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**MASTER'S THESIS**

**TURKISH RETRANSLATIONS OF GEORGE ORWELL'S  
CULTIC NOVEL *NINETEEN EIGHTY FOUR* AND THE  
SOCIOLOGICAL EXAMINATION OF THE ACTORS  
INVOLVED IN THE RETRANSLATION PROCESSES**

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**IZMIR, 2023**

**THESIS APPROVAL PAGE**



## **DECLARATION**

I hereby declare that this master's thesis/non-thesis master's thesis titled as *Turkish Retranslations of George Orwell's Cultic Novel Nineteen Eighty Four and the Sociological Examination of the Actors Involved in the Translation Processes* has been written by myself in accordance with the academic rules and ethical conduct. I also declare that all materials benefited in this thesis consist of the mentioned resources in the reference list. I verify all these with my honour.

**16/01/2023**

**Gizem KURT**

## **ABSTRACT**

**Master's Thesis**

**Turkish Retranslations of George Orwell's Cultic Novel *Nineteen Eighty Four*  
and the Sociological Examination of the Actors Involved in the Translation**

**Processes**

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Translation is an action that extends far beyond the boundaries of the source and target text. Its dimensional nature makes it possible to examine textual, i.e. concrete phenomena, together with concepts belonging to various disciplines. Considering the role of translation in the transfer of information between cultures, the number of these disciplines can be quite high and it may be argued that might be completely different from each other. One of these disciplines is undoubtedly sociology, as the factors of "human" and society are at the core of translation. The diversity of the factors surrounding the translation process is a known phenomenon. These factors range from the political atmosphere, historical and social conditions of the period in which the text was produced to the publisher and translator. This set of factors may be studied through sociology. In fact, the number of studies in which translation studies and sociological research are conducted together is increasing day by day, and this is called "sociological turn" in translation studies. In this study, the connection of translation, which is an interdisciplinary field, with sociology is researched. This connection is addressed through retranslation, as it includes more than one translator and different actors, and has the potential to reflect the social aspect of translation through different translations of the same source text. Specifically, George Orwell's cultic novel *Nineteen Eighty-Four* and its three different translations are investigated: Haldun Derin's translation published by the Translation Bureau in 1960, Nuran Akgören's translation published by Can Yayınları in 1984 and Celal Üster's retranslation published as

a reprint by Can Yayınları in 2010, respectively. While examining these translations and the actors involved in the process, both translation theories and sociological concepts are employed together: re-translation both as a product and process, the concept of patronage to problematize publishing organs and the dynamics within them, Pierre Bourdieu concepts to analyze translation processes sociologically. Using this theoretical basis, all texts and translation actors are examined and their mutual relations with each other are researched and discussed. Answers are sought to the following research questions: How did the social trajectories of the translation agents, namely the Translation Bureau and Haldun Derin, as well as Can Yayınları, Nuran Akgören and Celal Üster, affect the translations? Why has Üster's translation become more popular than the other translations and what are the sociological factors causing this very difference? The aim of this study is to contribute to the interdisciplinary nature of translation and to support other studies in this field by carrying out the research outlined above in the light of the concepts of translation studies and sociology.

**Keywords:** George Orwell, retranslation, Translation Bureau, Can Yayınları, Haldun Derin, Nuran Akgören, Celal Üster, translation sociology, Bourdieu.

## ÖZET

Yüksek Lisans Tezi

George Orwell'in Kült Romanı *Bin Dokuzyüz Seksendört*'ün Türkçe Yeniden Çevirileri ve Çeviri Süreçlerine Dahil olan Aktörlerin Sosyolojik İncelemesi

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Çeviri, kaynak ve erek metin sınırlarının çok daha ötesine uzanan bir eylemdir. Çok yönlü doğası, metinsel yani somut olguları, farklı disiplinlere ait kavramlarla bir arada incelemeye olanak sağlar. Çevirinin kültürler arası bilgi aktarımındaki rolü göz önüne alındığında bu disiplinlerin sayısının oldukça fazla olabileceği ve birbirlerinden tamamen farklı olabileceği ileri sürülebilir. Bu disiplinlerden biri de şüphesiz ki sosyolojidir, çünkü insan ve toplum faktörünün, çeviri eyleminin merkezinde yer aldığı söylemek mümkündür. Çeviri sürecini çevreleyen faktörlerin de ne kadar çeşitli olduğu bilinmektedir. Bu faktörler metnin üretildiği dönemin atmosferi, tarihsel ve toplumsal şartlarından yayınevi ve çevirmene kadar uzanır. Bu faktörler dizisi sosyoloji ile incelenmektedir. Hatta çeviri bilim ve sosyolojik araştırmaların birlikte yürütüldüğü çalışmaların sayısı gün geçtikçe artmaktadır ve buna çeviribilimde “sociological turn” denmektedir. Bu çalışma da disiplinler arası bir alan olan çevirinin sosyoloji ile olan bağı incelenmektedir. Bu bağ, birden fazla çevirmeni ve farklı aktörü içinde barındırdığı ve çevirinin toplumsal yönünü aynı kaynak metnin farklı çevirileri üzerinden yansıtma potansiyeline sahip olduğu için yeniden çeviri aracılığı ile ele alınmaktadır. Spesifik olarak George Orwell'in kült haline gelen romanı *Bin Dokuz Yüz Seksen Dört* ve bu romanın üç farklı çevirisi araştırmanın odağında yer almaktadır: Sırasıyla Tercüme Bürosu tarafından 1960 yılında yayımlanan Haldun Derin çevirisi, 1984 yılında Can Yayınları tarafında yayımlanan Nuran Akgören çevirisi ve 2010 yılında Can Yayınları tarafından yeniden yeni basım olarak yayımlanan Celal Üster yeniden

çevirisi. Bu çeviriler ve sürece dahil olan aktörler incelenirken hem çeviri kuramları hem de sosyolojik kavramlar bir arada kullanılmıştır: Ürün ve süreç olarak yeniden çeviri, yayınevlerini ve yayınevleri içerisindeki dinamiği ele almak için patronaj kavramı, çeviri süreçlerini sosyolojik olarak incelemek için Pierre Bourdieu kavramları. Bu teorik temel kullanılarak tüm metinler ve çeviri aktörleri incelenmiş ve birbirleri ile olan karşılıklı ilişkileri araştırılmış ve tartışılmıştır. Şu araştırma sorularına ise cevap aranmıştır: Çeviri aktörlerinin (Tercüme Bürosu ve Haldun Derin, Can Yayınları, Nurak Akgören ve Celal Üster) sosyal yaşantıları çevirileri nasıl etkilemiştir? Üster'in çevirisi diğer çevirilere oranla neden daha popüler olmuştur ve bu farka neden olan sosyolojik faktörler nelerdir? Bu çalışmada amaç yukarıda genel çerçevesi çizilen araştırmayı çeviribilim ve sosyoloji kavramları ışığında gerçekleştirerek çevirinin disiplinler arası doğasına katkıda bulunmak ve bu alanda yapılan diğer çalışmaları desteklemektir.

**Anahtar Kelimeler:** George Orwell, yeniden çeviri, Tercüme Bürosu, Can Yayınları, Haldun Derin, Nuran Akgören, Celal Üster, çeviri sosyolojisi, Bourdieu.

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## INTRODUCTION

Translation is an action bringing different cultures together and has a multidimensional nature. It does not merely include source and target texts; the net of interacting factors involved in a translation process is much more complex than that: A translation includes translational agents, from translator to translating institutions, a target audience/reader, texts and contexts surrounding and affecting the production of it. The list of these factors may be easily expanded, correspondingly, the scope of translation and translation studies. Thus, it is nearly inevitable that translation studies is an interdisciplinary field. Sociology, for instance, “a social science that studies human societies, their interactions, and the processes that preserve and change them”<sup>1</sup>, has been combined with translation studies, which eventually has created a research corpus of agent-oriented researches in the field of translation studies (Sieomoni, 1998; Prunč, 2007; Hermans, 2007; Wolf, 2007). In this thesis, it is claimed that combination of translation theories with a sociological perspective highlights that translation is not only an oral or written action of rendering the message of the source into the target text, but it is a process involving different actors and various contributing factors and this combination has a potential to provide crucial information on translation’s aspect related to actors involved in the process. Furthermore, it is also acknowledged in this particular thesis that a textual analysis as a concrete demonstration of both translational and sociological findings is an indispensable part of a research in the field of translation studies. Therefore, the thesis aims to highlight the effects of agents and their social trajectories on translations.

To achieve this very aim, George Orwell’s novel *Nineteen Eighty Four* (1945) and its translation published by the Translation Bureau and produced by Haldun Derin in 1960 and its retranslations by Nuran Akgören and Celal Üster respectively in 1984 and 2010 are problematized as the main units of analysis of this thesis. Orwell’s well-known dystopic novel *Nineteen Eighty Four* was first translated into Turkish by V.Turhan and S.Tonguç from Dogan Kardes Yayınları in 1958. Since then, the novel has been translated by various publishing companies. One of the most prominent one of these institutions is Translation Bureau. In 1960, the novel

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<sup>1</sup> The definition of sociology is obtained online from <https://www.britannica.com/topic/sociology>

was translated by Haldun Derin commissioned by the Bureau, an official institution which aimed to introduce the translations of Western classics to Turkish readers. Translation Bureau operated under the governance of Ministry of Education (Maarif Vekaleti) from 1940 to 1966. Accordingly, it adopted a specific perspective, humanism and Westernization, which actively influenced the selection and production of the text to be translated. Remarkably, Haldun Derin, one of the translator's of the Bureau and translating Orwell's dystopic novel into Turkish, was not known with his identity as a translator, but as a bureaucrat served both to Mustafa Kemal Atatürk and Ismet İnönü as their private secretary (His other translations published by the Bureau are *Fırtına* (1944) and *Windsor'un Şen Kadınları* (1945) by William Shakespeare, *Milletlerin Zenginliği* (1948) by Adam Smith)<sup>2</sup>. Subsequently, the retranslation by Nuran Akgören in 1984 was published by Can Yayınları, one of the leading publishing houses since it was founded in 1981 by Erdal Öz. Different from Haldun Derin, Nuran Akgören is known for her translator identity. However, she only translated four texts from European languages: Her translations available on the database of Turkish National Library are *Martı* (1983) by Richard Bach, *Balthazar'ın Olağandışı Öyküsü* (1983) and *Yaprak Fırtınası* (1982) by Gabriel Garcia Marquez. Additionally, it should be noted that these translations were published by different publishing houses. Akgören's translation of Orwell's novel had been reprinted by Can Yayınları until the year 2010, when Celal Üster himself, as the chief editor of Can Yayınları, "decided" to retranslate the text, as he thinks Akgören's translation needed to be improved and updated (see his epilogue in *Bin Dokuzyüz Seksendört*, 2010). Until the year 2021, Celal Üster's translation of *Nineteen Eighty Four* has been the latest and most popular version of the novel<sup>3</sup>.

In addition, Can Yayınları has published a special edition for Celal Üster's translation of Orwell's novels *Nineteen Eighty Four* and *Animal Farm* (1945) in

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<sup>2</sup> For further information on published Works of Haldun Derin: <https://kasif.mkutup.gov.tr/>

<sup>3</sup> Here it should be acknowledged that the copy right law<sup>3</sup> having been implemented on the author's works expired by the end of 2020 (70 years after George Orwell's decease) and new retranlations have been produced by various publishing companies in Turkey since the beginning of the year 2021. According to Turkish Copy Right Law, if the author is a legal person, the copy right protection period is 70 years from the date of publicity. Copy right protection period expires 70 years after the decease of the works author/owner (<https://www.telifhaklari.gov.tr/Telif-Hakki-Kac-Yil-Sureyle-Korunur.>)

2019, which are the only translated novels with specially edited versions<sup>4</sup>. It is claimed in the thesis that this may point out a connection between Orwell and his ideology embedded in the above-named novels and the ideological perspective of Can Yayınları.

The number of these three translations' reprints are also remarkable. While Derin's translation published by the Bureau had only one edition with 3000 copies (Orwell, 1960, p.1), Akgören's translation published by Can Yayınları had 29 editions between the years 1984-2010, until Üster decided to retranslate the text. Today, 60<sup>th</sup> edition of *Bin Dokuz Yüz Seksen Dört* of Can Yayınları translated by Üster with 30.000 copies is on the book shelves. Suprisingly, Akgören's translation had 29 editions in twenty seven years, while Üster's translation has reached 30 only in ten years. In other words, Üster's translation has been the most popular translation of *Nineteen Eighty Four* in Turkey. It shows that Orwell's dystopic novel and its message stand the test of time for Turkish readers.

Within the frame of the above-stated translations, this thesis seeks to answer the following questions: What are the differences between the publishers and translators? How did the social trajectories of the translation agents, namely the Translation Bureau and Haldun Derin, as well as Can Yayınları, Nuran Akgören and Celal Üster, affect the translations? Why has Üster's translation become more popular than the other translations and what are the sociological factors causing this very difference? This thesis aims to reveal the influence of sociological conditions on translations and highlights the role of the translational agents by examining their identity as translators comprehensively. To achieve this very aim, this thesis adopts a methodology combining both translation theories and sociological concepts. In this way, this thesis sheds light on the interdisciplinary nature of translation studies and provides a broader perspective on translational actors.

As the thesis aims to combine translation studies with sociological concepts, a combination of theories of both disciplines is at stake: The retranslation theory and Andre Lefevere's patronage theory are supported with the sociological concepts of *field*, *capital*, *habitus* and *interest* developed by Pierre Bourdieu. Retranslation, both

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<sup>4</sup> The special editions of the novels *Nineteen Eighty Four* and *Animal Farm* was published in the years 2018 and 2019, respectively. The copyright pages of the translations are available in the following addresses:

<https://www.canYayinlari.com/1984-9789750738975>

<https://www.canYayinlari.com/hayvan-ciftligi-9789750741630>

in the sense of product and process, and the existing theories on retranslation phenomenon create a guideline for classification and analysis on the production of translations. Secondly, Lefevere's patronage theory is implemented so as to examine the roles and characteristics of publishing institutions by classifying them as patrons controlling the above mentioned translation and retranslations. Last but not least, the concepts "field", "capital" and "habitus" of French sociologist Pierre Bourdieu are employed with an aim to sociologically analyse translational agents and eventually to reveal the effects of translational agents' social trajectories on translations.



## CHAPTER ONE

### THEORIES AND LITERATURE REVIEW

#### 1.1. RETRANSLATION

Retranslation is a concept referring to the presence of a first translation and one or more subsequent translations. It can be perceived both as a product and a process. Outi Paloposki and Kaise Koskinen (2010) defines retranslation products as “a second or later translation of a single source text into the same target language” and retranslation process as a phenomenon occurring “over a period of time, but in practice, simultaneous or near-simultaneous translations also exist, making it sometimes hard or impossible to classify one as a first translation and the other as a second translation” (p.293). Koskinen and Paloposki makes clear that although theory of retranslation seems to be mainly about successive translations whose production dates are so far from each other, these translations can also be simultaneous, i.e. retranslations may be synchronic or diachronic.

When the fact that great number of retranslations of literary and/or non-literary works exist is taken into consideration, one may ask why we need them anyways. Translation scholars problematize this very question from different perspectives. Antonie Berman (1990) who suggested the so-called Retranslation Hypothesis, claims that there is a linear improvement between the first translation and its retranslation, i.e. he assumes that retranslations are “better” than the first translation (as cited in Brownlie, 2006, p.148). Siobhan Brownlie defines Berman’s approach as follows:

First there is a courageous ‘introduction’ without literary pretension (usually for those studying the work); then comes the time of the first translations with literary ambition – they are generally not complete translations, and as is well-known, full of flaws; then come the (many) retranslations... Eventually a canonical translation may be produced which will stop the cycle of retranslations for a long time. (as cited in Brownlie, 2006, p.148)

The first translation is “a more assimilating” production and it reduces “the text’s otherness in the name of cultural or editorial requirements”, while a

retranslation is more close to its source text than previous translation(s) which, according to Berman, makes a translation “more successful” (Paloposki & Koskinen, 2010, p.31). Şebnem Susam-Sarajeva (2003) also highlights the faithfulness phenomenon deriving from the similar assumption: “initial translations are mostly assimilative and tend to reduce the ‘otherness’ of the source text because of local constraints (Susam-Sarajeva, 2003, p.3). Thus, the importance of contextual conditions and requirements of target culture becomes more of an issue in retranslation theory, as every translation represents and reflects the characteristics of the time and place it is produced, which makes it a valid source to textually track the ideological, linguistic, sociological and even political changes occurred in the same context over time. French sociologist Pierre Bourdieu (1999) highlights the similar issue in international circulation of texts in general as following:

The fact that texts circulate without their context, that - to use my terms - they don't bring with them the field of production of which they are a product, and the fact that the recipients, who are themselves in a different field of production, re-interpret the texts in accordance with the structure of the field of reception, are facts that generate some formidable misunderstandings and that can have good or bad consequences. (Bourdieu, 1999, p.221)

It may be concluded that the common assumption on retranslation and Berman's retranslation hypothesis in particular evaluate first and subsequent translations on the basis of a binary perspective: old-new, good-bad, faithful-unfaithful to its source etc. Similar to Berman's approach, Isabelle Vanderschelden (2000) also problematizes retranslation from a time-bound perspective and entitles translations as “hot” or “cold”. “Hot” translations are the ones produced nearly at the same time period of the source text's publication, the time when no research has been conducted on the work in question. “Cold” translations, on the other hand, refer to the works produced years after the source text, in which translator has the opportunity to do research on the textual or paratextual materials (interviews, forewords, epilogues, researches on readers' perception etc.). Vanderschelden asserts that “cold” translations tend to be more “accurate” and “successful” than “hot” translations (as cited in Paloposki & Koskinen, 2010, p.32). It is clear that both Vanderschelden and Berman approach retranslation with a perspective based on binary oppositions.

However, evaluating translations through binary oppositions draws a rather narrow frame which disables the examination of the translated works. Retranslation in particular is a much more comprehensive concept than retranslation hypothesis suggests. Paloposki and Koskinen are two of the translation scholars who challenges Berman's hypothesis and evaluating retranslations with binary oppositions in general. Within this frame, they have problematized the concept of *retranslation* from a rather distinctive perspective: They question retranslation phenomenon under the light of the circumstances in our digital era (2003). In this research too, they emphasize that retranslation is not a product and/or a process to be explained with chronological order, i.e. they challenge the so-called retranslation hypothesis. They ask "will this technology-driven revolution affect the ways in which we perceive translation (or has it already done so)?" and aims to highlight whether these changes are only "pragmatic, or they bring about a change in attitudes? In this particular article of Koskinen and Paloposki, they provide a broader perspective on retranslation phenomenon by researching the changes in "the essence of or translation" and "our understanding of it" (p.22). To answer these questions, they employ retranslations as they make it possible to detect and comprehend the above-stated changes, since they claim that "technological advances of today and the changing attitudes towards translating are visible" in the cases of retranslation" (p.22). In the context of Finland, they discover that changing patterns in book publishing industry, for instance e-books, have remarkably affected the retranslation production and revising has become much more common than retranslation. They highlight the evolving working conditions of translators from handwritings to translations produced mostly in a digitalized environment as following:

Not only many source texts and translations never materialize on paper, both texts may also be in part or entirely construed of previous material digitally archived and administered by electronic translation memories. Rather than a creator, translator is a compiler, putting together text fragments to construct a textual bricolage ... The philosophy behind translation memory technology regards retranslation as an evil best to be avoided (Paloposki and Koskinen, 2003, p.24)

Paloposki and Koskinen examine retranslations, the reasons behind retranslations and their reception in Finnish context and the textual differences between revising and retranslation. Their cases are Victor Hugo's *Les Miserables*, Nikolai Gogol's *Dead Souls* and Selma Lagerlöf's *Gösta Berling*. Within this frame,

Paloposki and Koskinen criticize that context and conditions surrounding retranslations are much more widely problematized than the retranslated texts and state that retranslation research requires a textual analysis (2003, p.30). They claim that time factor and chronologic publishing dates are not the only motive behind retranslations, as they have revealed that some classics are retranslated while some are only revised and/or re-edited. They have also highlighted that some so-called retranslated versions of the above-named classics are actually revisions of former translations, which creates serious ethical issues and even trans-piracy, a term coined by Ljuba Tarvi (2005, p.137). Thus, according to Paloposki and Koskinen, the categorizations as revisions and retranslations are not always true, as they point out that the line between revisions and retranslations are remarkably blurred. Therefore, to draw a clear line between retranslations and revisions and overcome ethical issues Paloposki and Koskinen offers an agent-oriented retranslation research methodology (2010, pp.46-47). Similar to Paloposki and Koskinen, in this thesis, it is claimed that retranslation should not be reduced to binary oppositions as it is in retranslation hypothesis. Furthermore, in parallel with Paloposki and Koskinen, textual analysis of translations and retranslations play a crucial role for this thesis so as to examine retranslation phenomenon objectively and an agent-oriented perspective is implemented in order to draw attention to variations between translations deriving from different actors. Furthermore, Paloposki and Koskinen draw attention to the small amount of translation researches on retranslation and accordingly promotes researches. In this sense, the thesis too aims to further retranslation researches and make a contribution to the existing corpus of studies on the subject.

Şebnem Susam-Sarajeva too (2003) challenges the narrow frame for retranslations and draws attention to a particularly typical characteristic of retranslation researches: She highlights that although translation of literary works and their subsequent translations are more commonly employed cases than any other text types, they are not the only units of analysis of retranslation researches: Various types of texts have been problematized by translation. For instance, Şebnem Susam-Sarajeva (2003) focuses on theoretical texts, namely Roland Barthes' work in Turkish context and Helene Cixous' work in Anglo-American world, and discusses their retranslations from a term-oriented perspective. She claims that "the factors such as dominance, tolerance and power" play a vital role in determining the position of a text in a culture in general and in its literary system (p.1) In addition, Susam-

Sarajeva reveals “the linear improvement from the first translation and subsequent retranslations and that retranslations are more adequate translations than former ones, as the first translations are “assimilative and tend to reduce otherness” (2003, p.3). She considers retranslation as an update of previous translations (p.4). She particularly emphasizes the complex nature of retranslation phenomenon with the following claims

- Literary works are not the only products that have been retranslated and non-literary works are also retranslated;
- Retranslating does not require a previous translation to be out-of-date. Retranslations produced in a same time period can be produced.
- Retranslation does not require a previous translation to be “inadequate” and/or “wrong”.
- Target culture, context and requirements of target system effect retranslations more than source does.
- The crucial cases for retranslation research does not necessarily need to be only on the existence of one or more retranslation(s). The absence of retranslation may provide remarkable material for academic investigation  
(Susam-Sarajeva, 2003, p.5)

In line with Susam-Sarajeva’s arguments, this thesis also aims to highlight the various motives behind retranslations and that receiving culture and its existing conditions in the period of translation’s production determinantly affect translations and retranslations.

As another example for retranslations of various types of texts, Eker-Roditakis (2019) problematizes intersemiotic translation of a movie adaptation as a retranslation of a novel. She problematizes the novel *Güz Sancısı* (1992) by Yılmaz Karakoyunlu, its Greek translation in 1998 and the movie adaptation aired both in Turkey and Greece in 2008. She argues that there is a connection between the Greek translation of the novel and the movie adaptation in Greek. She approaches them as a series of transmedial translation and through paratextual analysis, she works on shifts and losses occurred as a result of the intersemiotic translation, reception of the film adaptation and the affect of the movie on the later retranslation. Therefore, Eker-Roditakis expands the frame of retranslation concept and contributes to retranslation

researches, including this particular thesis, by revealing and highlighting the wide scope of retranslation phenomenon.

If binary oppositions do not suffice to understand and evaluate the concept of retranslation, then how can the relationship between first and subsequent translations be examined and analysed? In addition to textual analysis focusing on the intertextuality between translations, the “stance” of a retranslator can potentially provide a more realistic approach, which eventually puts a special emphasis on the sociological aspect of translation activities. In this sense, Lawrence Venuti (2013) takes retranslations as his focusing point in “Retranslations: The creation of Value” and emphasizes their role in the canonization of a literary text. He claims that they are indeed crucial translational products as they do not merely include target culture’s current values but the ones in former translations are also embedded in retranslations, i.e. Venuti asserts that nearly every retranslation strikes a stance towards its previous versions. He claims that the values formed in a retranslation is not only determined by the receptor values which the translator inscribes in the source text, but also by the values inscribed in a previous version (p.96). Additionally, he asserts that there is an inevitable intertextuality between different translations in a competing manner:

A retranslation is sometimes accompanied by a more immediate form of intertextuality, paratexts, which signal its status as a retranslation and make explicit the competing interpretation that the retranslator has tried to inscribe in the source text. (Venuti, 2013, p.104)

In this sense, a retranslation may be presented as an update and a “more correct” version of the previous translations. Thus, translators and retranslators come forward as translational actors, i.e. their agency become textually or paratextually visible. A retranslation is claimed to be “more adequate” to its original and “more complete or accurate in representing the text or some specific feature of it (p.97). Venuti’s assumption refers to an explicit or implicit stance of retranslation towards existing translations. Anthony Pym (1998), on the other hand, describes the phenomenon as “active” or “passive” retranslations (p.82). According to Pym, a passive retranslation occurs mostly between “synchronic” retranslations, i.e. various translations produced nearly at the same period of time and the terms refer to the existing knowledge on the original and/or translations do not differ from each other and thus there is not an active and apparent competition between these versions.

Active retranslations are quite the opposite: They mostly occur between “diachronic” retranslations, i.e. when a retranslation is produced years after the previous translation. In this case, it is more likely for a retranslator to accumulate enough information both on existing translations, their translators and the original, which eventually leads to a more explicit stance towards them (Pym, 1998, p.82).

Venuti also clearly points out the importance of retranslation researches in the field of translation studies by indicating that they “can help to advance translation studies by illuminating several key issues that bear directly on practice and research” and he adds that retranslation researches can be fruitful “only when a linguistic operation or a textual analysis is linked to the cultural and political factors that invest in with significance and value” (p.98). In a similar vein, this thesis acknowledges the importance and potential of researches including textual analysis. Furthermore, Venuti’s perspective on retranslations’ stance towards existing translations provides an insight for the examinations of retranslations and the potential stances in both retranslations of *Nineteen Eighty Four* is accordingly revealed (2013, pp. 96-108).

Moreover, if we consider retranslations as tasks or missions with a particular aim, they may also be used to serve this very aim as well as to reinforce a particular identity or institution, as the choice of a text to be retranslated is bounded by the ideology and perspective of retranslational actors. Venuti highlights this issue as following:

Retranslations are designed deliberately to form particular identities and to have particular institutional effects ... Retranslations can thus maintain and strengthen the authority of a social institution by reaffirming the institutionalized interpretation of a canonical text. (Venuti, 2013, p.97)

Translation theories, in this particular case retranslation theory, have been combined by the theories and concepts of various disciplines. Similar to this thesis, Siobhan Brownlie (2006) brings retranslation theory together with narratology’s narrative theory<sup>5</sup> by indicating that “the retranslations are narrative versions which are elicited and constrained by specific conditions” and that the parallelity between various translated products may be defined in accordance with those conditions, which makes it possible to track the differences and similarities between translations

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<sup>5</sup> A narratological theory based on the assumption that every person is a storyteller and they act in their social world in a narrative mode and make decisions accordingly (for further information: <https://projectnarrative.osu.edu/about/what-is-narrative-theory>).

(2006, p.167). Her paper in general points out the productivity potential that may be obtained by combining related disciplines with translation studies, including retranslation researches. In a similar vein, this thesis too combines various disciplines whose common ground is human factor and is based on the potential of productivity for translation researches.

*Target's* special issue entitled "Voice in Retranslation" (2015), on the other hand, aggregates two different translation theory together: Voice and retranslation. It is claimed that "both diachronically and synchronically produced retranslations are a particularly fertile ground for study of voice", as the net of voices in retranslations becomes even more complex because of the various agents, texts and paratexts involved in the process (Alvstad & Assis Rosa, 2015, p.3). Within this issue, Koskinen and Paloposki (2015) argue that retranslations include an intertextuality between not only with its source but also with preceding translations and the retranslator "assumes a stance towards the first translator", which can be detected through textual and contextual voices. These combinations of theories with retranslation show that retranslations are fertile grounds to investigate translations from various perspectives.

In Turkish context, retranslation phenomenon has been problematized with various Turkish cases and retranslation researches, focused both on products and retranslation processes, have been widely conducted. There are special issues containing studies on the subject by Turkish translation scholars dedicated to retranslation theory and the researches within (see *Studies from a Retranslation Culture: The Turkish Context*, 2019; *Perspectives on Retranslation: Ideology, Paratexts and Methods*, 2019). Özmen, in her article "Retranslating in a Censorial Context: H.C. Armstrong's *Grey Wolf*" from *Perspectives on Retranslation*" (2019) is one of the examples relating to this thesis which is mainly based on the assumption that retranslations are dramatically affected by the political and sociological atmosphere in which they are produced. Similar to this assumption, Özmen (2019) particularly emphasizes the influence of varying political views dominant at a given time period on retranslations and discusses the issue by problematizing various censorship types implemented on translation and retranslations of the same source text. Armstrong's *Grey Wolf- Mustafa Kemal: An Intimate Study of a Dictator* (1932), a biographical work presenting Mustafa Kemal Atatürk as an evil and egoist dictator in an explicitly negative manner, has been translated more than once by

different translators and in various time periods. Özmen claims that “different types of censorship influenced the retranslations, whether in isolation or in combination” and, she indicates by employing Bourdieu’s concepts that the retranslations are embedded with “diverging translatorial ‘habitus’ and ‘field’” (2019, pp. 45-46). As a result of her examination, she reveals that the first partial translation published in the newspaper *Akşam* in the year 1932 falsified the statements in Armstrong’s works and its translator Necmettin Sadık Sadak critically and strongly protested the author by making additions and declaring Armstrong as “the enemy of Turks”. In the retranslations, on the other hand, produced respectively by Peyami Safa(1955), Gül Çağalı Güven (1961) and Ahmet Çuhadır (2001), the censorship implemented to preserve the image of Atatürk was slowly replaced with the “pseudo-censors” setting a rather negative and dictatorial character for him, which explicitly points out the influence of political views on the translation in general observed through censorship (Özmen, 2019). Özmen’s article is particularly crucial for this thesis for two reasons: The first is that she employs Bourdieusian concepts to explain the political backgrounds of translators (habitus) and the literary system that the translations were produced in (field), similar to this thesis. The second is that the article puts a special emphasis for impact of the varying contexts and sociopolitical conditions on retranslations, which is one of the main objectives of this thesis.

Apart from Özmen, Tahir Gürçağlar (2011) also widely problematizes the retranslation phenomenon, focusing on the position of translations and retranslations of *Gulliver’s Travels* in Turkish literary system and researches the reasons why the work was popular amongst Turkish publishing houses and translators. She claims that retranslations have potential to provide information on varying cultural norms, as they uncover the differences between different time periods. She also asserts retranslations of children’s literature provide an insight for us to discover divergent opinions on the role of classics in child education. Eventually, she discovers the intertextuality between different translations, even when it seems that there is no connection between the texts in question. Tahir Gürçağlar uncovers the varying approaches towards pediatric development and education formulated according to the cultural norms at a given time through retranslations (Tahir Gürçağlar, 2011). Her article sheds light on role of the retranslations in identifying sociocultural differences in different time periods, as this thesis too aims to do.

Retranslation researches in general point out the fruitful potential and the crucial role of retranslations in understanding the influence of varying sociocultural and political circumstances on translation. Eventually, these studies show that sociological factors are indeed determinative in translations and retranslations, which constitutes the foundation of the idea combining sociological concepts of Bourdieu with retranslation theory. In addition, translation scholars problematizing retranslations puts a special emphasis on the necessity of comparative textual analysis between translations and retranslations in order to uncover textual proofs of variations occurred in a culture. In this thesis, the stated necessity of comparative textual analysis is acknowledged and therefore, sociological perspective is combined with a comprehensive textual analysis.

## **1.2. ANDRE LEFEVERE'S PATRONAGE THEORY**

Translation is an indispensable part of a culture's literary system, when the fact that it is a medium making it possible for different cultures to meet and understand each other. Translated literature naturally develops the existing corpus of literary works in the language of a culture in question. Historically, it can be observed that translation can even enrich local works by introducing new genres and themes to the target culture's literary system. For instance, Francois Fenelon's novel *Les Aventures de Telemaque* (1699) was translated by Yusuf Kamil Pasa into Ottoman Turkish as *Tercüme-i Telemak* in 1862. His translation paved the way for further novel translations and eventually local products (Karadağ, 2015, p.114). From this point of view, translation's power to reform the target system's structure is clear. Additionally, it is inevitable that translation activities are naturally bounded by target culture's requirements and constraints, i.e. its norms, as Toury (1995) puts it and also explicitly highlights translation's natural target orientedness (pp.23-26, 53-69). How can such an activity and its complex components in the target culture be analysed? Andre Lefevere (1992) defines translation as a type of "rewriting". According to Lefevere, the term originally refers to that every writing about a unique literary work is a rewriting. He problematizes "those in the middle, the men and women who do not write literature, but rewrite it" (1992, p.1). Accordingly, the fact that translations are originally rewritten version of a specific original in a given target

language makes them rewritings. Therefore, it is clear that the term rewriting does not only involve translations, but also reviews, epilogues, prologues, criticisms, researches on a literary work, spin-offs, anthologies and so on. However, Lefevere claims that in spite of their secondary positions, rewritings are not weak productions: On the contrary, they are remarkably effective and can be read by a more crowded mass of readers. They are produced to serve a particular aim, which makes them “manipulative” texts. Thus, according to Lefevere, every rewriter, as producers of this rich and complex corpus of rewritten literary efforts, “adapt, manipulate the originals they work with to some extent” (pp.5-9). The reason of this manipulation and adaptation efforts generally is to “fit in with the dominant, or one of the dominant ideological and poetological currents of their time”. Additionally, it needs to be acknowledged that the reason of manipulation and adaptation is not always to fit in, but to challenge or resist an ideology and the number of such cases are remarkable (Tymoczko, 2010). In other words, Lefevere asserts that rewritings are formed by the factors of power, ideology, institution and manipulation. If one wants to reveal the effects and dynamics of these factors and decides to conduct a research to achieve this very aim, she/he inevitably and easily discovers them, i.e. these factors are always present in every case of rewritings and waits to be revealed (p.2).

Lefevere classifies these factors under three subtitles: Ideology, poetics and patronage (1992). Ideological factor leads rewritings to be produced according to a specific perspective. They may be “inspired by ideological constraints, or produced under ideological constraints, depending on whether rewriters find themselves in agreement with the dominant ideology of their time or not” (p.7). For instance, in English author H.C. Armstrong’s *Grey Wolf-Mustafa Kemal: An Intimate Study of a Dictator* (1932), Mustafa Kemal Atatürk is represented as an evil dictator and the work draws particular attention to his flaws, as Ceyda Özmen puts it (2019, p.46). This controversial text inevitably created reactions after its publication. In the first years of the Republic of Turkey, Sadık Sadak, the first partial translator of *Grey Wolf*, strictly denied and falsified the claims and statements in the book with his translation published in the newspaper *Akşam* and he also explicitly criticized author’s arguments (*Akşam*, 8 December 1932, 1). Özmen reveals that Sadak’s partial translations and criticisms, i.e. rewritings on the original, objectifies how an ideology can effect the formulation of rewritings (Özmen, 2019).

Secondly, poetics, according to Lefevere, refers to literary studies, i.e. literature's itself, its limitations, how it should be formed, what role it has in the society. Lefevere explains the term as following by highlighting poetics' two main components:

One is an inventory literary devices, genres, motifs, prototypical characters and situations, and symbols; the other a concept of what the role of literature is, or should be, in the social system as a whole. The latter concept is influential in the selection of themes that must be relevant to the social system if the work of literature is to be noticed at all. In its formative phase a poetics reflects both the devices and the "functional view" of the literary production dominant in a literary system when its poetics was first codified. (1992, p.26)

In this sense, professionals, groups of people or institutions which are qualified and "powerful" in the literary field play an important and constitutive role in the formulation and codification of poetics. If poetics is "codified", these actor's ideologies, literary activities and practices eventually creates and then nourishes theoretical branch of a literary system (Lefevere, 1992, p.27) However, the codification of poetics is not absolute: It can change over time and this change is mostly led by powerful literary actors mentioned above (p.35). If poetics was not historically variable, how could we even think about different literary eras and movements?

Last but not least, patronage is another constitutive factor for rewritings. According to Lefevere, a culture's literature needs to be considered as a system with its own dynamics. This system is characterized as a "contrived" system, as "it consists both of texts(objects) and human agents who read, write and rewrite texts (1992, p.12). Patronage is generally associated with the latter component of literary system, i.e. agents. Lefevere asserts that there are two factors controlling "logic of the culture" in a literary system: The first one exists inside the system. This factor is controlled by professionals, such as teachers, scholars, critics, translators, reviewers etc. They "try to control the literary system from the inside within the parameters set by the second factor", which is patronage. The term patronage refers to persons and/or institutions that have enough power to "further or hinder the reading, writing and rewriting of literature" (1992, pp.14-15). Patronage determines the parameters under which literary actors such as authors and rewriters work. This determination is also related to poetical actors, i.e. literary professionals, "who represent the 'reigning

orthodoxy” and generally, they adopt the dominant ideology belonging to patrons. Additionally, these professionals and their poetical powers underlie the efforts of patrons to make the system closer to their own ideology (pp.15-16).

Patronage in general points out that there is an acceptance of a power and the parameters formed by this power. In this sense, writers and rewriters need to “legitimize both the status and the power of the power, i.e. patron or patrons” (p.18).

There are three components of patronage that work interrelatedly in their own dynamics, which eventually affects both the rewriting process and its products: Ideological component, economic component and the element of status. Firstly, ideological component, as the term itself suggests, is associated with the specific perspective of a patron. This component, be it political, religious, sociological etc., directly influences and determines “the choice and development of both form and subject matter”. Secondly, the economic component is defined by Lefevre as following: “A patron sees to it that writers and rewriters are able to make a living, by giving them a pension or appointing them to some office”. Lastly, the element of status is mostly associated with matters such as finance and repute. Patrons “pay royalties on the sale of books or they employ professionals as teachers and reviewers”. In other words, they provide financial power and distinguished position (1992, p.16). These three components of patronage underlie the productions of literary actors.

The components of patronage may be controlled by one power or they may separately be under the authorisation of more than one power. The first case is defined as undifferentiated patronage referring to dispensation “by one and the same patron”. The latter case where more than one patron is in question and manages components separately is defined as differentiated patronage. In undifferentiated patronage, economic success mostly derives from the ideological factors, i.e. people having a particular perspective yield most of the profit for patrons. In contrast to undifferentiated patronage, differentiated patronage’s economic success “is relatively independent of ideological factors” and does not provide a status for writer and/or rewriter. Lefevre states that “most of contemporary bestsellers illustrate this point rather well” (1992, p.17).

Lefevre acknowledges that Russian formalists were the first to introduce systemic approach into contemporary theory of literature, as Itamar Even-Zohar does in his “polysystem theory” (1990). Similar to Lefevre, Even-Zohar defines culture

as “system of systems”. He states that literary system is merely one of them constituting a whole culture and it also has its own systems and dynamics, in which literary products are in a continuous competition and either in peripheral(secondary) or central(primary) positions. Both Lefevere and Even-Zohar advocate a systemic approach and consider literature of a culture as a constantly changing and evolving system. However, Lefevere mostly focuses on and problematizes literary actors and their activities in the literary system, while Even-Zohar approaches the system from a product-oriented perspective. It may be asserted as one of the major differences between their systemic approaches.

Within the frame of Lefevere’s theory, Shunyi Chen (2016) claims that translation scholars have not conducted sufficient amount of research on the concepts and ideology and they have not attempted enough to develop or further the patronage theory. In this sense, Shunyi points out an absence of theoretical framework in the subject. Thus, she aims to further the concept of ideology in terms of patronage and proposes a theoretical framework for patronage researches in translation studies. (Shunyi, 2016, p.105). In general, she asserts that ideology is the factor affecting and even determining the conditions for other components of patronage, namely economical component and component of status. Similar to Lefevere, Shunyi claims that ideology plays a determinative role for election of a text to be translated on a macro level. Ideology may also determine the translational strategies, procedures etc. on a micro level. Therefore, ideology stands at the center of translation activities, as translators are directly influenced by the perspectives and ideologies of various agents involved in translation’s production and reception, such as patrons and target readers. As a result of the influence of the ideologies in question, the structural and/or linguistic characteristics of a translation is formed accordingly (pp. 107-108). Ideologies involved in translation processes are usually “enforced by patrons” and they in turn “manipulate the whole process and the final product of translation, to help maintain the interests and social status of the individual or the social group or class” (p.109). On the basis of these main principles on patron’s ideology and its effects on translation, Shunyi proposes two models for patronage researches, namely “Manipulation Model of Ideology upon Translation” (p.112) and “Manipulation Model of Patron’s Ideology upon Translation” (p.114). As she introduces a theoretical perspective for the subject of patronage, Shunyi’s work indeed furthers and develops Lefevere’s patronage theory and attempts to fill the gap in the

patronage and ideology researches that she has observed. Nonetheless, she advocates that translator's identity can be at stake to an extent that his/her patron allows to and thus, translators are not free subjects (p. 111). Indeed, translators are mostly affected by the factors surrounding them and their products are shaped accordingly. Yet, the number of translators whose identities and voices are detectable both in target texts and in paratextual texts such as prologues and forewords. Celal Üster, for instance, the translator of *Nineteen Eighty Four* published in 2010 by Can Yayınları and the executive editor of Can Yayınları, textually involves in the target text and reflects his subjectivity to a great extent (Orwell, 2010, pp.337-350). Therefore, Shunyi's statements on translators' identity may not be valid for such instances. The thesis contributes to Shunyi's work by drawing attention to the translators whose subjectivity are textually and/or contextually active.

However, Shunyi draws a rather negative image of patrons by indicating that translators' ideologies are mostly repressed by dominant ideologies most of which belongs to or are reinforced by patrons (p.108). In this sense, she prescribes three possibilities: The first is that dominant ideology represses translator's identity; the second is that translator's ideology challenges the dominant ideology, which eventually causes translators to be known as "traitors" or to "risk their lives"; the last possibility is that patron's and translator's ideologies meet on a common ground which paves the way for satisfactory translational results (Shunyi, 2016, pp. 108-109). A patron is not necessarily repressive actors involved in translation processes in a degrading or negatively dominating manner. In a similar vein, Liping Bai (2009) draws attention to this issue by claiming that the relationship between a patron and a translator has a potential to turn into "a productive network" (p.213). Liping compares different approaches of Lefevere and Michel Foucault<sup>6</sup> towards "power" and employs Foucauldian idea of power which prescribes a neutral definition for power by clearing the concept of negative statements such as "repress" and "censor" (p. 215). Furthermore, he researches the origins of the word patron and emphasizes that the original meaning of the word is not negative; on the contrary, he states that the word originally refers to "defender" and "protector" (p.215). Liping highlights the productive nature of patron-translator relationship with a case study from Chinese

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<sup>6</sup> "We must cease once and for all to describe the effects of power in negative terms: It 'excludes', it 'represses', it 'censors', it 'abstracts', it 'conceals'. In fact, power produces; it produces reality; it produces domains of objects and rituals of truth" (Foucault, 1979, p. 194).

context: Liang Shiqiu, the translator, and Hu Shi, as a very influential patron and intellectual in modern China. Liping comprehensively examines the works performed by Liand and Hu and discovers that Hu, as a patron, acted more like a supportive friend towards his translator and the translator was free to have or not to have Hu as his patron. Eventually, they constructed a fruitful network of translation, which paved a way for productivity in terms of translations (Liping, 2009). This particular case study of Liping highlights the positive sides of the term “patronage”. This thesis too refuses to define the patrons and their influences on translation and retranslation processes as negative and repressive factors and approaches them as actors initiators and formulators of translations and retranslations focusing on productivity.

It is stated by some translation scholars that Lefevere’s patronage theory needs to be developed and supported by case studies. For instance, James Hadley (2016) critically points out a gap in Lefevere’s patronage theory: According to Hadley, Lefevere’s work is developed majorly through abstract examples which occurred in the past such as Medici and Louis XIV, not through solid case studies. Therefore, he criticizes “Lefevere’s generalizing tendency” (p.710). To move Lefevere’s patronage theory beyond historical examples, Hadley conducts a case study in Chinese context and emphasizes particular aspects of patronage. He highlights that both translators and patrons need a concrete and productive relationship with each other for their own sake. Thus, as Hadley puts it, they ideally work in a balanced relationship and seek to protect their positions by staying loyal to its requirements (p.711), which saves translators to be posited as dominated and/or repressed actors working under patronage and presents them as active agents involved in translation process. Hadley also problematizes both differentiated and undifferentiated patronage. According to Hadley, a translator is controlled by one authority in undifferentiated patronage and as a result, the translational product is directly and actively influenced by the patron. In differentiated patronage, on the other hand, the power in undifferentiated patronage is shared by various authority, which leads to a decrease in the possibility and effectiveness of direct influence, and thus, translator acquires more freedom during the translation process than he/she has in undifferentiated patronage (Hadley, 2016, pp.711-712). Within this frame, Hadley researches the concept of patronage in his case from Chinese context and reveals that a shift from undifferentiated to differentiated patronage, or vice versa, may be in

question. Accordingly, he claims that cultural and/or linguistic systems are not stationary and therefore, patronage as a system belonging to those macrosystems can not be assumed as a statical phenomenon. However, according to Hadley, Lefevere prescribes an implicit stability in his patronage theory. Thereby, it could be asserted that Hadley develops Lefevere's approach and the scope of patronage theory by taking other possibilities into account.

It is clear that patronage and ideology of patron directly affects the selection of texts to be translated and their translation processes. Thanks to Orwell's dystopic novel *Nineteen Eighty Four* and its ideological characteristic, an investigation of the novel can provide crucial information on the ideological influence of patronage on its translations. Accordingly, the thesis seeks to discover ideological imprints of patrons and actors involved in translation process in final translational products. Similar to this thesis, Masoud Hassanzade Novin and Bahloul Salmani (2017) investigates the translation and a specific retranslation of Orwell's well-known novel in Persian context within the frame of Lefevere's patronage theory. They analyze two different translations produced before and after Iran's Islamic Revolution and the ideologies embedded in those translations. In their research, Hassanzade Novin and Salmani employs qualitative and descriptive methodology and critical discourse analysis based on a term-oriented comparison. Hassanzade Novin and Salmani claim "overshadowed ideologies" may be reflected on translations (p. 1407). In addition, they assert and eventually uncover that Orwell's naturally ideological words such as big brother, INGSOC, MINITRUE etc. are "manipulated in the translations of the novel" (Novin & Salmani, 2017, p. 1412). However, Hassanzade Novin and Salmani do not offer enough information for their readers about the context in which the translations in question were produced and the so-called "overshadowed ideologies" that they claim their presence in translations. Similarly, political aspects of Orwell's novel are barely mentioned in the article. Furthermore, they offer no clue about the patronage under which the texts were translated and the characteristics of the period in question. Thus, Hassanzade Novin and Salmani's term-oriented investigation on *Nineteen Eighty Four* and its two different Persian translations do not shed sufficient light on the ideological aspects of patronage and translations. Different from Hassanzade Novin and Salmani's article, this thesis seeks to combine textual comparison with contextual and sociological explanations so as to underline the

ideological aspects of patronage and uncover the connection between the ideologies embedded both in the novel and its translations.

### **1.3. SOCIOLOGICAL CONCEPTS DEVELOPED BY PIERRE BOURDIEU**

French sociologist Pierre Bourdieu (1972) introduces a theory of practice to provide better and a more comprehensive perspective for people's action from a sociological point of view. He asserts that theoretical knowledge do not suffice to understand the motives and dynamics hidden in human interactions and behaviours, as they have more complex dynamics varying in every individual. He claims:

In short, one has quite simply to bring into scientific work and into the theory of practices that it seeks to produce, a theory which cannot be found through theoretical experience alone of what it is to be 'native', that is, to be in that relationship of 'learned ignorance', of immediate but unselfconscious understanding which defines the practical relationship to the world. (Bourdieu, 1980, p.19)

According to Bourdieu, there are plenty of factors directly affecting human actions which are dispensable components of social practices. One of the most prominent factors is the *field*: Bourdieu puts a special emphasis on the social space “in which interactions, transactions and events occurred”, as Patricia Thomson (2008) puts it. According to Bourdieu, this social space has a significant role in human interactions, as it provides much more comprehensive analysis of social behaviours, where words or events are not enough to examine the social phenomena (2008, p.67). Bourdieu calls the so-called social space as *field* (1972).

Patricia Thomson explains the concept of “field” developed by Pierre Bourdieu and notes that field is a social space which is more than just an empty and neutral space like meadows; on the contrary, it is a battle field, which means that there are constant changes and struggles going on within the boundaries of the field. A particular field has its own dynamics and rules. People choose fields to enter according to their dispositions and/or sociological backgrounds. Once they make it into a field and become its agents, they either deliberately act according to the rules of the field in question or they, if they have more capital and power than the other agents, can even reformulate the field and its rules. The reason is that the field not

only affects their interactions and activities, but it also makes an effect on the existing dynamics of the field in question, as Micheal Grenfell (2008) puts it:

By the time individuals enter social fields- for example, school - they are equipped with a whole set of dispositions, expressive of a particular social origin and trajectory. Because of affinities and dis-affinities, they gravitate towards those social locales that most share the values and interests of their own social provenance, views and practices. In this way, interests and values are reaffirmed. It is not so much that individuals occupy specific social fields but they are occupied by them: the "good" school "chooses" the pupil as much as the pupil chooses the school. (Grenfell, 2008, p.165)

Hence, it is clear that the social field is not only a static field in which no change occurs, but it is a dynamic field with certain rules, agents and boundaries. Given that people involved in more than one social field in their everyday lives, it is inevitable to think that these social fields are the indispensable parts of their lives affecting their actions. Thus, field is an important factor of human practice shaping the actions of its agents. The agents generally behave according to the constraints and requirements of the field. Bourdieu explains this issue with a sport metaphor: "Feeling for the game" (Bourdieu, 1980, p.66). It highlights that the agents act like the players of a game who try to have a better position and to accumulate capital.

Thomson furthers Bourdieu's concept and indicates in her article that there are some similarities between the social field and a football field, a field in science fiction and a field of forces in physics (Thomson, 2008, p.68). According to Bourdieu, the field, i.e. the social field which resembles a football field, as it has boundaries, certain rules and positions for each player (agents) within the game (Thomson, 2008, p. 69). An academic field may be given as an instance: A university may be considered as a social and academic field, given that every university has boundaries. In order to complete their education, students have to obey the rules of their university within its boundaries academic field. In addition, each student has their unique position formed in line with their *habitus* and *capital* and they play the game of their university to accumulate more capital.

Secondly, the social field resembles a field in science fiction, as it is constructed "through the erection of a barrier between what goes on inside and what happens outside" (Thomson, 2008, p. 69). Thomson explains this as follows:

Designed to protect insiders, they constitute little self-contained worlds. The activities inside follow regular and ordered patterns and have some predictability: without this, the social world inside the force field would become anarchic and cease to function. (Thomson, 2008, p.70)

In addition, it is also stated that the system within the field is hierarchized, which means that none of the agents within the field has the same power. Some are dominant and determines the conditions for other agents that are less influential. This specific characteristic of the field theory has similarities with Itamar Even-Zohar's "polysystem theory" (Even-Zohar, 1979): There are plenty of systems affecting each other and within each system, there are central and peripheral positions. Centre, i.e. dominant elements, shapes the periphery<sup>7</sup>.

Finally, the social field resembles the field of forces in physics, as it is "made up of opposing forces" (Thomson, 2008, p. 71). So, it is obvious that the field can also be considered as a magnetic field, since it is stated in the article that cultural and economic capitals are two hierarchized poles in a social field and the positions in the field is determined by their relationship to the two poles (Thomson, 2008, p.71).

Enterances into a social field are controlled by the so-called agents *gatekeepers*. These agents are the ones who have accumulated enough capital which gives them power to control the flow of agents in the field in question. Erka Vuorinnen (1995) explain the gatekeeping action and the gatekeepers with these words:

Generally put, gatekeeping could be defined as the process of controlling the flow of information into and through communication channels. The controlling function is carried out by gatekeepers located at certain strategic areas, or gates, in the information channel. The gatekeepers decide what messages or pieces of information shall go through a particular gate and continue their journey in the channel and what not ("in" or "out" choices), and in what form and substance these messages are allowed to pass. (Vuorinnen, 1995, pp.161-162)

From a Bourdieusian perspective, the "messages" and "the pieces of information" mentioned above also refer to agents trying to make it into a field or to have a better position in a field. Gatekeepers keep the ones who positively affect the field and contribute to it. They are also the agents determining the entrance criteria and

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<sup>7</sup> For further information on the Polysystem Theory: Even-Zohar, I. (1979). "POLYSYSTEM THEORY". Tel Aviv: Israel.

accordingly control the flow into the field, i.e. these agents literally keep the gate of the field they belong.

Another important factor in the theory of practice developed by Pierre Bourdieu is *capital*. Bourdieu defines the concept of capital as follows: “Capital is accumulated labor which, when appropriated on a private basis by agents or groups of agents, enables them to appropriate social energy in the form of reified or living labor” (Bourdieu, 1986, p.16). In the light of this definition, it may be suggested that capital plays a determinant role in the actions of agents in a given field, as it provides an economic or a symbolic power for its owner. So, when economic capital is considered as money to spend and purchase items, symbolic capital may be seen as the accumulated power behind the social agents and their actions.

According to Bourdieu, the concept of capital does not merely refer to the economic capital, rather it is a more comprehensive concept. Capital in economics is closely related to “maximization of profit”, i.e. it is a commercial, concrete and naturally “self-interested” concept. This particular characteristic of capital in economics implicitly refers also to the existence of different types of capitals that are disinterested, abstract, namely social and/or symbolic capital. Bourdieu also states that these different types of capitals are not completely separate from each other: They are in a close relationship with each other and may be converted into one another (1986, pp.15-16).

Furthermore, Robert Moore (2008) highlights that seeking profit is at stake not only for the economic capital, but also for symbolic capitals. However, the profit in symbolic capitals are not necessarily material and monetary. For instance, being appreciated, acquisition of reputation may be the profit at stake for symbolic capital

Bourdieu introduces three types of capitals: Economic capital, cultural capital and social capital. Economic capital is “convertible into money and may be institutionalized in the form of property”. Secondly, cultural capital, convertible into economic capital under certain conditions, is a type of symbolic capital accumulated through time and has three different states: The embodied state, the objectified state and the institutionalized state. The first state refers to “the long-lasting dispositions of the mind and body” and may be accumulated through personal self-investment efforts aiming to improve oneself in a particular area. Embodied cultural capital may be accumulated with the help of a qualified education and career, which will eventually provide a symbolic power to enter and act within a social field. The

second is about the form of cultural goods that are produced as a product of self-investment efforts of a person, i.e. embodied state of cultural capital. These products may be as paintings, books, translations etc. They can be converted into money. In other words, it may be suggested that a transmission from embodied state to objective state and eventually to economic capital may be at stake for this particular state. And lastly, the institutionalized state refers to the reputation or a title accumulated through an institution. The institution provides “a legally guaranteed value” and “institutional recognition on the cultural capital” (Bourdieu, 1986, pp.16-20).

Last but not least, social capital, according to Bourdieu, is defined as “the aggregate of the actual or potential resources which are linked to possession of a durable network of more or less institutionalized relationships of mutual acquaintance and recognition”. It provides the members of the social network or group with “the backing of the collectively owned capital, a ‘credential’ which entitles them to credit, in the various senses of the word”. (Bourdieu, 1986, p.21). Interest and profit lie at the very foundation of this social network and it can not be obtained naturally: Rather, it is a result of continuous efforts of a person. In addition, it is “not profitable or even conceivable unless one invests in it a specific competence” (1986, p.22).

In this thesis, the concept of capital is employed with an aim to analyse the translators and institutions which take active roles in the production of translation and retranslation of George Orwell’s canonical work *Nineteen Eighty Four* (1949). The Translation Bureau, the agent producing the first Turkish translation of the novel, and the context in which the translation was produced will be analysed on the foundation of following questions: Which type of capitals supported the activities of Translation Bureau? How did Haldun Derin’s, the first translator, capitals, be it cultural, social or economical, affect his translation? What are the effects of capitals of Translation Bureau and Haldun Derin on their positions in the given field? The same questions will also be posed for Can Yayınları, which published the latest available translation in the market until the copy right law of the novel *Nineteen Eighty Four* expired in January, 2021. It will also be researched what type of capitals the investments of Translation Bureau and Can Yayınları on the novel bring them. The capitals of translators will be examined seperately and their affects on their translations will be comparatively analysed. In addition, translation and retranslations

to be examined in this particular thesis are problematized as a cultural capital in objectified state which can also be transmitted to economic capital and are the result of the accumulated professional and educational, i.e. cultural, capital of their translators, namely Haldun Derin, Nuran Akgören and Celal Üster.

In addition to field and capital, another crucial and prominent concept developed by Bourdieu is *habitus*. Karl Maton (2008) defines the concept *habitus* of Bourdieu's "field theory" as enigmatic (Maton, 2008, p.49). Given that *habitus* has diverse dimensions regarding the sociological aspects of people's lives, this definition highlights the characteristic of habitus. Maton explains Bourdieu's concept as "a structured and structuring structure" as following: "It is 'structured' by one's past and present circumstances, such as family upbringing and educational experiences. It is 'structuring' in that one's habitus helps to shape one's present and future practices. It is a 'structure' in that it is systematically ordered rather than random or unpatterned" (Maton, 2008, p.51).

It is a well-known fact that our everyday lives and choices are affected by various factors such as traditions, family, education, nationality, financial circumstances and so on. We don't have an absolute power on these powers. Maton emphasizes this fact by saying that "we are engaged in a continuous process of making history, but not under conditions entirely of our own making.[...]. We are faced at any moment with a variety of possible forks in that path, or choices of actions and beliefs". He also indicates that these choices are determined according to our current context, their visibility and possibility for us (Maton, 2008, p.52). So, it may be said that the motives behind our practices and choices are in a close relationship with our preferences, tendencies, background, i.e. our *habitus*.

Habitus generally refers to general dispositions and preferences of individuals developed through time and eventually constituting a type of regularity. Accordingly, Öztürk (2005) describes the concept as "a set of acquired patterns of thought, behaviour and taste" (p.145). These patterns majorly determines the practices of agents in social fields. Therefore, habitus has a determinant role in and also "a link between social structures and social practice" (Öztürk, 2005, p. 145). It both constitutes and is constituted by social structures. Therefore, it could be said that habitus includes not only "structuring structures", but also "structured structures", as it actively makes an impact on social field and re-shaped by it at the same time.

Translational activities, for instance, may be examined within the frame of the concept *habitus*. Translation as a decision-making process involves choosing more acceptable or adequate option among other possible alternatives. These choices may vary from a sentence structure, a word, an idiom, to a specific style. So, what is the translator's motive behind choosing one of the possible alternatives? It may be explained with the help of habitus. A translator who may be defined as traditional and prefers conservative language may refuse using modern words or expressions. For example, if this translator is Turkish and she/he generally uses Arabic or Persian norms and words because of his/her traditional family, conservative context or religious education, she/he probably avoids from using modern Turkish expressions. The reason of this deliberate choice can be based on his/her habitus. Wolf highlights Gouanvic's approach, translations are not only produced under the influence of its translator's habitus, but it also affects the habitus of its translator. In other words, translations both structure and are structured by translator's habitus, which can be detected through a comprehensive examination to be conducted on translator's social trajectory (Wolf, 2007, p.19).

Additionally, according to Gouanvic, translation strategies are not only actions of challenging or adjusting to target culture's norms. Rather, they derive from translator's habitus. Translator's habitus interacts with the other agents, structures of a given field and in turn, it also make an impact on them, which refers to a continuous dynamism within the field (Wolf, 2007, p.19).

Similarly, in this thesis, it is assumed that the first and subsequent translations, namely retranslations of Orwell's novel *Nineteen Eighty Four* are shaped in accordance with their producers' habitus. Therefore, translator's and retranslators' social trajectories and general dispositions, i.e. their habitus, will be comprehensively problematized and researched. Additionally, the institutions under whose governance translators produced the translation and retranslations in question and their habitus will also be analysed and the links between agents' and institutions' habitus will be revealed. This thesis aims to uncover how the habitus of both translators and publishing institutions have affected the translation and retranslations as well as their production.

## CHAPTER TWO

### SOURCE TEXT AND AUTHOR

The case study is majorly conducted through three main examination procedures: Firstly the units of analysis of this very thesis, their creators and the contexts that are produced in are comprehensively and individually explained. Secondly, within this frame, the target texts are textually investigated and compared. Thirdly, the findings are evaluated and discussed through selected translation studies theories and sociological concepts.

#### 2.1. GEORGE ORWELL AND NINETEEN EIGHTY FOUR

In this chapter, the source text *Nineteen Eighty-Four*, its creator George Orwell and the conditions under which the novel was produced are explained.

##### 2.1.1. George Orwell: A Political Author

Eric Arthur Blair, mostly known with his pen-name George Orwell, was born in 25th June 1903 in Motihari, India. His father served as a colonial civil agent in Indian Civil Service and his mother was the daughter of a rather poor teak Merchant worked in Burma. In general, their attitudes as a lower-middle-class family were called as “landless gentry” by Orwell, as he saw a weak relation between their “high” social status and rather low income (Woodcock, 2021). Long before Orwell’s generation, the Blair family was originally a wealthy and had a high-profile with aristocratic roots. Over time, however, the profile of the family’s generations went through a decline (Taylor, 2004, p. 24). In this sense, D.J. Taylor, the winner of whitbread award with his biographical work on Orwell’s life named *Orwell: The Life* (2004), defines author’s family as “victorian upper-middle class” and states the family was “professionally – and sentimentally – attached to the Empire”, “sustained by the thought of a fine and more prosperous past”, even though they lost most of their financial resources (Taylor, 2004, p. 25).

After the Blair family went back to their homeland England, he started his education at St. Crypian's preparatory school located in Eastbourne. Since his early years in the school, he stood out with his mental skills. However, those were also the years when his family's poverty caused little Eric to be exposed to discrimination. He describes those days with his own words in his autobiographical essay named *Such, Such Were The Joys* (1952) in which he told the early years of his education:

It was the poor but 'clever' boys who suffered. Our brains were a gold-mine in which he had sunk money, and the dividends must be squeezed out of us. Long before I had grasped the nature of my financial relationship with Sambo, I had been made to understand that I was not on the same footing as most of the other boys. In effect there were three castes in the school. There was the minority with an aristocratic or millionaire background, there were the children of the ordinary suburban rich, who made up the bulk of the school, and there were a few underlings like myself, the sons of clergyman, Indian civil servants, struggling widows and the like. These poorer ones were discouraged from going in for 'extras' such as shooting and carpentry, and were humiliated over clothes and petty possessions (Orwell, 1952).

According to Orwell, St. Crypian's preparatory school as a "snobbish" establishment always sought to attract young boys with prestigious family names to his school and then to educate them for scholarships of remarkable colleges. With this very aim, Mr. Wilkes, also called by Orwell with the nickname Sambo, one of the headmasters at St. Crypian's preparatory school mentioned in Orwell's essay, trained young Eric himself in a special class separated for pupils to be trained up for scholarships. His years in St. Crypian's preparatory school passed with beating-ups and beg-wettings was indeed tough for him. Eric as a misfit young boy in turn won the King's Scholarship to Eton College, which is one of the most sophisticated and oldest educational establishments of England. He as a clever pupil started to publish his writings in the journals of the college (Woodcock, 2021).

He didn't enroll in university. Instead, he chose to apply for Imperial Police Service in India, his birth place. He passed all the entrance exams and started to work in Burma. His days in Burma was the time when he met with violent actions of Imperial police, which eventually evoked an anti-imperialist perspective for him. In Burma, he witnessed executions and he even shot an elephant himself that was later told by Orwell in his autobiographical essay *Shooting an Elephant* (1936).

With all these reasons, he quitted his job in Imperial Police Service in Burma and made a decision that changed his life forever: Because of the feeling of guilt derived from the cruel actions of Imperial Police on the weak, discriminated and poor people, he came back to London in 1927 and started to live his life like a tramp. After London, he went to Paris too and worked as a dishwasher in French restaurants and hotels. Those were the years that he called himself “anarchist”. He wrote about his tramp-like life in London and Paris in his first published novel *Down and Out in Paris and London* (1933), which is the first steps of his literary fame. Subsequently, the first novel he wrote *Burmese Days* which includes the imprints of Orwell’s life in Burma was also published in 1934 (Woodcock, 2021).

In 1936, the year that the Civil War in Spain against Franco and communism<sup>8</sup>, Orwell went to Spain to report the incidents in the war zone. He also joined a nationalist militia called P.O.U.M and fought against the fascists in the fronts of Aragon and Teruel. In the latter front, he got severely wounded from his throat. Even so, he continued to fight against them in Barcelona in 1937. However, he eventually had to run away from Spain to save his own life. His experiences in Spanish Civil War reinforced, one may suggest, his anti-totalitarian perspective, which can be read through his work *Homage to Catalonia* (1938) based on his experiences in the Civil War (Woodcock, 2021).

When the World War II broke out, he was sent to British Broadcasting Corporation’s (BBC) Indian Service. After that, in 1943, he started to work at the socialist newspaper *Tribune*. Those were the times when Orwell wrote so many criticisms, reviews and articles on literary works and political issues from an anti-fascist perspective and supported “libertarian” and “decentralist socialism very much unlike that practiced by the British Labour Party” (Woodcock, 2021).

His fame as an author came with *Animal Farm* (1944), a satirical and political fable whose basis was laid on the Russian Revolution<sup>9</sup> and, in general, totalitarian regimes. *Animal Farm* brought fame and prosperity to Orwell, even though at first it

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<sup>8</sup> Spanish Civil War (1936-1939) took place as a military revolution against Spain’s Republican government, which had the supports of Italy, Nazi Germany and the Soviet Union. For further information: <https://www.britannica.com/event/Spanish-Civil-War>

<sup>9</sup> Russian Civil War (1918-1920) is a conflict between Red Army and newly founded Bolshevik government of Vladimir I. Lenin which was ended through the defence of Soviet Union’s Red Army against Russian and Bolshevik groups. For further information: <https://www.britannica.com/event/Russian-Civil-War>

was rejected by four publishing companies, two of which resulted from political reasons, as Orwell himself put it (2018, p. 113).

Years later, another literary work of Orwell toppled *Animal Farm* from its throne: In the year 1948, while he was suffering from tuberculosis in Scotland he completed the final draft of his last novel *Nineteen Eighty Four*, and it was published in 1949. As a dystopic novel, it drastically draws attention to the cruelty of totalitarianism and fascism. Since its first publication, the novel had become one of the most remarkable works of Orwell and brought him literary recognition. However, he could neither witness the success of his work nor observe how it was received. Shortly after finishing *Nineteen Eighty-Four*'s final draft, Orwell, an anti-imperialist and anti-totalitarian English man who had produced modern political masterpieces, died in a London hospital due to tuberculosis in 1950.

### **2.1.2. *Nineteen Eighty Four*: A Chaotic Dystopia**

Before going into the details of *Nineteen Eighty-Four*, one needs to know the motives leading to the production of this cult novel. There is no doubt that every literary work is a product of its creator's background. There are some motives for an author to produce his/her work which are accumulated through time. After telling the incidents deeply influenced his profession as an author, Orwell himself acknowledged this issue in his essay *Why I Write*:

I give all this background information because I do not think one can assess a writer's motives without knowing something of his early development. His subject-matter will be determined by the age he lives in – at least this is true in tumultuous, revolutionary ages like our own – but before he ever begins to write he will have acquired an emotional attitude from which he will never completely escape (Orwell, 1946).

Orwell thinks that an author's background, in Bourdieusian terms his/her habitus, plays a decisive role in the process of literary production. So, what were the initiative factors and/or incidents embedded in Orwell's habitus that led him to write *Nineteen Eighty Four*? The answer lies in his essay *Why I Write* published 3 years before *Nineteen Eighty-Four*'s publication. These factors, according to Orwell, were his days spent as an Imperial civil police in Burma when he witnessed all the cruelty of imperialism, the totalitarian regimes of his time, namely Hitler and Stalin, and last

but not least the Spanish Civil War. On his experiences, he stated that “Every line of serious work that I have written since 1936 has been written, directly or indirectly, against totalitarianism and for democratic socialism, as I understand it” (*Why I Write*, Orwell, 1946). With this motive, he intended to transform political writing “into an art” as an instrument of warning people against possible political chaos in the future and tried to raise a political awareness (*Why I Write*, Orwell, 1946).

Finally, his novel was published on 8th June 1949 by Secker & Warburg Publishing Company. Shortly after the publication of his book, he explains the motives behind the dystopia he created as follows:

My recent novel is NOT intended as an attack on Socialism or on the British Labour Party (of which I am a supporter) but as a show-up of the perversions to which a centralised economy is liable and which have already been partly realised in Communism and Fascism...I believe also that totalitarian ideas have taken root in the minds of intellectuals everywhere... The scene of the book is laid in Britain in order to emphasise that the English-speaking races are not innately better than anyone else and that totalitarianism, if not fought against, could triumph anywhere. (Orwell, 1968, p. 502)

*Nineteen Eight-Four* is Orwell’s final literary work in which a dystopia built upon a chaotic and extremely totalitarian political atmosphere. Winston is the protagonist of the story living in Britain, or namely Oceania. In the novel, the whole world is divided into three super powers: Oceania, Eurasia and Eastasia. While two of them are in war against each other, the other one always stands beside one of them as its ally. But the balance between these powers always changes. The only thing remaining unchanged is the war. The people living in this atmosphere of Oceania are continually watched and controlled by the “Big Brother”, a figure representing the totalitarian socialist Party governing the country, also called INGSOC<sup>10</sup>, through “telescreen” which people are never allowed to turn off. Regardless of the time and place, the people of Oceania are always watched and listened to by the Party. However, the people are systematically kept away from natural human feelings, thoughts and instincts, such as a love between man and woman or mother and child, hope for future, happiness and joy in general. The Party has created a world in which children are raised as Party’s little agents spying and listening people behind closed doors and denounce their own parents to Thought Police, detecting individuals

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<sup>10</sup> Abbreviation for English Socialist Party.

against party and punish them in most cruel ways. Party's governance is built merely upon hate and for its people, hate is the only thing that matters. Apart from hate, Party has three main principles turning all of the facts we believe in upside-down:

WAR IS PEACE

FREEDOM IS SLAVERY

IGNORANCE IS STRENGTH (Orwell, 1949, p. 2)

These principles lay behind the power of the Party. INGSOC's power are shared by four authorities: The first is the Ministry of Truth responsible for both forming and reforming news, past, education and art; the second is the Ministry of Peace which ironically deals with war-related issues; the third is the Ministry of Love whose duty is to preserve the order and law at all costs in a way that is quite the opposite of love; and the last one is the Ministry of Plenty in charge of financial issues. This unbreakable system of the Party has created a nation finding peace only in hate and war, working as ignorant slaves who have lost their consciousness. For this nation, there is no such thing as past or history: Party has a power to change historical facts happened long time or just a few minutes ago. For instance, if Oceania is in war with Eurasia and ally to Eastasia, it reorganizes all of the written history accordingly and no one can prove that Oceania had conflicts with its current ally or peace with its current enemy. Workers in Ministry of Truth, namely Winston and the others, are responsible for changing the history with an aim to erase all of the evidences that can falsify the Party and so-called *Big Brother*. In *Nineteen Eighty-Four*, past, present and future are formed according to Party's wishes, since "Who controls the past controls the future: who controls the present controls the past" (Orwell, 1949, p. 19).

The protagonist Winston is a man trying to survive in this vicious and cruel system, even though he feels the corruption and is miserably unhappy for being a part of it, as it is such a system in which people's freedom is not only constrained by orders and cruel implementations. Their language has also been purged, or more precisely impoverished, by the Party. The new official language of Oceania is called Newspeak. It is produced through abbreviations and oversimplifications with an aim to reduce the number of words and richness of English language. Orwell states that Newspeak is "devised to meet the ideological needs of Ingsoc, or English Socialism" (Orwell, 1949, p.174). The motive behind Newspeak is to restrict thoughts of people for the benefit of Party and to keep them away from intellectual enlightenment by

leaving a rather narrow area for them to manoeuvre, as the Party considers language as a key of thinking, which is one of the biggest crimes in Oceania called thoughtcrime in Newspeak.

Under these conditions, in Ministry of Truth Winston meets a woman named Julia who is both a member of Party's Junior Anti-Sex League<sup>11</sup> and disillusioned with the Party as much as he is. They do their best to see each other and to talk. As a result of their efforts, they manage to meet and be alone in a neighborhood of proles, the poor people living in suburbs of Oceania like *gypsies* and on whom Party's implementations have little influence. Against all odds, Julia and Winston fall in love with each other. Their love make them feel like they are rebels against the Party and every time they meet they commit a crime against the Party, which eventually makes them more attached to each other. In addition, they are involved in anti-INGSOC organization named as "Brotherhood" led by the legendary rebel Goldstein and try to create a livable future for next generations, even though they know that it will get them killed in the end. In other words, they deliberately commit a thoughtcrime. However, their crime is not left unpunished: The Party arrested them in their hidden place and captured both of them in the Ministry of Love. It is INGSOC's tradition not to kill the thoughtcriminals right after the crime. Instead, they are kept without food and water, which causes the criminals to lose sense of time and place. Apart from the tortures they are exposed to, they are brainwashed by the authorities of the Party. After being purged through the Party's merciless machinery and converted into an ideal citizen of Oceania, the criminals are first released and then executed in an indefinite time. The protagonist Winston too experiences this very process and is taught according to INGSOC main principles. Eventually, with "doublethink"<sup>12</sup>, Party's one of the most frequently used methods, he believes in the lies of the Party, i.e. he learns how to say "two plus two equals five". After he is released from the Ministry of Love, he turns into a real comrade of the Party. He believes in the Big Brother and more importantly, he loves HIM. The time he notices this, he is executed with a bullet from the back of his head and dies as a fan of Big Brother. In this way,

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<sup>11</sup> Similar to any other implementation of Party reorganizing human nature and mind as they wish, Junior Anti-Sex League is an organization of the INGSOC aiming to fully sweep the both emotional and sexual relationship between couples and/or people in general. Their members are mostly teens and young-adults advocating that men and women needs to be together merely to serve Party by furthering generations.

<sup>12</sup> Doublethink refers to a binary thinking method bringing accepting and believing an idea with knowing its illusiveness of it. For further information, see Orwell, 1949, p. 19.

the Party wins another victory not by killing an enemy but by corrupting the enemy and make an ally out of him.

*Nineteen Eighty-Four* is a product of Orwell's experiences and his dispositions, i.e. it is produced under the influence of its author's habitus. Therefore, it is possible to detect some details in parallel with Orwell's life and character: Winston, for instance, stands as an individual stuck in the system in which he has a role to play. He is fully aware of the irrationality of the totalitarian Party and the world it created. Similar to Winston, Orwell too worked as an agent of the Imperial Police, but years after, he chose to act against it, as he experienced the barbarity of imperialism in person. In this sense, it can be said that there is a connection between the dystopia Orwell wrote to raise awareness and his personal life, which make the influence of his habitus visible in his work.

## CHAPTER THREE

### RETRANSLATIONS AND THE ACTORS

#### 3.1. TARGET TEXTS: *NINETEEN EIGHTY FOUR* IN TURKISH CONTEXT

*Nineteen Eighty Four*, or *Bin Dokuz Yüz Seksen Dört*, is one of the most popular works of Orwell in Turkish context and has been translated more than once. In this thesis, its first official translation by Haldun Derin published in 1960 by the Translation Bureau and its later translations by Nuran Akgören (1984) and Celal Üster (2010) published by Can Yayınları are problematized. However, it is also acknowledged in the thesis that these translations are just the three of the corpus of *Nineteen Eighty Four*'s Turkish translations: The novel was translated for the first time by V. Turhan and S. Tonguç in 1958, two years before the Translation Bureau, by Dogan Kardes Yayınları<sup>13</sup>. Since then, the novel has been published by several private publishing companies (see Kelebek Yayınları, 1983; İkizler Yayınevi, 1984; Yagmur Yayınları 2003). One of the most prominent publishing company reprinting *Bin Dokuz Yüz Seksen Dört* since its first publication is Can Yayınları: Nuran Akgören's translation (1984) was reprinted until the novel was retranslated by Celal Üster (2010). In 2010, Üster "decided to" retranslate Orwell's cult novel, as he detected some errors in the previous translation of Akgören and thought that the translation needed an update (see his epilogue in *Bin Dokuz Yüz Seksen Dört*, Orwell, pp. 349-350).

Until the year 2021, Orwell's novels translated by Celal Üster, more specifically *Animal Farm* and *Nineteen Eighty Four* were published by Can Yayınları. After the copy right on Orwell's novels expired, several private publishing houses started to publish their new translations (see the Appendix for exemplary editions from various publishing companies). Thus, one can detect a wide translation corpus including both diachronic and synchronic translations. However, the thesis problematizes the translations of two publishers, i.e. two patrons namely the

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<sup>13</sup> Dogan Kardes Yayınları is a private publishing company active between the years 1945-1988 under the sponsorship of Yapı Kredi Publishing. The main product of Dogan Kardes Yayınları was a children's magazine *Dogan Kardes* which also published children adaptations of well-known literary works such as *Don Quixote* by Cervantes, *Atlantis* by Hans Dominik and so on. There are rather limited information on Dogan Kardes Yayınları, as it is not an individual publishing company. Bibliographical data can be reached through <https://kasif.mkutup.gov.tr/>

Translation Bureau and Can Yayınları, as it presupposes a connection between their habitus and *Nineteen Eighty Four*, both of which had an influence on the selection of the novel and guided the translation and retranslation processes.

Here, it should be stated that the novel is also discussed in the field of translation studies in Turkey. Translation scholars have examined Orwell's cultic novel from many different angles and examined its relationship with translation. An example of these studies is Seda Taş's (2015) research titled "The Reflections of Language Use Called "Newspeak" in Nineteen Eighty Four (1949) on Retranslation Practices. Similar to this study, Taş problematizes the words of "Newspeak" in the novel in more than one translation/retranslations and creates a glossary. He examines these translations within the framework of Berman's "retranslation hypothesis". One of the important elements about this study is that one of the translations problematized is the translation of Üster. As a result of the study, Taş finds that Üster's translation is much closer to the meaning Orwell tried to render through *Newspeak* words than other translations, it is more effective in this particular transfer and therefore it is "closer" to the source text. This study stands out as a supporting source for this thesis, as it reveals and highlights the difference of Üster's retranslation from other translations and examines Newspeak in the context of retranslation. In addition, Ayşe Selmin Söylemez and Zafer Sarı (2022) discussed these words within the scope of translation, as well. They examine two different translations in their article "a norm- and equivalence-based descriptive analysis of the metaphorical expressions in two Turkish translations of '1984' by George Orwell" and one of the translations included in this research is the translation by Üster. Translations are problematized within the framework of translation theories put forward by Gideon Toury and Eugene A. Nida, and the texts are analyzed with a descriptive point of view. One of the most important points that stand out in these studies is that the translation of Üster has been chosen as one of the target texts in both studies. For this reason, it highlights that Üster's translation is not only popular with the readers of the novel, but has also been studied many times by translation researchers. This underlines the popularity of Üster's translation from a different perspective.

### **3.1.1. The Translation Bureau's Translation of *Nineteen Eighty Four***

*Nineteen Eighty Four* was translated in 1960 by Haldun Derin and published by the Translation Bureau, an official translation institution operated under the governance of the Ministry of Education between the years 1940-1966. Before textually analyzing the translation, contextual conditions of the early years of the Republic of Turkey when the Bureau was founded, the habitus, i.e. “structuring and structured” dynamics, of the Bureau as well as the social trajectories of its translator will be examined in order to see the translation from a wider perspective.

#### **3.1.1.1. Early Years of the Republic of Turkey and the Foundation of the Translation Bureau**

Subsequent to the foundation of the Republic of Turkey 1923 after a long period of independence war, efforts to modernize the Republic of Turkey started. From political and economic to clothing and alphabet reforms, a wave of revolution penetrated the atmosphere of the young republic in nearly every field. Those reforms were part of a “culture planning” (Even-Zohar, 2012, p. 45) aiming a transformation from a theocratic empire to modern and secular republic and were built upon the concepts of “Westernization” and “humanism”, as Tahir-Gürçağlar (2018) puts it (p. 47). However, it should also be acknowledged that the Westernization movement is not intrinsic to the early republican era of Turkey: In the 18th century, the Ottoman Empire started the movement in order to catch up with Western societies. With the foundation of the Republic of Turkey, the Westernization was systematically planned and officially employed as an instrument of development and to create modern Turkish nation built upon a Western cultural repertoire (Even-Zohar, 2012, p.45), according to Tahir-Gürçağlar (2018, p.49).

The Young Republic employed the Western image as an instrument of creating a modern Turkish nation getting its strength from its own identity and history and a source for “rediscovering itself”. This perspective was widely embraced and found a basis for implementations of governmental institutions. For the Republic of Turkey, the idea of Westernization does not mean imitating the West for Republic of Turkey: It rather refers to revealing the national values by examining

the West (Tahir-Gürçağlar, 2008, p.66). Bernard Lewis (1961) emphasizes this very issue stating: “Among the Turks, the two terms most frequently used to denote their revolution are nationalism and Westernization – and the two are not, as in other parts of the world, in contradiction with one another” (1961, p. 478).

Through this perspective, the Young Republic intended to radically transform the perception of Turkish nation from an Eastern Islamic country to a modern and secular one. In this path, the idea of westernization was combined with the philosophical concept of humanism. The lexical meaning of the concept in *Cambridge Dictionary* is “a system of thought and reasoning based on human values and interests, often without accepting the beliefs of religion”. Tahir-Gürçağlar cites another definition originated from 19th century Germany and stated in Nicholas Mann’s work *The Origins of Humanism* (1996) and highlights a connection between ancient Greek and Roman classics and humanist thought (2008, p.66). Thus, the translations of ancient classics from Rome and Greece into Turkish was considered as crucially important for enabling the circulation of both Western and humanist thoughts (Tahir-Gürçağlar, 2008, p. 68).

In this sense, a translation movement supported by the Turkish government was requested by intellectuals in the literary field, as the private enterprises and efforts were conducted unsystematically (Tahir-Gürçağlar, 2008, p.70). Therefore, under the governance of Minister of Education Hasan Ali Yücel<sup>14</sup>, *Türk Neşriyat Kongresi* (the Turkish Congress of Publishing) was held in May 2nd, 1939 and negotiations and debates started to form a translation movement sponsored by the government itself. In the Congress, a translation committee whose six members were actually members of the parliament was founded (Tahir-Gürçağlar, 2008, p. 73). Within the light of the efforts of the committee, it was decided that a translation institution would operate under the governance of Ministry of Education and in 1940, the Translation Bureau was founded. In 1940, as one of its first duties, the Bureau started to publish a translation journal named *Tercüme* whose main focus was the discussions, researches and opinions on translation and the source texts to be translated by the Bureau (Tahir-Gürçağlar, 2008, p.75).

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<sup>14</sup> Hasan Ali Yücel, Minister of Education, was an active agent in the dissemination of humanist thought through education and translation who guided the founding process of the Translation Bureau. The translation of the Bureau was published with a preface written by Yücel.

After the Translation Bureau was founded, it started to publish translations with the *Translations of World Literature Series*. Most of the works translated between 1941-1946, which is known as the period when the Bureau produced most of its translations, consist of Western literature, especially the French, Greek, Russian and German classics (Korucu, 2007, pp.123-124). By the year 1947, the number of these classics decreased and of Western literary classics started to raise. The underlying principles of the selection of a source text to be translated were those of the Young Republic, as it was believed that a foundation for republican principles would be formed through the translations of Western literary works (Tahir-Gürçağlar, 2008, pp.75-76). At this point, the idea of westernization and humanism guided the translation movement.

Furthermore, it should be stated that there were also private publishing companies in the literary field of the given period. However, the Bureau whose members actively involved in Turkish literature, translation and even politics was the most powerful agent in the field, as it was supported by the government itself and based upon the principles of the Republic of Turkey. Thus, it could be said that the Bureau was wealthy in terms of symbolic capital, which reinforced its position in the literary field. In this way, the Bureau both extended its translation corpus and shaped the literary field by playing an active role in the canonization of target texts.

### **3.1.1.2. The First Military Coup of The Republic of Turkey: 27<sup>th</sup> May 1960**

Regarding the period in which the novel was published, it should be noted that especially after 1950, Turkey witnessed turbulent times when political polemics turned into political tensions. The Democrat Party, founded by Celal Bayar, came to power in 1950, when Turkey started multi-party life. The Prime Ministry was run by Adnan Menderes. The influence of the ideological debates between the center-right Democrat Party and the center-left party Republican People's Party led by İsmet İnönü was increasing. The Democrat Party was criticized by the dissidents and the opposition party for anti-secularism and dictatorship. The tensions was also reflected in the public, as well. People were protesting en masse, and these protests led to conflict and inter-communal hostility. The protests had turned into an uprising.

Before the night of May 27, 1960 when the coup took place, communication was censored and more than five people were prohibited from being together (Dikici, 2014).

On May 27, 1960, the Turkish Armed Forces took over the administration of the country claiming that the chaotic atmosphere of the country was threatening and the tension between the government and the opposition disturbed the peace of the country. Thus, the first military intervention in the history of the Republic of Turkey took place (Akıncı, 2014, p.61) . While all state officials were discharged from their positions, the National Unity Committee, led by the Land Forces Commander Cemal Gürsel, was established. Many politicians, including President Celal Bayar and Prime Minister Adnan Menderes, were arrested and sent to Yassıada Prison. As a result of the trials, Democrat Party chairman Adnan Menderes and many other politicians were executed, while others, such as Celal Bayar, were sentenced to life imprisonment. After this period, political parties were allowed to resume their activities in 1961. In the general elections, Turkey's first coalition government was formed between the Republican People's Party and the Justice Party (Dikici, 2014).

Where does the *Nineteen Eighty Four* novel stand in these developments? It is claimed that translation of a novel like *Nineteen Eighty Four* through the state channel in a politically chaotic period when Turkey's internal freedom was interrupted is quite remarkable. Considering the novel's emphasis on issues such as freedom, democracy and human rights, it may be argued that the translation of Orwell's novel, published by the Translation Bureau in 1960 might have political motive. However, to make such an assumption, further investigations on the Turkish political agenda at the time in question are needed. As this research problematizes the actors in translation and their sociological trajectories, these investigations are not involved in the research process.

### **3.1.1.3. Haldun Derin as the Bureau's Translator of *Nineteen Eighty Four***

Haldun Derin was born in Istanbul in 1912. His father Zihni Derin was mostly known as the “man who brought tea to Turkey”, worked as an officer for years and served in the government between the years of 1920 to 1924 as the General

Director of Agriculture in the Ministry of Economy. During his high school years, Derin studied at Robert American College, one of the most distinguished institutions teaching with Western methods. Here, he was taught in English and spent his days with his peers from different religions and nationalities (Derin, 2017, pp. 30-32).

In 1936, Derin graduated from the Faculty of Law at Ankara University and two years later, he submitted his doctoral dissertation on economics to the Lausanne Faculty of Law, as Cemil Koçak (2017)<sup>15</sup> puts it (p.13). He followed the footsteps of his father and started his bureaucratic life as an officer at the private secretariat of the Presidency of the Republic of Turkey. Thanks to his position, he witnessed the early years of the new regime. He was highly regarded in the Dolmabahçe Palace and he was in the close circle of Atatürk and İnönü, he accompanied Atatürk himself in his daily routines, be it formal occasions or daily routines (p. 69). During his office, he had met politicians, bureaucrats not only from Turkey, but also from around the globe, which helped him accumulate social capital in the political field.

As it is mentioned above, the idea of Westernization and modernisation lays behind the implementations of the Republic of Turkey. Derin had an opportunity to observe the reform movements and the Westernization motive very closely: The more and more specialists were invited to contribute to newly established Republic of Turkey: The First Development Plan formed on the basis of the works of Russian Professor Pavlov; 1927 and 1935 Censuses conducted in accordance with the methodologies of Belgian specialist Camille Jacquard and Dr. Braunschweiler from Switzerland are mentioned as instances of the reform movements (p. 87). However, it is essential to acknowledge that these movements were not exclusive to the Republic of Turkey: Westernization efforts in various fields, from education (Demirdag, 2020) to architecture (Polat, 2018), were at stake during the period of regression of Ottoman Empire, as well. In terms of translation of Western classics, since the beginning of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, the intellectuals actively called for translations of these works and were involved in translation processes (Gürçağlar, 2018, p. 69). With

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<sup>15</sup> Before the publication of the memoir, Cemil Koçak received Derin's approval in person. Koçak states that Derin offered four folders of written memories to Koçak, which indicated that Derin's memoirs told in this compilation are just the peak of an iceberg. However, his memoirs were abridged for this special work and only the parts belonging to Derin's himself were preserved. Before the publication, the compilation was approved by Derin himself (Derin, 1995, p.17). Here, Koçak puts a special emphasis on the point that Derin is one of the rare persons who put their memories during their active duty at the presidency of Republic (p. 15). In this sense, the compilation is employed as the main source to examine Derin's habitus towards the translation of *Nineteen Eighty Four* and the factors actively influenced him during this long lasting trajectory.

regard to the efforts in Republic of Turkey, it can be suggested that these instances and Westernization movements in general become more of an issue for this research for two main reasons: They represent the Westernization idea of Turkey which is refinding its own roots by employing the West as an instrument; and Derin's professional experiences on this issue structured his habitus accordingly.

Derin, in his memoir, emphasizes the importance of civil service and crucial roles of officials in the construction of the newly formed Republic. According to Derin, public officials who suffered from struggles are a link between the state and the society (p. 21). With his experiences as the private secretary of presidency, Derin critically approached the leaders and governments. For instance, he stated that the successors of both Atatürk and İsmet İnönü had a tendency to undermine the system of the state, while Atatürk and İnönü had tried hard to found and maintain that system, which eventually caused military interventions (p. 23). Additionally, like Orwell, as a supporter of human rights and democracy, he was against totalitarian regimes (p.24), which may refer to an intellectual connection between Orwell and Derin himself.

During his post in the presidency, he supported Atatürk's perspective on intellectual freedom and the freedom of speech. His support could be read through the anecdotes he shared with the reader in the memoirs. For instance, he gives an incident at academical congress of Turkish Language Institute in 1934. At this congress, one of the speakers, Caferoğlu, presenting his thesis gave his speech and added some details, without Atatürk's knowledge, that might offend the participants from the Soviet Union. However, according to the anecdote, Atatürk hid his displeasure and didn't say a word to the speaker, but the day after the congress, Derin found Atatürk's notebook on which some criticisms on Caferoğlu's presentation were written by Atatürk himself (Derin, 2017, p.95). Through this anecdote, Derin argues that he admired Atatürk's perspective on intellectual freedom and the freedom of speech, which is not only parallel to the messages of the novel he translated *Nineteen Eighty Four*, but also to the humanist thought upon which the Bureau was founded. Similarly, he also puts a special emphasis on the concepts of "peace" and "friendship" between Turkey and other countries, especially its neighbours. Derin was by Atatürk's side during his meetings with the representatives and/or press members of other countries, which gave him a chance to observe Atatürk's friendly approach towards the rest of the world (pp. 111-112). The

emphasis on the world peace put by Derin in his memoir shows another parallelism between his habitus and both the Bureau and the dystopia *Nineteen Eighty Four* in which the world is in a constant war.

Furthermore, Derin also lived in a period of time in which both the First and the Second World Wars broke out. In the First World War, when he was a child, he witnessed his homeland's defeat and battles ended with a great number of casualties. Thus, it can be said that the First World War introduced him to the bitter face of the war at a very early age, which might have eventually reinforced his sympathy for world peace. On the other hand, the Second World War, which Turkey didn't enter made him witness one of the totalitarian regimes of the 20<sup>th</sup> century.

Derin also mentioned the activities of the Translation Bureau in his memoir. He drew attention to the productivity of the Bureau, of which he was also a translator. His other translations published by the Bureau are *Fırtına* (1944) by William Shakespeare, and *Windsor'un Şen Kadınları*<sup>16</sup> (1945) by William Shakespeare, *Milletlerin Zenginliği* (1955) by Adam Smith. All these titles were published by the printing house of the Ministry of Education. He started to make his first translations in 1944, when he was promoted to the position of İnönü's executive assistant.

While referring to the translations made from world literature, he also mentioned the *Nineteen Eighty Four* translation he made in 1960. He even stated that his translation was reprinted in 1985, but sexual items in this edition were censored. He criticizes this practice of censorship (Derin, 2017, p.187), which underscores the importance he attached to freedom of thought and expression in the field of literature and translation, as well.

In the years 1950-1951, Derin served as the executive assistant of the president Celal Bayar (1883-1986)<sup>17</sup>. Subsequent to this post, he was assigned as the consultant and member of Prime Ministry Supreme Auditing Board and worked in this position until the military coup broke out in 1960. After the coup, Derin came in to the undersecretary office of İnönü coalition government. He retired from his office in 1973 and lived in İstanbul until his demise in 2004.

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<sup>16</sup> Derin takes pride in mentioning he discussed and exchanged ideas on this translation with İnönü himself (2017, p.197).

<sup>17</sup> One of the first deputies of the 2nd Grand National Assembly, former minister of economics, founder member and chief of the Democrat Party, the president of the republic between the years 1950-1960. For further information: [https://www.tccb.gov.tr/cumhurbaskanlarimiz/celal\\_bayar/](https://www.tccb.gov.tr/cumhurbaskanlarimiz/celal_bayar/)

### 3.1.1.4. Haldun Derin's Translation of *Nineteen Eighty Four*

Derin's translation of the novel *Nineteen Eighty Four* was published in 1960 by the Translation Bureau operating under the Ministry of National Education in Ankara. The second edition of this translation was published in 1985 by the Ministry of Culture and Tourism Publications. In this section, the prominent features of the target text will be examined, and the period in which the translation was produced will be discussed in connection with the patrons and translators who directly influenced the production of the target text.

There are some striking features in Derin's translation, who has a habitus dominated by bureaucrat's identity rather than translator's identity: Firstly, the striking feature is the predominant use of non-Turkish words and eloquence forms in translation. The second feature is that Turkish language misusages stand out in the work. Another feature is the Turkish translations of the words and expressions produced by George Orwell specifically for the world of the novel *Nineteen Eighty Four*.

First, the Arabic and Persian vocabulary and expressions will be discussed. Some of the words that can be given as examples can be listed as follows: lâkırdı (p.13), müteassıp (p.14), enfiye, teccüss, akide bozukluğu, feraset (p.15), icmal, lâhza (p.18), sökün etmek (p. 265), vecd (p. 267). It is possible to extend the scope of this list. Today, reading a text in which these words are used extensively can cause the reader to pause and make it difficult for him/her to comprehend the message. However, it should be noted that the period in which the text was translated was the time in which such words were used frequently in Turkish language and Turkish was still under the influence of Ottoman Turkish, Arabic and Persian. For this reason, it may be suggested that Derin's usage of these words is a natural outcome of the Turkish language having been spoken and written in the given time. However, it is also a fact that the intellectuals of the period were in a constant effort to purify Turkish, to save it from the influence of foreign languages, and to produce Turkish equivalents instead of Arabic and/or Persian words (Lewis, 1999, pp. 75-94). For translations, in particular, promoted the use of "the new language" in which no foreign words or expressions, be it French or Arabic, are present (Sert, 2016, pp. 175-184). However, it cannot be suggested here that the Translation Bureau

continued with the same dynamics until its closure. The transition to a multi-party system<sup>18</sup> had an impact on the Translation Bureau. These effects are closely related to the reflection of changing political ideologies on translation actions and translation and language policies. Evren Barut (2020) mentions that the Bureau's activities was disrupted from time to time due to these changes. However, he claimed that the Translation Bureau was trying to maintain its founding ideology as much as possible, but also stated that 13 Bureau members resigned on January 20, 1967 due to the pressure put on translation activities by politicians (Barut, 2020, p.152). For this reason, although the translation and language policies of the Translation Bureau were basically the same, it should not be ignored that they were disrupted occasionally due to the changing political factors.

The second feature of the text mentioned above is Turkish grammar misusages and misspellings. It is possible to examine them under 5 different categories: Using "ğ" instead of "y" as a combining letter; using "ı-i" instead of combining vowels "a-e"; misspellings; misspellings of words; incorrect combination of the conjunction "ile" with words. However, it needs to be acknowledged that labelling them as errors would be misleading, as the translation was produced in a time when Turkish language and its grammatical rules were still changing. Thus, these textual data may be considered as the reflections of evolution process of Turkish language and are not strictly evaluated as errors within the scope of this study. Instead, it can be argued that these usages may be related to the publication of the translation at a time when the rules of the new Turkish language was not yet fully established and/or the editorial activities of the Translation Bureau were gradually decreasing when compared to its early periods. In other words, these uses stand out in this study as an indicator of the conditions of the given period.

As mentioned above, since these usages are considered as an indicator of the conditions of the period, it may be useful to briefly touch upon the examples of these usages in order to embody the mentioned indicators. The examples given in tables below are included in the study for this purpose.

In Turkish, an agglutinating language, the suffixes that come to the end of the verb and start with a vowel are combined mostly with the letter "y" and added to the

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<sup>18</sup> The multi-party system in Turkey started in 1945 with the establishment of another political party (MKP) other than the CHP. For further information: Uluç, V. (2020). Transition to Multiparty System in Turkey: An Analysis of Internal and External Dynamics. Kahramanmaraş Sütçü İmam University, Journal of Social Sciences Sosyal Bilimler Dergisi, 17 (1), 465-486. DOI: 10.33437/ksusb.615325

verb. For example, if the suffix “a/e” which provides a meaning of “purpose/intention” when it is used with a verb, is annexed to the verb “yapmak”, the final word becomes “yapmaya”, i.e. the letter “y” is employed to connect the verb with the suffix. However, in his translation, Derin used “ğ” as the combining letter. In the following table, examples of such expressions are listed:

**Table 1:** Grammatically misuse of the letter “ğ” as combining letter

Words in the Target Text	Page Numbers	Gramatically Correct Versions
sermeğe	p.19	sermeye
şekillendirmeğe	p.32	şekillendirmeye
öldürmeğe	p.72	öldürmeye
ayırılmağa	p.192	ayrılmaya
sayıklamağa	p.294	sayıklamaya

Secondly, in Turkish, When verbs come with a derivational affix and/inflexional suffix, these suffixes are connected to the verb with the letters a-e to ease utterance. For example, when the future tense suffix "-ecek" is added to the verb "söylemek", the final form of the verb is "söyleyecek". However, when the purpose suffix "a/e" is added to this verb in Derin's translation, it strikes that the verb is conjugated as "söyliyeğim", according to the first person singular. The same issue occurs for almost all other verbs in Derin's translation. Examples from Derin's translation are listed in the table below:

**Table 2:** Misconnection between the verbs and affixes

Words in the Target Text	Page Numbers	Grammatically Correct Versions
geçmiyen	p.26	geçmeyen
sürmiyecektir	p.31	sürmeyecektir.
bekliyenler	p.53	bekleyenler
gözetliyebiliyordu	p.176	gözetleyebiliyordu
ağlıyacaktı	p.294	ağlayacaktı

However, the verbs conjugated grammatically correct are also present in Derin’s translation in two different places in the text: The first is “bulunmayan” (p. 119) and the second is “olmayan” (p. 298). In this sense, the examples stated above arouses the following questions: Did the translator misapply a grammar rule of which grammatically correct version was known by him? Could he have translated without knowing that the rule he knew to be true was inherently wrong? Did not the Translation Bureau, the patron of the translation, get the translation edited and proof-read? There are plenty of examples indicating that there was a lack of editing and proof-reading process in the translation published by the Bureau.

For instance, misspellings which are common in the text, are another feature of the target text distracting the reader. Below, the examples of typing errors are listed:

**Table 3:** Misspellings 1

<b>Words in the Target Text</b>	<b>Page Numbers</b>	<b>True Versions</b>
akıl hasatsı	p.19	akıl hastası
belli ememek	p.113	belli etmemek
somum sağım	p.144	solum sağım
tadma bakmak	p.168	tadına bakmak
csvaplandırılacak	p.252	cevaplandırılacak

Similar to the examples above, misuse of words are also common in Derin’s translation:

**Table 4:** Misspellings 2

<b>Words in the Target Text</b>	<b>Page Numbers</b>	<b>True Versions</b>
dögecekti	p.19	dövecekti
öğleyemeği	p.45	öğle yemeği
ögmeye	p.50	övmeye
penbe	p.55	pembe
takibediyor	p.69	takip ediyor
vucutça	p.72	vücutça

piyanko	p.92	piyango
mobilye, perselen	p.102	mobilya, porselen
dörtken	p.144	dörtgen
kozmatik	p.150	kozmetik

Another of Derin's grammatical misuses in his translation is due to the incorrect combination of the conjunction "ile" with words. In Turkish, when the conjunction "ile" is annexed to a word, the final form of this very word changes depending on whether the vowel in the last syllable of it is back or front vowel. For instance, the word "elma", which ends with a back vowel, turns into "elma(y)la", and the word "kalem", which ends up with a front vowel, turns into "kalemle", when they are combined with the conjunction "ile". However, Derin made all combinations according to front vowels, regardless of the above-mentioned difference, and this led to the vowel mismatch. Examples can be listed as follows:

**Table 5:** Grammatically misuse of the conjunction “ile”

Words in the Target Text	Page Numbers	Grammatically True Versions
mensuplariyle	p.85	mensuplarıyla
taşıyle	p.109	taşıyla
saçlariyle	p.150	saçlarıyla
tamamiyle	p.235	tamamıyla
başıyle	p.265	başıyla

Considering all these textual and linguistic features in the particular novel of *Nineteen Eighty Four*, the following conclusions may be drawn: The Translation Bureau, which is the patron of the translation, did not provide any proof-reading or editing work to correct grammar and spelling errors before the publishing of the translation. There could be multiple reasons for this. Such as the fast and multiple production, the fact that more importance is given to the message contained in the text rather than its textual features, and the lack of staff to manage the editing process. However, all of these reasons are merely assumptions. It should be

acknowledged that such general conclusions cannot be reached by examining one novel alone. In addition, another result from the text analysis is that the translator reflects the linguistic features of the period he is in to his translation. This underlines the fact that the translator's habitus affects the translation not only as in terms of text choice but also linguistically.

### **3.1.2. The Retranslation Published by Can Yayınları**

In 1984, the novel *Nineteen Eighty Four* was translated into Turkish by Nuran Akgören and published by Can Yayınları, the second selected patron in this thesis. With an aim to fully comprehend the atmosphere that the retranslation was published, it is essential to take a closer look at the conditions of the given period. Since the years of 1982 (the foundation date of Can Yayınları) and 1984 (publication date of Akgören's translation) were the times when the traces of the political turning point was still present and felt in various fields of people's everyday lives.

#### **3.1.2.1. Political Atmosphere of the Early 1980s in Turkey**

The Turkish army took over the power with a military coup on September 12, 1980, due to the political instability that intensified in the late 1970s, the gradually deteriorating Turkish economy, the tension between right and left thought advocates, and even the conflicts that resulted in the deaths of many people. The prime minister of the period, Süleyman Demirel, the chief of the rightist Justice Party, was dismissed and all democratic activities were terminated, i.e. Turkey's internal freedom was heavily damaged (Kuru, 2012, p.37). Under the command of Chief of General Staff Kenan Evren, the National Security Council was established and Turkey began to be ruled by a military administration "in order to restore order". During this period, many people, who were attributed as right-wing and left-wing politicians, were executed, and the freedom of the Turkish people was restricted in many ways, such as curfew. Furthermore, the military administration prepared a new constitution and submitted it to a constitutional referendum. The new constitution

and the presidency of Kenan Evren were accepted almost unanimously (approximately 92 percent) (Toprak, 2020, p. 182).

Within this frame, it may be asserted that retranslation of Orwell's novel *Nineteen Eighty Four*, having criticized totalitarianism, in the early 1980s right after the years when the Turkish people experienced the totalitarianism of the military regime becomes more of an issue. Similarly, in 1960, after the first military coup of Turkey, the *Nineteen Eighty Four* novel was translated into Turkish and published by the Bureau. In other words, the history repeated itself. Accordingly, it can be argued that *Nineteen Eighty Four* gained importance in periods when the importance of democracy, human rights and freedom issues were at stake.

Tensions in the political field are inevitably reflected in the literary field. After these years, the concept of West and therefore western works started to come to the fore again in the Turkish literary system, but this time in a different way: This time, western-based concepts such as humanism and liberalism began to be questioned, and in the new understanding of modernism, identity issues such as nationalism began to stand out instead of these concepts. However, the understanding of science and technology of the west has preserved its place as western-origin elements in this new conception of modernism (Berk, 2006, pp. 12-13). According to the translation researcher Özlem Berk, who is researching the translation of western works in Turkey, in the light of these developments, the translated works were no longer just European-centered, there was a larger pool of source texts, which expanded the Turkish literary system. Additionally, the first book fair was organized in Istanbul in 1982, and after 1982 it became an annual event in which many cities were involved (Berk, p. 13). This showed that translations of works from all over the world in the literary system in those years had a positive effect on the readership. Within this context, it is noteworthy that Can Yayınları translated the British author George Orwell. The reason for this can be shown to be that the *Nineteen Eighty Four* novel is closely related to the political turmoil.

### **3.1.2.2. The Second Patron: The Foundation of Can Yayınları**

Can Yayınları was founded in 1981 by the Turkish writer and publisher Erdal Öz (1935-2006). In order to closely examine the habitus of Can Yayınları, it is

necessary to mention the life of its founder Öz, which goes back to the founding of the publishing house. Öz, who was born in 1935 and graduated from Ankara Faculty of Law, started his career in the publishing branch of the Turkish Language Association (TDK). While he was at the very beginning of his publishing life, he founded a periodical named "A Dergisi"<sup>19</sup> along with his friends. Additionally, his first story book, *Yorgunlar* (1960), was published in this magazine. His first novel *Odalarda* (1960) was published by Varlık Yayınları. However, during the 1980 coup period, he was imprisoned for his political views. Öz founded Can Yayınları in 1981, i.e. right after he was acquitted. ("Erdal Öz", Can Yayınları, n.d.).

Since its foundation, Can Yayınları has aimed to collect important works from world literature. The books of the authors, which Can Publishing defines as "essential" in their own words, constitute the most important products of the publishing house. Among the authors that they consider "essential", there are world-famous authors such as Albert Camus, Gabriel Garcia Marquez, Umberto Eco and Salman Rushdie, apart from George Orwell. Besides these classic authors, Can Yayınları took care to include popular works of the period into his corpus. Can Yayınları also underlines that they acted meticulously when choosing the authors of the texts to be published, and as a result, they were successful in publishing these books. In this context, it can be argued that Can Yayınları prefers authors with high symbolic capital to maintain and improve its position in the field of literature. At the same time, Can Yayınları attributes the success of the published books to the importance they show to translation: "We are very meticulous about translators and the process of translation; our publishing house has over the years produced the authoritative editions of many works that are today considered classics" ("Hakkımızda", Can Yayınları, n.d.). It is remarkable that Can Yayınları emphasizes the fact that translation directly affects a literary work's position both in target culture and in the field of literature.

Stating that the publishing house has a readership not only in Turkey but also abroad, Can Yayınları also underlines that it also has international readers ("Hakkımızda", Can Yayınları, n.d.). Furthermore, it is stated that one of the important reasons behind this success is the design of the books. In this context, it

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<sup>19</sup> A monthly-published journal of art and literature founded by Erdal Öz, Asım Bezirci, Edip Cansever, Konur Ertop, Selahattin Hilav, Kemal Özer, Demir Özlü, Adnan Özyalçiner, Cemal Süreya, Ülkü Tamer and Hilmi Yavuz. For further information: <https://web.archive.org/web/20180715181301/https://www.evrensel.net/yazi/79121/adan-yeni-aya>

should be noted that the publishing house has been printing modern classics and some of the contemporary literary works as specially designed editions since 2018. Remarkably, the first special edition printed by Can Yayınları is Orwell's *Nineteen Eighty Four* (2018) and the second is *Animal Farm* (2019). The novel is re-designed by Utku Lomlu, the book-cover designer of Can Yayınları, in a way highlighting the characteristics of the dystopia. The novel's hardcover includes only the name of the novel and its author as well as a mini logo of Can Yayınları. Üster's translation of slogans, such as "savaş barıştır, özgürlük köleliktir, cahillik güçtür" (War is peace, freedom is slavery, ignorance is strength), and some prominent expressions such as "çift düşün" (doublethink) have been illustrated, the type font has been designed according to the flow of narration and the writings from the diary of Winston, the protagonist, are presented as handwritings. The reprinting of these works as a special edition published in 2018 can be considered as an indication of the importance the publishing house attaches to Orwell and his works. Here, that the specially edited version is Üster's translation is also remarkable.

### **3.1.2.3. Nuran Akgören's Translation of *Nineteen Eighty Four***

Akgören's translation was first published by Can Yayınları in the year 1984, three years after its foundation. That the first publishing date of Orwell's novel is the year naming the novels itself may point out a value Can Yayınları attributes to this very literary work. The second edition of the novel was published in 1989, five years after its first publication. It had twenty-nine editions until the year 2010, the time when Üster decided to retranslate the novel. Akgören's translation was published with the British author E.M. Forster's (1879-1970) foreword on Orwell's *Nineteen Eighty Four* dystopia as well as the British philosopher Bertrand Russel's<sup>20</sup> (1872-1970) epilogue on the back cover, while there is no information on the translator Akgören, except for her name, or any other member of Can Yayınları. Here, it may be suggested that Akgören and Can Yayınları had not yet accumulated sufficient symbolic capital in the literary field to promote the novel and thus, the patron benefitted from the existing great amount of symbolic capitals of both Forster and

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<sup>20</sup> Bertrand Russell, the Nobel Prize recipient for Literature in 1950, is an anti-emperialist and anti-totalitarian philosopher, logician and "social reformer". For further information: <https://www.britannica.com/biography/Bertrand-Russell>

Russell to ensure the potential readers that the novel was well-received by famous literary figures.

Different from the Bureau's translation of *Nineteen Eighty Four* by Derin examined in the previous chapter, Akgören's translation has a plain narration that does not include Arabic or Persian expressions which are not in circulation any longer. Rather, its language, it may be suggested, is a colloquial Turkish. However, that Akgören's translation includes spelling mistakes should be noted here. Most of these mistakes derive from the rule that some words and expressions which grammatically needs to be written seperately are written together (The following table includes instances) Nearly 30 years later, Üster sets forth these factors as one of the reasons driving him to decide to retranslate Orwell's dystopia.

**Table 6:** The words and expressions which grammatically needs to be written seperately

Words in the Target Text	Page Numbers	Grammatically True Versions
önesürüyordu	p.73	öne sürüyordu
cansıkıcı	p.76	can sıkıcı
sözkonusu	p.87	söz konusu
peşisıra	p.152	peşi sıra
kızkardeş	p.156	kız kardeş

### 3.1.3. The Second Retranslation Published by Can Yayınları: Celal Üster's translation

#### 3.1.3.1. Political Atmosphere in 2010

For the year in which the second translation was published by Can Yayınları, it cannot be argued that an environment of political chaos prevailed, as in other translations. In particular, a coup or a political event like this did not occur at the period in question. However, it is still possible to say that it was a time when different political views were at stake in the arena of Turkey: A constitutional amendment referendum was held in Turkey in 2010 and general elections were held

a year later, in 2011. Moreover, another referendum was held in Turkey shortly before 2010: It was in 2007 and proposed the public on the election of the president by the people after the expiration of the term of office of the President of the given period Ahmet Necdet Sezer and was accepted with a "yes" vote of about 70 percent (68.95%)<sup>21</sup>. The referendum in 2010, on the other hand, is a more comprehensive referendum, and the focus is on issues related to the judicial branch, and it has occupied a large place on the country's agenda for a long time. With these new regulations, there is also a section of voters who oppose the referendum on the grounds that the judiciary will begin to function under the influence of the government and the freedom of the judiciary will disappear (Hakyemez, 2010). Nevertheless, the constitutional amendments in question were accepted by the people with a "yes" vote of 57.88%<sup>22</sup>. In the general parliamentary elections held in 2011, the Justice and Development Party won the vote of 49.83% of the voters and became the ruling party for the third time and as the winning party, it obtained a majority in the parliament.<sup>23</sup>

These political developments can be considered in the context of the retranslation as follows: from 2007 until the year the retranslation was published, Turkish people voted more than once. Considering that both general and local elections are held every 5 years in Turkey, this figure becomes even more remarkable, because it gives the impression that political tension is at a high level. This situation may be considered as another example of the cases in which *Nineteen Eighty Four* was translated again during periods of high political tension.

### 3.1.3.2. Celal Üster

Üster was born in Istanbul in 1947. Respectively, he studied at Sisli Terakki High School, English High School for Boys and Robert Academy. High School was the place where his tendency to literature and art started to flourish: When he was a

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<sup>21</sup> Information about the voting results has been taken from the Official website of the Supreme Electoral Council of Turkey. For detailed information, see. <https://www.ysk.gov.tr/tr/halkoylamasi-arsivi/2648>

<sup>22</sup> [https://www.ysk.gov.tr/tr/12-eylul-2010-anayasa-degisikligi-halkoylamasi/5003#tab\\_5](https://www.ysk.gov.tr/tr/12-eylul-2010-anayasa-degisikligi-halkoylamasi/5003#tab_5)

<sup>23</sup> <https://www.ysk.gov.tr/doc/dosyalar/docs/2011MilletvekiliSecimi/gumrukdahil/gumrukdahil.pdf>

pupil at this high school, he read literary works both from world and Turkish literatures. Even at that age, he was a careful and selective reader: He not only read the books he could reach, but also examined them and their authors' biographies, their literary identities with the contexts in which they were produced (Üster, 2018, p.17). Moreover, English High School for Boys was the place where Üster's first translation attempts took place: He states that he "dared to translate T.S. Eliot's poem 'The Love Song of J. Alfred Prufrock'" when he was studying at this English High School (Ulusahin, 2018, p.76). However, it was not the times when his first translations were officially published. After he was transferred to the Robert Academy, he continued his translations and finally, his translation of Shakespeare's 18<sup>th</sup> Sonnet was published by Robert College's periodical *İzlerimiz*<sup>24</sup>. Shortly after the publication of this translation, he made it to the editorial board of the periodical (Üster, 2019, pp.17-19). Thus, it may be suggested that he started to accumulate forms of symbolic capital in the field of translation and literature at an early age.

After he graduated from the Robert Academy, he studied English Language and Literature at Istanbul University. As a student, he had a chance to meet and take classes from the prominent scholars in the field of literature and translation: Mina Urgan, Akşit Göktürk, Berna Moran, Cevat Çapan, Murat Belge are some of the names that Üster shared the same atmosphere (Üster, 2019, p.20), which may point out that being a part of this social net whose members are important figures of both Turkish literature and translation provided Üster with a significant social capital, as well.

Additionally, he was employed as the coordinator of the art pages of the newspaper *Aydinlik*, which was the paper of the revolutionist and socialist political movement *Aydinlik* launched in the 1960s. Thereafter, he worked with Memet Fuat<sup>25</sup> (1926-2002) at de Yayınevi and Adam Yayıncılık and his translations were also published in Fuat's literary periodical *Yeni Dergi*. Üster himself states that working with Fuat was like being in a school, as Fuat mentored Üster about his translations (2019, p.28). Moreover, Fuat appreciated Üster's works and mentioned him in the 64<sup>th</sup> issue of *Yeni Dergi* in 1970 as "a successful translator to be if he continues his efforts in the field" (Ulusahin, 2018, p.79). Thus, it may be argued that this

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<sup>24</sup> *İzlerimiz* was one of the oldest literature periodical started to be published in 1926 at Robert College (Ulusahin, 2018, p.77).

<sup>25</sup> Memet Fuat, as a critic, author and publisher, was one of the prominent figures in Turkish literature of the period in question. <https://www.yapikrediyayinlari.com.tr/yazarlar/memet-fuat-2>

appreciation from a patron actively involved in the field of literature granted him a credibility and symbolic capital. Furthermore, it should also be noted that leading Turkish authors and poets such as Rıfat Ilgaz, Aziz Nesin, Yaşar Kemal and Nazım Hikmet also worked with Fuat, which points to another social network in the field of literature that, it may be argued, provided Üster further social capital.

In the military intervention of 12<sup>th</sup> March 1971, when he was only a 24 years-old translator, he was arrested and imprisoned due to his political views and works produced under the title of revolutionist and socialist political movement *Aydinlik*. However, his imprisonment didn't keep him from his translations: He translated three books and a play in prison: *Famine* (1937) by Liam O'Flaherty and *Burry My Heart at Wounded Knee* (1970) by Dee Brown were published by E Yayınları, his third translation *the Game of Chess* (1954) by Harry Golombek, however, was not published; his translation of *the Shadow of a Gunman* (1923) by Sean O'Casey was delivered to the city theatre but never put on the stage (2019, pp. 66-77).

After he was released, his efforts in the fields of translation and literature proceeded. He received the "Azra Erhat" translation award of the *Yazko* periodical for his translation entitled *Tarih Öncesi Ege* (1983) in 1984 (2019, pp.113-115). Even though he has turned out to be an award winning translator, translation is not his only profession: He also worked as the editor of various publishing companies, such as Gelisim Yayınları, Adam Yayıncılık, AnaBritannica among many others. Between the years 1982-1993 and 2008-2014, he was the cultural editor of the newspaper *Cumhuriyet*. He wrote both on Turkish and world literature under the title "Yeryüzü Kitaplığı" to the newspapers *Yeni Yüzyıl*, *Yeni Binyıl*, *Radikal Kitap*. His journey in Can Yayınları, on the other hand, started in the early 2000s. Between the years 2003-2008, he took on the task of executive editorship of Can Yayınları.

Even though translation is not Üster's only profession and he has not got any academical training on it, he takes translation seriously, which may be related to his passion for literature. He has worked hard to improve himself in the field of translation. In accordance with this very purpose, he "studied" the translators that he thinks of as the masters of the craft such as Akşit Göktürk, Sabahattin Eyüboğlu, Can Yücel etc. (Üster, 2019, p.51). He adapts a translation approach which is not bound by "translation rules" whose existence is denied by himself. Rather, he advocates that a qualified translator needs to have a "language sensitivity" for both source and target languages as well as comprehensive knowledge on both literatures. Moreover,

he also asserts that a translator should profoundly know his/her language, as he considers that translator's knowledge on his/her native tongue is one of the most important factors of the translator's intellectual world. With an aim to produce "successful" translations, Üster argues, one needs to enhance and expand the language border (Üster, 2019, pp. 168-169). As a result of his efforts in the field and adapting this approach towards translation, he becomes a translator with 50 years of experience. In order to recognize his efforts, Aslı Uluşahin edits a compilation of writings of prominent Turkish literary figures on Üster's translatorship, which is named *Celal Üster İçin: Çeviri Uğraşında 50 Yıl* (2018).

### **3.1.3.3. Celal Üster's Retranslation of *Nineteen Eighty Four***

It may be argued that Üster's professional experiences in the field of literature in general granted him a significant amount of embodied cultural capital in terms of translation, as his translator identity has been eventually more prominent through his efforts and tasks in the field. From his very early translations, he has always been "selective" in terms of the author and/or the poet and the literary work that he plans to translate, rather than translating the texts randomly (Üster, 2019, p.11) . In other words, Üster translates the source texts standing closer to his literary taste and perspective, which enables to consider a parallelism between him and the literary works that he has translated, including *Nineteen Eighty Four*. Through his statements on Orwell and his literary works, it is possible to detect that Üster comprehensively examined the author's critical perspective, his approaches towards the political issues embedded in his works and even his peculiar sense of humour, which can be observed in his translation of *Animal Farm* (Üster, 2019, pp. 26-27), i.e., Üster tried to comprehend and internalize the author and his works in order to translate accordingly. Moreover, it is clear that he also researched Orwell's social trajectory and life in general. In other words, Üster as a literary translator examines habituses of the authors that he "selects" to translate.

In addition to the general idea that *Nineteen Eighty Four* was initially written as a satire to Stalin of the Soviet Union, Üster also asserts that it is also a reflection of the possible political disasters which may break out in the Western and Eastern countries in the period in question, and he names the dystopia as a "nightmare of the

mankind” (Üster, 2018, p.209). In the light of his perception of the novel, it may be argued Üster critically read the novel and examined its versatile dimensions. That he has kept thinking on *Nineteen Eighty Four* even after his translation’s publication is also remarkable: He establishes a connection between Orwell’s dystopia and the contemporary political issues. For instance, he associates the raising demand for *Nineteen Eighty Four* in the United States after the election of Donald Trump as president with the similarity between the totalitarian regime in the novel and Trump’s political approach. He also suggests that Orwell created the *Nineteen Eighty Four* dystopia not only as a warning for future, but also for today (Üster, 2018, p. 208-209).

In the epilogue on the translation of the novel, his other works and interviews, Üster clearly states the reasons why he retranslated Orwell’s *Nineteen Eighty Four* even though Can Yayınları had already had a translation by Nuran Akgören (Orwell, 2017, pp.349-350; Üster, 2019, pp.131-139). The first reason driving him to retranslate the novel is about a printing error in the source text published by Secker&Warburg Publishing in 1951: In the novel, there is a crucial mathematical operation that the protagonist Winston draws on a dusty table after he has been tortured. The operation represents the absolute dominance of the Party on its people’s minds: It is “ $2+2=5$ ”. However, in the 1951 edition of the novel, the number “5” was accidentally removed and replaced by a gap, an error drastically changing the end that Orwell created for the novel. This error had been preserved in all 29 reprints of the Akgören’s translation, as well. Thus, according to Üster, even correcting this error can “justify” the retranslation of the novel (Üster, 2019, p.134). However, it is not the only stimulant for him to retranslate the text. Another one is his translation of *Animal Farm* published by Can Yayınları in 2001: He believed that the translation of Orwell’s two masterpieces, namely *Nineteen Eighty Four* and *Animal Farm*, by the same translator would create a consistency. He also thinks that “some translations age and lose their validity over time”, which eventually requires to be retranslated. Fundamentally, according to Üster, the most important factors in the production of a retranslation are translator’s out-of date “translation sensitivity” that he/she sets forth in the translation process and changing reader conceptions about a specific author and/or the literary work itself. (Orwell, 2017, p.350). Moreover, in one of his

interviews<sup>26</sup>, he asserts that Akgören's translation includes translational and grammatical errors (Medyascope, 2017).

On a textual level, it can be easily said that Üster's visibility is also at stake in his translation: He employs translator's note to explain a specific term or a concept in order to make the readers comprehend the message in question, while the other translators, namely Derin and Akgören, did not add any notes in their translations<sup>27</sup>. His notes on the translation shows that he is a visible translator not only sociologically but also textually. These notes are not the only factors drawing readers' attention to the translator: Can Yayınları presents Üster's translation with the following blurb which is available both in the online bookstores and on the back cover of the translation: "Can Yayınları prides itself on presenting to readers 'this very book of all times' with the meticulous translation of Celal Üster". Here, it may be argued that Üster's translator identity and his accumulated symbolic capital in translation has been employed as instruments to promote the novel by the patron in question.

As the retranslator of this case, Üster's stance towards the previous translations of *Nineteen Eighty Four*, is also remarkable. He makes clear that Akgören's translation is problematic in a lot of dimensions which are listed above. Thus, it may be argued that Üster thought he would "fix" these problems and update the translation, which eventually would create a "more adequate" translation. However, Akgören's and Üster's translations are not the only translations of *Nineteen Eighty Four*, as it can be seen in this thesis, as well. Both in his works and interviews, he only mentions about his and Akgören's translations, he states these are the only translations of the novel he knows (Medyascope, 2017). In other words, he only refers to the translations published by Can Yayınları. Surprisingly, it is not the case for the novel *Animal Farm*: He refers to the Halide Edip Adıvar translation of the novel published by the Translation Bureau in 1954 (Üster, 2019, p.134).

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<sup>26</sup> Medyascope. (2017, February 02). *Kitapscope: Tüm zamanların distopyası 1984 konuk: Celal üster* [Video]. Youtube. [https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=J\\_r3SLMb5qE&ab\\_channel=Medyascope](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=J_r3SLMb5qE&ab_channel=Medyascope)

<sup>27</sup> see Üster's translation of *Nineteen Eighty Four*, pp.286, 287, 325, 328, 329, 330, 334.

## CHAPTER FOUR

### A COMPARATIVE EXAMINATION

#### 4.1. DISCUSSION

Orwell's dystopia *Nineteen Eighty Four* has been translated into Turkish more than once and since the expiration of the copy-right law the number of translations have gained momentum. In this chapter, however, three translations and their translating agents, i.e. the publishers and translators, are problematized and discussed: The first translation was produced by Derin, who was known with his bureaucratic identity, and published by the Translation Bureau commissioned by Ministry of Education; the second was translated by Akgören and published by Can Yayınları in 1984; the third was translated by Üster and published by Can Yayınları in 2010. In other words, in this research, there are two different patrons and three translators are at stake. Within this frame, the reason why Üster's translation is the most popular version of the novel is researched and in this chapter, comparative sociological analyses between the actors and translations are conducted. Firstly, the patrons, i.e. the publishing organs, are examined within the frame of the concepts employed in this very thesis. The examinations of translators and translations follow the analysis.

Initially, the Bureau was an official institution commissioned by the Ministry of Education, whilst Can Yayınları is a private publishing company founded by Erdal Öz. This very difference also brings about further varying patterns and structures between the publishers. As the Bureau is a publishing organ founded by and operated under a governmental entity, one may assume that it was founded upon the canonicity and reliability of the government and the literary figures, i.e., the Bureau had a remarkable symbolic capital from the days it was founded. Can Yayınları, on the other hand, was founded majorly upon the existing symbolic capital of its founder Öz in the Turkish literary field. Accordingly, it can be argued that the Bureau had the capital to influence the mainstream since its foundation, based on the credibility it provided to the reader as it carried out publishing activities under state authority. However, when making a comparison within this framework, it should be noted that the contexts in which the two patrons were established differed in terms of both the period and their publishing activities: The years when the Bureau was active

in the field were the early years of the Republic of Turkey, and for this reason, it had a powerful authority within the field of literature, playing a crucial role in the construction of “literary canon” in the Republic of Turkey by separating the “high literature” from the “popular one” through the translation of Western classics (Tahir-Gürçağlar, 2018, p.76). However, it can be indicated that private publishing companies have become more and more widespread and have a strong position in the field of literature due to the changing publishing approaches and perspectives that have diversified over time. In addition, the second most basic and obvious difference between the patrons is the time factor: They did not operate in the field of literature simultaneously: When Can Yayınları was founded, the activities of the Translation Bureau had already come to an end. For this reason, when making a comparison between the Bureau and Can Yayınları, they are not considered as two competing publishers, but as publishing organs founded on two different institutions, i.e. a state-sponsored publishing organ and a private publishing company.

The main factors making up the most important differences between the patrons of the institutions can be listed as follows: Founding authorities, main principles/missions, social network within the patronage. The first of these factors, the founding authorities, is the state for the Bureau and the private person for Can Yayınları, as mentioned above. The second factor guides publishing activities: main principles and missions. It is possible to say that the founding principle of the Bureau was to convey the idea of Westernization and humanism to the Turkish people through the translation of western works, as it is mentioned in the previous chapters, and that this principle was in line with the ideology of the state at that time. On the other hand, it becomes more difficult to argue that there was a foundation principle for Can Yayınları that was formulated to actively affect such a large audience. The principle that guides the publishing activities of Can Yayınları is the presentation of important works of world literature to Turkish readers (“Hakkımızda”, Can Yayınları, n.d.). In this context, it does not give priority to the works belonging to any geography as in the Bureau did. It carries out publishing activities in order to bring forth the works it deems "essential" to its readers. This is the reason behind its selectivism in the literary works. Lastly, the third of the main factors of the differences between the patrons is the social network they rely on. In the foundation of the Bureau, in addition to prominent figures of the state such as Hasan Ali Yücel, literary names and translators such as Nurullah Ataç, who made his name in the field

of literature at that time, formed a social network of prominent names in terms of symbolic capital, which implies that the Bureau also had an important social capital besides its symbolic capital. However, if one examines the first years of Can Yayınları, one sees a formation that stands out with Öz's individual literary identity rather than a collective movement. However, it would be misleading to argue that Öz founded Can Yayınları completely on his own: His activities and fame in the field of literature enabled him to gather support from other publishers while founding Can Yayınları (Erken, 2016, p. 131).

For further discussion on the characteristics of patrons' symbolic capitals, states of the symbolic capital determined by Bourdieu is employed as follows: Firstly, it may be suggested that three states, namely embodied, objectified and institutionalized, exist in the Bureau's sociological structure. Its translators and founders actively involved both in the foundation of the Bureau and translation processes had embodied symbolic capital accumulated through their personal career, efforts and education in the field of literature. Secondly, translations published by the Bureau and translated by these translators represent the objectified state of its symbolic capital, i.e. concrete demonstration of its sociological accumulations. Thirdly, it may be argued that institutionalized symbolic capital has two dimensions: The Bureau provided institutionalized symbolic capital to its members and the Bureau itself also had an institutionalized symbolic capital at the same time as it was commissioned by the state, i.e. the Ministry of Education. Can Yayınları, on the other hand, was founded mostly upon the embodied symbolic capital of Öz and his position in the literary field. In the progress of time, it has gained recognition and a stronger position in the field, which bring the objectified and institutionalized symbolic capitals along through its published local and international literary works.

If the translators' social trajectories and identities are examined comparatively, it is possible to come across many factors that can be claimed to affect their translations. On the basis of these factors, it is suggested that it is also possible to establish relations of difference and similarity among translators. However, detailed biographical information about Akgören, the first *Nineteen Eighty Four* translator of Can Yayınları, is not available. Therefore, the sociological comparison at stake is mainly between Derin and Üster.

Before establishing a connection between Derin and Üster, it should be underlined that the two translators lived in very different times. At this point, the aim

is to consider two translators not as two actors who have translated actively in the field of literature simultaneously, but as translation actors who meet in the translations of the same novel *Nineteen Eighty Four*, so it is considered that their social trajectories can be examined separately.

One of the most obvious similarities that can be established between Derin and Üster is undoubtedly the education they received: Both translators received their high school education from foreign institutions which provide education in the English language: Haldun Derin studied high school at American College and then studied his undergraduate education at the Robert College; Üster studied at British High School for Boys and Robert Academy (the high school branch of the Robert College), afterwards he studied at Istanbul University. In the light of this information, it can be suggested that both translators met English literature at an early age and have similarities in terms of learning the English language they are translating. It can be considered that this situation arising from the institutions where they received education affects the works that they chose to translate. Here, the expression “the works they chose to translate” is particularly important: Because when the social and professional trajectories of both translators are examined, it is seen that they have had the opportunity to be selective in their choice of source text. It can be argued that the main reason why they have this opportunity is the excess of symbolic capital that translators have: these actors, who have accumulated remarkable amount of capital, have taken an active role in the field of literature. However, it is also worth noting that the sources of symbolic capital owned by the two translators are different from each other: Derin's symbolic and social capital, which comes from a bureaucratic identity, was mostly acquired from the fields of bureaucracy and politics, i.e. his bureaucratic identity dominates his translator identity. On the other hand, the source of the majority of the symbolic and social capital accumulated by Üster have been gained from the field of literature that he entered during his university years.

There are hints that these two actors also met on the basis of a political point of view in the data obtained: Derin stated that he was interested in Marxist philosophy, which he began to learn at high school, and attached special importance to the cult work *Das Kapital* (1867) of Karl Marx (1995, pp.31-32). On the other hand, it is known that Üster was one of the translators of Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels' *The Communist Manifesto* (1848), emphasizing the importance of this work

from an intellectual and political point of view (Üster, 2019, pp.149-167). In spite of the ideological closeness of the political works they translated, one should acknowledge that further research focused on the political ideologies of translators is needed to establish a similarity between Derin and Üster.

Here, it is difficult to suggest that there is a similarity between Derin and Üster in terms of professional trajectories, since they choose different routes in terms their career. However, despite this difference, it is also noteworthy that they met in the act of translation. At this point, it will be appropriate to mention the amount of translations they have made: According to the information obtained from this research, Derin has four translations published by the Bureau while the number of translations belonging to Üster has more than fifty translations, apart from his initial translation efforts during his student life and his early years of translation career, and he is still known to be translating. The reason for this numerical difference derives from that their profession and the professional field in which they are active are completely different from each other.

In terms of the conditions of time, it may be stated that both translators witnessed the military coup periods in Turkey, i.e. turbulent political time periods. In addition, it should be particularly underlined once more that translations of *Nineteen Eighty Four* were published during and/or close to the military coups. It is noteworthy that Orwell's novel was offered for sale and in demand during politically active or chaotic periods and in which concepts such as intellectual freedom, democracy and leadership were questioned: Derin's translation was published in the very same year as the 1960 coup; The first translation of Can Yayınları by Akgören was in 1984, 4 years after the 1980 coup; different from Derin and Akgören, Üster's translation can not be associated with a military coup. However, its publication it coincides with an eventful period in terms of politics in Turkey: The year of 2011 which was one year after the constitutional referendum in 2010 and the same year that the general elections were held in Turkey. It is pointed out here that the dates of publication of the translations coincide with periods of intense political developments and this is associated with the nature of Orwell's novel.

Some of the findings found in the examinations on both Derin's and Üster's social trajectories have shown that there are intellectual parallelism between translators and the author Orwell and his cult work. In the previous chapters regarding the habituses of both Derin and Üster, it has been made clear that both

translators attach a great importance to intellectual freedom and democracy, along with their common anti-totalitarian perspective. In this way, it is pointed out here that the reason why two translators who have produced translations in quite different times have translated the same novel can be their similar perspectives and habituses.

Is it also possible to find a textual proximity between the translations? Are there any traces that indicate that the texts are related to each other when problematized within the framework of the retranslation theory, and is there a stance that subsequent translators, namely Akgören and Üster, take against other translations and translators? It can be said that the translations considered in this research differ linguistically. Derin's translation, published in 1960, has a language where Arabic and Persian words are predominant, while Akgören's translation of *Can Yayınları*, published in 1984, abandoned this use, leaving modern use of Turkish in the novel. This simplicity continued in Üster's translation, and even Üster tried to make the novel more understandable by writing translator notes for the reader. It can be said that these translator notes also made Üster's identity as a translator visible during reading, allowing him to communicate with the reader.

Linguistic differences can be manifested not only in terms of style, but also in terms of word choices. In order to draw attention to this difference, it is possible to see that translators apply different translation strategies for translation and re-translation of words from the Newspeak language produced by Orwell used in his novel *Nineteen Eighty Four*:

**Table 7:** Words and phrases from the Newspeak and their translations

Source Text	Target Text 1 (Derin's translation)	Target Text 2 (Akgören's translation)	Target Text 3 (Üster's translation)
Newspeak (p.2)	Yenidil (p.7)	Yenikonuş (p.9)	Yenisöylem (p.14)
The Ministry of Truth / Minitrue (p.2)	Gerçek Bakanlığı / Gerbak (p.8)	Doğruluk Bakanlığı / Doğrubak (p.11)	Gerçek Bakanlığı / Gerbak (p.14)
The Ministry of Peace / Minipax	Barış Bakanlığı / Savbak (p.8)	Barış Bakanlığı / Barışbak (p.11)	Barış Bakanlığı / Barbak (p.14)

(p.2)			
The Ministry of Love / Miniluv (p.2)	Sevgi Bakanlığı / Sevbak (p.8)	Sevgi Bakanlığı / Sevbak (p.11)	Sevgi Bakanlığı / Sevbak (p.14)
The Ministry of Plenty / Miniplenty (p.2)	Bolluk Bakanlığı / Bolbak (p.8)	Bolluk Bakanlığı / Bolbak (p.11)	Varlık Bakanlığı / Varbak (p.14)
doublethink (p.4)	ikilidüşün (p.11)	çiftedüşün (p.13)	çiftedüşün (p.17)
speak-write (p.4)	sözyazar (p.11)	konuşyaz (p.13)	söyleyaz (p.17)
Fiction Department (p.5)	Roman Edebiyatı Dairesi (p.13)	Roman Dairesi (p.15)	Kurmaca Dairesi (p.19)
Junior Anti-Sex League (p.5)	Cinsiyetle Savaş Gençler Birliği (p.14)	Gençlik Anti-Seks Örgütü (p.15)	Seks Karşıtı Gençlik Birliği (p.20)
artificial insemination / artsem (p.37)	sunî tohumlama / suntohum (p.72)	yapay döllenme / yapıdöl (p.69)	yapay döllenme / yapıdöl (p.69)
ownlife (p.47)	özyaşar (p.89)	özyaşam (p.84)	ayrıyaşam (p.93)

In addition to the Newspeak language, iconic sentences stated in the novel can also help to draw attention to linguistic differences or similarities between translations:

**Table 8:** Selected examples of iconic sentences and slogans from the novel and their translation

Source Text	Target Text 1 (Derin's translation)	Target Text 2 (Akgören's translation)	Target Text 3 (Üster's translation)
BIG BROTHER IS WATCHING YOU (p.1)	KOCA AĞABEY SİZİ GÖZETLİYOR (p.5)	BÜYÜK BİRADERİN GÖZÜ SENDE (p.7)	BÜYÜK BİRADERİN GÖZÜ ÜSTÜNDE (p.11)
WAR IS PEACE	SAVAŞ	SAVAŞ	SAVAŞ

FREEDOM IS SLAVERY IGNORANCE IS STRENGTH (p.2)	BARIŞTIR HÜRLÜK KÖLELİKTİR CAHİLLİK KUVVETTİR (p.8)	BARIŞTIR ÖZGÜRLÜK KÖLELİKTİR BİLGİSİZLİK KUVVETTİR (p.10)	BARIŞTIR ÖZGÜRLÜK KÖLELİKTİR CAHİLLİK GÜÇTÜR (p.14)
Oranges and lemons, say the bells of St Clement's!...Here comes a candle to light you to bed, Here comes a chopper to chop off your head. (p.56)	Portakallar, limonlar diye çalar St. Clement'in çanları...Al sana bir mum, git ışığında yatağa; al sana bir satır, kafanı uçurmağa (p.106)	Portakal der, limon der St. Clement'in çanları...seni yatağına götürmeye bir mum geliyor, başını kesmeye cellat geliyor (p.99)	Portakal var, limon var, diye çalar St. Celement'in çanları...Al şu mumu doğru yatağına, yoksa yersin baltayı kafana (p.109)

Based on these tables, it turned out that translators have made fundamentally different translation preferences, although there are some similarities in the choice of words. At this point, it is important that translators have different social and professional identities. When the above data are examined in the context of retranslation, it may be suggested that the greatest textual similarity is between Akgören and Üster translations. Within the frame of retranslation, it may be claimed that this similarity is due to the fact that both translations were published by Can Yayınları. On the other hand, there is almost no similarity between the translation of Derin, published in 1960, and the translation of Üster, published in 2010. This is consistent with the fact that, as mentioned in the previous sections, Üster makes no reference to the Translation Bureau translation in his writings and interviews and seems unaware of this translation. In this case, it can be suggested that Üster, the latest translator of Can Yayınları, has shown that he has a stance towards the previous translation of the publishing house in which he worked, not the other translations.

Considering all this information, how can one explain the popularity of Üster's translation, the most-reprinted Turkish version of Nineteen Eighty-Four translation, among other translations? The data obtained within the scope of this study attribute this popularity to the following reasons: The symbolic capital, which Üster has accumulated in the fields of literature and translation, is more than other translators'; Üster gets in touch with the reader both paratextually (preface, epilogue, translator's notes, etc.) and through the interviews he participates in and thus becomes a more visible translator. Besides, the politically turbulent atmosphere of the periods of the publication of the novel is one of the factors that caused the novel to be widely read. But this is not valid for only the period in which Üster's translation was published, but also for the times of Derin's and Akgören's translations. Here, it is suggested the novel's translation and its popularity, especially in these periods, stem mostly from the nature of the novel, i.e. its anti-totalitarian profile. From this point of view, what are the motives behind that the patron Can Yayınları published a second translation, that is, a re-translation, other than linguistic reasons? According to the data obtained from the study, the answer to this question can be explained by Bourdieu's concepts: as Üster has higher symbolic and cultural capital than Akgören, his translation, the end product of his accumulated capital, will have a relatively stronger position in the field of literature and reach a larger readership. With this approach, it is possible to speak of a relationship between the concepts of capital and retranslation. Some of the key factors that directly affect the retranslation phenomenon and who will make it are due to the position of the translator in the field of literature, his/her habitus and the symbolic/cultural capital that he/she has accumulated.

## CONCLUSION

This research involves three main research questions that are researched and discussed comprehensively through the theories in question. Here, the answers of these research questions will be summarized within the light of the data obtained and discussed through this very research. The first question is “what are the differences between the publishers, i.e. patrons, and the translators driving Üster’s translation is the most popular one?”. It should be indicated that the main difference between these actors derives from their nature: Derin’s translation was published by the Translation Bureau commissioned by the state itself. In other words, the first translation problematized in this researched was published by an official institution. Akgören’s and Üster’s translations, on the other hand, were published by a private publishing company, namely Can Yayınları. It has been revealed in this research that a symbolic value related to ideology and objectives plays an important role for both patron. Still, the number of readers of the translations are quite different from each other. Here, it should be re-acknowledged that Üster’s translation was firstly published half a century later than Derin’s. The difference between the number of reprints and sales, may derive from various factors, such as the varying rate of literacy between the time points, differentiating tendencies of the readers of the times in question, accessibility of the novels etc. These factors may also be questioned and researched through a reader-oriented research.

In addition, one of the reasons why Derin's translation is less-widely read may be that the novel was translated at a time when the Translation Bureau's activities were slowing down and interest in private publishing activities was increasing (Tahir-Gürçağlar, 2018). Moreover, the recognition of the source text author Orwell may be relatively low in the time in question. On the other hand, it can also be suggested that some of the reasons why Üster's translation has been more widely read are novel's other translations, including Akgören's, have raised Orwell's recognition among Turkish readers and even his works have been identified with the Turkish political events over time. In other words, there was already a readership that was formed when Üster translated the novel, yet it is nearly impossible to mention such a readership for Derin's translation. In addition to the recognition of the author, the recognition of Üster as a prolific translator and the fact that he is an active person in the field of literature also raised the translation's reading rate. It is also worth

mentioning the impact of the patron Can Yayınları- here. Symbolic capital, owned by Can Yayınları, has also merged with Üster's symbolic capital and it can even be suggested that the symbolic capitals of both translational actors drive both symbolic and economic profit for each other.

After stating the factors that make Üster's translation to be read comparatively more, it is possible to establish a relationship between these factors by examining how the "social trajectories" of translators in general affect translations. The research question asked for this purpose in this study is: "How did the social trajectories of the agents affect the translations?". This study shows that the social and professional background, i.e. their habituses, of translators affected, first of all, their choice of the texts to be translated. Derin had not had many translations: There are 3 translations available, and it's hard to mention a direct link between them: *Fırtına* (1944) and *Windsor'un Şen Kadınları* (1945) by William Shakespeare, *Milletlerin Zenginliği* (1955) by Adam Smith. This clearly shows that he had enough capital to have a direct power in the selection of the source texts and with this authority, he chose to translate *Nineteen Eighty Four*, which he associates with himself or his ideology. Üster, on the other hand, has a larger number of translations, but he clearly states that he put *Nineteen Eighty Four* in a different place in his own writings and interviews. Considering Üster's solid position in the field of literature and Can Yayınları, it has been discovered that he also has the power to choose texts to translate, and with this power, he too has chosen to translate the novel *Nineteen Eighty Four* that he finds intellectually close to himself.

Another instance where translations are influenced by translators is translator's word choices. As it can be seen from the tables in the previous section, Üster's word choices are almost completely different from Derin's. It should be acknowledged that one of the main factors here is the use of language that has changed over time, but Üster's translation has a characteristic here that cannot be associated with the time difference: The words that Üster has chosen are more pointed and stronger than those in Derin's translation. Üster has emphasized the gloomy and oppressive atmosphere in the novel through his word choices. It derives from the fact that Üster studied literature and has been working in the field of literature and translation since his high school years, and is an active and visible actor in the related fields, consequently. Üster's translation is in higher demand than the other translations.

The third research question which allows to explain the reasons why Üster's retranslation has been more widely read through the concepts of Bourdieu is as follows: Why has Üster's translation become more popular than the others and what are the sociological factors causing this very difference? Its answer consists of manifold sociological factors: The education that Üster received contributed to his translator identity in terms of the kinds of symbolic capital that he has accumulated within the framework of his professional life, and these factors also influenced his trajectory towards being both a textually and socially visible translator. His position in the field of translation and literature, together with the developments he has experienced in this field, has made him more visible and increased his reliability as a translator. In addition, it may be asserted that symbolic capital, owned by Can Yayınları, which ranks as a strong patron in the field in question, has also created a credibility factor for readers. Thus, Üster and Can Yayınları have mutually supported each other in terms of capital. For the other translations, it is possible to say that translators are not recognized/visible in the same way and do not play relatively less active a role than Üster does in the field of literature, and therefore the symbolic capitals they have accumulated in the field of literature and translation are comparatively lower than Üster's. Thus, this research has revealed that one of the most important factors affecting the fact that Üster's *Nineteen Eighty Four* translation is the most widely read retranslation is the symbolic and cultural capitals that Üster has accumulated in the field of translation and literature.

In the previous chapters, it is stated that translation and sociological theories have a potential to support and/or reinforce each other in a productive way. Accordingly, this research has highlighted the connection between two disciplines through a finding obtained by examining the translations and revealed a potential relationship between retranslation theory and Bourdieu's concept of capital. This relationship becomes visible especially between Üster's and Akgören's translations: The first translation of the novel *Nineteen Eighty Four*, published by Can Yayınları, was read for about 30 years, but still, the translator Akgören did not have a prominent position in the field of translation and literature, he remained passive compared to other actors examined in this study with fewer translations published. In the retranslation of Üster, which was published by the same publishing house after Akgören's translation, the case is quite the opposite: The retranslator Üster, the executive editor of Can Yayınları, who has accumulated remarkable symbolic capital

in the field of translation and literature and even considers this retranslation necessary because the previous translation was outdated and had “errors” stands out with his active translator identity. In other words, the retranslation action was performed through an actor with a higher symbolic capital. As a consequence, the novel has reached a broader readership and greater number of reprints compared to Akgören’s translation. Therefore, in this study, it has been suggested that retranslation and Bourdieu’s concept of capital can be interrelated and the relationship between retranslation and the concept of capital can be described as follows: One of the reasons behind retranslations is that the person who will retranslate has more symbolic capital than previous translators. However, this research acknowledges that this assumption needs to be further investigated and retested with different retranslations and translators. For the case in this research, it is possible to establish a relationship between retranslation theory and Bourdieu’s sociological approach. This very claim again emphasizes the interdisciplinary nature of translation. Within this frame, further studies can be carried out in order to deepen the above mentioned relationship between retranslation and Bourdieusian concepts, to examine them from different perspectives and to diversify the contributing factors.

Here, the objective of the study stated in the previous sections needs to be restated and emphasized: This study aims to highlight the effects of actors and their social trajectories on translations and to observe these effects textually within the frame of translation theories. Based on the result obtained at the end of the research conducted through the analysis of both texts and actors, this study showed that the social accumulations, capitals and habituses of the actors involved in the translation, as well as literature and translation field directly affect the translation and retranslation processes. In this way, this study contributes to the efforts on the subject of “sociological turn in translation” and highlights that translation is not just a written text and that the social dynamics surrounding and affecting it cannot be considered separately from translation processes.

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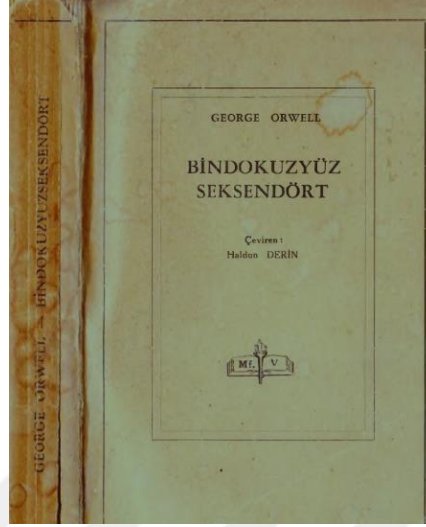
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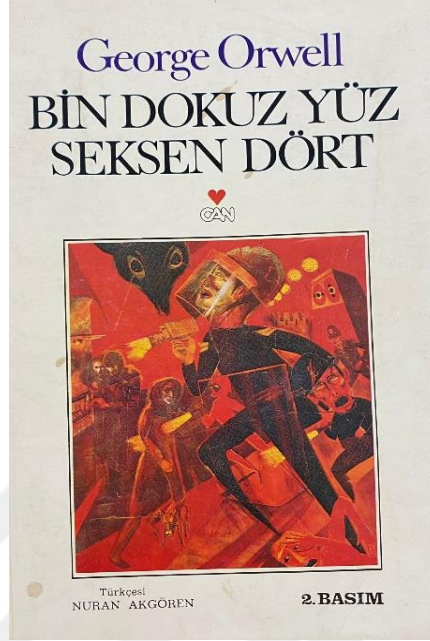


# APPENDICES

**Appendix 1:** Bookcover of Haldun Derin's Translation of *Nineteen Eighty Four* published by Translation Bureau in 1960



**Appendix 2:** Bookcover of the 2<sup>nd</sup> reprint of Nuran Akgören's *Nineteen Eighty Four* Translation (1984) published by Can Yayınları in 1989



**Appendix 3:** Bookcover of 59<sup>th</sup> reprint of *Nineteen Eighty Four* translated by Celal Üster published by Can Yayınları in 2017

