Chapter Seven

Strategies for Success?: Evaluating the Rise of Catalan Literature

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Many literatures, not just those of smaller nations, aim to have works translated into languages of supposed prestige. Commenting on the Prix Formentor initiative from the 1960s, George Weidenfeld (the deceased Lord Weidenfeld) said that 'For an Italian book to become known internationally, it had to pass through the filter of English publishing' and 'Italian publishers were well aware of this fact' (De Glas, 2013, 172). The English-language market is renowned, however, for its resistance to translation, often expressed through the mythical claim that 3% of books published in the UK and US are translations. Venuti (2008, 11) places this figure between 2% and 4%, Nielsen at 3.5% ('First Research on the Sales of Translated Fiction in the UK Shows Growth and Comparative Strength of International Fiction | The Man Booker Prizes', 2016), and Literature Across Frontiers' research says that the 3% figure seems true for all books, but translated literature is consistently above 4% (Büchler and Trentacosti, 2015, 5). There is also anecdotal evidence that UK and US publishers are simply not interested in foreign works: '"The English buy nothing except American products. As for Americans, they are only interested in themselves, that's all," says the female literary director of a large [French] house' (Bourdieu 2008: 151). This, then, is a Catch-22 situation: English-language markets are key to wider international success, but are very difficult to enter. And if this is difficult for better-known foreign literatures, it proves even more so for smaller literatures. In this chapter, I shall analyse how a small European literature (Catalan) might reach an English-language audience, and how many books actually make it through. In this context, I shall discuss what 'small' means in the market for English-language translated literature, and why 'small' does not have to be a synonym for a lack of commercial success.

Catalan presents many of difficulties encountered when trying to classify a language, literature or culture as 'small' or 'minority'.[1] Catalan is a language spoken by some 8.5 million people and understood by 12 million, mostly in the autonomous communities of Catalonia, Valencia and the Balearic Islands in Spain, the area of Southern France known to the Catalans as 'Northern Catalonia', and the city of Alghero in Sardinia.[2] It is also the sole official language of the Pyrenean state of Andorra, so it is technically not a stateless language. One of the languages of the medieval Crown of Aragon, Catalan lost out in official contexts to Castilian in the unification of the crowns of Castile and Aragon in the fifteenth century under Ferdinand and Isabella, and was banned from usage in the eighteenth century following the Bourbon victory in the War of Spanish Succession. In the nineteenth century, a Romantic revival of the language accompanied the industrial revolution taking place in Catalonia, and the growth of Catalan institutions and political autonomy continued in the twentieth century. This was interrupted first by the dictatorship of Primo de Rivera (1923-1930/1931) and more brutally under the dictatorship of Francisco Franco (1936/1939-1975). Some believe this still affects Catalan cultural identity today; in 2006, the Catalan historian Antoni Segura (2006, 16) declared:

> There is a void that can never be filled. And the message of the victors is imposed, even subtly on to the minds and political attitudes of the democrats who have survived the long night of the dictatorship. The process of nation building is smashed and what was normal, unquestionable and reasonable stops being so and beneath the long shadow of the Constitution – the representation of the collective rights of the Spanish, which denies the collective rights of the other Iberian peoples – we arrive at such irrational behaviour as denying the unity of the Catalan language and our common cultural heritage. Rights already won in the past are denied, and claims that were accepted in Republican times are now passed off as anachronistic.

Segura refers to the way historical disruption has led to claims that the Catalan language does not boast the numbers and range outlined above, but is rather smaller and disparate; for example, its official name in Valencia is *valencià*, and in the Balearic Islands there are constant attacks on the unity of the Catalan language.

It has therefore not always been possible for Catalan culture to present a united front outside its borders. In part this task now falls to the Institut Ramon Llull: 'a public body founded with the purpose of promoting Catalan language studies at universities abroad, the translation of literature and thought written in Catalan, and Catalan cultural production in other areas like theatre, film, circus, dance, music, the visual arts, design and architecture' (About Us - Institut Ramon Llull – Catalan Language and Culture Abroad, n.d.). It is currently funded by the Government of Catalonia and Barcelona City Council. The Government of the Balearic Islands was part of the group from its creation in 2002 until 2012 (and left for 'economic and political reasons' ('Les Illes Balears Tornen a l'Institut Ramon Llull Amb El Canvi de Govern | NacióDigital', 2015) and following change of government in the islands in 2015, work began in July 2015 for them to re-join, with a formal agreement signed in May 2016 ('President Puigdemont: "Solemnitzem Amb Emoció La Reincorporació de Les Illes Balears a l'Institut Ramon Llull" - Notes Premsa - Institut Ramon Llull – Llengua i Cultura Catalanes', 2016).

The role of translation in the development of Catalan literature and culture cannot be underestimated, especially given that in all its territories, it competes with a 'larger' language. On the one hand, translation was used extensively to provide models where these were missing owing to disrupted Catalan history between the sixteenth and nineteenth centuries (never mind the disruption of the twentieth). On the other, it was used to build a cultural identity for Catalan-speaking territories distinct from the rest of Spain, and even by regions of Catalan-speaking territories to reinforce differences between themselves and Catalonia, as is the case with Majorca

at the beginning of the twentieth century. Translation into Catalan of great works thus came to be seen as a 'sacred duty' for Catalan intellectuals, and translation has always held a special prestige.[3] It also means that Catalan steadfastly refuses to be seen as a 'regional' language or culture; it sees itself as a distinct cultural entity from Spain, France and Italy. Matthew Tree (n.d.) argues UK publishers have seen Catalan literature as regional, using (often poor) sales figures of Spanish translation when considering buying the rights to a book. He states, however, that now Catalan literature 'has never been in a better position to break out of the "regional" cocoon imposed on it by politics and prejudice, so finally giving foreign readers a chance to discover a major national literature which has been one of Europe's best kept secrets for far too long'. For Catalan, translation is a means of direct contact with other nations, without having to pass through the filter of the Spanish state, which justifies the institutional measures they put in place.

The Institut Ramon Llull is the publicly-funded body responsible for promoting Catalan language and culture abroad, and it strongly feels that translation into English is a key strategy in promoting the language and culture, but that it is not straightforward. 'One of the Institut Ramon Llull's missions is to broaden peoples' knowledge of the work of Catalan writers—from medieval classics to contemporary works—by supporting the translation of their works. [...] One of the main challenges faced by European literatures is translation into English' (Bargalló, 2007, 11). To help in achieving this aim, it has a series of grants available for publishers to promote the translation of Catalan works, and since 2012 there has been a particular focus on the English-speaking markets of the United Kingdom and North America. In terms of institutional support for translations, from 2002-2014 the Institut Ramon Llull funded the translation of 962 works into 44 languages in 48 countries, through four separate initiatives. First and principally, there are grants to fund the translation of works themselves. These cover the translator's fees, and also the anthologist's fees in the case of poetry anthologies. Eligible applicants are publishers that have already acquired the

rights for a work. There is a maximum total award per applicant of €200,000 over three years, and for 2015 €220,000 was earmarked for the awards. Secondly, there are awards available for the promotion of Catalan works, including events, festivals and promotional campaigns, monographs on Catalan culture, translation of excerpts and production of booklets for distribution abroad. Again, there is a limit of €200,000 over three years. There are grants to pay for residential visits of literary translators to Catalonia. Finally, there are travel grants of up to €2000 for writers and translators to promote their works.

Thanks to these apparently generous grants, we might hypothesize a significant increase in the number of translations since 2002. To determine the number of translations published, there are two main databases available, each providing slightly different results. The deficiencies of UNESCO's Index Translationum[4] are well documented: there is a lack of consistency from country to country regarding what constitutes a book (Ginsburgh and others, 2011, 234) and there is no data on total book production (Franssen and Kuipers, 2013, 52). The Institut Ramon Llull also has its own TRAC database available for translations from Catalan,[5] as well as the accompanying TRALICAT database of literary translators from Catalan. The Index Translationum figures only give data for Spain, the US and the UK until and including 2008 (as of June 2016), and TRAC offers full figures for up until 2014. The following results have been gained by searching for all translations between 1975 and 2015 on both databases: on the Index I searched for all translations from all versions of Catalan listed into all versions of English, and on TRAC searched for all literary translations. Here are the results if we aggregate the full and raw statistics offered, with Index Translationum represented by the blue line, and TRAC by the red:

[Insert Graph One here]

There is a significant difference between the two sets of figures in the middle of the last decade, with a huge spike in the Index figures in 2007 (38 entries). A comparison of the entries in

both databases for these years show that the Index includes more children's books than TRAC (20 in 2007), and that the same book can appear multiple times, particularly if it is a multilingual version. Also of note is that in the TRAC figures between 1975 and 2007 only twice are more than ten books a year translated and published in English, and yet from 2008 to 2014 the figures only dip below ten once. The TRAC figures for children's literature are fairly easy to strip out, offering the following (with the Index figures included for comparison):

[Insert Graph Two here]

The figures change most significantly between 1996 and 2003. Following the red line, a picture emerges of a literature that was steadily growing in terms of English translations until the early 1990s, but then drops, only to begin to rise around 2006-2007. Ironically, 2002 – the year when the Institut Ramon Llull was formed - marks the low point, with just a single literary translation published in English, an 899-page translation by David H. Rosenthal of the Civil War epic *Incerta glòria* (*Uncertain Glory*, 1956) by Joan Sales (1912-83).

The statistics ostensibly indicate that the Institut Ramon Llull's initiatives have increased the number of literary translations from Catalan into English. It would, however, be naive to call this a raging success: the highest annual figure is fourteen books (in 2011 and 2013), and it is vital to look at what is being translated (or retranslated), why, and where it is being published, both in terms of geographical location and publisher. Geographical location is important: of the 122 literary translations listed by TRAC between 1975 and 2000, the leading place of publication is in fact Barcelona with 31 texts, followed by New York with 21 and London with eighteen (and fourth, Sheffield, thanks to the Anglo-Catalan Society.

These figures suggest that some translations could not find a publisher in English-speaking territories, or that 'agents', in the broadest sense, did not even try. The role of individuals becomes important for understanding the finer nuances of these figures. For example, D. Sam Abrams is the

translator of ten volumes published in Barcelona in that time (and one in Terrassa) – all of them books of poetry – but none of his translations was published outside Catalonia. David H. Rosenthal is the translator of nineteen different publications (from 1980 to 1996), but three are the multiple editions of *The Time of the Doves* (*La plaça del Diamant*, 1962) by Mercè Rodoreda (1908-83), five are multiple editions of the medieval novel *Tirant lo Blanc* (1490) by Joanot Martorell (1413-68) and Martí Joan de Galba (?-1490), and four are multiple editions of *Natural History* (*Les històries naturals*, 1960) by Joan Perucho (1920-2003). Some of these are re-editions, some are concurrent editions published in both New York and London by associated presses. Indeed, if we look at the statistics for the translators themselves, we see that there are some translators with a great number of translations, and some with just one or two, but very few in between.

Moving to the figures for both numbers and people in the more recent period, since 2007, one translator, Peter Bush, has translated sixteen works of fiction from Catalan into English, published in both the UK and the US, dominating the field. An interesting case is his retranslation of *La plaça del Diamant*, a first-person narrative recounting the life of Natàlia, through the Spanish Second Republic, Civil War, and the subsequent dictatorship. Praised as not only one of the best Catalan, but also one of the best European novels of the twentieth century, it is not surprising that it is one of the most translated Catalan works of fiction, and has been translated into 35 languages. Only *La pell freda* (*Cold Skin*, 2002) by Albert Sánchez Piñol (b.1965), a science-fiction-thriller-horror-comedy, has been translated into more (37). Bush's translation is in fact the third in English; the first was by an Irish translator, Eda O'Shiel, in 1967, and was translated as *The Pigeon Girl*. The second was called *The Time of the Doves*, and was translated by David H. Rosenthal and first published in 1980 (and again in 1986). There has been much academic criticism of these two previous versions, but Peter Bush – unusually in the context of retranslation – not only distances himself from this criticism, but also criticizes the critics, rather than the previous versions. Indeed,

Bush suggests that readers will gain greater analytical insight into the source by reading all the translations than by reading the scholarship. For Bush (2013, 31), while literary translators are first and foremost concerned with finding a publisher, academics are concerned with outdoing each other in finding translation errors and mismatches between the source and target. His claims regarding translation as a valid form of analytical engagement and criticism are pertinent, and no surprise given material he published in the last decade regarding the position of literary translation in research assessment exercises (with a lower case 'r', 'a' and 'e').[6]

Bush was in fact approached by the publisher, Virago, to translate *La plaça del Diamant*, and happily it was already on his list of works he wanted to translate. He states that of the works he translates, roughly 40% come from pitching works to publishers, and the other 60% from commissions (Bush, 2013, 37). These figures are important in highlighting the role of individual translators in introducing texts to publishers: with such small figures overall, as discussed below, the Catalan market is heavily reliant on a few key 'agents'. We can see that Bush has a role as a gatekeeper between Catalan literature and the English market. On Bush's translation, Michael Eaude (2013) writes that he 'has taken enormous pains to capture its world. A translator like this is essential if books from a stateless culture like Catalan are to be ushered successfully on to the stage of world literature […] The fierce beauty of Rodoreda's writing makes it one of the masterpieces of modern European literature'. As it stands, the authors translated by Bush are a mix of contemporary work and twentieth-century classics: as well as Rodoreda and Sales, we find Najat El Hachmi (b.1979), Kilian Jornet (b.1987), Empar Moliner (b.1966), Quim Monzó (b.1952), Josep Pla (1897-1981), Francesc Serés (b.1972), and Teresa Solana (b.1962). His work has received very positive reviews in the press; his 2014 retranslation of *Uncertain Glory*, for example, received excellent reviews in many papers including *The Guardian* and *The Independent* (with the standard

statements that the translation is excellent because it reads well, of course), and was listed by *The Economist* as one of the top ten works of fiction for 2014 (*The Economist*, 2014).

Franssen and Kuipers identify acquisition editors as 'the main gatekeepers in the acquisition process and the only ones involved in all stages of the decision-making' (Franssen and Kuipers, 2013, 56). Well-connected translators like Bush are, however, part of the 'gatekeeping networks' they identify, which provide 'provide crucial information and orientation [and are becoming increasingly] central to cultural production in this globalized age' (Franssen and Kuipers, 2013, 71). It is therefore instructive to understand his approach, as articulated to me in personal communication. The positive reviews can partly be attributed to Bush's view that a translation is first and foremost a work of literature in English, and so must work well as such. Bush, moreover, believes that reading is about enjoyment, and is therefore not only unprejudiced about the translation and publication of Catalan genre fiction alongside literary fiction, but in fact argues that the promotion of a range of genres is vital for any literature to succeed. As a gatekeeper in the truest sense, Bush has effectively established himself as one of the few figures with the power to create a canon of Catalan works in English, and returns repeatedly to his own list of works that he hopes to see published, like those he has already translated by Pla, Rodoreda and Sales.

One area where more work could be done to improve the low numbers of translations from Catalan is to examine what is done in Catalan-speaking areas to market books, like literary prizes. Catalan has a 'wealth' of literary prizes; the Institució de les Lletres Catalanes database lists approximately 1000 literary prizes for fiction and poetry, and many of these offer publication as the prize itself or part of it. It has, however, no prize comparable to the Man Booker, where a multi-stage process of announcing a longlist, then a shortlist and finally a winner engages the media over a period of time and creates a narrative. Likewise, there is concern that existing prizes are not transparent and are distanced from readers, since the current largest prize (the Sant Jordi prize) is

given to an unpublished work: '[P]ublishers can give all the prizes they like, of course, but we need one with the hallmark of a prestigious institution, like Òmnium, independent of strictly commercial interests, with completely incorruptible juries for works that have been through the filter of readers and critics. This elevates authors, Catalan literature, and publishers together' (Massot, 2016).

That said, similar models do not suggest that this type of prize would do anything to help translation. In her study of the German Book Prize, Sally-Ann Spencer (2013, 204-5) states that although the domestic sales of the winner of the prize are much higher than would be normally expected, it does not lead to a greater number of translations from German, nor does the fact that the book has won the German Book Prize increase sales of the translation. Indeed, in a personal communication, the critic Boyd Tonkin attributed the very high proportion of German longlisted and shortlisted entries in the 2015 Independent Foreign Fiction Prize to the willingness or desire of UK publishers to tie in with the 25th anniversary of the fall of the Berlin Wall. Catalan does have its own prize for literary translation, the Premi Internacional Ramon Llull, but this is for the best published literary translation from Catalan in the past year; it is publishers who put their books forward, and the prize does not necessarily lead to more translation. As for the perspective of publishers, Alex Gallenzi of Alma Books told me that source culture prizes help more with identifying works to translate and publish than with marketing them to the target readership.

In comparing the picture for Catalan literature in translation with other literatures, we should look at the comparison with first Spanish, the majority language in Spain with which most Catalan-language publishers have to compete, and secondly other European languages. Since 2011, the Spanish Economic and Commercial Office (ICEX) has published reports on books published in the UK from Spain in Basque, Catalan, Galician and Spanish, and Spanish books from the rest of the world. Spanish, which includes books from any country of origin, unsurprisingly has many more books translated into English and published in the UK, with 83 in 2011, 89 in 2012, 93 in 2013 and

84 in 2014. Nevertheless, Catalan, with five, one, eight and six titles in each year respectively, comfortably outperforms Galician and Basque, which total five titles between them in the four-year period (Gómez Muñoz, 2014a, 7; Gómez Muñoz, 2014b, 7). It is more enlightening to look at how Catalan compares to other European languages, and here Literatures Across Frontiers performs excellent research. The top ten European source languages in the UK market by numbers of titles published for the period 2000-2012 is led by French (1217 titles), then German (729), Spanish (481), Russian (432), Italian (383), Swedish (359), Norwegian (190), Dutch (185), Portuguese (121) and Danish (118) (Büchler and Trentacosti, 2015, 15). The remaining European languages go from Polish in 11th place with 65 titles over the period, down to Sardinian in 40th with just one (Büchler and Trentacosti, 2015, 16). Catalan is in eighteenth place with 23 titles, an ostensibly enviable position, but qualifications can be made. Danish, Dutch and Norwegian are all languages of similar sizes in terms of number of speakers, yet publish many more translations in the UK than Catalan. Norwegian may be an anomaly; according to Nielsen BookScan, in 2014 Norwegian books were worth £2.29m in the UK market (second only behind Swedish at £2.95m), which was entirely attributable to Jo Nesbo and Karl Ove Knausgaard: no other books from Norwegian make it into the figures, which means that they were either sold in UK bookshops not covered by BookScan, or sold no more than two copies.[7] For Catalan to match Norwegian in terms of revenue, it must find a literary phenomenon like Knausgaard or Nesbo.

The same conclusion can be drawn from Portuguese, a better example for comparison with Catalan, since its European base is on the Iberian peninsula, the population of Portugal is roughly 10.5m, and Portuguese is a Romance language. However, in terms of raw numbers of titles published, according to the LAF statistics, translations of books from Portugal outnumber their Catalan counterparts five to one. This is where some in favour of Catalan independence would claim that Portugal, being a state, can do things that the Catalan-speaking territories cannot. If we

look at sales, though, virtually all the value of the Portuguese-language market (over £0.5m) comes from just two authors: the Nobel Prize winner, José Saramago (1922-2010), and the internationally acclaimed Paulo Coelho (b.1947), who, as a Brazilian, would not appear in the LAF figures. Josep Massot (2016) is therefore right when he says that 'For the first time there is a significant number of Catalan authors, both classic and contemporary, translated by commercial publishers in the English-speaking countries, although the works need to connect with readers there'. One route to commercial success for Catalan translations is not to translate more, but to identify one or two authors who can become huge successes, whether through international recognition like the Nobel Prize for Literature (in itself no guarantee of commercial success), or through prevailing trends in the industry and readership (like 'Scandi-noir') or apparently fortuitous discoveries like Knausgaard, Elena Ferrante (b.1943), or Jonas Jonasson (b.1961), the author of 2013 and 2014's best-selling translations, *The Hundred Year Old Man who Climbed out of a Window and Disappeared* and *The Girl who Saved the King of Sweden*.[8]

These comparisons reveal a pattern in which a few translations sell in massive numbers, and many sell few copies. Prizes are no guarantee of commercial success: *The Iraqi Christ* by Hasan Blasim (b.1973) won the Independent Foreign Fiction Prize in 2014, but according to Nielsen still recorded fewer than 1000 copies sold in that year. The only other books translated from Arabic to make the top 100,000 in 2014 are also by Blasim, but his 2009 book *The Madman of Freedom Square*, published by Comma, sold fewer than 100 copies, and his 2014 collection of stories *The Corpse Exhibition*, despite being published with Penguin, sold fewer than 50 copies. Further analysis of the top 100,000 makes disturbing reading for anybody hoping for regular sales of literary translations to rise above 1000 with any frequency. The market for all literary translations in the UK in 2014 from the top 100,000 grossed nearly £13m with almost 1.75m copies sold of over 3000 individual titles. Only 247 books sold more than 1,000 copies; only 340 more than 500; only 464

more than 250; only 678 sold 100 or more; 911 sold 50 or more; 1279 sold 25 or more; 2030 sold 10 or more. That means that out of the top 100,000 fiction titles sold in the UK in 2014, there were 1194 translations that sold fewer than 10 copies. This does not include the approximately 150,000 other titles sold in the UK that year that sold two or fewer copies. The figures for gross value make even starker reading: 50% of the market value for literary translation is taken by the top 27 titles, 75% by the top 114, and 90% by the top 272. 2952 titles – 91.56% percent of titles – make up the remaining 10%.[9] We can see that approximately 90% of the market brings in just 10% of the revenue. The space for bestsellers is small, and competition is fierce. Literary translations are fighting against non-translations for media coverage, for presence on the shelves of bookshops, and for readers' money. Finally, translations are fighting against each other, so how can Catalan and the literatures of other smaller European nations compete? Perhaps the answer lies in the phenomenon of the 'long tail'.

The long tail is a term coined by Chris Anderson in an article in *Wired* in 2004 to refer to the change in content creation, distribution and consumption taking place thanks to digital technologies. Over the twentieth century, entertainment was dominated by hits. 'Hits fill theaters, fly off shelves, and keep listeners and viewers from touching their dials and remotes' (Anderson, 2004). Not everybody's tastes are identical, however, and digital technologies allow for quick and easy storage and distribution of content: 'Hit-driven economics is a creation of an age without enough room to carry everything for everybody' (Anderson, 2004). The figures we have seen for literary translation indicate, however, that there are few hits, although there are many books that sell at least one copy.

Selling books in very small numbers is not a business model: rather, the long-tail business model comprises two parts: '[m]ake everything available' and '[h]elp me find it' (Anderson, 2009, 217). As Anderson (2009, 217) notes, '[t]he first is easier said than done'. He uses the example of

the Sundance Film Festival, where '[f]ewer than a dozen of the 6,000 films [...] are picked up for distribution' and the vast majority of the rest cannot be shown outside of the festival because 'their music rights have not been cleared' (Anderson, 2009, 217). In literary translation, think of the cost of purchasing the rights to the translation, and how this hampers the publication of translations in the risk-averse environment of UK publishing where the overall cost of translations is stated as the greatest barrier to publishing works in translation (Dalkey Archive Press, 2011, 35). So, a top-to-bottom revision of translation rights may help the number of literary translations to grow in the UK, simply because if the initial cost of the work is lower, publishers may be more inclined to commission a translation (especially when many funding bodies fund costs of translation, but not the costs of acquiring rights). This gives renewed support to Venuti's call (2008, 275-76) to open up rights solely for the purposes of translation:

> In the long run, it will be necessary to effect a more fundamental change, a revision of current copyright law that restricts the foreign author's control over the translation so as to acknowledge its relative autonomy from the foreign text. The foreign author's translation rights should be limited to a short period, after which the foreign text enters the public domain, although only for the purposes of translation.

Venuti approaches the problem of rights from the perspective of respecting the translator's position as author of the translation, yet this change could also benefit the overall literary translation industry, and increase its activity. This approach, however, challenges the basis of currently held concepts of authorship and ownership of works, and counteracts specific paragraphs of the Translator's Charter. It also requires either a rewriting of Article 8 of the Berne Convention for the Protection of Literary and Artistic Works (Paris 1971) which protects authors' rights to authorize translations of their work, or a redefinition of the minimum term of protection, which

following article 7.1 is a minimum of the author's life plus fifty years, extended to the author's life plus seventy years under UK law (Copyright, Designs and Patents Act 1988, section 12).

There are, however, powerful arguments to persuade the source author and publisher to consider this approach, and the example can be found in music. In *The Long Tail*, Anderson (2009, 180) uses the example of house music as a long-tail phenomenon: DJs looked for records that had not made it as hits, or that had journeyed down the long tail. At the same time, producers rely on open-access strategies, allowing and encouraging work to be remixed, and Anderson (2009, 180) believes that this helps the value of the original product.

> A house record that does well often attracts remixes from other producers; it becomes a kind of platform. Because these remixes are usually hyperspecialized for different microgenres, they're complements to the original track. As the number of complements increases, the value of the platform track snowballs. This snowball effect is another mechanism by which DJs-as-aggregators can efficiently navigate the Long Tail of music, quickly and easily discovering which tracks are snowballs within their respective niches.

What if we reconsider rights across the board, not just the translator's rights, but rights along the entire chain of production and distribution? Translations act as 'complements' to the source, creating their own value and adding value to the source, too. This approach ostensibly corresponds to Casanova's Bourdieusian concept of translation and literary circulation as the consecration of cultural capital, but using economic models and examples of where the Long Tail has succeeded in becoming financially viable.

The question of how Catalan literature can succeed in English is thus also the question of how other 'smaller' literatures – and translated literature itself – can succeed in English. English is often referred to as the dominant source language in global translation flows while having a very low proportion of published books as translations (Sapiro, 2016, 87), and in their study of the Dutch

market, Franssen and Kuipers (2013, 67) even refer to translation from any other language than English as a 'niche market'. English is also the dominant language of communication in the global literary industry (Bourdieu, 2008, 150), all of which places English at the centre of global literary movement, with the consequence that from the point of view of English, all other literatures are peripheral, especially if we follow the sociological and Bourdieusian line of thought in which 'translation flows move from the core to the periphery' (Sapiro, 2008, 158). The problem of defining what 'small' means is therefore a problem for all translated literature in English.

The key here is the notion of niches. If we conceive of a single literary translation market, then we are falling into the same mindset where hits are the basis of a business model, and nothing else counts. As mentioned above, in that mindset, the main route to 'success' for Catalan literature and other smaller literatures is to find their Jonasson, Nesbo or Ferrante. However, as demonstrated by the figures above, such cases are a tiny minority in the number of works translated. There is no single reason why people read Catalan literature in translation, or literary translation in general. Out of those people who read a particular Catalan work in translation, some will go on to read other Catalan works, some others will read literature from other smaller literatures, or politically similar areas, some will read works from similar genres, and some will go on to read works that are not translations at all. The greater the activity in each of these niches, however, and the greater the comment around it, the greater the chance that people will be directed down the long tail to get to it. Everyone has interests outside of hits (Anderson, 2009, 182), but they do not necessarily know where those interests can be met. Each niche needs to establish its own identity, and it can only do this through a following. A good example, discussed by Jakob Stougaard-Nielsen in this volume, is translated Scandinavian literature, Scandi noir (books and TV) and crime fiction, which all overlap, but are different niches for different but intertwining sets of people, depending on their tastes. This is the parallel culture that the long tail as a business

model can exploit. To use an analogy, when Anderson (2009, 183) talked to friends and colleagues about internet memes that he thought were common knowledge, he in fact 'found that only about 10 percent of the audience had heard of any of them – and for each phrase it was a different 10 percent'.

If the right distribution channels can be matched to a strategy to direct people along the long tail, analogous situations suggest that the gross market for translated literature will grow. Referring to the times when Netflix lent physical DVDs and video rental shops existed, Anderson (2009, 218) states that Netflix customers on average rented three times more DVDs than 'bricks-and-mortar faithful'. The long tail is therefore a way not only of getting people to read more translated fiction, but, moreover, also to read more in general. In terms of marketing, this means that the traditional media are not the be-all-and-end-all. Indeed, personal communication with one marketing manager at a small independent press highlighted how publishers lament the ever-contracting space available in the traditional media for reviewing books, not just translation, and admit that translated literature is getting squeezed out. Instead, blogs and other social media come into play, which are essentially a form of massification of word-of-mouth. With this, though, is a loss of control over a marketing message; indeed, Anderson's rules six to nine of long tail marketing are entitled 'lose control' (Anderson, 2009, 221). This loss of control for publishers, however, would empower other figures across the chain of creation and distribution, from source authors right along to readers themselves. If we can engage with readers directly through blogs and social media a strong bond can be created, and such a reader will be 'a lasting evangelist' (Anderson, 2009, 231).

To conclude, the Institut Ramon Llull is optimistic: there is the feeling that things are on the up, since English is the second highest target language by number of translations from Catalan (the first is Spanish), and that quality works are being translated by quality publishers. However, if this all forms part of a long tail selling only a few copies each year, then either the wrong books are

being chosen for the UK market, or more needs to be done to direct people along the long tail so they buy and read these translations. Key for this is the translator; not only in creating high-quality translations, but also in taking part in the promotion of works to UK publishers, and promoting the translations once they are published. The figures above demonstrate that the work of single translators as champions for Catalan or indeed any other culture must not be underestimated. In the absence of the source author, a visible and respected translator can be the activist for a work, and be part of a long-tail marketing strategy, raising the profile of the work, of translation as a whole, and even, with the translation working as a complement to the source text, raise the profile of the source work at home too.

Footnotes

1. There are many who prefer the term 'minoritzada' (a sociolinguistic term that literally translates as 'minoritized'), pointing out that Catalan has more speakers than many European languages that are official in their states and so are official languages of the European Union (Torrents Vivó, 2012). See more on this below in terms of 'comparable' literatures.
2. For more information, see the section 'Catalan in the 21st century' in Dols Salas and Mansell (2017, 7–10).
3. For a full discussion of this history, see Mansell (2012).
4. Available at http://www.unesco.org/xtrans/
5. Available at https://www.llull.cat/catala/recursos/trac_traduccions.cfm
6. The Research Assessment Exercise (RAE) was a method of evaluating the research produced in UK universities, and allocating public funding based on this. Results were published between 1986 and 2008, and after this the RAE was replaced with the Research Excellence Framework. For an excellent discussion of the frequent exclusion of translations from the

definition of 'research' within these exercises, see 'Translation as Research: A Manifesto' (Diverse Signatories, 2015) and Nicholas Harrison's accompanying article (Harrison, 2015).

7. Nielsen's methodology is to analyse manually the top 100,000 books per year to create a corpus of translations, and then identify them by source language. By 100,000th position, books only sell two copies annually.
8. According to figures from Nielsen, *The Hundred Year Old Man* was the tenth best-selling fiction book of 2013 overall, and *The Girl who Saved the King of Sweden* was nineteenth in 2014.
9. It is a similar situation if we look at the entire top 100,000. The top 10012 titles (10.01%) bring in 90% of revenue - a slightly larger proportion, but not vastly different.

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