 20). Poca gente de fuera del País Vasco aprende el euskera como segunda lengua, por lo que suele ser bastante difícil encontrar a un profesional de estas características para que realice una traducción directa. Por ello, la traducción al castellano suele ser la versión fuente que se utiliza al realizar la traducción definitiva[15].

Según los datos recogidos en nuestro catálogo, la mayoría de las traducciones indirectas se han hecho tomando como base la versión en castellano[16]. Ofrecer unos datos fidedignos nos es muy complicado, puesto que no en todas las ocasiones las fuentes consultadas o los paratextos reconocen claramente cómo ha sido el proceso traductor. Tal y como podemos apreciar en el siguiente gráfico, en el 69% de las traducciones a otras lenguas diferentes al castellano no se ofrecen datos que reflejen cómo ha sido el proceso traductor, por lo que la relación de la traducción final con el original en euskera se ve difuminada.

Tal y como vemos en el gráfico, existen dos traducciones a partir de un original compilado, lo que significa, que se han utilizado las dos versiones, en euskera y castellano, para realizar la traducción. Sin embargo, en raras ocasiones aparecerá ese hecho en los paratextos de un libro y será un dato que tendremos que obtener de boca de los propios traductores.

4. Conclusiones

La literatura vasca es una literatura joven y en vías de estandarización por lo que la traducción hacia otras lenguas es algo muy reciente. La producción poco a poco

[15] También existe la posibilidad de que los traductores vascos realicen traducciones inversas, es decir, traducciones hacia una lengua que no sea la materna. Tal y como dice Pokorn (2005: 35), "is a common translation practice in minor-language communities".
[16] Hay alguna que otra obra traducida a partir de otras lenguas como pueden ser el francés o el inglés.

se está estabilizando y la traducción hacia otras lenguas va cobrando cada vez más fuerza, aunque como hemos visto en este artículo, en la mayoría de las veces sea a través de la mediación del castellano. En los últimos años se está impulsando la cultura vasca en el exterior gracias a la creación del Instituto Etxepare, o a las ayudas que el Gobierno Vasco concede anualmente para la traducción literaria a otras lenguas. Pero todavía queda un largo camino que recorrer, que tendría que comenzar con la profesionalización de los traductores y seguir con dar importancia a la promoción de las traducciones.

En lo que se refiere a los datos analizados, observamos que un número considerable de autores han visto traducida alguna obra desde el euskera. Sin embargo, tenemos un máximo representante que es Bernardo Atxaga, y la traducción hacia otras lenguas está muy ligada a su obra aún hoy en día.

En lo que a las lenguas meta se refiere el castellano es la lengua meta principal. El castellano es la lengua hegemónica de la CIE española y, tal y como hemos demostrado en nuestro análisis, la literatura vasca tiene cierta dependencia hacia ella. Muestra de ello son la autotraducción y las traducciones indirectas. Las autotraducciones pueden en ocasiones llegar a presentarse como originales en castellano, lo que deja el original en euskera en un segundo nivel. La traducción a otras lenguas está a su vez muy ligada a la lengua dominante; en el camino hacia fuera suele tomarse como referencia el éxito obtenido en castellano y la traducción se realiza gracias a la mediación de esa versión, lo que hace que la relación con el original en euskera se difumine.

Por otra parte, el análisis también nos ha mostrado que la CIE española tiene una notoria importancia en el ámbito de la literatura infantil y juvenil.

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BOOK REVIEWS

Routledge Encyclopedia of Translation Studies. Edited by Mona Baker and Gabriela Saldanha. London/New York: Routledge, 2011. 674 pp. Pb. ISBN 9780415609845. £ 40.00

A whole brave new world emerges from the second edition of the *Routledge Encyclopedia of Translation Studies*, which effectively and insightfully reflects new trends and perspectives in the discipline. The editors' purpose was to revise and extend the 1998 first edition to 'reflect concerns and priorities of a much enlarged and better established community of scholars' (2011: xx). In the 2009 second edition, and now in its 2011 paperback version, there is a profound concern for non-western perspectives to translation studies (TS), a focus on the multidisciplinarity the discipline developed in the decade that elapsed after the appearance of the first edition, as well as a number of socio-politically informed new trends, research practices and genres, which broadened the scope of the discipline and enlarged its potential: the volume encompasses global phenomena and local developments that affected communication through translation and informed its theoretical perspectives.

The linguistically oriented TS approaches of the 1960s were succeeded in the 1980s by an ever-growing interest in methods and goals favoured in cultural studies, with a subsequent focus on cognitive and sociological aspects of translation practice. Concomitantly, technological advances brought about an interest in genres like audiovisual translation, interpreting, localisation studies and sign language. This was reflected in the enormous proliferation of translation courses in academic programmes all over the world, a considerable increase in publishing translation projects, and a huge diversity of TS conferences across the globe. These developments turned TS into an enormous, largely uncharted terrain, calling for meticulous observation and description. As Jeremy Munday (2001/2008) points out, a contribution by scholars working in diverse fields is now more important than ever. Because the multidisciplinarity of our field requires collaborative international efforts for a concise and fair picture to be drawn of advances in TS:

> It is imperative now that those working within the field continue both their specialization, understanding and using new tools and methodologies at their disposal, and working collaboratively for the better comprehension of the ways in which translation operates at all levels (ibid: 199).

This seems to be the need this second edition of the *Routledge Encyclopedia of Translation Studies* fulfills. It is a collaborative project, insightfully merging the expertise of various translation scholars to inform a current perception of what TS is and what it is heading towards.

If TS is seen as a sea of constantly emerging novel themes and practices, following the fluidity of socio-political and economic change, through violent conflict and/or logical succession, the book invites the reader to visit its numerous pathways and curves, which may not always be readily accessible or visible, except through the expertise of a strategically selected group of scholars.

The introduction to the second edition of the *Encyclopedia* crisply summarises phenomena which manifest the growth of translation studies as a discipline, referring to a number of scholars who have introduced new orientations to the discipline. A particularly enlightening piece of information is the non-exhaustive list of journals which have dedicated special issues to translation – suggesting potential research directions in TS, and beyond.

As in the first edition, the volume comprises two parts:

- Part I, entitled 'General', comprises seventy five 2,500-word entries (average length) on general themes and issues prevalent in the discipline, for which contributors provide clear, coherent, concise, fluid and original accounts of topics and areas in the discipline. This is the most drastically modified part, in comparison to the first edition. New entries have been added, quite a few of the old entries have been recommissioned and the rest have been updated to cater for shifts in perspectives, in the light of new developments.
- Part II, entitled 'History and Traditions' covers the translation-related activity of thirty two cultural traditions, historically delineated. This part brings to the fore highly important translation activity in various countries, with a conscious emphasis on non-Western parts of the world, intended to mitigate a Eurocentric perception of what TS is and does. Scholars have the opportunity to follow developments in the British, Bulgarian, Czech, Danish, Norwegian, Dutch, Finnish, French, German, Greek, Hungarian, Italian, Latin, Polish, Romanian, Slovak, Spanish, Swedish and Turkish tradition. Attention is also drawn to American, Latin American, African, Arabic, Brazilian, Canadian, Chinese, Japanese, Icelandic, Persian and South-Asian contexts, with reference made to important stages of social and/or political history of the respective contexts. Even for those traditions whose histories we may assume we are familiar with, the *Encyclopedia* puts

into place potentially missing pieces of the puzzle.

Most entries are written by authoritative voices in the discipline, while others bring into focus scholars who are less identifiable in the translation research community. The latter feature is another major virtue of the work, namely, its potential to locate expertise in areas of TS, which the readership would probably have difficulty in identifying as a source of information.

Entries written by authoritative voices are surely original, thorough, critically oriented and extremely useful, in that they provide the readership with the opportunity to have a quick access to overviews of themes and areas in TS, informed by experts' perspective on what should be highlighted in the field. Quick access to thorough accounts of notions and themes is not always feasible through books and articles by the same authors. The clarity, simplicity, coherence and conciseness an encyclopedia entry requires, and the originality of content the *Encyclopedia* ensures, allows a fluid and comprehensive introductory account of informed opinion, on selected topics.

The selection of themes is another virtue of the volume. This is what I meant, in the opening statement, by '[the work] *insightfully* reflects new trends and perspectives'. It provides analyses of what translation scholars 'were eager to know but were afraid to ask'. It provides an all-rounded picture of what has been going on in the past decade and enlightens scholars' view about developments in Translation Studies, while they were focusing on their area of expertise.

Mona Baker's (University of Manchester) socio-politically informed agenda and linguistic background blends with Gabriela Saldanha's (University of Birmingham) emerging potential and substantial co-editorship of reference works in TS, thereby allowing a broad multidisciplinary perspective, accommodating (effects of) socio-economic developments on communication-through-translation in a globalised world.

The new entries comprise items on:

- *themes*, like Asylum, Censorship, Deconstruction, Ethics, Globalisation, Foreign Language Teaching, Mobility, Models, Postcolonial Approaches, Sociological Approaches, and
- *genres,* like Advertising, Commercial Translation, Computer-Aided Translation (CAT), Interpreting, Scientific and Technical Translation, to mention only a few.

Entries comprise factual information and authors' critical views on the theme/genre referred to. Below is a content description of a sample entry, namely the entry on ‘Sociological Approaches’, by Moira Inghilleri:

Sociological perspectives to TS, Moira Inghilleri explains, have been concerned with theorizing ‘the social nature of translation practices’ (2011: 279). Sociologically oriented methodological tools and approaches originating in social sciences have affected attempts in translation research (in terms of observational and explanatory tactics) to account for translation data and translator behaviour. Moira Inghilleri summarises basic tenets of Pierre Bourdieu’s thinking and their influence on translation research methodology. For Bourdieu, ‘individuals act in habitual ways that are to a large extent the product of the incorporation of social structures, structures that are themselves the product of historical struggles’ (ibid). She goes on to compare and contrast Bruno Latour’s and Niklas Luhmann’s theories to that of Bourdieu’s, and shows ways in which these theories account for translation phenomena in non-literary genres, sign language, public service interpreting etc. *Inter alia*, Inghilleri briefly juxtaposes sociological to functionalist approaches, and touches upon the potential of translation practice to shed light on ‘current debates in social sciences about modernity, and the inevitability of differentiation, contingency and incommensurability in contemporary and social life’ (ibid: 282).

Authors point to five other relevant entries in the *Encyclopedia* and make suggestions for further reading. Both Part I (General) and Part II (History and Traditions) make a considerable contribution to TS. It is a highly useful volume, ensuring objectivity through its 104 contributors and its eight consultant editors, Annie Brisset (Canada), Martha Cheung (Hong Kong), Hoda Elsadda (Egypt), Theo Hermans (UK), Jeremy Munday (UK), Mahasweta Sengupta (India), Elżbieta Tabakowska (Poland) and Kumiko Torikai (Japan).

The work is surely expected to influence local translation scholar communities. If cultural groups focused on their own Translation Studies histories, starting from the detailed accounts of cultural traditions to TS provided by the *Encyclopedia*, they would have a long story to tell about local current agendas. For instance, the meticulous work done by David Connolly (Aristotle University of Thessaloniki) and Aliki Bacopoulou-Halls (National and Kapodistrian University of Athens) on the ‘Greek Tradition’ entry of the *Encyclopedia* could instigate additional research on the theoretical orientation favoured by the three Greek universities (U. of Athens, U. of Thessaloniki and Ionian U.) and the University of Cyprus, which have translation courses at undergraduate and postgraduate level. This could collaboratively provide a local map of TS perspectives, which would enforce self-awareness against the rich background of approaches and themes the *Routledge Encyclopedia of Translation*

Studies offers.

The work is thus extremely useful for informing research projects, postgraduate seminars and courses; it is an invaluable companion to designing translation training syllabi and a reference work to inform scholars' personal agendas. I would highly recommend the *Routledge Encyclopedia of Translation Studies* to scholars and students in TS, who would like to catch up with developments in the discipline. The paperback version of the second edition makes a handier companion. The work is also valuable to scholars of other disciplines (Politics, Media, Visual Arts, etc.) who would like to trace developments and phenomena which have permeated their own disciplines and had a parallel (or subsequent) impact on TS.

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Translation and Opposition. Edited by Dimitris Asimakoulas and Margaret Rogers. Bristol: Multilingual Matters, 2011. 321 pp. Pb. ISBN 9781847694300. £23.96.

In *Translation and Opposition*, we encounter explorations of issues of inter/intra-social agency and identity construction. Empirical case studies and theoretical reflections in areas ranging from interpreting and audiovisual translation to the translation of political discourse and literature find contributors addressing complex relations that exist between the translator's textual action, the agency of the various parties involved in producing and exploiting translated works, and the social and political effects that this action and agency entail. As Dimitris Asimakoulas (2011: 6) notes in his introductory essay, the volume attempts to approach from a variety of angles the fact that "socio-cultural distinctions can give rise to or leave their imprint on the act of translation, a selective foregrounding of messages in its own right".

In particular, Asimakoulas echoes Verschueren (1996: 596) by suggesting that a set of contrastive elements – lexical, syntactic or textual – are dynamic in that they vary intertemporally, intertextually and interlinguistically. A translation into

Modern Greek of a quote by the Ancient Greek rhetorician Isocrates allows him to demonstrate that hierarchies of textual features and topics reflect social hierarchies which are subject to change over time.

The sociology of translation is extensively discussed across the volumes' sixteen contributions, which are grouped into three sections. The first one, entitled 'Rewritings', opens with Wenjing Zhao's article, which uses Ibsen and the reception of his work in China as a case study to examine the way in which literary criticism contributes to establishing the image of foreign writers and/or their work against the backdrop of the ideological specification of the target culture (TC). Zhao's findings underscore the fact that Ibsen was introduced to China by Hu Shi as a cure for social ills rather than as a new dramatist to an intellectual community. In the second article, Şehnaz Tahir Gürçağlar closes in on rewriting by studying the intralingual translations of a well-known Turkish folk story. She observes that the different versions of the story bear an imprint of shifting and often oppositional ideological, literary, political and cultural norms in the emerging Turkish democracy. Continuing the discussion from the point of view of literature, Gonda Van Steem studies the transformation of Aeschylus' *Persians* into a platform of conformism through a translation/adaptation in late 19th-century Greek society. In the article that follows, Brian Baer investigates the role of translation in cases of literary heteroglossia. More specifically, he locates points of (mis)translation in the literature of the Russian Empire, with its use of two opposing codes: the prestigious language of Western Europe and the language of the colonized peoples of the Russian Empire. Baer essentially argues that (mis)translations reveal all that must be forgotten in order to see the Russian Empire as a happy family, the colonialists' dream. In the final contribution to this section, Eirlys Davies approaches opposition from the point of view of 'unfaithful' translation. She views translators as reporters who can either be submissive mediators or freely choose opposition, and she suggests that it might be more profitable to move away from a fidelity/infidelity dichotomy in translation, and accept that anyone reporting discourse to others necessarily faces a choice between the two.

"Dispositions and Enunciations of Infidelity", the second (and longest) section of the book starts with David Kinloch, who explores his own authorial trajectory by revisiting the fragments of local and global voices that merge into a distinct, queer Glaswegian poetic persona. The journey towards the forging of his own 'voice' is characterized by various oppositional networks, and reveals tensions between, and re-evaluations of, a minoritarian and a majoritarian habitus. Saliha Paker's contribution similarly inspects issues of authorial intervention and creativity, highlighting the paradox of an 'original translation', as opposed to its

English translation. Her focus is on Latife Tekin's *Buzdan Kılıçlar*, where Tekin presents herself not as a writer, but as a translator who channels a dispossessed world into the mainstream, and then on the English translation of the book, which Paker herself has produced with Mel Keene. In *Swords of Ice* they have indeed attempted to throw into relief 'difference' and the universal otherness of Tekin's 'shadow class'. Issues of authorial-translatorial and interlingual-translatorial agency are also raised in Michela Baldo's essay, in which translation is perceived to be a heuristic tool of self-discovery, present both in original writing and in translation. On the basis of a trilogy of novels by Nino Ricci and their translation into Italian, Baldo focuses mainly on the textual function of code-switching used to construct a narrative by 'translating' and giving voice to often conflicting perspectives. From her analysis of various samples of code-switching, it emerges that its use achieves a constant shifting of perspective and creates a narrative identity which appears to be in constant flux. However, it is also revealed that the translation by Gabriella Iacobucci pays little attention to the hybridity of the text and its otherness, particularly ignoring the ironic and contrastive aspect of code-switching. The issue of oppositional agency is further explored in the contribution of Carol O'Sullivan, who studies a case where the translator's ideological position is in direct contrast with the content of the original. With reference to the English translation of de Montalembert's *De l'avenir politique de l' Angleterre*, O'Sullivan puts to the test the ethical assumption of source text (ST) author-translator ideological alignment; she talks about sympathetic as well as antipathetic translation and suggests two 'agential modes' in translation: concessionary and preventive, or prophylactic. Christina Delistathi investigates processes of legitimation and political identity-formation in Greece in the first half of the 20th century. More specifically, she focuses on the attempts of the newly-formed, counter-hegemonic Communist Party (KKE) to eliminate competition from rival Trotskyist groups by commissioning several translations of Marx's *Communist Manifesto* with a view to promoting its own interpretation of this seminal text and become the sole 'proprietor' of Marxist ideology. In the section's final and truly absorbing contribution, Małgorzata Tryuk looks into aspects of community interpreting in the Auschwitz-Birkenau concentration camp. She focuses on the *Lagerdolmetscher*, prisoners who were used as interpreters in the camp, and probes their role as one that shifts between opposition to the SS camp guards and sometimes to the inmates themselves. She also stresses the role of the interpreter in cases of hearings and interrogations as a deeply human role that cannot be neutral or unbiased, and one that is consequently deviant from the generally accepted principles of community interpreting.

The book's final section ("Socio-cultural Gates and Gate-keeping"), includes five essays which centre on Bourdieu's (1995: 72-77) notions of homology and autonomy. In the first one, Ibon Uribarri Zenekorta traces the parallel course of homologies in a nation and its culture; based on a chronological account of translation activity in the Basque country from the 16th century to the present, he describes oppositional patterns which shaped the field of translation and were conditioned by several variables influenced by sociopolitical gate-keeping, meeting a need for the creation of a national identity also influenced by the shifting centres of power in and around the Basque country. José Santaemilia, in the section's second article, focuses on the treatment of sexually explicit language in Almudena Grandes's novel *Las edades de Lulú* and its English translation by Sonia Sotto. As erotic literature, the novel is of course replete with sexually explicit language. Santaemilia demonstrates that *The Ages of Lulu* clearly shows signs of the translator's personal struggle, even (self-)censorship, as it is a linguistically accurate translation, yet one less evocative than the ST: the depiction of sexual urges/actions is for the most part 'desexualized', not least since less diverse emphatic intensifiers and swear words are used. Tomislav Longinović studies the political and linguistic fragmentation that came in the wake of the Wars of Yugoslav Succession and suggests that translation can be effectively used as a political tool for the construction of differences and the demolition of cultural bridges that promote understanding.

The last two contributions of the book highlight the fact that inner workings and opposition effects within fields – i.e. social and institutional arenas where agents occupy different positions (Bourdieu 1980) – become more apparent in contexts of social policy intervention and cultural questioning, such as war and cultural stress. In particular, Chris Rundle shows how the fascist regime in Italy was tolerant towards translation up to the point when the cultural debate became dominated by the rhetoric of imperial dominance and racial superiority, and translation came to be perceived as a form of cultural weakness and 'cultural pollution'. In the closing essay, Camino Gutiérrez Lanza provides an account of the tensions that arose as a result of censorship policies and activities in relation to foreign cinemas in Spain during the 1950s and 1960s, a period of Franco's regime characterized by a policy of *apertura*, i.e. political openness, and a series of institutional readjustments which brought about numerous changes within the censorship system. In that context, the moral tolerance threshold was gradually being raised, and translators and distributors made any necessary changes to a given screenplay before seeking approval of the censorship board. Using the film *The Best of Everything* as a case study, Gutiérrez Lanza illustrates how such changes proceeded to eliminate or tone-down any morally dubious content.

Translation and Opposition is highly recommended to all researchers interested in the issues of power, agency and censorship and all those wishing to gain an insight into the sociology of translation at the dawn of a new century. The contributions are certainly enlightening in their attempts to bring to the fore the complex intertextual, interpersonal and inter-group relations at play when translating a text. In the course of this book, it becomes increasingly apparent that translation is so much more than an act of linguistic transfer or a crossing of cultural barriers; it is, as Gentzler and Tymoczko (2002: xxi) have put it, a "deliberate and conscious act of selection, assemblage, structuration and fabrication"; an act of jeopardy, where its actors dangerously negotiate the dividing lines between 'us' and the 'others'.

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