

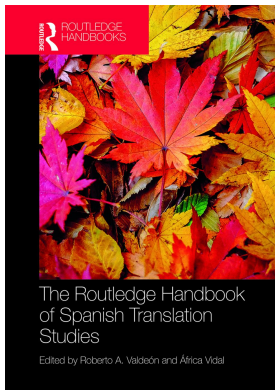
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## The Routledge Handbook of Spanish Translation Studies

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### Translation and ideology

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# 7

## TRANSLATION AND IDEOLOGY

### Spanish perspectives<sup>1</sup>

*Ovidi Carbonell i Cortés*

*Durante los procesos judiciales desencadenados en España por los atentados del 11-S y del 11-M el mundo de la traducción y de la interpretación del árabe cobró un relieve periodístico y social sin precedentes. Muchas y muy distintas fueron las preguntas que a la sazón se hizo la sociedad española. Esta obra pretende ofrecer al lector elementos de juicio suficientes para responder a algunas.*

[During the court proceedings that took place in Spain as a result of the September 11th and March 11th attacks, the world of Arabic-language translation and interpreting rose unprecedented journalistic and social prominence. The questions that Spanish society asked itself at the time were many and varied. This book aims to give readers sufficient evidence to answer some of them.]

*Arias and Feria, Los traductores de árabe del Estado español, 2013*

*Lo que complica las cosas, pero a la vez convierte esta profesión en apasionante, es que no existe una definición definitiva, inclusiva y única de la traducción porque no es una actividad ni neutra ni objetiva; es más, en realidad, en vez de esforzarse por definirlo, es mucho más útil hacerse constantemente preguntas sobre el acto de traducir: qué tipo de textos se traducen en determinadas culturas y en determinadas épocas, quién y por qué decide qué traducir y qué no, quién traduce, qué ideología tiene quien traduce y por qué se ha elegido a esa persona en concreto, y otras muchas cuestiones fundamentales que acaban definiendo cuál será el resultado final.*

[What both complicates and makes the profession more thrilling is the fact that there is no definitive, inclusive or unique definition of translation because, as an activity, it is neither neutral nor objective. In fact, instead of striving to define it, it is much more useful to constantly examine the act of translation: Which type of texts are translated in certain cultures and during which periods? Who decides what is and is not translated and why? Who is translating? What ideology does the person who translates have, and why have they been chosen? These and many other essential questions end up defining what the final result will be.]

*Vidal Claramonte, La traducción y los espacios (2013, 1)*

Translation and ideology in Spanish academia has followed the main trends in Translation Studies at large, and has also contributed by establishing some of its own. Over the past thirty years, there has been a steady increase in the interest in translation and ideology, an interest that has developed from the “Cultural Turn” that opened up Translation Studies to contextual factors and the importance of cultural issues beyond the contrastive linguistic approaches that had characterized the early establishment of the discipline. There are several reasons for this “ideology turn”: (1) a “shift of a pendulum” back towards the text and the way cultural aspects are indeed transmitted and created through language; (2) the need to study in an accurate and reliable way the issues of representation, manipulation, and intervention that were a consequence of cultural approaches to translation; (3) a growing interest in the role played by translation in the wake of transcultural, mediation and conflict situations at a global level, and the development of a ‘conflict school’ of TS that has ideology as one of its central tenets.

There are, however, several difficulties in the task of trying to define the scope of ideological approaches within Translation Studies. There will be an inevitable overlap with other general approaches that have ideological components, such as sociocultural aspects of translation, descriptive TS, critical discourse analysis, or other specialized areas like gender studies, ethics, media translation or postcolonial translation. In this sense, approaches to translation and ideology need to be transversal and cross-disciplinary.

Keeping in line with most theoretical studies on the field, ideology is closely related with identity. What we refer to by the ambiguous term “ideology” is the mindset, or the narratives, that make consistent the beliefs of one group as opposed to others. These beliefs may be positive or negative, beneficial or not, but what they have in common is the creation of one group whose shared beliefs and goals are positively emphasized, against other or others whose beliefs (or the former’s ideas about *their* beliefs) are underrated (van Dijk 1998). Although we may refer to individual ideologies, these are socially constructed as shared beliefs. In this chapter I shall limit myself to this generic definition, which comprises common conceptualizations of ideology as a political movement, as a social representation (including ideologies of exclusion or inclusion, racism or equality, etc.) or more complex doctrinal bodies such as nationalism and nationhood, empiricism and science, creed and religion, ethics, etc.

The location of the Iberian peninsula as a historical crossroads, the relationship with the North of Africa, America’s multi-layered history rife with colonialism, decolonization, multilingualism, migrancy and exile; stories of power, censorship, resistance and activism; and hybridization, space and diaspora, censorship, and activism have provided countless opportunities for research on translation and ideology, and an account of all of them is well beyond the scope of a short chapter. Besides, it remains very difficult to locate academic practices ascribing geographical (or cultural-geographical) labels to them. Perhaps it is worth pointing out that there is also an ideological framing we cannot avoid. When giving an account of Spanish Translation Studies, are we thinking of Spain as a linguistic area? What about the rich TS literature in Catalan or Galician? If we refer to Spain as a political entity, how do Latin American approaches fit into the picture? Therefore, in this chapter I will refer to Spanish translation studies as a macro-entity beyond political and linguistic frontiers and focus on university departments and research groups that are based in Spanish-speaking countries, or departments of Spanish studies elsewhere – emphasizing all the more the transfer of ideas across epistemological borders and layers. The contents of this chapter are organized along broad thematic lines: (1) the adoption of critical linguistic perspectives to the study of ideology in translation; (2) the issue of translation and censorship; (3) sociolinguistic perspectives on translation and power, especially in relation to Spain’s cultural diversity; (4) epistemological and identity approaches; (5) colonial, postcolonial and political ideological approaches;

## Spanish-language publications on Translation and Ideology

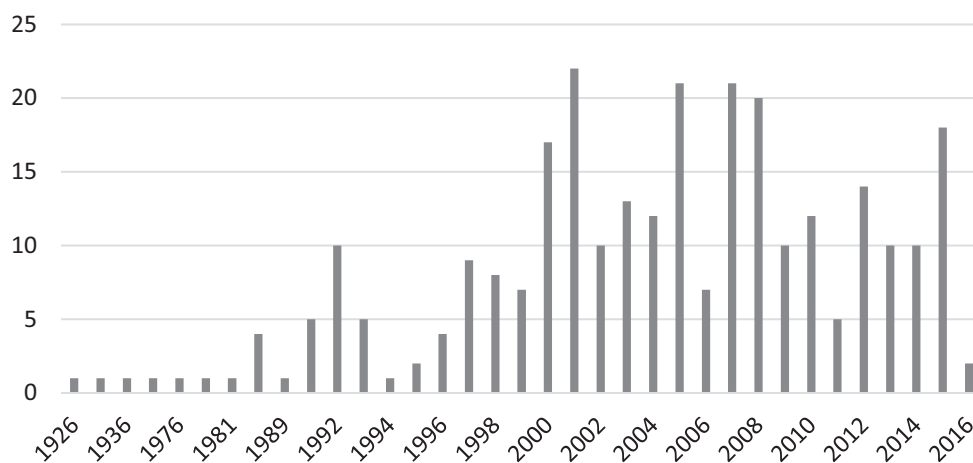


Figure 7.1 Spanish-language publications on translation and ideology according to data extracted from the BITRA database (University of Alicante)

(6) missionary linguistics and translation; (7) translation and ideology in intercultural contact with the Islamic world, including court translation and interpreting; and (8) translation, political engagement and activism.

\* \* \*

To a large extent, research on translation is a study on transcultural ideology. Contemporary Translation Studies understand translation as a change of context from a source communicative situation to a new one, where there is often a change of linguistic code (language) and the action of an agent, or agents, who provide the new codification and the necessary intervention to suit the new context. From the moment the analyst takes into account that the context implies changes – and that these changes (or their absence) are determined by socially shared beliefs, representations, intentions or motivations – ideology comes into play as a sort of social coding beyond grammar and lexicon. But ideology is not a *code* in the archival sense of a collection of ready-made categories. It escapes categorization. Although some definitions of ideology may be rather clear-cut, particularly those pertaining to the realm of politics or religion, as general tendencies where some meanings are privileged and others excluded, ideological positioning is constructed, more than codified, through discursive mechanisms. Discourse analysis and critical linguistics may provide some of the tools to identify them.

### Critical linguistics

The first study on ideology and translation from a critical linguistic perspective was Basil Hatim and Ian Mason's 1991 handbook *Discourse and the Translator*. In this seminal work, the authors approach translation drawing on text linguistics and on the discursive perspective developed in Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA), derived from the work of linguists Roger Fowler, Teun A. van Dijk, Gunther Cress, Malcolm Coulthard, Ruth Wodak and Norman Fairclough, among others.

One of the first studies of ideology in translation proper was Ian Mason's "Discourse, Ideology and Translation" (1994). This pioneering article addressed the issue of ideology from a discourse analysis perspective, and it is one of the first applications of CDA to Translation Studies, aiming to provide a model of analysis that could be applied to any text. In this article Mason compares, exploring framing, lexical choices, thematic progression and other discursive devices, how a text published in the *UNESCO Courier* magazine in Spanish and in English varies considerably to the effect that the message conveyed is substantially altered.

María Calzada Pérez produced the first comprehensive study of a discourse-based aspect of ideology in translation in her PhD dissertation (1997, later published as a book in 2007). Calzada has also explored ideology as a key dimension in translation analysis in Calzada 2001. Later, her edited volume *Apropos of Ideology* (2003) was the first volume dedicated entirely to the subject of translation and ideology, from different perspectives. The overall approach of the volume adopts the functional school's definition of ideology (Fowler 1991; van Dijk 1998), but the heterogeneity of their approaches makes "ideology" rather a portmanteau term for many ideas ranging from manipulation and intervention, to positioning, contextual conditioning, or power and agency. It stands out as the first attempt at putting together these perspectives, most of which would later be also similarly grouped by Mona Baker in her essential *Critical Readings in Translation Studies* (2010).

In the late 1990s, ideology gradually acquired importance as Translation Studies accepted as a basic principle that translation, far from being an exercise in imitation and reproduction, was rather an *actor* whose *intervention* – which allowed agency and power, and which was grounded on ideological principles – was not only inevitable, but also necessary. What was left were, on the one hand, a full-fledged incorporation of critical analytical linguistic tools to account objectively for the ways in which ideology was exercised in translation; and, on the other, a systematization of general concepts and processes such as power, selection, fabrication, intervention, subversion, positioning, etc., as well as a comprehensive synthesis of case studies along specific fields of inquiry. These are the lines along which scholarship on translation and ideology would develop, especially from 2001 onwards, in parallel with a global interest in issues of conflict, terrorism, and intercultural communication.

Critical Discourse Analysis approaches to translation were included with an overall consideration of translation as an ideology-driven operation in Carbonell 1999. Translation and media is a particular rich field of case studies. Roberto Valdeón's 2007 essay analyzes the ideological differences in accounts of the 2003 Madrid terror attacks in the Spanish editions of BBC World and CNN. Later (2011), he would study cases of selective appropriation in news translation (2008), the discursive construction of terrorism in Spain (2009), and how the Falklands/Malvinas conflict was transmitted in British and Spanish media (2011). He has later edited a volume on translation and the press specifically focused on the issue of ideology (*Translating Information*, Universidad de Oviedo, 2010b), and a special issue of *Meta* on news translation.

Carbonell (2004) touched questions of the ideology of representation in literary translation from Arabic into Spanish and English, while Jeremy Munday (2007) draws on Mason for his analysis of speeches of Latin-American political leaders (such as Cuban leader Fidel Castro, Venezuelan leader Hugo Chávez and Mexican self-styled rebel Marcos) from Spanish into English, showing a lack of correspondence that, for example, produces "the effect of making Chávez speak with the voice of the enemy" (Munday 2007, 208).

### History and memory of censorship in Spain

*Censorship* has been one of the most fertile areas for Translation Studies and ideology. Almost half of the literature indexed in the BITRA database on translation and ideology in the Spanish

language (133 out of 287) deals with censorship, mostly about the translation of foreign literature into Spanish during Franco's dictatorship (1939–1975).

This tendency can be explained by the success with which Descriptive Translation Studies has been adopted in several university departments in Spain, providing the theoretical and methodological framework to approach the complex reality of literary translation practice especially during that period (Gutiérrez Lanza 2004). Among the different scholars who have approached censorship in Spain, it stands out the research by the group TRACE (*Traducción y Censura*) at the universities of León (Rabadán 2000a, 2000b; Gutiérrez Lanza 2004, 2005) and the Basque Country (Merino Álvarez 2001, 2007a, 2007b, 2009; Urribarri 2007, 2012). The aim of these research projects (very much influenced by Bourdieu's sociological theories) is to compile a comprehensive corpus of translated literature subject to censorship procedures, and to identify ('map') translation practices in the light of state-induced intervention.

Among the aspects studied, as an extreme case of domestication, it is worth mentioning the case of *pseudotranslation* (Rabadán 2000b), where North American models "previously settled and naturalized in the Spanish context thanks to translated cinema were transferred to the written mode by means of an extremely productive process of 'textual cloning', tolerated and even encouraged by official censorship" (2000b, 19).

Catalan research on translation and censorship starts in the 1990s with Gallofré i Virgili's attention to translation in the 1991 volume *L'edició catalana i la censura franquista* [Catalan publishing and Francoist censorship]. This is followed by the publications by Jordi Arbonès i Montull (1995), Pijoan Vallverdú (2005) on the Catalan translator Jordi Arbonès, Cornellà (2010), Carné (2015), and Godayol (2015). Particularly relevant are the special issue of the journal *Quaderns. Revista de Traducció* (2013) devoted to translation and censorship, edited by Montserrat Bacardí; the special issue of the new journal *Represura. Revista de Historia Contemporànea espanyola en torno a la represión y la censura aplicadas al libro* (2015) devoted to censorship and Catalan literature and language during the Franco period, edited by Enric Gallén; and the essay by Laura Vilardell (2016) on translation and censorship under Franco.<sup>2</sup> To these, we may add the special issue of the journal *Quaderns de Filologia. Estudis Literaris* edited by Gora Zaragoza, Juan José Martínez and José Javier Ávila-Cabrera, *Traducción y censura: nuevas perspectivas* (2015), Pilar Godayol's 2017 essay on women writers and censorship, and the edited volume by Godayol and Bacardí *Traducció i franquisme* (2017).

### Language ideologies: sociolinguistic perspectives on translation and power

The Hispanic world is a multilingual universe. The coexistence of several official languages in Spain and Latin America, and many other non-official languages, has also generated interest among scholars about questions of power and status and the role played by translation. Already in 1994 the late Galician literary critic and professor of Romance Languages at City University of New York Xoán González Millán (1994, English translation 1996) defined translation as "an unequal cultural dialogue between different linguistic systems" (1994, 63), reflecting on the "multiple controls" (linguistic, cultural, economic, institutional and political) that intervene in the act of translation. He pointed out at the power relations between languages in Galicia, in what was arguably one of the first applications of contemporary theories of translation and power in the Iberian peninsula.

The Galician and the Valencian contexts have made rich contributions to questions of ideology and translation related to linguistic planning and language models. Díaz Fouces, García González and Costa Carreras 2002 was a pioneer monograph in this field; scholars like Oscar Díaz Fouces (University of Vigo) and Esther Monzó (Jaume I University) have paved the way towards a sociology of translation where ideological issues are at the heart of translative communication.<sup>3</sup> In fact, the collective volume edited by Díaz Fouces and Monzó 2010 present a panorama of translation as social action whose framing is, in most instances, determined by ideology, if we understand it broadly as the narrative structure that supports *objective-determined courses of action*. Hence, questions of power and policy; standardization and variation; action, actors and community engagement; value and hierarchy, etc., seem to conform a coherent emerging field of research that corresponds to the interpersonal dimension of communication, steeped in sociological theories like Bourdieu's.

These approaches are being applied to particular sub-areas such as Valero Garcés' (2012) call to integrate concepts like *field*, *habitus*, *symbolic capital* and *illusion* into the training of translators and interpreters for public services, "favouring a shift from training translators and interpreters for the market – as practiced in the great majority of established departments of Translation Studies – to training them for society", which would imply "a series of profound transformations in existing curricula, with a particular focus on the inclusion of issues related to politics, ideology and sociology, among others, issues which pertain to any transcultural activity" (2012, 33).

### The critical drive

Very close to the sociological drive in Translation Studies (and to a great extent coincidental, but more informed by hermeneutic and epistemological perspectives) is the approach to the rise and use of texts as a means of establishing power relations that create ideologically induced patterns of knowledge. This theoretical paradigm, which we could term *critical translation*, is driven by the philosophy of Michel Foucault and his concepts of *episteme* and discourse, and it focuses on the role of translation in their construction.

Perhaps the most active research on translation and ideology from a Foucaultian socio-cultural and philosophical perspective has been the research group Traducción, Ideología y Cultura [Translation, Ideology and Culture] (TRADIC) at the University of Salamanca, led by África Vidal Claramonte. Also a member of the TRADIC group, Martín Ruano's exploration of different types of rewriting in literature, law and political discourse (2001, 2003, 2009, 2012; Ruano and Vidal 2016) is an indispensable point of reference.

A closely related ideological dimension explored by many scholars is the relationship between identity construction and translation. On this complex topic, it is particularly relevant the work by Godayol 2000 (in Catalan), Carbonell (2001), Martín Ruano, House, and Baumgarten (2005), the volumes edited by Muñoz, Buesa Gómez, and Ruiz Moneva (2008), Salama-Carr and Carbonell (2009), as well as the collection by Garbarini (2010) on the interethnic, pluricultural and plurilinguistic environment of the Araucanía. More recently, a key collection on identity in the Americas is the special issue of the journal *Mutatis Mutandis* (2015) dedicated to translation, gender and identity edited by Paula Andrea Montoya Arango, and published by the University of Antioquia, Colombia.<sup>4</sup>

In fact, in the Latin American context, geopolitical studies of translation, and translation and identity are growing at a rapid pace and it is difficult to offer a comprehensive picture of the plethora of studies that are being currently produced. The volume edited by Andrea Pagni, Gertrudis Payàs and Patricia Willson, *Traductores y traductores en la historia cultural de*

*América Latina* (2011) places emphasis in the socio-historical (often ideological) aspects of translation, driven by representations and discourse:

El traductor no es en primer término un sujeto que efectúa elecciones individuales, sino que es portavoz de un grupo que se ha forjado un sistema de representaciones sobre cuestiones bien precisas: la cultura extranjera, las relaciones entre ésta y la cultura nacional, la configuración de una lengua de traducción, el grado de inteligibilidad que las referencias foráneas tienen para el lector. En el producto de esa práctica es posible leer las marcas que esas representaciones han dejado. Reconocer la historicidad de la traducción y su vinculación con un discurso social contribuye a una visión no esencialista de esta práctica. De allí la necesidad de explorar el campo en el que se generan y se han generado las traducciones: entorno político y social, políticas editoriales, mecenazgos y exilios, entre otras condicionantes.

(2011, 7)

[The translator is not, first and foremost, a subject who makes individual decisions, but rather the spokesperson for a group that has built a system of representations on specific issues: foreign culture, the relations between that culture and the national one, the configuration of a language of translation, the degree of understandability that foreign references [should? ought to?] have for the reader. Looking at the product of this practice, it becomes possible to read the traces left by those representations. To acknowledge the historicity of translation and its links with a social discourse allows for a non-essentialist picture of this practice. Hence the need to explore the field in which translations are and have been generated: the social and political discourse, publishing policies, patronages and exiles, among other conditioning factors.]

(2011, 7)

Similarly, Pagni, Payàs and Willson (2011) explore how translation was subordinated to the political project of educating the working class in Argentina in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries – in the form of a ‘moralised and muffled’ translation (*moralizada y amortiguada*), as they put it.

### Colonialism, postcolonialism and political ideologies

The ‘postcolonial trend’ in Spanish TS was initiated by a series of scholars preoccupied with the issues of cultural representation and the imprint of power in transcultural processes, especially in the context of literature, where traditional descriptive approaches could be complemented with the rich theoretical and conceptual background from Postcolonial Studies since the early 1990s. Carbonell (1996, 1997) and Rodríguez Monroy (1997) followed the steps of theorists such as Tejaswini Niranjana, Gayatri C. Spivak, Edward W. Said and Robert J. C. Young, and introduced Bhabha’s ideas of hybridization and ambivalence; the translation scholar and translator of postcolonial literature Dora Sales Salvador studied Spivak’s theories in her 2006 article. It is worth mentioning that Spanish explorations of ideology, genre, and ethnicity are not only relevant theoretically, but have also contributed to changing trends in practice. Scholars such as Sales Salvador and Godayol are also renowned translators of postcolonial literature, an indication that publishing houses are gradually acknowledging the importance of choosing appropriate translators for specific works.



In the Latin American context, the importance of translation as a means to establish a counter narrative to colonial accounts can be traced back to Miguel León-Portilla and Ángel María Garibay's *Visión de los vencidos. Relaciones indígenas de la conquista* (1961), a study and anthology of Nahuatl texts; more clearly linked to translation studies, Val Julián (1998) and Scharlau (2002, 2003) have contributed to mapping translation in Latin America as an essential vehicle in colonial and anticolonial discourse. It is also necessary to mention the research by Nayelli Castro on the translation of philosophy in Mexico (Castro 2012, 2013b, 2014, 2018) and, especially, her edited volume on translation, identity and nationalism (2013a). The role of translation in the independence movements of the Spanish colonies has also been explored by Bastin, Echeverri, and Campo (2010), who "define Latin American translation as the practice of *appropriation*" (ap. Cifuentes-Goodbody 2017, 5). In fact, Georges L. Bastin leads the research group HISTAL Historia de la Traducción en América Latina (History of Translation in Latin America) at the University of Montreal: issues of identity and power are essential in their research projects (see their web page: [www.histal.ca/es/projets/](http://www.histal.ca/es/projets/)).

Moreover, political ideology is closely related to space. Vidal Claramonte's *La traducción y los espacios* (2013) is a provocative and engaging study that leads the reader through the spatial dimension of translation and power relations: a space of stabilization and dislocation, where the local and the global compete, and the translator "becomes a highly relevant figure because he/she can tip the balance towards any direction". Thus, translation can be construed as a space that needs to be acknowledged as "political", and always "under construction" (2013, 10–11). Also related to space, it is worth mentioning Nicholas Cifuentes-Goodbody's (2017) account of how Martín Luis Guzmán's *Memorias de Pancho Villa* is "translated" and appropriated in order to produce an institutional conception of the Revolution that has a spatial counterpart in the "monumental architecture in Mexico City" (2017, 5).

### Missionary linguistics and translation

The term *missionary linguistics* refers to a recent interdisciplinary area of research that explores the work of Catholic or Protestant missionaries when describing and systematizing the languages of the peoples they aimed to Christianize. These activities were intimately related to the European colonial conquest, which was an "intellectual conquest" often subject to Eurocentric assumptions about the natives, but the missionaries also provided the first descriptions of those languages and sometimes "went against the specific objectives of the official administration" (Zimmermann and Kellermeier-Rehbein 2015). This missionary work had translation as one of its most important activities, and this was not disregarded by so-called postcolonial translation studies (Rafael 1988; García Ruiz 1992). In the particular field of missionary linguistics, translation practices have been explored notably in the collection edited by Otto Zwartjes, Klaus Zimmermann and Martina Schrader-Kniffki (2014), the fifth volume of the Missionary Linguistics/Linguística Misionera series, subtitled *Translation Theories and Practices*.<sup>5</sup> Issues of ideology play a prominent role in this volume: Zimmerman's study of Sahagún as a translator focuses on the ideological interventions in his *Colloquios*, where Aztec gods are referred to as *diablos* "devils" (2014, 92). Schrader-Kniffki and Yanakakis draw attention to the central role that the idea of 'truth' played in Spanish colonial ideologies of translation (2014, 173),<sup>6</sup> and the difficulties of translating highly connotative concepts with no equivalent in Zapotec cosmology such as *pecado* [sin], and how a Christian ideological framework was used in the production of Zapotec criminal records.<sup>7</sup> Sueiro Justel, for his part, applies a postcolonial translation approach to Andrés López's *Arte de la lengua Pangasinan* (1690) as a cultural mediator. On the other hand, and informed by cognitive and

epistemological framings that may be interpreted ideologically, volume IV of the series (on lexicography) also has interesting implications for the analysis of ideology and translation in colonial settings, such as Fernández Rodríguez's article (2009), much in the line with Rafael (1988)'s seminal essay, and Arzápalo Marín's acknowledgement that Mayan religious terms were soon abandoned in favour of Spanish loanwords to avoid ideological interference in the translations by missionaries (2009, 89). This phenomenon is termed *translingualization* by Zimmermann in his description of Spanish terms in Sahagún's Nahuatl discourse (2014, 92). Similarly, Sueiro Justel (2014, 317) worked on the Philippine case.

In fact, the Franciscan friar and ethnographer *avant la lettre* Bernardino de Sahagún has been studied from a Translation Studies perspective by Victoria Ríos Castaño (2009, 2011, 2014a, 2014b), Zimmermann (2014) and Valdeón (2014). More than an "ethnographer", he is considered a cultural mediator (Zimmermann 2014)<sup>8</sup> or a cultural translator (Ríos Castaño 2014a, 246–7; Moore and Ríos Castaño 2018, 328–9).

In *El revés del tapiz: Traducción y discurso de identidad en la Nueva España (1521–1821)*, Gertrudis Payàs Puigarnau (2010a) examines the ways translation was a key instrument in the creation and negotiation of a discourse of identity that not only defined the Other, but that, in the process, contributed to defining the representation of the self. Payàs, a professor at the Universidad Católica de Temuco (Chile), one of the first universities to offer specialized translation training in Latin America, is also a member of the research group Alfaqueque based at the University of Salamanca (Spain). This international group has been particularly active in topics related to interpreting, identity negotiation and conflict, especially in their collections *Los límites de Babel* (Grupo Alfaqueque 2010) and *Traducción y representaciones del conflicto en España y América* (Alonso Araguás, Rodríguez, and Sastre 2015).

Also recently, Roberto A. Valdeón's comprehensive *Translation and the Spanish Empire in the Americas* (2014) examines the connections between translation and the Spanish empire in the Americas, as well as how the conquest and the Spanish rule have been disseminated and reinterpreted through translation, including the negative representation of the country through the so-called "Black Legend", "invented precisely to rule Spain out of imperial contention" (Mignolo 2002; apud Valdeón 2014, x).<sup>9</sup>

In fact, Spanish-speaking scholars have worked in similar areas as Rafael, Clendinnen, and Cheyfitz, but their research tends to receive less international attention. For example, the translation of religious terms, in particular the name of God (*Dios*) into American indigenous has been studied by López Parada (2013). She postulates that the linguistic vernacularization (*nativización idiomática*) of the Catholic doctrine in the Indies was soon considered a *transcultural* operation that entailed a good deal of doctrinal dangers, and that therefore such practices needed to be carefully controlled:

se habla claramente de evangelizar en quechua o en náhuatl pero con fórmulas de apoyo, con manuales orientativos consensuados que impidan el libre albedrío traductor o el azar idiomático, todo lo cual sirve para informarnos de la naturaleza sospechosa con que la traducción es observada en el Nuevo Mundo en cuanto actividad tan fluida y enmascarable como para estimular su vigilancia

(133)

[there is clear mention of evangelization in Quechua or Nahuatl but within the bounds of specific guidelines and agreed-upon handbooks that serve to limit translative free will and naturally occurring linguistic variation. All this underlies the suspicion with

which translation is viewed in the New World as a fluid and deceitful activity that must be kept under surveillance.]

(133)

Curiously enough, as a by-product of colonization, this controlled environment also resulted in the official standardization of the indigenous languages.

### Out of North Africa: orientalism, colonialism and translation

A recent area of study is the relationship between translation and interpreting practice and Spanish colonial rule in North Africa. This line of research stems fundamentally from two relevant doctoral dissertations defended in 2002: Feria (University of Granada) and Zarrouk (Madrid Autonomous University).

Mourad Zarrouk's *Los traductores de España en Marruecos [1859–1939]* (2009), based on his PhD dissertation, has an interest in the figure of the translator as a political agent, both as a mediator and also as a necessary political instrument. In Zarrouk's account, translators played an essential role as facilitators of colonial discourse when the Moroccan intellectual elites started undermining the ideological foundations of the Protectorate:

Para mantener una política que contrarrestara el ideal nacionalista había que controlar las ideas de este nacionalismo, su discurso y sus maniobras. Había que anticiparse a los militantes nacionalistas que luchaban con las mismas armas y sabían movilizar a sus compatriotas. En este contexto, la obtención de información política, la atracción de los *indígenas*, la censura de la prensa marroquí, especialmente en árabe, y el control de los movimientos de los marroquíes sospechosos adquirieron una importancia vital para los colonizadores. El traductor estaba llamado a desempeñar un papel decisivo en el largo proceso de dominación del colonizado.

(2009, 196)

[In order to maintain a political *status quo* that would neutralize nationalist tendencies, it was necessary to control the ideas of this nationalism, both its discourse and practices. It was necessary to preempt nationalistic militants who fought with the same weapons and knew how to mobilize their fellow compatriots. In this context, the pursuit of political information, attracting *natives* to the cause, the censorship of Moroccan press (especially in Arabic) and controlling the movements of suspect Moroccans were of critical importance for the colonizers. The translator was called on to play a decisive role in the long process of dominating the colonized subject.]

(2009, 196)

Of particular relevance is the case of the translators who translated personal letters between nationalists, or even love letters to avoid mixed marriages (2009, 230).

This study is furthered by Arias and Feria's 2013 *Los traductores de árabe del Estado español. Del Protectorado hasta nuestros días*, and the PhD dissertation by Manuel Feria, *La traducción fehaciente del árabe* (2002), a true encyclopaedia of translation and interpreting practices in an Arabic-Spanish legal context.

Manuel Feria has continued working on this line of research, providing acute and novel reflections on professional ethics and positioning in interpreting practice (2003); the figure of the official translator in the versioning of the old Granadan documentation from Arabic into

Spanish (Arias and Feria 2004); the writing of diplomatic treatises and their disagreements (notably the 1779 Moroccan-Spanish treaty of Friendship and Commerce [Feria 2005]), and other explorations into areas where political and colonial power exert a decisive influence over cultural representations and their writing.

A noteworthy characteristic of Feria's research is the study of judicial, historical and socio-logical materials through the lens of Translation Studies. A case in point is the existence of Arabic language marriage certificates legally translated into Spanish, after the legalization of Islamic marriage in Spain (Feria 2002, 76). His analysis points to the adaptation of Moroccan models "destined to a multicultural society in which textual contacts are becoming current", a parallel situation to that encountered in medieval and Renaissance Spain. Feria's acute examination of his case studies sometimes reveals the perhaps unconscious influence of Catholic terminology and ideological framing in the choice of words by one given translator, but also a conscious attempt to produce genuinely Islamic texts in the Spanish language. As Feria remarks, "these documents are very interesting for the study of the translation from Arabic of legal texts in an emerging multicultural society, which seems to be the destiny of European society in this century, and in which Islam will necessarily play a key role" (2002, 78). In addition, how the Spanish language was altered or rather developed to embed Islamic terms from a very different phonemic system is a matter of great interest. This was also the concern of many sixteenth-century Morisco<sup>10</sup> writers:

Y, sin embargo, encontramos en estas traducciones contemporáneas la misma tendencia a la sacralización de la lengua árabe que en las traducciones islámicas medievales, aunque su sentido es opuesto: mientras que estos últimos parecen momificar su habla para reforzarla en su papel de signo de identidad, los musulmanes actuales parecen exotizarla con la idea de crear un aparato lingüístico ritual. [. . .] En cualquier caso, estas traducciones, que no dudo en calificar igualmente de "islámicas", desempeñan el mismo papel que desempeñaron otrora las que antes he analizado; son, pues, un ejemplo magnífico de aquellos casos en los que la traducción se constituye en el principal motor de la construcción de una identidad, esto es, como elemento generador de ideología de primer orden.

(79–80)

[However, we find in these contemporary translations the same tendency to sacralise the Arabic language that we see in Medieval Islamic translations, albeit towards opposite ends: while the latter seem to mummify their speech to reinforce its role as a sign of identity, contemporary Muslims seem to exoticize it with the aim of creating a ritual linguistic instrument. [. . .] In any case, these [contemporary] translations – which I cannot but equally describe as "Islamic" – play the same role of the Medieval translations I previously discussed. They are, therefore, a great example of translation as the driving force in the creation of identity, that is, as a central element in the creation of ideology.]

(79–80)

Similar lines of research have stressed the relationship (or lack thereof) of an established academic Arabism in the colonial enterprises in Morocco. The volume edited by Manzano, Fernández, and Feria (2000), Mourad Zarrouk's dissertation (2009) and his seminal article "Arabismo, traducción y colonialismo: El caso de Marruecos" (2001–5),<sup>11</sup> the research by Anna Gil Bardají on Andalusian historiography in translation (2009)<sup>12</sup> and Luis Miguel Pérez

Cañada's dissertation on the translation activity of the eminent Arabist Emilio García Gómez (2005) help cover the gaps in Edward W. Said's *Orientalism* (1977) – who surprisingly overlooked the whole of Spanish and German orientalism – from a much-needed Translation Studies perspective. These serve to complement more culturally oriented approaches such as those by Goytisolo (1981), Manzano (2000), González Alcantud (2006), and Velasco de Castro (2009).<sup>13</sup>

Spanish translation scholars have also made outstanding contributions to the ideological implications of the translation of the Qur'ān.<sup>14</sup> Juan Pablo Arias Torres (1997, 1998, 1999, 2000, 2007) has published relevant analyses of ideological representations in Spanish translations. Other essential works worth mentioning include the volume dedicated to the Arabist and translator Julio Cortés (Hernando de Larramendi and Peña Martín 2008), the book by the late Mikel de Epalza *El Corán y sus traducciones* (2008) and his own revolutionary translation of the Qur'an into Catalan, followed by five essays (2001; see also de Epalza 2002), which allows several simultaneous layers of semantic (and ideological) interpretation, can be regarded in itself as a wonderful piece of applied research contributing to interreligious understanding.

### **Towards a translation and conflict paradigm: terrorism, media and translation**

On March 11, 2004, Madrid was stricken with the second worst terrorist attack in Europe after the Lockerbie plane bombing. This terrible event, exactly two and a half years after the September 11 attacks, was key in triggering a critical rethinking of communication. All of a sudden, intercultural relations lost much of their idealized patina of yore, and the crude problems of access to an unknown other, the construction of fundamentalist ideologies – and also of national security – were out in the limelight.<sup>15</sup>

Ideologically related essays on the issue of terrorism and translation include a new focus on the figure of the translator and interpreter. In the pre-Google Translate era, what were the means of access to the communications held by presumed terrorists? Robles Torres (2007) briefly discussed the situation in the US and Spain, and the predicament of defence organizations to rely upon proficient and trustworthy translators. In his brief account Robles Torres mentions some of the translation blunders in the aftermath of the 9/11 attacks and during the Iraqi war, and the hasty hiring of underpaid, often incompetent translators, and points towards fundamental ideology-related questions: the fact that untrained translators were often scapegoats of an inadequate system that paid little attention to cultural specificities or even to translation as a complex, specialized professional activity.<sup>16</sup> Thus, the lack of professional qualifications or licences in hired translators and interpreters, the absence of official professional bodies (*colegios profesionales*) or codes of ethics (Ortega Herráez and Foulquié Rubio 2008; Martin and Taibi 2010; Taibi and Martin 2012) have, as a consequence, a “total lack of guarantee as regards the quality of the service offered” (Martin and Taibi 2010, 217). In the case of Spain, Martin and Taibi point at the fact that the increase of the demand for translators and interpreters in national security forces shortly after the Madrid bombings led to outsourcing translation and interpreting services to a private security company that did not require previous training and paid a pittance to unqualified collaborators.

The loosening of control over the translation process, or its lack altogether, led to serious police and judicial errors attributed to wrong ideological framing in the translation of the texts and conversations used as supporting evidence. Martin and Taibi (2010) apply discursive and narrative criticism based on Baker 2006 to analyse how innocent texts were used as incriminating (and later dismissed) evidence in the trial of Al-Jazeera journalist Tayser Allouny, which

took place in 2005. However, we need to point out that it was precisely the work of qualified experts that disclosed the errors made by amateur or unskilled translators; as Martin and Taibi (2010) highlight, they notice a positive evolution that started with the trial of Islamist militants purportedly responsible for the Madrid attacks in 2007, considered even as “a milestone in court Translation/Interpreting in Spain” (2010, 217).<sup>17</sup>

Similar cases of judicial sentences influenced by distorted narratives due to the influence of ideological assumptions, that “contribute to building a poetic structure that is absent from the original Spanish oral discourse” have also been explored in the case of Japanese-Spanish interpreting by Rika Yoshida (2012), and more recently in the PhD dissertation by the same author (2014).

### **A zone of engagement: translation, political engagement and activism**

A closely related area of research focuses, rather than on manipulation or ideological intervention, on the sociopolitical relevance of the translated texts from an ideological point of view. Translation, in these studies, is part of the process of dissemination of activist discourses and plays an essential role in their international awareness. Their translation is conceptualized in critical terms, as a tool for social and political engagement or “intervention”. In the Spanish TI theory panorama, we cannot fail to mention the International Forum on Translation/Interpreting and Social Activism held at the University of Granada in 2007, whose proceedings were published by Julie Boéri and Carol Maier in 2009.

Katjia Torres Calzada (Pablo de Olavide University, Seville) has focused on the translation of Moroccan activist authors who give accounts of government repression in the so-called ‘Lead Years’ of recent Moroccan history: Torres Calzada 2006 (on Malika Oukfir) and 2014 (on Fatna El Bouih). Also worthy of mention is Tlaxcala, the international network of translators for linguistic diversity.<sup>18</sup> In a context of activism and engagement, translation is more and more considered epistemologically a pro-active and committed operation that has an essential role in challenging excluding discourse and as a constructor of interculturalness (Limón Aguirre 2013). One of the first applications of this will be found in intercultural public service interpreting (see Martín Ruano 2017); for example, El Madkouri 2014 explores the translation of sexual references in health interpreting while Faddi 2015 analyzes multimodality in the translation of awareness campaigns by the Spanish government addressed to Moroccan immigrants, from the ideological point of view of use of metaphors, euphemisms, visual discourse, text directionality, cultural connotations and iconic translation.

### **Future directions**

By way of conclusion, we can say that ideology is one of the prime subjects of interest in contemporary Spanish translation studies, and a dimension that has helped shape the discipline as a whole. Given the vast extension of the Spanish-speaking lands, the confluence of different languages, and the status of Spanish as one of the main international languages, the Spanish world is a treasure trove of case studies where ideology is an essential dimension in the strategies for linguistic mediation. Furthermore, ideological perspectives of translation are starting to shed light on many historical contexts characterized by dynamism and complex, often conflictive relations. The 2015 Berlin Conference on *Narratives on Translation*<sup>19</sup> had a powerful Spanish presence; translation studies perspectives may offer new insights in Morisco studies or the historical presence of the Spanish and Portuguese in the Far East, an area to date less studied than the American context. The challenges of communication in a multicultural

society have barely started to address fundamental issues regarding translation and freedom of access in public services;<sup>20</sup> translation as an agent in political contexts; or inclusiveness as a progressive goal. Moreover, the systematization of translation scholarship about ideology and representation may even challenge the conceptions that are current about such an ambivalent concept as *ideology* seems to be in contemporary theory – there is no doubt that Spanish perspectives are contributing in this line.

### Notes

- 1 I would like to thank my colleagues Nicholas Cifuentes-Goodbody (Hamad Bin Khalifa University, Doha, Qatar) and Nayelli Castro-Ramírez (University of Massachusetts, Boston) for their advice and valuable comments.
- 2 A good literature review on the subject is Coromina Pou 2016.
- 3 To which we should add the outstanding work by the well-known researcher Anthony Pym, professor at the Rovira and Virgili University in Tarragona, Spain. The volume *Sociocultural Aspects of Translating and Interpreting* (Pym, Shlesinger, and Jettmarova 2006) is also an indispensable reference in the field of ideology. Esther Monzó's research focuses on legal translation.
- 4 An essential reference book, tackling the issue of the relationship between translation and identity formation in the American continent is also Erwin Gentzler (2008), focusing on multiculturalism in the United States, feminist and theatre translation in Québec, the *cannibalistic* Brazilian theory of translation, Latin American narrative, and the hybrid and frontier literatures of the Caribbean and the Mexican-US border.
- 5 *Missionary Linguistics / Lingüística Misionera V: Translation Theories and Practices. Selected Papers from the Seventh International Conference on Missionary Linguistics, Bremen, 28 February–2 March 2012* (Amsterdam and Philadelphia: John Benjamins). This is the fifth volume of a series of conference proceedings that started with the Oslo 2003 conference in Missionary Linguistics, then followed by Mérida 2007 (Yucatán, Mexico) (Lexicography), Macau 2006 and Valladolid, Spain 2006 (Morphology and Syntax), and Bremen 2012 (Translation).
- 6 In their analysis of Pacheco's *Doctrina en lengua zapoteca nextiza* (1689): "As the clergy translated the 'Doctrina' into Amerindian languages, they found themselves torn between adherence to the truth of the original text on the one hand (an explicit translation norm), and exegesis and adjustment to the cognitive conditions of the target language and culture on the other (an implicit translation norm)".
- 7 "By using expressions with *xihui* and *tzahui*, Zapotec cabildo officers mobilized Zapotec-Christian rhetorical tools in their 'memorias' in order to communicate moral judgments about the comportment of their fellow villagers. In practice, the comportment of these individuals occurred in the context of contact between Zapotec and Christian moral codes. The rhetoric of the 'memorias' in which the 'law of the ancient Zapotecs' and 'the law of God' were juxtaposed explicitly, and in which Christian and Zapotec matters of conscience were juxtaposed implicitly (as in the use of metaphors with *lachi*, 'corazón/alma' [heart/soul]) makes clear that these moral codes existed in a colonial hierarchy and were not coeval". (Schrader-Kniffki and Yannakakis 2014, 192).
- 8 "This fieldwork, in which the Franciscan scholar participates, also includes the reconstitution of texts, making use of recollections of informants. It is fair to consider Sahagún as a cultural mediator, still, with a very particular goal and thus a biased mediator, who has an interested and unilateral position. But there is also a counterpart: the translations of the Spanish texts into Nahuatl. Applying current theories for the translation of literary texts to Sahagún's work, does not facilitate an understanding of the complex situation in which the scholar found himself, nor the function that he assigns to his translations. The ideological role of the translation in the colonial and missionary context of the 16th century was peculiar [And it is still present in contemporary missionary contexts (cf. Nida 1968).]" (Zimmermann 2014, 106).
- 9 See also Díaz Peralta, Piñero, and García Domínguez 2008 on the ideology in the Spanish translations of Prescott's *History of the Conquest of Mexico*.
- 10 *Moriscos* [Moorish] or *cristianos nuevos de moro* [Moorish new Christians] are the terms used to refer to Muslims forcibly converted into Christianity after the royal decree (*Pragmática*) issued by the Catholic Monarchs Ferdinand and Isabella in 1502. Prior to that date, Muslims under Christian

- rule in Spain, often bilingual and bicultural, are referred to as *mudéjares* (from Arabic *mudajjan*, “subjected”).
- 11 Soto Aranda and El Madkouri 2001 also include cultural aspects of interpreting during the Spanish Protectorate.
  - 12 Anna Gil Bardají’s PhD dissertation (2008) was recently published as a monograph *Traducir al-Andalus: el discurso del otro en el arabismo español (de Conde a García Gómez)* [Translating Al-Andalus: the discourse of the other in Spanish Arabism (From Conde to García Gómez)].
  - 13 See also the astute essay by Gonzalo Fernández Parrilla. “Disoriented Postcolonialities: Edward Said in (the labyrinth of) Al-Andalus”, presented at the conference “Postcolonial Studies and Modern Arabic Literature” (New York University in Abu Dhabi, April 18–19, 2016) and recently published (Fernández Parrilla 2018).
  - 14 A comprehensive bibliography up to 2007 can be found in Arias 2007.
  - 15 Examples of essays aimed at explaining ideologically and translatively the textual dimension of terrorism are Carbonell and Madouri 2005 (a ‘thick translation’ of some of Bin Laden’s statements); Valdeón 2007 (on media coverage of the Madrid attacks) and 2009 (on Spanish and English discursive constructions of ETA’s terrorism); and Zarrouk 2011 (which includes powerful reflections on ‘islamist hermeneutics’ as well as on the selective character of translated information).
  - 16 “En círculos policiales y judiciales no se suele reconocer a la T/I como actividades profesionales especializadas, de una gran complejidad cognitiva, que requieren una formación específica. Cuando los operadores judiciales tienen una opinión formada, suele consistir en caracterizar la T/I como una operación mecánica y automática que se debería realizar en forma literal” [T[ranslation] / I[nterpreting] is not generally recognized in police and legal circles as professional, specialized activities involving a great cognitive complexity and requiring a specific training. When judicial actors have an opinion at all, it generally consists in characterizing T/I as a mechanical and automatic operation that should be carried out in a literal fashion]. (Martin and Taibi, 217).
  - 17 An English language version of their 2010 article was published in 2012 in the journal *Translation & Interpreting* (Taibi and Martin 2012).
  - 18 [www.tlaxcala-int.org/](http://www.tlaxcala-int.org/)
  - 19 Convened by Sonja Brentjes, MPIWG, Berlin and José Luis Mancha, Universidad de Sevilla, Max Planck Max Planck Institute for the History of Science, Berlin, November 2015; followed by a workshop at the University of Barcelona on September 2016.
  - 20 Recently, the International Conference on Translation, Ideology and Gender: “In sickness and in health”, held in Santander (Spain) in 2016, dealt with issues of translation, ideology, and gender in the field of the health sciences.

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