

# TRANSLATORS AS HOSTAGES OF HISTORY

THEO HERMANS / UBALDO STECCONI

This is a provisional print version of the speech given by the authors in Luxembourg and Brussels on 17 and 18 January 2002. Sections set in Garamond are by Prof. Hermans, sections set in Verdana in two columns are by Mr. Stecconi.

CONTENT:

[1 Introduction](#)

[2 Antiquity](#)

[3 Renaissance](#)

[4 Romanticism](#)

[5 The Twentieth Century](#)

[Bibliography](#)

## 1 Introduction



Are translators born meek, do they acquire meekness, or do they have meekness thrust upon them?

The question may seem inappropriate or even offensive in present company, but published interviews, questionnaires and statements provide ample evidence of both professional and more

occasional translators consistently describing their work in terms of voluntary servitude, casting themselves in supportive and deferential roles as humble servants or handmaidens obeying their masters, as discreet, unobtrusive and self-denying facilitators, mediators, enablers, go-betweens, bridge-builders and the like.

This text presents some of the metaphors, images and self-images used to describe translation and its practitioners through the ages. It is about perceptions and understandings of translation, including the self-perceptions and self-understandings of translators. In other words, it is not so much about translation as about *ideas about* translation.

That means it will be no the daly routines of the European What I have to say will not help improve production statistics. with my intervention – and the which it fits – being marginal to day-to-day work. At least it avoids translators that theorists are norms or particular modes of desire. In my view, the theoretical stands to the practice of literary theory stand to modern art historian does not tell a painter not tell Salman Rushdie how to the painters' and the writers' work



more than tangential to Commission's *Service de Traduction*. to solve terminology problems or Personally I am perfectly happy 'Theory Meets Practice' series into the professional EU translators' the nagging suspicion among many somehow trying to impose rules or translating on them. I have no such and historical study of translation translation as, say, art history or painting or to writing novels. The how to paint; a narratologist does write novels. The academics *add* to by *reflecting on it*.

So, rather than trespassing on the professional translator's territory by seeking to interfere with the practice of translation, I am hopeful that the kind of academic study in which I engage can, ideally, *add* something – something extra and therefore optional, but potentially rewarding nevertheless.

Perhaps the most important thing it can add is an increased self-consciousness on the part of translators, a self-awareness that springs from the realization that the way in which we commonly speak and think about translation here and now is not the only possible way. Indeed various alternative vocabularies have been acted out in the course of history, as we will see. Exploring these alternatives, these different figurations of translation, brings home the contingency of our current modes of thinking. It highlights the diversity and complexity of translation through the ages. It makes us aware of the profoundly metaphorical nature of our

current terminology (source text, target text, bridge-building, service industry,...). It allows us to appreciate the significance of that terminology. Above all, it reminds us that shifting the vocabulary, changing the metaphors, allows us to re-describe and thus to re-think translation. That exercise will hopefully prove refreshing. Whether it leads to greater job satisfaction, to a heightened critical alertness or even to a more politicized attitude is for you to decide.

What I want to do, then, is to trace some of the metaphors of translation and their historical deployment, as a way of probing not just into the nature of translation, but into how it has been perceived, into its social construction.



While preparing for this session, Theo and I decided we would tweak the usual format a little. Normally, when two speakers are invited to the Theory Meets Practice series—or to other events, for that matter—one begins to talk when the other is over. But because of our different roles—Theo is a leading translation scholar and historian, I am an official with a scholarly past—we thought we could intertwine our presentations in a



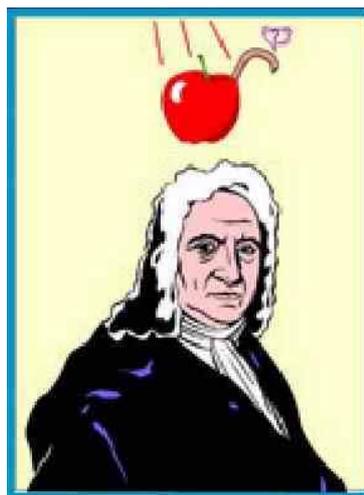
contrapuntal session. I will try to bring Theo's insights and statements into our own right after they come to you, rather than waiting for him to finish and then recalling all the points I would like to develop.

So, Theo was talking about translation metaphors as probes into the nature of translation and as indications of how translation is perceived socially. The importance of translation metaphors and, more generally, of what we say about what we do at the SdT cannot be overestimated. Our service has a unique position: it is very large, perhaps the largest translation bureau ever; it has a long tradition; it is extremely structured and exceptionally well funded. In fact, it is large and structured enough to constitute perhaps an independent social aggregation all by itself. Because of this, it seems that each of us—from the newly hired practitioner (of which I am one) to our top managers—has perfectly defined roles and tasks. This may produce the feeling that we all know perfectly well what to do and how to do it; the only issues open to debate being how to translate 'governance' into Portuguese

or who will replace the unit head when she retires.

This is dangerous for several reasons. Firstly, even though the machine worked like clockwork, it would still be our responsibility to constantly improve it; secondly, the service should be flexible enough to respond to external shocks, and the current administrative reform and enlargement round are big shocks indeed; thirdly, not all is well in the house, really: if you become complacent, defending yourself against criticism may become difficult and you end up losing the battle.

But these are not going to be my main concerns. Theo just pointed out that looking at ideas about translation helps you become more aware of what you are doing. I would go one step further: looking at ideas about translation helps you better *understand* what you are doing. To illustrate the difference think of Sir Isaac Newton; everyone was aware of gravity before his studies, but only after him can we say we began to understand what gravity is about.



So, I present my *contrappunti* mainly as an intellectual quest. As if this were not interesting enough, let me add that there is nothing I despise more than knowledge staring at its own navel. Therefore, I will devote some notes to what we can *do* with our new

understanding. These are going to be the political bars in my score. Some will look outlandish, others provocative and quite deliberately so; because the point of the exercise is to fuel a fresh debate within the SdT.

So, here comes my opening salvo. I propose we start a structured search for the figurative metalanguage on translation that circulates in the SdT. I would like to see a smart collection of the images we use within the Service to talk about our translating and translations. The effort could be coordinated with other translation services across the institutions and could produce a commented inventory of claims, remarks and quips that appear in official, formal, and informal communication.

Theo's presentation could serve as our starting point. In fact, while preparing for this joint session, he already suggested to me that we give the search a historical slant. Looking into the metalanguage of the SdT over the last few decades, one would probably find shifts reflecting the changing perception of the role and significance of translation within the entire European project. For example, metaphors shifting from economic to cultural and political issues.

Finally, it has been observed that translation figures very little in the wider communication within the Commission and the other institutions; in fact, it seems we are taken very much for granted. The search would also include those cases

where translation issues should be raised and are not. Thus, we would be looking for both the presence and the absence of translation metaphors—for both the cheese and the holes, as it were—silence being itself a powerful figure of speech.

As to the political side of this enterprise, I would like to invite more experienced colleagues to say whether they have a feeling our metalanguage has



changed over the years. I am sure the problems the SdT had to solve 10 or 20 years ago were of a different scale and nature than today's. Evidence of past change and evolution in our discourse about translation would be an encouraging sign; it would indicate we can rise to the challenges that the future holds for us. As indicated above, the SdT will be massively affected by the on-going



administrative reform and by enlargement. This historical juncture requires vision and a high degree of flexibility. The ability to reflect on our own

tropes is essential if we are to develop a pro-active attitude that would lead the change rather than respond to it defensively.

## 2 *Antiquity*

What follows is a canter through the figurative metalanguage of translation in some West European traditions, starting with the observation that in several European languages the term for translation itself carries an obvious metaphorical load, visible in the etymological derivation from (or sometimes translation of) Latin *translatio*, *transfere*: to carry or ferry across, to relocate. The spatial sense of physical movement and transport is obvious. It should make us wonder, incidentally, to what extent the term itself already appeals to a metaphor which conditions us to think of translation as



involving some load or freight (meaning?) being transported (how?) from one place to another in some kind of vessel or container (language?); I will come back to this below.

Let us begin, then, with the Romans, the creators of what been called ‘the first copying culture in the West’. An interesting complication right from the start is that the Latin term *translatio*, which itself translates the Greek μεταφορά, means both ‘translation’ and, as a rhetorical term, ‘metaphor’ or displacement. In this latter sense it is used in handbooks of rhetoric to refer to the shift from literal to figurative meaning. A Roman could use *translatio* as a rhetorical term to denote the switch from normal, ‘proper’ discourse to figurative, ‘improper’, ‘displaced’ speech, and then translate that ‘deviant’ mode back into the - presumed - normal, unproblematic designations of everyday language.

The two meanings of *translatio* as ‘relocation of meaning’ and as ‘metaphorical displacement’ are both predicated on a combination of similarity and difference, but their closeness does not appear to have been commented upon by Roman writers. One reason for this is that the Romans were less interested in translation than in its more glamorous cousin *imitatio*, imitation. Translation is put in its place by its association with imitation, and it is imitation which attracts the more colourful metaphors.

Both translation and imitation are forms of mimesis. They copy the external world, and as such they are engaged in producing similarity. Like shadows or portraits, they are meant to resemble something – a body, a substance, a model - which exists outside themselves and which was there before them. And as Quintilian says: “whatever is like another object must necessarily be inferior to the object of its imitation, just as the shadow is inferior to the substance, the portrait to the features which it portrays.”

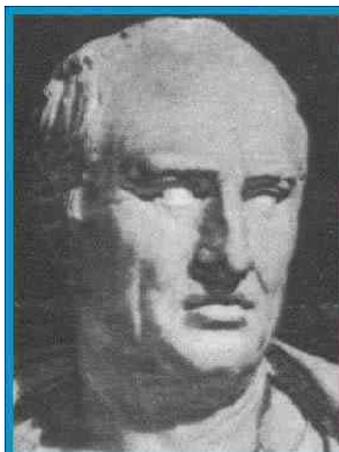
But translation and imitation produce resemblance in different ways. Translation is ranged with grammatical exercises like paraphrasing texts to show you have understood their grammatical structure and are able to unlock their meaning. Like the school exercises we all used to do, these translations are not allowed to stray from the straight and narrow but must exactly follow “the footsteps of the Greek”, as Horace puts it. That insistence on closeness and constraint explains why the ‘faithful’ translator, *fidus interpres*, comes to mean the timid, dull or slavish translator who is faithful to the letter.

By contrast, the figurative metalanguage of Classical *imitatio* is much richer and altogether bolder. It stresses difference and disjunction alongside similarity and continuity. The metaphors expressing this differential aspect of imitation fall broadly into three classes, all of them carrying a distinctly appropriative and conflictual element. They are

- ⇒ dissimulative metaphors, which e.g. urge writers to conceal the traces of the models they are imitating;
- ⇒ transformative metaphors, e.g. images of swallowing and digestion, transforming food into nourishment; or the likeness of parent to child; or of bees collecting pollen from flowers and transforming it into honey as they return to the hive (as indeed the Romans believed bees did); and
- ⇒ agonistic metaphors, such as racing against an opponent (rather than walking in exactly in his footsteps, as translators do!) or wrestling with him, or otherwise trying to outdo or surpass a pre-eminent predecessor.

For all their translation and imitation are contiguous categories, and operate in a political context and political dominance contrasts with a sense of resulting in ambivalent culture and a conscious cultural elite to appropriate imitation, translation and Cicero advocate forms of at replacing the Greek which although derived make the latter redundant.

This is, for Cicero proposes in ‘On the



difference, not worlds apart. They are may even overlap. Both in which Roman military over Greece sharply cultural dependence, attitude towards Greek drive among Rome’s Greek culture by means of transposition. Horace and aggressive imitation aimed models with Roman ones from the Greek seek to

example, what Best Kind of Orator’ (*De*

*optimo genere oratorum*), a short text which serves as a preface to his Latin version of two Greek orations written in a particular style. “I could have rendered these texts as a translator,” Cicero writes, “but instead I chose to render them as an orator”. Although he uses the same verb (*convertere*) to indicate both operations, he has on this occasion opted to go about the job ‘as an orator’. He has therefore not just translated the words, because that kind of docile word-processing would be unable to see the wood for the trees, but he has added stylistic vigour and refinement, and re-moulded the text in its entirety. Put metaphorically: “I did not think I ought to count [the words] out to the reader like coins, but to pay them by weight, as it were.” In suggesting the idea of overall equivalence rather than the translator’s laborious one-to-one correspondence, the image of payment by means of a single lump sum enacts the process whereby the new version comprehensively supplants its original - and thus deliberately obscures it. By translating as he does Cicero furnishes a properly Latin model for aspiring Roman orators, who as a consequence will no longer have any need of the Greek originals.



Saint Jerome, patron saint of translators, thinks about translation in roughly similar ways. In his famous ‘Letter to Pammachius’ (also known as ‘On the Best Kind of Translation’, *de optimo genere interpretandi*, written towards the end of the 4th century CE), he remarks that “a word-for-word translation conceals the sense, even as an overgrown field chokes the grass”, and points out that, before him, Hilary the Confessor had likewise left “the sleepy letter” for what it was and had instead “by right of victory led away the sense captive into his own language” – a strikingly appropriate and military kind of image.

Terminological issues and faithfulness play a large role in the discourse about translation at the SdT; it’s as if we never overcame Jerome’s concerns. I will come back to both issues later. For the moment I would like to make a preliminary remark.

We can use huge databases made of words and short phrases; we are given fixed one-to-one correspondences for certain lexical items; we are asked not to use certain words, and we end up talking about translating as if we lived by words alone. I call this approach ‘word processing’; ie, believing that translating consists in replacing individual words in one language with other words in another.

This approach is justified in terms of standardisation, processing ease, house style, official register, etc.—which is very well, of course, and today Theo is telling us that ‘word processing’ comes from a distant past.

However, justifying one’s translation word by word—as even Cicero

refused to do—is pointless and self-defeating. You will never be able to



successfully defend your translation from a sympathetic colleague or an enraged requester by pointing out that each and

every word is equivalent to the words of the original according to guidelines, models and databases. It would be as if a conductor justified his rendition of a score note by note, a tailor the dress he sews stitch by stitch, or a cook his recipe by individual ingredients. These people use notes, stitches and ingredients to do something else: make delightful music, fashionable dresses and tasty plates respectively. We use words to



produce clear and informative texts; these should be our main focus.

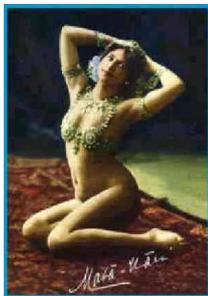


Most Christian authors in late Antiquity and the early Middle Ages however are more cautious (and Jerome’s own practice too is more moderate and inconsistent than these few

images suggest). They distrust Classical rhetoric, which they regard as extravagant and potentially corrupting. Instead, and especially when dealing with authoritative texts, they stress humble fidelity to a truth thought to reside in the very words used to express it. And just as Jerome had insisted that in the Bible “there is mystery even in the order of the words” and it would not be permissible to tinker with it, the early Christian translators go for images of integrity and non-intervention, supplemented with metaphors highlighting the translator’s self-sacrifice and ascetic self-denial in clinging to the original’s every word. They firmly tie the idea of the translator’s role and responsibility to that of strict philological ‘fidelity’, together with the opposite notions of disloyalty, falsification, distortion, unreliability, corruption and betrayal, all of which carry strong moral, political and ideological overtones. That is why, for instance, in the fifth century, Boethius is happy to accept “the blame of the faithful translator” and why as late as the fourteenth century a French translator appeals to “the pure truth of the letter” in an attempt to avoid the responsibility of interpretation and with it the risk of misinterpretation.

The reverse side of this coin is the translator’s refusal to accept censure for unintelligibility. If the source text is unintelligible, then so will the translation be: don’t shoot the messenger! When he was criticized for a translation deemed to be as obscure as the foreign language of its original, the ninth-century translator John Scotus Eriugena replied: “I am only a translator, not an expositor” – the assumption being that the translator is ‘merely’ the messenger who refrains from interpreting what he reads and has no creative input apart from matching words with words. On the whole the Middle Ages distinguish between ‘translating’ and ‘glossing’ authoritative texts. It is in fact interesting to see that whereas Roman culture set translation over against imitation as creative exercises, the Middle Ages contrast translation and commentary as interpretive activities.

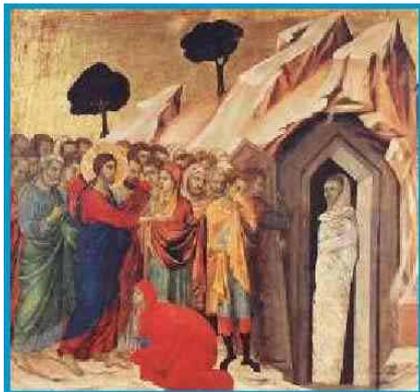
The words of Scotus Eriugena seem to have a recurrent echo along these corridors. They open the door to the issue of faithfulness, which I would like to approach with a mild provocation. We can clearly use a debate on fidelity at the SdT. I presume no one will claim one can be faithful to the words of the original after reading Theo's part of the session. As a result, we should ask the question afresh: whom are we faithful to? Are we ultimately faithful to the European citizen



and his demands that the institutions talk to him in a clear and authoritative manner? Are we faithful to our clients in the DGs, who want their documents clean, fast and uncritically crisp? Or perhaps we like to please our bosses, who will become so crucial for our promotions in the years to come. Personally, I find it difficult to contradict the colleagues who were here before me and have left a mark on SdTvista, and all my sympathy goes to our terminologists, who are engaged in an impossible yet necessary task. The list can continue, but when it is long enough, a second question comes to mind: to whom or what *should* we be faithful, and why? This is beyond my means, honestly; I need your help here.

### 3 Renaissance

These distinctions are carried over into the Renaissance, which, being the heyday of Europe’s translation culture, is also the era when the metaphors of translation come into their own and begin to diversify. The Renaissance, as the word indicates, is also the period of the recovery and rediscovery of Classical culture. In this context translation is often described at this time as bringing to light something valuable that had been lost or forgotten: digging up treasure, unlocking chests, hauling treasures back from overseas, even bringing someone back from the dead.



Translation restores, and in so doing renders a public service because it puts previously inaccessible texts and ideas at the disposal of new constituencies. As translation into vernacular languages grows in volume and importance, the democratic aspect of this dissemination of knowledge is stressed. “No man lights a candle to cover it under a bushel,” the English translator Thomas Eliot writes in 1544, and the image will be

repeated in the introduction to the King James Bible in 1609.

That does not mean that translation is uncontroversial. We can glimpse the politics of language at this time, when high culture still uses Latin rather than a vernacular, when the Latin-writing elite objects to translation into the vulgar tongues by speaking of it as a profanation of something sacred or valuable, as throwing pearls to the swine, as poisoning the commoners' minds. Sometimes the objection applies only to translating the Bible into vernacular languages. At other times however it extends to those venerated texts thought to be too profound or too complex for the ordinary person's understanding. The images used to oppose the transposition of high culture into vulgar tongues will have a long life: translation as importing dangerous goods or making them available to those unable to cope with them, leads to images casting translation as threatening our people's innocence, as subverting authority, as undermining the nation's moral fibre, as waves of filth lapping at the nation's shores - and hence to images of guarding against the pernicious influx of translations by means of floodgates, defensive walls, dykes etc.

The Latin-writing elites were resisting the potentially subversive power of translation. The relation between the preservation of knowledge and that of political power is general. The Spanish clergy who set out to evangelise the Philippines in the 16th century preferred the term *Dyos* to the existing native *Bahala* for 'God' because they would better understand it; never mind the aboriginals, for whom the term was incomprehensible.

We are not totally exempt from this attitude either. Kaisa Koskinen pointed out in her "Institutional Illusions" (*The Translator* 6:1, 2000) that certain textual features, probably derived from French normative texts, survive in translation into Nordic languages although they clash with Northern European traditions. I can confirm that—on a purely lexical level—calque from French is the single most influential force behind Italian Euro-speak (eg, *partenariato*). It is altogether possible that policy makers and influential officials feel more at ease if the various versions of their texts preserve traces of the French they use to talk to each other.

However, our language policy is based on multilingualism and multiculturalism. Only if we deliver in these respects can we hope to merge the different European traditions into one while respecting their characters. In more operational terms, the EU should communicate itself to all its constituents (and beyond its borders) in the terms of each receiving locale. In other words, it should *localise* itself.

The term 'localisation' is a recent buzzword in the profession. It surfaced around ten years ago to indicate the translation and adaptation of software for non-English-speaking markets. From then on, it passed to indicate a series of measures companies are

supposed to take to make money in today's globalised economy. Such measures go well beyond translating manuals and help files; they include adding a transformer to electrical appliances for use across the Atlantic; preparing artefacts and documentation for different metrical systems; and banishing pictures of women from your website for Saudi Arabia. I would like to take the term and broad concept of localisation out of its corporate setting and apply it to our ultimate goal.

The EU is an unprecedented political experiment whose setup and implications are terribly difficult to communicate, both within and without its borders. The difficulty is compounded by the various cultural and historical backgrounds of its inhabitants. EU policy-makers stress the common features of the peoples of Europe all the time. They do well, of course, because on this rest the chances of success of the European project. But the attitude should not turn into mindless optimism and sweep the differences under the carpet. Are we sure the debate over—say—sovereignty is understood in the same way in Greece and Denmark, or in Ireland and Britain for that matter?

Translators are the first to know it is not. We are in a unique position to raise awareness of the features that are not common among the peoples of Europe. Overlooking these different perceptions would be very dangerous for the success of our whole enterprise. When Brussels understands the lesson of localisation, translators will be an important resource well beyond their traditional role as rewriters of printed words.

Believe it or not, we have always been something other than fine wordsmiths. I am convinced that—as a by-product

of our daily practice—we have amassed a wealth of communication skills and cultural sensitivity which other people may not suspect. In fact, I fear we are not aware of it ourselves. The skills we use and hone every day could be put to good use in many places even today. Press, Development, External Relations, EuropeAid and Enlargement are the DG's that first spring to mind. If we adopted a pro-active attitude, we could market our extra skills to them, thereby enhancing our status and safeguarding our future.

One of the foci of Theo's text is that translation has been defined throughout history with reference to other practices outside the remit of translators. I propose we can use this relativistic insight to look for our additional skills as localisers, because there is an urgent need to turn Eurospeak into understandable and

persuasive language. This may help us prove we don't 'merely translate', and may give us the opportunity to rise to the EU's democratic challenge. Such a project, in turn, implies a redefinition of the concept of translation prevalent in the SdT today and the intelligence and vision to give it political legs. In this way, our managerial staff will have an opportunity to prove its worth.

I launch this idea also with an eye to the reform of personnel. It looks like the powers-that-be can no longer maintain the status quo for the Translation Service. When your traditional market position is threatened, the best thing to do is diversify. Our position is indeed threatened, therefore we must find something else to sell apart from words, and find it quickly, or else go the way of the dinosaurs.

Naturally, in an age when translation flourishes, it is regarded as fundamentally possible. Translation is commonly described at this time as changing clothes, as transporting something in a container, or as pouring a liquid from one vessel into another. The inside-outside imagery refers back to theories which conceive of linguistic form as the outward cover of an inner, transportable meaning, and thus affirm translatability. Cast in mimetic terms a translation is a painted copy, a portrait, or indeed a copy of a copy, in that the original itself was already an imitation of nature.

But as Quintilian already remarked, the copy is inferior to its model. Value judgments become part of the picture. Translation may be cast as no more than a partial copy preserving only the outward form, not the original's inner energy or power, just as a portrait painter can copy only the sitter's visible shape, not his or her soul; it is a rough drawing after the life, a distorted likeness; a faint echo; a reflected light, like that of the moon rather than the sun; a shadow rather than a substance; a disfigured or mutilated body, a corpse, a carcass, a mummy (e.g. Anne Dacier in 1699); the reverse side of a tapestry (Lazare de Baïf in 1537; famously Cervantes in *Don Quixote* part two, 1615); a muddy stream rather than clear water (Nicholas Haward, 1564); fools' gold, or false pearls in place of diamonds (De la Pinelière, 1635).

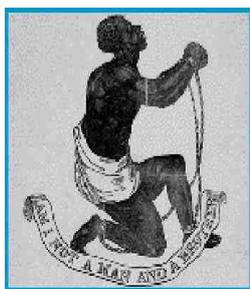
This is also where the gendered images come in. The first occurrence I know of dates from 1603, when the English translator John Florio apologizes for his translations ("this defective edition") as "reputed females, delivered at second hand." Around the middle of the seventeenth century translations are notoriously compared to women: they can be either beautiful or faithful but not both ("belles infidèles", after Gilles Ménage's witty remark about Perrot d'Ablancourt *ca.* 1654, first attested in writing in translation - in a Latin letter by the Dutchman Constantijn Huygens). The outside-inside imagery mentioned above can readily be fitted into this hierarchy: a translation is a jewel in a rough casket, a noble figure now dressed in rags or country clothes.



modern copyright law confirms every day. As early as 1594 Etienne Pasquier calls translation a "wretched, thankless and slavish labour," and a hundred years later John Dryden puts

Underlying and informing these general characterizations of the inferior status of translation is the question of intellectual ownership. Translators work on other people's texts, and while they are text-producers in their own right they cannot claim ownership of those products - as indeed





the matter very clearly in terms of subordination and bondage: “but slaves we are, and labour on another man’s plantation; we dress the vineyard, but the wine is the owner’s”. Because the translator is denied “innovation of thoughts” (Dryden), he appears as a magpie among peacocks, an impostor adorned with borrowed feathers.

So how much liberty does the translator have? From the seventeenth century onwards, opinions begin to differ on this issue. In the sixteenth century there are quite a number of references to the ‘law’ of translation, and they mostly signal a strict literalist view. That is why the poet Joachim du Bellay can see no advantage in translating literature: the “law” of translation leaves the writer no freedom of any kind, so that instead of translating Du Bellay recommends “doing what the Romans did: devour, ingest and digest your models, converting them into your own blood and nourishment” – in other words, imitation.

But in the seventeenth century things change. Dryden dismisses the literalist impulse as “dancing on ropes with fettered legs”. Earlier in the century John Denham had argued that unless the translator can add some new creative spirit in the process, translation will result in a “caput mortuum,” a term derived from alchemy and meaning the dregs left after a chemical reaction.

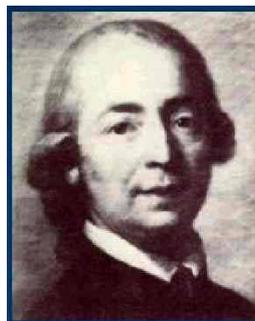
The most famous and controversial French translator of the period, Nicolas Perrot d’Ablancourt, blatantly usurps the language of imitation to speak about translation. He projects an image of the translator as the equal – the companion, the friend or host – of the foreign writer. Like John Denham, he aims to make the original author speak as he would have done had he lived in the translator’s day and age. The approach calls for spiritual affinity between translator and author (“Chuse an author as you chuse a friend”, Roscommon would say in 1684). It finds its most radical formulation in the idea of metempsychosis, or the ancient Pythagorean idea of the migration of the soul from one body into another. “In my translation,” Perrot d’Ablancourt writes self-assuredly in 1662, “you will find not so much a portrait of Thucydides, as Thucydides himself, who has passed into another body as if by Metempsychosis, and from being Greek has now become French”. Translation here means wholesale transmutation, body and soul. The relation between author and translator is consequently one of equality and even identity: “No longer his Interpreter, but he,” as Roscommon has it. Typically, D’Ablancourt was unconcerned whether his versions were labelled ‘translation’ or something else.

Perrot d’Ablancourt is the leading figure in what became known as the ‘belle infidèle’ school, whose self-confidence mirrors French political and cultural power – and self-image – under Louis XIV. For these translators, who dominate the scene from the mid-seventeenth to the end of the eighteenth century, every foreign writer, whatever his or her personal style or complexion, is uniformly made “to breathe the air of the Louvre” (D’Ablancourt’s words). They regard this as a mark of respect: you don’t want a foreign friend to look like some outlandish fool dressed like a clown or a country bumpkin.

Needless to say, the ‘belle infidèle’ approach did not go uncontested. Piere-Daniel Huet fiercely criticized them in 1661 and urged translators to be “like Proteus” and “more changeable than a chameleon” in adapting themselves to different authors and styles. The real reaction however had to wait until the German Romantics.

#### 4 *Romanticism*

The German Romantics saw the French style of naturalizing, assimilationist, ‘domesticating’ translation as degrading for the foreign writer rather than as a mark of respect. “Homer must enter France a captive, clad in the French fashion [... and] must learn French customs,” Johann Gottfried Herder wrote dismissively in the 1770s. Instead, Herder wanted the reader to make the journey to the foreign culture, casting the translator as a “tour guide” and the reader as a “pilgrim”. A.W. Schlegel voiced similar criticisms. It is wrong, he argued, to polish away the “noble rust” which had attached itself to old coins: translations of the Ancients should create a sense not of how closely they resemble our ways of thinking and speaking but of how distant and different they are from us.



This counterpoint is addressed more to my former colleagues than to my present ones. As we saw in the above

passages, Translation Studies often assume that translating occurs within a space defined by juxtaposed national, cultural and linguistic fields. This is one case among many in which our practice challenges scholarly assumptions.

Take the 'domestic v foreign' opposition. If you look at an individual translator at work in her office, you may say she is reading a foreign text and writing another one in her mother tongue. In her office, you may see a line neatly separating the domestic from the foreign. But if you zoom out a little, you will see that a large portion of the material she is asked to translate comes from other EU officials and often goes back to other elected or career officials for further deliberation and discussion. In this respect, there is a weak sense of 'foreign' at the SdT. Against which background will our translator operate?

The broader question is: what culture is she part of? Indeed, what kind of cultural grouping are we? It is a fact that individual translators belong to their respective cultures of origin; it is also a fact that the service, at least in the Commission, is structured along language (but not national) lines. However, the bulk of our translated communication largely responds to local conditions which have little to do with these factors.

Our cultures of origin are overridden by something else. I cannot call it a corporate culture because this is not a for-profit organisation; shall we call it 'institutional culture'? It is defined by organisational structures, established practices, and a house style which has grown over the years. Together, these features organise the flow of information, set working conditions, determine a specific tradition, etc. From this, more interesting questions follow. What are the relations between our institutional culture and the other factors in translating? What is the interplay between our institutional culture and the cultures embraced by the EU? Finally and most importantly,

what exactly is our institutional culture like? Is it an intercultural? Is it something



Herder's image of the translator as tour guide and the reader as pilgrim suggests the idea of the translator taking the reader on a

altogether original?

These questions, too, can be addressed by the search for our translation metaphors which I proposed at the outset. What metalinguistic discourse circulates in our institutional culture and what values and attitudes does it reveal? I can give a small personal example to clarify this. Soon after being hired, I received some stylistic and linguistic guidance. I was eagerly waiting for it to adapt my translating and writing styles to existing norms. I soon found the guidelines I received were mostly the product of our terminologists, whose main purpose is to establish equivalences between terms and short phrases across the official languages. Although their effort is necessary, difficult and commendable, I found the importance attached to it disproportionate with respect to other translation factors. I am not complaining that I cannot use the word *lista* for 'list', nor that I trained myself to use the farcical phrase *questioni di genere* for 'gender issues'. I am remarking that the metalinguistic discourse which I found revolved too much around equivalence between terminological items.

By contrast, I found very little on-the-job training on our overall objective. I need not go back to the Treaties to state that we are here to make multilingualism happen. This is clearly our main goal and *raison d'être*, and perhaps the most recurrent thing we tell outsiders, especially when we come under fire. Is this principle present enough in the metaphors we exchange in our own house? Do we talk and think about our work in terms of a service mandated by law? How hard are we trying to implement it? To what extent are we aware our work is part of the European citizen's rights? How do we ensure that he gets a quality message from us?

Please do not take these as rhetorical questions; I am not implying that we have in fact forgotten our ultimate purpose. What I mean to say here is that if we want to start a comprehensive analysis of our metalanguage, we can just as well start from the beginning.

journey into a foreign land. Note that the spatial movement involved is in the opposite direction compared with the French ‘belles infidèles’ of the earlier period. Instead of welcoming the foreigner on our terms, we are now meant to move towards the foreign - intellectually and metaphorically, that is. That represents a momentous shift. Indeed the point of this armchair tourism is that the sense of ‘otherness’ has to be created in and by the translating language – which as a consequence is faced with a demanding task. To enable it to create a sense of the foreign by means of its own linguistic resources, the language has to be stretched and extended beyond its normal reach. In thus inflecting and exercising the language, translation brings linguistic as well as cultural innovation and growth, especially when it forms part of a national programme, a translation culture. In that sense Herder described the translator as a “morning star” heralding a new day.

In the notion of growth we encounter the characteristic organic metaphors of the Romantics. To translate is to “animate a different instrument with the same breath of life” (Mme de Stael in 1816). It is a chemical process in which the original is first melted down and then recast (Schopenhauer in 1851). If this is applied to literary texts, only a poet can translate a poet. Shelley maintained that “it were as wise to cast a violet in a crucible [...] as seek to transfuse from one language into another the creations of a poet. The plant must spring again from its seed, or it will bear no flower” (*Defence of Poetry*, 1821). To which, later in the century, the less extravagantly gifted Edward Fitzgerald added pragmatically: “better a live sparrow than a stuffed eagle” (1859) and “the live dog better than the dead lion” (1878).

Not everyone is happy with such pragmatism, however, as the contrasting metaphorical expressions of modern poetry translators shows. The French poet Yves Bonnefoy regards the translation of poetry as “poetry re-begun”; he does not want to “mirror” Shakespeare but to “listen to Shakespeare until I can anticipate him in all my own writing”. At the other end of the spectrum Vladimir Nabokov, who advocates what he himself calls “the servile path”, sums up his very different view in the uncomplimentary poem ‘On Translating *Eugene Onegin*’:

*What is translation? On a platter  
A poet's pale and glaring head,  
A parrot's screech, a monkey's chatter,  
And profanation of the dead.*

## 5 The Twentieth Century

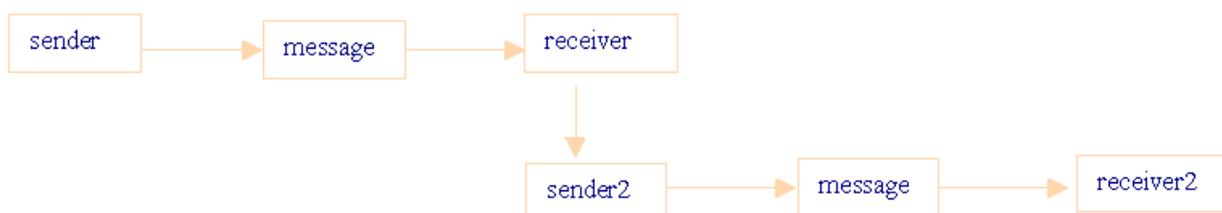
So what about the twentieth century? The sharply contrasting views of Bonnefoy and Nabokov I just quoted may well be typical of the divergent and competing approaches of the last hundred years or so. Without trying to be systematic, let me pick out a few aspects.

Much of our modern thinking about translation operates by means of tactile imagery. The literary critic George Steiner has worked up a particularly dramatic account of the translation process. For Steiner, translation begins with an incursive, penetrative aggression aimed at extracting comprehension from the original. This is followed by an incorporative moment when the translation is hauled back and thrust onto its new environment, which, like an living organism, may react by rejecting or accommodating the newcomer. If it accepts the new body, it lays itself open to either infection and disease, or to regeneration. Finally Steiner sees renewed calm, a phase of restitution and reciprocity to compensate for the earlier movements of violence and violation.

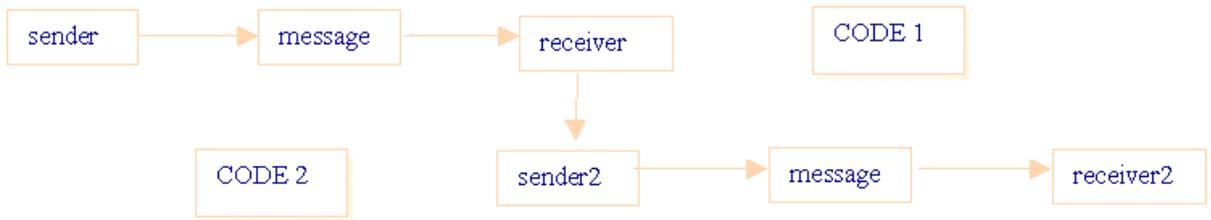
Everyday usage is less dramatic. We commonly talk about source and target texts, and about ‘transfer’. Functionalists describe translation as a teleological, goal-directed activity involving a starting point, a trajectory and a destination. The view fits the well-known diagrammatic representations of the communication process showing a message travelling from a sender to a receiver and remaining essentially unaltered – ‘equivalent’ to itself – as it migrates from one mind to another:



Note that this is a monolingual scheme. Interestingly, many people simply duplicate this scheme to represent translation:



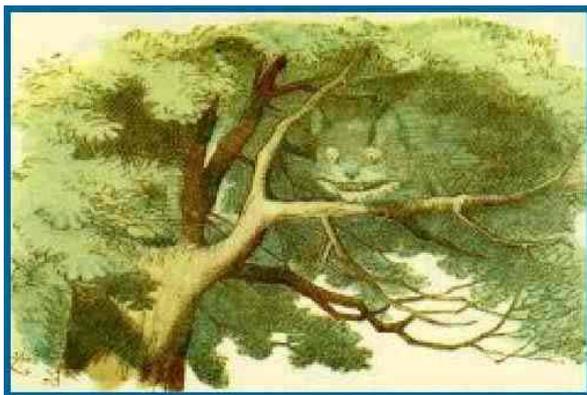
The translator acts as a relay station, and the assumption is that despite the change in code



the two messages remain essentially unaltered, equivalent.

Another contrappunto for my former colleagues. The picture for the SdT cannot be linear, but must be like a surrealist wheel with two hubs and 11 spokes. One can never be sure of movements and directions at the Commission, so the images of movement and transfer do not apply well to our local conditions. These non-linear processes are true both of

translations and of originals, which are often written by teams and go through several stages of revision. An interesting consequence is that the authorship function gets diffused; responsibility for content and style is borne by someone--the head of unit, say--who may have not read the text at all.



One of the most hotly debated issues in the modern perception of translation concerns the notion of equivalence. It is secured in large measure by the way we conceptualize communication, as something separable from its container, something that can be transported in a box, mailed from one mind to another. At the same time, the use of tactile imagery and flow charts lets us appreciate also how we almost naturally arrive at another persistent metaphor of

modern translation, that of transparency. Jang Zemin can speak to us “through his interpreter”: right through him or her! We picture translators – and interpreters, for that matter – as transparent, glass-like, diaphanous, invisible, disembodied – and disenfranchised. Which is to say that these metaphors come at a price: they point to particular modes of thinking which have real and material consequences directly affecting the social status of translators and their corporate clout – or the absence of it.

I’ve characterised our view of translating as obsessed with the equivalence of terms and phrases. I called it the ‘word-processing’ approach to translation and I expressed the conviction this is the prevalent view at the SdT. Theo has shown that the idea has a long history and staying power. Word processing is logically based on the assumption that there is such a thing as language-free content. In fact, only if you believe you can neatly detach a message’s content from its verbal expression can you consider the ‘replacement of textual material’ a viable translation

strategy.

I have found it extremely difficult to debunk the assumption of language-independent meaning in a recent debate with a friend and colleague. Perhaps both myself and my friend took our respective positions as self-evident. Apart from philosophical considerations, I would like to point out the political implications of a word processing attitude. A human word processor is easily equated to a dignified robot;



not only is she interchangeable with any other linguist with a certain knack, but in the long run she will be interchangeable with a computer. The word-processing attitude carries with it the hope (or the fear) that

translators will no longer get in the way when machine translation finally keeps its promise. This mechanistic view of our craft is not exactly the best way to win professional respect.

Let me conclude with a couple of very different alternative voices. The philosopher and critic Walter Benjamin has been more influential than any other modern theorist in generating new metaphors of translation. In a difficult, almost mystical essay of 1923 he spoke of translation as the “afterlife” of a text. For Benjamin (and I now offer a grossly simplified reading), individual human languages are a far cry from the pristine, or the ‘pure’ language of a Translation however makes beyond themselves and thus between languages. And languages is only a passing single Edenic tongue of the past of a distant future, translation ultimate harmony and translation represents its complement, its afterlife. But ‘complements’ an original, that and so it was in need of translated. If the different human languages are like fragments of a broken vase, translation allows us to fit the pieces together again – but note that the pieces are all of different shapes: when we think about translation in terms of growth or fitting together differently shaped fragments of a vase, equivalence is no longer the issue. Translation does not replace, it supplements.



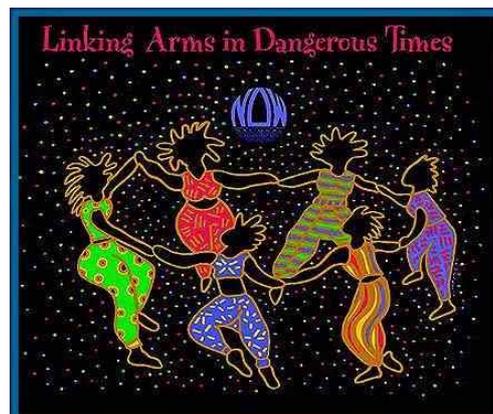
languages, hopelessly divided, still half-divine speech of Eden harmonious Messianic future. individual languages step operates literally in the space because the diversity of phase as we move from the to the Messianic ‘pure’ language allows us to intimate that fulfilment. If the text is a seed, growth, its eagerly desired note that if translation original was itself incomplete translation, it begged to be

There are also ‘harder’, more politicized approaches, which, however, agree with Benjamin in throwing equivalence overboard. I shall restrict myself to two: postcolonial and feminist. They will also allow us to round off this canter through some of the historical metaphors of translation in appropriate fashion.



Perhaps the most remarkable postcolonial approach to translation is that of the ‘antropofagistas’ of Brazil, now associated primarily with Augusto and Haroldo de Campos, although its roots date from the 1920s and beyond. The antropofagista project rejects the stereotypes of the translator either as “angel”, a wide-eyed but insubstantial creature wholly dedicated to the author’s service, or as “devil”, the faithless traitor, counterfeiter or spreader of cultural contamination and disease. Instead, it opts for energetic incorporation, dissolving the translator’s traditional obsequiousness in favour of a postmodern intermingling of creation, criticism, appropriation, cannibalization and “vampirization”. The “antropofagista” imagery of aggression and ingestion shows some striking similarities with the Ancient and Renaissance discourses on *imitatio*. Its point however is political: the antropofagistas ironically revive the European stereotype of the cannibal as the ultimate savage in order to legitimate a translation practice that has shed the old colonial reverence for European culture and feels free to take, transform, manhandle and cannibalize as it pleases.

Feminist-inspired, or, more broadly, gender-based approaches have documented especially the gendered figurations of translation and the patriarchal hierarchies of power which they reveal, and which place both translation and women in positions of subordination and constraint. Reading, for example, the traditional requirement of “fidelity” as matrimonial fidelity to a sovereign master-husband adds a certain sting to an otherwise innocently philological term. Feminist translators for their part have created figures such as the ‘womanhandling’ of authors



and texts to characterize a practice intended to be critical rather than deferential.

Feminist researchers have used the gendered images in the historical discourse on translation primarily to draw conclusions about the position traditionally assigned to women in society. To my mind, they can equally serve to appreciate the historical, ideological construction of translation. We may well think it perfectly natural that translation is thought of as constrained rather than free, as subordinate rather than autonomous, as reproductive rather than creative, as speaking with the master's voice rather than speaking in its own name and so on, but it is good to remember that women too used to be put and kept in their place by means of exactly the same oppositions. The gendered metaphors of translation can make us wonder how and why it is that translation is so emphatically construed in this way, and what agenda is being served by those images.

This idea which links translations to women and assigns a subordinate position to both is not only metaphorical. The SdT is the only service in the Commission where women are the majority, but the figures fall back in line with other DG's when it comes to managerial positions. Now, the interesting part here is what to do with these data. One can use them to support a fatalistic position: "It's always been like this, what can we do about it?". Others—including myself—will take them as tools to change an

undesirable state of affairs. Theo helped us identify the historical and social conditions behind the tradition of repression we are the victims of. In this way, the disrespect we feel around ourselves loses its character of naturalness. You realise it doesn't just grow on trees, but was brought about by certain individuals for certain purposes in certain historical settings. Now that the setting and the purposes and the individuals have been exposed, I see no reason why we cannot fight to win the respect that is due to our skills and social role.

As I said at the beginning, raising issues and asking questions of this kind does not immediately help the day to day practice of professional translating. Its use lies elsewhere. Its very richness and diversity makes us wonder about the assumptions informing the figurative wealth. It alerts us to the implications and consequences of figuring translation in certain ways. Most importantly, it demonstrates that the current way of thinking and speaking about translation is never the only possible way. That should be refreshing – and reassuring.

---

## **BIBLIOGRAPHY**

- Ballard, Michel. (1992). **De Cicéron á Benjamin. Traducteurs, traductions, réflexions.** Lille.
- Ballard, Michel & D'hulst, Lieven. (1996). (Eds.) **La traduction en France à l'âge classique.** Lille.
- Bellay, Joachim du. (1948). **La deffense et illustration de la langue francoyse** [1549]. Ed. Henri Chamard. Paris.
- Benjamin, Walter. (1991). "Die Aufgabe des Übersetzers" [1923], in his **Gesammelte Schriften** (ed. R. Tiedemann and H Schwepenhäuser), Frankfurt a.M.
- Berman, Antoine. (1984). **L'épreuve de l'étranger. Culture et traduction dans l'Allemagne romantique.** Paris.
- Buridant, Claude. (1983). "Translatio medievalis. Théorie et pratique de la traduction médiévale", **Travaux de linguistique et de littérature** 21, 81-136.
- Catelli, Nora and Gargatagli, Marietta. (1998). **El tabaco que fumaba Plinio. Escenas de la traducción en España y América: relatos, leyes y reflexiones sobre los otros.** Barcelona.
- Campos, Augusto de. (1978). **Verso, reverso e controverso.** São Paulo.
- Chamberlain, Lori. (1992). "Gender and the Metaphorics of Translation", in **Rethinking Translation** (ed. Lawrence Venuti), London. 57-74.
- Cheyfitz, Eric. (1991). **The Poetics of Imperialism. Translation and Colonization from 'The Tempest' to 'Tarzan'.** New York & Oxford.
- Copeland, Rita. (1991). **Rhetoric, Hermeneutics, and Translation in the Middle Ages.** Cambridge.
- Denton, John. (1992). "Metaphors the Elizabethans Translated By. Aspects of Late 16th Century English Translation Metalanguage", in **Early Modern English: Trends, Forms and Texts** (ed. C. Nocera Aivila, N. Pantaleo & D. Pezzini), Fasano. 255-71.
- Derrida, Jacques. (1985). "Des Tours de Babel", in **Difference in Translation** (ed. Joseph Graham), Ithaca & London. 165-248.
- D'hulst, Lieven. (1989). "Le discours sur la traduction en France (1800-1850)", **Revue de littérature comparée** 63, 2, 179-87 . D'hulst, Lieven. (1990). (Ed.) **Cent ans de théorie française de la traduction (1748-1847).** Lille.
- D'hulst, Lieven. (1992). "Sur le rôle des métaphores en traductologie contemporaine", **Target** 4, 1, 33-52.
- D'hulst, Lieven. (1993). "Observations sur l'expression figurée en traductologie française (XVIIIe-XIXe siècles)", **TTR** 6, 1, 83-111.
- D'hulst, Lieven. (1995). "Pour une historiographie des théories de la traduction: questions de méthode", **TTR** 8, 1, 13-33.
- Folena, Gianfranco. (1973). **Volgarizzare e tradurre.** Re-issued 1991. Torino.
- Graeber, Wilhelm. (1990). (Ed.) **Französische Übersetzerreden des 18. Jahrhunderts.** Frankfurt.
- Guillerm, Luce. (1980). "L'auteur, les modèles et le pouvoir ou la topique de la traduction au XV<sup>e</sup> siècle", **Revue des sciences humaines** 52, 180, 5-31.
- Guillerm, Luce. (1984). "L'intertextualité démontée: le discours sur la traduction", **Littérature** 55, 54-63.
- Guillerm, Luce. (1988). **Sujet de l'écriture et traduction autour de 1540.** Paris.
- Havelock, E. (1975). **Origins of Western Literacy.** Toronto.
- Hermans, Theo. (1985). (Ed.) **The Manipulation of Literature.** Studies in Literary Translation. London and Sydney.
- Hermans, Theo. (1985a). "Images of Translation: Metaphor and Imagery in the Renaissance Discourse on Translation", in **The Manipulation of Literature** (ed. Theo Hermans), London & Sydney. 103-35.
- Hermans, Theo. (1996). (Ed.) **Door eenen engen hals. Nederlandse beschouwingen over vertalen 1550-1670.** The Hague
- Hermans, Theo. (1997). "The Task of the Translator in the European Renaissance. Explorations in a Discursive Field", in **Translating Literature** (ed. Susan Bassnett, Susan), Cambridge. 14-40.
- Hermans, Theo. (1999). **Translation in Systems. Descriptive and Systemic Approaches Explained.** Manchester.
- Horguelin, Paul. (1981). (Ed.) **Anthologie de la manière de traduire. Domaine français.** Montréal.

- Kelly, Louis. (1979). *The True Interpreter. A History of Translation Theory and Practice in the West*. Oxford.
- Knufmann, H. (1967). "Das deutsche Übersetzungswesen des 18. Jahrhunderts in Spiegel von Übersetzer- und Herausgebervorreden", *Börsenblatt für den deutschen Buchhandel* 23, 2676-716.
- Koller, Werner. (1972). *Grundprobleme der Übersetzungstheorie*. Bern and München.
- Korpel, Luc. (1993). (Ed.) *In Nederduitsch gewaad. Nederlandse beschouwingen over vertalen 1760-1820*. The Hague.
- Lafarga, Francisco. (1996). (Ed.) *El discurso sobre la traducción en la historia. Antología bilingüe*. Barcelona.
- Lakoff, George and Johnson, Mark. (1980). *Metaphors We Live By*. Chicago.
- López García, Dámaso. (1996). (Ed.) *Teorías de la Traducción. Antología de textos*. Cuenca.
- Lusignan, Serge. (1989). "La topique de la translatio studii et les traductions françaises de textes savants au XIVE siècle", in *Traduction et traducteurs au Moyen-Age* (ed. Geneviève Contamine), Paris. 303-15.
- Marti, Heinrich. (1974). *Übersetzer der Augustin-Zeit. Interpretation von Selbstzeugnissen*. München.
- Maurer, Karl. (1976). "Die literarische Übersetzung als Form fremdbestimmter Textkonstitution", *Poetica* 8, 233-57.
- Norton, Glyn. (1984). *The Ideology and Language of Translation in Renaissance France and their Humanist Antecedents*. Genève.
- Ortony, Andrew. (1979). (Ed.) *Metaphor and Thought*. Cambridge.
- Pigman, G.W. (1980). "Versions of Imitation in the Renaissance", *Renaissance Quarterly* 33, 1, 1-32.
- Quental, Raffaella de Filippo. (1994). "O tradutor come anjo ou demônio: os rumos da metáfora de Paulo Rónai a Derrida", *TradTerm* 1, 57-65.
- Resch, Renate. (1998). "Oedipus und die Folgen: Die Metaphorik der Übersetzungswissenschaft", *Target* 10, 2, 335-51.
- Robinson, Douglas. (1997). (Ed.) *Western Translation Theory from Herodotus to Nietzsche*. Manchester.
- Santoyo, Julio-César. (1987). (Ed.) *Teoría y crítica de la traducción: antología*. Barcelona.
- Schleiermacher, Friedrich. (1973). "Über die verschiedenen Methoden des Übersetzens" [1813], in *Das Problem des Übersetzens* (ed. Hans Joachim Störig), Darmstadt. 38-70.
- Schoneveld, C.W. (1992). (Ed.) *T Word groeter plas, maar niet zoo 't was. Nederlandse beschouwingen over vertalen 1670-1760*. The Hague.
- Schulte, Rainer and Biguenet, John. (1992). (Ed.) *Theories of Translation. An anthology of Essays from Dryden to Derrida*. Chicago and London.
- Simon, Sherry. (1988). "Éléments pur une analyse du discours sur la traduction au Québec", *TTR* 1, 1, 63-81.
- Simon, Sherry. (1992). "The Language of Cultural Difference: Figures of Alterity in Canadian Translation", in *Rethinking Translation. Discourse, Subjectivity, Ideology* (ed. Lawrence Venuti), London and New York. 159-76.
- Simon, Sherry. (1996). *Gender in Translation. Cultural Identity and the Politics of Transmission*. London and New York.
- Stackelberg, Jürgen von. (1956). "Das Bienengleichnis. Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der literarischen Imitatio", *Romanische Forschungen* 68, 271-93.
- Steiner, George. (1975). *After Babel. Aspects of Language and Translation*. Oxford.
- Steiner, T.R. (1970). "Precursors to Dryden: English and French Theories of Translation in the Seventeenth Century", *Comparative Literature Studies* 7, 50-80.
- Steiner, T.R. (1975). *English Translation Theory 1650-1800*. Assen and Amsterdam.
- Störig, Hans Joachim. (1963). (Ed.) *Das Problem des Übersetzens*. Stuttgart.
- Sturge, Kate. (1999). "A Danger and a Veiled Attack". *Translating into Nazi Germany*, in *The Practices of Literary Translation* (ed. Jean Boase-Beier and Michael Holman), Manchester. 135-46.
- Vega, Miguel Ángel. (1994). *Textos clásicos de teoría de la traducción*. Madrid.
- Venuti, Lawrence. (1995). *The Translator's Invisibility. A History of Translation*. London and New York.
- Vieira, Else Ribeiro Pires. (1999). "Liberating Calibans: readings of Antropofagia and Haroldo de Campos' poetics of transcreation", in *Post-Colonial Translation. Theory and Practice* (ed. Susan Bassnett and Harish Trivedi), London and New York. 95-113.
- Webb, Timothy. (1976). *The Violet in the Crucible. Shelley and Translation*. London.

- Zuber, Roger. (1963) "La création littéraire au dix-septième siècle: l'avis des **théoriciens de la traduction**", *Revue des sciences humaines*, 277-94.
- Zuber, Roger. (1968). **Les 'belles infidèles' et la formation du goût classique**. Perrot d'Ablancourt et Guez de Balzac. Paris.
- Zuber, Roger. (1972). (Ed.) Nicolas Perrot d'Ablancourt. **Lettres et préfaces**. Paris.