



ISSN: 2011799X

Gender and Translation: Spanish Translation of Virginia Woolf's *Orlando*, by Jorge Luis Borges*

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Abstract: Jorge Luis Borges translated into Spanish *Orlando: A Biography*, written by Virginia Woolf, nine years after its publication, in 1928. In the novel, Virginia Woolf sought to chart a path that would lead to a perfect harmony between the two sexes in the mind. However, the translation of the Argentine author has a number of changes that allows us to examine the personal character that he gave to his translation as a reflection of his conscious or unconscious covert patriarchal ideology.

Key words: Virginia Woolf, gender, manipulation, Orlando, feminism, feminist translation

Resumen: Jorge Luis Borges tradujo al español la novela *Orlando: A Biography*, escrita por Virginia Woolf, nueve años después de la publicación, en 1928. En la obra, Virginia Woolf buscaba trazar un camino que conllevaría a la perfecta armonía de los dos sexos en la mente. No obstante, la traducción del argentino presenta una serie de cambios que permiten examinar el carácter personal que el traductor le imprimió a su traducción, como reflejo de su ideología patriarcal, consciente o inconsciente

Palabras Claves: Virginia Woolf, género, manipulación, Orlando, feminismo, traducción feminista

Résumé : Jorge Luis Borges traduits en espagnol *Orlando: A Biography*, écrit par Virginia Woolf, neuf ans après sa publication, en 1928. Dans le roman, Virginia Woolf trace un chemin vers la parfaite harmonie entre les deux sexes. Cependant, la traduction de l'auteur argentin présent un certain nombre de changements qui nous permet d'examiner le caractère personnel qu'il a donné à sa traduction, comme un reflet de son idéologie patriarcale consciente ou inconsciente.

Mots clés : Virginia Woolf, genre, manipulation, Orlando, féminisme, traduction

1. Feminism and Literature before Virginia Woolf

In the centuries before Virginia Woolf was born, women were the target of accusations and insults. Authors such as Clement of Alexandria denounced women who used to wear makeup. According to him, these women were pretty on the outside but miserable on the inside. In this regard, (Blázquez, 1993) states “Clemente denuncia también (Paed., II, 35,4) a las mujeres que van maquilladas a las procesiones, de belleza espléndida pero miserables en el interior”. Clement also condemned the use of the uncovered hair and argued that Christian women should cover their head and face with a veil. San Augustine, meanwhile, said that the women's utility was in the maternity and continuity of the human race through procreation. These authors considered, in all their literary contributions, women's inferiority and supremacy of man as a key to human development. Although, since

* This paper was developed within the framework of the research project: “Análisis Crítico de la traducción de Orlando, de Virginia Woolf, por Jorge Luis Borges”, Universidad de Antioquia.

the beginning of the human race, misogyny crept over various intellectuals women's waywardness and their desire to be recognized as part of society evolved drastically. Through the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, for example, the Beguines¹ performed different intellectual activities, though their participation was strongly diminished from the fourteenth century onward (Pérez, 2011). Later, before the beginning of Enlightenment –age characterized by a strong women participation–, femininity is recognized essentially in the patriarchal society. Important milestones in the development of feminism preceded the Age of Enlightenment, for example, the emergence of what is known as the *querelles des femmes*, a French term used for the first time in 1450, with which some writers discussed the value of women and the kind of education they should receive. In the seventeenth century, we have the active participation of women such as Christiane de Pisan and her Book *Livre de la Cité des Dames* or Marie de Gournay and her essays written and published in the period from 1626 to 1641, in which she portrays the sufferings of women and promotes gender equality.

Towards the middle of the seventeenth century, different women's claims started to emerge against the patriarchal society. A movement known as the *Précieuses* excelled among the aristocratic circles. These women expanded the *querelle* or the woman question and enhanced women's role and the feminine philosophy in many social areas, such as cultural discussions in newspapers and intellectual groups. Likewise, feminist ideology begins to consolidate in the writings of learned men. This is the case, of the publication of *Rapports de la langue Latine avec la Française, pour traduire élégamment et sans peine*, by the feminist philosopher Poullain de la Barre in 1672.

Nevertheless, the term “feminism” appeared centuries later, with the emergence of the Enlightenment, as Pérez (2011:36) says "It emerged what we today call feminism, properly said". Broadly speaking, women's struggle for equality is consolidated in the period from the seventeenth century to the beginning of the French Revolution. Women began to explore and claim a place in the political world, as demonstrated by the march led by 6.000 Parisian women in Versailles on 5 and 6 October 1789.

Such participation not only occurred among women themselves. Some politicians participated, such as Nicolas de Condorcet, who took an active position in the "feminist" movement, by supporting them with the publication of *De l'admission des femmes au droit de cité*, in 1790. Similarly, Pierre Guyomar provides a great legacy with the introduction to the Convention of his work : *Le Partisan de l'égalité entre les politique individus "Apôtres de l'égalité, traitons les femmes égales, et marchons de front dans la carrière politique"*. To this political, intellectual and cultural movement towards the vindication of equality between men and women, it is added the important publication of *Declaration of the Rights of Woman and the Female Citizen*, in 1791, by Olympe de Gouges. It is also important to mention Mary Wollstonecraft's essay: *Vindication of the rights of Women*, in 1792, in which she states that the inferiority of

¹ Christian feminine religious order, primarily active in Germany and the Low Countries during the 13th–16th centuries.

women, compared to men, is not a natural matter, but rather it stems from an unequal education.

The feminist movement gained force particularly in the nineteenth century, in which Virginia Woolf was born. By then, feminism went through its first wave or second phase, which focused on the pursuit of equality regarding marriage rights, political power and women's suffrage. At literary level, some authors arise such as Elizabeth Cady Stanton, with her book *History of Woman Suffrage* and *The Woman's Bible*, and Lucy Stone with her publications about women's right in the *Woman's Journal*. However, the legal status of British women was similar to the one that prevailed during the Middle Age: married women could not have their money or sign contracts, in fact, many of them were deprived from participating in the education of their children. (Marder, 1968).

2. Virginia Woolf, a feminist author?

Woolf's relationship with feminism has offered little doubts since the publication of her novels and essays. It is an undeniable fact, however, that Virginia Woolf never had an explicit position towards women's movements. The writer avoided any participation in protests that sought to eliminate specific abuses, to proclaim fairer laws, to obtain control of their properties when they were married, to educate their own children, etc. Her lack of participation in the feminist movement is mainly due to two factors: firstly, Woolf constantly faced emotional instability. She suffered from aggressive headaches, in fact, "five times in her life she suffered from major onslaughts of the illness and in almost all (possibly all) of these attacks she attempted to kill herself" (Lee, 1999). For most of her life, Virginia was "vulnerable to recurrent episodes whose symptoms might range from weeks of intense depression to a night's anxiety or a sudden faint" (Lee, 1999). These poor health conditions excluded her from all unnecessary excitement and forbade her to take part in any demonstration. On the other hand, Virginia belonged to a high-status intellectual group, which made her a deep aristocrat woman away from all kind of demonstrations. (Merder, 1968).

After her father's death, Virginia embarks on an intellectual journey through different ideas, because of the formation of the Bloomsbury group. In this group, Virginia finds a place to express her ideas, freedom to write texts of exquisite beauty and to publish them by an editorial of her own: The Hogarth Press, founded with her husband's help, Leonard Woolf. In addition to consolidating a space for intellectual discussion, the Bloomsbury Group sets new ideas, which will endure for long time. The group promoted gender equality, especially because of the homosexual condition of most of its participants. Gilbert (1993) refers to the open liberal nature of this group by quoting Zwerdling: "Homosexuality and lesbianism not only practiced but openly discussed; adulterous liaisons becoming an accepted part of the family circle; menages a trois, a quatre, a cinq; and all this happening shortly after the death of Queen Victoria, among people raised by the old rules"

A few years after the publication of her books, Virginia gained a decisive position in the center of the new literary society. Her writings became part of various feminist movements, e.g. *Il pensiero della differenza sessuale*. She went from being a simple

writer, criticized by the public, to be an icon of intellectually powerful female figures. However, in the epoch in which Woolf grew there was a general freedom for which many feminists had fought. The feminist movement influenced important writers. Some of them created admirable characters as Charlotte Brontë's Jane Eyre, Aurora Leigh by Elizabeth Barrett Browning, Dorothea Brooke by George Eliot or Tess of the d'Urbervilles of Thomas Hardy (Marder, 1968). Long after women got their right to vote, Virginia was molding a role for women themselves, developing her personal contribution to feminism.

All in all, Virginia Woolf's feminism should not be understood under the parameters that defined feminism in the nineteenth century: women's suffrage. On the contrary, feminism in Virginia Woolf must be understood as an acute awareness of the female identity and a special interest in women's issues regarding the right to write. Her main goal was not to support feminist movements whose achievements were remarkably evident, but to help women highlight the value of their own privacy, help them recognize themselves as victims of the patriarchal tyranny, once they leave male oppression and find themselves bewildered and heavy against their own womanhood. (Marder, 1968)

3. *Orlando* and Androgyny:

All Virginia Woolf's novels reveal, with no doubts, the realities that enveloped the problems of the time around women. However, the author avoids going into concrete social analysis and her aim is, on the contrary, to explore the coercion of female sex among ordinary and quotidian issues. Among her invaluable literary legacy, appears *Orlando*, an avant-garde novel with a sharp argument. In the book, Virginia pays less attention to the storyline, than to the recurring symbols and images. She writes with a poetic prose, based on the sounds, rhyme and beauty.

Yet feminist movement had gained strength. The traditional roll of women began to weaken because of organizations such as the Women's Social and Political Union, founded by Emmeline Pankhurst in 1903. However, some traces of the strong patriarchal hegemony remained in women's activities. Their identity suffered a serious imbalance and they debated on the idea of being exactly equal to men or fully differentiated from them. Political movements that managed to include women, little by little, in the political organization of Victorian society, created divisions rather than polishing the rough edges. The feminist movements' achievements were a step, but affected the surface of women's issues. Beyond any incorporation into political movements, female intellectuals sought recognition as intellectual and reputable writers, with a high impact on the academic society.

Besides, due to the progress of the feminist movement in the nineteenth century, women were, in some way or another, in the possibility of living their own lives. They began to be authors of their own decisions, to set aside their husbands' and bosses' criticisms. That is why a political feminism was not Virginia Woolf's concern. Contrarily, she started to recognize women's intellectual power. She claimed financial freedom, which would give them freedom to write. Along with this, Sir Leslie Stephen embodies the thinking of the era believing that only men should go to University. Virginia thus was kept from formal schooling and she was homeschooled as most of the women at that time. Later, she will say "a woman

must have money and a room of her own if she is to write fiction". By saying this, Virginia focuses on the disproportionate education women received.

Somehow, rather than being satisfied with the freedom for which women had been fighting, Virginia deals with the weight of the femininity. Her constant admiration for the male contributions made her a sensitive woman. Leslie Stephen's daughter struggled with constant zeal against the shadow of her father. Although he was no longer the lookout of her days and nights, still lingered in the mind of the laconic Woolf a divorce between her masculine side and the weight of her feminine side. In fact, her book *Night and Day* meets this attempt to evade the difference between masculine and effeminacy, strongly disseminated by Leslie, who was characterized by giving vital importance to the domestic sphere, to sexual purity and to the excessive valuation of masculinity, which resulted in a drastic rejection of effeminacy (Marder, 1968). Leslie claimed that the mind of an artist is solidly male or female, but Virginia Woolf, years later, would claim quite the contrary, asserting that the highest creative state comes from a kind of mental transmutation, in which the barriers of femininity and masculinity are widespread and where both aspects coexist in perfect harmony. This idea might be found on her feminist essay *A Room of One's Own* (1929):

"[...] In each of us two powers preside, one male, one female; and in the man's brain the man predominates over the woman, and in the woman's brain the woman predominates over the man. The normal and comfortable state of being is that when the two live in harmony together, spiritually co-operating. If one is a man, still the woman part of his brain must have effect; and a woman also must have intercourse with the man in her. Coleridge perhaps meant this when he said that a great mind is androgynous. It is when this fusion takes place that the mind is fully fertilized and uses all its faculties. Perhaps a mind that is purely masculine cannot create, any more than a mind that is purely feminine, I thought. But it would be well to test what one meant by man-womanly, and conversely by woman-manly, by pausing and looking at a book or two"

In *Orlando*, Virginia is pleased to promote and ratify the androgyny as a heightened state of creativity. She tries to abolish the antagonism between the two sexes of the body to reach a state of perfect fullness. Her work dispels the confrontation between sexes, a characteristic highly remarked on the fall of the Edwardian Era, because of the strong challenge posed by the women's conquest of the right to vote to the men defeated by the devastating consequences of the First World War. In fact, in *Orlando* we find, as stated by Marder (1968), "a sort of anthem to androgyny":

"[...] Obra desconcertante y extravagante, *Orlando*; una escrita en el primer arrebatado de entusiasmo, una especie de himno a la androginia. Virginia Woolf había descubierto que podían derribarse las barreras entre los sexos, que aquellas distinciones tajantes que la herían como burlas ancestrales podían suavizarse hasta perder el aguijón. Uno sospecha que esta fue la liberación esencial de la que partieron las demás. Es especialmente interesante que el primer y más espectacular

cambio de sexo de Orlando se presente mediante un complejo rito de liberación. Las escenas en que acontece arrojan más luz sobre la androginia”

In her book, Virginia not only understands the androgyny as an ideal state to ennoble the mind, but also rejects the traditional idea that the woman writer is not really a woman. Suffice to quote what Voltaire said (1956): “J'ay perdu un amy de vingt-cinq années, un grand homme qui n'avoit de défaut que d'être une femme” (I have lost a 25 years friend whose only fault was to be a woman). When Orlando suffers his/her transformation, the character still wants to keep writing. This shows, therefore, that the ability to write goes beyond sex.

There are multiple examples that prove the marginalization of women as a writer. Enough to mention, e.g. *Cathesisimo de Vocablos, Para instruir à las mugeres Cultas y Hembrilatina* (1624), a work in which Francisco de Quevedo speaks of women, but calls them ‘hembrilatinas’, surprised by their ability to speak Latin. It should also be added what Samuel Johnson (1791) said: “una mujer que predica es como un perro que camina sobre sus patas traseras: no es que lo haga bien, lo que te sorprende es que lo haga siquiera” or Luis de León (1583) and his idea that a woman should read but always remain silent: “mas, como quiera que sea, es justo que se precisen de callar todas, así aquellas a quien les conviene encubrir su poco saber, como aquellas que pueden sin vergüenza descubrir lo que saben; porque en todas es, no solo condición agradable, sino virtud debida, el silencio y el hablar poco”. Repeated statements promoted the marginalization of women who took part of the growth of literature. Some women like the Brontë sisters, Cecilia Bohl and Maria Lejárza wrote under pseudonyms, so that they had the opportunity to publish their works.

If we look closely, *Orlando* discusses the dichotomy between man and woman. Indeed, we found that, in patriarchal dichotomies, mind, creative capacity, a good performance of intellectual activities, and public life are part of the male characteristics, while women are ascribed the procreation, low culture, gender and more recently the private sphere. In the book, Virginia lifts women to the male status without promoting a loss of the femininity. By doing this, she recognizes the male authority that surrounded the academic writing position, but also encourages women to fulfill a determining role in literature.

4. Borges, Translation and Tradition:

Borges’ political point of view and his perception on gender issues can be traced in his stories. Some, such as *La Intrusa*, are characterized by an exacerbation of the masculinity, highlighted also by a Creole-macho writing style “Yo me voy a una farra en lo de Farías. Ahí la tenés a la Juliana; si la querés, usala”, says one of the characters. Besides showing a certain machismo in rural characters, Borges claimed, in an interview published by the magazine *Crisis* in 1974, that: “My mother was Catholic, as all Argentine ladies, without understanding anything about religion. My father was a freethinker, like all Argentine gentlemen, as Spencer, for

example²". From this statement, it is possible to infer Borges' veiled devaluated opinion of women regarding their ability to think in comparison with that of men.

Borges translated *Orlando, A Biography*, nine years after its publication. As an astute critic, his translation, rather than a linguistic transposition, constitutes a critical commentary on the author, text and context, through open intervention. For Borges, a translation is not necessarily inferior to the original text. In fact "Borges affirmed, in earnest, that an original can be unfaithful to a translation. He vehemently objected to claims that certain translation he admired was "true to the original" and derided the presuppositions of purists for whom all translations are necessarily deceitful in one way or another" (Kristal, 2002). Under this way of approaching the original text, Borges translated *Orlando* as a fantastic narrative. This led the book to occupy a central role in Latin-American literature.

One of the recurrent strategies that Borges undertook were omissions, a complementary process highlighted by Vázquez-Ayora (1977). According to him, omission seeks to suppress redundant and repetitive linguistic elements in the translated version. This principle corresponds to the essential procedures "Expansion vs. Economy" and "Expansion vs condensation". Thus, omission avoids overtranslation and corresponds to the economy of languages. Per contra, Borges' omissions go beyond the abolition of not essential linguistic elements and, alternately, modify the original idiosyncrasy of the text, rewriting the words that Virginia said. Such is the case, for example, of the expression "*but in future we must, for convention's sake, say 'her' for 'his', and 'she' for 'he'*", omitted by Borges.

In this case, Virginia Woolf uses the omitted sentence to clarify and to determine the narrative course that her work will take onward. Once the character, Orlando, has undergone a change of sex, Woolf undoubtedly changes the English pronouns in order to recognize the new Orlando's sex throughout the text. Identifying this expression in the translation performed by Laura Alves, into Portuguese, it becomes apparent that this clarification does not correspond to a translation problem:

Woolf's Original Version	Borges' Spanish Version	Alves' Portuguese Version
His memory — but in future we must, for convention's sake, say 'her' for 'his', and 'she' for 'he' — her memory then, went back through all the events of her past life without encountering	Su memoria () podía remontar sin obstáculos el curso de su vida pasada.	Sua memória –no futuro devemos, por convenção, dizer "dela" em vez de "dele", e "ela" em vez de "ele" – sua memória, então, retornava a todos os acontecimentos de sua vida passada, sem encontrar qualquer

² Note of tr. Originally written in Spanish: "Mi madre era católica como todas las señoras argentinas, es decir, sin entender absolutamente nada de religión. Mi padre era librepensador, como todos los señores argentinos también, como Spencer". The English translation belongs to us.

any obstacle.		obstáculo.
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Besides, in Chapter 3, Borges takes the liberty of omitting other fragments, which were properly translated by Alves into Portuguese:

But here, alas, Truth, Candour, and Honesty, the austere Gods who keep watch and ward by the inkpot of the biographer, cry No! Putting their silver trumpets to their lips they demand in one blast, Truth! And again they cry Truth! and sounding yet a third time in concert they peal forth, The Truth and nothing but the Truth!	Pero aquí, ¡ay de mí!, la Verdad, la Franqueza y la Honradez, austeras diosas que hacen la guardia junto al tintero del biógrafo, gritan: ¡La Verdad!, y por tercera vez retumban en concierto: ¡La Verdad y sólo la Verdad!	Mas aqui, ai de nós! A Verdade, a Franqueza e a Honestidade, austeras Deusas que observam e guardam o biógrafo pelo tinteiro, gritam Não! Colocando as trombetas de prata nos lábios, demandam em unísono Verdade! E novamente gritam: Verdade! e de novo, pela terceira vez, juntas estrondeiam: A Verdade, e nada mais, que a Verdade!
I (Chastity says) to the still unravished heights of Surrey.		Eu para o poleiro das galinhas (diz a Pureza).
It was happy for her that she did so.	Hizo muy bien.	Foi bom para ela ter feito isso.

Besides omissions, it is evident throughout the translation that the translator restricts the translation of the pronoun "she" and "her" and, conversely, used the personal name Orlando. Thus, unlike the Portuguese translation, Borges's version does not recognize the new sex that occupies Orlando. Only in chapter 3, we found some examples:

Young, noble, beautiful, she had woken to find herself in a position than which we can conceive none more delicate for a young lady of rank.	Joven, noble y hermosa, Orlando se encontraba en un trance delicadísimo para una joven dama de alcurnia.	Jovem, nobre e bela, ela tinha acordado e se encontrara numa posição bastante delicada para uma jovem dama da nobreza
He saw that she did not [71] believe what he believed, and that was enough, wise and ancient as he was, to enrage him.	Vio que la fe de Orlando no era su fe, y eso lo enfureció, aunque era tan antiguo y tan sabio.	Viu que ela não acreditava no que ele acreditava, o que era suficiente para enfurecê-lo, embora fosse sábio e velho.
Slowly, she began to feel that there was some	Poco a poco, Orlando se dio cuenta de que no era	Lentamente, ela começou a sentir que havia algumas

difference between her and the gipsies which made her hesitate sometimes to marry and settle down among them forever.	idéntica a los gitanos y llegó a vacilar en su decisión de casarse con uno de ellos y establecerse ahí para siempre.	diferenças entre ela e os ciganos que a faziam hesitar às vezes em se casar e se fixar entre eles para sempre.
Then she was seized with a shame that she had never felt before.	Orlando nunca había sentido tanta vergüenza.	Então, foi tomada por uma vergonha nunca antes sentida.

Borges also attempted some unreliable adaptations. According to Vinay, J. P., & Darbelnet, J. (1958) adaptation uses equivalences reflecting the same situation in the original and in the translation. Either way, the adaptations that the translator performs distort the original meaning and give Orlando a fantastic perspective. At this point, we stop at the expression "*such a change of sex is against nature*", translated as "*tales cambios de sexo son anormales*:"

Many people, taking this into account, and holding that such a change of sex is against nature , have been at great pains to prove (r) that Orlando had always been a woman, (2) that Orlando is at this moment a man.	Muchas personas, en vista de lo anterior, y de que tales cambios de sexo son anormales , se han esforzado en demostrar (a) que Orlando había sido siempre una mujer (b) que Orlando es ahora un hombre.	Muita gente, considerando isso, e sustentando que uma mudança de sexo é contra a natureza , esforçou-se para provar que (1) Orlando sempre tinha sido mulher, (2) Orlando é, neste momento, homem. Deixemos biólogos e psicólogos decidirem. Para nós é suficiente constatar o simples fato: Orlando foi homem até os trinta anos; nessa ocasião tornou-se mulher e assim permaneceu daí por diante.
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It is entirely difficult to determine what natural is. Nevertheless, retaking what our aforementioned authors said, it was 'natural' that women wear a veil to cover her face. It was 'natural' forbidding them from any public participation, and it was 'natural' to restrict them from leaving apart their domestic duties. Obviously, it is not natural to change their female sex by a male sex. For Borges, as evidenced in his translation, it was not only unnatural, but it was also completely abnormal. In Borges' Translation, Orlando happens to be a fantastic characterization of a man who changed his sex. The idea that Orlando was a character fantastically recreated might be found a few paragraphs earlier:

Hence rumours gathered round him.	De ahí que lo cercara una mitología.	Por isso vivia cercado de rumores.
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Borges decided to use the term *mitología* instead of *rumores* to transtale the original word 'rumours'. As stated in the Oxford Dictionary, 'rumour' mean "a currently circulating story or report of uncertain or doubtful truth". This word has an equivalent term in Spanish, *rumores*, which perfectly fits in the original meaning: "3Vague and unconfirmed story which circulates among people". On the contrary, Borges decided to use the word *mitología*, defined as "4set of myths of a group of people or culture, especially Greek and Roman". There is an English equivalent that matches with the translated term, *mythology*: "a set of stories or beliefs about a particular person, institution, or situation, especially when exaggerated or fictitious. By using this term, we encounter an attempt to mythicize the novel. Thus, Borges recognizes that the transformation –'degradation'– of a man to a female status could only corresponds to a merely mythological fact.

5. Conclusion:

It would seem from the viewpoint of the current literary criticism with a gender focus, that sexist speech is only one in which accusations openly refer to women and their participation in various social spheres. However, from traditional sexism - defined as hostile and abhorrent prejudice against women- we encounter modern sexism, in which discrimination persists, but is drawn through discrete nuances (covert sexism). Sexism has become an "underground" issue. Authors and writers that believe in gender equality do not recognize the vestiges of a traditional sexism, which prevented the intellectual development of many women.

Although Borges does not explicitly state his ideology, his criticism of the content unveils in the subtle changes he attempted. With no doubts, those changes also reflect the position that Borges assumed towards the literary feminism that Virginia highly promoted in her texts. It is evident that the translator truncated and modified fragments throughout the book. The translated book therefore undergoes a major change since Orlando happens to be a fantastic book without a feminist critic.

Even if it is not possible to say that Borges translated the book from an openly sexist perspective, it can be asserted that due to the open interventionism in the translated version, Borges is ascribed to a sublet sexism (covert sexism) which might go unnoticed. Yet, this modern tendency still does not allow women to express themselves with complete ease. Vestiges of a patriarchal vision still roams, -even without being aware of it - in the minds of men and women.

³ Definition originally taken from DRAE: "Noticia vaga y no confirmada que circula entre la gente"

⁴ Definition originally taken from DRAE: "conjunto de mitos de un pueblo o de una cultura, especialmente de la griega y romana"

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