

TRANSLATION, MINORITY AND NATIONAL IDENTITY

The translation/appropriation of W.B. Yeats in Galicia

(1920-1935)

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Abstract

Recent developments in translation studies since the 1990s have focused on the ideological implications of translation, seeing the role of the translator as an interventionist and a mediator. This new paradigm overcomes the idea that translation is a mimetic task that consists merely of transferring meaning from one language to another, but rather it is associated with political processes which may involve domination, oppression, submission or resistance amongst social groups and communities. Recognition is given to the capacity of translation to forge social and cultural change. Postcolonial contexts have proven to be particularly fertile for the study of ideological issues related to translation insofar as they reflect a situation of inequality between language communities. In these contexts, translation can be used as a political artefact either to perpetuate colonial domination or to fight against it. As a result, the 1990s have seen the emergence of postcolonial translation theories.

These new theories are not only applicable to contexts that are most commonly identified as postcolonial, but to any type of situation where there exists inequality between the two systems in which translation takes place (e.g., in subaltern cultures where the practice of translation can become a means of resistance against a situation of cultural domination and a channel of self-definition). In this regard, the situation of Galicia in the 1920s and 1930s is paradigmatic and it offers invaluable grounds for the study of translation when used as an ideological instrument in the struggle for the search and construction of a national identity. During this period a group of intellectuals, widely known as *Xeración Nós*, emerged in the region concerned with the articulation of a

nationalist discourse based on the cultural and political differentiation of Galicia with regard to the rest of Spain. Their nation-building project was a response to a situation of cultural oppression, long imposed by the Spanish state represented by Castile, and it was based on the concepts of Celticism and Atlanticism. Resorting back to the alleged Galician ancestors, the Celts, they strove to establish affinities with the other so-called Celtic nations of Northern Europe, particularly Ireland, in order to include Galicia within the Celtic mythological tradition and, by extension, within a new Atlantic civilisation opposed to the Mediterranean one which they associated with Spain.

Within this well planned ideological agenda, translation of Irish literary texts played an essential role as it was used as a political tool to establish the abovementioned affinity with Ireland. From the selection of the texts to be translated to the actual discourse strategies used by the translators, translation became a process of appropriation and manipulation to support ideological ends. Focusing on the translations of the Irish poet and playwright W.B. Yeats, the most translated Irish writer of the period and profoundly admired by the Galician intelligentsia, this thesis intends to explore how translation was used in a subversive and manipulative way to show Galicia's distinctiveness and to build a national identity resisting cultural domination. Therefore, I will demonstrate the capacity of translation to shape cultures and to aid and support cultural and social change.

*A meus pais,
Juan Vázquez Dacal e Lola Fernández Fernández,
polo seu apoio incondicional.*

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Abbreviations

<i>ANT</i>	<i>A Nosa Terra</i>
CDA	Critical Discourse Analysis
CT	Catalan
DdD	Diccionario de diccionarios-Corpus lexicográfico da lingua galega
GL	Galician
SL	Source language
ST	Source text
TL	Target language
TT	Target text

Introduction

In the context of a minority culture, the practice of translation can become an essential tool of national self-definition and a way of resistance against a situation of cultural domination. As a social and cultural activity which is inserted in a specific political, social, historic and cultural context, translation reflects the unequal power relationships that exist between certain language communities. Consequently, it should be understood and studied as an ideological activity that has the potential to shape cultures and build identities. For a minority culture struggling for cultural differentiation, the texts selected for translation can acquire a symbolic meaning of national self-affirmation, and the discursive strategies used by the translators are often oriented to show that particular culture's distinctive identity rather than trying to achieve mimetic reproduction of the source text.

This was the situation with the practice of translation in Galicia during what is called the *Nós* period (1920-1936), when a group of intellectuals, known as *Xeración Nós* and *Irmandades da Fala*, sought to defend Galicia's singularity and distinctiveness with regard to the rest of Spain after a long period of repression and neglect. This intelligentsia followed a nationalist agenda based on the integration of Galicia within the group of Celtic nations. Furthermore, they proposed the birth of a new Atlantic civilization, as opposed to the Mediterranean one associated with Castilian Spain, which would result from the Celtic revival. The Celtic myth had already been introduced in Galicia by the nineteenth-century historians José Vereá Aguiar, Benito Vicetto and Manuel Murguía who, believing that the history of Galicia had been ignored for too long,

tried to reconstruct it by returning to the supposed Galician ancestors, the Celts, and by establishing links with the other alleged Celtic nations: Ireland, Wales, Scotland, Cornwall, the Isle of Man and Brittany.

Within this group, Ireland was the favourite of the *Xeración Nós* and the *Irmidades da Fala* as they saw it as a sister nation not only for the common Celtic ancestry, but also for the similarities with Galicia due to its peripheral and colonial situation and its history of emigration. A key role in the establishment of an ancestral bond between the two nations was played by the Irish legendary text *Leabhar Gabhala* which narrates that the Celts who invaded Ireland came originally from Galicia. It must also be taken into account that Ireland was experiencing a Literary Revival at the time, seen by the Galician intellectuals as a source of inspiration to import new literary models needed for the renewal of Galician letters. More importantly, a period of political turmoil was taking place in the Northern-European island leading to the creation of the Irish Free State in 1921 when twenty-six counties gained independence from the rule of Great Britain. Due to these events, Ireland became a paradigm of political struggle against external ruling. It is therefore not surprising that it was Ireland and not any of the other Celtic nations that was taken as a role model for the cultural revival and nationalist struggle by the *Nós* intellectuals. One of their main imperatives was to establish bonds between the two nations, and translation played a crucial role in this endeavour. The translation of Irish literary texts was used as a political instrument which aimed to introduce literary innovation as well as to show the distinctive features of Galicia's language and culture. The most translated Irish author in the period was the Nobel Prize winning poet W.B.

Yeats (1865-1939), for whom the Galician intellectuals showed incomparable fascination owing to his Celticism and his defence of Irish folklore and authenticity. As a result, he played an important role in the articulation of the *Xeración Nós*' nationalist discourse. Yeats was one of the initiators of the Anglo-Irish Literary Revival and co-founder of the Irish National Theatre. He was a complex figure who embraced revolutionary nationalism at an early age and, after a period of political detachment, he endorsed it again following the execution of the Easter Rising leaders in 1916, an event that deeply moved the author. He was also a controversial senator of the Irish Free State from 1922 to 1928.

The purpose of this thesis is to fill in the gap in scholarly research with regard to the reception, appropriation and translation of the Irish poet in Galicia during this period, and its ideological implications for the nation-building project programmed by the Galician intelligentsia. It is my aim to demonstrate that translation was used by the *Xeración Nós* in a subversive and manipulative way, and therefore the texts have to be analysed from this perspective. My starting point is that translation is an ideological act and that a meticulous analysis of the translator's choices reveals the socio-historical and political situation in which translation took place as well as the translator's intentions to intervene and/or change that particular situation. Accordingly, the core of this thesis will comprise a comparative analysis between source and target texts in order to unveil the ideological intervention of the translator in each case. I will also pay attention to the possible use of mediating languages in the translation process. My study will draw mainly on the theoretical framework of postcolonial

translation theory, which links the practice of translation to political and ideological processes, and will make use of methods from critical discourse analysis (CDA), a branch of linguistics concerned with revealing the ideology conveyed by language use. In this respect, I intend my work to shed some light on how translation can be used as a de-alienating force by subaltern cultures within Europe in order to resist a situation of cultural oppression.

From a theoretical point of view, what is genuinely innovative in my approach is the establishment of a parallelism between the Galician nationalist movement of the 1920s and 1930s and the Brazilian ‘cannibalist’ movement¹ developed at the same time. This will allow me to apply the translation model developed by Haroldo de Campos (2005 [1981]), which metaphorically used cannibalism as a way of resisting colonization, to the Galician context. Moreover, I present a holistic approach to these translations by making use of the concept of paratranslation that, as defined by Garrido Vilariño (2003-2004), takes into consideration all the paratextual information surrounding the texts. In this respect, besides an analysis of the actual translations, I will also pay a great deal of attention to articles, essays, prefaces, titles, subtitles, etc. accompanying or related to them as they will provide crucial information about the ideological discourse that was being articulated at the time.

Chapter one starts with the consideration of Galicia as an internal colony according to Hatcher’s (1975) definition of the term. I then concentrate on the

¹ This movement uses cannibalism as a cultural metaphor for absorbing foreign cultural influences in order to incorporate them to the local tradition with the aim of creating a national culture that rejects simple imitation of foreign models. A full account of this movement is provided in chapter 2.

work of the nineteenth-century Galician historians who, influenced by Romanticism and the Ossianic phenomenon, based their defence of Galicia's distinctiveness on its mythical Celtic past. After considering the significance of *Leabhar Gabhala* in the justification of the Celtic origins of Galicia, I explain how the Celtic myth continued to be used as a foundation for the differentiated identity of Galicia by the nationalist intellectual groups of the early twentieth century: *Irmandades da Fala* and *Xeración Nós*. The essential function granted to the native language by these two groups is also explored. As Mar-Molinero and Smith (1996) argue, there is a link between the emergence of peripheral nationalisms in Spain and markers of identity such as language, history, spirit. Nationalists resort back to a past Golden Age to justify nationhood and the influence of Castile is portrayed as 'the oppressor nation' (p.8). The second part of the chapter is concerned with the role played by Ireland as an inspiration and a model for the Galician nationalists and with the function of translation within their cultural and political agenda. I conclude the chapter by providing a review of previous studies which have been carried out on the reception of Irish literary texts in Galicia during this period to demonstrate that there is a gap and, indeed, a need for a thorough analysis of the reception of W.B. Yeats. The purpose of this chapter is to serve as an introduction and a contextualization for the arguments and analysis that I will present throughout the rest of the thesis.

In chapter two, I describe the theoretical framework which provides the basis for the practical analysis that will follow. The chapter begins with an explanation of the relationship between translation and ideology, which led some scholars to speak about an 'ideological turn' in translation studies, and its relevance for the

context of a minority culture that is struggling to recover its identity. The concept of paratranslation is also explained. Subsequently, I present a brief overview of polysystem theory and descriptive translation studies, as these two theories paved the way for the development of approaches to translation focused on culture and ideology. This description sets the grounds for exploring the so called 'cultural turn' in translation studies, which recognises the essential role played by ideology in literary translation. At this point, I also call into question the division between linguistic and cultural approaches to translation, and later in the chapter I propose the application of CDA to the study of translation as a way to bring them together. The core of the chapter is formed by an overview of postcolonial translation theories and its application to the practice of translation in Galicia during the *Nós* period. I concentrate, particularly, on the cannibalistic metaphor applied to translation by Haroldo de Campos as this conception of translation as a means of resistance provides the foundations for the evaluation and analysis of Galician translations of Yeats. Furthermore, I will highlight the lack of practicability of Venuti's (1995) foreignizing/domesticating translation in a postcolonial context. The main objective of this chapter is to establish how I use translation theory for the analysis of the translations studied in this thesis.

Chapter three begins with a brief introduction to the life and work of W.B. Yeats, followed by a description of how Vicente Risco introduces the author to a Galician audience highlighting his Celticism and establishing arguable comparisons between him and Galician authors. I also consider the sparse reception of Yeats in Spain at the time. Subsequently, I dedicate particular attention to the political views of Vicente Risco as he was the principal theorist

of Galician nationalism, and therefore his ideas are vital to understand the ideological agenda of the *Xeración Nós*. In order to do so, I explore his seminal treaty *Teoría do Nazonalismo Galego* and some of the essays that he published in the journals *Nós* and *A Nosa Terra (ANT)*. I then concentrate on analysing the translation strategies in the works he translated: 'To an isle in the water', 'The Rose Tree', 'The scholars', 'Our Lady of the Hills', 'An Enduring Heart'. In all these translations, I consider the possible reliance on previous French versions by Lichnerowicz and Téry. With this chapter I intend to present how the figure of Yeats was appropriated and manipulated by Risco in order to fuel his nation-building project and how the translation strategies used were in line with this objective.

Chapter four focuses on the translation of the play *Cathleen ni Houlihan* by Antón Villar Ponte. The piece deals with the Irish struggle for independence and its translation is used to introduce the idea of self-sacrifice for nationalism in Galicia as well as to import innovative theatre models. After a few notes on the political meaning of the play, I offer a detailed analysis of the translation strategies used by Villar Ponte paying particular attention to the ideal of linguistic differentiation, which was vital for a translator who was firmly convinced that the originality of peoples lay in having their own language. In this, as well as in other textual analyses provided in this thesis, I demonstrate that the translator(s) always chose Galician language solutions that avoided analogy or cognates with Spanish, showing a deliberate intention to embed varietal forms in an emerging *culto* tradition. In order to evidence this aim of linguistic differentiation, a series of charts are provided throughout the thesis

where both the solutions used by the translators and other possible Galician solutions are displayed. The translators' linguistic choices reveal that they used a richer and more ample lexicon than that found after the 'normalisation' of the Galician language in the 1970s. This linguistic richness is, indeed, a noticeable feature of the *Xeración Nós* intellectuals. Otero Pedrayo's first novel of his famous trilogy *Os camiños da vida, Os señores da terra*, is a good example of the repertoire that Galician as a language possessed at the time. However, for the purpose of this thesis, the linguistic repertoire of the *Xeración Nós* has not been part of my systematic research. In this chapter, I also explore the reliance on a previous Catalan version of *Cathleen ni Houlihan* produced by Marià Manent. I end the chapter by comparing this translation, published in 1921, with a later version published in 1935 to conclude that in the latter the *Galicianisation* of the text was intensified. This aspect, however, has been overlooked by scholars who have carried out research on this play. The main task of this chapter is to show how the translation of *Cathleen ni Houlihan* is an example of the *Nós* intellectuals' struggle for the cultural and political differentiation of Galicia.

Finally, I dedicate chapter five to the translation of the play *The Land of Heart's Desire* by Plácido Castro and the Villar Ponte brothers. The chapter begins with the political significance of the piece, i.e. the desire for a liberated nation, the longing for a new Galicia. Subsequently, I go on to explore one of the main aspects of this translation, which is the highly controversial establishment of an association between the Galician-Portuguese concept of *Saudade* and Celticism, as Plácido Castro strongly believed that *Saudade* was a defining

feature of the Celtic spirit. After analysing the possible reliance on a previous Catalan version, I conclude that, on this occasion, the translation was done directly from the English original. Moreover, as with the other translations, I offer a full analysis of the strategies used by the translators showing that there was a strong emphasis on linguistic differentiation. At the end of the chapter, I concentrate on a re-edition of both translations (*Cathleen ni Houlihan* and *The Land of Heart' Desire*) that took place in 1977 to find that the translations have been edited and some of the linguistic features used by them have been erased. The purpose of this chapter is to offer another example of the use of translation as a political instrument in Galicia; one that has received little attention up until now.

CHAPTER 1

Translation and the nation-building project: Galicia as a paradigm.

1.1 Imagining the nation: the Celtic origins of Galicia.

The process of imagining the nation is one that interweaves elements of a literary, cultural and explicitly political nature. Although the stimulus for nationalism comes often from a cultural, principally literary, sphere, it cannot be isolated from political nationalism as this thesis intends to demonstrate. While the birth of Galician nationalism is a cultural phenomenon in the sense that it does not aim to create an independent state, its cultural manifestations are, as it could not be otherwise, invested with political meaning.

The rise of awareness of a national identity in Galicia is a response to a type of colonial situation, a way of resistance to an imposed cultural oppression. Although Galicia cannot be considered a traditional colony such as those in Africa, Asia or Latin America, it can be related to a process of internal colonialism which according to González-Casanova 'corresponds to a structure of social relations based on domination and exploitation among culturally heterogeneous, distinct groups' (1965, p.32). Hechter (1975) provides a clear account of how internal colonies were created within the boundaries of our modern states. He argues that the modern states of Western Europe were originally formed by two or more groups that were culturally different. Eventually, 'Strong central governments' emerged in certain regions such as Castile (Spain), Île-de-France (France), first Wessex and then London (England). The peripheral regions exhibited a variety of differences from these areas, differences that may include 'language, kinship structures, inheritance

systems, modes of agricultural production, patterns of settlement, legal systems or the lack thereof, religious beliefs, and, most generally, styles of life' (*ibid.* p.5). Insofar as economy and technology developed in the core regions, they extended their political influence and control over the periphery. Such is the situation in which the peripheral region of Galicia was embedded since the fifteenth century with the centripetal politics of the Spanish Catholic Monarchs who created a centralized state under their authority. For the Galician nationalists 'é unánime a convicción de que o reinado de Fernando e Isabel supuxo o sometemento da nación galega e a súa incorporación ó novo Estado español como "colonia de Castela"' (Beramendi, 2007, p. 571). Since then, there began for Galicia a long period of repression and subjugation by the Spanish state and the central power represented by Castile. It is not until the nineteenth century that postcolonial voices emerged defending Galicia's singularity and distinctiveness. The term postcolonial is understood here and throughout the rest of this thesis in the sense given by Ashcroft *et al.*: 'all the culture affected by the imperial process from the moment of colonization to the present day' (1989, p.2). These postcolonial voices articulated their discourse by returning to a mythical past because as Smith argues:

there is much more to the concept of the 'nation' than myths and memories. But they constitute a *sine qua non*: there can be no identity without memory (albeit selective), no collective purpose without myth, and identity and purpose or destiny are necessary elements of the very concept of a nation (1986, p.2).

Mythology, no matter how far it is from the historic truth, allows for the origins of a community to be rooted in a heroic past developing into a sign of national honour and a way of legitimising the community's existence as a nation. Moreover, the 'rediscovery' or 'invention of history' is, in a nationalist context, a

mechanism through which ‘we discover (or “rediscover”) who we are, whence we come, when we emerged, who our ancestors were, when we were great and glorious, who our heroes are, why we declined’ (Smith 1986, p.148). Thus, it is not surprising that the Galician nationalists based their reconstruction of the nation in the rediscovery of Galicia’s alleged ancestors: the Celts.

This idealization of a heroic past, as well as of folk traditions and literature, is rooted in the narratives of the German Romantics such as Herder and Schlegel, sources that were available to the nineteenth-century Galician historians permeating through their own discourse. Within the context of the Napoleonic invasions in Europe and the hegemony of French classicism, the Romantic narrative bears a twofold objective: it defends and promotes the national historical cultures (German, English, Spanish) and claims national sovereignty against the Napoleonic imperialism (*cf.* Flitter, 2013). Therefore, it clearly intertwines cultural and political elements.

Herder, father of German Romanticism, emphasises the relevance of studying the native literatures which he regards as the most precious asset of a nation because it teaches us ‘how a people thought, what it wished and craved for, how it took its pleasures, how it was led by its teachers or its inclinations’ (in Berlin, 1976, p.169). In sum, it teaches us about the *Volksgeist*, the true spirit of a nation. Later on, the two Schlegel brothers, August Wilhelm and Friedrich, were both responsible for the expansion of the Romantic discourse throughout Europe, but collective cultural memory was more explicitly given by Friedrich as a means of consolidating a nation. This excerpt of a lecture pronounced by him

in Vienna in a cycle of lectures entitled 'Lectures on the History of Literature, Ancient and Modern' between 1811 and 1812 is illustrative:

there is nothing so necessary to the whole improvement, or rather to the whole intellectual existence of a nation, as the possession of a plentiful store of those national recollections and associations, which are lost in a great measure during the dark ages of infant society, but which it forms the great object of the poetical art to perpetuate and adorn [...] that these recollections have come down to them from a remote and a heroic ancestry – in a word, that they have a *national poetry* of their own, we are willing to acknowledge that their pride is reasonable, and they are raised in our eyes by the same circumstance which gives them elevation in their own (Schlegel, 1818, p.15, emphasis in the original)

In this passage F. Schlegel highlights the necessity of resorting back to the past, to the heroic ancestors that give pride to a nation and justify its existence. Exactly the same ideas are expressed in 1845 by the Spanish critic José Amador de los Ríos 'Un pueblo que no puede volver la vista atrás para gozar en sus antiguas glorias, no espera en modo alguno, un porvenir venturoso' (Ríos, 1845, p. 390). With all these sources and this set of ideas, which was very widely disseminated and accepted at the time, at their disposal, the Galician historians and intellectuals of the nineteenth century were able to adapt this narrative to the context of Galicia with regard to the Spanish contempt for Galician language and culture.

The movement called *Galeguismo*, which defends Galicia's culture and distinctiveness, has a long history (cf. Nuñez Seixas, 2001, p. 54). Contemporary historians date its origins back to the 1840s (cf. Beramendi and Nuñez Seixas 1995, Nuñez Seixas 2001, Villares 2004), a period associated with the emergence of a generation that defended the singularity of Galicia which they thought to be threatened by the construction of the liberal state in

Spain (cf. Villares, 2004). The collapse of absolutism and arrival of liberalism in Spain caused by the Napoleonic invasion in 1808 gave rise to the period of nations and nationalisms in the country (cf. Beramendi, 2007). The Spanish nation defined by the 1812 Constitution as 'reunión de los españoles de ambos hemisferios' (in Beramendi 2007, p.59) was born without much social support when the Spanish Parliament met in Cadiz, which was besieged by the French, in 1810. This lack of support came from the fact that the new-born liberalism that promulgated a French-like revolution had to face the opposition of the traditionalists that were unwilling to accept the new type of society and political system imposed by the French invaders. Indeed, the 1812 Constitution, in which the sovereignty was transferred from the king to the nation, had a short life as it was revoked by Ferdinand VII in 1814. The Spanish traditionalist patriotism was an obstacle for the recognition of the nation as a legitimate means of power and the unremitting confrontation between absolutists and liberals over the following years led to a civil war in 1833-1840 that finally consolidated the establishment of the liberal state. After the failed attempt to find a third way in between absolutism and liberalism through the *Estatuto Real* of 1834, the progressive, but conciliatory, Constitution of 1837 recognised the nation as the legitimate source of political power. The Spanish liberal state was, however, highly influenced by traditionalism which to some extent jeopardized the modernization intended by the new political system. Another fissure of this new structure was the pre-existent ethnical and institutional divergence within Spain, the so called provincialism that was opposed to the centralism of the new liberal state and was particularly strong in Catalonia and the Basque Country. These years see the first signs of what will later be known as the Catalan

Renaixença, a literary and cultural revival; in the Basque country, although the tension affected predominantly the political sphere, there were also expressions of a cultural and literary nature (cf. Beramendi, 2007, pp. 58-65). After 1808, there appeared in Spain the phenomenon of *juntismo*; the *Juntas* were ruling bodies that emerged in the different regions to organize the resistance against French troops. From this time, they appeared intermittently in moments of political crisis such as 1835, 1840 and 1854 as a way of attempting to overthrow any government that was regarded as inappropriate, and they had a federalist orientation. In Galicia, a rising that took place in April 1846, led by the colonel Miguel Solís, gave rise to the creation of a *Xunta Superior do Goberno de Galicia*, an attempt to achieve self-rule for Galicia. The *Xunta*, in a famous proclamation, stated that it was time for Galicia to react against a colonial situation imposed by the central state ‘Galicia, arrastrando ata agora unha existencia oprobiosa, convertida nunha verdadeira colonia da Corte, vai erguerse desta humillación e abatemento ...’ (in Villares, 2004, p.369-370). However, the rising failed with Solís’ troops being defeated and the main military leaders being executed in a place called Carral for which they received the name of martyrs of Carral².

According to Villares (2004, p. 370), the relevance of this period (1840s) in Galicia is that it set the grounds for the whole *Galeguismo* movement in the nineteenth century, especially because of the role given to historicism as a foundation for the definition of Galicia. This line was opened due to the work of historian José Verea y Aguiar who, in his *Historia de Galicia* (1838), introduced

² For a full account of this period see Barreiro Fernández (1977).

Celticism as a key concept for the interpretation of Galicia's past. He asserted that 'la Galicia fué un país céltico' (Verea y Aguiar, 1838, p.22) defending that the Celts were the early inhabitants of Galicia. Since this moment, the theme of Celtic ancestry which was later supported by historians Benito Vicetto and Manuel Murguía was used as a foundation for the distinctive identity of Galicia. Celticism as a construction of a national myth is embedded in a European historiographic tradition which consists of searching for ancestors who might be real or imagined, but unique and heroic, in order to justify the importance of the society whose history is being written (*cf.* Villares, 2001, p.541). In this respect, Villares (2001, p.542) refers to the sixteenth-century English texts on the history of Scotland by G. Buchanan where the idea that the Celts were the first inhabitants of the country is suggested, although the historian states that it is not until the eighteenth century when the Celts acquired their splendour as honourable ancestors. In 1703, the *Antiquité de la nation et de la langue des Celtes autremwent appelés Gaules* by P. Perzon was published in France asserting that France was the cradle of the Celts and from there, they spread over other places in Europe (*ibid.*). However, the milestone that really instigated fascination with the Celtic myth was the publication of *The Poems of Ossian* in 1760 by the Scott James Macpherson (1736-1796). The poems are, allegedly, a translation of Gaelic poems whose main theme is the heroic deeds of third-century Scottish legendary warrior Ossian (*cf.* Montiel, 1974, p.9). According to Montiel, 'el éxito de Ossián de Macpherson fue enorme y marcó uno de los hechos más interesantes en la historia de la literatura universal' (1974, p. 17). The Ossianic translations influenced the European and American literatures of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. However, Montiel argues that the

poems did not arouse as much interest in Spain as in other countries suggesting the following reasons for this scarce impact: (a) the Ossianic movement arrived in Spain quite late, (b) the paganism and lack of religiosity of the poems, (c) the repression of the political liberalism that prevented Spanish literature from being openly influenced by innovative models, and (d) the difficulties that arose from the transition from Neoclassicism to Romanticism³. In the case of Galicia, the poems affected the poetry of Eduardo Pondal (1835-1917) who, assuming the role of bard of the Galician nation, used the success of Ossian to promote the alleged Celtic origins of Galicia (cf. Montiel 1974, p.180). The Ossianic phenomenon also influenced the re-writing of history by the nineteenth-century Galician historians who presented a romantic account of Galicia's past. Another text which had a similar effect was *Leabhar Gabhala*, a legendary narration of the history of invasions of Ireland that interweaves history and mythology. This legendary Irish text appeared in 1630 when Michael O'Clery, a scribe in the Franciscan Order, and his assistants made a compilation of some ancient manuscripts (cf. McKevitt, 2003, p.51). According to McKevitt (2003, pp.52-53), the compilation did not arouse much interest in Ireland until another Celtic culture's literature (the Scottish) threatened to overshadow it. The first English translation did not appear, however, until 1916 and was completed by Irish historian Eoin MacNeill (1867-1945) and professor of Celtic archaeology R. A. Stewart Macalister (1870-1950) (cf. McKevitt, 2003,

³ Montiel's consideration in this case should be regarded as relative and it does not mean that Ossian was unknown in Spain. For example, the critics Donoso Cortés and López Soler established a surprising connection between the writings of Byron and Ossian as representations of the language of the sublime (cf. Flitter, 2004a). Donoso even expressed his preference for Ossian over Greek verse (cf. Flitter, 2004b). Andrew Ginger (2004) has also highlighted Macpherson's influence on late-eighteenth-century writers such as Meléndez Valdés, Cienfuegos and Somoza as well as on Espronceda and García Gutiérrez in the nineteenth century.

p.78). *Leabhar Gabhala* or *The Book of Invasions of Ireland* traces the history of Ireland back to Noah and Cessair, daughter of Noah. It then continues telling the story of the arrival of other settlers to the island until the coming of the descendants of Breoghan. Breoghan, according to the tale, was a Celtic king who, after the arrival of the Celts in the Iberian Peninsula, founded the city of Brigantia (in Galicia) and built a tower there, the Breoghan tower, from which his son, Ith, saw Ireland and decided to go there. Thus, the text will have a crucial role in legitimizing the Celtic origins of Galicia and its links with the other alleged Celtic nations, particularly Ireland. The Irish myth of origins will be appropriated by nineteenth-century Galician historians and later on by the *Xeración Nós* intellectuals. Indeed, Vicente Risco, the most representative figure of the *Xeración*, will translate fragments of *Leabhar Gabhala* in 1931 as will be discussed in chapter 3.

Once again, the impact of *Leabhar Gabhala* in Galician literature can be seen in the poetry of Pondal, who introduces the Celtic hero Breoghan in his literary creation and his poetry 'contributes to the evolution of Galicia's national consciousness and identity and lays the foundation for a national myth' (McKevitt , 2003, p.71). This influence can be seen, for instance, in his poem *Os pinos* (*The pines*) (1890), where he calls upon Galicia to awake 'desperta do teu sono, / fogar de Breogán' and fight for its redemption 'luitade plos destinos/ dos eidos de Breogán' because the Galicians are 'fillos dos nobres celtas'. He constantly refers to Galicia as 'fogar de Breogán', 'nazón de Breogán', 'rexión de Breogán', 'eidos de Breogán'. Breoghan represents the unique and distinctive identity of Galicia. The poem *Os pinos* was musicalized by Galician

musician Pascual Veiga in La Habana in 1907 and it was used as the official anthem for the events organized by the emigrants in the Galician Centre of this city. Eventually, it became the Galician national anthem.

As mentioned earlier, after Vereya y Aguiar had introduced Celticism in Galician historiography, the emphasis on Celtic origins was later developed by two important historians of the *Rexurdimento*, the Galician Revival, a period that starts in the mid-nineteenth century and ends in 1936 with the Spanish military uprising. The *Rexurdimento* is part of the group of cultural and literary revivals that emerged in Europe in the nineteenth century (cf. Villares, 2004, 371). In Galicia, besides the literary recovery of Galician whose main figures were the three poets Rosalía de Castro (1837-1885), Manuel Curros Enríquez (1851-1908) and Eduardo Pondal (1835-1917), a relevant role was played by the romantic historians, Benito Vicetto (1824-1878) and Manuel Murguía (1833-1923), who manipulated the history of Galicia as a reaction against the history imposed by the central authority represented by Madrid (cf. McKevitt, 2003). They used the theme of Celtic ancestry to emphasize the ethnic divergence of Galicia from Castilian Spain.

From a scientific point of view, it is now known that the Galician ancestors were not predominantly Celts and, although there is evidence of commercial relations between the northwest of the Iberian Peninsula and places inhabited by peoples who are considered Celts, including Ireland, there is no consensus about who the Celts were, where they came from and where exactly they lived (cf. Álvarez Luguís, 2009). As Keating states 'O termo celta é moi indeterminado cando

falamos dunha cultura que vai máis aló dos 2.000 anos antes de C.’ (1990, p.95). In this respect, a 1997 publication about the history of Galicia asserts that ‘carecemos de datos que tan siquera insinúen que a cultura dos castros sexa celta. A nosa cultura material en nada se parece ás das zonas celtas europeas [...]’ (in Villares, 2001, p. 564). However, as Álvarez Luguís (2009) points out, science has nothing to do with the creation and development of identities. Anderson in his classical book on nationalism defines the nation as ‘an imagined political community’ (2006 [1983], p.6). It is imagined because although the members of a nation do not know most of the other members, they have an image of belonging to the same group. The rewriting/manipulation of history carried out by the Galician historians based on the alleged Celtic origins in an attempt to equip Galicia with a glorious and heroic past set the grounds for providing that sense of belonging. Celticism would be turned into the main defining feature of Galicia’s distinctiveness therefore the starting point for the invention of the Galician nation, because nations are imagined ‘not as creations of political rationality, but as communities embedded in time and space, and established on accumulated funds of common experience’ (Cubitt, 1998, p.5). In Vicetto and Murguía’s reconstruction of Galicia’s past, they constructed a historical narrative which started the process of ‘writing the [Galician] nation’ using Bhabha’s (1990) terms. These authors, as mentioned above, were highly influenced by the historicism of the German romantics whose rejection of the contemporary world led them to look for inspiration in history; ‘they wanted to enrich the present by reviving the past.’ (Kohn, 1961, p.51).

The historian Benito Vicetto published his *Historia de Galicia* between 1865 and 1872 in 7 volumes and devoted some sections to the Celtic period. He provides an imaginative account of the origins of Galicia which is not surprising from an author who asserts that 'lo principal para escribir la historia de un pueblo no son los datos; lo principal es la imaginación' (in Villares, 2001, p.551). This remark gives an idea of the extent to which he was under the spell of Romanticism. He argues that the Celts are originally from Galicia and they come directly from Noah's descendants. In this respect, he already defends in the preface that 'La historia de Galicia es, por el contrario, la historia del primer pueblo de Europa' (1986 [1865], p. vii). He emphasises Celticism as a differentiating factor of Galicia's identity as opposed to the rest of Spain: 'Galicia fue la cuna del celtismo, como lo fue del iberismo el territorio comprendido desde el Guadalquivir hasta mas allá del Ebro por el Litoral de Levante, región perfectamente delimitada por todos los historiadores' (*ibid.*, p.122). This marking of Galician history as distinct adheres to the idea that 'to imagine a nation is, first to differentiate it from others' (Cubitt, 1998, p.6). He also makes reference to the emigration of Galician Celts to Ireland (p.177) which is one of the main points in the establishment of a bond between Galicia and the other Celtic nations.

Manuel Murguía is the 'principal historiador do Rexurdimento galego' (Villares, 2001, p.551). As Villares (2001, p. 552) argues, Murguía's works have two main objectives: asserting historicism in the theoretical construction of the idea of Galicia and exploiting the Celtic myth in political and ideological terms. Ultimately, he aims to prove the existence of the Galician nation. I will devote

more space to the discussion of Murguía's ideas as he can be identified as a clear precedent of the *Xeración Nós*. His two major works are *Historia de Galicia*, composed of 5 volumes that were published between 1865 and 1913 and *Galicia* (1888); it must be noted that the first volume of his *Historia de Galicia* came out in the same year as Vicetto's first volume. In the preface, Murguía starts by acknowledging the work of Vereá y Aguiar to whom 'le cabe la honra de haber sido el que antes que nadie habló en Galicia con alguna extensión y criterio de los celtas, nuestros progenitores, devolviendo a su patria, bajo este punto de vista, glorias hasta entonces desconocidas' (1865, p.xvii). He contends that the Celts were the first inhabitants of Galicia of whom we have historical certainty; however, he does accept the French origins of these settlers. By so doing, he confers a European dimension on the Galician Celts, which allows him to deny any kind of Castilian influence in the shaping of ancient Galicia (cf. Villares, 2001, pp. 556-557).

The historian asserts that the Iberian Peninsula does not constitute a national entity; it is questionably divided into three big territories namely *España* (Lusitania, Bética y Cartaginense), *Afranc* (Tarraconense) and *Galicia*, "formada por sus tres conventos jurídicos" (Murguía, 1891, p.18). Each of these territories form, for Murguía, a different nationality:

las costumbres propias a cada uno de dichos grupos, los pensamientos que abrigan, les dan fisonomía propia y condiciones de verdadera nacionalidad, puesto que representan sentimientos y intereses distintos, que no sólo las caracterizan sino que las inclinan al afianzamiento de sus libertades (*ibid.*, p.19).

But common customs are not the only defining factor of the nation, he argues that the different nations are well delimited by 'las mil diferencias de raza y

localidad, que desde un principio habían establecido y consagrado los hombres y los siglos' (*ibid.*, p.20). The concept of race, recurrent in Murguía, is a key one as it provides the foundation on which to base the whole discourse on the distinctive identity of Galicia, and it will be a priority in the nationalist discourse articulated by the nationalists of the *Nós* period, especially Vicente Risco and Otero Pedrayo. Murguía continues arguing that each of those three nationalities 'da vida á una civilización y crea una lingua, signo el más característico y declarado de toda nacionalidad legítima' (*ibid.*). As for Herder and the German romantics, such as Arnt and Fichte (*cf.* Kohn, 1961, pp.76-77), there was, for the Galician historian, a strong link between language and nationality. Herder identified 'those sharing a particular historical tradition grounded in language' with 'a *Volk* or nationality, and it is this essentially spiritual quality that he sees the most natural and organic basis for political association' (Barnard 1965, p.57). Likewise 'language seemed to Arndt the best guarantee of the differentiation among nations' (Kohn, 1961, p. 77). Language as a defining element of the nation will also be one of the basic principles for the Galician nationalists of the *Xeración Nós* and *Irmandades da Fala* and one that will enormously affect translation. Hence a great deal of this thesis will be devoted to the imperative of linguistic differentiation as a way of asserting the existence of Galicia as a nation.

Murguía conceives the nation as a human community which has been naturally bred by history: 'La nación es un ser orgánico vivo que tiene un alma o espíritu colectivo, *Volksgeist*' (Murguía, 1985 [1888], p. viii). And the singularity of the nation implies the presence of a series of distinctive elements such as race,

language, institutions, customs and folklore; however, it does not involve a particular political organization, sovereignty or the existence of its own state. Therefore, the Galician historian has an ethnic and cultural conception of the nation, which is closely linked to German Romanticism and opposed to the French political conception of nation that is based on the idea that the members of a nation have decided to be so and have chosen to organize themselves under a common political entity. The whole nineteenth century was marked by the political conception of Spain as a nation, which was not seriously called into question until the last decades of the century, when the ethnic-cultural concept made its appearance in the country (*cf.* Gran enciclopedia de España, 1999, p.6967) to challenge the centralising vision of the liberal state (*cf.* Mar-Molinero and Smith, 1996, pp.5-7). In this vein, Mazower (2001) argues that the triumph of the nation-state as political structure in Europe meant the rise of the minority as a political problem that threatened and challenged national interests. The situation was different within the old European empires because they based their legitimacy on dynastic rather than ethnical loyalties. But, during the nineteenth century, nationalism begun to corrode old dynastic or religious feelings that the European empires had depended upon for centuries. (*cf.* Mazower, 2001, pp. 57-68).

Murguía establishes both emulation and opposition referents in his definition of the Galician nation. The former are based on the existence of an ethnic identity between Galicia and other alleged Celtic nations in northern Europe (*cf.* Villares, 2001, p.556). He refers to the expedition of the Galician Celts to Ireland and states that 'La Irlanda confiesa que debe su población a los habitantes del

Norte de España, que no eran otros que nuestros celtas; dicen además que de Irlanda pasaron á la parte Norte de Escocia y todavía se extendieron al país de Gales' (Murguía, 1865, p.423). He claims to be basing this assertion on a publication by the philological society of London on the primitive languages of the western peoples of Europe. He also relates how Breoghan built the tower in A Coruña from which his son, Ith, saw Ireland and went there with his tribe (*ibid.*, pp. 429-435). This appropriation of Irish mythology, which states that the Celts settled first in Galicia and from there they went to other Atlantic countries, legitimizes the Celtic origins of the former, 'Murguía, by appropriating Ireland's myth of origins and assigning it importance in Galician history, validates Galicia's identity as a nation with a Celtic heritage' (McKevitt, 2003, p.67). The opposition referent is established against the long-lasting enemy Castile and the centralism of the Spanish state, which becomes the negative 'Other'. In this respect, it is useful here to employ Lacan's theory (Ashcroft *et al.* 2000, pp.169-171) which distinguishes between 'other' and 'Other'. The former refers to 'the other who resembles the self' (p.170) and plays an essential role in the definition of the subject, in the case of Galicia it can be identified with the Celtic nations of Northern Europe, especially Ireland. The latter is the separated 'Other' in which the subject gains identity and in postcolonial theory can be compared to 'the imperial centre, imperial discourse, or the empire itself' (*ibid.*), in the case of Galicia it is Castile.

The Celtic myth persisted as a priority for the definition of Galicia advocated by the Galician nationalists of the early twentieth century; it provided the 'basis on which to found a discourse of identity and a means of differentiation' (Flitter,

2000, p. 301). Villares (2001, p. 384) dates the birth of Galician nationalism to 1918 when a nationalist assembly of the *Irmandades da Fala* took place in the city of Lugo and a proclamation was approved saying that ‘Tendo Galicia tódalas características esenciaes de nacionalidade, nós nomeámo-nos, de hoxe para sempre, nacionalistas galegos’ (in Villares, 2001, p.384). The movement is associated with the emergence of a group of intellectuals between 1916 and 1920; as Smith argues, the role of the intelligentsia is a factor that ‘appear to be a necessary condition of all nationalist movements’ (1971, p. 87). These intellectuals were contemporaries to the group of Spanish intellectuals known as ‘Generación del 98’ who were also influenced by German Romanticism in their search for Spanish authenticity. The defeat of Spain in the war with the United States and subsequent loss of Cuba in 1898 led to patriotic disappointment and hindered the articulation of a coherent national ideal (cf. Mar-Molinero and Smith, 1996, p.3). However, it gave rise to the emergence of the ‘Regenerationist movement’ that although it was far from being a unified movement, was mainly centred on the main concerns of progress and modernization in the country. Regenerationists also advocated the need for stronger leadership to represent Spanish interests, although they were not overt nationalists (cf. Payne, 1991, p.481). In this regard, Payne (1991) argues that ‘in no other European country has nationalism been weaker than in Spain prior to 1936’ (p.1).

One of the leading philosophers of this period was Miguel de Unamuno who distinguished between the two concepts of *historia* (history) and *intrahistoria* (intra-history) (cf. Unamuno, 1991 [1902]). The former refers to the

accumulation of events (the surface) whereas the latter refers to men who make history unconsciously, in silence:

los millones de hombres sin historia que a todas horas del día y en todos los países del globo se levantan a una orden del sol y van a sus campos a proseguir la oscura y silenciosa labor cotidiana y eterna, esa labor que como la de las madreporas suboceánicas echa las bases sobre que se alzan los islotes de la historia (*ibid.*, pp. 49-50).

This *intrahistoria* is, for Unamuno, 'la tradición eterna' which leads to the discovery of peoples' authenticity. Thus, the concept is quite similar to the 'spirit of a nation' or *Volkgeist*. Nevertheless, as Villares observes 'os membros de Nós souberon crear un discurso propio, aplicado ao problema nacional de Galicia' (2004, p.390).

Two years before the public proclamation of Galician nationalism, in 1916, the Galician intellectual A. Villar Ponte⁴ had published his *Nacionalismo Gallego. Nuestra "afirmación" regional* (1916), a practical treaty in defence of the Galician language, which laid the foundations for a linguistic nationalism that was the justification for the creation of the *Irmandades da Fala* in the same year. He argues that any kind of Galician assertiveness must be based on its own language, which has to be promoted and used in all fields because 'La lengua es la expresión más acabada de toda raza y de todo pueblo' (Villar Ponte, 2006 [1916], p.22). As mentioned earlier, this strong connection between language and nation had been expressed by the German romantics and highlighted by Murguía. Anderson (2006 [1983]) also attributes the creation of the imagined communities to print-languages as they make people aware of the

⁴ The figure of Antón Villar Ponte, his ideology and contribution to the articulation of the Galician nationalist discourse and how this is reflected in his translation practice will be further discussed in chapter 4.

number of members who form part of that particular language community, as he puts it 'Much the most important thing about languages is its capacity for generating imagined communities, building in effect particular solidarities' (p.133). It must not be forgotten that the Galician language had been repressed for centuries by the centripetal power of Castile; it had been banned from public use and it is not until the nineteenth century that the process of recovery begun. As Ashcroft *et al.* argue 'One of the main features of imperial oppression is control over language' (1989, p.7) and this control is rejected when post-colonial voices emerge and language becomes an essential symbol of national identity and a way of resisting cultural repression. Language has therefore a key role in the shaping of a nation and the Galician nationalists were aware of this relationship: 'Eisiste, pois un vencello antr'o idioma d'un pobo e a nación qu'o fala [...] a comunidade d'idioma abonda pra fixar unha comunidade de cultura e unha comunidade de sentimentos' (Canedo, 1930, p.238). Galician becomes the main sign of identity in their struggle for the reconstruction of the Galician nation because '¿Qué poderá ser Galicia s'arrenega da sua alma, que é a sua lingua, donada por Dios, xenerada nos seos misteriosos da raza, recibida por nos en herdo dos nosos pais, dos nosos abós, dos nosos dinantepasados?' (Villar Ponte, 1917, p.4). The Galician language was seen as a means of expression of Galicia's original personality, the *enxebrismo*, which is defined by the *Nós* journal as 'a nosa orixinalidade específica, a nosa capacidade de creación, o noso autóctono dinamismo mental'⁵ (*Nós*, 1920a, pp. 1-2). This

⁵ *Enxebrismo* is a re-definition, and indeed an opposition to, of the Spanish term *casticismo* which was used in early twentieth-century Spain to refer to what was genuinely and purely Spanish. Unamuno (1991 [1902]) defines *castizo* as 'puro y sin mezcla de elemento extraño' (p.35) and 'Decir en España que un escritor es *castizo* es dar a entender que se le cree más español que a otros' (*ibid.*). The Galician intellectuals adapt the term to their own nationalist

originality was vital in order to create a national identity, and therefore it was necessary to normalise the use of the language in all fields and to differentiate it from Spanish. The emphasis on language differentiation is one of the key aspects which affects the practice of translation in the period as will be shown in the translations analysed in this thesis. It is, however, an aspect that has been frequently overlooked by scholars.

The first *Irmandade de Amigos da Fala* was founded in A Coruña on the 18th of May 1916, and in 1923 twenty-eight *Irmandades* were already established, spread around the main Galician cities and towns (*cf.* Villares, 2001, p.383). Their aim was to ‘espallar o uso oral e escrito do galego [...], defender a cultura enxebre en todas as súas manifestacións e alentar o coñecemento e o amor polo pasado e o presente de Galicia’ (Beramendi and Seixas, 1995, p.95). In 1917, they established contacts with the Catalan *Lliga Regionalista*⁶ of Francesc Cambó. In the same year that the first *Irmandade* was created, its official publication, the politically oriented journal *A Nosa Terra* was launched. The periodical was defined by Beramendi and Seixas as ‘o grande voceiro do nacionalismo galego’ (1995, p.96). There were two different ideological trends in the *Irmandades*, one was politically oriented and was defined by Villares as ‘de filiación democrática e resabios federalizantes’ (2004, p.385); the other was ‘de orientación conservadora e resabios católicos’ (*ibid.*, p.386) and its priority was the cultural reconstruction of Galicia. The former is the line followed by

cause and use it as another element of opposition between the Galician nation and the Castilian Spain.

⁶ Political party that had an important role in Catalonia until the outbreak of the Spanish civil war in 1936. It tried to spread the federal agenda over the rest of Spain and it had some impact in Valencia, Galicia, the Basque Country and the Balearic Islands.

intellectuals such as Antón Villar Ponte, his brother Ramón and Alfonso Daniel Rodríguez Castelao, and the latter is pursued by other landmark figures such as Vicente Risco and Otero Pedrayo. However, as Beramendi and Seixas (1995 pp.122-23) point out there was more agreement than disagreement between the two factions. The two historians highlight the following common grounds: the Galician nation is a natural historical and objective organism; Galician nationality lies basically in its ethnicity; Portugal is seen as a national *alter ego* of Galicia; the existence of a Spanish nation is denied; they have two referents: Ireland (ethnic affinity) and Catalonia (political affinity); political structure is excluded as one of the constituents of the nation. In the Monforte assembly that took place in 1922 the conservative trend defended by Risco triumphed over the liberal one.

In 1920, Vicente Risco founded *Nós*, a monthly literary and artistic journal, which gave name to the whole generation of intellectuals known as *Xeración Nós*, 'o grupo de intelectuais máis compacto, homoxéneo e fértil de toda a súa [Galicia's] historia cultural' (Villares, 2004, p.389). In the same year, Risco wrote *Teoría do Nazonalismo Galego*, which is considered by Beramendi 'un dos textos políticos máis importantes na Galicia do século XX' (Risco, 2000 [1920], p.9). This inaugural text summarizes the main points of Risco's, and indeed the whole *Xeración Nós*' nationalist ideology. The ideas contained in this book and their relevance for the practice of translation will be discussed at length in chapter 3, therefore I will only provide a brief outline here. His starting point is that Galician nationalism pursued the cultural and political differentiation from Spain by finding Galicia's original personality. The nation is a historical

organism whose main constituent is ethnicity; Risco and the other *Xeración Nós* intellectuals maintain Murguía's idea of race as a priority. However, Celticism acquires a new dimension as it is linked to the concept of Atlanticism. The ancestral Celtic roots of Galicia gave grounds to justify the belonging to an ethnic community that was different from the Mediterranean one which they controversially identify with Castilian Spain. Consequently, it served as a basis for the birth of a new Atlantic civilization which would emerge from the awakening of the ancient Celtic nations: Ireland, Scotland, Wales, Cornwall, The Isle of Man, Brittany and Galicia. This new Celtic-Atlantic civilization would lead to the regeneration of Europe as it would embody new values, romanticism and spiritualism, as opposed to the decadent Mediterranean culture. Vicente Risco was highly influenced by Spengler's ideas about the decline of Western culture to the extent that he even claimed that those ideas were present in the *Xeración Nós* long before they had been formulated by the German thinker (cf. Risco, 1933). In his major work *Der Untergang des Abendlandes* or *The Decline of the West* (1918-1922), Spengler argued, on the basis of the idea that civilizations must undergo the phases of a life cycle, that Western civilization, after having already reached its splendour, would experience a future of inevitable decline (cf. Patterson, 1999/2000, p.54). Spengler also emphasises the opposition between Faustian and Apollonian which correlates with the dichotomy of Northern and Southern adapted by the *Xeración Nós* within their *galeguista* discourse as Atlantic and Mediterranean (Galician and Castilian) (*ibid.*, p.60). The North (the Atlantic) was associated with Celtic, mostly with Ireland, and this association would awaken the Galician consciousness so that Galician culture could flourish. Celticism and Atlanticism become the two key

concepts around which the whole nationalist discourse was articulated in this period. By contrast, Castile was constructed as the opposition referent, the 'Other', against which the identity of the self was built. The opponent is not Spain because following their organicist concept of the nation based on ethnicity, Spain was, in their view, formed by different ethnical groups, and therefore it did not constitute a homogeneous unity. However, in their line of thought, Castile is not limited to the geographic area occupied by this region, but rather it seems to be associated with the part of the Peninsula that is left when they exclude the areas that they relate to, that is, Portugal, Catalonia and the Basque Country. At the same time, it is representative of the Mediterranean culture that they intend to differentiate themselves from. Therefore, their idea of Castile is, to say the least, incongruous.

There is no doubt that in the *Nós* period, which goes from 1920 until 1936 when the military uprising and the subsequent outbreak of the Spanish Civil war annihilated all the nationalist aspirations in Galicia, Galician nationalism was highly inspired by German Romanticism and the Celtic phenomenon that arose in Europe. The main precursors were the historian Manuel Murguía and the poet Eduardo Pondal. As Beramendi states, 'os nacionalistas pensan que a nacionalidade de Galicia radica principal ou exclusivamente na súa etnicidade' (2007, p.564). The historian also points out that this ethnicity is made of five main elements namely, race, land, *Volksgeist* or national spirit, language and culture (*ibid.*, p.566). As mentioned above, it was a more cultural than political nationalism as it was not state-oriented, its aims were towards 'the moral regeneration of the national community rather than the achievement of an

autonomous state' (Hutchinson, 1987, p.9). This does not mean, however, that as Hutchinson observes, cultural nationalists were 'hostile to independent statehood' (1987, p.16) as shown by their admiration for the creation of the Irish Free State in 1921: '¡Viva Irlanda libre! ¡Irlandeses, os irmaos galegos vos saúdan enviándovos unha aberta cheia d'agarimo fondo! O voso trunfo é esperanza do noso trunfo futuro...' (ANT, 1921f, p.4).

Through their official publications, *ANT* and *Nós*, the *Irmandades da Fala* and *Xeración Nós* launched a cultural programme, based on the differentiation of Galicia from Spain, with the aim of recovering the Galician language, literature and culture. They wanted to standardise Galician and extend its use to all fields showing that it could be valid for more than day-to-day conversation and literary creation; they wanted to transform a degraded language into a language of culture. *ANT* was conceived, from its inception, as a political journal and a means of propaganda for nationalism. However, it was also concerned with cultural and literary matters hence literary reviews, poems, short stories, translations, etc. were frequently published in its pages. On the other hand, *Nós*, *Boletín oficial da cultura galega*, was a cultural magazine which Toro Santos (1993) puts on a level with the Spanish *Revista de Occidente*.⁷ Valcárcel is right in considering that *Nós* 'foi a máis ambiciosa empresa cultural da Galiza contemporánea' (2004, p.137). From a cultural point of view, it built the foundations for the definition of the Galician identity, but it was also concerned with introducing European trends and thinking in Galicia, mainly

⁷ *Revista de Occidente* (Journal of the West) is a cultural and scientific publication which was founded by Spanish philosopher Ortega y Gasset in 1923. It aimed to keep Spain in contact with innovative foreign trends and ideas.

through translation. There are permanent references to the key aspects of the Galician identity 'o celtismo, o atlantismo, o papel de Portugal como referente de oposición a Castela, Irlanda como soño mítico e esperanza florecida de liberdade nacional, a defensa da lingua e dunha nova Europa dos pobos' (*ibid.* p. 138).

It must be pointed out that despite the nationalists' effort to show national unity, peripheral nationalist movements in Spain (Galician, Catalan, Basque) lacked political strength. This is partially because they had to compete with Spanish republican movements and face the consolidation of an organized labour movement which identified more with Spanish interests than with regional parties and claims (*cf.* Mar-Molinero and Smith, 1996; Payne, 1991). In the particular case of *Galeguismo*, Mar-Molinero and Smith (1996) argue that its relative lack of success can be down, on the one hand, to the early integration of Galicia into the Crown of Castile, and therefore the lack of historical institutions of self-government, such as the Catalan medieval parliament or the Basque *fueros*, on which the nationalists could base their discourse. On the other hand, the mostly rural nature of the Galician social structure involved poor communications and, as a result, strong localism. Finally, the scholars point out that the peasants' dependency on landed elites encouraged the existence of rural *caciques* connected to the central state (p.14). For these reasons, the anti-Spanish challenge was relatively unsuccessful in terms of political impact.

1.2 Ireland as a role model.

As mentioned above, within the Iberian Peninsula, the Galician intellectuals felt affinity with Portugal which they included within the group of Celtic peoples: 'Nós, órgao da cultura enxebre, proclama outamente o valor universal celto-atlántico da cultura galaico lusitana, que foi unha soia na época gloriosa en que s'escribiron os *Cancioneiros*, a *Crónica de Turpin* y-a *Demanda do Santo Graal*' (Nós, 1920b, p.8), and with Catalonia, which seems to be excluded from the Mediterranean civilization that they rejected, as a model of resistance to the centralism of the Spanish state: 'Lendo os xornás d'aquela exemplar e mestra nación española [Catalonia], síntese ergueito o espírito pol-as áas da esperanza' (ANT, 1917, p.1). The inclusion of Portugal within the group of Celtic nations is problematic, as Southern Portugal, for instance, would, by no means, fall under this heading. The contradiction with their opposition of North and South could not be greater. But, even more, this inclusion of Portugal within the Celtic-Atlantic peoples was not shared by the neighbouring nation. Teixeira de Pascoaes (1877-1952), with whom Vicente Risco was in contact, was at the time the leading figure of the *Renascença Portuguesa*, a cultural movement that emerged in Portugal at the beginning of the twentieth century and that aimed at the revival of the Portuguese culture after a period of decline where it had been invaded by foreign influences, especially French (cf. Pascoaes, 1988 [1910-1952], p.44). However, Pascoaes understood the Portuguese race as a mixture of the ancient peoples that had inhabited the Iberian Peninsula which he divided into two ethnic groups: 'o aria (gregos, romanos, celtas, godos, normandos, etc.) e o semita (fenicios, cartagineses, judeos e árabes)' (*ibid.*, p.45). He argues that the blood of these two races mixed evenly and originated the 'raça

Lusitana' that is 'a mais perfeita síntese dos dois antigos ramos étnicos' (*ibid.*). The association of Portugal with Celticism is therefore an idea that comes only from the Galician nationalists in their aim to create an alliance with a stronger, more established nation, with which they had cultural similarities. It is yet another example of appropriation and manipulation of the historic truth for political purposes. It can be noted that for the Portuguese as well as for the Galicians the forms of differentiation employed are rather arbitrary; the guiding principle is the creation of a frame that will allow for the singularity of a particular Iberian component, and which is malleable and can be shaped in accordance with the part of the Peninsula that is to be stressed.

In spite of these declared 'affinities', the Galician nationalists did not consider their nationalist movement to be only a peninsular phenomenon echoing the other nationalisms (Catalonia, Basque Country) that were occurring at the same time in Spain or the Portuguese *Renascença*. They had awareness of other nationalist movements in the rest of Europe and they wanted Galicia to be part of this wider project which would lead to the regeneration of the continent, mainly through the awakening of the Celtic nations:

o nacionalismo galego non é un feito isolado, nin tan xiquera un feito peninsular, que se produza somentes coma un eco do nacionalismo catalán, ou do nacionalismo vasco, ou da volta dos portugueses inteligentes [...] ás suas tradicións étnicas - senon que responde a un movemento xeneral que colle toda a actualidade europea e moi singularmentes, ven coincidir c'un forte despertamento das arelas de recostitución e liberación nacional dos países célticos. (Risco, 1921a, p.4)

In this respect, their role model *per antonomasia* was Ireland, as Otero Pedrayo states 'O renacemento da Galiza inspirouse dend'os primeiros días no exempro

irlandés' (1930, p.176); Ireland was the mirror in which they could see their own reflection, they refer to it as 'martir subprime', 'espello eterno das nacións asoballadas' (*ANT*, 1920e, p.5). It was an important member of the Celtic-Atlantic nations and one which had retained the literary manuscripts of its glorious past. Besides the relevance of the *Leabhar Gabhala* in the establishment of an ancestral bond between both nations in the nineteenth century, from the late nineteenth century to the 1930s, the island experienced a Literary Revival together with a period of intense political unrest that led to independence and the creation of the Irish Free State in 1921. For this reason, in Europe and America there was a great interest in what it is known as the 'Irish Question' (Toro Santos, 2007).

This interest is manifested, in the case of Galicia, in the numerous articles and essays on Irish culture and politics that were published in both *ANT* and *Nós*. The former focused on political events showing that the Galician intellectuals had a sound knowledge of everything that was happening in the Northern European island. A good example of this is the series of essays published between September 1920 and March 1921 under the heading 'Historia dos movementos nazonalistas', which presents an overview of the history of Ireland since the Celtic invasion; it analyses the process of British colonization and the subsequent reactions against it until the creation of the Irish Free State (*cf.* *ANT*, 1920a, 1920b, 1920d, 1920h, 1921a, 1921b, 1921c, 1921d). From a political point of view, the period between 1916 and 1921 was crucial in Irish history. On April 1916 the rebellion known as the Easter Rising, an armed uprising of Irish nationalists fighting for independence from the rule of Great

Britain, took place under the leadership of Patrick Pearse and James Connolly. The insurgents took some strategic buildings in Dublin and proclaimed the Irish Republic, but the rebellion failed with fifteen of its leaders being executed. Yeats echoed these events in his poem 'Easter 1916' where he declares that 'All changed, changed utterly: A terrible beauty is born'.

This violent response was legally justifiable in time of war as the rebels were portrayed as conspirators of the Germans against the British. However, the violence used to repress the uprising aroused national feelings and support to the men who had lost their lives for Ireland. This was, in fact, the first of a series of events that led to the establishment of the Irish Free State. In the General Election of 1918 Sinn Féin candidates obtained the majority; this resulted in the establishment of a secessionist assembly (Dáil Éiream), an Irish Republican Army and a campaign of violence aimed at undermining the British power over the island. Terror was repressed with terror, but in February 1920 the British government began to put in place legislation that would allow for the creation of two separate parliaments in Ireland, one in Dublin and one in Belfast. After a period of negotiations, an agreement was finally signed on the 6th of December, 1921 and the Dáil Éireann ratified the Treaty for the partition of the island in 1922. Since then, Ireland was officially divided with two home rule governments, one in Dublin for twenty-six counties that were granted Dominion Status within the British Empire and one in Belfast for the six north-eastern counties that would retain the links with London. However, the terms of the Treaty were rejected by a faction of the Irish independence movement and a civil war broke out in April of that year triggering another year of horror until the Republicans

were finally defeated in 1923⁸. It is therefore not surprising that the Galician nationalists decided to report on these events. *ANT* praised the triumph of the Irish cause in its issue 153 on the 15th of December 1921 saying that ‘O imenso imperialismo inglés non poido vencer a pequena nacionalidade que é irmá da Galiza’ (p.4). They proclaimed that when people are willing to fight, they succeed and, in this respect, they mention Poland, Ukraine, Bohemia and Cuba (*cf. ibid.*). But, in their view, the victory of Ireland is not only the story of the liberation of one individual nation, but a symbol of the redemption of the Celtic nations as a whole ‘O celtismo entra de novo, cu’nha arela trocada en realidade, na escea da Historia. Chegou a hora da redenzón dos povos céltigos, Galiza ten de se decatar ben d’isto.’ (*ibid.*) A few months earlier (June) and in the same journal, the Galician nationalists had expressed their opposition to the opening of the Belfast Parliament ‘Ise Parlamento de Belfast é unha farsa. Nasceu morto. Teñamos para él o noso desprezo. O imperio tirán dos irmáns irlandeses xa non pode enganar a ninguén’ (*ANT*, 1921e, p.6).

ANT also opens its 129 issue in October 1920 paying tribute in its front page to Terence MacSwiney, the Irish mayor of Cork who died in 1920, after a long hunger strike, in an English prison where he had been jailed on charges of sedition and support of the Irish revolutionary movement. The Galician nationalists proclaimed a whole-hearted admiration for him as he was considered a martyr of nationalism; he was described as ‘O héroe mártir da raza’ and ‘o novo Cristo da raza céltiga’ (*ANT*, 1920c, p.1). The religious iconography is relevant here as it relates to Anderson’s idea that part of the

⁸ For further information on the history of Ireland see, for instance, O’Beirne Ranelagh (1994).

difficulty in analysing nationalism lies in classifying it as an ideology and that it would be easier to treat it as if belonging to 'kinship' and 'religion' (2006 [1983], p.5). Indeed, the *Nós* intellectuals often write about nationalism in religious terms and, in this respect, they claimed that Ireland had 'unha misión mesiánica e redentora' (*ANT*, 1920e, p.5). A relevant aspect in this association between nationalism and religion is the idea of self-sacrifice, or indeed martyrdom, for the nation, of which Terence MacSwiney was a model for the Galician intelligentsia, and that is also advocated by W.B. Yeats in his play *Cathleen ni Houlihan* (1902) and imported to the Galician nationalist project through the translation of the piece. This link between nationalism and the idea of self-sacrifice) will be fully explored in chapter four when analysing the translation undertaken by Antón Villar Ponte.

The homage paid to MacSwiney had a follow-up in the next issue of *ANT* by the inclusion of an essay (1920g) on the Irish resistance to the British oppression and the 'heroico sacrificio' of the mayor of Cork and a translation of the MacSwiney's poem 'Before the last Battle', later re-titled as 'Teach us how to die' which he wrote while he was in prison in 1920. The translator of the poem is unknown and the title is translated as *Aprendamos a morrer* (*ANT*, 1920f, p.7). The name of MacSwiney does not appear; his authorship is referred to as 'Unha poesía do Alcalde de Cork'. A brief introduction precedes the translation where British colonialism is criticised by the comment 'os escravizadores da sua Patria'. The poem takes the form of a prayer in which the lyric voice asks for God's help and assistance in the struggle for the freedom of Ireland; it is therefore a good example of the links between nationalism and religion. *Nós*

refers to the publication of this poem by *ANT* in its second issue 'Esta poesía foi xa traducida a todol-os idiomas do mundo. Ela tén, tras da sua sinxeleza, a fondura saudosa dos grandes poemas' (in MacKevitt, 2003, p.164). The overstatement that the poem had already been translated into all languages in the world is noteworthy. Although it is presented as the justification for the Galician nationalists to put it in Galician, it would be naive to think that the main factor for their attraction to the poem was not its highly political content. The description of the poem as 'fondura saudosa' is also illustrative, as *saudade* (longing) is a concept that was largely theorized by Teixeira de Pacoaes as the major defining feature of the Portuguese spirit giving rise to the philosophical movement of *Saudosismo*, the main leitmotif of the *Renascença*. In Galicia, it was portrayed as being one of the important factors of the Galician personality that is associated with Celticism.

On the 5th of December 1921, a year after MacSwiney's death, and a premonitory date as the Anglo-Irish Treaty was signed the day after, *Nós* devotes its issue 8 entirely to Ireland. Indeed, the whole issue is again a tribute to the mayor of Cork as they state at the beginning 'En lembranza de Terencio Mac Swiney, o Héroe -Mártir que pasmou ó mundo e de todol-os outros irmans nosos de raza que deron a vida pol-a sagrada causa d'Irlanda' (*Nós*, 1921, p.1). There are two opening essays on the life of Terence MacSwiney, in the first one, 'Terencio Mac Swiney' (Losada e Diégues, 1921), the mayor of Cork is praised for his sacrifice and is portrayed as a role model of patriotic struggle and, in the second, 'Notas da vida de Terencio Mac Swiney' (Mac Swiney, 1921), an account of his life is given. These essays work as a type of

introduction to the translation of Yeats' *Cathleen ni Houlihan* that follows; the play deals with the Irish struggle for independence. Because the idea of self-sacrifice is advocated in the play, the parallelism between the content of the piece and MacSwiney's life is clear⁹. A picture of the mayor of Cork also appears in this issue of *Nós* and, underneath the photograph, a translation of one fragment from MacSwiney's collection, *The Music of Freedom* (1907), by an unknown translator is included. In this small fragment (only five lines) the lyrical voice proclaims that sacrifice and death for the nationalist cause are worthwhile because they will lead to the liberation of Ireland. Thus, as McKevitt states, '*Nós* escolle este fragmento por motivos ideolóxicos' (2005, p.54). Two other essays that attempt to reinforce the alliance between Ireland and Galicia are included. The first one, 'Irlanda Polítca no século XIX' (Otero Pedrayo, 1921), describes the political events that happened in Ireland in the nineteenth century mentioning the 're-celtization' of the country, which is a problematic term as Celticism in Ireland did not go further than the revivalists. The other, 'Irlanda e Galiza' (Risco, 1921c), highlights the similarities between both nations in terms of race, geography, fauna, flora, Christianity and colonization and repression by bordering countries.

Cultural nationalism had taken shape in Ireland in the 1890s with the formation of the Gaelic League (1893) and the Irish Literary Theatre (1899) and turned into an important ideological movement 'eventually, becoming the vehicle for a revolutionary campaign that established in 1921 an independent Irish state' (Hutchinson, 1987, pp.115-116). However, Hutchinson argues that, in spite of

⁹ The translation of the play will be fully analysed in chapter 4.

this outcome, the aims of the revivalists were not political but it was ‘the regeneration of the contemporary nation’ (*ibid.*). From the start, two different movements coexisted which the scholar names linguistic and literary respectively, and he argues that rather than being in conflict, the two were allied. The former was based on the Gaelic language and the reconstruction of Gaelic civilization. The latter aimed to create a distinctive Anglo-Irish nation by means of a literature written in English but permeated by Irish legends and idioms (*ibid.*, p.119). W.B. Yeats was the main supporter of this Anglo-Irish Revival, formed by a group of writers who had the ‘desire to revive an authentic, indigenous, Irish folk culture’ (Castle, 2001, p. 1). Some of them such as Yeats (1865-1939), Lady Gregory (1852-1932), Synge (1871-1909) were renowned internationally. Like the Galicians, the Irish revivalists, highly influenced by the European romantic movement, believed in the advent of a regenerative era, and, in their case, the opposition was established between the materialism of Imperial Britain and the character of Ireland which would remain agricultural, spiritual, heroic (*cf.* Hutchison, 1987, p.133).

Nós paid close attention to the Literary Revival that was taking place in Ireland. In 1926, the journal published a series of three articles written by Vicente Risco and entitled ‘Da renancia celtiga. A Moderna Literatura Irlandesa’ (Risco, 1926a, 1926b, 1926c). These articles relied heavily on the French study *L’Île des bardes. Notes sur la littérature irlandaise contemporaine* (Téry, 1925) and entire paragraphs were translated and reorganized. The Galician nationalist drew a picture of the contemporary Irish literature and did not fail to highlight the

similarities between Galicia and Ireland at the beginning of the first article as a justification for the writing of this series:

Irlanda e Galiza [...] son terras do Estrem'Ocidente d'Europa, habitadas pol-a mesma raza e suxeitas a un fado imitante, d'un xeito tal, que somella coma si Deus quixera axuntar a unha co-a outra por unha chea de misteriosas relacións de todol-os ordes, [...] (Risco, 1926a, p.5).

Risco then focuses on authors such as Yeats (including translations of the poems 'The Rose Tree' and 'The Scholars'), Synge, George Russell (known as A.E. and of whom he translates some verses), James Stephens and Lord Dunsany (he includes fragments of short stories by them), Lennox Robinson and James Joyce, to whom the last article is mainly devoted., Ríos and Palacios (2005), following a gender reading of Risco's series, criticise the fact that he pays attention to authors whose role in the Irish nationalist cause is of scarce relevance whereas he ignores the role of Lady Gregory, a 'leading female writer in the Irish movement' (p.74). In this respect, it must be noted that there is no mention of Lady Gregory in Téry's book either.

Besides these articles and other references to Irish literature, culture and politics, the main discursive practice used by the *Xeración Nós* intellectuals to appropriate Irish models in order to fuel their own political and cultural agenda was translation. Indeed, more often than not, the articles and essays on Ireland worked as introductions which paved the way for the translations that would follow.

1.3 The *Xeración Nós* and the practice of translation.

Within the ideological and cultural context described above, the *Xeración Nós* intellectuals used translation as means of propaganda to support their nationalist agenda. The translation of Irish literary texts was part of a broader cultural programme that consisted of introducing European culture and literature in Galicia as a way of resistance to the influence of Spanish culture. Real Pérez (2000) outlines the main functions that translation had in this period as follows: to normalize the Galician language by extending its use to all fields, to introduce literary innovation, to keep the Galician culture in contact with the rest of the European culture, to diminish the pressure and influence of Castilian culture. With these objectives in mind both journals *Nós* and *ANT* published translations regularly. The former announces in 1922 that ‘No texto figurarán seleutas traduciós dos mellores literatos extranxeiros [...]’ (*Nós*, 1922, p.6) and publishes over 20 translations during its existence (1920-1935) which is a limited number for 15 years. But, it must be taken into account that Vicente Risco, founder of the journal, introduced his first translation by saying ‘Anque non-os gustan as traduciós, damos eiquí unha’ (*Nós*, 1920e, p.16). This hostility towards translation comes from seeing it as manipulation as these intellectuals advocated direct access to other cultures (*cf.* Arias, 2006; Real Pérez, 2000); translation is seen as a necessary evil to fulfil their political agenda¹⁰. In line with *Nós*, *ANT* announces in its first issue in 1916 that ‘Antre outras seiciós, “A NOSA TERRA” terá as seguintes: “Os poetas d’agora”, “Estudios económicos”, “Lendas gallegas”, “Traduciós”, [...]’ (*ANT*, 1916a, p.4). Thus, despite the consideration of translation as a suspicious activity, the

¹⁰ The views that Risco, *alma mater* of *Nós*, had on translation are further discussed in chapter three.

Galician intellectuals knew that it was a powerful tool to serve their cultural and ideological goals as I will demonstrate throughout this thesis.

The typology of translations that appear in the pages of both *Nós* and *ANT* is varied. With regard to literary translation, there are translations of the classics and a few religious translations, but above all, there are translations of contemporary authors (mainly from Catalan, Portuguese, English, French, German, and Italian). However, the translation activity of the *Xeración Nós* intellectuals is not limited to literary texts; they also render texts belonging to the fields of economy, politics, art and literary critique (cf. Real Pérez, 2000). This is because one of their main goals was to extend the use of the Galician language to all fields and to keep Galician culture in contact with European trends in different areas of knowledge¹¹.

Amongst all the translated texts in the period, it is in the translation of Irish literature where it is most evident that translations are being used as political instruments. They are intended to incorporate Galicia into the Celtic mythological tradition by means of establishing an identification between both Celtic nations. As explained above, Ireland was taken as a model for the articulation of the Galician nationalist project and for the renovation of the Galician literature. Consequently, from the selection of texts to be translated to the discursive strategies used to render them, the ideological implications of these translations within the *Xeración Nós*' political and cultural agenda are obvious. With regard to the first aspect, the cluster of Irish translations

¹¹ For a full account of translated texts in Galicia from 1907 to 1936 see Real Pérez (2000).

performed in the period include some fragments of James Joyce's *Ulysses* (from the chapters 'Ithaca' and 'Cyclops'), which were translated into Galician by Otero Pedrayo and published by *Nós* in 1926; three chapters (XI, XII, XII) of the Gaelic legendary text *Leabhar Gabhala* or *Book of the Conquests of Ireland* from the 1916 English version by MacNeill and Macalister, which were translated by Vicente Risco and published by *Nós* in 1931 with the title of 'A historia d'El-Rei Breogán e dos fillos de Mil, asegún o Leabhar Gabhala'; the poem 'The Last Battle' [*Aprendamos a morrer*] by Terence Mac Swiney translated by an unknown translator and published by *ANT* in 1920. Nevertheless, the most translated Irish writer of the time was the nationalist poet and playwright, William Butler Yeats (1865-1939). The translated works were the following: three poems, all of them translated by Vicente Risco ('To an isle in the water' (1920), 'The Rose Tree' (fragment) (1926), 'The scholars' (1926))¹², two short stories also translated by Risco ('Our Lady of the Hills' (1923), 'An Enduring Heart' (1925)) and two folk dramas, *Cathleen ni Houlihan* translated by Antón Villar Ponte (1921; republished in 1935) and *The Land of Heart's Desire* translated by Plácido Castro and the brothers Antón and Ramón Villar Ponte (1935). The choice of these texts was not fortuitous as each plays, in its own particular way, a significant role within the *Xeración Nós'* ideological apparatus.

1.4 The need for a comprehensive study of W. B. Yeats' translations.

Although the reception and translation of Irish literature in Galicia in the *Nós* period has recently become a popular subject of scholarly research, most

¹² The translations of both 'The Rose Tree' and 'The scholars' are included in Risco (1926a).

studies are limited in scope and there is still work which remains to be done. Kerry McKeivitt (2003) offers the most comprehensive study to date in her doctoral thesis as she includes all the above texts. McKeivitt explores the impact of the above translations on Galician cultural nationalism by focusing on some discursive strategies of the translations. Whereas her work presents enlightening contributions on the role of translation in the period, some of her theoretical considerations will be challenged in this thesis; mainly her use of Venuti's (1995) dichotomy of foreignised/domesticated translation as a framework to analyse the individual texts and her perspective of considering translation in this context as non-abusive, non-subverting (p.255). Indeed, it will be one of the main objectives of this study to demonstrate that a key factor of the practice of translation in this context is its creative and manipulative power and this is the perspective from which the texts must be analysed. Besides McKeivitt, most of the scholars who are concerned with the practice of translation in early twentieth-century Galicia have focused their research on the fragments of *Ulysses* translated by Otero Pedrayo in 1926. This is by far the most famous translation of the time as it was the first translation of *Ulysses* in the Iberian Peninsula (before the appearance of the Spanish and Portuguese ones). Despite Joyce being a controversial anti-nationalist who described the 1916 Irish Rising as a 'futile adventure' (Dangerfield, 1986, p.16), and an author who did not want to be defined by either his language or his nation, the Galician intellectuals admired him for his innovative and subversive writing. They idealised his life and his work adapting him to their own political project and presenting him as a model of Irishness, which is very ironic and a good example

of the inconsistencies of their argument. In this respect, Risco's desperate attempt to adapt the figure of Joyce to his own political agenda is revealing:

E do irlandesismo d'iste descastado, qui'imos dicir? Pois temos que dicir que padece no desterro a obsesión da Irlanda. Que todas as suas obras tratan da Irlanda, pasan na Irlanda, e os seus persoaxes son irlandeses. Que non perde de vista a súa terra, que s'entera de canto pasa n-ela, que lee todos os días os xornais d'alá, que cantos papeis trae no bolso refírense a ela. Qu'ó qu'ó queira facer falar, tenlle que falar da Irlanda. Qu'il é tristeiro, desgraciado, exilado... Pol'ó derradeiro, qu'ó seu espírito é fundamente irlandés: irlandés pol-a súa rebeldía pol-a exaxeración, pol-a paixón, pol-o humorismo, pol-a cobiza do misterio, pol-a rareza, porque non s'imita a ninguén ... (Risco, 1926c, p. 5).

The adjectives he uses to define Joyce's Irish spirit, i.e. rebellion, excess, passion, humour, mystery, oddness, originality, seem to be features that the Galician wants to portray for his own definition of the Galician/Celtic spirit as, in principle, they have nothing to do with Joyce being Irish. There is evidence that in this period Risco did not even have much knowledge about Joyce's writings and that he had not read the whole of *Ulysses* (cf. Noia, 2000); he will not in fact embark on the reading until much later, in the 1950's, and as a result of which he will write the article 'El *Ulysses* más fuerte que yo' for the journal *La noche* in 1954. By that time, Risco had long abandoned his nationalist views and, indeed, his perception of Joyce had changed dramatically. Regarding Joyce's masterpiece he says 'el *Ulises* fue más fuerte que yo [...] no logré leerlo entero ni puedo creer que nadie lo haya leído' (in Noia, 2000, p.1080). He finds it tedious and incoherent. As Noia highlights, these negative comments are in conflict with the flattering articles he had written about the Irish author in the 1920's. He even tries to justify himself referring to those writings of the 1920's as 'Gustándome o sin gustarme, aquellos trozos [referring to the fragments of *Ulysses*] me interesaron, y como casi puede decirse que entonces era

obligatorio el admirarlos, incluso me inspiraron algunas imitaciones' (*ibid.*). What this irrefutably proves is that the admiration for Joyce, as well as for Yeats, Teixeira de Pascoaes and any other European writer was based on political grounds rather than on a conscious evaluation of their literary value. It all responded to their search for national identity and their need to appropriate, or even manipulate, whatever fell in their hands in order to meet their cultural and ideological ends.

Millán Varela (1998) carries out an exhaustive analysis of Otero's translation of the fragments from *Ulyses* in her doctoral thesis; she explores how the appropriation of this major literary work by a minority culture served the ideological and cultural purpose of recovering Galicia as a nation. She focuses on language as an instrument of manipulation and sign of identity of the Galician nation. This author has also disseminated her work on the fragments of *Ulyses* in various articles (see, for instance, Millán Varela 1996, 1997, 1998b); other scholars have done work on partial aspects of this translation and the reception of Joyce by the *Xeración Nós* (see, for example, Mariño (1976), Cardwell (1990), González Millán (1989, 1990), Toro Santos (1991, 1994), Caneda Cabrera (1998), Noia (2000)). The amount of research on the translation of *Ulyses* shows to what extent this text had an impact on Galician culture and literature. The translation of *Leabhar Gabhala* by Risco has also been the subject of recent academic research by the scholar Álvarez Lugrís (2005) who explores the role played by this translation in the construction of Galician national identity, specifically in the spreading of Celticism.

It is surprising, however, that no comprehensive and in-depth study on the reception and translation of the most translated Irish writer of the period, W. B. Yeats, has so far been undertaken. McKeivitt (2003) devotes the fourth chapter of her doctoral thesis to the subject and offers an excellent overview that sets the foundations for a more exhaustive study which ought to include a more meticulous analysis of both the translation strategies and the imperative of linguistic differentiation, which consisted of using language solutions that were as different as possible from their Spanish counterparts. Moreover a discussion of the last, and indeed most significant, translation carried out in the *Nós* period, the translation of *The Land of Heart's Desire*, is omitted as it would exceed the scope of her thesis which focuses only on the translations that appear in *Nós* and *ANT*.

In 2006, Hurlley contributes to *The Reception of W.B. Yeats in Europe* (Jochum, 2006) with a chapter in which she focuses on the reception and appropriation of Yeats in Galicia, Catalonia and the Basque Country; only a brief part of the essay is devoted to a commentary of some aspects of the translations of Yeats' both plays, *Cathleen ni Houlihan* and *The Land of Heart's Desire* into Galician. There are a small number of other works that offer a cursory analysis of the subject: Toro Santos (1993), Mosquera Gende (2005), McKeivitt (2005). Building up on these partial studies, my thesis intends to fulfil the gap that exists in scholarly research with regard to the reception and translation of this major figure of Irish literature in Galicia. I will offer a comprehensive and detailed analysis of the translations and I will explore their significance and impact within the *Xeración Nós*' agenda.

The translations of Yeats spread over the whole *Nós* period, the first one, 'To an isle in the water' being published in 1920 and the last one 'O país da saudade' (*The Land of Heart's Desire*) in 1935. The Irish author was a recurring theme for this group of intellectuals and, indeed, he played an important role in the articulation of their political programme. However, the study presented in this thesis will not only make groundbreaking contributions to the role played by translation in the construction of the Galician national identity, but it will also aid the understanding of how translation is used as a manipulative tool by so-called postcolonial cultures in order to free themselves from an oppressive alien power. In this sense, translation works as a way of resistance and as a nation-building activity.

CHAPTER 2

Translation and the Ideology of Resistance: a theoretical approach.

2.1 Translation and Ideology in the Galician context.

Álvarez and Vidal argue that 'The study and practice of translation is inevitably an exploration of power relationships within textual practice that reflect power structures within the wider cultural context' (1996, p.1). This view explains why ideology has recently become a key concept in translation studies and has given rise to some revealing discussions about translation (*cf.* Tymoczko, 2003, p.181). Following this argument, the practice of translation in Galicia during the 1920s and 1930s is representative, as it is a reflection of the unequal power relations between Galicia and the centripetal Spanish forces represented by Castile. Within the socio-historical context that has been fully described in chapter one, translation acquires profound ideological implications owing to its propagandistic use as a means of promotion and support of a well defined and structured nationalist agenda.

The concept of ideology is to be understood here as 'the system of ideas and representations which dominate the mind of a man or a social group' (Althusser, 1984 [1970], p.32), therefore it includes, but is not limited to, the political sphere. In this regard, it has already been mentioned that the nationalist agenda of the *Xeración Nós* was culturally oriented (although not indifferent to politics) in the sense that its goal was not an independent Galician state, which would be, strictly speaking, the ultimate aim of a politically oriented nationalism. Having said that, it must be taken into account that cultures are also political in

the wider sense, i.e., 'they are not neutral accounts of a natural state of the world but constructions that carry ideological implications' (Koskinen, 2004, p.147). Ideology should not be perceived as only a theoretical concept that resides in people's minds, but as a representation of the 'imaginary relationship' (Althusser, 1984 [1970], p.36) between individuals and their reality. The ideas of a human subject exist in his actions, translation in this case, and therefore they have an impact on that subject's reality. This perspective allows us to think of ideology as a process that integrates specific representations of reality and constructions of identity, particularly the building of a community's identity (Fairclough and Wodak, 1997).

The translation of Irish literary texts was granted an essential ideological role by the Galician nationalists since it constituted a form of reaction and resistance against a situation of cultural domination. Translation was used in a subversive and manipulative manner. Therefore, when approaching the analysis of these texts, it is vital to pay detailed attention to the translator's decisions, the words and structures they have chosen, the items they have added or omitted, etc., because every single selection 'is a voluntary act that reveals his history and the socio-political milieu that surrounds him, in other words his own culture' (Álvarez and Vidal, 1996, p.5). To put it differently, every choice made by the translator is determined by their socio-historical context and it bears an ideological meaning because 'translations have been ideological simply by existing' (Calzada Pérez, 2003, p.2) and the translator 'as processor of texts, filters the text world of the source text through his/her own world-view/ideology' (Hatim and Mason, 1997, p.121). This argument is, indeed, the starting point for the

analysis that I shall be presenting in the subsequent chapters of this thesis. The core of the analysis will be comprised of the translated texts and their comparison to the respective source texts; however, a great deal of attention will also be paid to the paratextual information surrounding those translations, some of which has already been discussed in chapter one. This is because, more often than not, the articles and essays on Ireland written by the Galician intellectuals worked as introductions which paved the way for the translations that would follow. In this respect, the concept of *paratranslation* defined by Garrido Vilariño as ‘an analytical environment that allows us to study the ideological adaptation undergone by any cultural product in order to be incorporated to the target cultural wealth’ (2003-2004, p.31) proves to be useful. The process of *paratranslation* affects all the paratextual information that surrounds a translation of a given literary text. It informs us about the receiving society’s interpretation of the text that is being imported, creating the space in which that society’s ideology is expressed (*ibid.*, p.33). In the case under study, society should be understood as the selected group formed by the Galician intellectual elite as they were the recipients, as well as the performers, of the translated cultural products. The analysis of titles, subtitles, prefaces, essays, articles and notes on journals referring to these translations reveals invaluable information about the ideological discourse that was being constructed through the translation of these texts. As Garrido Vilariño argues:

O estudo da ideoloxía levounos a comprender que moitas veces esta non se explicitaba nos textos en si, ou non unicamente, senón no que estaba arredor deles, que falaban deles ou os presentaban, e na maior parte dos casos dirixían a lectura – ideolóxica- dos mesmos (2003-2004, p.39).

Consequently, throughout this thesis, special attention will be paid to the analysis of the paratexts, i.e. *paratranslations*, surrounding the translations that will be studied as this will provide essential information about the ideology behind the translation practices in the *Nós* period in Galicia.

Despite the fact that all acts of translation reflect a certain ideology (*cf.* Lefevere, 1992), the debate within translation studies has not been focused on ideological issues until quite recently. In fact, it was not until the so-called 'cultural turn' (Bassnett and Lefevere, 1990) took place, which drew attention to the translator's role as an interventionist and mediator, that the idea that translation was a mere act of transferring and the translator was a betrayer was overcome. More recently, some scholars have taken a step further by initiating a debate about an 'ideological turn' (*cf.* Wing-Kwong Leung, 2006; Munday, 2008 [2001]) in translation studies. Wing-Kwong Leung, for instance, defines the goal of translation as 'the spread of a particular ideology' (2006, p. 133); that was certainly the case in the acts of translation that are studied in this thesis where an 'ideology of resistance' was clearly conveyed. In a recent volume edited by Tymoczko (2010) that bears the title of *Translation, Resistance, Activism* and that deals with the role played by translation in changing societies and in challenging ideological and cultural repression, the editor pays attention to the notion of resistance in translation studies. The term was borrowed by activist movements opposing oppressive powers, mainly the ones that opposed fascist forces during World War II. However, unlike what happened at that time when the opponents of the resistance movements were obvious, and they still are, in the case of translation we cannot talk about an obvious ideological target

in general terms. The term can be ascribed to a variety of potential opponents such as colonialism, imperialism, capitalism, patriarchy, dominant literary conventions, etc. (cf. Tymoczko, 2010, pp.7-8). Although Tymoczko regards the term as being 'widely used and fully appropriate in some contexts' (p.11), she also argues that it implies a reactive rather than proactive way of activism and it positions the translators in a more passive role. It is true that the act of resistance is a reaction against an initiative taken by repressive forces that tries to stop or thwart that aggression, but insofar as it has the capacity to foster political, cultural and social change, it cannot be regarded as merely reactive. In the case in question and for the purpose of this study, resistance is a manifestation of an ideological positioning against a situation of cultural repression inflicted by a powerful force on a subaltern culture that leads the translators to create 'complex textual constructions' (*ibid.*, p.9).

One of the areas where the interaction between translation and culture/ideology (including ideology of resistance) has been particularly fruitful comes from the interweaving between translation and postcolonialism which gave rise to the development of postcolonial translation theories in the 1990s. These theories relate the act of translating to political processes such as domination, submission, assimilation and resistance (cf. Robinson, 1997). They take into account the existence of inequalities between language communities and they challenge the idea of fidelity to the source text. From this point of view, translation is not seen as a mimetic activity aiming at the reproduction of the original text, but as an ideological instrument which can become a process of appropriation, or even manipulation. These theoretical considerations are

especially relevant in the context of a minority culture, where the practice of translation can become a way of resistance and the translated text can be transformed into the symbolic representation of its cultural and/or national self-affirmation and its struggle for cultural and/or political differentiation (*cf.* Millán-Varela, 1998b, p.60). For this reason, postcolonial theories of translation will provide, to a great extent, the theoretical framework that will lay the foundations for the practical analysis that I will be performing in the remaining chapters of this thesis. However, before focusing on those theories, I will examine the influential polysystem theory, developed in the 1970s, and the descriptive translation studies approach, which is based upon the former, as both approaches have changed the nature of translation analysis; they have expanded the field (*cf.* Bassnett, 1996) and paved the way for the later developments focused on culture and ideology. Furthermore, towards the end of this chapter, I will present some ideas from critical discourse analysis (CDA) and I will discuss their application to the study of translations. CDA provides an important tool of analysis for translation studies as it links language use to the expression of a particular ideology. This branch of linguistics treats discourse as a social practice, which means that discourse shapes, and at the same time, is shaped by social structures (*cf.* Fairclough and Wodak, 1997).

2.2 Paving the way: polysystem theory and descriptive translation studies.

Writings on translation go as far back as Cicero and Horace (first century BCE) who centred their discussions on the distinction between word-for-word (literal) and sense-for-sense (free) translation. This sterile debate between literal vs. free as ways of translating dominated western translation theory up until the

second half of the twentieth century (*cf.* Munday, 2008 [2001], p.19) when the study of translation developed into an academic discipline. The 1950s and 1960s saw the emergence of a variety of linguistic approaches that aimed to offer a more systematic analysis of the translation process. These approaches conceived translation as a process of linguistic transcoding and meaning transfer from the source to the target language, and they were concerned with the proposal of prescriptive models of 'how to translate' and what should be regarded as a good or a bad translation. (*cf.* Vinay and Darbelnet, 2004 [1958]; Catford, 1965). A key issue that was at the core of discussions about translation in this period was the controversial notion of equivalence (*cf.* Jakobson, 2004 [1959]; Nida, 2004 [1964]), a concept that aimed to achieve the nonexistent sameness between different languages. A milestone in the development of the field took place in 1972 when in a seminal paper, Holmes (1994 [1972]), designed a 'map' of the discipline which included all that translation studies covers. The discipline was divided into two main branches: pure and applied. The former was, in turn, divided into a theoretical branch (general theory; partial theories) and a descriptive branch (product-oriented; process-oriented; function-oriented) whereas the latter consisted of three branches: translator training, translations aids, translation policy and criticism¹³. Munday pinpoints that the groundbreaking role of this paper lies in 'the delineation of the potential of translation studies' (2008 [2001], p.12). From then on, the problematic concept of linguistic equivalence, as well as the perception of translation as linguistic transfer from one language to another, started to be called into question, and new lines of discussion and research opened.

¹³ For further information see Holmes (1994 [1972]).

The 1970s and 1980s saw the development of a descriptive approach based on the principles of polysystem theory. This theory, built upon the work by Russian formalists, was developed in the 1970s by Itamar Even-Zohar, an Israeli cultural theorist who conceived culture as a polysystem of systems. Through this theory, Even-Zohar tries to explain how all types of writing - from the canonical texts to the most marginal ones - function within a given culture (cf. Gentzler, 2001, p.144). In this respect, the literary polysystem includes the conglomerate of all literary systems (canonical literature, literature for children, thrillers, translated literature, etc.) in a given culture. According to the Israeli scholar, the theory

not only does it make possible the integration into semiotic research of objects (properties, phenomena) previously unnoticed or bluntly rejected; rather, such an integration now becomes a precondition, a *sine qua non*, for an adequate understanding of any semiotic field (1990, p.13).

One of the main contributions of this theory to translation studies is the consideration of translated literature as a system within the literary polysystem in a particular culture, overcoming the widespread idea that translation was a second level activity. Translation is, for the first time, accorded an important position and this will take the research in the field in a completely new direction.

Even-Zohar defends translated literature as an integral system of the literary polysystem that can occupy either a central or a peripheral position within it. In large cultures, translated literature tends to be relegated to a marginal position whereas in small emergent nations it assumes a more central role as 'in such a state when new literary models are emerging, translation is likely to become one of the means of elaborating the new repertoire' (*ibid.*, p.47). By occupying this central position, translation, automatically, acquires an important role in

shaping the literary polysystem and 'assumes an important subversive power' (Álvarez and Vidal, 1996, p.6). This consideration has important implications when studying translations in the context of a subaltern culture that is trying to (re)construct its own identity. As has already been mentioned, one of the goals of translation in the *Nós* period in Galicia was to renovate literary models. In this sense, it was used to incorporate the innovative Irish literature, represented to a great extent by W.B. Yeats, into the local tradition as a means of resistance to the domination of the literary models coming from Castile (see chapters 4 and 5 for further analysis).

Polysystem theory distances itself from the narrow linguistic approaches that dominated discussions in translation studies during the 1950s and 1960s. By contrast, this new perspective provides a more socio-historically oriented notion of translation by seeing it within a social, cultural and historical context. For Even-Zohar (1990), translation theory should be concerned with the constraints (of the target system, such as literary conventions) that operate in the production of a translation option for the target text. Ultimately, he tries to uncover universal principles that rule the translation activity, a point that is highly problematic as it neglects translators' subjectivity when making decisions. In spite of the important advances that polysystem theory brought to translation studies, the theory remains too abstract since it focuses primarily on how systems are constructed and consequently the importance of analysing individual texts is undermined and neglected.

Another Israeli scholar who worked with Even-Zohar in Tel Aviv, Gideon Toury, centred his work on developing a general theory of translation which built upon the principles of polysystem theory. Toury's approach is target-oriented and it proposes a methodology for the branch of descriptive translation studies. He states that '*translations are facts of one system only: the target system*' (Toury, 1985, p.19, emphasis in the original) implying that the starting point for any act of translation is always the receiving culture. This is the case because, according to the Israeli scholar, translation comes to fulfil some kind of deficiency or necessity in the target system (*cf.* Toury, 1995, p.27), rather than being determined by the mere existence of something in another culture. Toury shifts the focus from the source pole, which had long dominated the debate in translation studies (linguistic approaches) to the target pole. He also moves away from the aim of achieving ideal hypothetical translations (prescriptivism) and advocates the analysis and description of actual existing translations.

He defines translation as a 'norm-governed activity' (1995, p.56) which, broadly speaking, means that translational behaviour in a given culture conforms to a set of certain regularities, a line of investigation that had been embarked upon by Even-Zohar. These norms, Toury argues, determine the type of equivalence present in actual translations, i.e., their 'acceptability' in the target system, and they are specific to a culture, society and time. This conception of translation is more complex and nuanced than previous ones since equivalence is no longer seen as a fixed category, the aim of which is to find sameness between language systems, but rather 'it comes to refer to any relation which is found to

have characterized translation under a specific set of circumstances' (*ibid.*, p.61). As Munday clearly puts it, Toury's model aims

to distinguish trends of translation behaviour, to make generalizations regarding the decision-making processes of the translator and then to 'reconstruct' the norms that have been in operation in the translation and make hypotheses that can be tested by future descriptive studies (2008 [2001], p.111).

Ultimately, Toury assumes that the identification of translational norms in individual descriptive studies will make the formulation of 'laws' or 'universals' of translation possible. This is again problematic as the logical consequence is that these 'laws' could be used to predict translational behaviour which would, automatically, come into conflict with contextual determination. However innovative it may have been for the time, Toury's approach is too empirical and it fails to account for the inevitable ideology in any act of translation and for the existence of inequality between language communities. Furthermore, it overlooks political and ideological factors that may influence translation, such as the status of the source text in the source culture (*cf.* Munday, 2008 [2001], p.115). Translation is a process that implies complex decision-making 'and cannot be subsumed within rule-governed protocols' (Tymoczko, 1999, p.283).

The breakthrough in descriptive translation studies happened in 1985 when a selection of essays edited by Theo Hermans and entitled *The Manipulation of Literature. Studies in Literary Translation* was published (*cf.* Snell-Hornby, 2006, p.48). The contributors include G. Toury, J. Lambert, H. van Gorp, S. Bassnett and A. Lefevere. Hermans summarizes the leitmotiv of the collection by arguing that 'From the point of view of the target literature, all translation implies a certain degree of manipulation' (1985, p.11). This statement would lead the

group of scholars to be known as the Manipulation School even though the contributors offer different approaches and they do not constitute a school in the traditional sense. They do, however, share some basic assumptions that characterize the descriptive paradigm in translation studies, such as a belief in the interaction between theoretical models and practical case studies, a descriptive, target-oriented and functional approach to the study of translations, a concern with the norms and constraints governing the translation activity, an interest in the relation between translation and other types of writing and in the role played by translation within a literary system, and in the interaction between different literary systems (*cf.* Hermans, 1985, pp. 10-11). As Snell-Hornby (2006) argues, these principles are innovative in the sense that they are opposed to the dogmas on translation at the time, i.e., prescriptive, source-text oriented, linguistic and atomistic.

2.3 The 'cultural turn' in translation studies. Towards the consideration of translation as an ideological act.

One of the contributors to the abovementioned volume, André Lefevere, is also one of the architects of the so called 'cultural turn' in translation studies, which moves the focus from the study of translations as products to the analysis of translation from a cultural perspective. From this new angle, the role of the translator as mediator and interventionist is emphasized. Lefevere (1985, 1990, 1992) develops a theory that sees translation as rewriting, 'probably the most radical form of rewriting in a literature, or a culture' (Lefevere, 1985, p.241). His entire approach is, again, based on the system theory; he sees literature as one of the systems within a (super) system which is a society. However, he introduces some elements that constrain all rewritings of literature

(interpretation, criticism, historiography, compilation of anthologies, translation): ideology, patronage and poetics. Thus, his theory overcomes the empiricism of the approaches described above and takes into account the inevitable ideology in any act of translation:

Translation is, of course, a rewriting of an original text. All rewritings, whatever their intention, reflect a certain ideology and a poetics and as such manipulate literature to function in a given society in a given way. Rewriting is manipulation, undertaken in the service of power, and in its positive aspect can help in the evolution of a literature and a society. Rewriting can introduce new concepts, new genres, new devices and the history of translation is the history also of literary innovation, of the shaping power of one culture upon another. (Lefevere, 1992, p. vi)

This acknowledgment of the crucial role played by ideology in any process of literary translation is a major advancement in the discipline and will give rise to most prominent approaches and discussions. It reveals that the act of translation is never innocent, as it does not only consist of transferring meaning from one language to another, but rather it responds to power structures that affect the process as a whole. Since translation always reflects a particular ideology, it is an act of manipulation and subversion. It therefore becomes extremely powerful as a cultural practice because it can shape a particular culture to serve specific ideological goals. This last point is particularly important in the case of the development of a national identity in the context of a minority culture as it will be analysed at length in the following chapters of this project.

The publication in 1990 of the collection *Translation, History and Culture*, edited by Susan Bassnett and André Lefevere, marks this move towards the consideration of translation as culture. This perspective implies stepping away from linguistic and scientific approaches and moving from the consideration of

text to culture as a 'unit of translation'. The traditional and controversial notion of linguistic equivalence that had long dominated the debate in translation studies is rejected and the concept of 'faithful translation' is re-defined. Within this new paradigm, the translator may have to adapt (or manipulate), significantly, the source text in order for the translation to fulfil its function in the target culture. Translations of different texts are assigned different functions depending on the audience they are meant for and the status that the source text is supposed to represent in that particular culture (*cf.* Bassnett and Lefevere, 1990, p.8). The editors state that the study of the practice of translation has moved from formalist approaches to the consideration of 'the larger issues of context, history and convention' (*ibid.*, p.11); 'what is studied is the text embedded within its network of both source and target cultural signs' (*ibid.*, p.12). In this respect, it is important to consider translation as not only a product of the target system, as Toury would argue, as there are aspects of the source culture (such as the status of the source text in that culture) that are equally important. Therefore, they should not be overlooked when studying any practice of translation, particularly, if we are considering the transmission of a particular ideology. Indeed, 'Translation is one of the most obvious forms of image making, of manipulation' (Lefevere, 1990, p.26), hence the importance of analysing in depth what a particular translation is actually portraying. Being an important manipulative and shaping force, translation has the capacity to present a fabricated image of a particular piece of work, an author or, indeed, a whole culture to a certain audience. In the case of the Galician intelligentsia in the *Nós* period, they wanted to present a deeply manipulated image of Ireland in order to serve a clear ideological aim. Through their translations and the paratexts

accompanying them, they fabricated a series of parallelisms between both nations that made them look as if they were part of the same literary tradition. Moreover, as the analysis presented in the following chapters will show, translation can evidence the self-image of a culture at a particular point in time (the Galicians saw themselves as Celts and they wanted to be defined as such). Translation can also be informative as to the strength of a an ideology at a given time by showing to what extent it was interiorized by the translators (*cf. ibid.*, p.27).

From the perspective of the 'cultural turn', translation is 'liberated' once and for all from linguistics, which had influenced the study of translations for decades, and it enters the field of cultural studies. There is a rejection of traditional and empirical approaches based on the structural analysis of texts and translation comes to be thought of as intercultural communication rather than linguistic transfer. As a result, culture turns into a key concept in the literature of translation studies. This division or dualism between linguistic and cultural approaches to translation is, however, open to criticism as it seems paradoxical that whereas language and culture seem to be inseparable concepts, linguistic and cultural approaches in translation studies are antagonistic (*cf. Koskinen, 2004, p.145*). The opposition lies, to a great extent, in the fallacy of considering that linguistic approaches never take into account ideology. Mona Baker (1996) argues against this misleading notion, and she utilizes the term 'critical linguistics' to refer to the advancements in the discipline since the 1980s, stating that:

Its goal is to uncover ideological positions and attitudes in discourse using two major tools (a) linguistic tools of analysis, and (b) knowledge of

historical and social contexts; critical linguists in fact refuse to theorize language and society as different entities. Ultimately, like much of the work done in cultural studies, critical linguists aim, through their analysis, to shed light on social and political processes. (1996, p.15)

Consequently, both approaches are no longer opposites but complementary, and the study of ideology in translation can benefit from using tools and methodologies from both linguistics and cultural studies. Adopting a purely cultural approach to the analysis of translations can fall into the trap of lacking rigour, and it is the task of any analyst to provide practical evidence on which to base their conclusions. Taking these considerations into account, I argue that the 'painstaking comparisons between original and translations' rejected by Bassnett and Lefevere (*cf.* 1990, p.4), are still necessary and, indeed, essential for a rigorous and coherent analysis of translations. Indeed, it is vital to carry out these meticulous comparisons that Munday defines as 'a type of forensic analysis' (2007, p.197) in order to uncover which instances of the source text have been altered, and thus, to what extent the source text has been mediated by the translator. Both linguistics and cultural studies offer important contributions to the study of translation and neither of them should be ignored when working in the interdisciplinary field of translation studies. This is the trend recently followed by some translation scholars that attempt to overcome the division and find a common ground (*cf.* Tymczoko 1999, 2002; Koskinen 2004; Calzada Pérez 2002, 2003; Schäffner 2004, 2007). An important area for reconciliation comes from the application of CDA to the study of translations as this branch of linguistics sees language as a form of social practice and, in this respect, the text is 'deconstructed and embedded in its social conditions, is linked to ideologies and power relationships' (Fairclough and Wodak, 1997,

p.279). The perspective of CDA has been applied to translation studies by Schäffner (2004, 2007), Calzada Pérez (2002, 2003) and will be further explored in the last section of this chapter. I will first focus on a particular area of cultural studies that has influenced translation and that has proved to be useful to understand the practice of translation in the context that I am analysing.

2.4 Translation as a way of resistance; postcolonial translation theory.

As mentioned earlier, the interaction between postcolonialism and translation, or to put it differently, the practice of translation in a postcolonial context, is one of the most productive areas for the study of translation and ideology. During the 1990s the relationship between colonialism, language and translation became a popular topic of research (*cf.* Snell-Hornby, 2006) giving rise to the development of postcolonial translation theories. Postcolonial studies came into being after the breakup of the great European empires in the 1940s, 1950s and 1960s to deal with the cultural effects of colonization. The study of the controlling power over colonized societies was initiated in the late 1970s by works such as Said's *Orientalism* (1978) and led to the development of colonialist discourse theory (*cf.* Ashcroft *et al.* 2007 [2000], p.168) which centred around the works of major critics such as Spivak (1987, 1988) and Bhabha (1990, 1994). However, there is still a debate with regard to which countries or cultures should be considered 'postcolonial' (*cf.* Robinson, 1997). In this respect, I have already explained to what extent Galicia can be considered postcolonial and how the term postcolonialism is understood in this thesis. The internal colony of Galicia, owing to its history of cultural domination,

shares some characteristics with those communities more traditionally defined as colonies. Therefore, the rise of awareness of a national identity is a response and a way of resistance to a type of colonial situation. This is particularly evident in the study of the practice of translation performed by the *Xeración Nós* intellectuals. Indeed, although most of the postcolonial discourse has focused on the study of the effects of imperialism and colonization in the former colonies of the great European empires and has ignored, therefore, the existent asymmetry of power relations between peoples and communities within Europe itself (*cf.* Cronin, 1995), 'minority languages in Europe offer graphic illustrations of the processes of conquest, resistance and self-definition that guide translation in its relationship with power and history' (Cronin 1995, p.86). This is what I will try to illustrate throughout this thesis. In the specific context of Galicia in the *Nós* period, translation as part of a nationalist programme was used as a reaction against the cultural domination of Castile, this is to say, as a way of resistance and 'expression of anti-colonialism' (Simon, 1999, p.60).

As Munday states, 'The central intersection of translation studies and postcolonial theory is that of power relations' (2008 [2001], p.132). Literary translation in a postcolonial context is a discursive practice that informs us about the inequality and power differentials between language communities as a result of colonial ruling. This happens in both directions; on the one hand, it shows us how translation can be used by the empire as a way of colonial dominance and, on the other hand, how it can be used, and has been used, to resist colonial power. Accordingly, the interaction between postcolonialism and translation studies allows us to think of translation in terms of power struggles

associated with political issues. This is, indeed, the perspective that should be applied to the study of translation in Galicia during the *Nós* period, when the nationalist movement emerged as a reaction against a type of colonial history, and translation became a manipulative political activity and a channel of self-definition. In order to illustrate this further, let us consider some of the major works in postcolonial translation theory to observe in what sense they shed light on the study of translation in early twentieth-century Galicia. Note that the list of works is not intended to be exhaustive.

A milestone in the field is Niranjana's *Siting Translation: History, Post-structuralism, and the Colonial Context* (1992) where the scholar explores how the English 'imprint a new character' (Robinson, 1997, p.79) on the Indians through the translation of Indian laws and literature into English. She shows how translation is used to perpetuate unequal relations of power and domination between the colonizer and the colonized. Moreover, she criticizes translation studies for having failed to account for the asymmetrical relationship between languages and having frequently ignored the political consequences of translation. In this respect, she contends that 'any attempt to come up with a new conception of translation will first have to take into account what the discourses suppress: the asymmetrical relations between languages' (Niranjana, 1992, p.72). Influenced by Jacques Derrida, Niranjana writes from an assertedly post-modern and post-structuralist perspective and, in this regard, she argues that translation is always producing rather than simply imitating or reflecting an original (*ibid.*, p.81). She then advocates literalism as a preferred

mode of translation in order to retain the differences and diversity of the source culture, following Walter Benjamin who argues that:

A real translation is transparent; it does not cover the original, does not block its light, but allows the pure language [...] to shine upon the original all the more fully. This may be achieved, above all, by a literal rendering of the syntax which proves words rather than sentences to be the primary element of the translator (Benjamin, 2004 [1923], p.81).

In his seminal essay, 'The task of the translator', Benjamin advocates literalism in order for the translator to achieve the goal of creating a 'pure language'. This is an abstract and philosophical concept that consists of 'harmonizing' the source and the target language in a complementary way and that has influenced post-modern and deconstructionist theories of translation. For instance, it exerted influence on Derrida's notion of *différance*, through which the French scholar defines meaning as a plural and differential category that never appears as a unit. Thus, translation is never a reproduction of the meaning of the source text, but rather an 'interpretive transformation' of it (*cf.* Venuti, 1992, pp. 7-8). This challenges the distinction between source and target text, but the argument of literalism as preferred mode of translation is greatly problematic and its lack of applicability to the postcolonial context will be explored in the next section when discussing Lawrence Venuti's approach to translation.

In 1997, Robinson publishes *Translation and Empire: Postcolonial Theories Explained* where he presents the developments and innovations of postcolonial translation theory by discussing the works of various scholars that have approached the field from different contexts. For instance, the abovementioned scholar Niranjana in the case of India, Eric Cheyfitz in the New World, Vicente

Rafael in the case of the Spanish conversion of the Tagalogs in the Philippines and Samia Mehrez in North Africa. The work of the latter will be addressed in the next section of this chapter due to its direct applicability to the Galician context. The aim of Robinson's book is to shed light on the role played by translation in 'colonial and postcolonial settings' (Robinson, 1997, p.6) as an instrument of both colonization and decolonization.

The role of translation in a postcolonial context is also the subject of a collection entitled *Postcolonial Translation: Theory and Practice*, edited by Bassnett and Triverdi in 1999. In the introduction to the volume, the editors argue that translation 'is a highly manipulative activity that involves all kind of stages in that process of transfer across linguistic and cultural boundaries' (Bassnett and Triverdi, 1999, p.2) recognizing that 'it rarely, if ever, involves a relationship of equality between texts, authors or systems' (*ibid.*). They also use the metaphor of the colony as a translation, a copy of an original (the metropolis) located elsewhere, which pinpoints the close relationship between the process of colonization and translation. Furthermore, Bassnett and Triverdi refer to the metaphor of cannibalism, which derives from a cultural movement originated in Brazil in the 1920s and was applied to translation by the brothers Haroldo and Augusto de Campos in the 1960s. They argue that this metaphor 'has come to be used to demonstrate to translators what they can do with a text' (*ibid.*, p.5) by promulgating a conception of translation that is a form of liberation from mental colonialism. Due to the relevance of the application of this metaphor to the case of Galicia in the *Nós* period, I will devote a whole section of this chapter to discuss it (see pp. 85-92). The contributors to the collection include,

among others, María Tymoczko, Sherry Simon, André Lefevere, Rosemary Arrojo and Else Vieira; these scholars tackle the theory and practice of translation in a postcolonial context in different ways and from different perspectives. Crucial concepts such as 'in-betweenness', 'contact zone' and 'hybridity' are used by these scholars with reference to the intercultural space that is inhabited by translation in a postcolonial context. They no longer talk about a one-way direction from the source to the target text but a 'two-way transcultural enterprise' (Vieira, 1999) where two worlds and two cultures converge within the limits of the same text. These concepts will be essential to the analysis of the translations under study in this thesis as will be shown in subsequent sections.

Also in 1999, Tymoczko publishes *Translation in a Postcolonial Context. Early Irish Literature in English Translation*. Focusing on Ireland, she shows how the study of minority cultures in Europe can help to understand postcolonial translation theory and practice. Tymoczko rightly notes that there is no single model for translation in a postcolonial context as there is no single trajectory of history in all postcolonial nations (Tymoczko, 1999, p.34). Therefore, each case should be studied individually attending to the particularities of its socio-historical and political circumstances. The volume deals with translation as a way of resistance and nation-building in the Irish context, exploring, therefore, how translation contributed to the liberation of Ireland from colonialism. The author emphasises the role of translation in forming images not only of the other but also of the self:

translations form images of whole cultures and peoples, as well as for individual authors or texts, images that in turn come to function as reality.

When such representations are done for a peoples themselves, they constitute a means of inventing tradition, inventing the nation and inventing the self (*ibid.*, p.18).

This idea is particularly relevant for the Galician context as the practice of translation and paratranslation is all about forming an image of Ireland that, in turn, will aid in the construction of Galicia as a nation and a distinctive Galician national identity. Another important point in Tymoczko's line of reasoning is the idea that translation is metonymic, which means that translators choose to represent or preserve only certain aspects of the source text over others. This partial representation comes to stand for the entire source text, or even the entire source culture. It is essential to have this in mind when studying translations within a highly charged political context as the translators would choose to represent only those elements which best serve their political agendas. This was, indeed, the case in Galicia, where a partial representation of Irish culture and politics was presented with the aim of fuelling the nationalist project.

More recently, Gentzler has published *Translation and Identity in the Americas. New Directions in Translation Theory* (2008) in which, taking as a starting point that translation places a major role in the construction of culture, the author discusses new translation ideas and trends which had recently developed in the Americas. He mostly focuses on the role of translation in the discriminatory process that affects minority and oppressed groups, but he also explores the use of translation to resist and challenge domination. The book deals with translation as a tool for searching independence, for forming 'alliances with groups struggling with similar problems' (Gentzler, 2008, p.7) and, ultimately,

with the role played by translation in the formation of identities. Special attention will be paid to his chapter on 'Cannibalism in Brazil'.

All the above approaches deal with translation between communities that are affected by unequal relations of power and asymmetry in the status of their languages. They make clear that, in such highly politically charged contexts, translation is a powerful means of manipulation, which can be used to either enforce or resist colonialism. This perspective allows us to look at the translations of Yeats in the 1920s and 1930s in Galicia as essential artefacts of liberation from mental and cultural colonization, a means of resistance to Castilian domination and an act of nation-building. In what follows, I intend to explore these matters further from a theoretical perspective.

It is clear that recent approaches in translation studies recognise the role of the translator as an 'intervenient being' (Maier, 2007) who plays an essential role in making translation serve a specific purpose or agenda. The way in which the translator should intervene has also been the subject of scholarly research, mainly by the North American theorist Lawrence Venuti, who deals with the topic of the 'translator's invisibility' in Anglo-American culture (*cf.* Venuti 1992, 1995, 1998). He discusses two types of translation strategy that he names domestication and foreignization. The former, which is the mode of translation that is judged acceptable in the Anglo-American culture, consists of producing a translation that is fluent, transparent, that does not seem to be a translation but an original written in the TL. It aims to 'bring back the cultural other as the same, the recognizable' (Venuti, 1995, p.19) and, according to the scholar, not

only does it make the work of the translator invisible, but it is also an imperialistic and ethnocentric type of translation that contributes to the hegemony of the Anglo-American culture in the world. Consequently, he advocates foreignizing translation, which consists of disrupting the cultural codes that prevail in the target language, providing an alien reading experience (*cf. ibid.*, p.20) by highlighting the foreign identity of the text. It is a type of translation whereby the target text deviates from the norms and values of the target culture. Venuti argues that foreignizing translation limits the 'ethnocentric violence of translation' (*ibid.*) and recognises the linguistic and cultural difference of the foreign text. The scholar sees this type of translation as a way of resistance against ethnocentrism, racism, cultural narcissism and imperialism. That is why he also calls this strategy 'resistancy' (Venuti, 1992, p.12), because it avoids an imperialistic domestication of a cultural other. Venuti's dichotomy is based on that proposed by the German romantic, Schleiermacher, who, as far back as 1813, stated that there are only two possibilities of translating 'Either the translator leaves the author in peace as much as possible and moves the reader toward him; or he leaves the reader in peace as much as possible and moves the writer toward him.' (Schleiermacher, 2004 [1813], p. 49). Schleiermacher, like Venuti, advocated the first method, an alienating way of translating.

Even though this distinction is supported by some theorists such as Niranjana (1992), it has also been contested by other scholars involved in the rethinking of translation in a postcolonial context. Gentzler (2003) argues that this polarity is not new but grounded in the debate between faithful and free translation that

dominated early discussions on translation. Robinson (1997) contends that foreignizing translation does not necessarily bring new appreciation for cultural differences, and that the distinction between 'foreignizing' and 'domesticating' is based on naive linguistics. Tymoczko sees foreignization as a way of translation that can be used as a resistant strategy in dominant cultures such the US, but she highlights its lack of suitability to subaltern cultures that are already invaded by 'linguistic impositions and that are trying to establish or shore up their own discourses and cultural forms.' (2010, p.10). The same idea is shared by Hatim and Mason (1997) who consider that a domesticating strategy when translating from a dominant source language to a minority target language may, in fact, have the opposite effect. They highlight that it is not that particular strategies are 'culturally imperialistic' but it is the effect of a given strategy used in a particular socio-cultural situation what is likely to bear ideological implications. Indeed, the polarity advocated by Venuti merely brings back old demons of the past when translation theory was based on the sterile debate about literal vs. free translation¹⁴. This polarity offers a simplistic view of the complex act of translating and, as Tymoczko (1999) argues, there is no single polarity that can describe the orientation of a translation because translators' choices are complex and not necessarily always consistent.

Nevertheless, Venuti's polarity between foreignizing and domesticating is used by McKevitt (2003) in her analysis of translations of Irish literature into Galician in the *Nós* period. Unlike the American scholar, she does not advocate foreignization but she states that for the situation in Galicia, the use of both

¹⁴ See Munday (2008 [2001], pp. 19-35) for a brief overview of approaches to translation prior to the developments of the second half of the twentieth century when discussions on translation were focused on this dichotomy.

types of strategy was necessary to meet the ends of a particular agenda: promoting the Galician language and culture after a long period of repression. The fact that she concludes that all translated texts are both domesticated and foreignized (*cf.* McKevitt, 2003, p.251) pinpoints the lack of practicability and the simplistic basis of the dichotomy. More importantly, the application of these concepts is insufficient to account for the complexities occurring in these texts that are a reflection of an intricate political struggle. One of the main imperatives of the nationalists that carried out the translations in that period was to create an identification between Ireland and Galicia, two nations linked by their Celtic origins. Ireland was, for the Galician intellectuals of the *Xeración Nós*, a mirror in which they could see their own reflection and the practice of translation aimed to reinforce this process of self-recognition. However, this recognition of the self in the other was not achieved by the application of domesticating strategies. The process is much more complex than that as I will extensively demonstrate through my analysis of the translations of Yeats' works. What we encounter in these texts is a phenomenon whereby two cultures, two literary systems, and even two languages converge and co-exist within the boundaries of the same text producing the abovementioned effect of identification, or let us say 'hybridation'.

Samia Mehrez (1992) describes the phenomenon of the 'hybrid text' in a postcolonial context by analysing some works of francophone North African literature. Far from falling into the trap of polarities, she explores a middle ground, a space 'in-between', inhabited by postcolonial bilingual subjects who find a midway between writing in the major language of the coloniser and the

local language of the colonised as a way of decolonization. The authors that she has analysed write in French, but they ‘arabize’ it developing a language ‘in-between’ and making the text unintelligible for the non-bilingual reader; they also pinpoint the confrontation between the coloniser and the colonized, challenging the structures of colonization. The use of plurilingual strategies requires from the reader an act of ‘perpetual translation’ (Mehrez, 1992, p.135). Mehrez argues that these hybrid texts are characterized by a ‘culturo-linguistic layering’, and a new language is fabricated within them challenging the very notion of a ‘foreign’ text that can be easily translated into another language. She contends that:

By drawing on more than one culture, more than one language, more than one world experience, within the confines of the same text, postcolonial anglophone and francophone literature very often defies our notions of an “original” work and its translation (*ibid.*, p.122).

Although the context is completely different, the notion of ‘hybrid text’ proves to be useful to understand the complexities occurring in the translation of Irish literature in the *Nós* period, because as González-Millán clearly states:

Todo sistema literario menor móvese a través de conflitos e dependencias, limitado polas deficiencias dos seus repertorios discursivos. Limitación que intenta superar mediante a utilización de diversas estratexias, como a elaboración de textos híbridos [...] que non podemos etiquetar de produto “estranxeiro” ou importado, e moito menos aplicarlle o sospeitoso concepto de “equivalencia lingüística” (1995, p.67).

Through the analysis of the actual translations, I will show how, in effect, the translators produce texts where two worlds and two cultures (the Galician and the Irish) converge creating this effect of hybridity. The Galician nationalists make use of the ‘culturo-linguistic layering’ mentioned by Mehrez to create an alliance and strong link with Ireland as a way of resistance to the Castilian

cultural domination. And, indeed, these texts cannot be fully comprehended for the reader who is not familiar with the Irish as well as with the Galician context of the time. The process of translation in this particular situation defies the hierarchy between an original and its translation and challenges the idea of fidelity to the source text. The translated text becomes a contact or hybrid zone where two different worlds meet to produce the abovementioned effect of identification because 'Para o panceltismo a identificación irrefutable das dúas patrias celtas era un obxectivo primordial, xa que sobre esa base se asentaban tódolas súas reclamacións nacionalistas' (Álvarez Lugrís, 2005, p.83).

The notion of the hybrid text solves the problem of the impracticability of Venuti's dichotomy and is advocated by some modern approaches in translation studies that question the suitability of traditional polarities, such as source language/ text/ culture vs. target language/ text/ culture, literal vs. free translation, etc., and substitute them by more unstable notions 'such as hybrid text, hybrid cultures, space-in-between, intercultural space' (Schäffner, 2004, p.136).

This phenomenon of hybridity can be related to the notion of 'devouring' the foreign input suggested by the application of the anthropophagic metaphor to translation. The cultural metaphor of cannibalism derives from a Brazilian modernist movement from the 1920s started by Oswald de Andrade who published his *Manifesto Antropófago* in 1928. Interestingly, this phenomenon originated around the same time as Galician nationalism, and although there is no evidence of the Galicians having any knowledge of the Brazilian happenings,

and the contexts are different, a parallelism between both movements can be drawn, especially with regard to the practice of translation. The Brazilian concept of cannibalism differs from the European understanding of the same phenomenon, since whereas in Europe it was seen as a savage and bloody practice, in Brazil it was viewed in more positive terms, representing the best virtues of the Amerindian race that had survived despite colonization. Therefore, it was a form of resistance to European culture; on this topic Gentzler states:

in Brazil [cannibalism] marked the first step in the creation of an original Brazilian national culture and a separate Brazilian identity. Translation, which in the past had served as an uncritical medium by which to import European culture, became one of the artistic tools included in the new devouring process, not as receptacle for European forms and ideas but as a vehicle to consume European ideas and then to reelaborate them in terms of native traditions and conditions. In sum, it marked the end of mental colonization and the beginnings of an independent identity in Brazil (2008, p.78).

The metaphor refers to the ritual practised by the Tupi Indians (Brazil), a native American tribe at the time of the European conquest, that consisted of devouring the bravest of the conquerors' soldiers in order to absorb their strength and positive values that would then become part of the community's identity (*cf.* Gentzler, 2008, pp.77-107). Only the brave warriors would be devoured in order for their strength to be digested by the native community; it was an act of 'love, honor, and nourishment' (*ibid.*, p.79). It is, therefore, a metaphor for absorbing and digesting foreign influences and incorporating them into the local tradition.

The 'movimento antropófago' of the 1920s, when cannibalism was turned into a major cultural metaphor in Brazil, aimed to create a genuine national culture rejecting simple imitation of foreign models. Thus, the metaphor of

'anthropophagy' became a way of struggle against colonial dependency (*cf.* Johnson, 1987). A group of artists initiated a process of aesthetic renewal grounded on the idea of the 'native originality' that had been repressed by the colonizers. The originality was to be found in 'Brazilian cuisine, folklore, economics, ethnological formation, as well as in the peculiarly Brazilian version of the Portuguese language' (*ibid.*, p.45). It is at this point when the parallelism with the Galician nationalist movement of the 1920s and 1930s becomes clear as the Galicians, like the Brazilians, sought to create a national culture and a distinct identity by resorting back to their origins (the Celts). Unlike the Brazilians, they did not absorb and transform the influences of the colonizer, but they found a referent of similarity (Ireland) instead. The process of 'devouring' was, however, the same. They did not copy uncritically the foreign input but rather, they absorbed it and re-elaborated it, choosing those aspects that would better serve the purpose of strengthening their own identity. It is through this process that the *Nós* intellectuals incorporated Galicia into the Celtic mythological tradition rejecting the impositions of the colonial power (Castile) and liberating themselves from mental colonialism. Translation was one of the important tools used to perform this endeavour.

The anthropophagic metaphor was applied to translation in the 1960s by the Brazilian brothers Haroldo and Augusto de Campos who developed a 'Third World translation model' (Snell-Hornby, 2006, p.60) in a period when artistic experimentation was frequent. The notion of 'devouring' European ideas and influences, not to copy them or to substitute their own ideas, but to renew and fortify them, serves as a metaphor to explain the process of translation. This

entails a vision of translation that is not a copy of the source text but a creative process which implies the active participation of the translator and that consists of introducing foreign ideas and concepts and re-elaborating them so as they can be used to fortify one's own culture and identity. Haroldo de Campos, who was the main translator and theorist of the 'cannibalistic' movement, conceived translation as a creative and hybrid activity, a 'plagiatropic' (Campos, 2005 [1981], p.191) process whereby translators, like original writers, draw not only on the source text, but also on other textual voices belonging to their own tradition in order to create the target text. His theory of translation is partially based on Walter Benjamin (2004 [1923]), in the sense of freeing translation from its subordination to the source text, but Campos was unconvinced by the notion of 'pure language' and the metaphysical tones of Benjamin's theory (cf. Gentzler, 2008, p.90). Therefore, he turned to Derrida's deconstructionism 'to develop a theory that foregrounds pragmatic intersemiotic operations of translation without the metaphysical overtones' (*ibid.*).

In his book on Goethe's Faust, *Deus e o Diabo no Fausto de Goethe*, Campos makes use of different metaphors to refer to his notion of creative translation, some of which are highly aggressive. He describes his process of translation as 'Mephistofaustian transluciferation', title of the *post scriptum* of the book, 'transcreation', 'recreation', 'reconfiguration', 'transfusion'. All of these metaphors refer to the process of bringing in foreign ideas and forms to fuel the local identity whereby translation becomes the metaphorical space where two cultures meet. It is not a one-way flow because the translated text draws on the source text but also on the local tradition. Towards the end of this essay,

Campos moves from 'cannibalism' to 'vampirism' by defining 'Tradução como transfusão. De sangue. Com un dente de ironia poderíamos falar em vampirização, pensando agora no nutrimento do tradutor' (Campos, 2005 [1981], p.208), but the principle is the same; it consists of devouring the foreign texts 'to take from them the marrow and protein to fortify and renew his own [the translator's; the target culture's] natural energies' (Campos and Wolff, 1986, p.44). Through this conception of translation, the Brazilian theorist anticipates the notion of the hybrid text that would be later used by postcolonial translation scholars. In this regard, Campos asserts 'Então, para nós, tradução de textos criativos será sempre recriação, ou criação paralela, autônoma porém recíproca' (Campos, 1992, p.35). By using all these metaphors, he also highlights the fact that translation is far from being a naive task; it is, by contrast, a creative activity and therefore a manipulative power that has the capacity to act as a tool of resistance. Campos' theory implies the acceptance of the 'satanical', in the sense of not submissive, elements of translation; this is the idea he intends to convey through the demoniac metaphor 'Mephistofaustian transluciferation' that he defines as 'obliteração do original [...] desmemória parricida' (Campos, 2005 [1981], p.209). This way of translating defies completely the notion of fidelity to the source text and mistranslations are seen in positive terms as they allow the translated text to have its own identity, as Campos puts it 'toda tradução criativa é já também um caso deliberado de *mistranslation* usurpadora' (*ibid.*, p.208).

In the case of Galicia, the whole process consists of bringing in Irish writers, mainly Yeats as we have already seen, absorbing their strength and placing

them into the tradition of Galician writing with the purpose of fuelling Galicia's own national identity. Indeed, the notion of 'recreation' used by Campos to refer to translation is closely related to the idea of 'transplanting' employed by the Villar Ponte brothers and Plácido Castro, a few decades earlier, in their preface to the translation of Yeats' plays *Cahtleen ni Houlihan* and *The Land of Heart's Desire*:

pillamos d'un horto da Illa Verde co'a fouce druída do luar estas flores que enfeita o orvallo celta da saudade, común a todolós pobos da mesma raza, para ofrecerllas vizosas logo d'as ter **transplantadas** con labrego agarimo â nosa doce lingua atlántica feita salaios d'amor nos Cancioneiros (Yeats, 1935, p.1, my emphasis).

It is the idea of taking a cultural product from Ireland and embedding it in the Galician culture where it will contribute to the forming of a Galician national identity. Therefore, the 'process of selecting the best of another culture, adapting and consuming it, and then making it one's own' (Gentzler, 2008, p.106) developed by the Brazilian anthropophagists applies directly to the practice of translation in Galicia during the 1920s and 1930s. Indeed, Augusto de Campos, Haroldo's brother, who is also identified with the 'cannibalistic' movement, wrote in the preface to his book of translations, *Verso, reverso, controverso*, that 'My way of loving them is translating them, devouring them, according to Oswald de Andrade's anthropophagic laws' (in Gentzler, 2008, p. 97). This applies to the Galician intellectuals who expressed their admiration and fascination for Ireland by translating Irish literary texts in a 'cannibalistic' way.

More recently, Vieira (1994, 1999) related the anthropophagic metaphor to postcolonial theory of translation by arguing that the assimilative concept of

'cannibalism', which implies the absorption and transformation of foreign input, is a form of liberation from mental colonialism as 'to transcreate is not to try to reproduce the original's form understood as a sound pattern, but to appropriate the translator's contemporaries' best poetry, to use the local existing tradition' (Vieira, 1999, p.110). This process of nourishment, absorption, transformation and addition (of autochthonous input) will be extensively exemplified through the analysis of translations that I will provide in the next three chapters. It is a way of translating that demythicizes fidelity to the source text, calls into question the conception of translation as a mimetic representation of the original and defies the dichotomy between source and target text; 'translation is no longer a one-way flow from the source to the target culture, but a two-way transcultural enterprise' (Vieira, 1999, p.106). Both the author and the translator appear side by side in the translated text maintaining both identities and the hierarchy of the source text is deposed (Wolf, 2003, p.119).

As mentioned before, in Galicia, this process did not take place between a dominant and a dominated culture as both Ireland and Galicia were subjugated nations. However, Ireland was a stronger culture in terms of Celtic heritage and literary models. The Galician nationalists needed to absorb those strengths to define their own identity and free themselves from cultural repression. In this context of a subaltern culture struggling to survive, translation became a process of nourishment, a cultural dialogue with the other (as reflection of the self) in which the translator participates actively in the production of the target texts. An illustrative example of this dialogue is the *Risquian* text 'Dédalus en Compostela. Pseudoparáfrase' (Risco, 1929), which is an imaginary dialogue

between Risco and the Joycean character Stephen Dedalus that takes place in a walk along the streets of Santiago de Compostela. Risco and Dedalus talk about the current situation of Ireland, as an *alter ego* of Galicia, towards which Dedalus is far from being optimistic 'Veño eiquí gozarme no suicidio da miña raza' (p.128), he says. However, Risco believes firmly in its redemption based on the invincible power of the land 'Antes desfarás a pedra grau por grau, que matal-o espírito que vive n-ela [in the land] e a mantén ergueita' (p.128). The symbolic meaning of the dialogue lies in the identification between translator and author, original work and translation, ultimately, between Ireland and Galicia. Furthermore, this text, together with Otero Pedrayo's translation of the fragments of the *Ulysses* in 1926, is one of the key landmarks in the process of the stabilization of the Galician literary system (cf. González Millán, 1989, p.37) as it represents the incorporation of the most innovative contemporary literature to the local tradition. The foreign input is needed for the local identity to flourish in those texts by means of adding autochthonous elements. Thus, the cannibalistic metaphor can be applied to minority cultures searching for foreign influences that will contribute to defining their own distinctiveness. It is in this sense that I understand it as a way of resistance against an alien dominant power.

2.5 Critical discourse analysis (CDA) as a tool for translation studies.

This conception of translation as a manipulative task and a way of resistance that consists of using translation to serve a specific political agenda takes my argument back to the beginning of this chapter, i.e. the unavoidable ideology in translation. In order to unveil this ideology of resistance that was conveyed

through the practice of translation, it is necessary to analyse the translated texts, as they are the final product of the direct intervention of the translator, and the paratexts surrounding them (paratranslation) since they often provide the ideological guidelines to interpret the translations. Since the translator ultimately materializes his/her ideology in linguistic forms and linguistic choices, the need for a linguistic analysis of the translated texts, which I advocated above (see pp. 72-73), is obvious. In this regard, the branch of linguistics known as critical discourse analysis (CDA) provides a framework of analysis from which translation studies can benefit.

CDA is the study of linguistic and semiotic aspects of social processes and problems; that is to say, it focuses on the partially linguistic character of social and cultural processes and structures. The starting point is that there is a symmetrical two-way relationship between discourse and society, whereby one shapes the other and vice versa, implying that a particular discourse and the context in which it is produced are inseparable (*cf.* Fairclough and Wodak, 1997). Consequently, there is a close relationship between language and ideology: 'language is a material form of ideology, and language is invested by ideology' (Fairclough, 1995, p.73). Usually, CDA takes the perspective of dominated and oppressed groups by typically investigating how inequality and power are expressed by language use (*cf.* Wodak, 2001), i.e. how some speakers or writers use language to exert power, and seeks to propose some kind of intervention so as to find a way of reversing the situation. It suggests that language 'can be used to challenge power, to subvert it, to alter distribution of power in the short and long term' (Wodak, 2001, p.11). In this respect,

shifting the perspective of analysis to discourses where power and domination are being contested is fruitful because it unmasks uses of language that can be/are employed by oppressed communities as a means of resisting power.

Van Dijk argues that CDA is not a method, therefore

does not provide a ready-made, how-to-do approach to social analysis, but emphasizes that for each study a thorough theoretical analysis of a social issue must be made, so as to be able to select which discourse and social structures to analyse and to relate (2001, p.98).

This argument highlights the partiality of any discourse analysis. Since there are too many aspects to analyse in a text, the researcher will have to select the structures that are most relevant for the study of a particular social issue, in the case in question the creation of a Galician national identity.

As has been extensively argued in previous sections, translators' choices, like those of original writers, are of an ideological nature, hence a comparative critical discourse analysis between the source and the target text should unveil the ideological intervention of the translator and his/her contribution to the change of a particular socio-political or cultural situation through language use.

As Castro argues:

En análises concretas, unha primeira aplicación da metodoloxía da ACD consistiría en examinar o texto traducido comparándoo co texto de partida. Este estudo comparativo permitirá desvelar o tipo de intervención ideolóxica que se agocha tras os xeitos particulares de usar a linguaxe nos textos traducidos, pois estes usos lingüísticos (ben sexa de forma obvia ou velada) transmiten e constrúen as relacións de poder e as identidades (2010, p.183).

Schäffner (2004) applies this methodology to the analysis of political texts (political discourse analysis) unveiling how translation solutions can cause

political effects. She highlights the links between textual features and ideological and social contexts in which discourse is produced emphasising the relevance that this has to translation because translators are conditioned by the socio-political context in which they work. And, this social determination affects, inevitably, the linguistic structure of the target text (Schäffner, 2004, p.137). In a later work (Schäffner, 2007), she stresses the notion of translation as a political activity and the relationship of translation and politics, which she explores from three different angles: 'the politics of translation, the translation of political texts, and the politicisation of translation (studies)' (*ibid.* p.135). The scholar concludes that the analysis of the interrelationship between these three perspectives could contribute to 'an emerging critical translation studies' (*ibid.*, p.147). This term had been previously used by Koskinen (2004) in reference to the new 'postmodern' trends in translation studies that adopting multiple and different perspectives such as feminism, postcolonialism, deconstruction, CDA, etc. share a critical viewpoint in their approaches. In the same light, Calzada Pérez (2002, 2003) advocates CDA as a tool for overcoming the unproductive dichotomy between cultural and linguistic approaches in translation studies because

By impeding the centripetal forces that draw together various perspectives (such as cultural studies and linguistics), translation scholars may run a twofold risk. We may be accused of either a lack of rigour or a lack of a real-life purpose in our studies (Calzada Pérez, 2002, p.205).

All these approaches show that the new trends in translation studies focus on translation as the linguistic manifestation of socio-cultural and political, hence ideological, structures. Research must draw on a variety of disciplines and

perspectives in order to be able to account for these links between the practice of translation and social and/or ideological processes.

In line with the above considerations and with works such as that of Tymoczko (1999), I will offer an analysis, in the following chapters, that combines a postcolonial perspective with a detailed linguistic analysis of the translated texts, including a study of paratextual items (articles, essays, prefaces, introductions, comments, etc.) without which the linguistic analysis would be sterile; hence, the relevance of the concept of paratranslation to this thesis. Through my study, I will intend to uncover the ideology of resistance underlying the practice of translation in the *Nós* period and the mechanisms through which it is conveyed. I will analyse the main strategies of the translators, the specific linguistic choices and the realisations at a phonological, lexical, grammatical and semantic level; I will also link these aspects to the socio-historical context in which the translations took place and explore their ideological implications. In this way, I will be able to explain how the foreign (Irish) influences were absorbed, transformed and digested by the Galician nationalists in order to carry out their titanic project of building the Galician nation. It is my aim to present a holistic approach to the translation phenomenon, one that takes into consideration all the contextual information surrounding the translation activity and that pays attention to all the different elements that are interweaved in the process: the different textual voices, cultural traditions, languages, etc.

CHAPTER 3

Appropriating the author: Risco (para)translates W.B. Yeats.

3.1 The reception of W.B. Yeats in Galicia.

William Butler Yeats (1865-1939) was one of the initiators of the Irish Literary Revival in the nineteenth century and was awarded the Nobel Prize for literature in 1923. He was born in Dublin in 1865 to a Protestant family, but spent his childhood in London paying frequent visits to Sligo (Ireland), his mother's hometown. In 1880, the Yeatses moved back to Dublin due to financial difficulties, and it is during these years that he immersed himself in Irish folklore and began to take an interest in Irish nationalism. He also developed an interest in mysticism and the occult and started publishing poems in literary magazines. Particularly important at this time was his acquaintance with John O'Leary, an Irish nationalist who had returned to Ireland after having been imprisoned in England for five years and exiled in France for thirteen years for taking part in an uprising in 1867. He exercised a great influence on Yeats who became interested in the idea of a 'Celtic Ireland' that was to be liberated from English influence. William's Irishness would from now on always be part of his life and his literary work. Flannery (1976) mentions the four aspects of Irish life that Yeats was most attracted to: the beauty of the land, Irish peasantry, traditional Irish folklore and legends and Irish nationalism. Irish folklore and mythology fuelled the writer's imagination and served as a source for themes and characters of his early works. Although, during this period of his life, Yeats embraces revolutionary politics and joins the Irish Republican Brotherhood, his nationalism was of a cultural rather than political nature. Being an Irish Protestant, he found it difficult to identify with the values of Catholic Ireland; his

ideal of an authentic Irish nation was one that was neither Catholic nor Protestant but unified in the 'pagan Celtic archetype' (Hutchinson, 1987, p.135).

In 1896, Lady Augusta Gregory, whom he had briefly met before, proposed to him the creation of an Irish National Theatre with the objective of restoring Ireland's national identity. With the collaboration of George Moore, Edward Martyn and John Millington Synge, they started thinking about this project that finally materialised in 1902 with the formation of the National Dramatic Society, which aimed at staging Irish plays performed by Irish actors. In this same year, Yeats' political play *Cathleen ni Houlihan* was produced by the Society provoking heated feelings of patriotism in the audience. In 1903, the project became a stable company, the Irish National Theatre Society, and a year later obtained a permanent space for its performances, the Abbey Theatre, which opened its doors with a programme of plays by Yeats, Synge and Lady Gregory. As Flannery argues (1976), what Yeats was most attracted to about theatre was its power to create unity; it could transform isolated individuals into a unity of an audience. He applied this same principle to the unity of a nation by saying that a nation should be 'like an audience in some great theatre' (in Flannery, 1976, pp.65-66). In this sense, theatre was understood as a means of regeneration.

The idea of theatre as a medium of cultural regeneration promulgated by the Irish National Theatre was to be appropriated by Galician nationalists Antón Villar Ponte and Plácido Castro (see chapters four and five for a full discussion). Through the translation of Yeats' plays *Cathleen ni Houlihan* and *The Land of*

Heart's Desire, these aforementioned nationalists intended to introduce Irish models to renovate Galician theatre in their attempt to search for authenticity and the recovery of Galician national identity. They were also extremely attracted to Yeats' sympathy for the Irish peasantry and folklore as well as to his Celticism. The same motives were of interest to Vicente Risco whose fascination for Yeats was expressed on several occasions as will be shown throughout this chapter. Risco also shared Yeats' mysticism and interest for the occult but, above all, the idea of a 'Celtic Galicia', an *alter ego* of the Celtic Ireland advocated by the Irishman.

From 1903 to 1914, Yeats detaches himself from political nationalism; he tries to separate poetry from politics and focuses on looking for new avant-garde directions and subtlety in his poetry. However, the Easter Rising (1916) changes his views again and he experiences another period of political radicalization. With reference to the outcome of the rising, he declared 'I had no idea that any public event could so deeply move me' (in Cowell, 1969, p.53). In 1923 he won the Nobel Prize for Literature and this fact did not go unnoticed for the Galician intellectuals, who echoed the event in *ANT* highlighting that Yeats was already known in Galicia due to their translations. Regarding the award, they say: 'Rexistramos con ledicia este feito que nos tén producido unha moi grande satisfaiación pol-o que para os galegos, de orixe celta e crêntes tamén nas virtudes da nosa raza, siñifica ver honrado d'este xeito a un irmán' (*ANT*, 1923, p.4)

After the creation of the Irish Free State, Yeats was appointed as Senator in 1922 to advise on literature, education and the arts. In this manner, the poet became a public figure and played an active, yet controversial, role within the Irish Senate. To begin with, his appointment was not well received by the whole of the general public as they were ideologues who considered that Ireland was a Catholic country and that Catholicism had to be protected by the new state. His identification with a group of independent senators who protected the interests of former Unionists made his position even more ambiguous for the nationalist Irish community. He also changed his position from supporting democracy to advocate an authoritarian government whose aim would be 'the creation of a nation controlled by highly trained intellectuals' (in Brown 2001, p.296). His period as Senator ended in 1928 after failing to be re-elected.

Yeats and his fellow revivalists sought the restoration of Irish prestige as a nation, but rather than resorting back to the Gaelic language and differentiating themselves completely from England, they chose either the English language or the dialect emerging from the rural classes, which was English filled with Gaelic idioms and rhythms (Hiberno-English). Hutchinson argues that 'by creating a distinctive Anglo-Irish literature, they exercised an important nationalizing effect on English-speaking Ireland to whom they diffused models of Gaelic heroism and self-sacrifice' (1987, p.147). Despite Yeats writing in English instead of Gaelic, the *Nós* intellectuals still believed that he belonged to a minority culture and had an important role in the defence of the Irish traditional heritage and its distinctive personality. Considering that, one would ask whether they had the same benevolence towards Galician authors writing in Spanish. In

this respect, it is worth paying attention to their perception of Valle-Inclán, an important figure of Modernism in Spanish literature, who was Galician but hardly ever used Galician in his literary production. There are frequent references to Valle-Inclán in the journal *Nós*, mainly through literary reviews, which offer both positive and negative remarks about him. The literary quality of his works and his relevance as an author is not denied, but his representations of Galicia are frequently called into question for not complying with their nationalist perspective (cf. González-Millán, 1992). For instance, in a review that *Nós* published in 1922 where an article on Valle-Inclán by Salvador Madariaga is mentioned, the reviewer states that Madariaga ‘considera coma nós ó Valle-Inclán como un galego asimilado por Castela’ (in González-Millán, 1992, p. 40). Risco, however, finds parallelisms between the *patois* of Synge and the style of Valle-Inclán ‘Ainda Synge emprega un verdadeiro **patois**, imitante ô do noso Valle-Inclán, n-algúns dos seus escritos’ (Risco, 1926a, p.5, emphasis in the original). Risco justifies this by saying that, regarding the national language, Ireland was in a stage similar to that of Galicia in the 1900-1916 when Galician literature was made in Spanish. He carries on saying that Gaelic had lost momentum but that the situation was to be changed thanks to the Gaelic League. He even uses the argument of Gaelic being too difficult a language to learn in order to excuse the Irish revivalists for not using it, a desperate attempt to make them fit into his own political project ‘o erse é unha léngua difícile. Non é doado deprender e falar ben unha léngua de 80.000 verbas c’unha sintaxe variada e complicada, c’unha prosodia mais complicada ainda’ (*ibid.*, p.6).

Going back to their perception of Valle-Inclán, Antón Villar Ponte feverously declares his devotion to him by saying that he is 'lo más genial del teatro español' (Villar Ponte, 1934, p.1). And, when he criticizes the performance of *zarzuelas*¹⁵ in Galician theatres, he advocates that it would be much better to perform plays set in Galicia by Valle-Inclán either in Spanish or translated into the vernacular language, which would give them supreme value and would undoubtedly be an honourable and productive event for regional art (*cf. ibid.*). Even though he recommends the plays to be translated into Galician, language does not seem to be such a great issue in this case, or at least having performances of Valle-Inclán in Spanish is considered to be a lesser evil than having the abovementioned *zarzuelas* in Galician theatres. It is noteworthy that Valle-Inclán is defined by Villar Ponte as the best of Spanish (not Galician) theatre. In sum, it could be said that 'para los galleguistas de la Xeración Nós, Valle-Inclán es al mismo tiempo un gallego asimilado por Castilla, un expatriado como Oscar Wilde, o el contradictorio Joyce de la Galicia literaria de su tiempo' (González-Millán, 1992, p. 44).

As early on as 1920, in its third issue, *Nós* publishes the first essay about Yeats, 'Letras irlandesas. W.B. Yeats', preceding the translation of the poem 'To an isle in the water'. Although the author's name does not appear in this publication, there is evidence within the text indicating that it is the work of Vicente Risco, one of the most influential intellectuals of the *Xeración Nós*. He announces some translations of Yeats' works that he will subsequently undertake 'Eu agardo dar logo algús d'ises contos: *Nósa Señora dos Outeiros*,

¹⁵ Spanish dramatic genre where some of the scenes are spoken and others are sung.

Un corazón sofrido [...]’¹⁶ (1920e, p.16). Risco’s interest in Yeats and access to his works is, to some extent, owing to the influence of contemporary European, especially French, journals. As part of its cultural agenda of keeping Galician culture in contact with other European cultures, the *Revista Nós* had a subscription to the avant-garde French journals of the time such as *La Douce France*, *Mercure de France*, *Journal des Débats* (cf. Toro Santos, 1991, p. 418). Indeed, in this first presentation of the author to a Galician audience, Risco refers to the French source *La Douce France* ‘W.B. Yeats é agora cando principia a ser coñecido do público francés, gracias a mademoiselle Lichnerowicz, quen, no número de San Martiño pasado de *La Douce France* publica e traduz algús dos seus poemas’ (Risco, 1920e, p.15). This comment is followed by a translation of Emmanuel de Thubert’s introduction to those Lichnerowicz translations, which is a presentation of the author mentioning some of his works, his inspiration in Irish folklore and his Celticism¹⁷. However, it would be an oversimplification to consider that Risco’s fascination for Yeats was only based on his readings of European journals. The Galician intellectual found essential similarities between his own cultural and political agenda and that of the Irish nationalist poet, two key factors being his Celticism and his attraction to the Irish folk tradition: ‘é por como a sua estética acai co-a y-alma celta, que Yeats vive na tradición da sua terra’ (Risco, 1926a, p.8). Yeats’ international fame as a writer at the time is also likely to have played a role in his admiration for him. It is known that Risco was aware of the international renown of Yeats since he states ‘Todos sinalan coma xefe da renacencia

¹⁶ As promised, he translated ‘Our Lady of the Hills’ as ‘Nosa Señora dos Outeiros’ which was published by *Nós* in 1923, and ‘An enduring heart’ as ‘Conto’ published by *A Nosa Terra* in 1925. Both translations will be analysed in this chapter.

¹⁷ For a comparison of both Thubert’s text and Risco’s, see Yeats (1920, pp.54-55) and Risco (1920e, pp.15-16).

literaria irlandesa a William Butler Yeats, premio Nobel en 1923 e o mais grande dos poetas contemporaneos en léngua inglesa' (*ibid.*, p.7)¹⁸. The noticeable contradiction in this quotation, that of Yeats being the leading figure of the Irish literary revival and, at the same time, the best contemporary poet in English language, does not seem to pose a problem for Risco. Contrast this with the belief of the *Xeración Nós* in which language is considered the main sign of national identity. The need of appropriating Yeats so as to establish cultural connections between Ireland and Galicia seems to be more important than any other aspect, and even leads to theoretical and/or ideological inconsistencies. It is an example of how the Galician intellectuals were selective in the sense of choosing those aspects of Irish culture that best suited their agenda and ignoring others. They frequently manipulated reality to meet their ideological ends. Therefore, despite the above contradiction, Risco saw Yeats as a model of the search for national authenticity. The author who was described by Said as an 'indisputably great national poet who articulates the experiences, the aspirations, and the vision of a people suffering under the domination of an off-shore power' (1988, p.5) provoked the admiration of a group of intellectuals who were fighting for the rights of their minority culture to be recognised and were trying to liberate themselves from the yoke of an 'imperial' power.

¹⁸ This quote is from a series of articles entitled 'Da renacencia céltiga. A Moderna Literatura Irlandesa' where Risco relies greatly on another French publication: a book by Simone Téry (1925). Sometimes he translates almost literally from the French source. In this respect, it is worth comparing this quotation with the French text 'le chef de la renaissance littéraire de l'Irlande, le plus grand sans doute des poètes de langue anglaise contemporains' (Téry, 1925 p.57).

It is at this point when translation comes into being as a powerful political instrument. On the one hand, having an internationally acclaimed Nobel Prize winning author translated into Galician served the purpose of reinvigorating the status of the language by presenting it as a legitimate vehicle in which the most innovative European literature could be expressed. On the other hand, translating Yeats would strengthen the links between Ireland and Galicia and would contribute to the spread of Celticism in the latter as a means of justifying its distinctive personality and identity in opposition to the Spanish/Mediterranean culture.

The abovementioned 1920 essay works as an introduction not only to the translation of 'To an isle in the water', which it precedes, but also to all the translations of Yeats' works that were published in subsequent years, the last being *The Land of Heart's Desire* in 1935 translated as *O país da saudade*. Risco incorporates the Irish author within the 'local' literary tradition by stating similarities between him and the Portuguese Teixeira de Pascoaes 'A Esperanza y-a Lembranza teñen unha filla, y-o seu nome é Arte'. A coincidencia de Yeats eiqui co'as ideas de Teixeira de Pascoaes é verdadeiramente sorprendente' (Risco, 1920e, p.16). As mentioned earlier, Portugal was one of the referents of the *Xeración Nós* and Risco maintained contacts with the main mentor of the *Renascença Portuguesa*, Teixeira de Pascoaes. He wanted to portray an idea of Galicia as the mother of Portugal presenting it as if the same interest in Galician culture were shared by the latter. This was, however, not the case; the belief that in Portugal there was a strong interest in Galician culture that could potentially lead to the reunification of both

territories is defined by Harrington as a 'semi-institutionalised *entelequia*' (2006/2007, p.58). But, Risco goes even further in his appropriation of the Irish poet and establishes a relation of analogy between him and Rosalía de Castro:

A poesía de Yeats é sutil e fonda, chea da vaguedade céltiga; é coma se dixéramos un lirismo xordo e bretemoso, do que a beleza non salta ó primeiro ollar, com'as fanfarrias sonoras d'un Carducci ou d'un Rubén Darío. É cousa interna que fala baixiño e doce, de cousas familiares. Lembra o tono gris da elexía a John Moore da nós Rosalía. (p.16)

This is a manipulative strategy which consists of appropriating and paratranslating the 'other' by means of its incorporation to the target system as Yeats is presented as if by being Irish, he were also part of the Galician literary tradition. This essay anticipates that the translations that will follow will be used as political instruments and will be performed following ideological criteria, 'By importing Yeats, the men of the *Xeración Nós* exalted him as a paradigm of the Celtic spirit that they wanted to inject into their own emerging literary projects' (McKevitt, 2003, p.139). Moreover, the above paragraph is paradigmatic of the opposition established by the *Xeración Nós* between intimate (Yeats, Rosalía) and rethorical (Rubén Darío, Carducci). Riscos' description of Yeats' poetry even recalls that of Rosalía de Castro in the preface of *Cantares Gallegos* (1863), the first book published entirely in Galician: 'A poesía gallega, toda música e vaguedade' (Castro, 1960, p.264).

Despite Yeats being the most translated Irish writer in this period, the translations were not great in number considering his prolific literary production. However, the importance of these translations does not lie in their quantity but in their relevance and significance within the *Xeración Nós*' political agenda. This chapter will focus only on the translations undertaken by Risco, who

translated most of the works ('To an isle in the water', 'The Rose Tree', 'The scholars', 'Our Lady of the Hills', 'An Enduring Heart'), but also the shorter ones. Nevertheless, a study of this period's translations of Yeats must necessarily take as a starting point Vicente Risco because he initiated the cycle of translations and introduced the author to the Galician audience. Moreover, he was the main ideologue of the *Xeración Nós* and his political ideas are closely related to his translation activity; they are also reflected in the translations undertaken by Villar Ponte and Plácido Castro as this thesis will show. Additionally, Risco thought about the act of translating, leaving us with revealing statements about the role granted to it in this specific socio-cultural context at this particular point in time. These translations cannot, therefore, be fully understood without taking into account his political thought that influenced a whole generation. Consequently, I will start by analysing his ideology and his own views about translation and how they relate to the introduction of Celticism in Galicia. I will then proceed to study the strategies applied to each individual translation analysing the possible use of French as a mediating language in each particular case. I will intend to demonstrate with my analysis that these translations were used with a clear political intention: to justify the existence of Galicia as a differentiated nation by means of 'proving' its relation with the Celtic nations of Northern Europe and to fortify and dignify the Galician language. Ultimately, my analysis endeavours to show that translation is a political act highly influenced by the context in which it occurs. In this respect, it is necessary to begin by considering briefly the reception of W.B. Yeats in Spain at the time, explaining to what extent the reception of the author in Galicia differs from that of the rest of the country.

Yeats and his works were not very well known in Spain at the beginning of the twentieth century. Toro Santos argues that although names such as Oscar Wilde, George Bernard Shaw and to a lesser extent, Yeats, Lady Gregory and Synge would be familiar in Spanish journals of that time, 'Joyce, ciertamente, es el único escritor irlandés que concita amplia atención en España' (2007, p.30). Most of the Spanish writers of the periphery at the time, such as Unamuno, Baroja and Azorín, looked at Castile as a source of inspiration. Valle-Inclán was an exception as he was more concerned with the peasantry of his own region; hence his affinity with the authors of the Anglo-Irish Revival, although there is no evidence of any links between him and Irish revivalists (cf. Andrews, 1991).

The first translation of Yeats into Spanish that is registered in the catalogue of the Spanish National Library in Madrid dates from 1956, *Teatro Completo y Otras Obras*, translated by Amado Lázaro Ros. The two exceptions to this neglect of Yeats were the poet Juan Ramón Jiménez and his translator wife Zenobia Camprubí who, driven by their admiration for the Irish writer, committed themselves to the translation of some of his works. Young (1980) states that J.R. Jiménez had a translation of *The Countess Cathleen* ready by 1919, had partially finished *The Land of Heart's Desire* by the same time and had intentions to translate *The Green Helmet* and *The Shadowy Waters*. Nevertheless, none of these translations were published mainly due to commercial matters, disagreements with Yeats' agent and concerns about the reception of these works by the Spanish audience at the time¹⁹.

¹⁹ For full details about the collapse of Juan Ramón and Zenobia's project to publish translations of Yeats, see Young (1980, p.115).

A different scenario with regard to the reception of Yeats is found, however, when considering translation into other peninsular languages. In addition to the case of Galicia, works by Yeats were translated into Catalan and Basque in the same period. The play *Cathleen ni Houlihan*, which advocates nationalist self-sacrifice, was translated into Catalan as *La Mendicant* by Marià Manent and published by *La Revista* in January 1921, where a version of *The Land of Heart's Desire* (*La terra del desig*) by the same translator also appeared in 1927. An adaptation of the former was also published in a bilingual Basque-Spanish version in 1933 with the title *Negárez igaro zan Atsuall/La vieja que pasó llorando*. Both cultures, the Catalan and the Basque, were attracted to Yeats' works for political reasons, and they appropriated them for their own nationalist struggle²⁰.

Whereas for Jiménez and Camprubí the admiration for Yeats was more based on literary criteria (Jiménez's early verse has manifest connections with *The Wind Among the Reeds* and *The Rose*), for the minority cultures of Catalonia, the Basque Country and Galicia, the attraction was more based on political grounds. Within this common line, there is yet another characteristic which differentiates Galicia from the other two. It is the fact that the fascination of the Galician intellectuals for the Irish writer was mainly due to the latter being a symbol of the Celtic spirit that they wanted to import and use to justify the differentiated identity of Galicia with regard to the rest of Spain. In order to understand the importance, for Galicia, to be part of the Celtic-Atlantic

²⁰ For more information on the reception of Yeats in Catalonia and the Basque Country and its political significance, see Hurlley (2006).

community and therefore, the political meaning of the translations of Yeats, an overview of Risco's political ideology is mandatory.

3.2 Vicente Risco, the main ideologue of Galician nationalism.

Vicente Risco (1884-1963), who was defined by Beramendi as the 'principal teórico do nacionalismo galego' (Risco, 2000 [1920], p.9), was one of the most influential figures of the *Xeración Nós*. Born to an upper-class family, he maintained an intense intellectual activity throughout his life, not only as a writer, but also as a journalist, humanist, thinker and politician; he also made relevant contributions as a translator, this being the less studied side of his works. His presence was frequent in the Galician literary circles of the time and he was concerned with introducing into Galicia the European intellectual trends of the moment. He embraced *galeguismo*; he joined the *Irmandades da Fala* in 1917, and, in 1920, he founded the *Revista Nós*.

His role as an ideologue is controversial as his political thinking fluctuated from one pole to the other. At the beginning of his intellectual activity, he did not show much interest in Galicia or in the recovery of the Galician language; he even stated that Galician 'ya no es una lengua literaria [...] debe conservarse como una parte de nuestro rico, de nuestro bellissimo folklore [...] pero el que quiera ser leído que escriba en castellano' (*La Centuria*, 1917, p.21). Nevertheless, he embraced Galician nationalism soon after this declaration and became one of its main theorists. He would eventually change his views again by supporting openly the Spanish fascist uprising in 1936, renouncing his *galeguismo*. I will focus here on the ideology that he defended during the period

from 1917 to 1936, that is, his Galician nationalist period, as that is the line of thought that influenced his contemporaries and the translations that were carried out at the time.

In his *Teoría do Nazonalismo Galego* published in 1920, Risco begins by defining Galician nationalism as ‘a doutrina que informa o movemento de reivindicación da persoalidade de Galicia fronte da soberbia do centralismo hespañol’ (Risco, 2000 [1920], p. 3). He, therefore, states here the key idea of Galician nationalism in that period: the cultural and political differentiation from Spain by finding Galicia’s own original personality, which could be achieved by resorting back to its ancestral roots. Risco saw the need for nationalism to come into being in Galicia as the region had for so long surrendered to Spanish centralism and was abandoning its traditions and customs, *de-galicianising* itself:

Galicia deixou perder todo, deixou que lle levaran o que lle quixeran levar, qu’a asoballaran de todol-os xeitos. Consentiu en se ver aldraxada, en que fixeran despreccio d’ela e mais dos seus fillos; deu ela mesma os pés y-as maus para que lle puxeran as cadeas. (*ibid.*, p.12)

Consequently, Galicia needed to awake and fight for restoration and recognition of its original personality, to liberate itself from the yoke of the Spanish ‘imperialistic’ power because ‘o imperialismo castelao é unha violación dos sentimentos nacionaes, unha mistificación da realidade, que s’impuxo á forza pol-o poder ausoluto dos Reises’ (*ibid*, p.13).

Influenced by Spengler, Risco made a distinction between the Mediterranean spirit which had created a rational and decadent civilization and the Atlantic

(Celtic-Germanic) spirit, romantic and spiritualistic, which could create a new civilization that would regenerate Europe. Needless to say that Galicia would be included in the latter group. A key element in his line of reasoning is his concept of nation, which is based on historicism and is separated from the concept of state. Hence in Spain, according to him, there was one state but different nations. He advocated a telluric nationalism, linking strongly the idea of nation with the idea of land:

unha nacionalidade é un pobo afincado n-unha terra, é un grupo d'homos xungidos antre eles, xungidos coa terra de que son donos coeutivamente, e que traballan en común, por un conxunto de vínculos naturaes, nados da comunidá de orixe e da convivencia no tarreo. (*ibid.*, p.17)

Together with land, there was another essential constituent of the nation: ethnicity. And at this point, Risco resorted back to Murguía's idea of race which linked Galicia with the Celtic nations of Northern Europe. The new Celtic-Atlantic civilization would mean the liberation of Galicia that had been subjugated by an alien culture, the Mediterranean, which had been brought there by Roman imperialism which Risco defined as the 'prototipo de todol-os imperialismos' (*ibid.*, p.84). He explored this idea of the Celtic race at length in his essay 'Galizia Céltiga' (1920d), where he argues that the Celtic civilization would have survived should it not have been subjugated by the Roman Empire. However, now the time had come for the Celtic peoples to awake and restore their personality, which meant that the world's centre of gravity would be displaced from the Mediterranean to the Atlantic.

The other feature which Risco presents as the main differentiating element of the Galician specific character is language: 'de todol-os vínculos sociaes, é a

fala a que mais sopra e caracteriza ós pobos, poqu' é o mais espiritual de todos, é o que conforma o pensamento e fai a maneira de ser das xentes.' (Risco, 2000 [1920], p.20). This Herderian linguistic patriotism had been clearly expressed four years earlier, in 1916, by Antón Villar Ponte in his *Nacionalismo gallego. Nuestra "afirmación" regional* (cf. Villar Ponte, 2006 [1916]). Through the analysis of the translations, I will demonstrate at a later point in this chapter, and in the subsequent ones, to what extent the idea of language served the purpose of constructing and articulating the Galician nationalist discourse.

Risco's concept of nation is, in fact, partially influenced by Herder's doctrines with respect to its historicism, romanticism, and linguistic patriotism (cf. Berlin, 1976 for analysis of Herder's thinking). However, he differs radically from the German philosopher by putting race at the core of its definition and by considering that there are nations which are intrinsically superior to others. In this sense, he speaks about 'a superioridade mental dos galegos' (Risco, 2000 [1920], p.22). This is part of his elitism, which he openly manifested in many different ways. He was against equality between social classes and he believed that only intellectual elites had the capacity of transforming and leading the future of the nation. This last idea was shared by the Spanish influential philosopher of the time Ortega y Gasset in his seminal treaty *España Invertebrada*: 'Una nación es una masa humana organizada, estructurada por una minoría de individuos selectos' (Ortega y Gasset, 1957 [1921], p. 95). For the Spanish thinker, when the masses refuse to follow the select ruling minority, a situation is created that leads to the dismantling of the nation and the arrival of

social chaos. And that is what he thought that was happening in Spain at the time (*cf. ibid.*).

Risco made it clear that there was no need for discussing the rights of Galicia to be a nation because that was a proven fact. However, this did not mean that it needed to be separated from Spain, but that it had to be allowed to develop its original identity, or as the *Nós* intellectuals called it: its *enxebriemento*, so that Galicia could make its contribution to universal civilization. He strongly opposed the cultural assimilation of Galicia with the rest of Spain that had been imposed over centuries of centripetal politics.

At the end of the extended essay, it is stated that the nationalist problem will only be resolved in Galicia

cando sexamos donos d'unha persoalidade propia basada no trunfo d'unha propia cultura, que nos independice das culturas alleas, xa que contamos c'unha tradición, c'unha raza e c'unha terra de careiterísticas especiaes, diferenciada das mais do mundo, na qu'a língoa é o froito natural por escelenza. (Risco, 2000 [1920], p.43)

This paragraph contains the mainstays of the *Xeración Nós'* doctrine, the concepts that defined the Galician *Volksggeist* and that were key in their struggle for the creation of a national identity: tradition, race (Celtic), land and language. These elements will intertwine with the practice of translation and will transform it into a powerful political tool.

Risco wrote regularly for both *Nós* and *ANT*, and he developed the above ideas in the essays and articles that he published between 1917 and 1936; his recurrent topics were the defence of Galician individuality, the exaltation of the

land and the Celtic race, and the promotion of the Galician language.²¹ Amongst all these publications especial attention must be paid to his influential essay *Nós, os inadaptados* published by *Nós* in 1933, which is a self-portrait of the *Xeración Nós*. Risco defines himself and his contemporaries as ‘antisociás’ and ‘individualistas’ (Risco, 1933, p.117) who rejected socialism and communism, both seen by them as destructive forces as opposed to nationalism which was a defensive force. They were against social egalitarianism and had an elitist conception of art. Driven by the dissatisfaction produced by a decadent modern world, Risco resorted to oriental and exotic worlds as way of escapism. And it was this search for new and unknown realities that led him to the ‘discovery’ of Galicia:

Despois de tantas voltas e revoltas, despois de tantas viravoltas e trasvoltas pol-as lonjanías do espazo e do tempo, en procura d’algo inédito que nos salvara do habitual e vulgar, viñemos dar na solprendente descuberta de que Galiza, a nosa Terra, oculta ao noso ollar por un espeso estrato de cultura allea, falsa e ruin, vulgar e filistea, ofercianos un mundo tan esteso, tan novo, tan inédito, tan descoñecido, com’os que’andábamos a percurar por ahí adiante (*ibid*, p.122).

Indeed, Risco and his fellow members of the *Xeración Nós* devoted their intellectual activity to explore, define, assert, and construct that unknown, individual, distinctive reality called Galicia. And one of the means by which they carried out this activity was translation.

As important as the translations themselves, are the comments on translation that Risco frequently included in his writings. In the 1920 essay about Yeats, mentioned at the beginning of this chapter, Risco introduces the poem ‘To an

²¹ See, for instance, Risco (1918a, 1918b, 1920c, 1920d, 1920e, 1921a, 1921b, 1926a, 1926b, 1926c).

isle in the water' by saying 'Anque non-os gustan as traduciós, damos eiquí unha' (Risco, 1920e, p.16). This hostility towards translation coming from the person who undertook most of the translations of Irish literature carried out in the *Nós* period is surprising. McKeivitt (2003) explains such an attitude towards translation by arguing that it could be owing to either Risco's sharing of Yeats' concern about translating poetry, which could result in something entirely alien to the original, or a disclaimer for a translation that deviates from the original at times and uses French as a mediating source. Indeed, it is likely for this comment to be a translator's way of eluding responsibility not only for this translation but for a sequence of them that were carried out to suit a particular agenda and that frequently relied on mediating versions. In fact, there are occasions when he avoids referring to these works as translations and uses alternative expressions instead: 'poemiña seu **posto en galego**' (Risco, 1926a, p.7) or '**versión** galega d'unha peza teatral: Cathleen ni Houlihan' (*ibid*).

One relevant aspect that must also be taken into account at this point is Risco's command of the English language as he openly expressed that the only foreign language that he could master was French:

A nosa cultura [...] fíxose principalmente en libros francés. O francés era d'aquela a úneca lingua estrangeira que coñecemos ben, anque n-aquil tempo da nosa mocidade, por eiquí en Galiza, a mais moda era o inglés. Nos sabiamos algunhas verbas inglesas para misturarmos na conversa, por moda, n-aquil tempo en qu'a derradeira espresión da elegancia na nosa Terra, eran os empregados do Cable de Vigo. (Risco, 1933, p.116)

This limited knowledge of English did not stop him, however, from translating from this language, although quite often relying on French as a mediating

source. This practice highlights that in this particularly socio-historical context, the function of a given translation in the target culture is even more important than the translation itself. As Tymoczko (2010) accurately argues, postcolonial contexts challenge the assumption that the translator must know both languages taking place in the act of translating and show the epistemological dimension of translation, i.e., its capacity to precede and construct knowledge. Translation was, in this sense, a necessary evil which was due to be used for de-colonizing the nation by breaking the wall between Galicia and Europe built by 'Castilian imperialism' as Risco clearly stated:

[o] imperialismo castelán foi hastra agora unha “muralla da China” posta antremedio de nós i-a Europa culta. O imperialismo castelán nonos deixou pertencer ô mundo civilizado. [...] Quérennos castelanizar. Nós queremos europeizarnos.

Me non parece ben que teñamos que coñece-la Europa en libros i en traducións casteláns. Antre nós i-a humanidade culta non debe haber entremediaros. [...] Temos que poñel-a cultura europea en galego e – contra da imposición â forza do castelán- propagal-o ensino das lingoas cultas: francés, inglés, alemán, italiano (Risco, 1920a, p.12).

What is relevant about this declaration is that Risco sees translation as a way of resisting the influence of Castilian culture, which will eventually lead to the cultural liberation of Galicia. More than that, he believes that this process of liberation and de-colonization will never be achieved without translation 'Y agora mesmo, non pensedes que teremos feito nin miga, namentras as derradeiras publicacións extranxeiras se non traduzan o galego denantes qu'ô castelán' (Risco, 1918b, p.6). Hence, the key role granted to the practice of translation in the period. He also highlights the importance of translating from Galician into other languages because the recovery of Galicia will only be achieved when 'no

extranxeiro se vexan obrigados a traducil-os libros escritos en galego, se queren ter coñecemento das derradeiras novas centíficas, filosóficas e literarias' (Risco, 2000 [1920], p.6). Therefore, Risco's premises can be related to postcolonial theories of translation as he makes it clear that translation in Galicia was carried out for political reasons, especially translations of Irish literature. These texts intended to produce an effect of identification between Ireland and Galicia with the aim of re-asserting Galicia's distinctiveness. And, language, having been an element of repression, becomes now a symbol of liberation, what used to be a degraded and alienated language is transformed into 'a self-affirming figure of national emergence' (Simon, 1999, p.60) for which translation plays a relevant role.

3.3 Yeats in Risco's translations.

Having explored Risco's political principles, his remarks on translation, and some of his invaluable contributions to the process of identification between both 'Celtic' nations, the rest of this chapter will be devoted to his translations of W.B. Yeats. The analysis will show, on the one hand, how they contributed to articulate Risco's, and indeed the whole *Xeración Nós*, nationalist discourse and, on the other hand, how translation is revealed as a powerful de-alienating and manipulative force. It has been mentioned at the beginning of this chapter how Risco relied on French sources when writing about Yeats, and about Irish literature in general. Thus, taking this into account together with the fact that he confessed his limited command of the English language, it is not unexpected that he also relied, at least partially, on French versions which were available to him when creating his translations.

In his essay about Yeats discussed earlier, Risco included a translation of the poem 'To an isle in the water', originally written by Yeats in 1889. The poem had been previously translated into French by Lichnerowicz and published in the journal *La Douce France* in November 1920 (Risco's translation was published in December) in a section entitled 'Poèmes de Yeats' which also included a translation of the poems 'The folly of being comforted' and 'Adam's curse'. Both the original in English and the French version appeared side by side in *La Douce France*. In order to analyse the strategies applied by Risco, the three versions (English, Galician and French) are reproduced below and it can be noted that, on this occasion, the reliance on the French source is kept to a minimum.

Source text	Galician version	French version
To an isle in the water Shy one, shy one, Shy one of my heart, She moves in the firelight Pensively apart. She carries in the dishes, And lays them in a row. To an isle in the water With her would I go. She carries in the candles, And lights the curtained room, Shy in the doorway And shy in the gloom; And shy as a rabbit, Helpful and shy. To an isle in the water With her would I fly. (p.89)	To an isle in the water Medrosa, medrosa do meu curazonhe no craror do lume pensativamentes, móvese no lonxe Ela trai os platos E déixaos na mesa ... A unha isla na y-auga Quixera ir co-ela. Ela trai as lucos y-o sobrado aluma medrosa na porta medrosa, as escuras. Medrosa cal lebre medrosa e sinxela A unha isla na y-auga Quixera ir co-ela. (p.16, my emphasis)	A une ile dans l'eau Une timide, une timide Une timide de mon coeur, Elle se meut à la lueur du feu Pensivement à part. Elle apporte les plats, Et les dispose en ordre. A une ile dans l'eau Avec elle je voudrais aller. Elle apporte les chandelles, Et éclaire la chambre aux rideaux, Timide dans la porte Et timidez dans l'obscurité; Timide comme un petit lièvre, Secourable et timidez. A une île dans l'eau Avec elle je voudrais fuir. (p.57)

The first noticeable feature of Risco's version is that, unlike the French translator, he does not translate the title and thus he emphasizes the foreign origin of the composition. It is equally visible that the Galician translation differs considerably from both the English original and the French version. Whereas Lichnerowicz attempts to reproduce the sense of the source text, Risco prioritizes the form. McKevitt (2003) provides an analysis of his translation solutions commenting on the changes he applies to the metric system in order to insert the text within the Galician popular literary tradition. Indeed, Risco's choice of what to translate amongst the three poems included in this section of the French journal is likely to be determined by the fact that the other two compositions are much longer than 'To an isle in the water' and as McKevitt (2003) points out, they are made of long and more complex sentences. Consequently, it would have been more difficult for him to try to insert them within the Galician literary system, where traditional lyric compositions were characterized by lines with no more than eight syllables, termed *de arte menor* in Galician poetry.²² The lack of longer lines is certainly a powerful indicator of the popular element in Galician verse and the absence of a *culto* tradition. In his translation, Risco uses a regular hexasyllabic pattern in all the lines (except for the fourth line of the first stanza), and thus distances himself from the syllabic length used by Yeats which varies from four to seven syllables, and creates his own rhythm in the poem. In the second line of the first stanza, he adds a paragogic /e/ to the word *curazón*, a common device that was used in the Galician lyrical tradition when a line ended in a stressed syllable. His lexical choices are determined by the syllabic pattern that he imposed upon the poem

²² Risco will later on translate the last two verses of 'The folly of being comforted' relying on a different French source: Téry (1925). See page 123.

and the creation of assonance adhering to Yeats' rhyme scheme, which leads him to deviate somewhat from the original. For example, he uses *mesa* for 'in a row', *lucos* for 'candles', *lebre* for 'rabbit', *sinxela* for helpful and *ir* for 'fly'. The use of *lebre* for 'rabbit' is the only case where some dependence on the French translation can clearly be seen.²³ McKevitt concludes her analysis of this translation by stating that 'By imposing a hexasyllabic pattern associated with *romancillos*, Risco, according to Venuti's theory, domesticates Yeats, enlisting the translated poem in the revision of Galicia's literary canon' (2003, p. 142). Although it is true that Risco adapts Yeats to the Galician literary tradition, Venuti's (1995) dichotomy of foreignizing/ domesticating translation proves to be insufficient to account for the complexities occurring in this text. It cannot be qualified as a domesticated translation when the title was left in English because, as Robinson argues, the foreignizing/ domesticating distinction 'presupposes a stable separation of source and target languages' and does not account for postcolonial texts where 'originals and translation, alike, begin to inhabit a middle or hybridized ground between source and target' (1997, p.113). The strategies applied by Risco correspond more to a case of hybridisation, in the Mehrez's (1992) sense; there is a mixed strategy making it clear that the translated text draws on more than one language and more than one culture. This strategy produces the effect that Yeats, despite being Irish, has similarities with the Galician local tradition which is a case of complete appropriation and manipulation of the poem/author. Using Haroldo de Campos' terminology, Risco *transcreates* the poem i.e., he appropriates Yeats' work in order to use the existing local literary tradition. In this sense,

²³ For more detailed information on Risco's metric system and rhyme scheme in this translation, see McKevitt (2003, pp. 140-142).

A tradução é também uma *persona* através da qual fala a tradição. Nesse sentido, como a paródia, ela é também, um “canto paralelo”, um diálogo, não apenas com a voz do original, mas com outras vozes textuais. Assim, ela se deixa derivar no movimento plagiocrópico geral da literatura, [...] que tanto afina com a idéia que tinha Goethe da apropriação, pelo poeta, do património literário extante. (Campos, 2005 [1981], p.191)

This dialogue between Yeats’ poem and traditional Galician literature contributes to achieve the *Xeración Nós*’ imperative of creating the identification between both nations.

In 1926, Risco initiates the series of articles ‘Da renascencia céltiga. A Moderna Literatura Irlandesa’ in *Nós* and, as mentioned earlier, he relies highly upon Téry (1925) by translating entire paragraphs and reorganizing them to write his own text. As it is to be expected, Risco begins his first article by highlighting similarities between Galicia and Ireland, the main one being their ‘y-Alma céltiga’ (Risco, 1926a, p.5). Celticism is defined by the Galician intellectual as an imperative: ‘nós témol-os ollos postos na renascencia dos pobos céltigos com’a esperanza derradeira e suprema’ and, for this reason, he claims that Galicia needs to ‘ollar pr’a irmá Irlanda, que hoxe esta dando ô mundo, coma sinal das suas promesas, unha literatura que cecais sexa antr’as modernas, a mais orixinal, a mais nova, a mais arriscada’ (*ibid*, p.5). He then mentions Standish O’Grady and his ‘Historia bárdica da Irlanda’ (*ibid.*) whose style is claimed to be similar to Murguía’s. The second half of the article is entirely devoted to Yeats, again his Celticism is highlighted ‘Yeats desbota toda alusión mitolóxica ô grecorromano, e volve â tradición do Celtismo’ (p.7). Furthermore, similarly to when he compared Yeats’ style to that of Teixeira de Pascoaes and

Rosalía de Castro, Risco uses a strategy of appropriation by means of establishing similarities between Yeats and various Galician and Portuguese authors, linking them by the sentiment of *Saudade* (longing): ‘e d’eiquí esta difinición, que semella eco dos nosos poetas da saudade: “A Espranza e a Memoria teñen unha filla e o seu nome é Arte.” Así houberan falado Teixeira de Pascoaes, Cabanillas, Leonardo Coimbra ou Viqueira’ (p.8). This association between Celticism and *Saudade* will be much emphasized by Antón Villar Ponte but, above all, by Plácido Castro who built a whole cultural discourse by interweaving both concepts and defining *Saudade* as the main feature of the Celtic spirit as will be fully discussed in chapter 5. Nevertheless, the linking together of two different traditions is a particularly controversial point in the Galician intelligentsia’s line of reasoning; on the one hand, they evoke the Portuguese *Saudosista* tradition and, on the other hand, the Celtic mythological tradition, in an attempt to establish alliances with both Portugal and Ireland and, in this way, articulate their idea of a strong Pan-Celtic culture where Galicia would play an relevant part. The concept of *Saudade* was defined by Pacoaes as a sentiment which was ‘o desejo da Cousa ou Criatura amada, tornado dolorido pela ausência’ (1988 [1910-1952], p.47) and according to the Portuguese poet, the ‘desire’ came from the Aryan blood whereas the grief came from the Semites. In this way, *Saudade* was the ‘síntese perfeita do sangue ariano e o semita’ (*ibid.*, p.47) and it defined the Portuguese soul. The concept has, therefore, nothing to do with the Celtic tradition and it is far from being a sentiment that is common to all the Celtic peoples as it was described by A. Villar Ponte (Yeats, 1935, p.5). It is true, however, that Pascoaes mentions the Galicians as the only people, other than the Portuguese, who are

able to feel *Saudade*: 'a Saudade é intraduzível. O único povo que sente a Saudade é o povo português, incluindo, **talvez** o galego porque a Galiza, é um bocado de Portugal sob as patas do leão de Castela. A Galiza é a nossa Alsácia!' (Pascoaes, 1988 [1910-1952], p.51, my emphasis). The Portuguese poet acknowledges a spiritual brotherhood with Galicia, but identifies Portugal as clearly taking the leading role; therefore, he does not see Galicia as an equal. Moreover, the adverb 'maybe' (talvez) weakens the argument and highlights that, on the Portuguese side, there was not the same need to establish this spiritual communion between Portugal and Galicia. Chapter five will deal with the manipulation of the concept of *Saudade*, mainly by Plácido Castro, and how it functions within the Galician nationalist discourse as well as the role played by translation regarding this matter. Not innocently, Yeats' play *The Land of Heart's Desire* was translated as *O Pais da Saudade*.

Risco, following Téry (1925), includes within this essay the translation of 'The Rose Tree' (only one stanza) and 'The scholars'. The former is a poem about the heroism of Pearse and Connolly²⁴ in the Irish Easter Rising (1916) and the latter a satire of scholars in their attitude towards young poets. Risco also includes the last two verses from 'The folly of being comforted'²⁵ ('Ou, curazón! ou curazón! s'ela somentes volvera a face/ saberías a loucura de ser comfortado', p.8) and from 'Wishes For The Cloths Of Heaven' ('Eu tendín meus soños baixo os vosos pasos;/ Andai agustiño, que tripades meus soños.'

²⁴ As mentioned in chapter 1, Pearse and Connolly were two of the leaders of the Irish Easter Rising against England in 1916. James Connolly was the head of the Irish Citizen Army and Patrick Pearse was the leader of the Irish volunteers. They both became symbols of Irish nationalism after being executed following the collapse of the Rising.

²⁵ As mentioned earlier, 'The Folly of being comforted' had also been translated by Lichnerowicz in 1920.

p.8), which he presents as examples of Yeats' love poems. It is not surprising that Risco decided to include only these lines amongst all the Yeats' love poems that appear in Téry's volume because these compositions were less relevant to suit his political agenda.

Following Téry, Risco translated only the last stanza of 'The Rose Tree'; a comparison between the original poem and the French and the Galician versions shows that he relied greatly on Téry's interpretation:

Source Text	Galician version	French version (Téry)
'But where can we draw water, Said Pearse to Connolly, 'When all the wells are parched away? O plain as plain can be There's nothing but our own red blood Can make a right Rose Tree '. (p.396)	Mais d'onde imos nós sacal-a y-auga (1). Dixo Pearse a Connolly. S'as pozas todas están estiñadas? Ou! É ben certo Que somentes o noso sangue roxo Pode volvel-a vida â roseira . (p.8)	"Mais où pourrions-nous tirer de l'eau, Dit Perase á Connolly, Quand tous les puits sont desséchés? Oh! il est bien évident Qu'il n'y a rien que notre proper sand rouge Qui perisse render la vie au Rosier ". (p.69)

Neither Téry nor Risco give the title of the poem, but the Galician translator adds a footnote explaining the meaning of the rose tree in the composition, which he translates from a footnote that Téry includes into the translation of another poem: 'Pra regal-a roseira simbólica da Irlanda. A Rosa, na poesía celta significa o Amor, a Beleza ou a Irlanda' (p.8)²⁶. By the inclusion of this note, Risco wants to make sure that his audience understands the political message of the poem: only blood (self-sacrifice) can lead to the rebirth of Ireland. The idea of self-sacrifice for nationalism appears also in another of Yeats' works, the play *Cathleen ni Houlihan*, that had been translated into Galician by the

²⁶ Translated from Téry (1925, p.73) 'Dans la poésie celte, la Rose est un symbole fouri, qui signifie, selon les circonstances, l'Amor, ou la Beauté, ou bien même l'Irlande.'

intellectual Antón Villar Ponte (1921) five years earlier, and that is dealt with in chapter 4. The similarities between the Galician and the French versions in the fourth and sixth lines make it clear that Risco used French as a mediating language. By so doing, as McKevitt (2003) points out, Risco, like Téry, intensifies the language used to refer to Ireland; 'make a right Rose Tree' becomes *volve-a vida á roseira* (bring the rose tree, Ireland, back to life).

The other poem included in this essay, 'The scholars', first published by Yeats in 1915, appears under the title 'Os sabidos'. In this poem the Irish author opposes the emotive enterprise of young poets to the intellectual activity of editing and annotating performed by scholars. The latter are ironically referred to as 'learned' and 'respectable' and are portrayed as 'heads on which nothing can grow' (Ben-Merre, 2008, p.75) which is expressed in the poem by the noun phrase 'bald heads'. The highly sarcastic tone of the composition allows Risco to establish a more than arguable comparison with the *Cantigas de maldizer*, a genre of Galician-Portuguese medieval poetry where the lyric voice satirises someone and which includes direct offences. Risco states that Yeats 'cultiva as que nós chamaríamos cántigas de mal dizer' (Risco, 1926a, p.8). This is, again, a strategy of appropriation and manipulation which, as in the translation of 'To an isle in the water', consists of including Yeats in the Galician canon. Moreover, it works as a way of legitimising the Galician language and culture as not only does Risco bring back to the present the splendour of the past by referring to the most productive and glorious period of Galician literature, but he presents it as being developed by one of the main European authors of the time. It is also an important step in the creation of the identification between Galicia and Ireland as it is suggested that both nations share the same literary

tradition, and it reveals the use of translation and paratranslation as an ideological act.

Besides being included in Téry's book, 'The scholars' had also been translated into French by Lichnerowicz and published in *La Douce France* in 1922²⁷, where it appears side by side with the English original. Both French versions follow the original text closely and so does Risco's translation. Some textual evidence suggests that Risco relied on both past versions to create his own. In order to illustrate this point, the two French translations together with the Galician and the original in English are provided below:

Source Text	Galician version	French version (Lichnerowicz)	French version (Téry)
<p>The scholars</p> <p>Bald heads forgetful of their sins, Old, learned, respectable bald heads Edit and annotate the lines That young men, tossing on their beds, Rhymed out in love's despair To flatter beauty's ignorant ear.</p> <p>They'll cough in the ink to the world's end;</p>	<p>Os sabidos</p> <p>Testas calvas esquecidas dos seus pecados, Vellas, sabias, respeitabres testas calvas, Editan e anotan os versos Qu'os mozos retorcéndose no leito, Compuxeron na desesperación do amor Para gabal-a orella iñorante da beleza Han toser na tinta deic'a fin do mundo; Han gastar as</p>	<p>Les savants</p> <p>Des têtes chauves oublièuses de leurs péchés, De vieilles, savantes, respectables têtes chauves Éditent et annonent les vers Que de jeunes hommes, se tordant sur leur lit, Composèrent dans le désespoir de l'amour Pour flatter l'oreille ignorante de la beauté.</p>	<p>Les têtes chauves, oublièuses de leurs péchés, Les vieilles, savantes, respectables têtes chauves Éditent et annonent les vers Que de jeunes hommes, se retournant sur leurs lits, Ont rimés par désespoir d'amour Pour flatter l'oreille ignorante de la beauté.</p>

²⁷ This publication includes also the translation of the poems 'An Irish airman foresees his death', 'Song' and 'To a squirrel at Kyle-na-gno', which Risco did not select for translation. Again, his choice on what to translate is determined by what can be more easily fitted into the Galician literary tradition. In this case, he found that he could establish a relation of similarity between 'The scholars' and *Cantigas de maldizer*.

<p>Wear out the carpet with their shoes Earning respect; have no strange friend; If they have sinned nobody knows. Lord, what would they say Should their Catullus walk that way? (p.337)</p>	<p>alfombras cos zapatos, Ganando respeto; non hanter amiga oculta; se pecaron, ninguén o sabe. Señor, qu'houberan dito S'o seu Catulo por alí pasara? (p.8)</p>	<p>Ils tousseront dans l'encre jusqu'à la fin du monde; Ils useront le tapis de leurs chaussures Gagnant le respect; ils n'auront pas d'amie cache; S'ils ont péché, personne ne le sait. Seigneur, que diraient-ils Si leur catulle passait par là! (p. 219)</p>	<p>Ils tousseront Dans l'encre jusqu'à la fin du monde; Ils useront les tapis avec leurs souliers Gagnant la consideration ... (p.87)</p>
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He followed mainly Lichnerowicz's version as evidenced by the rendering of 'their beds' in the singular *no leito* (*sur leur lit*), 'rhymed out' by *compuxeron* following *composerènt* and 'strange friend' by *amiga oculta* relying on *d'amie cache*. Having said that, the translation of 'the carpet' by its plural form as *alfombras* suggests that he also relied partially on Tèry's version (*les tapis*). One last textual feature shows that despite this dependence on the previous French translations, Risco did not completely ignore the original text written by Yeats; he included a question mark at the end of the poem rather than an exclamation mark as Lichnerowicz does.

As opposed to the first poem that has been analysed, 'To an isle in the water', where Risco creates his own composition to present the poem in keeping with the local literary tradition, he now closely reproduces the previous French versions available to him. This is so because, in this case, the process of appropriation had already been created when it was claimed that the poem was

a *Cantiga de maldizer*, therefore the translator did not feel the need to emphasise this idea with more textual evidence. All in all, the translation of this poem still shows that translation was conceived as an entirely political activity which responded to a well-programmed agenda.

Two Yeatsian short stories included in *The Celtic Twilight* (Yeats, 1893) were also translated by Risco: 'Our Lady of the Hills', which appeared in *Nós* in January 1923 (*cf.* Yeats, 1923) as 'Nosa señora dos outeiros' and 'An Enduring Heart', published by *ANT* as 'Conto' in March, 1925 (*cf.* Yeats, 1925). Both short stories had been translated into French by Lichnerowicz and published by *La Douce France* in 1921 under the title 'Les songes celtiques. Notre-Dame des Collines. Un Coeur endurent'. The existence of these French versions justifies Risco's choice to translate these two stories, although, as will be shown, the theme of both tales was relevant to suit his agenda. These French versions also explain the translator's occasional deviations from the source text.

'Our Lady of the Hills' tells how a Protestant girl, dressed in blue and white, is walking on a mountain when she meets a group of Catholic children who take her for the Virgin Mary refusing her explanations of who she is. She starts talking to them about Christ, but when she is interrupted by an old lady who thinks she is searching for converts, the girl decides to make her way home. A year later, she is upon the mountain again, this time wearing a black dress, when she meets one of the children and says to her that she is the woman they had seen a year earlier, but the child does not believe her. The tale concludes with a paragraph calling upon men to pray to the Virgin. This conclusion is only included in the first edition of *Celtic Twilight* in 1893, not in subsequent ones. It

does appear in both Lichnerowicz's and Risco's versions. It is expected that a story which deals with the topic of religion and praises the Virgin would appeal to Risco, on account of his strong Catholic convictions.

On this occasion, Risco follows Lichnerowicz's translation closely, to the extent that it could easily be said that he translated from the French version rather than from the English original. Some conclusive evidence of this dependence is shown in the following table:

Source Text	Galician version	French version
shining feet (p.160)	pés brancos (p.12)	pieds blancs (p.66)
'Ah, you are the Virgin out o' the picture! ' (p.161)	"Ay! vostede é a Virxe da imaxe! " (p.12)	"Ah! vous êtes la Vierge de l'image! " (p.60)
'but we do not like Him, (p.161)	"mais nós non lle queremos (p.12)	"mais nous ne l'aimons pas, (p.67)
was finally interrupted by an elderly woman with a stick , (p.162)	interrumpiuna unha vella armada d'un pau (p.12)	elle fut interrompue par une vieille femme armée d'un bâton (p.67)
some adventurous hunter for converts, (p.162)	unha aventureira a caza de prosélitos (p.12)	une aventurière en quête de convertis, (p.67)
and be kind to them (p.162)	e ser boa pra iles (p.12)	et être bonne pour eux. (p.67)
'No, you are not! ' (p.163)	"Non, non é verdá! " (p.13)	"Non, ce n'est pas vrai! " (p.68)
to watch old time (p.163)	E pra contempral-o vello Tempo (p.13)	Et pour contempler le Vieux temps (p.68)

These examples show that Risco's deviations are due to his dependence on the French version and that McKevitt (2003) is right in her criticism of Toro Santos who considers this translation to be 'impecable, tanto desde el punto de vista estético como en lo que respecta a la fidelidad al texto original' (Toro Santos, 1993, p.302). What none of the scholars take into consideration is Risco's effort in differentiating Galician from Spanish by searching for language authenticity

(Galician solutions that differ as much as possible from Spanish). This is a key translation strategy that must not be overlooked as it plays a vital role in the process of imagining the nation. Language is portrayed by the *Xeración Nós* as the main distinctive feature of Galician identity. Some examples of this strategy of linguistic differentiation affect Risco's lexicon choice, as shown in the following table:

Source Text	French version	Galician version	Other possible solutions ²⁸	Spanish
butcher's (p.160)	boucher (p.66)	cortadoría (p.12)	carnicería	carnicería
wood (p.160)	bois (p.66)	souto (p.12)	bosque, monte	bosque, monte
parasol (p.163)	ombrelle (p.67)	antuca (p.12).	parasol, paraugas	parasol, paraugas
heard (p.161)	oui (p.67)	ouvido (p.12)	oído	oído
ear (p.161)	oreille (p.67)	ouvido (p.12)	oído	oído
hanging (p.163)	suspendus (p.68)	penduradas (p.12)	colgadas	colgadas
still (p.12)	toujours (p.68)	de cote (p.13)	sempre	siempre

Risco translates 'butcher's' (p.160) by *cortadoría* (p.12) avoiding *carnicería* which coincides with Spanish, and 'wood' (p.160) by the more specific word *souto* (p.12). This latter solution not only avoids coincidence with Spanish (*bosque, monte*), but also it includes a local element as *souto* refers to a land populated by chestnut trees, an autochthonous species in Galicia. He uses the word *antuca* (p.12) for 'parasol' (p.163), although parasol exists in Galician it is not employed since it also exists in Spanish. The other possible solution *paraugas* is also very similar to its Spanish counterpart *paraguas*. In the same vein, he chooses more genuine terms such as *ouvido* (p.12) to render both

²⁸ In this section, for this as well as for the other translations analysed, I only intend to show translation solutions that were rejected for their similarity with Spanish rather than listing alternatives to the translator's choices as this would, obviously, result in an endless list.

'heard' (p.161) and 'ear' (p.161) or *penduradas* (p.12) to render 'hanging' (p.163) instead of terms that would coincide with the Spanish words *oído* and *colgadas*, respectively. On one occasion, when Lichnerowicz mistranslates 'still' (p.12) by *toujours* (p.68), Risco follows the French by using the adverbial phrase *de cote* (p.13), which avoids the use of the word *sempre*, cognate with Spanish *siempre*. The strategy of linguistic differentiation also affects the syntax of the text; Risco makes use of structures which are distinctively Galician such as the reflexive construction with preposition + possessive pronoun (*bunita de seu*, p.12) for 'pretty herself' (p.160) translated into French as *jolie par elle-même* (p.68). It is also worth mentioning the pronominal collocation in *Il me non deixaría chegar a Il* (p.12) ('He would not let me near Him', p.162) as the placement of the pronoun before the adverb is rather unnatural, but it responds to the need of differentiating the language from Spanish. Again, this solution is not influenced by the French version where Lichnerowicz translates as *Il ne me laisserait pas approcher de Lui* (p.67). On the phonological level, Risco attempts to represent the spoken language, the language that had been maintained by people and was a symbol of the singularity of Galicia. With this strategy, he legitimizes and dignifies Galician by turning a degraded language into a vehicle in which the most avant-garde European literature can be expressed. In this sense, he frequently makes use of the following phonological phenomena (the words between square brackets are the corresponding standard Galician forms): metathesis (*pirmeiro* [*primeiro*], p.12; *perguntoulles* [*preguntoulles*], p.12); apocope (*verdá* [*verdade*], p.13; *casualidá* [*casualidade*] p.12); syncope (*pro* [*pero*], p.12; *pra* [*para*] p.12); paragoge (*papai* [*papá*], p.12; *mamai* [*mamá*] p.12); apostrophe: *d'eiquí* [*de eiquí*] (p.12), *d'azur* [*de azur*]

(p.12), *qu'á* [que á] (p.12), *qu'era* [que era] (p.12), *díxoll' outra* [díxolle outra] (p.12), *c'un* [con un] (p.12), *qu'os* [que os] (p.13), etc. Moreover, the translation represents the lack of unification of the language at the time. There was no consensus amongst the *Xeración Nós* intellectuals about whether they should work towards a standardised and unified language or write in the different Galician dialects. For instance, Johan Viqueira (1918) defends an orthographic unification based on the Galician-Portuguese etymology in order to make the language what he deemed to be more efficient; however, Risco (1919) states that it is not necessary and that it would be more appropriate to preserve all the different variants. And so he does; some features of the dialect spoken in the so called *bloque central*, according to Fernández Rei's (1985)²⁹ dialectal map of Galicia, can be identified in the translation. For example, the use of the personal pronoun *il* (p.12), the demonstrative pronoun *aquiles* (p.12), the adverb *eiquí* (p.12), or the metaphony in words such as *puzo* (p.12), *bunita* (p.12), *ceu* (p.12).

Another feature of Risco's translation that deserves attention is that, following Lichnerowicz, he conserves some foreign elements in his translation such as the reference to the unit of measuring distance *millas* (p.12) and the toponym *Lough Hill* (p.12). This contributes to produce an effect of hybridisation in the text as it makes it clear that it is drawing on more than one cultural reality.

The other piece translated by Risco, 'An Enduring Heart', is about an old man who recalls a story from his past when two friends emigrated from Ireland to

²⁹ After analysing different linguistic phenomena, Fernández Rei (1985) divides the varieties of the Galician language into three big areas: western, central and eastern, which he names *bloque occidental*, *bloque central* and *bloque oriental*, respectively.

America and married there. Years later, he decides to go and search for them, but when he finally finds the woman, she fails to recognize him. At dinner, he asks her about his friend, but she bursts into tears and does not say anything. Unlike 'Nosa Señora dos Outeiros' where Risco's initials 'V.R.' appeared at the end of the translation, this time no translator's name is given. Only the name of the original author 'W.B. Yeats' is written at the end of the translation together with a note saying that it is an extract from *The Celtic Twilight*: '1902 (Excepto de "O Crepúsculo Céltigo")' (Yeats, 1925, p.10). However, it must be taken into consideration that in his 1920 article, Risco had announced that he would translate this short story 'Eu agardo dar logo algúns d'ises contos: Nosa Señora dos Outeiros, Un corazón sofrido [...] (Risco, 1920e, p.16). Moreover, the French translation of 'An Enduring Heart' ('Un Coeur endurent') comes after the translation of 'Our Lady of the Hills' ('Notre-Dame des Collines') in *La Douce France*, thus Risco had access to it. Consequently, there is enough evidence to assume that the text was also translated by him³⁰. This is the only one of Yeats' works published by *ANT* and it probably appealed to the Galician nationalists because it deals with emigration, a problem that was of concern for Galicians as well as for the Irish. Emigration was, indeed, a massive phenomenon and a decisive factor in the shaping of Galicia at the beginning of the twentieth century (cf. Villares, 2004).

The first noticeable feature of this translation is that unlike the French translator, Risco does not translate the title. Although, in his 1920 article, he renders it as 'Un corazón sofrido', the actual translation is entitled 'Conto'. According to

³⁰ Mckevitt (2003, p.147) provides an analysis of the orthography in the text concluding that the features found fit in with Risco's style.

McKevitt this could be due to ‘limited column and page space’ (2003, p. 147), which seems to be a plausible explanation given the layout of the text. As in the translation of ‘Our Lady of the Hills’, Risco relies greatly on Lichnerowicz’s version as shown in the following table:

Source Text	Galician version	French version
he repeated many women’s names (p.50)	e citou os nomes d’algunhas mulleres (p.10)	il cita les noms de plusieurs femmes (p.68)
When they were walking (p.51)	Com ’iles andaban (P.10)	Comme ils se promenaient (p.68)
Doran whispered (p.51)	Dorán díxolle pol-o baixo (p.10)	Doran dit tout bas (p.69)
‘ Now , Byrne (p.51)	“ Di logo , Byrne (p.10)	“ Dites donc , Byrne (p.69)
the old man insisted that (p.52)	O vello afirmou (p.10)	Le vieillars affirma (p.69)
he wrote him (p.52)	xa il lle tiña escrito (p.10)	il lui avait écrit (p.69)
he well on in years, and a rich farmer (p.52)	[...] chegara a ser un rico granxeiro (p.10)	[...] était devenu un fermier riche (p.69)
he was afraid her husband might be angry (p.53)	temía qu’o seu home non rematara por se pôr incomodado (p.10)	Il craignait que son mari ne finit par se mettre en colère (p.70)
Mr. Yeats (p.53)	M. Yeats (10)	M. Yeats (70)
the daughter said (p.53)	Mail-a filla escramou (p10)	Mais la fille s’écria (p.70)
all the lovely and fickle women of the world (p.54)	todal-as mulleres sonadas do mundo (p.10)	toutes les femmes volages du monde (p.70)

The most striking case of dependence is its use of *M. Yeats* instead of the expected *Sr. Yeats*. However, it must be noted that the translator does not always follow the French version exactly. For example, when the old man is arguing that nobody marries the woman he loves, and then adds that he had loved many women more than the one he ended up marrying, this last information is introduced in the English text by ‘and then, with a chuckle’ (p.50), which Risco translates as *e logo engadeu* (p.10) avoiding the reference to

chuckling, unlike the French *et puis, avec un ricanement* (p.68). This translation solution can be easily explained by Risco's strong Catholic morals that would surely lead him to disapprove of laughing at what could be understood as a reference to promiscuity. The same reasoning could be applied to his choice of the softer word *mozo* (p.10) to render 'lover' (p.51), unlike the French translator who uses *amoureux* (p.69). There are other word choices that seem to simply respond to Risco's own preferences, as in the translation of 'farmer's daughter' (p.52) as *a filla do vello* (p.10), (*la fille du fermier*, p.69, in the French version); he does use *granxeiro* (p.10) to translate 'farmer' (p.52) later on in the text. A similar example is the translation of 'Byrne's engagement' (p.52) as *as bodas de Byrne* (p.10), unlike the French solution *les fiançailles de Byrne* (p.69). An important difference between the French and the Galician translation is that whereas in the former proper names have been maintained in English, in the latter they have been *Galicianised*; therefore Doran, John Byrne, John MacEwing and Helen became Dorán, Xan Byrne, Xan MacEwing and Helene. Surnames and Toponyms (Queenstown, Innis Rath, p.10) have, however, been kept in English. This is another strategy of hybridisation between the source and the target system.

Yet again, an important strategy applied by Risco in this translation and one which has not been commented on by scholars, is the strategy of linguistic differentiation, which, as in the case of 'Nosa Señora dos Outeiros', occurs at the lexical, syntactic and phonological levels. The following table shows how Risco avoided Spanish cognates with regard to word choice:

Source Text	French version	Galician version	Other possible solutions	Spanish
mouth (p.50)	bouche (p.68)	bico (p.10)	boca	boca
lover (p.51)	amoureux (p.69)	mozo (p.10)	amante	amante
on his hands (p.52)	sur les bras (p.69)	antre mans (p.10)	entre mans	entre manos
about (pp. 52, 54)	sur (p.69)	en col (p.10)	sobre	sobre
hear (p.52)	entendu (p.70)	ouviu (p.10)	oiu	oyó
perhaps (pp.53,54)	peut-être (p.70)	se cadra, cecais (p.10)	quizá	quizá
head (p.53)	tête (p.70)	testa (p.10)	cabeza	cabeza
He was afraid to ask (p.53)	Il n'osa pas lui demander (p.70)	Non s'estreveu a perguntarlle (p.10)	Non se atreveu a perguntarlle	No se atrevió a preguntarle
never (p.54)	jamais (p.70)	endexamáis (p.10)	xamáis	jamás

Risco opts for using words that sound more vernacular, even when he is translating directly from French as in the case of *estreverse*. The effort made to achieve linguistic differentiation does not compromise faithfulness to the 'original' (more likely the French version) in this case, but, as mentioned earlier, this strategy gives legitimacy to the use of Galician as language of culture. Additionally, by dignifying the Galician language and reaffirming its existence as a language different from Spanish, Risco attempts to liberate Galicia from the influence of a central power and to reaffirm its existence as a differentiated nation. The foreign literary work is given the mission of proving the existence of the language of translation and by doing so the existence of peoples (*cf.* Brisset, 2004 [1990/1996]).

As for 'Nosa Señora dos Outeiros', this strategy of linguistic differentiation does not only occur at a lexical level. With regard to syntax, Risco makes use of

some distinctively Galician features such as the inflected infinitive, a verbal form which is one of the characteristic traits of the Galician language and does not exist in Spanish, as can be seen in the following example: *puxéronse os tres a falaren* (p.10), which translates ‘the three began to talk together’ (p.51) mediated by the French *et tous tríos se mirent à causer ensemble* (p.69). It must be noted that Risco uses the inflected infinitive in a periphrastic construction which is one of the linguistic environments that resists the use of this verbal form and therefore, the result is a rather unnatural construction in Galician. It testifies, however, to the concerted effort made by the translator to claim that Galician is a language in its own right.

Similarly, Risco changes the syntactic structure twice in the text in order to introduce the quantifier *abondo*, and thus avoid linguistic solutions that would be similar or coincident with Spanish such as *moito* or *demasiado*:

Source Text	French version	Galician version
and he well on in years (p.52)	bien avancé en âge (p.69)	con anos d’abondo (p.10)
would be too sore (p.54)	serait tropo douloureux (p.70)	doeríalle d’abondo (p.10)

At a phonological level, Risco, once more, endeavours to represent the spoken language by making use of the following phonological phenomena: epenthesis (*paseio* [paseo], p.10)); syncope (*pra* [para], p.10); apocope (*quer* [quere], *vosté* [vostede], p.10); metathesis (*pirmeiro* [primeiro], *perguntar* [preguntar], *bulra* [burla], p.10); apostrophe: *d’il* [de + il], *cand’a* [cando + a], *d’amor* [de + amor], *Com’iles* [como + iles], *d’un* [de + un], *qu’había* [que + había], *c’un* [con + un] (p.10). Finally, the same dialectal features found in his previous translation can

also be identified in this text: the use of the personal pronouns *il/ iles* (p.10), and the adverb *eiquí* (p.10).

From the analysis of the above translations, it can be concluded that, clearly, Risco's choices were determined by his political agenda. In order to achieve his aim of reconstructing Galicia's identity by means of resorting back to the Celtic past and fortifying the language, he needed to appropriate, 'devour', transform Yeats' works so that he could incorporate them into the local community's identity. Translation should then be understood here as a political act that contributes to articulate the *Xeración Nós'* nationalist discourse, which ultimately becomes a de-alienating force. As a way to resist the centripetal power of Castile, these intellectuals sought to identify Galicia with Ireland, which was taken as a role model for being an important member of the Celtic-Atlantic nations. This process of identification is one of the main objectives of these translations, which often challenged the traditional hierarchy of the original, and even defied the very basic notions of source and target text. Considering, for instance, Risco's version of 'To an isle in the water', one could not say that Yeats' poem is the only source text used by Risco, as he relied on a previous French version, and also employed techniques from the traditional Galician *cantigas*, and thus established a dialogue between different textual voices. Indeed, he tries to create the same intercultural dialogue through all the paratextual information surrounding the translations.

The other main objective of these translations was to fortify and dignify the Galician language, as can be seen especially in the use of strategies of

linguistic differentiation, which served the purpose of showing and proving the existence of the main sign of Galicia's identity and singularity and, by extension, the existence of the nation. All in all, what cannot be denied, in the light of the analysis provided above, is that Risco's translations fulfilled the purpose for which they were designed and they played an important role in the creation of a national identity for Galicia.

CHAPTER 4

Promulgating self-sacrifice: translation strategies in *Cathleen ni Houlihan*.

4.1 Political meaning of the Irish play.

W.B. Yeats wrote *Cathleen ni Houlihan* in collaboration with Lady Augusta Gregory in 1902 and the play was produced and performed by W. G. Fay's National Dramatic Society in the same year. The main character, Cathleen, is based on a figure of Irish folk as well as on a poem with the same title translated into English by James Clarence Mangan in the eighteenth century. Thus, in 1902 the name would be clearly recognised as a symbol of Ireland (cf. McKevitt, 2003, p.156). The play deals with the long-lasting Irish struggle for independence and it is set in 1798 when military support from France was expected to help Irish forces against the English. In a letter to Lady Gregory, dated in 1903, Yeats explains to her that a dream had inspired him to write the piece. In that dream, he had seen a cottage where a happy family lived and were talking of a marriage, but an old woman wearing a long cloak entered the household and 'she was Ireland herself, that Cathleen ni Houlihan for whom so many songs have been sung and about whom so many stories have been told and for whose sake so many have gone to their death' (Kelly and Schuchard, 1994, pp.321). Following that dream, he decides to write the little play so that others can see the story as he had seen it. *Cathleen ni Houlihan* is set in the cottage of a peasant's family, the Gillanes, in Killala (a seaside village in Ireland). They are preparing the forthcoming wedding of their oldest son, Michael, but when the symbolic 'Old Woman', Cathleen, makes her arrival at the house, Michael relinquishes his wedding plans and decides to abandon his

family and his fiancée to follow her. Soon after he commits himself to do so, Cathleen turns into a young girl. Yeats summarises the play's plot as follows:

My subject is Ireland and its struggle for independence. The scene is laid in the West of Ireland at the time of the French landing. I have described a household preparing for the wedding of the son of the house. Everyone expects some good thing from the wedding. The bridegroom is thinking of his bride, the father of the fortune which will make them all more prosperous, and the mother of a plan of turning this prosperity to account by making her youngest son a priest, and the youngest son of a greyhound pup the bride promised to give him when she marries. Into this household comes Kathleen Ni Houlihan herself, and the bridegroom leaves his bride, and all the hopes come to nothing. It is the perpetual struggle of the cause of Ireland and every other ideal cause against private hopes and dreams, against all that we mean when we say the world (Alspach and Alspach, 1966, pp. 234-235).

The author acknowledges the political content of the play and the parallelism between the family's story and the cause of Ireland. Indeed, the idea of self-sacrifice embodied by Michael who leaves everything for the nationalist cause of Ireland 'for whose sake so many have gone to their death' is the main theme of the piece. Nevertheless, Yeats has strongly denied the propagandistic meaning of the allegorical play:

On the other hand it may be said that it is a political play of a propagandistic kind. This I deny. I took a piece of human life, thoughts that men had felt, hopes they had died for, and I put this into what I believe to be sincere dramatic form. I have never written a play to advocate any kind of opinion and I think that such a play would be necessarily bad art, or at any rate a very humble kind of art (Kelly and Schuchard, 1994, p.623).

In contrast with this declaration, the piece brought about heated sentiments of patriotism amongst the Irish audience from its first performance³¹. As a matter

³¹ See for instance Joseph Holloway's summary of the impact of the piece on its first audience quoted in Miller, 1977, p.70.

of fact, this comment conflicts in some way with what Yeats himself said in old age thinking about the play 'Did that play of mine send out/ Certain people the English shot?' (in Cowell, 1969, p.31), a clear allusion to the political meaning of the play and the possible effect it could have on the audience in a crucial moment of Irish history. The end of the play, i.e. the transformation of the Old Woman into a young girl who 'had the walk of a queen' (Alspach and Alspach, 1966, p.231) soon after Michael commits himself to follow her, suggests that the theatre piece intends to convey a clear political message: the redemption and liberation of Ireland will only be achieved through self-sacrifice (*cf.* McKevitt, 2003). It must not be forgotten that the play was performed the same year that England was coming to terms with the death of Queen Victoria; therefore, this reference to a queen at the end of the play, and to a queen that is 'a threatening figure, a portent of catastrophes to come for the empire' (Brown, 2001, p.136) makes the play even more subversive and provocative. In fact, Tymoczko considers the play to be 'a kind of call to arms' (1994, p.105). The *Xeración Nós* intellectuals did not fail to see the political message of the piece:

Todal-s xestas da verde Eirin en prol da sua liberdade, doas sanguifentas d'un Rosario de sacrificios heroicos unidos pol-o fio da perenidade no común esforzo vencellado ô longo da historia, aboian nas verbas d'un d'estes dous folk-dramas de Yeats co'a belida sinxeleza da paisaxe das ribeiras do cristal do rio (Yeats, 1935, p.4).

In terms of language, Yeats wrote his play in the Irish dialect or Hiberno-English, a variety of English influenced by the Gaelic language and mainly spoken in rural areas, presumably helped by Lady Gregory as evidenced by this excerpt of a letter he wrote to her where he recognizes his lack of knowledge of the dialect:

in spite of all you had done for me I had not the country speech. One has to live among the people, like you, of whom an old man said in my hearing “She has been a serving-maid among us” before one can think the thoughts of the people and speak with their tongue (Kelly and Schuchard, 1994, pp.321-322).

This decision of writing in Hiberno-English, a dialect he did not master, proves, however, the playwright’s intention to make the piece sound more vernacular and to honour the language of the rural Irish people: ‘I have written the whole play in the English of the West of Ireland, the English of people who think in Irish’ (in Miller, 1977, p.70). Mckeivitt (2003) sees his resistance to standard English as a sign of Yeats’ linguistic conflict, i.e. his lamentation that although Irish was the national language of Ireland, it was not his mother tongue. However, as discussed in chapter 1, the revivalists’ project of regenerating the nation did not imply resorting back to the Gaelic language; they advocated and cultivated an Anglo-Irish literature written either in English or in Hiberno-English. Therefore, Yeats’ choice is in line with the principles of the Anglo-Irish Revival, the poet being one of its main promoters.

These views on language were radically opposed to those defended by the Galician intelligentsia, for whom language was at the core of the nationalist project. In this vein, language becomes a key issue in the translation of the play. The translator, A. Villar Ponte, who was also the founder of the *Irmandades da Fala* in 1916 and director of the *A Nosa Terra* journal until 1922, wanted to make the target text more Galician, more ‘enxebre’, even though this led him to frequent manipulations of the ST. His translation strategies are oriented to differentiate Galician from Spanish revealing, once more, that translation is a creative and manipulative process rather than a mimetic activity.

The Galician translation was published by *Nós* in December 1921 in a special issue that was devoted to Ireland, as explained in chapter one. Since this issue was a tribute to the Irish mayor of Cork Terence Mac Swiney, and there is a noticeable parallelism between his life and the subject matter of Yeats' play, i.e. self-sacrifice for the Irish cause; it is obvious that the play was translated to convey and reinforce a clear political message.

Another aspect of this folk-drama is that the nation is represented by a female character, Cathleen. Although I do not follow a gender approach in my study, there are scholars who have analysed nationalism from this perspective. For instance, Geraldine Heng contends that 'throughout global history, with few exceptions, women, the feminine, and the figures of gender, have traditionally anchored the nationalist imaginary' (in Castro, 2010, p.111). Followers of this perspective establish a link between the construction of the nation and the idea of woman. They argue that the feminine body is presented by nationalist discourses as a symbol of the land (the nation) that can be explored, conquered, penetrated (*cf.* Martín Lucas, 2000). They deem this link to be a result of a patriarchal ideology where women are dominated by men. Nussbawn (2004) argues that although the symbolic feminization of the nation can be shown as an honorary treatment, it leads to the objectification of women. In the same vein, Castro (2011) sees the symbolic representation of the nation as a female whom you can marry and love as an instrument of objectification insofar as it turns women into an instrument and a way of expression of masculine desire. Scholars following a gender perspective would, therefore, see in the

symbolic representation of the nation (Ireland in the ST and Galicia in the TT) as Cathleen (a female character), a reaffirmation of patriarchal values³².

4.2 The source text: English or Catalan?

As mentioned above, *Cathleen ni Houlihan* was first published in 1902. It appeared in the October issue of *Samhain* but was reprinted several times afterwards. McKeivitt, after examining the text, states that 'Textual evidence, particularly the excerpt from Yeats' letter to Lady Gregory, and the spellings of Cathleen ni Houlihan, Kilglass, and O'Donnells, indicates that Villar Ponte translated *Cathleen ni Houlihan* from the 1908 publication' (2003, p.169-170). Furthermore, the scholar demonstrates that, on this occasion, Villar Ponte could not rely on a French translation, as Ríos and Palacios (2005) speculate, due to the inexistence of a French version at that time (*cf.* McKeivitt, 2003, p.169). However, she overlooks completely the existence of a previous Catalan translation by Marià Manent, a poet and translator firmly involved in the renewal of Catalan culture and politics at the time; his aim was to make Catalan culture more cosmopolitan and to lead it to a prominent position within European culture. His translation was published in January 1921 by the Catalan cultural journal *La Revista* (the Galician version was published in December of the same year) in its issue 128 that was also completely devoted to Ireland. This Catalan version of the Yeatsian play has been overlooked by scholars who have done work on the Galician translation except for Hurlley, who concludes that the analysis of the translation 'reveals that is based on Manent's "interpretation"' (2006, p.87). Indeed, textual evidence shows that A.Villar Ponte

³² For further information on the gender approach to the construction of the nation see for instance, Miguélez-Carballeira (2009, 2013), Castro and Reimóndez (2013), West (1997).

translated the play from the Catalan version without paying much attention to the English original; it is not even clear whether he used the English text at all. This means that some of the choices that have been attributed to him are not his. The excerpt from Yeats' letter to Lady Gregory, mentioned by Mckevitt, where he explains to her friend the meaning of the play by saying that Cathleen is Ireland, the Ireland for whom many have died, appears in the Catalan version as a footnote. A. Villar Ponte includes this as well as other three footnotes that Manent incorporates in his translation. It is true, however, that there is a discrepancy between the Catalan and the Galician translations in the spelling of O'Donnell which is spelt O'Donell (p.42) in the former and O'Donnell (p.11) in the latter. However, this would be the only trait of the text that could be used to say that the translator took the English ST into consideration to carry out his translation. The full analysis of the translation strategies provided in the next section of this chapter will prove that A.Villar Ponte used as a ST, or at least as a main ST, Manent's version, but I will anticipate now some general evidence to support this argument.

Firstly, as shown in the following table, there are a few mistranslations in the Catalan version that A.Villar Ponte reproduces and that could have been corrected easily should he have seen the English text:

Source Text	Catalan version	Galician version
hurling (p. 215)	avalot (p.39)	gresca (p.8)/ rifar (p.8)
Winnie of the Cross-Roads (p.216)	Vítor dels tres Camins (p.40)	Vítor dos Tres Camiños (p.8)
There are ships in the Bay (p.230)	Són gent de les naus a la Baja. (p.43)	Son Mariñeiros da Baja (p.12)
in 1798 (p.214)	per volts de l'any 1798 (p.39)	perto de 1798 (p.8)
There's an old woman coming down the road	Es una pobra vella que puja pel camí (p.40)	É unha probiña vella que anda a rubir pol-o

(p.215)		camino (p.8)
Maurteen and his sons (p. 216)	Martí I el seu fill (p.40)	Martín e mail-o fillo (p.8)
the other night (p.216)	anit (p.40)	ontanoite (p.8)
the strange woman (p.216)	una forastera (p.40)	unha forasteira (p.8)
Go down to the town (p.219)	corre cap a ciutat (p.40)	vai bulindo á cidade (p.9)
[...] the night before my wedding (p.221)	[...] la primera nit de bodes. (p.41)	[...] a primeira noite de bodas (p.10)
strong sons (p.222)	molts fills (p.41)	moitos fillos (p.10)

The first three examples are regarded by McKevitt (2003) as mistranslations made by the Galician translator, but, as seen in the table, he was only following Manent's word choices as he did with the rest of these deviations. As the section on translation strategies will demonstrate, A.Villar Ponte frequently follows Manent's wording and phrasing. An obvious example of this can be found in the following sentence whose structure is changed completely by the Catalan translator, and consequently, by the Galician:

ST	Peter. Indeed I'd not begrudge it to her if we had it to spare, but if we go running through what we have, we'll soon have to break the hundred pounds, and that would be a pity. (p.225)
CT	PERE (desconfiat). Però si ens els anem gastant així, després no podrem envejarlos a ningú. Rumbejant d'aquesta guise els nostres béns... (p.42)
GL	PEDRO (Desconfiado). Pro si gastamos asin os cartos ¿que ollará para nós? Ti sempre pensando en acabar c'os noso bens... (p.11)

In the body of the play, Yeats includes some songs of a political tone that the Old Woman sings to persuade Michael. Manent omits some verses in these songs and the same omissions are found in the Galician translation:

Source Text	Catalan version	Galician version
I am come to cry with you, woman, My hair is unwound and unbound; I remember him ploughing his field,	Sembla que el vegi llaurant el seu camp (es decantava la terra vermella) i al cim del turó, quen alçaba el graner	Me lembro d'ollalo labrando o seu campo, chantando o arado na terra vermella, e erguendo o piorno no cumio do outeiro

Turning up the red side of the ground, And building his barn on the hill With the good mortared stone; O! We'd have pulled down the gallows Had it happened in Enniscrone! (p.224)	amb podrs molt ben aplegades i fortes. Oh! Sí hagués succeit a Enmriscon la gent hauría enfonsat el patíbul! (p.41)	con pedras do monte moi grandes e fortes. Ou, si houbese il vivido en Enniscron a xente faria esfondálo patíbulo (p.11)
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Source Text	Catalan version	Galician version
Do not make a great keening When the graves have been dug to-morrow. Do not call the white-scarfed riders To the burying that shall be to-morrow. Do not spread food to call strangers To the wakes that shall be to-morrow; Do not give money for prayers For the dead that shall die to-morrow... They will have no need of prayers; They will have no need of prayers. (p.228)	No alcéssiu pas grans gemecs quan demá cavin les fosses. No crideu els que duen les gases al braç per demá quan enterrín els morts. No guarniu pas les taules ni cridue forasters a les vetlles que hi hagi demá. No donéssiu diners als pregaires per als morts que demá moriran (p.42)	Non ceibes grandes salaios cando abran mañán as fosas. Non faleis os que leven loito Mañán ao enterral-os mortos. Non abastedes a mesa nin chamedes forasteiros pr'as vixilias que haberá. Cartos non darlle a quen pregue pol-os mortos de mañán.(p.12)

Nevertheless, this obvious reliance on Manent's interpretation does not mean that there are not significant differences between both translations. The most evident one is the translation of the title which Manent renders as *La Mendicant* (the beggar woman) followed by the original title, whereas A.Villar Ponte maintains only the original title, *Cathleen ni Houlihan*. In the *dramatis personae*, Yeats employs the name 'The Poor Old Woman' for the main character and only 'Old Woman' in the body of the play. The Catalan translator uses *La*

Mendicant throughout, the same solution as in the title, whereas in the Galician version the character's name is rendered as *Probiña*. A. Villar Ponte does not always follow Manent's interpretation strictly; he frequently manipulates the text in order to emphasise its political vindication. Furthermore, he makes an enormous effort in terms of the linguistic differentiation of Galician from Spanish to prove that Galician was a language in its own right and one that could serve as a vehicle to express contemporary European literature. His translation strategies as well as his reliance on and deviation from the previous Catalan version will be fully discussed in the next section. Firstly, however, the translators' life and the role he played in the development of Galician nationalism should be commented upon.

A. Villar Ponte (1881-1936) was a journalist, writer, politician, translator and with no doubt 'un dos autores e pensadores máis trancendentais no desenvolvemento da cultura galega' (Vieites, 2001-2002, p.15). Similarly to Risco and the rest of the Galician intelligentsia of the period, he was born to an upper class family and had a privileged education. He maintained an intensive cultural and intellectual activity throughout his life, playing a fundamental role, together with his brother Ramón, in the creation of the *Irmandades da Fala* and the dissemination of Galician nationalism. His political views led him to prison on several occasions for attacks against the Primo de Rivera dictatorship. Ínsua López (2006) suggests that, from 1918 onwards, the Villar Ponte brothers experienced a process of radicalisation with regard to their nationalistic thinking, which consisted mainly of emphasising the oppressive relationship which, in their opinion, Galicia was subjected to by the Spanish state:

Galicia económicamente é escrava, tan escrava que nunca xurdirá pra porse ô nivel d'outros pobos iguaes a ela por natureza, namentras non se redima dos bárbaros arancés centralistas. Galicia espiritualmente é máis escrava aínda, pois non ten, xa non, unha cultura propia en fala allea, que nen siquer unha cultura allea en fala propia (Villar Ponte, 1919, p.1).

In 1929, A. Villar Ponte led a new political trend involving an alliance with Spanish Republicanism by taking part in the formation of ORGA (*Oganización Republicana Gallega Autónoma*); he thought that the Republic would lead to a Federal State (cf. Ínsua López, 2006, p. 118). This organization was rejected by the more conservative nationalists such as Risco and Otero Pedrayo; A. Villar Ponte was elected MP for ORGA in the 1931 elections but he later abandoned this organization to embrace the Partido Galeguista in 1934.

Language as the main distinctive sign of Galician identity was always at the core of his nationalist discourse. The defence and promotion of the language was, indeed, one of the main objectives of the *Irmandades da Fala* and A. Villar Ponte wrote a whole treaty in defence of the Galician language, as mentioned in chapter 1. He stated that 'os pobos que teñen unha lingua de seu son pobos orixinaes' (Villar Ponte, 1928, p.20) and that 'originality' served as justification for their existence as nations. Hence, the contradiction with his admiration for the Anglo-Irish Revivalists whose views on language were closer to those of Valle-Inclán, also admired by A. Villar Ponte, than to the ideals of the leading figures of Galician nationalism.

Attitudes towards language aside, A. Villar Ponte saw in the formula of the Irish folk-drama (a theatre genre developed by Yeats, Lady Gregory or Synge) a way

to introduce innovative theatre models in Galicia and to contribute thereby to the renewal of the incipient Galician dramaturgy. *Cathleen ni Houlihan*, particularly, was an important contribution to the Irish national theatre; Yeats himself wrote on a note to the play in 1907: 'This is the first play of our Irish school of folk drama' (in Miller, 1977, p.70). Thus, the allegorical play offered a point of reference for the Galician theatre which, according to A.Villar Ponte (Yeats, 1935), had only been reproducing Castilian models and therefore lacked originality. This deficiency, he argued, needed to be solved in the same way employed by Yeats, Synge and other Irish poets 'mergullándose na lagoa da saudade, común os pobos celtas, para ouviren o sino da tradición' (*ibid.*, p.6). Irish theatre was, in A.Villar Ponte's view, a mirror which should show Galicians a 'pórtico ou abreite de vieiros luminosos para o teatro de Galicia que arela xurdir trunfal' (*ibid.*). The Irish folk-drama would provide the model needed by Galicia to develop its own national theatre because 'Bien sabemos que ese teatro que podríamos llamar "folk-lórico", y que es el teatro con que iniciaron el resurgir de su personalidad todos los pueblos "célticos" todavía, para nuestra desgracia, está casi inédito en Galicia' (in Vieites, 2001/2002, p.40). The formula he was looking for was one that avoided picturesque regional and rural customs; as he said regarding to Cabanillas' play *A man da Santiña* (1919) 'En ella ni se ahorcan caciques, ni se habla de mujeres deshonradas, ni de supersticiones y brujerías' (in Vieites 2001-2002, p.14). The relevance of this Galician piece, defined by Tato Fontaiña as 'unha delicada comedia de amor' (1999, p. 79), is that it broke with the Galician rural tradition and presented upper-class characters speaking Galician. With the renewal of the Galician theatre, A. Villar Ponte and other members of the *Irmandades da Fala* wanted

to create a type of theatre that was appealing to a well-educated and urban audience. In this sense, Irish theatre offered them new models; Villar Ponte in the preface to the *Dous folk-dramas* for the 1935 edition justifies the choice of these two Yeatsian pieces by saying that they had liberated Irish theatre from the same servitude that the Galician theatre was now subjected to (*cf.* Yeats, 1935). In 1935, he also makes the announcement that he, together with Plácido Castro, has embarked on the translation of Synge's *Riders to the Sea* which he describes as 'una breve tragedia de marineros irlandeses que parece la misma tragedia que frecuentemente se registra en muchos rincones de nuestro litoral' (A. Villar Ponte, 1935, p.1). This remark is important in the sense that it gives the impression that there is a common ground (symbolic space) shared by both Ireland and Galicia that, ultimately, provokes the illusion of identity in the latter. There is no evidence of this project being finished as the piece was never published, perhaps due to the outbreak of the Spanish Civil War. It is clear, therefore, that theatre had for Villar Ponte a deep ideological meaning; it was far from being *l'art pour l'art* as it was strongly linked to the construction of a national identity for Galicia. This ideological imperative affected also the language choices and translation strategies used by the translator to which the rest of this chapter will be devoted.

4.3 Translation Strategies.

Bassnett-McGuire (1985) argues that the translator of theatre texts faces problems that are not involved in any other type of translation due to the relationship between the text and its performance. She distinguishes five basic strategies that translators of theatre texts apply:

- treating the theatre text as literary work,
- using the SL cultural context as frame text (using source culture stereotypes to create a comic frame),
- translating 'performability',
- creating SL verse drama in alternative forms and,
- co-operative translation (collaboration between a SL and TL speaker).

Of the five categories, the one which coincides with Villar Ponte's strategy is, as McKeivitt (2003) argues, 'translating performability' which consists of 'reproducing linguistically the "performability" of the text' (Bassnett-McGuire, 1985, p. 90) by creating a text that is fluent in the TL. This effect is achieved, according to Bassnett, by replacing regional accents with TL regional accents, creating equivalent registers in the TL, omitting passages that are considered too culturally and linguistically bound. This strategy implies that fidelity is often sacrificed in order to create a text that is adapted to the target language context. In the case of A.Villar Ponte, the aim was to *Galicianise* Yeat's play and to avoid similarities with Castilian, all of which would ultimately contribute to fulfilling the political aim of reaffirming the Galician national identity. Thus, *Galicianisation* of the text can be considered the overall strategy applied by the translator.

Bearing that in mind, in the following sections, an analysis of the decisions of detail made by A.Villar Ponte will be presented; at all times attention will be paid to the influence of the Catalan version, in order to show to what extent the translation was used as a political instrument. In the interest of clarity, the abovementioned decisions have been grouped in the following categories:

linguistic differentiation, additions, omissions, mistranslations, deletion/ retention of foreign features, manipulation of meaning.

4.3.1 Linguistic differentiation.

Villar Ponte employs, as Risco did in his translations, a strategy of linguistic differentiation on a lexical, phonological and syntactic level. As has been said, this consists of avoiding any coincidence or similarity with Spanish by choosing forms that are more *enxebres* i.e., more purely Galician. By doing so, the translator liberates the target text from any foreign Castilian influence and makes it more autochthonous. In the following sections, the techniques used by Villar Ponte to apply this strategy of linguistic differentiation, an aspect of his translation that has not been explored before, will be analysed.

On the lexical level, he frequently reproduces the literal meaning of the ST by using a purely Galician form that avoids analogy with Spanish; this is what Millán-Varela, in her analysis of the translation of the fragments of the *Ulysses* by Otero Pedrayo, calls 'Approaching the meaning of the source text' (1997, p.288). Examples of this strategy can be seen in the following table where Manent's solutions are also shown in order to examine to what extent A. Villar Ponte's choices were mediated by the Catalan version:

Source Text	Catalan version	Galician version	Other possible solutions	Spanish
lad of twelve (p.214)	minyó de dotze anys (p.39)	rapaciño d'unha ducia de anos (p.8)	rapaz de doce anos	chico de doce años
table (p.214)	taula (p.39)	táboa (p.8)	mesa	mesa
sound (p.214)	veus (p.39)	berros (p.8)	son	sonido
hear (p.214)	sento (p.39)	ouzo (p.8)	oio	oigo
window (p.214)	finestra (p.39)	fenestra (p.8)	fiestra, xanela, ventá	ventana

married (p.215)	em vas pendre per muller (p.39)	fixéche-lo casoiro (p.8)	casaches	te casaste
wife (p.215)	noia (p.40)	moza (p.8)	muller, esposa	mujer, esposa
coming (p.215)	que ve (p.40)	que se achegue (p.8)	que veña	que venga
priest (p.216)	señor rector (p.40)	señor abade (p.8)	cura, crego	cura
ready (p.216)	a punt (p.40)	arraxado (p.8)	preparado	preparado
puts (p.217)	posa (p.40)	ceiba (p.9)	pon	pone
bag (p.217)	bossa (p.40)	bulsa (p.9)	bolsa	bolsa
on (p.217)	damnont (p.40)	encol (p.9)	na, en, sobre	en, sobre
leans against (p.217)	se'n va prop (p.40)	acároase a (p.9)	apoiase	se apoya
pleased (p.217)	t'agrada (p.40)	goréntache (p.9)	gústache, complácete	te gusta, te complace
indeed (p.217)	Sí, que m'agrada (p.40)	afellas que sí (p.9)	certamente	ciertamente
vexed (p.218)	ressentida (p.40)	xenreirosa (p.9)	enfadada, anoxada	enfadada, enojada
steady boy (p.219)	minyó de seny com ets (p.40)	rapaz de senso como és (p.9)	rapaz firme	chico firme
greyhound pup (p.219)	gosset (p.40)	cadeliño (p.9)	galgo	galgo
head (p.220)	cap (p.41)	chola (p.10)	cabeza	cabeza
watches her curiously (p.222)	la observa amb atenció (p.41)	escúlcaa (p.10)	obsérvaa atentamente	la observa atentamente
wandering (p.222)	venre rodant (p.41)	andar a rolo (p.10)	deambular	deambular
indeed (p.223)	Ben cert (p.41)	afé (p.10)	certamente	ciertamente
green (p.223)	verdejants (p.41)	verdecetes (p.10)	verdes	verdes
noise of cheering (p.223)	crídoria (p.41)	cheia de berros (p.11)	ruido de ledicia	ruido de alegría
come nearer (p.225)	seu al meu costat (p.42)	arrechégate mais (p.11)	arrímate, achégate	acércate, arrímate
with you (p.227)	amb vós (p.42)	cand'a vós (p.12)	contigo	contigo
spread food (p.228)	guarnier pas les taules (p.42)	abastedes a mesa (p.12)	abastezades, suministredes	abastezais, suministreis

red-cheeked (p.229)	galtes vermelles (p.12)	fazulas vermellas (p.12)	meixelas vermellas	mejillas rojas
pale-cheeked (p.229)	galtes amagrides (p.42)	fazulas enmagrecidas (p.12)	meixelas pálidas/descoloridas	mejillas pálidas/descoloridas
raising her voice (p.229)	alçánt la veu (p.43)	erguendo a voz (p.12)	levantando a voz	levantando la voz
puts (p.229)	Li posa (p.43)	pendúralle (p.12)	ponlle, cólgalle	le pone, le cuelga
sound of cheering (p.230)	crits de joia (p.43)	ruido de ledicia (p.12)	son de ledicia	sonido de alegría
hat (p.230)	barret (p.43)	chapeu (p.12)	sombreiro	sombrero

In the above examples, A.Villar Ponte tries to reproduce the meaning of the text by choosing the variant of the Galician language which is most different from Spanish. As can be easily observed, his choice of lexis is influenced by the Catalan version (*fenestra, moza, rapaz de senso, cadeliño, andar a rolo, verdecetes*, for instance); more evidence that the main source of his translation was the Catalan version of the text. But, regardless of which version was used, it is clear that the translator's intention was, above all, to find lexical solutions that avoided cognates or borrowings from Spanish. At times, this objective leads him to select a word with a more specific meaning as in the case of *berros*, which is used to render both 'sound' and 'noise' resulting at the same time in a reduced variety of vocabulary. The same scenario is found in the use of the verb *gorentar*, which according to the entries in the *DdD* was mainly used when referring to the enjoyment produced by food (it is still used with this sense in current Galician), but in the play it refers to the satisfaction experienced by Peter due to the agreed financial terms regarding the dowry that was to be given to Michael's bride. It is also worth noting that the translator uses some terms which have now fallen into disuse such as *afellas, afé, fenestra*, and

táboa (with the meaning of 'table'), but there is evidence that they would have been words of common parlance in that period as they can be found in glossaries and lexicographic corpuses and sometimes even in later dictionaries.³³ Therefore, the translator was simply selecting the term that he considered to be most different from Spanish. A particular case is the translation of 'vexed' by *xenreirosa* as the latter does not exist as an adjective in Galician. A.Villar Ponte derived it from the noun *xenreira* in order not to use solutions that would be closer to Spanish such as *enfadada* (or *resentida*, following the Catalan) and the result is an invented term. For the *Xeración Nós* intelligentsia, these kind of inventions were justified by the need of reconstructing the Galician language, as attested by the following asseveration by Portela Valladares: 'E non hai que s'apesarar dos defeitos, dos erros, dos atrevimentos, dos escesos d'imaxinación que decote pode xusgarse que aparecen' (1923, p.5). Moreover, in this case, it must be noted that Villar Ponte, by applying this strategy, is lowering the register of the original as 'vexed' is a high register term whereas *xenreira* is rather colloquial. In sum, the consequence of this strategy of linguistic differentiation is that, as Millán-Varela (1998) puts it, the translator leaves a 'espazo intermedio' (space in-between) with all the Galician variants that were rejected for their similarity with Spanish forms. By doing so, A.Villar Ponte uses the form of the Galician language that is free from the 'imperialistic' Castilian influence, and that proclaims the existence of Galician as a language *per se*.

³³ For further information about the use of this words, cf. Diccionario de diccionarios (DdD) – Corpus lexicográfico da lingua galega.

Occasionally, this search for linguistic differentiation leads the translator to semantic deviations from the ST, as shown in the following table where the Catalan solutions have also been included in order to illustrate that these deviations are not influenced by the reliance on Manent's version.

Source Text	Catalan version	Galician version
I don't see anybody (p.215)	no es veu ánima vivent (p.39)	se non fita alma vivente (p.8)
I don't know it is here she is coming (p.215)	Deu venir a casa , potser (p.40)	Cecais veña á nosa chouza (p.8)
[He] fumbles at the lock (p.221)	tanca donant uns quants volts a la clau (p.41)	pechando despois novamente (p.10)
Sit down (p.221)	seieu (p.41)	Acougue (p.10)

In the first example, the use of *fitar* (to stare at) to translate 'see' introduces a slight change in sense but, presumably, the translator did not want to use *ver*, following the Catalan solution, to avoid similarity with Spanish or *ollar* to avoid repetition with a previous sentence in the play, *e olla pra fora*, and to represent the variety of the original where 'see' and 'look' are used respectively. In the second case, besides the change in the grammatical structure which is clearly prompted by Manent's translation, he uses *chouza* (shack) instead of *casa* (house), a Galician word that coincides with Catalan but also with Spanish. The use of *chouza* adds different connotations as the cottage where the family lives becomes a shack. In the third example, the translator loses the nuances of clumsiness implied by 'fumble' which Manent tries to convey by using a paraphrasis. A. Villar Ponte only uses the general Galician verb *pechar* and, presumably, he thought it to be irrelevant to add more information about the action, which shows that he was prepared to sacrifice nuances of the ST when these were not necessary to fulfil the main purpose of his translation. In the last example, the translator uses the word *acougue* (calm down, rest) to render 'sit

down' resulting in another semantic deviation from the ST, one that avoids analogy with Spanish by not using *séntese*.

By following this strategy, A.Villar Ponte absorbs the foreign input (Yeats' play) and transforms it by introducing vernacular elements (the Galician solutions which are different from Spanish). In this respect, translation becomes, as Vieira (1999) suggests, a bi-directional communication process between the source and the target text. The translator participates creatively in the production of the translation and the result is not an imitation of the original, but rather a hybrid text that demystifies the ideology of fidelity.

Quite frequently, the Galician translator makes use of some terms which would be now considered *hiperenxebrismos*³⁴: *asin* (p.8), *cecais* (p.8), *seique* (p.8), *tragner* (p.8), *faguer* (p.9), *siquer* (p.9), *comenente* (p.10), *estreverse* (p.10), *tranquia* (p.10) *alcontro* (p.11), *aqués* (p.12). Nevertheless, although all these terms are currently not accepted by the *Real Academia Galega*, it must be noted that with the exception of *tranquia* and *aqués*, they have all been found in dictionaries and/or glossaries³⁵ published before the 1997 edition of the *Diccionario da Real Academia Galega*. Therefore, in most cases, the translator did not modify the word himself but rather, he was reflecting the language that was in use at the time, although it must be noted that such words were not spoken in all varieties of Galician. Bearing in mind that the Galician language

³⁴ Linguistic phenomenon that consists of the artificial modification of certain words in order to differentiate them from coincident forms in another language of the same family, giving rise to inaccuracies (Diccionario da Real Academia Galega).

³⁵ See Diccionario de diccionarios – Corpus lexicográfico da lingua galega.

had not yet been standardised, A.Villar Ponte would have been reproducing the language spoken by some native speakers of Galician.

In actual fact, an important characteristic of A.Villar Ponte's translation is the emphasis on the phonology of the language in an attempt to represent spoken Galician, the *enxebre* language of the rural people, which was the main sign of national identity that had been kept by the rural classes and defined the singularity of Galicia. This tendency is in line with the *Xeración Nós'* agenda of transforming a degraded colloquial language into a language associated with modern European literature. In this respect, A.Villar Ponte, in the same way that Risco did in his translations, reproduces throughout the text phonological phenomena such as: paragoge (in the translation this phenomenon normally occurs, although not always, with the infinitive form of some verbs: *sabere* [saber] p.8, *chegare* [chegar] p.8, *escollere* [escoller] p.9, *vivire* [vivir] p.9, *sentare* [sentar] p.9, *habere* [haber] p.9, *casare* [casar] p.9, *vendere* [vender] p.9, *decire* [decir] p.10, *berrare* [berrar] p.10, *sere* [ser] p.10, *andare* [andar] p.10, *tere* [ter] p.10, *abraiare* [abraiar] p.10, *lembrare* [lembrar] p.11, *axudare* [axudar] p.11, *saudare* [saudar] p.12, *sere* [ser] p.12, *gardare* [gardar] p.12, *probare* [probar] p.12, *convencere* [convencer] p.13, *deixare* [deixar] p.13, *casare* [casar] p.13. (occasionally paragoge appears in some nouns which end in a rhotic consonant: *mullere* [muller] p.9, *amore* [amor] p.11, *honore* [honor] p.12)); epenthesis of [j] between vowels in hiatus (*a i-alma* [a alma] p.8, *paseios* [paseos] p.9, *vagamundeio* [vagamundeio] p.10, *deseia* [desea] p.11); syncope (*para* [para] p.8, *pro* [pero] pp. 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, *espranza* [esperanza] p.11); aphaeresis (*ña* [miña] p.8, *inda* [ainda] p.10); apocope (*parez* [parece] p.10);

metathesis (*Probiña* [pobriña] pp. 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, *probe* [pobre] p.11, *percisa* [precisa] p.11). The apostrophe is also used throughout the text to represent the phonological elision of vowels, typical of the spoken language; some examples of this phenomenon are as follows: *d'aló* [de + aló] p.8, *d'estalar* [de + estalar] p.8, *com'a* [como a] p.9, *ch'ha* [che ha] p.9, *N'é* [Non é] p.9. All the above phenomena were frequent in the writings of the *Xeración Nós* intellectuals in accordance with their aim of elevating the status of rural and colloquial Galician.

As seen in the translations by Risco, A.Villar Ponte's translation also represents the lack of unification of the language at the time by the presence of some dialectal features. Some linguistic phenomena which occur in the varieties of Galician denominated the 'bloque central', according to Fernández Rei's (1985) dialectal map, can be found in the translation. For example, the masculine ending *-ao* in words such as *irmao* (p.8); the intersection of *-ñ-* between two vowels in the present subjunctive of certain verbs: *señan* (p.8), *seña* (pp. 8, 9, 10), *esteña* (p.12); the demonstrative pronoun form *ises* (p.11); the verb ending *-is* for the second person plural of the present indicative: *cantais* (p.11); specific local vocabulary such as *xurdios* (p.8) and *piorno* (p.11). This strategy can also be seen as another of A.Villar Ponte's attempt to make the text more local, closer to the language spoken by people.

As has already been mentioned, Yeats employs Hiberno-English grammatical features in his play, some examples of which are: the use of reflexive pronouns to express emphasis rather than reflexivity; the use of the habitual present with

the construction 'does be'; the retention of the definite article before verbs used as nouns; the use of 'and' and an adverbial phrase³⁶. In the same way that Yeats uses these dialectal features to reproduce the language of the rural Irish people and have them serve as a sign of Irish identity, Villar Ponte *Galicianises* the language of the play to fulfil the same purpose as shown in the examples below. On the one hand, these examples will offer an irrefutable proof that the translator used as main source text for his translation the Catalan version rather than the English original; for that reason the Catalan translation is included in all cases. On the other hand, they will illustrate the efforts made by Villar Ponte to *Galicianise* the play linguistically.

ST	I suppose the boys must be having some sport of their own. Come over here, Peter, and look at Michael's wedding clothes. (p.215)
CT	Potser ho fa la canalla divertint-se. Vina aquí, Pere, vina a dar una ullada a aquests vestits de nuvi del nostre Miquel. (p.40)
GL	Cecais señan os rapaces a xogaren . Ve acó Pedro, acaróate a min para ollares estes vestidos de noivo do noso Miguel. (p.8)

At first glance, it is obvious that the translator was following the Catalan version rather than the English. But also, he changed the grammatical structure of these two sentences in order to use the inflected infinitive (*xogaren*, *ollares*), a Galician verb form which does not exist in Spanish. It must be noted that in the first case, the two verbs of the sentence have the same subject, a grammatical environment that resists the use of the inflected infinitive, and therefore, this translation choice results in a rather unnatural sentence. Moreover, A. Villar Ponte adds the verbal phrase *acaróate a min* making use of the verb *acaroar* which is a term that differs from its Spanish counterpart *acercar*. This example

³⁶ For more information on the use of Hiberno-English in *Cathleen ni Houlihan*, see McKeivitt 2003, pp.177-179.

shows clearly the translator's intention of *Galicianising* Yeat's play with regards to the structure of the language and the lexical choices.

ST	[...] or have so good a place to bring a wife to. (p.215)
CT	[...] i que fos tan bon partit per a una noia. (p.40)
GL	[...] e que fose, endeben , tan escelente partido para unha moza. (p.8)

In the example above, the translator breaks the sentence in two parts in order to add the term *endeben*, another 'pure' Galician word which has now fallen into disuse³⁷. The example shows that although he was translating from Manent's version, he did not follow it 'literally', but he made use of his own creativity in order to make the text sound what he considered to be more authentically Galician.

ST	I went round to the priest's house to bid him be ready to marry us tomorrow. (p.216)
CT	He hagut d'anar a cal senyor rector a recorder-li que demà estiguí a punt per a les nostres noces. (p.40)
GL	Tiven de precisión d'ir á casa do señor abade c'o aquel de lle lembrar que mañán ten d'estar arranxado para a nosa boda. (p.8)

In order to make this sentence above more 'purely' Galician, the translator rejects the expected solution *tiven que ir* that would follow the Catalan *he hagut d'anar*, and uses the periphrastic construction *tiven de precisión d'ir*. This construction is not in use in current Galician; it would be more idiomatic to say *precisei* (I needed) instead; however, it is likely that A.Villar Ponte considered the periphrasis to sound more 'genuinely' Galician, and it is even possible that he

³⁷ However, the term would potentially be of common use in the period as it appears in dictionaries until 1979 according to Diccionario de diccionarios – Coprus lexicográfico da lingua galega.

invented the construction since, as has been discussed above, this was a justified procedure for the *Xeración Nós* intellectuals. The use of *c'o aquel de* instead of the purpose conjunction *para* is another example of their aim of linguistic differentiation.

ST	Peter. Have you got the fortune Michael?
CT	PERE I el dot, Miquel, el portes, tanmateix? (p.40)
GL	PEDRO E xa ora, a dote traguerala ¿Non si?

In this sentence, the translator turns a question, which appears both in the English and the Catalan texts, into a statement and this change allows him to then use the tag question *¿Non si?*, making the sentence sound more *enxebre* by reproducing a trait of the Galician spoken language.

ST	[...] You have always your head full of plans, Bridget (p.220)
CT	Sempre et giravolten projectes pel cap (p.41)
GL	[...] Como de cote a rebulirche proyeutos pola chola! (p.10)

Again in the translation of this sentence, A. Villar Ponte, although following Manent's interpretation of the play, rejects the use of *sempre*, which would be acceptable in Galician but nearly coincident with Spanish *siempre*, and changes the structure of the sentence by introducing the adverbial phrase *Como de cote* to bring about, in this way, a more vernacular rendering.

ST	[...] there is no quiet in my heart. (p.222)
CT	[...] però al cor no en tinc pas de respòs. (p.41)
GL	[...] o corazón non atopa acougo nin repouso. (p.10)

Here, once more, the translator changes the structure of the sentence so as to make it what he considered more true to Galician by the addition of *non atopa acougo*; perhaps the inclusion of these words was an attempt to recall Rosalía

de Castro's verses from *Follas Novas* 'N'acougo cunha inquietude/ que non me deixa vivir'. However the point here is that A. Villar Ponte makes use of the noun *acougo* which does not have a Spanish counterpart.

The effect of the technique described in the above examples is that the translator creates his own *Galicianised* style, reflecting that translation is an 'active process' that can be seen 'not as a slavish reiteration of the source text's ideas and forms but as creative participation in the authoring of the translated text, crafting a text that will speak to specific readers in a particular receiving culture' (Gentzler, 2008, p.86). In this respect, translation is a hybrid activity which challenges the authority of the original.

4.3.2 Additions and omissions.

So far the discussion about the strategies used by A.Villar Ponte has evidenced his reliance on Manent's interpretation of Yeats' play, although it has also been clearly demonstrated that he does not always follow his version linearly. The capacity of the Galician intellectual to use translation in a creative manner is further illustrated by the additions that he introduces in his version and that are not motivated by either the Catalan translation or the English original. These additions illustrate that translation is not, indeed, a second level activity where everything that appears in the TT is dictated by the ST, but a transformative process that takes place with the intervention and mediation of the translator. In order to illustrate the overall effect that Villar Ponte's additions have on the TT, the following examples will be explained:

ST	Bridget. Well, if I didn't bring much I didn't get much. (p.217)
CT	BRIGIDA Ves: si poc t'he portat, jo també hi he guanyat ben poca cosa. (p.40)
GL	BRIGIDA Pois, decátate, hó. Si che trouguen pouca cousa, tamén é certo que gañei eu cáseque nada con elo. (p.9)

ST	I don't think it's one of the neighbours anyway, but she has her cloak over her face (p.220)
CT	Però no pue veure-li bé la cara: porta un mantel tirat fins als ulls (p.41)
GL	Coido que non seña da nosa veciñanza... Mas non logro verlle ben a xeito a cara: porta un mantelo que cáseque lle cobre os ollos (p.10)

ST	Bridget. Indeed you look as if you'd had your share of trouble. (p.223)
CT	BRÍGIDA Ben cert: teniu l'aire d'haver sofert la vostra part de malaurances. (p.41)
GL	BRIGIDA Afé parez que tedes sofrido moito, xuzgándovos pol-o carís. (p.10)

ST	Peter. [to Bridget] Who is she, do you think, at all? (p.227)
CT	PERE (a BRÍGIDA). Vaja, què te'n sembla? Qui penses que pot ser? (p.42)
GL	PEDRO ¿Ora a quen che lembra esta probe ? (a Brigida). ¿Quén pensas que poida sere? (p.12)

According to McKevitt (2003), the translator makes additions to create a more conversational and fluent text in Galician as well as to cultivate the Galician language. Perhaps, the additions that we find in Villar Ponte's version are too scarce to draw any conclusions; McKevitt does not take into account the existence of the Catalan version and, thus, some of the solutions she considers additions are simply translations from Manent's interpretation and cannot be attributed to the Galician translator. In the light of the above examples, what can be said is that with the exception of the last sentence, the translator uses those additions to insert within the text Galician words and expressions (*decátate, hó, a xeito, cáseque, carís*) which are genuinely vernacular and therefore, they contribute to differentiate the language from Spanish. Consequently, these

additions could also be regarded as an important part of the strategy of linguistic differentiation. The last example does not fit into this explanation as there is no real significant difference between *probe* and the Spanish *pobre*. The addition, in this case, responds to the translator's attempt to create emphatic feelings towards the Poor Old Woman, aka Ireland, which is part of the overall strategy of identifying Galicia with Ireland. This is not the only case where the translator makes use of this technique to evoke emotions on the potential audience. Indeed, all the different ways used to address the main character of the play are oriented towards this end. The strategy will be further discussed in the section 4.3.4: 'Strategy of manipulation of meaning'.

Frequently, Manent adds to his version words to address the different members of the family (*mare*, p.40; *pare*, p.40; *fill meu*, p.42) and A.Villar Ponte translates them (*ñā nai*, p.8; *mi padre*, p.9; *meu filliño*, p.11), although they never appear in the English play. His choices to render these words are, however, worthy of consideration. In the first case, *ñā nai*, the aphaeresis of the word *miña* results in a more colloquial form and complies with the idea of raising the status of the spoken language. In the second case, *mi padre*, even though it is a Spanish expression, it would not be used in the same way in Spanish in this particular context; only the noun *padre* would be employed to address the father. However, in Galician the nominal phrase was of common use to show respect at the time, and it is still used currently by people of a certain age. Therefore, although it is a Spanish expression, paradoxically, it makes the sentence sound more vernacular. In the last example, the use of *meu filliño* is noteworthy because of the addition of the emotive suffix *-iño*, which is one of the main

distinctive features of the Galician language, and widely used in spoken speech; the suffix adds connotations of familiarity and affection. The addition of this suffix is also used in other instances of the text: *velliña* (p.11, p.12) *solliña* (p.11); *casiña* (p.11); *Migueliño* (p.12, p.13), and it contributes to its *Galicianisation*.

There are also some omissions in the translation, but in most cases they are motivated by his reliance on the Catalan version. The cases that can be fully attributed to him are scarce and, mostly, the missing information does not have particular relevance for the meaning of the play. The only effect of these omissions is that he either imprints a more concise style or he eludes information given in the stage directions, which he might have considered to be irrelevant, especially when taking into account that the translation of the play was to be published and not to be performed immediately. Some examples of these omissions are as follows:

ST	[...] Bridget, who has been all this time examining the clothes, pulling the seams and trying the lining of the pockets, etc. , puts the clothes on the dresser.] (p.217)
CT	([...] BRIGIDA, que mentrestant havia estat examinant el vestit del seu fill, treient-ne les embastes, provant la resistència del folro de les butxaques, etc., el deixa damunt el buffet.) (p.40)
GL	([...] Brixida que no intre tiña esaminado o vestido do fillo, déixao encol do aparador). (p.9)

ST	[Peter goes over to the table staring at the shilling in his hand in a bewildered way , and stands whispering to Bridget.] (p.228)
CT	(PERE torna a taula, donant un esguard esbiaixat al seu xiling, després es posa a xiuxiuejar amb BRÍGIDA.) (p.42)
GL	Pedro, pousando o chelín encol da táboa, parola baixiño con BRIGIDA. (p.11)

ST	Bridget. Maybe we should give her something along with that, to bring her on her way. A few pence or a shilling itself, and we with so much money in the house (p.225)
CT	I si hi afegíssim alguna cosa que li íos plaent? Un sou o bé un xiling, amb tot aquest bé de Déu que tenim a casa, no ens vindrà pas d'aquí. (p.42)
GL	BRIGIDA E porque non lle ofrecer tamén algunhas moedas, con todo este ben del señor que temos hoxe na casa. (p.11)

4.3.3 Strategy of deletion/ retention of foreign features.

With regard to the handling of foreign elements, A.Villar Ponte applies a mixed strategy of deletion and retention, although it must be said that there is an overall tendency to avoid them in order to produce a text that reads fluently in Galician. The first noticeable strategy in this respect is that, unlike Manent, he does not translate the title of the play which remains *Cathleen ni Houlihan* (it will, however, become *Catuxa de Houlihan* in the 1935 version), emphasising the foreign origin of the composition. He also retains the word 'cottage' (p.8) at the beginning of the text, but unlike the Catalan translator, he adds a translation of the term between brackets (*casa aldeán*); an obvious technique to make it clear that the scene was taking place in a country context and therefore, to facilitate the self-recognition of rural Galicia in rural Ireland.

Following Manent, A. Villar Ponte adapts the cultural reference 'a bit of the oaten cake' (p.225), a food that would normally be eaten in Ireland but not in Galicia, which becomes *un anaco de galletas* (p.11), *una mica de galeta* (p.42) in Catalan. Again following the Catalan translator, he frequently retains references to foreign currency such as in the following examples: 'hundred pounds' (p. 217)/ *cent lliures esterlines* (p.40)/ *cen libras esterliñas* (p.9); 'shilling' (p. 225)/ *xiling* (p.42)/ *chelín* (p.11). However, the Galician translator

deviates from the Catalan version in the case of 'a few pence or a shilling itself' (p.225) which is rendered as *algunhas moedas* (p.11) (*Un sou o bé un xiling* (p.42) in the Catalan version).

Furthermore, A.Villar Ponte often interjects local autochthonous referents such as *lareira* and *piorno* in his translation. The former is used to translate 'fire' (p.214); 'chimney' (p.217) and 'hearth' (p.224), the Catalan solution is *llar* in all three cases, and the latter is used to render 'barn' (p.224). In the first case, the translator rejects solutions such as *cheminea* or *fogar* that would be more linguistically similar to Spanish and also, they would not have the implicit reference to the Galician context. The same applies to the term *piorno* which refers to a typically Galician rural construction that was used to keep corn and other agricultural products. Moreover, it is a dialectal term and, presumably, A.Villar Ponte chose this word instead of the more widespread *hórreo* since he must have considered it more *enxebre*, possibly because the latter word coincides with Spanish. By interpolating these Galician cultural referents, he produces the effect of the action taking place in Galicia rather than in Ireland, or in an 'imaginary' space that could be either one or the other.

Along with Manent, the Galician translator adapts proper names and therefore, the characters of the play are given Galician names: Peter Gillane, Michael Gillane, Patrick Gillane, Bridget Gillane, Delia Cahel, and The Poor Old Woman become Pedro Gillane, Miguel Guillane, Patricio Gillane, Brigida Gillane, Delia Cahel, A Probiña. It is in the name given to the main character where Villar Ponte differs from the Catalan version in which *La Mendicant* is used

throughout. There are some other names that are adapted in the play, unlike the Catalan version: O'Sullivan's (p.225) and Clontarf (p.225) become Sullivan (p.11) and Clontar (p.11). But the translator does not always follow this procedure and keeps some proper names in English such as Jamsie Dempsey (p.218/ p.9), Casey (p.223/ p.10), Kilglass (p.223/ p.10), Donough (p.223/ p.11), Galway (p.224/ p.11).

This mixed strategy of retaining/deleting foreign elements shows the tension between the universal and the autochthonous in hybrid texts i.e., the aim of making a universal text more local. Also, by means of applying this mixed strategy, the translator attempts to create a symbolic space within the boundaries of the text where the two nations (Galicia and Ireland) converge.

4.3.4 Strategy of manipulation of meaning.

It has been shown so far that A.Villar Ponte manipulates the text in order for his translation to fulfil its purpose of fortifying the Galician language and reinforcing the Celtic bond with Ireland. In this section, it will be demonstrated that he also manipulates the meaning of certain parts of the play, an aspect that has so far not been analysed, in order to convey and emphasise the political message of liberating an oppressed nation through self-sacrifice. As has been mentioned at the beginning of this chapter, this was the message which the Galician intellectuals received from the play, and it suited their own political views as we

can see in the following excerpt of a speech pronounced by Villar Ponte³⁸ and published by ANT:

¡Chamádenos soñadores si queredes! Pro o noso soño é un soño de redención, que busca o querer púbrico para impoñelo ó poder púbrico, soño grande **pol-o que nos faríamos mártires, pol-o que daríamol-o sangue das nosas veas**; soño que latexa n'este berro ceibo. (Villar Ponte, 1917, p.4, my emphasis)

The first instance in which the translator tries to impose particular feelings on his readers is in the translation of 'Old Woman' by *Probiña* throughout the folk-drama. Yeats employs the name 'The Poor Old Woman' in the *Dramatis Personae* and only 'Old Woman' in the body of the play. As mentioned earlier, the character of the 'Poor Old Woman' comes originally from a satiric Irish song that was adapted as a patriotic song in the eighteenth century to celebrate the French landing in 1796 (*cf.* Tymoczko, 1994); therefore, it is yet another symbol of the liberation of Ireland. The expected translation in Galician would be *A Pobre Vella* and *Vella* respectively or *A Mendiga/Mendicante* following the Catalan version; however, A.Villar Ponte chooses the word *probe* with the emotive suffix *-iña* which gives connotations of compassion and affection. In this light, the text acquires new nuances as it is easier to sympathise with the main character as a metaphor of Ireland, and by extension, Galicia. Moreover, he omits the age reference 'Old', although this information is sometimes given *É unha probiña vella* (p.8), *unha vella* (p.10). On one occasion, he reinforces the familiarity and closeness towards the character by addressing her as *Miña xoya!* (p.11), a translation solution (addition) which is not motivated by either the English or the Catalan texts.

³⁸ Only the surname, Villar Ponte, appears as the author of the speech therefore it could be either Antón or his brother, Ramón.

Throughout the allegoric play there are other instances in which the original meaning is manipulated; it is evident that the motive behind such manipulations is the desire to reinforce the political message of the play:

ST	[Old Woman] There was one that had strong sons I thought were friends of mine, but they were shearing their sheep , and they wouldn't listen to me. (p.222)
CT	N'hi havia un d'aquests , que te tenia molts fills i jo em pensava que foren amics meus; però quan vaig ser-hi a la vora es van posar a tondre llurs ovelles i no em van escoltar. (p.41)
GL	[PROBIÑA] Perto d'aquí había un d'esos pouco caridosos , que tiña moitos fillos e eu pensaba que fosen amigos meus; pero cando ia andando cara a eles, puñéronse a correren co'as ovelas e me non escoitaron. (p.10)

In this fragment, for instance, the translator makes a judgment about the people rejecting the Old Woman which is neither in the source text nor in Manent's interpretation: not following the nationalist ideology and not being prepared to make a sacrifice for the nation means not being considerate of others (*pouco caridosos*). Moreover, whereas in the original and in the Catalan version the characters are only 'shearing sheep' and not listening to her, in the Galician translation they run away, which degrades, even more, the image of the anti-nationalists.

ST	Michael. What way will you do that, ma'am? (p.227)
CT	MIQUEL I com ho fareu? (p.42)
GL	MIGUEL Non-o coido doado. (p.11)

In this case Michael is referring to the Old Woman's hope of retaking her land by asking her how she is intending to do it. In Villar Pontes' interpretation the question becomes a personal value judgment which implies that the Old Woman's desire will be arduous to achieve. By means of applying this semantic deviation, the translator emphasises the fact that decolonising the nation will be a hard task and yet, at the end of the play, Michael decides to embark on the

endeavour. Thus, Michael's decision is even more 'honourable' than in both the original and the Catalan translation.

ST	Old woman. It is a hard service they take that help me [...] (p.228)
CT	LA MENDICANT Aquells que m'ajudaran, bé assumiran una tasca prou dura. (p.42)
GL	PROBIÑA Aqués que me axuden, sofrirán unha xeira moi dura e moi perigosa. [...] (p.12)

ST	Peter; he has the look of a man that has got the touch. [...] (p.229)
CT	Pere, mira-te'll... Té un mirar de foll. (p.43)
GL	Pedro, mira para él!... Ten ollares de lume. (p. 12)

ST	They shall be speaking for ever, The people shall hear them forever. (p.229)
CT	“Sempre més, sempre més parlaran I la gent sempre més els oiran. (p.43)
GL	“E eles faláronnos sempre, sempre os que fono e os que nazan de contino ouvilos han” (p.13)

In the first example, the translator exaggerates the courage of those who are willing to help the Old Woman by inserting the phrase *moi perigosa*. Similarly, in the second example, he adds more tragic nuances when Bridget describes the impact that the Old Woman's words are having on Michael: *Ten ollares de lume*. Finally, in the third example, which is a reproduction of the last verses that the Old Woman sings in the play, not only does the translator make use, once again, of his creativity in order to produce a more Galician rhythm but also his solution for the word 'people' emphasises the idea that people from the past and also from the future will always be willing to sacrifice. These manipulations of the text make clear A.Villar Ponte's personal judgment in defence of self-sacrifice for nationalism.

ST	Old woman. I have not. With all the lovers that brought me their love I never set out the bed for any. (p.226)
CT	LA MENDICANT Ningú. Tot l'essent tants els homes que m'han tingut amor la meva casa lia nomás buída i el mue llit dessert. (p.42)
GL	PROBIÑA Ninguén. Sendo tántol-os homes que me tiveron amore, a miña casiña ficou valeira e a miña lareira deserta. (p.11)

The passage above is significant in the Irish folk-drama as Cathleen's virginity is thought to have a relevant symbolic meaning by some scholars. For instance, Cusack argues that

Kathleen's virginity has the added effect of portraying her as eternally hungry; even after Michael forsakes his real marriage, his metaphysical marriage to the nation will never be consummated and Kathleen's need for young men will remain (2009, p.35).

In his opinion, the above excerpt pictures Michael and his compatriots as warriors who fight for a lost battle that will lead them to anonymity rather than to heroism. He argues that the play offers a 'seemingly conflicted representation of nationalism' (*ibid.*) because it promotes the national sentiment but hinders its actual application. In this respect, a mention needs to be made to the end of the play when the Old Woman's transformation into a young lady takes place after Michael's commitment to follow her. Although Cusack justifies this by saying that the transformation occurs before Michael acts on his commitment, it is difficult not to see, in this final moment, that Yeats is conveying the message that the liberation of Ireland will come through sacrifice. A different reading of Cathleen's virginity is offered by Tymoczko who suggests that Cathleen by being herself chaste 'leads the men who follow her to chastity' (1994, p.105) and this, she argues, suited both the Catholic morality of the time and a type of nationalism that endorsed those values. Yeats was an Irish Protestant but, as discussed in the previous chapter, he embraced revolutionary nationalism in his youth and, therefore, the prevailing values of Irish nationalism, Catholicism

being a key one, could have permeated his writing. Whatever the case may be, by replacing the word 'bed' by *lareira*, the Galician translator loses the sexual connotation and therefore, the explicit reference to Cathleen's virginity in his translation. It must be noted at this time that A. Villar Ponte was not a man of faith and, perhaps, this is the reason why he decided not to make the allusion to Cathleen's chastity. As a consequence, the reference to Catholicism, which is one of the aspects that the Galician intelligentsia claimed to share with Ireland is lost: 'Mais as duas [Ireland and Galicia] no que toca á sua incorporación á civilización dominante na Europa foron fillas lexítimas da Eirexa' (Risco, 1921c, p.20). As a matter of fact, references to the Irish cause in religious terms were frequent in the period, and the whole idea of nationalist self-sacrifice advocated by the *Xeración Nós* has parallelism with Christian martyrdom. This relates to Anderson's (2006 [1983]) notion of associating nationalism with religion. Indeed, the Galician intellectuals talk about the 'sentimento relixioso da Terra' (Risco, 1920, p.4) and they refer to the recovery process of the Galician language as a 'cruzada Santa' (ANT, 1916b, p.5). The strategy applied by Villar Ponte on this occasion could be considered, therefore, as an example of how his own views prevailed over the morality of his times. By the replacement of 'bed' by *lareira*, a culturally-bound term, he does, however, emphasise the idea of the scene taking place in that faded and symbolic space that, at times, could be identified with Galicia.

ST	Delia. Michael! [He takes no notice.] Michael! [He turns towards her] Why do you look at me like as a stranger? [She drops his arm. Bridget goes over towards her] (p.230)
CT	DELIA Miquel! (MIQUEL sembla com si nó es recordés d'ella.) Miquel! (Es gira.) I em mires així, com si fós forastera?
GL	DELIA Miguel! (Miguel como si se non lembrara d'ela).

Miguell!(Dándolle nas costas). Ollasme o mesmo que si me non coñeces; como si fose forasteira... (p.12)
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Finally, this last example is a scene that occurs at the end of the play when Michael decides to follow Catlheen whilst Delia, his wife-to-be, tries to stop him. In both the English text and the Catalan version, Michael ‘turns towards her’ paying some attention to Delia. In the Galician translation, however, the stage direction given by Villar Ponte, *Dándolle nas costas*, implies that he takes no notice of her at all and she needs to beat his back to call for his attention. This action emphasises the character’s determination to leave everything behind to follow the Old Woman.

All the above examples show that Villar Ponte manipulated Yeats’ play not only to accomplish the objective of fortifying the Galician language by differentiating it from Spanish, but also, to convey, and even to magnify, its political message. The play was manipulated to produce a strongest political vindication proving that the translation was ‘a calculated political manoeuvre’ (McKevitt, 2003, p.174).

From the analysis provided in this chapter, it can be concluded that the Galician translator followed Manent’s version of the play and did his translation from Catalan rather than from English. This fact sheds light on previous speculations about the text that had been used as a source by Villar Ponte and answers the doubt posed by Vieites:

Tampouco parece improbable que A. Villar Ponte realizase a traducción desde o orixinal inglés e que os materiais fosen facilitados pola Delegación en Madrid da República Irlandesa ou por Plácido Castro. Simples suposicións que aínda precisan da correspondente validación. (2001/2002, p.40)

The above analysis demonstrates that, in fact, this was not the case. However, the translator's reliance on the Catalan version did not prevent him from offering his own interpretation of the text and making his own creative translation choices. In fact, his translation defies the basic notions of source text/ target text, source language/ target language, source culture/ target culture. It has been demonstrated that he used the Catalan version as main source text, to say the least, but also the translation draws on Irish as well as on Galician culture and there are terms and references left in English. Consequently, the distinction between all the above terms fades away, and perhaps we should more accurately start speaking about interlingual/intercultural space to describe this type of translation practice.

Villar Ponte's strategies are in line with Haroldo de Campos' conception of the translation of creative texts as 'recreation or parallel creation, the opposite of literal translation' (in Vieira, 1999, p.105). On the whole, these strategies show that he was committed to the reality of his time and, consequently, he used the translation of *Cathleen ni Houlihan* as an instrument of struggle for cultural and political differentiation in an attempt to diminish the influence of Spanish culture in Galicia. Following his views on language as a defining feature of a nation, he strove to demonstrate the distinctiveness of the Galician language. His effort to enhance the cultural bonds with Ireland by means of interjecting local references and cultural terms in his translation is also noticeable. At times, he gives the impression that the action could be taking place in Galicia. Moreover, he succeeded in introducing new literary models for the renewal of Galician theatre. Vieites (2001/2002), for instance, highlights the influence of the Anglo-

Irish theatre in Galician plays such as *O Mariscal* (Ramón Cabanillas) where he traces parallelisms between the character of *Probiña* and that of *Vella* or *A raza* and *A Lagarada* (Otero Pedrayo) as an example of finding themes and topics embedded in the folk tradition. Ultimately, it has to be said that A.Villar Ponte's translation, similarly to what we have seen in the case of Risco, met entirely the ends for which it had been conceived.

4.4 Comparison between the 1921 and the 1935 versions.

The translation of *Cathleen ni Houlihan* was republished in 1935, with its title changed to *Catuxa de Houlihan*, together with a translation of *The Land of Heart's Desire* (*O país da saudade*), which will be analysed in chapter 5. Both plays were published under the title of *Dous folk-dramas de W.B. Yeats* and they were rendered into Galician by Antón Villar Ponte in collaboration with his brother, Ramón Villar Ponte, and his friend, Plácido Castro. With regard to this second version of *Cathleen ni Houlihan*, McKevitt argues that only 'minor changes, primarily spelling and word choice, appear. With the exception of these changes, neither Villar Ponte nor Castro revised the translation' (2003, p.189). Nevertheless, an in-depth analysis of both translations shows that not only did the translators revise the first version but also, they applied different strategies in order to deepen the *Galicianisation* of the text. The first major change is, evidently, the translation of the title into *Catuxa de Houlihan* as although the original title in English is placed below, the fact that they decided to use a Galician name for the main character, who is an allegory of Ireland, can be seen as a clear sign of self-recognition and appropriation of the Irish folk figure. Furthermore, besides the minor spelling and word changes, mentioned

by McKeivitt, which do not affect the translation as a whole, there is clear evidence that the translators intensified the search for linguistic distinctiveness in the 1935 publication. For instance, they make use of more Galician terms than in the 1921 translation, as is shown below, with a clear intention of taking a step further in the process of linguistic differentiation.

Source text	Catalan version	Galician version (1921)	Galician version (1935)
parcel (p.214)	paquet (p.39)	paquete (p.8)	fardelo de roupa (p.11)
road (p.215)	camí (p.40)	camiño (p.8)	enfesta (p.12)
gap (p.215)	senderol (p.40)	camiño (p.8)	corredoira (p.12)
path (p.216)	camins (p.42)	camiño (p.8)	vieiro (p.12)
turning out the money (p.217)	n'aboca les monedes (p.40)	fai sair as moedas (p.9)	xorran as moedas tintilantes (p.12)
market (pp.218)	mercat (pp. 40)	mercado (p.9)	feira (p.12)
not be running through it [money] (p.219)	no te'l malgastaràs (p.40)	non' os derrocharás (p.9)	non' os alpurnarás (p.13)
comely (p.219)	graciosa (p.40)	graciosa (p.9)	querendosa (p.13)
cheering (p.219)	aldarulls (p.40)	rumores (p.9)	berros (p.13)
thinking (p.220)	pensant (p.41)	pensalo (p.10)	matinar niso (p.13)
scholar (p.220)	bordegàs (p.41)	rapaces (p.10)	rillotes (p.13)
path (p.220)	senderol (p.41)	sendeiro (p.10)	vieiro (p.14)
hill (p.223)	pendis (p.41)	costa (p.11)	enfesta (p.15)
singing (p.223)	cantar (p.41)	cantar (p.11)	cantaruxar (p.15)
cloth (p.223)	bocí de drap (p.41)	trapo (p.11)	farrapos de trapo (p.15)
west (p.225)	contrades de ponent (p.42)	comarcas do Poente (p.11)	bisbarras do Poñente (p.16)
no one to care you (226)	ningú que es cuidi de vós (p.42)	ninguén que coide e procure de vós (11)	ninguén que coide e terme (16)

The effect of the new choices on the translation is that, on some occasions, the vocabulary is more specific than in the previous version by A.Villar Ponte. Some examples of this are: *fardelo* (a small sack made of linen) or *corredoira* (a

narrow rural path with only enough space for a cart to pass through). In some instances, the translators included more lexical variety than in the 1921 translation. For example, in the 1935 version the words *enfesta*, *corredoira* and *vieiro* are used for 'road', 'gap', and 'path' respectively (*camí*, *senderol* and *camins* in the Catalan version) whereas in 1921 only the word *camiño* is used in the three cases. All three terms are genuinely Galician words with no similar counterpart in Spanish. The case of *enfesta* deserves special attention because, as can be seen, it was used to render both 'road'/*camí* and 'hill'/*pendis*. According to *DdD*, the term means 'peak', therefore its use to render 'road' would constitute a case of semantic deviation. Following the same source, the term also refers to a part of the plough, an instrument of common use in Galician rural areas; hence the choice of this term could possibly respond to the translators' intention to insert a traditional element within the text by playing with the double meaning of *enfesta*. Another particular case is the verb *alpunar*, which literally means 'whispering' or 'criticizing someone', thus its collocation with money as its object produces an effect of oddity. It is an example that shows how sometimes the translators were prepared to sacrifice the coherence of the sentence in order to employ a genuinely Galician word. Likewise, the use of the verb *xorrrar*, which means 'to push', is another curious case as, once again, it produces an incongruity in the sentence. Moreover, this was presumably an unusual word at the time as the only source in which it has been found is the 1926 'Vocabulario popular castelán-galego' published by *El Pueblo Gallego* (cf. *DdD*). The same might be the case for *tintilantes*, which appears in the same sentence, as it has not been found in any of the glossaries and dictionaries consulted.

Another frequent strategy in the 1935 version is the inclusion of numerous additions which did not appear in the 1921 version. These additions are unmotivated decisions, i.e., they do not match any element in the source text (nor the English original neither the Catalan translation). Their main function is to insert Galician words and expressions and, therefore, to make the text sound more vernacular as we can see in the examples that follow:

ST	The wife spoke to him then, and he gave in at the end. (p.77)
CT	La muller hi vai dir una parauleta, I tracte clos. (p.40)
GL(1921)	[...] a sua muller puña algúns reparos, mais o trato ficou feito. (p.9)
GL(1935)	[...] a sua muller puña algúns reparos, mais eu, terque que terque , e o trato ficou feito. (p.12)

The expression *terque que terque* does not sound idiomatic in Galician and it has not been found in any of the glossaries and documents of the period that have been checked. It could possibly be an invention of the translators by using the adjective *terque*, a Galician variant of *terco* (stubborn), or an unusual formation of the third person of the verb *terquear* (to be stubborn). Should it be the latter case, it would not be the only instance in which the translators make use of this strategy as later on in the text we find *Ora, ve acó e dicirásme* (p.12) (*Ora dime* in the 1921 version), an unusual formation of the future tense of the verb *dicir* which, presumably, responds to an attempt to escape the coincidence with Spanish by not using the common form *dirásme*.

ST	Go down to the town, Patrick and see what is going on.(p.70)
CT	Patrici: corre cap at ciutat a veure què passa. (p.40)
GL(1921)	[...] Vai, Patricio, vai bulindo á cidade para sabe-lo que ocorre. (p.9)
GL(1935)	[...] Vai, Patricio, vai bulindo nun pulo á cibdade para sabe-lo que aló pasa. (p.13)

On this occasion, the translators take the opportunity to include a Galician expression *nun pulo* (jump) intensifying the idea of hurrying which does not occur in either the English or the Catalan texts.

ST	Old woman. [warming her hands]. There is a hard wind outside.(p.80)
CT	LA MENDICANT (asseient-se vora la llar l'escalfant-se les mans). A for a fa un vent ... (p.41)
GL(1921)	PROBIÑA (Sentándose a beira do fogo e refregando as mans). Fora fai un vento ... (p.10)
GL(1935)	PROBIÑA (Sentándose a beira do fogo e refregando as maus logo de poñelas rentes da chama). Fora fai un vento que tumba e que tolle .(p.14)

In this example, the only purpose of the two additions seems to be the use of the adverb *rente* and the verb *toller* as neither of them adds any new nuances to the text. The translators seem to be using the translation as a showcase to display Galician expressions in order to make the text more fluent and conversational.

ST	Old woman. I have had trouble indeed. (p.81)
CT	LA MENDICANT Si, he sofert penas molt grans. (p.41)
GL(1921)	PROBIÑA Si, teño sofrido penas moi grandes. (p.10)
GL(1935)	PROBIÑA - Si, si, teño sofrido penas e coitas moi grandes. (p.15)

The inclusion of *coitas* in this passage has a different effect on the meaning of the text: the suffering of the Old woman is emphasised. This can be seen as an attempt to magnify the pain suffered by an oppressed nation. Moreover, this term is commonly found in Galician popular sayings such as '*Coitas e camiños dannos amigos*' or '*Nas coitas que un ten coñécese quen nos quer ben*'. Therefore, it also contributes to make the text more vernacular and close to a Galician audience.

ST	Old woman. Come nearer, nearer to me. (p.83)
CT	LA MENDICANT Acosta't més, acosta't més...(p.42)
GL(1921)	PROBIÑA Arrechégate mais, arrechégate mais ... (p.11)
GL(1935)	PROBIÑA - Arrechégate mais, arrechégate mais, asín arrechegadiño ... (p.16)

Finally, the only purpose of this addition seems to be the use of the Galician suffix *-iño*. In fact, the use of this genuine form is a strategy that can be observed throughout the entire text. As shown in the following table, the translators have considerably increased the use of the suffix in the 1935 version of the translation:

1921	1935
vestidos (p.8)	vestidiños (p.11)
Miguel (pp.8/9)	Migueliño (p.12/13)
Miguel (p.9)	meu filliño (p.13)
a rebulirche proyeutos (p.10)	a che rebuliren paxariños (p.13)
comadre (p.10/11)	comadriña (pp.14/15)
un pouco de leite (p.11)	un grolíño de leite (p.16)

This prolific use of the suffix *-iño* seems to be a calculated strategy that, together with the additions, has the purpose of adding fluency to the TT and to contribute to the appropriation of Yeats' play by making it sound more vernacular. A particular case is the addition of *¡Malpocadiña!* (p.16) to refer to Cathleen; apart from the use of the emotive suffix *-iño*, the word also adds connotations of compassion and sorrow to the main character in another attempt to intensify the hardship of the situation in which the nation (both the Irish and the Galician) finds itself. It is therefore a strategy of political manipulation.

Another aspect of this second version of the play is the addition of religious references that did not appear in the 1921 version: *Deus diante* (p.16); *gracias al Señor* (p.16); *pol-o Deus que te deu* (p.18). These additions could be

explained by the collaboration of Ramón Villar Ponte who, unlike his brother, was a convinced Catholic; this was actually the main point of disagreement between the two brothers (*cf.* Ínsua López, 2006, p. 19).

From a syntactical point of view, a feature that deserves special attention in the 1935 translation is the increase in the use of the inflected infinitive, as shown in the following table:

1921	1935
a rebulirche (p.10)	a che rebuliren (p.13)
E que é o que vos fai andar a rolo (p.10)	E que é o que vos fai andáredes* a rolo (p.14)
sin falar d'outros que han morrer mañán (p.11)	sen falar d'outros que han morreren mañán (p.16)
Non téis porque saudar os amigos da vella (p.12)	non téis porque saudares ôs amigos da vella (p.16)
moitos meniños, que o os ir a bautizar (p.12)	moitos meniños que a se ir a bautizaren (17)
Debías probalo, home (p.12)	Tenta d'o probares , home (17)
o vestido que mañán haberás de pór (p.12)	o vestido que mañá haberás de te poñeres (p.18)
fai por o convencere ... (p.13)	fai por o convenceres ... (p.18)

The translators' effort to increase the use of this verb form considerably is evident. Indeed, the form was frequently overused leading to rather unidiomatic constructions such as: *sen falar d'outros que han **morreren** mañán* and *non téis porque **saudares** ôs amigos da vella*; in both cases the infinitive has the same subject as the verb it depends on. The sentence *o vestido que mañá haberás de te **poñeres*** is also unnatural due to the infinitive being part of a periphrastic construction, a scenario that resists the use of this form. The same applies to *E que é o que vos fai **andáredes** a rolo*. Nevertheless, as unnatural as some of these constructions may be, this strategy should be recognised as an achievement which consists of introducing in the written language a genuinely

Galician form whose usage is, still today, more common in the spoken variety of the language. Moreover, it shows to what extent the aim of linguistic differentiation was stronger in this later version of *Cathleen ni Houlihan*.

Through the comparison of the 1921 and the 1935 versions, it has also been found that, in the latter, the translators applied some changes to the syntactic placement of pronouns. This aspect is relevant in the sense that it shows the translators' commitment to establish genuine linguistic uses and the important role that the *Xeración Nós* intellectuals played in the fortification of the Galician language, since some of the collocations established by them have made the pronominal paradigm for current Galician.³⁹ In order to clarify this aspect, some examples will now be considered:

1921	[...] Pro se non che trouguen dote, o dín das miñas entranas [...] Miguel, que agora s'alcontra eiquí [...] (p.9)
1935	[...] Pro se non che trouguen dote, dino das miñas entranas [...] Miguel, que agora alcóntrase eiquí [...] (p.12)

In this passage, it can be observed that, following the aim of linguistic differentiation, in 1935, the translators employed enclitic pronouns in both cases avoiding similarity with Spanish in which the pronouns would be proclitic (*lo di* and *se encontra* respectively). Enclisis is now the unmarked usage for the placement of pronouns in current Galician.

³⁹ I am indebted here to Goretta Sanmartín who pointed out to me that some of the pronominal collocations of current Galician were established in this period.

On various occasions, the translators show a tendency to place a pronoun between a preposition and an infinitive in periphrastic constructions and prepositional environments with infinitives, as shown in the following examples:

1921	¿Para que ha de preocuparse de somellantes cativezas [...] (p.9)
1935	Pra que ha de se preocupare de somellantes cativezas [...] (p.13)

1921	Como de cote a rebulirche proyeutos pol-a chola! (p.10)
1935	Como decote a che rebuliren paxariños pol-a chola! (p.13)

1921	[...] foron moitos a estreverse a me negaren unas horas de casa cuberta. (p.10)
1935	[...] foron moitos a se atrever a me negaren unas horas de casa cuberta. (p.14)

1921	Pedro [...] levando a mao ao chapeu para descobrirse [...] (p.12)
1935	Pedro [...] levando a man ó chapeu para se descubrir [...] (p.18)

This collocation does not exist in modern Spanish; therefore, it is another example of the translators' effort to reaffirm the existence of Galician as a language in its own right. This feature has survived until the present and, although not always used, it is considered as 'un trazo de estilo positivo' (Sanmartín, 2006, p. 29).

A different scenario is found in this last example as, in this case, the 1935 solution results in the same collocation as its Spanish counterpart (*se hallaban*). It is difficult to determine why the translators decided to change their previous choice here, but it could be presumed that the second option would be more widespread in the period and therefore, they would be reproducing the language that was in use at the time. In current Galician, the 1935 solution is the accepted form:

1921	[...] desembarcaron os cabalos que achábanse perto de Enniscrone [...] (p.9)
1935	[...] desembarcaron os cabalos que se achaban perto de Enniscrone [...] (p.13)

Finally, it is noteworthy that there are two instances in which the translators added what is called *pronome de solidariedade* in the second version. The only function of this pronoun is to involve the listener in the process of communication, hence it is only used in spoken language, and it never changes the information conveyed by the sentence; the inclusion of this particular pronoun constitutes another attempt to turn spoken Galician into a legitimate vehicle of expression.

1921	PEDRO De certo, [...] (p.8)
1935	PEDRO – Éche ben certo, [...] (p.11)
1921	Había un louro [...] (p.11)
1935	Habí ache un loiro [...] (p.15)

There are also some instances in which the translators have applied changes to the structures used by A.Villar Ponte in the 1921 version in order to insert constructions that are conceived to be more authentically Galician. This strategy is exemplified in the following examples by the use of the preposition *de* + possessive pronoun in the first case, the colloquial expression *vel-o ahí* in the second and the periphrastic structure *andar a + infinitive* in the third example:

1921	[...] e Delia non che pidiu nada para o seu propio consumo? (p.9)
1935	[...] e Delia non che pidiu nada pra o consumo de seu ? (p.13)

1921	[...] Mirao, Pedro, mira para él!... (p.12)
1935	[...] Vel-o ahí tés , Pedro; cata para él! ... (p.17)

1921	[...] Non vos decatades de que non sinte nada do que lle dicides? (p.13)
1935	[...] Non vos decatades de que non sinte nada do que lle andades a decir ? (p.18)

With regard to the manipulation of the meaning of the text, two more examples have been found in this later version. When the Old woman sings the song about Donough, a martyr of nationalism who was given the death penalty, she

explains to Michael that he ‘was hanged in Galway’ (p.224). Villar Ponte in 1921 offers a literal translation of this sentence *foi aforcado en Galway* (p.11) surely from the Catalan *penjat a Galway* (p.41). However, in 1935, we found *foi apedreado en Galway* (p.15). There is no apparent reason for this change, but the idea of being stoned to death suggests more brutality and intensifies the cruelty of the punishment imposed upon the nationalist Donough. It could be considered a calculated decision to magnify the consequences of sacrificing for the nationalist struggle.

Another case that deserves attention is the footnote that explains to the readers that the O’Donnell and O’Sullivan are families of Celtic origins. In 1921, the footnote reads *Os O’Donnell e os Sullivan son antigas familias irlandesas da raza céltiga* (p.11) (*Els O’Donell i els O’Sullivan són antiquíssimes families irlandeses de raça céltica* (p.42) in Manent’s translation) whereas in 1935 we find: *Os O’Donnell e os Sullivan son antigas familias da raza céltiga* (p.15), where the adjective *irlandesas* is missed out. This could be a lapse or a typographic error, but it could also be understood as part of the translators’ strategy to forge the identification between Ireland and Galicia by creating a symbolic space of the oppressed Celtic nation. It would be another instance of the ‘culturo-linguistic layering’ representing both nations.

From the above analysis, there is clear evidence that in the 1935 version of *Cathleen ni Houlihan*, the Villar Ponte brothers and Plácido Castro took the strategies of cultural and linguistic differentiation of Galicia even further. They intensified the effort to fortify the language and they attempted to make the text

even more *enxebre* than in 1921. At first sight, it would seem as though the translators had only revised the TT, applying those changes that they thought to be necessary to make it more vernacular. Nevertheless, there is evidence in the text to prove that this was not the case. For example, on one occasion they corrected a mistranslation of the 1921 version which had been caused by the reliance on Manent's interpretation:

Source text	Catalan version	Target text (1921)	Target text (1935)
[...] the night before my wedding (p.221)	[...] la primera nit de bodes. (p.41)	[...] a primeira noite de bodas (p.10)	[...] na noite do víspera da boda (p.14)

Likewise, one of the songs sung by the Old woman where A.Villar Ponte had broken the parallelism of the original, that had been kept by Manent, was corrected in 1935:

Source text	Catalan version	Target text (1921)	Target text (1935)
Do not make a great keening Do not call the white-scarfed riders Do not spread food to call strangers Do not give money for prayers (p.228)	No alcéssiu pas grans gemecs No crideu els que duen les gases al braç No guarniu pas les taules ni crideu forasters No donéssiu diners als pregaires (p.42)	Non ceibes grandes salaios Non faleis os que leven loito Non abastedes a mesa nin chamedes forasteiros Cartos non darlle a quen pregue (p.12)	Non ceibedes grandes salaios Non faleis ôs que leven loito Non abastedes a mesa nin chamedes forasteiros Non deis cartos ô que pregoe (p.17).

These two corrections, or at least the first one, seem to show that the revision was undertaken taking into account the English text, and yet the translators were not concerned with amending deviations, mistranslations and manipulations of the first version. This clearly proves that the purpose of this 1935 version was the same to that of 1921, i.e., the Villar Ponte brothers and

Plácido Castro did not want to reproduce a copy of the ST, but rather to use the play as a political instrument to reaffirm the existence of the Galician language and, by extension, the Galician nation. They reveal this intention in the introduction to the plays where they say that they have taken the two pieces from Ireland in order to *transplant* them into the Galician language (see p.92).

CHAPTER 5

Celticism and *Saudade*: translation strategies in *The Land of Heart's Desire*⁴⁰.

5.1 Celticism and *Saudade*: the convergence of two cultures.

The Land of Heart's Desire was first performed at the Avenue Theatre in London on the 29th March 1894, and published by Fisher Unwin in April of the same year. Yeats gives account of the moderate success of the performance in a letter to John O'Leary dated 15th April 1894: 'My little play *The Land of Heart's Desire* is however considered a fair success & is to be put on again with the play by Shaw which goes on next week. It is being printed by Unwin & will be sold in the Theatre with the programmes' (Kelly and Domville, 1986, p.386). Miller (1977) argues that, although the play is considered as one of the least substantial of Yeats' dramatic works by many critics, it served as preparation and learning to theatre practice and he revised the text for nearly thirty years until the publication of what can be considered the definitive version in *Plays and Controversies*, 1923.

The whole play is written in blank verse and is based on Irish folk tradition. The scene is set in a peasant's home in the County of Sligo (Ireland) on May Eve⁴¹, where the newly married Mary Bruin is more interested in reading a book of fairy folk-tales than in performing her housewifely duties as Shawn Bruin's wife.

⁴⁰ A shorter version of this chapter was published as an article with the title of 'A tradución como apropiación: análise das estratexias tradutivas en *O país da saudade* de P. Castro e A. e R. Villar Ponte' (cf. Vázquez Fernández, 2011).

⁴¹ According to the Celtic tradition, the night before the first of May witches and fairies wander freely amongst humans and try to enter people's homes to do them harm.

Consequently, Bridget and Maurteen, Shawn's parents, appeal to Father Hart, who had been invited for supper, to dissuade her from the reading. The girl is warned of the dangers of that night when fairies have unusual powers over mortals and can steal women to make them their brides. However, far from being scared, she likes the idea of escaping her routine as well as Bridget's constant criticisms and invites the fairies to take her. A fairy child comes into the house and captivates the girl through a ritual of singing and dancing whereas the rest of the family is terrified. Eventually, Mary decides to go with the fairy and, at the end of the play, only her lifeless body is left in the peasant's house whereas her soul is taken to 'The Land of Heart's Desire'.

Although, at first glance, the patriotic political message of this folk drama is not as clear as it was in the case of *Cathleen ni Houlihan*, Hurlley, when referring to a Catalan translation of the play published in 1927, points out that 'Mary Bruin's desire to escape from an oppressive reality, routine, mediocrity, a sense of captivity may be likened to that of Catalonia's desire under the Spanish yoke' (2006, p.83). The same argument can be applied to the situation of Galicia. Mary's desire represents the nation that is being longed for by the Galician intelligentsia, one that is free from the influence of Castile and the 'Mediterranean culture', defined by Risco as 'cultura allea, falsa e ruín, vulgar e filisteá' (1933, p.122). Mary wants to flee from a mediocre and repressive reality and, in the same manner, the Galician intellectuals at the time wanted to escape from a situation of cultural domination⁴². She finds her *Land of Heart's*

⁴² This association between women's oppression and colonized nations has been studied by feminist critics such as Martín Lucas (2010): 'Esta simbolización de la nación como mujer es muy obvia en aquellos casos de naciones colonizadas, en las que la equiparación simbólica con la opresión de la mujer se utiliza en el discurso independentista una y otra vez' (p.54).

Desire in the Fairy Land, that is, in the Irish folk tradition; Galicia, following the same model, would find it 'adentro de nós mesmos' (Risco, 1933, p.122) because 'era o sangue dos nosos antergos, dos ártabros fortes, dos feros brigantes, o que nos facía soñadores, románticos, lonjanos, individualistas' (*ibid.*, p.123). Redemption for the nation would come through the romantic awakening of the Celtic nations; the translation of this folk-drama played a significant role in the diffusion of the Celtic myth in Galicia.

The Land of Heart's Desire was translated into Galician in 1935 and, as previously mentioned, it was published in a volume which also included a translation of *Cathleen ni Houlihan*. The volume is entitled *Dous folk-dramas de W.B.Yeats* which were 'vertidos â língua galega directamente do inglés por Plácido Castro e os irmáns Vilar Ponte, con licencia do autor', quoting from the title page. As we already know, at least in the case of *Cathleen ni Houlihan*, the text was not translated 'directamente do inglés'. This statement is a manipulative strategy of the translators that attempts to give legitimacy to the text by giving the impression that all the content of the translation is based upon the source text. The three translators were well-known intellectuals at the time and were concerned with the promotion and recovery of Galician as a language of literature and culture as well as with the establishment of the foundations for the incipient Galician theatre, taking as a model the Irish Dramatic Movement because as Castro puts it:

Tenemos a nuestra disposición un caudal de riqueza artística que además de poseer estas cualidades esenciales nos es especialmente

However, according to this scholar, this image of the woman (as symbol of the nation) who must be defended is detrimental to feminist advancements. For further information on this, see Martín Lucas (2010).

afín porque expresa el espíritu de nuestra propia raza- el teatro irlandés. Inspirarse en él no será copiar; será estudiar la forma en que un pueblo hermano del nuestro ha realizado la expresión de sus sueños y sus tristezas despertando así nuestra sensibilidad latente, algo adormecida por tantos siglos de dominación intelectual externa a nuestro carácter (1927a, p.1).

This paragraph is illustrative of the 'other' (Irish) as reflection of the self, to the extent that appropriating Irish models is not considered an act of appropriation in its strict sense, but an encounter with or a recognition of one's (Galicia's) own personality. Ireland serves as inspiration for Galicia to find its true self.

The translation of the *Land of Heart's Desire* is presented as a collaborative work that boasts the participation of A.Villar Ponte, his brother Ramón and his friend Plácido Castro. The figure of Ramón Villar Ponte, as Barreiro (2008) points out, was overshadowed by that of his older brother. The latter was more versatile and achieved greater public influence and recognition whereas the former played the role of the discreet activist. As journalists, for instance, Antón had a more prolific career and his articles obtained more public relevance; Ramón was less active and prolific, which does not mean, however, that it was of less interest. In the political sphere, Antón's role in the *Irmandades da Fala*, *ING (Irmandade Nacionalista Galega)* and in the struggle against Primo de Rivera's dictatorship was more significant than that of his younger brother (cf. Ínsua-López, 2006, pp.15-19). But, despite these discrepancies in popularity, both brothers shared republican and federal ideas and showed a deep commitment to the defence of Galicia's national identity. Ramón, as well as Antón, was a prolific writer, historian and political activist, defending Galicia as a

nation based on its Celtic origins; he is the author of influential political treatises such as *Doctrina Nazionalista* (1921) and *Breviario da Autonomía* (1933).

The life history of Plácido Castro deserves special attention as 'Esta figura ten algúns perfís persoais que son puramente singulares, que non se atopan en ningunha outra figura da cultura galega' (Villares, 2006, p.10). He was born in Corcubión (A Coruña) in 1902 but, at the age of six, was sent by his family to Scotland where he studied at the Scarborough school (Glasgow) and later completed his education reading English at the University of Glasgow. He went back to Galicia in the 1920s where he lived until the late 1940s, but after the Spanish civil war and a period where he was banned from work due to his political views, he returned to the United Kingdom and lived in England for a few years, coming back again to Galicia in 1956. This privileged education equipped him with the linguistic and cultural tools to become an excellent and prolific translator. He translated a great number of English speaking authors such as Yeats, Robert Burns, Thomas Moore, Christina Rossetti, John Masefield, Thomas Hardy, etc⁴³. He particularly emphasized the relevance of translation for the regeneration and progress of theatre in Galicia so as 'nuestro teatro refleje el alma de Galicia y sea algo más que una copia de la mediocridad ajena' (Castro, 1927a, p.1) in clear reference to the theatre models coming from Castile. Within this understanding of theatre as an ideological tool to build a national identity, he mentions authors that should be taken as referents and therefore, translated: Yeats, Synge, Lady Gregory, Lord Dunsany, O'Casey, and outside Ireland: Barrie, Maeterlinck, Strindberg.

⁴³ For more information on Plácido Castro as a translator see Álvarez Luguís, 2006, pp.223-224.

Despite Castro's being much younger than Antón Villar Ponte, not only was there a close friendship between them, but they also shared the same political views. Castro was also a member of the *Irmandades da Fala* and had an important role in the promotion of the Galician language as a distinctive sign of the nation. His *galeguismo* was based on two essential concepts: *saudade* and Celticism (cf. Álvarez Luguís, 2006). The former was thought to be a sign of originality in the artistic Galician personality by both Castro and Villar Ponte (cf. Ínsua López, 2006). Castro discusses the concept at length in a series of three articles entitled 'Saudade y Arte' published by *El Pueblo Gallego* in 1927, where he argues that

La *saudade*, como el arte, es el producto de un deseo de algo, no sabemos bien de qué, y es precisamente la vaguedad del anhelo lo que la distingue del sencillo deseo de volver a la patria y la eleva a la categoría de sentimiento artístico (Castro, 1927b, p.2).

He suggests that *saudade* is the basic source of inspiration for art by people of Celtic origin and, in this light, he argues that 'Muchos poemas de los celtas del Norte podrían ser nuestros por la semejanza de los sentimientos que contienen' (Castro, 1927c, p.2). This association between Celticism and *Saudade* is problematic, as discussed in chapter 3, as it entwines two different cultural traditions that do not have any connection between them. But, by linking together these two concepts and defining *Saudade* as a feature of the Celtic spirit, the Galician intelligentsia find the way to establish a strong link between their two main referents (Portugal and Ireland) in the construction of a national identity. It is all part of the manipulative process of inventing the nation.

In Castro's view there were two artistic alternatives for Galicia at the time: one was to follow the folk tradition 'inspirándonos en la tradición, la leyenda y la saudade' (Castro, 1927d, p.2); the other to 'crear un arte frío intelectual, que podría ser muy europeo pero que no tendrá contacto alguno con el espíritu de la raza' (Castro, 1927d, p.2). Needless to say that he and his contemporaries advocated the former option since it was the one that was in line with their political agenda. In this vein, in the *Agasallo* (words of welcome) to the translations, the translators refer to 'o orvallo celta da saudade, común a todos os pobos da mesma raza' (Yeats, 1935, p.1); thus, *Saudade* and Celticism become two concepts that can no longer be isolated for them. They claim to have found the combination of both in the Irish folk-drama where, due to this 'ethnic affinity', they could find inspiration to create an original Galician theatre because as A.Villar Ponte explains:

Los asuntos temáticos para nuestro teatro considero lógico buscarlos, como dijo muy bien P.R. Castro, en las tradiciones, leyendas y motivos autóctonos que perduran en la memoria de la raza y guardan afinidad con los de otros pueblos hermanos, por cuyas venas corre sangre celta. A base de ellos y siguiendo procedimientos análogos en su desenvolvimiento a los del teatro irlandés, verbigracia, daremos con nuestro módulo original (1927, p.1).

The affinity with Ireland is also mentioned by Plácido Castro in the *Liñas de abreinte* (preface) that precedes the translation of both folk-dramas, and where he gives relevant information about the intention of the translations. He relates the development of Irish theatre to the revival of the Celtic spirit and highlights the importance of the folk tradition as a source of inspiration in order to overcome a type of theatre trapped in stereotypes. Castro draws parallelisms between the evolution of the Irish and the Galician theatre and uses this as a justification for the translation of these two plays that will provide a model to

follow so that, one day, Galician theatre can flourish in the same way that the Irish one has:

O teatro irlandés identificouse nos seus comezos co renacemento do espírito céltico e a súa incorporación ao arte mundial. Foi Yeats o máis outo intérprete d-ise espírito e obras suas como “Cathleen ni Houlihan” e “The Land of Hearts Desire” abriron os ollos, primeiro de Irlanda, e logo do mundo enteiro, â inmensa fonte de riqueza artística que podía xurdir do folk-lore, cando era o seu intérprete un gran poeta. As obras dramáticas de Yeats, cheas ao mesmo tempo de poesía e realismo, mataron para sempre ao tradicional “irlandés de escenario” cuyo humorismo e simpatía servían de capa para perpetuar, da maneira máis insidiosa, unha falsa interpretación do pobo irlandés. E todos istes aspectos teñen unha relación tan estreita co problema da evolución do noso propio teatro, que o sucedido en Irlanda fai máis de trinta anos, encerra hoxe para nós leccións de extraordinario valor, que xustificarian a traducción d-istas duas pezas, si non foran xa merescetes de ser coñecidas entre nós pol-o seu propio valor artístico (Yeats, 1935, p.7).

Castro overestimates the fame of Yeats' works by saying that they opened the eyes of 'o mundo enteiro'. They were possibly well-known in Europe, but the Galician intellectual tries to extend their fame beyond that as another way of justifying the translations and selling them to the audience. What is essentially important is the Celtic spirit represented by Yeats in his plays, and this is what they wanted to incorporate into the Galician theatre tradition.

Within this ideological framework, the translation of *The Land of Heart's Desire* plays a key role since, on the one hand, it deals with the sentiment of longing and, on the other hand, it serves the purpose of spreading the Celtic myth. Castro refers to the play by saying that ‘Toda la poesía irlandesa está llena de ese anhelo de lo imposible, del deseo de huir del mundo real al mundo soñado, a la “Tierra que el corazón anhela” (1927c, p.2). And he continues by offering a translation into Spanish of some verses of the play where the land desired by the heart, the land of the fairies, is described:

Yeats	Castro
Where nobody gets old and godly and grave,	“Donde nadie se vuelve viejo, ni piadoso, ni serio
Where nobody gets old and crafty and wise,	Donde la sabiduría es alegría, el Tiempo una canción sin fin”
Where nobody gets old and bitter of tongue. (p.184)	“Donde nadie se vuelve viejo y de lengua amarga ...
	“Donde la sabiduría es alegría, el Tiempo una canción sin fin” (p.2)

The deviation in the second line of the song is obvious; Yeats talks about a land where nobody can be crafty and wise whereas Castro transforms that place into one where wisdom is joy and time is an endless song. Perhaps this deviation responds to the intention of idealising that dream place, which for the Galician intelligentsia was a free nation, and of emphasising that knowledge, culture, education (three aspects that we could associate with the intellectual elite they represent) would lead to that better Galicia they were dreaming about.

The fact that Yeats' play deals with the idea of desire and longing is what gives the Galician nationalists grounds to link *Saudade* and Celticism; in this vein they translate the title as *O pais da saudade*. In an interview dated in 1902, Yeats said the following about the folk-drama: 'My play, *The Land of Heart's Desire* was, in a sense, the call of the heart, the heart seeking its own dreams' (in Miller, 1977, p.70), which recalls Castro's idea of *un deseo de algo*, quoted above. Moreover, in a letter to O'Donoghue dated 1894 Yeats includes an excerpt from the play, a song that the Fairy Child sings to cast a spell on Mary, and explains the meaning of the 'wind' in that song as follows: 'The wind is the vague idealisms & impossible hopes which blow in upon us the ruin of near & common & substantial ambitions' (Kelly and Domville, 1986, p.380). Once again there is a parallelism between these 'vague idealisms' and the *vaguedad del*

anhelo of Plácido Castro. Therefore, in the same way that A.Villar Ponte was attracted to the patriotic message of the redemption and liberation of Ireland through self-sacrifice in *Cathleen ni Houlihan*, in this case, the translators were captivated by the concept of *Saudade* which they could, more than questionably, link to the Celtic spirit represented by Irish folklore. In this manner, they were able to join together two concepts that formed the essential basis of their political agenda. *Saudade* should be identified here with the desire of liberation for an oppressed nation because according to Plácido Castro Galicia needs 'la saudade de una nueva Galicia, que sea como en Irlanda el distante ideal que al fin nos lleve a una feliz realidad' (1927d, p.2). This proves that, as Álvarez Lugrís argues, in Galicia in this period 'tradúcese para recupera-la identidade: calquera outra consideración carece de importancia. Tradúcese non para crear literatura senón para crear conciencia' (2006, p.221).

And one of the main methods of raising national awareness and recovering the identity is, as it was in the case of *Cathleen ni Houlihan*, the promotion and recovery of the Galician language. Thus, once again the translators' strategies are oriented to make the text more Galician with a strong emphasis on techniques of linguistic differentiation, as will be analysed in subsequent sections of this chapter.

5.2 The Galician and the Catalan versions of the folk-drama.

As with *Cathleen ni Houlihan*, *The Land of Heart's Desire* was first translated into Catalan by Marià Manent with its title rendered as *La terra del desig*, and it was published by *La Revista* in the July to December issue in 1927. However,

in contrast to the Galician version of *Cathleen ni Houlihan*, textual evidence shows that, on this occasion, the translators did not rely on Manent's interpretation. The first obvious difference between the Catalan and the Galician translation is that the former follows the form of the original, and therefore it is written in verse, whereas the latter is written in prose. Presumably, this decision relates to the fact that the audience would be more familiar with the reading of novels than theatre plays and, surely, not familiar at all with theatre written in verse. This choice would then be 'a reflection of target language norms and the preferences of a particular cultural community at a particular point in time' (Baker, 1998, p.227).

Besides that, there are frequent examples in which the Galician solutions differ largely from the ones given by Manent, such as the song that 'The Voice' sings before the Fairy Child comes into the house. In order to clarify this point, the three versions of the song are reproduced below:

Source text (1894)
<p>The wind blows out of the gates of the day, The wind blows over the lonely of heart, And the lonely of heart is withered away. While the faeries dance in a place apart, Shaking their milk-white feet in a ring, Tossing their milk-white arms in the air; For they hear the wind laugh and murmur and sing Of a land where even the old are fair, And even the wise are merry of tongue; But I heard a reed of Coolaney say, "When the wind has laughed and murmured and sung The lonely of heart is withered away!" (p.195)</p>
Catalan version (1927)
<p>El vent ja bufa a les portes del día, bufa damunt la soledat del cor. La soledat dins el cor s'esvaia, mentre les bruixes dansen a bell cor, batent els peus, blancs com llet, en rodona, alçant els braços tan blancs, cel enllà;</p>

car el vent riu; canta i encaraona
d'allà on els vells són gentils de mirâ,
on fins el seny té paraula florida.
I a Coolaney va dî una canya d'or:
"parlava el vent, amb la riolla humida,
I s'esvaí la soledat del cor". (p.127)

Galician version (1935)

Ven o vento das portas do día,
vento, ventiño mais lene que fosco,
a murchare c'oa sua folía
que brinca e rebule nas somas do bosco
das fadas suario,
ô d'inxel corazón solitario
que aboia na foula da melanconía ...
Por mans d'unhas fadas
a riren con risas de río que espella alboradas,
téceuse con somas de bosco
e con febras da lus do luar
o branco suario
que avala n'un vento, mais lene que fosco,
deitando o cantar:
"Corazón solitario
t'haberás de murchar."

*(Entramentras danzan as fadas n'un recuncho arredado, facendo un milagre
d'euritimia n'un verde circo, c'os seus pes brancos com'o leite, a voz
prosigue:)*

Ora bailan as fadas,
calando de s'upeto as suas risadas,
porque o vento xa rí, xa marmula e xa canta
d'un país no que son hastr'os vellos hermosos
e ond'hastr'os sabios, non son fachendosos,
e falan decote con leda ledicia que encanta.
As fadas ouviron no seu camiñar
que un xunco decía
-¡de Coolaney o xunco sería!
este meigo cantar:
O corazón solitario teráse murchado
cand'o vento en murmurio haxa rido e cantado." (pp. 24-25)

Manent's version follows the original in form and content whereas the Galician translators deviate notably from the ST, especially in terms of form. A case of extreme deviation is that part of the original song is rendered as a stage direction. The translators include a footnote stating that 'Os tradutores respetaron os temas básicos da cantiga; pero non a forma, para lle dar así no

galego a consonancia que, según os antigos preceptistas, era a ofrenda de maior estima para os deuses arcanos' (p.25). This clarification shows that the intention of the translators was not to reproduce the original, but rather to create their own composition for the song to keep in with the Galician tradition. It is one of the clearest examples in which the aim of *Galicianisation* of the folk-drama can be seen. Furthermore, as Hurlley points out, the Galician deviation produces an intensification of lyrical effects, as for example 'the wind which in the original is simply the subject of the verb 'to blow', acquires particular qualities, is personified and spoken of in a characteristically Galician way that is, introducing the diminutive form' (2006, p.91). As has been mentioned above, the wind has a crucial meaning within the play and the translators certainly perceived that. Consequently, this symbol of the vague idealisms and desires, which define the sentiment of *Saudade*, acquires a more powerful presence in the Galician composition (the first part of the song is devoted to this element). It must be noted that the song appears on another two occasions in the body of the play. The second time (p.200) Yeats reproduces only the first part, as do the Galician translators; however, instead of using the same song as Yeats does, they create a different version:

Ven o vento das portas do día
avalando seu lene suario
de leda folía
que ri no cantar:
"Coraçón solitario
t'haberás de murchar
ô meu fulvo de lus de luar." (p.27)

The third occasion on which the song appears is at the end of the play; Yeats reproduces the whole song again. The translators do the same, but they change, once again, the first part and produce a third different version of the composition:

Ven o vento das portas do día
a marchare co'a sua folía
que envolve da soma o suario,
ô d'inxel corazón solitario.

*No intre danzan as fadas n'un sitio arredado avalando n'un circo os seus pes
brancos com'o leite e deitando ô ar seus brazos com'o leite tamén brancos.*
(p.30)

This strategy plays with the musicality of the language and its capacity to produce lyrical effects which enhance the legitimacy of Galician as a literary language. Unlike Marià Manent who follows the rhyme scheme of the source text in his Catalan version, the Galician translators experiment with different metric compositions. The effect created by this technique somehow compensates the loss of lyric traits owing to the text being written in prose form rather than in verse as the original.

Lyrical effects are also intensified within the composition, as Hurlley (2006) notes, when 'the reed of Coolaney' which in the source text prophesies the vanishing of the 'lonely of heart', in the Galician version delivers a *meigo cantar*. The use of *meigo* as an adjective, which appears on several occasions within the text (*meiga lus* (p.24)/'bewildering light' (p.193); *Cántiga meiga* (p.24)/ 'strange song' (p.194); *que fala meiga* (p.25)/'strange talk' (p.196); *meigas pegadas* (p.27)/ 'steps' (p.201) contributes, 'to intensifying an atmosphere of otherness' (Hurlley, 2006, p.91). Besides that, the use of *meigo* includes an important element of Galician folklore in reference to the widespread popular believe in *meigas*⁴⁴ (witches). It is also a distinctively Galician word (different

⁴⁴ The belief in *meigas* is part of the abundant wealth of superstition in Galicia. These magical figures were thought to have diabolic supernatural powers as a result of which they were able to cast all kinds of spells and curses. Nevertheless, they could also have good virtues, and

from the Spanish *brujo*) which is used with the metaphorical meaning of 'captivating'.

In the rendering of this song, the Galician translators carried out an extreme and conscious manipulation of the ST in order to make the text more their own, i.e. more Galician. It is a clear example of the use of translation as a political instrument as well as a creative activity. The latter aspect is in line with Plácido Castro's theory of poetry translation: 'a obra dun poeta inspirada pola obra dun poeta -non unha copia senón unha re-producción, non unha traducción senón a re-entrega dunha impresión poética' (in Álvarez Luguís, 2006, p.224). The similarity here with Campos' theory of translation is obvious.

Hurtley (2006) mentions other examples that show that the Galician translators did not rely on Manent's interpretation: the lack of setting and place information at the beginning of the play which is omitted by the Catalan translator but not by the Galicians; the rendering of 'A Faery Child' (p180) in the *Dramatis Personae* which is simply *Una Noia* (p.122) in the Catalan version and thus it omits the supernatural element, whereas the Galician solution is *UNHA FADA MENIÑA* (p.19); the consistent translation of 'faeries' as *fadas*⁴⁵ in Galician whereas they frequently become *bruixes* (witches) in Catalan; the rendering of 'the ugly thing on the black Cross'(p.198) which Manent softens as, *Oh, què és allò, damunt de la Creu negra?*, (p.128) whereas the Galician translators maintain *cousa feia* (*¿O que é isa cousa feia dependurada na crus negra?*, p.26); the different

therefore they were not only feared and hated, but also looked for to require their curative and foretelling abilities.

⁴⁵ *Fadas* is frequently used in the poetry of Pondal, particularly in *Queixumes dos Pinos*, and it is a way of linking to Celtic themes.

solutions for the word kettle when Bridget says ‘She would not mind the kettle’ (p.182): CT (*No pensa en **bestiar***, p.123) , GL (*Non quixo **termare da caldeira***, p.20). Some other additional examples are given in the tables below:

Source text (1894)	Catalan version (1927)	Galician version (1935)
<p>Maurteen [to Shawn]. What are you waiting for? You must not shake it when you draw the cork; It’s precious wine, so take your time about it. [Sawn goes] [To Father Hart] [...] (p.183)</p>	<p>Martín (A Joan) Vaja: què esperes? No la sacsegis poc ni molt, quen l’obris És vi exquisit; no hi vagis pasa mb presses. (Ix Joan) (Al pare Hart) [...] (p.123)</p>	<p>MART. a Xoán. Ora que agardas? Fai o que ch’eu dixen e non revolvas o viño ô sacarlle a cortiza â garrafa. É viño do bo que dá El Señor; con que sen presa terma do mandado. (Ao P. Hart despois que saiu Xoan) (p.20)</p>

In this case, the Galician translation adds information which is neither in the source text nor in the Catalan version. Moreover, the stage directions which are represented in Catalan in the same way as in the original, are combined into one in Galician. This is not the only case where the treatment of stage directions in the Galician version differs from the other two, as shown in the following example:

Source text (1894)	Catalan version (1927)	Galician version (1935)
<p><i>Father Hart.</i> It may be truth. We do not know the limit of those powers God has permitted to the evil spirits For some mysterious end. You have done right [to Mary]; It’s well to keep old innocent customs up. [Mary Bruin has taken a bough of quicken wood from a seat and hung it on a nail in the door-post. A girl strangely dressed,</p>	<p>PARE HART Potsê és cert. Qui ho sap! No coneixem els limits de la força que Déu permet als esperits dolens per algun fi misteriós. Bé, noia: (<i>A Maria</i>) és escaient guardâ els costums antics. (<i>Maria Bruin pren una branca, que era sobre un seient, i la prenja a un clau damunt la porta.</i>)</p>	<p>P. HART – Cecais seña verdade. Non chegamos a abranguere nunca en ningures o límite dos poderes que Deus concede ôs espíritos ruiños e cativos con algún fin misterioso. (<i>Maruxa Bruin pilla una ponla de freixo que se acha encol d’un tallo e dependúraa d’un cravo que hai no marco da porta.</i>) P. HART – Fixeches ben, rapaza. Compre</p>

<i>perhaps in faery green, comes out of the wood and takes it away]</i> (p.186)	<i>Una ,estranyament potser de color verd, vé del bosc, i se'n du la branca.)</i> (p.124)	<i>noieta vestida</i> conservar os antigos costumes nosos. <i>Unha nena extraordinariamente enfeitada, cecais c'a verde coor das fadas do bosco achégase o perciso para roubar a ponla, fuxindo logo leda ô levala en trunfo.</i> (p. 21)
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In the Galician version, the text is reorganised by dividing Father Hart's intervention and the stage direction that follows into two different parts. Furthermore, the Galician translators add some information to the end of the second stage direction, which is neither in the ST nor in the Catalan translation. It must be noted that, to some extent, the Galician solution would be clearer for the reader to understand as the action that Mary does, hanging the quicken wood in the door post, appears first and Father Hart's comment on that action follows it. In both the source text and the Catalan translation, the priest's comment comes first, and therefore the reader does not know what he is referring to until they read the stage direction.

A further characteristic of the Galician translation and a sign of evidence that they did not rely on Manent's interpretation is the inclusion of religious references, as shown in the following examples:

ST	My father told me my grandfather wrote it, (p.183)
CT	el pare em deia que el va escriure l'avi (p.123)
GL	Meu pai que en groria esteña contoume que o escribira meu abó (p.20)

ST	It was little good he got out of the book, (p.183)
CT	No pass bell quany va treure, d'a quest llibre (p.123)
GL	Non tirou gran proveito d'ese libro, asin Deus me salve ... (p.20)

Additionally, when Mary explains what the book that she is reading is about, she mentions the 'Princess Edain, Edane, Edene or Adene', (p.213) the variant spellings depend on the different editions of the folk-drama. The Galician translators follow the spelling of the original, *principesa Edane* (p.20), whereas Manent translates the proper name as *Idina* (p.123). Another difference between the Galician and the Catalan versions is the rendering of 'Land of Faery' (p.184) which in Catalan appears as *País de Fades* (p.124) following the ST, but in the Galician version becomes *país do Encanto e do Ensono* (p.20).

The above examples seem to demonstrate that, unlike in the case of *Cathleen ni Houlihan, Land of Heart's Desire* was not translated from Catalan. The original play was republished several times since its first appearance in 1894 and the translators did not say which version they used, but some textual evidence indicates that they may have used more than one edition. First of all, the Galician version lacks the dedication and the epigraph and according to Alspach and Alspach (1966), the former does not appear in the 1984, 1909, 1922 and 1926 publications and the latter in the 1894, 1909, 1921, 1922 and 1926. The heading for the *Dramatis Personae* is *PERSOAS* (p.19) in the Galician translation which indicates that it was translated from the original 'Persons' that Yeats used only in the 1984 and 1909 editions (*cf. ibid.*). Taking into account that the latter was published in New York, and therefore it would be less accessible, that would leave the 1894 version as the source text used by the translators. However, the spellings of 'Edane' (p.20) (1907, 1912; 1922; 1923-1926; 1927; 1929) and 'Ballygawley' (p.28) (1985-1908; 1912-1922; 1923-

1925; 1927-1952) (p.213) suggest that they used one of the later publications as well⁴⁶.

5.3 Translation strategies.

As with the translation of *Cathleen ni Houlihan*, of the five basic strategies for the translation of theatre texts described by Bassnett-McGuire (1985), Plácido Castro and the Villar Ponte brothers applied the 'translating performativity' strategy which, as seen before, consists of creating a text that is fluent in the TL and implies that fidelity is often sacrificed in favour of adaptation to the TL context. Once again, the overall strategy applied by the translators is *Galicianisation* of the ST in order to make it more local and to avoid similarities with Spanish; thus, once more, there was a special emphasis on strategies of linguistic differentiation. In the following sections of this chapter, the decisions made by the translators will be analysed in order to demonstrate that the rendering of *The Land of Heart's Desire* is another example of the use of translation as a political instrument at the time. This is a crucial aspect of this translation that has never been analysed before.

The first sign of manipulation can be seen in the rendering of the play's title *The Land of Heart's Desire* as *O pais da saudade*, in reference to that sentiment which, according to Plácido Castro, defines the spirit of the Celtic race. In the article published by *Nós* in 1920 where the folk drama is first mentioned, the title is translated as *A Terra do Deseo do Curazón* (Risco, 1920e, p.16). Likewise, towards the end of the play when the Faery Child is describing the 'land of

⁴⁶ For further information on the different editions of *The Land of Heart's Desire*, see Alspach and Alspach 1966, pp. xix-xxiv.

heart's desire', the translators render it as *país que o corazón arela* (p.28). By means of rejecting these solutions for the title of the play, the translators achieve the effect of making the folk drama more embedded in the Galician tradition and they favour the identification with Ireland. Furthermore, the allusion to the land that is longed for, free from any kind of Spanish influence, a land 'where kind tongues bring no captivity' (Alspach and Alspach, 1966, p. 206) is clearer with this title. Additionally, the translation of 'land' by *país*, which could be understood as nation, could represent, as Hurtley (2006) points out, the claim of nationalist hopes in relation to the longing for a free nation.

The use of translation as a political instrument is also obvious in the decisions of detail applied by the translators throughout the text, which have been classified into the following categories linguistic differentiation, deletion/retention of foreign features, additions, omissions.

5.3.1 Strategies of linguistic differentiation.

Unlike *Cathleen ni Houlihan*, *The Land of Heart's Desire* is not written in Hiberno-English. The only linguistic trait that can be identified as coming from Irish is the word 'Colleen' which is used several times (pp.183, 184, 185, 187, 188, 190) to address Mary. It comes from the Irish Gaelic word for girl, *cailín*. The term is translated by using the most common words to address a girl in Galician: rapaza (pp. 20, 21, 22), ña filla (pp. 20, 21, 22), rapaciña (p.21).

As with the other translations studied, on a lexical level the translators normally reproduce the meaning of the ST, but avoid translations where there could be coincidence or analogy with Spanish by using what they considered to be a

'purer' Galician form. It is the strategy that has been previously called 'Approaching the meaning of the source text' and which is illustrated in the following table:

Source Text	Target Text	Possible solutions	Spanish
alcove (p.180)	ban (p.19)	alcoba	alcoba
on the floor (p.180)	encol do chao (p.19)	no / sobre o chao	en/sobre el suelo
benches/ bench (p.180)	sentadoiros/ tallo (p.19)	bancos	bancos
table (p.180)	táboa (p.19)	mesa	mesa
sit (p.180)	áchanse pousando (p.19)	sentados	sentados
at the table (p.180)	acarón da táboa (p.19)	á mesa	a la mesa
dressed in the costume (p.180)	adobiados con fatelos (p.19)	vestidos con roupa/traxes	vestidos con ropa/trajes
near them (p.181)	rentes deles (p.19)	cerca deles	cerca de ellos
boisterous night (p.182)	noite de corisco e chuvia (p.19)	noite de tormenta	noche de tormenta
but do not blame her (p.182)	non compre asoballala (p.19)	pero non a culpes	pero no la culpes
to vex her (p.182)	que s'encabuxe (p.19)	que se enfade	que se enfade
head (pp.183/192)	testa (pp.20/23)	cabeza	cabeza
heard (p.184)	ouvíu (p.20)	oíu	oyó
put it away (p.184)	arreda (p.20)	aparta	aparta
spreads (p.184)	inza (p.20)	extende	extiende
flattered (p.185)	engaiolou [...] hastra o iludire (pp. 20-21)	adulou/ seduciu	aduló/sedujo
maybe (p.185)	cicais/ cecais (p.21)	quizais, quizá	quizá(s)
a turn (p.185)	miaxa de laboura (p.21)	traballo	Trabajo
lies (p.186)	argalladas (p.21)	mentiras	mentiras
at the fire (p.186)	rentes do lume (p.21)	ó redor do lume	alrededor del fuego
seat (pp.186/192)	tallo (pp.21/23)	asento	asiento
hung it (p.186)	dependúraa/ pendura-la (p.21)	cólgaa	cuélgala
dressed (p.186)	enfeitada (p.21)	vestida	vestida

I am glad (p.187)	fólgome moito (p.21)	alégrome	me alegro
fight with them (p.187)	escorrentalas n'unha gran loita (p.21)	loitar con elas	luchar con ellas
there (p.188)	acolá (p.22)	alí	allí
wicked (p.188)	desavegosa (p.22)	malvada	malvada
while (p.188)	entramentras (p.22)	mentres	mientras
face (p.189)/ face (p.190)	face (p.22)/ faciana (p.22)	cara	cara
hereabout (p.189)	bisbarra (p.22)	arredores	alrededores
Hidden away (p.189)	alapadas (p.22)	escondidas	escondidas
ribbons (p.190)	adovíos (p.22)	adornos	adornos
Do not be cross (p.190)	non te arruces (p.22)	non te enfades	no te enfades
with him (p.190)	cand'a sí (p.22)	consigo	consigo
We long (p.190)	arelamos (p.23)	desexamos	deseamos
way (pp.190/206)	vieiro (pp. 23/28)	camiño	camino
chill (p.191)	friaxe (p.23)	frío	frío
shiver (p.191)	chavear receioso (p.23)	tremar, tremar	temblar
kind (p.192)	amabel (p.23)	amable	amable
I'd hang (p.193)	penduraríame (p.24)	colgaríame	me colgaría
hearths (p.193)	casás (p.24)	fogares	hogares
if you would have it (p.193)	si ti o degoirabas (p.24)	se ti o quixeras	sit ú lo quisieras
I would mould (p.193)	arranxaría (p.24)	moldería	moldearía
bitter (p.193)	dicaz (p.24)	mordaz	mordaz
over-wise (p.193)	sabio d'abondo (p.24)	demasiado sabio	demasiado sabio
lonely (p.193)	soedosa e senlleira (p.24)	soa	sola
beam (p.194)	raiola (p.24)	raio	rayo
the indissoluble sacrament (p.194)	o rexo vencello do casamento (p.24)	o indisoluble sacramento	el indisoluble sacramento
proud (p.194)	guarido (p.24)	orgullosa	orgullosa
pale lights (p.195)	lucos abazanadas (p.25)	lucos pálidas, tenues	lucos pálidas, tenues
bewildering (p.195)	que aterrece (p.25)	que desconcerta	que desconcierta
pretty (p.196)	belida (p.25)	bela	bella

coaxing ways (p.197)	lanzal, feituca e solermeira (p.25)	aduladora	aduladora
cross (p.197)	cheia de cabuxo (p.25)	enfadada	enfadada
please (p.197)	gorentarian (p.26)	gustarían	gustarían
but (p.197)	en troques (26)	pero	pero
idle (p.197)	nugalláns e preguiceiros (p.26)	folgazáns	holganzanes
sigh (p.198)	salaia a esguello (p.26)	suspirar	suspirar
sip (p.198)	groulo (p.26)	sorbo, trago	sorbo, trago
dance (p.198)	beilar (p.26)	bailar	bailar
caressing (p.199)	aloumiñando (p.26)	acariciar, acariñar	acariciar
take fright (p.199)	que se abraia (p.26)	que se asusta	que se asusta
so keen-witted (p.200)	tan lizgaira e tan aguda (p.27)	perspicaz, enxeñosa	perspicaz, ingeniosa
you'll soon learn (p.200)	deprenderás de contado (p.27)	aprenderás pronto	aprenderás pronto
trouble (p.200)	acorâse (p.27)	preocuparse, molestarse	preocuparse, molestarse
here (pp. 200/201)	veleiquí (pp. 27/27)	aquí	aquí
small steps beating (p. 201)	pasiños que tripaban (p.27)	pasiños que pisaban	pasitos que pisaban
I will give you something (p.201)	heiche de regalare una moi linda lilaina. (p.27)	heiche de regalar algo	te regalaré algo
yes (p.201)	abofé (p.27)	Si	Sí
wish (p.204)	degaro (p.28)	desexo	deseo
ears (p.205)	ouvidos (p.28)	oídos	oídos
you're crouching (p.206)	encollidiña (p.28)	agachada	agachada
drift into the mind [thoughts] (p.206)	buligan pol-a nosa mente(p.28)	vagan pola nosa mente	vagan por nuestra mente
pride (p.210)	fachenda (p.30)	orgullo	orgullo

In all the examples included in the table, the translators reproduce the meaning of the source text by selecting the Galician solutions that differ the most from Spanish and that, at times, recall an independent literary tradition such as the use of *belida* and *abofé*, both words of common appearance in the medieval *Cantigas*. As seen in the analysis of *Cathleen ni Houlihan*, sometimes the search for difference results in the use of words with a more specific meaning

than the original term. For instance, *tallo* (stool) is used to render ‘bench’ and ‘seat’ and *labarada* to translate ‘light’ in reference to the light coming from the flames. Another important effect of this strategy is that, frequently, the aim of linguistic differentiation leads the translator to add more variety to the vocabulary used by the original writer, as can be seen in the case of ‘to dress’ rendered as *adobiados* and *enfeitados*, ‘to hang’ translated as both *dependurar* and *pendurar* and ‘cross’ for which they use the verb *arruzar* and the noun *cabuxo*, although the verb *encabuxar* is also employed to render ‘to vex’, lowering the register of the ST in this case. In this way, the translators exploit the lexical richness of the Galician language, as can also be observed in the translation of ‘coaxing ways’ by three different adjectives: *lizgaira* (graceful), *feituca* (well-proportioned), *solermeira* (flatterer). This solution not only adds information that is not in the ST, but also contributes to enhance lyrical effects. On other occasions, a concrete noun is used to render an abstract one as in *casás*, dialectal plural of *casal* (country house), for ‘hearths’. It is especially relevant the case of the translation of ‘something’ by *lilaina* (something that is insignificant) when Maurteen offers some ribbons to the Faery Child. With this solution not only are the translators avoiding coincidence with Spanish, but also they are including an important cultural reference as the word *lilaina* appears in a popular Galician song:

*Todos me andan preguntando
de que romería veño.
Veño da Santa Lilaina,
da Santa Lilaina veño. (cf. DdD)*

Special attention should be paid to the use of the suffix *-bel* in *amabel*. Currently, in the *Normas Ortográficas e Morfolóxicas da Lingua Galega*, the two solutions *-bel* and *-ble* are accepted for adjectives that bear the latin suffix –

BILIS (cf. Feixó Cid, 2005, p.48). The more widespread form in the spoken language has always been *-ble*, which coincides with its Spanish counterpart; however, the important presence of *-bel* in the written language since the nineteenth century was taken as a criteria to include this form in the *Normas*⁴⁷. It is an example of the legacy which these authors have left on current Galician through their efforts to transform it into a differentiated language. This is not the only case where the translators make use of what they consider to be more *enxebre* suffixes, as the use of *encollidiña* to render 'you're crouching' shows. In fact, the use of the suffix *-iño*, which, as has been mentioned several times, is one of the most important signs of identity of the Galician language, is prolific throughout the whole translation, as shown in the following table:

Source text	Target text
double over it (p.181)	dobregadiña encol del (p.19)
quiet (p.182)	acougadiña (p.19)
woe (p.189)	Disgraciadiña (p.22)
house (p.191)	casiña (p.23)
wet (p.196)	molladiño (p.25)
beloved (p.208)	meu amoriño (p.29)
face (p.208)	cariña (p.29)

Most of all, the examples presented above show the effort made by the translators to use a language that was free from any kind of foreign (Spanish) influence and that could be recognized as a language in its own right and a symbol of a nation. This was, indeed, the main objective that they intended to achieve with their translation, and therefore, as in the case of *Cathleen*, sometimes the strategy of linguistic differentiation led them to semantic deviations; some examples of which can be seen in the table below:

⁴⁷ For more information on the evolution of the official rules of Galician see Muñoz Carrobes, 2008.

Source Text	Target Text
1. one can see the forest (p.180)	fitase o bosco (p.19)
2. [...] knock upon our doors (p.188)	[...] petan nas pobres portelas dos nosos fogares (p.22)
3. all kinds of evil (p.192)	soma desavegosa (p.23)
4. looks (p.193)	fitando (p.24)
5. to see (p.193) / sees (p.198)	para fitar (p.24) /fita (p.26)
6. [...] my hair grows thin, (p.203)	[...] meus cabelos caen a feito [...] (p.27)
7. light (p.208)	lizgairas (p.29)

As seen in 1, 4 and 5, *fitar* (to stare at) is used to render both ‘to see’ and ‘to look’ on several occasions. Although there is a slight change in meaning, it avoids solutions that would coincide with Spanish such as *ver* and *mirar*. In the second example, in order to avoid similarity with Spanish by the use of *portas*, what they consider to be a more Galician-sounding word *portelas* was chosen, although this solution implies a change in meaning as *portela* designates a gate that allows the cattle to go through in a fence. In the third example, in a passage that refers to the misfortune that might come to the Bruin’s house due to Mary having offended the fairies, the translators reject the solution *todo tipo de maldades*, that would coincide almost completely with Spanish and use a more Galician solution, *soma desavegosa*, where *soma* is a variant of *sombra* (shadow). In this respect, the symbolic meaning of ‘shadow’ in the Galician literary tradition after the poem *Negra sombra* (black shadow) by the nineteenth-century poet Rosalía de Castro must be considered. The poem was turned into a song by the musician Xoán Montés Capón in the nineteenth century and became one of the most emblematic songs of Galician music. The *negra sombra* is identified with sorrow and sufferance; thus, it would not be a misconception to think that it served as inspiration for this translation solution, *soma desavegosa* (misfortuned shadow). Although it differs slightly from the ST,

it gives the translators the opportunity to recall the Galician literary tradition. In example 6, whereas in the ST the child's hair grows thin, in the translation she loses it completely; this change might have been made so that the translators could include the Galician expression, *caer a feito*. Finally, in 7, the adjective 'light' which refers to the lightness of the fairies who can ride the winds and dance upon the mountains is translated by the genuinely Galician word *lizgairas* (ingenious, vain, graceful) with the consequent change in meaning, but avoids a solution that would be similar to Spanish, *lixerías*. In all these examples, some nuances of the ST are sacrificed in order to distinguish Galician from Spanish, although it must be noted that they are only slight deviations that do not affect the whole meaning of the text.

The aim of linguistic differentiation results, on some occasions, in the use of non-existent Galician words. In this respect, a curious case is the use of *gaudir* with the meaning of 'to eat' in the following example: 'But supper's spread, and we can talk and **eat**' (p.183)/ *Pro está servida a cea e poderemos darll'a lingua mais e millor, entramentras **gaudimos*** (p.20). The verb *gaudir* does not exist in current Galician and it has not been found in any of the dictionaries, glossaries and documents of the period that have been consulted; it is, therefore, a rather strange translation solution. The noun *gaudio*⁴⁸ does exist with the meaning of 'enjoyment, joy'; hence, we could say that the verb *gaudir* is a lexical creation from a term that exists in the language following the morphological rules of Galician. The 'invented' verb would refer to the enjoyment from the food that they are about to eat and constitutes a clear attempt to avoid the use of *comer* or *cear*, and therefore, cognates with Spanish. Although the verb does exist in

⁴⁸ See *DdD*.

Catalan with the meaning of ‘to enjoy’, this, by no means, should be taken as a case of reliance on the Catalan version as Manent’s solution is: *Però **sopem**; ja parlarem, a taula.* (p.126).

Another case that deserves attention is the adjective *ruiño* which is used on two occasions: ‘unluckiest night’ (p.191)/ *noite do mais **ruiño** agoiro* (p.23); ‘wicked things’ (p.194)/ *cousas cativas e **ruiñas*** (p.24). It is obvious that, in both cases, the translators are trying to avoid a close translation that would result in solutions very similar to Spanish: *a noite máis desventurada* and *cousas malvadas*. However, as in the previous example, there is no evidence that the word existed at the time; it seems to be a *hiperenxebrismo* for *ruín* (mean). The translators make use of some other terms that would, currently, be considered *hiperenxebrismos*, but they were possibly in use at that time: *devoltaime* (p.23), *quencer* (p. 23), *poido* (pp. 22, 27), *faiga* (pp.23, 29), *traguere* (p.25). There is another example in which a word that does not appear in any of the dictionaries and glossaries consulted is used: the verb *abeñoar* in ‘That blinks and blinks [the Eagle-cock]’ (p.203)/ [...] *que **abeñoa** a voar senlleira* (p.28). Again, this seems to be a creation from the noun *abéñoa* (cf. DdD), and it avoids a solution that would be similar to Spanish: *axitar as ás*. These examples show to what extent differentiating the Galician language from Spanish as a means of a reaffirmation of the Galician national identity was one of the main goals of the translation.

As in the case of the translation of *Cathleen*, there is a strong emphasis on the phonology of the language in order to make the play sound more vernacular by reproducing spoken Galician. In this respect, a range of oral phenomena are

reproduced throughout the folk drama as shown below with the accepted solutions in current written Galician given in square brackets: paragoge: *Traballare* [traballar] p.19, *remendare* [remendar] p.19, *cabalgare* [cabalgar] p.19, *termare* [termar] p.20, *poñere* [poñer] p.20, *sofrire* [sufrir] p.20, *excribir* [escribir] p.20, *sabere* [saber] p.20, *bailare* [bailar] p.20, *dare* [dar] p.20, *traguere* [traer] p.21, *abranguere* [abranguer] p.21, *señore* [señor] p.21, *tere* [ter] p.21, *sere* [ser] p.23, *traguere* [traer] p.25, *beilare* [bailar] pp.26, 27; epenthesis: *da i-auga* [da auga] p.20, *meio* [medio] p.20, *ceios* [ceos] p.20, *a i-auga* [a auga] p.21, *poseía* [posea] p.22, *sua i-alma* [sua alma] p.28; syncope: *arbres* [árbores] p.19, *arbre* [árbore] p.19, *aspro* [áspero] p.23; aphaeresis: *inda* [aínda] p.28; apocope: *calquer* [calquera] p.20, *crás* [crase] p.22, *quer* [quere] p.26; methatesis: *perciso* [preciso] p.24, *probes* [pobres] p.26; apostrophe : *desd'entón* [desde +entón] p.19, *d'el* [de + el] p.19, *n'hai* [non + hai] p.19, *d'aquel* [de + aquel] p.20, *d'anos* [de + anos] p.20, *d'o* [de + o] p.20, *d'ese* [dese] p.20, *d'el* [del] p.20, *d'un* [dun] p.20, *d'Irlanda* [de Irlanda] p.20, *n'unha* [nunha] p.20, *d'hoxe* [de hoxe] p.20, *Ond'é* [Onde + é] p.20, *s'encha* [se encha] p.20, *d'orgullo* [de orgullo] p.20, *m'eu* [meu] p.21, *d'eu* [deu] p.21, *c'o* [co] p.21, *d'ele* [del] p.22, *ch'eu* [che + eu] p.27, *c'os* [cos] p.27.

This translation, in addition to the others analysed, shows the lack of standardisation of the Galician language at the time by reproducing dialectal variants. In this respect, some linguistic phenomena that occur in the *bloque occidental* can be found in the text. For instance, the occurrence of seseo⁴⁹ in words such as *vellés* (p.21) and *corazón* (pp.20, 24) and the verb ending *-is* for

⁴⁹ Seseo is the neutralisation of the phonemes /θ/ and /s/ in favour of /s/. It can appear in syllable final position only (*seseo final*) or in any position within the word (*seseo total*).

the second person plural of the present indicative: *tomeis* (p.28), *abandoneis* (p.29) (this phenomenon also occurs in the *bloque central*). There are also some linguistic features which characterized the *bloque central* such as the ending –ao in *chao* (p.19) instead of *chan* and the appearance of –ñ- at the end of the verbal root in the present subjunctive of certain verbs: *seña* (p.21), *esteña* (pp.22, 25).

With regard to syntax, as noted with the other translations studied so far, structures are frequently changed in order to include what are considered to be more genuine Galician structures, which do not exist in Spanish, and vocabulary and expressions exclusive to Galician. The overall effect of this strategy is that the whole folk-drama sounds more vernacular. In the interest of clarity, the strategies applied at a syntactic level have been grouped into different categories according to the particular feature that the translators reinforced in each case: inflected infinitive, pronouns, inclusion of more vernacular vocabulary and expressions.

5.3.1.1 Inflected infinitive

The cases in which the grammatical structure of the source text is changed in order to use the inflected infinitive are frequent. Therefore we will present here only a few representative examples:

Source text	Target text
Colleen, what is the wonder in that book, That you must leave the bread to cool? (p.183)	¡Ei, rapaza! ¿qué maravillas choe ise libro para ti deixares enfrial-o pan? (p.20)
And then come the wrecked angels and set snares, [...] (p.184)	Logo veñen os anxos náufragos a poñeren engados e tentacións [...] (p.20)

[...] but years went by And they grew like their neighbours and were glad In minding children, working at the churn, And gossiping of weddings and of wakes; (p.185)	[...] mais ô pasaren os anos e voltárense com'as suas veciñas, sintiron de novo o lecer de coidal-os seus meniños, de fagueren a manteiga, de latricaren de casoiros e romaxes; (p.21)
That women hung upon the post of the door That they may send good luck into the house? Remember they may steal new married brides (p.186)	[...] que as mulleres penduran do limiar da porta para fagueren que a boa sorte nos entre na casa. Lémbrete ben de que poden roubaren as casadas de pouco tempo [...] (p.21)
<i>Maurteen.</i> Come, sit beside me, colleen, [...] (p.189)	MART. A <i>Maruxa</i> . Ven a te sentares eiquí, acarón de min, rapaza; (p.22)
Before you married you were idle and fine And went about with ribbons on your head; (p.191)	Antes de te casares eras folgazana e nugallona, inda que esguía e xeitosa, e gostabas de te por galanos adovíos nos cabelos; (p.23)
<i>Mary.</i> Come, faeries, take me out of this dull house! (p.191)	MARUXA - ¡Vinde fadas, vinde axiña a me leváredes d'esta casa triste! (p.23)
[...] and must be tired and hungry. (p.196)	[...] tes que estares cansa e sentires moita fame. (p.25)
<i>Shawn [raising].</i> Though you have made all these obedient, (p.204)	XOAN (Erguándose). Inda que teñas feito obedeceres a todos estes, (p.28)
The Child. You shall go with me [...] (p.205) And gaze [...] (p.205)	A NENA [...] Virás cand'a min [...] a ollares [...] (p.28)
Nor all the faery host [...] (p.208) Shall ever make me loose you from these arms. (208)	[...] e nen total-as hostes das fadas [...] (p.29) han poder conseguiren que te ceibes das miñas mans. (p.29)

The inflected infinitive is frequently used in periphrastic constructions which, as has already been explained, results in unidiomatic structures as periphrastic constructions resist the use of this verb form. The same effect is caused by the use of this form after the modal verb *poder* in the last example, which produces a rather unnatural structure. The overuse of this genuine form of the Galician verb is a way of extreme linguistic differentiation which suits the political agenda of the translators. By translating the play, they are not only creating a new text,

but also ‘creating’ a language by making existing Galician more *enxebre*; their aim is to reaffirm its existence as a language *per se*.

5.3.1.2 Pronouns

In the above set of examples, the use of yet another typical Galician feature, which is not shared by Spanish, can be observed, that is, the use of a pronoun between a preposition and the infinitive (1, 5, 6, 7); another important sign of identity of the Galician language. Observe the following examples:

There is one here that must away, away. (p.196)	[...] unha hai eiquí que ten de se ire, de se marchare ... (p.25)
I will instruct you in our blessed Faith; (p.200)	[...] haberei de te instruire na nosa santa fé; (p.26)

Regarding, the *pronome de solidariedade*, another defining feature of Galician which does not exist in Spanish, it is evident that, on some occasions, the translators made all the necessary modifications in the sentence structure in order to be able to include this pronoun:

[...] She must be one of them. (p.189)	[...] ben che podería sere d’aquela xente. (p.22)
<i>The Child.</i> I am welcome here. (p.195)	A NENA –Son che benvida [...] (p.25)
<i>The Child.</i> No more, mother. (p.198)	A NENA –Non lle quero mais, ña nai. (p.26)
<i>The Child.</i> You love that young man there, (p.202)	A NENA –Quéres lle ti a ese mozo mociño ... (p.27)

The last aspect that should be mentioned regarding pronouns is their being placed before the negative adverb *non*, as can be seen in the following example:

<i>Father Hart</i> . You cannot know how naughty your words are! (p.198)	P. HART -¡ Te non podes decatar do moito perversas que son as tuas palabras! (p.26)
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This placement of the pronoun results in a rather unidiomatic structure as the expected collocation in Galician would be *Non te podes*. However, this solution is justified by the translator's quest for linguistic differentiation as it differs more from the modern Spanish *No te puedes*.

5.3.1.3 Inclusion of more vernacular vocabulary and expressions.

More often than not, grammatical structures are changed for the translators to be able to include more vernacular vocabulary and expressions. Some examples of which are analysed below:

I never saw her read a book before, [...] (p.183)	Seique é a primeira vez que vexo lêr a moza. (p.19)
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In this case the grammatical structure is changed in order to initiate the phrase by using *seique*, variant of the adverb *seica* (maybe). This solution includes an element of doubt which is not in the source text, but at the same time, allows the translators to use a word that is distinct from Spanish.

We do not know the limit of those powers (p.186)	Non chegamos a abranguere nunca en ningures o límite dos poderes [...] (p.21)
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The expected translation, *Non sabemos o límite deses poderes*, is rejected here for its similarity with Spanish. The change in structure chosen by the translators allows them to include more vernacular vocabulary through the use of *abranguere* and *ningures*.

Who goes with them must drive through the same storm. (p.188)	[...] quen logo d'os escoitare quérise ir na sua compañía, terá que andar xa sempre, sin acougo , envolto nas mesmas ondas de tormenta nas que eles voltexean . (p.22)
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A significant change is applied in this example with regard to the original sentence. Besides the inclusion of exclusively Galician words such as *acougo* and *voltexean*, the translators also expand the original sentence and make it clear that they never wanted to reproduce Yeats' style but rather to appropriate his work and make it their own.

[...], so it may be That she is thirsty. (p.188)	[..] cecais para que nos decatemos de que esliga de sede . (p.22)
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A similar strategy can be seen in this example. Where the expected translation would be something like, *se cadra ten sede*, the translators add more complexity to the grammatical structure and, at the same time, they include more vernacular vocabulary, such as the verb *decatar* and the expression *esligar de sede*. The latter recalls X. P. Ballesteros' (1833-1918) verses: *Esligando co-a sede ò pè d'un manto/ N'un regato bebeu xunt'á un pontello*⁵⁰. The Galician writer Ballesteros is considered one of the precursors of the Galician Revival and was an active member of the *Cova Céltica*⁵¹ (Celtic Cave), thus the translators would have been well-acquainted with his work. And it needs to be taken into account that the only sources that these intellectuals had in order to recover Galician, was the language spoken by people and the written work of previous authors. As Portella Valladares puts it:

⁵⁰These verses appear in the definition of *esligar* in *DdD*.

⁵¹*Cova Céltica* is the name given to a regular gathering attended by Galician intellectuals with a regionalist ideology. It took place in the 19th century in A Coruña and they used to meet to discuss issues related to Galicia.

Dous elementos servirán principalmente de canteira, pol-o d'agora, para que esta magna labor de rexurdimento da lingua galega. O pobo, que pon nas suas verbas o seu espírito, e co seo folk-lore inagotabel, e os groriosos moimentos da nosa antiga literatura [...] (1923, p.5)

You are much too cross. (p.191)	Encabúxaste d'abondo . (p.23)
are too old, (p.19[...] –these 2)	[...] Eles son vellos d'abondo (p.24)

Frequently, the translators *Galicianise* structures which contain the quantifier 'too' by rendering it as *d'abondo* (abundantly, enough). By so doing, they avoid solutions that would be analogous to Spanish, such us *moi* or *moito*.

[...] So I will bring her in out of the cold. (p.195)	Vou traguere â nena que canta para que perto da lareira escurrente o frío . (p.25)
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In this example, the translators not only change the grammatical structure of the sentence by the use of the more vernacular verb *escurrantar*, but also they add a traditional Galician element, *lareira*. It is an important strategy of cultural appropriation because, as in other translations, it conveys the idea that the scene is happening in a Galician environment rather than in Ireland.

<i>The Child</i> . The wine is bitter. (p.196)	A NENA –O viño, pol-o acedo non me gorenta . (p.25)
<i>Mary</i> . I think that I would stay (p.209)	MARUXA –Inda penso que me gorentaría ficare , (p.29)

In these two excerpts, the grammatical structure is changed to facilitate the inclusion of the verb *gorentar* (to like), and therefore to make the sentence what is perceived to be more Galician. In the second case this effect is enhanced by the use of *ficare*.

The young may lie in bed and dream and hope, (p.197)	Os novos poden acougar no leito a soñaren , abranguendo ledas esperanzas (p.26)
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A double strategy of syntactic *Galicianisation* can be observed in this instance. In the first part of the sentence, the syntax is modified to use the inflected infinitive. In the second part, the coordinative clause is broken up and an adverbial phrase is used instead, allowing the translators to include the verb *abranguer*, and to avoid similitude with Spanish. This double strategy of linguistic differentiation is enhanced by the use of Galician vocabulary which has not cognates in Spanish: *acougar* (to calm, to relax) and *ledas* (happy).

[...] But clinging mortal hope must fall from you, (207)	Ora tes que te desafivelare da mortal esperanza que inda non deixa de cinguirte [...] (p.29)
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In the above example, once again, the syntactic structure is modified in the translation to favour the inclusion of Galician words which differ largely from Spanish. The verb *desafivelar*, a variant of *desfivelar*, is used and a concessive clause is inserted which allows for the inclusion of the verb *cinguir*.

[...] reading a book. If she looks up she can see through the door into the wood. (p.181)	[...] lendo nun libro, de xeito que , d' arredare os ollos d'este, pode fital-o bosco. (p.19)
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In this case, the translators combine both sentences in one in order to use the modal conector, *de xeito que*, which differs substantially from its Spanish counterpart, *de maneira que*. Furthermore, they use a typically Galician grammatical feature which consists of introducing direct objects of eventive verbs by the preposition *en* (*ler nun libro*). Needless to say, this is not possible in Spanish.

[...] the moon or the late sunset glimmers through the trees [...] (p.180)	A lúa escomenza a peneiral-a foula de prata por entremedias das arbres [...] (p.19)
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Finally, in this last example, the translators deviate completely from the original conveying only the sense. They make use of their own imagination to create a metaphor which is not present in the ST. In order to do so, they resort to a traditional Galician activity, sieving flour, which allows them, once again, to use Galician vocabulary which has no cognates in Spanish such as *peneirar* (to sieve) and *foula* (dust produced by the flour when it is being sieved). The new image created enhances the lyrical effects of the text and it contributes to compensate for the loss of stylistic traits due to the target text being written in prose rather than in verse. It constitutes another example which shows that translation is a creative activity that goes much beyond the reiteration of the original.

5.3.2 Strategy of deletion/retention of foreign features

With regard to the retention of foreign features, the translators show a general tendency to avoid reproducing elements that are too foreign or culturally bound. In this vein, terms such as 'kettle' (p.182) and 'porringer' (p.197) become *caldeira da i-auga* (p.20) and *cunca* (p.26), both utensils that would be familiar to a Galician audience. Similarly, 'acres' (p.190) becomes *ferrados* (p.22), a unit of measure which is typically used in Galicia, and 'yellow guineas' (p.189) is rendered as *onzas marelas* (p.22), avoiding the reference to a foreign currency. Furthermore, the translators also interpolate autochthonous cultural references such as *lareira* (pp.19, 22), which is used to translated both 'hearth' (p.180) and 'turf' (p.189); and *cunca*, *Pilla unha **cunca** de leite* (p.22) translates 'She takes

milk' (p.188) where it must be noted that no reference to any kind of container appears in the ST. In this respect, it is striking that in one instance the word 'pipes' (p.201) is rendered as *frautas* (p.27) instead of *gaitas* which would be the expected translation, and also it is a traditional Galician instrument which is shared with Irish folklore.

An important example of cultural adaptation can be seen in the translation of 'evil upon the house' (p.191) as *desdita do mal d'ollo para a nosa casiña* (p.23). This is part of an excerpt where Bridget is reproaching Mary for having given milk and fire to the fairies, and therefore, having brought evil upon their house. The translators take this opportunity to insert an important traditional element of Galician superstition, *mal de ollo* (evil look). This is not the only case in which the translators apply this strategy; the reference to *meigas* has been explained in the first section of this chapter.

There is also a tendency to *Galicianise* proper names; the characters in the folk drama are given Galician names: Maurteen Bruin, Bridget Bruin, Shawn Bruin, Mary Bruin and Father Hart (p.180) become Martiño Bruin, Bríxida Bruin, Xoán Bruin, Maruxa Bruin, P. Hart (p.19). The translation of Mary by Maruxa instead of the expected María is noteworthy as this solution avoids coincidence with Spanish, and also Maruxa is a common traditional name in Galicia. Likewise, Father Hart is rendered only by the initial P. and the surname Hart, avoiding coincidence with Spanish by using the whole word, *Padre*. Nevertheless, as can be observed, the strategy of *Galicianization* applies only to the names, but not to the surnames which remain Bruin and Hart, thus the foreign element is

retained. Toponyms are also maintained: Ocris Head (p.183), Coolaney lake (p.198), Colver Hill (p.89) and Ballygawley Hill (p.203) are rendered as *Ocris Head* (p.20), *o lago de Coolaney* (p.26) *o monte do Clover* (p.22) and *o monte de Ballygawley* (p.28).

Generally, cultural references are more adapted to the target context than in the other translations analysed. The effect that this strategy produces is an illusion that the scene might be also taking place in a Galician context or in a symbolic space that could be identified with either Galicia or Ireland. It is a case of extreme cultural appropriation with the objective of achieving a political end.

5.3.3 Mistranslations

There are a few occasions where the translators' strategies lead to mistranslations or inaccuracies. The first example, however, should more appropriately be considered as a correction; it is an instance in which the word 'he' is apparently mistranslated as 'she': 'And maybe, Father, what **he** said was true' (p.188) / *E, si cadra, é verdade o que **ela** dixo, Padre* (p.22). This apparent mistranslation takes place in a conversation between Mary, Father Hart and Bridget. Bridget makes this comment to Father Hart and, from the context, one assumes that she is referring to what Mary had said before and, in any case, there is not a 'he' who she could potentially be referring to. Consequently, the contextual evidence shows that the 'he' that appears in the ST is a typographical error, and therefore, as stated, the 'she' in the Galician version would be a correction rather than a mistranslation. Besides that, there is one occasion in which the noun *casa* / (country house) (p.19) is used to translate

'room' (p.180); *mán* (hand) (p.22) to translate 'elbow' (p.190) and *hoco da porta* (door-whole) (p.23) to translate 'door-post' (p.192). Nevertheless, these solutions seem to be no more than translators' preferences as given Plácido Castro's background and education in the UK, there is no reason to think that he would not be acquainted with such basic words. The aim of linguistic differentiation would not be an issue as the term *casal* exists in Spanish, and *mán* and *hoco* are not substantially different from the Spanish *mano* and *hueco*. There is another example in which 'old women' is translated by 'os vellos':

Or what old women mutter at the fire Is but a pack of lies. (p.186)

[...] se non son un fato d'argalladas todo canto os vellos marmulan rentes do lume. (p.21)

This is the last part of a passage where Maurteen is warning Mary of the dangers of May Eve. As can be seen, in the ST this information comes from old women; however, it seems that the translators believed that the transmission of this kind of popular knowledge would be a more masculine task.

Despite these few examples, overall, textual evidence shows that the translation was undertaken by someone with an excellent knowledge of the SL. Thus, it could be assumed that although in the title page it says that the folk-dramas were translated into Galician by Plácido Castro and Antón and Ramón Villar Ponte, the former translated *The Land of Heart's Desire* and the two brothers rendered *Cathleen ni Hulihan*. This hypothesis would explain why in the case of *Cathleen* the translators relied in the previous Catalan version, whereas the present text was translated directly from English. Although the text is not free from deviations from the original, as has already been shown and will be more

extensively examined in the following sections, these deviations are motivated by ideological reasons rather than by gaps in linguistic knowledge. Having said that, owing to the lack of conclusive evidence to demonstrate whether the two brothers were involved in the translation process or not, I will continue using ‘the translators’ to refer to the person or persons who have carried out the translation.

5.3.4 Additions

Additions are frequent within the text proving to what extent the translators make use of their own creativity instead of submitting themselves to the hierarchy of the ST. These additions create different effects in the translation as will be explained by the analysis of the following examples:

5.3.4.1 Inclusion of religious and pagan references:

<i>Maurteen</i> [to Shawn] What are you waiting for? You must not shake it when you draw the cork; It's precious wine, so take your time about it. (p.183)	Mart. A Xoán. Ora qué agardas? Fai o que ch'eu dixen e non revolvas o viño ô sacarlle a cortiza â garrafa. É viño do bon que dá El Señor , con que sen presa terma do mandado. (p.20)
My father told me my grandfather wrote it, [...] (p.183)	Meu pai que en gloria esteña contoume que o escribira meu abó [...] (p.20)
It was little good he got out of the book, [...] (p.183)	Non tirou gran proveito d'ese libro, asin Deus me salve, o pai do meu pai , [...] (p.20)
<i>Maurteen</i> . Persuade the colleen to put down the book; (p.184)	Mart. ao P. Hart. Deus que me deu . Terme da rapaza para que deixe o libro. (p.20)
My colleen, I have seen some other girls [...] (p.185)	Ña filla n'El Señor! Eu xa vin outras rapazas [...] (p.21)
Bridget. She's old enough to know that it is wrong To mope and idle. (p.185)	BRÍXIDA - É d'abondo vella para sabere que en pecado s'atopa a que anda a folganear iludida. (p.21)

The Cross [...] (p.189)	A Santa Crus (p.22)
Bridget. You are the fool of every pretty face, And I must spare and pinch [...] (p.190)	BRIXIDA –Tórnaste parvo, abofé, axiña que fitas unha cariña guapa... e; cata que eu teño d'aforrare canto poido, privándome de moitas cousas ¡ben o sabe El Señor! (p.22)
We have a hundred acres of good land, (p.190)	Temos, gracias al Señor , un cento de ferrados de boas terras, (p.22)
[...] Where I must hear all day a bitter tongue, (p.191)	[...] onde teño que ouvire tod'o día del Señor una lingua aceda, (p.23)

As seen in these examples, the translators interpolate religious references which are not motivated by the ST. By adding these constant references to religion and God, they emphasise this aspect of the characters and this is in line with a type of nationalism that endorsed Catholic values. Moreover, they all were phrases of common use in Galician at the time, even the ones that are in Spanish (*El Señor, gracias al Señor*). It must be noted that in the examples 1 and 8 besides the addition of religious references there are also additions of Galician vocabulary and phrases which have no cognates in Spanish as part of the strategy of linguistic differentiation. The inclusion of words such as: *ora, abofé, axiña, cariña*, etc. create a more conversational style as well as contributing to make the language of the text more vernacular.

Nevertheless, the translators not only emphasise references to Christianity, but also references to the supernatural, to pagan powers. They add phrases and adjectives which contribute to accentuate the atmosphere of otherness, as shown in the following examples:

[An arm comes round the door-post [...]] (p.188)	Un brazo vello, achacio , [...] (p.22)
<i>Mary</i> . A little queer old woman dressed in green. (p.188)	MARUXA –Unha vella velliña, com'outra non vin en ningures toda enfeitada de verde. (p.22)

<i>Mary.</i> Both the tongue and face were strange. (p.189)	MARUXA –Tanto a sua fala com'a sua face parecéronme estranas, moi estranas. (p.22)
<i>Mary.</i> A little queer old man. (p.191)	MARUXA- Un velliño como'outro non vin nunca en ningures. (p.23)
[...] bewildering light. (p.193)	[...] meiga lus que abrouxa. (p.24)
[...] listen to her dreamy and strange talk. (p.195)	[...] que fala meiga , que estrana fala d'ensonos a sua... (p.25)
<i>Shawn.</i> I heard no steps but hers. (p.201)	XOAN -Non teño ouvido mais que as suas meigas pegadas choutadoras. (p.27)

The translation of 'queer' by *como'outro non vin nunca en ningures* (as someone I have not seen ever before), puts more emphasis on the oddity of the fairies, and the addition of the adjective *meiga* on several occasions creates a more powerful atmosphere of otherness than that of the ST. Similarly, the adjective *achacio* (skeleton-like) to describe the arm that comes round the door gives a rather sinister tone to the scene.

In this respect, it is worth mentioning to what extent this confluence between the paganism allegedly inherited by the Celts and Catholicism was part of the ideology of the Galician nationalists. According to Risco, in his essay 'O sentimento da terra na raza galega' the Celtic paganism is the origin of the Galician 'sentimento relixioso da Terra' (1920c, p.7) (religious feeling of the Land), he states, quoting Unamuno:

[...] O paganismo que en ningures morreu, senón que se fixo bautizar cristianándose mais ou menos, latexa eiquí mais vivo que n-outras rexións hespañolas, seica porque o antepasado do galego, un celta, tiña unha mitoloxía naturista que non tiña o beduíno, abó do castelao, o ibero rexo ...” (*ibid.*)

The Celtic mythology based around nature gives rise to the love for the Land and elevates it to a spiritual status 'Terra espiritualizada pol-o noso amore [...]'

(Risco, 1920c, p.6), and the Land acquires religious values and is finally identified with God:

Deus é a luz da esperanza acesa detrás de nós... El non é Deus a esencia divina da núa Terra, do núa Lar? [...] D'iste xeito sentimol-a presenza evidente de deus na núa Terra que se nos fai celeste e sagrada com'unha eirexa, porta da eternidade, tabernáculo da Gracia de Deus feita beleza. Os celtas, non erguían templos de pedra como os orientaes: a Terra era o seu templo... (*ibid.*, p.8)

This triple association between Celtic mythology-religion-homeland is one of the imperatives of the Galician intellectuals of the *Xeración Nós* and *Irmandades da fala*. For this reason, it is emphasised in the translation by the inclusion of references to both Catholicism and supernatural pagan powers. In fact, Antón Villar Ponte in the *Liñas d'abrente* highlights this aspect as a common ground between Galicia and Ireland:

O complexo de tradición pagã e d'espíritu cristián que fai compatible na terra de San Patrick o freixo escorrentador de meigas e trasnos co'a crús que escorrenta o demo, tan ben reflexado nos dous folk-dramas d'este volumen, ós Galegos enxebres non ha de lles parecer estrano. (Yeats, 1935, p.3)

5.3.4.2 Inclusion of conversational traits:

And is too deep just now in the old book! (p.182)	[...] está iludida d'abondo -n'hai senón vela- con ise libro vello. (p.19)
<i>Maurteen</i> . That's true – (p.185)	Mart. – É moi certo, abofellas (p.21)
<i>Bridget</i> . She's given milk away. (p.189)	BRIXIDA – Pro ¿ti non ves? Déulles leite. (p.22)
<i>Maurteen</i> . Who was it? (p.189)	MART. – Ora ¿quén era esa muller? (p.22)
The butter is by your elbow. (p.190)	Vel-ahí ten a manteiga a rentes da mán. (p.22)
<i>Bridget</i> . You've given milk and fire [...] (p.190)	BRIXIDA – ¡Cata que tal! Regalaches leite e lume [...] (p.23)
But you are welcome here. (p.195)	[...] pro eiquí has ser, ña nena , para nós benvida. (p.25)

On some occasions, the translators make additions to create a more conversational text: different forms of address to the listener (1,5,7); rhetorical questions (3); colloquialisms (*ora, ña*); exclamations (6); reiterations (2). On the one hand, these additions make the text more fluent in Galician and on the other hand, they suit the ideological imperative of transforming the rural and colloquial Galician language into a legitimate vehicle in which the modern European literature could be expressed.

5.3.4.3 Inclusion of *enxebre* language:

[...] I have still some bottles. (p.183)	[...] teño algunhas garrafas daquel agasallo d'o achar . (p.20)
<i>Maurteen</i> . Hush, woman, hush! (p.189)	MART. --¡Cala, muller, cala! Tenta de pecharas a boca .(p.22)
ter the fall of twilight on May Eve, (p.186)	[...] no víspera do maio, despois d'anoitecido, entre fusco e lusco... (p.21)
] To watch the turf-smoke coiling from the fire, [...] (p.190)	[...] Ver rubir do lume as chamas tremelantes e velaíñas [...] (p.23)
<i>Shawn</i> . Be quiet, mother! (p.191)	XOAN –¡Cale xa, miña nai! Non s'arruce . (p.23)
<i>Shawn</i> . Do not blame me; I often lie awake Thinking that all things trouble your bright head [...] (p.192)	-No me culpes a min, ña meniña... Cantas veces estou esperto no leito, como se esmagara espiñas , a matinare que tódal-as cousas torvan ou acoran a tua testa escintilante! (p.23)
<i>Father Hart</i> . My daughter, take his hand [...] (p.193)	P. Hart –Miña filla, mina filla, colle a sua man trabladora e apréixalla docemente . (p.24)
All that bewilderment of light and freedom, (p.193)	[...] canto d'ise abrouxamento de lus e e libertade leva acochado no seo [...] (p.24)
Could fill your heart with dreams none other knew, (p.194)	[..]acugulaba teu corazón de sonos que ninguén mais, agás ti , coñecía; (p.24)
But your white spirit still walk by my spirit. (p.194)	[...] pro teu espírito maino e branco ha seguire, endeben , camiñando beira do meu espírito. (p.4)

In all these examples the translators make use of additions to insert language solutions that are genuinely Galician, which shows that the aim of linguistic differentiation determines their decisions even when there is no motivation from the ST. This strategy demonstrates to what extent the translation of the play responds to the political imperative of promoting and fortifying the Galician language as a sign of identity.

5.3.4.4. Addition of lyrical effects:

<p>Where nobody gets old and godly and grave, Where nobody gets old and crafty and wise, Where nobody gets old and bitter of tongue. (p.184)</p>	<p>Onde ninguén faise vello, nin piedoso, nin serio. Onde ninguén faise vello, sabio nin raposeiro. Onde ninguén faise vello de lingua marmuladora. Ond' é ledicia sabere a cántiga o tempo, sin fin. (p.20)</p>
<p>Mary. I had no sooner hung it on the nail Before a child ran up out of the wind; She has caught it in her hand and fondled it. (Her face is pale as water before dawn.) (pp.186-87)</p>	<p>Maruxa – No mesmo intre d'eu pendural-a ponla do cravo una meniña belida saiu correndo da veste do vento que acariña as mestas somas do bosco; pillóuna co'a man esguía e branca, aloumiñádoa ô fuxire ... A súa face é pálida, descôrada, com'a i-auga denantes do abreinte da mañán. (p.21)</p>
<p>Yet I could make you ride upon the winds, (Run on the top of the dishevelled tide, And dance upon the mountains like a flame. (p.202)</p>	<p>[...] eu pido levarte cand'a min a choutare d'acabalo dos ventos, na compañía das brétemas, a correre por riba do mar entr'a escuma das olas, despeiteadas e lizgaira, e a beilare no cumio dos montes com'unha chama velaiña. (p.27)</p>
<p>[...] When the leaves awaken My mother carries me in her golden arms. (p.203)</p>	<p>Cando as follas despertan con risadas verdecentes, a miña nai lévame d'aurora n'ocaso, nos seus brazos dourados. (p.27)</p>

The addition of lyrical effects is one of the characteristics of the Galician version of the *Land of Heart's Desire* and some examples of this strategy have already

been analysed in previous sections of this chapter. As seen in the above excerpts, the addition of lyrical effects is sometimes achieved by the use of different additions which do not contribute any meaning to the text but merely enhance its lyricism. The nature of these inclusions is varied: the addition of one line to a poetic composition (1), the insertion of several epithets in the same sentence (2), the creation of personifications (*vento que acariña as mestas somas do bosco*) or the expansion of ones already in the original (*as follas despertan con risadas verdecintas*), etc. On the whole, they all fulfil two main functions: on the one hand, they compensate for the loss of stylistic traits of the ST, owing to the TT being written in prose form, and, on the other hand, they serve to cultivate and exploit the capacity of Galician as a literary language. Ultimately, they are used to elevate the status of Galician from its degraded position to a highbrow language.

5.3.4.5 Manipulations of meaning:

There are three instances where the translators make use of additions to carry out a conscious manipulation of the meaning of the ST by emphasising aspects of it in order to suit their political agenda.

<p>Faeries, come take me out of this dull world, For I would ride with you upon the wind, (Run on the top of the disheveled tide,) And dance upon the mountains like a flame. (p.192)</p>	<p>¡Fadas, levai-me embora d'este mundo tristeiro e melancónico, pois arelo c'oa i-alma e o corazón choutar velaíña convosco d'acabalo do vento, correr c'os pes nuos na compañía da brétema encol da xerfa risoña do mare, despeiteada e leda e beilar com'unha chama sutil e tremelucinte pol-o cumio dos montes. (p.23)</p>
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This is a key excerpt within the folk drama as it is when Mary firmly expresses her desire of escaping an oppressive reality and her longing for the freedom which is represented by the land of the fairies. The parallelism between Mary's desire and the political situation of Galicia at the time has already been mentioned. Hence, it is not surprising that the translators emphasise Mary's feelings by the addition of *arelo c'oa i-alma e o corazón* (I wish with all my heart). In this way, the longing for freedom and de-alienation becomes stronger than in the ST. Furthermore, the subsequent additions, *correr c'os pes nuos na compañía da brétema encol da xerfa risoña do mare* and *com'unha chama sotil e tremelucinte*, besides adding more lyricism to the passage, also contribute to the idealization of the land of fairies, the land of heart's desire, and enhance the thirst for decolonization and redemption.

I have these arms to hold you, (p.208)	teño estes brazos barudos como ponlas de ferro para te atenezar (p.29)
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In the same vein, the addition to the above passage has important political implications. Shawn is trying to convince Mary not to leave with the fairies but to stay with him and, in this context, he offers his arms to hold her so that the fairies cannot take her from him. Shawn is Mary's strongest connection with her captivity, and the addition of *barudos como ponlas de ferro* (as strong as iron) to describe his arms emphasises the idea of oppression and becomes a symbol of the subjugated situation that the Galician nation was suffering.

Mary. I can hear songs and dancing. (p.209)

MARUXA -¡O que gusto cantare e beilare! (p.29)
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This passage takes place at the end of the play, before Mary's death, when the Faery Child is persuading the girl to follow her, and consequently Mary starts hearing the singing and dancing of the Faery Land. In the Galician translators' version not only is she hearing, but also she feels pleasure in it, *o que gusto*; therefore, this sentence intensifies Mary's longing for freedom and desire to escape from an oppressive reality. All three examples show that the translators were extremely influenced by their political views and wanted to convey them in their translation.

5.3.5 Omissions

Omissions are scarce, but they deserve attention as they are relevant to the meaning of the text and they are another example of the manipulative power of translation.

My colleen, have not Fate and Time and Change Done well for me and for old Bridget there?) (p.190)	[...] ¿Non coidas, ña filla, que o Destiño e mail-o Tempo tratáronnos ben a min e á vella Bríxida? (p.22)
[...] to the hour For bidding Fate and Time and Change good-bye.) (p.190)	[...] hastra que chega a hora no pasamento que un pecha os ollos para sempre decíndolle adeus ó Destiño, ó Tempo e a todo ... (p.23)

On these two occasions in which Maurteen refers to how Time, Fate and Change have treated Bridget and himself, the translators omit the allusion to the concept of 'Change'. Hurtley interprets this omission in a political manner thinking that it could be related to the fear that a political change would worsen the situation of Galicia:

The omission of the concept by the translators of *The Land of Heart's Desire* (*O pais da saudade*) in 1935 Republican Spain might be symptomatic of their anxiety with regard to a further change, which could jeopardize Galicia's chances of greater autonomy (2006, p.90).

However, taking into account that there is no other reference in the whole translation to this hypothetical fear of a political change, her conclusion is open to discussion. The concept of ‘change’ has a positive meaning in the ST and it is possible that the translators omitted the term simply because this concept, in Galician, would not normally be associated with terms such as ‘fate’ and ‘time’. Whatever the case, it is another example of the translators’ reluctance to submit themselves to the hierarchy of the original.

<p>[Mary stands for a moment in the door (and takes a sod of turf from the fire and goes out through the door. [...]) (p.190)</p>	<p>Maruxa pilla un anaco de turba alcesa da lareira e sai con ela fora da porta. (p.23)</p>
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The omission in this stage direction, which occurs when Mary gives fire to the ‘queer old woman’ coming from the woods, shows more determination in her desire to abandon the mediocrity of her current situation. When this strange creature appears, in the ST Mary stands in the door for a moment, but in the translation she goes out with no hesitation. It is implied that she is not afraid of following her desire for freedom. It is noteworthy that Yeats uses already here the character of the ‘old woman’ (the main character of his later work *Cathleen ni Houlihan*) as a patriotic symbol: an allegory of a free Ireland whom Mary does not hesitate to help. Thus, the political implication of the passage is undeniable.

<p><i>Maurteen</i>. There’s some one singing. Why, it’s but a child. [...] A strange song for a child, but she sings sweetly. Listen, listen! (p.194)</p>	<p>MART. –Escoita, que alguén and’a cantare [...] Cántiga meiga com’outra nunca ouvín. (p.24)</p>
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In this case, Maurteen refers to the ‘The Voice’ that is producing a song. In the ST, he identifies the Voice with the Child whom they have not yet met; however,

in the translation this identification is omitted. By so doing, the translators intensify the atmosphere of otherness because the reader/spectator has no information of where the voice may be coming from.

From the analysis of the translation of *The Land of Heart's Desire*, it can be concluded that the strategies applied by the translators are in the same vein as those applied by A. Villar Ponte in his 1921 version of *Cathleen ni Houlihan* and by Risco in his translations. Once again, translation is revealed as a process of appropriation, transformation and creation rather than reproduction or copy of an original. The translators carry out a strong *Galicianisation* of the ST and create their own vernacular style in such a way that they often make Yeats speak as a Galician rather than as an Irishman. Only by applying these strategies could the Galician intellectuals fulfil their aims of legitimating and reinvigorating the Galician language as well as incorporating the Celtic spirit, shared with sister Ireland, into the local literary tradition. This practice of translation as a way of struggle, resistance and reaffirmation of one's identity is a 'two-way transcultural enterprise' (Vieira, 1999, p.106) in which the hierarchy between original and translation is broken down. In fact, in this translation the addition of autochthonous input to the text is higher than in the case of *Cathleen* as can be observed, for instance, in the several intertextual references that have been included in order to embed the folk-drama in the Galician literary tradition.

5.4 1977 re-edition of *Catuxa de Houlihan* and *O país da saudade*.

Neither *Catuxa de Houlihan* nor *O país da saudade* were performed in Galicia. In July of 1936, a drama company from A Coruña, Keltia, announced that they were planning to stage *O país da saudade* together with *Nouturnio de medo e morte* by A. Villar Ponte and *Matria* by Álvaro das Casas. However, the project could not be put into practice owing to the fascist uprising (cf. Tato Fontaíña, 1999, p.153). As the editors to the re-edition of the two folk dramas in 1977 put it:

Os tradutores propuxéranse poñer nas mans dos nosos grupos teatraís uns textos de auténtica raigaña popular e fondo contido histórico-social, refrexo das vivencias dun pobo irmán, capaces de soerguer a alienada e decadente escea galega daqueles tempos. Por desgracia non houbo ocasión para intentar o ensaio, porque a tremenda traxedia real da guerra civil afogóu todas as voces, tanto as da farsa coma as tremantes de carraxe da vida mesma (Yeats, 1977, p.7).

Nevertheless, this re-publication of both translations forty years later shows that the bond with Ireland that the intellectuals of the *Xeración Nós* and *Irmandades da Fala* created and cultivated as one of the key imperatives for the reaffirmation of the Galicia national identity, did not die in the thirties. Conversely, it survived forty years of dictatorship where, once again, Galicia had to suffer the attacks of the centralist power of the Spanish regime. Once more, the Galician language was banned from public use in an attempt to annihilate any form of expression of the differentiated Galician identity.

In 1977 with the change in the political climate, *Castrelos* publishing company decided to republish both plays under the title *Dous dramas populares*. In a note that precedes the plays, the editors explain the reason for which they decided to do this re-edition. They mention the increasing attention paid to

theatre in Galicia and the existence of an audience who are more accustomed to different theatre experiences and who are, therefore, in a better position to understand the innovative Irish theatre from the beginning of the century:

[...] un público cada día máis afeito a toda sorte de experiencias teatraís, moi lonxe, uns e outro, daquíl probe teatro galego, adocenado e badoco, dos anos trinta. Xustamente é agora cando o teatro irlandés de avangarda, chantado no cerne do pobo, pode ser millor comprendido entre nós. I é por ista razón pola que nos decidimos a poñer de novo na rúa dúas pezas maestras do máis esgrevio dos seus fundadores. (Yeats, 1977, p.8)

This re-edition means, undoubtedly, the recognition of the struggle of Plácido Castro and the Villar Ponte brothers with regard to the renewal of Galician theatre. Some of the publishing policies are, however, open to criticism. First of all, unlike in the 1935 edition, there is no reference to the translators on the covers of the book; their names are not mentioned until the third page. This makes the translators' work more invisible. Furthermore, some of the linguistic features are edited and adjusted to the norms of the time. For instance, the apostrophe which had been used by the translators in order to try to reproduce the phonology of the language in its written form is completely removed. Similarly, the hyphen frequently inserted within words for the same reason is also removed (for example, *pol-a* (1935, p.13) becomes *pola* (1977, p.28)). The circumflex accent, which was consistently used by the translators in contractions, is changed into an acute accent throughout (*ô* > *ó*). Several words which did not bear an orthographic accent in the translators' version, now consistently do so, for instance *cecais* (1935, p.12) > *cecáis* (1977, p.24), *mais* (1935, p.12) > *máis* (1977, p.26), the third person singular of the preterite; this verb form always bears an accent in the 1977 edition unlike the 1935 one, *contou* (1935, p.12) > *contóu* (1977, p.26). In the translators' version there was

alternation in the use of question and exclamation marks, i.e. sometimes they appear at the beginning and the end of the sentence and sometimes they appear only at the end, but in the 1977 edition they are always placed in both positions. Finally, there are some minor orthographical changes in certain words, for example: *génese* (1935, p.11) > *xénesis* (1977, p.23), *escreve* (1935, p.11) > *escrebe* (1977, p.23), *hayo* (1935, p.13) > *haio* (1977, p.29), *víspera* (1935, p.14) > *véspera* (1977, p.30), *corazón* (1935, p.14) > *corazón* (1977, p.32), *bermellas* (1935, p.17) > *vermellas* (1977, p.38).

It must be taken into account that the situation of Galician in the 1970s was different from that of the 1930s, especially after the publication of the first *Normas ortográficas e morfolóxicas da lingua galega* by the *Real Academia Galega* in 1970. Thus, there was, at this time, a project to work towards a unification and standardisation of the language. The need for a standard language, which was imperative for the survival of Galician, led to the amendments applied to these translations, but the fact that the editors did not make it explicit that the texts were adapted to the new conventions is misleading. It gives the impression that the translators used that standardised variant of the language in the 1930s, and therefore, the 1977 readers cannot fully appreciate to what extent the principle of linguistic differentiation was vital within the translators' ideological agenda.

Conclusion

The practice of translation in Galicia during the period 1920-1935 is directly linked to the *Xeración Nós'* imperative of proving the existence of Galicia as a differentiated nation; therefore, it is used to convey and spread a nationalist ideology. In this highly charged political context, translation is never undertaken for its own sake, but forms part of a meticulously programmed agenda. The appropriation of certain foreign texts serves the purpose of (re)constructing Galician cultural and national identity, mainly by differentiating it from the long-lasting centripetal power represented by Castile and by fortifying and restoring the native language.

As I have demonstrated, the Galician intelligentsia imported Yeats' works so as to establish a cultural bond with Ireland and to incorporate Galicia into the Celtic mythological tradition of Northern Europe. The selection of texts to be translated as well as the translators' strategies were based on political grounds and fulfilled the purpose of creating an ideology of resistance to the cultural oppression coming from Castile. All in all, translation was used as an important tool to aid the articulation of a nationalist discourse based on the distinctive identity of Galicia. In this context, translation, as an ideological act that has the capacity to manipulate authors, texts, history, cultures, etc., not only reflects the asymmetrical power relations between Galicia and neighbouring Castile, but it reveals the self-image of Galicia that the Galician intellectuals wanted to portray at that particular point in time.

From a theoretical point of view, I prove that postcolonial translation theories are applicable to the study of translation in the context of minority cultures within Europe owing to the asymmetrical power relations that exist between certain communities. More precisely, I make it clear that there is a parallelism between the Galician nationalist movement and the cultural metaphor of cannibalism developed in Brazil around the same time. Consequently, the model of translation proposed by Haroldo de Campos, which is based on the concept of 'athropophagy' as a way of struggle against colonial dependency, applies to the translations studied. This thesis also corroborates that the division between cultural and linguistic approaches in translation studies is problematic and that both should go hand in hand in order to achieve a rigorous analysis of the ideological intervention of the translator in a given text. In this respect, the application of CDA offers a space for the two approaches to come together as this branch of linguistics links the use of language to social practices and intends to unveil the ideology behind a particular way of using language.

With regard to translation strategies, the division between foreignizing/domesticating translation advocated by Venuti has proven to be impractical and insufficient to account for the complexities occurring within these translations. One of the main goals that the translators were trying to achieve was to create an effect of identification between Ireland and Galicia, since the Northern European island served as a model of self-recognition for the Galician intelligentsia. It is a case where translation cannot be merely regarded as a process through which to bring a foreign cultural product to the target system because Ireland was not thought of as 'foreign', but as part of the self.

Accordingly, the translators produced texts where the two worlds and two cultures merged, creating a hybrid symbolic space which provided the foundations for that identification. This was achieved by the use of hybrid strategies where both foreign elements and autochthonous input coexisted and the traditional ideal of fidelity to the source text was, therefore, challenged. As shown, the different strategies applied by the translators range from linguistic differentiation, additions, omissions, etc. to more obvious manipulations of the meaning of the source text. This should by no means be taken as a proposal of translation techniques in a postcolonial situation or, indeed, in any other type of highly politically charged context. Prescriptivism is impracticable and unworkable in the present discussion as translation strategies depend upon the context, the socio-historical circumstances in which the translation takes place and the ideological goals that the translators intend to achieve. In this regard, Tymoczko is right in her consideration of postcolonial translations as

complex, fragmentary, and even self-contradictory, as translators position their work through a metonymic process to achieve very specific strategic goals, prioritizing aspects or elements of the source text for specific activist effects and ends (2006, p.445).

Every choice made by the translators is worthy of detailed attention because it will carry ideological implications. Therefore, the comparative and descriptive analysis of those strategies unveils that ideology which they are trying to convey and makes relevant contributions to the understanding and study of a given political, cultural and/or social reality. Moreover, it locates translation at the core of cultural expression showing its capacity to foster cultural and social change.

In this particular context, the analysis of the translated texts would not be complete without taking into account all the paratextual items surrounding them. Articles, essays, introductions, prefaces, comments, etc. serve as 'ideological guides' that set the grounds in order to fully understand the translations. In this regard, the concept of paratranslation, which integrates all these aspects within its theoretical apparatus, makes possible a more holistic approach to the study of translation by not limiting itself to the analysis of the actual texts. When working in a context where ideology plays such an essential role, it is vital to take into consideration all the information provided by the translators.

The textual analysis provided in this thesis shows that, with the exception of Plácido Castro, the translators of Yeats' works into Galician used a mediating language, either French or Catalan, to carry out their work. This is due to the fact that neither Vicente Risco nor Antón Villar Ponte had sufficient command of the English language to be able to translate directly from it. However, this lack of linguistic knowledge did not prevent them from undertaking the translations because their only aim was to create effective ideological artefacts. The national value of the translations exempts them from any evaluation of quality; this is a manifestation of the identification between national identity and quality that Miguélez-Carballeira applies to the Galician literary system where 'literary creation and commentary are intimately linked to the desire for a viable – and monolithically understood- national project' (2009, p.281). In the eyes of the Galician intellectuals, these translations are validated as cultural products by the label 'national identity'. The key role that they granted to translation, in this sense, is such that Risco dared to assert that nothing would be achieved in

Galicia until the last foreign publications were translated into Galician before being translated into Spanish (Risco, 1918b, p.6).

It has been extensively proven that language was considered the main distinctive feature of Galician identity, and consequently, all the translations were dominated by the imperative of linguistic differentiation, even though sometimes this led to inaccuracies, mistranslations or unnatural structures. By proving the existence of Galician as a differentiated language, the intellectuals intended to prove the existence of Galicia as a nation. However, this strong belief in language as the main defining factor of a nation did not hinder their fascination for Yeats and the other leading figures of the Anglo-Irish Revival that not only did not speak or write Irish, but they never promoted the use of this language. Indeed, although this position of Yeats towards language was radically opposed to that of the *Xeración Nós*, as was his own controversial relationship with Irish nationalism, Yeats was still portrayed as a model of nationalist struggle. This is only one of the inconsistencies of the nationalist discourse articulated by the *Xeración Nós*, but there are others, as this thesis has shown. For example, consider the one-sided inclusion of Portugal within the group of Celtic-Atlantic nations or the controversial association between the concept of *Saudade* and the Celtic mythological tradition. Ultimately, what these inconsistencies show is that the process of 'imagining the nation' is a highly manipulative one, where history and culture are re-invented so as to include/appropriate those elements that give legitimacy to the 'imaginary creation' of what a particular community has decided to be.

Risco was responsible for presenting the author, Yeats, to a Galician audience, and he also translated three of his poems and two short stories. In a clearly 'cannibalistic' way, the Galician intellectual appropriated the Irishman by establishing similarities between him and Galician authors such as Rosalía de Castro. He went even further by saying that Yeats cultivated Galician genres such as the *Cantigas de maldizer*. These are extreme attempts to legitimize the local literary production. When translating Yeats, Risco relies on previous French versions but does not follow them faithfully; he is a creative translator willing to distance himself from the source text in order for the translation to fulfil its ideological role. In this regard, he makes use of mixed strategies retaining foreign elements (titles, names of places, etc.) and adds autochthonous input such as elements from the medieval *Cantigas*, which complies with Haroldo de Campos' idea of translation as transcreation, i.e., appropriation of the foreign works to use the local tradition.

The appropriation of the folk-drama *Cathleen ni Houlihan*, translated by Antón Villar Ponte, has a relevant political meaning as it was used to import the idea of self-sacrifice for the nationalist cause. On this occasion, the translator relies heavily on the previous Catalan version to the extent that it can be said that he translated the play from Catalan rather than from English. However, this does not impede him from making use of his own strategies such as additions, omissions, etc. to emphasise the political meaning of the play even more. Villar Ponte's strategies are oriented to appropriate the Irish work by making it more Galician. Likewise, by translating the other Yeatsian folk-drama, *The Land of Heart's Desire*, Plácido Castro and the Villar Ponte brothers establish an

indivisible link between Celticism and the Galician–Portuguese concept of *Saudade*. This is possibly one of the best examples of the abovementioned hybridity, i.e. two worlds, two different traditions coming together in order to produce an effect of identification, which is emphasised by some of the translators' solutions that recall the *Cantigas* and the Galician literary tradition in general. Despite being bilingual, Plácido Castro makes use of some semantic deviations and unnatural expressions in this translation, proving to what extent the ideal of linguistic differentiation was a key factor. The translation of these two plays was also intended to fulfil the purpose of introducing new literary models and so contribute to the renewal of Galician theatre that, according to the Galician intelligentsia, lacked originality and was reproducing Castilian models. Plácido Castro and the Villar Pontes saw, in the formula of the Irish Dramatic Movement, a way of regeneration for Galician theatre. Moreover, the role of theatre as an instrument to raise national awareness must not be underestimated. Remember, in this respect, the reaction of the Irish audience to the performance of *Cathleen ni Houlihan* and how the Galician nationalists would like to see the same reaction on the Galician general public: 'Si algún día tuviéramos la suerte de que los gallegos llegaran a discutir acaloradamente y hasta a pegarse por las ideas expuestas en un drama, ese día sería una fecha feliz y memorable en los anales de Galicia' (Castro, 1927a, p.1). Thus, the translation of these literary works had a manifold function within the creation of their nationalist project.

In conclusion, this thesis proves that the translation of Yeats' works in Galicia during the period 1920-1935 had the purpose of recovering Galician identity,

fortifying the language and (re)constructing the nation. The Galician intellectuals transplanted or transcreated the works in question so as to fuel their own nationalist project. By absorbing foreign influences and incorporating them into their own local tradition, they used translation as a channel of self-definition and de-alienation. This practice reveals the creative and manipulative power of translation as well as its capacity to shape cultures and build identities. Moreover, this project validates the application of a postcolonial perspective to the study of translation in periods of cultural revival in Europe. The selection of texts to be translated, in addition to the strategies used, reveal on what grounds a certain culture decides to build its own identity. In the particular case of Galicia, the intellectuals chose to be part of the group of Celtic-Atlantic nations and to import Irish works in order to achieve this ideological goal.

The cultural and nationalist aspirations of the *Xeración Nós* were thwarted by the Spanish military uprising of 1936 and the subsequent Civil War and dictatorship; however, their struggle for the recovery of Galician identity was not in vain. Although the official nationalist discourse has changed over time, Galicia is still self-portrayed as a Celtic nation and Celticism plays an essential identity role: 'O celtismo que comenzou sendo una posición doutrinal de eruditos, historiadores e poetas, acabou por se converter nunha sorte de metáfora de Galicia enteira, na súa profundidade temporal e na súa amplitude espacial' (Villares, 2001, p.540).

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