MAPPING MEMORY IN TRANSLATION

SIOBHAN BROWNLIE

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Preface

Two Versions of the Treaty of Waitangi

Growing up in New Zealand in the 1970s, I was very aware of the marches and occupations undertaken by the indigenous people, the Maori, to protest against loss of their land since colonial times. It was only much later that I learnt that the story of the Maori and their land was fundamentally a narrative of translation and memory. It even seems that my background in various ways has channelled my interest in the intersection of translation with memory. Before introducing the monograph more formally, let me first give the reader a glimpse of the fascinating story of the Treaty of Waitangi, which has shaped the history of New Zealand to this day. This story will serve to highlight how the translation/memory nexus can be important and therefore is worth studying.

The foundational document of modern New Zealand, the Treaty of Waitangi, is the document by which the British Crown obtained sovereignty of the country, making New Zealand into a British colony. The Maori chiefs signed the treaty at a great gathering at Waitangi in the North Island in February 1840. Because the Maori were not proficient in English, the treaty had to be translated into the Maori language. The Maori version *Te Tiriti o Waitangi* was produced by Reverend Williams and his son just the night before the meeting with the Maori chiefs. Here we encounter the translation issues.

In the Maori translation there are in fact some crucial differences in meaning compared with the English version. While tangentially related, the two texts are quite different in meaning. Here are the two most significant differences for posterity:

Article 1

English version: the Maori leaders are to give the British Queen Victoria 'all the rights and powers of **sovereignty**' over the land.

Maori version: Maori leaders are to give the queen 'te **kawanatanga** katoa' – the complete government over the land.

Article 2

> English version: Maori people are guaranteed 'exclusive and undisturbed **possession** of their lands, estates, forests, fisheries, and other properties'.
>
> Maori version: Maori are guaranteed 'te **tino rangatiratanga**' – the unqualified exercise of their chieftainship over their lands, villages and all their treasures. (Orange 2013, 38, my emphasis)

'Kawanatanga' was a neologism at the time, related to 'governor', such as the British governor of New South Wales in Australia, or Pontius Pilate, Roman governor in the Bible. 'Rangatiratanga' was a term of Maori derivation, relating to chiefly power; it was also used in Maori biblical texts to refer to God's 'kingdom'. The word had been used in the 1835 Declaration of Independence to refer to New Zealand's 'independence' (Orange 1997). Orange (1997, 41) concludes that based on the Maori text: 'Maori might well have assumed that their sovereign rights were actually being confirmed in return for a limited concession of power in kawanatanga [governorship]'.

Certainly there is a fundamental question of cultural difference here, in that two very different world views are brought into contact. The traditional Maori view of land was that it could never be alienated from the people who were born there, thus permanent sovereignty or ownership by another people was an impossibility:

> A tribe had authority over a given area, but the land belonged to the past, present, and future generations. It was not an alienable commodity. People were part of the land; they could not own it. (Fenton & Moon 2002, 35)

For many Maori, understanding of the treaty text would have been coloured by this conception. The English treaty text uses British terms and concepts (sovereignty, ownership of land), which in the Maori text are substituted by very different Maori terms/concepts (kawanatanga – governorship; rangatiratanga – chiefly authority over land). So one could say that a 'cultural translation' that aims to explain the European concepts to the Maori has certainly not been undertaken in the text. The additional question is whether manipulation entered into the translation process. If a more powerful Maori expression including the term 'mana', connoting supreme authority and spiritual chiefly power, had been used to express what was being transferred to the British monarch,

the Maori chiefs would not have signed the treaty. And assuring Maori of their 'rangatiratanga' over the land was highly persuasive. As a missionary, translator Henry Williams was convinced that British colonization was the best future for the Maori people and for their conversion to Christianity and Christian ways, so he would have wanted his translation to contribute to that goal. However, perhaps through his translation choice Williams was also reinforcing a humanitarian intention of protection of the indigenous people. The British dignitaries signed the English version, and the chiefs signed the Maori version. In reality, the British and the Maori were signing up to two different treaties: 'Inevitably both sides had different understandings; they were operating from different texts and different world views' (Consedine & Consedine 2005, 91).

This situation was bound to lead to conflict, and indeed in the years following the signing of the treaty there were violent uprisings by Maori. Armed confrontations took place in the far North in the 1840s, and in the Land Wars starting in Taranaki and Waikato and spreading elsewhere in the North Island. Suppressed by British troops, the conflicts drew to a close at the end of the 1860s. Colonization proceeded rapidly. The second article of the treaty includes a clause whereby Maori can freely choose to keep or sell their land, and the price should be agreed between the two parties. This was largely forgotten by the rapacious young New Zealand government, and in many cases land was obtained unfairly through confiscation, trickery, pressure on Maori to sell, and land bought for a pittance. The rate and extent of land deprivation were incredible, with almost all the 14 million hectares of the South Island and about 3 million hectares in the North Island purchased by the Crown by the late 1860s (Consedine & Consedine 2005, 95). The notion of protecting Maori rights embodied in the treaty fell into oblivion, encouraged by endemic racism, as the settler population became numerically and culturally dominant. The treaty was even declared a 'legal nullity' by Chief Justice Prendergast in 1877 (Fenton & Moon 2004, 39). In addition, British colonization involved the policy of assimilation, whereby Maori culture and language maintenance were discouraged (Consedine & Consedine 2005).

However, here is where memory takes on an important role. The Maori people remembered their treaty almost as a sacred covenant with the British queen. As a people with strong collective practices and great respect for the past, its events and ancestors, the treaty became part of their collective memory: 'the Treaty is now and has always been one of the sacred treasures of Maoridom' (Fenton & Moon 2004, 47). It is also to

be noted that traditionally the Maori have a particular relation to time and memory that differs from a European perspective. Orbell (1995, 25) recounts that traditionally Maori believe that individuals today participated in the lives of their ancestors, such that an orator describing an early event in the people's history might speak as though he or she were present at the scene. In addition, it is believed that people today behave as they do because of the presence within them of their ancestors, both early and recent. Memory is therefore a lived and present thing, and the traumatic past may be quite real. By the same token, an alternative positive and hopeful memory takes on great importance, in this case the memory of the treaty. Maori transmission of memory occurs through oral recitation and repetition of stories about the past to which children are exposed from early childhood (Hayne & MacDonald 2003); in such a context the exact linguistic expression of the Maori treaty is of importance. For the Maori people the first article of the English version of the treaty had been the instrument of their loss of sovereignty. Yet astonishingly, thanks to maintaining its memory alive, the Maori version of the treaty, and also the second article of the English version that stipulates protection of Maori rights, were to be the cornerstone of Maori protest and resistance.

The treaty was central to the Maori struggle to gain rights from the government and to regain status, power and possessions, culminating in significant achievements from the late twentieth century. Over the years since 1840 the Maori undertook actions to affirm their rights such as holding conferences (runanga) and parliaments of Maori to discuss their issues, and sending delegations to the British monarch to claim their rights under the treaty. However, these actions led to little progress in introducing any significant changes in the status quo. It was not until the 1970s that the international context of a push for civil rights and rights for marginalized groups of people, including indigenous peoples, propelled the Maori to protest very strongly through land occupations and marches, and to begin to make vehement land claims and fishing rights claims, which were heeded. At the heart of the claims was the challenge that the government had not fulfilled treaty promises. As a result of this pressure and the conducive social context, in 1975 the New Zealand government established the Waitangi Tribunal, whose role is to undertake investigations and to provide recommendations to the government in detailed reports for the settlement of Maori claims through taking into account the principles of the Treaty of Waitangi (Orange 2013). From oblivion the treaty has returned to the memory canon and been given a fundamental institutional role. In 1985 the Waitangi

Tribunal was empowered to investigate complaints and claims going back to 1840; it became thus a forum for resolving historical grievances, and 'the most powerful tool for change in the history of Maori-Pakeha [white New Zealanders] co-existence' (Fenton & Moon 2004, 51). The work of the tribunal contributes to the process of healing memory of long-standing grievances.

In the situation of two different conflictual versions with equal legal authority of the 'same' text, feeding into two different group memories, it is most interesting to examine how the Waitangi Tribunal proceeds. It is important to note that in law it is not acceptable that a legal text should be attributed two different meanings, so the treaty presents a sticky case due to the divergent translation. In its deliberations the tribunal draws on both the English and the Maori versions of the treaty; neither text is considered superior to the other. The tribunal is not fixated on particular wordings of the treaty, since focusing on discrepancies between the two versions could lead to unhelpful debate. Rather, the tribunal aims to apply the 'spirit' and 'principles' of the treaty to contemporary cases. A 1989 tribunal report says:

> The spirit of the Treaty transcends the sum total of its component written words and puts literal or narrow interpretations out of place. [...] The Treaty was also more than an affirmation of existing rights. It was not intended to merely fossilise a status quo but to provide a direction for future growth and development. The broad and general nature of its words indicates that it was not intended as a finite contract but as the foundation for a developing social contract. (Waitangi Tribunal 1989, 52)

In its deliberations, the Waitangi Tribunal projects back to the past for present and forward-looking purposes, since settlements must be made for now and the future. Indeed, treaty principles are applied to present-day realities that had no existence in the 1840s, such as contemporary technologies and tourism. This process is typical of the dialectical and directive functioning of memory.

One of the early claims presented to the Waitangi Tribunal seemed to take advantage of a difference in the English and Maori versions of the treaty. Absent in the English version, the Maori version talks of 'taonga', undefined 'treasures' or all that is important to Maori, which includes the Maori language (Fenton & Moon 2004, 43). A 1985 claim concerned the promotion of the Maori language and education as means of protecting treasured cultural features. Since then the Maori language has taken

Figure 1 Bilingual supermarket sign, Kaitaia, North New Zealand, January 2014

off on radio and television, in Maori-language and bilingual schools, and in judicial proceedings (Orange 2013, 118). Memory of the language has been revived with great success. In the North Island, in particular, there is tangible evidence of bilingualism in the form of signs in both languages (see Figure 1).

By 2002, 1000 treaty claims had been presented to the Waitangi Tribunal, and by 2009 close to a full coverage of the country had been reported or was under investigation (Orange 2013, 148). The process of overcoming the Maori's negative memory of the injustices dealt them has followed the path of truth and reconciliation applied elsewhere: official acknowledgement of past wrongs and suffering; a forum in which those wronged can be heard (the tribunal); official apologies (in 1996 Queen Elizabeth was the first British monarch to make an official apology to the Maori for not upholding the treaty); and reparation in the forms of cultural and political redress, financial compensation and restoration of land (Consedine & Consedine 2005, 225–241). Memory of the past is used futuristically: by confronting the past, social and political actors make real, concrete contributions to building a better future (Bickford & Sodaro 2010, 68). The past is interpreted through the lens of the present, and meaning is found in the treaty, a meaning

created by the strange situation of original text and divergent translation, which now act as one combined memorial document. The case of the Treaty of Waitangi illustrates the potentially highly significant role of interlingual translation of a document for posterity, and the vital role of the memory of cultural products (in our case the two versions of the treaty) in society. There are surely many other cases where translation and memory together play an important role; therefore, it seems necessary that the combination of these two areas should be engaged with explicitly by scholars.

In this monograph I aim to present a map of the application of memory studies concepts and approaches to the study of translation. Translation studies and memory studies are both commonly recognized as contemporary 'boom areas' in the humanities in terms of the number of conferences, publications and postgraduate students, and yet the research located at the intersection of the two fields has been somewhat dispersed and does not embrace the full potential of the translation/memory combination. This monograph attempts to present a global view of that potential. Following an initial chapter on the book's theoretical framework, each chapter starts by discussing a particular type or types of memory: personal memory, group memory, electronic memory, textual memory, national memory, transnational memory, tradition, institutional memory and cosmopolitan connective memory. The link with translation is then illustrated by one or two detailed case studies in each chapter, which show in a practical way how memory and translation can be brought together. The case studies involve different languages: English, French, Latin, Arabic and Taiwanese (in addition to Maori in the Waitangi story). Both literary and non-literary texts are examined – short stories, novels, a song, charters, administrative documents – so the case studies engage with a variety of real-world contexts. There is indeed a definite emphasis on locating interlingual translation as part of a broad context of other texts, events and social circumstances. At first sight the case studies may look rather disparate, but they are linked by two threads. First, the focus is on translation of two types of text, literary texts and texts in the area of international organizations and law. Secondly, a number of the case-study texts deal with issues of human rights; this has been prefigured by the Waitangi case, which concerns indigenous people's rights. Other areas of rights covered in the case studies are civil and political rights, women's rights, cultural rights, the right to communicate and indeed implicitly the right to memory. With regard to methodology, in addition to textual and

documentary analysis, material from interviews with translators and informants is used.

Naturally my subjectivity in terms of knowledge, background, abilities, interests and philosophical outlook shapes the choice of topics and themes, methodological approaches, analysis and reflection in the case studies and in the monograph as a whole. Beyond these aspects of individuality, the book proposes an overall memory-based framework and range of concepts and approaches that could easily be applied in different case studies. It offers a new global perspective on translation studies, as well as an insight into translation for memory studies scholars. My hope is that the monograph will provide readers with a usable map of the translation/memory nexus, and inspire further research in this domain.

Siobhan Brownlie
Manchester, July 2015

1
Translation and Memory

Language and memory are intimately bound together, for not only is language a memorial phenomenon passed down through generations, but memory of the past and traditions are embedded in language and in linguistic products. In her book on the complex historically changing life of cities and language use in urban contexts (focusing on Calcutta, Trieste, Barcelona and Montreal), Simon writes of how languages are vessels of historical memory: 'They reanimate the ghosts of the past, they replay the stories of battles lost and won. They affirm entitlement or they speak of displacement' (Simon 2012, 159). 'Translation' may be conceived of in different ways, but it usually involves language in some manner, and therefore will necessarily involve memory. Our starting point is that translation and memory seem to be an obvious combination for research purposes.

'Translation' is potentially a very broad concept and domain of study, if we take translation to mean any kind of transfer and transformation. Similarly, 'memory' can be taken very broadly as any kind of relation to the past. In this chapter I first consider how 'translation' will be dealt with in this monograph. I then introduce some memory concepts and approaches that have been adopted by translation studies and comparative literature researchers whose work is discussed here. Following this, I introduce the approach to memory that is taken in this work with an outline of the content of the chapters in the book.

Translation

Among the many conceptions of 'translation', I focus on three. A central meaning of the term 'translation' is **interlingual translation**, translation between languages. Of course, as Naoki Sakai (2006) points out, the

way in which we commonly talk about translation between two languages masks the fact that the unity and stability of a single language are a myth. The common representation of the act of translation as communication between two languages contributes indeed to creating borders between languages, as signalled by the terminology 'source language' and 'target language'. Sakai (2006, 71) argues that this regime of translation is a construct of modernity that valorized the national entity and therefore the concept of unified national languages. In reality linguistic borders are historically fluid and porous, and within what is recognized as a single language there is much heterogeneity that translators have to negotiate. Similarly, cultural knowledge is not unified or confined to one sphere, hence the commonly used terms 'source culture' and 'target culture' mask the reality of a complex and fluid heterogeneity. The inherent incommensurability of differences is smoothed over by discourse on the possibility of translation, and the concept of a single language/culture remains a powerful one with which we still work today as an idealized form. In this monograph all case studies have interlingual translation as their basis, but interlingual translation necessarily involves other senses of translation.

Translation can be understood as a fundamentally important process in human cultural endeavours. Bella Brodzki (2007, 2) defines translation as an act of 'critical and dynamic displacement':

> an act of identification that is not imitation, translation hearkens back to the original or source text, and elicits what might otherwise remain recessed or unarticulated, enabling the source text to live beyond itself, to exceed its own limitations.

This approach is inspired by Walter Benjamin's (2000) and Jacques Derrida's (1985) thoughts on translation, whereby original and translation are in a relation of mutual debt: the translation depends on the original for its existence and the original depends on the translation for its survival, which necessarily involves transmutation. The process is potentially never-ending, since dynamic otherness and change are principles of language and history. Brodzki (2007, 189) sees such a process as not only being applicable to texts, but also informing our critical cultural operations and spheres of thought and practice. For want of a better term, we may call Brodzki's perspective **critical processual translation**. The abstract process-focused definition allows Brodzki to understand translation as multiple types of cultural transaction involving transfer, interpretation and transformation, not only

as the movement from one language to another and from one text to another. In her book *Can These Bones Live?* (2007), Brodzki discusses case studies that focus on various types of transfer involving critical processual translation: movement from one genre or medium to another, movement from personal experience of a past event to a text, and transmission from one generation of people to another. She discusses literary texts in different languages and contexts that have adopted and transformed an earlier genre, the American slave narrative; the writer Jorge Semprun transferring his autobiographical experiences into written accounts; and Claude Morhange-Bégué's transposition of her mother's oral account into a textual account, which is also a case of intergenerational transmission of knowledge (these last two cases will be discussed in more detail subsequently).

The term **cultural translation** has come to prominence in recent years in disciplines other than translation studies, and it is also used by translation studies specialists. Several definitions are useful in this book's case studies. For translation specialist Maria Tymoczko (2007), 'cultural translation' means translating cultural aspects of source-text content into a target-language text; that is, dealing with the cultural issues involved in undertaking interlingual translation. Translators face significant challenges. First, there are varying degrees of cultural asymmetry between 'source' and 'target' cultures: environmental factors, behaviours, social organization, beliefs, values and knowledge may be very different in each cultural sphere, and thus the two languages may not provide ready linguistic equivalents for the translator to use. A second and more fundamental set of difficulties raised by Tymoczko (2007, 226–228) are the questions of understanding and interpretation. Drawing on Bourdieu's theory of habitus, Tymoczko argues that cultural knowledge of a society is difficult for both insiders and outsiders of that social group. An outsider might not have the capacity to understand the set of social practices and attitudes of a very different group, and may impose inappropriate presuppositions; inside knowledge is required. However, an insider is in a sense too close to his or her own culture, thus takes many things for granted and is not necessarily the most perspicacious observer. There are no definite answers to this conundrum apart from the need for translators to undertake highly self-reflexive cultural comparisons and knowledge gathering.

The issue of the insider/outsider position of the translator and the tasks of understanding and explaining the alien display a clear affinity with the work of the ethnographer. And indeed, the term 'cultural translation' was coined from the mid-twentieth century in the field of

anthropology. Talal Asad (1986) locates possibly the earliest use of the term 'translation' to describe the anthropologist's role in the work of Godfrey Lienhardt:

> The problem of describing to others how members of a remote tribe think then begins to appear largely as one of translation, of making the coherence primitive thought has in the languages it really lives in, as clear as possible in our own. (Lienhardt 1954, quoted in Asad 1986, 142)

The Waitangi case explained in the Preface actually involves the reverse scenario, whereby British concepts needed to be explained to the indigenous people. In either scenario, 'translators' act as intermediaries who may either contribute to imperialist agendas, or may also contribute to cultural enrichment through introducing newness. Newness evokes a more recent use of the term 'cultural translation' in cultural and postcolonial studies, initially by the well-known theorist Homi Bhabha (1994). Here it is a matter of migrants' experience. The act of cultural translation consists of the relocation of cultural items/system/thought by repeating and reinscribing them in another cultural sphere. But this does not happen smoothly: migrant culture presents an element of resistance in the process of transformation, dramatizing untranslatability, and there is a moment of overwhelming and alienating of the migrant cultural tradition, but also negation as negotiation. The result of the process is an ambivalent state of continuous splitting and hybridity, an indeterminacy of diasporic identity as the result of cultural difference. Finally, though, this condition of hybridity allows survival and 'newness comes into the world' (Bhabha 1994, 227). Like other definitions of 'cultural translation' and also 'critical processual translation', emphasis is placed on dynamism and transformative force.

Finally, social theorist Gerard Delanty (2009) has used the term 'cultural translation' to describe the process of 'critical cosmopolitanism', which bears some similarity to Bhabha's ideas. The core feature of critical cosmopolitanism is that contact with the other institutes change in both oneself and the other as a result of self-problematization and reflexivity; mutual newness is produced. This is theorized for both contact between the global and the local, and within multicultural societies. The painfulness and torturous complexity described by Bhabha are no longer present, but as with Bhabha there is a certain utopian spirit in such writing. Buden (2011) indeed worries that Bhabha's theorization may romanticize migrants as catalysers of hybridity, failing to address

their often underprivileged status. In summary, it seems to be important to retain four aspects with regard to translation and cultural spheres: the quasi-impossibility of translating in any fully satisfactory sense across cultural divergence; the fact that translation nevertheless occurs; the fact that translation occurs in specific historical and cultural contexts; and the fact that translation in itself is not inherently moral or positive: it can be a site of fruitful cultural learning and exciting hybridity, and it can also be a site of manipulation, domination and reinforcement of othering stereotypes.

Linking Memory and Translation

Memory studies is a necessarily immense and somewhat nebulous field, since it encompasses research with a wide range of disciplinary origins: namely, psychology, sociology, history, literary studies, cultural studies, media studies, heritage studies, archaeology, architecture studies and more. The researcher in translation studies must therefore choose concepts from the field that are useful for his or her particular research project. In this section I focus on the work of researchers primarily in translation studies and comparative literature who have engaged with memory approaches and concepts.

Traditionally, memory has been conceived of as a cognitive capacity of the individual person. Cognitive scientists have isolated different types of memory, notably long-term memory and short-term or working memory. Long-term memory includes 'episodic memory', the individual's memory of past events; 'semantic memory', the memory of conceptual information; and 'procedural memory', the memory of skills learnt through practice. Since translators and interpreters are necessarily bilingual, one relevant topic of investigation has been to study to what extent episodic memory and semantic memory are linked to different languages. Other topics engaged in by psycholinguists concern the representation, organization and processing of words from two languages in bilingual memory (Kroll & de Groot 2005). Process-oriented translation researchers have shown an interest in procedural memory. Using experiment-based methodologies such as think-aloud protocols and more recently keystroke logging and eye-tracking, they have investigated whether there are different modes of operating depending on the level of a translator's experience and skill; that is, in cases where the translator is an expert or a novice (Halverson 2009). Working memory is obviously of high importance for interpreters. Simultaneous interpreting is a fascinating activity for cognitive researchers: this type of

interpreting places a great burden on working memory, because interpreters simultaneously store information and perform other mental operations such as comprehending, translating and producing speech (Kroll & de Groot 2005, 462).

From a personal point of view, the kind of memory that leaves its mark the most heavily in an individual is the memory of traumatic events. Interest in the effect of traumatic memory on behaviour can be traced back to the late nineteenth century, in particular the work of Freud. For Freud, what seems inexplicable in present behaviour can be interpreted by invoking painful and hitherto unacknowledged memories. Freud's idea of the 'talking cure', whereby bringing repressed memories to consciousness is beneficial in order to diminish pathologies, has continued to be influential today in psychotherapy (Whitehead 2009). In the late twentieth century the proliferation of Holocaust memory writing was no doubt due in part to a therapeutic impulse. The academic field of Holocaust studies, however, tended to emphasize the unrepresentability of the Holocaust experience (cf. Caruth 1995). A burgeoning and productive area with respect to current research on translation and memory is that of the translation of Holocaust memoirs and fictional works. Peter Davies (2014) worries about perceiving translation uniquely in the context of early Holocaust studies because of the notion that accounts of the Holocaust are a distortion and a betrayal; in this perspective, translation could be viewed as a double betrayal. In her study of the translation of Robert Antelme's well-known Holocaust memoir, Sharon Deane-Cox (2013) adopts a concept from Holocaust studies: the 'secondary witness'. This term arose from the work of psychoanalyst and collector of video-recorded oral Holocaust testimonies, Dori Laub, to describe his role as an empathic listener and witness to the oral testimonies. The secondary witness plays a vital role as receiver, co-constructor and preserver of memory. Laub notes the imperative need of survivors to tell their story, but also observes that 'no amount of telling seems ever to do justice to this inner compulsion' (Laub 1995, 63). It is an interesting and creative move to consider the translator as a 'secondary witness' with respect to the author's recounted experience. Deane-Cox undertakes a close textual comparison of Robert Antelme's seminal depiction of the concentrationary universe in *L'Espèce humaine* (1947) and its 1992 English translation. She finds that unfortunately the translation tends to 'choke' the memory conveyed by the original text, as it does not conserve its illocutionary force and the elusive and unstable meanings of the testimony. Perhaps Deane-Cox has been influenced in her analysis by the negativity surrounding thinking on translation from a Holocaust

studies perspective, but no doubt it is an honest appraisal that the translation is somewhat damaging to the memory conveyed by the memoir, even enacting a kind of forgetting of the source text. Adopting an overtly prescriptive stance, Deane-Cox (2013, 321) calls for translators of such texts to listen with the utmost care to the testimony of the author and to pay close attention to the detailed choices of expression of the traumatic experiences, in order to transmit their illocutionary force in an act of memorial guardianship.

Comparative literature studies of Holocaust literature are not necessarily embedded in negativity. One type of translation context on which Brodzki (2007) focuses is where translation (in a broad sense) allows the survival of memory that is fragile through involving trauma. Brodzki does not stress the impossibility of translation – rather, she is aware of the enormous struggle involved – and in the end her vision is positive, since it is framed by her definition of what I have called critical processual translation, inspired by Benjamin's notion of translation as survival from his famous preface 'The Task of the Translator' (2000). Benjamin's text illuminates how translation enables the memory of a text or event to survive through providing an afterlife for the text or event. If there is no such iteration, the text or event may be forgotten. Brodzki studies several cases of memory of suffering experienced during World War II. The first case is the tortured transfer from personal memory of the journey to Buchenwald, life in the concentration camp and life afterwards into writing in the work of the well-known Franco-Spanish author Jorge Semprun. Brodzki (2007, 188) highlights the intertextuality of Semprun's writings: each piece refers to previous works where memories and events are represented differently, signalling that past experiences and particularly trauma are never dealt with once and for all, since they are subject to profound rethinking over time and with changing circumstances. Semprun's writing challenged the idea that survival was an achieved state. Rather than a frustrated inability to express the past, this view emphasizes the normal memorial process of ongoing reconstruction of the past into the future. Brodzki's second case is the transfer from a traumatic oral account of a Holocaust survivor mother to the written account by her daughter Claude Morhange-Bégué in *Chamberet*, a result of secondary witnessing. The French original text has never been published, so the published English translation, *Chamberet: Recollections from an Ordinary Childhood* (1987), ensures the public survival of the account. The final case represents a line of transmission from Brodzki's own Polish Holocaust survivor parents' oral accounts to herself to the reader of her book, illustrating the inherent otherness and yet connectedness

with other humans' experience that make translation as transmutation and memorial survival necessary and possible.

The Benjaminian notion of a text allowing survival of memory has also been an important emphasis in translation studies and comparative literature with respect to memory beyond the World War II context. Bassnett (2003, 294) writes of translation as a bridge between a past text and a new text in future time, which extends the past text to a new readership in a new context. The time and contextual difference (a translation comes after the thing it translates and is necessarily in a different context) mean that translation is always a vehicle of both remembrance and transformation: the work of memory is both performed and diffracted (Brodzki 2007, 112). A translation embodies memory not only of the source text, but also possibly of previous critiques, of previous translations, and of a web of other readings and texts. Furthermore, through multiple different and ongoing translations and other types of rewriting, a diversity of diffracted afterlives is produced. Bassnett (2003) accentuates the state of the translation as encompassing both memorial repetition and newness by referring to its function as 're-membering'. The simultaneous memorialization and bodily renewal of 're-membering' evoke Haroldo de Campos's discussion of translation as dismemberment and cannibalism considered as destruction of, homage to and a living on of the original text (Bassnett 2003, 299). Brodzki (2007) discusses cases where translation allows memory to survive in urgent circumstances when a memory is fragile through being expressed in oral form, and/or through involving endangered cultural knowledge. The case of endangered cultural knowledge concerns an Igbo woman's oral account of an important historical event, the 1929 'women's war' in Nigeria. In Echewa's novel *I Saw the Sky Catch Fire* (1992), the grandmother recounts this memory to her only (Western-educated) grandson, who transforms the Igbo-language oral story into one written in English, interleaving it with his own experiences. In some cases 'resistant translation', maintaining elements of foreignness in the text such as untranslated Igbo words, is a means of retaining Igbo culture for the memory of future generations. Translation is seen as a vector for intercultural and intergenerational transmission and survival of memory, which is acutely important in a postcolonial context.

The case of transferring Igbo memory indicates that memory of past events and tradition as elements of cultural knowledge can be conceived as phenomena shared by a group (Igbo women or society) and transmitted to a group (future generations). In other words, memory can be considered not only as individual but as social. In fact, the

individual and the social are intertwined with regard to memory. An early thinker to theorize the social aspects of individual memory was Maurice Halbwachs (1952 [1925]). Each individual belongs to many social groups, and each of those groups has a shared memory involving past events and habitual current practices, which the individual espouses and by which he or she is influenced. Halbwachs coined the term 'mémoire collective', 'collective memory', to express this group dimension, and since then other terms have been adopted, notably 'social memory' and 'cultural memory'. Although certainly overlapping in meaning, the term 'social memory' puts more emphasis on the social processes of remembrance, whereas 'cultural memory' focuses more on cultural products. The main point is that memory of the past can be shared by members of a group. One issue that is important is whether shared memory is a matter of amalgamating the memory of all the individuals in the group. Olick (1999) argues that there is a difference between 'collective' and 'collected' memory that has methodological implications. 'Collected' involves studying the aggregation of a group of individuals' ideas, whereas 'collective' focuses on cultural patterns such as shared myths, symbols, ideologies and representations conveyed by cultural products and practices. In her study focusing on Oradour-sur-Glane, Deane-Cox (2014) refers to 'collective memory'. She also adopts another concept from memory studies, 'prosthetic memory' (Landsberg 2004), which challenges the strict notion of personal experience and memory. A vicarious experience, obtained from viewing or participating in an experientially rich mass-media production such as a film or museum, may give a person, indeed potentially a large number of people, a memory almost as if they had lived through the experience themselves. Landsberg calls this 'prosthetic memory'. Deane-Cox (2014) compares the French and English scripts of the audio guide for visitors to Oradour-sur-Glane, a village in France that was completely destroyed and whose inhabitants were massacred by the SS (the armed wing of the German Nazi Party) during World War II; the charred remains of the village have been left intact as a memorial site. The visitor centre and French audio guide present a collective memory. Deane-Cox's analysis produces mixed findings: certain translatorial choices in the English guide mediating the French collective memory have a negative impact with respect to promoting prosthetic memory, but other choices augment the likelihood of prosthetic memory, in this case the possibility that English-language visitors to the site will have an experience allowing them great insight into the past events and development of a vicarious memory.

Other research in translation studies and comparative literature has linked translation to cultural memory in various ways. Memory of languages, memory of history and memory of traditions including literary traditions are pertinent. One interesting work mentioned earlier is Simon's (2012) book on 'cities in translation' as sites of the intersection of language and memory. Simon (2012, 157–158) shows how translation plays the role of promoting cultural memory in two ways. First, in a multiculturalist mode of linguistic and cultural ghettos and respect for specificities, translation serves both to divide languages and the memory they convey in the manner described by Sakai (2006), and also to traverse that divide by allowing communication and understanding of the other. Secondly, translation participates in a cosmopolitan mode of mixing and hybridity in dynamic meeting places: there are intense interconnections between the two main languages/memories of 'dual cities' such as Barcelona and Montreal. Furthermore, durable links have been established across memories involving third-language diasporic communities in areas such as Barcelona's Raval and in traditional immigrant zones of Montreal, where translation enacts a hybrid entitlement of residence and identity apparent in everyday usage such as shop signs (recall the bilingual fruit and veg sign in the Preface). Both Simon (2012) in her discussion of writers associated with linguistically and historically complex cities and Oseki-Dépré (2009) in her study of poetry translation point out how language is nourished by literary texts, and how literature is a vehicle of linguistic, cultural and literary memory. As well as being a force of remembrance through drawing on its past tradition, literature is also constantly being renewed. This renewal may take place thanks to translation, which introduces traditions and memory spheres from elsewhere. In describing poetry translation in Brazil, Oseki-Dépré (2009, 401) cites public literary memory as having been enriched by great translations of the Bible, Homer, Japanese poetry and troubadour poetry. Another topic that has been treated in translation studies is the translation of oral tradition: Bandia (2008), for example, discusses the embedding of African oral tradition by African writers in 'colonial language' fiction, as well as the translation of such literature. Finally, a recent development is a 'sociocognitive agenda' for translation research, which incorporates the dynamic interplay of cognition, artefacts, workplaces and spatial context as well as sociocultural spaces that are mediated by information and media technologies (Risku & Windhager 2013). Although not explicitly stated by the authors, this agenda can be interpreted as giving electronic memory a role in an interdependent relation with individual and social memory.

The application of the term 'memory' to computers, describing the part of the computer that stores data or program instructions for retrieval, was initially a metaphor from the individual human brain. Electronic memory is an extremely important feature of life today, since together with programming it is the basis of the multifarious electronic tools and networks that are used ubiquitously in both personal and professional contexts. Translation memory tools allow translators to store translations in a database and reuse them in a new translation, as the program proposes matched segments (O'Hagan 2009). Recent work by translation researchers focusing on technologies has concentrated on human–machine interaction, a relationship that is becoming ever more important as translation memory tools become universal, and as they shift towards integration with automated machine translation (Olohan 2011; O'Brien 2012). Electronic memory combined with information communication technologies has also been the basis for new modes of collaborative translation, which involve potentially geographically dispersed translators forming a virtual group (Kelly et al. 2011).

An important basic condition with regard to human memory is that not everything can be remembered. All memories are created in tandem with forgetting, because it is impossible to retain all details, impressions and voices of the past. As Nietzsche (1997, 63) points out, forgetting is necessary for the health of an individual and a social group, in order to provide protection from overwhelming noise and agitation. Furthermore, memory is often conveyed through a narrative form of some sort, which implies closure, blocking out some memories and perspectives. However, (details of) memories, whether individual or social, of events or cultural products can always resurface or be unearthed, which indicates that they are 'archived' (Assmann 2010). With regard to translation, although translation acts as a means of survival, we have caught glimpses in the earlier discussion that somewhat paradoxically show how translation is also a means of forgetting the source text. This forgetting results from selectivity, transformation, censorship, replacement and even obliteration. In some cases translations have replaced a source text to the extent that readers treat the translation as the original text; translations of the Bible, for example, have taken on that status. As for selectivity, it is a necessary part of the act of translation, since in opting for one interpretation or one choice of expression, other possibilities are suppressed. In her discussion of translation and cities, Simon shows how translation can be a force that effaces memory, sometimes for political purposes. This happens in circumstances where one language/culture has come to dominate in a city. An example is Istanbul, once highly

multilingual and multicultural, now primarily a Turkish city where a nationalist campaign purged Eastern words through translation into the Turkish language at the same time as purging ethnic minorities from the city (Simon 2012, 156). Oseki-Dépré writes of another kind of memory absence relating to divergent cultural memories. In translating works by French poet Jacques Roubaud into Brazilian Portuguese, Oseki-Dépré (2009) calls her translations 'amnesiac', without memory. This is because the memory of Brazilian Portuguese and Brazilian literature is not comparable to the memory of French literature and its long tradition. So the translation introduces a poetics from a heritage unknown to Brazilian readers; the poem in translation stands in isolation without the memory background of the original work.

My Approach to Memory and Translation

The studies discussed in the previous section indicate that the translation/memory nexus is a rich vein for investigation, but so far the research concerning translation and memory has been undertaken in isolated disciplinary areas, and has not been conceptualized as a whole. This monograph builds on previous scholarly work through developing certain approaches already explored, and also adopts additional perspectives and concepts from the field of memory studies in order to apply them in the study of translation. The most important contribution is to present an overall framework for the study of the conjunction of translation and memory. Within this general framework, it is apparent in my discussion in the chapters and case studies that I prefer certain perspectives and am less interested in others. I give little attention to psychological trauma, pathologies of memory, forgetting or translation as failure. Rather, my interest is in the variety of ways in which memory concepts can be brought to bear on translational texts and contexts, the creative possibilities of translation in relation to memory, and the achievement of human rights in which both translation and memory participate.

The general stance that I take towards memory is that memory is primordial in human society, since all aspects of personal and social functioning are dependent on it. I define human memory as a matter of sociocognitive retention/(re)construction of something from the past. Whereas we often think of 'history' as what happened in the past, memory is primarily present focused, in that it concerns the perception of the past through the prism of the present, or the reuse of the past in the present. The past element may be an event, a person, a practice,

a cultural product, a belief, an attitude and combinations of these. A noticeable characteristic of memory is that due to its past–present dialectical nature, memory is dynamic – conceptually and affectively mobile. Conceptions of the past change over time, fitting in with an individual's or social group's current perspectives and needs, and since it is a (re)construction, memory is often contested, as different individuals or groups may present different interpretations of the past. In its more stable manifestations, memory has important functions both individually and socially: namely, in building relationships with others, creating self and group identity, and providing direction for future decisions and actions (Brownlie 2013).

I will now outline the different types of memory that form the chapter structure of this monograph, and also briefly describe the case studies in each chapter. Naturally, the memory-type delimitations are those of the scholar and reality is made up of much more fuzziness and dynamic fluidity, but the categories also correspond to groupings experienced and recognized by social actors. The categorization of memory types is strengthened by the association between memory and identity (a sense of identity depends on a memory component). Above all, for our purposes the categories serve a useful function in the book through relating memory to translation in an overall framework for enquiry in this area. I delimit nine types that are highlighted in the discussion.

In Chapter 2 I consider **personal memory**, which concerns various elements belonging to an individual's memory such as memory of their past life events, and memory of knowledge, skills, practices, beliefs and attitudes acquired. For Conway (2005), autobiographical memory is essential in constituting a person's identity, but it presents a challenging research domain since the psychological nature of memory and mechanisms of recall of the past are complex. The case study for Chapter 2 examines the memorial nature of the writing style of a foremost exponent of the short story, Katherine Mansfield (1888–1923). Mansfield has been chosen because of her highly innovative literary writing of childhood memory, which I argue represents the fragmentary nature of recall. Two autobiographically based stories by Mansfield are the focus of study. The impact of French translations of the two stories regarding memorial depictions is examined, and the notion of a source text–target text co-construction of meaning is developed. The study also explores the role of the translator's personal memory in undertaking translation work in conjunction with the agency of other actors and artefacts. Thus, the notion of 'distributed memory' (see later) is introduced.

Chapter 3 concerns **group memory**, defined as the shared memory of past people and events and also of the practices, beliefs and norms of a group. For seminal social memory theorist Halbwachs (1952 [1925]), the main social groups of concern were family, religious group, professional group and social class group. In Halbwachs's day such relatively stable groups would normally have been in a specific geographical location, whereas today there are many worldwide 'affinity groups' thanks to virtual electronic links, and such groups are highly dynamic and evolving. **Electronic memory** is of such importance in the work of translators today for both translation and communication purposes that it must certainly be included in our survey of memory. In the first case study for Chapter 3 I discuss a virtual group of freelance translators, 'proz.commers', and focus particularly on their attitudes towards electronic memory tools (including machine translation) as expressed in their discussion forums. A second case study examines another group, contemporary 'feminist translators', and focuses on how they relate to the founders of their approach, in other words how memory of the 1970s–80s Canadian founders and their translational practices is perpetuated. The Canadian feminist translators became famous for their politicized approach to translation in promoting women's perspectives and rights; the study shows how they remain an inspiration for an international affinity group today.

Textual memory, the topic of Chapter 4, refers to the way in which a text embodies memory of an earlier text, by including substantial content or key ideas from that earlier text. In literary studies this normally comes under the notion of intertextuality; the concept is the same here, except that there is more emphasis on the temporal aspect. This type of memory is not singled out by specialists in memory studies, but naturally it is highly significant for the activity of interlingual translation, which has the memory of texts at its heart; related notions have been mentioned by the researchers discussed earlier. This chapter includes two case studies involving chains of related texts. The first study considers English retranslations of the novel *Nana* (1880) by Emile Zola, which, after an initial self-censored version, restored memory of the original text. Zola was chosen as a champion of the freedom of expression and communication, and because of the large number of retranslations of his novels. The second case study elaborates on the development of the notion of universal human rights since the thirteenth century and across the centuries by means of textual memory and dissemination of texts through translation. The great historical documents produced

leading up to the United Nations Universal Declaration of Human Rights (1948) have been milestones in the history of human rights.

Anthony Smith (1999), a specialist in nationalism, considers that symbolic vectors such as myths, memories and traditions are essential in creating a national identity. **National memory** may encompass complementary and competing perspectives, and it is often the dominant sector of society that imposes its vision of how past events are interpreted through such means as the media and the education system. Olick (2007) finds that there has, however, been a shift in typical forms of national memory: although there is still a tendency for those in power to use narratives that glorify the nation, governments today are facing up to past injustices committed at the behest of the nation's representatives, as we saw in the Waitangi case. National memory remains strong despite the growing strength of supra-national forms of identity and memory. I define **transnational memory** as memory that transcends national boundaries, even if only involving a limited geographical space. Shared transnational memory is forged through movement and contact of some kind, whether of people or of cultural products. Transnational memory comprises shared border-crossing knowledge of past events and people, ideas through time, cultural products and customs and traditions. Transnational memory may also comprise a comparative element: memory of events that occurred in one geographical and temporal space is linked to memory of events in a very different geographical and temporal space, such that commonalities can be recognized despite the differences. This is what Rothberg (2009) calls 'multidirectional memory'; one example he gives is how memory of the Holocaust has been linked to memory of slavery in the United States. Chapter 5 encompasses both national and transnational memory, since with regard to translation they seem to be intertwined. The case study focuses on the prolific translation of Sir Walter Scott's historical novels of the early nineteenth century into numerous European as well as other languages. Translation is shown to be a vector creating transnational memory: translation propagated knowledge of both Scott's works and their historical settings, and also promoted linkages between the histories that Scott recounted and those of other places where the translations were read. While enabling the creation of transnational memory, the translational products often displayed national inflections. Scott has been chosen because of his role as the creator of the historical novel, the massive extent of the propagation of his works, and the fact that he was perceived as a champion of the rights of struggling ethnic groups.

His case also illustrates the fickleness of social memory, as his works have now largely fallen into oblivion.

It is true that a distinction can be made between memory of something that no longer is (for example, memory of a deceased person) and memory of something that is continued on into the present (for example, memory/knowledge of a traditional practice that is still followed), but both can be encompassed under the term 'memory'. **Tradition**, which can be defined as symbolic group practices coming from the past, is often associated with a national group, but may also be associated with sub-national and transnational groups. Religious beliefs, for example, operate at different levels. Chapter 6 focuses on tradition. I briefly discuss the notion of translation traditions from various parts of the world, but the case study does not concentrate on this. The case study of the translation of administrative documents between English and Arabic examines the textual contact between starkly contrasting traditions: the tradition concerning women's rights embedded in the United Nations Convention for the Elimination of Discrimination against Women (1979), and Saudi Arabian traditions concerning women. The study shows how traditions are embedded in language and texts, creating potential obstacles for readers of translated texts. As we also saw in the Waitangi case and in Oseki-Dépré's literary context, interlingual translation is a potentially difficult enterprise when there is a lack of shared cultural memory between source and target cultural groups, but translation can also act as a fruitful means for propagating memorial knowledge across linguistic and cultural borders.

Chapter 7 deals with **institutional memory**, which refers to the notion that institutions such as business corporations or governmental organizations have a history (including the history of founders and foundational goals) and institutional practices that are remembered and passed on. Institutions exist at various different levels, including increasingly the transnational, with the significant rise since the mid-twentieth century of international governmental organizations and NGOs. Thus memory of transnational institutions contributes to transnational memory and in some cases to global memory. The case study for this chapter concerns the European Commission's Directorate General for Translation, the largest in-house translation service in the world. Interviews with long-standing translators at the Commission reveal how translation activity there can be conceived as encompassing a range of types of memory as well as institutional memory. The Commission is the executive organ of the European Union, which was created in order to ensure peace, well-being and justice across Europe; through the

massive amount of translation into the 24 official languages, translators contribute to disseminating these EU values.

The final type of memory in my categorization is **cosmopolitan connective memory**, covered in Chapter 8. The term 'cosmopolitan memory' was coined by Levy and Sznaider (2006). They described the role of memory of the Holocaust as having the potential to be globally known; the event is recognized worldwide and cited in connection with other cases of genocide in instances of multidirectional memory (Rothberg 2009). Furthermore, Levy and Sznaider posit that memory of the Holocaust has a global role with regard to human rights, constituting a powerful symbol of what must not be repeated. Hoskins's (2011) 'connective memory' refers to our contemporary world of global electronic connection to others and to information, where our experience of time is changed since while racing into the future, humanity's past is immediately at our fingertips in infinite memory banks. My combination 'cosmopolitan connective memory' highlights the construction of shared memorial knowledge at a global level in today's world. The case study for this final chapter concerns a song from the musical *Les Misérables* entitled 'Do You Hear the People Sing?'. This song links to the memory of the human rights declarations of the revolutionary period in France of 1789–1832. Translated into many languages and also into many different English versions adapted to different contexts, the song has been used in demonstrations around the world regarding various causes related to social justice. It is proposed that the dissemination through translation and digital means of cultural products with a memory component contributes to creating global solidarity groups.

The discussion in this chapter indicates that translation of various types of text is an important means of transmitting memory. In fact, all the various types of memory are intimately related to or dependent for transmission on medial types such as speeches, books, newspapers, music pieces, artworks, photos, films, television programmes, internet sites, museum displays and monuments. Thus memory is always mediated (van Dijck 2007), and the specificities of particular medial types and genres shape the presentation and transmission of memory. If a past event, person or cultural product is not remediated – that is, reiterated in some medial form – it will be forgotten and disappear from the 'memory canon', as Assmann (2010) terms the memory items that are currently present in the shared knowledge of a group. Erll (2009) explores the phenomenon of 'remediation', whereby a past event, person or cultural item is repeatedly taken up in diverse medial forms over an extended

period of time, for example a historical event is recounted many times over in diverse media and genres. Erll explains that it is through massive and ongoing remediation that an item can become a 'memory site' (Nora 1989), a recognized memorial item of strong and lasting symbolic importance for its community. Translation as a form of remediation contributes to maintaining items in the target-culture memory canon, and to creating memory sites. Memory is also expressed in practical forms such as conventional practices, rituals and ceremonies, which depend on reiteration for their continuation (Connerton 1989). The important question remains as to how the various types of memory enumerated here may be inter-related together with medial and practical forms. Some of the most interesting work in this area comes from psychologists who have broken away from their traditional preoccupations restricted to the brain. It is proposed that memory is distributed across the individual brain, non-organic memory (electronic memory) and artefacts like photos and books, as well as across individual humans and social groups (Sutton et al. 2010). Such thinking is based on 'extended cognition' theory, which has been taken up in process-oriented translation studies (see Risku & Winghager 2013, mentioned earlier). The question of memory distribution as well as other features of memory will be further explored and elaborated in the subsequent chapters. In the next chapter I consider personal memory, then in following chapters gradually build up from small to very large or extensive social groups in examining the links between translation and memory.

2
Personal Memory

The term 'memory' is very often associated with the individual person and their cognitive capacities. From a cognitive perspective, memory is usually divided into short-term memory (also called working memory) and long-term memory. Improving one's working memory is a useful course of action for professional interpreters who, in undertaking consecutive and simultaneous interpreting tasks, must make skilful use of their working memory competence. Long-term memory refers to our capacity to retain and retrieve information that is stored for a durable length of time. Long-term memory is usually divided into procedural (also called non-declarative or implicit) memory and declarative (or explicit) memory. Procedural memory refers to habits, activities and skills that we learn through practice. Declarative memory is further divided (Cubitt 2007) into semantic memory (of factual or conceptual information) and episodic memory (of events in which the person was involved). The distinction between procedural memory and declarative memory has been attested in studies of amnesic patients who were able to learn, remember and apply procedures, 'knowing how', but were incapable of remembering the details of episodes when they used those procedures, in other words they failed in 'knowing that' (Cohen & Squire 1980). In the second part of the case study for this chapter, which concerns an individual translator (Françoise Pellan) and her work, I will consider how translating depends on the translator's semantic, procedural and episodic memory, which is part of autobiographical memory.

For psychologist Conway (2005, 609), memory is essential in constituting a person's sense of identity, the self. He presents autobiographical memory as a complex knowledge structure incorporating factual and evaluative information about oneself, and a hierarchical organization

from general to specific, grouping memory of one's past into general themes (e.g. work, relationships), lifetime periods (e.g. working at a particular place), repeated types of event (e.g. departmental meetings) and specific episodic memories. Without memory a person cannot function successfully in their life and in society. Bluck (2003) enumerates the three main functions of personal memory as construction of a self-continuity, using past experiences and accumulated information to direct present and future actions, and establishing social relations and bonds with others. It is indeed important to note that personal memory has a strong social dimension. Maurice Halbwachs proposed that individual recollection is shaped by social frames of reference: 'des systèmes de souvenirs dépendent des groupes divers auxquels appartient l'individu' [systems of memories depend on the various groups to which the individual belongs] (Halbwachs 1952 [1925], 144). Personal memory may be shared/constructed with other individuals, and also distributed across non-organic agents such as photos, diaries, home videos and social media pages (van Dijck 2007). This notion of distributed memory will be illustrated in considering Mme Pellan's work in the case study.

An important question with regard to memory is its relation to veridicality. Conway (1990, 9) suggests that autobiographical memories may never be true in the sense of literal knowledge of past events. It was Frederic Bartlett in his seminal book *Remembering* (1932) who first proposed that memory is fundamentally reconstructive. Bartlett explains that memories are involuntarily always reconstructions of the past that are heavily influenced by pre-existing knowledge structures and schemas as well as current concerns; memories therefore evolve. Bartlett does not deny that there are memory traces that record some fragments of literal knowledge of the past event, but these are incorporated into the construction of a memory (Conway 1990, 24–25). Autobiographical memory is then partly remembered and partly constructed. Nadel et al. (2008, 45) report the updating of old memories based on new experiences in related situations, and Conway (2005, 595–596) explains how autobiographical memory is a balance between the demand of correspondence to experience, and the requirement for memory to be consistent with current self-image, such that inconsistent memory details may be inhibited.

Although they are closely inter-related, it is useful to make distinctions between neurocognitive memory traces, experiential recall and forms of representation. Cognitive scientists present hypotheses about the workings of memory in the brain based on experiments with

subjects and brain imaging. Generally, what the layperson has access to with regard to their own personal memory is recall, which can then be represented; with regard to other people's memory/recall our access is mediated by representations. Internal recall of one's past is usually in the form of images, feelings, scenes, meanings, factual information and some verbatim phrases. There are various types of outward representation: memories can be represented in paintings, musical pieces, oral accounts and written autobiographies, among other forms. Narrative plays a special role with regard to memory, because accounts of memories of the past are often formulated as stories. A narrative can be defined as an ordered account, usually with a beginning, middle and end. With regard to autobiographical memory, we tell stories to ourselves and others about our past (feeding into the reconstructive nature of memory) and rehearsing the past in this way makes it stick in memory. Such memory narratives are variable: different stories are told to different people in different circumstances, and different stories are told across time about the 'same' events. Narratives about the past also circulate on a social level, for example stories of national and international history; these narratives have a significant impact on people's knowledge and attitudes.

For Baker (2006), the main features of narrativity are selective appropriation, causal emplotment, temporality and relationality. Selective appropriation means that a narrative is a selection of events from a wide range of events that constitute experience; the selection may be based on such factors as the teller's purpose, theme and ideology. Causal emplotment refers to the fact that a narrative presents a particular causal explanation. Temporality refers to a narrative being made up of a sequence of events, and relationality the idea that a narrative is made up of logically connected parts that form a whole. In addition, narratives often make use of culturally available materials such as pre-existing story plots and character types. However, the actual experience of memory (recall) prior to recounting it may be quite different from such narrative features. Due to human cognitive capacity and functioning, recall is quite often partial, porous and impressionistic. Psychoanalyst Donald Spence considers that patients narrating their past are in effect 'translators' in their struggle to convert private sensations of memory of experiences into the language of speech and narrative (Cubitt 2007, 97). What I will argue in the case-study discussion of Katherine Mansfield's cellular short stories is that this cellular structure has elements in common with a fragmentary experience of memory recall before it is tidied up into a single narrative.

When studying personal memory, very often what we have as data are articulations of memory in oral or textual form. In this chapter, personal memory is discussed in relation to literary works with an autobiographical basis and their translations, and also in relation to the translator's agency. The case study for the chapter concerns works by Katherine Mansfield (1888–1923), a foremost exponent of the modern short story, whose greatest stories were based on memory of her childhood in New Zealand. Mansfield was one of the first short story writers to take childhood memories as her literary inspiration (Boddy 1988, 159). The primary reason that I was attracted to Mansfield's writing is the 'revolutionary novelty' of her short story form (Fulbrook 1986, 63); indeed, her modernist innovations of the plot-less story, use of stream of consciousness and emphasis on the psychological moment preceded Virginia Woolf's employment of these techniques (Mitchell 2011, 2). However, Mansfield's rightful place among modernists was forgotten or neglected by literary critics until the 1990s (Mitchell 2011). My focus is on two of her most accomplished autobiographical short stories: 'Prelude' (1987a) and 'At the Bay' (1987b), and their translations into French. The first issue to consider is how the author 'translated' memory of her childhood experiences into a literary form. The second element of study in the chapter concerns the interlingual translator's personal memory as well as other types of agency that have an impact on the translation product. The third part of the case study examines the juxtaposition of source and target texts and their joint role in memorial construction of the literary account.

Katherine Mansfield's Stories as Representations of the Workings of Memory

Katherine Mansfield, born Kathleen Beauchamp in Wellington, New Zealand, left the colonial society of her birth permanently at the age of 19 to make her life in England and Europe, since she desired to be part of a more sophisticated cultural and literary environment. However, many of her short stories draw on vivid memories of her early life in New Zealand. The two stories examined here both feature a depiction of Katherine and her extended family when she was a child: her parents, grandmother, aunt, herself and her sisters and younger brother. The family is renamed the Burnells and her own 'double' is called Kezia Burnell. 'Prelude' is based on the Mansfields' move from their home in Tinakori Road, Wellington to a larger property at a small distance from the town in what was then the rural area of Karori. 'At the Bay' is based

on experiences of summer holidays spent at Day's Bay across Wellington harbour. Critics and biographers are quick to point out that the stories are fictionalized modifications with respect to reality. Gordon writes: 'She is creating much more than she is remembering [...] Everything in the stories is unquestionably based on experience. But it is always experience transmuted' (Gordon 1974, xvi–xvii). The notion conveyed is that the works are a 'distortion' of reality.

In the two stories, 'Prelude' and 'At the Bay', Mansfield deploys an innovative cellular structure that she invented, consisting in the case of these stories of twelve parts. Rejecting organized linear narrative, the structure comprises loosely connected scenes in relation to the main event that the story features. Links can be seen between scenes in terms of thematic repetition, complement, analogy and contrast (Hanson & Gurr 1981). However, the main impact on the reader with regard to the parts of the story is rather a sense of randomness, changing points of view, variety in style and content, and a focus on images, feelings and fleeting moments. Critics have called Mansfield's technique 'literary impressionism', finding it to be inspired by impressionistic painting and by film montage (Sandley 1994, 73). In contrast to specifically literary approaches, which quite often refer to Walter Benjamin with respect to 'translating' memory of lived experience into a text (see Bermann 2005; Brodzki 2007), I will take an interdisciplinary approach in discussing how Mansfield's innovative story structure and writing style are analogous in some ways to the workings of autobiographical memory as conceptualized in contemporary psychological literature. The motivations behind this approach are the desire to problematize the common notion of the writing as a distortion of reality, and the aim to discover why as a reader I find her style so satisfying.

First of all, the two stories reflect the kind of things that are typically recalled in memory of one's childhood (Conway 1990, 26): either novel experiences (such as moving to a new house in the country) or repeated occurrences (such as summer holidays at the same place over a number of years). All memory specialists agree that images play a vital role in memory. For Rubin (2005, 79), the strength of recollection of an event is predicted best by the vividness of its visual imagery, and a loss of visual memory causes general amnesia. Another predictor is emotion: studies suggest that the emotional intensity and personal significance of an event give rise to autobiographical memories that are detailed, available for recall and resistant to forgetting (Conway 1990, 104). Thus, the significant presence of the visual and the emotional in Mansfield's stories corresponds with the prominence of these elements

in the workings of memory. As noted earlier, autobiographical memory is reconstructive. According to Mace (2010), memories of distant times/events and voluntary retrieval of such memories are situations likely to involve more construction than other contexts of memory activity (recent events; involuntary recall). The mixture in Mansfield's stories of factual elements from her distant past with modifications and interpretation is consistent with normal memorial processes. She is an adult looking back at childhood experiences that are seen through her intervening experiences and acquired knowledge. With regard to her mother, a central figure in the two stories under study, she no doubt retained certain childhood memories of gestures and behaviour. These memory elements are then filtered through her later adult experiences of her mother, her adult thematic preoccupations (she was interested in society's formation of children and women; Harding 2011) and her current writer's perspective with its sensitivity towards characters' aesthetic role and thematic coherence.

The fact that construction is involved in memory does not mean that a tidy, coherent linear narrative is produced in recall. In an early study, based on detailed observation and recording of her own memories, Linton (1986, 58) hypothesizes the general structure of events in long-term memory. She finds that some events or episodes enter into amalgams of logically unrelated items; such amalgamated events are consistently found together in recall, probably as the result of simple temporal contiguity. In studies surveyed by Conway (1990, 127) in which subjects were asked to recall an important autobiographical event such as their wedding day, it was found that all subjects recall images, but that the images do not represent continuous action sequences. Rather, they appear to act like 'snapshots' of groups of participants or scenery associated with the recalled event. Furthermore, in protocols subjects sometimes recall events and facts outside the targeted event altogether, indicating the pliable structure of memory. Recent work (Mace 2010) on the operation of remembering emphasizes memory clustering, which occurs through spreading activation: a cue or an activated memory will activate other related or associated memories contained within a network of memories in a chain-like process, resulting in a cluster of variously related memories being recalled. Memory, of course, is always linked with its opposite, forgetting. Often the detail of events is fairly quickly forgotten, resulting in discontinuity and fragmentation of the original memory. Conway (1990, 128) concludes that most specific autobiographical memories are fairly unstructured and rapidly degrade, preserving knowledge of one or two micro-events and

incomplete knowledge of chronological order. Given this discussion, it would seem that Mansfield's series of image-filled, impressionistic and very loosely connected episodes in her cellular stories correspond with an actual experience of memorial recall. In the short stories each 'cell' contains bits of narrative, description and dialogue, but the cells do not constitute logically connected parts. 'In the Bay' embodies some sense of organization, since scenes occur on one day from dawn till dusk, whereas 'Prelude' gives more of the impression of a cluster of scattered memories.

Psychologists generally conceptualize the autobiographical memory knowledge base as being hierarchically structured. As already mentioned, Conway (2005, 608) conceives of the autobiographical knowledge structure as a hierarchy, from generalizations from experience at the top to specific episodic memories at the bottom. It is at the lower levels that memory is likely to become patchy, whereas the higher levels tend to be more stable. This stable aspect is reflected in Mansfield's stories not only by the recurrence of characters and places, but also through recurring themes such as the nature of children, the relations between men and women, and women's psyche. Importantly, Mansfield always avoids explicit discussion of themes; rather, all is perceived by the reader through the scenes in the cellular story, which resembles the sensory–perceptual–conceptual–affective record of episodic memories (Conway 2005, 612).

A final aspect of Mansfield's writing that can be linked to autobiographical memory recall is shifting focalization. Different parts of the stories present the points of view and thought processes of different characters. Although the autobiographical experience was lived by Katherine as a child, it is not always presented from the point of view of the Katherine child counterpart in the stories (Kezia), nor from that of Katherine as an adult. Instead, the author inhabits the different characters, presenting their perspectives and thoughts, often through interior monologue; and there are also sections of third-person impersonal description and narration by an omniscient narrator. This shift away from the perspective of the personal lived experience corresponds with a feature of autobiographical memorial recall whereby recent memories tend to be in field mode (the scene is from one's own perspective) and more distant memories may be in observer mode (the scene is viewed from the perspective of an observer self). According to studies, observer mode is also more likely when the original experience was associated with a high degree of emotion and personal significance (Nigro & Neisser 1983). The observer mode is a noticeable aspect of

reconstruction, which is a process both of memory and of the artist. It should be noted, of course, that the complexity of Mansfield's writing goes beyond autobiographical first-person field and third-person observer to encompass the hybrid form of free indirect discourse and multiple focalization, but one could well say that these so-called literary strategies are also the function of a normal remembering and imagining mind.

It appears that the functioning of Mansfield's short stories is true to the 'distortion' of memory, which is a normal memorial characteristic, such that it could be said that the stories' structural and stylistic features are analogous in some ways with the workings of autobiographical memory. With regard to the innovative writing of Mansfield's stories, I contend that these cellular stories feel so satisfying to the reader because of correspondence between the artistic form and certain psychological features of autobiographical memorial structure and recall. Having elucidated memorial features of Mansfield's writing in 'Prelude' and 'At the Bay', let us now consider their French translations (which enact literary memorial constructions in another language) and the interlingual translation process, first of all from the point of view of the translator.

A Translator's Personal Memory

Early Mansfield translators working from the 1920s onwards are probably no longer living. I was lucky, however, to be able to undertake email correspondence with and to interview the recent translator of Mansfield's *La Garden Party et autres nouvelles* (2002), Françoise Pellan.[1] *The Garden Party and Other Stories*, first published in 1922, is a collection of Mansfield short stories that contains 'At the Bay' (La Baie), the focus of discussion here. Of note is the fact that Mme Pellan had accomplished the translation 11 years before my interview with her, but she was not depending only on her memory, since she had taken notes at the time, which she consulted prior to our discussion. The following account is based on the interview with Mme Pellan and complemented by my study of her translation of 'At the Bay', in addition to an occasional comparison with the earlier translation of the story by Marthe Duproix. I trace the role of personal memory, specifically semantic memory and procedural memory, in Mme Pellan's translation work, and also adopt the distributed memory approach (van Dijck 2007; Sutton et al. 2010), which conceives of intimate relations between an individual's

cognition and their contextual and social environment. This leads to a broad examination of memory in terms of other pertinent actors, artefacts and apparatus as well as the sociocultural group of prospective readers, all of which have an impact on the production and content of the translated text.

Semantic Memory

Semantic memory is defined as the memory of conceptual and factual information. The ability of a translator is dependent in part on his or her memory of acquired knowledge of subject matter relevant to the translation task. Mme Pellan had built up knowledge of Katherine Mansfield's life, her works, writing style, context of writing and historical era over a period of time. She wrote her doctoral thesis on the novels of Virginia Woolf. It was when researching for her thesis that Mme Pellan first came across Katherine Mansfield, since she wished to familiarize herself with the literature of the period and in particular with the friends and rivals of Virginia Woolf, those gravitating around the Bloomsbury Group. At that time Mme Pellan did not hold Mansfield's writing in much esteem: for her it was inferior to Woolf's works, charming but somewhat sentimental and superficial.

At the University of Burgundy Mme Pellan taught nineteenth-, twentieth- and twenty-first-century English literature, principally novels and short stories. It was in the course of teaching Bachelor's-level classes that she came to appreciate Mansfield's writing. Her knowledge of Mansfield deepened at this time, since she read the short stories more attentively, as well as reading critical articles on Mansfield and biographies by Jeffrey Meyers, Claire Tomalin and Anthony Alpers. The enthusiasm for the stories on the part of her students contributed to Mme Pellan reconsidering her earlier judgement. This revised judgement and knowledge of Mansfield's style were further reinforced when she began translating *The Garden Party*:

> C'est en faisant cours avec mes étudiants que j'ai pris la mesure de sa virtuosité technique et stylistique, et du tragique qui est sous-jacent à l'humour. Quand j'ai commencé à traduire *La Garden Party*, mon admiration pour l'écriture de Katherine Mansfield n'a fait que croître, parce que j'ai vu le texte encore plus près.
>
> [It's through teaching the students that I came to appreciate her [Mansfield's] technical and stylistic virtuosity, and to sense the

> tragedy underlying her humour. When I began translating *The Garden Party*, my admiration for Katherine Mansfield's writing increased further, since I engaged with the text even more closely.]

When asked about the impact of her knowledge of Katherine Mansfield on translating *The Garden Party*, Mme Pellan says that it was indispensable. Before translating she also conducted additional reading and research, including reading a new edition of Mansfield's correspondence. The correspondence allowed her to understand what Mansfield was aiming to do; it allowed her to comprehend each short story in its context. Mme Pellan considers that her knowledge of Mansfield and her writing enabled her to undertake the translations in a careful manner by helping her decide between possible interpretations or certain renderings, which could also be further elucidated in the notes. An example that demonstrates this comes in references in 'At the Bay' to 'the boy' in speaking of the new baby. Here is how this is treated at the first mention:

> Bay 97. On the grass beside her, lying between two pillows, was **the boy**.
>
> C 66.[2] Près d'elle, sur la pelouse, **le petit*** était couché entre deux oreillers.

'Le petit' is an affectionate expression, meaning 'little boy'. Mme Pellan adds an endnote explaining that the Mansfield family always called Leslie, the only boy among the children, 'Boy', and that this custom is reproduced in the short story.

In total there are 33 endnotes for 'La Baie'. Their main purposes are to give explanations of words in the original text or translation, and to provide background information on Mansfield's life and writing. The notes are in fact just one aspect of the critical apparatus that Mme Pellan was commissioned to provide: the edition also includes a preface, author timeline, explanation of the genesis of the work and bibliography. Detailed knowledge of Mansfield's work was obviously necessary for this critical work. The preface, for example, comprises information on Mansfield's trajectory as a writer, the reception of her work by critics at the time, the reputation of her writing after her death, and discussion of the content and style of stories in *The Garden Party*. This translation commission involved a situation of dual agency in the form of translator and academic expert.

Apart from source-text knowledge, the literary translator also benefits from knowledge of target-language vocabulary, literature and literary style. A noticeable difference between the two translations of 'At the Bay' is the fact that the first translation by Duproix dating from 1929 (here labelled B2) uses subjunctives frequently, whereas Mme Pellan does not. Use of the subjunctive in the first translation, particularly past subjunctive tenses, may give the feeling of an earlier usage of French, potentially contributing to mirroring the 1920s English style of the original text. Here is an example:

Bay 85. As if the cold and the quiet had frightened them
B2 238. Comme si le froid et le silence les **eussent effrayés**
C 42. Comme si le froid et le silence les **avaient effrayés**

However, in the interview Mme Pellan argued that in 1920s French literary language, use of the past subjunctive was not compulsory. She cited writers such as the young Colette who had a 'lively style'. Therefore, employing subjunctive verbal forms does not necessarily reflect usage and capture the style of an older time period. The reason that Mme Pellan often avoided such verbal structures was that frequent use of them would create a heavy pedantic text, a style that is the opposite of the lightness, liveliness and ease of reading of Mansfield's writing. Here we see how the translator's knowledge of (historical) literary style is important.

A final aspect of semantic memory to be discussed is the translator's use of her autobiographical memory in undertaking the translation. Some vocabulary in the original text reflects cultural specificities and corresponding usage in New Zealand English at the time. An example is the term 'coatee' (Bay 91), referring to a garment for the baby, a term that is not used in contemporary New Zealand English. In order to find an appropriate term in French, Mme Pellan thought back to her childhood and words that were used at that time. She chose an old-fashioned term in French, 'burnous' [baby's cape] (C 53). Mme Pellan explains: 'Quand j'étais enfant les bébés avaient des burnous, mais je n'ai plus entendu ce mot depuis très longtemps' [When I was a child the babies wore 'burnous', but I haven't heard that word for a very long time].

Procedural Memory

Procedural memory is defined as knowledge of skills that is not usually articulated and is learnt from practice. The ability of a translator is also dependent on his or her acquired skill, often based on past experience of

translating. Mme Pellan had translated one book for publication prior to translating *The Garden Party*, Virginia Woolf's *To the Lighthouse*. She says that this was 'une belle école', an excellent training ground for translating Mansfield. Mme Pellan had also gained much experience in practical translation through teaching French/English translation classes at the university. She says: 'ces cours m'avais permis de me former sur le tas, pas une approche théorique mais une approche très pratique' [this teaching provided training on the job, not a theoretical approach but a very practical approach].

Practical experience led to the development of general goals for translation work. Mme Pellan considers that her experience in teaching practical translation classes had an impact on her own professional translation activities, because she maintained for herself the same standard that she required of her students; that is, a high level of accuracy and care in representing the source text in translation. Mme Pellan considers that her dual background in linguistics and literature made her attentive to both signifier and signified, to denotation and connotation, and to the sensory qualities of language and texts. Through experience and reflection, Mme Pellan has developed a general approach to literary translation that she expressed in the following words:

> Mon objectif principal [est] de permettre au lecteur francophone d'avoir page après page une expérience de lecture aussi proche que possible de celle du lecteur anglophone du texte en langue anglaise. Pour cela [je tente] d'être aussi fidèle que possible au texte source, à la signification exacte, au registre, aux connotations diverses des mots employés, mais aussi au jeu sur les sonorités et le rythme. [Je tente] de rendre tous les effets produits par le travail d'orfèvre sur le signifiant, sans pour autant trahir le signifié bien sûr.
>
> [My main goal is page after page to allow the French-language reader to have a reading experience as close as possible to that of the English-language reader reading the English text. So I try to be as faithful as possible to the source text, to the exact meaning, register, connotations of the specific words in the text, but also to the play of sounds and rhythm. I try to render all the effects produced by the subtle work on the signifier, but without betraying the signified, of course.]

This goal, however, is not easy to achieve, as Mme Pellan acknowledges, because 'on ne peut jamais rendre absolument tous les effets de sens

liés aux signifiant et signifié' [you can never render all the meanings stemming from signifier and signified]. Translation necessarily involves some forgetting and selectivity.

One aspect of the translator's skill displayed in the translation is her handling of idiolect. The representation of idiolects of characters in dialogue sections is a specific feature of Mansfield's writing that is significant not only for characterization, but also for theme. In 'At the Bay', apart from children's idiolect, the character Mrs Stubbs is particularly noticeable for her idiolect. In the interview Mme Pellan explained how rendering Mrs Stubbs's idiolect was a challenge, because variation in pronunciation is more likely to be a marker of regional provenance rather than social class in France. Her solution was to render the effect of a low level of education by elided syllables, non-standard grammar and confusion of vocabulary in the translation. Here is an example:

> Bay 103. "I've just had some new photers taken, my dear" [idiolectal 'photers']
>
> C 79. Mon p'tit, j'viens d'me faire faire des nouvelles photos. [elided syllables, 'des' is non-standard grammar here]

The Translation as a Product of Distributed Memory

An individual translator is connected in many ways with social groups and various agents, whose memory is influential in the translation work. The translation can in fact be considered to be the product of distributed memory across author, translator, other actors (persons consulted, editors), institutions (the publishing house), social groups (source and target readers), various texts (intertexts, reference works) and material and electronic agents (pen and paper, computer). Let us flesh out this schematic outline.

Memory Distributed across Translator, Author and Texts

The production of Mme Pellan's translation involves a collaboration of author and translator whereby the translator goes beyond merely translating the words of the short story to engage with and narrate elements of the author's life story. The translator thus enhances the autobiographical memorial content of the work. She does this through the critical apparatus, and notably through the translator's notes. The notes are used to link places and particularly characters of the fictional work to places, people and names from Mansfield's early life in New Zealand. We have already seen this with the earlier example of 'the boy'. Here is a

more detailed example, a translator's note that gives an explanation for the character in the short story called Jonathan Trout:

> C, 340. *Jonathan Trout*: il a pour modèle Frederick Valentine Waters, le mari d'Agnes, la sœur aînée d'Annie Beauchamp. Le nom du personnage est encore un nom familial, appartenant, comme de juste, à une 'branche rapportée'. Un missionnaire baptiste du nom de Trout avait épousé en 1814 une demoiselle Burnell de Plymouth, grand-tante d'Annie Beauchamp.
>
> [*Jonathan Trout*: this character's model is Frederick Valentine Waters, the husband of Agnes, older sister of Annie Beauchamp [Mansfield's mother]. The name of the character is also a family name, belonging appropriately to an 'added-on branch'. In 1814 a Baptist missionary called Trout had married a Miss Burnell of Plymouth, Annie Beauchamp's great aunt.]

On occasion the translator's note seems only tangentially related to the short story, as if the translator wanted to take every opportunity to link the story to Mansfield's biography. An example is where it is mentioned that the character Mrs Kember smokes, and the translator adds a note about Mansfield's smoking habit (C 342).

Very often the translator's notes feature passages from Mansfield's other writings: extracts from Mansfield's *Letters* and *Journal* serve to link the short story 'At the Bay' with autobiographical events and people; the short story is linked to draft passages in the *Journal*; and links are given between 'At the Bay' and Mansfield's earlier fictional writings ('Prelude', *The Aloe*). The translator thus enhances textual memory, since memory of an earlier text is embedded in the present one through citation and comment. Here is a note citing a 'pre-text' from Mansfield's *Journal*:

> C 339. En décembre 1920, Katherine Mansfield avait esquissé cette scène, sous le titre 'At the Bay': 'Le chien de garde sort de sa niche en traînant la lourde chaîne et lape, lape l'eau froide dans le plat de fonte. Le chat de la maison émerge on ne sait d'où et saute sur le rebord de la fenêtre de la cuisine, pour attendre la flaque de lait répandu, matinal et tiède'
>
> [In December 1920 Katherine Mansfield had sketched this scene with the title 'At the Bay': 'The house-dog comes out of his kennel dragging the heavy chain and kalop-kalops at the water standing cold in the iron pan. The house cat emerges from nowhere and bounds

> on to the kitchen window sill waiting for her spill of warm morning milk']

In the interview Mme Pellan explained why she considered the notes related to Mansfield and her work particularly important for the readership:

> Ces notes enrichissent la lecture, et on rentre un peu dans l'intimité du travail de l'auteur, le côté autobiographique de son écriture, mais évidemment aussi les transformations à partir de l'expérience réelle.
>
> [These notes enrich reading of the text; it's possible to gain access to the inner workings of the author's writing process, the autobiographical side of her writing, and of course also the transformations of real-life experience.]

With regard to other texts that the translator could have referred to and used, the first 1929 French translation of 'At the Bay' is of note. However, Mme Pellan said that referring to an earlier translation is not part of her practice. She said that she did not wish to be influenced by another translation, and it might have impeded her:

> Traduire, c'est soi devant un texte. S'il y avait un autre texte à côté, et si en plus on se disait 'moi je ne le comprends pas comme ça', il me semble que ça compliquerait beaucoup la tâche. On ne serait pas libre, pas spontanée.
>
> [Translating is yourself with a text. If there was another text as well, and if you were saying 'that's not how I understand it', I think that would complicate the task greatly. You wouldn't be free, spontaneous.]

Memory Distributed across Agents and Social Groups

The translator interacts with others in the micro-context of production of the translation, and this publishing context relates to memorial norms and practices. The power relations between translator and editor, for example, are part of the established practices of the publishing institution. Mme Pellan explained that she was invited to translate *The Garden Party* by the series editor of Folio Classique, a series from the publishing house Gallimard. The series editor had appreciated her previous translation of *To the Lighthouse* and wished to have *The Garden Party and Other Stories* in his series. He told Mme Pellan that he had read Mansfield

in English, that he would like to have this short story collection in his catalogue, and that it was time a new translation was done. But Mme Pellan does not think he had considered the quality of the first translation of the work published by Stock. The series editor gave Mme Pellan guidance concerning the critical apparatus that she was to produce in conformity with the norms of the Folio Classique series.

Choices made in the translation of a text depend on the translator's knowledge and experience. Personal memory is, however, never really individual (Halbwachs 1952 [1925]). The translator has absorbed attitudes and normative practices from various social groups in the community to which he or she belongs, and these norms are part of the groups' memory. Norms and preferences for how translation should be done are built up over time and are a group memorial phenomenon, thus Mme Pellan's goals in undertaking translations are not only individual. Prior to undertaking the translation, the series editor did not give Mme Pellan any instructions as to how the translation should be done. However, it is likely that the preferences and exigencies of the teaching institution noted earlier ('a high level of accuracy and care in representing the source text in translation') are also the preferences of the publishing house. In other words, a social nexus supporting normative notions influences the translation in a largely unspoken manner.

Further individual agents were involved in influencing the translation text. Mme Pellan recounted that in accordance with her goal to convey the semantic nuances of Mansfield's text accurately, when she encountered phrases whose meaning seemed unclear to her, she consulted a colleague who was a native speaker of English. She sent her colleague lists of queries by email. In this way Mme Pellan tapped into the semantic and procedural memory of a colleague. For some queries the colleague was quite sure on the choice of interpretation, but in other cases not. With regard to the publishing house, an agent who had some influence on the translation was the copy editor. The copy editor proposed some spelling changes in conformity with the norms of the publishing house. The only area where the copy editor's influence was significant was the notes: Mme Pellan was enjoined to reduce both the quantity of notes and the length of the notes she had submitted. The policy of the Folio Classique series is that there should be factual notes that compensate for the potential lack of knowledge of French-language readers. Notes of this kind that Mme Pellan provided were accepted. However, as already mentioned, the kind of note that Mme Pellan was particularly keen on providing incorporated biographical explanations and citations of other Mansfield writings. Much to Mme Pellan's disappointment, a number of

these notes were shortened and some deleted; the original text of the notes was reduced by about one fifth. The copy editor had to make sure that the book complied with the norms of the series, and there was to be a fixed maximum number of pages. As Mme Pellan commented, the series editor also has to bow to constraints:

> Le directeur de la collection est un fin littéraire, professeur et grand spécialiste de Proust, mais il est tenu lui-même par les normes de la maison.
>
> [The series editor has a great knowledge of literature, he's a professor and well-known specialist on Proust, but he himself is constrained by the norms of the publishing house.]

The final approval for publication of the book contents – the title of the work, the translation and the critical apparatus – was given by the series editor. The whole set-up of normative procedures, book publication rules and normative interpersonal relations in the publishing context has been established over years and the translator as agent therefore interacts with other agents in a social memorial context.

Cultural Memory and Readership

An important group of people in the social context of interaction is the readership. The readership is of course kept in mind during translation; for example, their assumed level of knowledge influenced Mme Pellan's critical apparatus. Part of a translator's competence is expert knowledge of the collective cultural memory of both source and target contexts: the complex cultural storehouses of publicly available symbols, rituals, representations, narratives and cultural meanings that may be partially shared or quite different for source and target audiences. As a bicultural person, the translator may make the decision to compensate for perceived differences in cultural memory between source and target readership groups by adding explanations. Mme Pellan added notes to explain culture-specific items such as New Zealand and Australian cultural items, botanical references, geographical references and linguistic expressions. Here is an example:

> C 344. Pawa ou paua: mot maori désignant un mollusque comestible à coquille iridescente proche de l'ormeau.
>
> [Maori word designating an edible mollusc with an iridescent shell similar to the abalone]

With regard to Mansfield's source-text readership, it should be said that this shell is very well known to Australasian readers, and certainly evokes cultural resonances linked to Maori tradition and how the shell is used in traditional Maori artefacts. Other English-language readers will be less well informed. Thus, 'cultural memories' of 'source' and 'target' readers are rather gross categories, since in reality they encompass much diversity. One may also wonder to what extent compensation for complex networks of cultural meanings is possible; Mme Pellan's note about pawa provides a basic understanding of the foreign word, and acts as an invitation to the reader to enter further into the world of the short story.

Mme Pellan recounted that after publication of the book, she received feedback from readers who had written to Gallimard or the University of Burgundy to say that they had appreciated reading the short stories and had found the critical apparatus useful. There were favourable reviews in Swiss, Belgian and French newspapers; discussion was about the art of Katherine Mansfield, and rarely was specific mention made of translation. But of course, Mansfield's art about which the critics were talking was the art as conveyed by the translator. It is likely that readers' preferences regarding translation fit with both those of the publisher and the translator mentioned earlier, thus creating normative consensus among human agents and institutions. This is the memory of the definition of what an acceptable literary translation is, a definition built up but also transforming over time in conjunction with present social and literary circumstances.

Some Non-Organic Elements in Memory Distribution

Materiality and technology are also part of the translator's agential and memorial working context: books and computers are repositories of individually and socially constructed memory, which the translator draws on and which have an impact on the translator's work. Pen and paper serve to record our ideas for later reference, thus writing is an external memory tool. The computer also provides tools that supplement human skills. It is interesting, then, to consider to what extent non-human agency participates in the distribution of memory; to what extent media are an 'extension of man', as Marshall McLuhan (1964) said, with regard to translation activity.

For translating *The Garden Party*, Mme Pellan recounted that she had recourse to a number of reference works: English dictionaries, French dictionaries, English grammar books, French grammar books, the *Encyclopedia Universalis* and the King James Bible. She did not use any internet resources. The process of producing the translation consisted

of three main stages. Mme Pellan did the initial draft translation with pen and paper, and the second lengthy stage of revising, checking and polishing was also done with pen and paper. The third stage consisted of typing the translation on the computer to produce an electronic version; in the course of typing up the translation she made a few further changes to the text. Despite only using the computer at a late stage, Mme Pellan acknowledges the great usefulness for translators of word-processing features such as 'cut and paste', as well as 'find', which allows the translator to check how he or she had previously translated words and phrases that are repeated later in the text.

The medial 'extension of woman' in this case is particularly in the form of reference books that contain memory of the languages and encyclopaedic knowledge, and thus complement the translator's own personal memory. Pen and paper are a material extension, and the computer has an important role too, in that word-processing features may help the translator to achieve the goal of producing an 'ideal translation'. The 'find' function allows the translator to check on aspects of the translation with which human memory would not be able to cope; generally our minds are not able to retain the exact points of a long text at which particular expressions re-occur. Computer memory thus enhances human memory. However, as will be explored in the next chapter, computer memory is generally of limited use in literary translation as compared with non-literary translation, due to the high level of creative use of language in literary texts.

A range of different modes and agents of memory has contributed to producing the translation. As a final word in this section, it should be said that Mme Pellan's 2002 translation of 'At the Bay' has served to deepen the understanding and enriched the memory of Mansfield and her writing in the French-speaking cultural sphere. It is a useful addition to or replacement of the first 1929 translation, which is sometimes less careful in its translation of detail and has no didactic function, as it is not a critical edition. Having focused on the translator of one short story, let us now look more closely at the translations of the two short stories.

Literary Memorial Co-constructions

As mentioned in Chapter 1, Deane-Cox (2013) has elaborated the idea of the translator as a 'secondary witness'. The concept of 'secondary witness' from the field of Holocaust memory studies refers to a person who listens to a Holocaust survivor's oral testimony with empathy and

helps to record, store and transmit that memory (Deane-Cox 2013, 310). Deane-Cox conceives the interlingual translator of Holocaust memoir texts as also being a secondary witness. She enjoins the translator of Holocaust memoirs to pay careful attention to the expression of traumatic experience apparent in the text, such as particular emphases and specific choices of words, since according to Deane-Cox the translator's ethical duty is to preserve and transmit the nuances of the survivor's memorial account. The notion of the translator as 'secondary witness', as being a guardian of the 'contours of memory' (Deane-Cox 2013, 322), could also be applied to other types of memorial account such as Mansfield's autobiographically based short stories. In evaluating French translations of Mansfield's short stories, Gerri Kimber finds that, with the exception of Charles Mauron's translation (1939) of the collection *In a German Pension*, 'successful translations of Mansfield's fiction which would accurately reveal both her artistry and her personal philosophy have yet to be written' (2008, 179). So, according to Kimber, it seems that Mansfield's translators may have generally been poor secondary witnesses.

However, earlier I pointed out the difference between memory as a set of neurocognitive traces; the experience of recall; and representation of memory in various modes such as written or oral accounts. I argued in the first part of the case study that Mansfield's writing style seems to imitate features of memory structure and recall experience. However, as a representation it cannot be exactly the same as memory recall. The choice of words to describe a mental memory image inevitably highlights aspects of the image at the expense of others, and words may bring with them meaning associations that were not part of the original memory impression (Cubitt 2007, 97). Representations necessarily exclude memorial elements and may even obstruct memories. This thinking is commonly adopted by psychoanalysts; Freud famously elaborated the concept of 'screen memories', whereby childhood memories are 'screened' by images in accounts that have analogies with the original event but also disguise it (Whitehead 2009, 91). If we say that the translator as secondary witness should be a guardian of memory or recall (as distinct from representation), the act of guardianship may well entail attention/faithfulness to what is *not* said in the original text.

In my approach I will take up the Freudian notion that linguistic slips in an account can be revealing in terms of unspoken memorial elements (Whitehead 2009, 89), thus apparent miscomprehensions or shifts in meaning or style in the translations are potentially useful. Rather than the notion of guardianship, I would like to emphasize the secondary

witness's role as co-constructor of the account: the secondary witness as listener, receiver and facilitator is a necessary and active figure in the construction of the memorial account (Deane-Cox 2013, 311). What occurs is a kind of shared witnessing. In the same way we can conceive of author and translator as co-constructors of the past created in the literary depiction; from this point of view the source text and translation jointly construct textual meanings. A translation theorist who has explored the notion of jointly reading source and target texts of a literary work is Marilyn Gaddis Rose (1997). Rose promotes the combined study of original text and translation, because the study of these closely related texts enriches understanding of the literary work through the meanings and resonances evoked in the 'interliminal' space between the texts. As she says (1997, 7): 'this interliminality is the gift translation gives to readers of literature'.

I have at my disposal two French translations of each short story, 'Prelude' and 'At the Bay' (Mansfield 1992 [1936], 2002, 2006a, b). This is useful, since in some cases it is the contrast between the two French translations of a story that is revealing. I focus specifically on the evolving feelings of a central character in the two stories, Linda Burnell, who is based on Mansfield's mother, Annie Beauchamp (née Burnell Dyer). With regard to Mansfield's depiction of her mother in the short stories, some basic features seem to accord with autobiographical factuality: Mansfield biographer Anthony Alpers writes that Annie Beauchamp did not 'handle babies', who were looked after by the grandmother, Mrs Dyer, and the household of servants; he notes that Annie was the 'the delicate wife of a hearty husband' and that, according to sources, she had little affection for the young Katherine (Alpers 1980, 3, 9, 13). In later life, Annie Beauchamp certainly disapproved of the adult Katherine's bohemian ways and cut her daughter out of her will. However, both parties seem to have mellowed as time went on, when the rebellious Katherine became nostalgic for her New Zealand past (Alpers 1980, 94). Through memorial and literary reconstruction, Mansfield has endowed the mother character with a singular sign of ambivalence, in particular ambivalence in feelings towards her husband and her children. The two stories happen at different chronological times, 'Prelude' taking place earlier. This is easily divined by the fact that in 'Prelude' Linda Burnell, the mother figure, has three children, three girls, whereas in 'At the Bay' she also has a new baby boy. With regard to ambivalence, there is a different focus in each story: it is ambivalence towards her husband that comes to the fore in 'Prelude', whereas ambivalence towards her children is more prominent in 'At the Bay'. There is also

a development in Linda's feelings from the first to the second story. A co-constructive study combines the conceptions of author (which I have just described briefly) and translators, comparing the French renderings of particular words, phrases and sentences in the two translations with each other and with the original English text.

Co-constructive Examples

Whether choices of expression were deliberate or not, there are various types of case where Mansfield and the French translators can be said to co-construct features of the memorial mother character's behaviour and feelings. The choice of a more banal or standard French expression may highlight the unusualness and particular connotations of the corresponding English expression that convey complexity of feelings. This occurs with respect to Linda's ambivalence towards her husband, Stanley Burnell. In the following passage, 'curled her fingers into the hand' is a very unusual expression in English that evokes an action of much less decisiveness than the much more standard French expression for which a back-translation would be 'thrust her fingers into the big red hand':

> Prelude 46. This is a wretched time for you, old boy, she [Linda] said. Her cheeks were very white, but she smiled and **curled her fingers into the big red hand** she held. Burnell became quiet.
>
> A^3 28. C'est un moment pénible [B 28 un vilain moment] pour toi, mon chéri, dit-elle. Ses joues étaient pâles, mais elle sourit et **enfonça ses doigts dans la grosse main rouge** qu'elle tenait. Burnell se calma.

A less common situation is where it is the English expression that is unmarked, whereas the French is marked. The unusual French expression draws attention to the significant banality of the original, as in the following:

> Prelude 60. I'm so confoundedly happy, he [Stanley] said.
> '**Are you?**' She [Linda] turned and put her hands on his breast and looked up at him.
>
> A 45/B 47. Je suis si ridiculement heureux! dit-il.
> **L'es-tu**? Elle se retourna, posa ses mains sur la poitrine de Burnell et leva les yeux sur lui.

In this extract the common English question tag takes on a particular significance in the light of the more unusual and intense French

'l'es-tu?' Stanley's simple and straightforward feelings are contrasted with Linda's much more complex, self-questioning sentiments.

Another type of case is where different renderings of words or phrases in the two translations serve to highlight the ambiguity or ambivalence of the expression in the original text. An example is the word 'dear'. The English word is ambiguous as to the level of strength of affection expressed. In one use of the term as a vocative in 'At the Bay' (90), the first translation is 'mon ami' [my friend] (B 246) and the second 'mon chéri' [my darling] (C 52). A more interesting and extreme case of ambiguity occurs with the expression 'oh, dear!' Stanley has just returned home from work in the evening and is covering Linda's face in kisses. Linda is not fond of the way Stanley is all over her like a puppy:

> Prelude 59. **'Oh, dear! Oh, dear!'** said she. 'Wait a moment [. . .]
> A 44. **Oh! chéri! chéri!**, dit-elle, attends un instant [. . .]
> B 46. **Oh! là, là! chéri**, dit-elle; attends un instant [. . .]

The second French translation expresses the potential for ambiguity of the original expression, which conveys Linda's ambiguity of feeling. 'Oh dear!' can be a slightly negative expression of worry or upset, or the 'dear' can be the vocative of affection. The second French translation opts for both: 'Oh dear! darling' (back-translation).

The co-constructive space of possibilities created by the juxtaposition of original and translations can make the reader of the original aware of potential secondary meanings of which he/she would not otherwise have been aware, and in our case can reinforce the sign of ambivalence under which Linda is portrayed. Linda imagines that things (they) come alive:

> Prelude 51. They listened, they seemed to swell out with some mysterious important **content**
>
> A 35/B 35. Ils écoutaient, ils semblaient s'enfler de quelque **contentement** mystérieux et important

As a native speaker of English, my only interpretation of 'content', given the collocation 'important content', would have been 'that which it contains'. The French translation of 'content' to mean happiness, normally considered a mistranslation, alerts one to this possible semantic resonance. Swelling evokes a central symbol in 'Prelude', the aloe plant,[4] described as a 'fat swelling plant' (56), which further calls forth the notions of fertility and pregnancy. The double attitudinal valency of 'content' as neutral (or slightly negative and frightening in the context)

and as positive therefore could link to Linda's ambivalence towards motherhood. Thus, a linguistic slip may be useful in constructing access to a richer memorial conception of the character.

There is one scene in 'Prelude' in which Linda's ambivalence towards her husband is the most explicitly expressed. It is night; Linda and her mother go into the garden to look at the aloe plant. It is a very large, strong plant growing on a grass 'island' on the drive leading up to the house. The plant has 'thick grey-green thorny leaves' with a 'tall stout stem' (56) in the middle. The plant represents femininity through its fleshiness, and also strength and independence through its strong tallness and the spikes that border the leaves; it represents a healing life-symbol and liberation. The scene is bathed in mystical bright moonlight. Linda imagines that the aloe is a ship on which she is escaping; the thorns will deter anyone from following her. At this moment she has a stark realization of the ambivalence of her feelings towards her husband: she both loves and hates him. There are several cases where the co-construction enacted by the group of texts underscores the character's struggle with her sentiments. In the first half of the scene in Mansfield's text the actual name of Linda's husband, Stanley, is not mentioned. Instead, he is referred to as 'my Newfoundland dog' (72) and by pronouns 'he' and 'him'. The dog metaphor is continued with reference to him barking and jumping at her, which she dislikes. The lack of name mention includes the moment of epiphany. In one of the French translations of that sentence, however, the name occurs. This makes one wonder about its absence in the English for the whole passage; it seems to display Linda's difficulty in admitting and facing up to her feelings towards her husband.

> Prelude 72. For all her love and respect and admiration she hated **him**.
>
> A 61. Avec tout son amour, son respect et son admiration pour **lui**, elle le détestait.
>
> B 65. Avec tout son amour, son respect et son admiration pour **Stanley**, elle le détestait.

A central scene with regard to Linda's feelings towards motherhood occurs in 'At the Bay' when Linda is sitting on a chaise longue under a yellow-flowering manuka tree. Sleeping beside her on the grass between two pillows is her baby boy. Linda daydreams about her girlhood and her close relationship to her father, then reflects on her life now: her

marriage to Stanley whom she loves but who is also a burden. Her main grudge is that she is 'broken, made weak' through child-bearing; she lives in 'dread of having children' (Bay 98). The French rendering of 'dread' as 'la terreur' (B 259/C 68) adds a greater strength of feeling and additional connotations. In the subsequent passage, there is an unusual syntactical arrangement in the English; the comma after 'was' seems to represent a hiccup, a pause where Linda has some difficulty in thinking what comes next. The French translations, in contrast, present normalized smooth syntax. The co-construction of odd and smooth in the ensemble of versions mirrors the unclarity of Linda's feelings; indeed, shortly after the admission in the following, she confesses a tinge of affection towards the baby boy:

> Bay 98. And what made it doubly hard to bear was, she didn't love her children.
>
> B 259. Et, ce qui rendait la chose deux fois plus dure à supporter, c'était qu'elle n'aimait pas ses enfants.
>
> C 68. Et ce qui rendait la chose doublement difficile à supporter, c'est qu'elle n'aimait pas ses enfants.
>
> [What made the thing doubly hard to bear was that she didn't love her children.]

Linda displays a general ambivalence to life, and it is the combined play of original and translations that can further point this up and prompt interesting reflections. Linda's psyche seems to be closely linked to nature. The aloe is described as being 'high above them, as though **becalmed** in the air' (Prelude 56). In translation A this becomes 'bien au-dessus d'elles, comme **à l'abri** de l'atmosphère' (41), and in translation B 'calme et haute, **baignant dans** l'atmosphère' (43). The different French senses of 'sheltering from' (A) and 'bathing in' (B) the atmosphere evoke Linda's simultaneous fearfulness and confidence with regard to life.

'Prelude' brings no resolution to Linda's internal turmoil. In this story Linda is shown to be constantly aware of imprisonment within a life that she partly wants and partly rejects (Fulbrook 1986, 77). In 'Prelude', as Hankin (1983, 135) says: 'for the dilemma of the emotionally ambivalent women whose social destiny is marriage, Katherine Mansfield can provide no answer'. As the chronologically later story, it could be expected that some sort of resolution might occur in 'At the Bay'. Indeed, an answer in the way of a philosophy of life is provided near

the beginning of this story through reflections of the character Jonathan Trout, Linda's brother-in-law (88). Again, nature is of prime symbolic importance, specifically the sea, which is depicted as an immense rocking expanse. Jonathan has been bathing in the sea and it is the breaking of the waves on the shore that inspires his idea that just as the sea comes and goes, so must we accept and not fight against the ebb and flow of life.

In the early part of 'At the Bay' Linda does not yet come to any proper realization of Jonathan's philosophy. She is still struggling, and this is conveyed in the scene when she is sitting on the chaise longue under the manuka tree. She feels that she is a victim of life:

> Bay 97. Along came Life like a wind and she was seized and shaken; **she had to go**.
>
> B 258. La Vie s'en venait pareille au vent; elle était saisie, secouée; **elle était forcée de fuir**.
>
> C 67. La Vie faisait irruption comme un coup de vent, s'emparait d'elle et la secouait; **il fallait y aller**.

The differing translations of 'she had to go' explicitly construct Linda's undecided emotions: is she fleeing from life (first translation) or is she being carried along by life (second translation)?

Finally, during Jonathan Trout's visit to Linda, there is a moment when she seems to be at ease, she accepts her life and the ebb and flow of its ambivalence. The sun is setting and there are silver beams of light shining through the clouds. Linda reflects on how sometimes the beams of light were terrible to her as they reminded her of God as a terrifying and vengeful Almighty. But tonight she feels a positive force in the beams:

> Bay 111. to-night it seemed to Linda there was something infinitely joyful and loving in those silver beams. And now no sound came from the sea. **It** breathed softly as if it would draw that tender, joyful beauty into its own bosom.
>
> B 279. ce soir-là, il semblait à Linda qu'il y avait quelque chose d'infiniment joyeux et tendre dans ces rayons d'argent. Aucun bruit maintenant ne venait de la mer. **Elle** respirait doucement, comme si elle eût voulu attirer dans son sein toute cette beauté tendre et joyeuse.

> C 93. ce soir, les rayons d'argent avaient pour Linda quelque chose d'infiniment joyeux et aimant. Et plus aucun bruit ne parvenait de la mer. **Elle** respirait doucement comme si elle voulait absorber en son sein cette beauté tendre et joyeuse.

The sea is a multiple signifier representing life (birth) and death (destruction), beauty and terror, timelessness, a unifying force, women; and the reference to the sea naturally recalls Jonathan Trout's philosophy inspired by the breaking waves on the sea shore. The third sentence in English is noticeably anthropomorphic, with the sea being said to breathe and having a bosom. In French 'it' becomes 'elle' due to the feminine gender of 'la mer', the sea. Since 'elle' equally can mean 'she', this sentence could be referring either to the sea or to Linda; indeed, because of the anthropomorphism the French reader may take 'elle' to refer to Linda. In addition, the word for 'sea' in French, 'mer', is homophonic with 'mère', meaning 'mother'. The confounding of Linda with the sea in our co-constructed reading signals that Linda is at one with nature and the complexities of life. This message is beautifully displayed in the bilingual textual play, thus affording readers of the ensemble of texts a particular insight into the character's experience. Mansfield specialist Hankin provides a similar interpretation about the themes of 'At the Bay'. In a story that depicts how humans are divided between a longing to explore the dimensions of life and a fear to leave the known and familiar, between aspiration to freedom from family ties yet emotional dependence on them, Mansfield provides an answer of acceptance of these dualisms that is symbolized by a mysterious unity of the natural and human orders (Hankin 1983, 233).

Overall the textual co-construction is shown to underline the central quality of ambivalence of feeling of the mother character, which is the distillation of Mansfield's memorial/literary conception. Reading the translations, which display variations and sometimes perceived shortcomings, in conjunction with the original texts brings to light subtleties of characterization and themes, and thus may reveal what Mansfield was trying to do according to Hanson and Gurr; that is, to write the 'finer sort of memory which can best discover the ideal essence of experience, obscured in the confusion of immediate impressions and perceptions' (Hanson & Gurr 1981, 16). Of course, it has to be acknowledged that co-construction involves not only author and translators, but importantly readers of these texts, including myself. Just as in the stories Mansfield reconstructed her past, often in order to provide meaningful insights on life, readers constantly reconstruct the author's original

works and translations through their interpretations. The study has shown that adopting a co-constructive approach through reading (multiple) translated versions of a literary text in conjunction with the source text as a textual ensemble can contribute to enriching interpretation of the memorial reconstructions of the work(s).

Adopting a memory approach in this case study has allowed us to investigate analogies between the author's writing style and autobiographical memorial recall; to trace the role of the translator's personal memory as well as distributed memory in the production of a translation; and to highlight the enhancement of meanings produced by reading the co-constructive ensemble of source text and translations. The translations participate in the reiterative nature of memory and products of memory. As Astrid Erll (2009, 111) says, events, people and cultural products (such as Katherine Mansfield and her stories) only remain in cultural memory through repeated representations over time, often in different genres, media and languages. The translations as well as other writings, including this chapter itself, produce new versions and renewed understandings of Mansfield and her works such that the memory of the stories and their author is propelled forwards in time.

3
Group Memory and Electronic Memory

The two types of memory that are the focus of this chapter are group memory and electronic memory. A scholar whom we have already mentioned, Maurice Halbwachs, is a major figure with regard to the concept of group memory. In the early twentieth century Halbwachs (1952 [1925]) theorized convincingly the social aspect of memory: society is made up of groups and each social group can be thought of as consisting of a number of members who share memory involving past events as well as normative thinking and habitual current practices that have developed over time. It was Halbwachs who coined the term 'collective memory' ('mémoire collective'). The main groups with which Halbwachs was concerned were family, religious group, professional group and social class group, but the term 'collective memory' can also be applied to larger groups, notably the nation-state. Some theorists warn about extrapolating the concept 'memory' (which originally concerned the individual's brain) to a social group in an over-simplistic manner. Particular worries are using psychoanalytic terminology to characterize a group, and reifying group memory as an abstract faculty, a fixed thing or a social fact. Even if members of society reify memory, according to Olick (2003, 6) the researcher should avoid this conception and, through recognizing the fluid, processual nature of memory, treat it as 'mnemonic practices', ideological projects and practices of people in particular settings. Similarly, Cubitt (2007, 18) conceptualizes memory as a matter of continuous interactive exchanges within the group that over time produce effects in human consciousness. For the purposes of this study, I prefer to combine the concepts of thing and process in the idea that at certain points in time we can speak of knowledge, beliefs and attitudes constituting memory that are constructed through processes and are subject to ongoing processes and change.

A group is made up of individuals, and the relationship between individual and social group is dialectical: the social group memory consisting of knowledge of the past, norms, practices and attitudes influences the individual's thinking and actions (Halbwachs 1952 [1925]), and the individual for his or her part interacting with other individuals contributes to the maintenance and development of that group memory through reuse and modified enactment of the group norms. Individuals belong in fact to many different social groups. One reason for modification in a particular group memory of the past and memorial practices is contact with alternative ideas due to the multiplicity of groups with which individual group members associate. It should also be noted that social groups today are not so bounded and fixed as in Halbwachs's time: a large amount of migrational and touristic movement as well as worldwide connection through electronic means has led to potentially greater flexibility of groups in both membership constitution and thought patterns. Group memory and knowledge are passed on to the new generation and across generations not only through verbal interaction, but also by means of memorial externalization such as rituals, objects, monuments and official documents. Various types of organizational structures such as meeting places also play a role in memory transmission (Cubitt 2007, 120).

In our context we are concerned with groups of translators who are linked together by evolving group memory of shared ideas relating to shared practices. Although the professional translator may often be thought of as a fairly isolated individual, this is in fact far from being the case. Translators across the ages have been associated in more or less tightly connected groups. There are famous historical examples of collaborative translation, even 'schools' of translation. In the early centuries of the common era Buddhist scriptures were translated from Sanskrit into classical Chinese by teams of foreign and Chinese monk translators. In the ninth and tenth centuries Baghdad was a hugely ambitious centre of translation and numerous Greek scientific and philosophical texts were translated into Arabic; then in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries Toledo became a prolific centre of translation where the Graeco-Arabic scientific and philosophical heritage was transmitted by means of translation into Latin and Spanish. In both Baghdad and Toledo collaborative translation was practised, either by tandem teams or in the mode of a principal translator with anonymous assistants (Delisle & Woodsworth 1995, 120, 126, 185). Contemporary technologies have created extraordinary possibilities for collaborative translation: collaborative translation platforms in a cloud-based environment allow

project managers, translators and proofreaders to log in to the same system at the same time, sharing electronic resources and communicating via platform communication features. Real-time communication and simultaneous working of all parties shorten the life cycle of the project (Kelly et al. 2011). Considering translation as a group phenomenon does not necessarily entail the idea of two or more translators working on the same translation. It can mean, among other things, translators working for a common company or agency; professional associations or networks of translators; translators following shared social norms of a certain place and era regarding translation (see Toury 1995); or a sub-group of translators identifying with a particular specialization or ideology.

Some groupings of translators are formal, such as in-house translators working for a business or organization. An example of the more formal type of group, translators of the Directorate General for Translation at the European Commission, will be examined in Chapter 7. Many other groups are fairly informal, and examples of such groups are the focus of this chapter. With regard to informal groups, a relevant notion is that of 'community of practice'. This notion, first proposed by Etienne Wenger, places emphasis on the idea that informal communities may be created based on regular interaction and shared practices. Mutual engagement in the form of interaction in discussion and in the activities of a joint enterprise as understood and continually renegotiated by members creates a social entity. There are no fixed boundaries of the community of practice: membership comprises whoever participates in and contributes to practice, and people may participate in different ways and to different degrees. Collective learning from the experience of discussion and activities produces a shared repertoire of practices, knowledge and communal resources (attitudes, approaches, routines, artefacts, vocabulary, styles etc.) that members have developed over time. Communities are of course affected by evolving outside circumstances and constraints: since members develop practices that reflect their own response to these external influences, these are fundamentally self-organizing systems (Wenger 1998). Communities of practice may form among a group of individuals working within a more formal structure such as a business organization, or they may straddle formal structures. Generally the operation of the community of practice is based on peer-to-peer interaction, which contrasts with the more hierarchical structure typical of formal institutions. Of course, individuals may identify with multiple communities at any given time, as well as with other types of social structure (Wenger 2010).

A community persists because participation, and the collective production of knowledge and practices, is useful and of interest and value to its members. Various developmental stages of the community from its creation to its eventual dissolution involve memory. These are the 'coalescing' stage, when members build a common understanding of the community's aims and principles, and remember this understanding; the 'active' stage, when members engage actively in joint activities, maintaining strong commitment to the group, creating artefacts and developing shared practices that become a part of communal memory; the 'dispersed' stage, when members no longer engage very intensely, but the community is still alive as a centre of past and evolving knowledge and practices; and the 'memorable' stage, when the community is no longer active, but is remembered as a significant part of people's identities (Wenger 1998).

Most social groups today use electronic means for creating a public group presence (such as websites, blogs and social media profiles), as well as for communication purposes. Electronic memory, which is a prerequisite for use of software, email and the internet, has become a fundamental part of contemporary life, and in many professions the use of electronic tools and resources is now an obligatory feature. Certainly this is the case for translators. I have already touched on the relationship between organic and non-organic agency and memory in the previous chapter, and will now take the discussion further. Although 'agency' has often been considered as requiring intentionality, if its meaning is defined rather as 'exerting an influence in the world' (Kinnunen & Koskinen 2010, 7), then agency can be extended to material objects, including not only machines and computers but other media such as books. For Andrew Pickering (1995), humans are entangled with the non-human, as humans embody their intentionality in the material in the form of expectations of performance by the machine, which exerts its own not fully predictable agency. With regard to memory, van Dijck (2007, 49) argues persuasively that memories are mediated through functions of body and mind, technology and materiality, and social practices and forms. Take for example a photograph of a past event in a person's life: the person has a memory of the event in their mind, but the photograph may influence the person's recall, and photography is also a socially defined practice that may shape the content and use of the photograph, and thus the memory as both individual and shared. In this outlook agency and memory are distributed across mind, media and society, and thus it is important to examine the role of machines and electronic memory as part of our study.

The case studies in the chapter were chosen because they show two contrasting types of informal groups of translators that have different relations to both electronic memory and group memory. I first discuss an internet-based community of freelance, primarily technical translators, the proz.com community, focusing on members' relations with electronic memory devices. The second group to be examined is literary translators who identify as feminist or as using feminist translation strategies. I examine to what extent they link back to the founders and the early translational strategies of this activist branch of translation practice.

Proz.commers

Proz.com was founded in 1999. The date is significant, since it was from the year 2000 that the flexibility and capacity of the internet expanded greatly. For this community internet technology and thus electronic memory were founding conditions, such that it could be designated an electronic community of practice. The proz.com site is currently the most popular portal in the translation industry, with about 724,000 registered users from around the world. Proz.com has been built on guiding principles and a mission statement, which constitute its memorial foundation. The mission of proz.com is to 'provide tools and opportunities that translators, translation companies and others in the language industry use to (1) network (2) expand their business (3) improve their work and (4) have more fun' (proz.com). The guiding principles of the community are enumerated on the website. A 'collaborative spirit', 'camaraderie through working together', 'respect, fairness and professionalism', 'results-oriented collaboration for mutual benefit', 'customizability of site functions in accordance with individual needs' and 'translators being at the heart of a meeting-place for all players in the translation industry' are key principles. Another is that the community is 'open and welcoming'. Indeed, there are different kinds of participation and levels of engagement, as befits the loose boundaries of a community of practice that has a fluid core–periphery type of internal structure. Participants include salaried employees, paying members (whose fees finance the group), volunteer moderators, non-paying users and passing visitors.

The proz.com community engages in a range of activities. As well as important individual-focused activities (notably, individuals finding work through the job-posting system), there are a number of collective activities. These consist of the Kudoz network, in which translators

ask questions about problems of translating terminology and phrases, and other translators reply; conferences, training sessions, powwows (informal get-togethers of translators living in close proximity); the Blue Board, where members post feedback on clients for the benefit of other translators; translation contests; a mentoring programme; a translation industry wiki constituting a knowledge base; a discussion forum on issues relevant to translators, such as 'getting established' or 'subtitling'; Glosspost, a collectively established set of translation glossaries and dictionaries; group buying of software to obtain cheaper prices; and a network of screened translation professionals called proz.com Certified PRO network (a subset of the wider community). The community administration has a nifty means for encouraging informal collaboration among members: points are awarded to contributors on the Kudoz network, and translators are ordered hierarchically in the directory of freelance translators in accordance with the number of points obtained. It seems to me that many members also enjoy engaging in spontaneous collaboration and contact: an examination of the discussion forums reveals that community members interact a great deal, get to know each other, share information and opinions, engage in debate with each other and support novice translators. All the site activity builds a sense of community and produces a repertoire of practices, knowledge and communal resources that are archived, storing community memory; there are, for example, searchable archives of discussion forum posts and Kudoz questions. One of the community principles is that proz.com 'believes in reuse': site users are encouraged to check the archives before approaching the community for assistance. The community is continually enhancing its website-based services in response to members' needs and feedback, and it claims an innovative role in the translation industry:

> Having invented services such as Kudoz, the Blue Board, powwows and much more, the Proz.com community has already redefined what it means to be a translator – the profession is more collaborative, more efficient and more fun than it was before this site existed.

And the site leaders consider that 'there is much more participants can do together in the future' (proz.com). In terms of Wenger's (1998) community development stages, proz.com is certainly in the 'active stage'.

Proz.commers' Attitudes towards Electronic Memory Devices

What I propose to investigate further with regard to the proz.com community is the discussion forum function, and in particular community

member discussions on the topic of electronic memory devices. Today electronic tools are generally an indispensable feature of the professional translator's work. When we depart from literary translation to consider technical translation, the usefulness of computer memory becomes salient, since in contrast to literary translation, technical translation involves a significant level of standardization of lexis and phrases and their equivalents in other languages, which are repeated and reused across different texts. This type of language use lends itself to computerized treatment. Translators use CAT (computer-assisted translation) tools, of which the most universal are translation memory (TM) tools. A translation memory is a database of previous renderings of phrases and sentences, which can be built up from translation work undertaken by an individual translator or a group of translators working together. When a translator is translating a new text and encounters a phrase in the source text that is the same or similar to previously translated phrases, the CAT tool will retrieve the earlier translation for reuse, thus saving the translator from translating and typing from scratch. Use is thus made of 'legacy translations'.

The process using translation memory (TM) is to be distinguished from machine translation (MT), where typically an entire text is translated by a computer program and the translator corrects or tidies the translation subsequently, a process known as 'post-editing'. A distinction needs to be made between free online machine translation, which is often ridiculed for anomalous results, and professional machine translation systems, which can produce good results due to expert customization and use. Statistical machine translation is thus likely to expand in the coming years. The statistical machine translation process is based on the statistical likelihood of the source-text sentence being translated by a particular target-text sentence, and the statistical likelihood of the target rendering being considered natural in the target language. To work out such likelihood, prior analysis of a large electronic database of original texts in the source language in conjunction with their corresponding translations in the target language is necessary, as well as analysis of original texts in the target language. Although statistical machine translation algorithms were known since the mid-twentieth century, they were not able to be exploited usefully till the 2000s, since previously there was not enough electronic data available to work out the statistical probabilities. The capacity of electronic memory and the internet today allows huge quantities of electronic texts to be produced, stored, circulated and manipulated, and thus statistical machine translation has become a viable prospect. Results are particularly successful when the input data for statistical analysis and use is customized; that

is, it is highly appropriate to the text type and subject matter of the text being translated. Quality remains variable depending on language pair. Machine translation results always require revision in order to bring them to a high-quality standard, but it is certain that in many cases the combination of machine and human editor is the most useful solution for some large business translation needs (Byrne & Morgan 2013). It is even likely that in the future the profession of technical translator may well be replaced to a large extent by the combination of machine and human post-editor.

Archived and current discussion forums on proz.com are a most interesting source in order to investigate translators' attitudes, since they are an avenue where freelancers freely express their opinions on topics of interest. The focus in the following is on particular forum discussion threads that reveal translators' attitudes towards electronic tools, and translators' conceptions of the relationship between organic (human) memory and electronic (machine) memory. Attitudes and conceptions are worth studying, since they relate to present and past experience and shape future action. In order to investigate translators' experiences and conceptions of the role of the computer in their work, I studied 35 discussion threads dated between 2001 and 2014 on three proz.com translators' forums: 'Getting Established' and 'Translator Resources' (for which I entered the key word 'translation memory'), and 'Machine Translation'.

Forum discussions on proz.com about CAT tools provide a wide range of aspects and opinions concerning the relations between human and machine, and between human and computer memory. Emphasis is put on the idea that the human brain and human skills and experience cannot be entirely replaced if a quality translation is desired:

> Nobody would deny that CAT tools can increase the productivity of one's translation process. But just owning Trados [a well-known CAT tool] doesn't prove one's capability of translation and professionalism.
>
> Trados, Wordfast DejaVu, MetaTexis and all the other CAT programs can help, but at the end of the day, the crucial factors are your specialist skills and your ability to deliver the product in the format that the client requires.

At the same time, various hardware and software items are considered absolutely essential for today's professional translator, namely a

computer, Microsoft Office, Adobe Acrobat, internet access and email. With regard to using a CAT tool, many translators consider it 'an essential tool of the trade'. However, for translating less repetitive text types and for creative texts such as advertisements, a CAT tool is of less use, and there are still a number of professionals calling themselves 'low-tech translators' who do not use translation memory tools. For translating the relevant types of text many translators mention the advantages of a CAT tool: it allows the establishment and reuse of a 'treasure of effective translation options'; it also permits the use of an integrated termbank; it saves time and increases productivity; it increases terminological consistency in the translation; it improves accuracy and precision; it facilitates revision and updating of translations; and it prevents accidental omissions by the translator through the segmentation function (the translator works segment by segment). A number of translators refer to how computer memory very usefully enhances human memory:

> [If] you can't remember how you translated '13-teeth double-twisted nano-sprocket' about 50 pages ago, the translation memory (TM) will remember it for you. It's a very, very nice thing.
>
> [A CAT tool] enables you to mine past work for effective translation options that would otherwise stay 'on the tip of your tongue'.
>
> Often I'll hit a tricky phrase and think 'I know this has come up in previous jobs I've done!' With Trados, I can instantly access all the previous sentences I've translated over the years that include that particular term or phrase.
>
> Some people have photographic memories, and others are very conscientious and dutifully note down every word they come across and enter it in a carefully maintained glossary. I'm not in either category. And I don't need to be – because I have Translation Memory.

It would be incorrect to say that humans have a 'bad memory'; rather, they have a different type of memory from computers, and thus human and machine memories are complementary: the extensive mechanical memory of the machine is complemented by the complex creative memory of the human. As one translator says:

> The longer you wait, the more memory will be lost from your brain. Let machines do what they are better at, and you just have to do what only humans can do with our flexible brain.

Forum contributors also say that the CAT tool is more useful in certain situations. The first is if it is used over a long period of time so that the translator has built up the translation memory or memories and likewise furnished the terminology database(s). The second is if the translator knows the tool intimately and so can exploit all its potential functions, making it thus a more flexible tool; such a CAT tool expert is called a 'power user' on the forums:

> Part of my job as a professional translator is to know the tools I work with. And the better you get to know them, the more helpful they become!

As for disadvantages of CAT tools, the tool must be used judiciously, especially if a translation memory has been supplied by a client, because certain prior renderings may not be accurate or may not be appropriate in the specific context of the text at hand. The translator also has to make sure that working by contained segments of text does not lead to loss of cohesion of the completed translated text. One contributor to the forums suggests that some translators may become too dependent on CAT:

> CAT-fanciers often feel uncomfortable when there's no CAT available (or a different one)

It is noted that some translators 'trust' CAT too much and adopt CAT suggestions in the translation being done without sufficient reflection. Here it seems that the 'tool' may start becoming the master. Other disadvantages mentioned are the complexity of certain CAT tools, and the high price. However, a large number of translators state that the price is quickly recouped by the increased productivity of the translator, and other benefits already mentioned make the financial investment worthwhile.

The question of price brings us into the social domain. There are now a number of competing CAT tools, ranging from free tools available online to expensive ones. Forum translators discuss the virtues and developments of various tools. Most importantly, translation agencies often require a translator to have a CAT tool, and generally a particular one, with the most common being Trados. Trados has been known as the 'industry standard', although this status is criticized by a number of forum translators and other brands are gaining ground. With regard to work for an agency, if the translator does not have the required tool, he

or she probably will not get the job. Thus there is great social pressure for translators to become CAT equipped. Such issues of ownership of a CAT tool may soon, however, become a thing of the past, for in the burgeoning development of cloud-based translation platforms, it is not necessary for translators to have desktop translation memory applications, as all resources and tools are available on the platform (Kelly et al. 2011, 85). The advantages of CAT for translation agencies are obvious: quicker jobs and reduced costs, since lower prices are paid for translations that include TM matches. The translators on the forums debate to what extent such 'discounts' are fair to translators, but they seem to have become standard. CAT tools allow the client to provide a translation memory and/or termbase, which translators consider very useful. Another interactive advantage of TM is the possibility of sharing the memory, and thus having a team of translators working on a big job with consistency in the translation product.

Although some translators express resistance to CAT and fear of change, most accept the situation of progress from 'primitive' media and tools such as pen and paper to the current CAT tools:

> Not too long ago, the dividing line between translators was the use of a computer for their work, then the use of the Internet [. . .] CAT tools are in my opinion only the next step down the line. And just like all translators here obviously would agree that they couldn't do their job with the same efficiency without computers or the Internet, the number of people agreeing that they couldn't do their job as efficiently without the use of a CAT tool is constantly growing.

Fear becomes a more insistent theme with regard to machine translation, since if not total replacement, it is affirmed that if machine translation becomes widespread, there will be less work for human translators:

> Does anybody remember switchboard operators, typing pools? What happened to sprayers and welders working on cars when robots took their jobs? There will be less work for translators in the future – it is only a matter of time, the writing is on the wall . . .

Of course it is recognized that some types of translation, notably creative and literary translation, are not within the grasp of machine translation, nor can current MT segment-based technology deal with text-level issues of cohesion, coherence or tasks such as producing reliable summary

translations. However, much of the work of professional translators is amenable to machine translation.

Another concern expressed is that translators will be downgraded in status. With machine translation, the main roles of humans are to do pre-processing (preparing the MT system, machine-friendly input or a glossary) and post-processing (tidying up the output) using sophisticated programs, thus 'translators' become more like technicians. Furthermore, the bulk of the work for foreign-language specialists is in post-editing the machine output, thus translators are relegated to the job of MT error repairers. It seems that with TM the human translator is very much in charge, but that with MT the mode of distributed agency gives a more dominant role to the machine. One forum contributor who is not favourable towards machine translation expresses this as follows:

> [MT] makes work a lot less rewarding since a machine dictates the general guidelines of your style and writing. It sounds a bit sad to become a freelancer thinking that you will be your own boss . . . to become the servant of a machine translation tool.

In contrast, some translators say that they find MT useful and enjoy incorporating it in their work. Note the positive but somewhat ironic comment about 'being a servant' in the following:

> I have improved the speed of my work with MT without having to compromise [quality]. I also find integrating MT into my work procedures to be an interesting challenge, which makes the rather routine translation work I do intellectually more demanding and rewarding. The texts I translate are technical and require expertise, but provided you have that expertise, the work is not cognitively taxing at all. Being a servant of the tool makes it more fun.

Indeed, if 'fun' is equated with interest and creativity, there are different types of human creativity; one type is dealing with the way in which technology brokers translation (O'Brien 2012). Furthermore, rather than perceiving themselves as devalued and dehumanized by technology, translators may see themselves as being freed from boring, repetitive tasks, and thus able to take on subtler, more complex tasks:

> You can programme a machine to recognize the standard remarks and reproduce them with similar standard remarks fairly reliably. Then we can concentrate on areas where humans are really needed.

Importantly, as one forum contributor pointed out, it needs to be recognized that 'post-editing' is a valuable and demanding occupation since it requires high-level critical analysis, linguistic knowledge and subject-matter expertise, as well as judicious judgements as to what level of correction is needed for a particular translation project.

The human translator may actually have no role at all, if the reader of the translation is satisfied for his or her purposes with a rough gist translation. Quality requirements vary according to the commission. If a quality translation is required using MT, the best results are obtained through professional enterprise-level MT systems, and customizing and 'training' the machine in a 'controlled environment' with human post-editing. Individual translators report a positive experience when they customize MT, and businesses are successful in communication aims through customization:

> When you buy your own program and customize it into your own style, it is a very helpful tool.
>
> a highly structured man-machine collaboration environment gives the enterprise a fighting chance at producing compelling and accurate if not quite human quality in order to communicate with its global customer base.

The term 'train' is interesting, since it normally applies to animate entities such as animals or humans, and thus equates the machine with living beings possessing a capacity for understanding. However, because a human trainer and human input are always needed, MT remains a collaborator and does not become a total substitute when the best results are required. In the process of 'training', TM and MT can be integrated. The agencies, memories and particular competences of human and machine collaborate and are intertwined in a circular way in continuous feedback cycles. Here are some aspects of this intertwining. The raw material for training the machine translation engine is a large amount of human-controlled texts, including a bilingual electronic corpus, which may be customized in the form of specific TMs provided for the purpose of training the MT engine in specific terminology and style; using the input and statistical analysis a translation is produced by the machine; a human post-editor tidies up this text; and this post-edited translation is fed into the memory database to contribute as input for further machine training. MT-produced raw texts thus become more and more 'humanized'.

One forum translator reports that in training the machine it could almost become a second 'you':

> the offline MT environment is a hybrid between a CAT tool and a 'text prediction' component. When you use it, you won't just get a generic wall of MT generated text, but rather (with time and work) a text that feels much more like something that you would write, that would be a lot easier to edit, and that has the potential to increase your productivity

With regard to the impact of MT on the amount of work for translators, the negative idea of a decrease in work due to 'take-over by machines' is argued against by some forum contributors, who say that there is and will be an increased overall demand for translation in our globalized world, and therefore no reduction in work for translators. The needs of large enterprises are likely to concern various types of text that are best treated in different ways, for example human translation for marketing, legal contracts and newsletters; machine translation plus post-editing for websites, manuals, product descriptions, email support, FAQs and alerts/notifications; and machine translation only for user reviews, user forums, wikis and blogs (Byrne & Morgan 2013). This demonstrates a differentiated, purposeful use of human and machine.

As one translator concludes, technological progress is inevitable because:

> since humans first began crawling around this ball of mud, we have always searched for ways to make technology improve our lives.

Thus translators need to accept the changing distribution of agency in the collaboration of translator and machine:

> It's naïve to think MT is not the future and we cannot afford to close our eyes to progress. It's only just beginning. The role of the translator will change gradually from translation to editing of machine-translated text. [...] Don't be scared of the future, embrace it and with it the new MT tools.

Responding to this comment, another forum contributor predicts that in the future the job of most translators will be to produce massive volumes (compared to current standards) of bulk translations, which will be machine translated with minimal editing by the translator in a

'technology-human tandem'. Already in a 2014 Quick Poll on proz.com, it appears that nearly 40 per cent of professional translators are making some use of MT. Overall, from TM to MT, a change is occurring in the nature of human–computer interaction in producing translations. The role of the computer with its specific capacities and memory type has changed and is changing from a tool to a partner with the human, who brings his or her own specific capacities and memory type to the collaboration. An alternative term for this intimate and co-dependent relation of distributed agency and memory is 'symbiosis' (O'Brien 2012).

The relations of translators and technological developers with both CAT tools and machine translation illustrate perfectly the ideas of Pickering (1995). Human and material agency are intertwined in a more or less smooth collaborative relationship that emerges through ongoing practice. There is a 'reciprocal tuning of human and material agency', which Pickering (1995) calls the 'dance of agency'. Here is how he describes this 'dance' with regard to scientists:

> Scientists tentatively construct some new machine. They then adopt a passive role, monitoring the performance of the machine to see whatever capture of material agency it might effect. Symmetrically, this period of human passivity is the period in which material agency actively manifests itself. Does the machine perform as intended? Has an intended capture of agency been effected? Typically the answer is no, in which case the response is another reversal of roles: human agency is once more active in a revision of modelling vectors, followed by another bout of human passivity and material performance, and so on. (Pickering 1995, 21)

The way in which human translators use and improve the usefulness of CAT tools in the course of their translation work, the (re)training of machine translation engines, and the continuous development of new or modified CAT and machine translation systems by technological experts in order to better respond to translation needs are all examples of the dance of agency. In these cases it is the interplay of human and computer memory that is the crux of the matter. There are also clearly social and economic forces involved as individual translators interact with each other (sometimes forming sub-groups such as 'power users') and comply with translation agency, institution and client demands regarding technology whose development is motivated by its economic advantages. In the process of 'reciprocal tuning of technological and social worlds' (Olohan 2011, 350) there are moments

of resistance on the part of both humans (experiencing difficulties in adapting) and machines (not always functioning as planned), but there is also accommodation in the process whereby different agencies continue to operate together effectively as human–machine assemblages producing translations.

Early Canadian Feminist Translators and Their Heiresses

Proceeding now to our second case study of quite a different context, it can be said that electronic memory had no role in the foundation of the Québécois feminist translation movement, since these translators began to be active in the 1970s and 1980s prior to the era of the personal computer and internet. In this case study I first discuss the Canadian group, then look at today's 'feminist translators' or users of 'feminist translation strategies' in order to trace to what extent they perpetuate the memory of their forebears through discourse and practice. I will also touch on the role of electronic memory for the contemporary group.

From the late 1970s women writers and translators in Canada developed innovative literary writing practices. The movement started in Québec, where writing displayed a characteristic concern about language born of political and linguistic frustrations in a context of official bilingualism, and where the influence of post-structuralism and French influences on feminism had been felt earlier than in the rest of North America. The innovations of Québécois women writers involved manipulating language in order to challenge patriarchal society and its language, and to find a space for woman's voice. The silent 'e' that marks female gender and feminine grammatical gender in French was highlighted through neologisms and puns. It became a means of critiquing male dominance and the silencing of women. Other techniques were the fragmentation of language through disregard of traditional syntax and grammaticality, and hyphenation of individual words to reveal their concealed meaning (Flotow 1991, 73). The 'feminist translators' of such works similarly wished to reflect innovation in some way in their own writing techniques, often collaborating with authors to find translation solutions. In an early seminal academic article, feminist translation techniques catalogued by Flotow (1991) are prefacing and footnoting, supplementing and hijacking. The feminist translator refuses to be a silent, self-effacing being, and uses prefaces and footnotes to explain aspects of the source text as well as the choice of translation strategies; the translator takes on a visible, active role that is both didactic and ideological. 'Supplementing' is compensation using different linguistic

resources of the target language in order to signal the feminist articulation of the source text. Since, for example, the English language does not have gender agreement or silent 'e' markings, the resources that English does have must be used to convey the same or a similar message, sometimes very creatively, as in the following:

> Le ou la coupable doit être punie. [The male or female guilty party must be punished (adjective ending in 'e' signalling a female)]
>
> The guilty one must be punished, whether she is a man or a woman. (extract from Howard Scott's translation of Louky Bersianik's *L'Euguélienne*, cited by Flotow 1991, 75)

'Hijacking' refers to the situation where the translator has produced a translation that is more feminist than the original, with or without the original author's collusion. This may be the most radical strategy. An example would be to produce the expression 'women and men' in the translation, whereas the original contained the more conventional ordering of the terms in French.

Together Canadian feminist authors and translators created a strong community of practice during the 1980s and early 1990s. Although the impetus had initially come from Québec, English-speaking authors became involved, and hybridity of languages in texts served to create a translingual component in Canadian women's writing. Flotow (2006) illustrates how feminist authors and translators were not separate groups: authors used bits of translation and bilingualism in their writing, and furthermore many authors acted also as translators of others' texts. Another identity intimately bound into the community of practice was that of academics: academics studied and theorized feminist writing and translation, and some authors and translators were also academics. So individuals identified with multiple activities and sectors, and the fact that the same individual could play multiple roles (author, editor, translator, academic), interacting and collaborating with other members in various ways, strengthened the community. It was the common aim to promote woman's agency and women's rights, and to propagate feminist thinking through expression in deconstructive ludic writing practices that formed the basis of the community. Flotow (2006, 15) refers to the 1980s Canadian community as 'a small interconnected web of women' with a core group of about 10–15 women; well-known names are Nicole Brossard, Barbara Godard and Suzanne de Lotbinière-Harwood. The community was highly active and visible: its members organized conferences and founded women's

publishing houses, magazines and journals. The close connection of community members was also reinforced through the importance of intertextuality in their writing, the reuse of intertexts and linguistic expressions and practices, which reflected the memorial and collective aspect of individual writing and practices, including translation. Indeed, Lotbinière-Harwood referred to translating in the feminine as an exercise in 'gynocentric memory' (Flotow 2006, 17).

It seems that the 1980s and early 1990s represented the heyday of Canadian feminist translation, and that the Canadian community is now in a 'dispersed' stage (Wenger 1998). Although a cynical point of view might be that Canadian academics and writers got onto the feminist bandwagon because it brought symbolic capital (Flotow 2006, 14), and that the academic discourse of the time was overblown with regard to the actual extent of experimental innovation in the 'feminist translations' themselves (Wallmach 2006, 22), as Wallmach points out, metadiscourse and reputation can have a powerful impact. What is interesting from our point of view is to consider the importance of the early Canadian feminist writing, translation and discourse as heritage. The investigation of this question in the next section focuses on translational practice and discourse about practice in recent times. How has the memory of the early Canadian feminist writing community and its practices been maintained through the reuse and development of 'feminist' translation practice?

Memory of the Canadian Feminist Translation Community

Maintaining community memory takes a variety of forms: concepts and practices may be mentioned briefly, strongly supported, refined, redefined, reused, partially used, adapted and challenged. Whatever the forms of evocation or reuse of the early Canadian feminist translation ideas and practices, they serve to show the significance of the pioneers and to keep memory of them alive.

The process of challenge began fairly early on. There was much talk about the strategy of 'hijacking': Arrojo (1994) criticized the idea that this practice was to be promoted in terms of rights, since, as she argues, deliberate 'woman-handling' is no more justified ethically than 'man-handling'. In 1997 Massardier-Kenney published an article whose aim is a 'redefinition of feminist translation practice', and Carole Maier (1998) questioned the restrictions of a 'feminist' approach in literary translation. A fundamental issue for these two theorists and others is the concepts at the heart of the topic: 'feminism', 'gender', 'woman'. Calls have been made to 'de-essentialize' these concepts in favour of

more fluid, multiple approaches. Martin (2005, 35) considers that the work of the early Canadians was on the whole based on a universalized definition of women as oppressed by and opposed to males and their patriarchal language; an important aim was to construct a female culture/language. Recent post-structuralist approaches to feminism have wanted to get away from oppositional binaries, universalist homogenizing definitions, and focus on a single identity category. Attention shifted to the tremendous variations of women's experiences in the world; the fluidity of gender; local performative constructions of gender; and the dynamic intersection among a number of an individual's identifications in different contexts. As Gayatri Spivak says: 'tracking commonality [of "woman"] through responsible translation can lead us into areas of difference and different differentiations' (Spivak 1993, 193). Carol Maier (1998), finding both 'feminist' and 'woman-identified' conceptions restricted, has adopted the notion of 'woman-interrogated translation', which allows her when translating to interrogate gender definitions and participate in redefinitions, interact with any gender identities including mixed and changing gender characteristics, and remain open to individuals' multiple (concurrent or changing) identifications (not only gender), as befits human complexity. Although acknowledging her own gender identification, when translating she strives to keep it 'in abeyance' in order to respond openly and sensitively to the source text, and to take responsibility for performance of that text in translation. With a similar emphasis on performativity, Godard (1991) coins the term 'transformance' to describe translating women's texts as an interlingual, intersubjective and transformative mode of performance.

Possibly one effect of non-fluid thinking was the tendency of the early Canadian feminist theorists/translators to equate feminist with female. In her 1991 article Flotow writes that Howard Scott is 'the only male who describes himself as a feminist translator' (Flotow 1991, 71), as if this were very much an exceptional kind of situation. However, David Eshelman (2007) unabashedly writes about espousing feminist translation strategies in his translation of a play about feminism by Dominique Parenteau-Lebeuf. In Eshelman's close collaboration with the playwright, he felt that he as the 'apprentice' was in the less powerful role, such that the more typical gender power differential was troubled, adding indeed another type of feminist dimension to the project (Eshelman 2007, 24).

Another challenge to the early Canadian feminist writing and translation practices was to say that they grew out of a specific social and

linguistic context and period, and therefore may not be appropriate, effective or able to be applied in very different contexts. Serrano (2005) compares how canonical Québécois feminist writer Nicole Brossard's lesbian-themed novel *Baroque d'aube* (1995) was translated into English and into Spanish. Serrano explains that, in contrast with the North American context, in Spain at the end of the 1990s feminist and lesbian themes were marginal in the publishing world, and feminist linguistic experimentation and self-reflection were not practices espoused by writers or translators, nor were they familiar to the reading public. Thus, the Spanish socio-literary context was not conducive to the adoption of feminist interventionist or experimental translation practices. Indeed, the Spanish translation *Barroco al alba* (1998) shows how the translator eschewed linguistic and translational creativity, no doubt partly because of lack of comprehension of the source-text context and aims, and partly because of the lack of prior existence of feminist experimental texts and practices in Spanish. Even when the situation began to change in Spain into the 2000s with scholar-translators promoting feminist translation (see later), there has been resistance and even refusal on the part of publishers, as evidenced by the case of Reimondez's (2009) feminist translation of *The Curious Incident of the Dog in the Night-Time*. Still, as Reimondez affirms, going out on a limb and being criticized or attacked due to feminist translation/writing practices may be the only way to make those practices known, and to contribute to working towards their acceptance. One of the main issues at hand in this case, the use of the masculine gender as the generic form, has certainly been accepted elsewhere as a legitimate gripe following awareness-raising campaigns.

With regard to challenging the actual 'feminist translation strategies', theorists have pointed out that these so-called specific strategies are in fact not specific. In her analysis of 'feminist strategies' used in Barbara Godard's 1983 translation of Nicole Brossard's novel *L'Amèr ou le chapitre effrité* (1977), Wallmach (2006) finds that they can all be encompassed under existing categories proposed by translation scholars Delabastita, Vinay and Darbelnet, and Hervey and Higgins: substitution, repetition, deletion, addition, compensation by footnoting and compensation by splitting. Similarly, Massardier-Kenney (1997) points out that there is really only one Canadian strategy that is specifically feminist, 'hijacking', since this involves a deliberate feminization of the source text. Otherwise, Massardier-Kenney finds that 'feminist' translation has adapted existing translation strategies rather than inventing

new ones. Yet this in the end is not of great importance, since as Massardier-Kenney says, it is not the strategies themselves that count but the ideology informing the use of the strategies; they are put to use for feminist purposes. It is also not frequency of use of strategies – a notion on which Wallmach (2006) depends to criticize metatexts by feminist translators as overblown – that is uppermost in importance, since one prominent instance of a strategy, for example in the title of the novel, can have a huge ideological and poetic impact. There may be strategies that the early feminist translators neglected. Massardier-Kenney (1997) highlights an important strategy that was not explicitly considered by the Canadian community: 'recovery'. Recovery consists of widening the canon by rediscovering, publishing and translating texts written by women in earlier eras. Massardier-Kenney also extends the importance of intertextuality for feminist translators to the notion of 'use of parallel texts', whereby translators make use of analogous target-language literary texts by women writers in translating source texts that may or may not be overtly feminist.

Regardless of challenges to early Canadian feminist translation, the memory of their ideological motivation, concepts and practices remains strong. In situations of social injustice regarding women, it may well be warranted for writers and translators to adopt strong interventionist stances and accept essentialism for strategic purposes. Feminist writing and translation can thus be a political practice with aims of social change. Feminist translation may also simply be a matter of doing justice to the source text in conveying its themes and poetico-linguistic nature. Circumstances are variable. Indeed, it is always wise when comprehending translational action to take into account a range of parameters of the translating situation such as the nature of the source text, the translator's interpretation of the source text, specific linguistic and literary resources available, norms and preferences of the publishing house (which may be imposed by editors) and the socio-literary target context, relevant aspects of the broad sociopolitical context, and the goals of the translator. Let us examine, therefore, some actual contexts and cases of contemporary gender-conscious translation in order to investigate to what extent these translators are/consider themselves successors to the Canadian pioneers.

The North American French–English context continues to produce gender-conscious writing and translating. When writing about his English translation of French Canadian dramatist Dominick Parenteau-Lebeuf's play *Dévoilement devant notaire* (2002), David Eshelman (2007)

makes reference to early Canadian feminist translation practice as his source of inspiration. The choice to employ feminist translation methods suited the source text perfectly: it is a play about the conflicted feelings of the daughter of a feminist in 1990s Québec. Interestingly, Eshelman has made this content clearer in the title of the play in translation: *The Feminist's Daughter*. Eshelman explains three strategies that he adopted. The first he calls 'supplementing'. He provided the reader with information about the playwright, contemporary Québec theatre and the themes and writing style of the play, in order not only to introduce Parenteau-Lebeuf's work to an Anglophone audience, but also to create understanding of his translation choices. Eshelman calls the second strategy 'looking at gender on a word-by-word basis'. What he means is not only the aim to pay attention to procedures for expressing gender in language in both source text and translation, but also the idea that each case needs to be considered individually and may result in different translational solutions. In the case of a play translated for performance, strategies that involve spelling or typography and not sound (e.g. 'ot**her**') do not work. In the original play there are some instances of gendered neologisms. An example is 'bourrelle' as a female form of 'bourreau', which means 'executioner'. Eshelman created a neologism in English, 'guillotineress', which evokes both 'murderess' and beheading, mentioned as the usual execution technique in the text. Eshelman reports that he also occasionally used gendered pronouns in the French way, for example calling a thing 'she'. The third strategy mentioned is 'closelaboration' (close collaboration) with the author: Eshelman exchanged many emails with Parenteau-Lebeuf, discussing with her aspects of the source text as well as translation ideas. When it came to the translation, Eshelman gave precedence to his own knowledge of English usage. Parenteau-Lebeuf suggested 'Unveiling' as a title for the play, but Eshelman felt that the connotations of 'unveiling' were much more positive than those of the French 'dévoilement', and therefore opted for a very different title that still remained intriguing. Eshelman concludes that for him the most useful aspect of following a feminist translation approach was that it helped him to interpret the text, and to do justice to the playwright's language and views on feminism represented in the text.

From the late 1990s and particularly in the 2000s, a strong interest in feminist translation emerged in Spain, sometimes related to the regions such as Catalonia and Galicia where issues of identity and language are central (much as they are in Québec). One could even say that Spain is the successor to Québec as the new hotbed for feminist translation

practice and theorization. This new Spanish community of practice is evidenced in the significant presence of Spanish researchers in publications, conferences and PhD studies on gender/translation issues. Brufau Alvira (2011) explains that there are two main foci among Spanish feminist translator-theorists. The first area of focus is of a linguistic-discursive character: the relation between power and language is recognized in the promotion of non-sexist rewriting. Inspiration has been found in North American feminist sociolinguistics as well as in Canadian feminist translation techniques, such as Lotbinière-Harwood's suggestion of re-sexualizing language when translating from languages whose forms and grammar are less gender explicit.

Let us look in detail at one study with this focus. It concerns the retranslation into Spanish of Virginia Woolf's *A Room of One's Own*. Bengoechea (2011) compares two translations of the text, one by eminent writer Jorge Luis Borges, first published in 1935–36, and the other, more recent translation by Maria Milagros Rivera-Garretas, published in 2003. Bengoechea (2011, 411) relates that Rivera-Garretas is a feminist historian and theorist of sexual difference, who has adopted 'some of the strategies called for and used by Canadian feminist translators and traductologists'. She follows, for example, the practice of actively showing the translator's presence through providing a prologue and notes in which her political stance is made clear. In terms of translational choices in the text, there is a significant difference in the way pronouns are rendered in the two translations. In the Spanish language, person gender is illustrated in some pronouns where in the equivalent English pronoun gender is not indicated, for example in certain Spanish forms of the equivalents for 'you' and 'we'. Woolf's text comprises a series of talks that she gave at Cambridge University's exclusively women's colleges of Newnham and Girton. Throughout the text she addresses the group of women as 'you', and also uses the pronoun 'we'. Borges seems not to have known or to have ignored the contextual information, and translates the pronoun as a masculine form that can conventionally signify the universal, both men and women; from a feminist point of view this is a case of 'androcentric normative grammar'. Rivera-Garretas opts for feminine gender pronouns. This action seems entirely justified by the actual context of Woolf's speech, and could be considered a matter of restoring justice to the source-text meaning. What really reveals a feminist stance on the part of Rivera-Garretas is her treatment of references in Woolf's speech that genuinely seem to refer to a universal in the specific context: the mention of 'poets', 'children' and 'us'. Rivera-Garretas deliberately feminizes these references to become the Spanish

equivalents of female poets and female 'us'; and she splits 'children' into 'daughters and sons' in her translation in order to make the feminine visible (Bengoechea 2011, 419). This strategy could be characterized as feminist 'hijacking', in parallel to Borges's 'masculinist hijacking' elsewhere. Each translator reformulates the meaning in line with a particular ideology available at a particular time and place in history, for as we saw earlier in the case of a translation of Nicole Brossard, the Spanish socio-literary sphere has not always been accepting of feminist writing and rewriting. Serrano (2005, 121) locates the greater openness to feminism and other gender/sexual-based ideologies in Spain as occurring from about 2004.

The second area of focus in the Spanish context noted by Brufau Alvira (2011) relates to cultural identities: the objective is to promote the political claims of women and minority groups. Here an important suggestion is made that Brufau Alvira names 'feminist intersectional translation'. This approach aims to take into account multiple identities and co-occurring potentially discriminatory areas (for example gender, ethnicity, nationality, social class, location, status such as migrant) in line with the recognition in today's feminism of the complexity of identity, as mentioned earlier. The content of the source text is of course an important influence: a source text that features poor African American women speaking their sociolect, or description of the particular cultural practices involving women in a rural region of India, may be a good candidate for an intersectional approach. Brufau Alvira affirms that, in contrast with some more rigid feminist models, the intersectional translation approach requires a flexible outlook regarding translation strategies and choices, since a variety of different techniques may contribute to the goal of promoting equality. Another non-rigid feminist model proposed by Carolyn Shread, 'metramorphosis', may allow intersectionality to become explicit in the translation where it was not in the original. Metramorphosis refers to the feminine psychoanalytic Symbolic concept of 'matrix', which supplements rather than replaces Lacan's masculine phallus. With regard to translation, the outlook is one of generativity, expansion and development. Shread (2007), for example, introduces Kreyol into her English translation (in view of the Kreyol-speaking Haitian American readership) where the original Haitian female-authored text was in standard French. My discussion of Brufau Alvira and Shread together illustrates how there are many links across national boundaries and languages between like-minded contemporary approaches and scholars who are aware

of each other's work, meeting in conferences and coordinating their interests in common publishing enterprises. Scholars, concepts and scholarship travel (with translation as one useful vector), as shown in the next context discussed, which presents a definite contrast in some ways.

In her portrayal of feminist translation in Turkey, Bozkurt (2014) starts her article by outlining the history and strategies of Canadian feminist translation as a source of inspiration. She then explains that the specific Turkish context gave rise to particular feminist translation activities and practices, namely a woman presenting her own original writing as a translation (pseudotranslation) of a male author in order to achieve publication in the restrictive male-dominated literary world in Turkey, particularly prior to the 1980s; translating 1980s and 1990s works by European and North American feminists into Turkish in order to introduce their thought; and after the 1980s translating Turkish women authors into world languages so that their work is better known. It was not until the 2000s that some examples of Turkish translations adopting anti-traditional creative feminist practices were published in supportive publishing houses. Bozkurt cites the 2002 translation of *SCUM Manifesto* by Ayşe Düzkan and the 2008 translation of *Virgin: The Untouched History* by Emek Ergün. The translators of these works both wrote substantial prefaces and footnotes, which are bold in content, explicating the source text and announcing the translator's feminist stance and choices. In her own article about the translation, Ergün (2013) explains that for her translating *Virgin* was an act of 'intellectual activism', since it transmitted scholarship from a Western-identified feminist text to contribute to sociopolitical movement-building and the unsettling of virginity politics in Turkey. In the body of the two translations that Bozkurt studied there is a careful choice of lexis, such as the use of 'hymen' by Ergün as opposed to the more standard Turkish term, 'kızlık zarı', which she considers patriarchal. Düzkan retains the direct references to sexual organs as in the original text rather than resorting to euphemisms, and when faced with the use of 'she' as a generic form in the source text, she 'supplements' the lack of the he/she form in Turkish by using a marked non-sexist lexical choice, 'biliminsanı', for the translation of the word 'scientist'.

A final example of recent feminist translation and theorization presents a case of a mixed strategy with regard to feminist aims. Lina Fisher (2010) discusses her German translations of poems by Carol Ann Duffy from the collection *Mean Time* (1993). The article has the

intriguing title 'Theory and Practice of Feminist Translation in the 21st Century'. Fisher makes reference to the early feminist translation movement in the 1970s and 1980s, and regrets that feminist translation seems to receive less attention now, since sexist language and thinking continue today. On the other hand, she herself demonstrates perhaps why it receives less attention: her approach is less intractable, more nuanced than that of early feminist translators. It is in line with Maier's (1998) 'woman-interrogation', an approach of close interpretation of the source-text nuances and of the implications of translation choices. Fisher acknowledges that Duffy does not define herself as a woman or a feminist poet. Although gender perspectives play a role in her poetry, in a number of poems it is not clear whether the personae are male or female. Fisher's exploratory goal was to discover to what extent she could employ feminist translation strategies without overshadowing the poems' other characteristics such as rich imagery. Poetry often presents more ambiguity and more interpretative possibilities than prose. Fisher recounts a case where the word 'the stranger' in a particular poem could refer to either a man, a woman or a child in different imagined scenarios. Unlike English, a choice has to be made in the German language, which expresses person gender. Here Fisher opted for 'die Fremde', which is feminine, refusing to give precedence to 'der Fremde' (masculine) as a normative choice. In referring to the 'small female skull', although the grammatical gender of German 'schädel' (skull) is masculine, Fisher used the pronoun 'sie' (she) because of the reference to it being the skull of a female, where the gender of the person is significant in the narrative of the poem. Fisher says that these choices, which involved making the female more visible, were relatively easy to implement. In a third case Duffy writes 'for a drenched whore to stare you full in the face'. Fisher considered using an archaic German word for 'prostitute', 'Freudenmädchen', which has more positive connotations than 'whore'. However, given the interpretation of the poem as a whole, she decided that it was important to convey the negative connotations of the scene, and chose to preserve the world constructed by the poem, rather than making an overtly political intervention to promote women. Overall, in her translation Fisher endeavoured to make a feminist point wherever possible, but she also wanted to preserve elements essential to interpretation of the poem, which at times might lessen the feminist agenda.

It seems that the small early tight-knit Canadian community of practice has given way to a looser international community with a particular hot-spot of Spanish scholars/practitioners. Taking its lead from the early

Canadians' work as well as from feminist linguistics and other feminist and gender-conscious theoretical positions, feminist/gender-conscious translation is undertaken for translations into and from many languages, now reaching beyond European languages to Arabic, Turkish and Chinese, among others. Practices are varied depending on texts and contexts, with more reflective, nuanced and intersectional approaches than in the early days. In 2013, for example, the call for papers for an edited volume titled *Feminist Translation Studies: Local and Transnational Perspectives* specifically embraces disciplinary, geographical, sociocultural, sexual orientation and textual genre diversity. Importantly, the community of practice has been widened beyond literary translation to gender-conscious translators of non-literary texts. In these translation practices for non-literary texts attention is paid to use of pronouns, gender-neutral forms and splitting (specifying both genders), depending on the target language. Occasionally there may even be support of a more radical strategy such as hijacking. An example of this is found on the Sheela Na Gig blog, where the blog author calls for the refusal by translators of legal texts to reproduce source-text sexist sentiments and language (Sheela Na Gig). In the broad international gender-conscious translation community, memory of the Canadian pioneers is strong. This memory expresses itself through practice (use of their techniques, or reworking and supplementation of the techniques) as well as in discourse. Electronic networks, which did not exist in the days of the early Canadian translators, link writers and translators of a feminist persuasion worldwide into this affinity group. The call for papers for *Feminist Translation Studies: Local and Transnational Perspectives* resulted from the collaboration of two volume editors from different countries, Olga Castro and Emek Ergün, and would depend on international contributors; this could only be efficiently organized thanks to electronic memory devices. Such international collaborative activities indicate that the 'transnational feminist translation community' is flourishing in Wenger's (1998) coalescing stage.

In this chapter I have discussed the preoccupations of two different groups: proz.commers' attitudes towards translation memory and machine translation expressed in forum discussions; and the attitudes and ideas of contemporary translators who undertake 'feminist translation' regarding past and present practices. Electronic memory was shown to hold an important place today both in terms of translators' tools/partners and in terms of networked communication, which allows the establishment of local and international affinity groups. I have

also shown that in different ways for the two groups the identity as a group depends on foundational principles and practices (e.g. sharing ideas in discussion forums and question sessions; feminist translation approaches and strategies), whose memory is retained in the present through continuing to espouse those principles and practices at the same time as new developments in the community and in practices are embraced.

4
Textual Memory

In the discussion of Mansfield's short stories in translation, electronic translation memory mechanisms and feminist translation practices in Chapters 2 and 3, I mentioned examples of how textual passages from a different text produced at an earlier time are embedded and thus remembered in the present text. Such cases come under the topic of textual memory. Let us first explore in general terms the role of texts for memory.

Shared memory, whether among members of a small social group, a national group or a transnational grouping, arises through the interaction of group members and also through the production, exchange and maintenance of cultural products. Vectors of communication and transmission are thus fundamental in the dynamic process of (re)creating shared memory. The main vectors of memory transmission may be categorized as oral communication; written communication; images including artworks; practices such as customs, rituals and ceremonies; monuments and museums; and multimedial forms, notably films and websites. Oral communication is an important means of transmitting memory. However, the written word offers more durable possibilities for the preservation of memory, with medial forms that have differed over the centuries, from manuscript to printed book to internet pages. Texts that may have a memorial function encompass a wide variety of genres, including history books, tourist pamphlets, newspaper articles, novels, children's story books and so on. The specificity of the means of transmission has an impact on how memory is shaped and influenced. Take, for example, historical references in newspapers: as well as reflecting and reinforcing memory of the historical event, the norms of the newspaper medium shape how historical references are used and conveyed (Brownlie 2013). Importantly, texts have two different significant

memorial roles: a text may be the means of conveying memory of a past event, lifestyles, persons or ideas; and a famous text may itself be part of a group's memory. The case studies in this chapter concern such monumental texts: a classic novel by French author Emile Zola, and a series of great historical documents.

Both knowledge of past events/people/ideas and cultural items may fall into oblivion, into the 'archive' (Assmann 2010) of cultural memory. In order for the memory of a past event or cultural item to remain in circulation, in the 'canon' (Assmann 2010), the event or item must be represented again and again over decades or centuries in the same or different media and genres (newspaper articles, photos, diaries, novels, films, web pages, museum displays, historical re-enactments etc.). Astrid Erll (2009) refers to this as 'remediation'.[1] For a wider picture, then, texts need to be seen as operating alongside other types of transmission of memory of a particular historical event or cultural item (for exemplification of this, see Chapter 5). The reiterations and remediations involve a certain sameness that allows recognition, but they will also generally involve some transformation with regard to earlier representations. Mediated memory is indeed always dynamic, as it is conceptually and affectively mobile: both conceptions of the past and feelings attached to the past change. Very importantly, memory involves a dialectical evolution in a relation between past and present. A new generation remakes a memory in a new environment, reconstructing the past in the light of the present. The past is thus malleable in the form of memory responding to the needs of the present, but the past also provides a constraint on memory such that it can be represented variably but not in an entirely arbitrary manner. Memory of traumatic events, of traditions and of canonical works may be very persistent; memory thus involves both stability and change (Schwartz 2000).

What is known about a past event or cultural item is in fact a set of variable existent medial constructions. Remediation is not just a matter of repeated mentions of the famous event in different media and genres, or of a new version in relation to a canonical text, but is also a question of the reuse of previous mentions and texts, creating thus a long-lasting and wide-ranging web of memorial intertextuality. The extent of remediation becomes particularly significant when dealing with memory of famous long-distant events and items, and it is the convergence of multiple and continuing remediations that constructs a 'memory site', a phenomenon that has acquired a special memorial status for a particular social group. Following Pierre Nora (1984), a multitude of things can become a memory site of the nation – an institution,

a monument, a famous event or person, a famous book; what matters is their prominent status as memorial focal points, their symbolic signification, and the way in which the sites are constantly reinterpreted and reiterated. With regard to the cases under study here, the classic novel and the great historical documents as well as the great universal concepts that they convey constitute cultural beacons or memory sites.

Interlingual translation is one type of remediation, one type of textual reiteration reconstructing memories of past texts and their content. Interlingual translation has an important role in the translinguistic construction of memory sites in terms of perpetuating knowledge of famous events and people, contributing to the continuing existence of famous texts (the Benjaminian afterlife of texts) and propagating the content of significant documents. Because interlingual translation involves different languages and possibly different cultures and time periods, it will entail transformation, including the proliferation of different interpretations that renew the memory site. The focus of this chapter, textual memory, can be defined as the way in which memory of earlier texts is embedded and elaborated on in subsequent texts. All interlingual translation is a matter of textual memory, since the translation embeds the memory of its source text. Even if a translation can also be conceived as forgetting the source text in the sense of effacing it through the act of replacement or reproducing it selectively, a translation maintains at the same time the role of perpetuating memory of its source text. Yet we must go beyond simply source and target text, since from a memory studies perspective it is preferable not to study single or two related texts in isolation, because memory is always a matter of relations among numerous cultural items. In Michael Rothberg's (2009, 3–17) terms, memory is 'multidirectional' in that we easily link up memories of events or cultural items from very different time periods and geographical regions. Linking texts in different languages through translation plays a role in facilitating multidirectionality through building up transcultural and transtemporal networks of texts and knowledge of the content and concepts that they embody.

Scholars in translation studies have embraced similar thinking under the banner of 'intertextuality', the difference from my approach being that less importance is accorded to the temporal dimension. An intertextuality perspective conceives of translational activity as being located in a rich network of textual connections, influences and reuses. Viewed in this way, it is easy to accept that translation (like memory) is both meaning-preserving and meaning-making due to ever

new intertextual contexts. Theo Hermans (2007, 32–37) speaks of 'translation-specific intertextuality', which encompasses the different kinds of relations that hold between translated texts in a given language; the two main types of relation are a translation's reference to previous translations of the same original, and to other translations of the same time period. In terms of affectivity, the relations between the texts may be 'friendly filiations' in the case of accepted translational norms at a particular time, or 'hostile stand-offs' in the case of critical new translations. In other words, Hermans conceives of a self-referential system of translated texts. Sakellariou (2015) warns that such thinking may risk giving ultimate agency to texts at the expense of human agents and social contexts.

In my exemplifications of textual memory in the two case studies in this chapter, I give an important explanatory role to social factors and human agents without denying that texts themselves can be conceived of as exercising agency; I not only place importance on the relations between translated texts, but consider relations in a network of all pertinent texts whether translated or not; the temporal aspect is emphasized, since the network of pertinent texts involves texts produced over a long time period; and the studies explore the developing memory of historical eras, ideas and philosophies through texts, as well as the memory of texts as cultural products. Retranslation is the concern of the first case study. Retranslations – that is, a series of different translations into one language of the same source text produced over time – serve to keep the memory of that source text alive, contributing to its canonization in cultural memory. The particular case studied is that of the multiple British retranslations of Emile Zola's novel *Nana* (1880). The second case study is concerned with the (trans)national dialogical development of ideology through great historical documents across time, languages and cultural spheres, focusing particularly on how memory of earlier documents was used and transformed. Here Brodzki's (2007) notion of translation as a fundamental cultural process of critical dynamic displacement and transformative survival comes to the fore. The specific case concerns the development of (human) rights thinking since the Middle Ages in England, France, the United States and the United Nations. The two case studies were chosen because they are complementary: the first case covers literary translation over a century-long period (nineteenth to twentieth centuries), and the second non-literary translation over a much longer period from the thirteenth to twentieth centuries. Both cases continue our theme of rights.

Retranslation of Zola

Rigney (2010, 349) lists 'translation into other languages' as just one of the ways in which a literary work as an 'agent' gives rise to further cultural activities. The literary work can also play the role of 'stabilizer' in figuring a particular time period in a memorable way that provides a frame for later recollections. Emile Zola's novels have served to depict late nineteenth-century France in a striking and memorable way, both for readers of the original French texts and for readers of their translations in other languages. Rigney also writes of the literary work becoming an 'object of recollection' (2010, 351) itself in other media and forms of expression, and she highlights how remediation of the literary work as object of recollection is an important way of keeping the narrative up to date; that is, memorable according to the norms of the contemporary group. This seems to be the main reason for retranslation of canonical novels. Zola was chosen for the case study, not only as a well-known author whose works have given rise to multiple retranslations, but also as an innovative novelist who championed the right to communicate in his goal to provide a depiction of social reality that did not shy away from explicit treatment of such topics as working-class poverty, illness, alcoholism and prostitution. However, due to censorship undertaken under or in view of the Obscene Publications Act (1857) in Britain at the time (when 'obscenity' had a broader meaning than today), the right to communicate Zola's works freely in translation was far from guaranteed (Brownlie 2007).

The case-study corpus comprises Emile Zola's novel *Nana* and its five main British translations. I have labelled the translations with letters from the alphabet to aid presentation: A is the 1884 translation published by Henry Vizetelly (the translator is anonymous); B is the 1895 translation by Victor Plarr; C is the 1956 translation by Charles Duff; D is the 1972 translation by George Holden; and E is the 1992 translation by Douglas Parmée. The number of retranslations indicates that the text is a transcultural memory site, and according to its latest translator is destined to remain so:

> *Nana* will surely continue to charm and outrage the prurient and the pious, the student of social and political relations or of the psychology of sex and crowds, the feminist, the male chauvinist, and of course the sturdy 'general reader', who will ensure that this will remain amongst the most widely read of Zola's novels. (Introduction, Zola 1998 [1992], xxvi)

Hot and Cold Translations

An initial issue to discuss with regard to the retranslations is to what extent the memory of closely related texts (other than the source text) is embedded in the present retranslation. 'Related texts' include critical literature. It is only in the most recent translation by Parmée that there is an extensive introduction accompanied by a select bibliography of critical works on Zola's novels in general and *Nana* in particular. This apparatus was provided by the translator, who is a specialist in French studies and was previously a fellow at Queen's College, Cambridge.[2] It seems that only after a certain amount of time and when a text has become a classic, an item in the cultural memory, will such an apparatus be included for the use primarily of academically inclined readers. In other words, it is unlikely that the very first translation(s) will be treated in this way.

Vanderschelden (2000, 8) uses the metaphor of 'hot' and 'cold' translations to distinguish a first translation (hot) undertaken soon after publication of the source text, and retranslations (cold), which are undertaken with the distance afforded by passed time and can make use of knowledge of critical reception of the work. 'Cold' translations can also make use of earlier translations and evaluations of those translations. When comparing the five translations, it is noticeable that the translator of Translation D used Translation B[3]: very frequently particular renderings in Translation B are employed verbatim (or nearly verbatim, just changing one word) in the later translation. Here is an example:

> *Nana* 234. C'était une sensation de chute dans la folie de la chair . . .
>
> B 214. He felt as if there were a great downward movement in the direction of fleshly madness . . .
>
> D 230. He felt as if there were a great downward rush in the direction of fleshly madness . . .

Embedding phrases from an 1895 translation in a 1972 translation may be thought to give rise to heterogeneity and even incongruity, since language usage changes over time. However, this does not occur, since the translator of D only adopts the B options if they suit his contemporary standards. Here is an example showing how the translator of B did not reuse the earlier translation, probably because the colloquial language of the time, in particular the term 'squint', is now not well known:

Nana 256. Il y a un tas d'emmerdeurs
B 236. there's a whole heap of damned squints about
D 253. there's a lot of bastards running after me

We have then the example of translator D remembering Translation B through textual reiteration, but also on occasion deliberately forgetting Translation B if renderings were not deemed appropriate or alternatives were preferred. Indeed, translating always involves choices from a range of alternatives, and thus there is an inexhaustible potential for retranslation. It must also be acknowledged that translator D had first to remember (consult) Translation B in order to forget (reject) its renderings on occasion. Similarly, for the other retranslations, it may have been a case of the translator consulting earlier translations (remembering them), before deliberately deciding to strike out on his own (forgetting them).

Memorial Relations of Source Text and Retranslations

With regard to textual memory, a primary relation to observe is how the source text is remembered through its representation in the different translations. It is interesting to investigate how and why different ways of remembering the source text have been produced, which should shed light on the question of why earlier translations were forgotten in the sense of superseded in the production of new translations. I will evoke several reasons why the novel was retranslated a number of times across a 100-year span, investigating how the five translations are different and giving examples from them.

Restoring Memory of the Source Text

I start with what seems to be the most striking aspect of the set of translations, which concerns the contrast between the first translation (published in 1884) and the retranslations. Zola's *Nana* is the story of a Parisian working-class girl, Nana, who rises in society to become a famous courtesan. Given the subject matter as well as Zola's naturalist writing style, there are many references to sensuality and sex, and the language is quite explicit. Such features were not acceptable to the British Victorian middle-class ideology of moral uprightness and 'delicacy'. An important aspect of delicacy was linguistic prudishness: verbal references to sex, sensuality, bodily functions and sensual parts of the body were avoided, or euphemisms were used. Another aspect of delicacy was the avoidance of swearing; in particular, 'taking the Lord's name in vain' was not acceptable. This links to the prevailing piousness

and religious conservatism of the time (Weeks 1981; Perrin 1969). The effect of the Victorian middle-class ideology is apparent in the way Translation A was undertaken. The contextual background to Translation A (1884) is that the publisher, Henry Vizetelly, wished to publish popular editions in English of Zola's works. Given the aim of publication for a broad readership, the powerful middle class and its ideology, and the threat of prosecution under the Obscene Publications Act, the publisher/translator undertook 'self-censorship' in the translation (Merkle 2000). In order to ensure the existence and survival of the translation, such action was needed. Later eras were more relaxed in mores with attention to matters of freedom of speech and communication; subsequent translations do not show the heavy degree of self-censorship of the first. Reinstating renderings of certain elements of the original in order to provide a more complete memory of the source text is an important motivation for retranslation. Let us examine some examples.

Minor omission is a common way of dealing with 'offensive' parts of the source text in Translation A. In the first example the list of body parts of the original is replaced by the single term, a superordinate, 'body', whereas the retranslations do not operate this reduction:

Example 1

> *Nana* 159. . . . avec ses rires, avec sa gorge et sa croupe, gonflés de vices [with her laughter, her bosom and her rump swollen with vices][4]
>
> A 124. with her smiles and her body full of vice
>
> B 142. with her laughter, and her bosom, and her hips, which seemed swollen with many vices
>
> C 117. with her laughter, her bosom and her rump swollen out with wickedness
>
> D 155. with her laughter, her breasts and her crupper, which seemed swollen with vice
>
> E 129. with her laugher, her breasts, the curves of her buttocks [. . .] vicious to the core.

Another regularly used technique of self-censorship in Translation A is substitution. In the following example, Translations A and C substitute a phrase with a quite different meaning from the source text. It is interesting to speculate whether 1950s Britain (Translation C) was like the Victorian era in being inhospitable to such direct sexual references:

Example 2

> *Nana* 100. –Tout de même on coucherait avec, déclara Fauchery. ['All the same you'd sleep with her', declared Fauchery.]
>
> A 72. 'All the same she's a fine woman,' declared Fauchery.
>
> B 85. 'All the same, all right in bed,' declared Fauchery.
>
> C 67. 'All the same, she's nicely made,' declared Fauchery.
>
> D 96. 'All the same, she'd be all right in bed,' declared Fauchery.
>
> E 74. 'All the same, she's eminently bedworthy', said Fauchery.

A less frequently found technique is to leave the offending word in the foreign language without explanation, as in the following example. Note also the euphemistic expression of Translation B, and the following three translations, which are very close to the source text:

Example 3

> *Nana* 388. Nana était enceinte de trois mois [Nana was three months pregnant]
>
> A 324. Nana was three months *enceinte*
>
> B 364. Nana had been in the family way for the past three months
>
> C 313. Nana was three months pregnant
>
> D 385. Nana had been pregnant for the last three months
>
> E 344. Nana was three months pregnant

The examples already given relate to sex, sensuality and the body. Religion is another area in which self-censorship is undertaken in Translation A. 'God' ('Dieu') is not used in expletives. Finding any similarity between religion and prostitution would certainly not have been acceptable to the Victorian church.[5] In the following passage Nana in a stage role is compared with God; Translation A makes impossible any reference to the Christian God:

Example 4

> *Nana* 464. Paris la verrait toujours comme ça, allumée au milieu du cristal, en l'air, ainsi qu'un bon Dieu. [Paris would always see her like

> that, illuminated in the midst of the crystal, in the air, like a good God.]
>
> A 389. Paris would ever see her thus, beaming in the midst of the crystal, poised in the air like a goddess.
>
> B 436. Paris would always picture her thus – would see her shining high up among crystal glass like the good God Himself.
>
> C 378. Paris would always see her like that: brightly illuminated in the centre of the crystal, high in the air, just as a good God might be.
>
> D 460. Paris would always see her like that, shining high up in the midst of all that glittering crystal, like the Blessed Sacrament.
>
> E 415. Paris would always see her like that, blazing with light in the middle of all that crystal, floating in the air like an image of the good Lord.

These examples show that Translation A often forgot/suppressed/modified elements of the source text that were remembered/restored in later translations; in this way Zola's desire to champion freedom of literary expression was upheld by the later translators. There is a clear overlap between social ideologies and literary norms, in that what is considered acceptable in literary texts is affected by current social mores, as will be developed in the following discussion.

Dialectical Relations of Past and Present in Textual Memory

Memory is a construction that relates the past to the present involving ongoing transformation. Another important reason for retranslation is relating the text from the past to current norms and particular circumstances at the time of translating; the item from the past is approached through the prism of the ever-evolving present. Retranslations that adapt to the literary, linguistic and translational norms of their era are welcomed by the reading public and thus publishers, and are an effective means of keeping the text alive and memorable (Rigney 2010, 351). In Victorian times the dominant norm in the writing of novels was a certain 'delicacy' of expression, of which we have seen evidence in Translation A's renderings in the previous section. Novels had to be written with young, innocent girls in mind as prospective readers (Perrin 1969). This is not the norm in contemporary English literature: (religious) swear words and explicit reference to sex and sensuality are acceptable. The following example is wonderfully 'tidy' in that it could illustrate how the norm with regard to the expression of sensuality in

literature changed gradually over time. Each rendering is more explicit than the previous one:

Example 5

> *Nana* 416. ce fleuve d'or dont le flot lui coulait entre les membres [this river of gold whose stream flowed between her limbs]
>
> A 347. this everflowing river of gold
>
> B 390. a river of gold, the tide of which almost enveloped her
>
> C 336. this great river of gold, the flood of which ran between her legs
>
> D 412. this river of gold which flowed between her legs
>
> E 369. this stream of money flowing through her thighs

Of course, the progression is not so easily displayed in other passages. One interesting effect of the norm of sensual explicitness in contemporary literature is that on occasion where there does not seem to be a sensual connotation in the French, the most recent translations (D and E) add a sensual reference. The shift over the 100-year period from censorship of sexual allusions to addition of sexual allusions in translations of the source text demonstrates the strength of the target-culture component of the past–present memorial dialectic. Here is an example of addition of a sexual allusion in translations D and E:

Example 6

> *Nana* 88. La grande chaise avait une mine chiffonnée, un renversement de dossier qui l'amusaient, maintenant. [The big chair had a rumpled look, a curve in the back which now amused him.]
>
> A 63. The big easy-chair had a tumbled look, and a curve in the back which now rather amused him.
>
> B 74. The big chair had a rumpled look – its nether cushions had been rumbled, a fact which now amused him.
>
> C 57. The big chair had a rumpled expression with its back cushion reversed; and now it amused him.
>
> D 84. The big chair had a rumpled look, its back a suggestive slant which now amused him.

E 63. That large armchair had a saucy look, its back was tipped up in a way, which, on reflection, was amusingly suggestive.

Turning now to linguistic norms, the justification often given for retranslations is to produce a translation in contemporary target language, which is therefore acceptable to a contemporary readership. We saw a case of this earlier in the discussion of translator D's decision sometimes not to reuse Translation B renderings. A striking example of a change of linguistic norms reflected in the translations is the following. At issue is the rendering of the French 'fille', which means loose woman/prostitute. The term is translated 'gay women' in Translation A: in late nineteenth-century English this meant a loose woman, whereas in contemporary English the term means a lesbian. Clearly, the later translators could not use the early rendering. Here is the passage concerned:

Example 7

Nana 199. éprouvant cette sorte d'obsession qu'exercent les filles sur les bourgeoises les plus dignes. [feeling the kind of obsession that loose women inspire in the most worthy middle-class ladies.]

A 159. experiencing that kind of witchery exercised by gay women over the most respectable ladies.

B 180. gave evidence of the absorbing curiosity with which notorious courtesans are able to inspire even the worthiest old ladies.

C 150. feeling the sort of obsession which strumpets arouse in the most worthy middle-class matrons.

D 195. revealing that obsessive fascination which courtesans exert on the worthiest of ladies.

E 166. with the sort of obsessive fascination that the most respectable women feel towards ladies of easy virtue.

Notice the rendering in Translation E, 'ladies of easy virtue'. This phrase is typical of Victorian expressions. Translators may not conform to the modernizing trend, and may deliberately archaize in translating a source text from an earlier period, in order to evoke a flavour of the period or a feel for the character being described. In doing so, the translator calls on his or her knowledge of target-cultural memory in terms of past target-language usage that is still familiar today.

As far as translational norms are concerned, there has evidently been a change with respect to the completeness and 'faithfulness' of a translation. Throughout Translation A there are a large number of minor changes with respect to the source text, in particular substitutions and omissions. And yet it is stated on the title page that this translation has been undertaken 'without abridgment'. Today's translational norms would not accept such a translation as unabridged. Changed translational norms as well as changed ideological mores influencing literary norms both support the restoration of memory of the source text through retranslations.

Heterogeneity and Individuality

Seeking explanations for retranslation, for why a new translation was called for in terms of past–present dialectical relations in textual memory, seems to be obstructed by the presence of heterogeneity. Translations A and B present a significant case of heterogeneity in that they belong to the same time period, the late nineteenth century, Translation B being produced only 11 years after Translation A. In principle they should both be subject to Victorian mores, but as can be seen in the earlier examples, Translation B does not shy away from sexual topics or unflattering religious references, and therefore seems surprisingly modern. The explanation for this is to be found in the context of production of Translation B. This translation was produced by the Lutetian Society, a secret literary society that had a restricted membership composed of the elite ruling classes. The aim of this society was to produce unexpurgated translations of continental literature for the limited number of its members; 310 copies of *Nana* were published (Merkle 2003). Private societies were able to subvert the dominant ideologies and norms, since they were not subject to censorship. Quite different conditions elicited the two translations, even though they were produced in the same time period, and it is the different contexts that explain the divergence between the translations.

A further significant source of heterogeneity is when a translation is inconsistent with its own regularities. As mentioned in the previous paragraph, Translation B is a close translation of the source text and does not comply with Victorian niceties. However, on occasion the Victorian mode of expression infiltrates the translation, as in Example 3 where 'enceinte' [pregnant] is translated by the Victorian expression 'in the family way'. Furthermore, like Translation A, Translation B is sometimes toned down to be less direct or explicit than the original text. There are also instances of past translations 'haunting' present ones. In

Example 2, Translation C seems to be a throw-back to Translation A in its bowdlerization. The rendering of Translation E in Example 7, which brings a Victorian expression 'ladies of easy virtue' into the most recent translation (to translate 'filles'), could be interpreted as a 'haunting', evoking memory of the past, and it is heterogeneous, since elsewhere in the translation the translator uses 'tart' to translate the French word. 'Ladies of easy virtue' has an old-worldly quaintness about it, just like Translation E's expression 'eminently bedworthy' in Example 2. This could illustrate a case of individuality, showing Translator E's particular style of translation with an archaizing touch. Although Translators D and E belong to the same contemporary period, Translator E's style contrasts markedly with Translator D's, since D tends to use contemporary swear words (e.g. 'fuck') in the translation. This illustrates another type of heterogeneity within the same time period.

The comparative examples from the retranslations display an almost contradictory state: the particularity of specific contexts and styles, and their non-particularity due to the fluidity between time periods, contexts, styles and retranslations. Rather than thinking of memory expressed through retranslations as a straightforward dialectic between past source culture and present target culture, it needs to be conceived as a relation of multiple presents and multiple pasts. This is why simple explanations of retranslation such as gradual improvement over time or shift towards target orientation (Berman 1995; Bensimon 1990) are not tenable. As well as expressing power relations in society (such as the influence of the powerful British middle class), and being influenced by commercial motivations (it is texts that will sell well that are published), the (re)translations of *Nana* can be seen as part of a memorial textual system with its own manner of functioning. In this system textual versions are potentially limitless: the source text brings the past into the future as it is reiterated in a new context, and it calls forth further texts (including (re)translations) that link back to the earlier text. Influenced by the new context, (re)translations retain or cancel – that is, recall or relegate to oblivion – aspects of the text(s) they derive from or are related to (Translation A, notably, cancelled various sensual and sacrilegious references of the original text). Textual versions are related to all other versions, such that they haunt/point forward to/evoke the memory of others, creating a certain amount of textual heterogeneity. Importantly, retranslations contribute (along with other remediations such as artworks, television programmes and films) to producing and perpetuating *Nana* as a transcultural memory site, and conversely the

continuing production of retranslations, reprints and new editions is fuelled by the fact of the existing memory site.

Constructing Human Rights: A Network of Historical Documents

Our second case study concerns the memory site of 'human rights'. The political right of democratic election and representation, the civil right of an equitable justice system, the right of freedom of expression and the right of a people to self-determination are just some of the human rights that we recognize today, which evolved over a long period of time through being worked out in a series of great historical documents dealing with rights. Among these documents the following are prominent: Magna Carta (1215); the Scottish Declaration of Arbroath (1320); the Petition of Right (1628); the English Bill of Rights (1689); the American Declaration of Independence and Virginia Bill of Rights (1776); the French Déclaration des droits de l'homme et du citoyen (1789); and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (1948). In this centuries-long chain of texts, each document was inspired in its content by earlier documents in the chain; in other words, each document depended on and embedded the memory of earlier documents. At the same time, each document took the thinking on rights one step forward, in much the same way that memory is not a matter of repetition but of reconstruction in the new present context. The documents were written in different languages, Latin, French and English; interlingual translation played a vital role in facilitating communication of the documents to different linguistic constituencies. Mechanisms that were just as important in the development of rights discourse were reworking of a translated text in a new document, intralingual translation (resulting in interpretative transformations in a new document in the same language) and other types of contextual and material changes. From the point of view of users of documents, whether the document was a translation from another language or not did not matter; they made use of texts, reiterated and built on ideas embodied in texts, regardless of the linguistic status of the texts on which they drew. It will be shown in this section that interlingual translation is a significant process that combines with other processes in the operation of textual memory. I first introduce the network of great historical documents, before examining the conditions and mechanisms of the gradual diachronic construction of the 'human rights' memory site.

Magna Carta (1215) is the most famous of European medieval documents relating to rights. The Great Charter was drawn up by a group of English barons who had grievances against King John. Among a number of very specific issues concerning feudal administrative matters, there are some 'chapters' (the name for the paragraphs of the text) that set out general principles, and it is these that have had lasting political importance. Provisions sought to place 'free men' (those of knightly rank and some smaller landholders) under the protection of the law, to enforce royal governance by counsel with great men of the land, and to envision government as a compact between people and ruler (Turner 2003, 71–76). Memory of the words 'freedom', 'liberties' and 'rights' (English translation of the original Latin in Magna Carta) was to resonate down the centuries through reuse. Although the notion of rights was to change from socially endowed to inherent to human beings, the seeds of the notion were planted in this early text with its strong statements, such as chapter 63:

> Wheretofore We will, and firmly charge, that the English Church shall be free, and that the men in Our kingdom shall have and hold all the aforesaid liberties, rights, and concessions, well and peaceably, freely, quietly, fully, and wholly, to them and their heirs, of Us and Our heirs, in all things and places forever, as is aforesaid. (English translation, Howard 1998, 54)

Like Magna Carta, the Declaration of Arbroath (1320), a letter to the pope, was issued by a group of barons, supporters of King Robert Bruce of Scotland. The noticeable memorial link with Magna Carta is the Scottish barons' assertiveness with regard to their king: they express their right to depose the king if he does not protect their rights. Linda MacDonald-Lewis (2009, 9) considers this a particularly important point with regard to the development of democracy, since for the first time it expresses the idea that a people can both choose a leader and depose him. In the context of the excommunication of King Robert for violating a papal truce and the instability of Robert's position as king, the letter aimed to mollify the pope and to do so in a way that depicted a unified Scotland with King Robert at its head. In the context of the Anglo-Scottish war, the letter requested that the pope should write to Edward II of England to request that he leave the Scots in peace (Duncan 1970; Bruce 2007).

In the seventeenth century, rather than barons struggling with kings, it was parliament that desired to ensure its role and curb the power of the king. As a reaction to Charles I's authoritative acts, the commons

presented the 1628 Petition of Right. Memory of Magna Carta was embedded through the restatement of principles of the rule of law in the Petition; due process of the law was extended to men of any status, and liberties were elaborated on such that no one should be compelled to give gifts, make loans or pay taxes to the king 'without common consent by act of Parliament'. With the institution of King William of Orange and Mary, a new charter was debated to define both the king's rights and his subjects' liberties in the 1689 Bill of Rights. Again, the memory of previous charters informed this one, which made Parliament definitively a branch of government superior to the monarch (Turner 2003, 157, 167). The Bill refers explicitly to its dependence on a tradition of rights:

> The said Lords Spiritual and Temporal and Commons in Parliament assembled, for the ratifying, confirming and establishing the said declaration [...] do pray that it may be declared and enacted that all and singular the rights and liberties asserted and claimed in the said declaration are the true, ancient and indubitable rights and liberties of the people of this kingdom, and so shall be esteemed, allowed, adjudged, deemed and taken to be.

In the eighteenth century, the settlers in North America clung fiercely to their rights as Englishmen, guarding against arbitrary government and promoting all citizens' rights and liberties. The founding fathers embedded memory of Magna Carta and subsequent English bills of rights in their own documents, the Declaration of Independence, American state constitutions and bills of rights (1776), and the subsequent Constitution and Bill of Rights of the United States (Turner 2003). It is also said that Scottish Americans drafting the fundamental American documents were influenced by concepts embodied in the Declaration of Arbroath with regard to the questions of freedoms and sovereignty of the people (Cowan 2003, 24). Certainly the reference to the English king's tyranny in the Declaration of Independence evokes the past history of Scotland as portrayed in Arbroath.

As well as notions from the English tradition, the concepts expressed in the American documents were a powerful guide or foil in the conception of principles by the French National Assembly at the time of the French Revolution (Marienstras and Wulf 1999). In particular, the French Déclaration des droits de l'homme et du citoyen (Declaration of the Rights of Man and the Citizen; 1789) drew direct inspiration from the Virginia Bill of Rights of 1776, which embodied a clear sense

of the universality of human rights, to be taken still further by the Déclaration. Rights were now considered to be 'naturels, inaliénables et sacrés' [natural, inalienable and sacred]. The French Declaration of 1789 is recognized as having had a fundamental role in the area of universal human rights. During the period of the French Revolution, debates on rights and implementation of the Déclaration in practice were explicit, heated and ahead of their time. From a starting point where only propertied white Catholic men had rights, these debates resulted in an impressive expansion of attribution of civil and political rights in France to Calvinists, Jews, men of colour and men with no property or wealth (Hunt 1996, 1–32).

Memory of the French Déclaration is reprised textually in what is today the most important international document regarding human rights, the Universal Declaration of Human Rights adopted by the United Nations in 1948.[6] The corpus of texts described here constitutes a network of texts in the Western tradition. It is important to recognize that, perhaps contrary to popular belief, the UN Universal Declaration of Human Rights (1948) was not simply a matter of the imposition of Western thought on the rest of the world. The drafting commission consisted of 18 members, all from different countries and cultural backgrounds (Hoover 2013). A culminating point in the story of rights is the agreement of the world's nations that:

> Recognition of the inherent dignity and of the equal and inalienable rights of all members of the human family is the foundation of freedom, justice and peace in the world. (UN Universal Declaration of Human Rights, preamble)

Conditions and Mechanisms of Memory Construction

This description has provided a sketch of relations and influences in a series of documents related to rights over a long time period. We have also caught glimpses of specific use of language in the texts and translation. Our focus will now be on elaborating how the interactions, influences and development of texts and ideas took place, and how memory of earlier texts was enabled and transformed.

Dissemination

A fundamental condition for the memorialization of texts is their propagation. Memory cannot occur without people first having knowledge of texts, and memory sites of famous documents and concepts are built up through continued reiteration. Multiple dissemination of our

group of texts has taken place, greatly aided by technology in the form of the printing press and more recently digital forms of storage and propagation. With regard to crossing linguistic, cultural and temporal boundaries, interlingual translation has played an important role.

For the medieval documents written in Latin, Magna Carta and the Declaration of Arbroath, translation into the French and English vernaculars was necessary for wide dissemination: knowledge of Latin has been restricted to an elite throughout the centuries, so vernacular translations have been essential in ensuring knowledge of and maintaining memory of the documents. Let us consider early vernacular translations of Magna Carta. J.C. Holt (1974) has identified a French translation of Magna Carta produced in the same year as the original (1215), which he says was used to facilitate communication of the charter's content to people of the English shires. At that time the ruling class in England was French-speaking. Interestingly, the copy of this early French manuscript translation was found not in England, but in France at St Giles' hospital in Pont-Audemer, Normandy. This indicates that the text travelled to France, and that the vernacular translation contributed to ensuring familiarity with the text on the European continent. The French vernacular version would also have been useful in making the text known in Scotland, since at that time the French language brought by Norman settlers had been adopted by the major native families with whom they intermarried, the apogee of this hybrid culture being at about the turn of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries (Duncan 1970, 6). M.T. Clanchy (1993, 220) argues that the fact that there is no extant early English translation of Magna Carta does not mean that it did not exist. On the contrary, the king's sheriffs and other officers were ordered to make the charter known throughout the land, and there is evidence that public readings were made of the charter in both English and French during the thirteenth century. In later times, propagation of Magna Carta and the Declaration of Arbroath in English-speaking countries has depended heavily on English translation. The first translation into English of the Declaration of Arbroath was published in 1689, and it is thanks to this and subsequent English translations, reprints and reiterations that its status became 'mythic'. It is suggested that a copy of the first pamphlet translation of the Declaration of Arbroath reached the US colonies (Cowan 2003, 14).

The important language combination for translation involving two vernaculars in our network of documents is translation between English and French. The revolutionary American documents (Declaration of Independence and state constitutions and bills of rights) were translated

from English into French. Between 1777 and 1786, French translations of the state constitutions and bills of rights were published in France at least five times[7]; the most influential publication was by La Rochefoucauld d'Enville in 1783 (Marienstras & Wulf 1999, 1302, 1305). French translations of American texts presented memory of the source texts that had a powerful influence on ideology in the present new context, and on formulation of the famous French Déclaration of 1789. In the reverse direction, the most noticeable influence of translation of the French Déclaration des droits de l'homme et du citoyen (1789) into English has been its uptake in formulations present in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (1948). The supposedly final point in our network of documents, the Universal Declaration, is not in fact the end, because this document continues to be translated into all the world's languages in order to ensure dissemination of its message. To date it has been translated into 389 languages. This translation effort is an indication of how the United Nations has aimed to make universal human rights the standard of international justice today.

As we have seen, an intertexual memorial web can be traced, a progression of multiple documents and concepts regarding rights. Interlingual translation (notably from Latin to English and French, and between English and French) took on an important function in this process in making texts widely available to broader audiences. Thus, interlingual translation contributed to building transnational and transcultural memory through enabling the influence of great historical documents in different cultural and linguistic spheres, and contributed to the long process of international construction of shared ideals with respect to rights. Translation has participated not only diachronically but also synchronically in keeping the texts alive: all of the texts in our network are well known today, including those written many centuries ago; they have been maintained in the current canon of memory due to reiteration in various modes, often as translated texts.

Remembrance and Transformation

Remembrance depends on propagation and reiteration, but is also dynamic in its content. As was stressed in the study of Zola retranslations, memorial interpretation and reuse of past documents take place through the prism of present concerns, possibilities and circumstances. People may be more or less conscious of the past–present dialectic, in some cases deliberately manipulating presentation of the past; in other cases they are unknowingly subject to present norms and ideologies. In tracing the processes of memorial transformative

construction through texts, discussion will show how questions of framing interrelate with textual, language and translation issues. 'Framing' refers in general to the means by which the meaning of discourse is constructed (see Baker 2006, 105–140). 'Framing' is used here more specifically to designate meaning construction through the way in which a text and concepts from an earlier time period are brought into and used in a new social environment or a new material and textual environment in a more recent time period. The various frameworks and types of transformation have been discussed by translation scholars before (as well as Baker 2006, see Lefevere 1992 and Harvey 2003). It is interesting to examine here how they operate in a diachronic network of texts and how they contribute to memorial construction.

What one may call 'social framing' provides a broad context for imported documents. The specific shape that concerns and debates about rights have taken depends on the particular social and intellectual parameters of each era, and earlier texts have been reinterpreted, remembered and used in those terms. In seventeenth-century England during the power struggle that took place between parliament and king, Magna Carta was used to back up the position of parliament. In order to strengthen the idea of the rights and liberties of parliament, seventeenth-century historians, lawyers and MPs asserted (erroneously) that Magna Carta embodied a very ancient English law, an ancient constitution that pre-dated the Norman Conquest. This was clearly a case of the 'invention of tradition' (Hobsbawm & Ranger 1983). The myth of ancient English rights and liberties was also espoused as their heritage by eighteenth-century Americans, and this combined with the fact that a number of colonists were freedom-loving religious dissenters (Turner 2003, 209) and also with an egalitarian colonial idealism among the white population to produce a more universalistic outlook in their documents. A very important influence in the eighteenth century came from philosophies of natural rights. John Locke proposed the idea that all men had a natural right to life, liberty and property (although 'men' was limited to white propertied men); the French thinkers Jean-Jacques Rousseau and Denis Diderot took a more universalistic approach, proposing that men of all social stations had natural rights. The Enlightenment philosophy of natural rights in combination with revolutionary spirit inspired the great French document of rights to take the memory of earlier rights documents further (Hunt 1996). A strong contemporary influence for the United Nations declaration of human rights lay in the atrocities committed during World War II and the desire to prevent such events re-occurring. Finally, from the

seventeenth century and particularly in recent times, the call for autonomy in Scotland has revived reference to the right of self-determination, of which an embryonic evocation occurs in the Declaration of Arbroath. Remembering earlier documents through the prism of the present leads to anachronisms: one example is considering that Magna Carta affirms the right of trial by jury; another that calls for freedom and rights in various historical documents concern the whole population (it was not until the twentieth century that universal suffrage became an issue and reality in Western countries). As a general movement over the centuries, changing social and intellectual conditions have allowed the memory of earlier documents embedded in subsequent documents to be transformed in two fundamental directions: towards democratization and towards universalization.

Specificities of the social environment are expressed or understood in language, and in the language of texts. Perhaps the most insidious case involving transformation is where the 'same' words have changed meaning over time in new social contexts. There are several examples of this in the Declaration of Arbroath involving translation into English. Mark P. Bruce (2007, 33) argues that the Latin 'libertas' in the fourteenth-century context could mean state or individual freedom as today, but more commonly meant special privilege proprietary to persons in authority. The contemporary translation of the term as 'freedom' evokes democratic rights, and excludes the fourteenth-century complex of meanings. A second example is 'communitas' or 'community'. Again in its current sense this term evokes a broad group of people, whereas at the time the 'community of the realm', which is said to be represented by the document, was a group of barons, of 'wise men' (Fergusson 1970, 28). Finally, 'nacio' in the fourteenth-century context refers to people obedient to a king, with no specific sense of ethnic or cultural distinctiveness (Broun 2003, 7), and therefore does not involve the sense of today's 'nationality'. Overall, rather than concerning the rights of a limited number of barons, these linguistic features mean that Arbroath is remembered as invoking the rights and liberties of the whole country and its people. A conscientious translator/commentator might choose to footnote the terms discussed here, but such is generally not the case, particularly when sentences are decontextualized and transported into popular contexts.

Another source of transformation in memorial construction of a text is the greater flexibility of translations as compared to original texts, which means that additions, deletions and transformations can be made to translated texts; these may reflect an interpretation influenced by the

current social context, or even a deliberate manipulation to better fit with a current agenda. The very first English translation of the Declaration of Arbroath, in 1689, which set the trend for its entire subsequent understanding, makes certain interpretative additions. A title page is added:

> A Letter from the Nobility, Barons and Commons of Scotland [...] wherein they declare their firm Resolutions to adhere to their King Robert the Bruce, as the restorer of the Safety and Liberties of the People, and as having the true Right of Succession. (quoted in Bruce 2007, 139)

The intention of the translator/writer, George McKenzie, was to provide evidence at the time of the 1688–89 British monarchical crisis that the crown of Scotland was not subject to England. Subsequently the translated text was interpreted as supporting both nationalistic and democratic rights (Bruce 2007, 140). Furthermore, the original document was a letter to the pope, but from the seventeenth century it came to be known as a declaration, a title that strongly frames the document, conferring on it a genre, status and intention not part of the original.

More subtle are partial reprises with transformations and expansions including paraphrases of parts of the earlier document, changes that again embed memory of the earlier text and transform it in line with a new social context and its concerns and possibilities. Let us trace a series of these transformations that operate through both intralingual and interlingual translation. The chapter of Magna Carta that has been the most influential for posterity, chapter 39, reads as follows in English translation:

> No free man shall be taken, imprisoned, dispossessed, outlawed, banished, or in any way destroyed, nor will We [the king] proceed against or prosecute him, except by the lawful judgements of his peers or by the law of the land. (Howard 1998, 45)[8]

Compare part of article seven of the Petition of Right (1628), which contains explicit reference to Magna Carta and places a new importance on the role of parliament:

> and by the said Great Charter and other laws and statutes of this your realm, no man ought to be adjudged to death but by the laws

> established in this your realm, either by the customs of the same realm, or by acts of parliament [. . .].

Compare also article eight from the Virginia Bill of Rights (1776), which, through elaboration, places more emphasis on the individual's rights and incorporates explicitly the notion of trial by jury, often said to stem from Magna Carta:

> That in all capital or criminal prosecutions a man hath a right to demand the cause and nature of his accusation, to be confronted with the accusers and witnesses, to call for evidence in his favour, and to a speedy trial by an impartial jury of his vicinage, without whose unanimous consent he cannot be found guilty, nor can he be compelled to give evidence against himself; that no man be deprived of his liberty except by the law of the land, or the judgment of his peers.

Sidestepping to a seminal passage in another document, as I mentioned earlier the context of the American Revolution and eighteenth-century political philosophy fostered a greater sense of universality of rights, which is expressed in the first article of the Virginia Bill of Rights:

> That all men are by nature equally free and independent, and have certain inherent rights, of which, when they enter into a state of society, they cannot, by any compact, deprive or divest their posterity; namely, the enjoyment of life and liberty, with the means of acquiring and possessing property, and pursuing and obtaining happiness and safety.

The first two articles of the French Déclaration des droits de l'homme et du citoyen embed memory of the American ideas, but with a more forceful exposition by declaring that the protection of these rights is the goal of governments:

> Article 1: Les hommes naissent et demeurent libres et égaux en droits. Les distinctions sociales ne peuvent être fondées que sur l'utilité commune.
>
> Article 2: Le but de toute association politique est la conservation des droits naturels et imprescriptibles de l'homme. Ces droits sont la liberté, la propriété, la sûreté et la résistance à l'oppression. (Rebérioux et al., 1989, 111)

> [Article 1: Men are born and remain free and equal in rights. Social distinctions may be based only on common utility.
>
> Article 2: The purpose of any political association is the preservation of the natural and imprescriptible rights of man. These rights are liberty, property, security and resistance to oppression.]

In the French declaration we see a continued evocation of Magna Carta, but flavoured by the local climate in the mention of duties of the 'citoyen' [citizen]:

> Article 7: Nul homme ne peut être accusé, arrêté, ni détenu que dans les cas déterminés par la Loi, et selon les formes qu'elle a prescrites. Ceux qui sollicitent, expédient, exécutent ou font exécuter des ordres arbitraires, doivent être punis; mais tout Citoyen appelé ou saisi en vertu de la Loi doit obéir à l'instant.
>
> [Article 7: No man may be indicted, arrested or detained except in cases determined by the Law and according to the forms which it has prescribed. Those who seek, expedite, execute or cause to be executed arbitrary orders should be punished; but Citizens summoned or seized by virtue of the Law should obey instantly.]

The final link in our series of excerpts from the network of documents is the first sentence of the first article of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (1948). One of the main drafters of the Declaration was Frenchman René Cassin, who believed that the French rights tradition, focused on the equal legal standing of all citizens, should be expanded to the international level (Hoover 2013, 238). The first sentence of the first article is very close to the first article of the French Declaration, except that 'men' is replaced by 'human beings', reflecting the very different twentieth-century social context with regard to attitudes towards and roles of women, as compared with the eighteenth century:

> All human beings are born free and equal in dignity and rights. (United Nations 1948)

Another important feature of the social context of the mid-twentieth century was the growing respect for the world's cultural diversity, as compared with an oppressive colonial mindset. This resulted in cosmopolitan participation in drafting of the UN Declaration. The vice-chair of the drafting commission, Peng-Chung Chang, played a notable

role in discussions of the proposed content of the Declaration. Although the concept of 'rights' seems indeed to stem from Western tradition and was not introduced to China till the nineteenth century, there was a very long Chinese tradition of reflecting on the 'human'. Chang argued for inserting into the text of the Declaration the classical Confucian concept of 仁, 'ren', which he translated literally as 'two-man-mindedness', and which could be translated more felicitously in English as 'the plural human'. The idea is that a human cannot be human without moral relations with others. Consciousness of one's fellow humans, respect for others, social ties and duties to others are primordial. Chang's influence meant that as well as the individualistic tenor of the Declaration, there is also some thinking such as that expressed in article 29, which begins:

> Everyone has duties to the community in which alone the free and full development of his personality is possible.

Liu stresses that not only was there plurality of thought in its genesis, but the translation of the Declaration into 389 different languages has meant that the document has traversed and been embedded with multiple philosophical and cultural traditions (Liu 2014; Hoover 2013).

It is important to note that the social environment in a particular country or cultural sphere is not monolithic: conflicting ideologies, memories and traditions may co-exist and have an impact on linguistic practices. In France today the memory of the French Revolution and of its fundamental declaration, whose title contains the words 'droits de l'homme' [rights of man], has been so strong and is such an important part of French national identity that the expression 'droits de l'homme' as the standard way of expressing 'human rights' has become firmly entrenched in the language and the culture. However, the expression is challenged today by French feminists (see Delphy 2007), who signal its potential ambiguity and dislike the use of 'homme' [man] as a generic term. Furthermore, in other parts of the world where the French language is spoken as an official language, alternatives are being used, notably 'droits humains' (literally 'human rights') and 'droits de la personne' [rights of the person] (see CEDAW session reports). It seems that these alternatives to 'droits de l'homme' both stem from translation. 'Droits humains' is quite obviously a literal translation from English. 'Droits de la personne' reflects the desire not to give in to translationese, to find an expression that sounds natural in French; it is an intralingual translation that draws on the resources of the French language. It is difficult to predict what will happen with this issue. Edward Shils

(1981, 206) points out the strong social tendency of reverence towards the past, particularly towards 'charismatic periods' as the French Revolution surely was, with the Déclaration as its most prestigious document. Yet traditions do change in response to contact with alternative traditions, and in response to changing circumstances and beliefs in society (Shils 1981), as we have shown amply in the discussion of the network of texts. In the case considered here, translation offers the possibility of alternatives and choices that can challenge an entrenched linguistic tradition; translation offers the possibility of reframing, providing a just and invigorating renewal of the great French memory site. Thus, translation can participate in both the construction and the deconstruction of the memory of famous documents and their concepts.

As well as social framing, a further type of framing that is pertinent to the memorialization of texts is material framing. The original texts and early copies of both Magna Carta and the Declaration of Arbroath

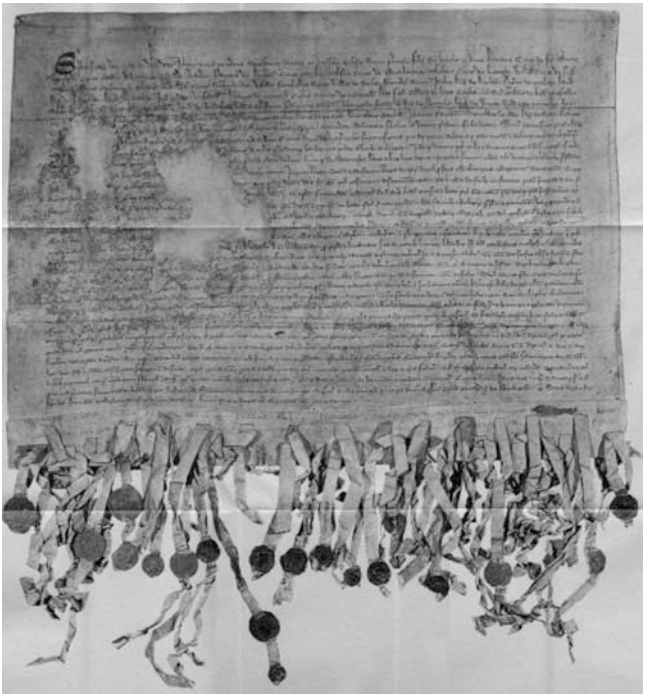

Figure 4.1 The Declaration of Arbroath of 6 April 1320 showing its material appearance (National Records of Scotland, SP13/7)

are medieval parchments with wax seals attached to the bottom (see Figure 4.1). Later print versions and print translations lose such features of manuscript production. Bruce (2007, 139) argues, therefore, that the texts become mechanically mass-reproduced objects, which implies mass consumption and mass comprehensibility and relevance. The material features of English print versions and translations thus reinforce the broadening of representation of meaning of the baronial charter and the baronial letter. So too do popular contemporary material environments such as internet sites, fridge magnets and T-shirts.

With regard to fridge magnets and T-shirts referring to the Declaration of Arbroath, it is certainly not the whole document that is cited, but just one famous sentence in English translation:

> It is in truth not for glory, nor riches, nor honours that we are fighting, but for freedom – for that alone, which no honest man gives up but with life itself. (Fergusson 1970, 9)

It is also the case for Magna Carta that the famous chapter 39, quoted earlier, has been similarly cited and referred to alone out of its original context. The fact that the famous sentences are widely known in English and the memorialization of just one sentence facilitate universalization of import in the modern era. The original context of medieval England and medieval Scotland, their specific social systems and modes of thought with their Latin documents, are easily forgotten when the text is absent with the exception of a modern English translation of one isolated sentence. Decontextualization and recontextualization constitute co-textual framing, which is an important element in the construction of memory (and partial forgetting) of past documents.

A very different case of recontextualization is provided by the French Déclaration des droits de l'homme et du citoyen. In contrast to one sentence being picked out and recontextualized, the whole of the eighteenth-century document has been embedded in a twentieth-century document of great importance in France, the current Constitution of 1958 (revised in 2008). The preamble of the Constitution opens as follows:

> Le peuple français proclame solennellement son attachement aux Droits de l'homme et aux principes de la souveraineté nationale tels qu'ils ont été définis par la Déclaration de 1789, confirmée et complétée par le préambule de la Constitution de 1946 [...]. (Conseil Constitutionnel 1958/2008)

> [The French people solemnly proclaim their attachment to the Rights of man and to the principles of national sovereignty such as they were defined by the Declaration of 1789, confirmed and completed by the preamble of the 1946 Constitution [...].]

The text of the 1789 Déclaration is appended to the Constitution. The Déclaration, its concepts and its words have become fundamental in French politics, culture and tradition. This explains the resistance described earlier in clinging to the expression 'droits de l'homme' in the face of changing social norms and gender politics.

Recontextualization can also consist of framing through paratexts; that is, complementary texts acting as commentary on the famous document. There have been many studies done of Magna Carta in which the text in English translation with or without the Latin original is complemented by a commentary, or a whole book is written about Magna Carta with versions of the document in the appendix. On a lesser scale are the reprintings of the Declaration of Arbroath in original and English translation accompanied by a commentary. In all cases the commentaries have reflected and influenced interpretation and memorialization of the famous text, with an emphasis on the contemporary understanding and appreciation of the text, and at the same time on its ageless significance. Here, for example, is an extract from near the end of A.E. Dick Howard's 1998 commentary on Magna Carta, which precedes the text in English translation:

> The collapse of Communism in the Soviet Union and in its satellite states in Central and Eastern Europe gave new hope to millions of people long denied the fruits of constitutionalism and the rule of law. Country after country, free from tyrannical oppression, turned to the task of building a new order. Just as the barons' resistance to King John produced Magna Carta, so the liberal revolutions in the postcommunist world saw new constitutions being written. So rich is the tradition of the Great Charter, so readily identified with ideas that have taken root far beyond English soil, that one should not be surprised to find in those new constitutions formulas that bear resemblance to the lasting ideals of Magna Carta. (Howard 1998, 31)

Finally, interlingual translations constitute a frame in their own right. As we saw in earlier examples, a translation may hide the (old) origin of the text. Additionally, the micro level of particular renderings of individual words must not be neglected, because renderings may have

important interpretative implications; it is words that frame our understanding of texts and of the world. There have been various discussions among scholars about how best to translate certain passages of Magna Carta. A great deal of discussion has taken place about the meaning of the final phrase of chapter 39, and this discussion was sparked by the English translation. Here is the Latin source text for the English translation provided earlier:

> Nullus liber homo capiatur, vel imprisonetur, aut disseisiatur, aut utlagetur, aut exuletur, aut aliquo modo destruatur, nec super eum ibimus, nec super eum mittemus, nisi per legale judicium parium suorum vel per legem terre.

The problem is that the Latin 'vel' in the final phrase can mean 'and' or 'or'. So it is not clear whether 'the lawful judgements of peers' and 'the law of the land' are to be taken as jointly required, or as two alternative procedures. Holt (1965, 227) argues that they were intended as loose but not exclusive alternatives: men should be judged by their peers or by some other method that was in accordance with the law of the land. Consideration of interlingual renderings thus highlights interpretative matters, and refines thinking on and memorial reconstruction of the famous document.

The network of documents studied involves the domain of people's rights. These crucial concepts have been kept alive, reshaped and developed through remediation, which institutes individual famous documents, the network of documents and the fundamental concepts as transcultural memory sites. Interlingual, intralingual, material and co-textual translation/transformation have played an important role in the dissemination of ideas and in the memorial construction and deconstruction of the texts, involving shifts of meaning in new cultural and historical contexts. Overall, the proliferation that is inherent to remediation contributes to both the maintenance and the stability of memory of a great historical document, as well as to change and renewal in memory, which are necessary features of cultural survival and development.

In this chapter I undertook two case studies examining multiple retranslations of Zola's *Nana*, and a series of famous documents that figure in the history of (human) rights. Both cases illustrate phenomena of textual memory, whereby memory of previous texts is embedded in the present text according to various mechanisms: textual

reprise, allusion, further development of ideas or challenge through textual and/or ideational contrast. In this way series of texts are linked together across long time periods. Interlingually translated texts participate along with original-language texts in these textual memory chains. Interlingual translation plays the important role of propagating cultural products and ideas across linguistic borders; and cultural translation as explication and critical processual translation as transformation enter into the production of new textual products in the memory chain.

5
National and Transnational Memory

In a gradual progression across the chapters we have built up from the individual to the social group, then to the nation and the transnational sphere, first introduced in Chapter 4 through the topic of textual memory. This chapter explores more explicitly the topics of national and transnational memory and identity. Memory is an important social phenomenon because of its functions with regard to collectivities. Within a sociocultural group, memory regarding certain events or people can take on symbolic force, which as well as a signifying function and a didactic or directive function also has a unifying function. Indeed, arguably the most important function of memory is to uphold the cohesion and identity of the group, since communities are constituted in large measure by a collective conception of their past. The past is viewed as both the breeding and testing ground by today's collectivities, and the collective past confers durability on the social unit and its identity. The commemoration of traumatic events, memory of foundational events, traditions, emblems and symbolic sites of the past powerfully evoke and define communities to which they have given rise (Cubitt 2007). As ever we must recognize a processual dialectic: identity is sustained by remembering, and what is remembered is shaped by the assumed identity (Gillis 1994, 3).

The collective conception of the past may be embodied in group structures and norms, in formal commemorative occasions and monuments, or in stories about the group past. Discourse and narrative play an important role in the construction of national identity. Hall (1996) explains that the 'narrative of the nation' provides a set of stories, images, landscapes, scenarios, historical events, national symbols and rituals that are said to represent the shared experiences, sorrows, triumphs and disasters that give meaning to the nation. The narrative

places emphasis on origins (a foundational story and original people), continuity, tradition and timelessness. Politicians evoke glorious narratives of the past in order to galvanize the nation, but more recently governments have also faced up to memory of the nation's less glorious past in making apologies to victims of war or colonization (Olick 2007); as mentioned in the Preface, in 1996 the British queen visited New Zealand and apologized for the crown's not honouring the Treaty of Waitangi in colonial treatment of Maori people's land. Levy and Sznaider (2010, 5) argue that memory politics of human rights norms has now become a prerequisite for state legitimacy. Such developments have no doubt come about through recognition being given to alternative narratives. Contestation of narratives may occur when there is unresolved disagreement in a community over interpretation of and attitudes towards a past event; group thinking is not uniform. Contestation may refer to a situation where within a group the dominant or current memory or interpretation of an event is challenged by an alternative interpretation being put forward, a 'counter-memory'. Contestation can also refer to the situation where several different groups in society promote different interpretations, different memories of the past. A minority group, for example, may assert an alternative version of the past (Brownlie 2013).

Despite the increasing diversity within the national unit as a result of global movement and communication of people and thus the potentially increased diversity of memory cultures within the nation-state unit, the concept of national identity remains a powerful force today, both politically and culturally. In his review of explanations of the national unit and nationalism, Smith (1999) proposes that what gives nationalism its power are the myths, memories, traditions and symbols of heritages and pasts, because they have strong popular and affective dimensions, creating a bond in the community. A particular national identity may be possible because the diverse peoples in terms of different regions and immigrant populations experience a sense of unity through adopting common knowledge, common memory and shared affectivity regarding the past. Our era, which is more ready to accept complexity and multiculturalism, also accepts multiple and hybrid memory narratives. Smith (1999, 87) says that diversity in national memory is downplayed in 'times of danger', and at other times has the beneficial effect of raising community self-consciousness and allowing regeneration.

Highlighting diversity within the construct of the national unit may open onto a different way of conceiving memory. In a powerful article

questioning the basis of the field of memory studies, Erll (2011) argues that too much attention has been given to national memory in a static, self-contained, homogeneous framework. She proposes that instead the focus should be on memory as movement. Erll (2011, 12) affirms that in the production of cultural memory people, media, mnemonic contents and practices are all in motion. Memory has in fact always been constituted through movement across territories: consider, for example, the wide influence of the ancient Greek thinkers; in our contemporary world the ease of movement of people and cultural products as well as electronic communication have increased this phenomenon. All types of memory in fact involve movement. With respect to social units, not only are they fluid and interacting, but social memory can only be created through motion between minds and media, and the movement of ideas among individuals in the group. As for other types of memory, the individual mind partakes of intersecting memories of many groups; textual memory involves travel and transformation; and of course electronic memory relates to flows of data and algorithms.

In this chapter I consider the notions of both national memory and transnational memory, which consists of shared memory across national borders. Transnational memory may be created in various ways. First, memories of shared experiences can be acknowledged, such as memories of similar experiences of people from countries that were involved in the same war. Secondly, knowledge of the history and historical cultural products of one country can be propagated in another, thus creating a shared border-crossing memory. Thirdly, in a comparative mode memory of events that occurred in one geographical and temporal space may be linked notionally to events in a very different geographical and temporal space, such that commonalities can be recognized despite the differences; this is Rothberg's (2009) 'multidirectional memory'. International movement and contacts including colonization, migration, trade and various types of communication have been a source of such sharedness. Sharedness does not mean sameness of understanding or manifestation, since movement across time and space necessarily results in some hybridization.

With regard to the spreading of knowledge and of cultural products transnationally, translation into different languages has played an essential role. In Chapter 3 I mentioned early examples of vast civilizational transfer of scientific and philosophical knowledge through translation in Baghdad and Toledo, and I discussed translation of feminist texts involving both ideas and textual practices as playing a central role in the development of a transnational feminist ideological, writing and

translation affinity group. In Chapter 4 we saw that processes of textual memory involving translation can be a basis for transnational memory, exemplified in the cases of translations of *Nana* (shared transnational memory of a cultural product) and the network of rights documents (shared transnational memory of ideology and great historical documents). The focus in this chapter is particularly on the play between the national and the transnational, and also on synchronic situations as well as diachronic. Importantly, the genre of the historical novel as a vector of memory is examined.

Transnational Memory with National Inflections: The Case of Scott

The case study for this chapter concerns the author Sir Walter Scott (1771–1832) and his works. Scott was chosen for several reasons. He was an author whose novels were translated into a great many languages; this translation abundance was reinforced by further remediations in various other forms such as theatrical versions. The novels were historical novels and they played an important role in popularizing this genre. The type of content of the novels combined with the abundance of their translation and remediation offers an exemplary case for studying the role of translation in spreading knowledge of other people's histories. Furthermore, the case offers an example of how translation contributes to constituting widespread transnational memory of cultural products. Scott also allows us to pursue the human rights theme, since he was often taken, particularly by readers of the translations, to be a defender of less powerful ethnic groups and cultures.

Walter Scott was the most famous and celebrated English-language author of the early nineteenth century. Many consider him to be the founder of the 'historical novel', although this mode of writing has antecedents before the nineteenth century, and Scott synthesized elements of what had gone before (De Groot 2010, 12). Most of Scott's novels dealt with the fairly recent past of Scotland, but his best-known novel today, *Ivanhoe* (1819), dealt with medieval England. Scott's genre of historical novel was innovative in that it combined detailed description of customs, artefacts, the environment and life at the historical time; imaginary ordinary people as the main characters with famous historical figures such as kings in the background; and a strong adventure story component (Wesseling 1991). His historical novel was a vehicle for conveying historical knowledge that was complementary to historiographical writings at the time in that it brought to life the daily

lives of people. A narrative form is used by both historians and writers of historical fiction, and narrative (structuring information as a story with a beginning, middle and end) seems to be powerful with respect to memory, since a narrative sticks in our mind – it is memorable. Rigney (2010, 347) argues that, unlike the historian who must follow protocols regarding evidence, the novelist has the freedom to invent characters and incidents, to simplify the complexity and messiness of historical actuality through selection, to modify and reorganize historical detail in order to fit into a vibrant tale, to focus on only a few characters and thus bring them to life and allow the reader to empathize with them, to give closure to events, which appeals to the reader, and to add a moralizing dimension. In addition, the novelist deploys expressive, creative and specifically literary skills that give aesthetic value to the work. Such features of the historical novel attract and hold the attention of readers. Rigney (2004, 391) reaches the following somewhat startling conclusion about the power of the literary form: 'Memories crafted by [literary] writers may prove more tenacious in practice than those based on facts which have not been submitted to the same creative reworking'.

Furthermore, Rigney (2004, 389) argues that literary works – by virtue of their poetic and fictional properties – have a distinctive role to play not only in reawakening memories in later generations, but also in arousing interest in histories that are not 'one's own'. Literary texts can thus be important channels for broadening the horizons of what one considers one's own heritage; in other words for creating transnational memory, which occurs mainly via interlingual translation.

From 1805 Scott was already known for his poetry, but it was his historical novels that were to have a much more profound influence. His first historical novel, *Waverley* (1814), was mass produced using the new printing technology of the time and it was marketed to a wide audience. Novels were the first mass-produced literary genre in the early nineteenth century and became widely available and popular; at that time in Britain people generally read novels from circulating libraries (De Groot 2010, 17). *Waverley* was highly successful, as were Scott's subsequent novels, both in Britain and abroad. This is evidenced by publication sales, the number of theatrical adaptations, the number of collected editions, and the speed and intensity with which his work was translated. There was a veritable 'Scottomania' in Europe in the early nineteenth century. Rigney (2012, 12–13) outlines several key concepts that explain the memorial functioning of Scott's work, in which translation participates. 'Mobility' means that literary works may migrate

across media and reading constituencies; 'procreativity' is the capacity of the work to generate new versions in the form of other texts and media; 'monumentality' means that literary compositions provide stable points of reference in calibrating collectively held values; and 'appropriation' reflects the desire of different groups and later generations to adapt the author's work to their own ideological, creative and aesthetic needs. We shall see evidence of these properties in the following discussion.

Scott's novels have been translated into at least 36 languages. The database at the National Library of Scotland lists more than 3000 versions in languages other than English. Every new translation is an act of recollection that allows the novel to circulate in new cultural arenas (Rigney 2012, 35, 79). Many of the translations are into European languages: in Pittock's work (2006a) on the reception of Scott in Europe, there are articles about his impact in France, Spain, Catalonia, Italy, Germany, Hungary, Austria, Russia, Slovenia, Czechoslovakia, Poland, Denmark, Norway and Sweden. An interesting aspect of the diffusion of Scott in translation was that some translated versions were read widely in various countries, notably the French and German translations. Furthermore, the French translation served as a pivot, for example all the early Russian translations of Scott's novels were actually translations from Defauconpret's French versions.[1] Another interesting cross-language translation phenomenon was stage adaptation: among other examples, Italian and German theatre adaptations of Scott's novels were translated into Danish (Nielsen 2006, 264). The most common translation difficulty encountered with regard to Scott's work was conveying the dialect and sociolect distinctions. Using varieties of Scots and English was important for the themes of his novels in portraying Britain as multicultural and multilingual. In translation the distinctions were abandoned, or otherwise reproduced partially in different levels of formality or using local dialects such as Tuscan and Jutlandish (Pittock 2006b, 6). As well as European languages, Scott has been translated into other languages, including recent versions in Turkish and Vietnamese (Rigney 2012, 80). There are a number of Japanese translations, since in Japan the popularity of Scott has always been high; the 'Japanese Friends of Abbotsford' have contributed to the maintenance of Scott's memory through supporting the Abbotsford Trust, which manages the heritage site of his former home (Abbotsford website). Translation released the mobility of Scott's texts in allowing dissemination to many new reading constituencies.

In his novels Scott generally respected established historical facts, but as a creative artist he sometimes altered history for the sake of the plot.

An example of this is his compression of time in *Ivanhoe*, bringing the 1066 Norman Conquest of England notionally closer to the twelfth century, no doubt in order to combine a dramatic plot theme (Normans versus Saxons) with popular twelfth-century chivalry. In the dedicatory epistle to *Ivanhoe*, Scott argued that fables and frivolities in historical fiction were pleasing to readers and would seduce them into embarking on a more thorough study of the past. Even if they only read the novels, they had learnt something. The novels are thus intended to combine entertainment with a didactic role, teaching about past events and societies. Just like the original texts, the translations of Scott's works had and still have a didactic role. The knowledge of Scottish and English history and peoples together with their past customs and landscapes is made accessible through the novels to people from other cultural and linguistic backgrounds, thus creating elements of shared transnational memory. Such a didactic function of the novels in translation becomes all the more apparent when the new readers are likely to have very little relevant prior knowledge. Morris-Suzuki (2005, 64) reports that the early Japanese translators of Scott's novels were inspired by 'an educational passion to make Western civilisation [...] comprehensible'. In order to compensate for the readership's lack of prior knowledge, historical explanations were added in the Japanese translations. In translating Scott's *The Bride of Lammermoor*, Tsybouchi Shôyô added the following explanatory passage in his translation published in 1880:

> This narrative takes place in a kingdom called Scotland. Scotland is in the northern part of the island of Great Britain, and was originally an independent kingdom. However, beginning from about the 1600s it united itself with the kingdom of England. (translation from Japanese quoted in Morris-Suzuki 2005, 64)

Another context in which readers may be lacking in knowledge and where the work may play an educational role is translations for a young readership. In a recent abridged children's version in French of *Ivanhoe* (Scott 2009), the translator/editor has added a large number of footnotes: 198 brief footnotes in a small-format book of 251 pages. The notes give explanations for terms and expressions associated with historical and cultural elements of the Middle Ages in England (and elsewhere). These include information on religious practices, social ranks, professions, arms and armour for jousting, clothing, money, castle architecture, heraldry, hunting, food, transport and leisure activities. Here are some examples of the footnotes:

> Un anchorète: un moine ou ermite qui vit dans la solitude [anchoret: a monk or hermit who lives alone]
>
> franklin: noble, aristocrate [franklin: noble, aristocrat]
>
> haubert: longue cotte de maille [hauberk: long coat of mail]
>
> barbacane: mur semi-circulaire protégeant la porte d'un fort [barbican: semi-circular wall protecting the gate of a fort]

Although some of the explanations may be wanting in conveying the actual complexity of English medieval social structures and practices, they still give a good general idea of the foreign cultural item. The translator/editor also used notes to point out two historical errors in Scott's text. The hybrid balance of fictional and non-fictional in the historical novel is weighted more towards the non-fictional in this adaptation through the addition of the notes. The French adaptation thus acts as a means of passing on memory to young people, not only of the iconic novel and its famous characters, but also of life in a time long past, as well as knowledge of English history.

Scott's novels not only present detailed descriptions of past customs, practices, artefacts, places and events, but necessarily also offer the author's point of view. Scott's overall ideology, influenced by Scottish Enlightenment historians, was one of respect for past traditions (Scottish Highland; Anglo-Saxon), but belief in ethnic reconciliation and future progress achieved through modernizing (the eighteenth-century union of Scotland and England; the twelfth-century integration of Saxon into Norman ways; Pittock 2006b, 2). Scott's particular presentation of past events had the effect of influencing readers' perceptions of the past. The novel *Ivanhoe* is telling in this respect. Simmons (1990, 91) recounts that at the time of its publication, 1819, knowledge of the medieval period in England was very limited, even among the well educated. She says further that all later nineteenth-century depictions of the relationship between Saxons and Normans either directly or indirectly owe a debt to *Ivanhoe*. Most interestingly, this comment applies not only to novelistic depictions but also to writings of professional historians: Macauley, Thierry, Carlyle and Freeman. Scott's novel inspired the first full-length monograph study of Britain in the Anglo-Norman period by the French historian Augustin Thierry, *Histoire de la conquête de l'Angleterre par les Normands* (1825). It was a highly successful book with four editions by 1833; it was translated into English, and subsequently influenced British historians and writers. Although Thierry studied chronicle sources, the

organizing principles of the book were not derived from those sources but from *Ivanhoe*: namely the Saxon/Norman divide (in class, race, temperament and ideals), the continued sense of Saxon identity throughout the Anglo-Norman period, and the belief that progress was achieved by a Saxon undercurrent to the Norman power structure (Simmons 1990, 92). For our purposes it is interesting to note the monumentality and procreativity of Scott's work, as well as the powerful influence of ideas about the past circulating in different genres, in different countries and in different languages, often facilitated by translation.

Some of the readers of Scott's works in translation were writers, who were inspired to follow his model and write Scottian historical novels themselves using their own local subject matter. The Scott-inspired historical novels in different languages embodied genre-based textual memory of his oeuvre. Scott's literary influence on writers was felt widely throughout Europe; cases of specific emulation of his style of historical novel occurred among French, Belgian, German, Italian, Austrian, Czech, Hungarian, Polish, Russian, Spanish, Slovenian and Scandinavian writers (Pittock 2006a). The process through which this happened can be categorized as a phenomenon of multidirectional memory (Rothberg 2009). As mentioned previously, this is the type of transnational memory construction whereby people link memory of an event that is familiar from their own history with memory of an event from a very different geographical and/or historical era. Often the effect of this is to reinforce a particular interpretation of the local memory. Scott espoused the national essentialism of his day whereby a nation was linked to an essence of which its history was a part; he combined this with picturesque descriptions of national locations. A number of his novels depict the relations between a smaller/less powerful/more traditional national or ethnic group and a larger/more powerful/more modern national or ethnic group. Scott provided templates that served as analogues for other national and ethnic situations in which a 'small' nation or ethnic group was striving to establish its distinctiveness within a larger dominant framework.

Monnickendam (2006) recounts Scott's role in Catalan nationalism. Barcelona was the centre of publication for Scott's novels in the Iberian peninsular. In Catalonia Scottish history as depicted by Scott was seen to have analogies with Catalan historical events and situations. After the War of Spanish Succession in 1714, a multi-kingdom model was replaced by a highly centralized unified state; the Catalan parliament was abolished, and Castilian replaced Catalan as the official language. Scott depicted Jacobite attempts to recover the British throne, the persecution

and the accomplishments of the Scottish Covenanters, and the martyrdom of Scottish patriots after the battle of Culloden. He was perceived as a writer who stirred nationalist emotions. Furthermore, his interest in the Middle Ages reminded the Catalans of Catalonia's time in history as a medieval power and cultural centre in its own right. The Catalan literary revival known as the Renaixença dates from about 1859 with the inauguration in Barcelona of the Floral Games, a revival of the medieval literary tradition of a poetry festival. With regard to Catalan novelists of the revival, they were inspired by Scott to find subject matter in their own local and national history and environment, and to espouse the notions of renovation and progress for Catalonia.

Other European countries where nineteenth-century Scott translations provoked multidirectionality of memory with nationalist overtones were Hungary, Poland and Czechoslovakia. When Scott's works first became known between the 1820s and 1840s, Hungary was subordinate to Austria, so the novels were initially read in German translation prior to the production of Hungarian translations. Hungarians perceived Scott as a purveyor of national myth and the Scottish Highlands were compared with Transylvania; the region and its history emerged as a symbol of national unity and persistence. Hungarian historical novels influenced by Scott were often set in sixteenth- and seventeenth-century Transylvania. The early novels were inseparable from the rising Hungarian nationalism of the 1820s and 1830s, whereas from the 1840s Scott's preference for political compromise was in evidence among writers who supported the Austrian-Hungarian Compromise (Szaffner 2006). By 1830 in Poland seventeen of Scott's novels had been translated into Polish, some from the French translations, others from the original English. Scott had an enormous influence on the movement of Polish romanticism, as well as on Polish identity through the rekindling of the legend of the sixteenth- to eighteenth-century Samartian tradition of Polish knights. The chivalric Sarmatian myth flourished as a literary theme in the years 1830–40 due to the popularity of Scott's literary style and the linking of ancestral history to patriotism (Modrzewska 2006). For Czechs too, taking their cue from Scott's novels, the past as well as landscape was used as an engine of discovery and development of national identity that participated in the Czech National Revival, a protracted process of cultural and political emancipation of the Czechs from Austrian domination (Procházka 2006).

In making analogies with and finding inspiration in Scott, appropriation quite often involved interpreting his work in a way that he may not have intended or in a way that was not justified by his actual text.

Pittock (2006b, 5) summarizes a number of European uptakes in stating that:

> In societies struggling for independence against regional powers or colonial oppressors, with suppressed languages, disordered civic societies and no historiography save that of native resentment and patriot resistance, the radical undertow in Scott's writing could seem more prominent than it did to a British audience.

The flip-side to the enthusiastic wholesale uptake of Scott's works was censorship. Certain authoritarian regimes in Europe kept a tight control on the content of literary works, preventing the publication of those deemed unacceptable. In Spain at various times during both the nineteenth and twentieth centuries Scott's work was censored for religious reasons, since some aspects were considered anti-Catholic – Scott was a sturdy Protestant (García-González & Toda 2006). During the first half of the nineteenth century in Austria, Metternich's Restoration politics aimed to suppress philosophical and political ideas that were believed to support an oppositional spirit. The interpretation of history became an important political issue. Seventeen works by Scott were judged harmful, since they were considered to contain passages that could do damage to state religion, the order of the state (monarchy) or morals. The Austrian editions in German were thus published with a large number of passages cut or reformulated (Bachleitner 2006). Some translations involved modifications by the translator, which acted as a kind of self-censorship. Defauconpret's early French translations of Scott tailored the novels to a Catholic Restoration readership, upholding constituted conservative authority in contrast with Scott's habit of presenting views from both sides (Barnaby 2006).

In the twentieth century rather extraordinary cases of reframing of Scott's novels are found in the former communist regimes. Such reframing takes place through comments and interpretations provided in prefaces, footnotes and epilogues. In a study of prefaces in East German Scott translations (published between 1949 and 1990), Bautz (2006) points out that the prefaces present Scott as a great writer, where greatness is defined as promoting communist ideals of literature and society. What is to be admired in Scott's novels from the communist point of view is the combination of realism, accurate and serious representation of the people, and the portrayal of the people's role in historical progress. In the prefaces to *Ivanhoe*, for example, the novel is presented as a struggle between 'the people' who guarantee progress and the oppressive aristocratic Normans who must be opposed; Scott's

promotion of compromise as a solution to historical antagonisms is ignored. Romantic aspects in his writing are considered to support the realistic import, as the romantic stirs the reader's empathy. In the various examples given we see that the way in which Scott's works were presented and re-presented in translation created a particular memory of the author and his works for the new readership.

In many cases reframing and new interpretation of Scott's novels were coupled with a change in genre and medium, remediation. As discussed earlier and demonstrated in previous case studies, in order for a 'memory site' to be developed, multiple remediations are necessary (Erll 2009). In the present case, in order for Scott and his novels to become durable items, 'monuments' in cultural memory, multiple re-presentations of the novels or aspects of the novels were necessary. The amount of reiteration of Scott's works was enormous, not only numerous editions and translations, but also productions in different media. Remediation often concerned particular aspects of the novels such as modified versions of the plot, single scenes, selected characters, novel titles and names of characters. The multiple remediations show that Scott's novels embodied a high level of procreativity (Rigney 2012, 12).

Scott's writing lent itself to remediation because of its evocative visual descriptions and exciting narratives. It could even be said that he helped imagine the future paintings, book illustrations and stage productions of the nineteenth century, and the television series and films of the twentieth century, based on his novels. In the nineteenth century, as an example, scenes from *Ivanhoe* were painted more than 100 times, and the rage for theatre productions was such that almost all of Scott's novels were put on stage within months of being published. Theatre provided a platform for recycling the novels and giving them new life. Theatrical activities also extended outside the professional theatre: theme balls and 'tableaux vivants' (friends dressing up as characters in a novel and depicting a scene) were popular pastimes. Arguably the most fascinating re-enactment example of remediation was the fashion in the United States of medieval-style jousting tournaments from the 1840s to the 1880s, which as a newly invented tradition became an important part of Southern identity: *Ivanhoe* was certainly both a monumental point of reference for a set of chivalric values, and a source of inspiration for newness. Translations of Scott's novels inspired stage productions and theatrical activities throughout Europe. The most enduring of the continental stage productions are the Italian operas, particularly *Lucia di Lammermoor*, composed by Donizetti in 1835, and today a staple of the modern international operatic repertoire (Rigney 2012).

Figure 5.1 Pub Ivanhoé, Honfleur, France

Another mode of the deep embedding of Scott and his works in cultural life and memory was the use of his novels' titles and characters' names in everyday contexts such as names of places, ships, railways, companies and even dinner sets. This extension of Scott to the everyday material world occurred massively in English-speaking countries; for example, there are towns, districts and streets called 'Waverley' (the title of Scott's first novel and the name of the series of novels) in Australia, New Zealand, Canada, Ireland, South Africa, India and the United States as well as England and Scotland (Rigney 2012, 1). Most interestingly for our purposes, we find a similar phenomenon involving translation: place names on the European continent that evoke Scott and his characters, such as an eating establishment in the French town of Honfleur called 'Ivanhoé' (see Figure 5.1). This demonstrates how Scott's works have become part of the shared cultural memory of European countries.

However, despite the existence of similar phenomena of remediation, it can be argued that the memorial impact is not the same everywhere. Rigney (2012, 188) considers that memory of Scott and his works played a specific role for collective identity of the Anglophone cultural sphere in the second half of the nineteenth century:

> [Scott's] memory helped articulate collective identity in Scotland, the British Isles, the United States, and the Empire, seen as distinct if overlapping spheres within the larger framework of an

> English-speaking world. [...] although Scott's writings were enormously influential in France (as in other parts of Europe), he never acquired the same role in that country as a figure of collective memory as he did in the English-speaking world.

Rigney (2012, 14) affirms more generally that cultural memory of great writers and their works plays an important role in collective identity. Since the usual paradigm for conceiving of literature in the nineteenth century and still today is very much nation-based, it is logical that memory of Scott could not play the same role in continental Europe as it did for Britain and its former colonies. Furthermore, Scott's subject matter for most of his novels was Scottish and English history. We could say that while they are transnational, the memory cultures of former British colonies hark back to the national memory of Britain as a source of roots. In contrast, other memory cultures such as those of continental European countries share a memory of Scott and his novels, but do not link this so strongly to English/Scottish national memory. This distinction has an impact on how translations and foreign-language versions in other media of Scott's work may be undertaken, since target-culture national memory and traditions enter powerfully into translation and production choices. The injection of continental operatic tradition into French and Italian opera versions of Scott's works may explain why they were met with some reticence in London when first performed, in addition to dislike of the liberties taken with Scott's narratives (Fuhrman 2005). Another case in point is the very different nineteenth-century cultural context of Japan, where appropriation of Scott's texts was shaped by traditional Japanese cultural forms and the corresponding aesthetic preferences of the readership. Translators often abridged and rewrote texts, pruning unfamiliar detail and potentially incomprehensible dialogue, and producing works that were closer to more familiar forms of Japanese historical narrative. The Japanese title for Scott's *The Bride of Lammermoor* translates as *A Tale of the Spring Breeze* (1879). Even more surprising are the illustrations in this Japanese version, which depict the characters Lucy Ashton and Edgar Ravenswood and other seventeenth-century Scottish characters as heroes of a Japanese samurai romance (Morris-Suzuki 2005, 64).

The Influence of National Memory on a Translated Abridgement

Let us examine again Hachette Jeunesse's recent abridged French version *Ivanhoé* (Scott 2009) for young people in order to investigate further the issue of the influence of national memory in the adaptation of what has

become a transnational cultural item or 'object of recollection' (Rigney 2010, 351). When writers of abridged versions choose content of the original text that might be omitted or condensed, it is likely that passages not contributing to advancing the plot might be targeted. Further to this, I would like to propose that, whether consciously motivated or not, some omissions in the Hachette Jeunesse text as well as modifications can be related to differences in national cultural memory. The adaptation downplays two themes that are important in British cultural memory: the myth of the Norman yoke, and the question of reconciliation of races. The text also downplays a theme that does not accord with French cultural memory: a negative view of the Normans and the French.

We shall first consider the myth of the Norman yoke. Used figuratively, the word 'yoke' refers to something regarded as repressive or restrictive. 'Yoke' was first applied to the Norman Conquest by medieval chroniclers. At the core of the narrative of the Norman yoke is a highly negative attitude towards the 1066 Norman conquerors of England as oppressors. As early as the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, English verse chronicles expressed the idea that the Normans had enslaved and impoverished the English with lasting effect. This shows the importance of traumatic events for memory, but can be considered historically inaccurate because, despite the initial violence and harshness of the invaders, the Normans brought benefits to England and its people. The myth continued in different versions and was used for various political purposes throughout the centuries. In the nineteenth century *Ivanhoe* contributed a strand to the myth in proposing the historically questionable four generations' longevity of the Normans versus Saxons hostile divide. In the twentieth and twenty-first centuries the myth is still present, perhaps most strongly in the numerous film and television versions of 'Robin Hood' in which Robin defends the poor Saxons against the cruel Norman sheriff of Nottingham (Brownlie 2013). The fact that the myth keeps coming back in transformed ways demonstrates its centrality to British cultural memory, and the reason why 'Normans versus Saxons' is a foundational theme in British cultural memory is that it is part of British identity (Worth 1995). So naturally, when we consider the French system and French cultural memory, the myth of the Norman yoke and the novel *Ivanhoe* just do not play the same role.

The central theme of long-lasting ethnic enmity is stated right at the start of Scott's *Ivanhoe* as follows:

> A circumstance which greatly tended to enhance the tyranny of the nobility, and the sufferings of the inferior classes, arose from

> the consequences of the Conquest by Duke William of Normandy. Four generations had not sufficed to blend the hostile blood of the Normans and the Anglo-Saxons, or to unite, by common language and mutual interests, two hostile races . . . (1895 [1819], I, 5)

In the Hachette Jeunesse version this is what is said:

> Depuis la conquête de l'Angleterre par Guillaume, quatre générations n'avaient pas suffi pour brasser le sang des vainqueurs avec celui des vaincus, ni pour fondre par la communauté de la langue et des intérêts deux races ennemies . . . (7)
>
> [Since the conquest of England by William, four generations had not sufficed to mix the blood of the victors with that of the conquered, nor to join the two enemy races by commonality of language and interests]

This is in the second paragraph of the book, and no prior information is given about these issues. The vagueness of the text with no specific mention of who Guillaume is, and no specific mention of who the two enemy races are, is noticeable. The start of the French adaptation sets the tone for the rest of the book: there is less precision, interest and emphasis on the ethnic conflict in comparison with Scott's original text. This can be contrasted with an English abridgement for young children published in the United States, Canada and Britain by Dover (Scott 1999). This version is very sketchy and highly abridged (76 pages including illustrations). Nevertheless, it explains the ethnic situation at the start. Here is a passage from the first paragraph of the Dover edition:

> [Prince] John meant to become king of England himself, and to do so he befriended the Norman noblemen who lorded over most of the land. He allowed them to make miserable the poor, hard-working Saxon people whose ancestors had once ruled England. (1)

In the Hachette Jeunesse text, de-emphasizing the ethnic division also results from omissions. There is omission of a number of comments and complaints by the narrator or by Saxon characters about the current disinherited status of the Saxons and the bad behaviour of the Normans. An entire chapter (vol. I, chap. 22 in Scott 1895 [1819]) that shows most directly the potential cruelty of Norman characters is omitted in the Hachette Jeunesse edition. In this chapter the Norman Front de Boeuf is about to torture Isaac over red-hot iron bars in order to exact money from him. Some dialogues in Scott's original that contain spirited

rhetorical exchanges, giving insight into ethnic relations, are omitted and replaced by a brief descriptive summary in the Hachette Jeunesse text. In Scott's work, the ethnic conflict, the Saxons' angry or sad feelings about their depressed status and pro-Saxonism are often elaborated in riddles, oaths, poems and songs. These items do not advance the story but add greatly to its atmosphere and emotion; they are omitted from the Hachette Jeunesse adaptation, as they are from other adaptations. Even if adaptations must by nature involve omissions and may always tend to omit rhetorical items, there is still a choice of what is omitted and what is retained or reproduced in a simplified manner. In contrast to the Hachette Jeunesse version, the English Dover adaptation clearly maintains the ethnic division throughout. This is done by using simple language, such as repeated recourse to the terms 'Norman' and 'Saxon' to describe characters and events. Each side also plainly shows its opinion of the other with such phrases as 'Saxon dog!' and 'Norman devil!' Care in reproducing the ethnic divide in this adaptation is no doubt due to its importance not only in British memory, but as the heritage of former British colonies.

'Norman oppressors – Saxon oppressed' does not represent the whole story of the construction of the ethnic relation in the nineteenth century. Glorification of the Saxon King Alfred and associating him with Queen Victoria led to the movement of Saxonism, promoting the Anglo-Saxons as superior (Simmons 1990). A third path was also depicted in the nineteenth century: reconciliation (Briggs 1985). And this is the path shown by Scott at the end of *Ivanhoe*. His Normans and Saxons reconcile with the vision of forging a strong and resilient English (and British) people through this union (as mentioned earlier, reconciliation was a general tendency of Scott's outlook expressed in his novels). Given the insistent Normans versus Saxons theme throughout *Ivanhoe*, this ending might come as a surprise to the reader, but there are in fact signs of complexity in the body of the work. This concerns chiefly the activities of the initially disguised King Richard, who at the end of the novel is the major agent of reconciliation. Although supposedly on the 'Norman' side, Richard is depicted as aiding and hobnobbing with the Saxons, the most remarkable episode of which is his forest meal with Robin Hood. Richard's adventures in *Ivanhoe* may be pure romance, but they play an important role in the novel as being symbolic of reconciliation in the country. Omissions in the Hachette Jeunesse version of *Ivanhoé* of details of Richard's encounters and empathy with the Saxons, such as with Friar Tuck and Robin Hood, lead to the disappearance of preparatory signs of reconciliation. In contrast, the English Dover adaptation

contains the convivial scene where Richard shares a meal with Robin Hood. The retention of this scene in the short Dover adaptation signals the importance of the reconciliation theme for an English-speaking audience.

Downplaying themes in the Hachette Jeunesse adaptation that are important in British/English-speaking memory and identity probably occurs because they do not have the same significance in the French environment. It could be considered that a further exemplification of the influence of differences in national memory is the omission in the Hachette Jeunesse adaptation of instances found in Scott's text of the association of Norman conquerors with the French and French language in a negative light. In contrast to the Hachette Jeunesse adaptation, if we look at the English Dover adaptation, on the very first page there is no hesitation in creating a negative link between French and Normans: 'the hard rule of the French-speaking Normans' (1). In Scott's novel there are epigraphs at the start of each chapter. Chapter 8 in Volume 2 (Scott 1895 [1819]) features the attack by Locksley and his Saxon yeomen on the Norman castle of Torquilstone in order to free several Saxon characters who are unjustly imprisoned. The epigraph for this chapter is the beginning of a famous speech from Shakespeare's *Henry V*: 'Once more unto the breach, dear friends, once more…'. The epigraph suggests a parallel between the Saxons attacking the Norman castle in Scott's tale, and the English attacking the French in the besieged town of Harfleur, an historical event that took place during the Hundred Years' War in 1415. Over the centuries there are numerous instances when the British bring up the Norman Conquest at stressful moments in Franco-British relations. In British cultural memory the Conquest tends to be associated negatively with the French as rivals or enemies in later historical periods (see Brownlie 2013). Naturally, French cultural memory is quite different on this point, and thus it is not surprising that a reference like Henry V's speech is omitted in an abridged French version of the novel. This factor reinforces the general tendency to omit epigraphs in abridged versions. In sum, translations are instrumental in creating transnational memory, shared knowledge of the past and of cultural items. And yet concurrently, national identity is constructed as distinct through specific cultural memory, and the nation's cultural products such as literary works are embedded in this memorial specificity. A translation may well be affected by the fact that it is produced in a different environment with its own and different national cultural memory, and this seems to have been the case with the Hachette Jeunesse French abridgement of *Ivanhoe*.

Memory is about reconstruction of the past in the present, and as time marches on memory evolves: literary works are reinterpreted and re-evaluated in the light of contemporary perspectives, and the reputation of authors changes too. Scott had been the most celebrated English-language author of his time, whose works were read in many countries of the world both in English and in translation. But Scott's fortune changed. From about 1870 his novels were considered to be suitable for light reading or for young readers. This trend paralleled the production of abridged children's versions of his works, particularly *Ivanhoe*. In Pittock's (2006a) survey of Scott's reception in Europe, mention is made of Spanish, German, Hungarian, Czech, Russian and Danish abridged versions of Scott's works for children or teenagers. By World War I the decline was irreversible with regard to Scott's role as a memory icon: the canon of his works was reduced to the principal Scottish novels and *Ivanhoe* (whose memory was also prolonged by twentieth-century television, film and computer game remediations); Scott's poetry disappeared completely from view. As Rigney (2012, 211) writes: 'cultural marginalization and collective amnesia [surrounded] the figure that had towered over the 19th century'. This was true for both English-speaking and other countries. The once great memory site had lost its vibrancy.

There are a number of characteristics of Scott's novels that made them suitable as works for youngsters: they were considered 'healthy', 'clean' and 'uncomplicated'; they contained exciting adventure stories; and they focussed on narrative of events rather than the characters' psychology. The novels lost their allure for adults due to changing preferences in literary style and changing philosophies. In the twentieth century new literary styles favoured expression of psychological and experiential depth, and philosophies of optimistic progress (such as Scott's) were seriously questioned. Nevertheless, Scott's memory lives on in varied and often unacknowledged ways today. The genre of historical fiction (often leading to filmed versions) that he was instrumental in founding remains very popular. Rigney (2012, 224) also argues that Scott contributed to the contemporary memory habitus whereby it is considered that representing troubled pasts is a step towards dealing with them and moving forward. Everyday reminders of Scott remain, particularly in his homeland, such as the central train station in Edinburgh called Waverley, and the immense monument and statue of Scott in Princes Street, not far from the station.

This chapter has covered the topics of national and shared transnational memory in relation to translation. Translation is naturally linked to the transnational, since often translation is a matter of allowing texts to traverse linguistically differentiated national borders, and thus open up a work to a linguistically new readership. The case study of the translation of Walter Scott's works provides insights into the genre of the historical novel as a powerful vehicle of memory. The study shows how interlingual translation can have a vital role in spreading knowledge of an author's works, as well as knowledge of an innovative literary genre, and of the work's historical, cultural and ideological content. Scott's works were remediated with great profusion into various languages, genres and media in different countries, and provided inspiration for local fictional production. What was often achieved was a transformation in line with local specificities, and thus shared transnational memory with national inflections.

6
Traditions

Chapter 5 covered the topic of national memory. Quite often 'tradition' is associated with a national group as a feature of memorial identity, but traditions may of course be related to smaller or larger social groupings. Tradition can be defined in its most elementary sense as a 'traditum', anything transmitted or handed down from past to present. Further to this we tend to think of traditions as habitual practices and beliefs derived from the past with a certain symbolic and normative force (Shils 1981, 12); they are part of cultural memory. Traditions differ from habits in that they are self-conscious, involving cultural formations such as special texts, rituals, ceremonies, performances, monuments and artefacts. Such cultural objects and practices that keep the past alive are invested with powerful 'mnemonic energy' (Assmann 1995). Traditions may be associated with dominant institutions that regulate practice, or they may be instead a matter of common knowledge whose authority derives from the volition of individuals across time (Howard 2013). In the case study for this chapter powerful institutions are involved, the United Nations and the Saudi Arabian government, but the traditions also have widespread grassroots support.

Traditions may be traced to a long-distant, perhaps undateable past, or they may have more recent origins. Hobsbawm and Ranger (1983) famously introduced the notion of 'invention of tradition', whereby traditions that appear to be old are often quite recent in origin; a salient example is pageantry surrounding the British monarchy that was 'invented' in the late nineteenth century. So the link with the past may be real or alleged. In his discussion of tradition, Soares (1997) puts emphasis on the idea of a community sharing respect for a common past, and the desire for continuity but without slavishness. Contrary to popular belief, traditions are in fact malleable and evolve over time,

as well as giving rise to variants. Shils (1981) explains that traditions change due to both endogenous factors (changes originate due to revisions by those within the tradition) and exogeneous factors (changes are influenced by external factors; that is, contact with divergent ideas and social practices from other social groups). When one tradition comes into contact with another, there may certainly be resistance to change, but the durable outcome could be that one tradition becomes dominant, or the traditions may be amalgamated (Shils 1981). It is through movement of peoples and writings that traditions spread; religious traditions are a notable example with the creation of syncretic forms. Translation, of course, plays an important role here. The immense worldwide translation of the Bible, for example, has been essential in propagating Christianity. Folk-tales are another traditional form that has spread through translation (Tymoczko 1990, 50).

A common way in which the notion of tradition has been linked to translation is to study different histories in different parts of the globe concerning translation and interpreting. The usage of the term 'tradition' is broad here, since as well as referring to customary practices with symbolic force, it is also employed as a synonym for the history of practices in certain places. In *The Routledge Encyclopedia of Translation Studies*, Baker and Saldanha (2009) admit that in the 250-page section on traditions, the division into linguistic and/or geographical communities is arbitrary to a large extent; for example, there are sections on very large groupings, 'African tradition' and 'Arabic tradition', in contrast with other sections on specific countries such as 'Bulgarian tradition' and 'Dutch tradition'. Nevertheless, a panorama has been provided, which allows global patterns to be traced. Baker and Saldanha (2009, xv–xviii) enumerate several aspects among the various histories that present both similarities and differences. First are the profile and status of translators and interpreters. Often they have belonged to 'minority' groups of some sort: native Indian servants acted as interpreters in the New World; in the nineteenth century in Egypt the best-known literary translators were Christians, often of Lebanese or Syrian origin; and today much of the community interpreting and translation in countries such as Britain, Sweden, the United States and Australia is undertaken by migrants. In other contexts the profession was sometimes hereditary and was revered: in pre-colonial times interpreting was carried out by African 'wise men', and between the fifteenth and nineteenth centuries translation was undertaken by 'dragomans' in Turkey who were held in high esteem. The second aspect is the roles of translators and interpreters, which have sometimes been multiple. In the colonial

context translators and particularly interpreters took on a wide range of roles that went beyond linguistic mediation, such as acting as guides, explorers, brokers, diplomats, ambassadors and advisers on local affairs. Thirdly, incentives for translation activity have been various in different contexts. In addition to the incentives of spreading religions and enhancing scholarship, a major incentive more typical of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries was the establishment of official bilingualism in countries such as Canada, Finland and Belgium, which spawned large-scale translation of administrative and legal documents. Finally, particular types of translation and interpreting are found in different traditions. In pre-colonial African societies, for example, interpreters translated African drum language into words; and in Greece intralingual translation between ancient and modern Greek has figured more prominently than interlingual translation.

With respect to the style of translation, a historical approach reveals that a translation fashion in one place may be influential in other places: an example of this was the influence in England of both the seventeenth-century French tradition of the 'belles infidèles' and the later nineteenth-century German source text–oriented reaction against the French domesticating style. Tymoczko (1990, 54) makes a strong general argument that fixation on text-based literacy has led over the last several hundred years to an ideal of 'exactitude' or 'objectivity' in translation practice. This ignores the strong oral tradition in various parts of the world in earlier times and still today in Africa, for example, in which translated texts must adapt to the standards of the receptor culture in order to remain alive and to function successfully.

My case study in this chapter does not take up the notion of translation histories; rather, I consider a situation of contact (primarily textual) between very different cultural traditions. When divergent traditions come into contact, conflict may result. In such cases communication plays a vital role: as Jean Monnet, founding figure of the early European institutions, once said: 'Mieux vaut se disputer autour d'une table que sur un champ de bataille' [It's better to fight around a table than on a battlefield]. The case study involves significantly divergent traditions: the seemingly incompatible points of view with respect to the role of women in society in conservative Islamic tradition, specifically in Saudi Arabia, as contrasted with the feminist tradition in the 'West'. This divergence is worked out in a communicative encounter within the United Nations human rights mechanisms that displays elements of conflict. It is therefore useful to examine concepts and approaches in the field of intercultural conflict communication.

Stella Ting-Toomey and John Oetzel (2013a, 635) consider that 'intercultural communicative conflict' arises when there is an implicit or explicit emotional struggle between persons of different cultural communities over a perceived or actual incompatibility of cultural ideologies and values. According to Ting-Toomey (2012), often it is not the substantive matter that is at stake in an encounter, but the perceived challenge to group membership identity, and this challenge becomes greater when persons of highly different traditions are inter-relating in a conflictual situation. In intercultural conflictual encounters the communicative relationship can be seen in terms of threats and fear: fear of a difficult experience; fear of being dominated; fear of negative evaluation by the other group resulting in diminished self-concept; the threat of inaccurate rigid (negative) stereotypes; and threats to one's world views and value systems (Ting-Toomey 2012, 284).

The case study considers the effectiveness of written communication via translation in a situation of conflicting traditions, effectiveness being defined as achieving mutually shared meanings and outcomes satisfactory to both parties through a courteous exchange. Communicative effectiveness evokes the necessity of communicative competence. For Ting-Toomey (2012, 279), 'intercultural conflict competence' refers to the careful management of emotional frustrations and conflict interaction struggles arising primarily from cultural, linguistic or ethnic group membership differences. The most important component of competence is knowledge. Knowledge allows a person to perceive the interlocutor's point of view, and to perceive their own with a more critical eye (Ting-Toomey 2009, 103). Knowledge includes cultural and linguistic knowledge (particularly of terms for culture-specific features) and the knowledge of socio-pragmatic dimensions of the other language/culture such as the means of conveying respect (Ting-Toomey 2012, 283). The second component of competence is mindfulness. This means being attuned to one's communication assumptions, cognitions and emotions, at the same time as being attuned to the other's communication assumptions, cognitions and emotions. The third component is constructive conflict communication skills, the ability to manage a problematic interaction situation appropriately, effectively and adaptively via skilful verbal and non-verbal communication behaviours (Ting-Toomey 2009, 104). The notions of communicative effectiveness and competence find an echo among translation scholars: both Katan (2004) and Pym (2012) consider the translator to be a 'cultural mediator' whose mission is to facilitate cooperation between participants through improving cross-cultural communication, and for

Pym (2012, 150) the key ethical task of the translator is to minimize 'communicative suffering' by minimizing misunderstandings that impede cooperation.

Since the case-study communicative encounter involves negotiating different cultural traditions through translated texts, the question of 'cultural translation' is salient. With regard to translating culture-specific elements, Tymoczko (2007) finds that often problems have been dealt with in a fairly superficial manner. Working in a linear fashion, translators have made decisions about obvious 'culturally specific items', normally mentions of material items and customs, which appear in the text. Tymoczko (2007, 232) proposes, on the contrary, a holistic approach that focuses first on the text as a whole and on its broad cultural underpinnings (for example, ideologies, fundamental concepts and practices in a culture) as the background to micro-level issues. Katan (2004, 171) also considers that the translator as cultural mediator should understand the source culture 'frames of interpretation' embedded in the source text, and produce a translation that would create a comparable set of frames for the target reader. As for translation strategies, Tymoczko (2007) advocates that the translator must assume his or her agency in taking responsibility for decisions in the particular context at hand. The translator has the important power to introduce new things into the target culture. Possible techniques include expressing a foreign concept in a target idiom, resulting in the creation of hybridity or neoculturation (Ortiz 1947) and introducing foreign terms accompanied by explanation, or on the contrary no explanation in order to shock the reader with strangeness. An advocate of explanatory annotations in the translation is Anthony Appiah Kwame. Kwame (1993) proposes that if the purpose of the communication is to promote understanding of cultural differences and a genuinely informed rather than superficial respect of others, what is needed is 'thick translation'. This consists of a translation that includes explanations, annotations and glosses in order to locate the foreign text in a rich cultural and linguistic context. MacIntyre (2009), however, warns that adequacy of explanation may be very difficult to attain when dealing with 'rival traditions' involving incompatible beliefs, because not only are traditions expressed through specific historically developed linguistic expression relating to a broad complex cultural context, but a rival belief logically entails rejection of the other incompatible belief.

The particular case study was chosen because it concerns two highly contrasting traditions; one might say 'rival traditions' (MacIntyre 2009). It seemed, therefore, that the issues of translation of a text embodying

one such tradition into the language of the other tradition would be acute. Furthermore, the case is interesting in that it involves bi-directional translation; that is, the interchange of texts and translation of traditions in both directions. Another point of interest is that the case relates to a debate in the field of human rights: the role of 'cultural rights' such as the right to preserve specific cultural traditions. The stance of the United Nations is that cultural rights are pivotal to the recognition and respect of human dignity, as they encompass important freedoms connected to identity such as access to cultural heritage, but the protection of cultural diversity cannot be invoked to infringe on human rights guaranteed by international law. In this light universal human rights must be promoted in various cultural contexts by encouraging new thinking and cultural practices, for example by means of 'cultural negotiation' (Shaheed 2010). The case study concerns an episode of such cultural negotiation.

CEDAW and Saudi Arabia: Background

The case study presented in this chapter concerns the most recent periodic review communications (2007–08) between the CEDAW committee (the committee monitoring the implementation of the UN Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women) and the representation for Saudi Arabia, a state party signatory to the Convention. The international Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW) was drafted in the late 1970s, and was shaped by the thinking of the time; that is, 'second-wave feminism' in the United States, Canada, United Kingdom, Australia and Western Europe. 'Second-wave feminists' called stridently for women to have equal opportunities and equal rights with men. Equality was to be embedded in the law and in practice with regard to education, the workplace and the home environment. Second-wave feminism called for women to be independent and to have complete control over their lives. This perspective dominated the drafting of the Convention, although a few concessions were made to representatives of Muslim countries involved in the drafting discussions, such as the deletion of reference to 'unmarried mothers' (Krivenko 2009, 112). The Convention establishes an international bill of rights for women, and an agenda for action by signatory countries to work on implementing women's human rights as stipulated within it (OHCHR 1979). The Convention was adopted by the United Nations General Assembly in 1979, and now has 99 signatories (OHCHR 1979).

As we have seen, CEDAW represents primarily a transnational 'Western' feminist tradition. Let us now consider the contrasting tradition from Saudi Arabia, an Islamic state whose laws stem from the holy Qur'an and Sunnah (the prophet Mohammed's traditions and practices). Islam is a transnational religious tradition, but has many varying interpretations and implementations in different countries. Conscious of their nation's position as the cradle of Islam, Saudi Arabian rulers and religious scholars have supported a conservative view of Islam. With regard to the woman's role, verses in the Qur'an indicate that a husband's responsibility is to provide for his wife and children (surah 2.233), that wives and husbands have different rights and duties towards each other, and that husbands have a degree of authority over their wives (surah 2.228). Customary practices in Saudi Arabia reinforce male authority over women. Under Saudi law every Saudi woman, no matter her age, has a male guardian whose permission or guarantee of the woman's identity is normally needed for many aspects of her life, including bringing a court case, undertaking business transactions, gaining employment, travelling, marrying and undergoing surgery (Al-Rasheed 2013, 15). From a traditional Saudi perspective, male guardianship may be regarded as a means of cherishing and protecting women, and preserving their dignity. From the CEDAW perspective, it is regarded as an unfair reduction of the adult woman to the state of an inferior being with restricted rights, legally a minor. However, there are signs of change in Saudi Arabia, such as participation by women in the Shura Council (advisory council to the king) since January 2013, and the opening up of work avenues previously prohibited to women such as practising law (in October 2013 the first women in the kingdom were licensed to practise as lawyers). Nevertheless, according to a Thomson Reuters Foundation expert survey published in November 2013, Saudi Arabia remains the 'third-worst country to be a woman in 22 Arab states' (McDowall 2013).

Despite what seem to be glaring differences between Saudi traditions and CEDAW stipulations, Saudi Arabia signed up to the United Nations Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women in 2000, with an important reservation: 'In case of contradiction between any term of the Convention and the norms of Islamic law, the Kingdom is not under obligation to observe the contradictory terms of the Convention' (OHCHR 1979). For Muslims Islamic law is God-given, and is thus above legislation laid down by man-made institutions (Alhargan 2012a, 3). The general reservation safeguards against criticism from Saudis who feel that the Convention strays away from

Islamic principles. The adherence of Saudi Arabia to CEDAW in 2000 is due in part to international pressure from NGOs and from the EU (Alhargan 2012b, 611), and corresponds with the state's general desire to modernize and attract international legitimacy from that time onwards (Al-Rasheed 2013, 21).

There have been some significant criticisms of the CEDAW mechanism. It is considered that the Convention is seriously undermined by the allowance of reservations made by signatories; 21 states have made reservations asserting the precedence of Islamic law (Krivenko 2009, 114). Reservations stem from the tenor of certain articles, some of which can indeed be questioned. CEDAW is open to the criticisms aimed at 1970s feminism (see Chapter 3), such as lack of sensitivity to the diversity of women's lives around the world. Article 5, for example, calls for traditional practices that are an impediment to women's rights to be modified; anthropological studies have demonstrated the high complexity of many customs that may seem detrimental to a Western observer, but whose elimination may cause additional harm (Krivenko 2009, 108). Other criticisms are practical: the Convention contains no clear enforcement procedure; and the state party reporting system is not efficient, since state parties often fail or are tardy in reporting to the CEDAW committee, and importantly submit reports that are inaccurate (Rosenblum 2011, 6, 9). Nevertheless, critics agree that CEDAW is an important achievement in women's human rights, which has aided activists in introducing international norms in locally appropriate ways.

The CEDAW committee is a panel of specialists on gender issues from various different countries that monitors the situation and progress in each state party's country through a process of periodic reviews. The review aims to be a 'constructive dialogue to improve implementation of the Convention by the State party' (UN 2009, 70). The procedure for the periodic review is the following:

1. The state party provides to the CEDAW committee a periodic report on progress made towards implementation of the CEDAW Convention.
2. The CEDAW committee also receives reports from relevant UN bodies and non-governmental organizations (NGOs), including country-level organizations.
3. The committee sends a list of written questions (requests for clarification or further information) arising from its reading of the state party report to the state party authors of the report.
4. The state party responds to those questions in writing.

5. The state party then sends a delegation to Geneva to meet with the CEDAW committee and answer further questions from the committee orally.
6. Written summary records of the Geneva meetings are produced.
7. The last stage is that the committee formulates final written comments and recommendations, which are disseminated within the state party country.

This is quite a complex communicative event. Furthermore, all of these various communications require translation or interpreting, in the case of Saudi Arabia between Arabic and English. The United Nations' language policy allows official communications to be expressed in any of its six official languages (English, French, Spanish, Russian, Arabic, Chinese), and it provides translation and interpreting services for those languages. In the case study discussed here the working language of the CEDAW committee is English, and the language of written expression of the Saudi Arabian representation is Arabic, so each party in the communication event writes and reads in different languages, communicating by means of translation. At each stage the two parties are therefore using different texts, an original and a translation. In itself this may not be problematic at all, but as is well known with regard to cultural matters, the task of the translator often presents difficulties (Katan 2004; Tymockzo 2007; MacIntyre 2009). In a standard translation situation, the difficulty may arise because the original intended audience of the source text has a very different cultural background from the new audience of the translation. In our case study, it is known in advance that the source text will be translated for the purposes of an audience with a different cultural background; therefore, it is interesting to note that in spite of this prior knowledge, cultural issues constitute an obstacle.

The main material examined for this study was the Combined Initial and Second Periodic Reports of Saudi Arabia (CEDAW 2007a), Responses to the List of Issues and Questions raised by the committee about those reports (CEDAW 2007b) and the Concluding Comments of the committee (CEDAW 2008a). On occasion I also used for supplementary information a Shadow Report submitted as part of proceedings (Saudi Women for Reform 2007)[1] and Summary Records of the Geneva meetings (CEDAW 2008b).[2] Following a target-oriented research procedure (Toury 1995), I placed myself in the position of the English-language reader, such as the CEDAW committee members, reading the English versions of the documents. Table 6.1 sets out key features of the texts studied.

Table 6.1 CEDAW periodic review documents studied

Title of document	Communicative aims	Language status of the English texts studied
Combined Initial and Second Periodic Reports of States Parties: Saudi Arabia	The Saudi report first provides general information about the economic, political and legal situation in Saudi Arabia, then gives information relating to each article of CEDAW, with the aim of showing how the situation in the country conforms to CEDAW.	CEDAW articles are given in their original language, English. The text is otherwise a translation from the Arabic original.
Responses to the List of Issues and Questions	The Saudi text provides additional information and statistics in response to CEDAW committee requests for clarifications and further information.	The CEDAW committee questions are given in their original language, English. The text is otherwise a translation from the Arabic original.
Concluding Comments of CEDAW	The CEDAW committee presents positive aspects of the situation in Saudi Arabia with respect to CEDAW, then presents 38 areas of concern and 23 recommendations.	This CEDAW committee document is in English, and will be translated into Arabic for the purposes of dissemination in Saudi Arabia.

In reading the English versions of the state party Reports and Reponses to the List of Issues and Questions, I experienced difficulty in understanding the meaning of certain sentences, and discerned what seemed to be anomalies in the text. I wondered whether these issues were due to the fact that the texts stemmed from divergent cultural traditions, or whether they were related to translation (from the original Arabic), or both of these sources. I also examined the English concluding comments of the CEDAW committee. A second question I wished to consider was whether communication between the parties was as effective as it could be.

Since I do not know Arabic, in order to gain access to the Arabic originals and Arabic translations, I consulted in a joint meeting two female Saudi Arabian students studying at Master's and PhD levels in the United Kingdom (referred to here as Informant A and Informant B).[3] Both students come from the city of Jeddah on the west coast of Saudi Arabia. They informed me that the city is 'liberal' with respect to women's

roles compared with other regions towards the centre and south of the country, so that the two students were open to discussing questions relating to women that may have been met with reticence or refusal of discussion by women from elsewhere. The two Saudi informants examined both the English versions and Arabic versions of the texts under study with regard to specific questions that I posed arising from my reading of the English versions. Sometimes during our meeting the two informants expressed differing opinions and perspectives, and although my goal was that they should simply elucidate the meaning of the Arabic texts, they also gave their personal opinions on the issues, including criticism of the report. Where these comments enrich understanding of the case, I have included them in the analysis.

In examining the documents a first very general question to ask is to what extent we are dealing with an 'intercultural conflict' in this communicative encounter. Referring back to Ting-Toomey and Oetzel's (2013a, 635) definition given earlier, there does seem to be an 'emotional struggle' over 'incompatibility of cultural ideologies and values', yet this is complicated by the fact that one party (Saudi Arabian representation) is actually aiming to show that its values are at least partially compatible with the values of the other party (CEDAW). In contrast, the conflictual element is heightened by the CEDAW committee, which shows suspicion that the situation on the ground in Saudi Arabia does not sufficiently correspond with the Convention. Nevertheless, discursive norms of politeness in such international communications mask antagonistic elements and tolerance is displayed on both sides, since neither side wants the relationship to break down; there is a delicate power balance. With regard to conflict styles, we find both parties often co-operating through seeking to reach understanding, at times competing in defending different positions, and with regard to the Saudi representation sometimes avoiding through not providing full information. I shall now explore in micro-level detail what to my mind are some troublesome aspects of the textual communications in terms of communicative effectiveness.

Micro-Level Analysis

In English Translation

In reading the English translations of the Arabic texts (CEDAW 2007a, b), one notices the frequent discursive presence of Islamic tradition. Here is an early passage in the reports showing this. The passage refers to Saudi Arabian law:

> The country's laws cannot transgress the framework of the Islamic Shariah and, consequently, may not be changed or developed by the legislative authority in the Kingdom in a manner which would lead to the creation of new principles, inconsistent with the bases of the Islamic Shariah, in letter and spirit. (CEDAW 2007a, 10)

Whereas that is a general statement, the religious references are frequently used in more specific contexts, and no explanation is provided as to their implications. Here is an example concerning education and employment:

> Curricula are the same and provide the same opportunities to women and men for education, employment, training etc., **consistent with the Islamic Shariah**. (CEDAW 2007a, 29, my highlighting)

Informant A explained that mention of conformity with the Islamic Shariah here is likely to refer to special provisions/restrictions regarding employment for women. She remarked that the phrase ثوابت شرعية (thawābt shrʿiyya), 'consistent with the Islamic Shariah', is a frequent phrase in many Saudi texts such as newspapers and in oral discourse; the phrase is used without further explanation and without precise references from the Qur'an. According to Informant A, referring to conformity with Shariah law has a strong power in the Saudi context, and definitely 'helps to end any argument, especially if related to Saudi women'. It seems that this particular central expression of tradition constitutes a Saudi discursive habit, and that its use is habitually 'high context' (low linguistic explicitness), which is carried over into the English translation. Both informants agreed that 'Islamic Shariah' is often cited as stipulating practices that stem in reality from (tribal) custom and cultural beliefs. Informant B contributed a further polemical point of view. She asserted that attributing restrictions to Islamic Shariah is wrong, since the text of the Qur'an places few restrictions on women, or the restrictions are a part of life in the seventh century and are not applicable in today's world. Thus, Informant B situates herself as belonging to a group of Saudi women who promote deeper knowledge of the text of the Qur'an, and different readings of it as compared with the traditional Saudi religious scholars, in order to advance women's rights (cf. Al-Rasheed 2013, 257).

For the English-language reader the frequent repetition of references to Shariah with no explanations of what Shariah law actually entails in specific cases makes the texts difficult to fathom, and gives

the impression that the law and its interpretation are unique and immutable. Informant B said that this is indeed the perception of many Muslim people too, who (wrongly, in her opinion) consider that laws and customs applicable 1400 years ago can and should still be applied today. The function of religious references in the report seems twofold. First, they assert the identity of Saudi Arabia as a state based on religious nationalism (Al-Rasheed 2013, 16). Secondly, they act as a sign of prudence in the same way as the general reservation to the Convention cited earlier: actions in favour of women's rights and freedoms will be approved and undertaken, as long as they do not contravene certain Saudi beliefs and customs. Informant A put this another way: she considers that the phrase 'consistent with the Islamic Shariah' acts as an 'excuse' for not following CEDAW in all details.

The major concept on which the CEDAW text hinges is that of 'equality', more specifically equality between men and women, the notion that they have the same rights. 'Equality' is certainly what Garre characterizes as a 'contested term' (1999, 155); that is, a term for which it is difficult to establish consensus on its semantic definition and extension. When two languages/traditions are brought into contact through translation, the situation may be exacerbated due to the creation of 'interlingual uncertainty' of meaning because of overlapping or non-corresponding meanings in the two languages/cultures (Cao 2007, 75). There seems to be a case of non-corresponding meaning with respect to notions of 'equality' in English/Western feminist tradition and Arabic/Saudi tradition. According to the Saudi Arabian report, Islam presents a notion of equality between men and women as humans who have reciprocal rights and complementary roles:

> [Islamic Shariah] charges the man with earning a living to provide for himself and his wife as compensation for the woman's role as conceiver, child bearer and mother. (CEDAW 2007a, 11)[4]

This is of course contrary to the CEDAW concept of equality, which warns against 'stereotyped gender roles', since they generally lead to restrictions on women (OHCHR 1979). The Saudi perspective, however, is based on the fact of physiological differences in men and women that make them different and complementary; equality as human beings is a matter of giving equal respect to different roles.

There are also other notions of equality at play in the Saudi Arabian report, demonstrating how 'equality' is a complex concept and 'contested term'. In answers to the list of questions (CEDAW 2007b), a

verse from the Qur'an is quoted that is said to establish the principle of equality. Here is the English version:

> 'O mankind, we created you from a single pair of a male and a female and made you into nations and tribes that you might know each other. Verily, the most honoured of you in the sight of Allah is he who is the most righteous among you . . . '[5] (CEDAW 2007b, 4)

Without being able to isolate an explicit additional phrase in the Arabic original, both Saudi informants said that the Arabic verse was clearer than its translation in expressing the idea that no matter who you are you can be righteous in the eyes of Allah, and therefore other distinguishing differences among people such as race and gender are not important. In the English this notion of equality of all before God is not entirely clear, which is a pity, since this non-discriminatory sense of 'equality' comes closest to the CEDAW sense. Furthermore, the use of 'mankind' and 'he' in the translation meaning people/person (whereas the Arabic text is gender neutral) is not felicitous in a target feminist context, even contradicting the notion of equality intended to be expressed. Another reference to equality enumerates different types:

> God created mankind from Adam and Eve and between Adam and his wife, Eve, there was equality in respect of rights and duties, humanity and obligation but not in respect of characteristics and functions, where equality would not be in a woman's interest. (CEDAW 2007a, 14)

It is difficult to know the intended meaning of the phrase 'equality in respect of rights and duties, humanity and obligation'. The CEDAW committee reader will probably read it with the Western sense of equality. The phrase 'equality would not be in a woman's interest' is also not explained further. My Saudi informants interpreted this as referring to a woman's physiology and child-bearing role: it would not be in her interest, for example, to do heavy physical labour or to serve in the army in combat forces.

In addition to the different concepts of equality in the Saudi report, there seems to be inconsistency with mention of both 'same rights' and 'reciprocal rights' in the report:

> [The Holy Koran and Immaculate Sunna] contain unequivocal rulings in favour of non-discrimination between men and women,

> desiring that women enjoy **the same rights** and duties. (CEDAW 2007a, 7, my highlighting)
>
> [Islam] views both woman and man in a social framework governed by relations of **reciprocal rights**. (CEDAW 2007a, 11, my highlighting)

Such inconsistency is confusing for the English reader, and is of importance since 'equality' is the key CEDAW idea. In the summary record of the oral discussion between the CEDAW committee and the Saudi Arabian delegation to Geneva, the record notes the following thoughts of one committee member, Ms Dairiam:

> It was confusing that the [Saudi Arabian periodic] report referred in different places to 'reciprocal rights', 'complementarity' of roles and the 'same rights' for women and men. On an urgent basis, she [Ms Dairiam] recommended dialogue and consultation on the concept and meaning of equality in order to provide a basis for all laws and policies and for service delivery. (CEDAW 2008b, 5)

Throughout the documents of the Saudi Arabian representation there seems to be a tension between tradition and modernization. There is certainly expression of a will, enumeration of laws, and description of projects and concrete achievements in widening opportunities for women in education and work. However, such expressions are often accompanied by qualifications, expressing conformity with Shariah law, as we have seen, and in addition conformity with 'woman's special nature'. Here is an example of this:

> The establishment of new applied specializations at the university level for women, **suited to their nature** and capabilities and to the jobs available to them according to the precepts of the Islamic Shariah. (CEDAW 2007b, 15, my highlighting)

I asked my informants what the highlighted phrase meant in practice. Informant B explained that at that time certain jobs and therefore training for those jobs were not considered appropriate for women, for example being an engineer or a lawyer, but since then opportunities have increased somewhat. The Shadow Report (Saudi Women for Reform 2007, 7) explains that 'women are considered to have a "special nature" that corresponds with their natural duties as mothers and

wives in an Islamic framework. Therefore, the type of work women are prepared for is mainly service jobs such as teaching, medicine and nursing'. The Report notes that in 2006–07, despite some changes, there were still a number of university departments to which women were not admitted (Saudi Women for Reform 2007, 32–35).

Even though there has been an opening out of possibilities to women, the traditional desire to protect women through restrictions is still apparent. Reference to legal restrictions on women's work is made in the following passage:

> As for the provision of special protection for women during pregnancy, article 160 of the Labour and Workers Law prohibits the employment of women in **hazardous and harmful occupations**. (CEDAW 2007a, 38, my highlighting)

This statement refers to CEDAW article 3, which stipulates the provision of 'special protection to women during pregnancy in types of work proved to be harmful to them' (OHCHR 1979). For the Saudi Arabian authors this is not applicable in their country, since by law women are prohibited from doing harmful work. No details are given about what 'hazardous and harmful occupations' are in the Saudi context. Informant B commented that in certain Saudi interpretations most employment was (and still is by some) considered 'hazardous and harmful' for women, particularly if it involves travel and the possibility of gender mixing. Informant B considered that the plea of 'hazardous and harmful occupations' was a pretext to restrict occupations for women. Certainly the English-language reader of the report would need to be provided with additional information in order to understand the particular meaning of 'dangerous occupations' for women in this context.

On one occasion a statement reads like a contradiction with an earlier statement in the report in English; understanding a translation issue offers some clarification. Here is the passage in question:

> There has been a change in the **traditional** view of woman in society and obstacles preventing women's participation in social and economic activity have been removed. (CEDAW 2007a, 16, my highlighting)

The authors seem to be presenting a contradictory situation, since earlier it was stated that in Islamic Shariah the primary role of the woman

is to care for the home and bear children (CEDAW 2007a, 11). Islamic Shariah being the all-important foundation of the state, surely (from the point of view of the authors) this Islamic tradition regarding women cannot change. My informants pointed out that in the Arabic original of the report, the term تقليدية, 'tqlydiyya' (rendered as 'traditional' in the quote) refers specifically to social custom rather than religious tradition. So religious preferences may remain unchanged, at the same time that social customs and outlooks are changing. In actual fact, many sectors of society remain conservative in their thinking and reluctant to adopt new practices. The informants say that customary conservatism explains why women voting is 'not completely possible'. Again, such contextual elucidation is necessary to understand the phrase in the following passage from the Saudi report:

> The law does not prohibit women from participating in elections, although, in practice, that participation is **not completely possible**. (CEDAW 2007b, 15, my highlighting)

Overall, the documents of the Saudi Arabian representation show clear evidence of a textual construction that aims to correspond with CEDAW expectations; in other words, the authors wish to depict the situation in Saudi Arabia in a good light with respect to the Convention. My informants said that there is in fact a noticeable gap between the contents of the Saudi report and the actual lives of women on the ground in Saudi Arabia, who, despite ongoing changes, continue to experience severe restrictions on their freedom and rights. An important reason for the discrepancy between the report and women's experience is that the report focuses on state laws, whereas often practices are customary (de facto) rather than enshrined in law (de jure). The most flagrant textual example of the mismatch between the report and reality is the total omission of mention of the male guardianship system in the report. Fortunately, the CEDAW review process involves supplementary documents such as the Shadow Report (Saudi Women for Reform 2007), which serve to provide the committee with a broader understanding of the situation in the country.

Translating into Arabic

In the communicative dialogue between the CEDAW committee and the Saudi representation, the amount of text that is translated into Arabic is less voluminous than that into English. One interesting communication difficulty occurs with the expression 'temporary special measures'.

Judging from the Saudi response to the CEDAW article in which this term appears, the concept has possibly not been understood. 'Temporary special measures' can be aligned with the 'Western' concept of affirmative action with regard to disadvantaged groups, and is not a familiar notion in the Saudi context. Here is the beginning of the CEDAW article in question, and the Saudi response in their report:

> Article 4 (1): Adoption by States Parties of **temporary special measures** aimed at accelerating de facto equality between men and women shall not be considered discrimination as defined by the present Convention . . . (my highlighting)
>
> Saudi Response: As for the paragraph 1 of this article, all citizens are equal before the law, without discrimination, as previously stated. (CEDAW 2007a, 20)

In preparing their report the Saudi representation would have used the Arabic translation of the CEDAW convention. My informants said that the Arabic translation of 'temporary special measures' in that text, تدابير خاصة مؤقتة (tdābyr khāṣa muʾaqta), is a literal translation, and they confirmed that this did not allow them to understand the meaning of the expression.

An important document translated into Arabic contains the comments and recommendations of the CEDAW committee (CEDAW 2008a), which represent the end point of the periodic review process. The comments and recommendations are intended by the CEDAW committee to be widely disseminated among Saudi government officials, Consultative Council members, politicians and women's and human rights organizations in Saudi Arabia. The recommendations are expressed in direct strong language. They are a reflection of CEDAW commitments in the Western feminist tradition, and there is no consideration of Saudi sensibilities regarding their traditions. Here are some examples of this rhetoric (with a few explanatory comments from me in square brackets):

> The Committee urges the State party to consider the withdrawal of its general reservation to the Convention (CEDAW 2008a, 2) [the reservation concerns the proviso of conformity with Islamic Shariah]
>
> The Committee calls upon the State party to enact a comprehensive gender equality law (CEDAW 2008a, 3) [that is, a law corresponding to the CEDAW concept of gender equality]

> The Committee urges the State party to take immediate steps to end the practice of male guardianship over women (CEDAW 2008a, 3)
>
> The Committee calls upon the State party to remove impediments to women's employment, including by abolishing de facto workplace segregation of women and men (CEDAW 2008a, 7) [segregation of the sexes is firmly entrenched in Saudi custom]
>
> The Committee calls upon the State party to end the practice of polygamy (CEDAW 2008a, 36)

I was interested in discovering from my informants whether the toughly expressed, no-nonsense conclusions from the CEDAW committee had been conveyed in the Arabic translation, or whether the sentiments had been softened in order to increase the likely acceptability of the ideas in the Saudi cultural context. My informants said that the direct and strong language was maintained in Arabic.

Multilevel approach

This textual analysis contains strands of complexity that are difficult to unravel unless a multilevel conflict analysis is conducted. Taking their cue from the social ecological model, Ting-Toomey and Oetzel (2013b) propose the study of conflict and tensions at four levels: macro-level: large sociocultural contexts, histories, worldviews, values, ideologies; exo-level: large formal institutions, e.g. government agencies, court system, police system, religious system, school system; meso-level: immediate units, e.g. local neighbourhood, local church group, workplace; and micro-level: intrapersonal and interpersonal level, e.g. the actual face-to-face or mediated conflict communication encounter. What is interesting to consider with regard to the different levels is the potential interactive influence of levels that bears on an intercultural contact episode (Ting-Toomey & Oetzel 2013b, 771, 784).

In our case a multilevel analysis allows us to avoid a stereotypical vision of 'Saudi Arabia versus the West', as it brings to light internal conflicts. Here is a multilevel analysis of relevant conflictual relations and tensions in summary form:

> *Macro-level*: Feminist tradition of gender equality versus other traditions of differentiated gender roles.

Exo-level: (1) Within Saudi Arabia competitive relations between the modernizing state and conservative religious leadership (Al-Rasheed 2013, 20).
(2) Relations between Saudi Arabian government and UN human rights organs: Saudi cooperation but with reservations (Alhargan 2012b).

Meso-level: (1) Divide between official Saudi Arabian CEDAW representation and progressive Saudi women's groups, e.g. Saudi Women for Reform.
(2) Cooperation but also tensions between Saudi Arabian CEDAW representation and CEDAW committee.

Micro-level: Textual communications (2007–08) of the Saudi Arabian CEDAW periodic review reveal internal Saudi conflict between modernizing (CEDAW-friendly) and conservative forces, as well as tensions between the Saudi representation and CEDAW committee, where Saudis claim cultural specificity.

The micro-level communications clearly embody conflicts and tensions from the other levels, which involve divergent traditions, conflicted traditions and evolving traditions. Thinking of the case in terms of different levels reveals a mismatch between meso-level objectives. The CEDAW committee's objective is for all countries to sign up and implement the convention fully. The Saudi Arabian representation's objective is to adhere gradually to the convention provisions, but to protect the country's perceived cultural identity at the same time. In the communicative encounter this meso-level mismatch is paralleled in a mismatch of aims for the specific encounter: the CEDAW committee wants to know exactly what is going on in Saudi Arabia at the moment with regard to implementation of the convention; the Saudi Arabian representation wants to show its country in a good light with regard to current progress in implementing CEDAW articles, therefore is not fully transparent in providing information. The communications also reveal questions of fear and threat (cf. Ting-Toomey 2012): the Saudis want to cling to their 'group membership identity', their traditional specificity. At the same time the Saudis have entered into the periodic review process because the state party desires to maintain its status regarding the Convention, since being a party to international conventions shores up the Saudi government's modernizing goal of participation in contemporary international politics and norms (exo-level). For its part, the

CEDAW committee fears that the Convention and its monitoring may be undermined by the state party's lack of full adherence to information provision standards. Due to the complex range of conflicts and tensions, the nature of communication is affected, and at times the situation is not facilitated by the mediation of interlingual translation.

Discussion: Communication across Traditions

When there are comprehension issues at the textual content level with regard to references to divergent traditions, ideally communication needs to be mindful (Ting-Toomey 2009, 2012) by taking into account the level of knowledge of the interlocutor with regard to cultural concepts. How can the CEDAW committee, whose membership is primarily non-Arabic, understand the concrete implications of the phrases 'in accordance with Shariah law', 'suitable to woman's nature' or 'hazardous and harmful occupations' in the specific Saudi context if no explanations are given? How can Saudi Arabians understand 'temporary special measures' from a literal translation in Arabic with no further clarification? In our case it is known in advance that the texts will be translated into the other language as part of the communicative dialogue between the CEDAW committee and the Saudi Arabian representation. Therefore, the source texts could have been written with more explanation in view of the prospective translation readership. Clarification can also be provided through translation choices: as discussed earlier, an important strategy is 'thick translation' (Kwame 1993), explication and annotations in the translation, which compensate for the knowledge gap. Cultural translation or the provision of interpretation frames (Katan 2004, 171) via explanation is not undertaken in the texts under study, but would certainly have increased the mutual knowledge of the parties, an important component of effective communication (Ting-Toomey 2009). The translations do not seem to have contributed noticeably to propagating shared transcultural memory with regard to divergent traditions.

However, a different point of view on the issue is relevant. As we have seen, the term 'equality' (musawah) is used in different ways in the Arabic text (and its English translation). It is generally a prerequisite that as far as possible there must be clarity in the source text before there can be clarity in the translation and effective communication. But perhaps the polysemous unclarity surrounding 'equality' (musawah) and also the floating between 'same rights' and 'reciprocal rights' is desired, somewhat in the manner of diplomatic instruments (Cao 2007, 72). The purpose of the authors would be to signal that the

Saudi context equates to a large extent with the CEDAW expectations, since polysemy allows 'equality' (musawah) to be understood as something close to a Western feminist sense, and the floating qualifier of 'rights' creates possible adhesion to the CEDAW point of view; at the same time a more conservative Saudi view is not denied. This linguistic slipperiness could eventually become a means by which the linguistic item is resignified to allow evolution in identity and tradition (Mendoza et al. 2002). If the ambiguity and vagueness are deliberate, then no doubt it is not the role of the translator to explicate. Similarly, with 'suitable to woman's nature', 'in accordance with Shariah law' and 'hazardous and harmful occupations', explaining what these expressions imply may do a disservice to the aim of the Saudi government to present a modernizing, CEDAW-friendly view of the country. Thus, it could be argued that a thick translation would be disloyal to the source text's intended communicative function in the textual dialogue. In such instances, rather than in the translation itself, explanation should then be provided by other means. In the textual dialogue it is indeed the CEDAW committee's task to seek clarifications through questioning the state party. The CEDAW committee also obtained supplementary information from other sources, notably the Shadow Report. The translator as mediator has the delicate task of deciding in specific instances whether or not explication is appropriate. As Tymoczko (2007, 232) says, the translator must take responsibility for decisions regarding choice of translation strategies in the particular texts and contexts at hand.

Another important consideration to take into account is the norms of UN translation. One aspect of institutional memory that has an impact on translators in an international organization is strongly standardized translation practices. It seems that the established UN translational norm is not to provide explanations. Nevertheless, norms, like traditions, can evolve and produce variants where useful. There is one specific translation strategy that is helpful to indicate cultural specificity and contributes to minimizing misunderstandings (Pym 2012, 149). In many texts about Arabic cultures, including Saudi Arabia (for example Wynbrandt 2010; Al-Rasheed 2013), words are retained in transliterated Arabic to indicate that the term has a particular meaning in the specific Arabic cultural sphere, and if the term is not well known, an explanation or entry in a glossary is provided. In the CEDAW translations into English there is no evidence of Arabic terms apart from 'Shariah' and some use of the Arabic calendar (e.g. 6 Ramadan 1389 A.H.). More use of transliterated Arabic terms could have been useful. For instance, the transliterated Arabic term 'tqlydiyya' could have been included with a

brief gloss to clarify that it is customary tradition and not religious tradition that is being referred to in the text section in question. With regard to the Arabic translations, 'temporary special measures' could have been retained in English to signal the specific belonging of the concept to a Western tradition, and accompanied by a brief explanation. Introducing new terms/concepts into the target culture increases knowledge that is beneficial for effective communication (Ting-Toomey 2009).

With regard to the blunt communication of the CEDAW committee's final recommendations and correspondingly blunt Arabic translation, one wonders whether this text is communicatively effective. In this particular context where Saudi Arabia has signed up to the Convention and the CEDAW committee has a surveillance role, it does not seem feasible to expect ethnorelativism on the part of the committee, but there could be a less domineering attitude concerning cultural identity based on Islam and centuries-old Saudi cultural practices. Although Informant B says that the Saudi report tends to use references to Islamic Shariah supporting restrictions that are not part of the Qur'an, both informants agree that Islam is a vital part of Saudi identity and should be respected by international bodies. Both informants express the view that changes in Saudi Arabia can only be fairly gradual, because traditions have a strong hold on people. Thus, calling for radical actions and change, such as embedding a Western-style statement on equality into the Basic Law of Saudi Arabia and abolishing traditional Saudi cultural practices, is unlikely to be effective, and may indeed be offensive to some. There is, for example, opposition to CEDAW in the country from some female Islamic activists, notably Nura al-Saad, who objects to 'an imposition of a foreign system on Islamic societies' (Al-Rasheed 2013, 275). For MacIntyre (2009), speakers of 'languages of modernity' have tended to suffer from hubris in considering that everything, including elements of vastly different traditions, could be translated, explained and understood in their languages. MacIntyre considers that it is only when we learn the other language and immerse ourselves in its cultural sphere that we can perceive limitations and shortcomings in our own beliefs; therefore, 'rival traditions' should be approached with humility. A more respectful and empathic approach in CEDAW committee rhetoric (both source texts and corresponding translations), which reduces identity threat (Ting-Toomey 2012) and expresses realistic expectations given the memorial strength of Saudi traditions, might ensure a more enthusiastic desire among Saudis to disseminate the CEDAW recommendations.

My difficulties in understanding the English texts and my perception of anomalies (mirroring the experience of CEDAW committee members, as shown in some of their comments; CEDAW 2008b) were indeed the result of the encounter with an unfamiliar tradition combined with some translation issues. Similarly, there is evidence of misunderstanding on the Arabic side with respect to a Western concept. An additional reason for problems in processing the English translations seems to be (deliberate) unclarity in the Saudi original, reflecting a kind of balancing act, as the Saudis are caught between a desire both to maintain conservative tradition and to modernize (to please the CEDAW interlocutor). This has caused communicative problems, but the unclarity is understandable from the Saudi point of view. The internal Saudi conflict shows how tradition is not uniform, and not fixed but dynamic (Shils 1981). For its part, the CEDAW committee appears to display some lack of cultural sensitivity, but this is understandable in view of its fervour and objectives. Thus, the study shows that there is no easy answer to questions of communicative effectiveness in this encounter. Indeed, concepts of the translator being a 'cultural mediator' (Katan 2004; Pym 2012), 'communicative effectiveness and competence' (Ting-Toomey 2012) and 'logical rejection of an incompatible belief' (MacIntyre 2009) cannot fully account for the complexity of an actual discursive encounter between divergent traditions in the process of 'cultural negotiation' (Shaheed 2010). It needs to be accepted that there will be an ongoing process of communication between the parties: moments of communicative confusion resulting in questions and explanations, partial clarifications, expressions of disagreement and agreement, times when cultural differences will become salient and when they are not, moments when the mediation of interlingual translation and interpreting helps and others when it hinders, and a greater understanding between the parties gradually emerging over time in the process of evolving tradition and identity. This process of contact and change combines translation both in the sense of dynamic displacement and in the sense of transformative engagement with the other. Eventually CEDAW may become a firm part of the memory canon of its signatory state parties.

In this chapter I have explored the topic of tradition and translation. Tradition is part of (trans)cultural memory, since tradition in a particular social group is a matter of beliefs and practices with symbolic significance passed down from the past. Tradition and translation can be brought together in various ways. The approach taken here was to study

the expression of tradition in texts, and the challenges that differing and conflictual traditions embodied in discourse might pose for translation and communication more generally. Textual and contextual study revealed various complexities of the communicative encounter. Navigating this complex situation through translation was constrained by the institutional setting in which the translation work was undertaken, a type of setting that will be discussed in detail in the next chapter.

7
Institutional Memory

'Institutional' and 'institution' refer here to highly structured formal groups (in contrast to the less formal groups that were considered in Chapter 3); that is, corporations, and governmental and non-governmental organizations. Institutions exist at various different levels, including increasingly the transnational, with the significant rise since the mid-twentieth century of international governmental organizations and NGOs. In the Chapter 2 case study, the publishing house was discussed as an important institution in literary translation. In Chapter 6 the question of UN translation norms was mentioned briefly, and in the present chapter I investigate in detail the workings of the translation service of a transnational institution, the European Commission. Institutions are formalized by having founding charters, status as a legal entity, physical headquarters and a structured workforce. Other signs of institutionalization are symbols, mottos, logos, flags, official colours, letterheads, uniforms and anthems. In connection with this chapter's case study, a well-known institutional sign of the European Union is the European flag, with its blue background and circle of 12 stars.

Institutional memory refers to the notion that institutions have founding aims, ideology, an official history and practices, which are remembered and passed on within the institution. Founders and other important people in the history of an institution are commemorated in various ways, such as naming a building or a fund after the person. Memory of ideology and practices strongly shapes the behaviour of members of the institution. Mary Douglas (1986) even considers that stable social formations develop a uniform and disciplined 'thought style' that sets the preconditions of cognition of the group's members.

The study of 'organizational memory' (which is largely synonymous with my 'institutional memory') has developed as a specialization

among scholars in organization studies.[1] The first synthetic article about organizational memory that set the framework generally adopted by organization studies scholars was Walsh and Ungson (1991). These researchers define organizational memory as stored information from an organization's history. This information is kept in 'five storage bins or retention facilities' consisting of individuals, culture, transformations, structures and ecology (Walsh & Ungson 1991, 63). The memorial information is retrieved where relevant and brought to bear on present decisions. Walsh and Ungson's conceptions have been criticized on several counts: their repository model is static and presupposes the possibility of storing an 'objective truth'; memory is conceived as having only one function, that of aiding decision making; and from a methodological point of view the focus is on individualism alone (Rowlinson et al. 2010). There is in fact no clear 'objective truth' with regard to memory, since as amply discussed and shown earlier in this work, memory is a dynamic, individually and socially constructed process. It can be shown, for example, that the presentation of official institutional memory is selective and tends to glorify the organization, while remaining silent on less glorious episodes or details of the past. For example, the Cadbury World museum in Birmingham fails to mention the issue of past slavery on plantations supplying Cadbury's cocoa (Rowlinson et al. 2010, 81). With regard to function, it is certainly correct that memory, whether individual or collective, has a directive function (for individual memory, see Bluck 2003), but it also has other functions. In an organization, memory has the role of creating a corporate image, shoring up group identity, and it can also be used for boosting morale among the workers. Particularly important for these functions is the emphasis on the founders of the organization, founding dates, founding charters and the aims and values contained within them. With regard to methodological individualism, this leads to the study of 'collected' memory – that is, interviewing and aggregating the views of a group of individuals – and the neglect of 'collective' memory (Olick 1999), which would entail studying cultural products and practices such as corporate museums, annual reports, archives, company webpages, commissioned histories, company commemorations and naming practices. These instances of collective memory play a role in reinforcing the shared identity and aspirations of members of the organization. Rowlinson et al. (2010) call for a more well-rounded approach to memory in organization studies. In the case study for this chapter both collective and collected approaches are adopted.

In the case study I discuss not only institutional memory, but also personal memory, electronic memory, textual memory, group memory, national memory and transnational memory. The question needs to be posed, then, as to how the various types of memory may be inter-related together with medial and practical forms. The division into different types of memory is itself a convenient scholarly construct, but considering inter-relations may at least provide a less simplistic outlook. Some of the most interesting work in this area comes from psychologists who have engaged with the notion of 'extended cognition' in examining the relationships between individual brain and environment. A first step is to propose that memory is distributed across the individual brain, non-organic memory (electronic memory) and artefacts like photos and books (Sutton et al. 2010). Then other individuals and groups are brought into the picture. Whereas Halbwachs (1952 [1925]) argued for social influences on individual memory, van Dijk (2010) extends this to emphasize the role of medial products: memory is embodied in the individual brain, enabled by medial technologies and products, and embedded in sociocultural dynamics. Memory can be conceived as distributed across people and socially in different ways. 'Transactive memory' concerns a small group of intimate people who have had shared experiences and who construct memory together discursively; autobiographical memory too is shaped by how we discuss it with others (Sutton et al. 2010). More expansive notions point to the distribution of memory across large groups of people in society synchronically and diachronically by means of communicative interactions, social practices and shared medial products (Wertsch 2002). In Chapter 2 I already adopted the distributed memory approach by discussing how the translation product was the result not only of the individual translator, but also of other contributing individuals, non-organic agents and social entities such as the publishing house. Chapter 3 then focused more deeply on the human–machine relationship. In this chapter I take the distributed approach further by considering all the different types of memory covered so far as well as institutional memory.

Subject to some disagreement are the exact mechanisms of distributed memory. It does not seem wise to say that the various types of memory and medial/practical forms have exactly analogous functioning mechanisms. This was argued in Chapter 2 when a distinction was made between neural traces of memory, recall and representation in writing. The neural, bodily, technological, medial and social resources of memory seem to have disparate but complementary properties (Sutton et al. 2010). There is, however, one common mechanism

that I propose is shared by my delineated types of memory: the mechanism of multidirectional memory, linking memories from heterogeneous sources. This is in particular a factor in transnational memory and is magnified in cosmopolitan connective memory (see Chapter 8). Different types of memory may be conceived as being mutually influential, for example neural memory/cognition has both created and been affected by electronic memory devices and platforms; and individual and social memory have a reciprocal, mutually influencing relationship, as do national and transnational memory. With respect to the individual/social, a further relationship was referred to earlier: the part–whole relationship whereby a collective cultural memory is related to but not the same as the memory of aggregated individuals of the group. Finally, one type of memory may contribute to another: transnational institutional memory contributes to transnational memory and in some cases to global memory.

The Directorate General for Translation of the European Commission

The case study in this chapter concerns a transnational institution, the European Commission, which is the main executive organ of the European Union. More specifically, the study focuses on the Directorate General for Translation (DGT) of the European Commission. The DGT of the European Commission is the largest in-house translation service in the world, with approximately 1700 translators[2] covering 24 different languages. Translation is a necessary activity in the EU context due to the language policy, which stipulates adopting an official language nominated by each member state. Legislative texts and many others are translated into all official languages, creating a huge amount of translation activity. In addition to work done by the in-house translators, approximately 24 per cent of DGT translation work is outsourced to freelancers. The translators work on texts originating from other Directorates and Services of the European Commission, as well as translating incoming texts from member states. The translation service has existed since the early days of the European institutions in the 1950s, and with the increase in the number of member states (28 today) has expanded considerably (European Commission: DGT). The DGT seemed to me to be particularly interesting to study from the point of view of memory, because a number of translators have worked there for their whole career so could provide valuable testimonies. Other reasons that this institution was chosen for study were the major role of translation

in the institution, and the goals of the EU with regard to human rights, notably the maintenance of peace and promotion of well-being within the Union.

DGT Collective Memory

Let us first look at evidence of collective memory concerning the DGT. The DGT has itself shown interest in its history and legacy. Based on a more detailed initial study in French undertaken by members of the DGT, a book of 79 pages with diagrams and coloured illustrations entitled *Translation at the European Commission: A History* was published in 2010. Both the French study and English book are available on the DGT's website. The book is intended to be a reader-friendly presentation of the DGT's history to both EU staff and the general public. The reason for the DGT's interest in its history at this time is that 2008 marked the anniversary milestone of 50 years' official existence of the translation service. So while serving as an information source, the book has a celebratory function: it 'pays tribute to the work performed by DGT's staff since the 1950s' (European Commission 2010, 79). In his preface, the then Director-General for Translation, Karl-Johan Lönnroth, also indicates the memorial role of the book for the wider institution: 'this history of the translation service is a crucial component of the European Union's institutional memory' (EC 2010, 6).

In the introductory matter (EC 2010, 3) it is stated that the book draws on the Commission's historical archives and on material gained from numerous interviews with former and current employees. However, there is no expression of personal views or experiences in the book; no voices of individual staff are heard, apart from Lönnroth's. The book content is very much a factual narrative in a single voice, which gives the impression that what is presented is the official history; there is no room for different perspectives or debate. The history is depicted as a harmonious progression, although one conflict is mentioned (the strike action of the translation service in 1989 over its building location) and the difficult time of 2004 due to hugely increased translation demand is discussed. At that time the number of official languages jumped from 11 to 20 as a result of the new member state accessions. Accessions are indeed evoked as major events in the DGT's history, since they entail the addition of official languages in accordance with the multilingualism policy. This shows the impact of developments in the EU structure on translation activity, a relation that is highlighted in the book. Other important events discussed are organizational changes, such as the

change in status of the translation service from an appendage of the DG Personnel and Administration to a fully fledged Directorate General since 2002. Significant changes in working practices and conditions over the years such as equipment and resources available are noted. Overall this history is very positive, highlights achievements, stresses the importance of the translation service (with the desire, no doubt, to make the role of this service better known and more valued) and may serve to boost the morale of the translators (cf. Rowlinson et al. 2010 mentioned earlier). The importance of translators in the EU is expressed several times, as in the following passage:

> The history of translation at the European Commission is first and foremost the story of the women and men whose work has helped to create the European Union. Union between the peoples of Europe would have been unthinkable without translation to build bridges. (EC 2010, 6)

In a similar vein, Lönnroth makes reference to the translators' role with respect to the aspirations of the founders of the European Union: 'In the epic journey of the translators who, day after day, have given tangible expression to the dream of the founding fathers it is the full richness of the European tapestry that is revealed' (EC 2010, 7).

Memory is also marshalled in a futuristic way, since remembering the successful development of the service and overcoming of past difficulties leads to optimism about the future:

> The Commission has managed to constantly adapt to the requirements stemming from its language [policy] whilst ensuring that the Community machine continues to run smoothly, and it will undoubtedly respond superbly to the challenges which lie ahead. (EC 2010, 59)

Another aspect of the DGT's interest in memory is the Legacy Learning site for translators, which was created in 2013. This site is on the DGT intranet and not publicly available. It is an initiative of the English department, motivated by the large number of upcoming retirements in that section, and the wish to preserve the knowledge of those long-serving translators for the benefit of present and future staff. Some time before translators retire, they are invited to prepare materials to be uploaded on the site. This may be subject-related knowledge (terminology, useful documents) and information about translation practice that they have accumulated through years of experience. The site has

an interactive feature too in that others can ask these senior translators questions online, and the answers are stored (Legacy Learning site coordinator, personal communication 2013).

The totality of present and past DGT textual production (available on EU websites), including texts in the 24 language versions, can itself be considered to be an embodiment of collective memory. The repository of documents dating from the 1950s maintains and archives the memory of EU objectives, values, negotiations, developments and evolving policies. With regard to translation, the multiple-language versions of documents along with style guides (such as the Interinstitutional Style Guide) and termbanks (currently IATE) embody normative linguistic and translation practices and choices developed and passed down over time. Since DGT translations reiterate excerpts from earlier translated texts and include pre-established lexical renderings, they act as vectors of textual memory (Brownlie 2012). Such features of DGT translation practice were remarked on in the translator testimonies collected for this study.

DGT Collected Memory: Translator Testimonies

The aim of my study of translator testimonies was to apply notions of memory, in particular the range of different types of memory, in the undertaking and analysis of face-to-face interviews of a group of translators at the DGT. I travelled to Brussels in January 2013 and undertook individual interviews of six French-language translators and eight English-language translators in the offices of the translators at the DGT building, 12 rue de Genève.[3] DGT translators' work normally consists of translating into their native or strongest language from other official EU languages, such that 'English (language) translator', for example, means that the person translates into English from various other official EU languages. The reason that the French and English languages were chosen was for convenience: these are the two languages in which I am fluent. The limitation to French and English languages (which have a particular status in the EU) as well as the limited number of interviewees mean that the findings do not claim to be representative of all DGT translators. Rather, the findings of this qualitative study provide insights into a particular group of translators' experiences and opinions that may be indicative of a wider group. When approaching the DGT department heads for permission to do the interviews, I had explained the focus on memory, and requested that among the translators interviewed there might be some senior translators. Seven of the eight English-language translators interviewed had been working at the Commission for more

than 20 years, with several working there for 35–36 years. The French-language translators interviewed had been working at the Commission for a shorter time, between 7 and 21 years. Capturing the memory of past experiences of senior translators who are at the close of their careers resembles the aim of 'oral history', except that I also asked questions about the present, since my conception of memory includes traditions and group normative practice. The topic of memory provided a basic framework for fairly wide-ranging interview questions (see Appendix 7.1 for the question schedule). Some interview questions were based on my prior knowledge of EU texts, translations, resources and procedures, as well as on previous scholarly studies on EU translation, notably Beaton (2007) and Koskinen (2008). Although these two researchers based their analysis on interpreting and translation textual data with different languages from mine, and furthermore my analysis is of what translators say in conjunction with translation examples that they cite rather than of their actual translations, it nevertheless seemed of interest to use ideas from the findings of previous research. I also took observation notes to record other aspects of the onsite interview experience: notes on the material environment and on interaction among the translators. After returning home, I transcribed and analysed the recorded interviews, and undertook some correspondence with interviewees in order to check or supplement details.

Personal Memory: Events, Changes and Roles in the DGT Translator's Career

I asked each translator a number of questions about their career (see Appendix 7.1, Part I). Each story was very personal, a part of autobiographical memory, and yet I was able to establish some common themes across the set of responses (in the manner of 'collected' memory; Olick 1999). One of the questions I asked was how and why the individual had become a translator at the Commission. One type of reason was pragmatic: as young people they were looking for a satisfying job. High competence in and love of languages were naturally prerequisites. Good salary, security of employment and interesting content and variety in the range of types of texts and subject areas were certainly motivations. I observed other attractive aspects of working conditions in the course of my visit to the DGT: spacious individual offices, excellent equipment and congenial relations among colleagues. These pragmatic factors help explain the long careers in the Commission.

In addition to pragmatic factors, there are ideological reasons for working for the Commission. All translators displayed a belief in what

one of them called 'the cause'. Here are the words of a French-language translator explaining her career choices; she has worked not only for the EU but also for the UN:

> je travaille pour les institutions parce que c'est plutôt ma philosophie. C'est mon idéal. J'ai travaillé pour les Nations Unies et pour l'Union Européenne, parce que je suis profondément convaincu de l'intérêt et de l'importance de collaborer pour les Européens, mais pour les peuples du monde entier dans le cas de l'ONU.
>
> [I work for the institutions because it's my philosophy. It's my ideal. I used to work for the UN and now for the EU, because I'm deeply convinced of the usefulness and importance of collaboration for Europeans and for the peoples of the world in the case of the UN.]

With regard to professional development, there do not seem to be opportunities in terms of a clear career ladder of different posts for translators. There is, however, the possibility of taking on administrative roles combined with some translation work. I met three senior translators who recounted this career progression: a work flow manager, an assistant head of unit and a head of unit. One translator pointed out that many Commission translators are happy to remain in the same job, since over their career they can accumulate new skills, notably acquiring new languages. All of the translators interviewed had started work at the Commission with at least two foreign languages and their native tongue in accordance with the minimum requirement. Over time they learnt new EU languages, mainly through classes provided at the Commission, and often prior to the accession of a new member state and thus the addition of a new official language that needed to be translated from. At the time of my visit in January 2013, I met a French translator who was learning Croatian in preparation for the accession of Croatia in July 2013. As for the number of languages that translators had accumulated over time and from which they work, one translator interviewed translates from nine languages; the average number for the group was five or six languages. The translators interviewed said that learning new languages was a necessary feature of working for the Commission (at least for English and French translators) and their attitude was very positive towards this. Here is a comment from one of them:

> Some people might think it's boring doing the same job for 24 years, but it's not exactly the same job. I've learnt other languages while

> I've been here. I started with Spanish and French; I added German, Italian, Greek, and I'm doing a Portuguese class now. I've enjoyed the opportunity to learn a language while at work, and to use it.[4]

Many of the translators reminisced about the time in 2004 known in the Commission as the 'big bang', when the accession of multiple new member states led to the major increase of official languages from 11 to 20, putting much pressure on existing Commission translators to acquire the new languages as well as pressure to employ more translators and to manage the increased workload by other means. The moments of accession were counted as major events, signalling one of the important changes taking place over time.

As well as the increased number of languages, another major change discussed was the greater range of subject matter due to the EU's involvement in a growing number of areas. The numerous Commission Directorates General (DGs) are the main requesters of translation: the titles of the DGs give a good idea of the breadth of subject matter translated and the multiple portfolios.[5] Translators do still specialize in broad subject areas, since they are grouped into thematic units that make up the language departments; for example, English unit one covers legal, economic and financial documents, unit two technical and agriculture (environment, transport, energy, agriculture, fisheries) and unit three social areas: health, consumer protection, trade and employment. However, the significant increase in subject matter areas over the years has resulted in translators not being able to specialize as narrowly as they did in the past. In addition, translators may work for units other than their own in cases of work overload in a particular unit. Here is what one of the English-language translators said:

> there's no one who can say I'm only doing German nuclear documents, because there probably aren't enough to keep one person going, and there are loads of other subject areas that need to be covered. That's due to the EU expanding its operations. There are more and more areas that the Commission is active in, and therefore more and more subject areas to translate. So there isn't the luxury of specializing any more.

The translators also recounted that the structure of the work unit has changed in that previously a hierarchical system was in place. Much of the translation at the Commission is reviewed by a second person: a translation is always revised if the text is for publication, and often for

other types of text too. In the past only senior translators were revisers, whereas now there is 'peer revision': any relatively confirmed translator does revision. One reason given for peer revision was that with the increased number of source languages, there sometimes are no senior translators available who know the particular source language. Another important reason for the breakdown of the hierarchical system is that in the days before computerization, knowledge was in the heads of the most senior translators (and their personal filing cards) and only transmitted orally. This role as vessels of knowledge reinforced their status; they were the respected 'old sages', in the words of one English translator, 'les vieux bonzes' in the words of a French translator. Today, much knowledge is written and available to all electronically. There has thus been a change from dependence on the human memory of a few people to reliance on widely available machine memory. Computerization has contributed to the democratization of memory and of the DGT service.

Despite the flatter hierarchy and the new function of electronic memory, as translators advance in their careers they still have the important role of transmitting institutional memory through passing on knowledge of translation practices in the Commission to the next generations of translators. This happens today through various means: experienced translators making their translations available in the DGT Translation Memory; experienced translators formulating written guidelines; and experienced translators acting as trainers (for training sessions on specific topics) and in a more ongoing fashion as mentors and revisers. Thus new translators learn past accumulated knowledge from others and from knowledge embodied in medial tools and artefacts. Each new translator is assigned a mentor to guide them when they first arrive, and all the work of novice translators is revised and proposed revisions discussed with them. Some translators recounted memories of how, when they themselves were novices, revision was heavy: the translation was 'plastered in red ink'; 'il y en avait qui ré-écrivait tout' [some revisers rewrote everything]. Today revision is done with a lighter touch, concentrating on essential issues in the mode of 'fit for purpose'. One English translator who has worked at the Commission for 35 years explained that he now chooses to spend most of his time (90 per cent) revising; this is out of personal preference and also because, as he said: 'I'm a senior member, I have all this knowledge, and I can pass it on.'

A number of translators noted the greater pressure and less relaxed work rhythm today. The increased workload for the translation service resulting from multiple portfolios and the significant increase in number of languages has had an impact on individual translators. Reference

was made to a slower pace of work in the past, a noticeably greater emphasis on productivity today, and the notion of variable levels of quality of translation for different purposes as a means of coping with the workload.[6] A French translator, who commenced working at the Commission at the beginning of the 1990s, expressed the changes as follows:

> Les traducteurs ont toujours été professionnels sur le plan de l'éthique, mais ils n'étaient pas axés sur le rendement, l'efficience, le fit for purpose, le just in time. Ce n'était absolument pas l'éthique dominante quand j'ai commencé. Nous étions à l'excellence pure. Une traduction se devait d'être excellente whatever the purpose. Et tant pis pour le délai.
>
> [The translators have always acted professionally with regard to ethics, but they gave little importance to productivity, efficiency, variable quality fit for purpose, and time constraints. That was definitely not the reigning ethos when I began. For us it was a matter of pure excellence. A translation had to be perfect whatever its purpose, and too bad for deadlines.]

Similarly, an English translator of long date talks about the great deal of 'nit-picking' about English expression that went on in earlier times. Pressure may also result from the variety of demands placed on the translators in addition to translating, such as undertaking revision and evaluation of work done by freelancers. Some translators also feel pressure due to increased surveillance of their work through technological means.

Electronic Memory: A Major Change

Technological change is one hugely important shift noted by translators, the effects of which have been multiple – some were already mentioned in the previous section. All translators, particularly those who have worked at the Commission since the 1970s and 1980s, spoke of changing technology producing a significant alteration in work processes. In the early days of the translation service, translators recorded their translations on a dictaphone and the text was typed by secretaries in a typing pool. Some of my translators recall the 'thundering' of the manual typewriters: it was like a 'sewing workshop'. Today translators work with PCs and sophisticated software, translation memory, multiple databanks and internet resources, which allow them to rapidly find required

information, parallel texts and terminology. The main tools mentioned by the translators were Quest, which searches through a number of EU databases; Euramis, which is the central memory of the DGT; and a customized version of Translator's Workbench (Trados), which provides translation memory software for local management. At the time of the change from dictaphone to personal computer in the mid-1990s, some translators had difficulty adjusting, and today some translators find it somewhat stressful to keep up with the constantly changing technology. Nevertheless, the main attitude expressed was very positive. When asked about the events and changes over her career at the Commission since she started working there in 1987, one translator said:

> Number one is the use of computers [...] The ease with which you can look things up has revolutionized our lives. We used to use the library all the time, we used to consult microfilm [legislation]. That has been an absolutely massive change, it means that so much is quicker, and information is available at a touch of the key [...] I'm not particularly good at computers, but for work purposes I master it sufficiently, and it's superb.

One specific advantage of computerization is that resources such as termbanks can be easily updated. Although new technology including the internet has provided translators with the means to provide more accurate and consistent translations, it is not clear that it necessarily increases productivity to a significant extent. One translator attributed this to the time it takes to trawl through all the information and texts that the electronic systems bring up; in contrast to the past, today there is almost too much information:

> Je crois que les traducteurs qui ont fait ce métier il y a 30 ans étaient toujours à la recherche d'informations. Il fallait de gros efforts pour trouver des informations terminologiques, linguistiques, des informations de fond. Maintenant on a accès à énormément de choses à partir de notre poste de travail. Souvent on a 20 documents de référence, cinq bases de données terminologiques, une base de données juridiques, tout ça pour traduire deux pages. On reçoit aussi beaucoup d'e-mails avec des conseils du client, du chef, du terminologue. Parfois on est vraiment submergés d'informations.
>
> [I think that for translators working here 30 years ago there was a lack of information. It was a big effort to find terminology, info

> on language and subject matter. Now we have a huge amount of information available from our work station. Often I'll have twenty reference documents, five terminology databases, a legal resources database, just to translate two pages. We also receive a lot of emails with advice from the client, our boss, the terminologist. Sometimes we're submerged in information.]

Another interviewee said that translators now have to spend time typing and formatting to produce ready-for-publication texts, which was not the case previously, and this can slow down the process. Nevertheless, a third translator pointed out that increase in efficiency and thus productivity is the motivation for further development of tools at the Commission, such as a new machine translation system that he reported as highly promising. Indeed, the huge electronic text repositories, repetitive text types and normatively controlled texts with standardized vocabulary make EU translation particularly suitable for machine translation.

Computerization and internet use have also had a significant impact on modes of work. One interviewee, who previously worked for the Commission freelance, reported that in contrast with the past, freelance translators today can be given ready access to all Commission resources since they are in electronic form. Another interviewee reported that he is a teleworker, working part of the week at home. Telework has developed as a result of electronic communication. Several French-language translators referred to the work technique of collaborative translation of a long text; producing a coherent translation when several people are translating different parts of the text is made possible by use of a shared memory. Cooperation, discussion and negotiation among a group of translators from different departments translating the same source text into different languages are also facilitated by an electronic discussion program entitled 'Note'.

The translators are wary, however, of delegating their job too much to electronic resources. They expressed the idea that the human–machine (organic memory and electronic memory) relationship must be a careful partnership. When there are a number of prior translation solutions proposed from databases, the translator must take responsibility for the final appropriate choice of rendering. Some of my interviewees reported that junior translators tend to be too slavish with respect to prior renderings found in the Commission translation memory and other electronic sources, whereas they should use their knowledge and judgement for the case at hand. In addition, translators needed to ensure the coherence of the translation as a whole in a situation

where bits and pieces are taken from a variety of previously translated texts.

Textual Memory: A Fundamental Feature

Textual memory, the way in which one text embodies the memory of an earlier text through reuse, is acknowledged by the translators as a fundamental part of the work of EU translators. As one interviewee said: 'La base du métier, c'est de consulter des texts traduits antérieurement' [The basis of the profession is consulting previous translations]. For each job the translator must be armed with links to a raft of relevant reference documents. With regard to legislative texts in the public domain, reuse of past renderings is stringent, particularly for a citation, but also for terms. It even happens that an inappropriately translated term becomes part of law and must be reused. As indicated earlier, searching for and reusing prior texts and previous translations has been enormously facilitated by the creation of electronic databases and programs that enable their ready search and use in documents. One translator explained that the easy consultation and reuse of prior translations (phrases, sentences) using translation memory software have resulted in a noticeable qualitative change in the translator's work:

> Cela a changé le regard sur la traduction, parce que nous n'étions plus créateurs de chaque phrase, nous étions aussi exploitants d'un fond commun dans lequel on allait piocher dans un souci de ne pas redoubler d'efforts et de ne pas aussi introduire des incohérences en retraduisant des choses qui avaient été dites. La traduction prend une autre apparence: ça devient un peu plus un travail de reformulation d'existants [...] On a un trésor de vocabulaire, de phrases, de types de traduction pour une même tournure, on est responsable de l'exploitation de ce trésor.
>
> [This changed our outlook on translation, because we no longer created every sentence, we also exploited a common resource in order not to do unnecessary work and not to introduce inconsistencies by retranslating things that had already been done. Translation takes on a different quality: it becomes closer to reformulating existing sentences [...] We have a treasure of vocabulary, sentences, a variety of renderings of a source text expression, and we're responsible for exploiting this treasure.]

Translation work is regulated through the reuse of prior translated texts. It is also regulated through textual and language practices that

are consigned to style guides and termbanks. Translators pointed out that although regulation may have always existed, it has become more explicitly formulated over time in written documents, now available electronically. In the words of a translator speaking of the English Style Guide: 'The translators felt the need to codify what they were doing, so that everybody was singing from the same hymn sheet. It's something that develops over time.' The in-house institutional context lends itself to a more standardized form of translation than other contexts. Translators view such regulation with a positive outlook: 'ça donne un cadre, c'est une aide' [it gives you a framework, it's helpful]. Practices are inherited from the past, but it is important to note that they are continually evolving. Terminological use, for example, can be challenged; for legislative texts when a new Regulation replaces an old one, terminological issues can be 'ironed out'. New terms also evolve, and translational renderings are discussed and established by teams of translators and terminologists. Indeed, EU text databases and termbanks are not so much archives as evolving resources (cf. Drugan 2008, 133).

Group Memory: French and English Departments

Today the translation service is organized in language departments. However, many of the translators interviewed have memories of a different mode of group organization. Between 1989 and 2002 the service had been organized entirely thematically rather than linguistically (EC 2010, 42). This allowed translators to work alongside colleagues in different languages who shared subject areas corresponding to the requester Directorate Generals. As one English-language translator of agricultural and technical texts said:

> When I walked in in the morning, I walked past the Italian agricultural group, then past the French one, past the German to come to my office, and down the corridor were the Spanish. We were always nipping in and out of each other's offices, asking questions.

The translators interviewed have fond memories of the thematic organization, but they agree that the current linguistic organization is necessary for practical reasons, given the increased number of languages and the necessity at times for work to be distributed across the team of translators translating into a particular language.

It is noticeable that the English translators and French translators recounted different memories and experiences related to their linguistic group affiliation. In the early days of the European institutions, French

was the dominant language and the main drafting language. At that time French translators were mainly translating preparatory documents for legislation that was drafted in French. After the United Kingdom and Ireland joined the European Community, during the 1970s and 1980s English-language translators used to translate a great deal of legislation from French, policy documents and outgoing documents. Some English translators of long date regret that they now see much less of such policy documents, since these gave them insights into EU thinking and plans. The early English translators had an important role in creating EU terminology in English. On a less optimistic note, among the English-language translators interviewed one also spoke of the early responsibility for communicating European ideals to the English-language member states, and expressed a feeling of limited success in that task with regard to the United Kingdom:

> We spent so long trying to make the European Community, as it was then, seem like a normal part of government to people in English-speaking countries, and certainly in England we must have failed miserably.

The interviewees recounted the gradual change whereby English took over as the dominant language: it started in the mid-1990s with the accession of Austria, Finland and Sweden in 1995, and was fully confirmed with the raft of accessions in 2004 of a number of Eastern European countries that had a tradition of learning English rather than French. The result is that English is now the main drafting language and main language of in-house communication; French has become confirmed as a translating language primarily from English for outgoing documents; and English translators are now translating primarily incoming documents from all the member states, such as communications with national governments. There is great pressure, therefore, on the English department to provide competence in all the EU official languages. Some languages are known as 'deficit languages'[7] because few translators are competent in them, so the situation of being a 'generalist' translator is most salient for English translators of deficit languages who have to translate texts on any subject matter.

Among my translators the perception of the degree of regulation of the translational product varied between English and French translators. The difference of perception occurs probably because French translators deal with more outgoing legislative texts than the English translators, who deal mainly with incoming texts for which dependence

on previous documents, and lexical and stylistic regularity (elements of textual memory) in translation, may be less essential. Here are two contrasting statements about their work from French- and English-language translators:

> C'est un type de traduction qui est hyper-réglementé, c'est très contraignant, il y a énormément de codes.
>
> [It's a type of translation that is heavily regulated, it's very restricting, there are many rules to follow.]

> I don't think it is terribly regimented. We have a style guide which I think is very useful because it gives us uniformity.

Two specificities of English translators that were expressed concern the maintenance of their mother tongue and the UK attitude towards the EU, alluded to in an earlier quote. Brussels is a bilingual city with French and Flemish spoken; in their day-to-day lives translators operate in (one of) those languages. A typical migrant to Brussels who has been there for many years might find that his or her native tongue has been affected by the Brussels linguistic environment. The English-language translators are, however, not 'typical migrants', since they are high-level language experts. Thus adopting residence and even an identity as a Brussels inhabitant does not entail diminished native-language competence. Here is what one English translator who has worked for the Commission for 29 years said:

> We do very well. A lot of us have been expatriated for a very long time. We keep abreast of language developments, not just the news and politics that's going on back home; we know the latest slang, the latest jargon, we keep up with things.

English-language translators sometimes feel uncomfortable because of the traditional reluctance of the United Kingdom about the EU. At the time of my interviews the issue was very much in the limelight, because there had been some sensationalist press speculation about Britain withdrawing from the EU. One English translator spoke about how he regrets the British attitude:

> Obviously we British translators are affected by the politics of the UK, and it's very sad that Britain is so detached, because it's a big player in the EU, and it could have been much more important, and

> taken much more seriously, if it hadn't constantly put itself on the sidelines, constantly carping and demanding special rights.

National Memory: The Role of Origins

The previous quote suggests that national identity (which is closely linked to national memory) plays a role for translators. Certainly one of the self-identifications given by the translators related to a national entity: England, Scotland, Britain, Ireland, France or Belgium. However, as EU officials in their work translators are required to put aside any feeling of support for national interests that conflict with EU policy. There are thus occasions when they relinquish national memory and identity. A poignant story was recounted by an English-language translator who is Irish. Prior to working at the Commission he had worked for the government of the Republic of Ireland in the area of regional policy, and in his early days as a translator at the Commission he translated European regional policy documents. On one occasion he was reading a document to be translated, and his heart sank as he realized that the European policy detailed in the document would be highly detrimental to his home country. He went on to translate the document accurately and impartially.

Language is an aspect of national affiliation, and languages are memorial phenomena in that they are practices handed down from the past and evolving in the present among diverse groups. The requirement of being native speakers of English or French is the foundation of the translators' work and links to their national background. The native-speaker status allows translators to assure quality of output, including the use of nuances of linguistic expression and appropriate register such as idiomatic and even fairly colloquial style in certain documents such as press releases. However, the translators remarked that any marked regionalism such as 'a Scottish word' was rarely employed.

Transnational Memory: A Transnational Environment

The transnational environment has an impact on translators' life experiences and identifications. My translators identified themselves in a range of ways, all having in effect complex multiple identities, depending on their personal trajectories. Some English-language translators who had been in Brussels for a very long time identified themselves as 'more European then anything else', particularly in cases where they had married non-British or non-Irish partners. A number of the French-language translators are Belgian nationals, and they happily identified themselves as both Belgian and European. One translator made an

explicit distinction between being of a specific nationality in his private life (British) and a European official in his work life.

Identifying as European relates to the concept of European transnational unity and harmony. An important originating motivation for the creation of the European institutions, stated in Robert Schuman's famous speech announcing the European Coal and Steel Community (Schuman 1950), was the desire for durable peace after World War II. Among the translators, one who had been in Brussels for 37 years mentioned memory of the war as a reason for wanting to work for the EU:

> The first thing I did when I went to university was to join the European Society and the UN Students' Association, because it wasn't that many years after the war, and I felt that these kind of things really had to be supported. There is a bit of that in me still.

The goal of lasting peace has been achieved among EU countries. As one translator said: 'le plus grand acquis de l'Union europeéenne, c'est qu'on a pu préserver la paix' [the greatest achievement of the EU is that we have succeeded in maintaining peace]. The use of 'on'/'we' in this quote indicates identification with Europe and the EU, and rightly so, because it is through communication, including texts and their translations, that negotiations and norms have replaced armed conflict. It has been proposed that shared European memory of war and peace as well as commonalities in cultural legacy might found a transnational European identity that accompanies local memory/identities (Bottici & Challand 2013). Indeed, the EU has enacted the legal concept of European citizenship, which the translators noted as being present in texts they have translated, but generally they felt that on the ground national and sub-national attachments remained strong.

With regard to language, the EU context has a transnationalizing impact on the kind of French and English used by the translators. Belgian translators recounted that they are not permitted to include Belgicisms in the French that they employ in their translations. Similarly, as already mentioned, regional varieties of English or colloquialisms specific to a particular English-language region would usually not be acceptable. A kind of 'international French' and 'international English' are favoured, in the case of the latter partly because many of the recipients of English translations are non-native speakers of English in the Commission.

Equally, most texts are drafted in English by non-native speakers of English, such that hybrid Englishes are apparent, sometimes creating difficulties for the French translators:

> De plus en plus l'anglais devient la lingua franca, et donc nous avons de l'anglais slovaque et de l'anglais cypriote, et ce n'est pas facile de comprendre.
>
> [More and more English is becoming the lingua franca, and so we get Slovak English and Cypriot English; it's not easy to understand.][8]

Interestingly, in some situations non-native English expressions can even be used by English translators in their output as the result of reuse of a prior text. Here is how one translator explains this:

> I'm translating something now where the Germans are replying to a letter from the Commission. To a certain extent I've got to use the words the Commission has used, although actually it's not terribly well drafted. The letter's probably written by a non-native speaker, but for the sake of consistency, so that the person gets the same words back that he used, it's best to use his words.

The combination of foreign-language speakers and translation activity within the EU institutions has from the start led to mixing of memorial linguistic traditions, producing both gallicized English, for example 'axis' (meaning 'priority'), and anglicized French, for example 'approche' calqued on the English 'approach'. Such examples reported by the translators were accompanied by expressions of either mild annoyance or resigned acceptance.

Institutional Memory: The DGT and the EU

In terms of institutional memory and identity, I shall first consider the DGT as an institutional unit, before reflecting on the EU institutions as a whole. There has been improvement over the years in the status of the translation service. Initially appended to the Directorate General for Personnel and Administration, since 2002 it has been a fully fledged Directorate General (EC 2010, 42). It seems that translation has gained a more prominent status over time, which is no doubt related to the proliferation of languages and the huge amount of translation activity. One or two translators acknowledged a positive impact of the service becoming a DG, since a strong Director General could 'fight on [their]

behalf'. However, despite the current status of the service and of the translators as EU officials, a number of the translators interviewed felt that their work is not well known and that its importance is not given full recognition, either by the general public or within the Commission. However, this situation does not seem to bother them unduly. As one unit head said:

> We're a victim of our own success. We're producing it, it's getting out there, it's being used, but people take it for granted, and they forget about us to a certain extent, and that's not a bad thing. We're not prima donnas, we should be proud of our achievements, but we don't have to be in the spotlight.

Institutional memory concerns the history of organizational changes over time, and also, importantly, more or less standardized work practices that have developed over time and are passed on within the institutional group. In our case this creates a particular DGT textual identity. Translators acting as revisers and mentors, and electronic resources including text repositories, termbanks and style guides, are essential vectors of institutional language and translation practice. Translational practices and norms, as already mentioned, began to be established early on. One English translator who started at the Commission in 1976 explains that great care was taken in the early days of English translation of legislative texts because '[w]e regarded every translation as a precedent for the future'. Today, translators are particularly aware of DGT translational and linguistic norms and practices when dealing with external freelance translators who work for the Commission. A French translator explained this as follows:

> parfois on n'est pas satisfait des free-lance. La traduction est bonne, ils ont bien compris, le français est tout à fait acceptable, mais ils n'ont pas respecté les normes d'ici, les normes de la maison [...] soit de la typographie, soit du vocabulaire, soit des formules de politesse, l'utilisation des majuscules ou des minuscules.
>
> [sometimes we're not happy with freelancers. The translation is good, they've understood the text well, their French is totally acceptable, but they haven't followed our norms, our in-house norms [...] whether it's a matter of typography, vocabulary, politeness formulae, or the use of capital and small letters.]

Consideration of institutional language practices can be extended more generally to the EU institutional context. In her study of EU Finnish

translations, Koskinen (2008) suggested the idea that there is a kind of undecidability in EU texts, a tension between EU institutionalization of language and readability. She linked this to a mixed identification of EU translators as both EU officials and Finnish nationals. With regard to specifically European Union terminology, my interviewees considered EU terms to be a natural and normal phenomenon: specific European concepts require their own terminology. Some English translators are not happy about the particular jargon chosen, but acknowledged that now the EU is stuck with it. Most interestingly, they pointed out that so-called Eurojargon is now being used in UK and Irish government departments and the press: it then becomes part of the English language to the extent of no longer being recognized as Eurojargon. An example is the term 'subsidiarity'. However, there is also internal, potentially questionable EU usage that is not so well established. One English translator recounted how she strives to avoid it; for example, she would use 'outsource' or 'contract out' rather than 'externalize'. With regard to syntactical complexity in EU texts, it was considered that there may well be good reason for this in legislative texts that cover complex issues and nuances, and in such cases translators may be wary about not remaining close to the original expression. There is also the question of texts that are the result of difficult political negotiations, where convoluted language may be deliberate (cf. Cao 2007, 72). However, a historical development was also noted. Translators recounted that today there is greater importance accorded to simplicity and clarity of expression, both in original texts and in translations, than in the past. With regard to French, one translator explained the situation in a poetic manner:

> Les collègues il y a 25 ans voulaient faire du Marcel Proust, donc à force de vouloir écrire des textes très beaux, c'était plus difficile à comprendre.
>
> [Our colleagues 25 years ago wanted to write like Marcel Proust, and the very beautiful texts they produced were more difficult to understand.]

In addition, there are the issues of linguistic transnationalization mentioned in the previous section. It seems that a more complex picture than a binary tension between readability and institutionalization of texts in a particular language is provided. There is a complex weave of the maintenance of national memory through the use of language spoken in various nations, the maintenance and creation of transnational

European language and the influence of Euro-terminology on language used in member states. Translators emphasized that the exact usage in a particular case is highly sensitive to specific types of text and prospective readers, and governed by the in-house normative practices. Most importantly, there is an ongoing evolution of usages. The situation of multiple fluid identities of the translators and other EU agents is paralleled by the complexity of EU language use. Overall, the linguistic mix combines national and transnational forces to carry forth the negotiations and communication work of the Union. It is interesting to note that just as legal and political links between national entities and the transnational union are forged, entailing transformations in member states, so the languages through which this relationship is negotiated evolve and become intertwined.

Ideology is an important feature of institutional memory. With regard to international organizations, fundamental values and objectives are normally set out in charters, mission statement documents and regulations right from the establishment of the institution. The European institutions' multilingual language policy dates from Council Regulation no. 1 of 1958: it stipulates that each member state may nominate a language as an official language (see Council EEC 1958 and amendments). At that time there were only 4 official languages; today there are 24. My translators acknowledged the legal necessity of translation into different languages, since laws must be in national languages. They also pointed out that communication and translation in different languages have important democratic ramifications, thus the multilingualism policy is linked to EU values. A provision of the language policy that relates to the value of democracy is the right of citizens to communicate in their own language with Union institutions. The English-language translators are particularly aware of this, since most of their work concerns translating incoming documents from the member states into English. As one of the translators explained:

> We get a lot of letters from individuals, and they're all taken seriously [...] Some are a bit ridiculous: I have had the odd one where the neighbour's trees were growing too high, and could the Commission do something about it? But sometimes it's basic rights of citizens like people in East European countries who don't have any connection to the electricity grid [...] It's normally an individual that writes. The Commission will reply, even if to say it's not within the scope of the Commission's work. But surprisingly often the Commission can do something.

Translation plays a role in giving some power to individual citizens and increasing democratic participation. Outgoing translation, by means of which EU-authored documents and information are translated into the 23 languages and made widely available in print form and importantly on internet sites, also has a democratic motivation. One of the French-language translators expressed this explicitly as being the very reason for the translators' work:

> La recherche de rendre l'union plus démocratique, de se rapprocher du citoyen, c'est notre travail quotidien, parce que si on traduit c'est pour rendre l'union et sa législation plus accessible aux citoyens des différents états membres.
>
> [Seeking to make the Union more democratic, coming closer to the citizen, this is our daily work, because if we're translating, it's in order to make the Union and its legislation more accessible to citizens of the different member states.]

Two translators remarked that the EU is still often perceived as a remote organization with a 'democratic deficit', but the situation would be much worse if communication and textual production did not occur in citizens' own languages. Another aspect mentioned by one translator was the notion that multilingualism serves to support minority languages, and equates with the EU aim of achieving 'diversity in unity'.

However, the translators also expressed scepticism with regard to the multilingualism policy. They pointed out that languages do not in reality have equal status, since English, French and German (the 'procedural languages') have a privileged status: these languages may be used for in-house purposes, with English employed most frequently today. It is also true that not everything is translated into every official language. One translator recounted that many brochures and internet sites only exist in a few languages. Furthermore, some of the translators explained that the proliferation of official languages has in a sense led to a reduction of multilingualism, since in many circumstances multilingual functioning becomes impossible with so many languages, and the lingua franca, English, is used instead and thus reinforced.

In the very first European treaty establishing the Coal and Steel Community (1952), the embryonic version of a statement of general values is present, for example the aims of peace and improvement of people's well-being through raising standards of living. In succeeding European treaties the values were more elaborately and explicitly formulated.

In the acceptance speech made when the EU was awarded the Nobel Peace Prize (van Rompuy & Barroso 2012), emphasis was placed on values at the core of the union – peace, freedom, justice, human dignity, equality, rule of law, respect for human rights, democracy and harmony. The foundational values are important in creating a transnational institutionalized space that operates through maintaining memory of those values, as well as concretizing and developing their manifestations. I questioned translators as to the presence of such values in the texts they translated. Whether translators were aware of values being expressed in their texts depended on the content of the texts being translated. One translator, who carries out work for the European Court of Justice, said that the European values are definitely important in such texts:

> là on est toujours dans les principes fondamentaux, fondateurs de l'union, le principe de libre concurrence, de démocratie, de paix, de libre circulation. Ça reste au-delà de tous les conflits entre entreprises, les conflits entre autorités judiciaires, ça reste vraiment présent.
>
> [here you always have the fundamental principles founding the union, the principles of free competition, democracy, peace, free movement. That remains above and beyond all the conflicts between businesses, the conflicts between judicial authorities, it's very present.]

In contrast, a translator who translates texts dealing with technical subject matter and relations with member states said the following:

> It's more a basic civil service conversation between two parties. [...] It's the bread-and-butter issues of money concerning agricultural and fisheries spending on one side, and in terms of transport, passenger safety. It's more pragmatic and down to earth than the general European ideal. It's about knowing whether a train is going to crash because of faulty lines.

This quote shows that although the details of a document may be highly technical, there are underlying values such as the well-being of citizens across the Union, which is to be secured through the goal of ensuring common norms across Europe, linking thus also to the value of harmonization. One translator also said that she had translated texts that put established values into question:

> il y a eu un exemple récemment avec la libre circulation, quand il y a eu le problème en Libye, l'afflux des réfugiés en Italie. Il y a eu des tas de textes qui disaient que les frontières il fallait peut-être les rétablir.
>
> [There was an example recently with freedom of movement, when there was the problem in Libya and the massive arrival of refugees in Italy. There were a lot of texts which said that maybe the borders should be established again.]

This indicates that how values and principles are worked out in practice may develop over time. Through translating texts that communicate the values directly or indirectly (or even challenge them), translators play a role in transmitting these values, as well as conveying the multiple technical issues that are expressed. Whether through communication between individual citizen/member state and Commission, or through outgoing mass communication in multiple languages, translation acts to propagate values by enabling, extending and disseminating communications.

Beaton (2007) has found that European Parliament interpreters tend to reinforce values such as European unity through repetition and the use of particular metaphors. My translators envisaged a few circumstances where reinforcing values might be possible, for example if the source text was unclear and clearer expression in translation inadvertently strengthened the ideas expressed. However, most often the suggestion of strengthening of values was met with disapproval, as the following comment displays: 'We translate the words, we're here to translate somebody else's message.'

Certainly it was felt to be important for an EU translator to have knowledge of the historical development of the Union, its project, its aims and values. One senior translator pointed out that he has noticed translation errors made because a novice translator lacked such knowledge.

Although translators strongly support the European project in its overall aims and values, this does not mean that they always agree with all Commission thinking and policies, and they are sometimes disappointed in Commission actions or lack of action, a case of the latter being the slowness of reaction at the start of the 2008 financial crisis. Disagreement can be at the macro-level of economic trends and approaches. One translator expressed strong disagreement with the EU's austerity policies in place at the time. Another was unhappy about what

he perceived as the more neo-liberal economic approach applied today compared with earlier days when the French socialist Jacques Delors was at the head of the Commission. Disagreement may also concern more specific decisions and policies. I asked translators whether they had been in the situation of having to translate a document whose content they did not agree with. For most translators this was not a common occurrence, but it did happen. When I asked translators what they did in this case, all replied that they would translate faithfully and neutrally; and only exceptionally rarely would a text be passed on to be translated by somebody else. A case recalled was a vegetarian being dispensed from translating documents on slaughterhouses. One interviewee explained the situation as follows:

> Que le traducteur soit d'accord ou pas avec le contenu d'un texte, son travail consiste à traduire le texte. On peut avoir ses idées à titre personnel et privé, mais en tant que fonctionnaire européen, ça n'intervient pas dans le cadre du travail.
>
> [Whether the translator agrees or not with the contents of a text, his or her job consists in translating the text. You can have your personal ideas, but as a European official, that doesn't intervene in your work.]

The key words here are 'fonctionnaire européen', 'European official'. Commission translators are European officials, who as such are bound by the Staff Regulations, which stipulate conduct in accordance with the interests of the Union and carrying out assigned duties objectively, impartially and in keeping with the duty of loyalty to the Union (EC 2004, article 11). The EU memorial values are thus also upheld through formalized means that secure translators' ideological loyalty. Although translators adopt the status of quiet workers, they contribute significantly to the remediation of texts, which is the condition for maintaining memory of the objectives set by the early founders of the European institutions and the ensuing developments, such that the EU has become not only a political but also a symbolic force, a memory site (Erll 2009).

Concluding Methodological and Theoretical Reflections

In the context of a group of translators who had been working in the same institution for a considerable period of time, the memory-focused approach, taking memory in a broad sense with its range of types and

contents, proved useful in undertaking the interviews and in analysis of interview material. The approach provided an in-depth picture of the translators' past and present work and experiences. Combining study of both collective memory (notably the DGT history book) and collected memory (interviews with the translators) allowed triangulation, in that findings overlap and thus reinforce each other with regard to the major events, changes and the nature of translation work in the institutional setting. The collected memory approach is enriching, since it captures many voices and can provide various opinions and additional insights compared with a method that provides one official voice, as in an official history. However, a noticeable aspect of my experience in interviewing translators was their lack of precise memory of dates and certain details (a common feature of autobiographical memory). So, recourse to the official history was useful for verifying dates and facts. Collected and collective approaches are thus nicely complementary.

With regard to memory studies theorization, the fact that it was difficult in the analysis of translator testimonials to categorize material into the sections on different types of memory is a strong indication that the relationship between the different types of memory is not so much that they are distributed (a word that gives the impression of separate portions), but rather that they are intimately intertwined. Hoskins (2011) suggests the interesting mechanism whereby cognitive memory extends into the world then loops back, since we externalize memory then re-perceive it in the externalized form (a written text, a photo, a friend's words etc.). In my study the personal, electronic, textual, group, national, transnational and institutional inter-relate in various ways. Here are examples of such inter-relations: each individual translator expressed personal memory in recounting his or her experiences, but the similarities across all the narratives were such that a clear sense of DGT group memory emerged; the fundamental feature of reuse of earlier texts constituting textual memory was seen to be greatly facilitated by electronic memory; there seemed to be some tensions between the national and the transnational; and, importantly, institutional memory with regard to both ideology and textual practices was shown to embody elements of the other types of memory.

This chapter has examined the question of institutional memory, taking translation at the DGT of the European Commission as the topic for a case study with a particular focus on translators' testimonies. Having mainly concentrated on various types of memory separately in past chapters, the case study here highlights their combination and

interconnections. Indeed, it seems that in order to better comprehend certain situations, it is necessary to take into account a range of types of memory and their relations.

Appendix 7.1

DGT Interviews: Questions

I Autobiographical Memory

1. Can you tell me how long you've been working as a translator at the European Commission?
2. How and why did you become a translator at the European Commission?
3. What have been the main events in your career at the European Commission?
4. How has the nature of your work (type of task, texts translated) changed over the years?
5. What are the main challenges in your work today? Has this changed over time?
6. How and why has the organization of the Translation services/your section changed?
7. How and why have work flow procedures changed?

II Institutional and Textual Memory

1. To what extent do you feel that your translating work is constrained by institutional drafting guidelines, by style guides, and by lexical equivalence resources such as the IATE termbank?
2. How have these normative instruments changed over time?
3. How do you use prior existing translations in your work? How has this changed over time?
4. As a senior translator, what is your role in passing on translational practices and norms of the DGT (e.g. to recently arrived translators)?
5. What is the role of creativity, discussion and negotiation in your translation work?
6. To what extent does this negotiation involve other language units?
7. Are established norms/practices challenged? (Cf. Drugan 2008, 133 – TM and terminology resources evolving.)

III National and Transnational Memory

1. Would you agree that the EU multilingualism policy reinforces EU values of integration, equality and democracy? How has this evolved over time, and impacted on the status of translation in the EU?

2. To what extent do you have a sense of the presence of EU ideology (peace, harmony, unity, citizens' well-being, free trade/movement . . .) embedded in texts that you translate, and the translations? (Cf. Beaton 2007 – interpreting increases ideological aspects, e.g. through repetition of key terms, extended use of common metaphors, such as the EU is a ship.)
3. Have you ever been in the situation of not agreeing with policy documents/content of documents that you're translating?
4. Do you feel a tension in terms of your personal identity? A tension between your national identity and relations to general readers in/from the UK–Ireland/France–Belgium, and your identity as an EU official producing texts for an EU in-group?
5. How is your personal identity manifested in your translation work? (Cf. Koskinen 2008 – study of drafting policy documents, translator discussions and textual products reveals fundamental undecidability between readability and institutionalization.)
6. Have you noticed the notion of a transnational European identity for individuals ('EU citizenship', first officially mentioned in the Maastricht Treaty) becoming stronger over time? What is the role of texts and their translations in this process?

8
Cosmopolitan Connective Memory

Now almost at the end of our journey, this final chapter engages with the global level of communication and memory. Assmann and Conrad (2010, 7) consider that memory has entered the global arena in four ways: a global public sphere requiring global accountability has led to a plethora of apologies for wars and colonial wrongs; global memory claims from wars and colonialism have led to notions of universal morality and respect of diversity; all levels of memory have come to be informed by the global context, for example consciousness of regional memory binding areas together has developed; and memorial globalization has occurred from below with grassroots activist movements and the worldwide diffusion of popular cultural products. In this chapter the focus will be primarily on this final category, but first some definitions of the terms 'connective' and 'cosmopolitan' memory are required.

The term 'connective memory' was coined by Andrew Hoskins (2011). For Hoskins the characteristics of our contemporary media and the ways in which people use media have led to a qualitative difference in how we relate to memory today. This difference concerns three types of connection: the easy and immediate connection of individuals across vast geographical spaces through electronic means, notably the internet; the easy and immediate connection of people with the past, since due to the huge capacity of electronic memory and storage vast amounts of information about the past are available at a click of the mouse; and the connection of the self to an array of devices and networks in the mode of distributed memory. Furthermore, major news events that occur are broadcast immediately around the world, and there is little time to consign an event to memory before fresh events are broadcast; the result is a race into the future. Connective memory refers to the pervasiveness of digital media and the digital archive, and the immediacy and increasing simultaneity of past, present and future.

The term 'cosmopolitan memory' was coined by Daniel Levy and Natan Sznaider (2006). These scholars highlighted how the Holocaust has a particular role with regard to memory. It was an event that has proved both impossible and compelling to talk about; an event that is universally known; and an event that has become an icon of inhumanity. As an icon, the Holocaust is cited in connection with other cases of genocide around the world in instances of multidirectional memory (Rothberg 2009). Furthermore, Levy and Sznaider posit that memory of the Holocaust has a global role with regard to human rights, constituting a powerful symbol of what must not be repeated, or the use of memory futuristically. My own use of 'cosmopolitan' relates to all kinds of shared memory at a global level. Whereas 'transnational memory' could simply concern two countries, 'cosmopolitan' concerns the global; that is, globally shared knowledge of others' pasts and traditions. The term also evokes the philosophy of cosmopolitanism (see Delanty 2009), based on the concept of human rights and the idea of global citizenship, whereby an individual may embrace an affinity and empathy with global others as one of his or her identifications. My combination 'cosmopolitan connective memory' highlights the idea that today's (potential for) cosmopolitan memory relies on the electronic connectivity of the contemporary world.

'Cosmopolitan connective memory' is forged largely through global intercultural communication; that is, communication around the globe traversing linguistic, cultural and geographical borders. It can also be conceived as traversing temporal and aesthetic borders. This communication includes interpersonal interaction, the communication of cultural products and the communication of ideas. All these types of communication are found in an important means by which global links are made today: the circulation and discussion of popular cultural products, particularly via electronic tools and the internet (Williams & Zenger 2012). With regard to the role of history in popular culture, Jerome De Groot (2009) finds that there is a veritable 'historiocopia', an overflowing of abundant memorial meaning in a huge range of contemporary cultural forms, including historical fiction, video games, re-enactments, television documentaries, plays, musicals, film and television costume dramas and adaptations of period novels. All of these can in turn be remediated through the internet in various ways.

In Chapter 5 I discussed Anne Rigney's (2004) argument that fictional forms such as novels are an exceptionally powerful vehicle for transmitting memory. This is because humans warm to the narrative form (with intrigue and outcome), can empathize with individual characters, and

appreciate aesthetic and moral qualities of the literary work. All these features make the fictional work memorable, and thus also the historical setting and events embodied in the work. Rigney suggests that by virtue of its properties the literary form is particularly suitable for travelling and creating cross-border memories. For her part, Alison Landsberg (2004) highlights the importance of the experiential for memory, which is afforded by certain types of cultural product. Cultural products such as films, theatre productions, artworks and contemporary museum displays constitute strong performative acts of memory, generating an experience of the past in the present. A powerful vicarious experience of a past event may result in 'prosthetic memory', memories almost the same as if one had actually experienced the event. Cultural products that strongly engage the senses and emotions have a particular experiential force, and this force allows these products to be appreciated transnationally and transculturally, with contemporary technologies and transfer capabilities providing the conditions for their international mobility. Globally propagated mass culture creates the possibility of people who share a limited amount in common in terms of cultural background coming to share certain knowledge and memories (Landsberg 2004). Today's developing digital connectivity and digital technologies contribute new dimensions. The impact of cultural products is reinforced through ever wider and quicker dissemination, and through the possibility of internet users' interaction with each other in discussion of cultural products, as well as grassroots creativity in the reuse and transformation of such products. An individual, for example, may sample and remix music and video content to create their own films that are posted and shared worldwide on YouTube. Participatory popular culture across borders enhances shared global knowledge as well as glocal meshing through reuse of popular culture products for local purposes (Williams & Zenger 2012, 1).

A cultural product will include different types of memorial features, whether these are references to cultural customs and traditions, or references to historical events. The cultural product itself may have a history as an iconic product of its sphere of origin, as we have seen in the cases of Zola's and Scott's works. Thus, the global communication of cultural products can lead to the spread of memory of the product itself, and of knowledge of the cultural customs and histories to which it refers. People in various parts of the world may link the foreign cultural product to local concerns and histories, finding analogies in difference, and thus forging multidirectional memory (Rothberg 2009). Multidirectional memory brings together histories from different parts

of the globe that may at first sight seem quite distant in time and geography, as in the case study for this chapter where the revolutions in France (1789–1832) are linked to twentieth- and twenty-first-century events and traditions in very different parts of the world such as Taiwan. In a similar way as was discussed for transnational memory (Chapter 5), cosmopolitan connective memory consists not only of shared knowledge of other people's histories and cultural products from around the globe, but also awareness of comparative history, linking histories together. It is through such interactions and local uptakes of global products that global communities are formed.

However, two important issues need to be mentioned. First, cultural forms for the general public (popular novels, television, cinema, museums) often present a simplified or even distorted view of history as compared with a work of academic historiography. It could be argued that the simplified memorial depiction in popular cultural products is actually a type of forgetting. Yet all memory involves forgetting, since memory is necessarily a process of selection. Furthermore, any presentation of history involves narrative elements, whether popular forms (such as historical novels, filmed costume dramas and television documentaries) or academic historiography, so the difference is not as great as might be thought. Another consideration alluded to earlier is that a literary or filmic product may present insights and engagements regarding the past that a history book does not, such as sensory, emotional and empathic elements. Grainge (2003, 6) affirms that although historians may criticize Hollywood films for sensationalizing history, the films are a powerful and influential way of engaging with the past. Similarly with respect to television history, Hunt (2004) argues that television history plays the important role of potentially reaching millions of people who would otherwise remain ignorant. He points out that television history should not be regarded in the same light as academic research, since its purpose is to excite and inform a broad public, not to push the boundaries of scholarship in the same way as a monograph or journal article. Television history has the capacity to broaden the understanding of a large number of people through powerful multimedial means, to encourage viewers to seek further knowledge and to generate public debate. The second issue is that when a popular culture product relating to memory is appropriated elsewhere in the world, the other's memory may be overshadowed by the present purposes of the borrowing cultural group. In other words, the question can be asked whether the multidirectional memory link entails an enriching cultural learning process, or whether it is a matter of a superficial, opportunistic reuse of the

other's history, with the trivial aspect exacerbated by popular cultural forms. This is similar to what Halstead (2015) refers to as 'off-the-peg memories' used in newspaper articles: memories of international events are employed in a formulaic and decontextualized manner where comparison sacrifices the specificity of others' histories in order to shore up a portrayal of one's own group's fate. It could be argued, however, that even if the link through popular culture with another cultural group's history and traditions is fairly superficial, it still plays the role of building some shared knowledge across a broad transnational range of people.

The particular type of cultural product that is the object of the case study in this chapter is a song from a musical. As such, it embodies attractive memorial properties mentioned earlier: narrative, aesthetic, ideational and experiential features. With regard to songs and music, it has been argued that music is a cultural form that is particularly capable of crossing borders: 'sounds carry across fences and walls and oceans, across classes, races and nations' (Frith 1996, 125). Music acts as a vector of emotion, conveying emotions and influencing people's emotions. Studies have shown that the same affective associations with musical characteristics such as tempo and key are present cross-culturally, if not universally (Hunter & Schellenberg 2010, 139). For example, a slow tempo and a minor key evoke sadness. Thus music is a particularly apt vehicle of global intercultural communication. Songs usually combine music and lyrics. With regard to language issues in the globalization of cultural products, although English is often referred to as the contemporary lingua franca, in fact vast swaths of the world's population are not proficient in English (Mufwene 2010, 45). Interlingual translation is thus necessary for communication to have a truly global reach. Furthermore, it seems that the affective incorporation of a 'foreign' cultural product is significantly enhanced through its reshaping in accordance with local practices and objectives, an important aspect of which is translation into the local language.

Do You Hear the People Sing?

The case study concerns the song 'Do You Hear the People Sing?' (see a link to the lyrics in Appendix 8.1), which comes from the musical *Les Misérables*. The musical is based on Victor Hugo's famous novel of the same name published in 1862. Set in early nineteenth-century France, Hugo's novel traces the story of ex-convict Jean Valjean against the background of the plight of the poor and of revolutionary republicanism. *Les Misérables* is one of the most adapted works of the Western

literary canon. It has given rise to multiple adaptations in different parts of the world and in different languages: print adaptations and translations, plays, films, television series, animated versions and video games. Certainly many novels originating in the same era have long fallen into obscurity. For Stephens (2013), the reasons for the longevity and continued after-life of Hugo's novel include the aesthetic qualities of superlative narrative, archetypal characters with universal emotions, and also the enduringly relevant themes of moral development and social justice. The musical *Les Misérables* was composed by French composer-lyricist team Claude-Michel Schönberg and Alain Boublil, and was performed for a short run in France in 1980. The English-language version of the musical enjoyed great success from its first year of performances in 1985, and it is now the longest-running musical in the West End of London. As for international productions, the musical has been performed in 42 countries, both in English and in 22 different language versions. The 2012 film of the musical featuring big-name Hollywood stars – Hugh Jackman, Russell Crowe, Anne Hathaway and Amanda Seyfried – made the musical even more well known globally. The internet has played an important role in propagating the musical and our song in particular. For example, a number of clips of the song from the 2012 film feature on YouTube with foreign-language subtitles.[1]

In the musical, 'Do You Hear the People Sing?' is sung before the depiction of the 1832 uprising in Paris and fighting on the barricades. Rather than the musical theatre setting, my interest is in how the song 'Do You Hear the People Sing?' has been used outside the theatre by groups around the world. It has been translated into more language versions than the 22 mentioned above, and even into sign language. Groups perform the song in flash mobs or more staged performances in a range of public places: in streets, in public buildings, on the steps in front of significant buildings, in squares, parks, shopping centres, train stations, trains, libraries and churches. The song is sung in public places in some cases for fun, and in other cases for serious purposes in a variety of different protests and demonstrations. Many of these events have been filmed and the video clips made available on social media sites. On YouTube there are also video compilations with images that are totally unrelated to the musical or a performance of the song; the song in English or a foreign language is used as the soundtrack of the video. This situation where the song has been translated into many languages, is very widely sung in the musical, is widely sung and used outside the original theatre setting in many different contexts, and is disseminated

in different ways via the internet has contributed to it having a global reach.

The case study focuses on the performance of the song as part of demonstrations around the world. Uprisings and demonstrations are a long-standing human practice, and at various times in history there have been waves of protest simultaneously in a number of different places. It seems that starting in 2011 there was a global wave of protests: the Arab Spring protests, Spanish Indignados 15-M movement, Occupy encampments, the Turkey protests and Hong Kong sit-ins, among others. Flesher Fominaya (2014) finds that although these movements relate to specific local/national issues, they also share the transnationally diffused master frames of concern about inefficient or deficient democracy, and about the negative effects of neo-liberal global capitalism. Social movements involve cultural resistance; that is, the use of cultural products such as songs, chants, banners, propaganda, manifestos and so on for the purpose of political resistance. Cultural products can thus be a resource for activism, solidarity and empowerment (Sorrells 2013). In the process of transnational diffusion, a cultural product is often transformed so that it is reinvigorated creatively, and becomes maximally resonant with the new cultural group (Flesher Fominaya 2014, 45, 47). We will see that this has happened in our particular case. The song 'Do You Hear the People Sing?' has been used in a great variety of types of manifestations, both large-scale uprisings like those already mentioned and small, localized events, such that the global diffusion of this cultural product for activist purposes involves many different causes. The use of this song was chosen for study because it presents a worldwide scenario involving various human rights causes, and is a phenomenon of global intercultural communication that contributes to the creation of cosmopolitan connective memory. I will illustrate the mechanisms at macro- and micro-levels by which the song has become a global phenomenon, and undertake a detailed study of a Taiwanese performance of it.

Global Intercultural Communication across Space: Commonality and Diversity

As mentioned earlier, this song has been sung in a tremendous variety of places and contexts in relation to a range of political and human rights issues. Here are some examples of performances of the song in English: people protesting in Madison, Wisconsin in 2011 about the governor's budget repair bill, which entailed stripping public employees and unions of collective bargaining rights[2]; in 2013 inhabitants of the

Figure 8.1 Use of the song title as a slogan and banner. Hong Kong protests for democracy, 2014

small town of Tecoma in Australia protesting about the planned construction of a McDonald's outlet[3]; and at the beginning of 2014 high school students protesting in British Columbia about the government reneging on its promise to reduce greenhouse gas emissions by the plan to increase fossil fuel exports. Recent examples of the song being sung in other language versions are the following: people sung it in Turkish in Gezi Park during the protests against the government in 2013[4]; in March 2014 a Ukrainian version was sung by students calling people to join in protests at Maidan during the period of civil conflict around the issue of EU accession; in July 2014 it was sung by Singaporeans in a protest to gain more transparency and accountability with regard to the Central Provident Fund (CPF) system; in May 2014 a Cantonese version was sung in Hong Kong during protests about the People's Republic of China's disregard of its promise regarding democratic elections in Hong Kong (see the protest banner in Figure 8.1); and it was sung during a large-scale public demonstration that took place in Taiwan in August 2013 in order to call for improvement in human rights issues in the military and for a fair investigation into a corporal's death that occurred during his military service – this is the case discussed later.[5]

Videos that use the song as a soundtrack also cover a range of contexts, including the 2013–15 protests and conflicts in Brazil, Thailand, Egypt, Syria, Ukraine, Malaysia and Hong Kong, as well as civil rights protests in the United States, political protests in Australia and videos on the fate of the Armenians and on LGBT[6] rights. So the song is used for a

great diversity of situations and themes, but despite such diversity there is evident commonality: every situation involves a call for the ordinary people's voice to be heard, for grassroots democracy, and every situation involves an issue of human rights in its multiple senses. Notions such as 'democracy', 'freedom', 'rights', 'welfare' and 'sovereignty' are what Appadurai (1996, 37) calls ideoscapes – elements of the Enlightenment world view that have travelled and mixed with local perspectives, uptakes and contexts worldwide. The use of the same song serves to link all the various contexts and issues, and to communicate the ideological commonality within that diversity all around the world. On a practical level this is facilitated greatly by social media: with regard to live performances as a part of protest movements, people all over the world watch videos of these performances of the song on the internet, and post comments of support for the movement. As an example, the comments posted on the YouTube video of the Turkish rendition of the song in Gezi Park reveal this international linking: comments mainly in English but also in other languages come from people in the United States, Spain, Britain, Egypt, Portugal, Canada, Italy, Brazil, China, Korea, New Zealand and of course Turkey. The song has a role in galvanizing international support, as the following comments show:

> Hao Peng: The most touching version I've ever listened to. Saluting, from New Zealand.
>
> Victor Leal: This is beautiful. Such a difficult fight. Don't give up. We are fighting in Brazil as well. You guys are our brothers.

A collective transnational identity is apparent in comments linking struggles in different parts of the world. The commonality of the music highlights shared types of action and ideology. Thus communication (both of ideas and interpersonal and group communication) based on recognition of commonality occurs across linguistic, national, cultural, geographical and contextual diversity.

Global Intercultural Communication across Time: Multidirectional Memory

Singing a song from *Les Misérables* in all the different spaces and contexts that have been mentioned is not only a phenomenon of intercultural communication across space, but also across time, since it links memories of past events and traditions from very

different temporal and geographical spheres as multidirectional memory (Rothberg 2009).

The original song in the musical acts as a call to violent action in the 1832 uprising in Paris. This uprising, a historical event experienced by Victor Hugo, was motivated by revolutionary ideals of republicanism, democracy and the right to a decent life for all. The 1832 rebellion recounted in *Les Misérables* clearly adopts the ideology of the prior, late eighteenth-century revolutionary period. Although the musical genre may present a rather simplified view of actual historical events, certainly the revolutionary sentiments are present, and powerfully evoked by the narrative and stirring music. The year 1789 and its aftermath became notorious for arbitrary violence and bloodshed symbolized by the guillotine, but it was also a time of noble intellectual fervour and innovation. Documents from the 1789–93 period include strong early statements of the concept of universal human rights, which, as we saw in Chapter 4, was an important source of inspiration for the twentieth-century United Nations human rights declaration and covenants that act as today's international benchmarks. Nevertheless, it seems that thinking about human rights has changed over time. Whereas UN human rights documents mainly put emphasis on individuality, with typical formulations involving 'everyone' and 'every citizen', late eighteenth-century documents speak of 'le peuple' (the people), a strong collective group, as in article 25 of the 1793 Déclaration des droits de l'homme et du citoyen [Declaration of the Rights of Man and the Citizen]:

> La souveraineté réside dans le peuple; elle est une et indivisible, imprescriptible et inaliénable.
>
> [Sovereignty resides in the people; it is one and indivisible, imprescriptible, and inalienable.]

All of the contemporary contexts where the song is sung are expressions of collective will. This collective spirit fits perfectly with the French revolutionary camaraderie and solidarity, which seem in fact to be more appropriate to the protest movements than contemporary human rights thinking.

Furthermore, contemporary UN documents are careful to insist on peacefulness and do not mention the scenario of people being unhappy with government action. In contrast, the 1793 French declaration details how, if the people feel that their rights have been violated by the elected

government, they have the right and the duty to object by forceful means:

> Quand le gouvernement viole les droits du people, l'insurrection est, pour le peuple et pour chaque portion du peuple, le plus sacré des droits et le plus indispensable des devoirs. (article 35)
>
> [When the government violates the rights of the people, insurrection is for the people and for each sector of the people the most sacred of rights and the most indispensable of duties.]

Our song enables multidirectional memory to function, as it links the many different contemporary cases and contexts back to the French revolutionary ideals, communicating across time and cultural spheres: beneath the differences in the concrete details and cases, there are shared trans-temporal philosophies of rights and justice.

What is created in effect are hybrid products: the song from *Les Misérables* and its French revolutionary context remain present in the new rendition of the song in a new contemporary context and sometimes new language. The fact that the music remains constant as well as imagery and ideology in combination with change of context and sometimes changes in the lyrics signals the hybrid relationship. Certainly the listeners and singers of the different versions will be aware of such hybridity, since they are familiar with the English musical theatre version. The striking visuality and emotion of the musical and its filmed version mark the memory of the viewer with this famous period of French history, particularly the passionate ideology of the uprising. The audience of the musical *Les Misérables*, whose knowledge of French history is not necessarily proficient, may sometimes believe that the story concerns the famous 1789 French revolution rather than the 1832 uprising. In a way they are not wrong, since characters in the musical provide a passionate expression of the sentiments and beliefs of the early revolution. Kraidy (2005, 151) finds that hybridity can empower social groups to have influence over their lives through reinforcing certain social, political and economic structures. In our case, linking contemporary human rights issues to the prestigious past history and intellectual achievements of the late eighteenth-century French revolutionary period serves to reinforce the ideological message of people today. In addition, the notional linking of all the different worldwide performances of the song synchronically, combined with the common diachronic link, provides a strong protestatory structure.

Global Intercultural Communication through Music and Translation

The melody and rhythm of 'Do You Hear the People Sing?' remain constant across the different versions. The constancy of the music in all versions constitutes an intercultural basis for shared emotions, for extralinguistic global intercultural communication. The song seems to call forth various emotions: anger, excitement, strength of will, hope. For David Treece (2015), a song has a core nuclear dynamic consisting of the intimate link between music and semantics in key passages. The musical style and rhythm of 'Do You Hear the People Sing?' resemble those of a march; coupled with appropriate lyrics, the whole lends itself to galvanizing political mobilization in many potential contexts. Interlingual translation contributes to this mobilization, since when people sing in their native tongue they are better able to express strong feelings about their local problems involving local identity. The source text for our song is usually the English version from the musical, and this is communicated into different contexts around the world often by means of translation, and sometimes involving adaptation of the lyrics, thus hybridizing and localizing travelling memory (Erll 2011). We have seen that four major vectors of global intercultural communication of the song in protest contexts are space, time, music and translation. Let us look in more detail at the mechanisms of this last category.

Translational Strategies

Franzon (2008) outlines how 'song translation' encompasses a number of different types of translation, where the primary factor shaping what the translator does or should do consists in the specificities of the context of performance or publication, including most importantly the prospective use of the translation (cf. Nord 1997). Song lyrics may be translated interlingually merely in order for the user to understand the meaning of the original words, in which case a semantically close translation is undertaken. This is probably the case for subtitling on a video clip, with the additional constraint of subtitle space restrictions. A generally more complex task is when the song is translated for the purpose of performance, since there are important prosodic considerations of fitting words to a specific melody and producing a song that flows naturally in the target language, in other words the song translation must be 'singable'. For Franzon (2008, 390), 'singability' is about a harmonious match between music and text in three categories. The prosodic category concerns questions of rhythm, syllable count, intonation, stress

and sounds for easy singing; the poetic category concerns rhyme, segmentation of phrases, parallelism/contrast and location of key words; and the semantic-reflexive category concerns the mood and emotion conveyed, story told and images. Maintaining the same melody and achieving singability often mean that the new translation lyrics do not represent a close semantic equivalent of the original song words; rather, certain semantic aspects of the lyrics that are accorded importance are maintained. With regard to 'Do You Hear the People Sing?', when the song is sung outside the context of the musical as a part of protests, both intralingual and interlingual translation quite often involve deliberate semantic changes in order to fit in with the new context. So the skill of the lyricist/translator is required not only with regard to singability, but also in the adaptation of words to the new context. This recontextualization makes the song all the more effective. It is a matter of 'communicative imagination' (Pestana & Swartz 2008) where language is employed in the service of creative democracy in these global renditions.

Let us first consider cases of intralingual translation as adaptational rewriting of the lyrics. This may concern simply one or two words, but small changes can be significant for the impact of the song. The Madison, Wisconsin protest referred to earlier regarding workers' rights was non-violent and took place in the Capitol building, so the mention of barricades in the English original does not seem relevant. The word 'barricade' was cleverly replaced by 'mascarade', a highly appropriate allusion in the context to political spin. Here are the words:

> Original: Beyond the **barricade**, is there a world you long to see?
>
> Madison, Wisconsin version: Beyond the **mascarade**, is there a world you long to see?

In some cases more radical changes are made to the lyrics. This line in the anti-McDonald's Tecoma version becomes:

> Tecoma version: Tear down the golden arches and restore democracy

With regard to our three English-language versions, the second line of the song has been modified in each case to emphasize the all-important collective identity of the group of protestors: the identity of Wisconsin workers protesting against the governor's bill that would have adverse impacts on workers' rights; the identity of Canadian young people worrying about how climate change may affect their future; and the identity

of Tecoma inhabitants who do not want the charm and lifestyle of their small town to be ruined by the arrival of corporate chains:

> Original: Do you hear the people sing? Singing the song of **angry men**
>
> Madison, Wisconsin protest: Do you hear the people sing? Singing the song of **working men**
>
> British Columbia high school students: Do you hear the people sing? Singing the song of **angry youth**
>
> Tecoma inhabitants: Do you hear the people sing? Singing the song of **one small town**

Comments on YouTube show that people are highly appreciative of the new lyrics, which make the song powerful by speaking directly to the issue at hand. Here is a comment regarding the Tecoma performance:

> Flissy 611: Absolutely stunning. Beautiful lyrics sung with passion and determination. Well done to everyone who participated.

In order to investigate strategies of adaptation to a new context with regard to interlingual translation of the song, I undertook a detailed study of a performance of the song in Taiwanese.

Study of the Taiwanese Version

This particular case was chosen because it is one of the most spectacular street performances of the song due to its magnitude: more than 100,000 people sang the song together. Before examining the Taiwanese translation of the song, some background information on the context is needed. Taiwan has a long history of colonization starting with the Dutch in the seventeenth century in the form of the Dutch East India Company; then the Spanish, also seeking trading posts at that time; the Chinese Qing dynasty for 212 years; and the Japanese from 1895 to 1945. From 1949 Taiwan was ruled by Chiang Kai-shek and his followers of the Kuomintang (KMT) Party, who had lost in the conflict with the Communists and fled from mainland China. The KMT mainlanders held power at all levels, rule of law was not respected, and Taiwanese and other local languages were suppressed. Martial law was not lifted until the late 1980s, leading the way to free presidential elections, the introduction of a democratic political system and

a certain 'Taiwanization' of society; that is, native Taiwanese assuming high political posts and support of Taiwanese culture. Taiwan has only had a multi-party democratic political system for about 20 years. Although autonomous, Taiwan today is not an independent state; future independence is supported by some Taiwanese political formations, but strongly disapproved of by the People's Republic of China (PRC). The low level of political freedom and civil rights in the PRC is in stark contrast to Taiwan, and the continued threat of the big neighbour makes Taiwanese all the more attached to their democratic political system (Manthorpe 2009). As a new democracy, the people are keen to fully express their opinions, in particular with regard to government conduct (Hsiao 2006, 72), and demonstrations are frequent. Most demonstrations are peaceful, and at many demonstrations there are chanting and theme songs.

The Taiwanese version of 'Do You Hear the People Sing?' was chosen as a theme song for a large-scale public demonstration that took place on 3 August 2013. The aim of the demonstration was to call for a serious investigation into the death of Corporal Hung Chung-Chiu and to protest against the procedures of the military. Corporal Hung, a young man undergoing his compulsory military service, had been sent to solitary confinement and ordered to do exercises as punishment for bringing a smartphone to camp. He had been forced to exercise excessively, had been refused water, and died of multiple organ failure triggered by heatstroke (Fox News 2013). This was not an isolated incident, as the army in Taiwan has a history of mistreating its service men and women (TofBrownCoat 2013). Here a link is to be noted between Hung and the character Jean Valjean in *Les Misérables*, who also suffered a disproportionate punishment for his crime of stealing a loaf of bread. Both the demonstration for Hung and Hugo's novel were forms of protest against unfair justice and penal/punishment systems, as well as being concerned with democratic rights of expression and the desire for a better society for ordinary people, for fair treatment of all and for freedom from oppression. Singing a song from *Les Misérables* in the demonstration brought memories of two very different societies and histories together through their commonalities, and the Taiwanese call for justice was enhanced by the reference to the famous novel and to the past history of human rights in France. The demonstration for Hung struck a chord in most Taiwanese families whose members had also suffered at the hands of the military in the past (TofBrownCoat 2013). More than 100,000 Taiwanese took to the streets to protest near

the presidential office in Taipei (Fox News 2013). The logo of the rally was a bleeding eye, which symbolizes 'the eye of the citizens' monitoring the authorities (Li 2013). Videos were made of the demonstrators holding placards of the logo and slogans, and singing the theme song; these videos were posted on YouTube. The night-time images display a peaceful demonstration, with the great mass of demonstrators singing the Taiwanese version of 'Do You Hear the People Sing?' passionately and waving lit-up mobile phones in lieu of candles (Hung Protest 2013).[7] Let us now examine some examples of the Taiwanese translator/lyricist's choices and strategies in order to see how they may have contributed to the role of the song in the protest context.

Choice and Style of Language

The official language in Taiwan is Mandarin Chinese, which was first instituted by the Kuomintang Party; it is the language of education and is universally spoken. About 70 per cent of inhabitants are native speakers of Taiwanese, which is a Chinese dialect. The translator/lyricist of our song therefore had a choice to make, and he chose to translate the song into Taiwanese. This choice could be interpreted as having a political dimension, since the Taiwanese dialect has been associated with pro-independence politics. My informants,[8] however, were reluctant to link the choice of Taiwanese directly to pro-independence politics in the context of the Hung demonstration and its theme song. Rather, they agreed that the choice of Taiwanese is an expression of local identity, relating to the idea that this movement is about a local issue, and that the demonstration is a local way of reacting to it. When asked about the style of language, the informants said that the Taiwanese in the song displays a somewhat esoteric, metaphor-laden register, which is considered to be the ideal for good-quality song texts. One informant called it 'classic Taiwanese'. The source text used by the translator was the English text, which is in quite a simple style, as are many popular songs in English. Shifting the register to an appropriate register in the Taiwanese context displays an aspect of the translator/lyricist's skill.

Explicitation, Implicitation and Substitution

As well as choice of language and style, particular translational strategies contribute to the recontextualization of the song. Details of semantic meaning are made explicit as adaptation to the new context. In the Taiwanese version as compared to the English, the notion of collectivity (collective feelings, experiences, aspirations and actions) is made

more explicit. Very often throughout their translation into English of the Taiwanese text, my informants wrote the words 'we' or 'our', which do not appear often in the English text. Here is the first line of the song:

EN: Do you hear the people sing?

TW: 你敢有聽著咱的歌
Li Gam Wu Tiang Deu Nan E Guao
[Do you hear we sing?]

The Taiwanese lyricist emphasizes collectivity, since this is an important aspect in the particular context of performance. Another example of explicitation in the Taiwanese lyrics is the mention of 'democracy', similarly to the Tecoma lyrics excerpt cited earlier. Again, the term responds to the concerns of the Taiwanese people:

EN: Then join in the fight
That will give you the right to be free!

TW: 咱為民主為自由佮伊拚咱袂孤單
Nan Wi Ming Chu Wi Chu Yoo Gab Yi Biang Nan Muei Go Duan
[We won't be alone while fighting for democracy and freedom]

As for implicitation or substitution, the main examples in the Taiwanese version concern details that do not correspond with the Taiwanese demonstration setting, such as the mention of barricades, similarly to the Madison, Wisconsin case.

EN: Beyond the barricade
Is there a world you long to see?

TW: 擡頭看着天頂一個世界夢中嘛毋捌聽
Gyia Tou Kuan Tu Tinding Ji Lei Sei Gai Mandun Ma Mubaitiang
[Look up into the sky, have you ever imagined what a heaven would be like?]

A most interesting case of substitution of one word relating to context in terms of geographical place occurs with the mention of France in the original song. In the English-language musical theatre context the lyricist uses the word 'France' to remind the musical's audience of the story's setting. Here is what happens in the Taiwanese version:

EN: The blood of the martyrs
Will water the meadows of France

TW: 你的血我的汗沃落佇 Formosa
Li E Hui Wo E Guan Ahle Di Formosa
[We sweat we bleed fighting for and irrigating our homeland, Formosa]

In the Taiwanese context the song is not part of the musical, and is being used to comment on human rights issues in Taiwan. Therefore the translator/lyricist judges that it is not necessary to retain the reference to France, and that it is appropriate to replace it with a reference to Taiwan. Formosa is another name for Taiwan, but why has the translator/lyricist chosen Formosa? In questioning my informants about this, I asked whether the choice might be related to the fact that Formosa begins with the letter 'F', so could provide a link back to the English version and the setting of France. This suggestion was met with an expression of dubiousness. Similarly, it was not felt that rhythm and rhyme were motivating factors for the choice. The most likely motivation is the connotations of the name Formosa: it has very positive connotations, as the name is in fact a compliment. It was given to the island by Portuguese navigators in the sixteenth century, who were impressed by the natural beauty of the island and called it 'Ilha Formosa', 'beautiful island'. One of my informants pointed out that the name could also evoke a distant era of freedom, as the name was given prior to the period of colonization by various colonizers since the seventeenth century, explained previously. A long period of past hardship and oppression is part of the cultural memory of the Taiwanese. The connotation of freedom of 'Formosa' fits with the semantics of the song and the protest context. In comparison, the name 'Taiwan' post-dates colonization.

Metaphorization: Metaphorical Instead of Physical Violence

The video of the demonstration in Taiwan and singing of the song shows clearly that this is a peaceful demonstration, and it was the will of the organizers that it should be such. In contrast, the song in the musical is sung by the republican activists prior to violent combat with the National Guard and troops. In the English version of our song there are explicit references to physical combat, to imminent death for some who will perish on the barricades, to 'martyrs'. We will examine what happens to these in the Taiwanese version.

As the excerpts quoted earlier including 'barricades' and 'martyrs' show, one strategy employed by the translator/lyricist was not to reproduce such explicit references to physical combat or to death.

Another strategy is to use words that show less aggression, as in the following:

EN: Singing the song of angry men

TW: 唱出艱苦人的苦痛
Chiung Chu Gan Ko Lan E Ko Tan
[Singing the pain people are suffering from]

It would seem that the main strategy of the Taiwanese translator/lyricist is to write in such a way that it is clear that the sense of certain vocabulary items expressing violence is metaphorical and not literal. One informant assured me that the references in the Taiwanese version to such notions as 'slaves', 'crusade', 'fighting for', 'death' and 'bleeding' are to be taken metaphorically in the context. Here is an example:

EN: So that our banner may advance
Some will fall and some will live

TW: 團結一心做伙行
Tuang Geb I Sim Jeuhui Giang
[And hold the faith as we are one marching forward]
毋管犧牲抑是活命
Mu Guang Hee Sin Yashi Woa Mian
[Be it life or death ahead]

In the Taiwanese text and in the song context, the phrase regarding life and death does not refer to potential imminent death. Thus, the translator/lyricist takes advantage of the slippage that language allows from the physical to the metaphorical, in order to fit the words of the song to its repurposing in a new context. My informant said that this kind of metaphorical language is very important in Taiwanese songs in order to express people's strong feelings about issues.

We have seen cases of both intralingual and interlingual adaptation of the song lyrics to fit effectively with a new context of performance, including new political goals. It seems that just as transnational memory has national inflections inevitably but also in some cases purposively, as we saw in Chapter 5, so cosmopolitan connective memory is propagated through multiple uptakes that share common features, but are at the same time informed by very specific local contexts.

Translation Enabling Emotional Adherence

When I asked one of my informants what she thought of the Taiwanese song, she said that it was 'amazing'. She said that the lyrics were

admirable in achieving excellent style and singability: rhythm, rhyme, intonation and stress according perfectly with the melody, quality of the lyrics in accordance with Taiwanese stylistic norms of language and register, and poetic and metaphorical elements that work well with the melody to express emotions and meaning. In addition, the choice of Taiwanese dialect links the song to local identity and local issues, and the Taiwanese lyrics are chosen to equate well with the circumstances of the non-violent manifestation by the people. The lyrics link to the emotions evoked by the musical qualities to express the strong messages of the song in the particular context: a call for unity of the people in supporting their cause, a call for the authorities to pay heed to the people, and a call for rights, democracy, freedom and a better life in their country. Thus the fitting combination of music and lyrics assures illocutionary and performative force. These matters demonstrate that interlingual song translation for performance requires a high degree of sensitivity to language and context, as well as musicality. One informant told me that the translator/lyricist of the song, Dr Wu Yi-Cheng, is an experienced lyricist and song writer in the Taiwanese dialect. It is only because the song version is skilful that 100,000 Taiwanese people wanted to sing it in the demonstration. It is the skilful translation in their local language that combined with the music to enable the people's emotional adherence to the ideology of the words, motivating them to sing the song with conviction. Similarly, regarding other cases mentioned earlier, it is choices and strategies at the micro-level of intra- and interlingual translation that allow messages, ideologies and emotion to be propagated and shared at both local and global levels.

The demonstration for Hung had useful practical outcomes. As a result of the demonstration, the Taiwanese Minister of Defence resigned and the Legislative Yuan approved major reforms to Taiwan's military justice system, including the transfer of military prosecutions during peacetime to the civil judiciary (Chang 2013). It can be surmised that the song translation allowing the empowering link between the world of *Les Misérables* and the Taiwanese context; the qualities of the Taiwanese version; and the passionate rendering by so many in the demonstration of 'Do You Hear the People Sing?' helped make the government listen and thus enact the positive changes. In the other cases of protest mentioned earlier, outcomes are unpredictable, various and not necessarily immediate. Commenting on the remarkable pluralist and liberalist result of the June 2015 national election in Turkey two years after the Gezi Park protests, political scientist Ahmet Insel said: 'the new Turkey of Gezi Park has won' (Letsch & Traynor 2015, 6). As for the Tecoma protesters, they did not win the battle, since a McDonald's outlet has since been

built in their town. However, they achieved a victory regarding a town planning amendment that acknowledges the special character of the region and will restrict the development of further drive-through sales facilities in six local towns (Burgeroff Campaign). Our song is a small part of protest movements, but it certainly has a role in galvanizing the troops and reinforcing feelings of collective unity and will. In the words of one YouTube commentator commenting on the Tecoma performance:

> Geoffrey Graham: The power of song – aint it grand.

Translation of Cultural Products Facilitating the Construction of Cosmopolitan Connective Memory and Global Citizenship

Mobilizing an iconic cultural item creates strong visual, emotional and sound appeal and impact. However, it seems that it is not only the universal appeal of the music, characters and narrative of *Les Misérables* that has inspired the translation of the musical and its songs into multiple languages; it is also the possibility of ideological reinforcement through hybridity. It should be said that just as academic historiography has a restricted audience in terms of promotion of memory, so too an abstract exposition of ideology in a treatise does not have the popular appeal and power of a cultural product such as a novel or musical. My Taiwanese informants told me that it was particularly the filmed version of the musical, enhanced by clips on the internet, that had made *Les Misérables* well known in Taiwan. It was the population's familiarity with the song as well as its content that inspired the writing of the Taiwanese version and its use as the demonstration theme song (TofBrownCoat 2013). The translation of popular cultural products acts as an effective form of global intercultural communication, diffusing and linking up cultural forms and ideologies. In the contemporary world connected by digital media, cultural products are very easily disseminated and reconfigured, thus hybridity is more and more the general global condition (Bhabha 1994; Kraidy 2005). Such dissemination and reconfiguration facilitate the construction of cosmopolitan connective memory. The case of the Taiwanese and other versions of 'Do You Hear the People Sing?' constitutes a small sample of how translation enhances cosmopolitan connective memory, the shared knowledge facilitated by digital communication of other people's histories and cultural products from around the globe, and the awareness of historical commonalities between very different cases that are brought to the fore through the

mechanism of multidirectional memory. Imagine how the multiple translations and adaptations through time and around the globe of *Les Misérables* – books, films, musicals and so on – have created a great network of cosmopolitan memory. Hugo specialist Bradley Stephens (2013) indeed cites multiple examples of film adaptations linking *Les Misérables* to various different historical periods and places: the US Great Depression, the US Civil War, World Wars I and II, and contemporary uprisings such as the Arab Spring and the Occupy movement. Specific features of the adaptations highlight the common themes such as injustice, suffering, social problems, combats and struggles for rights. The memory site of *Les Misérables*, in which interlingual translation participates, is at once a site of perpetual creativity imbricating sameness with newness (reminiscent of Bhabha's 'cultural translation') and a site prompting trans-temporal moral and social consciousness. Rather than achieving in-depth historical knowledge, this is no doubt the ultimate goal of cosmopolitan connective memory and identity.

Cosmopolitan or global identity has been investigated under the term 'global citizenship'. Based on a thorough study of documentary references and 157 interviews with individuals who had spoken of 'global citizenship' in published statements, Schattle (2008) established core concepts of global citizenship. The most central concept is 'awareness', since it is a prerequisite for other concepts such as taking responsibility and participative action. Components of 'global awareness' are recognizing the shared fate of humanity due to global interdependence, notably environmental and economic interdependence; openness to different perspectives, but recognizing human commonality as more significant than differences; and espousing the belief that there should be universal standards of living and rights for all, and thus feeling empathy to distant strangers just as to kin (Schattle 2008, 25–32). Global awareness grows out of contact and communication, including global cultural flows. For Appadurai (1996), five dimensions of global cultural flows – ethnicity, media, technology, finance and ideas – are the building blocks of imagined worlds, and through shared experiences mass and digital media make possible 'communities of sentiment' or affinity groups that may found imagined worlds, incorporating diverse local experiences. In the case study we saw evidence of a global affinity/solidarity group of rights protestors. Transnational affinity groups can have varying moral compasses and similarly both digital communication technologies and translation can be used for different moral purposes, such as forces for terrorist violence or forces for social justice. The concept of global citizenship and the closely related philosophy

of cosmopolitanism favour the latter. These modes of thinking are no doubt idealistic, since not only is violence part of the human psyche, but rampant inequality in the world seems to be commonly accepted such that some humans become expendable (Rose 2015; Irving 2015). Nevertheless, hope for a more harmonious, equitable world is also part of our psyche.

Critical cosmopolitanism is a philosophy that promotes connection, as well as respect for difference and openness to change in all parties as a result of intercultural encounters, a process that Delanty (2009) calls 'cultural translation'. A cosmopolitan outlook is greatly reinforced by consciousness of diachronic as well as synchronic dimensions, and, as discussed, mass electronic communication has had the effect of making group-specific memories available to a diverse world population, enabling the constitution of shared global memory. Any feeling of identity has a memory basis, whether autobiographical identity, group identity or national identity, therefore identity as a 'global citizen' must also have a memorial component, in this case cosmopolitan connective memory. Misztal (2010, 41) affirms that 'the creation of cosmopolitan memory is an important step leading to post-nationalist solidaristic political communities'. Translation and other forms of intercultural communication contribute to constructing cosmopolitan connective memory and therefore global citizenship as a possible identification (combined with multiple others) for individuals, groups and even governments and nations. Thus we may link the micro-level of the translation of phrases in popular cultural products to the macro-level of global identities. In our times when overcoming selfish national interests and achieving global co-operation to solve planetary problems are sorely needed, conceptualizing and promoting the nexus of translation and cosmopolitan connective memory are worthwhile enterprises.

We now come to the end of the substantive chapters and case studies, having travelled from the personal to the global. The discussion has shown that translation and memory are inter-related at all levels and in many different ways. This final chapter celebrates the power of human connections across space and time enabled by trans-temporal, intercultural, interlingual and electronic communication. A key mechanism in such communication is multidirectional memory, which depends on the capacity for comparative and transformative thinking, drawing on the vehicles of imagination, creativity and shared emotions, aesthetics and aspirations.

Appendix 8.1: Lyrics

Do You Hear the People Sing?

For the original English lyrics see: http://www.azlyrics.com/lyrics/lesmiserablescast/doyouhearthepeoplesing.html

Taiwanese Version with English Gloss

Produced by my informants, reproduced with their permission.

你敢有聽著咱的歌
Li Gam Wu Tiang Deu Nan E Guao
Do you hear we sing?

唱出艱苦人的苦痛
Chiung Chu Gan Ko Lan E Ko Tan
Singing the pain people are suffering from

這是咱毋願一世人成做奴隸的心聲
Je Si Nan Mu Oun Ji Si Nan Jang Jeu No Ni E Sim Shiang
It is our wish that we don't want to be slaves for our whole life

咱的心振動袂定 若親像勇敢的鼓聲
Nan E Sim Ding Dang Meio Diang Nan Ching Chung Yom Gam E Go Shiang
Our hearts keep beating as if we are beating the drums fearlessly

向望有一工活出自由的新性命
M Moan Yu Ji Gan Wua Chu Juyo E Sin Si mian
Hoping that one day we will launch our new lives of freedom!

請你加入阮的革命
Chan Li Galib Oan E Gie Mian
Please join our crusade

阮毋願閣再驚惶
Oan Mu Wan G Ja Giang Hyiang
We don't want to live in panic any more

擉頭看着天頂一個世界夢中嘛毋捌聽
Gyia Tou Kuan Tu Tinding Ji Lei Sei Gai Mandun Ma Mubaitiang
Look up into the sky, have you ever imagined what a heaven would be like?

咱為民主為自由佮伊拚咱袂孤單
Nan Wi Ming Chu Wi Chu Yoo Gab Yi Biang Nan Muei Go Duan
We won't be alone while fighting for democracy and freedom

你敢有決心付出一切
Li Gam Wu Qua Sim Hu Chu Ee Chei
Are you determined to give up everything

團結一心做伙行
Tuang Geb I Sim Jeuhui Giang
And hold the faith as we are one marching forward

毋管犧牲抑是活命
Mu Guang Hee Sin Yashi Woa Mian
Be it life or death ahead

堅持做人的形影
Gen Chi Jeuo Nan E Heen Yang
We should stand on our dignity

你的血我的汗沃落佇 Formosa
Li E Hui Wo E Guan Ahle Di Formosa
We sweat we bleed, fighting for and irrigating our homeland, Formosa

Final Words

In this monograph my aim was to show how the fields of translation studies and memory studies can be linked, and I have ambitiously called the work a map of this endeavour. I defined memory as both memory of past events and people, and practices passed down to us from the past. Thus, one chapter was devoted to the topic of traditions. Various types of memory were delineated: personal memory, group memory, electronic memory, textual memory, national memory, transnational memory, institutional memory and cosmopolitan connective memory. I stressed that these memory divisions are constructs, but nevertheless have a basis in everyday thinking and experience, and importantly support feelings of identity. Rather than being 'distributed' (Sutton et al. 2010), it was suggested that the different kinds of memory may be conceived as being in an intertwined relationship, whether contributive to one another or mutually influencing. Among the various concepts from memory studies that were explained in the Preface and in Chapter 1, those that I have found the most useful in reflecting on translation and that have been referred to throughout this work are memory archive and canon (Assmann 2010), remediation and memory site (Erll 2009), multidirectional memory (Rothberg 2009) and futuristic memory (Bickford & Sodaro 2010). This selection no doubt reflects my own subjectivity with regard to value placed on the possibilities of cultural dynamism, supra-national connections and life-long cultural learning.

In terms of translation, the starting point for discussions was interlingual translation. I have shown how memory is essential for interlingual translation, starting with the translator's personal memory, and conversely how translation plays a vital role for social memory in propagating memory across linguistic borders and creating transnational memory sites. Interlingual translation naturally involves or is combined with other senses of translation: the concepts of critical

processual translation and cultural translation with various definitions have been used in this work. At times different senses of memory and translation fuse. An example is the use of the term 'cultural translation' (Delanty 2009) to describe processes of critical cosmopolitanism involving mutual understanding and change with respect to others' difference constituted by traditions and cultural memory. Indeed, translation and memory are inherently similar as they are both Janus-faced: looking back into the past as well as forward into the future.

The detailed case studies in the monograph cover a range of contexts, text types and languages in order to present practical illustrations of how questions of memory can be explored in studies of translation. A particular type of memory on which translation scholars might naturally focus is textual memory. Retranslations of Zola's *Nana*, and the complex transformational reprises of earlier texts in the development of (human) rights documents over centuries, demonstrate the concept of textual memory. Discussion of the translation of Katherine Mansfield's short stories shows not only how the translation of a fictionalized autobiographical work influences the presentation of the author's memory construction, but also how the individual translator is caught in a web of personal and other kinds of memory in undertaking a translation task. With regard to group memory, the story of the differing Maori and English versions of the Treaty of Waitangi shows how clinging to memory of the translated version for a long period of many years was essential in the Maori people making rights claims when the world environment became conducive to hearing such claims. For groups, the memory of founding documents, founders and founding ideology is indeed important. Such is the case for translators today who characterize their work as feminist, as they hark back to the early Québec feminist translation pioneers. The same is true for more formal institutional groups such as the in-house translators of the Directorate General for Translation at the European Commission, who propagate the European values and goals of the founding fathers through their large-scale production of translations. When it comes to translation, national and transnational memory seem to be closely inter-related, since translation and more generally intercultural communication create transnational knowledge, but often with national inflections. This is shown to be the case with both translations of Walter Scott's novels, and communications involving the Saudi CEDAW representation in which the conflict between local conservative and transnational modernizing forces is apparent. In several case studies I highlight the extraordinary capacities and impact of advancing technological developments, such as machine

translation and contemporary electronic communication. These developments have been motors in global intercultural communication and the possibility of cosmopolitan connective memory, exemplified in the study of the worldwide translations and hybrid transformations of a song from the musical *Les Misérables* performed in protest contexts. My aim in the case studies has been to show how interlingual translation fits into and, although it may play a significant role, is generally just one aspect of a complex textual, electronic, individual, social, cultural and memorial context.

On an ethical level, although I cautioned that translation, mirroring the human psyche, may be used for a range of moral and political purposes, in the case studies I have shown how it can often be a force for good in the world through contributing to the promotion of human rights, including civil and political rights, cultural rights, indigenous people's rights, women's rights and the right to communicate. The importance of dissemination and propagation through translation has been emphasized, not only of fundamental texts such as political treaties, charters of rights and the legislative texts of international organizations, but also of cultural products that have a part of the imaginary, such as novels, films and songs, as they can be powerful memorial and ideological vehicles. Global dissemination of texts and other cultural products through translation and digital means allows the constitution of a shared network of accumulated synchronic and diachronic narratives and cultural memorial knowledge. Translation thus contributes to the creation of transnational, institutional and cosmopolitan connective memory, and to the potential construction of corresponding transnational and global citizenship groupings and identities involving shared knowledge and shared aspirations for humanity.

The original contributions of this monograph to the field of translation studies are to propose an overall framework for studying translation and memory, and to show how a memory perspective and concepts may shed light on a wide range of translational contexts. I aimed also to make an original contribution to memory studies near the end of the book, where it is posited that cosmopolitan connective memory shores up identification as a global citizen. There are no doubt other ways in which the notions and academic disciplines of memory and translation can be fruitfully brought into contact, and it is to be hoped that other researchers will exploit further the rich scope for the application of a memory studies approach in researching a variety of types of translated text, contexts and senses of translation.

Notes

2 Personal Memory

1. Mme Pellan is a retired university professor of English. I thank her warmly for agreeing to do the interview, which took place on 23 October 2013.
2. For the purposes of this study in the page references 'Bay' refers to the original text; C refers to Mme Pellan's translation published in 2002; and B2 refers to Marthe Duproix's translation dating from 1929 and published with minor revisions in 2006 (see the References under Mansfield for full publication details).
3. See the References for the full bibliographical information for the translations referred to here as A, B and C. All bold highlighting in the examples is mine.
4. 'Prelude' is close in content to an earlier, longer novella version entitled *The Aloe* (1985 [1937]). This title signals the centrality of the symbolic plant in the story.

4 Textual Memory

1. A related concept in translation studies is André Lefevere's (1992) 'rewriting', but this concept covers a narrower range of phenomena as compared with the multiple genres and media covered by the term 'remediation'. 'Rewriting' also has a different emphasis, as it more strongly connotes change, whereas the emphasis for 'remediation' is on multiple reiteration. Another related concept is Jakobson's (1992 [1959], 145) 'intersemiotic translation', defined as 'an interpretation of verbal signs by means of non-verbal sign systems'. Again, this describes a more restricted group of phenomena than 'remediation'.
2. Mme Pellan provided an analogous example of the translator being called on to provide a critical apparatus as literature studies specialist (see Chapter 2).
3. Recall, in contrast, how Mme Pellan says that she deliberately does not refer to earlier translations when undertaking a retranslation (see Chapter 2).
4. My gloss of the source-text phrase or sentence is given in square brackets.
5. Note that Zola himself was an atheist.
6. Rights given in this document have been further elaborated in subsequent UN treaties on civil and political rights, and economic, social and cultural rights.
7. For the complex details about these translations including uncertain authorship, see Marienstras and Wulf (1999).
8. One word has been changed for purposes of comprehensibility: 'dispossessed' has replaced 'disseised'.

5 National and Transnational Memory

1. Auguste-Jean-Baptiste Defauconpret (1767–1843) was the principal translator of Scott's works into French.

6 Traditions

1. The Shadow Report written by a group of clandestine Saudi women activists is an unofficial report received by the CEDAW committee. It aims to 'balance' the official report submitted by the Saudi Arabian government representation.
2. The series of documents studied belong to the most recent CEDAW review for Saudi Arabia. It is to be noted that since 2007/08, a number of changes have occurred with respect to women's situation in Saudi Arabia, notably the advances in 2013 mentioned in this chapter.
3. I would like to thank warmly my two Saudi informants for their contribution to this study. The meeting took place in April 2014.
4. On the next page the report does say: 'In Islam, a woman is not, in principle, confined to the private domain' (CEDAW 2007a, 12).
5. It is not known whether this is a quote from a published English translation of the Qur'an.

7 Institutional Memory

1. Organization studies is a field of research that focuses on organizations, defined as social units of people structured and managed in order to meet a need or to pursue collective goals. The organizations studied cover both the public and private sectors, and include educational establishments, not-for-profit groups, government agencies and business entities. Thus, in the context of this chapter 'organizational' is synonymous with my 'institutional'.
2. Other EU institutions such as the Parliament and Council also have translation services, but they are smaller than the European Commission DGT.
3. I warmly thank the DGT French and English department and unit heads for permitting me to visit and conduct interviews with translators for research purposes, and I am very grateful to the translators interviewed for giving up their time to talk to me.
4. Some translators mentioned the issue of differing levels of proficiency in their various languages, which can present a challenge.
5. Here are the European Commission DG and Services titles: Agriculture and Rural Development; Budget; Climate Action; Communication; Communications, Content & Technology; Competition; Economic & Financial Affairs; Education & Culture; Employment, Social Affairs & Inclusion; Energy; Enlargement; Enterprise & Industry; Environment; EuropeAid Development & Cooperation; Eurostat; Health & Consumers; Home Affairs; Humanitarian Aid; Human Resources & Security; Informatics; Internal Market & Services; Interpretation; Justice; Maritime Affairs & Fisheries; Mobility & Transport; Regional Policy; Research & Innovation; Secretariat-General; Service for Foreign Policy Instruments; Taxation & Customs Union; Trade; Translation (EC: Directorates General & Services).
6. For revision, there are different levels of quality check. Level 1 requires a very careful comparison of source text and translation; for Level 2 the reviser will read the translation and check anything that seems odd. In some cases revision is not required.

7. In January 2013, 'deficit languages' in the English department were Bulgarian, Czech, Estonian, Finnish, Greek, Hungarian, Latvian, Lithuanian, Polish, Romanian, Slovak and Slovene.
8. A similar scenario occurred when French was the dominant language, as one of the English translators explained: 'In the early days the same problem [lack of clarity] happened with French when non-native speakers of French were writing texts in French which we then translated.'

8 Cosmopolitan Connective Memory

1. Here are some examples of film clips of 'Do You Hear the People Sing?' from *Les Misérables*: 2013, with Portuguese subtitles, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=PY65V-36pzc [accessed 3 October 2015]; 2013, with Thai subtitles, http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=-SVoql-y8hk [accessed 6 August 2014].
2. Video of song rendition during Madison, Wisconsin, USA demonstration, 2011: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=uNsnbLqgLK0 [accessed 3 April 2015].
3. Video of song rendition at Tecoma, Australia protest, 2013: http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=H7-0T1vbnWE [accessed 13 November 2014].
4. Video of song rendition in English and Turkish during Gezi Park demonstration, 2013: http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=KGt0fsyTnRs [accessed 13 November 2014].
5. Video of song rendition in Taiwanese during Taipei demonstration, 2013: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=5xwuW7uIwPo [accessed 8 July 2014].
6. Lesbian, gay, bisexual and transgender.
7. Video of song rendition in Taiwanese during Taipei demonstration, 2013: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=5xwuW7uIwPo [accessed 8 July 2014].
8. In undertaking this study I consulted three Taiwanese MA Translation and Interpreting Studies students of the University of Manchester, UK. They provided an English translation of the Taiwanese version of the song (see Appendix 8.1). I thank my informants warmly for participating in the discussion of the Taiwanese song, which took place in July 2014.

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