

Translating Colloquial Registers in Catalan. A Case Study: The Translation of *Fear and Loathing in Las Vegas*

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as a thesis for the degree of
Doctor of Philosophy in Modern Languages
In February 2013

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Acknowledgements

This thesis would not have been possible without the support of many people. I wish to express my gratitude to my supervisor, Dr Richard Mansell, who offered valuable assistance and guidance. Sincere gratitude is also due to Dr Joaquim Mallafrè, whose knowledge and kindness facilitated this research. I would also like to convey my thanks to the Institut Ramon Llull for providing the financial means. In addition, I would like to thank Cossetània Edicions, Documenta Balear, Tàndem Edicions, Fragmenta Editorial, Club Editor, Brau Edicions and Edicions del Pirata; the translator Albert Pejó; the general secretary of Gremi d'Editors de Catalunya, Segimon Borràs, and the director of the Language Services of TVC, Ernest Rusinés, for providing valuable information. Special thanks to my beloved husband, family and friends for their understanding and patience throughout the duration of this thesis.

Abstract

This thesis aims to find a model for translating colloquial registers into Catalan. Colloquial registers play an important part in literature today inasmuch as literature projects real life situations in which informal registers unfold. Many Catalan readers do not have a high regard for Catalan translations because established models for colloquial language do not reflect the way Catalan is spoken today, since there is a divorce between the linguistic norm and oral Catalan as a result of Castilian interference in informal registers. As a consequence, translations tend to be standardised and far from the spontaneous oral Catalan. In order to devise a flexible model for colloquial Catalan in translation, a text which contains a great deal of informal registers has been selected: Hunter S. Thompson's novel *Fear and Loathing in Las Vegas*.

The analysis of the sociolinguistic situation of the Catalan language and the position of translated literature in the Catalan system allows us to explain why the system is reluctant to change. Norms in the target culture and the principle of equivalence are explored as they prevent translators from shifting towards a model which accommodates Castilian words and expressions. With the aim of explaining why Catalan presents a particular problem in the translation of colloquial language, an analysis of both written and oral texts in English where colloquial registers have been translated into Catalan is carried out.

In order to avoid a rigid model which follows the Catalan dictionary and grammar only, features of media oral registers have been applied to the translation of selected fragments of *Fear and Loathing in Las Vegas*. This allows us to obtain a text which does not include Castilian terms and, at the same time, reproduces a neutral but more realistic colloquial Catalan.

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1. Introduction

1.1. Translating colloquial registers in Catalan

The translation of colloquial registers into Catalan is especially complex because there is no model for colloquial language in Catalan that can be accepted by everyone. This is due to the strong interference of Castilian in spontaneous oral Catalan which represents a hindrance for professionals, who see how correctness constrains their work as it does not reflect how the language is spoken in the streets. Hence, in conforming to the linguistic norm, colloquial Catalan texts are often deemed unnatural and lack a realistic feel. Conversely, breaking the language rules with Castilian lexical borrowings or calques is equally not accepted.

Castilian interference appears in colloquial Catalan as a result of the particular sociolinguistic situation of the Catalan language, which has experienced a dramatic transformation over the last century and up until the present day. Catalan was prohibited in the public sphere during the Franco dictatorship in Spain (1939-1975). After the restoration of democracy, the Catalan government of the Generalitat, led by the nationalist party *Convergència i Unió* (CiU) (1980-2003), devised a project for the cultural normalisation of Catalonia. One of its main goals was the restitution of the Catalan language in all fields. This was a political project with the aim of constructing a Catalan nation based on Catalan language as a unifying force among people living in Catalonia. Under CiU, the *Departament de Cultura* (Department of Culture) took action in order to avoid a language shift in a context in which Castilian was predominant with a series of measures. These included acquisition planning for those who had never been educated in Catalan during the Francoist regime, and status planning, by which newsreaders, politicians and actors spoke Catalan so that it proved suitable for any kind of setting (Cramer, 2008: 47). Under the current law, Catalan and Castilian coexist in Catalonia, and despite CiU's efforts to promote Catalan over the period of normalisation, many felt that this language was imposed, as a number of the immigrants who had moved from other parts of Spain regarded the use of Castilian to be as legitimate as Catalan. Although CiU achieved a certain success in slowing the shift to Castilian, Catalan is currently a minority language and Castilian continues to advance in

many fields, especially in literature.¹ Whilst CiU made language the major concern in cultural policy, linguistic normalisation has never been of full implementation, since the Catalan institutions lacked and continue to lack the power of legitimation under the domination of the Spanish state.²

One important goal of the project of the normalisation of Catalan culture after the Franco period was the establishment of the Catalan standard language. This was conceived as a collective goal aimed at modernising the language to be used in formal situations, led by the institutions and politicians, with the collaboration of social agents, especially the Catalan media, which played a significant role in the process (Ferrando and Nicolás, 2011: 512-513). However, controversies over the modernisation of Catalan arose in the 1980s and culminated with the publication of *Verinosa llengua* (1986) by Xavier Pericay and Ferran Toutain,³ an essay which questions the model of language in the Catalan media for the divorce between that language and the Catalan spoken in the streets. Whilst the controversy made the breach between linguistic norm and real Catalan more evident, the standard language promulgated by the academic institution Institut d'Estudis Catalans (IEC)⁴ was eventually accepted by professionals and users. Nevertheless, today standard Catalan does not enjoy social prestige. This is made evident by the fact that even politicians and cultural agents show a poor command of the language (Castellanos, 2009: 13). One reason why standard Catalan does not enjoy a high status today is that it occupies a dominated position in the social sphere, something which prevents standard Catalan from being successfully implemented in all areas.

¹ The regional government's efforts to promote the Catalan language and restore its status in the public sphere are notable since the restoration of democracy in Spain after the death of the dictator Francisco Franco in 1975. However, despite the endeavours of the Catalan government to enhance the presence of texts published in Catalan since the enforcement of the 1983 Llei de normalització lingüística (Law of linguistic normalisation), only 27.1% of printed literature (excluding academic books and books for children) in shops in Catalonia is in Catalan, whereas Castilian is the language in which most books are written (Associació d'Editors en Llengua Catalana, 2006: 84). The omnipresence of Castilian in the Catalan speaking territories has led the publishing houses to opt for Castilian translations of worldwide literature, due to Catalan traditional publishing houses merging with Spanish large media groups who often prioritise the broader Castilian-speaking market (Parcerisas, 2008: 17).

² This issue will be discussed in depth in chapter 4.

³ Ferran Toutain and Xavier Pericay are the authors of the seminal book *Verinosa llengua* (1986), the thesis of which advocated a model for Catalan that could reflect how it is really spoken (*català light*) as opposed to a model that encouraged the use of a language that strictly followed the norm (*català heavy*).

⁴ The Institut d'Estudis Catalans (Institute for Catalan Studies) was created by the Catalan government in 1976 as the institution in charge of scientific research into the Catalan language, the establishment of the language norms and the follow-up of the application of the language norms in the Catalan-speaking territories.

As a consequence of the sociolinguistic situation of Catalan, there is a problem with the model of language used in colloquial discourse. Despite the abundance of original texts as well as texts translated into Catalan aiming to reflect this register in both written and audiovisual formats, professionals have not yet been able to devise a model that can harmonise the linguistic norm and spontaneous Catalan. A number of writers and translators believe that the Catalan language presents difficulties of expression and vocabulary resulting in the readership opting for Castilian translations and leaving Catalan for informal use only (Casassas, 2008: 12). This is the case of the Catalan writer, Rosa Regàs, who states that she feels more at ease when writing in Castilian:

Actualment escric en castellà perquè m'és més còmode, perquè em surt millor i hi estic més familiaritzada, i perquè he pres un cert rebuig a un tipus de català dominat per aquesta mena de policia que ens fa parlar d'una manera que detesto. (Boix & Vila, 1998: 164)

I now write in Spanish because I find it more comfortable, because it works better for me and I am more familiar with it, and because I reject this type of Catalan dominated by a sort of police forcing us to speak in a way that I detest. (my translation)

Regàs refers to a normative standard Catalan imposed by the institutions and furthered by the Catalan national television in the 1990s. This language, according to the writer, sounds old-fashioned and prefabricated (1998: 164).

Since literature today reflects all aspects of human life (Niubò, 2009: 94), all registers in use appear on literary texts. In this way, the evolution of literature (as well as films and television series)⁵ in search of verisimilitude results in a greater presence of colloquial registers and it is where, since the colloquial register is the one with the greatest Castilian interference, the problem of Castilianisms becomes all the more relevant.

Colloquial oral Catalan can be distinguished from the written, mainly, by the oral use of syntactic and lexical calques and words phonetically adapted from Castilian (Solana, 2012: 54). Whereas colloquial registers in all languages present non-normative traits

⁵ See chapter 6 on films dubbed into Catalan and the language policy of the national television channel Televisió de Catalunya.

stemming from their spontaneity, Catalan is hampered by prescription, since the Catalan institutions in charge of the linguistic norm are explicitly against Castilian interference in written texts (see chapter 4). In this manner, the discrepancies between what is and is not acceptable in literature still remain unresolved. Hence, my research departs from the analysis of the main problem of colloquial Catalan, which is the distance between this register and the formal expression of the language, and my goal is to devise a flexible model that can minimise Castilian interference and make the text sound natural in literary translation.⁶

To carry out my research I have chosen the text *Fear and Loathing in Las Vegas*, by Hunter S. Thompson, which is characterised by colloquial register and taboo language (see 1.2.), in order to explore the possibilities of translation into Catalan. After analysing the relevant translation theories that apply to the case study (chapter 2) and the strategies to be employed in a hypothetical translation of the novel into Catalan (chapter 3), I study the sociolinguistic situation of Catalan from a diachronic perspective, explaining the factors that have resulted in colloquial Catalan being so distant from normative Catalan (chapter 4). In this chapter, I also explore the limited possibilities that the Catalan institutions have for legitimation due to their subordination to the Spanish state.

In chapter 5, I use Julianne House's functional-pragmatic model of translation assessment to evaluate the translation of *Fear and Loathing in Las Vegas* into Castilian. This analysis shows how norms in the target culture constrain translation and explain the choices made by the translator in a particular case. In this chapter evidence is provided to demonstrate that in all languages the target text is always standardised. This is a tendency identified by Gideon Toury, who states that translations manifest a 'greater level of standardisation than their sources' (1995a: 268). In this manner, the markedness of colloquial registers tends to fade away in favour of more conservative patterns that result in a text that is flatter.

⁶ Whilst Castilian interference in colloquial Catalan is a problem for Catalan writers too, writers have at their disposal other devices to attain a certain degree of verisimilitude in their texts, since they are not accountable for the equivalence between the source and target text. In this sense, the writer Joan Fuster states that there is always a way to overcome the difficulty in Catalan literature when it comes to deciding whether to use archaisms or loan words: this depends on the ingenuity of the writer (Pericay and Toutain, 1996: 282-283). In the case of translation, there has to be a certain degree of equivalence between source and target texts, so the translator is confined to the source text. This issue will be explored in depth in chapters 2 and 7 of this thesis.

In this thesis, not only literary texts but also audiovisual translations into Catalan are analysed. The translation of the film adaptation of *Fear and Loathing in Las Vegas* in Catalan aims to reproduce the features typical of oral language, which is what is investigated in this thesis. Furthermore, the influence of the Catalan media has proved relevant in the way language evolves in Catalonia. Through the analysis of the translation of the film adaptation (chapter 6), I have found that most features are typical of a fabricated colloquial language called *oral mediatitzat* (media oral).

In order to provide a variety of models of colloquial Catalan in translation, I also analyse different models of translation, contrasting the work of translators who use normative Catalan only and others that break the norm by including some Castilianisms. In this chapter (7), I have found that certain Catalan translators are more likely than others to introduce non-normative traits such as Castilianisms.

As a conclusion, I propose a model for translating colloquial registers that should be able to overcome the breach between real oral and normative Catalan, enabling the translation to sound natural without breaking the norm. In this way, I apply features of media oral to two fragments of a hypothetical translation of *Fear and Loathing in Las Vegas*, and I theorise about a possible reception of the translation according to the position of the translator in the social space (following Bourdieu's sociology) and the expectations of the audience in the target culture.

1.2. The source text

The selection of *Fear and Loathing in Las Vegas* responds to the characteristics of this text, as seen above, as the most usual register found in it is colloquial. Since this thesis hopes to describe a model for colloquial Catalan in translated literature, the source text must be representative of this problem. The original is not only special for the presence of colloquial registers in it, but also for its geographical and temporal distance. *Fear and Loathing in Las Vegas* belongs to a literary genre dubbed New Journalism by Tom Wolfe (1973):⁷ in the 1960s, a new style in journalism began to appear, primarily in the United States. Instead of concerning themselves with getting the latest news first, these

⁷ In an anthology of journalism edited by Wolfe and E. W. Johnson (Wolfe, 1973), a manifesto of a new type of journalism appears, in which Wolfe underlines the difference of these texts from conventional journalism, since these pieces incorporate devices which are mainly found in literary works.

writers looked at events from a different perspective and produced texts that could be read for their literary value, rather than their informative worth. These ‘features’ were considered to fall outside the realms of ‘hard news’ and even strayed over the borders of journalism and literature. Wolfe, as a founding proponent of this current, explains how writing journalism that reads as a novel is possible:

What interested me [...] was the discovery that it was possible in non-fiction, in journalism, to use any literary device, from the traditional dialogisms of the essay to stream-of-consciousness, and to use many different kinds simultaneously, or within a relatively short space...to excite the reader both intellectually and emotionally. (1973: 28)

One of the main characteristics of this new style is that it revises the old concept of the narrator’s voice, which is one of the main problems for journalists in seeking objectivity: instead of simply reporting facts, the narrator involves himself or herself in the story by talking directly to the characters. Objectivity, thus, is no longer the primary concern.

In the evolution of New Journalism in the 1960s and 1970s, new techniques were developed, giving rise to texts which allowed the readers to experience an ‘emotional involvement’ (1973: 46). In this respect, Wolfe identifies four devices (1973: 46-47):

- Scene-by-scene construction: this technique consists of telling the story by moving from scene to scene and avoiding historical narrative.
- Record the dialogue in full, since a more realistic dialogue engages the reader by defining the character well.
- Third-person point of view: this technique is to present the scene from the eyes of a character, in the sense that the facts are not simply reported but experienced in the character’s mind.
- Reporting the status details of the scene, such as gestures, habits, manners, customs, styles of furniture, clothing and other symbolic details, like looks, glances, poses or styles of walking.

All these techniques, however, were not regarded as new by contemporary criticism. In this respect, writers and journalists, especially *New Yorker* professionals, criticised

Wolfe ‘for trying to trademark a technique that had existed for over two hundred years’ (Weingarten, 2005: 9), as other writers had existed who paved the way for the development of New Journalism, such as George Orwell and Charles Dickens. Whatever the case, the writers of this current became characters of their own stories and ‘gave events context against the cultural and historical background’ (Sims, 2007: 220). In the 1960s, American readers were in need of a journalistic style which better represented their changing world, with the emergence of new styles, gender roles, music and the ‘anti-Vietnam War sentiment that was sweeping the younger generation’ (Sims, 2007: 221). For this reason, many writers soon realised that the old style of reporting fiction was no longer valid for the modern world, and so they ‘they looked for a new way to interpret and represent events, and they found answers in the New Journalism’ (Sims, 2007: 221) and broke the main principle of journalism by challenging ‘the sacred totem of objectivity’ (2007: 229). In America, society was changing, especially with the mass support for the civil rights movement and the protest against the Vietnam war in the mid 1960s. In this respect, mainstream canonical journalism no longer represented the new American life and culture, and for this reason, the countercultural, personal, private and informal worlds found in New Journalism a means of expression (Hartley et al., 2000: 19).

One of the most representative authors of this current is Hunter S. Thompson, identified in Wolfe and Johnson’s anthology as such, with his novel *Fear and Loathing in Las Vegas*, published in 1971. Before this novel, Thompson had already published *Hell’s Angels: The Strange and Terrible Saga of the Outlaw Motorcycle Gangs* in 1966 by Random House, his first attempt at a non-fiction novel which launched his career as a writer, after having worked as a journalist for several newspapers and magazines in America. His masterpiece came with *Fear and Loathing in Las Vegas*, which was originally printed in two parts by *Rolling Stone* magazine. Thompson’s assignment was primarily set by *Sports Illustrated* to cover the Nevada’s Mint 400 race in 1970, to which he invited his friend, the lawyer Oscar ‘Zeta’ Acosta to join him (Thompson, 2005: n.p.). Thompson was expected to deliver a 1,500 word article about the race, but his piece was rejected since he and his partner abandoned the competition and Thompson did not actually report on the race. The editor Jann Wenner at *Rolling Stone* magazine liked the article and, a few weeks later, Thompson and Acosta returned to Vegas to observe the National District Attorney’s Association Conference on narcotics and dangerous drugs. Thompson compiled both the experience at the race and the

conference in a book and *Rolling Stone* published the text in 1971 as a two-part article. This was illustrated by Ralph Steadman, who had previously worked with Thompson at the Kentucky Derby on a project for *Scanlan* magazine. In 1972, Random House published the hardcover edition of *Fear and Loathing in Las Vegas* with additional illustrations by Steadman.

The novel did not pass unnoticed. Due to its distinctiveness, a new word was coined to describe this new style within the current of New Journalism: 'gonzo' was the term used by Thompson himself and registered for the first time in literature by Bill Cardoso at *Boston Globe* in describing his style (Thompson, 2005: n.p.). Although Thompson is considered to be part of the current of New Journalism,⁸ his particular style was labelled with the name of 'gonzo journalism', which describes a literary journalism with a blurred division between fiction and non-fiction (Harstock, 2000: 200). In this manner, Thompson developed a narrative form which allowed him to report and create fiction at the same time, combining the style of a novel with 'factual journalism in the background' (Weingarten, 2005: 237). Accordingly, Thompson created a character out of his own experience, Raoul Duke, who travelled to Vegas with his attorney, whom he calls Dr Gonzo, in a drug-induced journey in search of the 'American Dream'. This persona created by Thompson allowed him to invent a narrative that would 'move around freely in space and time, moving from internal acidic monologues to brittle comic scenes' (Weingarten, 2005: 248). For this reason, Thompson's style is unique and, by inserting narcotics into his narrative, 'he introduced a hallucinatory element into nonfiction writing, his own kind of magic realism' (Sims, 2007: 259). His narrative frequently explores a surreal space, in which the reader is never quite sure of what is real and what is not. As an example, the two main characters, after the consumption of a mix of acid, ether, alcohol, cocaine, mescaline and cannabis, have visions of wild animals whilst checking in at a hotel in Las Vegas. Thompson aims in this way to depict the decline of American culture and illustrates the death of the so-called American Dream. In this particular context, the hazy atmosphere created in Thompson's prose leaves in the hands of the readers the interpretation of the narrative voice, which is an abstract representation of the writer's mind resulting from a frenzy of drug and alcohol abuse. Thompson's unique style and the amalgam of two genres, fictional novel writing and factual journalism, are factors to be taken into account in a translation.

⁸ Thompson was compiled by Wolfe in his anthology of authors of New Journalism (1973).

In this analysis, the most important traits identified in the source text are the juxtaposition of registers — literary and colloquial —, and the fact that it defies traditional literary genre conventions. In this respect, *Fear and Loathing in Las Vegas* presents a great diversity of linguistic features expressed through different registers which need to be translated by accommodating such variety. The technique of recording dialogues in full for a realistic feel described above is predominant in the text, whilst the literary language in the narrative part of the story also includes traits of colloquial language, induced by the hallucinatory state of the narrator. For these characteristics, such a text is a great challenge to translate into Catalan.

2. Analysis of contemporary translation theories

2.1. Introduction

The discipline of Translation Studies gained its name and scope in Holmes' seminal paper *The Name and Nature of Translation Studies* (1988[1972]). This new field allowed the discipline to broaden so that in the 1970s, functionalist theories of translation represented a move away from the strict linguistics to include an analysis of many contextual features of translation. The new approach focused on, amongst other features, the status that a translation enjoys, and its function within the target culture as a determining factor in the translation. The emergence of systems theories⁹ in the late 1970s and their consolidation in the 1980s and 1990s is also indicative of a new approach in the area of study which would act as a response to the prescriptive linguistic theories that had previously prevailed. Later, in the 1980s, discourse analysis came to prominence in Translation Studies with the aim of examining how language communicates in a sociocultural framework. From the 1980s onwards, the 'cultural and ideological turns' in Translation Studies represented a new stage in the field, since the approaches were more interested in uncovering manipulations in the target text that may be indicative of the translator's ideology. The cultural and ideological turns include studies of changing standards in translation over time, the power exercised in and on publishing industry in pursuit of specific ideologies, feminist writing and translation, translation as an appropriation, translation and colonisation and translation as rewriting (Munday, 2008: 124-136). All these approaches are interested in uncovering manipulations in the target text that may be indicative of the translator's ideology (which may stem from pressure from the publisher, editor or institutional/governmental circles). The role of the translator is thus conditioned by the cultural and political agenda of translation: publishers, commissioners and editors often dictate the translation method. These are factors influencing translation that are explored in the subsequent chapters.

⁹ Systems theories, born as a reaction against a static view of translation in the 1970s and as a branch of Descriptive Translation Studies, saw translation as a system that operates within a larger system in the target culture (see below).

2.2. The position of translated literature

Polysystem Theory saw translated literature as a system operating in the social, literary and historical systems of the target culture. In this framework, the position that a translation has in the target culture conditions the translation strategy. According to Even-Zohar (2004[1978]: 192-197), there are two types of translated literature with regards to their position: primary and secondary. This opposition analyses the position of a certain literature from the angle of its admissibility in repertoires. Accordingly, literature in which all models pertaining to a repertoire are made in full accordance to what is available is literature of a conservative type and it has a 'secondary' position within the system, whereas the innovative literature which restructures a repertoire by introducing new elements has a 'primary' position. In sum, if a certain literature has a primary position, translators do not feel constrained to follow the target literature models and are more prepared to break conventions; if it is secondary, translators tend to use existing target-culture models for the target text.

According to Even-Zohar, the change in this tension between primary and secondary literature happens when a primary model takes over the centre of a system, but it does not take long for this new literature to become conservative: the new literature operating in the centre denotes a new perpetuation of a repertoire and a new conservatism: 'Naturally, once there is a takeover, the new repertoire will not admit elements which are likely to endanger its dominance in the system. The process of 'secondarization' of the primary thus turns out to be unavoidable' (1990: 22).

Also, the canonicity of a certain literature is tied to the relations governing the linguistic system, which are hierarchical. A language is deemed 'standard', 'high', 'vulgar' or 'slang' due to its sociocultural value and not primarily for linguistic reasons. This is why the study of the sociocultural context where the text appears is of great importance:

[T]here is nothing in the repertoire itself that is capable of determining which section of it can be (or become) canonized or not, just as the distinctions between 'standard', 'high', 'vulgar', or 'slang' in language are not determined by the language repertoire itself, but by the language system. (1990: 18)

Polysystem theories tell us that the language status is primarily what influences the reader's perception of literature. Applied to the study of Catalan in translation, the fact that Catalan is in a subordinate position under the dominance of Castilian places Catalan in an inferior status in the eyes of the reader. This is one reason why Catalan translations present problems with regards to the language used, as there is no model of language that can fully overcome this. Whilst the problem of Castilian interference persists, translations tend to be conservative and translators avoid breaking the norm by including non-normative traits such as Castilianisms.

When discussing 'The Position of Translated Literature within the Literary Polysystem' (2004[1978]), Even-Zohar's viewpoint is that the vast majority of translations are conservative, with the exception of literature that is still young; when this lacks repertoires, the translation fills a gap; when it is weak within a larger section of literature, and when it finds itself in a state of crisis or at a turning point (2004[1978]: 163-164). The major clue to this issue is the relationship between the translated literature and the literary contacts within the polysystem, since translated literature, either in a central or peripheral position, contributes actively in shaping the centre of it. This approach does not discriminate against non-canonised models — unlike traditional literary studies —, since these are also expected to contribute in the shaping of the canonised models within the system: the quality of non-dominant models is not called into question but peripheral literature is regarded as an important part of certain literary system. In this respect, when new literary models are emerging, translated literature participates in elaborating the new repertoire. Thus, in the translational process, the translator's concern is to transfer these new models that are to become primary and break domestic conventions, so the translational norms, policies and behaviours depend on the position of this translated literature. This phenomenon therefore allows literature to introduce changes and renew itself by importing models and repertoires from other literatures through translation.

In the Catalan system, the renewal of models is subject to the sociolinguistic situation of the language, which tends to resist foreign interference and follow conservative patterns. Nevertheless, not only the relations of translated literature with their context need to be analysed to understand the resistance to interference in Catalan, but also translators themselves. In polysystem theories, the translated text is the sole object observed in relation with other texts. The core of the theory relies on the text itself

compared to other texts, but it does not take into consideration the agent who makes the translation possible. The translator is, indeed, part of this constellation and yet Polysystem Theory neglects the agent in the analysis. In order to include the translator, other approaches have been put forward. Pierre Bourdieu's sociology is applied to this thesis to include an analysis of the individual involved in the process of translation.

2.3. The status of the translator

The approach discussed so far has viewed how literature and translation interact within systems and how a translation is conditioned by the struggles occurring in this network. Some theorists have detected how polysystem theories are not complete because of the 'lack of consideration for the individuals involved under the phenomenon of translation' (Buzelin, 2005: 203), and in order to unravel this issue, Bourdieu's sociology has been used as 'a way of avoiding this depersonalization of the object' (2005: 203). The application of Bourdieu's theory to Translation Studies helps to reevaluate Polysystem Theory, since his sociology analyses the constraints on acts of translation with regards to the power and control mechanisms of the world.

One of the most important developments introduced by Bourdieu was the view of the world as social practice and not as individual actions: 'For Bourdieu, the social is not derived from aggregation of individuals. The social predates the individual, and the individual is always viewed through his or her membership in some collective history' (Inghillieri, 2005: 128). The concept of social space therefore plays a key role in his sociology. In this space, 'capital', 'field', 'habitus' and 'illusio' are concepts that form Bourdieu's theoretical framework, which moves away from the traditional social science view of the world divided in subject and object only.

The structure of the social space is related to the concept of 'capital' (Bourdieu, 1986: 241-258), which appears in different forms: economic capital — immediately convertible into money —, cultural capital — convertible into economical capital but tied to the time needed for its acquisition — and social capital, which depends on the size of the network of connections which one can mobilise and the volume of capital possessed. The existence of this network is not a natural or social given, but it is the product of an effort to secure material or symbolic profits. This is done through 'consecration', which is 'the symbolic constitution produced by social institution'

(1986: 250). In chapter 4, the study of the Catalan system aims to establish to what extent the subordinate position of the Catalan language and culture under Spain results in the decline of their prestige and symbolic capital.

Bourdieu's theory seeks to explain how social agents' behaviour can be determined without existing recognised rules. 'Habitus' is this set of cognitive dispositions of the agents in the social space (Bourdieu, 1977: 83) which enables the agents to be part of the social world and actively shape it through the distribution of power and acquisition of capital. It is in different fields, according to Bourdieu, where this activity takes place with the laws and institutions of these fields, as 'historically constituted areas' (Bourdieu, 1990: 87) with autonomous social spaces where various forces come into play. The confrontation of the agents and institutions in the field is the activity which enables the acquisition of capital. In this struggle, the concept of 'illusio' appears, which is what allows the agents to participate with their actions in the social space: in other words, 'illusio' is the awareness of the agents involved in the experience.

The position of the agent — in which the figure of a translator is included — in the social space is intrinsically tied to the position he or she occupies in the different fields: his or her position relies on the 'distribution of the powers that are active in each of them' (Bourdieu, 1991: 230). These powers are 'economic capital (in its different kinds), cultural capital and social capital, as well as symbolic capital, commonly called prestige, reputation, fame, etc' (1991: 230-231). In this manner, agents are distributed in a field according to the volume of capital they possess and the weight of the different kinds of capital.

In comparing Polysystem Theory to Bourdieu's sociology, the resemblance of 'habitus' to norms¹⁰ (governing the system) is inevitably seen. In this sense, Simeoni (1998) seeks to accommodate Polysystem Theory in Bourdieu's sociology, including the notion of 'habitus', which unlike norms, integrates the 'structured and structuring' function (Simeoni, 1998: 21-22), that is, it includes the figure of the translator actively contributing to the creation and elimination of norms. On the other hand, other theorists (Gouanvic, 1997 and 2005) have criticised Polysystem Theory as a whole because it does not pay attention to the social function of translation as a cultural product.

¹⁰ According to systems theories of translation, norms are determined by the culture where they are inscribed and translators acquire them in their lifetime by education and socialisation. See a full discussion on norms according to various scholars below (2.4).

In translation, it is necessary to study the 'habitus' of the translator to understand the agent's behaviour: not only the norms in the system are to be considered, but also the individual history of the agent, such as his or her formative experiences or his or her position within the field in relation to the hierarchical distribution of his or her capital. Bourdieu's sociology is thus taken into account in this thesis, integrating the translator into the study to unveil how the target text changes according to his or her symbolic capital. Accordingly, chapter 7 analyses a translation by a professional who possesses symbolic capital in the target culture (Quim Monzó) in order to demonstrate that the position of the translator in the social space conditions the target text.

2.4. Norms in translation

Norms have been a fertile area for research in translation over the last four decades. They have been discussed by scholars in Translation Studies with no agreement with regards to a unitary definition, although in this section the most relevant approaches will be explored in order to establish the boundaries of the concept of norm that will be valid for the analysis of a translated text. According to polysystem theories, translational norms depend on the position of translated literature. In this manner, colloquial Catalan translations occupy a secondary position because norms in the target system are conservative in the way that they do not allow Castilian interference. This resistance to interference is due to the fact that the translator is subject to the target culture's expectations. The following account investigates what is behind these expectations in order to explain who negotiates norms in the target culture.

The notion of norm is not only employed by Translation Studies scholars, but also in all fields related to social interaction since a norm is a convention and it is a product of a society: 'in each community there is a knowledge of what counts as correct or appropriate behaviour, including communicative behaviour. In a society, this knowledge exists in the form of norms' (Schäffner, 1998: 1). In Translation Studies, as seen above, from the decade of the 1970s, the discipline experienced a move away from strict linguistic theories, shifting towards communicative approaches, which abandoned ideas such as Catford's that translation is the replacement of a 'textual material' in one language for its equivalent in another language (Catford: 1965: 20). Instead, these approaches would examine the context in which the text appears. Neglecting the

communicative function of the text to be translated is one criticism which linguistic theories received, since it is not grammar units that are translated but texts in their context. It is the cultural factor which leads scholars to draw their attention to how equivalence¹¹ in translation is gained depending on the norms prevailing in a certain culture. Toury and Hermans are perhaps the scholars who have done most research into the nature of norms beyond the linguistic and textual-linguistic conventions.¹²

Toury's approach on norms and translation needs to be explained starting with his concept of what a translation is. According to Toury (1995a), translations are cultural facts occupying a position in the social and literary systems of the target culture, and it is this position which determines the translation strategies that are employed:

'Translations have been regarded as facts of the culture which hosts them, with the concomitant assumption that whatever their function and identity, these are constituted within that culture and reflect its own constellation' (Toury, 1995a: 24). In this manner, translation is regarded as a means of shaping a culture through textual imports:

'translation activities and their products not only can but do cause changes in the target culture' (Toury, 1995a: 27). Cultures, thus, fill in the gaps with translations, whatever and wherever these spaces are manifested, so the starting point for a translation to be produced will always be a certain need in the target culture. Those deficiencies are filled in by textual entities and models, which are imported into the culture as well. However, translation not only brings about changes through a foreign text, but also has the imprint of the culture where these texts are being received.

Translation is thus a norm-governed activity related to what the receiving culture deems appropriate, valid, adequate or correct. In this sense, according to Toury, norms are what determine the equivalence manifested by translations, and their multiplicity is due to the sociocultural specificity and instability. Toury sees norms as competing to dominate the centre of the system, so that is why it is possible to speak of being 'trendy', 'old-fashioned' and 'progressive' in translation (1995a: 63), as it is in any other behavioural field. Toury uses this definition of norms: '[T]he translation of general values or ideas shared by a community — as to what is right or wrong, adequate or

¹¹ See 2.6 for a comprehensive analysis of equivalence.

¹² Toury and Hermans' insights on norms are compiled in *Translation and Norms*, edited by Christina Schäffner (1998). In this work, Toury states: 'I am probably the one person who would have to take the responsibility — the blame, some will no doubt insist — for having injected the heaviest dose of norms in the veins of Translation Studies in the 1970s and 1980s' (1998: 11). Toury is indeed the scholar who started the discussion from the cultural-specific standpoint of norms in translation.

inadequate — into performance instructions appropriate for and applicable to particular situations’ (1995a: 55).

Chapter 4 explores the link between what is deemed appropriate in the Catalan system and the preservation of a Catalan identity. The political project of the normalisation of Catalan culture starting in the 1980s aimed to protect the Catalan language from an eventual substitution and establish Catalan as the unifying force of the nation.

Resistance to Castilian interference is therefore what institutions advocate in order to prevent the Catalan language from disappearing. Despite this being the mainstream ideology, norms can also be broken as some Catalan translations of both literature and films still present some Castilian and English interference (Alsina, 2002: 147). This is the case of the dubbed version of the film *Killing Them Softly* (2012) in Catalan. In this film, the language is thought to be unnatural at times, since it combines a normative Catalan colloquial register with colloquial words of a Castilian origin such as *gayumbos* (underpants). The head of the linguistic department of the Catalan newspaper *La Vanguardia*, Magí Camps, criticises the model used for the dubbing of this film: ‘[E]ls dobladors pronuncien amb una dicció envejable un text traduït amb exquisida correcció excepte en alguna pinzellada lèxica com les referides. Per això, quan deixen anar uns gayumbos, tot grinyola’ (‘The voice-over actors pronounce with an enviable diction a text translated with an exquisite correction except for some lexical traits such as those previously mentioned. For this reason, when they come out with a word like *gayumbos*, everything screeches’ [my translation]) (2012: n.p.). This example illustrates how Castilian interference results in negative reactions among the audience and that, when the norm is broken, the translation is criticised because the target culture expectations impose a model of language with no foreign interference.

Expectations in the target culture can therefore explain why translators adhere to the mainstream ideology in producing conservative texts in colloquial Catalan. Andrew Chesterman (1997: 64-70) proposes a set of norms distinguishing between expectancy norms and professional norms. According to Chesterman’s view, professional norms concern the translational process itself. These are constrained by expectancy norms and three types can be distinguished: the accountability norm — concerning ethical factors, it assumes the translator is ‘loyal’ to the writer —, the communication norm — of a social nature, it establishes that a translation should favour the communication —, and the relation norm — which implies that the translator makes sure that there is an optimal

relation between the source and target text. Expectancy norms, on the other hand, are established by the expectations of readers of a translation regarding how a given text of the same type should be, and the factors determining these norms are the translation tradition in a given culture, the discourse conventions in that same genre and economic and ideological considerations. Expectancy norms regard the quality of the resultant text and the acceptability or appropriateness of the translation. These are the expectations that result in a translation such as the one above being deemed acceptable.

Although Chesterman's norms explain whether a text is accepted or not in a target culture, there is a problem concerning the authority who decides what is deemed appropriate and what is not, since sometimes society does not have the same notion of appropriateness. As seen above, norms can be broken despite all. Toury argues that 'norms have long been regarded as the translation of general values or ideas shared by a group' (1998: 14) so these norms do not need to be explicitly formulated. Accordingly, every translator will implicitly decide what is appropriate or correct according to his or her education and socialisation. This moves the discussion to the cognitive field: Toury considers the fact that translation might be a cognitive process happening in an individual's brain, but he refrains from opening a debate on 'how, and to what extent, the environment affects the workings of the brain, or how the cognitive is influenced by the sociocultural' (1998: 18). In order to solve the problem of what is going on in the translator's mind when translating, Toury distinguishes between acts of translation (cognitive field) and translation events (the context where the person is doing the translation), the latter being the only issue of interest concerning translation norms. Nevertheless, the discussion on how norms are negotiated and acquired continues to be unresolved.

Norms are constantly being negotiated since they are changeable and culture-specific, but how does the translator acquire them? In Toury's words, 'translation is likely to involve *environmental feedback*, which may come from any other party to the communication event' (1998: 26). Feedback is thus responsible for the establishment of norms, determining implicitly what is appropriate and what is not, influencing the translator's behaviour. According to Toury, translators develop a sort of internal mechanism which allows them to make decisions. This mechanism also contributes to making decisions more automatically if the translator is more experienced (1998: 27). The idea of norms being acquired by socialisation gives us an explanation of how

translators either conform to or violate the norm, but it still does not clarify who negotiates norms, since they change over time and there is a notorious variation within a culture. If norms are competing within a system to dominate it, there must be someone or something that sets the trend.

Hermans' approach regarding norms considers not only the idea of a norm governing a system, but also looks into what norms are tied to in systems. His approach is based on an analysis of 'normativity' in translation in a case study in which he comes to the conclusion that 'social conventions, norms and rules are intimately tied up with *values*' (Hermans, 1999a: 58). A norm is not only a regulation on the behaviour within a community, but also the expectation of this community regarding adherence to the norm. Therefore, a norm is what a community sees as correct or proper, and 'the directive force of a norm is there to secure and maintain these notions and values' (1999a: 58). Hence the dominant values reflect the hierarchies of power in each community, which will see as correct translations through an ideological construct, relative to their linguistic, social, political and ideological conventions (1999b: 85). It is for this reason that Castilian interference is not accepted in translation, since it is overtly against the Catalan ideology, aiming to protect the Catalan language at all costs. If the dominant values in Catalonia are in preserving the language, colloquial registers in literature must not include features such Castilianisms which could favour language substitution.

Nevertheless, the multiplicity of translational norms is evident in a society. In translation, conflicting norms also coexist. Norms serve to maintain the status in a society, securing the notion of what is deemed 'correct'. Therefore, in a society, what is viewed as 'correct' is relative, not only linguistically but also socially, politically and ideologically. Norms will thus maintain the values in a system, decide which will become dominant and will 'reflect the hierarchies of power' (1999a: 58) in the community. It is precisely because a translation is norm-governed and impregnated with values that Hermans sees a translation as never being 'transparent', 'pure', 'innocent' or 'diaphanous', but more likely as a sort of manipulation of the original text: 'If translations were neutral, transparent, unproblematical, they would be dull and uninformative, either in themselves or as documents of cultural history and the history of ideas' (Hermans, 1999a: 114).

The idea of norms as something maintaining the values of the system will be thoroughly explored in chapter 4 when discussing how the political project of the normalisation of Catalan culture aimed to build a nation based on the language as one of its main pillars. As seen by Cramer (2008: 17), according to CiU's cultural policy, 'the Catalan language was the crux of Catalan culture, and that Catalan culture was, in turn, the key to the definition and legitimization of a Catalan national identity'. In this scenario, norms in the translation of colloquial registers in Catalan are tied to this same idea, which presupposes a model of language that does not accept Castilian interference.

Furthermore, translations are a reflection of a community's values, but they are also a reflection of the translator's standpoint, since they 'make choices and take up positions because they have certain goals to reach, personal or collective interests to pursue, material and symbolic stakes to defend' (1999a: 60). According to Hermans, the interplay of the translator and the collective takes place here and this is what makes translators and commissioners social agents. This viewpoint poses the question of the relevance of the translator and commissioner with regards to the negotiation of norms. Are they the ones negotiating them? Anthony Pym (1998: 112) addresses this question and suggests that norms should be studied beyond the 'culture-specific' level and focus on the 'human' factor, that is, the people involved in the development of the norms. The human factor has not been neglected by Chesterman (1997), who developed the theory of the memes¹³ of translation. Chesterman borrows sociobiology's terminology to illustrate the fact that, like genes, memes spread and replicate themselves. According to Chesterman, 'the current pool of translation memes is a highly heterogeneous one, containing traces of all the preceding memes or meme-complexes' (1997: 42). These traces are the cumulation of 'good' ideas which have been passed over time by the agents carrying them. The translator is the carrier of these ideas that develop, spread and change as they are translated, just as in biology, the replication of genes involves mutation (1997: 6). In this manner, the translator does not replicate an idea with no alterations, but he or she modifies and propagates it. Accordingly, the translator, as the carrier of memes, is the agent of change and his aim is not preserving a particular identity but developing and propagating it (1997: 6). According to Chesterman (2000: n.p.), norms are not only constraints for the translator but they are also indicators of the community to which this professional belongs. However, norms can be broken: 'Each

¹³ A meme is an element of a culture that passes from one individual to another by imitation (Chesterman, 1997: 7).

time a translator conforms to a norm, and thus spreads the meme, the norm becomes stronger. But each time someone breaks the norm, it becomes a bit weaker' (2000: n.p.). This suggests that there is an interrelation between norms and translators: norms guide the translator within the limits of what is permitted in his or her community, and at the same time, the translator is responsible for the norms spreading, replicating and changing over time. Norms, thus, 'carry ideas about what a translator should do' (2000: n.p.), but translators are social agents involved in negotiating norms in a certain community by adhering to them or violating them. This thesis examines different views expressed by Catalan translators on either following or breaking the norms in their translations (chapter 4). This allows us to determine the extent to which translators are also norm negotiators in the Catalan system.

So far it has been proved that norms are regulations that change over time and culture because they are socioculturally constrained and tied to the target culture's ideology. However, as pointed out in the introduction, Catalan is not the only language in which translations are standardised, which leads to the question that there must be something beyond target culture norms that governs all translations. The laws of standardisation and interference described by Toury (1995a) explain the common traits that all translations have. The following section will investigate them in order to prove that these laws are also socioculturally constrained.

2.5. Laws or universals of translation?

2.5.1. Laws according to Toury

In the quest to explain translation behaviour, Toury (1995a) attempts theoretical formulations which would explain general tendencies in translation. The formulation of laws in descriptive Translation Studies is derived from the identification norms, within their limited sociocultural context. However, laws of translation are not a list of possibilities or directives, since these do not differ much from recommendations and can be accepted or rejected:

[T]he truth of the matter is that a directive represents little more than a recommendation: while entailing a clear wish to promote one or another mode of behaviour, the kind of behaviour it tries to promote can always be either

accepted or rejected — either followed or ignored — in actual practice. (1995a: 261)

Unlike norms, laws describe a general tendency in translation which occurs with a greater or lesser intensity and are used to explain translation behaviour. Toury's definition of law is as follows: 'if X, then the greater/the lesser the likelihood that Y' (1995a: 256). Through this formula, the idea of a law in translation is not of deterministic but of probabilistic nature, a relevant consideration since laws cannot predict translation behaviour but they can describe it.

Toury's laws are influenced by sociocultural factors. In this sense, laws appear to be conditioned by a series of factors which enhance them or weaken them depending on these constraints. These factors are heterogeneous and may occur all at the same time:

There is no doubt a vast array of factors which have the capacity to influence the selection of a particular translational behaviour or its avoidance. Although we have no real list, it is clear that this array is *heterogeneous* in its very nature: some of the variables are cognitive, others cross-linguistic or socio-cultural, and there are no doubt more. Due to this vastness and heterogeneity, there can be no *deterministic* explanation in Translation Studies. (2004: 15)

The probabilistic nature of laws allows the conditioning factors to happen all at the same time, whereas a deterministic view would result in contradictory laws. Toury observes that laws are probabilistic because the set of factors in a particular sociocultural context can be described in each situation:

After all, a translator is male or female, older or younger, more or less experienced, more or less tired, under greater or lesser time-pressure, translating into a strong(er) or weak(er) language of his or hers, well- or less-paid, belonging to a more or less tolerant society, and so on and so forth, *all at once*, not one at a time; a tangled knot which will have to somehow be unraveled, at least for methodological purposes, and its different constituents put in some *hierarchical* order: more and less potent, more and less translation-specific, and the like. (2004: 25)

A deterministic reasoning would imply that ‘if a, then b’, whereas a probabilistic one reads as ‘if a, then the greater/the lesser the likelihood that b’, so laws do not contradict each other and appear strong or weak depending on each case:

[E]ven though basic cognitive capacities are probably universal, it may well be that the way they manifest themselves in individual instances is socio-culturally constrained too, or else they would immediately be marked as deviated from dominant patterns of behaviour, with all that this implies. (1995a: 272)

Toury’s laws of translation consist of two formulae and they do not contradict each other but instead correlate. The first law is called the ‘law of growing standardisation, which can also be presented as the law of “the conversion of textemes to repertoires” (1995a: 267): ‘in translation, source-text textemes tend to be converted into target-language (or target-culture) repertoires’ (1995a: 268). This means that a source-text feature tends to be replaced by another which is more common in the target text. On the basis of this, Toury proceeds with the following formulation: ‘[I]n translation, textual relations obtaining in the original are often modified, sometimes to the point of being totally ignored, in favor of [more] habitual options offered by a target repertoire’ (1995a: 268).

For this reason, translations manifest a ‘greater level of standardisation than their sources’ (1995a: 268) as they tend to opt for more habitual features in the target culture. Toury expresses it in still another way which allows us to identify translation shifts that produce more common options in the target repertoire: ‘in translation, items tend to be selected on a level which is lower than the one where textual relations have been established in the source text’ (1995a: 269). According to Toury, a translation will be conditioned under certain circumstances and the law will manifest itself with a greater or lesser intensity. These variables conditioning the translation are the sociocultural factors which affect the degree of flexibility of the law upon the individual. All in all, the tendency is that the translator will use patterns existing in the target culture and thus will favour conservatism: ‘translation tends to assume a *peripheral* position in the target system, generally employing secondary models and serving as a major factor of conservatism’ (1995a: 272). This is a common occurrence in translation unless occupying a central position due to a lack of repertoire or because the target culture is weak or new.

The second law of translation behaviour as described by Toury reads: ‘in translation, phenomena pertaining to the make-up of the source text tend to be transferred to the target text’ (1995a: 275). This view sees translation interference as a ‘default’ in the way that linguistic features in the source text tend to be reproduced in the target text, whether they are positive or negative:

[T]hey manifest in the form of *negative transfer* (i.e., deviations from normal, codified practices of the target system), or in the form of *positive transfer* (i.e., greater likelihood of selecting features which do exist and are used in any case). (1995a: 275)

Toury also explains how resistance to interference happens in certain cultures through censorial mechanisms. The norms governing the translation pertaining to the target culture will interfere ‘inasmuch as the translator has internalized the *norms* pertinent to a culture, and uses them as a constant monitoring device’ (1995: 278). On the other hand, tolerance to interference will increase when the source culture is more prestigious, so the import of models is accepted, especially if the target culture is weak. More to the point, it is not only sociocultural factors that foster or hinder this tendency, but also the text-type, and even in the same text, interference and tolerance may vary.

Toury asserts that, whereas there is an attempt to reproduce the features of the source text as closely as possible (law of interference), there is also an effort to produce texts accommodating the target culture’s most common features (law of growing standardisation). This would appear as a contradiction between both laws. However, due to the probabilistic nature of laws, this can be resolved, since the social conditions will differ depending on each act of translation and within the same text, so both laws can happen at the same time. On the linguistic level, therefore, a translation can present standardisation and/or interference, depending on the sociocultural factors.

2.5.2. Universals according to Baker

So far, two laws of translation of probabilistic nature have been described. As these are conditioned by sociocultural factors, they cannot be considered ‘universals’ because they are unconstrained. Nevertheless, translation theorist Mona Baker (1993) attempts

to single out linguistic features in translations that appear as universals unrelated to language pairs. According to Baker, universals of translation are ‘features which typically occur in translated texts rather than original utterances and which are not the result of interference from specific linguistic systems’ (1993: 243).

These features concern explicitation, simplification, normalisation and levelling out. According to Baker, explicitation is ‘an overall tendency to spell things out rather than leave them implicit’ (1996: 180). In this sense, Baker analyses an English corpus of translated texts in comparison to non-translated texts with the aim of demonstrating that there is a wider use of the particle ‘that’ after the verbs ‘say’ and ‘tell’ in translations, suggesting that there is a higher level of explicitness on the grammatical level. Simplification is ‘the tendency to simplify the language used in translation’ (Baker, 1996: 181). These features imply ‘making things easier for the reader’ (Baker, 1996: 182) and, as an example, Baker mentions the changes of punctuation in translations, which tends to be simplified. Simplification also leads to ‘explicitness’, since there is a tendency to resolve ambiguity selecting a particular interpretation and excluding another. According to Baker, there is a clear ‘overlap between simplification and explicitation’ (1996: 182). The third feature, that of normalisation, is defined as ‘a tendency to exaggerate features of the target language and to conform to its typical patterns’ (1996: 183), for instance, avoiding experimental practices and preferring ‘normalised punctuation’ in translated texts (1996: 184). The feature of leveling out is described as ‘the tendency of translated text to gravitate towards the centre of a continuum’ (1996: 184). In other words, a translation tends to move away from extremes. For example, ‘the individual texts in an English translation corpus are more like each other in terms such as lexical density, type-token ratio and mean sentence length than the individual texts in a comparable corpus of original English’ (1996:184).

Baker links explicitation and simplification, since they both describe the tendency to make things easier, but the features of normalisation and levelling out also lead to the replacement of a source-text feature by another which is more common in the target language repertoire. Also, Toury’s law of growing standardisation implies that translations tend to use patterns existing in the target culture favouring conservatism. This is related to Baker’s feature of normalisation, since a translation avoids experimentalism and tends to conform to the common structures pertaining to the target language. The feature of leveling out can also be linked to normalisation, in the sense

that translations avoid extremes and tend to gravitate towards a centre of a continuum, which is also linked to using more habitual options in the target culture.

The four universal features described by Baker are grouped together by Pym in Toury's law of standardisation (Pym, 2008: 12). Baker's universals are useful to describe on a linguistic level the shifts occurring in a translation as a classification of particular features only occurring in translation. However, though these features are convenient to analyse textual corpora, they must be seen as tendencies constrained by sociocultural factors. Furthermore, as noticed by Pym, despite putting forward four universals of translation, Baker does not mention anything about Toury's law of interference:

With respect to the actual universals proposed by Baker, we might be concerned about two aspects. First, all four propositions appear to be saying much the same thing. Second, they all seem to elaborate Toury's law of standardisation, without touching his proposed law of interference. That is, Baker might have taken half of what was available in Toury then divided that half into four. (2008: 10)

Toury's law of interference is also necessary to explain how sociocultural factors constrain a translation. Since this law is more or less likely to be applicable depending on the social conditions, it does not contradict the law of growing standardisation. More to the point, the law of interference is expected to manifest itself when the source culture is more prestigious, so the translation will be more close to the original with more presence of foreign features. Pym states: 'The actual relation here seems fairly evident, since "interference" effectively means imitating the foreign, and no one imitates something that has no prestige' (2008: 13).

Pym (2008: 17) provides a very illustrative example on the correlation of both laws because it elucidates the fact that sociocultural factors will decide on one law or another: during the process of translation, the individual may find himself or herself in doubt. In the process of making a decision, limited by time and available resources, the translator has to take the minimum risk, so he or she goes for the most common option in the target culture (law of growing standardisation). However, the translation

memory¹⁴ gives him or her another option, which comes with the authority of the job itself. Although this option might not be the most habitual in the target culture, the translator opts for it since it is of a lower risk (law of interference). The translator thus can either choose an option which seems normal (standardisation), or go for something more authoritative for which someone else can be responsible (interference). Pym proposes a unification of the laws and proves that translator's behaviour is related to taking the minimum risk in communication (2008: 19): 'Our proposed unification has reached this point: Translators tend to standardize language or to channel interference because these are two main ways of reducing or transferring communicative risk'. Pym's example proves that both laws interact and happen within the same text depending on external factors related to the sociocultural context. The Catalan system is not exempt from this, as it is proved in the following section.

2.5.3. Socioculturally constrained laws: an example

Toury's laws alternate in the same text and one or another applies depending on each situation. The question of how this occurs without contradiction has been analysed from a theoretical perspective. The following are examples drawn from J.D. Salinger's compilation of short stories entitled *Nine Stories* (1953[1991]) and its translation by Quim Monzó (2009).

The target text tends to use a very common range of terms and expressions typical of colloquial registers. These recurrent renditions are present in various instances for different source words and expressions. In this case, the translation shows an evident tendency to accommodate more habitual options from the target culture repertoire (law of growing standardisation), even though this entails repeating linguistic material. In Baker's words, this would prove how the lexical variety within a translation text (type-token ratio) is lesser than in the original (Baker, 1996: 183).

ST: 'Goddam pain' (48)

TT: 'Un dolor de l'hòstia' (71)

ST: 'Doesn't it sting a helluva lot?' (45)

¹⁴ Translation memory systems are databases containing source-language segments and their target-language equivalents. A translation memory is a tool used in the machine-aided translation process (Freigang, 1998: 177-178).

TT: ‘Oi que cou l’hòstia?’ (67)

ST: ‘Take it, for Chrissake’ (50)

TT: ‘Agafa’l, hòstia’ (73)

ST: ‘Bought it last night in a goddam delicatessen’ (50)

TT: ‘El vaig comprar ahir nit, en una xarcuteria de l’hòstia’ (73)

In the same work, the translator has to deal with a specific field related to US culture. Terminology pertaining to baseball, where the source culture is the main exporter of this sport, is rendered in the source language employing loan words, despite their Catalan correspondents existing and being recommended by the language authority in Catalonia. Cultural specificity is shown with no changes in the target text:

ST: ‘fielder’, ‘inning’, ‘catcher’, ‘plate’ (65)

TT: ‘fielder’, ‘inning’, ‘catcher’, ‘plate’ (93)

The institutions regulating the language recommend the use of the equivalent words in Catalan as long as there exist. Termcat,¹⁵ the centre for terminology in the Catalan language, suggests the following translation: fielder: *campista*; inning: *entrada*; catcher: *receptor*, and plate: *base de meta*, the translator’s choice is to use source language terms, despite having an equivalent in Catalan (law of interference), due to the specificity and the authority of the source text in this field. In this manner, when the source culture is authoritative, the law of interference comes into action. Pym explains this phenomenon: ‘if the source text or culture is authoritative or prestigious, it makes sense to allow that authority or prestige to absorb risk (thus producing interference)’ (2008: 19). Therefore, the translator uses foreign terms for a specific field which is not typical of the Catalan culture and is associated with a specific foreign culture which is very well known and representative of that specific area.

Thus, the two laws alternate in a translation. In Descriptive Translation Studies, empirical research has supported the search for laws, with the aim of finding a ‘scientific’ result through analysis of corpora. As seen by Tymoczko, there is a tendency to prioritise the objective over the subjective, since a great number of scholars ‘promote

¹⁵ Termcat was established in 1985 by the Catalan Government and Institut d’Estudis Catalans (IEC).

and justify corpus-based approaches on the grounds that such studies will uncover and establish universal laws of translation' (1998: 2). However, corpora analyses in Translation Studies are also interpretations or selections made by individuals, who, at the same time, pertain to a culture in a particular period of time. Therefore, results derived from corpora analysis (Corpora Translation Studies, CTS) will also be determined by ideological factors:

[A]s with any scientific or humanistic area of research, the questions asked in CTS will inevitably determine the results obtained and the structure of the databases will determine what conclusions can be drawn. In that sense then, corpora are again to be seen as products of human sensibility, connected with human interests and self-interests. (Tymoczko, 1998: 3)

Indeed, Translation Studies, like any other discipline, seeks generalisations, but these too are culture-bound. This is why universals as a non-constrained feature in translation are not viable, although they are still valid for a better understanding of the shifts occurring in translation. Chesterman states that 'less-than-universals claims can still be interesting and valuable. Any level of generalization can increase understanding' (2004: 43). Although the representativeness of corpus analysis can be a problem since it can derive from an individual subjective selection of texts, it allows the realisation of features that only happen in translation in comparison to originals. These are, according to Chesterman, S-Universals, hypotheses which 'claim to capture differences between translations and their source texts' (2004: 39). S-Universals are derived from corpora analysis employing source and target texts. Perhaps Chesterman's best contribution to the issue is that a distinction must be made between S-Universals and T-Universals, the latter being 'claims about universal differences between translations and comparable non-translated text' (2004: 39). However, the selection of non-translated texts is also subjective and the question to what extent this textual material is representative for empirical research to formulate laws, remains unresolved. Therefore, this argument supports the idea that laws (or less-than-universals claims) of translation are culture-bound: translation tendencies are only probabilistic, as seen by Toury, and the analysis through corpora will also reflect a certain ideology.

In the previous analysis, norms and laws have been scrutinised with a view to unveiling what is behind translation, that is, what the constraints throughout the process are, from

the choice of the text to the printed version. Translations are assumed to have an original, a text which is claimed to be the source and the equivalence manifested between both texts is what allows the target text to achieve the status of translation. In Translation Studies, how equivalence between source and target texts is manifested in translation has long been the object of investigation. The following section seeks to explore the concept of equivalence to show that it is something which works on the basis of functionality and that equivalence is materialised in one particular way or another within the sociocultural environment in which the text unfolds.

2.6. Equivalence

2.6.1. Types of equivalence

The debate over equivalence occupied a central position in the field of translation in the 1960s and 1970s. The relationship between a source and a target text in translation was measured through the degree or type of equivalence. Linguistic theories were based on the idea that translation was an exchange of textual material which entailed ‘the replacement of textual material’ in the source language for its ‘equivalent’ in the target language (Catford, 1965: 20). Eugene Nida and Charles Taber (1969: 12) also defined translation according to equivalence: ‘Translating consists in reproducing in the receptor language the closest natural equivalent of the source language message, first in terms of meaning and secondly in terms of style’. These views, however, do not anticipate that two languages might not have the same values and hence their relationship cannot be symmetric.

Nida (2004[1964]) did take into consideration the fact that two languages are not identical, for which reason there cannot be total correspondence between two pairs and translations cannot be ‘fully exact’ (2004[1964]: 153). Since a text can be rendered in more than one way, there is something else involved in the process of translation. Consequently, Nida claims that there are different types of translations according to their messages and purposes and so there are also two types of equivalence: ‘formal’ and ‘dynamic’. Whereas formal equivalence focuses on the message (form and content), dynamic equivalence is not so concerned with matching the source and target language message, but with the message relationship, which should be the same in both source and target (2004[1964]: 156). In any case, Nida asserts that in translation one must find

the closest equivalent in the target language: ‘A translation of dynamic equivalence aims at complete naturalness of expression, and tries to relate the receptor to modes of behaviour relevant within the context of his own culture’ (2004[1964]: 156).

Whilst formal equivalence is literal, oriented to the source text structure, dynamic equivalence is functional, and in order to achieve naturalness in translation one can consider adaptations of grammar, lexicon and cultural references. In other words, whereas formal equivalence stays close to the source text, dynamic equivalence departs from the source form, using strategies that do not come from the source text but the target language repertoire. Linguistic theories are interested in finding the “natural” equivalent but the question is what the translator is supposed to do when there are no natural, obvious equivalents in the target language. Pym (2010: 13-14), in the search for natural equivalence, observes that the translator finds himself or herself using strategies which do not attain a natural equivalence, since loan words and calques are used when there are no obvious equivalents in the target language. Thus, ‘directional’ equivalence must be sought, achieved through replacing textual material in one direction, from source to target text, without there being a reciprocal relationship between both. For this, if a text is translated from A to B, and then B to A, the resultant text is not necessarily the same as the one at the starting point (Pym, 2010: 25).

A similar view of equivalence is that put forward by Peter Newmark (1981: 31), who distinguishes between ‘semantic’ and ‘communicative’ translation:

[C]ommunicative translation attempts to produce on its readers an effect as close as possible to that obtained on the readers of the original, semantic translation attempts to render, as closely as the semantic and syntactic structures of the second language allow, the exact contextual meaning of the original.

A communicative translation is thus concerned with adapting the translation to the audience and, again, deals with the changes made by the translator to achieve a certain type of equivalence.

John Catford (1965) also makes the distinction between ‘formal correspondence’ and ‘textual equivalence’. Formal correspondence is a target language category which occupies the same place in the source text; in other words, a target language unit which

plays a role in the target system as a source language unit plays in the source system. For instance, it can be said that the French word *fenêtre* occupies the same position in the system as its formal correspondent *window* in English. On the other hand, textual equivalence happens in a particular occasion, tied to a particular source and target text. What Catford calls a 'shift' is the alterations made to a text when there is a departure from formal correspondence in the translational process (1965: 73).

'Directional', 'communicative' and 'textual' equivalence deal with the changes carried out in the target text to achieve a certain type of equivalence and, although they are a move away from the strict word-for-word equivalence, these theories do not take into account that a message cannot have the same 'equivalent effect' in different times and cultures (Munday, 2008: 43). Whilst directional equivalence paradigms differentiate two types of equivalence only, Werner Koller sees more options available according to the function of the source text. He describes five types of equivalence: denotative, connotative, text-normative, pragmatic and formal (1989[1979]: 99-104). This view is related to a particular set of source and target texts according to their communicative function, in which the type of equivalence will be hierarchically ordered. Koller considers that the strategies employed by translators depend on the type or nature of text, and, through its analysis, the translator must identify the characteristics of the text. How this order of priority must be established is, however, not exemplified.

Katharina Reiss builds on the concept of functional equivalence suggesting different translation methods according to text type. In this manner, she establishes three forms of texts which go beyond a linguistic or cultural context: informative, expressive and operative texts (2004[1971]: 171). Accordingly, these text types in the source language should have the same function in the target language. Despite this insight contributing to a move from lower linguistic levels towards a communicative approach to translation based on text-types, some texts do not easily fit in with these types and this is where the problems arise. Though Reiss herself admits there are mixed forms with various functions (2004[1971]: 172), the question of how to find its predominant one is unresolved. A text might be informative in its main function, but it can also contain features which are expressive in the source culture, something that might be dealt with in a different manner in the target culture. Thus, the coexistence of various functions in the same text weakens this approach, which does not consider the sociocultural factors surrounding the translational act.

2.6.2. The conditions in which equivalence is achieved

The main issue is that if equivalence is sought through comparing source and target text (whether it is according to the audience for which the text is intended or according to the text's function), only linguistic factors are taken into account. A new step was taken in the 1980s when Functional theories regarded translation as purpose-driven action. *Skopostheorie* (Vermeer, 2004[1989]), as analysed in the previous chapter, sees translation as an activity which depends on the goal (*skopos*) which is to be achieved:

The source text does not determine the variety of the target text, nor does the text variety determine *ipso facto* the form of the target text (the text variety does not determine the *skopos*, either), rather, it is the *skopos* of the translation that also determines the appropriate text variety. (1989[2004]: 238)

Equivalence, thus, is no longer a central issue. Rather, the purpose of a translation is what determines the relationship between source and target text. Partly, this insight brings us back to the idea of 'dynamic equivalence' as named by Nida: Vermeer's emphasis on the translator's goal and commission reminds us of the functionalism inherent in the concept of 'dynamic equivalence', to achieve the desired effect for a specific type of audience. Vermeer's functionalism, though, focuses on the role of the client and the commission which dictates the translation strategies, and not on the 'equivalent effect' achieved and the changes which this process entails. While this theory is a step towards moving away from linguistic theories, Skopos Theory is not useful for identifying the changes occurring in a target text. If equivalence must be sought at all levels, the goal of a translation does not necessarily prove that equivalence is achieved and the linguistic analysis of translation strategies can still be carried out separately.

Although Toury's contribution to translation theory is not far from this view, since translation is also seen as a target-oriented process, the difference is that his descriptive methodology also incorporates the sociocultural role of the target text, embedded in a particular culture with its own norms. In translation, norms 'determine the (type and extent of) equivalence manifested by actual translations' (Toury, 1995a: 61). As explored above, norms are culture-specific, related to a certain society and a particular period of time. Toury assumes that equivalence is something that exists in translation

and the degree to which this equivalence is achieved in a pair of texts is explained by the norms governing the target culture. The relationship between source and target text according to what he calls the 'initial norm' (as seen in 2.3) leads to a translation being deemed 'adequate' if the source text norms prevail, or 'acceptable', if the target text norms are predominant (Toury, 1995a: 56-59). The significance of this approach lies with the fact that Toury does not focus on whether there is equivalence between two pairs; rather, he is concerned with how this equivalence is realised and so one can discern the factors constraining a translation in a particular culture and time.

Both Toury's and Vermeer's approaches move away from linguistic theories of translation to focus on the conditions in which a translation occurs, with the constraints derived from the goal of the translation dictated by the commissioner, according to Vermeer, or from the sociocultural factors pertaining to the target culture, according to Toury. The importance of these views is that equivalence does not occur in a one way linear process in translation; rather, it is an unequal exchange of values determined by the culture in which the translator has been educated and socialised. Therefore, there is not *a priori* equivalence in which two texts are compared, but there is a particular relationship between two texts for which equivalence is assumed to exist. As seen by Pym, equivalence is a product of translation tied to the agents who make it possible:

Equivalence, no matter what its nature, does not simply exist between locales. Equivalences are created by internationalization or translation of one kind or another. They are necessary fictions without necessary correlative beyond the communication situation. In this sense, translation is not a mapping of one function onto another; it is a productive function in itself. Translational equivalence is thus ultimately determined by what translators actually do or have done in the past, and not by abstract comparisons between falsely discrete languages or cultures. (2004: 62)

The debate is thus no longer about equivalence itself, but how or in which conditions this equivalence is achieved. Toury's notion of equivalence is that of an empirical fact which can be established after the translational act as a result of what a translator does or has done with a text, and for this reason Pym observes that equivalence cannot revolve around comparisons between two languages or cultures. Equivalence between texts or cultures is thus no longer useful as it is the translator who establishes the

relationship between source and target texts according to the conditions in which he or she operates. Since the debate over types of equivalence has been settled thanks to a sociocultural approach, the relevant issue now is to unveil what happens in translation, or what the factors are which condition equivalence in translation.

2.6.3. Visibility

The translator's visibility is today the centre of attention for many translation scholars. Lawrence Venuti advocates the visibility of the translator to signal the difference of a foreign text. Translation is regarded as an ideological activity 'because it releases the domestic remainder, an inscription of values, beliefs, and representations linked to historical moments and social positions in the receiving culture' (2004: 498). The ideological nature of translation, according to Venuti, needs to be brought to the fore, since the norms as identified by Toury in the target culture, are not value-free, but carry 'ideological force in serving the interests of specific groups' (Venuti, 1998: 29).

Hermans explains how equivalent texts are not translations, since a translation in which the translator is absent is never possible:

Only a translation purged of the translator's presence allows consumers to indulge the fiction of equivalence. The illusion of equivalence demands the elision of the translator as a subject in the text. Equivalence spells not only the end of translation but also the death of the translator. (2007: 27)

The translator's imprint is something that cannot be deleted from the text: since a text can be rendered in more than one way, the translator will choose one option over another and his or her style will be present in the target text: 'For as long as a translation remains a translation, then, it will always have a translator's presence and therefore a translator's subject position inscribed in it, however well hidden they may be' (Hermans, 2007: 27).

Mona Baker (2000) investigates whether the 'style' of the translator can be traced by comparing two translations of the same text by two translators, Peter Clark and Peter Bush. Her aim is to unveil the assumed creativity of the translator and identify the patterns of their style through their linguistic choices. According to Baker, translation

has always been seen as ‘derivative rather than creative activity’ (2001: 244), which has resulted in the common idea that the translator should not be noticed in the translation. As a result of her research, Baker identifies ‘patterns of choice which together form a particular thumb-print or style of an individual literary translator’ (2001: 260). As seen by Hermans, the translator cannot be removed from translations because a translator also has linguistic preferences that mark the language used:

The translating subject cannot be elided or eliminated from translations because, as a form of text-production, translating requires deployment of linguistic means in the host language, and this will involve dimensions other than those of the original. As a result, the translator’s utterances are necessarily marked, revealing a discursively positioned subject. (2007: 28)

In this sense, whilst equivalence is sought in translation, all translations have a sign of their translator inscribed in them. The invisibility of the translator is the principle governing equivalence, as the translator’s subjectivity would be rejected by the receiver, who would not believe that a text is a translation if presented with translator interference. Nevertheless, the translator’s presence continues to exist. In effect, translation is governed by the principle of equivalence, but it is an equivalence which works as a contract with the reader, who will deem the translation unsatisfactory if equivalence is not manifested.

How a translation “speaks”, despite equivalence, is something that has also been investigated by Pym (2004), who states that there are two maxims representing translation, which are inseparable from equivalence: the maxim of ‘first-person displacement’ and the maxim of ‘translational quantity’ (2004: 70). The first one is concerned with the idea that a translator cannot occupy an “I” position in the text, and the second one is related to the length of the text, whether there is more or less material in the translation compared to its source. In relation to the ‘first-person displacement’, however, there is no need to use personal pronouns to make the first person noticed in the text. As seen by Pym, ‘the simple fact of linguistic variation means that every time we speak about the world, we also give information about ourselves, and even about our relative anonymity’ (2004: 71). This is why equivalence is relevant to this thesis, as registers are social varieties that are used according to the language situation. As chapter 7 explores, colloquial registers are also linked to dialects, which are in turn

related to their geographical origin. Colloquial Catalan as spoken in the streets reflects a language only identifiable with Catalonia (and not with the source text's geographical area). Using this variety would break the principle of equivalence, the contract which the reader enters into when he or she is reading a translation. Colloquial is a marked register that reflects values inscribed in the target culture and it reveals certain features typical of real colloquial Catalan, such as Castilian interference. Therefore, using real colloquial registers would result in breaking the equivalence that should exist between source and target texts.

Furthermore, Mary Snell-Hornby (1988) denies the possibility of equivalence in translation, calling it an 'imprecise and ill-defined' concept because it 'presents an illusion of symmetry between languages which hardly exists beyond the level of vague approximations and which distorts the basic problems of translation' (1988: 22). Pym (1995: 163-164; 2011: 38-39) criticises Snell-Hornby for presuming that equivalence means that there is symmetry between languages. Indeed, Nida had already noticed that languages are not identical by formulating the concept of 'dynamic equivalence'. The notion of equivalence thus could be an illusion in terms of language correspondence, but a necessary one for which translation and non-translation can be distinguished. As Pym sees it, equivalence is an illusion in which we believe thanks to the translator's work: '[T]he translator is an equivalence producer, a professional communicator working for people who pay to believe that, on whatever level is pertinent, A is equivalent to B' (1995: 167).

Equivalence, thus, is a belief that works on the basis of functionality and it is norm-governed, since it is the translator who establishes the relationship between source and target texts according to the conditions in which he or she works. The question is how equivalence is realised and how the translation and the pre-existing text relate, so the task is to investigate the sociocultural conditions in which equivalence is achieved. If equivalence is norm-governed, the study of the context in which norms operate needs to be studied. The elements pertaining to the Catalan culture and constraining the translation and the translator will be explored in chapter 4.

2.7. Translation, patronage and prestige

Translations are thought to have a great impact on cultural change so far as they are considered literary tools that social institutions have at their disposal ‘to “manipulate” a given society in order to “construct” the kind of “culture” desired’ (Gentzler and Tymoczko, 2002: xiii). This is the case of the translation of some canonical works in Quebec, where translation has been used as proof of the existence of an independent language, ‘Québécois’, as opposed to French (Brisset, 2004[1990/1996]: 337-368). These translations are an attempt to legitimise their language by ‘elevating it from its status as a dialect’ (2004[1990/1996]: 341) and making it valid for its people as a literary language that can replace French. In this manner, translations of masterpieces such as *Macbeth* into ‘Québécois’ look for a distinct language because French is no longer ‘sufficient’ for readers, since is not only linguistically different from the language spoken in Quebec, but it is also an identity indicator of a territory (2004[1990/1996]: 346). In this sense, the role of translation in the construction of cultures is manifested through translations which obey a certain ideology derived from the intention of creating a particular kind of culture.

Systems theory draws attention to translation being embedded in a particular context, that is, in a literary system consisting of many other systems in a dynamic network. Translators are principal actors in this systems network and play a social role in the receiving culture, since their duty should be to the target culture: ‘translators operate first and foremost in the interest of the culture *into* which they are translating, and not in the interest of the source text, let alone the source culture’ (Toury, 1985: 18-19). Accordingly, translation is an activity which cannot be separated from its cultural significance.

Drawing critically on systems theories,¹⁶ Lefevere (1992) seeks to demonstrate how translations play a very important part in the evolution of literature by claiming that they are rewritings, responsible for the ‘manipulation’ of the original to make it ‘fit in with the dominant, or one of the dominant ideological and poetological currents of their time’ (1992: 8). According to this view, translations manipulate through the projection of the image of an author and/or work in another culture (1992: 9). In this manner,

¹⁶ Lefevere states that he departs from ‘the systems thinking as a heuristic construct’ and that the purpose of the book is not to contribute to the general systems theory (1992: 12).

according to Lefevere, translation is ‘the most obviously recognizable type of rewriting’ because it allows the foreign text to exist beyond its original cultural border (1992: 9). For Lefevere, the same process is ‘at work in translation, historiography, anthologization, criticism, and editing’ (1992: 9). Furthermore, these rewritings are not innocuous — although not necessarily ill-intentioned —, but they are instruments associated with power, manipulation and ideology. Since translation always cooperates with domestic values, it serves a purpose, which depends on the interests of those who initiate the translation. The chosen text or the guidelines followed in the translatorial action are the constraints which the translator experiences. Translation, thus, as an act of rewriting, is controlled by professionals within the literary system (including critics and reviewers) and patronage outside the literary system (powerful individuals, groups of people, such as publishers and media, and institutions, such as academies, journals and the educational system.) Inside the system, professionals will ‘repress certain works of literature that are too blatantly opposed to the dominant concept of what literature should (be allowed to) be — its poetics — and of what society should (be allowed to) be — ideology’ (Lefevere, 1992: 14). Outside the system, there is a second element of control, patronage, which is more interested in ideology than poetics because ‘the patron “delegates authority” to the professional where poetics is concerned’ (1992: 15).

Patronage, in this manner, is a control factor that stands over professionals and dictates the ideology which the professional has to adhere to, in the way that certain literature will be hindered or furthered according to the patron’s ideology. These patrons can be persons, such as the Medici or Maecenas, or groups of persons, such as religious bodies or political parties and they ‘try to regulate the relationship between the literary system and the other systems, which, together, make up a society, a culture’ (1992: 15).

Patrons, thus, will foster the dominant ideology in an attempt to preserve it. Lefevere highlights that the patron’s goal is to maintain ‘the stability of the social system as a whole’ (1992: 17) and that will be the canon of literature despite there existing another type of literature in the system which might be called ‘dissident’ which will find it difficult to be published in the mainstream channels.

This is the case in Catalonia of Noucentisme poetry, which was seen by the intellectuals as the high, prestigious genre, as opposed to narrative. Poetry conveyed to perfection the elaborate and artificial language which the intellectuals of Noucentisme advocated, and this is one reason Carles Riba chose poetry for his translation of Homer’s *Odyssey*:

although he tried a first draft as a prose novel, he insisted on recuperating the poetic essence of Homer's work, as he aimed to consolidate the ideological force of the classic Greek work in the genre which held sway in the target culture of that time (Parcerisas, 2009: 263). For the same reason, the translation of Homer's *Odyssey* into English by E.V. Rieu was conceived as a prose novel, with a plain and intelligible language aimed at the mass readership,¹⁷ since it was the continuation of a settled tradition of other narrative versions from the nineteenth century (Parcerisas, 2009: 263). The English translation, thus, was also serving a purpose in its target culture.

Similarly, Lefevere also highlights the significance of 'refractions' (2004[1982]: 239-255), that is adaptations of a work imported from literature made available for another audience with the aim of influencing how the audience reads it. He does not only refer to translation itself, but also to criticism, commentary, historiography, teaching, etc. These refractions show the existence of constraints not only related to the difference between languages, but also to the way in which language reflects culture. As an example, Lefevere analyses the translation of Bertolt Brecht's *Mutter Courage und ihre Kinder*, by Eric Bentley, into English, in which 'Käs auf Weissbrot' is translated as 'cheese on pumpernickel', and not the more literal 'cheese on white bread', through the assumption that the reader expects Germans to use this type of bread since Germany is where this bread originally came from (2004[1982]: 243). In the same way, the translator changes the location of Magdeburg for the more well-known city of Leipzig as he assumes that the target reader, based in America, will be more familiar with it. Translations, thus, occur in a system combined with critical refractions and these refractions are signs which denote the constraints between two systems:

A refraction (whether it is a translation, criticism, historiography) which tries to carry a work of literature over from one system into another, represents a compromise between two systems, and it is the perfect indicator of the dominant constraints in both systems. (Lefevere, 2004[1982]: 243)

Refractions are related to patronage as part of a literary system and they can promote or hinder a rewriting according to three components present in patronage: ideological,

¹⁷ The *Odyssey* was the first of the Penguin Classics series, founded by the translator H. V. Rieu with Sir Allen Lane. Rieu's vision, according to his son D. C. H. Rieu, who revised the translation, was 'to make available to the ordinary reader, in good modern English, the great classics of every language' (Rieu, 2003: vii).

economical and the status component (1992: 16). The first one can be traced in omissions, shifts and additions; the economical component relates to payment of the professionals, and the status component covers the writer's achievement of a certain position in society. Patronage, thus, is one of the key concepts which explains how norms are created and maintained in a system and by whom these are regulated. If patrons are persons or groups who impose a certain ideology and, through professionals, force a certain type of poetics, patronage is a significant element in the analysis of a translation from a sociocultural perspective. In the case of the Catalan system, the nationalist party governing Catalonia since the restoration of democracy until 2003, *Convergència i Unió* (CiU), developed a cultural policy which entailed sticking to the belief that Catalan language was crucial to Catalan culture, something which would legitimise Catalonia's national identity after forty years of Francoism. In this sense, CiU was the patron advocating a certain ideology in order to protect the Catalan language against Castilian interference. Hence, norms in the Catalan system are tied to the patron's ideology, which fostered a model of language that had to remain free of Castilianisms (see chapter 4).

On the other hand, Lefevere's view also presents the process of translation as an unequal exchange between cultures. Drawing on Bourdieu's notion of 'grids',¹⁸ Lefevere sees these conceptual and textual grids as constraints in translation, as they are not shared in different cultures (Lefevere, 1998: 77-89). Grids are forms and genres in which certain literature is expressed and they prevail over languages. These grids represent the reality in both source and target language texts and it is the translator who 'manipulates' them, engaging in the creative process of translation. Therefore, there is an agenda behind translation in each culture, which allows cultures to construct a national identity. In the same vein, Lefevere sees translation as a practice which enables the circulation of cultural capital. After analysing a translation of Virgil's *Aeneid* into English, he claims that it is deemed acceptable or unacceptable not according to the quality of the translation but to the prestige of the source language culture (1998: 41-56). According to Lefevere, the distribution of cultural capital depends on: the need of

¹⁸ A textual grid, according to Bassnett and Lefevere is a 'collection of acceptable literary forms and genres in which texts can be expressed' (1998: xiii). For example, novels from China have different rules if compared to the structure of novels in Western literature. Accordingly, these grids create expectations in the audience, which is something to be taken into account when analysing translations from a historical perspective.

the audience, the patron who initiates the translation¹⁹ and the prestige of the source and target cultures and their languages (1998: 44).

The notion of prestige can also be associated with canonisation in the sense that canonised texts and authors have gained prestige in a literary system through the accumulation of cultural capital. In translation, the transfer of the cultural capital occurs not in a linear process but in a hierarchised universe which depends on the prestige attached to a literature, work or author. Pascale Casanova draws on this idea (2010[2002]: 86-87) and asserts that translation does not occur as an equal exchange, but is determined by the unequal distribution of literary capital. Casanova (2010[2002]: 87) observes that different literature is not just in spacial opposition — centre and periphery —, but also is in a binary opposition consisting of ‘dominant’ and ‘dominated’ literatures, because between literatures there is ‘a structure of domination and power struggles’, in which there is a relation of subordination. Analysing translation as an unequal exchange of cultural capital allows us to approach the agents enabling translation according to their ideology and prestige.

Translation thus is a means of transfer of cultural capital because it entails importing capital from another literary system. Casanova views translation as a mechanism of consecration, since the value of a literary text depends, in part, on the language in which it is written. This is why translation is ‘both one of the main weapons in the struggle for literary legitimacy and the great authority of specific acts of consecration’ (2010[2002]: 95). However, the success of a translation in terms of ‘consecration’ does not only depend on the position of the source and target languages (dominating and dominated), but also on the position of the authors in the source language and the position of the translators in the target language. The translator’s position or prestige in the literary system determines the value or ‘consecration’ of a translation in the target language: ‘the greater the prestige of the mediator, the more noble the translation and the greater its consecrating power’ (2010[2002]: 100). The figure of the translator as the agent mediating between the source and the target text is only regarded as a ‘consecrator’ when he or she possesses a certain degree of power of consecration — ‘consecrated consecrators’, who exert their power of consecration thanks to their own prestige.

¹⁹ The needs of the audience and the patrons involved in the process of translation in the Catalan culture will be analysed in detail in chapter 4.

Chapter 6 of this thesis explores how consecrated consecrators in the target culture determine translation and its acceptability.

2.8. On the importance of pseudotranslations

The power of patronage and consecration can be seen in how translations are accepted. Toury based his notion of translation on the assumption that everything that is accepted as a translation is actually a translation (1995a: 20), as this acceptance leads us to presume that there must also have been an original from which the translation is derived. The process of derivation thus must have involved the transfer of something and, therefore, there is a certain relationship between two texts. Toury refers to the notion of ‘assumed translations’, applied to ‘all utterances which are presented or regarded as translations within the target culture’ (1995b: 142). A text which is regarded as a translation in a target culture can be explained according to three postulates (1995b: 143): the source-text postulate, the transfer postulate, and the relationship postulate. The source text postulate accounts for the assumption of the existence of another text in another culture from which the translation is derived; the transfer postulate is the assumption that there is a process which involves the transference of certain features derived from the source text that the two texts now share; and the relationship postulate explains the relationships which ‘tie’ the translation to an assumed original (1995b: 143-144).

As Toury has demonstrated, it is possible to find the phenomenon of fictitious translations, that is, texts which have been presented and accepted as translations according to the three postulates above although no source text exists. Despite the non-existence of a source text, a transfer or a relationship of an assumed translation to an original, a certain text has been presented and regarded as derived from a source. Toury claims the significance of pseudotranslations or fictitious translations as a way to bring novelties into a culture. Toury is also concerned with the role of translation in cultural planning as proving that some translations were invented to serve the needs of a culture in a particular context and time. Toury explored pseudotranslations firstly with the case study of *Papa Hamlet* (appearing in Toury’s works of 1985 and 1995), a small book published in 1889 in Germany presented as a translation from Norwegian. This was in fact a fictitious translation, an original disguised as a translation which had been written to attain a particular goal: introducing ‘Scandinavian-like’ novelties into German literature (Toury, 2005: 11).

Toury's approach examines how systems are reluctant to accept changes, especially if they are considered too drastic and run the risk of rejection. At the same time, cultures need change to avoid marginalisation and becoming obsolete. This dualism is manifested in a literary system by the struggle of two contending forces and one hypothesis proposed to reconcile them is the introduction of novelties under disguise, as if these were established options within another culture (2005: 3). This operation is called 'cultural planning', as 'the attempt made by an individual, or small group, to incur changes in the cultural repertoire' (Toury, 2005: 9). Toury supports this theory with other instances of pseudotranslations aimed at cultural planning such as the patriotic poetry of Dzhambul Dzhabayev in Stalin's Soviet Union. His Kazakh poetry was supposedly translated into Russian, but in fact his poems were written by Russian authorities with the aim of strengthening Stalin's Soviet Union (Toury, 2005: 14-15). Along the same lines, the *Book of Mormon*, a work published in 1830 which introduced novelties into the Christian religion by means of a fictitious translation to give birth 'to an altogether new Church' (2005: 11), represents an attempt to disguise a text as a translation of the word of God with the aim of conferring authority to it. Hermans (2007: 1-17) also uses the *Book of Mormon*'s origins to prove that authentication is a key concept in translation. Authentication is seen as the external, institutional statement which endows the text with the authority it needs to be accepted. The case of the *Book of Mormon* is relevant as it is a pseudotranslation, a text the purpose of which is to endow itself with the authority of its original, in this case, the word of God.

The importance of pseudotranslations lies in their relation with the norms in the target system, since they indicate what translations are expected to be like in the target culture and how a culture in question is related to other cultures in terms of prestige (Pym: 2011: 95). Pseudotranslations are an effective tool for identifying and explaining the norms in a target culture. Despite not having an original to be compared to, pseudotranslations signal the features of what a target culture expects of a translation. In defining norms of translation, Toury distinguishes between preliminary norms and operational norms (1995a: 58), the first set of norms being those concerning the translation policy and the directness of translation, which are the norms governing translation prior to the translational act. The decisions made during the translational act (operational norms), the choice of texts to be imported in a particular culture and period of time (translation policy) and the degree to which translating from languages other

than the source (directness of translation) is permitted or preferred, can be applied to a 'real' translation in a descriptive analysis of what a translation should be and actually is. However, this set of norms does not work for a pseudotranslation, since it is a text which is regarded as a translation at the system level (what a translation can be) but it is not a translation at the norm and performance level (what a translation should be and what a translation is), because it is not a translation, hence it cannot be compared to any source. An average reader, however, cannot compare source and target texts either and has to rely on the make up of the target text to judge it, for which he or she will use their own idea of what a translation should be at the norm and performance level regardless of the origin of the text.

In an attempt to relate Toury's norms and the notion of 'assumed translations' (including pseudotranslations), Delabastita (2008) distinguishes between status, origin and features at the system level, which is the theoretical possibility of a translation. The status of a discursive act is what it is claimed to be in a cultural community (whether it is regarded as a translation or not); its origin is the real history of its genesis (whether or not the text has a relationship with an original); and the features thereof are taken into account in a synchronic analysis involving comparisons not necessarily with one single source text. This distinction allows us to account for norms in translation (what a translation should be) avoiding the definition of what a translation is in terms of the existence of a 'real' source text equivalent to a target text. Pseudotranslations are relevantly included in the analysis as if they were genuine translations, since the above distinction between status, origin and features does not presuppose the 'real' existence of a source. Delabastita outlines the relevance of pseudotranslations concerning the need to dissociate status, origin and features:

In terms of their status, pseudotranslations are presented and often perceived as translations, but in genetic terms they are at least for the greatest part original texts, while certain features may or may not be present in them to stimulate the foreignness of the alleged original as well as a certain conventional type of translation. (2008: 236)

Regardless of their real genesis or the features of a text, translations can be labelled as such or not: the claim of the status of a translation can appear or not as a 'label' (such as 'self-translation', 'authorised translation' or 'certified translation') recognised and

validated by institutions (Delabastita, 2008: 237), although there is a different degree of authority depending on the person or group of persons which confers the status of a translation. Also, the origin of a text, regardless of its status and features, can be more than a particular original, a single source text. Delabastita observes how translators have a great selection of source text editions, along with other material (2008: 239). Equally, the features of a translation, regardless of its status and origin, can be analysed without resorting to an original or other texts (2008: 241). These considerations lead to reflection on the idea of translation as a text with an equivalent in another culture: they imply an analysis of a translation as a text according to its status, origin and features without having to qualify as a translation in the conventional sense.

The traditional view of translation (with a binary unidirectional equivalent in another culture) is reviewed here with the intention of incorporating other relationships with the target text other than one single original, since other elements interfere with the process of translation (more than one source-text edition, critical commentaries, etc.). Also, according to Toury's postulates, an (assumed) translation is assumed to have an equivalent text in another culture which has chronological and logical priority over the target text (1995: 137). Hence the origin (or the genesis of a translation) is first in terms of time, in other words, it is believed to happen before the translation. As obvious as it may seem, when a text is presented as an original first, this text possesses a certain authority (after translation takes place) and it is regarded as the only possible original.

A text can be presented as a translation and benefit from the authority of the source (as explored above with Toury's instances of pseudotranslations) irrespective of the existence of such, but a text can also be presented as an original and be perceived as a translation, losing the authority attached to the original. This is the case of the Majorcan author Llorenç Villalonga, who published his novel *Bearn, o la sala de les nines* (tr. *The Doll's Room*, 1998) in both Castilian and Catalan. The Catalan version published in 1961, five years later than the Castilian one, was perceived as a translation. Although the author campaigned for the Catalan version to be accepted as the original in order to claim his place as a Catalan writer, it was received by the audience as a translation. For this reason, Villalonga was not recognised as a Catalan writer by the readership (Mansell, forthcoming): 'A Catalan "translation", albeit a self-translation, is not good enough for some to affirm Villalonga's identity as a Catalan writer, an identity he tried to attain following his poor success in Spanish'. Villalonga did try to avoid the Catalan

version being regarded as a translation by stating in the prologue that it had been written one year before the Castilian version, but the first publication of the Castilian version was determinant (Mansell, forthcoming). Also, the features of the Catalan translation, such as some sections which seem to be translations from Castilian, determined the reception, as well as the prior publication of the Castilian text (Mansell, forthcoming). Villalonga's attempt to place the Catalan version first in time was aimed at conferring this version the authority of an original.

The origin of a translation is also linked to the idea of prestige and the power of authorship. As explored above, source languages and authors are chosen to be translated according to their prestige, which is gained through the accumulation of cultural capital. Hence, in translation, the transfer of cultural capital depends on the prestige attached to the author and literature. Pseudotranslations are evidence of this and, at the same time, explain the reason behind the intentional action of presenting an original as a translation: the prestige attributed to a source culture, a work or an author which legitimise a translation and endow it with authority.

The doctor and writer in both Catalan and Latin, Arnau de Vilanova, in the thirteenth century is still today the object of discussion among science scholars investigating the alleged authorship of some of his manuscripts (Giralt, 2002; McVaugh, 1995; Perarnau, 1994). The problems of attribution typical of the Middle Ages are due to various reasons, ranging from the intentional fraudulent attribution to the accidental mistake in the work of copyists (Giralt, 2002: 185). Arnau de Vilanova was an authority in medieval medicine and his prestige was attained not only through his practice, research and writings in the medical field, but he was also well known thanks to certain episodes that characterised his life, since his figure was associated to occultism and his heterodox religious views had been later censored by the Inquisition (Giralt, 2002: 186). Arnau de Vilanova's pseudoepigraphy is linked to apocalyptic theories, which are likely to find in a prestigious name the authority that reassures the value of their theses.

Arnau de Vilanova became a true celebrity after his death. A manifestation of his fame can be observed through a pseudotranslation which appeared between 1401 and 1415, originally written by Bertran Boisset and attributed to Arnau de Vilanova until the publication in 1881 of *Amaud de Villeneuve, médecin et chimiste*, by Barthélemy Hauréau (Giralt, 2002: 187-188), when the real authorship was unveiled. Boisset wrote

his work in Occitan and included a poem attributed to Arnau de Vilanova and King Robert of Naples. In the fifteenth century, the scribe who copied Boisset's work omitted his name as the author, which resulted in the totality of the text passing as a translation by Boisset. There is the possibility that the scribe omitted the name of Boisset by pure accident, but it is most probable that claiming the authorship of Arnau de Vilanova would raise the value of the work due to the prestige he held. Whether consciously or not, the scribe's decision to delete Boisset's name from the copy resulted in the text being regarded as a translation until the truth was uncovered centuries later. This example illustrates the idea that translation is a means of transfer of cultural capital: for this transfer to be effective, the position of the author has to be dominant; in this case, Arnau de Vilanova held a high position through the notoriety he had acquired.

2.9. The translator's prestige

Translating has traditionally been seen as a second-class activity — compared to writing — and this can be demonstrated by the fact that many writers have also produced translations but often their translations have received less attention than their own creations (Basnett, 2011: 91-92). Basnett claims that writers are more aware of the relevance of translation:

Today, writers tend to be more overt about the importance of translating in their lives. Nobel laureates such as Derek Walcott and Seamus Heaney have produced extraordinarily powerful translations, Heaney's version of the Anglo-Saxon epic poem, *Beowulf* entering the best-selling lists in 1997. Ted Hughes, late Poet Laureate also made the best-selling list with his translation of sections of Ovid *Metamorphoses*, *Tales from Ovid*. Hughes was a prolific translator, and the forthcoming study of Hughes' translation works by Daniel Weissbort will cause many readers to revise their views on whether translation is indeed some kind of secondary activity to so-called 'original' writing. (Basnett, 2011: 97)

Many prestigious writers are, thus, at the same time, translators whose translations have become canonical in the target culture and they have introduced literature classics into their own culture. The translator-writer is certainly one of the agents who will modernise and shape the target culture in some way or another.

The Catalan writer and translator Quim Monzó is seen as one of the most important figures in the renewal of the Catalan literary canon (Pons, 1989: 5). After several literary experiments, Monzó made his debut on the Catalan literary scene with the publication of *L'udol del griso al caire de les clavegueres* (1976) for which he won the Prudenci Bertrana prize. One of his most popular works, *L'illa dels maians*, appeared in 1985 and perhaps one of the most acclaimed works is his compilation of short stories *El perquè de tot plegat* (1991), awarded with the Premi Ciutat de Barcelona 1993 and the Premi de la Crítica Serra d'Or 1994.²⁰ Monzó has also been a translator since the early 1980s but is best known for his role as a writer who was capable of transforming Catalan literature. His style has been praised for the way he can 'reflect on the everyday problems of his eminently urban characters using a style of prose that is simple and energetic' (Pons, 1989: 6). Scholars such as Xavier Pericay and Ferran Toutain (1986: 109-110) and more recently Albert Pla Nualart (2010: 225) admire his prose for its capacity to adjust to how the language is spoken today. His prestige does not only rely on his work as a writer, he is also a public figure: he has participated in television shows and is also a journalist, with his own column in the Catalan newspaper *La Vanguardia*. In 2007 at the Frankfurt Book Fair, when Catalonia was the Guest of Honour, he wrote and read the opening speech and was celebrated for his eloquence and had a great impact on the media.²¹ In 2009 he was honoured with an exhibition at the Centre d'Arts Santa Mònica in Barcelona, a cultural space for various disciplines of contemporary artistic creation and science which promotes interdisciplinary working and ensures the production, diffusion and reflection of new creations and new ideas.²² Although the Centre d'Arts Santa Mònica tends to present quite radical art works, it is affiliated with the Departament de Cultura of the Generalitat. This is significant in the way that Monzó, who started as a subversive figure in the Catalan system (renewing its canons) is now a canonised writer supported by the institutions.

Nowadays, Monzó's prestige as a writer in the Catalan system is unquestionable. For this reason, it is of interest to explore how his status affects his translations of Thomas Hardy, Ray Bradbury or J.D. Salinger. If Monzó was prestigious as a translator too, his

²⁰ According to Monzó's website (www.monzo.info).

²¹ His opening lecture appears in his biography compiled by Associació d'Escriptors en Llengua Catalana (Catalan Language Writers Association) in an online source (http://www.escriptors.cat/autors/monzoq/pagina.php?id_sec=3815). His lecture was transcribed, televised and commented by several media, such as *La Vanguardia*, *El Punt* (see issue of the 9th of October 2007) and Televisió de Catalunya, among others.

²² According to the institution's website (www.artssantamonica.cat).

translations might have more impact or introduce novelties into the target culture. The question here is to what extent the prestige of the translator has an impact on the translation. In theory, Monzó's translations should cause a particular effect on the target culture and bring about changes in the system because Monzó is one of those 'consecrated consecrators' (Casanova, 2010[2002]: 100), who exert their power of consecration thanks to their own prestige. In this case, Quim Monzó might represent a consecrating figure for being, in the Catalan system, first an author and, second, a translator. In this manner, chapter 6 investigates, through an analysis of both original texts and translations by Monzó, whether the prestige of the writer (and translator) can give authority to the translation, so that a translator such as Monzó is authorised to introduce novelties into the system through his translations.

3. Translation strategies: Domestication and foreignisation

Translations, as explored in chapter 2, are a ‘manipulation’ of the original enabling them to fit in with the dominant currents of their time (Lefevere, 1992: 8). In this respect, Venuti states that ‘[t]he source message is always interpreted and reinvented, especially in cultural forms open to interpretation, such as literary texts, philosophical treatises, film subtitling, advertising copy, conference papers, legal testimony’ (2004: 484). A translation is thus reconstructed according to a certain set of values and it is accepted in the target culture if it serves the hegemonic domestic norms. In this manner, the ideological component of domestic norms explains the strategies used in a particular translation. With this in mind, this chapter aims to critically review Venuti’s domesticating and foreignising strategies in translation (1991, 1998 and 2008) through examples drawn from *Fear and Loathing in Las Vegas* and a translation into Catalan.

3.1. Venuti’s approach

Venuti’s culturally oriented research revives Schleiermacher and Berman’s approaches (2004: 334) to fight against the prevailing fluent strategies of translation which, in his opinion, enforce the global hegemony of English. Venuti distinguishes two strategies in translation:²³ domestication, which entails easy readability and the translator invisibility and contributes to the imperialism of the British and American culture; and foreignisation, which implies a translation which ‘registers the irreducible differences of the foreign text’ (2004: 334). As a consequence, translating is always ideological because it demonstrates the domestic values and beliefs in which the text is inscribed (2004: 498). As opposed to this, Venuti vindicates a resistant strategy for which translation is a ‘site where linguistic and cultural differences are somehow signalled, where the reader gets a sense of cultural other and [...] by reminding the reader of the gains and the losses in the translation process and the unbridgeable gaps between cultures’ (Venuti, 2008: 204).

²³ Venuti (2008: 19), in order to respond to the criticisms he received, the terms ‘domestication’ and ‘foreignisation’ do not establish a neat dichotomy that can be simply resolved by applying ‘fluent’ or ‘resistant’ strategies, but these are ethical attitudes towards a foreign text and culture. Venuti observes that foreignising and domesticating are ‘the effects produced by the choice of a text for translation and the strategy devised to translate it’ (2008: 19). In the same vein, Venuti states that ‘domestication’ and ‘foreignisation’ cannot be reduced to the old dichotomy of ‘literal’ and ‘free’ translation.

Schleiermacher's approach advocates the strategy of moving the reader to the author, so that the translator adopts an alienating method of translation, orienting himself or herself by the language or content of the source text (Schleiermacher, 2004[1813]: 43-63). This foreignising translation was proposed by Schleiermacher as a practice to eradicate the French domination over German language and literature in the nineteenth century. According to Venuti (1991: 129), Schleiermacher claims that the translator should make the target-language reader travel abroad, preserving the linguistic and cultural difference of the foreign text. Notwithstanding this, translation never escapes the hierarchy of cultural values inscribed in the target language, so the translator should make the foreign culture familiar because this also involves recognising the target language's culture in the foreign. As Venuti points out:

Resistance assumes an ideology of autonomy, locating the alien in a cultural other, foregrounding the linguistic and cultural differences of the source-language text through foreignizing strategies, pursuing cultural diversity so as to transform the hierarchy of cultural values in the target language. (Venuti, 1991: 146)

This reminds us of the idea of the translator as a committed individual and a non neutral mediator (Tymoczko, 2003: 201) (as explored in 3.5.2), whose voice is realised in translation. Venuti, in advocating 'resistance', also calls for translators to act as ethical agents (Tymoczko, 2003: 201) whose mission is to transform society.

Foreignising strategies have also been explored by Antoine Berman. His theory of translation revolves around a system of textual deformation that operates in translation (Berman, 2004[1985]: 278). There are different tendencies which Berman²⁴ compiles in a systematic categorisation and these alter the essence of the translation. The goal of this insight is to discover the forces which lead the translation away from its purpose. In the same line of thinking as Venuti, Berman states that translation is not only the act of restitution of meaning, but there is also a transformation of the language in this process, and in this transformation resides the importance of analytic translation — with the categorisation that he proposes — which is to stress the 'other' nature of translating.

²⁴ This strategies are: rationalisation, clarification, expansion, ennoblement and popularisation, qualitative impoverishment, the destruction of rhythms, the destruction of underlying networks of signification, the destruction of linguistic patterning, the destruction of the vernacular networks or their eroticisation, the destruction of expressions, and idioms and the effacement of superimposition of languages (see the description of the different tendencies in Berman 2004[1985]: 280-289).

Berman and Venuti, thus, share the view that ‘ethnocentric’ translating systematically deforms the foreign text through effacing the foreignness and making the text familiar to the target language and culture.

Furthermore, Venuti’s standpoint is that a fluent translation reinforces the major language and it is assimilationist, ‘presenting to domestic readers a realistic representation inflected with their own codes and ideologies as if it were an immediate encounter with a foreign text and culture’ (Venuti, 1998: 94). The strategy of ‘minoritising’ translation, instead, resists an assimilation of the culture, by emphasising the linguistic and cultural difference of the text. For instance, Venuti (1998), when translating the Italian writer Tarchetti, uses archaisms such as *sojourn* to stay close to the Italian *soggiorno*, allowing the reader to realise that the text is not Tarchetti’s Italian, nor written directly in English, but an English translation, and so making the translator visible.

This way of translating samples dialects, registers and styles already available in the target language to create a ‘discursive heterogeneity, which is defamiliarising, but intelligible in different ways to different constituencies in the translating culture’ (Venuti, 2008: 334). In this respect, Venuti gives the example of the Modernist Ezra Pound, who avoided a transparent discourse in his translations by ‘cultivating inverted or convoluted syntax, polysemy, archaism, nonstandard dialects, elaborate stanzaic forms and sound effects’ (2008: 177).

In the same vein, following Venuti’s theory that translation is ideological, linguistic-oriented approaches restrict innovation and social change, as their assumption is that ‘language is an instrument of communication employed by an individual according a system of rules’ (Venuti, 1998: 104), translation is thus a rewriting of the text according to domestic interests. For Venuti, a translator should not cultivate a homogeneous discourse and should be provocative and ‘release’ the remainder, a linguistic variation in language, which frustrate any effort to formulate systematic rules (1998: 91).

To summarise Venuti’s insight, domestication, which entails translating in a transparent, fluent, ‘invisible’ style in order to minimise the foreignness of the target text, enacts cultural imperialism, preserves social hierarchies and maintains sanctioned ideas. Foreignisation, on the other hand, involves developing a translation method

outside the dominant cultural values in the target language, highlighting the foreign identity of the source text and making the presence of the translator visible. Venuti, then, favours a foreignising strategy in a policy of ‘resistance’ to the dominant values of publishers and literary reviewers.

3.2. Finding the balance

In the opinion of some scholars (Baker, 2000; Barbe, 1996; Paloposki & Oittinen, 2000), domestication is a phenomenon that occurs in all translations,²⁵ since the translator always stays within the borders of the target language, the concept of foreignisation is an illusion. In this sense, the translator necessarily domesticates for his or her readers or audience. On the one hand, the translator should not make himself or herself visible by expressing his or her own style, since the translator’s job is that of reproducing the author’s voice as closely as possible — as explored in the section devoted to equivalence. Nevertheless, as Baker points out, it is impossible to not leave one’s fingerprints in the translation, despite the attempt of reproducing the original’s style (2000: 244). Therefore, the translator, no matter how foreignised a translation is, will always be visible, leaving his or her own style inscribed in the translation. All translations are a sort of domestication and, ultimately, as Barbe criticises, ‘only a text that already exists in a language can be *foreignized*’ (Barbe, 1996: 333). For Barbe, external forces, such as publishers, intended readers, economics, etc., dictate whether a translation is to be source-language oriented (literal translation) or target-language oriented (free translation). Barbe observes that the prestige or the hegemony of the source language determine the orientation of the translation:

If the original appears in a SL that is revered due to a variety of reasons [...], then the translation will attempt to stay close to the language (literal). If, however, the SL is not prestigious, one may even consider the translation an improvement of the original (free). (Barbe, 1996: 330)

This brings us back to the concept of prestige discussed in chapter 3, for which the position of the source language and literature determine the target text and therefore, the strategies employed by the translator. Moreover, as Barbe argues, ‘foreignisers’ also

²⁵ Equally, Toury (1995a) covers this area with his laws of growing standardisation and interference. Since these are socioculturally constrained, both laws correlate and can occur at the same time depending on various factors influencing the translator.

believe that translations constitute ‘one locus of change in a TL’, but they can only attempt to do so because ‘every spoken language has in it the potential of its own renewal’ (Barbe, 1996: 334). According to Barbe, language renews itself not only by looking outside through translation, but also does so through its speakers or writers, who express themselves with invented metaphors or collocations that come from their own experience. Therefore, a foreignising strategy will not change the dynamics of a language since shifts in the grammatical rules of a language never occur through translation.

Venuti’s insight has also been questioned with regards to the maintenance of cultural values that domestication supposedly entails. According to Papoloski and Oittinen (2000: 387), domestication ‘does not necessarily conform to dominant cultural values: it can also bring about the cultural difference (advocated by Venuti) of a minor language’. In this sense, the domestication of a foreign text, by changing the setting and reference to historical events or cultural beliefs in the target text, can also serve domestic interests in a dominated culture. As an example, the translation of Shakespeare’s *Macbeth* in Finland, *Ruunulinna*, changes the names of the characters and the setting in order to construct a glorious past for the country (Papoloski and Oittinen, 2000: 378). More to the point, Venuti does not consider the directness of the translation, as he explores translations from dominated languages into English. In the case of a translation from English into a less translated language, a domesticating strategy can enact the target culture and serve different purposes that have nothing to do with preserving the source text values.

Also, domestication is related to the source language’s prestige, so the more prestigious the source culture is, the greater the awareness of the audience and the more permeable the language. In this respect, prestigious literature, because of its value and authority, allows translations to stay closer to the original. On the other hand, domestication might be used as an instrument to devise a national culture, as seen in the Finnish translation of *Macbeth*.

Foreignisation can also have a negative effect on the target text. According to Venuti, foreignising strategies allow those features that signal linguistic and cultural difference to be reproduced by the translator (Venuti, 2008: 334). In this sense, Venuti claims the value of experimental modernist translation in its production of a foreignising effect by

choosing marginal texts and making verbal choices in translation that sound strange. According to Venuti, Blackburn's translations brought Cortázar's fiction into British and American cultures 'by subtly broadening the narrowly conceived fluent discourse that continues to dominate the English-language translation, opening up current standard usage to nonstandard forms' (2008: 228). These strategies, however, run the risk of leading to an unidiomatic elitist language not intelligible to the audience. More to the point, the inclusion of non standard dialects contradicts the concept of foreignisation: rendering a foreign dialect into its target counterpart is a clear domestication of the text. Not only that, but is also regarded as 'ridiculing' the original and it transfers the values of an identifiable group in the target culture, since one of the main features of registers is its inscription in a certain group of speakers. Pym has also criticised a method that incorporates 'a wide diversity of English usages, mixing and conflicting registers, giving value to the marginal' (1996: n.p.). In this respect, Pym explains how he started a project of translating a Castilian novel into Australian English and abandoned the idea because it would not be taken seriously.

Despite the criticisms of foreignisation, yet in concurrence with the fact that a translation can only domesticate since the translator always remains in the target boundaries, this strategy can be understood as a way of rendering the style of the source text. If this is the case, the limits of this strategy need to be established too, since following the grammar of the source language closely may make the translation seem grammatically incorrect. When the readership has to make an effort to understand and the translation appears strange because the text does not read fluently and seems incorrect, the audience may think that it is due to a translator's mistake because it simply reads as a poorly written text or it can fall into the realm of marginal literature only available to the elite. Foreignising strategies thus may be elitist and intended to highly-educated readers only, so the translator will work for a relatively narrow audience, whereas domesticating strategies will more accessible for a larger readership. In this sense, Venuti's translations have been criticised by academic reviewers for his linguistic choices (Gentzler, 2001: 41). Notwithstanding this, Venuti's practices are followed by the North American Translation Workshop²⁶ and have influence in Europe and Latin America in that many translations today are presented with paratexts which

²⁶ The North American Translation Workshop emerged in the 1960s and allowed translation to gain more recognition as discipline amongst American scholars. The workshop's approach on translation, according to Gentzler (2001: 9), both subverts and reinforces forms for literary texts.

help readers adjust to the new strategies favouring foreign influence (2001: 42-43).²⁷ A foreignising strategy can thus be useful to introduce the exotic or foreign and it also allows certain aspects of the source text to be highlighted. The text will not read as fluently as if it had been written with domesticating strategies, but will be endowed with features that contribute to creating a context in which the text is unfolds.

In conclusion, in translating *Fear and Loathing in Las Vegas*, both strategies of foreignisation and domestication can be used, since one sole strategy never entirely applies. In adapting or omitting certain aspects of the story, the reader would be made to neglect the context in which the text unfolds. Some terms and expressions will need to be translated with a foreignising strategy to maintain elements of culture and social groups that are important to the story. In this sense, the translator may use paratexts like a preface or an introduction to help the reader to adjust to this foreign vocabulary or to other foreign structures used. By contrast, domesticating strategies may apply when some ideas or concepts not available in the target repertoire are not crucial to the text. Transforming certain elements, images or metaphors, which are not needed for the reader's comprehension and adjusting them to the receiving culture or erasing them from the text are strategies to be considered in translation.

The strategy to be used depends on many factors and it is impossible to place one method over another, so a blend of foreignisation and domestication should apply in translating *Fear and Loathing in Las Vegas*. The following section will explore this choice through examples drawn from Hunter S. Thompson's novel.

3.3. Examples

Understanding domestication as a strategy for a fluent translation which adapts the foreign elements to the target culture's values and foreignising as the strategy that brings the otherness to the surface, the examples provided below will discuss how domestication and foreignisation would change the reception of a hypothetical Catalan target text.

- Example 1: Emphasis and italics

²⁷ Venuti also calls for a change in the contemporary view of translation through revising the practice of reading, reviewing and teaching translations.

A remarkable feature in the source text regarding the layout is an apparently random selection of words displayed in italics. The author's choice of highlighting a miscellany of words without a clear connection is unexplained, but it can be identified with an attempt to draw attention to a specific word that is most relevant in the sentence:

“What’s wrong with you” I said. “Hell, *somebody* has to do it” (148)

Whilst this characteristic should be rendered in the target text, in Catalan, italics are mainly used to mark a foreign word or expression as such,²⁸ and not to emphasise it semantically. The source text presents many occurrences of words in italics, a trait which identifies the style of the author, who chooses italics to highlight the significance of certain words in the story. A foreignising strategy contradicts the target language norms, yet domestication entails a loss in the translation. By using italics, the translator pinpoints the foreignness of the text and brings the style of the source to light. The Castilian translation also reproduces this feature.

- Example 2: Measurements

The source text presents a range of units of measurement that differ from the ones used in the target language and culture: whereas the source text uses the imperial system (miles) the target culture prefers the metric system; where the source text expresses the weight units in pounds, the target culture uses kilograms. Despite the attempts of the American government to adopt the metric system through the Metric Conversion Act in 1975, which led to the establishment of the US Metric Board (Krifka, 2002: 429), America still uses the imperial system. Hunter S. Thompson's novel is not an exception:

Big balls of lead/alloy flying around the valley at speeds up to 3700 feet per second (65)

The third brace of ten disappeared into the dust about a hundred yards from where we stood (37-38)

²⁸ Italics can also be used for metalinguistic purposes and other usages that are not related to the subject matter.

... for another fifty-mile lap, another brutal hour of kidney-killing madness out there in that terrible dust-blind limbo' (38)

In the novel, different units of measurement can be found: yards, feet and miles appear throughout the source text. Also, the pound, the unit of mass, is present in the source text:

The sight of a 344-pound police chief from Waco, Texas, necking openly with his 290-pound wife (143)

Although the target readership might be familiar with some of these units — especially with miles, since these appear in all the films produced in America, and nautical miles are still used in navigation —, Ainaud, Espunya, and Pujol (2003: 240) recommend converting units of mass, measurements and money into the metrical decimal system in Catalan translations if the text is fiction and contemporary. This being the case with *Fear and Loathing in Las Vegas*, a domesticating strategy would apply. Nevertheless, miles are popular units of measurement and its correspondent in Catalan (*milles*) would give the target text the foreign ring that moves the readership to the setting where the action takes place. Despite this, the use of yards, feet and pounds is not widespread and, though the target reader may be acquainted with the terms in Catalan (*iardes*, *peus* and *lliures* respectively), he or she might not appreciate the distance or weight that these represent. A domesticating strategy gives the reader a better understanding of measurements: using *iardes*, *peus* and *lliures*, although demonstrating the foreignness of the text, would make the target text less accessible to the reader. In translation of literature, precision is not an important issue — except for marked expressions where precision is explicitly relevant —, so the target text will prefer short expressions and vague interpretations as in the example below:

ST: for another fifty-mile lap (38)

TT: per una altra volta de vuitanta quilòmetres (my translation)

Although the conversion of 50 miles to kilometres is exactly 80.4672 kilometres, the figure is rounded to 80 to favour the readability of the text. In this manner, domestication is twofold: not only the unit of measurement has been changed into a

domestic one, but the figures are also rounded to make them shorter so that the translation reads more fluently. The Castilian translation also opts for domestication: ('ochenta kilometros' [44], 'mil doscientos treinta metros por segundo' [68], 'unos doscientos metros' [43], 'de ciento veinte kilos' [146]).

- Example 3: Hapax legomenon

Some words or expressions are a part of the author's world and are related to the register in which they are expressed. These terms do not always have a meaning which can be conveyed in the target text, so their translation appears problematic:

ST: 'just one hour ago we were sitting over there in that stinking baiginio' (11)

The word 'baiginio' cannot be found in any dictionary and any language. This is an example of hapax legomenon: a word or form of which only one instance has ever been recorded.²⁹ The meaning of 'baiginio' can be deduced from the context provided in the source text. Therefore, despite an equivalent not existing in the target language, the target text can transfer the word as if it was a borrowing from the source language:

TT: 'només fa una hora estàvem asseguts allà en aquell baiginio pudent' (my translation)

Choosing this option, however, can lead the reader to deem the translation incorrect. Foreignisation, as seen above, can result in the target text sounding awkward and not being accepted by the readers. Whilst the original, as a source, has the authority needed to use an invented word, the translation does not have the same status and, for this reason, a foreignising strategy is a risky option. The Castilian translation, by contrast, opts for the superordinate *sitio* (place) in this instance. This is a domesticating strategy that allows the translation to sound fluent.

- Example 4: Cultural references

Some words or expressions in the novel refer to a geographical and temporal context related to US culture. These cultural references or cultural markers are terms tied to the

²⁹ According to *The Oxford English Dictionary* (OED).

source text culture that have no equivalent in the target culture. The trials of the translator are finding an equivalent in the target language without losing the cultural identity attached to the term:

ST: 'It was the first open break between the Greasers and the Longhairs' (179)

'Greasers' and 'Longhairs' are cultural references related to US countercultural movement of the 1960s. In this case, the translator has the option to domesticate these names since they have a meaning which is transferrable in the target text. Equally, the translator has the option to include paratexts: a preface with an introduction to US culture of the 1950s, 1960s and 1970s can be provided. The target text can, therefore, borrow these words as it shows the following translation:

TT: 'era la primera esquerda oberta entre els Greasers i els Longhairs' (my translation)

The above example shows how, whilst foreignising strategies should stress the otherness in order to resist the British and American imperialism, they can also benefit them. This proves that foreignisation, as opposed to Venuti's point of view, can contribute to the enhancement of the dominant culture. In addition, the prestige of the source culture, as seen above, allows the receiving culture to have a better knowledge of it, which results in the reader being used to references that come from the dominant culture. Also, as seen by Toury (1995a: 275), the law of interference is expected to manifest itself when the source culture is more prestigious, so the translation is more close to the original with presence of foreign features. In this respect, the interference with cultural references such as 'Greasers' and 'Longhairs' in the target text is justified by the authority which the source text possesses. The Castilian translation, however, opts for domestication: whilst 'Longhairs' is translated ('melenudos' [182]), 'Greasers' is left unchanged, although it is explained in a footnote.

- Example 4: Onomatopoeia and interjections

The presence of onomatopoeia and interjections is relevant in the novel due to its dialogic nature. Though onomatopoeic words are 'transparent' words, since the language user intuitively understands their meaning by their resemblance of the sound of the real object,

onomatopoeia is never exactly reproduced (Riera-Eures and Sanjaume, 2011: 17). As universal as it may seem, onomatopoeia is a convention that differs in linguistic systems and each language imitates a sound on its own way: a dog's bark is recorded as *bow-wow* in English, *ouah ouah* in French or *bub bub* in Catalan, among many others. Since onomatopoeia is the imitation of a natural sound, it is language-constrained, because it follows the morphological rules of a certain language and thus does not always have an exact equivalent in another language (Riera-Eures and Sanjaume, 2011: 17).

Accordingly, all the words appearing in the novel imitating a sound should be rendered by their equivalents in Catalan. However, some sounds are difficult to find an equivalent word for in the target language, as in the following example:

ST: '...and then ZANG!' (47)

In Catalan, onomatopoeia like *zas* and *zac* are registered (Riera-Eures and Sanjaume, 2011: 267), but there is no record of *zang*. According to Martos (2000: 17-20), English language contains a large amount of onomatopoeia in comparison to other languages and it has influenced Catalan strongly in this field, especially through comics. When a conventional form for onomatopoeia in the target language is not recorded, the translator can opt for borrowing the word from the source text or replace it for an alliteration that reproduces the term with similar phoneme in the target language in order to balance the form and the meaning attached to it. Onomatopoeia allows a certain degree of creativity and the phonetic adaptation could be based on the natural sounds of Catalan:

TT: '...i llavors ZANG!' (my translation)

This rendition respects the Catalan language sounds and allows an option which follows the source text literally. Despite this being a foreignising strategy, this onomatopoeia could also pass as Catalan, due to the influence of English comics and the creativity which onomatopoeia allow. The Castilian translation, on the other hand, opts for domestication ('zas' [53]).

- Example 5: Geographical and social variety

According to Venuti, sampling dialects in the target text to highlight the foreignness of the translation is a strategy which cultivates heterogeneous discourse in translation. However, if the translator uses a dialect only available in the target language, this is clearly a strategy of domestication. As explored above, rendering a foreign dialect into its target counterpart makes the text familiar to the audience. More to the point, the translator's visibility by showing his or her own provenance also contradicts the idea of equivalence in translation, as discussed in chapter 2. Social dialects or registers are intrinsically linked to geographical dialects, since the way a particular user speaks cannot be disassociated from his or her geographical and social origin. In this sense, Hatim and Mason analyse the concept of idiolect in relation to the translation of registers. An idiolect, as regarded by them, encompasses all the features pertaining to variation: 'An idiolect subsumes features from all the other aspects of variation and, before developing as an idiolect, has its origin in a straight-forward dialectal use of language envisaged along geographical, historical or social lines'. (1997: 102)

Sampling social and geographical variety inevitably results in using a particular idiolect, one identifiable with a particular individual with his or her characteristics linked to origin, sex, age, class, etc. This contradicts the fact that the translator's presence needs to be reduced to a minimum for the translated text to gain the status of equivalent to the source in the eyes of the reader. However, social and geographical distinctiveness needs to be rendered somehow in the text. One of the recurrent choices among translators who have to deal with geographical dialects is to mark the text in an indirect manner, such as 'he said in dialect'. This option, however, also contradicts the principle of equivalence as it entails making the translator visible. Marking the texts with linguistic features which signal dialect might be useful in instances where a register shift also occurs. This happens when social and geographical features of a particular idiolect are displayed:

ST: 'Last night I was out home in Long Beach and somebody said they were runnin' the Mint 400 so I says to my old lady, "Man, I'm goin.'" He laughed. "So she gives me a lot of crap about it, you know...so I started slappin' her around and the next thing I knew two guys I never even seen before got me out on the sidewalk workin' me over.'(35)

TT: 'Ahir a la nit vaig sortir per Long Beach i algú em va dir que feien la Mint 400, i li dic a la parenta, "Jo hi vaig, tia"'. Va riure ell. "I em dóna molt pel cul amb

això ella, saps... però la vaig començar a hostiar i al cap de res dos tios que no havia vist mai em van treure a fora a la vorera per fotre'm una pallissa'. (my translation)

The source marks the text with linguistic features that signal social and geographical difference ('runnin', 'I says to my old lady', 'slappin' her around', 'workin' me over'). This distinctiveness needs to be rendered in the target text, but the lack of an equivalent in the target language demands options which are not identifiable with those available in the target culture repertoire, since the geographical context is America and not Catalonia. Therefore, colloquial features typical of a spontaneous speech can be reproduced by compensation. However, those traits signalling a particular geographical origin will not apply. In order to preserve the equivalence, the colloquial features selected need to be as much neutral as possible, although colloquial language is always associated with a particular geographical area. As explored in chapter 2, the translator's imprint will always be present, no matter how well hidden. However, his or her visibility must be minimised for the translation to be regarded as legitimate and acceptable by the readers. Whilst this is opposed to Venuti's view, as he advocates the translator's visibility, a foreignising strategy in the above example, using a dialect identifiable geographically with the target culture, would conflict with the reader's expectations.

As a conclusion, the use of domestication and foreignisation strategies will always depend on the translator's choices governed in turn by the world in which the translation operates. The sociocultural framework in which translation occurs and the translator's likelihood to conform to or to violate the norm in the receiving culture will ultimately be the key factors which will resolve each case. Venuti's claim that a translation should be foreignised in order to challenge English speaking imperialism is, thus, hard to back up, since a translation can never completely eradicate the domestic features the target text is endowed with. In addition, foreignising strategies can also favour US culture: as seen above, the readership knowledge of the dominant language and culture and its prestige prompts interference, and the target culture is prone to accept borrowings and cultural references from the source text. Venuti's idea of cultivating a heterogeneous discourse is also called into question, since foreignising certain terms can result in the text sounding grammatically incorrect, restricting the acceptability of the translation in the target culture.

4. The Catalan system

The sociolinguistic situation of the Catalan language needs to be studied before presenting and analysing the main characteristics of the Catalan literary system. This must be framed within a political context to unveil what is behind the linguistic policies set up by political institutions inside and outside the Catalan system. For this reason, exploring language policies becomes relevant here.

Beyond the Catalan border, the European Union (EU) parliament does not recognise Catalan as an official language. However, the EU has a particular set of regulations³⁰ designed for the protection of language minorities. Notwithstanding this, diversity seems to be hard to maintain, since only the official languages of the member states are represented in the European institutions. According to the *European Charter for Regional or Minority Languages* (Council of Europe, 1992), ‘regional or minority languages’ refers to languages which are:

- i. traditionally used within a given territory of a State by nationals of that State who form a group numerically smaller than the rest of the State's population; and
- ii. different from the official language(s) of that State. (Council of Europe, 1992)

The Catalan language’s status, thus, is that of a ‘regional or minority language’. The European Union also uses the concept ‘lesser-used languages’ (Branchadell, 2004: 1), which applies to ‘those languages that are less often the source of translation in the international exchange of linguistic goods, regardless of the number of people using these languages’ (Branchadell, 2004: 2). Catalan is the seventh most-spoken language in the EU — the number of people who speak is greater than those who speak Finnish or Danish — and yet its recognition as an official language in the EU parliament has not been achieved, despite all the efforts made in this direction by the Catalan government.

³⁰ According to the European Union Language Policy, it has 23 official and working languages. They are: Bulgarian, Czech, Danish, Dutch, English, Estonian, Finnish, French, German, Greek, Hungarian, Irish, Italian, Latvian, Lithuanian, Maltese, Polish, Portuguese, Romanian, Slovak, Slovene, Spanish and Swedish. The EU policy towards regional and minority languages is enshrined in Article 22 of the European Charter of Fundamental Rights, which states that ‘The Union respects cultural, religious and linguistic diversity’ (European Parliament, 2001: n.p.).

This situation affects the position of the language in terms of prestige, since Catalan is not recognised outside Catalonia's borders as an official language. As explored above, the prestige of literature is associated to its symbolic power and its position depends on the distribution of powers in the social space (Bourdieu, 1991: 230). The symbolic power attached to Catalan is thus minor, as a result of the exclusion from the EU charter of official languages.

Turning our attention to the status of Catalan within its speakers' borders, the language should enjoy a higher position in terms of symbolic power, since it is an official language alongside Castilian in Catalonia. However, a series of historical events changed the status of the language among its speakers, a factor which determines its position in the system today. Catalan has been constrained by its status as a language that operates within a nation without a state. With the abolition of the Catalan Constitution in the eighteenth century³¹ by the process known as *Decrets de Nova Planta* (New Plan Decrees), Catalonia was under the rule of the kingdom of Castile, which imposed its own language — Castilian. Catalan was excluded from official use and it was not until the late nineteenth century that the Catalan literary system was reinstated by intellectuals in order to be modernised. In spite of the threat of language shift as a result of the influence or pressure of neighbouring Castilian and French systems during the nineteenth century, the Catalan system strengthened and modernised. The emergence of the romantic revival dubbed the 'Renaixença' saw an opportunity for Catalan to gain legitimacy as an acceptable language for literature. The foundation of the Institut d'Estudis Catalans in 1907 represented the creation of the first academic institution serving the Catalan system to regulate language and allowed the emergence of a literary circle with its own canons and models, as well as the presence of numerous publishers, magazines, reviewers and translators. This institution and its developments are representative of the goal achieved in the Catalan system over the beginning of the twentieth century. However, the impact of Franco's dictatorship (1939-75), which banned and persecuted the Catalan language and literature, dramatically changed the picture.

For the history of Catalonia, the end of the dictatorship represented the starting point for the normalisation of Catalan culture, a political project led by *Convergència i Unió*

³¹ According to Carbonell (1979: 96). See discussion over Castilian interference below.

(CiU) which had culture as the core of their nationalist ideology, ‘since the party ideologues saw it as the primary defining factor of Catalan identity, legitimizing Catalonia’s right to call itself a nation’ (Cramer, 2008: 4). Cultural resistance in Catalonia had replaced political resistance after the Civil War and throughout the dictatorship, and for this reason ‘the intellectual and political elites were absolutely convinced of the central role that culture must play in the reconstruction of Catalonia’ (Cramer, 2008: 26). The main goal of CiU after the reestablishment of democracy was that Catalan culture could be self-sufficient, recognised and comparable to any other western culture. In this manner, great effort was put into education and audiovisual media, so that the Catalan language could spread and Catalan cultural products were created (Fernández, 2008: 40-41). Despite the expansion of Catalan language and culture, a certain dissatisfaction with cultural policy arose as a result of an overdependence on Catalan nationalism. In representing the power, many felt that Catalan culture was identified with the “establishment” and were unsatisfied with CiU’s cultural policies. As seen by Fernández, some representing the intellectual elite condemned the link between nationalism and culture (2008: 67-68).

Furthermore, cultural products in the Catalan language were prioritised by the Generalitat in order to create a sustainable cultural market in Catalan. However, the Catalan cultural market was colonised by the dominant Spanish market and, despite all efforts, Catalan cultural products were never to achieve a prestigious position in that situation. The lack of symbolic capital of the Catalan culture is therefore a consequence of the non-legitimation of the Catalan institutions within the political frame of Spain. Fernández observes how Catalan culture, and literature in particular, does not have a dominant presence in Catalonia because it is not perceived as legitimate and as a bearer of symbolic and cultural capital (2008: 193).

4.1. The Catalan language status

The establishment of the new Generalitat’s³² language policy after the creation of the Spanish Constitution in 1978 was to achieve an official status for the language in

³² Generalitat de Catalunya is ‘the institution in which the self-government of Catalonia is politically organised’, including the parliament, the president and the government (Generalitat de Catalunya, 2012a: n.p.)

Catalonia. Throughout the debate over the Catalan Statute of Autonomy which was approved in 1979, many nationalists backed the idea of Catalan becoming the only official language in the Catalan countries,³³ but this would not fit into the Spanish Constitution established one year before. The debate ended with the agreement for Catalan and Castilian as the two official languages in Catalonia (Generalitat de Catalunya, 2012b). The Statute of Autonomy of 1979 (Webber and Strubell, 1991: 54) defined the status of the language as follows:

1. Catalonia's own language is Catalan.
2. The Catalan language is the official one in Catalonia, as is Castilian, official throughout the Spanish State.

It is relevant to note that the new Statute — approved by Catalan voters in a 2006 referendum and declared illegal by the Constitutional Court in 2010 — changes its terms of expression to define the status of Catalan:

1. Catalonia's own language is Catalan. As such, Catalan is the language of normal and preferential use in Public Administration bodies and in the public media of Catalonia, and is also the language of normal use for teaching and learning in the education system.
2. Catalan is the official language of Catalonia, together with Castilian, the official language of the Spanish State. All persons have the right to use the two official languages and citizens of Catalonia have the right and the duty to know them. The public authorities of Catalonia shall establish the necessary measures to enable the exercise of these rights and the fulfilment of this duty. In keeping with the provisions of Article 32, there shall be no discrimination on the basis of use of either of the two languages. (Generalitat de Catalunya, 2006: n.p.)

The new statute, thus, gives priority to Catalan in the public sphere and this reflects the government policy of supporting Catalan's linguistic equality with Castilian. Leaving aside the political issues concerning language, the first act for language normalisation (Llei de normalització lingüística) passed in the Catalan parliament in 1983 (Direcció

³³ Catalan countries (Països Catalans) are those territories where Catalan is spoken.

General de Política Lingüística, 2010: 10) was to restore to the language its official uses, in the educational system, and in the means of public communication, as well as to make institutional support for the social use of Catalan more effective. In sum, this represented an attempt to reconcile the promotion of Catalan with the requirement for co-officiality of Catalan and Castilian. When the act for language normalisation came into effect, the government's mission was to implement it in all fields. According to this act, even though Catalan is the language of education, pupils can choose between the two options.³⁴ The government, however, focused on Catalan immersion for children in the 1980s, in particular in the predominantly Castilian speaking area of the zone around Barcelona.

In 1998, a new law known as the *Llei de Política Lingüística* (Law of Linguistic Policy), substituted that of 1983. Although it follows the previous one in general terms, it is more extensive and more precise.³⁵ The body in charge of its execution, as well as of promoting the language, is the *Direcció General de Política Lingüística* (Linguistic Policy Office). This organism has introduced, over the last three decades, several campaigns of linguistic promotion and awareness in line with the social situation of Catalan (Generalitat de Catalunya, 2008: n.p.), such as 'El català, cosa de tots' (1982), encouraging the use of the language in daily life, or 'Depèn de vostè' (1985-1986), promoting the proper use of Catalan in different public areas, and more recently 'Dóna corda al català' (2007) and 'Encomana el català' (2009 onwards). Despite the substantial progress made by the government in restoring the language, there have been some obstacles to its development. In 1997, for instance, a group known as 'Foro Babel' signed a manifesto supporting bilingualism in order to defend the Castilian-speaking people living in Catalonia from the 'imposition' of Catalan (Calero Vaquera, 2002: n.p).

Notwithstanding the attempt to achieve a position of equality for Castilian and Catalan in Catalonia, the latter is still in a subordinate position in terms of numbers of speakers and usage, and it is unlikely to become the only official language in Catalonia in the future. At the present time, Andorra is the only country where Catalan is the sole official language. The larger number of people who know Castilian better than Catalan

³⁴ The vehicular language in which pupils are taught in Catalonia is a highly controversial subject since the Spanish Supreme Court began trying to legislate against Catalan being the only vehicular language at school in 2010.

³⁵ The new law makes it obligatory for all Catalan institutions the use of Catalan in their communications (Direcció General de Política Lingüística, 2010: 10).

in Catalonia³⁶ is deemed a threat to Catalan's language survival, whilst the Spanish Constitution prevents the autonomous government from going further in this respect.

A model for standard Catalan was sought after the dictatorship in order to obtain a unified language for a formal expression of Catalan and it came from the need to restore and extend the social use of a language valid for all the territories where Catalan was spoken. Whereas the 'normativisation' of Catalan was assigned to the Secció Filològica de l'Institut d'Estudis Catalans (Philological Section of the Institute of Catalan Studies), the creation of a standard Catalan was conceived as a collective goal, led by the institutions and politicians, with the collaboration of social agents, especially the Catalan media, who played a significant role in the process (Ferrando and Nicolás, 2011: 512-513).

4.2. The creation of a standard language and the normalisation of Catalan

After nearly forty years of Catalan language prohibition and persecution (1939-1975), the linguistic norms created in 1913 by Pompeu Fabra³⁷ were regarded as obsolete for any formal expression of Catalan by some scholars. The creation of a standard Catalan after the dictatorship was called for to overcome the discrepancies in the formal register used in public instances and not related to literary language. In this respect, a group of intellectuals (Argenter et al., 1979) signed a manifesto entitled 'Una nació sense estat, un poble sense llengua' (A nation without a state, a people without a language), in which they stressed the urgent need to restore the status of Catalan after the dictatorship. In this manifesto, these intellectuals pose the question of how to advance in the restoration of Catalan, teaching it at schools and using it in the mass media, with significant political support (Argenter et al., 1979: 13). This illustrates the degree to which the intellectuals were concerned about a language which had been excluded from official usage.

The role of the media in the normalisation of the language is especially relevant for the

³⁶ According to Direcció General de Política Lingüística (2010: 238), 88% of the population claim to have a better command of Castilian, whereas 45% of the population has a higher proficiency in Catalan.

³⁷ Pompeu Fabra (Barcelona, 1868 – Prada de Conflent, 1948), linguist and grammarian, published his first major works, such as *Tractat d'ortografia catalana* (Treatise on Catalan orthography, 1904) and the *Gramàtica de la llengua catalana* (Catalan language grammar, 1912). Successive editions of these books and others such as *Normes ortogràfiques* (Orthographic norms, 1913) set in place the rules for modern, standardised Catalan (Trigo, 2012: n.p.).

strong influence it has had on speakers. The Catalan media has spread a standard language since its creation, a model which has been traditionally considered the ‘correct’ register for a formal expression of Catalan.³⁸ In 1982, Ricard Fité and Ferran Toutain, both editors of the newspaper *Avui*, published two articles advocating the modernisation of the language. The discussion was about ‘heavy’ and ‘light’ Catalan, the former referring to a Catalan that was tied to norms, and the latter to the modernised language based on how it is spoken in the street. The goal of the ‘modernisers’ was ‘parlar bé sense que es noti’ (‘to speak properly without it being noticed’) (Tubau, 1990: 25), in order to leave artificiality behind and to avoid the unnecessary Castilianisms at the same time. In the same vein, as seen by the defenders of the ‘light’ Catalan (Tubau, 1990: 183), the great mistake committed by Fabra over the establishment of the Catalan norms was to fight against all Castilianisms and not realise that behind them there was a ‘living language’ which was worth preserving. The removal of Castilian terms had been practised over the years, which carried the risk of the language losing its naturalness. However, Fabra himself had observed other phenomena occurring in the Catalan language aside from Castilian interference.

The debate which had started in the Catalan newspaper *Avui* in the 1980s was followed on by the publication of the best-selling book by Xavier Pericay and Ferran Toutain *Verinosa llengua* (1986). The discrepancies revolved around standard Catalan, which was considered to have the same characteristics as the literary register, as it preserved a sanctioned model of language, that of the former literary language.³⁹ The interruption of the natural evolution of the Catalan literary system as a result of the Franco Regime, thus, had prompted a debate regarding the style of Catalan writers and translators. This discussion culminated in the publication of *El malentès del noucentisme* (The misunderstanding of Noucentisme) (1996), yet another controversial text in which Pericay and Toutain pointed out that certain writers and translators were using an artificial prose based on the style developed during the 1920s and 1930s by the movement known as Noucentisme.⁴⁰ Hence, in the 1980s the discussion focused on whether the literary language should contain obsolete utterances and archaisms or modernise, a topic which had already been tackled at the beginning of the twentieth century during the series of congresses organised with the aim of building up the corpus

³⁸ See chapter 6 on media and Catalan.

³⁹ This refers to the Catalan literary language established at the beginning of the twentieth century.

⁴⁰ Noucentisme is a cultural movement of the early twentieth century in Catalonia. This movement and its influence on the Catalan language and literature will be discussed in a section further below.

of norms for the Catalan language. The clash between ‘protectionists’ and ‘modernisers’ revived an endemic dichotomy between the defenders of conventional parameters in grammar, and the promoters of establishing the rules alongside language evolution and how this is reflected by its users. The emergence of mass media in Catalan in this period changed the situation, especially in the last years of the 1980s with the success of the Catalan television channel (Televisió de Catalunya), paving the way for a certain degree of certain modernisation.

Some other scholars, on the other hand, have tried to move away from this discussion, advocating a ‘modern’ Catalan as opposed to the two extremist positions, those of ‘heavy’ and ‘light’. Ernest Sabater (1991: 86) expresses the view that the language is in an unhappy situation due to the lack of pragmatism and the thirst for notoriety of some of the scholars participating in the debate. According to him, ‘heavy’ supporters, those who have the power in institutions, have been neglecting reality in the attempt to create a perfect language based on a glorious literary past;⁴¹ whereas those on the ‘light’ side do not seem to be concerned at all about what is important to any language in the process of recovery, such as linguistic loyalty and the separation from another language, in this case Castilian (Sabater, 1991: 87). He concludes with the idea of adopting the ‘realism’ that Pompeu Fabra embodied in the early twentieth century: an accurate and cooperative effort carried out within institutions such as the universities, Termcat⁴² and the Institut d’Estudis Catalans. Together, a collective decision could be made by all the bodies that are working towards the ‘normalisation’ of the Catalan language.

Standard Catalan is today subject to a series of constraints that are not only linked to linguistic issues but also to the prestige of the standard language itself. On the one hand, the power of the Spanish state which stands over Catalonia resulting in Castilian being dominant in the Catalan territory; on the other hand, there is one variety in the Catalan speaking dominion, the dialect from Barcelona, that is hegemonic, and its capacity of influence exerted over the territory is detrimental to other geographical varieties. As

⁴¹ This refers to the strong literary tradition of Catalan, especially in its heyday between the thirteenth and sixteenth centuries.

⁴² Termcat (Centre de Terminologia), as the foremost centre in the field of terminology, sets out to guarantee the quality and availability of resources and working methods which are put into practice in the public and private spheres. The institution works under the supervision of the IEC and promotes the participation and implication of society in all its activities to motivate, in a multilingual setting, the development of terminology in the Catalan language and to contribute to the general progress of this language in all social fields.

observed by Martí i Castell,⁴³ this affects the peripheral dialects in the way that they tend to homogenise, their prestige decreases and they are seen as low language in comparison to the ‘central’ dialect from Barcelona (2007: 5). The fact that political borders divide the Catalan-speaking area does not help standard Catalan to function normally, and this is something that has a political motivation behind:

Als territoris de llengua catalana, els ha tocat de viure més separats que no convindria: sia per estats diferents (Espanya, França, Itàlia), sia per comunitats autònomes distintes dins l’Estat espanyol (Balears, Catalunya, País Valencià, Aragó). Aquesta determinació, que no és gens casual, sinó plenament volguda des del centralisme, obstaculitza la concepció de col·lectiu cohesionat; i una de les conseqüències d’aquesta concepció és que s’hi sublimin les diferències dialectals. (2007: 6).

The Catalan-speaking areas have had to live further apart than it is advisable: whether in different states (France, Italy), or in different regions in Spain (Balearic Islands, Catalonia, Valencia, Aragon). This determination, which is not at all accidental, but it is a completely deliberate centralistic move, hinders a united collective conception, and a consequence of this is that it intensifies dialectal differences. (my translation)

Dialectal differences among the Catalan-speaking areas are therefore not only grammatical or phonetical, but more importantly, ideological. Furthermore, standard Catalan has deficiencies that are made evident among people with social responsibility who do not have a good command of the language (Castellanos, 2009: 13). The main weaknesses of standard Catalan are the lack of identification by speakers from certain areas far from Barcelona; diversions from the norm, especially in media (see chapter 6); deficient use in formal situations, and subordination to dominant languages when creating new lexical items (Castellanos, 2009: 13-17). All these are factors that affect the language’s prestige and contribute to the loss of symbolic capital.

Furthermore, the restoration of the Catalan language after the dictatorship and its normalisation is also a controversial matter due to the link between language and

⁴³ Joan Martí i Castell was the president of the Secció Filològica of the Institut d’Estudis Catalans from 2002 to 2010.

identity.⁴⁴ The fact that language is conceived as a symbol of national identity is not only because of the “Catalan difference”, but especially because it is something that can counterbalance the migration phenomenon, since language can turn immigrants into Catalans (Fernández, 2008: 256). However, the Catalan nationalist claim that the restoration of their language after Franco’s regime was a legitimate goal clashed with another community, also living in Catalonia, that felt that Catalan was imposed: people from other areas of Spain who had moved to Catalonia also thought Castilian was as legitimate (Cramer, 2008: 49). Over the period of the normalisation of Catalan language, the government of the Generalitat led by CiU was never able to enforce a sole language due to the restriction from the Spanish state, and the linguistic policy was too weak to succeed in this context. Despite Catalan being strongly promoted outside of cultural areas in the 1990s, the result of the Generalitat’s attempts at linguistic normalisation was a rise in the number of speakers, but many still chose to use Castilian and still do so today.

4.3. A historical perspective of the fight over Castilianisms and the situation today

The coexistence of Catalan and Castilian in Catalonia is a controversial matter. The linguist and head of the language department at the newspaper *Ara*, Albert Pla Nualart⁴⁵ (2010: 222) sees bilingualism as deceptive since Castilian is dominant throughout the Catalan-speaking territories, because of which normalisation is an illusion in a country where Castilian is in a primary position. Castilian interference has become the focus of attention of the institutions and this is exemplified by all the campaigns in the media with the intent of fostering a correct expression of Catalan without Castilianisms. In fact, Castilian interference dates back to the sixteenth century, when Castilian use spread among the aristocracy following the *Germanies*’ wars (1519-1523). According to Carbonell, the fight against this intrusion is already noticeable in this period, as seen in Despuig’s *Los col·loquis de la insigne ciutat de Tortosa* (1557) (1979: 94). A significant advance in Castilian penetration occurred through the establishment of the *Decrets de Nova Planta*, which entailed the abolition of the Catalan Constitution and the imposition of Castilian in education (1768) or the prohibition of Catalan theatre

⁴⁴ See section 4.6.1 below.

⁴⁵ Pla Nualart is a somewhat controversial figure in the Catalan language field as he promotes a language which includes non-normative features and therefore is against Institut d’Estudis Catalans’ policy. The linguist Gabriel Bibiloni, for instance, openly criticises Pla Nualart’s model of language found in *Ara*, which prints non-normative terms such as *esclar* (of course) and *sisplau* (please) (see Bibiloni’s blog: <http://bibiloni.cat/blog/?p=2154> and *Ara*’s issue of 11th of April 2012).

(1799) (Carbonell, 1979: 97). In the intervening years, Castilian imperialism continued to persecute Catalan in all public spheres, though it never became predominant among the popular classes (Carbonell, 1979: 100).

The romantic revival known as the *Renaixença* represented the first serious attempt to codify the Catalan language, through a campaign promoted by the magazine *Avenç*. One of the primary criteria which dominated the entire linguistic campaign was ‘anti-Castilianism’ (Solà, 1977: 29). In this sense, Pompeu Fabra already posed the question of how the spoken and literary language must relate to each other. However, the codification of Catalan, as propounded by Fabra, could not undergo a systematic ‘purification’, in which some terms similar to Castilian or that simply sounded like Castilian would be eliminated (Solà, 1977: 67). His criteria were to look at literary tradition, the current dialects, etymology and other languages (Solà, 1977: 79).

In the subsequent years, during the period called *postfabrisme*, named after Fabra’s language codification, Catalan was banned by the Franco regime and yet the debate over Castilian interference was ongoing. The discussion was about the task of the copy-editor (Solà, 1977: 138-140), as the figure in charge of monitoring and promoting the ‘correct’ use of Catalan. After Francoism, philologists such as López del Castillo (1976) censured the dichotomy between correct and incorrect Catalan for being too simplistic, since a correct — or adequate — expression of Catalan is linked to social usage, that is, the register used for each linguistic situation. This is of a great value since it allows a broader acceptance of some expressions in informal registers. Indeed, after the dictatorship, the institution in charge of the ‘correct’ use of Catalan, the Institut d’Estudis Catalans, worked towards a modern re-edition of the Catalan normative dictionary which would replace the obsolete one by Fabra (Santamaria, 1999: 14). Normative dictionaries are socially regarded as the ‘correct’ model of language and their authority is granted by the institution which is behind them (Santamaria, 1999: 14). Despite the IEC dictionary (*Diccionari de la llengua catalana* [DIEC2]⁴⁶) being the only explicitly normative dictionary in Catalan, this work does not include all the ‘correct’ terms in this language, since it would be too vast (Santamaria, 1999: 15). In the same way, not all the terms not included in the dictionary are incorrect, unless these

⁴⁶ DIEC2 is today the only normative dictionary of Catalan, and the online edition is the only one which includes all the changes passed by IEC. The printed edition has been modified three times and it can be consulted at: <http://dlc.iec.cat/>. The changes made can be consulted at: <http://dlc.iec.cat/esmenes.html>

are explicitly barred:

Molts mots no són al diccionari (alguns derivats, per exemple) perquè es poden deduir de les regles lèxiques que tot parlant natiu coneix. Només són clarament incorrectes aquelles paraules que la institució normativa ha exclòs explícitament. (Santamaria, 1999: 15)

Many words are not in the dictionary (some derivations, for instance) because they can be deduced from the lexical rules which every native speaker knows. Only the words which the normative institution has excluded explicitly are clearly incorrect. (my translation)

The exclusion of words by a dictionary edited by the IEC illustrates how this institution exerts its control over which model of language is correct and which is not. With regards to the inclusion of neologisms, Termcat is responsible for the evaluation of borrowings from other languages, not only with a Castilian origin, but also words which have been borrowed from other languages with a rapid introduction into the normal language usage. The criteria for borrowings is as follows: if these words are not necessary, do not fit in with the language (phonetically, graphically or morphologically), are easily substituted or could bring derivations with structures alien to the language, these words are rejected (Bozzo, 1999: 42). In this manner, the IEC and Termcat linguists encourage translators to be bold and cautious at the same time, by protecting the language from deformation as a result of interference from other languages, as well as by introducing novelties into the language and so prove it to be living and dynamic (Bozzo, 1999: 42-43). Translators thus find themselves in the situation of having to decide whether or not a particular borrowed word complies with the normative requirements.

As seen by Fabra, most Castilian interference ceases to appear in cultured spheres (Solà, 1977: 73). For this reason, in literature, as a formal, cultured expression of the language, Castilianisms should not represent a problem. However, literature is nowadays a mirror of society, as it reflects all aspects of human life (Niubò, 2009: 94), a fact which links literature to all social registers in use of every language. The evolution of literature in search of verisimilitude results in a greater presence of colloquial registers and, for this

reason, and since the colloquial register is the one with the greatest Castilian interference, the problem of Castilianisms becomes all the more relevant. Niubò (2009: 94) observes that writers such as Mercè Rodoreda (1908-1983) — among many others — do not resort to Castilian words and expressions despite her style being mostly colloquial; however, a subsequent generation of writers, such as Josep Maria Benet i Jornet and Terenci Moix, use Castilian terms on some occasions (Niubò, 2009: 94). This tendency is more prevalent with the advent of democracy; whilst some acclaimed writers like Quim Monzó⁴⁷ take the liberty of using Castilian words and expressions at will.

During the Francoist regime, although many intellectuals aimed to protect Catalan from Castilian influence, their concerns often clashed with the needs of novelists, who wanted to increase the Catalan readership by using a language that was closer to spontaneous speech. Some writers called for a more relaxed linguistic expression, such as Salvador Espriu, Sebastià Juan Arbó, Xavier Berenguer and Joan Sales (Cornellà-Detrell, 2011: 6). Only a small minority, though, challenged the mainstream ideology, which was to preserve the language. However, since Catalan was not taught at school, some writers thought that rigid grammatical rules would make Catalan less communicative among readers (Cornellà-Detrell, 2011: 7). Joan Sales instigated the first linguistic debate of the dictatorship in his novel *Incerta glòria* (1956), in which he wrote an introductory note explaining his liberal approach to Catalan grammar and lexis in order to prioritise communication over style. Whilst publishing houses applied correction meticulously and the role of copy-editors was very important, Sales confronted grammar rules as he felt that Catalan was too complex, and that is why in his books he promoted colloquial elements and the use of regiolects (Cornellà-Detrell, 2011: 43). The preoccupation for correctness among the literary establishment caused the alienation of language users, who believed that words that had not been included in the *Diccionari general de la llengua catalana* simply could not be used (Cornellà-Detrell, 2011: 49). Instead of turning their attention to the changes in Catalan society due to the mass immigration from other parts of Spain which reduced the social use of Catalan, the literary circles in Catalonia were concerned about linguistic correctness in order to protect Catalan from Castilian influence, something which resulted in most texts having only a single register (Cornellà-Detrell, 2011: 37).

⁴⁷ See an in-depth analysis on Monzó's style in chapter 7.

The loss of natural expression in literature over the Franco period triggered what later would be a concern, and the question of how to reflect a natural expression of Catalan and respecting the norm at the same time is today still to be resolved. As seen by Niubò, refusing to use colloquial registers in literature or using only normative Catalan is not the solution to this issue, but tolerating interference contradicts the writer's mission to defend their own language:

Renunciar a aquest registre és renunciar a molts gèneres i a molts estils literaris que es cultiven sense problemes en altres llengües. Fer-lo servir, però, depurat de castellanismes, resulta cada cop menys versemblant i equival a limitar les possibilitats expressives dels escriptors. Adoptar la llengua col·loquial tal com s'utilitza en realitat, és a dir, acceptant-ne indiscriminadament tots els castellanismes, significa renunciar a la tradicional missió dels escriptors de defensar la genuïtat de la llengua i acceptar una castellanització massiva del català. (Niubò, 2009: 96)

To renounce this register is to renounce many genres and many literary styles which are practised without a problem in other languages. To make use of it, though, purged of Castilianisms, is becoming less and less credible and it entails constraining the expressive options available to writers. Adopting a colloquial language as used in real life, that is, allowing all Castilianisms indiscriminately, entails renouncing the traditional mission of writers to defend the authenticity of the language and to accept a mass *Castilianisation* of Catalan. (my translation)

The advance of Castilian in Catalonia over the Franco period created a new scenario: whilst a colloquial expression of Catalan before this era was minor, by the late twentieth century colloquial registers were full of Castilian words and expressions, a problem which affects written Catalan today when literature aims to reflect informal situations.

4.4. Translated literature

The presence of world literature in the Catalan sphere has been increasing since the death of Franco in 1975 (Arenas and Skrabec, 2006: 90), and the publishing houses

have printed and distributed books in Catalan all over the territory. Translation into Catalan was revived in the 1960s, since the obstacles in its path began to disappear as a result of the relaxation of censorship during the latter decade of Franco's regime (Gallofré, 1991: 6). In this same decade, the publishing industry experienced several changes that represented a step forward for translations in Catalan: the foundation of new publishing houses⁴⁸ filled the gap in the Catalan literary scene which had prevailed for over three decades. After this revival, the 1980s represented a second major attempt to publish translations in Catalan (Mallafre, 2000: 146). With the aim of including different genres in a vast collection of literature from all over the world, a significant movement appeared: *MOLU* (Millors obres de la literatura universal, Best works of universal literature), *MOLU XX* (Millors obres de la literatura universal Segle XX, Best works of universal literature twentieth century), and *Poesia del segle XX. Textos filosòfics, clàssics del pensament modern* (Poetry of twentieth century. Philosophical texts, classics of modern thinking). The publication of these collections was achieved partly with institutional support and the contribution of Catalan savings banks, and resulted in, in the first collection, the publication of 50 books between 1981 and 1986 and another 50 books between 1986 and 1990.

More recently, most imported literature comes from Castilian (33.9%) and English (27.1%) (Ministerio de Cultura, 2010: 37). Whereas literary translations come predominantly from English, most of the translations from Castilian into Catalan are children's literature and school text books (2010: 38). This is significant because primary and secondary education in Catalonia is, by law (Generalitat de Catalunya, 2009: 37), entirely in Catalan, as a result of which all books aimed at education have to be published in this language.⁴⁹

The lack of incorporation of certain authors' works into Catalan also needs to be highlighted. Despite the inclusion of many cultures in the Catalan system by means of translation, some are still not represented. The same can be said about some genres, such as essayistic writings, which the readership generally continues to read in Castilian. There are translators who cannot find their place in the Catalan literary scene because neither publishers nor the cultural agents who grant subsidies have sufficient

⁴⁸ One of the most important publishers of all genres at present in Catalonia, Edicions 62, was founded in 1962; the publisher of books for children La Galera — currently in the editorial group Enciclopèdia Catalana — was created in 1963.

⁴⁹ With the exception of the books which teach other languages and literature in a different language, such as Castilian, English and French.

interest in also promoting translations aimed at academia (Arenas and Skrabec, 2006: 35).

The difficulties faced by the Catalan language, which has long struggled to survive under the shadow of a major language, are crucial to understanding the context in which translators carry out their work. However, the introduction of university courses in the 1980s and 1990s led to a more professional group of literary translators. Despite that, literary translation is still mainly undertaken by writers, philologists or university professors who translate on the side and not as their single occupation (Arenas and Skrabec, 2006: 37). Translated literature is vital to the evolution of the Catalan system as it is considered to be a driving force for seeding literary creation in the Catalan language. Today the tendency among publishers is to translate contemporary novels that are a worldwide success instead of publishing literature classics (Skrabec, 2008: 75). However, some voices in the sector have spoken out publicly against the lack of commitment as well as, sometimes, the ill-intentioned interference of some publishers, which relegate Catalan to a second position, buying the rights to translate in both Catalan and Castilian and thus reducing the copies of translation in Catalan to a small presence in the market — or even ban its distribution — in order to give prominence to the Castilian one (Casassas, 2008: 13). This situation, added to the dominance of Castilian language over Catalan, is detrimental to the Catalan production of translated literature.

4.5. The publishing industry

Over the years of Francoism, there was a severe reduction in the production of Catalan literature due to censorship measures. Despite this, the censorship did not have a consistent policy for banning Catalan literature (Parcerisas, 2009: 176). In the first stages, the regime prohibited all texts written in Catalan (Thomàs, 1998: 166), however, from the second half of 1940s onwards, the censorship policy with regards to Catalan was altered to allow a certain degree of flexibility in publishing books in Catalan:

Fins als anys cinquanta — quan es tanca el Primer Franquisme — s'autoritzen més que res les obres de poesia i de creació i es permeten representacions d'obres de teatre en català, si bé es pot apreciar una voluntat d'impedir un ús

normalitzat de la llengua escrita, per exemple, a través de la prohibició d'edició de llibres en català que no fossin estrictament obres literàries. (Thomàs, 1998: 168)

Until the 1950s — when the first era of Francoism ended — mainly poetry and creation works were authorised, and theatre performances in Catalan were allowed, although an intentional impediment of a normalised usage of the written language can be observed, for instance, through the prohibition of editing books in Catalan which were not strictly literary works. (my translation)

In effect, the regime did allow the publication of some literary works but would not tolerate books that could represent a significant success among Catalans, that is, those which would promote the use of the language. Despite not having consistent criteria on the books which were to be banned, Franco's censorship goal was to relegate Catalan to a secondary position, leaving the Catalan language only valid for readers interested in philology, a regional language ineffective for a normal, everyday use. The plan devised by the Castilian authorities was to downgrade Catalan to the category of a dialect (Parcerisas, 2009: 184), with the aim of destroying the Catalan nation by annihilating its language, one of the main traits of its culture.

Although in the 1950s, the establishment of a new ministerial office under the dictatorship⁵⁰ allowed a certain degree of freedom among Catalan publishers, only certain works were approved by the censor. The disconcerting and inconsistent action of the censor for translations in the 1950s was notable, as Gallofré (1991: 12-17) exemplifies with numerous instances of literary works which were banned for their social value: translations of *Faust* or *Antigone* would at first be prohibited, although they would be approved later after some revision.

The end of the dictatorship represented a whole new era for Catalonia's publishing sector. Today it is a dynamic industry with a long tradition behind it, occupying a leading position in the overall Spanish market, which has seen an increase over the last decade, as the results of a survey commissioned by the publishers' union Gremi

⁵⁰ The new office was named 'Información y Turismo' (Information and Tourism), and it was created in 1951, according to Gallofré (1991: 5).

d'Editors de Catalunya (Publishers of Catalonia Association) and Associació d'Editors en Llengua Catalana (Publishers in Catalan Language Association)⁵¹ in 2010 show. The number of publishers that are members of the Gremi d'Editors de Catalunya and the Associació d'Editors en Llengua Catalana was 288 in 2010, an increase of ten members since 2006 (Gremi d'Editors de Catalunya and Associació d'Editors en Llengua Catalana, 2010: 8). Over the last few years, a number of small and independent publishers have appeared in Catalonia, such as Raig Verd and Meteora, which publish solely in Catalan. These publishing houses have grouped together under the name of *Llegir en català*⁵² to create an online blog in order to bring literature in Catalan closer to the Catalan readership. Despite their share in the market, large media groups continue to dominate the publishing industry. Literature in Catalan is today a product to be bought and sold. Whilst the Generalitat has been promoting literature in Catalan supporting financially all books written in Catalan, some voices have criticised this institutional support due to the consequences this has had on the quality of literature: the writer Quim Monzó, for instance, feels that subsidies affect the quality control of the market (Cramerí, 2008: 77). Fernández also observes that the project of cultural normalisation instigated by Convergència i Unió aimed to turn Catalan culture into a sustainable market (2008: 132). However, according to Fernández, the malfunctioning of the Catalan cultural field has little to do with quality; rather, it is related to the lack of prestige of Catalan culture, which is in a subordinate position under the dominance of Spain (2008: 175-179). Therefore, the question is not whether Catalan literature is good or bad; the question lies in that Catalan literature does not occupy a dominant position because it has not been able to produce value and it is perceived as anomalous or exceptional.

In effect, figures show that Catalan literature in the domestic market is in the minority. In 2010, a total of 34,414 titles were published by the Catalan publishing industry, of which 8,571 were in Catalan. This represents 24.9% of overall production and an increase of 0.3% compared to the production in Catalan in 2009, though a 6.9% decrease compared to 2006 (2010: 12). The following chart shows the evolution of the number of books printed by Catalan publishing houses over a period of five years:

⁵¹ Both the Gremi d'Editors de Catalunya and the Associació d'Editors en Llengua Catalana are publishing unions. The difference between these is that the latter's associated members publish books exclusively in Catalan, whereas the former includes all publishing houses for all languages.

⁵² <http://llegirencatala.wordpress.com/>.

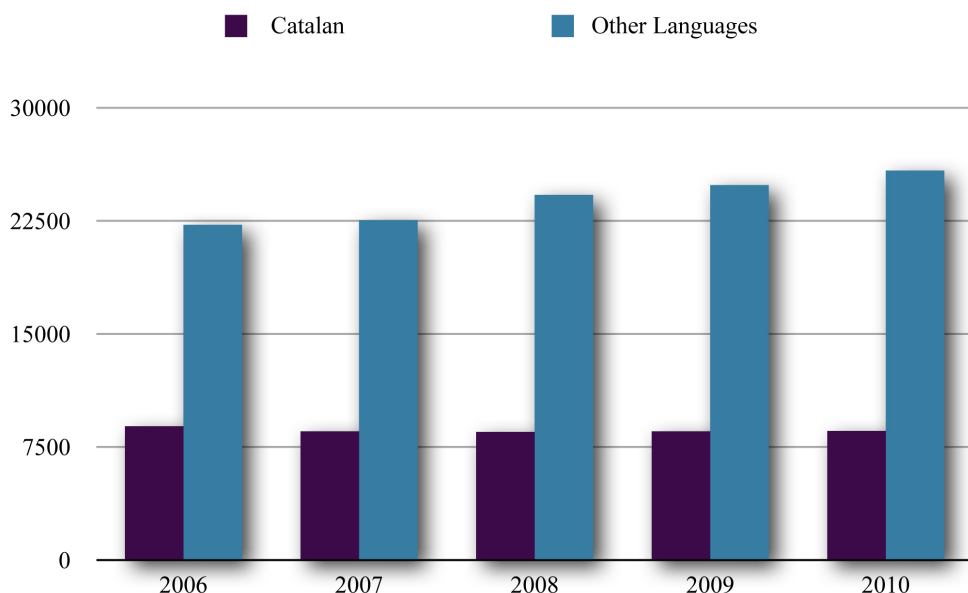


Figure 3.1 Evolution of titles in the Catalan publishing market 2006-2010

As the figure above shows, whilst the number of titles in Catalan has decreased slightly, it has increased in other languages. The general secretary of Gremi d'Editors de Catalunya, Segimon Borràs, observes that this drop in numbers cannot be attributed to a single factor, but it is clear that the economic crisis is the most important cause today.⁵³ One of the reasons why publishing houses choose other languages — specifically Castilian — is their expanding presence in the international markets. According to data gathered in 2010, 27.5% of the Catalan publishers belong to a holding company and the export of their production is an important part of their overall turnover. This explains why do publishers choose other languages for foreign trade, but why do publishers choose other languages and specifically Castilian in the domestic market? A survey commissioned by both the Associació d'Editors en Llengua Catalana and the Gremi d'Editors de Catalunya (2009: n.p.) identified Catalan reader habits. According to this survey, 73.1% of readers choose Castilian as the language in which they usually read and 23.5% opt for Catalan. Despite results showing the Catalan readership language choice and answering the question posed above, a survey was conducted to explore the preferences of the publishing houses which are listed as the Gremi d'Editors en Llengua Catalana members. The selection was made according to publishers that print fiction

⁵³ See appendix 5.

novels in Catalan and a total of 52 publishing houses were surveyed.⁵⁴ In order to narrow the field, the questions focused on literature translated into Catalan in the domestic market.

The results only confirm the pragmatic attitude of the publishing houses. To the question of ‘do you consider a translation into Catalan if the novel has already been translated into Castilian?’, the answer is vehement: only one publisher would still consider an edition in Catalan if there is a Castilian version already, unless this has been published recently. The vast majority would bear that in mind:

Que hagi estat traduït en castellà és un factor negatiu per una raó òbvia: un lector català pot llegir en castellà. De tota manera, una traducció vella i oblidada o una distribució reduïda de la versió en castellà pot fer canviar l’opinió de l’editor. (Club Editor, 2010)⁵⁵

Having been translated into Castilian is a negative factor for an obvious reason: a Catalan reader can read in Castilian. Nevertheless, an old and forgotten translation or a limited circulation of the Castilian version or the value of the literary work can change the publisher’s mind. (my translation)

Publishers of Catalan books have to face an extra difficulty when commissioning a translation: ‘El mercat en llengua catalana és reduït i això obliga a calcular molt bé les despeses’ (‘The Catalan market is limited and this makes us calculate wisely our costs’, my translation) (Edicions del Pirata, 2010).⁵⁶ Publishers do not project a bright future for Catalan translation. In fact, choosing Catalan for a translation could seem, from a pragmatic point of view, nonsensical; nevertheless, the number of readers all over the Catalan countries and the institutional support towards the maintenance of the Catalan language would seem to suggest that translations into Catalan will continue to be published. Evidence of the increasing interest in reading literature in Catalan is the recent success of Castilian bestsellers translated into Catalan, of authors such as Javier Cercas and Carlos Ruiz Zafón, which have been at the top of the best-seller lists in

⁵⁴ This survey was conducted in 2010 by sending a brief questionnaire (included in the appendix 3) to the publishing houses listed on their website. It is relevant to note that some of the publishers did not collaborate (including Planeta, leader of the publishing market in Spain) and others replied saying that they do not publish fiction novels.

⁵⁵ See appendix 3.

⁵⁶ See appendix 3.

Catalan (Parcerisas, 2008: 21). Mass literature translated into Catalan thus confirms the existence of a market for Catalan readers and a reciprocal interest from a Catalan readership willing to read in Catalan. However, the Spanish colonisation of the market limits the Catalan market capacity to produce cultural products that have symbolic power to reach a hegemonic position. As seen by Crameri, Catalan literature is trying to fight with Spanish literature on the same terms, an unjust competition since Catalan literature is in an inferior position (2008: 76).

4.6. Language, identity and translation

4.6.1. Language and identity

Our identity is a conglomerate of elements that form the sense of belonging to a collective. Pertaining to a certain collective and not to another leads the individual to be accepted by that group but rejected by another that is regarded as opposite. Rubert de Ventós observes that the identification of the ‘self’ is the identification with a ‘non-other’ individual (1999: 32). In this sense, a Catalan nationalist, someone who politically identifies himself or herself as belonging to the Catalan nation, cannot recognise himself or herself as a Spanish nationalist, who believes that Spain is his or her only nation. There is thus an opposition between collectives who express their identity ideologically, and it is through this opposition that individuals tag and categorise others, by protecting or discriminating against them according to their identity.

Language is undoubtedly one of the elements which identifies the self. It belongs to the community,⁵⁷ the members of which shape it in the social life. A language only exists and it is maintained within a language community, where speakers recreate it in speech and it is continuously reshaped and extended, through the creation of new terms and the loss or suppression of old ones. Since language is an important element of self-identity, governments have not been neutral in its development. Language policies in Catalonia have an impact on the evolution of the language. Sociolinguistic studies show how, in multilingual settings, ‘anonymity’ allows dominant languages to perpetuate their hegemony (Woolard, 2005: 3-4). Hegemonic languages are anonymous and this is what

⁵⁷ Romanticism in the nineteenth century favoured the idea of language as one of best tools to protect the unique authenticity of a collective. The mother tongue is the perfect expression of a community and language is thus a symbol of a common tradition and a perfect means of creating ties between individuals and the community of a nation (Boix and Vila, 1998: 161).

endows them with authority. Dominant ideologies dilute the private characteristics of an individual and seem 'not to belong to any identifiable individuals but rather seem to be socially neutral, universally available, natural and objective truths' (2005: 4). For this reason, dominant languages are also seen as the voice of nowhere, transparent and unmarked languages, that is, anonymous. The non identification of a language with a particular community contributes to its usage and renders it invisible and taken for granted. As opposed to this, 'authenticity' (2005: 1-2) allows the speakers to locate the language in a particular community and their values emerge and become visible to the speakers: 'That which is authentic is viewed as the genuine expression of such a community, or of an essential Self' (Woolard, 2005: 2).

The particular case of Catalan is paradoxical. Despite being in a subordinate position in comparison to Castilian, the former has managed to survive as an 'authentic' language full of values, expressing the authentic 'self' within the community. According to Woolard, the value of Catalan as a 'self-conscious badge for identifying "authentic Catalans"' hindered its acquisition by many people, who refused to accept the identity that speaking Catalan represents (2005: 14). Moreover, Castilian failed to be the voice from nowhere in Catalonia, the anonymous and unmarked language, also because of what it represents for Catalan speakers: since the imposition of Castilian in the eighteenth century and especially during the Franco dictatorship due to its enforcement in the public sphere, Castilian is regarded as a dominant language. Catalan, however, finds itself between anonymity and authenticity, because it possesses the characteristics of an authentic language, but it also has the traits of a dominant language, since institutional support and the increased use of Catalan in public spheres have changed its status. Today, as seen by Woolard (2005: 14-15), Catalan has become 'a necessity for success in formal institutions' and as a result of the identification of the 'authentic Catalans' with the speakers of this language, the language of success in the community, it has also been acquired and used by people born in Catalonia of a Castilian-speaking origin (Boix and Vila, 1998: 164). Catalan is thus necessary for social success, but the type of language required is far from the language spoken by the community. In this manner, the Catalan spoken by the community has the characteristics of an 'authentic' language, whereas the 'anonymous' Catalan, identified with the language of success, is far from the spoken Catalan.

The authority in charge of regulating the language, the Institut d'Estudis Catalans, imposes a norm for Catalan, which fosters distinct linguistic ideological views. Linguistic ideology reflects a certain relationship with the official norm or linguistic authority. There are different 'linguistic ideologies' according to the position, interests and social practices of individuals and groups (Boix and Vila, 1998: 157). Linguistic loyalty, as an example of the relationship of the individual or group with the linguistic norm, represents taking action towards the preservation of the language authenticity and unity so as to avoid eventual linguistic substitution (Boix and Vila, 1998: 163). In this manner, the process of purification of a language occurs as an intervention in language planning. As Thomas observes: 'Purism is the manifestation of a desire on the part of a speech community (or some section of it) to preserve a language from, or rid it of, putative foreign elements or other elements held to be undesirable' (1991: 12). Speakers thus refrain from using foreign terms in their language in order to preserve it. Such is the case of the Catalan linguistic authorities with regards to Castilian interference.

The intervention by institutions to preserve the language through the mechanism of purism is a non-neutral action, a manifestation of the ideology of a language community. In the same way, the linguists deciding over the inclusion or exclusion of a term are not free of an ideology. As seen above, defenders of a 'light' and 'heavy' Catalan had their own stance with regards to the 'purism' practice motivated by their own ideology. Nowadays, the dispute over how Catalan should deal with Castilian interference is still ongoing and controversial. A recent work which revives this discussion from the perspective of ideology is *Això del català: podem fer-ho més fàcil?* (This Catalan thing: can we make it easier?) (Pla Nualart, 2010). According to Pla Nualart's standpoint, Catalan is perceived as a difficult language for three main reasons: the asymmetric bilingualism which deems Catalan unnecessary in many spheres; Castilian interference, which threatens Catalan with hybridisation; and the current norm, which is thought to be obsolete (2010: 25). In this manner, the norm, as the official tool of language community institutions regulating the language, is of greatest importance since the speakers' perception that the norm is old-fashioned and ineffective occurs in various cultural fields.⁵⁸ Pla Nualart advocates a model of language which is functional and embraces as genuine all the terms that have been appropriated by its speakers and render accurately what is meant. Indeed, five centuries of coexistence have influenced

⁵⁸ As explored above, readers tend to choose literature written in Castilian despite being able to read in both Catalan and Castilian. Also in cinema, many films dubbed in Catalan do not sound natural according to their audience (see chapter 6).

Catalan in a certain way bringing it closer to Castilian and the result of this evolution is still Catalan (2010: 28). Pompeu Fabra had already admitted during his work on the dictionary of Catalan that one can perceive the extent to which Castilian interference has affected Catalan: '[P]er molt enllà que portem la nostra obra de depuració, no podrem mai esborrar l'empremta de l'espanyol en la nostra llengua' ('however much we further our work of refinement, we will never be able to rid the Spanish imprint from our language', my translation) (1992: 164). The constant interference today means that academic institutions, such as the IEC, are necessarily the most important — and recognised — reference for professionals in Catalonia. However, in languages that are not in a subordinate position, writers and the media are, above all, responsible for the new forms and usage of language (Mir, 2003: 211).

The dualism between those who respect the norm and the defenders of a certain permeability is still a problem in all cultural manifestations that include the expression of the Catalan language. One of the main criticisms is that the IEC tends to reject any sort of alteration of Pompeu Fabra's work, a work which does not reflect how people speak the language since the Catalan grammar and dictionary are nearly a century old (Pla Nualart, 2010: 55-56). Although the current normative Catalan dictionary is based on Fabra's work, the IEC is working on a new edition of the grammar which is expected to revise old-fashioned items and which can be visited and commented on at the IEC website. However, this recent institutional work has also been criticised for the incorporation of certain aspects that are considered obsolete, especially in phonetics (Pla Nualart, 2010: 60-61). In any case, the secular nature of Fabra's work has been regarded as the main obstacle for language evolution as a result of its essentialist view of Catalan. In this sense, Pla Nualart observes that this attitude towards the national language will not admit any foreign elements that could enrich or improve it (2010: 64-65).

However, the IEC and its normative dictionary and grammar dispositions is not only responsible for the demonization of a word or expression when it is assumed to come from Castilian. The Catalan word *tonto* (silly) illustrates this issue very well. This is an adjective which is not recorded in the normative dictionary (DIEC2), however it is widely used in oral situations today. Whilst users identify the word *tonto* with Castilian because the ending *-o* is typical of the Castilian language, other descriptive dictionaries — as opposed to the prescriptive DIEC2 — collect this word. Regardless of being a

Castilianism,⁵⁹ according to *Diccionari català-valencià-balear* (DCVB), the word is documented in the *Diccionari Aguiló* in a source dating back to 1627 in Perpignan, a Catalan-speaking territory. Another descriptive dictionary, the *Diccionari descriptiu de la llengua catalana* (DDL), also includes it and locates its usage in Catalan literature between the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Today the word *tonto* is seen as a Castilianism to be avoided in a standard and formal expression of Catalan. However, the broad use of the word in informal instances with a phonetical adaptation of the Castilian word is registered in Televisió de Catalunya, in soap operas like *La Riera*,⁶⁰ in which the goal of the scriptwriters is to achieve a certain degree of verisimilitude through the language spoken by the characters. The style guide of the Corporació Catalana de Mitjans Audiovisuals includes the word *tonto* and recommends its usage in a restricted manner only, due to which it is accepted in informal situations. According to the style guide, words like *tonto* are: ‘paraules específiques del llenguatge col·loquial, admeses en espais informals, habituals sobretot en diàlegs o declaracions’ (‘specific words of the colloquial language, admitted in informal programmes, commonly used in dialogues or declarations’, my translation) (Corporació Catalana de Mitjans Audiovisuals, 2012: n.p.). Correspondingly, only in colloquial occurrences is the word accepted, despite being documented in Catalan literature of the seventeenth century. More to the point, the word is also registered in literature today. In the translation into Catalan of Paul Auster’s *Brooklyn Follies* (*Bogeries de Brooklyn*) (2005: 10), by Albert Nolla, the word *tonta* (feminine of *tonto*) appears. The language used throughout the novel, though, is not characterised by Castilian interference and it follows non-normative patterns which are genuinely derived from Catalan, but never from Castilian.

In this manner, some terms or expressions are preferred over others that are more functional. Pla Nualart (2010: 231) takes the word *bolso*⁶¹ (handbag) as an example: although it is widely used, the ‘correct’ word is *bossa* (bag), which is less functional because it is a superordinate. The term *bossa* avoids a loan from Castilian whereas *bolso* is a recurrent word for speakers but it represents a controversial subject matter for the Catalan linguists, since only in the informal situations for oral colloquial Catalan are

⁵⁹ Etymologically, *tonto* does not come from Latin and it is shared with other languages than Castilian (i.e. Portuguese, Italian and Romanian). It is relevant to note that the word appeared at a late stage in all languages, according to Coromines (1991[1980]), which leads him to think that it is not exactly a Castilianism.

⁶⁰ The presence of *tonto* and its derivate *tonteria* (silly thing) is recurrent in television series and reality shows. An example of this can be found in episode 555 aired on TVC on the 4th of October 2012.

⁶¹ *Bolso* is also documented in DCVB and registered in Montblanc in 1650.

some Castilianisms tolerated. Televisió de Catalunya receives favourably some lexical choices compiled in their online linguistic advice service, *ésAdir*. Among the accepted words or expressions, some Castilianisms appear, such as the terms *cutre*, *cigarro*, *despedida* and *horterada*. Perhaps only the words which are more integrated into Catalan and are not perceived as an interference from Castilian fit in with oral colloquial situations in the media although they do not appear in the IEC Catalan dictionary (DIEC2).

To summarise, language is an instrument of communication shaped by the speaker and, in the Catalan case, Castilian interference is part of it. In this sense, the attitude towards interference, by either allowing or opposing it, is indicative of a certain linguistic ideology:

En el nostre àmbit cultural les llengües són, com a tot arreu, principalment mitjans de comunicació; però, a més a més, són instruments de cultura i, alhora, signes d'identitat nacional i social. Aquesta doble circumstància és la que provoca contínuament l'estira-i-arronsa entre els qui volen "el català que ara es parla" i els qui volen preservar un català més genuí. (Solà, 1977: 6)

In our cultural field, languages are, like everywhere else, means of communication mainly; but, moreover, they are instruments of culture and, at the same time, signs of national and social identity. This double circumstance is what causes this constant tug of war between those who want "Catalan as it is spoken today" and those who want to preserve a more genuine Catalan. (my translation)

The fact that languages are not only instruments of communication but also of culture, which are intrinsically linked to identity, causes a tension between 'correct' and 'incorrect' Catalan. In this way, there are two conflicting views on language which are related to the user's ideology. In translation, linguistic choice related to the translator's ideology has also been investigated.

4.6.2. Ideology and translation

In translation, the notion of ideology has been discussed at length in the field of manipulation and power relations, as seen in the previous section (3.1). This section explores the ideology of the individual translator and how it conditions the linguistic choice (Hatim and Mason, 1997; Munday, 2007; Tymoczko, 2003). Hatim and Mason (1997), on the other hand, offer a perspective on the consequences of translator's choices to provide evidence of how ideology shapes discourse and to shed light on whether the translator's intervention is motivated or unconsciously filtered. According to Hatim and Mason, the translator acts in a social context and is part of it, which enables us to define translation as an ideological activity, since ideology is 'the tacit assumptions, beliefs and value systems which are shared by social groups' (Hatim and Mason, 1997: 120, quoting Simpson, 1993: 5).

Munday (2007) investigates how ideology is expressed textually in translation through the analysis of political material in Latin America to provide a new insight into how the individual translator's ideology conditions a translation. As seen by Munday, linguistic choices in translation linked to ideology do occur, but the language is not entirely determined by the translator's ideology:

However, while it is always more exciting to suggest that such shifts have an ideological motivation, I think we should not be too hasty to jump to such a conclusion. My contention is that the shifts in key features, when they do occur, may arise both from the conscious strategy of the translator but also, and perhaps more interestingly cognitively, from less conscious translation choices at the lexicogrammatical level that pertain to the translator's unique experience of the two languages. (2007: 213)

Munday seeks to investigate how ideology is conveyed through lexicogrammatical choice following on Hatim and Mason's work, a model based on discourse analysis used among linguistic-oriented theorists of translation. However, this model does not tackle ideology concerning all the agents taking part in the translational process and according to the norms of the target culture.

Tymoczko opposes the idea of a translator who has no cultural and ideological

affiliations (2003: 199) and encourages the translator to be ‘an ethical agent of social change’ (2003: 181). According to her view, the ideology of a translation cannot only be found in the translated text, but also in the ‘voicing and stand of translator, and in the relevance of the receiving audience’ (2003: 183). Thus, the translator is seen as an intervening being in the process of translation. For this reason, the translator’s ideology and the hegemonic ideology in the target culture need to be investigated. Accordingly, the following account does not attempt to analyse a certain ideology behind a translation through the linguistic or stylistic choices found in the text. Rather, it aims to describe how the Catalan system used translation as a means of consecrating and spreading a certain ideology in a particular period of time through translators such as Josep Carner and Carles Riba, and how and to what extent this determines the language models currently available in translation.

4.6.3. Translation and imperialism: Noucentisme

Translation has been regarded as a powerful tool to enhance linguistic and cultural identity since the Catalan literary revival (*Renaixença*) in the nineteenth century. The political and cultural movement of Noucentisme represented the leading force that catapulted translation into a nationalist practice. Nevertheless, the Catalan politico-cultural movement of the beginning of the twentieth century known as Noucentisme has been blamed for causing the involution of the Catalan literary language by the defenders of Catalan as it is spoken today. As seen above, Pericay and Toutain (1996) reflect on the model for literary Catalan today which, according to them, is a consequence of the style promoted by Noucentisme, a project politically led by the president of the *Mancomunitat* (the Catalan regional government) Enric Prat de la Riba, which emerges from the common desire of the bourgeoisie identified with Catalan nationalism to carry out a transformation of the nation in all public spheres (Prat de la Riba, 2007[1906]: 111).

Prat de la Riba was convinced that the richness of a language had to be found in medieval literature, before being ‘polluted’ by other languages (2007[1906]: 80). Despite Noucentisme embracing Classicism, one can observe the baroque style of Noucentisme’s writings, as many writers produced texts which were as far from the spoken language as possible (Buffery, 2007: 157). One of the leading figures of Noucentisme, Josep Carner, cultivated a language which recovers, artificially, the

finesse of the Middle Ages in Catalonia (Ortín, 2009: 107). In his translation of Molière's *Les Fourberies de Scapin*⁶² in 1903, Carner reveals an aristocratic style. Some of the traits of his translations at the beginning of the twentieth century are, among others, the strong presence of archaisms and Gallicisms, the invention of terms and the absence of dialectal words and colloquial expressions (Ortín, 2009: 109). Carner's ideal of a 'noble translation' which had started with this and other experiments had to be transferred into the normal mainstream translations of theatre, a genre which would enrich the capacity of expression of Catalan playwrights (Ortín, 2009: 123) through a model of language which would stay close to poetry at all levels.

This model is the one criticised by Pericay and Toutain (1996), who condemn it for the usage of archaic terms which sound less Castilian than others, such as *llur*, *àdhuc*, or *hom*:

Si la prosa original de Carner sembla un dels pocs fonaments sòlids amb què ha pogut comptar la tradició del segle XX, no és menys cert que la prosa de les seves traduccions — on la tendència més amanerada de Carner es desboca fins a extrems difícils de comprendre — ha marcat una altra direcció, una direcció equivocada, a una bona part de la prosa narrativa que s'ha escrit en aquest país des del postnoucentisme fins al final de la postguerra. (1996: 109-110)

If the original prose of Carner seems one of the few solid foundations which the twentieth century tradition has been able to rely on, it is not less certain that the prose of his translations — where the most mannered tendency of Carner unleashes to such an extent that it is difficult to understand — marked another direction, a wrong direction, for a great deal of the narrative prose written in this country since the postnoucentisme to the end of the post-war. (my translation)

For Pericay and Toutain, Carner's prose in translations is regarded as a poor influence on much of the Catalan prose after Noucentisme and up to the post-war period in the 1950s. Their standpoint comes from the idea that the prose of Noucentisme was born of

⁶² Although this translation was conceived as an experiment, as opposed to the other more popular theatre representations of Molière in Catalonia at the time, Carner was more interested in the literary language which was far from the Catalan as it was spoken, a colloquial register which would not embellish the language. His experiment was thus to contribute to the lexical enrichment of the Catalan language (Ortín, 2009: 112).

translations in a laboratory where all sort of tests were performed (1996: 18). Indeed, Carner's intention was to give life to a language which had to come from translations, that is, based on foreign authority. However, this 'artificial' prose, according to Pericay and Toutain, influenced the Catalan writers with a model which is far away from Catalan as it is spoken.

Pericay and Toutain blame this model for being the cause of some non-acceptable translations into Catalan in the last decades of the twentieth century. Their criticisms are supported by other scholars who deem Carner's translations to be unfaithful to the original in the way that Carner's own style betrays the source text (Ortín, 2002: 144): 'En les traduccions, aquestes marques estilístiques pròpies tenen tant de protagonisme que sovint perjudiquen "la consecució d'un efecte equivalent al de l'original"' ('In translations, his own stylistic marks become so prominent that they are often detrimental to "the achievement of an equivalent effect with the original', my translation). Ortín quotes the words of Joan Sellent (1998), who wrote about Carner's intervention in the text through the inclusion of archaisms, Gallicisms, cultisms, dialectalisms and neologisms which he had himself invented. However, it is worth noting that the aim of Carner's translations was to create a 'poetic language' (Buffery, 2007: 152).

These criticisms, despite placing Carner's translations into the context of Noucentisme and its politico-cultural project, do not attribute significance to the time in which the translation occurs and yet this is the most revealing part of the study of Carner's work. Toutain (1997: 67) does explain how the model derived from the translations of Noucentisme was determined by the sociocultural framework in the target culture. This reminds us of Toury's approach which focuses on the analysis of the target culture to understand how the target text was written.

In this context, language was a powerful instrument, and the nationalistic intellectuals of Noucentisme saw it as a major concern in that language and identity forged an indivisible bond, as Buffery points out:

Throughout Catalonia's history, Catalan has been perceived to be a defining 'difference' with respect to the other communities which came to form the modern Spanish state. Indeed, the status and health of the Catalan linguistic

tradition was the primary concern of writers and intellectuals throughout the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. (2007: 146)

The idea of the Catalan language as a symbol of distinctness underpins the assertion that identity is based on the realisation of the ‘self’ as a ‘non-other’. The Catalan elite of Noucentisme soon became aware that the Catalan progress was at a standstill within the boundaries of Spain, an idea which had its genesis in the context of the loss of the last Spanish colonies in 1898. The so-called ‘Spanish colonial disaster’ stimulated among the Catalan bourgeoisie a reaction against Spain which resulted in a nationalistic movement that would change the Catalan cultural scene (Figuerola, 1999: n.p.). Joan Maragall, one of the leading figures of Modernisme,⁶³ wrote in 1897 *La independència de Catalunya* (The independence of Catalonia), where he proclaimed the death of Spanish thinking and the need of purging Catalan culture of any Castilian influence (Maragall, 2010). Noucentisme intellectuals, only a few years later, took this idea one step further and articulated a politico-cultural project to channel all these ideas. The linguistic reform was one of the main achievements promoted by the ideologists of this project, and the *Primer Congrés de la Llengua Catalana* (First Congress on Catalan Language) was held in 1906, with a main goal of studying Catalan grammar in order to draw up its grammatical norms. The Congress, organised by Antoni M. Alcover, was a great success, not only for the contribution that it represented for the Catalan language norms, but for the social impact it had: ‘És indubtable que el congrés contribuí a la renaixença lingüística del català no sols en l’àmbit literari sinó també en els usos socials’ (‘There is no doubt that the congress contributed to the linguistic renaissance of Catalan, not only in the literary field but also in its social use’, my translation) (Perea, 2008: 272).

In this context, it does not come as a surprise that the president of the Mancomunitat, Prat de la Riba, presented at the *Primer Congrés de la Llengua Catalana* a contribution entitled ‘Importància de la Llengua Catalana dins del Concepte de la Nacionalitat’ (1908), where the Catalan language is seen as a unifying force (Buffery, 2007: 147). His idea of language as the essence of *catalanitat* (‘catalanness’) is portrayed in the following quotation from his nationalist manifesto with the title *La nacionalitat*

⁶³ Modernisme emerged around 1892 with the gathering of groups of intellectuals and artists who revolved around the same programmatic ideas with the aim of modernising the Catalan culture (Figuerola, 1999: n.p.).

catalana: ‘La llengua és la manifestació més perfecta de l’esperit nacional i l’instrument més poderós de la nacionalització i, per tant, de la conservació i la vida de la nacionalitat’ (2007[1906]: 84) (‘Language is the most perfect manifestation of national spirit and the most powerful instrument of nationalisation and, therefore, of conservation and life of the nationality’, my translation). The manifesto devoted an entire chapter to ‘imperialism’, as an antonym of regionalism or provincialism, a concept which received the influence of the Noucentista intellectual Eugeni d’Ors’ idea of Catalonia: a nation in pursuit of universality (Fuentes Codera, 2007: 82). In this context, the position of translation was crucial, since this was seen as a practice which would enhance national identity (Murgades, 1994: 95) and thus would contribute to the universalisation of the Catalan nation. This insight was shared by Carner (1907: 56), who expressed his joy about the work which the *imperialistes de la llengua* (‘language imperialists’) carried out through the translation of ‘treasures’ which had remained hidden to Catalans, in reference to the world’s greatest literature.

Translation was also seen as an important instrument in the process of language codification, since it would create a less rigid language through the incorporation of new terms and because translating the greatest literature of the world would mean placing the Catalan language on the same level as universal, hegemonic languages such as English, French or German. Maragall had already asserted the importance of translation as a means of enrichment of the language in 1893:

El treball de traducció, quan és fet amb calor artística, suggereix formes noves; fa descobrir riqueses de l’idioma desconegudes, li dóna tremp i flexibilitat, el dignifica per l’altura de lo traduït, i en gran part li supleix la falta d’una tradició literària pròpia i seguida. (1981[1893]: 789)

The work of translation, when it is performed with an artistic warmth, suggests new forms; it discovers the richness of the language that was unknown, it gives temperament and flexibility to it, it dignifies it for the height of what has been translated, and mostly, it makes up for the lack of its own literary tradition. (my translation)

Therefore, there was a second but not less important motivation of the Noucentisme

intellectuals to foster the production of translation of foreign literature into Catalan: to raise Catalan to a language of culture. Translation was regarded as an indispensable contribution to the contemporary process of language codification to achieve prestige and to become legitimate for literature which aimed to be universal. It is Carner, again, who conveys this idea as well as realises it through his translations:

Perquè el català esdevingui abundós, complexe, elàstic, elegant, és necessari que els mestres de totes les èpoques i tots els països siguin honorats amb versions a la nostra llengua i, agraïts, la dotin de totes les qualitats d'expressió i diferenciació que li calen. (Carner, 1907: 56)

In order for Catalan to become abundant, complex, flexible, elegant, it is necessary that the masters of every period and every country be honored with versions in our language and, in gratitude, endow it with every quality of expression and differentiation that it needs. (Venuti, 2005: 194)

Carner's motivation to elevate Catalan to a 'universal' literary language is illustrated in a fragment of 'Del Shakespeare en llengua catalana' (1907), where translating Shakespeare into Catalan is perceived as a cultural need linked to the goal of imperialism, which could be attained by means of importing the Shakespearean model. Noucentistes thus saw in Shakespeare 'an organic agent for the natural development of the English language' and this was perhaps why they thought of extending this 'role' in Catalan (Buffery, 2007: 160). The majority of Noucentistes did not see the Catalan language as problematic for the complexity of the Shakespearean language. Rather they even claimed Catalan to be 'the most Shakespearian language in the world' (Buffery, 2007: 161). In sum, the desire to elevate the Catalan language to a universal, refined category would find in Shakespeare a way to achieve this objective through translation.

Carles Riba represented another bastion in the creation of a distinguished language for literature through translation. In the process of translation he had to deal with a language which was not 'flexible' — as also seen by Maragall—, and he thus aimed to adjust it by means of translation (Cabré, 2001: 127). The purge of the language of Castilianisms entrusted to the men of letters, thus had to be carried out by means of translation so it could become more 'flexible'.

In the same manner, Riba also identified a close relationship between translation and imperialism. His idea of translating poetry was to provide the nation with foreign literature which was lacking in order to serve its people as the recipe for integration and cultural evolution (Murgadas, 1994: 95-96). Riba was the translator who took the challenge of translating Homer's *Odyssey* for the first time into Catalan in 1919. A few decades later, his own effort to achieve a new edition which was the final revision of his first translation, led the second edition of 1948 to become a one of the most canonical works of Catalan literature (Parcerisas, 2009: 228). His determination lay in the belief that a Catalan translation of a major work of literature such as Homer's *Odyssey* had to be at the same level as the original (Parcerisas, 2009: 245), so it would also dignify and raise the target language to the level of the source. For this reason, his translations would not only fill in the gaps of the target culture, but also normalise the culture. Therefore, in the same way as Shakespeare's translations in Catalan, a translation of a book and language with symbolic power is seen as benefit to the target culture, dignifying and renovating the target language and elevating its literature to the category of universal through the incorporation of sacred, canonised literary works.

All in all, translation was the means of consecration of a literature which was lacking in prestige and tradition. Instead of being a threat to domestic production, translation would enhance a national literary pride. Venuti expresses this idea when showing that nations benefit from translation: 'Such translation practices form national identities through a specular process in which the subject identifies with cultural materials that are defined as national and thereby enable a self-recognition in a national collective' (2005: 180). Thus, translating from prestigious literature was a way to elevate Catalan to a language of culture, so that the Catalan nationalist project devised by Prat de la Riba, who deemed language 'the most perfect manifestation of national spirit', could be achieved.

4.6.4. Translation and identity today: in search of a language model

As discussed at the beginning of this chapter, the Noucentisme model of language cultivated by Carner through his translations has been criticised for its archaisms and artificial elements which were employed to meet their ideological agenda. The nationalist practice of translation of Noucentisme, though, must not be decontextualised. Still, translation into Catalan can currently be deemed a nationalist

practice with regards to the model of language used in translations. The language's bond with identity is discernible as the debate over the secular nature of Fabra's work is still regarded by some scholars as the main barrier for the language modernisation. As discussed above, the alleged 'essentialism' in Catalonia (Pla Nualart, 2010: 64-65) does not admit foreign words, and practising purism in order to preserve the integrity of the language still persists.

Linguistic interference from Castilian, weak knowledge of the language and the lack of models available to professionals have resulted in a strong reliance on grammar works. This dependency on the norm creates a certain insecurity among professionals since any form which cannot be found in the normative grammar or dictionary is called into question, whereas others with more dubious origins are accepted as long as they are officially registered (Mir, 2003: 211). This sense of insecurity does not only occur among language users but also among professionals such as translators:

La inseguretats general que avui hi ha entre els usuaris (i fins entre els especialistes) de la llengua fa que aquesta en gran part depengui dels correctors, traductors i assessors, els quals fan la seva feina amb els mateixos condicionants de tothom (això és: coneixement sovint poc sòlid de la llengua i múltiples interrogants que aquesta planteja). (Solà, 1992: 462)

The general insecurity among the users today (and even among specialists) of the language causes the reliance on proofreaders, translators and advisers, who do their job under the same conditions as everyone else (that is: an often not very sound knowledge of the language and the multiple questions arising from this).
(my translation)

The insecurity in language usage and the need for grammatical referents other than the official ones place intuition in the foreground, and this becomes an indispensable skill for professionals such as proofreaders, translators and language advisors.

However, some voices of translators have arisen against the strict normative Catalan 'imposed' by the institutions (Briguglia, 2011: 268-269). In an interview, the translator,

writer and theatre director, Joan Casas, argues that the model of language in Catalonia is ‘ofensiu’ (offensive) because it is ‘impositiu’ (overbearing) (Briguglia, 2011: 268). His translation of Pasolini’s *Ragazzi di vita*, in which he uses an oral language with dialectalisms and Castilianisms, received several criticisms because of the model of language employed in the translation (Briguglia, 2011: 269). Today Casas, as he states in this interview, would act in a different way, since he claims he was at the time afraid of the normative impositions: ‘Ara tindria més autoritat per plantar cara als correctors, mentre en aquell moment no la tenia, degut a la meva inexperiència’ (‘I would now have more authority to stand up to the proof-readers, whilst, back then, I didn’t, due to my inexperience’, my translation). This illustrates how a non-normative language for translation is hardly accepted and runs the risk of marginalisation. The fear of being ‘censored’ is still present in a scenario in which language institutions dominate the system and dictate a specific model of language which only approves genuine Catalan.

The role of translation for the establishment of a model of Catalan is well known. However, today translation does not only have an impact on literature; the oral influence on the field, mostly due to the media, obliges the professionals to revise the traditional model and expand and complete it (Mallafre and Mestres, 2002: 18). The IEC valued the translators’ contribution and this resulted in the celebration of the *II Jornades per a la Cooperació en l’Estandardització Lingüística* (II symposium for cooperation in language standardisation) in 1999, which focused on translation and revolved around three different sections devoted to literary translation, media related translation and machine and computer-aided-translation. The symposium’s goal was to analyse the role of translation in the creation of linguistic models. In the field of literary translation, Joan Sellent presented a model of language, which has evolved since he started translating. As opposed to Casas’ model, Sellent refuses a model of language which does not reflect Catalan:

Des que vaig començar a traduir, ara fa una vintena d’anys, la meva concepció del model de llengua ha evolucionat considerablement: he abandonat una certa adscripció inicial a aquest complex d’inferioritat de què parlava, que em feia rebutjar solucions pertanyents a la meva experiència i memòria orals a favor d’altres més acostades a l’artifici literari; actualment, el que rebutjo de manera sistemàtica — o, com a mínim, em miro amb desconfiança — és qualsevol opció

lingüística que no identifiqui com a pròpia de la comunitat de parlants a la qual pertanyo. (2000: 82)

Since I started translating, about twenty years ago now, my idea of a model of language has evolved considerably: I have abandoned my original subscription to this inferiority complex I was talking about, which made me reject solutions pertaining to my oral experience and memory in favour of others, closer to literary artifice; currently, what I reject systematically — or, at least, I am wary of — is any linguistic option not identified with the community of speakers which I belong to. (my translation)

This indicates Sellent's militancy for the language cause: in his professional maturity, he rejects a model which does not belong to his community, that is, which does not represent the Catalan identity, the Catalan community of speakers, through language. His model, influenced by his wide experience in dubbing, advocates a balanced language which includes neither archaisms nor too contemporary expressive 'tics' (2002: 83). Nevertheless, he admits that sometimes he cannot find solutions within the normative framework and he resorts to breaking the norm. Therefore, the need to revise the linguistic norm becomes evident, but also the fact that Catalan is a dominated language shows how the translators' insecurity affects the way in which language is expressed in translation.

The use of normative Catalan in translation is not only a matter of discussion amongst writers, translators and linguists, but it also concerns the Catalan government. The managing director of the Linguistic Policy of the Generalitat de Catalunya in 2002, Lluís Jou, observes that translations jeopardise the prevalence of genuine, normative Catalan:

Les traduccions com a llengua d'arribada també són un signe irrefutable de vitalitat i provoquen un enriquiment clar de la llengua i de la cultura de què es tracta. [...] [T]ambé són aquestes les traduccions que posen en risc, per dir-ho així, la normativa o les expressions més genuïnes i és aquesta mena de contacte entre llengües el que obliga la llengua d'arribada, en el nostre cas la catalana, a plantejar correctament el tractament de la neologia d'importació i deixa en mans

de la seva comunitat lingüística la necessària reacció contra els manlleus inadequats. (Jou, 2002: 29-30)

Translations as target language are also an irrefutable sign of vitality and result in an evident richness to the language and culture in question. [...] [T]ranslations also jeopardise, to put it one way, norms or the most genuine expressions and it is this kind of language contact what obliges the target language, in this case Catalan, to properly consider the treatment of imported neologisms and leaves at the language community's hands the necessary reaction against inadequate loans. (my translation)

Jou views translation as an action which puts the language in an insecure, risky situation and calls to protect it through examining loans from other languages properly. This is a clear manifestation of a language ideology which aims to preserve Catalan in a very defensive way. This is the attitude that without doubt conditions the translator's job in the Catalan system today. Correctiveness and genuine Catalan are two main axioms that play an important part in the act of translation due to the relation of language and identity. This has an impact on the language models available and leaves in the translator's hands the task of rendering the original in a language which is constrained by the lack of a valid norm for all language usages and the constant fight over Castilian intrusion.

5. Analysis of the translation of *Fear and Loathing in Las Vegas* into Castilian

5.1. Introduction

This chapter analyses the translation of *Fear and Loathing in Las Vegas* into Castilian comparing source and target texts through linguistic choices expressed at the discourse level. Discourse analysis investigates ‘the way language communicates meaning and social and power relations’ (Munday, 2008: 90). It looks at linguistic features such as transitivity, modality, theme-rheme organisation, and cohesion to observe the function of the text in its sociocultural framework. In the same way, in this chapter, linguistic features relating to how the function of the source text is expressed through its register are identified in order to evaluate the target text according to its particular sociocultural context.

The approach for this analysis is empirical-descriptive, which is founded on patterned regularities. However, this thesis also investigates the ideological agenda behind translations employing a critical-interpretative approach. It is believed that empirical-descriptive and critical-interpretative approaches in Translation Studies are opposed (Crisafulli, 2002: 27). Whilst a critical-interpretative approach pursues interpretative judgements from a historical-hermeneutic point of view, a descriptive-empirical approach in translation is concerned with the study of regularities of a norm-governed activity in a sociocultural dimension. In translation research, one of the problems is integrating empirical-descriptive analysis and the study of creativity, the individual dimension and idiosyncratic behaviour (Crisafulli, 2002: 34). Yet the observation of common patterns as in empirical-descriptive corpora is historically determined because the text is tied to a specific moment and time and representative of type of translation behaviour. Also, Crisafulli observes that facts are the point of departure, but the scholar’s interpretation ‘assesses the significance of empirical data’ (2002: 27). Accordingly, a descriptive analysis of a translation is also concerned with an interpretative analysis. Whilst this thesis has been underpinned by a critical-interpretative approach as the political and ideological stance behind Catalan translation has been considered, an empirical-descriptive method is also employed in order to include relevant data from which evaluative judgements can be drawn.

5.2. Register analysis and Systemic Functional Grammar

Language variability occurs when users choose the appropriate register for each situation and context. Fawcett (1997: 75) states that the two parameters that cause language variability are language user and language use. Language users can be described according to time, space and status in the society, whereas language use can be described in terms of tenor, mode and field (see description below) which are expressed through a particular genre. However, one important question arising from the study of register is the extent to which a text relates to one sole genre. Genres are categories which can be distinguished by mature language users, that is, texts that can be classified with labels such as novel, guidebook or newspaper (Trosborg, 1997: 6). Yet, there is no absolute correspondence between genre and register, since one register may be realised by more than one genre and one genre may be realised by various registers (Trosborg, 1997: 10). This is the case of *Fear and Loathing in Las Vegas*, a text characterised by the juxtaposition of registers, in which literary and colloquial registers are in constant interplay. For this reason, the analysis of register cannot be dissociated from the analysis of the genre, which in turn presents problems of categorisation since the text falls into two categories: a novel and a journalistic text. In order to explain how register and genre relate, Halliday's Systemic Functional Grammar⁶⁴ explores genre as the study of the communicative function of a text, and it is the sociocultural context of the text that determines the register.

The theories explored in chapter 2 draw on the importance of the sociocultural constraints of translation. The norms governing the system determine the text, always being tied to a specific context in the target culture. In the same vein, Systemic Functional Grammar relates context and language. The ambiguity of language out of context provides evidence of this relationship, in which a text allows us to deduce context, and context predicts language. In other words, the participants in a given context of situation in a certain culture can interpret features of a text that derive from a situation, and these inferences can also be exchanged from a text to a situation. The study of the ongoing use of texts within their context, as seen above, is referred to as discourse analysis.

⁶⁴ Systemic Functional Grammar (SFG) or Systemic Functional Linguistics (SFL) is a model of grammar developed by M.A.K. Halliday in the 1960s. It is a part of a broader approach to language called Systemic Linguistics. The term 'systemic' refers to the view of language as a 'network of systems, or interrelated set of opinions for making meaning' (Halliday, 1994: 15). The term 'functional' indicates that the approach focuses on contextualised, practical uses to which language is put.

Halliday (1994[1985]) analyses the aspects of language from a social-semiotic perspective. Semiotics, as the study of sign systems or meaning in a social system or culture, seeks to relate language to the human experience. In this manner, a text makes no sense without its network of relationships, which is the environment in which a text unfolds. According to Halliday, a text ‘is an instance of the process and product of social meaning in a particular context of situation’ (1994[1985]: 9). Yet context is not packed into text, but is in relation to the social structure and the functional organisation of language. Halliday (1994[1985]: 12) distinguishes three dimensions of a situation that have a significant impact on a language event: field, tenor and mode. Each dimension or variable of the context represents a function of the language in the text:

- Field of discourse determines the subject matter and the action, or what is happening or what is being written about. The field, associated with ideational meaning, is reflected in the vocabulary and the transitivity structures in the grammar. This dimension is expressed through the experiential function in semantics, in other words, how the words relate with the events in the world.
- Tenor of discourse, or who is communicating to whom, revolves around the participation relationship. This dimension refers to who is taking part in the communication process, their statuses and roles. Tenor is realised in the text through mood, person and modality, exemplified with modal verbs (in English) and adverbs. In literature, the author’s provenance and stance, his or her social role relationship and the social attitude are taken into account to explain the relationship between text and context. In semantics, the function of the text will be interpersonal.
- Mode of discourse is the form of communication: it is the role given to language and it can be seen as the symbolic organisation of the text. There is a distinction between medium — whether the channel is spoken, written to be read or written to be read aloud — and participation, between writer and reader. Mode is reflected in the text through the theme organisation and cohesive elements. This dimension is expressed through the textual function. In this case study, this dimension acquires special relevance: despite the channel appearing as written, the text can be treated as spoken at times because of the large amount of dialogue presented as oral language in a colloquial register.

These three dimensions relate to register, which is defined by Halliday as ‘a configuration of meanings that are typically associated with a particular situational configuration of field, mode and tenor’ (1994[1985]: 38). Hence register expresses meaning according to a particular context which determines the linguistic choices in the text.

5.3. Analysis of the translation

The foregrounding introduction of Halliday’s approach on discourse analysis is regarded as a method to relate text and its context, determining the function of the text that will condition linguistic choice. The following analysis of the translation of *Fear and Loathing in Las Vegas* into Castilian will consider the function of the text in order to evaluate how this has been translated. Juliane House (1997) attempts to define the criteria to judge whether a translation is good or bad according to the linguistic choices made by the translator.⁶⁵ Her model is based on register analysis and Systemic Functional Grammar, so as to provide a framework for language variation in relation to a social-semiotic perspective. In the following analysis, House’s functional-pragmatic model of translation assessment will be employed in order to judge the matches and mismatches found in the target text according to the above dimensions.

Several differences between source and target text can be perceived at first glance. Hunter S. Thompson’s edition of *Fear and Loathing in Las Vegas* (2005[1971]) presents a range of features not shared with the Castilian translation *Miedo y asco en Las Vegas* (1987[1971]). These are some aspects that the translation shows and are perceived in the macro-level:⁶⁶

⁶⁵ House applies the model of translation quality assessment to various texts, such as a passage from Daniel Jonah Goldhagen’s book *Hitler’s Willing Executioners* and its German translation. In this text, House identifies the features pertaining to the field, tenor and mode dimensions and elicits a statement of function. House compares source and target texts and presents a statement of quality of the translation, where she identifies the mismatches found in the dimensions of field and tenor. According to House, one of the differences between source and target texts, in the dimension field, is that the German translation ignores the repetition of the word *German*, in an attempt of clearing Germans of guilt regarding the holocaust (House, 1997: 147-157).

⁶⁶ The macro-level is a level of comparison identified by José Lambert and Hendrik van Gorp (1985: 42-53), which describes the general presentation of the source text, with features such as titles, divisions of chapters or narrative structure. The micro-level identifies the shifts on linguistic levels, such as grammatical or lexical.

- The source text is accompanied by illustrations by Ralph Steadman, several drawings, either inserted between pages or printed on top of the text. The Castilian translation, on the other hand, has no illustrations.
- The internal structure of each chapter is displayed in a different way: whereas the source text is presented in a direct report, the target text breaks up the dialogues:

ST: ‘We were somewhere around Barstow on the edge of the desert when the drugs began to take hold. I remember saying something like “I feel a bit lightheaded, maybe you should drive...”’ (3)

TT: ‘Estábamos en algún lugar de Barstow, muy cerca del desierto, cuando empezaron a hacer efecto las drogas. Recuerdo que dije algo así como:
—Estoy algo volado, mejor conduces tú...’ (13)

Although punctuation systems are similar in both languages, there is the tendency in English to use quotation marks when Castilian introduces a sentence in a dialogue with a dash.

- The presence of translator footnotes in the target text: in order to maintain coherence and to avoid misunderstandings in the target text, the translator provides an explanation separately, in this case, a footnote:

ST: ‘We had two bags of grass, seventy-five pellets of mescaline, five sheets of high powered blotter acid, a half salt shaker full of cocaine, and a whole galaxy of multi-colored uppers, downers, screamers, laughers... and also a quart of tequila, a quart of rum, a case of Budweiser, a pint of raw ether and a dozen amyls.’ (4)

TT: ‘Teníamos dos bolsas de hierba, setenta y cinco pastillas de mescalina, cinco hojas de ácido de gran potencia, un salero medio lleno de cocaína, y toda una galaxia llena de pastillas multicolores para subir, para bajar, para chillar, para reír... y, además, un cuarto de tequila, un cuarto de ron, una caja de cervezas, una pinta de eter puro y dos docenas de amyls*.

*Nitrato amílico. Estimulante para el asma y para enfermedades cardíacas. Se vende en cápsulas que hay que romper e inhalar' (N. de los T.)' (14)

Very few readers of the source text would have heard of 'amyls'. The issue here is that the target text reader does not need to have more information than the source text reader, since the author never explained what the meaning of this substance is. Indeed, there is temporal and geographical distance between source and target text, but a current reader of the original might have to face the same problem when reading the novel. In addition, the reader is conscious of the novelties that he or she will encounter when reading a translation. As Mona Baker claims, 'we are normally prepared to accept a great deal of unusual and even bizarre linguistic behaviour provided it can be justified' (2011: 260). Therefore, a footnote is not always necessary. Footnotes also imply that the translator is interfering with the text by expanding it in quantity, and the professional admitting that he or she could not find the way to render the expression. According to Pym, 'the insertion of in-text explanations is felt to be cheating' (2004: 101) and they are a type of text expansion which betrays the principle of equivalence of quantity.

The above aspects perceived at the macro-level describe how the translation differs from the original concerning its presentation. Whilst aspects such as the illustrations accompanying the text are not related to translator's choices and obey publishing and copyright issues, features such as the inclusion of footnotes and the internal structure with dialogues concern the translator's choices. The analysis of the macro-level shows a surface comparison of source and target texts in order to highlight the main differences according to the sociocultural context in which the translation is framed.

As well as these macro-level differences, there are also shifts on the micro-level. Returning to House's functional-pragmatic model of translation assessment, great importance is given to the function of the text to assess the alleged matches and mismatches in the target text. The dimensions of field, mode and tenor are employed to evaluate lexical, syntactic and textual means in the target text in comparison with the source.

5.3.1. Analysis of field

Fear and Loathing in Las Vegas is a text addressed to adult readers and it is presented as social reporting or commentary. The tone of the text is harsh and grim as well as sarcastic in humour. The mood tends to turn reflexive when the narration is in the first person. There are also some digressions and more descriptive passages throughout the text. These features are typical of Thompson's style, where his subject becomes the actual story. The function of the text thus is to report his own experience (the story of a journalist and his attorney in search for the American Dream through a drug-induced haze), yet in a subjective manner, including internal thoughts, reflections and descriptions.

- Lexical features

The lexical items related to the specific field are colloquialisms, taboo language and cultural references. In the target text, the lexical features corresponding to the field are also colloquialisms but there are some shifts in register expressed through superordinates and taboo language omissions. The use of a colloquial style in the source text is striking as a result of oral language reproduced in the dialogues and there is also some presence of colloquialisms in the narration. At the word level, equivalence in the target text is not realised due to the use of superordinates:

Source text	Target text	Back-translation
a lot on the Sunset Strip (3-4)	en un sitio de Sunset Strip (14)	in a place on the Sunset Strip

Table 5.1 Example: lexical features

The translation uses a superordinate, a more general word, when there is a more specific term to designate 'lot' (*terreno, solar*). As explored by Toury (1995a) and analysed in chapter 2, the law of growing standardisation is produced when a source-text feature tends to be replaced by another which is more common in the target text. In this instance, the translation manifests a greater level of standardisation than its source because it presents a more common lexical choice in the target language.

On the other hand, taboo language and slang in the dialogues is widespread. Swearing, with expressions such as ‘goddamnit’ or ‘fuck’ is a characteristic of the source text. Although the strong language is conveyed in the translation, there are also some omissions:

Source text	Target text	Back-translation
Keep your hands off my fucking neck! (8)	Quítame las manos del cuello! (17)	Lift your hands from my neck!

Table 5.2 Example: lexical features

This can be considered a mismatch, as it is very important to the story to keep this atmosphere by using strong language. In other instances, an idiom has no equivalent in the target text, but this presents an option which represents a register shift as well as a difference in meaning:

Source text	Target text
Hot damn! (5)	Demonios! (15)

Table 5.3 Example: lexical features

A literal translation of the target text is ‘demons’, more like the expression ‘hell’. Whereas ‘hot damn’ expresses astonishment or excitement, *demonios* is more used to express complaint or as a result of an unpleasant situation. Moreover, this expression fails as a way of swearing in this register, since *demonios* is no longer used by a mature target language user, although the source expression is also quite old-fashioned. In other instances, cultural references are also omitted:

Source text	Target text	Back-translation
rent another huge fireapple-red convertible (25)	alquilar otro inmenso descapotable rojo (17)	rent another huge red convertible

Table 5.4 Example: lexical features

The qualifier ‘fireapple’ has no equivalent word in the target language and the translator chooses to leave out this nuance. This causes a variation in the meaning because it does not convey the exact significance of the word, again making the target text more general.

- Syntactic features

The syntactic features related to the specific field are, in the source text, short clauses in the direct speech and subordinate sentences in the narration. In the target text, semantic choices that extend sentences are used to overcome the lack of verb types that encode motion, manner and cause in Castilian (Talmy, 1985). Syntactic features also change due to the use of subordinate clauses to replace clauses introduced by gerunds.

In the direct speech, the clauses are short and simple, whereas the narration in the first person presents a range of subordinate sentences and more complicated structures. According to Slobin (1996: 201-206), Castilian narrators use a smaller set of motion verbs, describing fewer elements of a journey. On the other hand, English-speakers may pay more attention to the dynamics of movement due to the availability of verbs of motion.

Verb types in the source text present some specific features that differ from the target text. Talmy (1985: 62) distinguishes between Romance and Germanic languages in relation to motion verbs: whereas verbs in Romance languages express motion and path, Germanic languages verbs tend to encode motion, manner or cause:

ST: ‘and ripped open a can that foamed all over the back seat while I kept talking’ (6)

TT: ‘abrí bruscamente una lata de cerveza, que derramó un montón de espuma por el asiento trasero, y seguí diciendo’ (17)

The verb ‘ripped’ indicates manner, in addition to motion, whereas the Castilian translation makes use of adverbial constructions to encode manner. Also, the verb ‘foamed’ indicates motion and manner, whereas the translation opts for a description with a subordinate with a verb + direct object clause to encode setting.

In other instances, the translation experiences a loss in the meaning, as the verb omits the manner in the action:

Source text	Target text	Back-translation
I said as he slammed the phone down (12)	Dije, mientras él colgaba (22)	I said, while he hang up

Table 5.6 Example: syntactic features

In the source text, the sentence expresses the action of hanging up the phone plus the manner how the action is performed. The target text does not include the manner in which the action is performed because it is not encoded in the verb, experiencing thus a loss in the meaning.

Furthermore, the source text tends to use verbs in the gerund when describing actions and movement. The target text, instead, relies more on subordinate structures to convey movement:

ST: ‘until I saw about a dozen figures pointing shotguns into the air, firing at regular intervals’ (32)

TT: ‘hasta que vi a unos doce individuos que apuntaban con armas al aire, y que disparaban a intervalos regulares’ (37)

The target text replaces the gerund clause for a subordinate sentence, although the use of the gerund in Castilian could be equally valid.

- Textual cohesion features

In the source text, short clauses and juxtaposition of clauses characterise the field. Textual cohesion is achieved through the context, as the author’s aim is to give expression to the state of unconsciousness, which is predominant throughout the dialogue and also in some parts of the narration. In the target text, the tendency is to use subordination in the attempt to make clear what is not explained in the source. This

feature corresponds to explicitation, as explored by Baker, as the ‘overall tendency to spell things out rather than leave them implicit’ (1996: 180).

On the other hand, the dialogue presents a structure of short clauses with little clarification. This produces a text that is sometimes confusing because it is difficult to identify which of the characters is speaking. In this respect, some sentences in the source text appear as meaningless or randomly inserted to capture a feel of unconsciousness and confusion in the direct speech.

Source text	Target text
‘White Rabbit’, he said. ‘I want a rising sound’ (58)	Conejo Blanco — dijo.— Quiero un ruido creciente (62)

Table 5.7 Example: textual cohesion features

This passage appears to have been inserted randomly, when one of the characters, in an obsessive desire to feel higher on drugs, wants to listen to ‘White Rabbit’, by Jefferson Airplane. There is no explicit reference of this song previously, although the context — a tape recorder and music — is what provides the hint to help the reader understand. The target text reproduces the scene very literally, which matches its function.

5.3.2. Analysis of tenor

In order to explore the tenor in this register analysis, the author’s temporal, geographical and social provenance needs to be analysed. As seen in the introduction of this thesis, Hunter S. Thompson is a young journalist in the turbulent America of the early 1970s. He is a writer with a reputation of having a wild spirit and leading an edgy lifestyle, which is relevant to the case study as the story is based on his own experience. The text is marked in such a way that all these aspects of the geographical, temporal and social stance are perceived. It is displayed in colloquial and vulgar registers in American English in the dialogues, and it combines colloquial and literary American English in the narration in the first person. This is expressed, in the source text, by using colloquial registers in the dialogue, with literary prevailing in the narration in the first person. Cultural references and idioms are widespread and are a distinguishing feature of

geographical and temporal provenance. In the target text, there is the tendency to flatten the text, an aspect that corresponds to the law of growing standardisation.

5.3.2.1. Temporal and geographical provenance of the author

- Lexical features

Some idioms or vocabulary refer to the temporal and geographical provenance of the author. Cultural references are widely used in the text:

Source text	Target text
A case of Budweiser (4)	Una caja de cervezas (14)

Table 5.8 Example: lexical features

The translation opts for a general term to avoid the proper noun identified with an American brand. Although the brand Budweiser is globally known today, the target text was first published in 1987, when readers might have not been familiar with it. The target text replaces the name of the brand for its generic representation. Another example of geographical and temporal references related to the author's provenance is as follows:

Source text	Target text
Hundred miles (3)	Ciento sesenta kilómetros (13)

Table 5.9 Example: lexical features

This measure unit is not used in the target culture: although it is known, its correspondent value is rarely familiar to the reader. Therefore, the translator changes miles for its correspondent in kilometres. In other instances, a proper noun identifying a place is replaced by a generic noun:

Source text	Target text	Back-translation
on the Strip (6)	en la calle (17)	in the street

Table 5.10 Example: lexical features

‘The Strip’ is a popular road in Las Vegas where all the hotels and casinos are found. Since this might not be familiar to the target culture, the target text replaces it with a generic noun. Other instances in which the lack of a counterpart in the target text is resolved by using a more general word are:

Source text	Target text
Okie kid (5)	chico (15)

Table 5.11 Example: lexical features

An ‘okie’ is a person from Oklahoma, a concept typically related to a provincial person or a farmer. As explored above, the target culture will possibly not know about this, so the option is to replace it with an habitual noun in the target repertoire.

In other instances, proper nouns, brands and locations are translated into Castilian:

Source text	Target text
Savage Henry (21)	Henry el Salvaje (27)
Great Red Shark (23)	Gran Tiburón Rojo (31)

Table 5.12 Example: lexical features

The translator’s choice consists of making all these features that are unknown by the readership in the target culture familiar. This is a strategy which has been defined by Venuti as domestication.

- Syntactic features

In the source text there is a predominance of short clauses in the dialogue and more complex structures in the narration in the first person. Some features found in the source text are collocations typical of English. In the target text, changes in punctuation and loss of naturalness due to collocations are features relating to the tenor dimension. In some instances, when the narrator delves into his internal thoughts, he creates a particular atmosphere that is syntactically represented by juxtaposed sentences combined with distinct punctuation marks. The target text does not always adjust to this pattern:

Source text	Target text
If so, — well, we'll just have to cut his head off (5)	En tal caso... en fin. Tendríamos que cortar la cabeza al chaval (16)

Table 5.13 Example: syntactic features

The main difference that can be pointed out here is that the target splits the information given in two different sentences. The translator has changed the punctuation making the target text more intelligible, since dashes in Catalan are not used to indicate breaks in thought and shifts in tone.

On the other hand, the source text presents collocations, which are two or more words that co-occur, so a relationship between them can be established (Baker, 2011: 52). When the source text produces a collocation, typical of the source language, there is not always a correspondent in the target language. Therefore, there is a tension between accuracy and naturalness. In this instance, the target text experiences a loss of naturalness due to a collocation:

Source text	Target text	Back-translation
But my mood was already shattered (32)	Pero mi serenidad se había echo a pedazos (37)	My serenity had been turned into pieces

Table 5.14 Example: syntactic features

5.3.2.2. Author's personal stance and the social role relationship

As a characteristic of the tenor, the author's personal stance and the social role relationship between the author with the audience need to be explored. Thompson builds a text that combines deep reflections and a dark sense of humour, as well as thoughts that are expressed in a more serious manner. The characters are pictured as the dregs of society, with a lack of respect for basic principles and values, although there is a certain sympathy from the author towards the two main characters. It is relevant to underline, as explored in the introduction of this thesis, that the main character is the alter ego of the author, since the novel is based on personal experience.

- Lexical and syntactic features

In the source text, derogatory connotations, strong language and a pessimistic and bleak tone in the narration of the story characterise the author's personal stance and the social role relationship. In the target text, some strong language is omitted, although the gloomy tone is mostly preserved. The language used in the source text to describe the characters and the situation is often harsh and very direct. The source text shows derogatory connotations when the two main characters are speaking, both to each other and to other characters that appear throughout the story. There is also a pessimistic view of the world in the narrator's words in the first person that is reflected in the way the story is told.

Source text	Target text
The poor bastard will see them soon enough (3)	Muy pronto los vería el pobre cabrón (13)

Table 5.15 Example: lexical and syntactic features

The target text matches this function as it uses the same kind of vocabulary and strong language, specifically colloquial and vulgar registers. Another example is as follows:

Source text	Target text
You whore (21)	Maricón de mierda (29)

Table 5.16 Example: lexical and syntactic features

On the other hand, sometimes the target text omits swearing:

Source text	Target text	Back-translation
blow every one of you gutless punks off the road (17)	os barreré a todos de la carretera (25)	I will sweep all of you off the road

Table 5.17 Example: lexical and syntactic features

The word ‘gutless’ is used as a general intensifier and the term ‘punk’ stands for a worthless person. In the Castilian translation there is no sign of this expression. Also, some expressions that signal astonishment, fear or anger tend to be translated into the target text using the same option. For the expressions ‘Jesus’, ‘sweet Jesus’, ‘O Christ’ which are rife in the source text, the target text tends to resort to ‘Dios mío’. The lack of variation makes the target text flatter and simpler, where the source text presents more variety to express different feelings or states.

5.3.4. Analysis of mode

As seen above, mode is reflected in the text through sentence organisation and cohesive elements. The source text appears as a conglomerate of registers (literary, colloquial, vulgar) embodied in but one medium (written to be read). Despite this, the dialogues present features prototypical of oral speech, such as emphasisers, amplifiers, downtoners and hedges. All these markers are strategies that are employed as clues for the narrator’s subjective orientation towards the message. Although the medium is ‘simple’, that is, written to be read, the translator must bear in mind that the text presents features which reinforce the dialogues and accentuate its spontaneity. However, the relationship between a user and his or her medium is not always so straightforward as to be categorised as written or speech. In the source text, the dialogue

presents characteristics of the language used in real life, but is part of a planned text, devised for literature.

- Lexical features

In the source text, there are numerous features typical of informal oral registers in the dialogue. In the target text, these oral language characteristics are mostly preserved.

Source text	Target text
Hah! That's a bitch, ain't it? (35)	¡Ajá! ¡Es cojonudo! (40)

Table 5.18 Example: lexical features

The target text matches the function of the source text in reproducing the spontaneity of speech with the correspondent interjection in Castilian (*ajá*).

- Syntactic features

In the source text, the text presents digressions and flashbacks, which are illustrated with the use of punctuation marks, such as ellipsis, and grammatically awkward sentences and anacoluthon (incomplete sentences). The structure of the phrases in the text's monologues differs from the conventional journalism structure of subject-verb-object. In the target text, there are changes in the organisation of sentences, by which awkward structures tend to be corrected.

ST: 'But now we found ourselves in a position that was hard to explain...blocking the entrance, thugs yelling at us, bad confusion...' (43)

The target text tends to be syntactically more cohesive, creating complete sentences:

TT: 'Pero, de pronto, nos vimos en una situación difícil de explicar... estábamos bloqueando la entrada, los matones chillándome, un lío horrible...' (49)

The source text does not use the entire form of a past continuous ('we were blocking'), whereas the target text turns the sentence into one that is grammatically correct. There is a tendency of 'correcting' in the target text that which is syntactically incorrect in the source text.

- Textual features

The source text presents sentences with little subordination, something that is conveyed in the target text. The information in the source text is presented in small chunks and very little presence of full stop punctuation marks. The narration appears as a continuum, a juxtaposition of information linked by punctuation and a range of conjunctions.

5.3.5. Statement of function

Having analysed the field, tenor and mode of the source text according to House's model of translation assessment, a statement of the source text's ideational, interpersonal and textual functions is provided as follows:

The field of the text expressed through its ideational function allows us to identify it with a particular genre, a novel, although framed in a particular style, which is the so-called Gonzo journalism. This is represented by the usage of spontaneous language embedded in colloquial and vulgar registers, with the consequent use of strong and taboo language (lexical features) and short sentences in the dialogues, and more complicated structures in the narration in the first person (syntactic features). The constant state of confusion due to the use of drugs is represented by grammatically inconsistent sentences and context (textual features).

In relation to tenor, as expressed through its interpersonal function, the author is present throughout the novel with a particular language that belongs to the time and place where the story takes place. This results in a significant presence of idioms and cultural references (lexical features). The author's voice is also represented through expressing his sympathy/lack of sympathy towards the characters and situation, due to which strong language is widely used. Regarding the syntax, the complex structure of

sentences when the narration is in the first person with evocations and internal thoughts is conveyed through sentences with subordinate clauses and a particular punctuation.

Regarding the mode, expressed through its textual function, the text appears as a conglomerate of different registers embodied in one sole medium: written to be read. Despite this, the dialogues show features typical of colloquial registers, more common in a spontaneous oral speech than in written texts. Thus the novel represents a continuous use of quotation marks, and suspension points to express digressions and the state of unconsciousness which the author aims to convey.

5.3.6. Statement of quality

Having compared source and target text in the three dimensions and following House's model, a statement of quality in order to judge the translation is needed. Some mismatches regarding field, tenor and mode can be found in the target text. There are some aspects that differ from the source text and this results in a somewhat inadequate translation:

- Inappropriate register represented by a loss in the tone: register shifts occur on some occasions, which means that the vulgar register becomes colloquial or standard, leading to a variation in the tone. The translation of *Fear and Loathing in Las Vegas* into Castilian accommodates established models in the target culture and tends to reduce the communicative risk by standardising language. The law of growing standardisation is produced, by replacing items in the source text by those that are more habitual in the target language repertoire.
- Inadequate textual choices: In the target text, some features that sound grammatically awkward are 'corrected'. The state of confusion which characterises the novel is expressed by odd sentences that are sometimes grammatically unsound. The target text tends to fix this by creating correct patterns, such as finishing incomplete sentences. Again, the law of growing standardisation is realised, since the translator, in the act of avoiding the risk of conveying an 'incorrect' message, produces more common, correct structures in the target language repertoire.

- Inadequate lexical choices for cultural references and idioms: The prevalence of idioms and cultural references in the source text is not entirely represented in the target. Whereas the richness of these features characterises the source text, the target text appears flatter and simpler. The law of growing standardisation applies again, exemplified with the use of words or expressions which are more familiar in the target culture. The strategy of domestication is widely used when the source text presents words and expressions that do not exist in the target language. Some cultural references which relate to the source culture are either omitted or made explicit. When these are spelt out, the translator paraphrases or uses paratexts, such as footnotes,⁶⁷ to help the readership understand a lexical feature that does not exist in the target culture.

In sum, ‘mismatches’ regarding field, tenor and mode affecting the ideational, interpersonal and textual functions can be found in the translation. Since these relate to how meaning is communicated according to the sociocultural context of the text, the changes occurring in the translation relating to the language user are culture-bound. House observes that there is a ‘cultural filter’, which is a ‘means of capturing the socio-cultural differences in the shared conventions of behaviour and communication, preferred rhetorical styles and expectation norms in the two speech communities’ (2001: 251). Since the target text is located into its cultural, social and historical context, norms are conditioning factors affecting the translation. These norms are defined according to the culture where they are found and translators acquire them by education and socialisation. In this respect, features of the translation such as expansion of the text, corrections, omissions of idioms and cultural references and register shifts from vulgar and colloquial to standard are mostly related to accommodating the translation to the target culture norms. For this reason, norms in the target culture become all the more relevant in the attempt to define a model for the translation of *Fear and Loathing in Las Vegas* into Catalan.

Register analysis is thus useful for exploring the linguistic choices of a translation and identifying the options available in the target language. In this respect, Fawcett (1997: 83) advocates the practice of register analysis among translators to have a better understanding of the source text which will allow them to choose the appropriate register for each case, and so when they are required to deal with new subject matters

⁶⁷ See examples on pages 14, 21, 46, 48, 67, 88, 89, 104, 141, 182 and 194.

they will be able to produce their own analysis. In this sense, and because this thesis aims to define a model for a translation in colloquial Catalan, register analysis parameters need to be considered. In this manner, chapter 8 will use this approach to identify features in the source text that correspond to colloquial and vulgar registers; in turn, features in the target text relating to register will be demonstrated in a Catalan translation of *Fear and Loathing in Las Vegas*.

Furthermore, features pertaining to colloquial register are also found in the translation of Terry Gilliam's film adaptation of *Fear and Loathing in Las Vegas*. The following chapter analyses linguistic features in oral colloquial Catalan exploring the model of language advocated by the commissioner of the translation: Televisió de Catalunya.

6. Translation into Catalan of *Fear and Loathing in Las Vegas*: a film adaptation of H. S. Thompson's novel

The analysis of the Catalan translation of Terry Gilliam's film adaptation of *Fear and Loathing in Las Vegas* in this chapter aims to describe the language of translations in Catalonia in the field of the oral media. As a consequence of the restoration of Catalan in public spheres after the dictatorship, the media were in need of finding a model of language valid for mass communication, which triggered the publication of style guides and other materials on the model of language (Casals and Faura, 2010: 32). Since then, the media have had a strong impact on the process of normalisation of Catalan and their style guides have been very important to establish the guidelines for the model of language preferred and to solve linguistic issues among professionals (Casals and Faura, 2010: 43). The translation of the film adaptation of H. S. Thompson's novel presents features which illustrate a language model typical of the commissioner, Televisió de Catalunya. For this reason, the following analysis accounts for the language used in the film and the extent to which the commissioner, through its language model, determines the translation.

A large number of films are based on written work and translation takes place not only in literary sources but also in film. This, as seen by Delabastita (1989: 212) offers a great opportunity for comparisons involving the source literary text, the target literary text, the source film text and the target film text. The film adaptation of H. S. Thompson's novel includes fragments of the dialogues which are reproduced verbatim from the literary work. The dubbed version of the original script thus constitutes more textual material to explore with the aim of finding a model for the translation of the novel. As seen in chapter 2, the relation between the literary system and other systems is inseparable. These systems, in a state of constant change, interact and influence each other for which reason the translation of the film adaptation is a text that could influence the translation of the novel. Translation, thus, is studied considering a multilateral matrix in the system, exploring not only source and target text, but also other relations, such as other versions, like Terry Gilliam's film adaptation of the novel and its translation and dubbing into Catalan. This chapter, thus, examines both the original and the Catalan translation of the film adaptation in order to determine the influence that the commissioner has on the strategy used by the translator and the impact that this has on the Catalan translation.

A film is a text that establishes a ‘multi-channel and multi-code type of communication’ (Delabastita, 1989: 196). Whilst in a written text communication takes place in only one channel, in film this process occurs through two channels: visual and acoustic channels are employed simultaneously. There are verbal and non-verbal sign systems in film and the major ones are, according to Delabastita: verbal code (including other subcodes such as dialects), literary codes, theatrical codes, proxemic codes, kinesic codes, vestimentary codes, and those conventions related to cinema and its techniques and genres. A translation of a film will be governed by a series of constraints that are conditioned by its material transmission: as opposed to theatre, film does not confront an audience, but it is determined beforehand. Delabastita (1989: 199) also establishes a set of distinctions that categorises four types of presentation in film: visual presentation in verbal signs, visual presentation in non-verbal signs, acoustic presentation in verbal signs and acoustic presentation in non-verbal signs. All these have to be taken into account when translating a film.

Dubbing, also known as ‘synchronisation’ (Baker and Hochel, 1998: 75), is the process that evolves in various stages and implies the re-recording of the original voice track in the target language using actor’s voices. The dubbed dialogue aims to recreate the dynamics of the original, with regards to delivery pace and lips movements. The process of dubbing includes ‘a phonetical analysis of the original dialogues, the production of the target language, verification tests, the recording of the new dialogue and the mixing of the sound tape’ (Delabastita, 1989: 202). The replacement of the acoustic verbal signs with translated ones is an important constraint that will have an effect on the translation, mainly because this not only involves adjusting the text to the lips but also to the entire body of the actor. The constraint of synchrony in film translation, as seen by Delabastita (1989: 203), depends on the semiotic convention of ‘realism’. In this respect, the translation does not only have to convey the message from the original, but it also needs to adjust to the medium in which this appears. Whilst written text has no medium-related constraints, audiovisual translation is determined by this issue, which will also affect the language used.

Following Delabastita’s model, a set of operations are involved in the process of dubbing relating to the transfer of both verbal and non verbal signs: (1989: 199): *substitutio* (the sign is substituted in an identical manner; i.e. dubbing), *adiectio* (new

images, dialogues or sounds have been introduced), *detractio* (incomplete reproduction; i.e. cuts), *transmutatio* (repetition of signs but in a different order), and *repetitio* (signs reproduced but with an addition; i.e. subtitling). These operations will be applied to examine the dubbing of *Fear and Loathing in Las Vegas* into Catalan.

The section below (6.1) analyses how Televisió de Catalunya, the commissioner, influences the translation as a whole and more specifically the impact that this has on the language used. Accordingly, a descriptive account of the Televisió de Catalunya's requirements is presented. Regarding the cultural references, the subsequent section (6.2) explores the extent to which there is an unavoidable loss of culture-specific terms and values in dubbed texts: re-voicing the dialogues entails a domestication of the original texts, replacing foreign words, idioms and expressions with their target counterparts. Finally, a corpus of examples is provided (6.3) to illustrate how Televisió de Catalunya's requirements and the dubbing process of the film adaptation of *Fear and Loathing in Las Vegas* determine the language used in the translation.

6.1. The Televisió de Catalunya requirements: a model for oral Catalan

6.1.1. The contrast between domestic and foreign production

Since its foundation, the national television corporation of Catalonia, Televisió de Catalunya (TVC), has been the main institution in charge of spreading a model for standard oral Catalan. The contrast between the local in-house productions and dubbed programmes is manifest: whereas the language of the former is more spontaneous and informal, the colloquial register for translations is more rigid, less natural and virtually free of Castilian words. Accordingly, the colloquial language used in feature films sounds almost like the standard register used for broadcasting news. This has been pointed out by Catalan scholars (Ainaud, Espunya and Pujol, 2003: 135-139), who assert that the language of translations in TVC is slightly more formal, in comparison with the spontaneous use of Catalan in in-house productions. Whilst this is advantageous because it preserves normative Catalan and language is not influenced by Castilian, the strict control over translations is detrimental influence the text in the way in which it is perceived, as it does not sound as natural. As a result, in film translations there is no presence of dialects or more informal registers, causing an inevitable homogenisation of the different varieties related to social usage. A solution

encompassing both the domestic production language and the language of translations, bringing together both models, is therefore necessary.

A solution to overcome the loss of the realistic feel of a spontaneous oral conversation without resorting to the use of Castilian words is to take advantage of the oral language features available in Catalan. According to Izard (2004: 35), film discourse is not real, but it intends to appear as such: aspects typical of real oral language are, for example, incomplete sentences and repetitions and the different participants in a conversation overlapping and speaking in a spontaneous manner. This often occurs due to the conversational nature of real oral language, whereas fictional oral dialogues follow a pattern, are well planned and organised with a clear structure. Although it is not recommended in fiction to faithfully reproduce oral parlance because of the confusion that this would cause among the audience, some of its features can be adopted for the sake of credibility. In the attempt to sound natural, TVC tends to intervene in the lexicon used. The inclusion of Castilianisms in in-house productions evidences this tendency, according to Izard (2004: 39): the Castilian words *bueno* (well), *vale* (OK), *tio* (bloke) are very common in oral Catalan. In in-house productions there are also some Catalan terms that are deemed old-fashioned because of the lack of use among speakers. Izard (2004) proposes a solution that not only captures the spontaneity of real oral discourse through the vocabulary, but also follows the characteristics typical of conversations; her aim is to find the oral richness in the syntactic, morphologic and phonetic levels as follows (Izard, 2004: 40):

- On the phonetic level, some expressions experience relaxation to follow natural ‘dissimilation’ and elision: *Sats* instead of *saps* (you know), *a vere* and not *a veure* (let’s see), *nem* for *anem* (let’s go), etc.
- On the syntactic level, there is a preference for juxtaposition and a broad use of the relative pronoun *que* (that) in subordinate sentences (*aquella classe que les finestres donen al pati* and not *aquella classe les finestres de la qual donen al pati* [that classroom the windows of which look out onto the playground]).
- On the morphological level, there is a widespread use of present tense instead of future to express actions in the future (*demà t’ho dono* and not *demà t’ho donaré*

[I will give it to you tomorrow]); use of strong for weak form in pronouns (*em van donar una beca* and not *van donar-me una beca* [they gave me a grant]).

These are features which serve the purpose of balancing normative Catalan and spontaneity typical of colloquial oral in audiovisual translation. As a solution, this model helps to achieve a certain degree of credibility for the translation, since the target text captures the spontaneity of oral language and yet does not resort to Castilianisms (or lexical items which do not sound natural) to conform to the normative dispositions of TVC.

Santamaria also describes various solutions for colloquial language in film translation, in this case, for the language of young characters in TVC dubbed films and series. Santamaria analyses the colloquial register in audiovisual fiction, since in the last few years there has been a significant amount of criticism with regards to the colloquial Catalan employed in television, particularly in dubbed films and series that portray young characters (2010: 78). The alleged lack of resemblance between young characters in dubbed films or series and real young people is the main factor of discussion in her study. According to Santamaria, this is a problem for three reasons: the norms concerning translation, the influence of the images on the written text, and the language used by young people, which can be identified with a particular group (2010: 79).⁶⁸ TVC, however, has recently adapted the language for young characters in dubbed films or series for the sake of verisimilitude:

Actualment el model de Televisió de Catalunya inclou com a fórmules admissibles solucions que en altres moments s'havien considerat no recomanables, sense que per això l'audiència hagi millorat la percepció de la llengua del media. (Santamaria, 2010: 82)

The model of Televisió de Catalunya currently includes solutions as acceptable that had not been advisable in the past, although this has not improved the perception of the language in the media. (my translation)

⁶⁸ The fact that the colloquial is a register that can be identified with a social or geographical group of speakers is indeed one of the main points in this thesis and it will be explored in the chapter devoted to the translation of literature in colloquial Catalan.

Formulae including Castilian borrowings are widespread in Catalan oral discourse represented in some media⁶⁹ and yet they do not change the perception of the language used in translation of films, neither help to protect the Catalan language from Castilian interference.

As a matter of fact, as far as film translation is concerned, the position of the linguists in Catalan television is firm. The director of the Language Services of TVC (*Cap dels Serveis Linguistics de TVC*), Ernest Rusinés, expresses the corporation's philosophy:⁷⁰

En general creiem que s'ha de tractar de manera diferent el doblatge de la producció pròpia. Entenem que el doblatge és molt més convencional i no pot ser tan naturalista com la producció creada directament en català. Determinades expressions molt identificables amb la situació sociolingüística poden trencar la versemblança dels doblatges. Un 'bueno' a *La Riera* o *Arròs covat* reflecteix els usos de la societat que vol reproduir la sèrie en qüestió; un 'bueno' en un doblatge situat posem per exemple a Nova York creiem que resulta dissonant. Creiem que un cas paral·lel és el dels accents dialectals: la producció pròpia admet variació dialectal, però en un doblatge introdueix un element estrany.

In general, we believe that the dubbed films and in-house productions have to be dealt with in a different manner. We think that dubbing is much more conventional and it cannot be as natural as all which has been originally made in Catalan. Certain expressions which can be strongly identified with our sociolinguistic situation can be detrimental to the credibility of dubbed films. Saying bueno in 'La Riera' [a Catalan soap opera] or 'Arròs covat' [a Catalan animation series for young people] is a indication of the people's usages which these series want to reproduce; saying *bueno* in a dubbed film based in, for example, New York, is believed to be dissonant. Also, a parallel case would be the dialectal accents: in domestic production, geographical varieties are accepted, but in a dubbed film this would introduce a strange element. (my translation)

⁶⁹ See pages 85-87 of Santamaria (2010) for examples.

⁷⁰ Ernest Rusinés answered my question on Catalan television dubbing policies in an email in April 2011 (see appendix 2).

Rusinés makes the position of TVC clear in relation to Castilian interference. Their television linguistic policy for domestic production differs from that of foreign films: in dubbing a film, dialectal varieties and Castilian words are not present in the text, a fact that determines the resultant translation, since real oral Catalan presents these features and this has an impact on the credibility of the dubbed film. As Rusinés asserts, including Castilianisms has a reverse effect on the translation, because it reflects the language spoken by someone identifiable with Catalonia.⁷¹ Dubbing a character from America, for instance, by using colloquial discourse typical of Barcelona would affect the film's verisimilitude. However, in-house productions do not need to restrict interference, since the language used is necessarily identified with Catalan speakers of a particular type or group. Therefore, a character from a soap opera such as *La Riera* is expected to use colloquial Catalan with some Castilian interference because they are identified as Catalan, and real colloquial Catalan presents this particularity.

6.1.2. Televisió de Catalunya and the language policy of *ésAdir*

The linguistic policy of TVC is regulated by *ésAdir*, a body formed of linguists in Televisió de Catalunya which monitors the language usage on television on an ongoing basis and makes urgent decisions arising from new words or expressions that can be controversial or difficult to resolve. This body compiles a set of recommendations for audiovisual material to be translated into Catalan, which the translator aims to follow since TVC is the only institution in Catalonia that commissions translations of foreign audiovisual productions. The model of language this institution recommends for the Corporació Catalana de Mitjans Audiovisuals (the national corporation for audiovisual media CCMA), is made explicit in their mission statement:⁷² it guarantees the correct use of the language, whilst it does not discriminate against the varieties in the territory and it is adaptable to the various registers, in order to ensure an efficient communication towards the audience. *ÉsAdir* follows the normative authority of Institut d'Estudis Catalans and uses a model of language that is, according to them, up-to-date, agile and

⁷¹ The identification of Castilian interference in speech with a 'real' Catalan speaker's language is paradoxical. Whereas the 'correct' use of Catalan language reflects the ideal identity of Catalonia, a typical Catalan speaker uses a language with Castilianisms, which contradicts the notion of identity in Catalonia, at least, from the institutional point of view, since the IEC's philosophy is to 'prevent and eradicate' interference.

⁷² *ÉsAdir* presents itself as a tool for Catalan professionals of communication, education and translation and it can be consulted at www.esadir.cat.

flexible which allows them to fulfill the needs arising in each communicative situation (Corporació Catalana de Mitjans Audiovisuals, 2012: n.p.).

Despite following the normative Catalan from the Institut d'Estudis Catalans, there have been criticisms, since the majority of the shows present strong Castilian influence. Pitarch (2006: 50) denounces this situation vehemently: it is very common to hear presenters in TVC who resort to the use of Castilian, with the presence of words like *bueno* (well), *vale!* (OK) and *quin palo!* (what a bummer!), alongside 'out-of-date expressions' such as *enrotlla't* (be a sport), *passa tio!* (what's up man!) and *com mola!* (how cool!). According to Pitarch, these Castilianisms appear in the presenters' speech to express a 'phatic function' of the language, to keep contact with an audience that seems to need those expressions as a codewords in order to follow the show. Pitarch (2006: 51) believes that the language used is hybrid, pseudo-linguistic, contributing to creating an atmosphere of communicative insecurity and an inferiority complex.

Leaving the criticisms aside, the model for Catalan that TVC applies has changed since the foundation of the national television channel in 1983, which was created with the aim of contributing to the linguistic and cultural normalisation of the country. The dynamism of the model has been observed by Casals (2008: 69-86), who explores the language used over the first few years comparing it to the present day: in the first stage, the model followed the norm, making evident that broadcasters would read from a written text, and everything was revised before being aired. After the dictatorship, thus, the one of the main goals was to create a standard for Catalan valid for formal registers.

The linguistic services of the CCMA (formerly called Corporació Catalana de Ràdio i Televisió) have given advice to the professionals working for the corporation since its foundation in 1982. In 1999, Francesc Vallverdú and Alba Agulló, as former leading members of the linguistic services of CCMA, identified issues with contemporary foreign productions. For current English language productions such as films and series, the language used has a strong presence of slang and jargon (Vallverdú and Agulló, 1999: 33). For instance, references to other shows in foreign countries are constant and this issue requires advice from English or American linguists.

Initially, programmes like sit-coms and dubbed films featured a model based on "normative" colloquial language: series such as *Dallas* have been a reference for the

audience because of the flexibility of the language, and this represented setting a model for colloquial language in media. At the beginning, a linguist used to review the texts with the presenter or actor to find the best solutions and this would also permit the institution to create an effective way of training journalists in the Catalan language for media purposes. Nowadays, the model of language used by TVC strengthens their control over the quality of the language. Not only do the linguists correct the language, but they also generate reports which ensure tailor-made advice in each particular case (Vallverdú and Agulló, 1999: 31). The creation of *ésAdir* in 2006 represents consolidated the language advice service. In this respect, as seen above and also pointed out by Casals (2008: 72), TVC has started introducing some utterances that lie outside of the norm in domestic production, such as the series *Plats Bruts* and the comedy show *Una Altra Cosa* in the early 2000s. As a result of the introduction of new entertainment programmes, the linguistic advice service adapted the language to resemble real oral situations. In the search for a realistic feel, the linguists planned different solutions, such as including words and expressions that were not compiled in normative dictionaries in response to the new communicative needs in domestic productions. The introduction of these elements proves that the media usually precedes the academia authority due to the urgent need to take action in some instances when they cannot wait for the authority to dictate the norm. *ÉsAdir* compiles 229 instances which do not appear in the dictionary of the Institut d'Estudis Catalans (Casals, 2008: 74). Some examples⁷³ include the use of the verb *ratllar* with the meaning of 'to overwhelm' in an informal situation or the Castilian borrowing *apreci* (esteem).

With regards to different geographical varieties, Catalan television, initially, based its model on the 'central' dialect, especially the language spoken in Barcelona, as a practical decision due to the fact that most of the professionals would come from this area (Casals, 2008: 76). The 'central' variety of Catalan was traditionally predominant until universities from other parts in the territory denounced discrimination towards other varieties (Casals, 2008: 76). In-house productions began to change other geographical varieties were introduced. In dubbed films, nevertheless, a standard based on 'central' Catalan is still the only variety used.

Furthermore, the model for social registers was not defined in the early years because the language used would only consider formal situations. As a result of the evolution of

⁷³ See the whole list at <http://esadir.cat/lexic/entrades>.

the programmes, colloquial registers began to appear. The linguists would not accept Castilian words like *joder* (fuck) or other genuine but not normative utterances like *prou* (enough) (Casals, 2008: 78). In order to overcome the lack of verisimilitude in the programmes with more informal registers, linguists would resort to syntactic and lexical solutions: regarding the syntax, through incomplete sentences, deletions, juxtaposition or repetitions, the language would reflect the real oral Catalan; concerning lexical matters, they would include genuine expressions and idioms only. By contrast, at a later stage, non-normative colloquial utterances began to be accepted in order to achieve a more flexible model for language in informal situations: genuine colloquial expressions juxtaposed to taboo language and Castilian interference. All in all, the model has changed since the creation of TVC according to the needs derived from new communicative situations. The emergence of entertainment programmes has been relevant for a model that needs to be more flexible in informal situations when the language is spontaneous.

In the same vein, a report commissioned by the Consell de l'Audiovisual de Catalunya⁷⁴ (CAC), as a consequence of a series of audience complaints and criticisms with regards to the lack of quality of the language in Catalunya, tackles colloquial language in the Catalan media in order to issue a set of recommendations for a correct use of this register. The report published by the council (Bassols, Castellanos and Torrent, 2004) evaluates the state of the language according to different occurrences on television: swearing or offensive language, linguistic interference and non-normative or inappropriate expressions. According to the report, foreign productions show the least presence of interference, since texts are planned and non spontaneous and have been translated by a professional (2004: 245), although some interference is detected in series where youth slang is more evident. The report distinguishes between lexical and syntactic calques regarding Castilian interference in Catalan television programmes. According to it, syntactic calques rarely occur in programmes that follow a script, whilst lexical Castilianisms sometimes appear when the scriptwriters' goal is for the characters to speak real colloquial Catalan. However, syntactic calques and lexical Castilianisms are more abundant in programmes that do not follow a script:

⁷⁴ The Catalan Audiovisual Council (CAC) is the independent authority which regulates audiovisual communication in Catalonia.

[E]ls calcs lèxics en altres tipus de programes en què hi ha un cert marge per a la improvisació s'acompanyen normalment de calcs sintàctics deguts a una manca de competència d'alguns locutors i sobretot d'alguns col·laboradors fixos. (Bassols, Castellanos and Torrent, 2004: 245)

Lexical calques in other types of programmes that allow certain room for improvisation are usually accompanied by syntactic calques resulting from the lack of competence of the presenters and especially some permanent contributors. (my translation).

In this manner, this report illustrates how the lack of spontaneity of the discourse is a key issue for preventing Castilian interference. This report also shows how one of the main concerns and focuses of attention of the Catalan media is the purge of Castilian interference, which is also a demand from both institutions and audience.

6.2. The loss of culture-specific terms and values in dubbed films

Culture-specific terms or expressions are inevitably to be found in a source text and the translator has to explore different alternatives so as to convey these in line with the target culture experience. Cultural references challenge the translator as the limits of translatability are at stake: how does the translator translate an idiom, a geographical dialect or a word that only exists in the source culture? There are different strategies that offer various alternatives in the search of equivalence.

A cultural reference is, according to González Davies and Scott-Tennent:

[A]ny kind of expression (textual, verbal, non-verbal and audiovisual) denoting any material, ecological, social, religious, linguistic or emotional manifestation that can be attributed to a particular community (geographic, socio-economic, professional, linguistic, religious, bilingual, etc.) and would be admitted as a trait of that community by those who consider themselves to be members of it. (2005: 166)

Cultural references are expressions that cannot be dealt with alone, since these are associated with a certain ideology (Santamaria, 2001: 160-161). In audiovisual material,

as a result of the interplay of audio and visual codes, other references apart from the verbal signs appear on the screen: clothes, food, places, etc. are elements associated with the collective knowledge of the people in a particular community. All in all, these cultural references are tied up with values in a certain environment that can be different in the target culture and this has to be taken into account when analysing the dubbing of the film.

The transmission of these terms and values in audiovisual material always implies a certain domestication (Baker and Hocher, 1998: 76), since it favours the replacement of the culture-specific references by its target counterparts, which causes an unavoidable loss of authenticity in the dubbed film.⁷⁵ In this sense, Agost (2001:127-142) poses the question of naturalising films in order to conform to the norms in the target culture, since the more natural the translation is, the greater the level of acceptability. Through an analysis of the dubbing into Catalan of the French series *Premiers Baisers*, (translated as *De què vas?* and broadcast in Televisió de Catalunya in the 1990s), Agost and García (1997) prove that the Catalan version is target language and culture oriented, because the Catalan text is naturalised to the extent of using Catalan names for characters and places and also replacing the original soundtrack by other themes composed by Catalan rock bands.⁷⁶

In order to analyse the options available in translating culture references, González Davies and Scott-Tennent (2005) devise a model in order to tackle cultural references compiling different strategies, as to offer a categorisation which distinguishes different solutions for each case (2005: 167):⁷⁷

- Exoticism: the source language is kept with no changes in the target text. González Davies and Scott-Tennent select the following example to illustrate this strategy:

⁷⁵ Audiovisual texts are multimodal, as acoustic and visual, verbal and non-verbal signs are delivered in a synchronised manner and this limits the options available to the translator. All these constraints cause a loss of authenticity and this is reflected in the dubbed film.

⁷⁶ Agost and García (1997) carried out research into the translation of the French series into Catalan and other languages, including Castilian. The study concluded that the Catalan version had been ‘catalanised’ due to the political context of this text. Agost and García claim that this context determines the dubbing of TV series into Catalan.

⁷⁷ This categorisation was designed to help students and professionals of translation to improve their competence with regards to problems generated by the uncertainty of how to tackle cultural references, since there is not, according to González Davies and Scott-Tennent, a final definition of these.

ST: ‘¿Le gusta el mambo? Tengo de todo: heavy metal, rock, soul, cumbias, incluso sevillanas, salsa, tecno-pop, lo que quiera...’

TT: ‘Do you mind the mambo? I’ve got everything: heavy metal, rock, soul, cumbias, even sevillanas, salsa, Techno-Pop, whatever you like...’

- Cultural borrowing: the source language word or expression is rendered with little change (e.g. ‘kleenex’ in Castilian).
- Calque: source and target language are similar in their structure (‘Come out of the cupboard’ can be translated as ‘salir del armario’ in Castilian).
- Transliteration: the term is translated according to the phonic or graphic conventions in the target language (‘Bumerán’ for ‘boomerang’ — although ‘boomerang’ is itself a borrowing in English).
- Communicative translation: the source language has a correspondent in the target with different syntax and/or lexis. (‘Wet paint’ is ‘recién pintado’ in Castilian).
- Cultural transplantation: the culture-specific referent has been adapted or substituted in accordance to the norms in the target language or has been changed for ideological reasons. This strategy occurs particularly in verbal expressed humour on screen (Chiaro 2006: 198-208). In this case the options available to the translator are: the substitution for an example in the target text; the replacement of the expression with an idiomatic expression in the target language, or the replacement of the expression with an example of compensatory humour elsewhere. These procedures can preserve or not the form or the meaning of the expression in the target text. Chiaro analyses the film *Four Weddings and a Funeral* (1994), in which the translators found the following solution to create the same effect in its dubbed Italian version:

ST: ‘In the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Goat...’

TT: ‘Nel nome del Padre, del Figlio e dello spiritoso Santo...’

(Backtranslation: In the name of the Father, the Son and the lively Ghost...)

(Chiaro, 2010: 6)

These strategies are useful to categorise the procedures followed by the Catalan translator of the film adaptation of *Fear and Loathing in Las Vegas*. However, this categorisation establishes different methods to deal with cultural references without dealing with the context in which the translation unfolds. For this reason, this classification will only be used in order to highlight the shifts that occur in the following analysis.

6.3. Analysis of the dubbed version of *Fear and Loathing in Las Vegas* into Catalan

There are three main aspects to take into account when analysing the translation and dubbing of the film *Fear and Loathing in Las Vegas*: colloquial and vulgar registers, a large number of cultural references, and the constraints of dubbing resulting from acoustic and visual synchronisation.

6.3.1. The presence of colloquial and taboo language and Castilian interference

As described in the previous chapters, the language used in *Fear and Loathing in Las Vegas* is often colloquial, with a strong presence of slang. These features are significant in the source text because they help to build an atmosphere that is very important for the credibility of the story narrated. The following analysis is based on the original screenplay and its translation by the Catalan Albert Pejó in a commission for Televisió de Catalunya (1998).

Though colloquial registers in Catalan have an increasing presence in the mainstream channels of communication, as seen above, the linguists of Televisió de Catalunya have introduced limited lexical solutions for the instances in which slang or vulgar language appears. This does not help the Catalan system introduce new elements in this field, neither achieving a level of acceptability when borrowing expressions from other languages, especially from Castilian. As a result, an attempt at normalising the existing forms has failed or has little use among the speakers, as it sounds old-fashioned or quirky.

For colloquial and taboo language, the translator selects different options available in Catalan for a very common taboo word in the source text. All the target text terms are in genuine Catalan and widely used among the speakers in this register. The examples below follow this pattern:⁷⁸

Source text	Target text
fucker	desgraciat, cabronàs, malparit de merda ⁷⁹
freak	sonat, penjat
goddamn	coi, collons de
shit	merda, collons
bastard	fill de puta, idiota
fuck off	a cagar
boy	nano
Jesus	ostres
Jesuschrist	cagumdena
reefer	porro

Table 6.1 Example: genuine colloquial and taboo Catalan words

However, in the following instances, the translator opts for Castilianisms to render the meaning. These are non normative words phonetically adapted to Catalan:

⁷⁸ All the examples are taken from the script from the Catalan version of the film *Fear and Loathing in Las Vegas* which I transcribed myself (see appendix 4).

⁷⁹ It is relevant to note that the translations *malparit de merda* and *cabronàs* need intensifiers (adding *de merda* and with the suffix *-às*) as the words *malparit* and *cabró* do not have as much punch as the English ‘fucker’.

Source text	Target text
pimp	macarra
faggot	marica
man	tio
hot damn	ostres tios
cool, groovy, hip and square	el conya, el genial, el súper i l'enrotllat

Table 6.2 Example: Non genuine colloquial and taboo words

Since linguists in TVC only accept a few non genuine words that come from Castilian (according to *ésADir*'s language policy, as seen above), this translation has very limited interference. Also, it is relevant to note that the Castilian borrowings shown in table 5.2 are widespread among Catalan speakers and are perfectly adapted to the phonetics of the language. As the translator Albert Pejó⁸⁰ points out, there are certain requirements from Televisió de Catalunya: the commissioner will accept some deep-rooted expressions that derive from Castilian (such as *tio* or the derogative *marica*), although just a few and only the ones that are phonetically integrated⁸¹ into the Catalan language and widespread among the users. In this respect, Pejó states that, among all Castilian expressions used by Catalan speakers, only some are accepted which affects the target text in a way that it loses its punch.

There is another factor that influences the translation, which is the linguistic disparity between Catalan and English according to Pejó. In this respect, the translator observes that the way of swearing in English is different compared to Catalan. When swearing appears in the text, different terms (with a different meaning) present the same option in the translation:

⁸⁰ The linguist and translator Albert Pejó answered various questions regarding his translation of *Fear and Loathing in Las Vegas* in an email in 2010 (see appendix 1).

⁸¹ Phonetically integrated words do not present any sounds that are not part of the Catalan repertoire. The word *joder*, for instance, is not phonetically integrated because it produces a voiceless uvular fricative sound [χ].

Source text	Target text
pig, fucker, bummer, shithead	malparit
dog shit, bullshit	parides

Table 6.3 Example: repetitions

In the above instances, however, the translator had other options in the target language which convey the meaning more accurately. For example, for the word ‘pig’, the translator could have used the Catalan term *porc*, and for ‘shithead’, the translator could have resorted to *torracollons*. In the case of ‘bullshit’ and ‘dog shit’, the Catalan word *bestieses* is also a valid option. In any case, constraints derived from lip synchronisation must have affected the choice. Also, Pejó himself admits that his priority is to retain the tone of the source text, however detrimental this is to equivalence at word level.

6.3.2. Naturalising cultural references

There are many aspects of the text that are related to the American culture of the 1970s characterising the source text as described in the introduction of this thesis. These ideas or concepts are out of the target language audience’s reach. The translator can adapt images or metaphors in the foreign text enabling the translation to become more transparent. In this respect, in erasing taboo language and dialects that appear in the original and replacing these traits of the source text with more general words or expressions, the target text becomes more homogeneous (as in the law of growing standardisation), but it also benefits the audience’s comprehension. The naturalisation of cultural references is shown according to different categories as follows:

- Proper nouns (names of brands, places and objects not existing in the target culture):

Source text	Target text	Back-translation
tea-shades ⁸²	ulleres de sol	sun glasses
Acapulco shirts	camises de flors	flower shirts

Table 6.4 Example: proper nouns

According to the category seen above (González Davies and Scott-Tennent, 2005: 167), this procedure responds to a communicative translation, for which the culture-specific reference has been adapted or substituted in accordance to audience experience and norms in the target language. Also, the target text uses a superordinate to refer to a particular object, resulting in less detail in the translation.

In other instances, a mix between communicative translation and borrowing is produced:

Source text	Target text
Savage Henry	Salvatge Henry ⁸³

Table 6.5 Example: proper nouns

In the next instance, the translator opts for a more popular word in the target culture which is still a cultural borrowing:

Source text	Target text
Wild Turkey	Bourbon

Table 6.6 Example: proper nouns

Whilst 'bourbon' is a well-known type of whisky in the target culture, the American brand 'Wild Turkey' might be unknown by the target audience. In addition, 'bourbon' is a superordinate, since 'Wild Turkey' is a type of bourbon. Again, the translation experiences a loss in meaning.

⁸² 'Tea-shades' are a type of sunglasses which became popular in the 1960s and were typically worn by members of the countercultural movement in the USA. In Catalan, there is no specific name for this type of sunglasses, although they are sometimes referred as to 'John Lennon glasses' or 'round sunglasses' (*ulleres John Lennon* and *ulleres de sol rodones*).

⁸³ The Castilian translation, as seen in chapter 4, uses the same strategy (*Henry el Salvaje*).

In the following instance, the naturalisation of the cultural reference is manifest through cultural transplantation:

Source text	Target text
Ginger beer	gasosa

Table 6.7 Example: proper nouns

The translator assumes that the audience will be unable to understand the concept as it does not exist in the target culture, so he takes the object that it refers to (or the closest product that exists in the receiving culture) and translates it. The strategy of cultural transplantation, as seen above, entails that the reference is completely adapted to the target culture or substituted by another reference typical in the target culture.

The following example constitutes a calque from the original:

Source text	Target text
Lucy in the sky with diamonds	Lucy en el cel amb diamants

Table 6.8 Example: proper nouns

Although this is a line from a very popular Beatles' song, the translation is literal. However, the translation might run the risk of losing the meaning behind the line, as it is common knowledge in the source culture that it refers to the drug LSD.

- Wordplay:

In verbal expressed humour there are several options available to the translator. In the following example, the translator chose to replace the pun with an explanatory solution in Catalan, so the target text loses the comical effect:

Source text	Target text	Back translation
-Can I call you a cab?	-Vol un taxi?	-Do you want a taxi?
-Sure and I'll call you a cocksucker!	-No vull cap taxi, imbècil!	-I don't want any taxi, moron!

Table 5.9 Example: puns

The translator is forced to change the meaning as the verb 'to call' is polysemous in English but not in Catalan.

- Expressions typical of American culture:

For some expressions, despite being familiar to the target culture, the translator opts for a replacement which facilitates audience comprehension. As Pejó admits:

Traduir conceptes culturals és molt complicat, tot i que aquí cada vegada ens resulta menys estranya la cultura americana. Em sembla inevitable que es perdin referents culturals. Quan una pel·lícula en conté molts, és molt probable que una part resultin incomprendibles pel públic català. (appendix 1, 2010)

Translating cultural concepts is very complicated, although American culture is starting to feel less unfamiliar. It seems to be unavoidable to lose cultural references. When a film contains many of these, it is very likely that some might not be understandable by the Catalan audience. (my translation)

Naturalising strategies to translate expressions typical of the US culture are thus used to help the audience understand. The following are some examples of words which have moved beyond the US borders, and yet have been naturalised with a Catalan equivalent, despite losing the punch and the nuanced meaning of the original word:

Source text	Target text	Back translation
junkies	drogates	druggies
freaks	sonats, penjats	crazy
Gonzo journalism	periodisme del bo	good journalism
honkies	descolorits, blancs de merda	bleached, fucking whites

Table 6.10 Example: expressions typical of the American culture

6.3.3. The constraints of dubbing

The target language text presents many elisions and the translation tends to be free sometimes as a consequence of the influence of the dubbing on the script, as it has to adjust to the images displayed in a sequence. According to Pejó, time and space are two parameters that are crucial, since all texts are forced to pass the process of lip synchronisation. As explored above, the constraints typical of dubbing are of a semiotic nature, as the translation of verbal acoustic signs depends not only on the lips of the actor but on the whole body, in favour of realism. The following are examples of how synchrony of body movements and speech condition the dubbed film:

Source text	Target text	Back translation
fuck off	Fot el camp	Get out of here
holy-moly	hola maca	hello pretty

Table 6.11 Example: dubbing constraints

In the above instances the meaning is still preserved quite closely to the original. However, there are some examples of total lack of linguistic equivalence:

Source text	Target text	Back translation
that's a waste of talent	quina merda de ciutat	what a shitty city
for your love, I give you diamonds, I...	m'he passat tot el dia caminant	I spent all day walking
scoot over you fat bastard ⁸⁴	vinga afanya't malparit	Come on hurry up bastard
a religious freak	bona noia	good girl

Table 6.12 Example: dubbing constraints

In other instances, the process of dubbing requires special procedures to overcome the constraints typical of dubbing. In this respect, in the following example linguistic material is added to the target text:

Source text	Target text	Back translation
big whiff, sonny boy	Té nano, així, ensuma, ensuma, ensuma! Molt bé, ja està, així m'agrada	there you have boy, sniff, sniff, sniff! Very good, that's it, that's how I like it

Table 6.13 Example: dubbing constraints

This corresponds to what Delabastita calls *adiectio* (as seen in 5.3), a procedure for which new images, dialogues or sounds are introduced. This is possible through visual elements concerning the film: since at this point the actor's mouth cannot be seen by the audience, the translator adds material to be said to make the story more realistic.

In conclusion, the examples provided in this section confirm the main issues covered in this chapter. First, the limited Castilian interference in the dubbed film is explained by the commissioner's requirements, which ultimately depend on the target culture norms. As seen above, Televisió de Catalunya is stricter with dubbed films than with in-house production: whereas Castilian interference is unacceptable in the former, the latter is

⁸⁴ 'Scoot over' has no equivalent verb in Catalan that can represent the action of moving to one side. As seen above, verbs in Germanic languages encode motion and manner, whereas Romance languages verbs tend to encode motion and path. This limits the options available in the target language, which could be the reason why the translator had to resort to a solution with a different meaning.

more flexible with the language and tolerates non-genuine words. On the other hand, the naturalisation of the cultural references in the dubbed film makes evident the loss of cultural specificity and the tendency towards cultural homogenisation. In this manner, the translator opts for domesticating certain aspects in favour of the comprehension of the audience. As a consequence of adapting elements of the foreign text to the target culture's repertoire, the translator is forced to alter the text, which appears adapted to a Catalan audience. This conforms to the law of growing standardisation (Toury, 1995a: 267), as the target text accommodates more common options available in the target culture repertoire. More to the point, the geographical and social registers follow the same pattern, since some taboo language in the source text is lost in the target text, resulting in a standardisation of the language. Finally, the constraints of the dubbing greatly restrict the final result: many changes have been carried out for the sake of realism.

The Catalan translation of Terry Gilliam's film adaptation of *Fear and Loathing in Las Vegas* appears as a norm-governed text, target language and culture-oriented, with a commissioner that dictates the guidelines for the translation. The Catalan television plays a key role within the Catalan system; hence its language policy in translation needs to be regarded as fundamental to the construction of a colloquial oral language that is equally valid for television and for everyday life. Colloquial language is, however, not only found in oral media; it is also reproduced in written texts. Despite the oral language in television being highly influential, colloquial Catalan found in contemporary literature also needs to be explored. The following chapter investigates the existing models for colloquial language in written texts.

7. Colloquial Catalan: the non-existence of a single model

As seen throughout this thesis, the influence of Castilian on colloquial Catalan has an impact on the work of Catalan translators. The lack of confidence of translators when tackling informal registers — particularly with slang and taboo language — leads them to question the model of language they are instructed to use. Following the linguistic norm entails a certain standardisation of colloquial language in translation, inflicting a loss on the richness of registers and a flattening of the language. On the other hand, employing features typical of ‘real’ colloquial discourse is regarded as not legitimate since it implies using non-normative expressions with a Castilian origin, something which publishers and proofreaders do not tolerate. Accordingly, a Catalan translator faces the lack of a valid model for colloquial language, as the linguistic norm contradicts the way Catalan is really spoken in the streets. In this chapter, the problems arising from a translation of literature into colloquial Catalan will be analysed to unveil the main difficulties a translator encounters. In order to illustrate the subject matter, an analysis of colloquial language through various translations in colloquial Catalan is carried out to explore different approaches.

Over the second half of the last century, a series of Catalan translators and writers attempted different models for colloquial language in literature influencing Catalan translators today. The writer and translator Manuel de Pedrolo (1918-1990), for instance, belonged to a generation of writers who were never taught Catalan at school, and advocated a pragmatic use of language, leaving as his legacy a model with the aim of expressing himself in a language which breaks the barrier between the writer and the reader (Pijuan, 2005: 344). The collection of thrillers *La Cua de Palla*,⁸⁵ in which Pedrolo was one of the first translators, promoted an everyday language that could reach a wide audience (Pijuan, 2005: 342). Pedrolo and the translators of *La Cua de Palla* had been entrusted with the creation of a ‘new’ Catalan, a colloquial style which was missing in the literary tradition (2005: 342). In this respect, Pedrolo’s language was punctuated with non-normative expressions, a consequence of not having been taught in Catalan. His translations demonstrated a colloquial language representing the language used by the lower classes (Pijuan, 2005: 344).

⁸⁵ The collection was created in the publishing house Edicions 62 with the aim of reaching a vast audience, to promote the thriller genre and Catalan production of it (Pijuan, 2005: 342).

Despite this and other attempts to find a model for colloquial Catalan with more or less success, this is still today an issue subject to debate: whilst a search for a valid model is attempted, some scholars vindicate different styles for each text. In this way, the writer and translator Jordi Arbonès (1929-2001), who introduced some of the most important writers of modern British and American literature into Catalan (Alsina, 2005: 379) claimed that there is not one single model, since each writer and original text have their own style which determines the translation:

En tot cas, si acceptéssim que existeix això que se sol anomenar un model de llengua, hauríem de concloure que n'hi ha diversos i distints, així com que, en tot cas, el model de llengua l'imposaria l'autor del llibre original, i no pas l'editorial, ni tan sols el traductor, de la mateixa manera que és l'autor qui ens imposa el seu estil i, fins i tot, el seu lèxic. Per tant, generalitzar d'aquesta manera i dir que el model de llengua d'un traductor és absolutament arcaic, per exemple, resulta absurd, perquè no crec que calgui ser molt espavilat per a comprovar que el model de llengua d'una obra de Thackeray o de Henry James, per exemple, no és igual que el model de llengua d'una novel·la policíaca de Raymond Chandler o d'Ed McBain. (Arbonès, 1997: 54)

In any case, if we accepted that there exists what we usually call a model of language, we would have to conclude that they are several and distinct, also, in any case, the model of language would be imposed by the author of the original book, instead of the publisher and not even the translator, in the same way that it is the author who imposes his style, and also his lexis. Therefore, generalising in such a way and saying that the model of language of a translator is absolutely archaic, for instance, appears absurd, because I believe that I don't think you need to be very bright to realise that the model of language of a work such as Thackeray's or Henry James', for example, is not the same as the model of language of a detective novel of Raymond Chandler or Ed McBain. (my translation)

Here Arbonès is also responding to the criticisms that he received concerning the language he used in his translations for being 'archaicising' (Farrés, 2005: 45). Arbonès is especially relevant because he started translating into Catalan as a result of the self-consciousness he felt of being illiterate in his own language (Farrés, 2005: 42), since,

like most of his contemporaries, he had never been taught Catalan at school due to the policy of Franco's dictatorship. This sparked off Arbonès's interest in translation, something which he did not do out of a vocational interest in the beginning, rather, as a way to recuperate Catalan (Farrés, 2005: 42). Although he became a professional translator later on, he had the same motivation as his predecessors from the Noucentisme movement, who took translation as an exercise to improve their own style and to renew the Catalan language at the same time. The criticisms he received came from the defenders of a 'light' Catalan, those who supported a literary language which sounded more like that spoken on the streets. In 1979, the critic Robert Saladrigas, objected that the language used by the characters in Arbonès's translation into Catalan of *Lady Chatterley's Lover* was too 'correct' and Arbonès argued that this was the language used by the author so the criticism should be aimed at him (Alsina, 2005: 383). Arbonès was in favour of a style which would enrich his own language and he believed that translations into Catalan were failing to do so because they were too colloquial, too close to an unregulated and poorly spoken Catalan:

Si acceptem que la traducció literària és un art, que el traductor ha de ser, al seu torn, escriptor i artista, hem de defensar la seva llibertat a emprar, fins i tot crear, el llenguatge que consideri adient per tal de traslladar un text d'una altra llengua a la pròpia de la manera més artística i eficaç possible, sense cenyir-se a cap model establert, sense rebutjar res com no sigui una expressió corrupta i embastardida per la influència de l'altra llengua amb què conviu la nostra, però en inferioritat de condicions. (Arbonès, 1997: 57)

If we accept that literary translation is an art, that the translator has to be, in turn, both a writer and an artist, we must defend the freedom to use, even to create, the language which is deemed appropriate in order to transfer a text from another language into the target language in the most artistic and effective way, without limiting oneself to any established model, without rejecting anything unless it is a corrupted and bastardised expression under the influence of the other language which Catalan coexists with though in inferior conditions. (my translation)

Indeed, Arbonès's point of view was that Catalan was in a subordinate position under a major language, and for this reason, Castilian interference was not acceptable in his

translations in Catalan. Arbonès was expressing here his ethical and political stance with regards to the Catalan language. His colloquial language, thus, would not admit any Castilianisms and his translations would not resort to a language that was too colloquial either. In this manner, he also asserted that a translation which overuses colloquial language runs the risk of presenting the characters in a way in which they lose their origin (Rodríguez Espinosa, 2002: 222). This is a significant point Arbonès made in an interview, a comment which leads to reflection over the question as to how geographical and temporal distance between the source and the target text can be overcome. The fact that colloquial registers are indicators of a particular, specific geographical location which changes over time and in different social communities represents a hindrance for translators. This issue is explored in the following section to uncover the constraints experienced by translators of colloquial Catalan.

7.1. The constraints of translating colloquial registers

Real colloquial language is the spontaneous language found in conversations, which can be associated with a particular group of people of a specific geographical origin at a specific period of time. This is the register typical of everyday life situations and it can be found in all languages. The field of a spoken colloquial register is defined by a very limited vocabulary, which lacks accuracy, as opposed to technical registers which use a very precise range of lexis (Bibiloni, 1998: 102). With regards to the mode, the colloquial register is, in principle, oral, because of which it depends mostly on context; whereas the colloquial register's tenor is informal and based on the interactivity of the participants. As seen above, colloquial language varies depending on the speaker's geographical, social and temporal origin. Thus, there is not only one colloquial language but several, and this will hinder the task of establishing a neutral colloquial register valid for all the speakers.⁸⁶ The place of origin of colloquial discourse is an important question here, since any specificity regarding geographical varieties in Catalonia puts the translated text at risk of being linked to a particular location. As Bibiloni states (1998: 105), 'precisament és, com tothom sap, en la parla col·loquial on apareix la major quantitat de diferències interdialectals' ('it is precisely, as everyone knows, in colloquial language, where the greatest deal of inter-dialectal differences appear', my

⁸⁶ Although there are different colloquial registers, these can be grouped together. This does not refer to an idiolect, which is the form of language that a particular person speaks. Rather, a set of features can be identified in different types of people, according to their age, sex, level of education, etc., which represent a particular group of speakers.

translation). Accordingly, the translator faces the difficulty of finding a colloquial means of expression which does not reflect a language belonging to a certain community in Catalonia, a language which is neutral to speakers. There is thus a paradox occurring in the translation of colloquial registers into Catalan: whilst the translator aims to reflect a language which sounds real, like that spoken in the streets, colloquial language projects not only geographical origin but also pertinence to a social group. For this reason, a neutral expression of colloquial discourse is never possible because it will always show features pertaining to a certain dialect and/or social variety.

Furthermore, colloquial register, as seen above, typically appears as an oral register, a spontaneous language with no previous planning. On the other hand, ‘written’ colloquial, which can be found in literature, presents different features which need to be underlined. ‘Written’ colloquial refers to a literary version of colloquial language, that is, a text which is written to be read. As opposed to colloquial oral language, ‘written’ colloquial is planned (Payrató, 1996: 62). Along the same lines, Victòria Alsina (2002: 140) defines three types of informal oral Catalan: firstly, informal standard, which is the model used by the media and is monitored by linguists. For this register there is a model proposed by the institutions (Institut d’Estudis Catalans) as well as other linguists’ contributions. Secondly, there is spontaneous oral Catalan, that is, the language spoken in the streets, which is only transcribed for linguistic purposes. Finally, ‘written’ colloquial Catalan is the register found in literature, which is different to the first one because its language is devised as ‘written to be read’.

‘Written’ colloquial, thus, is not spontaneous although it aims to be read as such and this entails a problem of difficult resolution: if Castilian interference is allowed in the text, this will be corrected or rejected, whilst in using genuine Catalan only, the text will not be approved either, since it will include expressions which are obsolete or not typical of current spoken Catalan. Therefore, another paradox occurs, this time related to the linguistic norm and audience expectations: whilst a correct expression of colloquial Catalan clashes with the Catalan spoken today, with Castilian interference and grammatical errors typical of an unplanned discourse, a non-normative expression of Catalan would not find acceptance among institutions and readers.

Accordingly, ‘written’ colloquial Catalan appears written but acting as ‘real’, due to which there is a ‘tension’ (Alsina, 2002: 141) between the norms established by

institutions and the real feel of the text. The inclusion of those colloquial, non normative utterances in literary texts causes rejection by the readers, who are prepared to accept Castilian interference to a certain extent in conversations but will reject those ‘incorrect’ ones in literature. Similarly, the inclusion of genuine Catalan colloquial words or expressions triggers criticism because they are no longer in use; it is a language which represents an old version of Catalan typical of the older generation or it is simply no longer understood (2002: 141-142).

Colloquial Catalan appears, thus, more problematic than any other register in Catalan when it comes to reconciling real oral language and the linguistic norm. Whilst the discussion about standard Catalan has settled,⁸⁷ colloquial Catalan evidences the divorce between the norm and the language spoken in the streets. The debate has moved to cinema or television, where Catalan productions on the national channel, *Televisió de Catalunya*, which broadcasts reality shows that manifest that oral Catalan, have a strong interference from Castilian which impoverishes the language and thus influences its speakers.⁸⁸ Whilst a lot has been written about colloquial oral language in the media (as seen in chapter 6), very little research explores the colloquial language used in translated literature into Catalan. Accordingly, the following two sections aim to reveal the problems found in translating ‘written’ colloquial language into Catalan.

7.2. Colloquial language: an ideological question?

As explored above, in literary translation, Catalan colloquial language makes the translator’s job all the more complicated. Notwithstanding this, the professional has to make a decision on the strategy to be employed: the translator can opt for either marking or not marking the target text with certain linguistic features. One common solution is marking the text indirectly, adding information to the text to inform the reader that the source text is in a marked variant (Ainaud, Espunya, and Pujol, 2003: 112-114). For example, the translator would add to the original comments like ‘said in

⁸⁷ Despite the creation and implementation of a unitary language which includes all geographical varieties of the territories where Catalan is spoken, some voices have arisen against a model for standard Catalan which departs from the ‘central’ dialect, that spoken in Barcelona (Bibiloni, 1997: n.p.). For this reason, standard Catalan has been blamed for a possible fragmentation of Catalan. Whilst the dispute over the model for Catalan in formal registers — ‘light’ and ‘heavy’ Catalan defenders — has now moved on, and those differences on the linguistic norm have seemed to settled, the standard is now being questioned.

⁸⁸ Most criticisms are aimed at reality shows and sports broadcasters, among others. Show presenters are mostly actors whose performance aims to be realistic and it often presents Castilian interference (Pitarch 2006: 50; Bassols, Castellanos and Torrent, 2004: 231-264).

his dialect' or 'asked in his dialect'. The option of not marking the text, on the other hand, will lead to a standardisation of the translation, erasing the features that characterise it as a marked variety. This tendency, which corresponds to Toury's law of growing standardisation, will lead to a flatter and more neutral text whilst avoiding conflicts, and creating a more informative function in the target text.

According to Alsina (2002: 144), many translators have found themselves in the situation where, when trying to convey source texts in a real colloquial language, publishers or media have replied back to them with a series of suggestions to improve their style. In this sense, the recommendations are typically solutions which standardise the language of the translation with lexical options compiled in dictionaries: *beicon* is replaced by the lesser used *bacó* (bacon) and *tenir cura de* instead of *cuidar* (to look after), among other instances in informal registers (2002: 144-145). This illustrates the tendency of flattening the language, which also entails a register shift, moving from colloquial to standard Catalan.

However, it is not only the Catalan language that presents this problem, since Toury's law of standardisation applies to all translations in all language pairs. In particular, there are studies which reflect the tendency to resort to more conservative lexical options in colloquial registers, that is, using a more standard and normative language for translation if compared to original works. This is the case with Finnish contemporary literature, according to Nevalainen (2004: 67-89), in which colloquial registers appear more frequently and unfold better in an original text rather than a translation. In the same vein, slang in informal registers in Latvian translated literature used to be softened since this language was seen as 'undesirable' and perceived as an example of 'low culture' (Zauberga, 1994: 137). After the 'National Awakening' in the nineteenth century, Latvians ceased to see their language as inferior and people started to gain national pride and fought against a Germanised language: Germany dominated Latvia for centuries (Veisbergs, 2011: 87). A cultural change in the Latvian society has altered the conventions in this field (Zauberga, 1994: 145), yet there is a historical event which could throw some light on this matter: the independency of Latvia after the Soviet Union's collapse in 1991 triggered a more liberal wave in which language would become less rule-bound: 'Since independence the Latvian lexicography has been versatile, but somewhat chaotic' (Veisbergs, 2011: 92). In effect, independence brought about political changes in Latvia which affected the status of the language: Latvian

became the sole official language in the country and translations from not only German or Russian texts, but also from Western languages constituted the main focus of language renewal (Veisbergs, 2011: 91). Whilst borrowings from other languages occur in Latvian lexicography, the predominant position of this language in the country has changed the course of events, something which has necessarily altered people's perception on the status of Latvian and their linguistic ideology. Today, Latvian spoken language has become more relaxed in terms of correctness and it borrows slang from German, Russian and English. The tendency in Latvian translations is to become more liberal so as to allow more slang and taboo words (Zauberga, 1994: 145), despite these being borrowed from other languages.

A parallel could be drawn between the Catalan and the Latvian scenario in the nineteenth century, as the *Renaixença* movement represented a similar process regarding language policy: the campaign initiated against Castilianisms became the core of the language debate among linguists in charge of the reform. With regards to the situation of Catalan today, the institutions still campaign against Castilian interference, and lexical and syntactic calques from Castilian do not agree with Catalan conventions. The Latvian language, on the other hand, has become more liberal and allows interference from other languages. Apart from the obvious distance between Catalan and Latvian, the difference lies in the fact that the Latvian political situation today has inverted the position of the language, going from dominated to dominant; whilst the Catalan political subordination to Spain continues to relegate the language to a subordinate position. This is, thus, one reason which can explain why the Catalan system is still very concerned with the fight against interference from Castilian, a major language representing a Spanish symbol of dominance in Catalonia.

Furthermore, Pla Nualart (2010: 221-222) emphasises the fact that whilst Catalan shares official status with Castilian in Catalonia, Catalan will never achieve the status of 'normality', for which 'barbarism-hunting' will never cease to be a common practice among professionals. Pla Nualart advocates a language which is open to interference, as long as it does not break the structural grammar of the language (2010: 230), although he admits that Catalan is reluctant to accept Castilian interference because of the menace of diglossia turning into language substitution:

Quan una llengua se sent acorralada emfatitza el seu valor simbòlic. L'emfatitza tant que fins i tot està disposada a perdre la funcionalitat per preservar-lo. Si això ho porta a l'extrem, deixa de ser un vehicle de comunicació per esdevenir un argot encarcarat per a iniciats. (Pla Nualart, 2010: 231)

When a language feels cornered it emphasises its symbolic value. So much so that it is even prepared to lose its functionality to preserve the language. If this is taken to the extreme, it stops being a means of communication to become a rigid jargon for the initiated. (my translation)

Pla Nualart is thus making an openly ideological statement on the situation of Catalan, since the status of the language in Catalonia, according to him, affects in an irreversible manner the evolution of Catalan. Indeed, the subordination of Catalonia under Spain and the perception that the Catalan language is anomalous affects the way speakers see their own language, which triggers the protection of it from Castilian interference.

7.3. The lack of equivalence

A translation into Catalan with Castilian interference also appears problematic for other reasons which do not relate to ideology, but revolve around the essence of a translation itself. As seen in chapter 2, Toury sees translation equivalence as a 'functional-relational' concept (1995a: 61) and a necessary condition for translation. The norms in a certain culture will be responsible for the way equivalence is realised and will determine the audience expectations of a translation. Hermans also explores norms in translation, and comes to the conclusion that 'social conventions, norms and rules are intimately tied up with *values*' (Hermans, 1999a: 58), so a norm is not only a regulation on the behaviour within a community, but also the expectation of this community regarding the accomplishment of the norm. Therefore, a norm is what a community sees as correct or proper, according to Hermans' point of view. Norms will maintain the values in a system, which will become dominant and 'reflect the hierarchies of power' (Hermans, 1999a: 57) in the community. It is precisely because a translation is norm-governed and impregnated with values that Hermans sees a translation as never being transparent and it is more likely to be a sort of manipulation of the original text.

In this manner, and because norms are culture-bound, ‘written’ colloquial Catalan will have to follow the existing norms to achieve a certain degree of equivalence, whereas breaking the prevailing norms will entail the non-acceptance of a text as valid by the community. This is why marking a text with linguistic features typical of a ‘real’ spontaneous colloquial Catalan will generate a problem, since the resultant text will not be ‘acceptable’ to the target culture.

If norms in the target language determine how a translation should be and these do not allow Castilian interference, marking a text with features typical of real colloquial language also represents breaking the illusion of equivalence. If the reader’s expectations are to read a translation exactly as if they were reading the source text in their target languages, the translator’s voice needs to be silenced. However, the translator’s imprint is never absent, no matter how well hidden their presence is. Hermans (2007: 27) claims that equivalence in translation is an ‘illusion’, since the deletion of the translator from the text will never be possible. His insight originates from the premise that a translation is repeatable and its status is always provisional. Each text carries a marked difference and this reveals a ‘self-referential moment’ (2007: 30), and in this manner translations will always speak about themselves. Hermans, in the same way as Pym (2004: 71), believes that translations carry values without necessarily adding any text (or paratext), such as prefaces, footnotes or parentheses, since these values are inscribed in the translator’s voice and the choices made by them in the process of translating.

With regards to a translation into ‘written’ colloquial Catalan, choosing a marked variant — since there is not a single neutral colloquial language —, the resultant text will speak like and reflect a variant belonging to a particular and typical group of speakers from Catalonia, which reminds us of Arbonès’s assertion, in which a too colloquial text blurs the characters’ origin in a translation. Accordingly, in marking the target text with colloquial language, this will be a mirror of the language used by a particular social and geographical variety in Catalonia, and will also include Castilianisms and structures that only belong to an identified part of the language users. For the case study of this thesis, the geographical and temporal distance between *Fear Loathing in Las Vegas* and a current Catalan text is difficult to overcome, but the question is whether or not the readership would find credible a translation of the dialogues in a language that a male, young, run-of-the mill individual from Barcelona

speaks, juxtaposed with a Catalan literary register in the narrative part of the literature work. This clash would, at least, surprise the reader, who would find the text somewhat innovative, — if not revolutionary. Moreover, this would entail breaking the norms and running the risk of falling into realm of marginal literature. Despite this, some Catalan translators have translated dialects and social varieties into Catalan due to the markedness of the source text. The following section explores how three translators have tackled linguistic variety in translation.

7.4. Models for Catalan in translation: translating the dialect

Two languages in contact can result in one of the languages being influenced by the other. This is the case of the Catalan social variety called *xava*, which originated as a result of one language interfering with another: Castilian is the speaker's native language and it interferes with Catalan in that a new variety appears, being dubbed the derogative name *xava* or *xarnego*⁸⁹ (Payrató, 1996: 165). This variety is recorded in certain groups of people from Barcelona whose native language is Castilian. In translation, this variety has been used to convey other social varieties from other languages.

In her doctoral thesis (2009), Briguglia analyses linguistic variety in Catalan contemporary literature. She explores the work of three Catalan translators (Joan Casas, Josep Julià Ballbé and Pau Vidal) who have published translations of Italian literature in which linguistic variety is their main characteristic. The difficulty of translating these texts lies in their linguistic complexity, as they also depict the social reality of Italy through linguistic variety. In this way, Joan Casas resorts to features of the Catalan social variety *xava* in dialogues to denote the voice of the Roman working class in *Ragazzi di vita*, by Pier Paolo Passolini. According to Briguglia, colloquial discourse at all linguistic levels with strong Castilian interference can be traced throughout the novel (2009: 134).

In the case of Josep Julià Ballbé and Pau Vidal, Briguglia observes that the translators had to deal with not only one social variety, but a conglomerate of varieties representing the whole of society in Italy. In Julià Ballbé's translation of Carlo Emilio Gadda's *Il*

⁸⁹ DIEC2 defines *xarnego* as the derogative way of referring to Castilian-speaking immigrants living in Catalonia.

pasticciaccio, the Roman dialect becomes the dialect of Barcelona, again identified with Castilian interference in lexical items (apart from other features typical of colloquial language) (2009: 146).

Likewise, in Pau Vidal's translation of Andrea Camilleri's *Il birraio di Preston*, the mosaic of linguistic variety is also represented by different Catalan dialects, including that of Barcelona to convey the Roman variety. Once again, Castilian interference is present in the target text (2009: 156) to voice the dialect from Barcelona. Whereas the other Catalan dialects (such as those of Valencia, Lleida or Girona) in Julià Ballbé and Pau Vidal's translations do not present Castilianisms, the dialect representing Barcelona does. For this reason, Castilian interference is identified with *xava*, with all the derogative connotations attached to it. However, all geographical varieties in Catalan present Castilian interference, which leads to the question of how close to colloquial language a Catalan translation can be if only the dialect of Barcelona is depicted with Castilianisms. Consequently, a model for colloquial in Catalan translated literature cannot resort to Castilian interference, since it is identified with the *xava*, a stigmatised variety that reflects the way Castilian immigrants speak when they use Catalan. In Casas, Julià Ballbé and Vidal, however, the use of the dialect of Barcelona is justified by the need of finding an equivalent dialect to a particular Italian dialect; although it is debatable whether these translations attain their goal by replacing one dialect from a totally different geographical area with a Catalan one for the values attached to it.

7.5. Models for Catalan in translation: Joaquim Mallafrè

Joaquim Mallafrè is a translator, teacher, writer and linguist who has left as a legacy to Catalan literature the translation of James Joyce's *Ulysses*, as well as works of other writers including Samuel Beckett, Henry Fielding, Laurence Sterne and Thomas More (Ramon Vidal, 2012). His translation of Joyce has been praised for including features typical of colloquial Catalan, such as puns, swearing, riddles or jokes which reflect the richness of the register of the source text in the translation.⁹⁰

Mallafrè's view (2000[1998]) of a model for Catalan in translation is that of a different style for each translator, encompassing the personal experience and the received models

⁹⁰ See critical reviews of Mallafrè's translation at the Associació d'Escriptors en Llengua Catalana's website (http://www.escriptors.cat/autors/mallafrè/pagina.php?id_sec=3001).

of language, a view which coincides with Arbonès's line of thought. The acquisition of appropriate language for translation happens, according to Mallafrè, in a particular shared cultural framework. In the case of Catalan, as seen above, a normal development of this language has been interrupted due to political reasons, so the framework in which this evolution would occur is different to other languages. As seen by Mallafrè, this situation, combined with the current linguistic norms, has led to the opinion by some⁹¹ that it has negative effect over the current language: 'there are critics that blame both the literary tradition and the strictly linguistic regulations for creating serious limitations or imposing a single model' (2000[1998]: 142). In Mallafrè's opinion, there has been 'too much weight attributed to a single tradition', that inherited from Noucentisme. Mallafrè, thus, thinks that the linguistic norm in Catalan is 'no more than a basic guide, some unified rules in the varied and unpredictable game of literary creation' (2000[1998]: 142).

His own model of language emerges from his particular linguistic community; first from conversations in family and society and later from formal language models acquired from Catalan practices and foreign traditions. These influences, in his opinion, provide a 'common, coherent language' that can be transmitted and exported (2000[1998]: 143). This personal experience constitutes a basic style typical of one's own personality and belonging to a particular era. Moreover, depending on the genre, different translation approaches can apply, according to Mallafrè, so a translation of a novel can keep close to the original (2000[1998]: 143). The language 'rules' appear to him as an 'efficient, homogeneous and organised language model' (2000[1998]: 145), and not a restriction or something imposed by institutions. Mallafrè, thus, resorts, without fear of being criticised, to using words that do not appear in dictionaries, which does not mean that they are 'incorrect' for being outside of the norm. In any case, as seen by Arbonès as well, the creativity of the translator will always be tied to the style of the original, since the translator's job is to recreate the source text's style. In view of that, the language will have to appear natural to the audience. All in all, if the language is plausible in the eyes of the reader, it might be an influence on others and, in the future, it might serve as a model to be used by professionals.

The traditional model of a literary language for Catalan translations is that of a language capable of reproducing the masterpieces of universal literature, according to Mallafrè

⁹¹ Mallafrè quotes Pericay and Toutain, representing the defenders of 'light' Catalan.

(1991: 65). Since the 1980s, the prevailing model of language has lost its hegemonic position coinciding with new insights into the study of language: pragmatics and discourse analysis have taken over and the literary language is no longer the only model for communicating in the public sphere. Mass media propagates a new model based on oral language. In Mallafrè's words, oral language has penetrated the language of the 'polis'⁹² (1991: 66), that is, oral has changed from a means of personal communication to a mass communication code. As a result, the linguistic authority is not held by the academic circles only, although they remain in the forefront; the creators of language, as a dynamic entity, are also responsible for setting the guidelines. These are the speakers of the language in general, but mainly the media, the cluster formed of press, television and advertisement, which stand as the reference in language models and influence speakers.

However, the translator is not the only active agent in the language model used: publishing criteria, editors, trends and other factors condition the translation and propagate certain tendencies. All these factors conditioning the translation will stand in the way of progress in finding a valid model for Catalan in translation. Oral language and formal language have converged and this has resulted in a change in communication in public spheres. Mallafrè sees education and the media as the bridges that connect languages: the link by which the language of the 'tribe' and the language of the 'polis' are in contact and interact (1990: 36). Therefore, schools and media, alongside the academic linguistic norms, will have to provide the guidelines for a model that is valid for literature. In fact, there is evidence of this interplay when analysing the style of some journalists and advertisers: for instance, many commercials use puns and play on words, expressions typical of the language of the 'tribe' (in Mallafrè's words), in order to approach their target in a more personal, familiar way. In literature, thus, when characters play a part in the text by means of dialogue, and reflect the language of the 'tribe', the translator will have to resort to this language, rather than the norm. Mallafrè's opinion is that when the characters of a novel talk, the norm is the least important issue, as long as the text is consistent: whenever the language used can be justified, the norm can be left out in the pursuit of that realistic feel typical of the

⁹² Mallafrè (1991) distinguishes between '*tribu*' (tribe) and '*polis*' (polis, or city in Greek) language, the former being the language for personal communication and, the latter, the language of the public sphere. The aim is to solve the problems arising when the translator comes across idioms, puns, emotive tone, etc., which are typical of the language of the 'tribe' but appear in the language of the 'polis'.

situation in question.⁹³ For instance, the translator can resort to the derivation of words and expressions that cannot be found in a dictionary⁹⁴ because the reader will be able to correlate them with another word by using his or her own experience and knowledge of the language. According to Mallafrè, there is no perfect and unique recipe, but there are different options that come from the translator's personal experience and the received models of language.

In order to illustrate how Mallafrè includes oral language to furnish the text with a vast range of expressions in colloquial Catalan, a fragment drawn from his translation of James Joyce's *Ulysses* (1996: 353), is analysed by comparing it to its source (Joyce, 1978[1922]: 340) as follows:

ST:

And begob he got as far as the door and they holding him and he bawls out of him:

—Three cheers for Israel!

Arrah, sit down on the parliamentary side of your arse for Christ' sake and don't be making a public exhibition of yourself. Jesus, there's always some bloody clown or other kicking up a bloody murder about bloody nothing. Gob, it'd turn the porter sour in your guts, so it would.

TT:

I, òstima, s'arribà fins a la porta i ells aguantant-lo i ell bramant fora de si.

—Tres visques per Israel!

Recoi, no t'hi posis de cul per amunt, per l'amor de Déu, i no et facis veure d'aquesta manera. Vatua, sempre hi ha algun cony de pallasso que d'un pet en fa mil esquerdes. Òspit, això et regira la cervesa de l'estómac.

⁹³ This idea comes from a conversation with Joaquim Mallafrè which was held in Tarragona in December 2009.

⁹⁴ The IEC did not include terms in their normative dictionary that are derived from other words since a native speaker is able to produce them. However, the non-inclusion in the dictionary does not imply that they are incorrect.

At a first glance, one of the main features of the source text is its richness of colloquialisms. For instance, the word ‘begob’, which has an Irish origin and stands for ‘by God’,⁹⁵ is not only a term typical of an informal conversation, but it also has a specific origin, which stresses the distance between the source and the target culture. Mallafrè finds a solution for his translation by making use of a genuine colloquial Catalan word, which is, in turn, a euphemism for *hòstia* (a swear word that has stronger connotations): the old-fashioned and more familiar *òstima*, which does not appear in a Catalan normative dictionary, but it has a Catalan origin. Similarly, the words *òspit* and *vatua* also showcase the richness of a language emanating from a Catalan colloquial register. In other instances, Mallafrè reflects a colloquial language with phonetic traits:

Source text	Target text
—Threepence, please. (62)	—Tres penics, si’s plau. (64)
—Mrkrgrnao! the cat said loudly. (57)	—Mrrmrrnyau —féu la gata, més fort. (59)

Table 7.1 Example: colloquial language

The above examples illustrate how colloquial language in Mallafrè’s translation conveys the spoken language. In the case of *si’splau*, Mallafrè uses the widest spread form (also recommended by *ésADir* in the form of *sisplau*), despite not being registered in the normative dictionary (DIEC2). The second example describes the sound of a cat in Catalan (onomatopoeia), which also reflects how Catalan is spoken. Mallafrè also uses puns, traditional rhymes and tongue twisters which he himself devises:

⁹⁵ According to *The Oxford English Dictionary* (OED).

Source text	Target text
Peter Piper pecked a peck of pick of peck of pickled pepper	En pic pica un poc de pebre Peter Piper té picor
Which Will? The will to live	Quin Cigne? El signe de la vida (The play is on the Swan of Avon and sign)
Green is the grass that grows in the ground	Verd és l'herbei que ens fa servei

Table 7.2. Example: puns, traditional rhymes and tongue twisters (Mallafre, 2009: 161)

Mallafre advocates a language which he gathered from his own experience accumulated over the years, presenting a colourful variety of expressions available in Catalan. However, some of these expressions are not currently in use by average Catalan speakers and would sound awkward in a real situation. Joyce's *Ulysses* is a classic of literature which dates back to the first half of the twentieth century, something which is well-known by the reader beforehand: the audience is likely to be prepared to deal with expressions that are outdated or sound awkward. In other words, readers are aware of the geographical and temporal distance.⁹⁶ Whilst the translation conveys the richness of colloquial language in the source text, the colloquialisms used do not always fit in with other contexts in Catalan such as contemporary literature, as the language can sound old fashioned. The problem, therefore, is that although there exists a colloquial language for texts written a century ago, these expressions do not correspond with the colloquial language spoken today.

7.6. Models for Catalan in translation: Quim Monzó

Quim Monzó's colloquial language differs greatly from Mallafre's and presents a range of features which are indicative of a non-normative Catalan. However, these features do not always have a Catalan origin like Mallafre's. Rather, some words and expressions

⁹⁶ It is relevant to note that the translator uses strategies to make the target text more accessible to the reader and to overcome the geographical and temporal distance. In the fragment above, 'porter sour' is translated as *cervesa* (beer), using a superordinate to deal with the cultural reference.

found in Monzó's texts are Castilianisms. The following analysis explores 'written' colloquial language in two selected texts: Monzó's own compilation of short stories *El perquè de tot plegat* (1993) and his translation of J.D. Salinger's *Nine Stories* (*Nou contes*, 2009). The aim is to reveal the creativity of the translator and describe the model for colloquial Catalan used by Monzó.

Quim Monzó is a writer, journalist and translator, and has worked as a graphic designer, comic illustrator, scriptwriter and radio and television presenter. As a translator, Monzó chooses his projects carefully according to his liking, since literary translation is a poorly paid profession (Ollé, 2008: 11). In this manner, he declares that he prefers theatre over all other texts because the language in them is not 'imposat i putrefacte' (imposed and putrid) (Ollé, 2008: 11). Here Monzó refers to a normative Catalan allegedly imposed by institutions, a rigid language distant from the way Catalan is spoken today. This contrasts with the broader support of a normative Catalan, a language that excludes Castilian interference. Monzó was part of a current in Catalan narrative of the 1970s and 1980s in the context of the experimental and countercultural literature in Catalonia. This was a new generation of writers who advocated 'deformation' of language in their narrative, by including other languages in the text as an identifying characteristic, which was regarded as an alternative to the mainstream post-Francoist narrative (Pons, 2007: 104). Monzó did some literary experiments mixing languages in his creations, as other writers did, such as Biel Mesquida.

The celebration of the Catalan Culture Congress,⁹⁷ in which intellectuals agreed that Catalonia needed literature of a national dimension that could be projected universally (Pons, 2007: 105), had consequences in the Catalan literary field. One of the conclusions drawn from the Congress was the identification of a Catalan writer as a professional who writes only in the Catalan language (Pons, 2007: 106). The relationship between nationalism and culture over the normalisation of Catalan culture, as seen in chapter 4, was a controversial issue. Some regarded literature written in Castilian but penned by Catalan writers as Catalan literature too (Fernández, 2008: 68), yet the Catalan government continued to fund literature written in Catalan only. In this context, it does not come as a surprise that writers such as Monzó may also have taken

⁹⁷ The Congrés de Cultura Catalana (1975-1997) was an initiative promoted as a popular movement in support of the Catalan culture with the participation of 15,000 people.

this as a form of oppression and thus took action by writing in a transgressive way, in the same way that the defenders of ‘light’ Catalan criticised the language imposed by the Institut d’Estudis Catalans around the same time in the mid 1980s. Some of these writing experiments succeeded for their originality, others remained marginal.

Monzó is today one of the most popular writers in Catalonia and his style has been acclaimed and labelled as cutting-edge by critics (Ollé, 2008: 12). In this sense, Monzó has played a primary role in the renewal of the Catalan literary canon (Pons, 1989: 5). His style is considered to be innovative in the sense that in his prose ‘there is an implacable analytical capacity’ (Ollé, 1999). One of his most commendable legacies is his plain expression of Catalan, an ‘intentionally simple language that does away with outdated syntactical appliances, and a wish to reflect contemporary life through their characters and situations’ (Pons, 2007: 4). Monzó’s most distinctive stylistic feature is ‘exactitude’ (Ollé, 2008: 25), as explained by himself in an interview:

[N]o es pot anar amb grans filigranes que no duen enlloc. La filigrana mata. Embolicar-te a fer filigranes et serveix, a tot estirar, per parlar de les filigranes. Els grans recargolaments no serveixen per descriure altra cosa que el recargolament i la pretensió que maquilla, i prou. (Ollé, 2008: 25)

Intricacies which do not take you any anywhere do not work. Intricacies kill. Getting involved in intricacies is only useful, at most, to talk about intricacies. Great pomposity is only useful to describe pomposity and the vanity it masks, and that is all. (my translation)

One of the traits which most defines Monzó is that his literature is simple and plain, expressed in a language influenced by audiovisual fiction (Ollé, 2008: 27-28), evidence of which are devices typical of cinematic texts which one can track down in his literature. Indeed, Monzó himself recognises his contribution to the media as a decisive factor in the evolution of his model of language (Ollé, 2008: 52), where he became aware of the great gap between his language in media and in literature:

Quan vaig començar a treballar a Catalunya Ràdio l'any 1983 parlava amb Ricard Fité, que em feia unes indicacions, i a mi aquelles indicacions de Fité em feien trasbalsar. Si quan estic treballant per a la ràdio estic fent servir un model de llengua X, ¿per què quan escric un llibre he de canviar el xip? També en parlàvem amb Ferran Toutain, que corria també per Catalunya Ràdio. Tot plegat em va fer pensar molt què estava fent i quina llengua estava fent servir. Molts escriptors d'aquella època es van reinterrogar sobre quin estàndard estaven fent servir. (Ollé, 2008: 52-53)

When I started working at Catalunya Ràdio in 1983, I used to talk with Ricard Fité, who used to give me guidelines, and, to me, those guidelines from Fité were shocking. If when I am working on the radio I am using a model of language X, why when I write a book must I change my whole mindset? We used to talk about it with Ferran Toutain too, who used to be around there at Catalunya Ràdio. Altogether, this made me think a lot about what I was doing and which type of language I was using. Many writers from that time questioned which standard they were using. (my translation)

In his own rewritings, revised editions of old works, he simplifies his language, using expressions which are more characteristic of the language in use today (Ollé, 2008: 54). His unadorned and straightforward prose is also a trait which ideologically defines him: Monzó refuses to theorise about his language and he does not use Catalan in his literature as an identifying feature or as something which could limit its universal projection, rather, his literature written in Catalan wants to attract the reader's interest through this language, a language which obeys his unique style only (Ollé, 2008: 23). Accordingly, Monzó is not subject to an ideological identification with the language as a symbol of his nation, and he is openly against what he considers a rigid linguistic norm. For this reason, an analysis of the language used in his work, as a writer and as a translator, confers a different view for a model of colloquial Catalan, which is placed in an almost opposite position to translators such as the aforementioned Jordi Arbonès and Joaquim Mallafrè.

7.6.1. Monzó as an author and as a translator

Monzó's compilation of short stories, *El perquè de tot plegat*, is one of his best-selling books.⁹⁸ This collection is mainly devoted to deconstructing, from many different angles, the idea of love, through different stories culminating in 'patiment, quimera i desorientació' (suffering, chimera and disorientation) (Ollé, 2008: 40). Characterised by a bleak narrative voice, his style is described in this way: '[T]he radical nature of its propositions, for the harshness of tone, marked by a pessimistic humour which is not lacking in a certain understanding once the masks have fallen away' (Ollé, 1999). Monzó's language in these stories is direct, but meticulously organised to scrutinise stereotypes and discourses about love: 'L'escriptura de Quim Monzó és alhora compulsiva i analítica, construïda i impactant' (Quim Monzó's language is compulsive and analytical, constructed and shocking at the same time, my translation) (Ollé, 2008: 41).

J.D. Salinger's *Nine Stories*, first translated by Monzó in 1986,⁹⁹ presents features similar in style to those in *El perquè de tot plegat*, which was published a few years after Monzó's translation. J.D. Salinger was one of the most important American writers to emerge since World War II, mostly due to his popular novel *The Catcher in the Rye* (1951) (Miller, 1965: 5; Reiff, 2008: 104), which was followed by the compilation *Nine Stories* in 1953. Salinger published thirty stories from 1940 to 1953, nine of which were selected and printed in a collection in which the author explores how people who have been alienated from the world 'can find reconciliation or redemption, which gives them the ability to survive in a hostile world' (Reiff, 2008: 84). It is difficult to find a unifying principle in *Nine Stories*, since it was not created to be published as a book, although similarities of subject, structure and voice, among others, can be traced (Prigozy, 1995: 114). Salinger's language in his short stories is mainly conversational and it is unique for casting a narrative voice which sometimes evokes a perfect transcription of a telephone conversation (Prigozy, 1995: 119). Salinger's colloquial language used in *Nine Stories* is thus not far from the plain and

⁹⁸It was awarded the *Premi Ciutat de Barcelona 1993* and *Premi de la Crítica Serra d'Or 1994*, and it has been translated into many languages.

⁹⁹Monzó's translation was published as number twenty-one of the collection *Narrativa* in the Catalan publishing house Empúries, under the title *Just abans de la guerra amb els esquimals*. According to Empúries, when J.D. Salinger found out about the title he was infuriated and he demanded an immediate withdrawal of all existing copies. Empúries republished the translation under the title of *Nou contes*. The latest edition published in 2009 has been the one used for this thesis.

unembellished language used by Monzó.

Accordingly, Salinger's language model is precisely what is of interest in this analysis as well as the language used in Monzó's translation. Several examples have been drawn from *Nine Stories* and its Catalan translation *Nou contes* to describe how Monzó deals with colloquial Catalan in various stories:

- Example 1:

Source text	Target text
darling (4)	carinyo (15)
guy (46, 49)	tio (69, 73)
Band-Aid (49)	tirita (73)

Table 7.3 Example: Castilianisms

In these lexical examples, Monzó opts for words which do not appear in the Catalan normative dictionary¹⁰⁰ and are precisely Castilianisms. In the case of 'darling', the translation gives an orthographic adaptation of the Castilian word *cariño*. Whilst the correct word is *estimat*, an average speaker in colloquial Catalan would address or refer to someone as *carinyo*. *Tio* is clearly a Castilianism too, although perfectly integrated in spoken Catalan. The word 'Band-Aid' is translated as the Castilian *tirita*, which also is a registered brand and a widely used term in Catalan (although only *tireta* is accepted in dictionaries).

- Example 2:

Source text	Target text
What's his name (26)	Com se diu (41)

Table 7.3 Example: colloquial features

Monzó translates *se*, the reflexive pronoun *es* in its full form, which is widespread in colloquial Catalan. He uses the strategy of compensation to make up for the loss of

¹⁰⁰ The Catalan normative dictionary is understood as the work which establishes the correct model of language.

some colloquialisms which appear in the source text. In this respect, contractions typical of oral English that have no correspondence in Catalan ('I can't reach 'em' [29] is translated as 'No hi arribo' [45]) are compensated in the target text with contractions typical of Catalan elsewhere.

- Example 3:

Source text	Target text
Hell I don't (44)	Coi que no (66)
Doesn't it sting a helluva lot? (45)	Oi que cou l'hòstia? (67)
I don't know what the hell's the matter with it (48)	No sé què coi li passa (71)
Goddam pain (48)	Un dolor de l'hòstia (71)

Table 7.4 Example: colloquial features

The words *hòstia* and *coi* are recurrent words used in the real colloquial register, especially *hòstia* with stronger connotations than its source correspondents 'helluva' and 'goddam'. These words can be tracked throughout the story. The expressions in the target text are of a Catalan origin.

- Example 4:

Source text	Target text
Jeat jet? (45)	Xas menxat? (68)

Table 7.5 Example: colloquial features

One of the characters featured in a story speaks deliberately in a childish way and this is rendered in the target text by a similar phonetic match.

- Example 5

Source text	Target text
to the dentist and everything (65)	al dentista i tal (92)

Table 7.6 Example: colloquial features

The Catalan translation of ‘and everything’ is a contemporary expression frequently used in oral situations, sounding real and natural as if in a real conversation.

- Example 6:

Source text	Target text
fielder, inning, catcher, plate (65)	fielder, inning, catcher, plate (93)

Table 7.7 Example: cultural references

Termcat designates the Catalan terms *campista*, *entrada*, *receptor* and *base de meta* for these terms respectively. Despite this, Monzó does not translate these words in an attempt to bring the reader closer to the original. In the following example, though, Monzó translates a nickname:

- Example 8:

Source text	Target text
Black Wing (67)	Ala Negra (96)

Table 7.8 Example: proper nouns

One explanation of this is that the translator considered that rendering the meaning could help the reader to understand. However, there is no unanimity of opinion regarding proper names that have a particular meaning in the text (Ainaud, Espunya and Pujol, 2003: 231-235).

Monzó’s translation sounds colloquial and his style is rich in expressions that reflect the

speech of average Catalan users and this is demonstrated by the use of phonetical alterations (*xas menxat*), fillers, verbal tics or recurrent words (*coi, hòstia, i tal*) and the inclusion of very recurrent borrowings from Castilian in the colloquial language (*carinyo, tio* and *tirita*). With regards to the cultural references in the source text, the translator balances the inclusion of foreign words with the translation of some others. The outcome is a colloquial style typical of Catalan alongside some features that signal that the reader is actually reading a translation.

The language of this translation is now compared to that of the collection of short stories authored by Quim Monzó, *El perquè de tot plegat*, in order to explore to what extent his language is similar to or differs from one of his original works.

- Example 1:

Source text	My translation
Abans querida que reina (147)	I'd rather be a lover than a queen
S'enrotllen immediatament (28)	They get it on immediately
Deu passar llista de la quantitat d'homes que s'hauria pogut tirar (30)	She must list the number of men who she could have shagged

Table 7.9 Example: Castilianisms

In all the examples, the words *querida*, *s'enrotllen* and *tirar-se* are not compiled in the normative Catalan dictionary: *Querida* stands for *estimada* in Catalan but the former has the connotation of being an affair, whereas the latter does not. In the second instance, *enrotllar-se* means 'to go on and on' in Catalan but only in Castilian means 'to get it on'. The third instance is another example of a word that appears in the Catalan dictionary with another meaning (to throw oneself), whilst Castilian's Real Academia de la Lengua Española dictionary (DRAE)¹⁰¹ accepts the term as a colloquialism.

¹⁰¹ The online dictionary of Real Academia de la Lengua Española (DRAE), the institution in charge of a correct use of Castilian, can be found at: www.rae.es.

It is relevant to point out what those advocating the modernisation of the Catalan language, Xavier Pericay and Ferran Toutain, have said about Monzó's particular style. In the analysis of the Catalan language and the problem of the writer (1986: 109-110), the 'modernisers' pick Quim Monzó's as an example to illustrate the evolution in his work and demonstrate that renewing or bringing old Catalan phrases up to date is possible without making the language a patois. The authors note that Monzó's latest works ignore the pressure of the Catalan linguistic norms and break established literary rules.

- Example 2:

Source text	My translation
groac (141)	croak
muà (141)	kiss
tant esperar i, de cop i volta, plaf, ja està (142)	so much waiting and, all of a sudden, puff, that's it

Table 7.10 Example: colloquial features

In this example, the onomatopoeia *groac* mimics the sound of a toad, whereas *muà* is how a kiss sounds in Catalan. The second example (*plaf*) is also an onomatopoeia of the sound of crashing, meaning that something has happened suddenly. All these instances show how the language is used as spontaneously as in a real conversation.

In other instances, Monzó also uses words and expressions that are typical of colloquial Catalan:

- Example 3:

Source text	My translation
m'agrada molt, la teva cigala (59)	I like it very much, your cock
li costa Déu i ajut (25)	he finds it very hard
ha fugit dels xitxarel·los (23)	she has run away from idiots

Table 7.11 Example: colloquial features

The words *cigala* and *xitxarel·lo* and the expression *li costa Déu i ajut* are colloquial expressions of a Catalan origin, and it could even be said that that they sound somewhat outdated.

- Example 4:

Source text	My translation
L'olor de l'aftershave (83)	the smell of aftershave

Table 7.12 Example: other languages' borrowings

Termcat suggests the use of the Catalan *loció de massatge* to refer to 'aftershave'. The word *aftershave* is also a borrowing, although from English.

7.6.2. Monzó as a consecrating figure

In his own work, Monzó balances the use of a genuine colloquial language, at the same time as taking the liberty of admitting some Castilian and English words. With regards to the style, his work presents a wide range of structures that make his writing sound natural, vivid as well as innovative, which contribute to his renowned reputation as a trend-setter author. Having analysed his work as a translator and as an author, it is possible to conclude that there are several similarities between both with regards to his style. The overall language in the colloquial register in the translation does not differ from his own work to a great extent: in both *El perquè de tot plegat* and *Nou contes* the

language is rich with genuine Catalan expressions and his style shows a realistic feel. Monzó balances Catalan expressions with some utterances considered to be out of the norm in both texts. In general, the language used appears natural and with references to a language typical of spoken Catalan.

These similarities in both texts encourage reflection over the style of a translator. As seen above, however much a translator tries to reproduce the style of the source text, their imprint will always be present in the target text, which enables the identification of a particular voice. Self-reference is thus a characteristic of translation which one cannot avoid. However, there is something about Monzó as a translator which differs from other professionals in the Catalan system. His prestige as a public figure and his well-known contribution to the renewal of the Catalan literary canon are factors to be taken into account in identifying differences if he is to be compared to other translators in the Catalan system. Although Monzó rejects his influence on the new generation of Catalan writers, a current of thinking started in the 1980s with the claim that many writers imitated not only his prose but also emulated his personality:

El que sí és del tot cert és que Monzó s'ha convertit en un punt de referència ineludible per a molts joves escriptors catalans actuals. No perquè s'imiti més o menys el seu estil, sinó perquè traça un perfil d'escriptor a emular: un escriptor que s'inventa un públic, que no menysprea els mitjans de comunicació de masses, que no viu en un món quimèric, un escriptor informat del que passa al món literari i no literari actual, professional, acurat, sense manies, desvinculat del poder i de les capelletes locals, sense intel·lectualismes ni culturalismes estèrils. (Ollé, 2008: 20)

What is entirely true is that Monzó has become a point of reference for many young Catalan writers at present. Not because they imitate his style to a greater or lesser extent, but because he cuts the figure of a writer to be emulated: a writer who creates his audience, who does not despise the mass media, who does not live in a fanciful world, a writer who is up to date on what is going on in the current literary and non literary world, professional, accurate, without obsessions, detached from the power authorities and groups, away from sterile intellectual and cultural debates. (my translation)

His figure represents a departure from what the old concept of a Catalan writer implies. Monzó is someone who can lure large numbers into literature, a writer who is free from the stigma of a generation of writers who lived under the dictatorship, someone who lived for a while in the hub of the modernity, the city of New York. All these features create an image of a writer attached to his prestige. Monzó's prestige in the Catalan system, despite the existence of detractors of his work,¹⁰² is beyond question, but how this relates to his translations is a different matter. If Monzó as a translator enjoys the same status, his translations are likely to introduce novelties into the Catalan system. If Monzó's translations represent a renewal of the literary canon in the Catalan system it is because he is one of those 'consecrated consecrators' (Casanova, 2010[2002]: 100), who exert their power of consecration thanks to their own prestige.

As seen in chapter 2 and 3, translation is a form of literary domination: it is the transfer of not only linguistic but also literary capital, which depends on 'prestige, literary beliefs attached to a language, and on the literary value attributed to it' (Casanova, 2010[2002]: 87). In this sense, because translation implies a transfer of literary capital, the value of a translation also depends on the prestige of the translator in the target culture. In this way, 'the greater is the prestige of the mediator, the more noble the translation and the greater the consecrating power' (2010[2002]: 100). Accordingly, the power of consecration of 'consecrators' depends on the degree of their own 'consecration' (2010[2002]: 101). Monzó, thus, is a charismatic consecrator whose prestige allows him to bring about changes into the target language and literary system without being questioned. Other translators, though, will not break conventions and will follow the existing canons in the Catalan system. In this case, the language used will not sound as realistic and spontaneous as in the translation by Monzó. Nevertheless, the position of the translator will not be that of 'consecrator'. Consequently, any attempt to break the norm will run the risk of the text falling into the realm of marginal literature.

In addition, Monzó also plays an important role as a columnist for the Catalan newspaper *La Vanguardia*. Since the first issue in Catalan of this newspaper in 2011, Monzó writes his pieces in this language as well as in Castilian for the Castilian edition of this publication. In this manner, the head of the language department in *La Vanguardia*, Magí Camps, responsible for the style guide of this publication in Catalan, explains how Monzó is allowed to break the norm in some instances since he is an

¹⁰²Ollé (2008: 12) states some intellectuals consider him a minor writer, although he gives no details.

acclaimed writer.¹⁰³ For example, the style guide of this newspaper included non-normative words such as *encabat* (after) instead of the correct *en acabat* because he used this word in his pieces. According to Camps, ‘consecrators’ are entitled to deviate from the norm due to their position and prestige and the task of the proofreader is to be aware of the norm and know when this can be broken.

At this point, the position of Monzó within the system is clear, as he is one translator contributing to the renewal of the Catalan literature. In *Nou contes*, he breaks some domestic conventions and introduces a new model in the form of the colloquial language used by J. D. Salinger. The position, in terms of prestige, of the source text is also relevant, since the hierarchical universe in literature does not only concern the translator, but is also linked to the prestige of the literature in which the text originated: in introducing novelties imported from a writer whose status in the universal literature is high, the translation is also a bearer of this status. The transfer of cultural capital is thus manifested twofold: whereas Salinger’s work has already got a reputation beyond its original language borders, the translator in the receiving culture also possesses cultural capital and a symbolic power which will allow him to introduce novelties in the target culture. It is not a coincidence then that the Catalan publishing house Empúries chose a translation of J.D. Salinger, by Quim Monzó to reprint and distribute in the commemoration of the 25th anniversary of its foundation.

¹⁰³ Magí Camps was the keynote speaker at the opening ceremony of the ‘Llengua Catalana: Correcció de Textos Orals i Escrits’ postgraduate diploma in Girona on 28th September 2012. His speech revolved around the task of the proofreader and a model of language in Catalan media which does not rely on Castilian.

8. Conclusions: A model for colloquial Catalan

This chapter explores how all the elements analysed up to this point as characterising the Catalan system and the translator can be included in a proposed model for translation into colloquial Catalan. The aim is to explain how all these aspects have a particular, unique effect on the translation according to sociocultural factors constraining the text and the individual carrying out the translation and corresponding to the specificity of the text type and register. In order to prove that every translator has his or her own style and that it relates to his or her status in the social world, an analysis of the features characterising the style will also be carried out. The following examples, selected fragments of *Fear and Loathing in Las Vegas* translations, illustrate, as a conclusion, the challenges of translating colloquial registers into Catalan.

My hypothesis had its basis in the idea that the divorce between linguistic norm and oral Catalan results in texts sounding unnatural. With the aim of defining a model which encompasses both normative Catalan and real oral language through my research, I have found the Catalan system reluctant to change, since a model which allows Castilian interference has little acceptability according to the target culture norms. As seen in chapter 7, colloquial Catalan with Castilian interference is commonly associated with the social variety spoken in Barcelona called *xava*, which does not represent all Catalan speakers nor is it identified with proper colloquial Catalan. Hence, Catalan translators are reluctant to include Castilian in colloquial discourse, which affects translations in that they tend to be conservative, since they do not reproduce the language how it is really spoken, but they present a language that is often deemed old-fashioned. As explored in chapter 2, according to Polysystem Theory (Even-Zohar, 1978 and 1990), those translations following the established models are deemed conservative and occupy a secondary position, as they do not tend to contribute to the renewal of the repertoire and they are unlikely to break conventions. Whilst emerging literary models are those that have the potential for renewal in a system and the translator's role is to transfer these models importing new ones into the target repertoire, breaking the norm for the repertoire to modernise is not as straightforward as it could seem, since this process depends on the permeability of a system governed by its set of norms. In this respect, the position of translated literature in Catalan is thus secondary, that of a conservative type, not only because their translations do not fill in the gaps of non-existing models and Catalan literature is not a young literature (Even-Zohar, 2004[1978]: 200-203), but

especially because of the characteristics of the Catalan system. The Catalan system's permeability for new models to emerge is low, since the protection of the Catalan language as an element of identity fosters a pure and almost immutable language, reinforced by the historical and permanent campaign against Castilian encroachment in the Catalan territories by the Catalan government's policies, and against Castilian interference among Catalan language users by the regulatory language institution, the Institut d'Estudis Catalans.

In this manner, the inclusion of a real colloquial language with Castilian interference is not welcomed by the elements of patronage, those powerful individuals, groups of people, such as publishers and media, and institutions, such as academies, journals and the educational system (Lefevre, 1992: 14-15). These elements in the Catalan system include the Catalan government, the Institut d'Estudis Catalans, literary circles, universities and critics, among other influential figures in the Catalan literary scene. These institutions and groups have attempted to preserve the language from Castilian interference. In this way, the elements of patronage in Catalonia have acted as surveillance bodies, and language policy is understood as a collective endeavour to preserve Catalan from an eventual substitution due to the wide use of Castilian within the Catalan territory. This has resulted in the bodies regulating the Catalan language being reluctant to accept loan words or calques from major languages, especially from Castilian. Hence, professionals refrain from using a type of language that does not fit in with the Catalan linguistic norms and contradicts the dictates of the elements of patronage on what an acceptable translation should be.

Since this represents a hindrance for professionals as they see how correctness limits their translations, defining a model which balances the linguistic norm and real colloquial Catalan, although it was the goal of this thesis, is not a realistic option for Catalan translators, who would see their texts fall into a marginal position should they opt for the inclusion of Castilian terms and expressions, however much these represent the language as it is spoken today. Accordingly, other solutions have been sought. Through the analysis of translations of films into Catalan, I have identified a model which encompasses both the linguistic norm (it is accepted by the institutions) and can capture the essence of oral Catalan. One possible solution is, thus, to observe and apply the recurrent colloquial features listed in Izard (2004) and Bassols and Segarra's (2009) works on colloquial language in audiovisual media in Catalan. Since media influences

colloquial to a great extent, the model employed in media for colloquial oral can help finding a valid one for written colloquial Catalan.

As explored in chapter 6, Televisió de Catalunya's model for colloquial oral discourse prioritises the natural feel over correctness, although there is a notable contrast between in-house productions and dubbed programs. Whereas the language of domestic shows is more spontaneous and informal, the colloquial register for translations is more rigid, less natural and virtually free of Castilian expressions. In this respect, Izard (2004: 40) proposes a solution for colloquial oral Catalan in media which encompasses both the spontaneity of real oral discourse and follows the features typical of oral conversations. This could be a valid solution for dubbing, avoiding Castilian interference. In the same vein, Bassols and Segarra (2009: 12) explore the language used for colloquial registers in Catalan media and describe a model currently widespread which they call 'col·loquial mediatitzat' (media colloquial). This model cannot be identified with standard language and it does not represent real oral either: rather, it is 'pseudo-colloquial language' used for written texts to be read or interpreted in the media with the intention of sounding spontaneous. According to Bassols and Segarra (2009: 12), this functional variety can even include options not accepted by the linguistic norm, with terms not only borrowed from Castilian, but also from other languages, such as English, French or Italian;¹⁰⁴ and terms and expressions which do not appear in any lexicon or normative grammar of Catalan. The features pertaining to this model dubbed as 'media colloquial' can include (2009: 13-14):

On the phonetic level, features such as reductions (*aneu's-en*) and vowel support (*more't*) are accepted.

On the morphological level, some traits of real oral appear: adjectival flexion (*diferenta, intel·ligenta*), pronominal combinations typical of real oral (*els hi* replacing normative combinations such as *els el, els la, els els, els les* and *els ho*), reduction of double prepositions (*per* instead of *per a*), quantity adjectives replacements (use of *massa: no tinc massa gana* instead of *no tinc gaire gana*) and exchange of forms in the imperative mode (*bevem una mica de te* for *beveu una mica de te*).

¹⁰⁴ Borrowings from Castilian, however, have a different status compared to borrowings from other languages, since Castilianisms, as seen in chapter 3, are seen as a threat to the Catalan language, as allowing Castilian interference can result in an eventual language substitution.

On the syntactic level, the following features are described: use of *lo* (*no saps lo bé que ho fa*), use of the colloquial relative pronoun *que* in other instances of subordination (*la noia que tothom estima és de Reus*), theme-rheme changes or focalisations (*de nata, era el pastís*), pleonasm (*hi aniré demà al cinema* instead of *aniré demà al cinema*), *estar* + gerund in durative actions (*està llegint a l'habitació*) and expletive *que* (*que véns?*).

On the lexical and discourse level, there are affective expressions (*xato, vine!*), interactive markers (*oi?*), expressive features such as interjections (*ah no!*) or puns (*tal faràs, tal trobaràs*) and speech routines (*bona nit i tapa't!*).

This model describes a planned, devised oral which differs from real oral in the way that certain features of the spontaneous nature of the message cannot be conveyed. These features are linguistic particles like filling words, errors and digressions, which cannot be randomly inserted in a translation, since the original text would be altered by including extra textual material which is not drawn from the source. Nevertheless, features pertaining to 'media colloquial', as a devised, planned register for texts which have the characteristics of oral language, are to be employed to replace idiomatic features pertaining to the source. These features can be transferred by using the strategy of compensation,¹⁰⁵ which consists of omitting a feature in the source text and replacing it elsewhere in the target text. However, whilst this strategy allows the text to be naturalised for the target culture readers, it also entails a certain degree of creativity in changing the text, first in quantity by adding textual material, and second in meaning, since the incorporated features also add a new meaning to the target text. These are thus gains obtained in translation which derive from the losses occurring in the translational act. Therefore, including features typical of real oral results in enhancing the visibility of the translator since the text is gaining a new meaning. As a result, this method contradicts the principle of equivalence in which the presence of the translator is not supposed to be perceived. As explored in chapter 2, insofar as equivalence is assumed to exist, the translator's anonymity is crucial to preserve the principle governing equivalence. Nevertheless, the translator's voice is also perceived through their linguistic choices and through a particular style. Hence, compensation is seen as a

¹⁰⁵ This strategy has been defined by Hatim and Mason as 'a procedure for dealing with any source text meaning (ideational, interpersonal and/or textual) which cannot be reproduced in the target language' (1997: 96). Baker sees compensation as a strategy which omits or plays down 'a feature such as idiomaticity at the point where it occurs in the source text and introduce it elsewhere in the target text' (2011: 86).

strategy which permits making up for the losses despite the translator's intervention. Whilst this will affect the translation in gaining new meanings, the only path to overcome the losses in translation and to naturalise the target text is by including these features if they are to replace idiomatic traits of the source text.

8.1. Register analysis and 'media colloquial'. Translation of two fragments

As described in the introduction of this thesis, the genre of *Fear and Loathing in Las Vegas* falls into the realms of both literature and journalism, but its originality lies in the fact that it is written as a (fictitious) experiment which comes from first person experience, that of the writer, who attempts to illustrate a real occurrence under the effects of drugs and alcohol. In register analysis, the source text is marked by a series of elements that can be summarised as follows:

Concerning the field, the text is a novel although framed in a particular context, which is Gonzo journalism, a unique style created by the author. This is represented by the usage of spontaneous language typical of colloquial and vulgar registers, using strong language and short sentences in the dialogues and more complex structures in the narration in first person. Regarding the tenor, the author is present throughout the novel with a particular language that belongs to the time and place in which the story takes place. This results in a strong presence of idioms and cultural references. With regards to the mode, the text is written to be read, but the dialogues show features typical of colloquial registers, used in a more spontaneous form of speech and not in written texts. In this respect, using features typical of 'media colloquial' can provide a solution when expressing oral situations in a text which has the characteristics of a novel but it deviates from the pattern due to its particular unique genre. The field, tenor and mode of the source text are thus represented by linguistic features which are related to those of 'media colloquial'.

To illustrate this issue, two fragments from the novel *Fear and Loathing in Las Vegas* have been selected. The first fragment is representative of oral colloquial since it is a tape recorded transcription appearing verbatim in the novel, with supposedly no censored material, drawn from a real oral situation. The second fragment is a dialogue between the two main characters of the story, in which they have a conversation in a frenzy caused by the consumption of drugs and alcohol. Therefore, both texts represent

written oral language, that is, planned written texts to be read or interpreted, which have many features typical of spontaneous oral language. A translation into Catalan is proposed, in which certain elements will be explored in order to underline the influence of norms in a translation in colloquial Catalan. The following are examples of what can be done in the existing context of norms:

- Fragment 1:

ST (164-165):

[Attorney]: Where do you go around here? Say you wanted to go swimming or something like that?

Waitress: In my backyard.

Att'y: What's the address?

Waitress: Um, go to the...ah...the pool's not open yet.

Att'y: Let me explain it to you, let me run it down just briefly if I can. We're looking for the American Dream, and we were told it was somewhere in this area... Well, we're here looking for it, 'cause they sent us out here all the way from San Francisco to look for it. That's why they gave us this white Cadillac, they figure that we could catch up with it in that...

Waitress: Hey Lou, you know where the American Dream is?

Att'y (to Duke): She's asking the cook if he knows where the American Dream is.

Waitress: Five tacos, one taco burger. Do you know where the American Dream is?

Lou: What's that? What is it?

Att'y: Well, we don't know, we were sent out here from Francisco to look for the American Dream, by a magazine, to cover it.

Lou: Oh, you mean a place.

Att'y: A place called the American Dream.

Lou: Is that the old Psychiatrist's Club?

Waitress: I think so.

Att'y: The old Psychiatrist's Club?

Lou: Old Psychiatrist's Club, it's on Paradise...Are you guys serious?

Att'y: Oh, no honest, look at that car, I mean, do I look like I'd own a car like that?

Lou: Could that be the old Psychiatrist's Club? It was a discotheque place...

Att'y: Maybe that's it.

Waitress: It's on Paradise and what?

Lou: Ross Allen had the old Psychiatrist's Club. Is he the owner now?

Duke: I don't know.

Att'y: All we were told was, go till you find the American Dream. Take this white Cadillac and go find the American Dream. It's somewhere in the Las Vegas area.

Lou: That has to be the old...

Att'y: ...and it's a silly story to do, but you know, that's we get paid for.

Lou: Are you taking pictures of it, or...

Att'y: No, no—no pictures.

TT (my translation):

Advocat: On aneu per aquí? Posem que us voleu banyar o alguna cosa per l'estil?

Cambrera: Al meu pati.

Advocat: A quina adreça?

Cambrera: Eh, aneu a...ah...la piscina no és oberta encara.

Advocat: Deixa'm que t'ho expliqui, deixa'm que ho despatxi breument si puc. Estem buscant el Somni Americà, i ens van dir que era per aquí en aquesta zona... Bé, l'estem buscant, perquè ens han enviat des de San Francisco per buscar-lo. Per això ens van donar aquest Cadillac blanc, es pensen que amb això l'atraparem...

Cambrera: Ei Lou, que saps on és el Somni Americà?

Advocat (a Duke): Li està preguntant al cuiner si sap on és el Somni Americà.

Cambrera: Cinc tacos, un taco burger. Saps on és el Somni Americà?

Lou: Què és això? Què és?

Advocat: Bé, no ho sabem, ens han enviat aquí des de San Francisco per buscar el Somni Americà, per cobrir-ho per una revista.

Lou: Ah, vols dir un lloc.

Advocat: Un lloc anomenat Somni Americà.

Lou: Que és l'antic Club del Psiquiatra?

Cambrera: Crec que sí.

Advocat: L'antic Club del Psiquiatra?

Lou: L'antic Club del Psiquiatra, és al Paradise... Ho dieu de debò, tios?

Advocat: Oh, no, de veritat, mira el cotxe, vull dir, vols dir que tindria un cotxe com aquest?

Lou: Que potser podria ser l'antic Club del Psiquiatra? Era una discoteca d'aquelles...

Advocat: Potser és això.

Cambrera: És a Paradise amb què?

Lou: Ross Allen tenia l'antic Club del Psiquiatra. N'és el propietari ara?

Duke: No ho sé.

Advocat: Tot el que ens van dir és, aneu fins que trobeu el Somni Americà.

Agafeu aquest Cadillac blanc i aneu a buscar el Somni Americà. És en algun lloc de la zona de Las Vegas.

Lou: Això deu ser l'antic...

Advocat: . . . i és una història estúpida, però saps, és per això que ens paguen.

Lou: Feu fotos d'això, o...

Advocat: No, no: fotos no.

- Fragment 2:

ST (27-29):

“Look outside,” I said.

“Why?”

“There’s a big . . . machine in the sky, . . . some kind of electric snake . . . coming straight at us.”

“Shoot it,” said my attorney.

“Not yet,” I said. “I want to study its habits.”

He went over to the corner and began pulling on a chain to close the drapes.

“Look,” he said, “you’ve got to stop this talk snakes and leeches and lizards and that stuff. It’s making me sick.”

“Don’t worry,” I said.

“*Worry?* Jesus, I almost went crazy down there in the bar. They’ll never let us back in that place— not after your scene at the press table.”

“What scene?”

“You bastard,” he said. “I left you alone for *three minutes!* You scared the shit out of those people! Waving that goddamn marlin spike around and yelling about reptiles. You’re lucky I came back in time. They were ready to call the cops. I said you were only drunk and that I was taking you up to your room for a cold shower. Hell, the only reason they gave us the press passes was to get you out of there.”

He was pacing around nervously. “Jesus, that scene straightened me right out! I *must* have some drugs. What have you done with the mescaline?”

“The kit-bag,” I said.

He opened the bag and ate two pellets while I got the tape machine going.

“Maybe *you* should only eat *one* of these,” he said. “That acid’s still working on you.”

I agreed. “We have to go out to the track before dark,” I said. “But we have time to watch the TV news. Let’s carve up this grapefruit and make a fine rum punch, maybe toss in a blotter . . . where’s the car?”

“We gave it to somebody in the parking lot,” he said. “I have the ticket in my briefcase.”

“What’s the number? I’ll call down and have them wash the bastard, get rid of that dust and grime.”

“Good idea,” he said. But he couldn’t find the ticket.

“Well, we’re fucked,” I said. “We’ll never convince them to give us that car without proof.”

TT (my translation):

—Mira a fora—, vaig dir.

—Per què?

—Hi ha una gran... màquina al cel... una mena de serp elèctrica... que ve directament cap a nosaltres.

—Dispara-li—, va dir el meu advocat.

—Encara no—, vaig dir.—Vull estudiar-ne els hàbits.

Va anar cap a un racó i es va posar a estirar la cadena per fer córrer les cortines.

—Mira—, va dir, —para de parlar de serps i sangoneres i llangardaixos i tot això. Em fot fàstic.

—No et preocupis—, vaig dir.

—*Preocupar-me?* Hosti, quasi em vaig tornar boig allà al bar. No ens deixaran tornar a entrar mai més en aquest lloc, i menys després de la teva escena a la taula de premsa.

—Quina escena?

—Ets un cabró—, va dir. —T’he deixat sol *tres minuts!* Has fet cagar de por tota aquella gent! Amb aquell recony de punxó i cridant coses sobre rèptils. Has tingut sort que he tornat a temps. Estaven a punt de trucar la poli. Els hi he dit que només estaves borratxo i que et faria pujar a l’habitació per prendre’t una dutxa freda. Collons, l’únic motiu perquè ens han donat les acreditacions de premsa és perquè fotessis el camp d’allà.

Es passejava amunt i avall nerviosament. —Déu meu, aquella escena m’ha fet baixar de cop. *Necessito* prendre drogues. Què n’has fet de la mescalina?

—Al maletí—, vaig dir.

Va obrir la bossa i va menjar-se dues píndoles mentre jo posava el casset en marxa. —Potser *tu* només n’hauries de menjar *una* d’aquestes—, va dir.— L’àcid encara t’està fent efecte.

Li vaig donar la raó. —Hem de sortir a la pista abans que es faci fosc—, vaig dir. —Però tenim temps de mirar les notícies de la tele. Trossegem aquest pomelo i fem un bon ponx de rom, potser hi podríem tirar un tripi... on és el cotxe?

—Li hem donat a algú a l’aparcament—, va dir. —Tinc el tiquet a la meva cartera.

—Quin número és? Trucaré a baix perquè rentin aquest cabró, que li treguin la pols i la brutícia.

—Bona idea—, va dir. Però no trobava el tiquet.

—Molt bé, estem fotuts—, vaig dir.—No els convencerem mai perquè ens donin aquest cotxe sense cap prova.

8.2. Comments on the strategy

Some features in the Catalan translation are typical of the so-called ‘media colloquial’ on the morphological, syntactical, discourse and lexical levels. On the morphological level, there is a reduction of double prepositions¹⁰⁶ (*per una revista* instead of *per a una revista*); changes and combinations of pronouns typical of real oral (*Trucaré a baix perquè ens rentin aquest cabró, que li treguin la pols i la brutícia* instead of *Trucaré a baix perquè ens rentin aquest cabró, que li’n treguin la pols i la brutícia*; *Els hi he dit que només estaves borratxo* instead of *els he dit que estaves borratxo*), and use of null-expletives such as *que* (*que saps on és el Somni Americà?, que potser podria ser l’antic Club del Psiquiatra?*).

On the discourse level, some traits of ‘media colloquial’ can also be traced, for example, expressive features such as interjections (*ah, ei, oh*). On the lexical level, some words present their abbreviated form typical of oral (*tele, poli*); some others account for slang in the field of drugs and crime (*tripi*), and other features are present including loan words, borrowed from the original text which are typical of the source culture and known in the target culture (*tacos, taco burger*). Although these terms are not included in the normative dictionary, they are accepted as valid forms departing from the norm in genuine Catalan or they belong to a certain jargon. Despite this, there are on the lexical level some instances in which the text presents a particular option because it is ‘correct’, but it is not the most frequently used among average speakers:

ST: Say you wanted to go swimming or something like that?

TT: Posem que us voleu banyar o alguna cosa per l’estil?

In this case, real oral Catalan would prefer *algo per l’estil*. The Catalan linguist Josep Rúaix collected the word *algo* in his dictionary of the most common lexical interferences from Castilian (2011: 25). However, *algo* is clearly a Castilian word and, as explored above, because of the prosecution of interference in literature, the translator would exclude this word. This is a self-censorial mechanism which reminds us of the law of interference glossed by Toury (1995a). In this sense, resistance to interference happens through censorial mechanisms because the translator has internalised the norms

¹⁰⁶ In *Proposta per a un estàndard oral de la llengua catalana, II. Morfologia* (IEC, 1992: 17) — a normative proposal on oral standard language published by IEC —, this feature is also accepted in informal standard.

pertaining to the culture ‘and uses them as a constant monitoring device’ (1995a: 278). These censorial measures in Catalan translation are widespread due to the patrons’ campaign against Castilian interference. Other instances also illustrate the choice of ‘correct’ Catalan over more generalised options which are preferred in real oral conversations in this language:

ST: the press passes

TT: les acreditacions de premsa (more common expression in oral informal registers: *els passes de premsa*)

ST: Well, we don’t know

TT: Bé, no ho sabem (more common expression in oral informal registers: *Bueno, no ho sabem*)

ST: . . . and it’s a silly story

TT: . . . i és una història estúpida (more common word in oral informal registers: *i és una història tonta*)

The above Castilian loan words that an average Catalan speaker might use in colloquial discourse are also collected in Ruaix’s dictionary (2011): *bueno* (p. 60), *passe* (p. 236) and *tonta* (*tonto*, p. 312). They are also recorded in a colloquial Catalan dictionary aimed at resolving doubts arising from spontaneous situations in the media (Salvanyà, 2009): *bueno* (p. 62), *pase* (p. 241) and *algo* (p. 22). Both this dictionary and Ruaix’s recommend normative solutions for these instances.

These recently published dictionaries show how there is a need among professionals to find a normative solution for all the Castilian words that manifest themselves in colloquial Catalan. Professionals tackling texts in colloquial registers use these and other linguistic tools to find appropriate terms in each case to avoid breaking the norm. These are self-censorial measures produced by the translator (in the above case, myself) to avoid violating the norm and take the minimum risk during the translational process, a translation behaviour which results in following conservative patterns. Notwithstanding this, would all translators resort to normative Catalan in all instances? The following section analyses from a theoretical point of view how the social role of the translator influences the translation.

8.3. The position of an average Catalan translator in the social space

As analysed in previous chapters, the status of the translator as social agent also conditions the translation. In Bourdieu's theory, the position of the agent in the social space is inseparable from the position he or she holds in different fields according to the distribution of powers (Bourdieu, 1991: 230-231). Bourdieu distinguishes between economic capital, cultural capital and social capital, as well as symbolic capital, also known as prestige, reputation and fame. In this manner, agents are distributed in a particular field according to the volume of capital they possess. How this affects translation is explained according to the capital owned by the social agent, in which the figure of the translator is included in relation to the social space. If the translation is performed by an unknown translator, which is the case here, the professional is more likely to carry out actions to avoid the risk of marginalisation and, accordingly, he or she will not resort to words or expressions outside the norm. The translator's prestige or reputation affects the text in that breaking the established norm is accordingly more or less likely to happen. Therefore, it is not only the permeability of the system concerning the emergence of new canons that determines the translation, but it is also the status of the translator within the system that accounts for the resistance or tolerance to Castilian interference. If the translator of this text was, for instance, Quim Monzó, due to his prestige as a 'consecrator' (Casanova, 2010[2002]: 100), as a recognised public figure in the target culture, Castilian interference could be more likely to happen, as well as other diversions from the norm (not necessarily borrowings from other languages); on the other hand, if the translation is carried out by an average translator, whose symbolic capital in the target culture is virtually non-existent, the text is less likely to admit Castilian intrusion. Therefore, the degree of tolerance of Castilian interference in a Catalan translation is proportional to the degree of symbolic capital acquired by the social agent, that is, the translator.

Another issue concerning the inclusion of Castilianisms in a colloquial Catalan translation is related to achieving equivalence. The translator's imprint on translation is always somewhat discernible: since a text can be translated in more than one way, the translator's style is always present in one way or another. How this presence is perceived is what allows the reader to deem a translation good or bad, as the reader is expecting to read 'the original' without elements pertaining to the creative action of the translator. However, analysing how a translation 'speaks', as explored by Pym (2004:

71), proves that the translator's presence exists even if he or she is not using first person pronouns. Also, Hermans (2007: 50-51) explains how the translator's presence is not only made apparent by interfering with prefaces or footnotes, but also through his or her linguistic choices. In this respect, Castilian interference represents a language which is not a neutral expression of Catalan and, by permitting Castilian words or expressions in the text, the translator expresses information which can be associated with the target culture only. As previously explored in this chapter, despite the translator's visibility being inevitable, the voice of a Catalan language user of a particular provenance cannot be identified for the sake of equivalence. Accordingly, certain traits belonging to marked social varieties of the target language do not fit in with the translation and this results in a standardisation of the target text.

The exclusion of Castilian words or expressions in the translation, despite interference being widespread among average Catalan speakers, is also related to ideology. As explored above, it is patrons who dictate the models for the professionals to adhere to them according to their own ideology and interests. Since linguistic ideology reflects a certain relationship with the official norm or linguistic authority (Boix and Vila, 1998: 156-163), speakers present different behaviours: some conform to the norm, others violate the established regulations. Linguistic loyalty is a characteristic of written Catalan, as opposed to colloquial, for which the linguistic norm is seen as something unyielding in the context of the struggle for the preservation of the language authenticity and unity to avoid an eventual linguistic substitution. The value of certain words or expressions is determined by a particular linguistic ideology and, borrowing Castilian words and expressions, apart from being outside the linguistic norm, entails betraying the prevailing ideology and confronting the institutions' ideology. Therefore, Castilian interference is not recommended to a translator who is interested in pursuing a career in translation due to the risk of exclusion. Once again, in order to avoid marginalisation by not following the current linguistic norm, the translator evidences Toury's law of growing standardisation. In this manner, the translation manifests a greater level of standardisation than its source and tends to opt for more habitual features in the target culture.

The problem of how to express colloquial language which reflects real oral without Castilian interference is still to be addressed in Catalan literature. In translation, thus, for as long as the norm does not allow for Castilian interference, translators will still be

constrained by linguistic normative dispositions, which are regulated by the Institut d'Estudis Catalans (IEC). As explored in chapter 3, Castilian interference, weak knowledge of the language and lack of models available to professionals have resulted in a strong reliance on the Institut d'Estudis Catalans' dictionary and grammar dispositions. This dependency on normative grammar creates insecurity among professionals who can rely only on the norm only. Scholars have already underlined the importance of including oral language in the creation of a modern normative grammar available to professionals (Mallafre, 2000). In normalised languages, media and professionals contribute to language renewal, and that is why, in the process of modernisation of the Catalan linguistic norm, the inclusion of these agents is equally necessary. Only if all agents participating in the evolution of written language are included, the problem of finding a model for colloquial language which sounds natural in translation can be resolved. As seen by Mallafre, the Catalan linguistic norm should collaborate and rely on oral discourse:

La normativa ha de comptar amb la llengua oral. No en pot prescindir ni fer una llengua de laboratori, pot ser molt racional, teòricament perfecta, però no interioritzable pels usuaris reals. Possiblement la dificultat d'implantació de projectes tan interessants com el de l'esperanto s'expliqui per manca de referent expressiu, quotidià, de la llengua parlada espontàniament. (2006[2002]: 42)

The norm has to take into account oral language. The norm can neither manage without it nor produce a laboratory language, this being very rational, theoretically perfect, but not internalised by its real users. The reason why implementing very interesting projects such as Esperanto is difficult is possibly because of the lack of an expressive reference of the language spontaneously spoken on a daily basis. (my translation)

For the development of a standard language, not only academic institutions but also social agents interact in the discourse about language renewal. These agents are language creators, such as writers, journalists, radio presenters and communicators, and other professionals who work with specialised language (Argenter, 2006[1999]: 16). In this sense, the media play a very important role in spreading the standard language, as they do in spreading oral colloquial language in radio and television. If these agents are to be factors of development and renovation of standard language, they also should be

considered in a model for written colloquial Catalan. As seen by Hermans (2002: n.p.) social systems ‘continually produce and reproduce the elements of which they consist’ in communicative acts. Accordingly, translation as a social system is self-regulating and the expectations are thus continually negotiated in the discourse on translation. Therefore, the communication between all individuals in the system, writers, journalists, radio presenters and communicators, is necessary for the evolution of a language in need for a model for written colloquial in translation.

8.4. Coda

The aspects explored through the analysis of a proposed translation into Catalan of *Fear and Loathing in Las Vegas* led to the formulation a set of conclusions concerning a model for written colloquial Catalan. The first aspect to underline is that the linguistic norm affects the translation inevitably in a way that it does not allow the inclusion of words that are being used in oral discourse. This is relevant because the rigidity of Catalan regarding the inclusion of foreign words or expressions if they are borrowed from Castilian results in a text constrained by the availability of resources in Catalan. Indeed the norm is the norm and it will not change as a result of an individual, anonymous action performed by an unknown translator, however much the current linguistic norm does not reflect the language spoken today. The translator, thus, has within his or her reach the normative grammar and dictionary for a correct expression of Catalan and his or her own experience developed through reading previous translations in Catalan and exploring other texts such as Catalan literature and media. In this respect, deviations from the norm typical of ‘media colloquial’, as explored above, are to be considered, as long as these features preserve a genuine expression of Catalan. However, the translator, in refraining from violating the norm in this matter is consciously or unconsciously fostering a conservative type of translation, in which language does not renew and modernise by allowing Castilianisms due to the risk this entails for the language and, consequently, for the integrity of a culture, the identity of which relies strongly on the language. For this reason one can conclude that the norms in a translation of colloquial into Catalan follow the patterns of the patrons, who have a nationalistic view of language, in the struggle for its genuineness and purity so as to avoid hybridisation and assimilation with Castilian. Since the translator’s behaviour is linked to the sociocultural norms constraining him or her, translations resulting from this system are destined to be of a nationalistic kind.

The question of how to overcome the problem of lack of a realistic feel in colloquial written (contemporary) translations can only be addressed by using a language identified with ‘media colloquial’. In this thesis, translations with colloquial Catalan have been analysed in order to find a solution for a model which does not resort to Castilian loans when a natural feel in translation is not achieved. After describing how other translators in the system have tackled this issue and how sociocultural norms constrain the translation, a model for written colloquial Catalan has been proposed as a solution for a translation of written colloquial which accommodates the norms without resorting to Castilianisms. Nevertheless, ‘media colloquial’ has also been criticised for the lack of verisimilitude, despite the linguists’ efforts to bring the language closer to the real oral Catalan:

Es diu, sense que se n’aportin dades significatives, que els doblatges en català es fan feixucs, tant a la televisió com al cinema. Els professionals d’aquest sector s’esforcen sense èxit per poder capgirar aquesta creença, a trobar solucions per tal de pal·liar les crítiques i aconseguir que les traduccions siguin ben rebudes. (Santamaria, 2010: 78-79)

It is said, without providing significant data, that dubbed films in Catalan are tedious, in television as well as in cinema. The professionals of this area strive unsuccessfully to reverse this belief, to find solutions in order to mitigate the criticisms and to improve the chances of translations being well received. (my translation)

This is a key point to the problem analysed throughout this thesis: no matter how much the linguists attempt different solutions to the problem of colloquial language in translation, this will always be criticised, as the problem lies in the belief that Catalan does not sound normal. And this is due to the situation of abnormality which Catalan experiences under the subordination of Castilian. ‘Media colloquial’ allows a certain degree of freedom in introducing words and expressions from outside the linguistic norm, yet it is not often seen as the language reflecting how Catalan is spoken. Hence, translations of colloquial registers in Catalan will continue to be called into question, since the root of the problem is found in the perception speakers have of the language. In this context, the role of writers and translators as shapers of the language is paramount to the development of a colloquial endowed with authority and prestige. Yet

the community of speakers, along with the media, are ultimately the leading figures in developing colloquial language. The model proposed for written colloquial translations in Catalan can provide with a temporary solution by using features of ‘media colloquial’; however, this language will have to be revised and modernised according to the language evolution and dynamism and the changes in the normative Catalan. In this respect, the president of the IEC, Salvador Giner, has declared to several media¹⁰⁷ that the linguists of the IEC are working on a new dictionary, which will not depart from Fabra’s work but it will start from scratch with the idea of creating a more ‘flexible’ tool including terms not compiled today. Although the publication of this work is not expected shortly, this project will provide solutions for translators, as well as writers, journalists and also users, who struggle to express themselves in a language which sometimes does not respond to their needs of communication for certain registers such as colloquial.

¹⁰⁷ See Televisió de Catalunya’s article on the making-up of a new dictionary at: <http://www.324.cat/noticia/333469/ociicultura/LInstitut-dEstudis-Catalans-sallunya-del-patro-de-Pompeu-Fabra-i-estudia-un-nou-model-de-diccionari-mes-flexible>.

Appendix 1

EMAIL CORRESPONDENCE WITH ALBERT PEJÓ

Helena Borrell (29-01-2009): Davant la presència d'argot vulgar o slang, i del fet que el català presenta algunes mancances en aquest sentit, ja que a la llengua parlada utilitzem expressions del castellà o incorrectes normativament, prioritizes expressions eminentment catalanes, com “Vinga afanya't malparit” (scoot over you fat bastard) o “ets un malparit de merda” (fucking pig, swine, whore). És necessari ajustar-se a la correcció lingüística o hi ha la possibilitat d'ajustar-se més al català parlat en registre vulgar? Hi ha algun tipus de pressió externa o és una opció personal?

Albert Pejó (30-01-2009): Jo diria que aquí s'hi barregen dues coses. En primer lloc, no és que hi hagi pressió, el que hi ha és EXIGÈNCIA normativa per part de TV3. S'accepten algunes paraules i expressions castellanques molt arrelades, però amb comptagotes. De tots els insults que habitualment fem servir en castellà, per exemple, no se n'accepta ni un (i no és cap valoració d'aquest criteri, és una simple constatació). Per tant, com que fem servir un llenguatge molt poc marcat, és inevitable que es perdi una part de la força de l'original. Però hi ha un altre element. La manera de “parlar malament” o d'insultar de l'anglès és molt diferent de la del català, i no sempre es pot respectar l'original si es vol mantenir la versemblança (que és el que sosté qualsevol doblatge i/o traducció). Per exemple, en anglès poden posar “fucking” davant de qualsevol substantiu o poden acumular adjectius insultants davant del nom d'algú; si ho traduïssim literalment, en català sonaria molt forçat, perquè l'estructura lingüística és diferent. Per tant, has de mirar de mantenir el to de l'original a base de recursos propis del català, i no sempre és fàcil. Per mi, la màxima prioritat és que resulti creïble. I sí, sovint aquesta combinació de factors que et deia fan que es perdi una part de la força de l'original. Igual que passaria si la traducció fos a la inversa: com es tradueix a l'anglès “Mecagun Déu!” o “Hòstia puta!”?

Helena Borrell (29-01-2009): Fins a quin punt influeix que el que es tradueix s'ajusti en espai a l'original per quadrar el so i les imatges?

Albert Pejó (30-01-2009): Molt. Qualsevol text que s'hagi de doblar ha de passar per un procés previ que se'n diu “ajust”, i que consisteix (grosso modo) precisament en

mantenir les llargades, les pauses i les “boques” de l’original. Això ho pot fer el mateix traductor o una persona diferent. Com que aquest procés representa “tocar” força el text, el resultat depèn molt dels coneixements que tingui de les dues llengües la persona que l’ajusta. Moltes vegades, aquest procés exigeix canviar l’ordre de les frases de l’original o fins i tot canviar-ne el sentit per fer quadrar el moviment dels llavis en un primer pla amb una paraula que hi encaixi. Tal com et deia, que el resultat s’acosti o s’allunyi més de l’original, depèn de l’habilitat i dels coneixements de cadascú.

Helena Borrell (29-01-2009): És necessari tenir coneixements, previs o adquirir-los durant la traducció, sobre el tema que tracta la pel·lícula abans de traduir-la (llegir el llibre original, posar-se en contacte amb el director, etc.)?

Albert Pejó (30-01-2009): Això que plantejes estaria molt bé. Diguem que seria la situació ideal. Però mai hi ha temps. Amb els anys, tot el procés del doblatge s’ha accelerat moltíssim. Fa 20 anys, una feina encarregada amb menys de 15 dies es considerava una urgència. Ara, si et donen una setmana ja pots estar content. (Sempre hi ha excepcions, però la tendència general és aquesta) De tota manera, les vegades que he traduït alguna pel·lícula basada en alguna obra que hagués llegit (per exemple “Gomorra”, fa poc), sempre he arribat a la conclusió que són dues coses molt diferents, amb codis, llenguatges i recursos molt diferents. O sigui, en resum, que potser estaria bé, però ni es pot ni em sembla imprescindible.

Helena Borrell (29-01-2009): Hi ha expressions o paraules que pertanyen a la cultura nordamericana, com ara ‘Pure Gonzo journalism’ (per ‘periodisme del bo’) o ‘freak’ (per ‘sonat’) que han estat ‘domesticades’, és a dir, traduïdes de manera que l’espectador català es perd el sentit estrictament original per afavorir la comprensió. Considera que es perd part del significat i context original o que, del contrari, no és necessari que l’espectador tingui aquesta informació?

Albert Pejó (30-01-2009): Traduir conceptes culturals és molt complicat, tot i que aquí cada vegada ens resulta menys estranya la cultura americana. Em sembla inevitable que es perdin referents culturals. Quan una pel·lícula en conté molts, és molt probable que una part resultin incomprendibles pel públic català. Només un exemple: les diferents maneres de dir “negre” que hi ha en anglès americà, amb diferents connotacions: black

people, afroamerican, coloured people, kaffir, negro, nigger (que varia segons si ho diu un negre o un blanc)... Això és impossible reproduir-ho en català.

I, com et deia abans, en el doblatge l'element clau és la versemblança. Qualsevol cosa que cridi l'atenció, que despisti, pot trencar aquest pacte de credulitat que s'estableix amb l'espectador. Per tant, sí, crec que és inevitable que a vegades es perdi informació cultural (igual que els insults perden força). Dit d'una altra manera, tot el que en un llibre seria una nota del traductor, en doblatge es perd.

Appendix 2

EMAIL CORRESPONDENCE WITH ERNEST RUSINÉS

1. Helena Borrell (01-04-2011):

Benvolguts Oriol i Ernest,

Em dic Helena Borrell i sóc lectora de català a la universitat d'Exeter, a Anglaterra, on també estic cursant un doctorat en traducció de l'anglès al català. El motiu pel qual em poso en contacte amb vostès és perquè, en el procés de recerca per a la meva meua tesi, he topat amb unes qüestions que m'agradaria consultar amb vostès, ja que són directors dels serveis d'assessorament lingüístic de la CCRTV, segons diu al web de l'*ésADir*.

Per no allargar-me massa, els resumiré el tema: em centro en el registre col·loquial del català, bàsicament, tracto la qüestió de com trobar un equilibri entre la naturalitat i la correcció en els diàlegs. Tot i que el meu doctorat és sobre traducció literària, el registre col·loquial és molt present a la novel·la que analitzo i tradueixo, de la qual s'ha fet una versió al cinema amb el nom de *Por i fàstic a las Vegas*. El guió d'aquesta pel·lícula va ser traduït per l'Albert Pejó, amb qui ja vaig parlar i em va comentar que Tv3 no permet l'entrada de gaires castellanismes. El que no entenc, però, és que en guions de producció domèstica, com ara sèries com *La Riera* o *Arròs Covat*, hi hagi un ús constant de castellanismes. Pot ser perquè es prioritza la manera de parlar a Catalunya per fer-ho més versemblant davant la correcció? Si és així, per què no passa el mateix amb els doblatges de produccions estrangeres?

Els agraeixo la seva atenció i espero la seva col·laboració encara que sigui amb una resposta breu, ja que suposo que deuen estar molt enfeïnats.

Atentament,

Helena Borrell

2. Ernest Rusinés (01-04-2011):

Benvolguda Helena:

En general creiem que s'ha de tractar de manera diferent el doblatge de la producció pròpia. Entenem que el doblatge és molt més convencional i no pot ser tan naturalista com la producció creada directament en català. Determinades expressions molt identificables amb la situació sociolingüística poden trencar la versemblança dels doblatges. Un “bueno” a “La Riera” o “Arròs covat” reflecteix els usos de la societat que vol reproduir la sèrie en qüestió; un “bueno” en un doblatge situat posem per exemple a Nova York creiem que resulta dissonant. Creiem que un cas paral·lel és el dels accents dialectals: la producció pròpia admet variació dialectal, però en un doblatge introdueix un element estrany.

No sé si amb això contesto el que demana. Si necessita res més, no dubti a demanar-ho.

Cordialment,

Ernest Rusinés

TV3

Appendix 3

PUBLISHING HOUSES SURVEY (QUESTIONNAIRES)

Qüestions (22-02-2010):

1. Quins són els criteris i les prioritats per encomanar la traducció al català d'una obra estrangera a un traductor?
2. Es té en compte si l'obra en qüestió ja ha estat traduïda al castellà?
3. Quins criteris hi ha per escollir el traductor?
4. Quins creu que són els motius pels quals *Fear and Loathing in Las Vegas* no ha estat mai traduïda al català?
5. Estarien disposats a publicar-ne una traducció al català?

Answers:

Publisher: Cossetània Edicions (Judith Juncosa, 2-06-2010)

1. Que l'obra s'adigui amb el que es publica a l'editorial, que vagi en la nostra línia i que creiem que pot ser interessant per al mercat local.
2. Sí, ja que de vegades només ens interessa traduir al castellà per al nostre segell Lectio i moltes vegades si està traduït ja al castellà pot ser que no sigui interessant pel català.
3. Les referències que tenim del traductor, l'experiència i altres feines que pugui haver fet per nosaltres i n'haguem quedat satisfets.
4. No conec l'obra i no puc opinar però pot ser que l'editor original no n'hagi fet una bona promoció que és la clau de tot o que cap editor s'hi hagi interessat.

5. Hauríem de trobar una col·lecció adient a les característiques de l'obra i s'hauria de comentar el tema amb un especialista per considerar el seu interès.

Publisher: Edicions Documenta Balear (24-02-2010)

1. Supòs que dependrà de cada editorial, en el nostre cas -he de dir que no en feim moltes- la prioritat és que ho considerem interessant i necessari per ser publicat al català. La qualitat, o el patrimoni cultural que pot suposar tenir-lo publicat en català. Això generalitzant, ja que sempre hi juguen molt més factors. També un d'important són els drets de l'obra en concret, si són accessibles o no.
2. En part sí que es té en compte, ja que són mercats molt propers i a vegades quasi no val la pena fer segons quines traduccions si ja estan fetes al castellà.
3. Que t'agradi la seva feina; i si no el/la coneixes, planejar bé el projecte junts i poder llegir un bon tast del que està traduït.
4. No t'ho sabria dir. Potser pel fet que sí que estigui traduïda al castellà, potser perquè alguna editorial té els drets de traducció al català i no els vol utilitzar o no troba el moment per fer-ho...
4. En principi sí, se n'hauria de parlar, com en tot.

Publisher: Tàndem Edicions (Rosa Serrano, 23-02-2010)

1. L'interès per l'obra mateixa.
La garantia de qualitat narrativa.
La idoneïtat en relació a les col·leccions del nostre catàleg.
La professionalitat del traductor/a al qual encomanem el treball literari.
2. No. Perquè el que pretenem és bastir un catàleg en la nostra llengua que siga interessant i el més complet possible.
3. El seu currículum.
La garantia de la seua professionalitat.

La possibilitat de llegir i avaluar alguna traducció ja feta per aquest traductor/a.

4. Les desconec, sobretot perquè nosaltres, des de fa uns anys, ens dediquem a la literatura infantil i juvenil més que a la d'adults.

5. No, perquè darrerament en hem centrat en la literatura infantil i juvenil.

Publisher: Fragmenta Editorial (Ignasi Moreta, 22-02-2010)

1. Que encaixi en la nostra línia editorial (textos clàssics i d'assaig sobre religions), que el traductor i l'obra siguin excel·lents, i que la integració de l'obra en el circuit comercial del llibre sigui viable.

2. Sí.

3. Que sigui excel·lent. Ha de conèixer bé la llengua d'origen i la de traducció, ha d'entendre-hi sobre el tema traduït, treballar amb el màxim rigor, saber-se expressar, poder participar en la promoció del llibre...

4. Ho ignoro.

5. No (tret que hi hagués un lligam clar i explícit amb les religions, cosa que ignoro).

Publisher: Club Editor (no name, 22-02-2010)

1. Són pràcticament impossibles de sistematitzar. En primer lloc, la identitat de cada editorial o col·lecció actua com un primer filtre --en el cas d'El Club dels Novel·listes, han de ser novel·les contemporànies d'autors en exercici, i s'intenta fer una política d'autor (no pas publicar un llibre aïllat, sinó un conjunt de títols representatiu de l'obra). En segon lloc, i tractant-se d'una llengua no sols minoritària sinó en situació de diglòssia com és la nostra, desestimem aquelles obres que tenen un cost de traducció massa elevat (a partir de 300 pàgines, el cost de producció d'una novel·la traduïda no es pot amortitzar amb les vendes en català si l'autor no és ja considerablement mediatitzat; peu forçat terrible i frustrant). Escapen a aquesta segona norma les obres que tenen

l'editor enamorat; sempre s'hi pica els dits, però en el fons és per elles que fa d'editor. En tercer lloc, s'intenta valorar la importància, l'audiència internacional i l'originalitat d'una obra --i si els temes que aborda una obra i el llenguatge que crea poden trobar audiència entre el nostre públic; aquest és un exercici purament intuïtiu, tan poc segur com l'art de la profecia.

2. Que ja hagi estat traduïda és un factor negatiu, per un motiu evident: que el lector català llegeix en castellà. Ara bé, pot passar que es tracti d'una traducció antiga i oblidada, o que la casa editorial que ha publicat la versió castellana sigui d'escassa circulació; o que l'editor consideri l'obra prou important per traduir-la igualment.

3. Que hagi demostrat que és capaç de construir un text literari. Es diu de pressa: la immensa majoria dels traductors formats a Catalunya coneixen bé els dos idiomes que fan servir i ignoren sobiranament la tradició literària catalana --és a dir, desconeixen la reserva de recursos amb què un traductor literari ha de treballar.

4. Desconec l'obra i l'autor i no puc opinar.

5. Si la llegís i em convencés, sí.

Publisher: Brau Edicions (no name, 22-02-2010)

1. Que sigui un excel·lent coneixedor de la llengua d'origen i que tingui la llengua destinatària com a llengua materna.

2. Sí, per valorar-ho.

3. Per a una obra literària, que sigui especialista i tingui experiència en aquesta modalitat.

4. Els camins del senyor son insondables.

5. No ens ho han proposat, però sols fem traduccions de narrativa de viatges.

Publisher: Edicions del Pirata (Maria Grau, 22-2-2010)

1. Personalment, que l'obra m'agradi, en primer lloc, i que em sembli que es podrà vendre mitjanament bé.
2. No, si no és que ho ha estat recentment i que hi ha hagut una venda massiva que pot fer que el públic ja no el compri en català.
3. La relació qualitat/preu. Pesa, però més la qualitat.
4. Per les referències que en tinc, es tracta d'una novel·la de temàtica una mica escandalosa, de les que en diuen "novel·les maleïdes". És possible que els editors catalans hagin considerat que no seria de gust majoritari i que es vendria poc. El mercat en llengua catalana és reduït i això obliga a calcular molt bé les despeses.
5. Com ja t'he comentat, només fem infantil i juvenil.

Appendix 4

TRANSCRIPT OF THE CATALAN DUBBED VERSION OF THE FILM *FEAR AND LOATHING IN LAS VEGAS* (*POR I FÀSTIC A LAS VEGAS*) CREATED BY HELENA BORRELL CARRERAS

‘El que es converteix en una bèstia, s’estalvia el dolor de ser humà’, Doctor Johnson.

Érem en algun lloc prop de Barstow, al límit del desert, quan les drogues van començar a fer efecte.

Recordo que vaig dir: ‘estic una mica marejat, condueix tu’, i de cop es va sentir un gran rugit i el cel es va omplir d’uns rats-penats immensos, que xisclaven i es llançaven contra el cotxe, i una veu que cridava ‘Déu meu, què són aquests anima lots! Fora! Fora! Fora mal parit!’

-Has dit res?

-Eh..!

-Tant se val, et toca conduir.

Em va semblar inútil parlar-li dels rat-penats, el pobre idiota ben aviat els veuria.

-Mal parits! Fora!

Teníem dues bosses de marihuana, 75 pastilles de mescalina, cinc fulls de paper secant amb àcid, un saler mig ple de cocaïna, un munt de pastilles de tots els colors per riure, cridar, dormir, despertar-se, i també una ampolla de tequila, una de rom, una caixa de cerveses, una ampolla d’èter pur i dues dotzenes d’estimulants sexuals. No és que necessitéssim tot allò pel viatge, però sí que comences a col·leccionar drogues de debò, la tendència és arribar tan lluny com puguis. L’únic que em preocupava de debò era l’èter. No hi ha res al món tan inútil, irresponsable i depravat com una persona en les profunditats d’una borratxera d’èter. I sabia que acabariem prenent aquella cosa fastigosa molt aviat.

‘Un subcomitè del senat diu que les drogues il·legals l’any passat van causar la mort de 160 soldats americans, 40 d’ells...’

‘Un porro, un rere l’altre, assegut tot solet a l’andana del tren, no deixaré de fumar...’

-Un porro, pobre imbècil, ja veuràs quan vegis els rat-penats, tio...

-Què, recollim aquest nano?

-No, no hi podem parar aquí. És territori de rat-penats.

-Ostres tios, no havia pujat mai en un descapotable!

-No fotis! Què, doncs estàs a punt de pujar-hi.

-Som amics, nosaltres som diferents de debò.

-Deixa de dir parides o et trenco la cara, sents? Puja... au.

No sabia fins quan aguantaríem. Fins quan aguantaríem sense desvariar davant d’aquell nano? I aleshores què pensaria? Aquell desert solitari havia estat l’última llar de la família Manson. Se li acudiria aquella relació macabra quan el meu advocat comencés xisclar que ens atacaven els rat-penats? Si passava... home, si passava li hauríem de tallar el cap i enterrar-lo per allà. Era evident que no el podíem deixar anar... De seguida ens denunciaria algun departament nazi de defensa de la llei i ens perseguirien com a gossos. Ostres, ho he dit, o només o he pensat? Que parlava? M’han sentit?

-Tranquil... Només et mira la forma del teu crani.

-No gràcies, no m'agraden els porros.

Vaig pensar que més valdria que tingués una xerrada amb aquell noi. Potser, si li explicava les coses es quedaria més tranquil.

-Escolta’m bé, nano, m’agradaria que entenguessis una cosa. Que em sents bé?

Vull que coneguis tots els antecedents. És una missió sinistra amb els extrems de perill personal. Sóc doctor en Periodisme. Això és important collons! és una història de veritat!

-Treu-me les mans del coll collons! Tio, no em tornis a posar les mans a sobre!

Les vibracions començaven a ser horroroses. Però per què? no hi havia comunicació en aquell cotxe? Tan ens havíem deteriorat que ja érem unes bèsties estúpides?

-Saps que aquest que condueix és el meu advocat? No és cap sonat que hagi recollit a la carretera. És estranger, deu ser de Samoa. Però tant li fa això. Ets racista?

-Qui jo?

-Ja m'ho semblava. Perquè a pesar de la raça aquest tio és molt valuós per mi. Merda!
no m'he recordat de la cervesa, en vols?

-No...

-I una mica d'èter?

-Què?

-Deixa-ho estar. Vinga, anem al gra de la qüestió. Fa 24 hores estàvem asseguts...

...Al club de polo de l'hotel Bervely Heights. A la part del pati, és clar. Beviem còctel Singapur amb mescal al costat, per fugir de la crua realitat d'aquest fastigós any de nostre senyor, del 1971.

-Jo era allà, enmig de tota aquella merda i la pasma es tornava boja.

-Potser és la trucada que tant esperava rebre senyor.

-Uhhmm, potser sí.

-Sí? Mhh, ah sí? Ja, entesos. Eh, era del quarter general. Volen que...

-Hmh. Gràcies.

-Que vagi a Las Vegas i em posi en contacte amb un fotògraf portuguès que es diu Lacerda. Ell té tots els detalls. Només m'he de tancar a l'habitació i ell ja em vindrà a buscar. Què hi dius?

-Que tindràs greus problemes. Necessitaràs molts consells legals abans que s'acabi aquest assumpte. Com a advocat teu t'aconsejo que lloguis un descapotable molt ràpid. I necessitaràs cocaïna, una gravadora de música especial, camises de flors i fotre el camp de los Angeles durant 48 hores. Adéu cap de setmana!

-Per què?

-Perquè evidentment t'hauré d'acompanyar. I també necessitarem moltes provisions. Portarem de tot.

-Home, per què no? Si has de fer una cosa, fes-la bé.

-Vinga anem.

-Això és el Somni Americà en acció.

-Esperin!

-Ostres, seríem uns idiotes si no arribéssim al final de tot això.

-Sí, ho hem de fer.

-De què va l'article?

-De la carrera del Mint 400. És la carrera amb més pasta per motos i buggies de tota la història de l'esport. Es un espectacle fabulós en honor d'algun imbècil. L'amo de l'hotel Mint de las Vegas. Això és el que diu el dossier de premsa.

-Com a advocat teu t'aconsello que et compris una bona moto. Si no com vols cobrir bé una notícia així.

-Doncs potser tens raó. Però ens haurem d'espavilar tot sols, segur. Periodisme del bo

-Merda!

Aconseguir les drogues i les camises no va ser cap problema. Però el cotxe i la gravadora ja no van ser tan fàcils de trobar un divendres a dos quarts de set a Hollywood.

-M'agrada. Entesos, és nostre. Aquest tio té una targeta de crèdit de les bones!

-No et deixis que aquest porc et parli malament.

-Para de dir parides, no saps amb qui collons parles!? Si molt bé, vindrem d'aquí mitja hora.

-Ens falta una botiga d'equips de música.

-Si no disposem de crèdit il·limitat no ens en sortirem.

-Tranquil, tio, ens en sortirem. Tots els samoans sou iguals. No teniu confiança en la decència de la cultura de l'home blanc.

La botiga estava tancada. Però el venedor ens va dir que ens esperaria si ens afanyàvem. Però ens va endarrerir un cotxe que havia atropellat un vianant.

-Vagin passant, només és un mort. Circulin...

I a l'agència de lloguer de cotxes vam tornar a tenir problemes.

-Senyor Duke, tot arreglat. Ara si vol posar una firmeta aquí, el cotxe ja és seu. D'això... miri d'anar en compte amb el cotxe...

-Sí, tio, no t'amoïnis.

-No!! no, no...!! Gràcies a Déu, déu meu! Ha passat per sobre d'una vorera de 30 centímetres i ni ha reduït. Devia anar a 45 quilòmetres per hora, marxa enrere... Hola.

-Però no ha passat res. Sempre els provo marxa enrere per comprovar-ne la seva resistència. Quin bolígraf més bonic.

-Qui és vostè? No, no deuen haver pas begut, oi?

-No, jo no. Som persones responsables.

-Escolti!! Ei, ei!! Merda el meu bolígraf!! Merda de hippies!!

Vam dedicar aquella nit a recollir el material i a fer les maletes. Després vam prendre mescalina i ens en vam anar a nedar. El nostre viatge era diferent. Havia de ser una clàssica afirmació de tot el que és bo del caràcter nacional. Un homenatge a les fantàstiques possibilitats de la vida en aquest país... però només per als que tenen pebrots de debò.

-I nosaltres en tenim de sobres, tio!

-Ja ho crec!

-El meu ho entén malgrat l'inconvenient racial, però i tu?

Va dir que ho entenia, però en la seva mirada vaig veure que no. Em deia una mentida.

-Uhh yaaaahh!!

-Eh?

-Uhhhhhhh! Medicina!

-Què?

-Medicina!

-I tant, aquí la tenim! No et preocupis! És que pateix del cor. Una angina de pit. Aquí tenim el remei, saps? Té nano, així, ensuma, ensuma, ensuma! Molt bé, ja està, així m'agrada. I ara el metge.

-Però què co... però què collons hi fotem enmig d'aquest desert de merda? Que algú avisi la policia... necessitem ajuda! Auxili! Auxili!! hahahaha! La veritat és, la veritat? que anem a las Vegas, a liquidar un traficant d'heroïna que es diu Salvatge Henry.

-És veritat.

-I per què? perquè ja fa anys que el conec, però ens ha enganyat. Ja saps que vol dir això, oi? Ja saps què vol dir?

-No...

-El Salvatge Henry, ja ha begut oli.

-Ja ha begut oli.

-Li arrancarem els pulmons.

-I ens els menjarem. Aquell malparit no ens enganyarà més. No sé què passa. En aquest país, si un desgraciat com aquell pot enganyar un doctor en periodisme com jo, tu m'ho saps explicar? Tu...!!!

-Gràcies per portar-me! Em caieu molt bé! No us preocupeu per mi!!

-Espera! vine a prendre't una cervesa! Collons. El trobaré a faltar. Vinga!

-Li has vist els ulls?

-Hem de sortir de Califòrnia abans que aquell nano trobi un poli.

-Vinga afanya't malparit!

-Haha! Aquell nano estava sonat! Hahaha!

Era imprescindible que arribéssim a l'Hotel Mint abans de l'hora límit perquè es registrés la premsa, si no, hauríem de pagar l'habitació nosaltres.

-Ostres! has vist què ens ha fet Déu? Ho has vist, tio?

-No ho ha fet Déu, ho has fet tu. Ets un maleït agent de narcòtics, ho sabia... era la cocaïna que ens quedava idiota! Ets un malparit de merda!

-Ves en compte, per aquí hi ha molts voltors. Deixarien els teus ossos nets abans que es fes de dia.

-Ets un mal parit.

-Hi hi hi, menja't la teva meitat de l'àcid.

-Si, entesos. Ja està. Quan ens falta?

-Com a advocat teu t'aconsello que acceleris. Serà un miracle si arribem abans que et converteixis en un animal salvatge.

-Mal parit!

-Ja estàs preparat? Registrar-te en un hotel de Las Vegas amb un nom fals, amb la intenció de cometre frau i amb el cos ple d'àcid... ah, espero que sí.

Trenta minuts, aniria molt just.

-Vinga, agafi el tiquet, que tenim feina. Vinga, agafi el tiquet, agafi'l, agafi el tiquet.

-Per què el vull?

-Recordaré la seva cara.

No hi ha manera d'explicar el terror que vaig sentir.

Avis per als hostes de l'hotel Mint. Demanem al propietari d'un...

-Com es diu?

Suava sense parar. Tinc la sang massa espessa per Nevada. Mai m'he sabut explicar bé en aquest clima. Vinga... tranquil... relaxa't... Nom, graduació, i carnet de premsa. Res més.

-...sí, una cambrera, d'uns trenta anys... li van tallar el cap al mateix pàrquing, i després li van fer tot de forats i la van dessagnar... es veu que volien agafar-li la glàndula pineal, sí. No...

Ignora la droga... sí, fes veure que no passa res...

-aahhh... em dic... Raoul Duke, sóc a la llista, dinar gratis i de tot, tot pagat. I aquí hi ha...aaaa...iiii.... el meu advocat, i ja sé que el seu nom no és a la llista, però necessitem l'habitació. Sí, necessitem l'habitació. Què passa aquí? Què passa?

-L'habitació encara no està a punt senyor, però algú ha demanat per vostè...

-Nooo, no hem fet res.

-Ja me n'ocupo jo. Sap, és que pateix d'angina de pit, però tinc el seu medicament. Jo sóc el doctor Gonzo. Preparin-li l'habitació de seguida. Serem al bar.

-mmmmmm!!

-Au vine, vine, vine...

-A tu no ho sé, però a mi ja m'ha pujat al cap.

-hm, hhhmmm.

-Foc.

-Eh, fora, fora, ves. És un ximple.

-Vinga, vinga...

-Deixa'm.

-Vinga anem a buscar cacauets.

-Cacauets?

-Sí. T'anirà millor, tio. Dos cubalibres, cervesa i mescal.

-De seguida.

-Tu ets balança, oi?

-mmmhh.

-Hi és en Lacerda.

-En Lacerda?

-Si, ens espera al dotzè pis. Habitació 1.250. Lacerda. Lacerda!

No me'n recordava. El nom em sonava, però no em podia concentrar. Al voltant nostre passaven coses espantoses.

-Sabates amb punxes! Si no, no sortirem vius d'aquí. És impossible caminar amb tanta merda. Impossibile del tot.

Em trobava en mig d'un collons de zoo ple de rèptils, i algú donava alcohol a aquelles maleïdes coses. No trigarien a destrossar-nos vius.

-Acabo de pujar a parlar amb en Lacerda. Diu que és fotògraf. Quan li he parlat del Salvatge Henry s'ha cagat. Ha vist que li anem al darrera. Li has vist els ulls? Tenim una mà... acabo de pujar de parlar amb en Lacerda...

-Sisplau!! Digues que es treguin les sabates amb claus!

-ahhhhheeee?

-Déu meu, fixa't en aquesta colla de desgraciats, ja ens han vist!

-És la taula de la premsa, tio. Hem de recollir les credencials.

-Vinga, estàs preparat? Vinga, afanya't!

-Espera, no em deixis, tio!

-Dos sandvitxos, i dos sandvitxos més! Quatre còctels de gambes i nou suc de raïm.

-Vitamina C. Necessitem molta vitamina C.

-Al cel hi ha una màquina molt grossa, com una serp elèctrica que se'ns acosta...

-Mata-la!

-Encara no. Vull estudiar els seus hàbits.

-Firmi aquí. Hi ha gana, eh? A la gent de les motos us agrada menjar. Necessito el carro. He de tornar amb el carro. Gràcies, però ja tornaré.

-Collons, em cremo!

-Et deixo sol un parell de minuts i comences a fer anar aquell cony de ganivet davant seu cridant qui ha rèptils...

-Què collons dius, eh?

-Els has deixat cagats de por. Ja anaven a trucar la poli. Si senyor, has tingut sort que he arribat a temps.

-No te m'acostis, tio, no te m'acostis més, deixa'm!

-Ens han donat les credencials de premsa perquè sortissis d'allà, saps tio?

-Ostres, què és això?

-Aquesta història m'ha fet baixar el globus.

-Qui truca?

-Un moment...

-Qui truca, déu meu...

-Hola, sóc en Lacerda, el fotògraf. Duke, Duke? Hola, Lacerda, el fotògraf.

-Tu no ets portuguès, tio!

-Eh, llàstima que us hàgiu perdut la inscripció a la carrera... ohhohoh, quina meravella, Yamahas, DMZ, Kawasakis, Maicos, motos sueques... Un parell de Triumphs i una CZ, totes molt ràpides, molt ràpides. Serà una carrera genial! Sí. Serà millor que me'n vagi, d'acord?

-Ja sabem de què vas, tio...

-mmhh ehh, hehehehe.

-Saps què et dic? Aquest ens enganya. Li noto als ulls.

-Ulls?

-A cagar Charlie. Apaga aquesta merda!

Els motoristes ja estaven a punt a l'alba. Molt nerviosos. En alguns cercles, la Mint 400 es considera molt millor que la Super Bowl, el derbi de Kentucky i el Lower Oakland Roller en un paquet. Aquesta carrera atreu una gent molt especial.

-A cagar.

-Passa.

Ja era hora de tocar de peus a terra. D'encarar-me amb aquella feina i decidir com fer-la. Era hora de posar-se a treballar. Els que ens havíem passat la nit desperts no teníem ganes de cafè i donuts. Volíem begudes fortes. Al capdavall, érem la creme de la creme de la premsa esportiva nacional. Ens havíem reunit a Las Vegas per aquell esdeveniment esportiu tan especial, i quan es tracta d'una cosa així no pots badar.

-Facin joc.

- Bones cartes.
- Mata el cos i el cap es morirà. Alí contra Frazer. Quina merda, tio.
- Un bon final pels seixanta. L'Alí derrotat per una hamburguesa humana.
- Els dos Kennedys assassinats per uns mutants.
- Ei que comencen!
- Collons, quina merda!

Senyores i senyors, benvinguts a la carrera del desert Mint 400 amb un premi de 50.000 dòlars per al guanyador d'aquesta experiència esgotadora, bruta i violenta, única en el seu gènere. La prova reina del motocròs . I ja surten! ja està! Les primeres polsegueres omplen l'aire del circuit! Quina adrenalina! Han vingut per escopir a l'ull de l'enemic. Ja es prepara el segon grup de deu motos: Kawasakis, Triumphs, Maicos, ja està! Preparades per sortir, bandera verda i ja surten! Un altre gran començament amb un munt de pols i ja es prepara el tercer grup, i ja han sortit! La número 45 que ocupava la posició número 4 ha quedat encallada al mateix punt de sortida. Els recomano que mullin els mocadors que porten lligats a la cara...

Encara quedaven unes 190 motos esperant per sortir. N'havien de sortir deu cada vegada, cada dos minuts.

- La cervesa nano.
- Osti, quin dia és avui, dissabte?
- Jo diria que diumenge.

-Hola, que heu vist la carrera?

Aleshores, ja s'havien escapat per tot el circuit. Allò ja no era una carrera, era una prova de resistència. La idea de cobrir aquella carrera en un sentit convencional, resultava absurda.

- Hola, això és genial! Au puja!
- Què?
- Aniré provant combinacions d'objectes i pel·lícules fins que trobi alguna cosa que funcioni amb aquesta polseguera, hahaha!
- Què collons..? això són metralladores, tio!

-Què? que disparen! Això és una zona de guerra tio, fotem el camp corrents! de pressa, tio, no veieu que ens mataran?

-Però que diu, tio?

-Tranquil, ja ho veig.

-Déu meu, déu meu....

-On és la carrera?

-Ni idea, tio, nosaltres només som uns bons patriotes americans.

-De quina (?)?

-Ah, de la premsa esportiva, som amics, mercenaris.

-Sí...

-Anem.

-Bona sort.

-Un conill, atrapem-lo!

-Sonats. Porteu-me als boccs.

-No! no, hem de seguir, necessito cobrir la carrera!

Em va sembla que havia arribat el moment de fer un replantejament general.

-Imbècil. Estàs despatxat. No et vull tornar a veure mai més.

-He de fer fotos, condueix cap a la pols!

La carrera ja estava en marxa. N'havia vist el començament, això n'estic segur, però ara què? Què tocava fer?

-Engega la ràdio! Engega el casset! I fot el favor de baixar la finestra! Assaborim el vent del desert... Ahhh sí, això és vida!

Control total. Conduïm pel carrer principal de Las Vegas un dissabte a la nit, dos tios amb un convertible de color vermell .Borratxos, drogats, penjats... uns bons tios.

-Quina merda! Hots dogs a 20 centaus. Cada hot dog! Què collons hi fem aquí!? hem vingut a divertir-nos o a treballar!

-A treballar és clar. Fixa't-hi. Un Crab Louie i ampolla petita de vi Leviard per 20 dòlars. Com a advocat teu t'aconsello que anem al Tropicana. Guy Dombardo, és a la sala blava amb el Royal Canadians.

-Per què?

-Per què, què?

-Per què m'he de gastar els calers per veure un collons de cadàver? Tu no ho sé, però en la meva feina és important estar al dia.

-Collons, però què carai fan? Això no és la zona d'aparcament, han de treure el cotxe! Aquí no hi poden aparcar!

-Ei, aquí no hi poden aparcar!

-Per què no? no és un lloc prou bo per aparcar-hi?

-Prou bo? Això és la vorera, que vagin al pàrquing!

-Debbie Reynolds? Un lloc concorregut.

-Hem vingut des de Los Angeles per veure-la.

-Som amics de la Debbie.

Aquí, és on treballava en Bob Hob i en Frank Sinatra i l'Spiro Agnew's. Al nostre voltant tot era fòrmica i arbres de plàstic. Ho juro. Ja es veia que era un refugi de classe per al més rics.

-Eh, ja ha començat!?

-Sí, però està tot ple.

-Ja ha sortit de l'escenari?

-Ho sento senyor, no hi poden entrar.

-Hem vingut des de Los Angeles per veure-la!

-Ja li he dit que no queden seients senyor, a cap preu.

-I una merda! Som amics de la Debbie, jugàvem junts de petits. Està disposat a anar a judici?

-Home... Depèn.

-Vingui aquí a parlar amb mi un moment. La seva actitud demostra un abús de confiança. A Nevada això és il·legal.

-Sisplau, senyor.

-Com es diu?

-Com em dic? Tony Pizzicatta.

-Tony Pizzicatta, eh, molt bé.

-Li puc preguntar com es diu vostè?

-El meu carnet de conduir ja ho diu.

-Em sembla que ja ens coneixíem. Potser podré fer-lo passar. Però s'hauran de quedar drets al darrera.

-No, no s'amoïni. Vinga anem.

Després de fer molt d'enrenou, ens va deixar entrar de franc. Però ens havíem de quedar drets al darrera i no fumar.

-Apaga'l, apaga'l.

Senyores i senyors....

-Endavant, espero que els agradi.

Bona nit, senyores i senyors, estic molt contenta de tenir un públic tan fabulós. Que comenci l'espectacle!

-Però què passa?

-Ahahah, quina merda!

-Fora, fora! Fora d'aquí! Vinga, vinga!

-hahahaha!

-hahahahaha!

-Quina merda! hem anat a parar a una càpsula del temps, tio!

-Mal parit! Descobriré on vius i et cremaré la barraca, merdós fill de puta!

-Què ha passat?

-Mira! un dia d'aquests vindré aquí i els fotré una bomba a aquests mal parits!

-ehh, sí.

-Entesos, ja hi som. És aquí, tio, aquí no ens tocaran la pera.

-On és l'èter?

-Mmm?

-La mescalina no em fa res.

-Té aquí, un moment. Oh, merda! Ehh, per què no?

-Mira, eh tu!

Ahhh... maleït èter, et fa comportar com el borratxo del poble d'alguna novel·la irlandesa. Perds completament les habilitats motrius bàsiques, se t'emboira la vista, perds l'equilibri, la llengua s'entumeix i el cervell s'encongeix horroritzat, incapaç de comunicar-se amb l'espina dorsal. I resulta interessant, perquè veus que et comportes d'aquesta manera, però no ho pots controlar.

-Mira el que fas imbècil!

T'acostes a la porta i saps que quan hi arribis hauràs de donar un parell de dòlars a aquell tio o no et deixarà entrar. Però quan hi arribes, tot surt malament. Algun imbècil t'empeny i penses... què passa aquí? què passa? i sents com farfalleges:

-Un gos, se l'ha follat! un gos s'ha follat...

L'èter és la droga perfecta per Las Vegas. En aquesta ciutat els encanten els borratxos, són carn fresca. I ens deixen entrar i ens deixen anar a dintre.

Senyores i senyors, noies i nois, visitants de totes les edats: el circ Bazooko els presenta amb orgull els Fellinis voladors!

-Dispensi.

Una persona drogada aprèn suportar certes coses, com ara veure la seva àvia morta pujant-li per la cama amb un ganivet a la boca, però aquest viatge no l'hauria de fer ningú. El circ Bazzoko és el que s'hauria posat de moda el dissabte al vespre si haguessin guanyat la guerra els nazis. Allò era el sisè Reich.

-Apostin a l'únic lloc on no perd ningú i tothom guanya.

-Entrin, sisplau entrin, i tirin tants ganivets esmolats com vulguin contra aquesta fantasmagòrica...

-Entrin en aquesta fantàstica màquina on tan sols per 99 centaus la seva imatge apareixerà en una pantalla de televisió gegant en el centre de Las Vegas, i només per 99 centaus més poden enviar un missatge dient el que vulguin o... estiguin segurs....

L'èter s'estava acabant. I l'àcid ja havia desaparegut feia estona, però la mescalina començava a pujar. La bona mescalina va poc a poc. La primera hora t'has d'esperar i prou. I quan ja vas per la meitat de la segona hora, comences a maleir el podrit que t'ha enganyat perquè no passa res. I de cop, pam!

-Em sap greu dir-ho, però aquest lloc em supera, tio, em comença a agafar el pànic.

-Què dius! Hem vingut aquí a buscar el somni americà nano, i ara que som al capdamunt, vols plegar? Tio, que no veus que hem trobat el filó?

-Això és el que em provoca el pànic.

-Mira!

-Què?

-Allà hi ha dues dones follant-se un ós polar.

-No em diguis aquestes coses... ara no, no, tio... és l'última copa que prenc. Quants diners em pots deixar?

-No gaires, per què?

-Me n'he d'anar...

-On?

-He de sortir del país...

-Que no calma't, seu, d'aquí a unes hores ja t'haurà passat. Fot el favor de seure!

-No ho dic de conya, tio, ho dic de debò. Una hora més en aquesta ciutat i mataré algú.

-Entesos, et deixaré diners.

-Ho aconseguirem, me'n vull anar de seguida...

-Entesos. Paguem el compte, aixequem-nos lentament. La sortida serà llarga.

-Foc?

-Has cobrat per follar-te l'ós?

-Com? Com? però què collons m'ha dit?

-S'ha equivocat.

-Val més que controlis el seu amic.

-Senyora, senyora, nena, nena! El que sigui, tens canvi? Té, per tu, segur que n'hi ha prou, segur. Va, anem a baix a jugar.

-Ei, que no pareu mai collons.

-On s'ha ficat, on s'ha ficat?

-Collons, quan parará aquesta cosa...

-Parar? has dit parar? Això no para mai, tio!

-Pareu, pareu!

-No et moguis, ja tornaràs. Merda... on s'ha fotut? Vinga, va salta, com un conillet, va... salta. Salta!

-No puc! Deixa'm!

-Que no? Ets un covard! Malparit de merda!

-Vinga, espera!

-Eh tu, què fas?

-No passa res, estic bé... aquest fill de puta m'ha clavat una empenta!

-Tranquil.

-Vigili, jove.

-Anem. Molt bé! Queda't aquí i ves a la presó. Vinga penjat! Gràcies, no vull res.

-Has vist això?

-Anem.

-Algun fill de puta m'ha clavat un cop.

-Sí, segurament el cambrer, pel que li has dit a la cambrera. Hola maca!

-Les vaques em mataran, els bisexuals em mataran! Fotem el camp, on és l'ascensor?

-No collons, no t'acostis a l'ascensor! És precisament el que volen, atrapar-nos en una caixa i portar-nos al soterrani... camina! No corris, tio! seria una excusa per disparar-nos.

-Condueix tu, que no sé què em passa a mi, tio.

-Aquesta? no és aquesta?

-No és aquesta!

No és una bona ciutat per les drogues psicodèliques. Sentíem vibracions molt amenaçadores per tot arreu. Al final vam arribar a l'habitació, però la clau no obria.

-Aquests cabrons ens han canviat el pany, tio!

-Tan aviat? Segur que han regirat l'habitació, tio... estem perduts! Cagum dena!

-Surt del mig, surt, surt, surt, surt!

-aaaaaaahhhhhh! mira-ho tot! mira-ho tot!

-No hi ha ningú, no, no, no, no hi ha ningú. Mirem-ho tot, mirem-ho tot...

-Collons, d'on ha sortit aquesta clau?

-Vejam, és d'en Lacerda.

-Sí, sí, he pensat que ens podia fer falta... ahhh!

-Per què?

- Per què? Per poder-lo fer fora del llit amb la mànega d'incendis, tio, no et fot!
- Deixem aquell pobre idiota en pau, m'ha dit que se n'aniria a dormir d'hora, sents?
- Ho sabia! aquell cabró s'ha quedat la meva tia...
- Vols dir aquella rossa de l'equip de gravació? Merda! la sodomitzarà?
- Sí, riu-te'n, riu-te'n... tots els blancs de merda sou iguals. Tots els blancs de merda sou iguals.
- Mare meva, tio, d'on l'has tret aquest cony de cosa?
- Del servei d'habitacions, el necessitava per tallar les llimes, nano.
- Llimes? quines llimes?
- No n'hi havia, al desert no se'n fan! Aquell tros de malparit, me l'hauria hagut de carregar abans! aaaahhh! ara se l'ha quedat, tio! S'ha quedat la meva petitona, si...

Recordava la noia, havíem tingut un problema amb ella a l'ascensor unes hores abans. El meu advocat s'havia posat en ridícul.

- Sí, era molt bo, et felicito, de debò, molt bo.
- De fet el mèrit no és meu, va ser cosa d'en Tom que va preparar-ho tot. Tu deus ser un motorista...
- Eh?
- Tu deus ser un motorista.
- Tu... t'ho diu a tu.
- A quina categoria estàs?
- Categoria? què collons vols dir?
- De cilindrada. Estem filmant un reportatge sobre la carrera, per a la televisió, eeheh, i potser podries sortir.
- Em vols fer sortir? Doncs porto un...

Déu meu, vaig pensar, ja hi som.

- En porto una de les grosses... de les més malparides, de les més grosses que hi ha. Una Vincent Black Shadow.
- Som de l'equip Factory.
- I una merda.
- Ehhm?
- I una merda.

-Em sembla que aquí hi ha un imbècil. Aparta't, tio. Algun imbècil malparit en aquesta ciutat. Tu, fill de puta, descolorit, vols que et faci una cara nova?

-Tranquil·la.

-Tens foc? mmmhh?

-No.

-Ahh, no confies en mi, oi? deixa de somriure. Provoca'm imbècil, ves-me provocant, la vols impressionar? doncs impressiona-la amb mi, impressiona-la amb mi!

-Merda. Tranquil.

-uuuuuhhh!! ja ve la policia!

-Corre, corre, afanya't, imbècil!

-El collons de policia ja ve a buscar-te! Dóna'm la clau, dóna'm la clau dels collons!

-Ehh, ehh, obre.

-On tens el ganivet?

-M'he passat tot el dia caminant, vinga, el tinc a la butxaca. Vinga.

-Merda... això va de debò, tio. Aquella tia em desitja. S'ha enamorat de mi, contacte visual. uhhhh, pssss. uuuuuuhh! Anem a capar aquell cabronàs! ja diré que ho he fet jo.

-Deixa en pau aquell pobre desgraciat, vinga home!

-Que has fet algun tracte amb ell? L'has ajudat a lligar-se-la potser, mmm?

-Escolta tu, deixa estar aquest collons de ganivet eh? i mira de calmar-te! Jo vaig a rentar el cotxe, mm?

Quan portes anys tractant amb gent que es droga, saps que li pots donar l'esquena a una persona, però mai quan està drogada, i menys si et passeja un ganivet de caça tan esmolat davant de la cara.

Uhhh, què hi feia allà? Quin sentit tenia aquell viatge? Senzillament estava immers en un frenesí de drogues? O havia anat a Las Vegas a escriure un article? Qui són aquestes persones? Aquestes cares? d'on surten? Semblen caricatures de venedors de cotxes de segona mà de Dallas. Déu meu! N'hi ha un munt a dos quarts de cinc de la matinada d'un diumenge, perseguint el somni americà. La imatge del gran guanyador sembla que aparegui en l'últim moment del caos anterior a l'alba, en algun Casino de Las Vegas.

-El vint.

-Canviem al vint, gràcies.

-Comencem.

-Que giri la roda, que giri la roda... fes-me ric, fes-me molt ric!

-Un deu.

-Collons, malparit!

-Guanya la banca.

No, no, calma. Has d'aprendre a assaborir la derrota.

-Collons, tio! aquí hi ha un merder de collons. No ho toquis! Deixa-ho! No juguis amb això tio, collons! Déu meu... t'has fotut tot aquest àcid?

-Exacte. Música!

-Confio pel teu bé que quedi toresina a la bossa. No estàs fotut, tio.

-Música collons, posa el casset!

-Una cinta..

-Jefferson Airplane, el Conill Blanc. Vull una música que m'animi.

-Estàs fotut. Surto d'aquí a dues hores. Després la poli vindrà aquí i et fotrà una pallissa de collons. Entesos, entesos, entesos! Collons! Almenys fes-me un favor, no? Dóna'm dues hores, no et demano res més, dues hores per dormir una mica.

Sospito que demà serà un dia molt difícil.

-Et donaré tot el temps que vulguis.

-T'electrocutaràs. No ho deus voler, oi?

-Fot el camp...

-Merda! Déu meu! Osti, oooh, déu meu...

-Auxili! auxili!

-No ho toquis, tio, no ho toquis! fes-me el favor, tio! Enrere collons! enrere malparit!

-Deixa'm sortir!

-Sortir? una merda et deixo sortir!

-Rebobina, tio, la necessito! Quan arriba aquesta nota fantàstica, el conill s'arrenca el cap, vull fotre aquest collons de ràdio a la banyera amb mi.

-El que et passa és que estàs sonat, tio, sortiràs disparat per la paret, quedaràs fregit en deu segons i em tocarà donar explicacions!

-Parides...

-No et fotis més amb mi, tio, ajup el cap.

-aaahh, déu meu...

-Vinga malparit, torna a seure! a la banyera, et clavaré això al coll!

- No m'obliguis a fer-lo servir.
- Entesos, tio, és l'única solució. Espera, a veure si està tot a punt. Vols que et foti això a la banyera quan el conill blanc crida? és això?
- Hòstia... em pensava que hauria de sortir a buscar alguna cambrera perquè ho fes...
- Ahhh, ja ho faré jo, tranquil, tio... per això són els amics. A punt? tanca els ulls... així m'agrada.
- Conill blanc! conill blanc!
- Calla d'una vegada em fas perdre el temps!
- Ves-te'n d'aquí... au, fot el camp!
- Molt bé, tanca els ulls, vinga... deu, nou, cent, onze, setanta-dos, i tres!
- Merda! què fas, collons! treu-me d'aquí! fill de puta!
- Dormir... necessito dormir...
- Sóc la Moby Dick!
- Quiet! Quiet, tio, estic armat!
- Te'n pots anar a la merda...
- Vols que et tiri això?
- Fill de puta!
- Només fa un moment em demanaves que et matés i ara em vols matar tu. El que hauria de fer és trucar a la policia dels collons!
- Carai... que estàs enfadat... no val la pena, tio, que truquis a la poli...
- No em deixes triar... no puc dormir sabent que rondes per aquí farcit d'àcid i que em vols tallar a trossets amb el ganivet.
- Que he dit res de tallar-te a trossets amb el ganivet? eh? Només et volia gravar una zeta al front.
- Torna-te'n a la banyera. Pren-te un tranquil·litzant i calma't. Fuma herba o punxa't una mica d'heroïna, fot el que vulguis, tio, però, sisplau, deixa'm descansar, ho necessito... sisplau... amunt malparit! amunt! amunt!
- Entesos, sí. T'has de posar a treballar. Quin malparit que estàs fet.
- Desgraciat de merda, jo sóc doctor en Periodisme.
- Som-hi, per mi ja pots dormir, per mi ja pots dormir.
- No et rentes mai els calçotets? Renta't els calçotets, com un noi gran, vinga!

L'àcid li provocava efectes alternats. Segurament la propera fase seria un d'aquells malsons introspectius tan fastigosos. Quatre hores o així de desesperació i drogues.

-Treu-me d'aquí! això està ple de merda. Treu-me d'aquí! M'ataquen les mosques! tinc por!

Ignora el malson que hi ha en el bany. Un altre refugiat de la generació de l'amor. El meu advocat mai no va acceptar la idea, sovint exposada per extoxicòmans, que pots flipar més sense drogues, que amb drogues. Ni jo tampoc, per cert.

1965. La gran moda dels àcids de San Francisco. Recordo una nit en un lloc que es deia el Matrix. Jo era allà. Déu meu, sóc allà. Merda santa! Vaig ser una víctima de l'explosió de les drogues, un sonat més del carrer que es fotia tot el que es trobava.

LSD... tinc tot el que fa falta, tio... només necessito un lloc on preparar-la...

Vaig decidir prendre'm només la meitat de l'àcid, però l'altra meitat em va caure a la màniga de la meva camisa de llana vermella.

Que passa res, tio? Tota aquesta cosa que tinc a la màniga és LSD...

Amb una mica de sort, la seva vida es va ensorrar per sempre. Sempre pensant que al darrera d'alguna porteta dels seus bars preferits hi havia homes amb camises de llana vermelles que obtenien plaer de coses que ell no coneixeria mai. Curiosos records, en aquella nit de nervis a Las Vegas. Ja fa cinc anys. Sis. Em sembla una eternitat. D'aquells moments que no es repeteixen mai. San Francisco als anys seixanta. Va ser un lloc i un moment molt especial. Cap explicació, cap barreja de paraules o música o records per alterar que aquella sensació que eres allà, viu, en aquell racó de món i de temps. Signifiqués el que signifiqués. Era una bogeria en totes direccions i a qualsevol hora. Podies trobar sensacions a tot arreu. Hi havia un sentiment universal fantàstic que tot el que fèiem era correcte. Que érem els guanyadors. I crec que allò va ser el motor, aquell sentiment de victòria inevitable contra les forces del mal i del passat, però no en cap sentit malvat o militar, no ens feia falta, senzillament la nostra energia prevaldria. Teníem l'impuls necessari, cavalcàvem la cresta de l'onada i era una onada alta i preciosa i ara, menys de cinc anys després, si t'enfiles en algun turó elevat de Las Vegas i mires cap a l'oest, amb els ulls adequats, gairebé pots veure la marca de la marea, allà on l'onada es va trencar finalment, i va retrocedir.

- Servei d'habitacions. Bon dia senyor.
- Què vols, tio! què vols?
- Escolti, ahh, servei d'habitacions.
- Fora! Això no és meu, t'has equivocat, fora!
- Ho sento. Escolti, porto la nota.
- Porta-la, molt bé, tio.
- M'han dit que...
- No et moguis, tio, ben quiet, té. No diguis res a ningú.

La decisió de fugir em va venir de sobte. O potser no, potser ja feia temps que ho planejava, en el subconscient, esperant el moment just. La factura era un factor important, perquè no tenia diners per pagar-la. Les notes del servei d'habitacions anaven entre 29 i 36 dòlars per hora, durant 48 hores seguides. Increïble. Com era possible? Ah, per cert, quan em vaig fer aquella pregunta no hi havia ningú que la contestés. Aquell fastigós advocat meu, el Doctor Gonzo, se n'havia anat. Devia haver ensumat els problemes. Una zeta? Pànic, em va recórrer l'espinada com les primeres esgarrifances d'un viatge d'àcid. Totes aquelles realitats espantoses se'm van fer evidents. Estava tot sol, sol a Las Vegas, completament emmerdat amb les drogues, sense diners ni article per la revista. I a sobre de tot plegat, tenia una factura d'hotel monumental per pagar. No sabia ni qui havia guanyat la carrera, potser ningú. Com hauria resolt la situació l'Herasio Alger? Calma, calma. Sóc un ciutadà relativament respectable. Potser un delinqüent múltiple, però inofensiu. Per sort ja havia portat el sabó i el raïm al cotxe unes quantes hores abans. Ara, només era qüestió de no cridar l'atenció.

- Esperi, tingui, per vostè.
- Senyor Duke, senyor Duke! L'estava buscant.

S'ha acabat, m'han caçat.

- A la presó s'han escrit molts llibres bons.
- Perdoni?
- Què?
- Ha arribat aquest telegrama per vostè, vaja, de fet no és per a vostè és per a algú que es diu Thompson, però diu a l'atenció de Raoul Duke. Vol dir res per vostè?
- I tant, vol dir molt, gràcies.

-Hem estat buscant al registre aquest tal Thompson i no li hem trobat i hem pensat que devia ser del seu equip.

-Exacte, tranquil, ja li donaré.

-Ja... el que ens ha estranyat més és veure la firma d'aquest telegrama del Doctor Gonzo de Los Angeles quan sabíem que encara era a l'hotel.

-Ha fet molt bé, no vulgui entendre mai un missatge de la premsa, sempre fem servir codis, sobre tot amb el Doctor Gonzo.

-Escolti, quan estarà despert el doctor.

-Despert, què vol dir?

-El director, el senyor Hink, voldria parlar amb ell... no és res d'estrany, al senyor Hink li agrada conèixer els bons clients per tenir-hi una relació personal, sap? una xerradeta i una encaixada, ja m'entén.

-I tant, però jo de vostè, deixaria el doctor en pau fins que hagi esmorzat, perquè té molt mal caràcter. Déu meu!

-Ah, però hi podem parlar aquest mateix matí, d'aquí a una estona?

-Eh, el telegrama està equivocat, l'envia en Thompson, i no és per a ell. M'entén? i ara me n'he d'anar, he d'anar a la carrera.

-No... no hi ha pressa, ja s'ha acabat la carrera.

-No per a mi.

-Però, quedem per dinar!

-Entesos, tio, entesos.

Déu meu, onades de paranoia. Bogeria, por i fàstic. Unes vibracions insuportables en aquell lloc. Fora! la poli s'acostava... podia ensumar aquells porcs. Fes-me un últim favor Senyor: dóna'm cinc hores més a tota velocitat abans de fer caure el teu martell. Deixa que em tregui de sobre aquest maleït cotxe i aquest desert fastigos. Ets un malparit. Això és obra Teva. Val més que vigilis amb mi Senyor, si no, el que passi serà culpa teva.

-Pari! pari!

-Hola, bon dia, com anem? molt bé, nano, la mar de bé.

Hi ha poca gent que entengui la psicologia que cal per tractar amb un policia de trànsit. Qualsevol que corregués massa, s'espantaria i pararia de seguida, però és un error. Un policia en el fons se sent menyspreat, has de fer que el malparit et persegueixi. I et

seguirà, però no sabrà què vol dir l'intermitent que indica que vols girar a la dreta i es per fer-li saber que busques un lloc millor per poder parlar. Trigarà un moment a descobrir que està a punt de fer un gir de 180 graus a tota velocitat. Però tu sí que estaràs a punt. Gràcies a la potència del cotxe i el joc punta taló.

-Merda!

-Hola, com anem?

-Es pot saber on anava vostè? Vull saber-ho. Ensenyi'm el carnet.

-Ara mateix. Aquí el té, miri.

-No pot ser.

-Sóc jo.

-Em dóna això sisplau?

Sabia que estava fotut.

-Veig que porta dues caixes de cervesa, un cistell de raïm, tovalloles, bombetes i una pila de samarretes brutes. Vostè sap el que ha fet conduint així?

-Sí, ja ho sé, sóc culpable. Ho entenc molt bé, sabia que era un delicte però he fugit. No cal discutir, sóc un delinqüent, miri...

-Té una actitud estranya.

-Pot ser.

-Sap què? Em fa la sensació que li convé dormir una mica. Hi ha una zona de descans més endavant. Vull que vagi cap allà, aparqui i dormi unes quantes hores.

-No em servirà de res, potser fa quatre nits que estic despert, ni me'n recordo. Si em poso a dormir cauré 24 hores.

-Què fa portant dues capses de sabó al cotxe?

-És que... m'agrada anar net.

-No... farem això: a l'informe diré que l'he fet parar per excés de velocitat i que li he aconsellat que anés fins a la zona de descans i que parés. Pari! Li he aconsellat que anés a la zona de descans i allà és on anirà ara mateix, entesos? I farà una bona dormida. Li ha quedat prou clar?

-Queda gaire lluny Baker? havia pensat que... no ho sé, que hi pararia a dinar.

-No és la meva jurisdicció. Els límits de la ciutat són a dues milles de la zona de descans. Li sembla que podrà arribar?

-Ho intentaré. Feia temps que volia anar a Baker. Sí... n'he sentit a parlar.

-Cuinen molt bé. I trobo que un jove com vostè hauria de tastar el peix i els crancs. Ho fan molt bo.

-Els crancs? Entesos, per què no? Gràcies pel consell.

-Miri'm als ulls.

-Algun problema?

-M'agradaria fer-te un petó abans d'anar-te'n. Em trobo molt sol aquí.

Em sentia violat. Aquell porc m'havia tocat per tot arreu. I ara se n'anava a riure's de mi amb els amics, sabent que jo fugiria cap a Los Angeles. I tant que sí. Pararé a la zona de descans, li estic molt agraït que hagi estat tan amable amb mi. Controla't, tio. Si segueixo directe cap a Los Angeles, segur que em tanquen. No... No era el moment per una cosa així. Allò era la vall de la mort.

-Mmm! Collons! Sí, déu meu, és ell! mm, déu meu. Collons! Vinga malparit engega't!

-M'han caçat collons! estic atrapat en un lloc pudent del desert que es diu Baker. No tinc gaire temps, tio, aquests cabrons ja s'acosten, em perseguiran com si fos un collons d'animal!

-Qui? em sembla que estàs paranoic.

-Necessito un collons d'advocat ara mateix!

-Però què hi fas a Baker? que no has rebut el meu telegrama?

-Quin telegrama, fill de puta? et penso partir la cara.

-Ets un tros d'idiota. Hauries de ser a Las Vegas. He llogat una habitació al Flamingo. Hauries d'estar cobrint la convenció nacional de Fiscals del Districte. Ja he fet totes les reserves, està tot arreglat. Ara, diga'm què collons hi fots al mig del desert.

-Res, deixa-ho córrer, era una broma. Ara mateix sóc al costat de la piscina del Flamingo, parlant amb un telèfon portàtil que m'ha portat un nan del Casino. Sí... aquí tinc crèdit il·limitat. I tu no cal que vinguis malparit, no hi volem estrangers aquí.

Bé, així és com funciona el món. Tota l'energia circula segons els desitjos del gran imant. Que idiota voler desafiar-lo. Me'n tornava a Las Vegas. No podia triar. Però m'havia de desfer del cotxe. Em podien reconèixer moltes persones. Sobretot la policia de Las Vegas. Per sort, la meva targeta de crèdit encara era vàlida tècnicament. A més, era un cotxe fabulós, ple de prestacions i coses que valien 10.000 dòlars. Les finestres posteriors saltaven amunt amb un sol toc com si fossin granotes en un estany ple de

dinamita. El tauler era ple de coses esotèriques i comptadors que no havia entès mai. Si aquells porcs es reunien a Las Vegas, la cultura de la droga també hi havia de ser present. I també tenia un cert atractiu la idea de fer una gran estafa en un hotel de Las Vegas, i després travessar la ciutat i registrar-me en un altre. Jo i un miler de polis de tot Amèrica. Per què no? Moure'm tranquil·lament entre ells.

-Benvingut a l'hotel Flamingo senyor. Senyor?

-Sí, sí, entesos.

Vaig arribar en un mal moment. Com és que els drogoaddictes no saben aquestes coses?

-Sóc un cap de policia de Michigan. Miri jove, ja li he explicat. Tinc aquesta postal que diu que tinc confirmada una reserva en aquest hotel.

-Realment em sap molt de greu, però vostè és a la llista afegida. I per tant, la seva reserva es deu haver enviat a... al Motel Moonlight, que és al Boulevard Paradise, és a prop d'aquí.

-Nosaltres hem pagat pel coi d'habitació jove!

-És un lloc molt agradable i només és a 16 travessies d'aquí, i hi ha piscina, sauna...

-Escolta'm bé, marica de merda! Vull parlar amb el director ara mateix, sents! sents?! Vull que vingui el director perquè ja estic fart de sentir les teves parides, venim aquí a divertir-nos, no a sentir les parides d'un marica desgraciat com tu! deixa'm estar...

-Vol un taxi?

-No vull cap taxi imbècil!

Però jo sentia el que deia el recepcionista de debò.

-Escolta'm bé malparit rapat de merda! Jo diria que unes 100 vegades m'han tocat la pera policies amb mala llet fills de puta i cabrons com tu! I ara, em toca a mi. Que et donin pel cul desgraciat, aquí mano jo.

-Escolti, em sap greu interrompre'ls, però si em deixen passar acabarem abans. Em dic Duke, Raoul Duke.

-Però qui és aquest?

-El meu advocat em va fer una reserva.

-Raoul Duke. De seguida senyor.

-Tinc l'equipatge a fora, en aquell Cadillac descapotable blanc.

-Sí, senyor.

-Me'l podrien pujar a l'habitació sisplau? I voldré una ampolla de Bourbon, dues ampolles de Bacardí, una mica de gel i unes rodanxes de llima sisplau.

-Ara mateix senyor. No es preocupi per res. Si necessita res, em dic Sven.

-Molt bé, Sven, gràcies per tot. Ho sé, ho sé, ho sé, és fastigós, però segueixi així, ho fa molt bé. On és la maleta? ah, és aquí. Perdoni, dispensi. Adéu Sven, perdoni.

-Has vist el que has fet? Has vist el que has fet? No ens quedaríem en aquest hotel encara que ens ho supliquessis malparit!

-Ja sóc a casa. Carai, si que és gran. Mmm, merda! Què collons passa aquí? Deixa'm estar! Què fots! Aquesta tia em mossega! Fora!

-Mmm, no ho puc evitar...

-La cama!

-És la Lucy, com la Lucy al cel amb diamants.

-Lucy... va. Calma't. Recorda el que va passar a l'aeroport nena. Fora, fora. Ja n'hi ha prou... és el meu client, Lucy. És el senyor Duke, el famós periodista. És qui paga aquesta habitació. És amic nostre. Li agraden molt els artistes. La Lucy pinta retrats de la Barbara Streisand, oi?

-Mm, aquests els vaig treure de la tele.

-És veritat. I ha vingut... ehhh... des d'on reina?

-De Montana.

-De Montana per ensenyar-li aquests retrats a la Bàrbara. Aquest vespre anirem a l'Americana a conèixer-la i els hi donarem.

Jo necessitava pau. I descans. Un refugi. No comptava amb allò. Trobar el meu advocat ple d'àcid i embolicat en una relació increïble.

-Bé. Ja em deuen haver portat el cotxe. O sigui que... per què no vaig, anem, tu i jo, a treure tots dos les coses del cotxe? Has entès què vull dir?

-Oh, ja ho crec, i tant. Anem a buscar-les. Tornem de seguida, mh? Fes-me un petó... au!

-No!

-Un petó...

-No!

-Un petó...

-No!

-Per què?

-Perquè no!

-Entesos. No agafis el telèfon, eh?

-Que Déu... et beneeixi.

-Què, quins plans tens?

-Plans?

-Amb la nena de l'habitació.

-Ah, la Lucy. La vaig conèixer a l'avió. Sí, és molt bona noia. La vaig convidar a un trippy sense saber-ne l'edat. Merda, ni tan sols havia begut mai.

-Sí, potser funcionarà, la droguem i la prostituïm per la convenció. És perfecte per una reunió així. Aquests polis pagarien 50 dòlars per pegar-la i follar-se-la. La podem posar en un motel de mala mort envoltada d'espelmes enceses i després li deixem anar aquells porcs. És una tia forta, ho aguantarà.

-Collons, tio, sabia que estaves malalt, però no hauria dit mai que arribessis a dir una parida com aquesta, ets un pervertit de merda.

-És qüestió de diners, tio, aquesta noia és una mina. Podríem guanyar 1.000 dòlars al dia.

-Tu estàs sonat. Para de dir això.

-Jo crec que podríem 4 alhora. Cebat la nena d'àcid, en podríem treure 2.000 dòlars, potser 3.000.

-Escolta, i què et sembla si et foto hòsties fins que deixis de dir parides? Trobes que així t'aniria millor fill de puta?

-Entesos, escolta, d'aquí a unes hores, ja estarà prou serena per sentir una mena d'insaciable ira religiosa basada en el vague record d'haver estat seduïda per un samoà cruel i fastigós, que li va donar LSD, se la va endur a un hotel de Las Vegas i la va penetrar salvatgement per tots els forats del cos amb el seu membre incircumcís i palpitant.

-Això sona fatal, tio.

-La veritat sempre fot.

-Ahh, és, ahh, és, ahh. Jo volia ajudar-la, tio...

-Sí? doncs aniràs directe a la cambra de gas, tio. I si te'n surts et portaran al penitenciar de Nevada per violació i sodomia. No... no hem de perdre.

-Collons... ja veig que avui dia no pots fer cap favor a ningú.

-Anem, nena?

-Hola, hotel Americana? vull fer una reserva per la meva neboda. Tractin-la molt bé, sisplau, és artista. Escolti... fora! La trobaran una mica nerviosa. És que està fent un màster sobre la... ah, Barbara Streisand. El nom? ahh, m'estimo més no dir-ho, el meu germà és polític. Sí, ja m'entén.

Em sentia com un nazi, però ho havíem de fer.

-Sí, sí, exacte, sí. Adéu, adéu.

La Lucy era una llosa que ens amenaçava. No teníem alternativa, l'havíem de deixar tirada i esperar que no recordés res.

-Aquí tens deu dòlars de més. Mira que arribi bé.

-Ja està. Ves a poc a poc, que no cridem l'atenció. Anem a algun restaurant que tinguin un bon peix. Tinc unes ganes boges de menjar salmó.

-Ah, no, tio... arribarem tard, ens en hem d'anar.

-Merda de mescalina.... per què collons no la poden fer menys pura, eh?

‘Els dono la benvinguda a la tercera convenció nacional de fiscals del districte sobre narcòtics i drogues perilloses. I ara, sense més preàmbuls, els presento l'home que analitzarà aquest càncer que devora el cor d'Amèrica, el doctor Ron Bunquist.’

-Jo vaig veure uns quants malparits d'aquests a Easy Rider, tio. Però aquí n'hi ha centenars.

-Són bones persones quan els arribes a conèixer.

-Coneixe'ls? Què cony dius? Si els tinc ficats a la sang.

-No diguis aquesta paraula, tio, els excitaries.

-Tens raó.

‘La millor manera de fer-ho és que cada un de nosaltres intentem imaginar-nos què passa exactament a l'interior de la ment posseïda d'un addicte. Per exemple, un drogoaddicte, d'una punta de porro en diu escarbat, perquè s'assembla bastant a un escarbat.’

-Però què collons diu aquest tio? S'ha d'anar penjat i ple d'àcid per pensar que un porro s'assembla a un escarbat.

‘Fixin-se que tan sols he distingit quatre estats anímics diferents dels grans consumidors de marihuana. El de conya, el genial, el súper i l'enrotllat. Repeteixo: conya...’

-És veritat, tio, està sonat. Vigila què fas. Això és un malson de merda.

‘I si alguna vegada s'adona del que passa aleshores es pot pujar un nivell i posar-se de conya. I si aleshores es veu que el que passa ja li va bé, cosa raríssima, llavors pot passar al genial, genial... i després, a continuació, augmentant la dosi, pot passar al nivell de súper, es converteix en un tio enrotllat.’

-Doctor Bumquist, vostè creu que l'estrany comportament de l'antropòloga Margaret Mitt es pot explicar per la seva addicció reconeguda a la marihuana?

-Bona pregunta.

-No puc contestar aquesta pregunta. Però sí que li puc dir que si la Margaret Mitt, a la seva edat, fumava herba, devia tenir viatges acollonants, aaaaahhhahaa! una mostra més de menyspreu per a les dones...

-Això és una puta merda, t'espero al Casino.

-Ahah, molt bona tio, molt bona!

-Osti, gràcies, moltes gràcies, gràcies. Gràcies per escoltar-me.

-Projector, sisplau.

-Amb permís.

-Llums.

‘La sinistra amenaça dels narcòtics. Conegui els drogoaddictes. La seva vida en pot dependre. Potser no li veurà els ulls per culpa de les ulleres de sol, però tindrà els artells blancs de la tensió interior. I tindrà els pantalons incrustats de semen de tan masturbar-se quan no troba una víctima per violar. Quan l’interrogui, contestarà balbucejant, no respectarà la seva placa. El drogoaddicte no té por de res, i l’atacarà sense motiu amb qualsevol arma que tingui a la mà, inclosa la seva. Vigili, qualsevol agent que vulgui detenir un sospitós....’

-Etic marejat, perdoni, no em trobo bé, perdoni...

-Déu meu, merda, merda, merda, Déu meu, Déu meu... ahhm? Osti, merda. Sí?

-Ah, senyor Duke? hola, té un missatge. Truqui a la Lucy a l’hotel Americana, habitació 1600.

-Collons!

-Hola?

-Ha trucar la Lucy!

-Ehh?

-Que ha trucat la Lucy.

‘Aquests dos homes, senyoria, em van donar LSD i em van portar a l’hotel. No sé ben bé què em van fer, però recordo que va ser horrorós’.

‘Què li van donar?’

‘LSD’

‘Castració! Doble castració! Porcs!’

-És problema meu, ja li truco jo, me la trauré de sobre.

-És que s’ha passat, tio.

-D’acord, ja ho tindrè en compte.

-I una merda!

-Calma’t.

-Que em calmi.

-Ja me n’ocupo jo.

-On tinc les sabates? On m’has fotut les sabates?

-Com a advocat teu, t'aconello que facis un glopet de l'ampolleta marró que tinc al necesser. Només una miqueta. Un tastet.

-Un moment. Ja la veig. Què cony és?

-Això fa que la mescalina pura sembli gasosa, tio. Adrenocrom.

-Adrenocrom? mmmmm...

-Digui? hola Lucy, quina sort. Sí, sóc jo. Com? No, no, li he donat una lliçó que no oblidarà mai. Com? No, no l'he mort, però ja no molestarà ningú durant una temporada. Sí, l'he tret fora, l'he estovat i li he arrancat les dents.

Recordo que vaig pensar: quina cosa més espantosa per fer-li a algú que va ple d'àcid.

-Però tenim un problema. Aquell malparit ha cobrat un taló fals i ha deixat el teu nom com a referència. Segurament us deuen buscar a tots dos. Sí, Lucy, ja ho sé però és que les aparences enganyen molt sovint. Hi ha persones que estan podrides per dintre. O sigui que el que no has de tornar a fer és tornar a trucar a aquest hotel mai més. Localitzarien la trucada i et tancarien. No, jo me'n vaig de seguida al Tropicana. Em penso que faré servir un nom diferent. Ja et faré saber quin nom és, eh? No, sí, jo també. D'acord, molt bé, ara he de penjar, segur que el telèfon està punxat. Sí, ja ho sé, és espantós, és espantós però ja s'ha acabat. Déu meu, truquen a la porta...truquen a la porta.... No, Déu meu, sóc innocent, sóc innocent, ha estat en Duke, ha estat en Duke!! ha estat ell, no em feu això, sóc innocent! no em feu això sisplau....!!! ha estat ell, no em mateu, no!! aaaaaaaah!

-Bé, ja està, ja no tornarem a tenir notícies de la Lucy, tio. Ara mateix es deu estar amagant a l'incinerador amb una mica de sort. Ens fa falta una mica d'opi.

Recordo que vaig caure al llit. Aquella actuació m'havia donat mal rotllo, per un moment, m'havia pensat que s'havia tornat boig, que es creia de debò que l'havien atacat uns enemics invisibles, però l'habitació tornava a estar en silenci.

-D'on ho has tret això?

-Tan se val, és del tot pur.

-Quin monstre has acceptat com a client?

-Un sonat del satanisme.

-Aquesta cosa només pot sortir d'un lloc: de la glàndula de l'adrenalina d'un cos humà.

-Ja ho sé, però no tenia diners per pagar-me.

-Ehh?

-Em va oferir sang humana, em va dir que em faria volar com mai. Em vaig pensar que ho deia de broma i li vaig dir que m'estimava més una ampolleta d'adrenocrom pur, o una glàndula d'adrenalina fresca per mastegar-la.

Ja notava com em feia efecte. La primera onada era com una combinació de mescalina i metadrina. Potser que em banyí, vaig pensar.

-Sí, nano. Aquell paio el van detenir per abusos a menors... ell ho negava. Com vols que m'enrotlli amb criatures? em va dir, són massa petites! I què li podia dir. Fins i tot un cony d'home llop té dret a un advocat, no vaig gosar dir-li que no. Hauria pogut agafar un obre-cartes i arrencar-li la glàndula pineal. M'entens?

-Sí, per què no...

-Un sonat.

-N'hauríem d'aconseguir, ens en podríem menjar un tros, a veure què passa...

-Un tros de què?

-De glàndula pineal...

-Sí, bona idea. Una sola esnifada et converteix en una fotuda enciclopèdia mèdica, tio.

-Quines tetes més maques nano!

-El cap se t'infla com si fossis una síndria... augmenta 50 quilos en un parell d'hores...

-Genial!

-Surten urpes, berrugues sagnants...

-Sí!

-I després notes que et creixen sis tetes immenses i peludes a l'esquena!

-Golós! M'ho quedo!

-I després et quedes cec... el cos se't torna de cera... t'han de posar en un carretó i quan crides demanant ajuda sembles un ós... Tio, jo em fotria gairebé qualsevol cosa però no tocaria mai una glàndula pineal.

-Acaba el collons d'història, tio! què va passar? i les glàndules?

-Ostres, aquesta cosa t'ha pujat de debò, eh? Mira quina cara, estàs a punt d'explotar...

-Em podries empènyer... fins a la piscina...

-Tio, si ara et foto a la piscina t'enfonçaràs més de pressa que si fossis una pedra. N'has pres massa, tio, n'has pres massa, massa, massa! No miris de lluitar-hi! Se't farien bombolles al cervell, aneurismes i cauries fulminat.

-Sempre m'ha agradat nedar...

‘I segueixen matant gent innocent per esgotar les últimes esperances de pau i llibertat per milions de persones i el seu sacrifici. Per això, aquest vespre, vosaltres, la gran majoria silenciosa, sacrifici...’

Quin psicòpata fill de puta pot haver posat aquesta cançó just en aquest moment? Quan em vaig recuperar, l'ambient general de l'habitació era fastigós. Brutícia per tot arreu. Quanta estona havia dormit? Tots aquells rastres de violència. Què havia passat? En aquella habitació hi havia proves de consum excessiu de gairebé totes les drogues conegudes per l'home civilitzat des del 1544.

-Collons, que fort! Debbie, gràcia de dir-ho, oh Debbie, mmm, déu meu...

Per què volia un addicte totes aquelles closques de coco i pells de meló? Totes aquelles patates fregides revelaven la presència de drogues? I aquells tolls de quètxup vidriós a l'escriptori? Potser sí, però aleshores, què hi feia allà tan alcohol? I aquelles fotos pornogràfiques tan dures empastifades amb mostassa que s'havia convertit en una crosta groga i dura? No eren les empremtes d'un penjat normal i corrent. Era massa salvatge... massa agressiu...

-Posa les mans on les vegi.

-Déu meu, què collons passa?

-Posa les mans on les vegi!

Records desagradables i flaixbacs espantosos. Controla't, tranquil. Quantes nits i quants dies feia que durava tota aquella merda? Allà havia passat alguna cosa dolenta, d'això n'estava segur.

-Qui és aquest? Collons, si sóc jo! sóc el dalai-lama.

-No sisplau, sóc la cambrera!

-Merda!

- No puc més, em fa mal!
- Quedes detinguda!
- Deu haver fet servir la clau mestra, era al lavabo netejant-me les sabates, he notat que entrava i l'he detingut.
- Per què has vingut, qui et paga?!
- Ningú, sóc la cambrera!
- Una merda! Tu hi estàs tan ficada com ells a la xarxa de drogues! Tu saps què passa en aquest hotel, per què creus que som aquí?
- Ja sé que són policies, però em pensava que havien vingut per la convenció, ho juro! Nomes venia a netejar l'habitació, no en sé res de drogues sap?
- Vinga, reina, no em faràs creure que no has sentit a parlar mai d'en Grange Gorman?
- No n'he sentit a parlar mai, ho juro!
- Potser diu la veritat. Potser no hi està ficada.
- No, ho juro que no! ho juro...
- Llavors ens pot ajudar.
- Sí, sí, els ajudaré. Odio les drogues.
- Nosaltres també.
- Em penso que l'hauríem de posar en nòmina. A veure què descobreix. Tu creus que ho podrà fer?
- ehh... el què?
- Una trucada cada dia. No et preocupis si no té sentit, això és cosa nostra.
- I per això em pagaran?
- I tant que et pagarem, però la primera vegada que li diguis alguna cosa a algú, te'n vas directe a la presó per tota la vida. Com et dius?
- Aaaalice.
- Demostra-ho!
- Entesos.
- Truquin al servei d'habitacions i preguntin per l'Alice.
- Molt bé, Alice. Escolta, ja et trucarà l'inspector Rock. L'Arthur Rock. Fa pinta de polític, segur que el reconeixeràs.
- Exacte, l'Arthur Rock et pagarà en metàl·lic 1.000 dòlars el dia 9 de cada mes.
- De debò? Per això faria gairebé qualsevol cosa!
- Vine, la contrasenya és una mà renta l'altra. Quan la sentis has de dir no tinc cap por. Diga-ho.
- Ara? No tinc cap por!

-Més fort!

-No tinc cap por!

-Ja te'n pots anar, sents?

-Gràcies.

-Ah, escolta, ha estat un plaer, d'acord?

-I no et molestis a fer l'habitació, només cal que deixis un parell de tovalloles i sabó a la porta a mitja nit. Així no ens arriscarem a tenir un altre incident com aquest, entesos?

-Molt bé, el que vostès diguin, el que vulguin, molt bé.

Quin galimaties. Records fragmentats que surten de la boira del tims. Pitja play i ja està.

-Ei, tios! que voleu comprar heroïna? eiii.... ehhhh!! blancs de merda, sou uns malparits! us vendre cavall del més pur, és del bo, tios, us ho juro, m'heu de creure!! Acabo de tornar del Vietnam! haaaahahahaaa.... accelera! heroïna! us vull vendre un cavall de puta mare, un cavall de collons! ahaha!

-Me cago en la puta que us va parir, fills de puta! Pareu que us mato, us mato, vinga pareu!!

-Oh merda! mmm, collons, molt bé, a veure, aahhh, ho arreglaré, ho arreglaré...

La mentalitat de Las Vegas està tan caducada que un delicte dels grossos molt sovint passa desapercebut. Quan ja l'has cagat massa al carrer principal, te n'has d'anar a Las Vegas Nord. És quan ja ni et volen als llocs més fastigosos del centre. La cafeteria North Star semblava un paradís de calma per a les nostres tempestes. Ni disputes, ni converses. Només un lloc per descansar i reagrupar-nos. Ni tan sols tenia gana. A l'ambient d'aquella cafeteria no hi havia res que em fes posar en guàrdia.

-Dos gots d'aigua amb gel. Dos gots d'aigua amb gel... Dos.

Aquella tia semblava una caricatura gastada de la Jane Russell. Era evident que era la que manava. En Gonzo ho va fer dissimuladament, però sabia que ben aviat s'acabaria la pau.

-Què li has donat? Diques?

-Naaa...

-Què és això?

-Un tovalló.

-No em vinguis amb aquesta merda! Ja sé què vol dir això malparit dels collons!

-És el nom d'un cavall que tenia, saps? Què t'agafa ara?

La porta del darrera, reina? L'interrogant era gegant.

-Mira fill de puta, aquí he d'aguantar molta merda, però no li penso aguantar res a un macarra hispà!

-Això ho sap qualsevol que sàpiga alguna cosa...

-Pagueu i foteu el camp d'aquí! Voleu que truqui a la poli? Merda!

-Ahhh, cagada.

-Vols que els truqui jo? collons...

-Quant val el pastís de llimona?

Tenia els ulls inflats d'odi, però els seu cervell seguia l'instint de supervivència.

-35 centaus.

-Quant val el pastís de llimona?

-35 centaus.

-Bufff, quina merda de ciutat. No, reina, vull dir tot el pastís. Sencer. Mmm? Quant? Quant? Tres dòlars? Tres? Quatre? Cinc? mmm? Posem cinc. T'espero al cotxe.

Aquell ganivet li havia portat mals records. Aquella mirada de pànic deia que ja li havien tallat el coll. Quan vam sortir encara estava paralizada.

S'havia acabat. Ens havíem saltat totes les lleis de Las Vegas. Havíem fet estafes a tots els locals, havíem espantat els turistes i havíem sembrat el terror. L'única possibilitat que teníem era que ens haguéssim passat tant, que cap autoritat es pogués arribar a creure que fos possible. Quinze minuts per portar el meu advocat a l'aeroport. Ho aconseguiríem?

-Tio!!!

-nnnnnyyyy...!

- Osti tio, osti!
- Merda! Òstia, malparit, déu meu, merda, collons!!
- Ahhgg! T'equivoques de direcció, tio!
- Ves a la merda cabró!
- Fora! Fora! Gira a la dreta! gira a la dreta! Oh merda, ens hem perdut... què collons hi fitem en aquesta merda de carretera? L'aeroport és cap allà tio, merda! és cap allà!
- No se m'ha escapat mai cap avió.
- Collons!! aahhhhh! Osti tu! eeehhh, eeeeeeeeeaaaaaaaaa!! què fas desgraciat! què fas!!
- Que què faig? et deixaré al costat mateix de l'avió.
- Me les carregaré jo, em penjaran! para aquí, para, para!
- No diguis parides tio, digues que has fet autoestop i que t'he recollit.
- Malparit.
- Baixa.
- Eh, esperin.
- Escolta, no deixis que t'emmerdin. I si tens problemes, envia un telegrama a la gent important que coneixes...
- Ja, i els explico la meva situació. Algun imbècil en va fer una cançó d'això. És un bon consell, si no tens cervell. ahhhahaha...

Ja se'n va. Un d'aquests prototips divins. Un mutant que ni tan sols serveix per a la producció en massa. Massa rar per viure i massa escàs per morir.

Ara tots estem penjats en el viatge de la supervivència. S'ha acabat l'energia dels anys seixanta. Aquest va ser l'error fatal d'en Tim Leary. Va voltar per tot el país venent la idea de l'expansió de la consciència sense pensar ni un moment en la crua realitat que esperava a la gent que se'l prenguésser seriosament. Aquells desgraciats farcits d'àcid que es pensaven que podien comprar pau i comprensió a tres dòlars la dosi. Però el seu fracàs i els seus errors també són nostres. En Leary va fer caure la il·lusió d'una forma de vida que havia ajudat a crear ell mateix. Una generació de buscadors, fracassats de la veritat, que no van entendre mai la mentida mística de la cultura de l'àcid. La suposició desesperada que hi ha algú o almenys alguna força que il·lumina el final del túnel.

Només hi havia una camí per tornar a Los Angeles, la interestatal 15. Una carretera polsosa i plana que passa per Baker, Barstow i Bardou, i després a l'autopista de

Hollywood directe cap a l'oblit, la seguretat, la foscor. Un penjat més en el regne dels penjats.

Appendix 5

EMAIL CORRESPONDENCE WITH SEGIMON BORRÀS

1. Helena Borrell (22-02-2013):

Benvolgut Sr. Borràs,

Em dic Helena Borrell i sóc estudiant de doctorat. Em poso en contacte amb vostè per una qüestió referent al meu treball, que té relació amb l'edició de llibres en català. La meva consulta és referent a unes dades que he extret del document 'Comercio Interior del Libro en Cataluña' que teniu al vostre web. A la pàgina 12, referent a l'evolució de títols 2006-2010, es publica que l'edició en català ha baixat, mentre que ha pujat en altres llengües. La meva pregunta és quins motius hi ha al darrera d'això? No es tracta de fer una anàlisi del tema, ja que no és una qüestió central al meu treball, però li demano si em pot donar alguna resposta a aquest fet. Jo ho atribueixo a la crisi i potser a la pèrdua de subvencions per editar en català? Bé, en tot cas, si em pot donar una resposta breu li estaré molt agraïda.

Gràcies per avançat i espero rebre notícies seves aviat.

Cordialment,

Helena Borrell

2. Segimon Borràs (22-02-2013):

És molt difícil donar una resposta concreta a la seva pregunta. Són molts els factors que influeixen en l'increment i disminució de títols, per la qual cosa és difícil atribuir-ho a una sola causa. Sembla clar que el que més està influïnt és la situació de crisi en general. Però també hi ha altres factors com, per exemple, els anys que toca o no renovació de llibres de text escolar.

Cal tenir present que el nombre de títols editats en català es correspon, per la banda alta, amb el d'altres països amb demografia semblant a la nostra i que, en canvi, la seva llengua viu en una situació de normalitat, que no és el nostre cas.

Potser que també influeixi, tal com diu vostè, la disminució de subvencions i, sobretot, de compra de llibres per a biblioteques, però no crec que sigui una dada que influeixi excessivament. Al contrari del que la majoria de gent es pensa, l'edició en general i també l'edició en català, és una indústria cultural molt poc subvencionada. Els ajuts a l'edició en català no arriben al 2% del conjunt de la seva facturació.

Cordialment,

SEGIMON BORRÀS

Secretari general

Gremi d'Editors de Catalunya

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