



Hacettepe University Graduate School of Social Sciences

Department of Translation and Interpreting

**TRANSLATION AS A NORM-BREAKING ACTIVITY: A CASE-
STUDY ON THE TURKISH TRANSLATION OF MARJORIE
HOUSEPIAN DOBKIN'S *SMYRNA 1922 THE DESTRUCTION OF A
CITY***

Merve AVŞAROĞLU

Master's Thesis

Ankara, 2014

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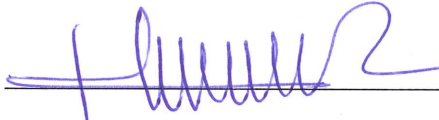
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KABUL VE ONAY

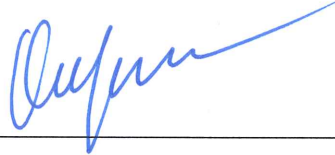
Merve Avşaroğlu tarafından hazırlanan “Translation as a Norm-breaking Activity: A Case-Study on the Turkish Translation of Marjorie Housepian Dobkin’s *Smyrna 1922 The Destruction of a City*” başlıklı bu çalışma, 12 Haziran 2014 tarihinde yapılan savunma sınavı sonucunda başarılı bulunarak jürimiz tarafından Yüksek Lisans Tezi olarak kabul edilmiştir.



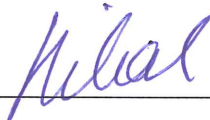
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In memory of Soma miners...

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ÖZET

AVŞAROĞLU, Merve. *Norm-kırıcılık Etkinliği Olarak Çeviri: Marjorie Housepian Dobkin'in Smyrna 1922 The Destruction of a City Adlı Eserinin Türkçe Çevirisi Üzerine Bir Vaka Çalışması*, Yüksek Lisans Tezi, Ankara, 2014.

Bu tez çalışmasının amacı, birçok bilim insanının (Toury 1995, Brownlie 1999, Schäffner 1999, Chesterman 2000, vb.) asıl olarak normların belirlediği bir eylem olarak kabul ettiği çevirinin, norm-kırıcı boyutunu göstermektir. Marjorie Housepian Dobkin'in *Smyrna 1922 The Destruction of a City* adlı eserinin, Belge Uluslararası Yayıncılık tarafından 2012'de basılan Türkçe çevirisi olan *İzmir 1922 Bir Kentin Yıkımı*, bu tezde vaka çalışmasında kullanılmaktadır. Betimsel Çeviri Çalışmaları ve Eleştirel Söylem Analizi'nin birlikte kullanımı, çeviri metnin Türk toplumundaki sosyal biliş ile bağdaştırılmasında önemli bir metodolojik bakış açısı olarak işlev görmektedir. Bu bakımdan, bu tezde, Eleştirel Söylem Çözümlemesi alanında önde gelen bilim insanları olan Teun A. Van Dijk ve Norman Fairclough'un eleştirel yaklaşımları benimsenmektedir. Van Dijk'in (2000) söylem, biliş ve toplumdaki oluşan üç aşamalı yaklaşımı ve Fairclough'un (1995) metin, söylemsel eylem ve sosyokültürel eylemden oluşan üç aşamalı yaklaşımı, Türkçe çeviri ve çevirmen ile Türk toplumundaki sosyal biliş, güç ilişkileri ve baskın ideoloji arasındaki ilişkiyi analiz etmek üzere kullanılmaktadır. Yayıncı Ragıp Zarakolu, çevirmen Attila Tuygan ve sonsöz yazarı Ali Sait Çetinoğlu ile yapılan röportajlar ise, söz konusu aktörlerin, çeviri eylemini Türkiye'de kabul gören resmi söyleme karşı bir söylem geliştirmek için araç olarak kullandığını gösteren bulguları destekleyen önemli tamamlayıcı materyal olarak işlev görmektedir. Türkiye'deki tabu konuları içeren *Smyrna 1922 The Destruction of a City* adlı kitabın, Türkiye'de tabu-kırıcılık rolü ile yaygın olarak bilinen Belge Uluslararası Yayıncılık tarafından kaynak metin olarak seçilmesi ve çeviri sürecinde kullanılan söylemsel stratejiler, baskın güç ve itaat ilişkilerinde araç olarak kullanılabilecek olan çevirinin norm-kırıcılık işlevini göstermektedir.

Anahtar Sözcükler

Eleştirel Söylem Çözümlemesi (ESC), baskın güç olma ve itaat etme, norm, çeviri normları, norm-kırıcılık, ideoloji, güç ilişkileri, sosyal biliş

ABSTRACT

AVŞAROĞLU, Merve. *Translation as a Norm-breaking Activity: A Case-study on the Turkish Translation of Marjorie Housepian Dobkin's Smyrna 1922 The Destruction of a City*, Master's Thesis, Ankara, 2014.

The purpose of this thesis is to illustrate the norm-breaking dimension of translation which is considered by various scholars (Toury 1995, Brownlie 1999, Schäffner 1999, Chesterman 2000, and the like) to be primarily norm-governed. *İzmir 1922 Bir Kentin Yıkımı*, the Turkish translation of Marjorie Housepian Dobkin's *Smyrna 1922 The Destruction of a City*, which was published by the Belge International Publishing House in 2012, is used as a case study in this thesis. The integration of Descriptive Translation Studies (DTS) and Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) serves as an important methodological perspective to relate the translated text (TT) to the social cognition in Turkish society. In this respect, the critical approaches of Teun A. van Dijk and Norman Fairclough, two prominent scholars in the field of CDA, are adopted in this thesis. Van Dijk's (2000) three-dimensional approach, which consists of discourse, cognition and society, and Fairclough's (1995) three-dimensional approach, which consists of text, discursive practice and socio-cultural practice, are used in order to analyze the relationship between the Turkish translation and the translator, and social cognition, power relations and the concept of dominant ideology in Turkish society. The interviews with the publisher, Ragıp Zarakolu, the translator, Attila Tuygan, and the afterword writer, Ali Sait Çetinoğlu, act as important complementary materials that support the findings which suggest that these actors have instrumentalized translation practice to develop a discourse that resists the official discourse accepted in Turkey. The selection of *Smyrna 1922 The Destruction of a City*, a book on the taboo issues in Turkey, as the source-text (ST) by the Belge International Publishing House, which is widely known for its taboo-breaking role in Turkey and the discursive strategies used in the translation process illustrate the norm-breaking function of the

translation, which may be instrumentalized in the relationship of dominance and subservience.

Key Words

Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA), dominance and subservience, norm, translational norms, norm-breaking, ideology, power relations, social cognition

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INTRODUCTION

I. General Remarks

The research topics within Translation Studies have expanded from the purely linguistic approaches to the broader social perspectives. Before the twentieth century, the main issue as regards the translational activities was whether the translation was supposed to reflect the form or the content of the source-text (Munday, 2001, p. 19). Therefore, the ongoing debates over the theory of translation were mostly at a textual level. It was in the twentieth century that Translation Studies gained a status of interdisciplinary scientific branch through important developments. The 1990s were a turning point in Translation Studies with regard to the recognition of translation as a social practice. In this respect, “cultural turn”, which was first used by Mary Snell-Hornby (1990) and later adopted by Susan Bassnett and André Lefevere (1990), came into prominence (Munday, 2001, p. 127). The importance of this metaphor stems from its introduction of a new and broader perspective for a thorough analysis of the translation process. The Translation Studies scholars began to approach the translation process with particular emphasis on the dynamics of the ST (source-text) selection, the relationship between the translators and the different actors (such as the editors and the publishers) in a given translation practice before and during the act of translation, as well as the status of the TT (target-text) in the target-culture (Bassnett & Lefevere, 1998, pp. 123-124). The integration of various motives, actors and expectations into the scholarly concerns enabled the recognition of the complexity of the translation process which was once thought merely as a textual transfer.

As it is obvious, the scope of Translation Studies can no longer be reduced to textual-linguistic borders. Translational activities are supposed to be considered within the framework of social networks, where various social events, situations and actors are in a complex relationship with each other. Therefore, translation practices might be observed to have significant implications when they are approached from a critical perspective. As a matter of fact, power relations lie at the center of the translational actions. As Lefevere (1992) suggests:

Translation has to do with authority and legitimacy and, ultimately, with power, which is precisely why it has been and continues to be the subject of so many acrimonious debates. (p. 2)

Since translational activities cannot be considered in isolation from power relations, the actors involved in these activities assume a significant role. Translators might be considered as the visible actors in this respect. Lefevere (1992) draws attention to the interaction between the translator and society as follows:

Translations are not made in a vacuum. Translators function in a given culture at a given time. The way they understand themselves and their culture is one of the factors that may influence the way in which they translate. (p. 14)

Translators are not the only actors involved in the translational activities. They are accompanied by some other actors who might be as important as themselves in the decision-making process. Lefevere (1992) refers to these actors as “patrons”, and he states that “ideology is often enforced by the patrons, the people or institutions who commission or publish translations” (p. 14).

However, it is important to note that the power relations between the translator and the other actors involved in the translation process are not always based on the dominance of the patron and the subservience of the translator. It is possible that the translator and the patron might assume an equal power within a publishing house. This might be the case if they have the same worldview and share a common purpose as regards the publication policy.

There is a connection between the publication policy and the concept of acceptability. According to Toury (1995), acceptability is closely related to how the translators handle “the norms governing the translated texts” and “those which govern original compositions” (p. 71). Therefore, Toury refers to the translated texts which are formulated in accordance with the target norms as acceptable translation. However, acceptability may not always occupy the center of the translational activities for the actors who are involved in the production of the translated texts. That is, there might be an intention to challenge the dominant views about the concept of acceptability within a society. More importantly, translation might be used as a means of achieving resistance to what is acceptable in a society. From this perspective, the translator and the patron

who commissions or publishes the translation might reveal an equal power relationship and serve to create such kind of resistance. In other words, their activities may take the form of resistance against what is acceptable or what is imposed as acceptable by the dominant power in the society.

In this regard, Maria Tymoczko (2010) uses the expression “activist translation practices” in the book, *Translation, Resistance, Activism* (p. 7). Tymoczko (2010) identifies translation as an activist practice as follows:

The concept of activism highlights the ways translation has been used instrumentally to further large programs of social change, the affiliations translators have had with other social activists, the extent to which translators acting alone have had programmatic motivations for their translation choices, and so forth. (p. 14)

As is seen above, translation might be instrumentalized by the activist translators and the patrons. From this perspective, they might use the translated texts to contribute to social change. This is often of an ideological character. As Tymoczko (2010) suggests, “[...] translation is instrumental, a means serving larger political and ideological purposes” (p. 15).

Translation may be instrumentalized for resisting the dominant values in the target-culture. Venuti (2008) refers to such way of translating as “resistancy” and the translation as “resistant translation” (p. 252). Venuti (2008) sees the target-language as a “resistant material” (p. 248) which the translator may manipulate to prioritize the ST author and the ST, as “original, authentic and true” (p. 251). It is understood that Venuti (2008) considers resistant translation as the one that contradicts the prevailing norms in the target-culture through both the choice of the ST and the discursive strategies used in the TT (p. 252).

II. Purpose of the Thesis

Translation is generally seen as a norm-governed activity (Toury 1995, Brownlie 1999, Schäffner 1999, Chesterman 2000, and the like). The purpose of this thesis is to illustrate that translation may, in particular contexts, serve as a norm-breaking activity.

III. Research Questions

This thesis is carried out to answer the following research questions:

1. What are the aspects that make the Turkish translation of *Smyrna 1922 The Destruction of a City*, *İzmir 1922 Bir Kentin Yıkımı*, a taboo issue in Turkey?
- 1a. What are the ideological implications of the selection of *Smyrna 1922 The Destruction of a City* as the source-text by the Belge International Publishing House?
2. What is the role of the translational norms in the translation of *Smyrna 1922 The Destruction of a City* into Turkish?
- 2a. In what ways is the Turkish translation a norm-breaking translational activity?
3. In what ways is the Turkish translation process of *Smyrna 1922 The Destruction of a City* instrumentalized to resist the dominant discourse in Turkey?
4. How influential is the concept of patronage in the translation process of *Smyrna 1922 The Destruction of a City*?

IV. Methodology

İzmir 1922 Bir Kentin Yıkımı occupies an important position at the intersection of the power relations and the ideological struggle between the actors involved in the translation process and the actors involved in the formation and the dissemination of the dominant discourse within Turkish society. In this thesis, the relation of the Turkish translation to the dynamics of power and ideology in the society is achieved through the combination of Descriptive Translation Studies (DTS) and Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA). Therefore, the agency and activism in this translation practice is approached from a critical perspective through CDA. In this regard, the theoretical terms and the perspectives of Teun A. van Dijk and Norman Fairclough, who are the prominent scholars in the field of CDA, are adopted.

Van Dijk's socio-cognitive approach to CDA necessitates an integrated study of discourse, society and cognition. Van Dijk's term of "social cognition" assumes particular importance in this respect (Van Dijk, 2000, p. 11). In translation studies, the translator is generally seen as a mediator between the social cognition embedded in his society and the personal cognition of the target readers. The translator's decision-making process is assumed to be under the influence of social cognition. However, what is written in the ST may or may not be in harmony with the dominant discourse in a given target society. Since norms constitute an important part of social cognition, the way the translator handles the norms in his translation process is important. The interaction between the social cognition in Turkish society and the translator's decisions in the Turkish translation of *Smyrna 1922 The Destruction of a City* is analyzed. From this perspective, the translator's translational decisions, as a discursive practice, his interpretation of and ideological stance towards the ST, as a cognitive process, and the social cognition in Turkish society with particular emphasis on the norms, as social dimension, are examined in accordance with Van Dijk's three-dimensional socio-cognitive approach. The way the Turkish translator foregrounds an alternative way of thinking and a translation which resists the dominant values in Turkish society provides insights into how he handles the norms during the translation process.

Fairclough's (1995) critical perspective also requires an integrated study of text, discursive practice and socio-cultural practice (p. 2). This perspective is primarily based on a critical approach to power relations within a society. The concepts of ideology and dominance become prominent in the theoretical explanations for these relations which are produced by and reflected in the discursive practices such as translation (Fairclough, 1995, p. 134). The texts constitute only a part of the critical perspective. The discursive practice, in other words, the production, the distribution and the consumption of the translations, can be approached with particular emphasis on the actors involved in these processes. Therefore, both the textual analysis of *İzmir 1922 Bir Kentin Yıkımı* in terms of the translational decisions at the lexical level and the peritextual (i.e. all the elements in the book that complement its textual content such as a foreword and an afterword) elements used in the translation are accompanied by the epitextual (i.e. all the elements outside the book that complement its textual content such as press releases and

interviews) information about the actors, including the translator, the publisher, the afterword writer, who are involved in the translation process.

As a matter of fact, while the taboo aspects of the ST and the TT are identified through a thorough analysis of the textual and the peritextual elements, the reason why this particular book was selected as the ST is addressed through the publication policy of the publishing house and the actors involved in the production of the TT. In this respect, the e-mail interviews, as important epitextual elements, with Zarakolu (the publisher), Tuygan (the translator) and Çetinoğlu (the afterword writer) provide significant insights into the dynamics of the translation process.

Within the perspectives of Van Dijk (2000) and Fairclough (1995), society plays a key role in the translational activities. Since translation is a social practice and translators are members of a society, social issues become an important subject matter in the study of translation (Fairclough, 1995, p. 131). Norms are among the important social representations which are closely related to the translational activities. As a matter of fact, the concept of translational norms occupies a central position in the debates on the interaction between translation and society. Therefore, any critical perspective towards the act of translating cannot be considered in isolation from norms. Tymoczko (2010) draws attention to the role of norms in the functionality of the activist translations as follows:

It is not an exaggeration to say that studies of resistant and activist translation have their roots in Toury's articulation of the importance of the receptor cultural system for translation strategies, norms, and functions, as well as the programmatic purposes of the translated texts themselves. (pp. 3-4)

Translational norms have brought about a view of translation as a norm-governed activity. Many academic studies have been conducted in order to show the influence of the norms on the decision-making process of the translators. However, activist translations require the adoption of a counter-discourse in this respect. Such kinds of discourses represent the norm-breaking aspects of the translation.

The concept of norms has a significant place in this thesis. The significant point as regards the role of norms in this thesis is that the Turkish translation of *Smyrna 1922 The Destruction of a City* is considered as a norm-breaking activity in Turkish society.

Therefore, the translation process of *İzmir 1922 Bir Kentin Yıkımı* is approached from a critical perspective with particular emphasis on the norm-breaking activities of the actors involved in the production of this translated text. Within this context, the analysis of the interaction among power, ideology, agency and activism is based on the perception of translation as a norm-breaking activity.

V. Limitations

This study is confined to the Turkish translation of Marjorie Housepian Dobkin's *Smyrna 1922 The Destruction of a City*. The Turkish translation, *İzmir 1922 Bir Kentin Yıkımı*, was done by Attila Tuygan and was published by the Belge International Publishing House in 2012. *Smyrna 1922 The Destruction of a City*, which was written in 1971, is a book about the Smyrna fire. Dobkin claims her book to be based on various publications with different perspectives on the matter as well as the official archives and the accounts of the eyewitnesses (Dobkin, 1988, pp. 8-9). The book contains many accounts about the interactions among the Turks, Armenians and Greeks during the burning of Smyrna. Those accounts might be said to contradict the dominant discourse on the same issue in Turkey. The allegations presented in Dobkin's book, which is about the act of burning Smyrna and the Armenian issue, are the primary elements which create a kind of counter-discourse within the context of Turkish society.

In the Turkish translation, *İzmir 1922 Bir Kentin Yıkımı*, there is a foreword, written by Ragıp Zarakolu, the founder of the Belge International Publishing House, and an afterword, written by Ali Sait Çetinoğlu, a researcher and writer who makes contributions to the books published by the Belge International Publishing House. Therefore, alongside the translator, there are two other important actors who contributed to *İzmir 1922 Bir Kentin Yıkımı*.

There are two important reasons for the choice of the Turkish translation of *Smyrna 1922 The Destruction of a City* as a case-study in this thesis. Firstly, the Smyrna fire is a controversial issue in the international arena. There are different views as regards who set fire to the city. Different groups of people, including the historians and the scholars, hold either the Turks, or the Greeks, or the Armenians responsible for the fire. There are various publications in which the three nations are depicted as either guilty or victim.

The case of the Smyrna fire brings forth different discourses by the different groups. Secondly, *Smyrna 1922 The Destruction of a City* is the latest book which Attila Tuygan translated for the Belge International Publishing House. The following is written on the profile section of the Belge International Publishing House on the web page of Turkish Publishers Association: “Our publishing house, which was established in 1977, owns the principle of **opposing any type of taboo**” (“Belge International Publication”, n.d., emphasis mine). The members of the Belge International Publishing House have been put on many trials due to their translational activities. Therefore, the Turkish translation of *Smyrna 1922 The Destruction of a City* might be approached from a critical perspective with a particular emphasis on the actors involved within the translation process. In this respect, this thesis is carried out, in Tymoczko’s words, to serve as the “exploration of power, ideology, agency, and activism in translation” (Tymoczko, 2010, p. 7).

VI. Outline of the Thesis

Chapter 1 dwells on the relationship between CDA and translation. In this chapter, the major terms of CDA are defined. The use of CDA as a methodological tool in Translation Studies is explained with reference to Van Dijk and Fairclough. The critical perspectives of these scholars and their effects on the study of translation are identified.

Chapter 2 dwells on the relationship between the dominant discourses and the dominated discourses. The clash of ideologies in the discourses of the dominant and the subservient actors are given with examples from the Turkish context.

Chapter 3 is about the relation between norms and translation. In this chapter, the concept of norm is defined. The concept of translational norms is explained with reference to Gideon Toury (1995) and Andrew Chesterman (2000). The importance of norms for the decision-making process in the translational activities is identified in connection with the perception of translation as a norm-governed activity. More importantly, the concept of norm-breaking is identified in the light of interaction among the members of society. In addition to the view of translation as a norm-governed activity, the view of translation as a norm-breaking activity is also explained.

Chapter 4 dwells on the case-study on the Turkish translation of *Smyrna 1922 The Destruction of a City*. Firstly, brief information about both the book and the author, Marjorie Housepian Dobkin, is given. Secondly, detailed information about the Belge International Publishing House and its activities is provided. The biographies of Ragıp Zarakolu (the publisher), Attila Tuygan (the translator) and Ali Sait Çetinoğlu (the afterword writer) are given with particular emphasis on their relation to the publishing house. Thirdly, the Turkish translation, *İzmir 1922 Bir Kentin Yıkımı*, is briefly described. Finally, the textual and the paratextual analyses of the TT are provided with reference to the previous chapters and the crucial statements of Ragıp Zarakolu, Attila Tuygan and Ali Sait Çetinoğlu obtained for the interviews.

In the conclusion part, the results obtained from the case-study are given with reference to the previous chapters.

CHAPTER 1

CRITICAL DISCOURSE ANALYSIS AND TRANSLATION

1.1. IDEOLOGY, POWER AND DOMINANCE

Ideology does not have a single definition. The linguist, Teun A. van Dijk draws attention to an important fact in this respect. In his book, *Ideology and Discourse* (2000), he identifies ideology “as a vague and controversial notion” (Van Dijk, 2000, p. 5). Accordingly, he provides several definitions from different perspectives.

Firstly, Van Dijk (2000) defines ideology “as a system of beliefs” (p. 6). Here, the key word is “system”. It is brought about when particular groups have shared beliefs. Therefore, different systems of beliefs give rise to different ideologies. In this respect, Van Dijk (2000) provides the examples of “communism and anti-communism, socialism and liberalism, feminism and sexism, racism and anti-racism” (p. 6). His examples are as important as his definition, because they reveal another fact about “ideology as a system of beliefs”. This is the existence of counter-ideologies. The opposing beliefs shared by different groups result in ideology and counter-ideology.

Secondly, Van Dijk (2000) defines ideology “as ‘false consciousness’ or ‘misguided beliefs’” (p. 7). This is a definition from the Marxist perspective. The idea is that those “misguided beliefs” are brought about by the ruling groups and that they turn into “false consciousness” of the people under their rule. Here, ideology acts as a tool of the ruling power.

Thirdly, Van Dijk (2000) defines ideology “as a general notion” (p. 7). It differs from the previous perspective in terms of dominance. He emphasizes the existence of “non-dominant ideologies” by providing the examples of ideologies concerning “the religious sects and right-wing extremists” (Van Dijk, 2000, p. 8).

Finally, Van Dijk (2000) defines ideology “as the basis of social practices” (p. 8). He considers the sharing of ideas as the first step of social practices in this respect. It is,

indeed, through the common beliefs and goals that people promote particular social practices.

Van Dijk (2000) focuses on the social aspect of the ideologies by rejecting the existence of “individual ideologies” (p. 11). Personal beliefs, opinions and attitudes cannot be regarded as ideologies themselves. On the contrary, it is when the members of a society have beliefs, opinions and attitudes in common and create a shared view of them that they become the subjects of an ideology. Therefore, sharing a common ground for the representation of a particular social reality is the primary condition of the existence of ideology. However, when such common ground is shared by all members of a society, the shared beliefs, opinions and attitudes cannot be referred to as ideology, but as “socio-cultural knowledge” (Van Dijk, 2000, p. 13). In order for “socio-cultural knowledge” to gain an ideological character, it needs to be shared by only some members of a society. The issue of sharing might be explained through Van Dijk’s categorization of what constitutes an ideology. Members, typical activities, overall aims, norms and values, as well as, positions, constitute a special ideological stance (Van Dijk, 2000, p. 17). The people who adopt the same norms and values assume membership; and their discursive and non-discursive activities in accordance with the overall aims determine their position within the social structure. Norms have almost the same functional role which ideologies serve. They also have a regulative power over the actions of the social actors. This stems from the fact that the adoption of norms is the preliminary condition of assuming membership. From this perspective, norms can be considered as the production of certain ideologies to serve particular interests and purposes by the ideological subjects (Van Dijk, 2000, p. 17).

Ideology is closely related to power relations. The word “group” is observed in all the definitions of ideology. Groups are composed of the members with common beliefs. Therefore, the hierarchical power relations among different groups give rise to dominance. Moreover, the power of the dominant group also results in the power of its particular ideology. This is also evident in the claim from the Marxist perspective that “the ideas of the ruling class are in every epoch the ruling ideas, i.e. the class which is the ruling material force of society, is at the same time its ruling intellectual force” (Regan, 1998, p. 234). The state authorities might be considered within the scope of this

important statement. The dominance of the state authorities over the intellectual productions might be said to promote the dominant ideology. Such kind of power might also be observed within an institution or among the institutions. In terms of the intellectual productions, publishing houses might be given as the examples of these institutions in the first place. The power relations within a publishing house might be reinforced by a hierarchical structure in which a founder or an executive editor can have a profound influence on the texts of the writers or translators. Different publishing houses might also facilitate the dissemination of different ideologies. In any case, the state authorities usually occupy a dominant position and the publishing houses usually occupy a subordinated position. The subservience or the resistance of the publishing houses can be revealed through their publication policies which either support or resist the ideological stance of the dominant power.

1.2. WHAT IS CRITICAL DISCOURSE ANALYSIS?

1.2.1. The Definition of Discourse

Language can be considered as an ideological way of interaction in which unequal power relations or clashing ideological stances within and across social networks are evident implicitly or explicitly. It acts as a battle field where dominant ideologies try to maintain dominance and where counter-ideologies discursively resist them in order to end subservience (Fairclough, 1995, p. 95). Therefore, language use cannot be conceived in isolation from its dimensions of power and ideology. Such a fact requires a critical approach to language use as a social practice.

The consideration of language use as a social practice brings about the concept of discourse which integrates language with its ideological dimension in societal structure. This dimension consists of social situations, events, actions and actors which Van Dijk (2009) explains as follows:

Discourse is a multidimensional social phenomenon. It is at the same time a linguistic (verbal, grammatical) object (meaningful sequences or words or sentences), an action (such as an assertion or a threat), a form of social interaction (like a conversation), a social practice (such as a lecture), a mental representation (a meaning, a mental model, an opinion, knowledge), an interactional or communicative event or activity (like a parliamentary

debate), a cultural product (like a telenovela) or even an economic commodity that is being sold and bought (like a novel). (p. 67)

As it is obvious, discourse cannot be considered as identical with the textual materials alone. Text and discourse are two different concepts and are not to be mistaken for each other. While text is the linguistic output formulated by its creator in accordance with the linguistic rules, discourse has a more abstract nature as Van Dijk's definition suggests. From this perspective, it is safe to state that what is read in a text is only a part of discourse. Apart from the text, discourse also includes discursive practices of individual social actors and their interpersonal interactions.

A text by itself fails to provide a deep understanding of the discursive practices. Intertextuality plays an important role in this respect. Texts might reveal much more useful information when considered in relation to each another. Intertextuality might be helpful in understanding the ideologically-loaded discursive events. The imminent link between the related texts in terms of the subject matter, period of production, publisher, author or translator provides important insights into the ideologically motivated activity of text production. This reveals that a critical understanding of the discursive events requires a broader field of study alongside the individual texts.

As Wodak and Meyer (2009) suggests, "social situation, action, actor and societal structure" are supposed to be considered as the primary components of the discursive events (p. 26). These are the concepts that are indispensable parts of the discursive studies. Societal structure is the broadest term as it involves the other three concepts. Social situation is where the actors perform specific actions. The societal structures are composed of large groups, such as institutions or organizations, as well as their internal and external relations. These large structures are certainly composed of individual members, their actions and relationships with each other at a micro level which can be named as social situations.

These extra-textual phenomena are constitutive of the discursive events on the basis of particular ideologies. As a matter of fact, ideologies might be said to survive through discourse where they reside in. Certain aspects of social realities are represented and structurally developed by means of discourse. The more powerful an ideology is, the more natural it becomes in the eyes of the social subjects. Therefore, ideologies

embedded in social situations, actions and actors within a societal structure have decisive roles in the formulation and shaping of discourse in accordance with particular ideologies. One important fact here is that ideologies arise from different attitudes to and representations of social realities, and this is also the source of counter-ideologies. The clash of opposing parties, and thus the opposing ideologies, takes the form of power struggles for which discourse serves as a crucial means. The issue of power steps in this discursive scene by means of especially the binary opposition of dominance and subordination. Therefore, the parties in question become the dominating ones and the subordinated ones. However, there is a handicap of tracing ideologies in discursive practices in the presence of these complicated relations. This is the implicit nature of ideological elements. An analysis of syntactic, semantic or lexical features of a given text may not prove fruitful in the absence of the previously mentioned extra-textual phenomena such as the identities and the discursive practices of the actors.

Since the actors occupy the central position in any action, including the communicative actions, they are particularly important in terms of their discursive practices. The close relationship between discourse and social actors takes also a bilateral form. As Fairclough (1995) suggests, "...discourse makes people, as well as people make discourse" (p. 39). The second part of this statement is actually what has, so far, been made explicit to certain extent. People, as social actors, within a societal structure actively participate in the discursive events in their own ways of representing social realities. The first part of the statement, on the other hand, pinpoints the power of discourse in the construction of identities, roles and the statuses of the social actors. This issue might be addressed at an institutional level. For instance, an institution with highly-structured labor relations is also certain to display hierarchical power relations among its members. Those in the highest level of the hierarchy determine the dominant discourse which is supposed to be adopted by the subjects of this institution. From this perspective, it can be said that discourse and ideological norms go hand in hand. The adoption of particular ideological norms inevitably brings about the internalization of a particular discourse. The internalization of the ideological norms reinforces the naturalization of discourse (Fairclough, 1995, p. 31). Indeed, ideological norms are constitutive of the discursive practices. Once the predetermined discursive practices have dominance over all the subjects whose ideological stance becomes subservient,

such norms occupy an unquestioned primary position. Therefore, even a single institution considered in isolation from the social structure displays power relations within its own structure due to the hierarchical relationships which are produced and reproduced through discursive events. Such dynamics, on the other hand, are not to be reduced to a prototypical institution, such as an extremely formal working environment with a heavy working load of document processing under the control of strict administrative bodies which require the employees to obey what they say. To illustrate, within a publishing house, writers and translators might be subject to certain ideological norms and predetermined discursive practices of the publisher or the editor. They might be required to act accordingly. For instance, a publishing house might not publish a book of a writer or a translation of a translator just because it is not in line with the ideological norms adopted by its members. Likewise, the textual production of both writers and translators might be subject to intervention in terms of naming, addressing or representing people, situations or events. However, writers and translators might also come up with texts to be translated in line with the norms and the discourse of the dominant actors due to their internalization of the social realities from the same perspective. Therefore, this brings forward another crucial fact with regard to the power relations embedded within the discursive practices which are in close connection with the ideological norms (Van Dijk, 1998, p. 6). The binary opposition of dominance and subservience within an institutional body might also be replaced by the shared beliefs and the common goals of its members.

1.2.2. Critical Discourse Analysis and Its Relation to Ideology

Considering the multidimensional relations within discourse, on the one hand, and power, ideology, and actors, on the other hand, it is natural to approach the study of discourse from a critical perspective. In this respect, Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA), the primary goal of which is to uncover implicit relations within the discursive events, provides critical tools to be employed in discourse studies. This very goal is what enables CDA to go beyond the traditional descriptive studies which fail to provide a comprehensive explanation for the ideological aspects of textual productions.

CDA is the critical study of language use which implicitly reflects power relations among the users. Therefore, the linguistic units within a text compose just one part of this critical approach, and they are supposed to be considered in connection with a broader social framework where they are the functions of various power relations. In this regard, texts are considered in terms of their historical, social, cultural, ideological contexts. From this perspective, problem-orientedness and interdisciplinarity are the fundamental properties of critical approach to language use (Wodak & Meyer, 2009, p. 2). The unequal power relations in the discursive practices within a societal structure already reflect a social problem. The control of the dominating groups over the discursive practices of the subordinated groups requires a critical approach. This is about the problem-oriented aspect of CDA. The interdisciplinary aspect of CDA is also a natural factor, since any academic study of this sort cannot be reduced only to the use of one theoretical assumption. On the contrary, the combination of various linguistic and social theories helps increase the critical and explanatory nature of critical discourse studies.

These two features especially shed light on what is critical in CDA. This is mostly about what is not explicitly practiced. Therefore, a critical approach to discourse with its focus on uncovering the implicit ideological positions embedded in the texts has to integrate invisible components of the discursive events, be it a social situation, a social action or a social agent. In this respect, the focal points which influence CDA are as follows:

Critical Theory should be directed at the totality of society in its historical specificity. Critical theory should improve the understanding of society by integrating all the major social sciences, including economics, sociology, history, political science, anthropology and psychology. (Wodak & Meyer, 2009, p. 6)

As it is obvious, a deeper understanding of discourse is meant to be achieved by tracing the ideological components within the sociological network in an interdisciplinary manner, rather than the use of the theoretical and practical tools of only linguistics or translation studies.

In this respect, a crucial step to be taken in order to proceed with CDA is a combined study of the textual and the contextual features related to a given text. Here, the concept of context needs to be elaborated on. Context within the scope of CDA cannot be

reduced to what is told in the text itself. That is, it cannot be limited to the spatio-temporal features, actions and actors written in the text. From the perspective of CDA, besides the previously mentioned extra-textual phenomena, context needs to be handled by taking the beliefs, values, attitudes, opinions and life experiences of the creators of the texts into consideration. Therefore, a close study of the text producers enables a better understanding of their ideological stance.

Social actors have a central position within the social structure. They have different views about particular social realities, and they also represent them in different ways. This brings about the binary opposition of ideology and counter-ideology (Van Dijk, 1998, p. 130). Such opposition might be observed in both the discursive practices in the form of language use, such as daily speech, and the non-discursive practices in the form of action, such as political actions. The goal of CDA is to uncover such ideological relations among the social actors. Here, the understanding of the power abuse and the maintenance of the dominating groups, as well as the resistance of the dominated groups, play a key role.

1.3. THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN CRITICAL DISCOURSE ANALYSIS AND TRANSLATION STUDIES

The problem-oriented and interdisciplinary nature of CDA is what makes it a crucial methodological tool in Translation Studies. It is only natural that the translational activities, which are closely related to norms and ideologies, are approached from a critical perspective. Since CDA tries to answer the questions of how dominance over the public discourse also shapes people's mind to contribute to power abuse and maintenance, translation -both as a product and as a process- might well be dealt with within this scope. Within this context, translation, as a product, might be studied in terms of the linguistic properties of a text at a micro level; and translation, as a process, might be studied in terms of the sociological aspects of text production at a macro level.

Translators are social actors in a society. They are the part of the socialization process where they actively participate in social actions. Considering the macro-level implications of the micro-level translational activities, the translation of a source-text (ST) into a target language (TL) needs to be seen from a broader and a critical

perspective. As a matter of fact, the social, cultural, historical and political situations and events might have a decisive role in the production of any target-text (TT).

A critical study of translational activities with particular emphasis on power relations and ideological struggle might be approached from a combined perspective of Van Dijk and Fairclough. While Van Dijk views discursive practices from a cognitive standpoint, Fairclough adopts a rather socio-cultural perspective with an emphasis on power, ideology and discourse. Therefore, combining the viewpoints of these two scholars in adopting a critical approach to translational studies might be based on the integration of the translators' individuality and the socio-cultural aspects of their translational activities. Van Dijk's three-level framework of **discourse, cognition and society** might be considered in connection with that of Fairclough which is composed of **text, discursive practice and socio-cultural practice**. While the ST and the TT might be analyzed at textual levels, their production and interpretation might be considered as a cognitive process with translational actors, on the one hand, and the TT readers, on the other hand. Moreover, their socio-cultural practices in a given society might be helpful in having a deeper understanding of the ideological and power relations existing in the translational activities.

1.3.1. Teun A. van Dijk's Approach to Critical Discourse Analysis

1.3.1.1 Discourse, Cognition and Society

Van Dijk adopts a socio-cognitive approach to CDA by proposing an integrated study of discourse, cognition and society. He draws attention to the "sociocognitive interface of discourse, that is, the relations between mind, discursive interaction and society" (Van Dijk, 2009, p. 65). Therefore, cognitive elements have fundamental role in the relationship between discourse and society.

Van Dijk describes "cognition" as "the set of functions of the mind, such as thought, perception and representation" (Van Dijk, 2009, p. 64). One important detail concerning this term is that it has both social and individual aspects. In this regard, Van Dijk (2009) uses the concept of "social cognition" as "the beliefs or social representations shared by a community" and identifies "knowledge, attitudes, values, norms and ideologies as

different types of social representations” (p. 78). As it is obvious, social cognition is associated with all the members of a community. The level of influence of social cognition on the people in a given society is closely related to the personal world view, values, beliefs, experiences and attitudes. This perspective brings forth the concept of “personal cognition” (Van Dijk, 1998, p. 315).

Norms, which are among the primary components of social cognition, are especially important regarding the relationship between social cognition and personal cognition. The transition of the common sense from social cognition into personal cognition attracts the attention of the CDA researchers, since the common ground is replaced by individuality in this process. Therefore, different individuals develop different attitudes towards the norms embedded in social cognition.

1.3.1.2. Van Dijk’s Approach to Critical Discourse Analysis as a Methodological Tool in Translation Studies

In his socio-cognitive approach to CDA, Van Dijk (2001) suggests an integrated study of members and groups, actions and process, context and social structure, as well as personal and social cognition, in order to produce comprehensive explanations for discursive events (p. 354). Membership is one aspect of the group relations. Every individual in a society is a member of a given social structure. These social members engage in social actions which together create a socialization process. The social structure that embodies these actors, actions and processes consists of various contexts. Moreover, given such integrated nature of micro-level and macro-level phenomena, the interaction between personal cognition and the society cannot be underestimated. These part-whole relations are also evident in the translational activities. Therefore, Van Dijk’s socio-cognitive approach proves helpful in Translation Studies.

As a matter of fact, any translational activity cannot be reduced to the translation of a SL into a TL done by a translator. In the production of a TT, besides a translator, some other important actors, such as the members of a publishing house, may also play important roles. Moreover, translated texts assume a certain status within the target-culture. Therefore, any translational activity is supposed to be considered as a social practice, as well. Furthermore, the social representations, particularly the norms, are the

inseparable components of a society. From this perspective, the relationship between social cognition and translation, as a social practice, needs to be taken into consideration. To illustrate, in her article, “A CDA approach to the translations of taboos in literary texts within the historical and socio-political Turkish context”, stating that “translation is an ideologically-embedded socio-cultural/-political practice”, Funda İşbuğa-Erel (2008) refers to the decisive components of social cognition as the “externally-imposed constraints” and refers to the elements of the personal cognition as the “internal factors” (p. 59). In the light of this socio-cognitive approach, it can be said that Van Dijk’s term of social cognition can be used in a translation study in which the researcher tries to reveal in what way social cognition may or may not become a pressure on the translational decisions of the translator.

1.3.2. Norman Fairclough’s Approach to Critical Discourse Analysis

1.3.2.1. Text, Discursive Practice and Socio-cultural Practice

In critical discursive studies, Fairclough (1995) attaches particular importance to the power relations among the dominating and the dominated groups within a society and suggests “analysis of (spoken or written) language texts, analysis of discourse practice (processes of text production, distribution and consumption) and analysis of discursive events as instances of sociocultural practice” (p. 2). Therefore, he advocates an integrated study of text, discourse practice and socio-cultural practice. In this approach, texts, whether spoken or written, occupy only a part of the discursive study. In order to obtain more comprehensive findings, analyses of texts are accompanied by the discursive practices. Here, Fairclough integrates all levels of the discursive practices, namely production, distribution and consumption. This also implies the integration of all the actors and relations involved in these stages. Therefore, socio-cultural practices might be considered as embodying the other two components.

Fairclough suggests that the study of text, discursive practices and socio-cultural practices should be conducted in terms of power relations. One important reason for adopting such a perspective is the concept of “naturalization of discourse”. Fairclough (1995) illustrates the nature of this concept as follows:

My contention is that a social situation is better regarded as having its own order of discourse within the social network of orders of discourse, in which different discourse types are ordered in relation to each other. Such alternative practices are characteristically ordered in dominance in the sense that there may be a dominant ('normal', naturalized) practice and dominated (marginalized, 'alternative') practices. (p. 12)

As it is obvious, Fairclough refers to the dominant discourse as “naturalized.” The dominant groups within a society are said to use their power to naturalize the dominant discourse in order to create **common sense**. This idea is also observed in his suggestion that “a characteristic of a dominant IDF is the capacity to ‘naturalize’ ideologies, i.e. to win acceptance for them as non-ideological ‘common sense’” (Fairclough, 1995, p. 27). Fairclough uses “IDF” as an abbreviation of “ideological-discursive formation”. From this perspective, power is in the center of Fairclough’s three-dimensional approach to critical studies.

1.3.2.2. Power, Hegemony and Gate-keeping

Power relations have a key role in Fairclough’s approach to CDA. He emphasizes the significance of power in close relation to discourse and ideology. From this perspective, discourse cannot be conceived in isolation from the concept of power, since it is under the control of one who has relatively more power when compared to the others. Fairclough (1995) approaches “the control of discourse” in terms of power relations as follows:

The power to control discourse is seen as the power to sustain particular discursive practices with particular ideological investments in dominance over other alternative (including oppositional) practices. (p. 2)

It can be stated that discourse and power work bilaterally. Powerful groups exercise control over discourse, and the emerging dominant discourse contributes to the maintenance of their power. Therefore, particular discursive practices become tools that serve their particular interests and purposes. This needs to be understood from an ideological perspective, since particular ideologies belong to the dominating groups which might be resisted by the counter-ideologies of the subordinated groups.

Given the power of discourse in the production and reproduction of the power relations, control over discourse in a given society can be said to result in the ownership of power

in both discursive and non-discursive realms. This means that there is a reciprocal interaction between power and discourse. When power is exercised over discourse to shape it to serve particular interests, the discourse in question shapes the worldview of the subjects. From the perspective of textual productions, typical control over discourse takes the form of determining which subject matters are supposed to be handled by their producers. The ideological element of discursive control comes to forefront, especially when it is exercised at micro-level structures like lexicalization. The prohibition of certain lexical units might be considered as the mainstream type of control over the discursive practices. Particular words might be prohibited due to their association with what the dominating power regards as inconvenient.

When the subordinated groups are constantly exposed to the dominant discourse, power abuse and maintenance of the dominating groups are reinforced. As a matter of fact, discourse is a function of active social agents. Thus, control over discourse is almost equal to control over mind. This brings forward the concept of “hegemony” which Fairclough uses in order to clarify the relations among ideology, power and discourse. Hegemony is not simply the monopoly of the power ownership. It is a multi-dimensional concept which is commonly associated with the Italian philosopher Antonio Gramsci (Jones, 2006, p. 41). Gramsci’s emphasis on the notion of **consent** is what distinguishes hegemony from other uses of power by the dominating groups. Consent is achieved in civil society composed of the social actors rather than political society composed of the members of the political realms (Jones, 2006, p. 50). The reason is that the legitimization of the dominant discourse in favor of the hegemonic power is only possible when it is discursively practiced by the social actors within civil society. In this way, the dominant ideology gains a naturalized form and facilitates power abuse and maintenance of hegemonic authority, since it subordinates the discourse of the counter-ideological groups and makes those groups subservient.

Since control over discourse enables the shaping of minds, the ideological component of discourse paves the way for a “mind-structuring” process. One crucial way of using discourse as a mind-structuring device through ideology is “gate-keeping” (Reisigl & Wodak, 2009, p. 88). This is the act of tolerating the exposure of the subjects to the discourse that serves to one’s interests and blocking their access to the one that is at the

expense of the realization of these interests. Gate-keeping is closely related to the concept of hegemony, since it is the hegemonic authority, as the power holder, that can make use of gate-keeping, as a strategy to shape discursive practices. Gate-keeping is a special use of power which can be regarded as effective due to its penetration into cognition. It is these features that make it a thoroughly hegemonic device.

Aymil Doğan (2014) identifies the control over the public discourse and the control over the mind as the two important points that contribute to the hegemony of the dominant power in a given society (p. 323). Doğan's (2014) emphasis on these points supports the characteristics of the activities of gate-keeping and mind-structuring.

1.3.2.3. Fairclough's Approach to Critical Discourse Analysis as a Methodological Tool in Translation Studies

One crucial step to be taken by the hegemonic power on the way to achieving consent in society is the control of the public discourse. The use of the facilitating measures for the expansion of the related ideological discourse and the restrictive or prohibitive measures towards the counter-ideological discourse make people submit to the dominant discourse of the hegemonic power. Translational activities play an important role in this respect. Indeed, the control of the public discourse cannot be reduced to the texts which are written in a given society. Translations also constitute a significant part of public discourse. Counter-ideological discourse might reside in translations. Therefore, the control of the public discourse may also be observed through the translational activities.

The use of gate-keeping by the hegemonic power for penetration into the public discourse explains the dynamics of translation policies. In this respect, translation policy might be regarded as a type of gate-keeping in the sense that the specific STs which the target-culture readers read in the form of TTs are sometimes selected on a well-calculated basis by the hegemonic power. Target-culture readers may sometimes become the subjects of such ideologically motivated gate-keeping strategies when they do not have access to the STs and can only read those texts provided in their own language. In this way, translational activities might be instrumentalized by the hegemonic power as a **mind-structuring** device by determining which TTs can be part of the dominant discourse and circulate within the society. Such control of textual

production can also be accompanied by the determination of how subject matters are to be handled. At this point, similar hegemonic pressures might be imposed on the translators in their translational activities. Therefore, it is important to consider not only the translators, but also the other actors in the evaluation of the decision-making process.

Evidently, the concepts of ideology, power, hegemony and gate-keeping have a significant role in the translational activities. Therefore, the integrated study of text, discursive practices and socio-cultural practices suggested by Fairclough might be applied to translational studies. From this perspective, the study of source and target-texts might be conducted at a textual level with due attention to the syntactic, semantic and lexical features which are chosen by the ST writer and the TT translator. The study of discursive practices is beyond the textual borders and involves not only the text itself but also the process of its production and reception (i.e. interpretation). The production part especially gets complicated with the inclusion of certain professional actors, such as publishers, editors, and even the state authorities. The reception (interpretation) part concerns translators in the first place, since they are the ones who conduct the first reading and then construct a TT based on their individual interpretative processes. This brings forward the crucial point as regards the reception (interpretation) by the TT readers themselves.

1.3.3. Subservience and Resistance in Translational Activities

The control of the public discourse is only possible when certain social actors (in our case, writers, translators and all the other members of the publishing houses) become subservient. Van Dijk (1998) provides crucial insights into how the subservient groups come to acknowledge the hegemony of the dominating groups in their discursive practices (p. 260). A prevailing way is gate-keeping. Members of the dominated groups have tendency to regard what they see from the authoritative powers as true representations. **Naturalization of discourse** is one way of the elimination of plurality in favor of the dominant power's interests (Fairclough, 1995, p. 12). Moreover, the lack of motivation for resistance on the part of subservient groups also plays an important

role. This is related to those members who do not prefer active participation in what has an “anti” nature (Van Dijk, 2000, p. 8).

An acknowledgement of the discursive practices imposed by the hegemonic power on the members of the society points to the intermediary role of discourse in the transition of the dominant norms from the society to the social actors. Therefore, control over discourse might be identified with control over **socially shared knowledge** and beliefs which, in return, result in the intended attitudes on the part of the subordinated social actors.

As is seen, the social actors, who are indeed the ones to shape social events in society, stand at the center of both discursive and non-discursive events. Therefore, it is necessary to adopt an actor-oriented approach to CDA in a study of translation. As a matter of fact, actors are indispensable components of any communicative action, and discourse is no exception. Van Dijk provides four fundamental roles that actors can assume: **communicative, social, occupational and political** (Van Dijk, 2009, p. 81). From the perspective of a study of translation, it is possible to state that translators can assume a communicative role by producing a TT for target-culture readers, a social role by participating in the activities of particular social groups, an occupational role by translating STs assigned to them by the publishing houses they are working at, and a political role by being members of a specific political party or ideology. Such roles are not to be considered separately from each other. Translators might well assume these particular roles at the same time. It is also safe to state that the communicative, social and political roles of the translators might give direction to their occupational role of translating texts.

In this way, translators act as the mediators between not only the source-culture and target-culture, but also between the dominating groups and the subservient groups. Translators may make the dominant discourse available for the target-culture readers. From this perspective, they become members of the subservient groups, because they produce the translated texts that serve the ideological interests of the dominant power. As a result, they make important contribution to the dissemination of particular social representations through their translations.

However, translators' subservience to the hegemony of the dominating groups is not as simple as it might seem. Since translation is an activity of choices, either subservience or resistance of translators may become clear in their translational decisions.

Since a ST is first read by the translator, the TT displays the translator's own reading and interpretation. This is referred to as "the privileged readership of the translators" (Hatim & Mason, 1990, p. 224). From this perspective, the readers of a target-text read the translator's interpretation of the ST. Hatim and Mason (1990) suggests that "[...] the translator is necessarily handling such matters as intended meaning, implied meaning, presupposed meaning, all on the basis of the evidence which the text supplies" (p. 33). This makes it clear that the ideological element has the power to easily step in this given process.

A TT might either be mobilized for **gate-keeping activities** or for the **activities of ideological struggle**. Therefore, in translational activities, subservience and resistance are identified with becoming submissive subjects and becoming resistant actors, respectively.

CHAPTER 2

NORMS AND TRANSLATION

2.1. THE DEFINITION OF NORMS

Norms might be regarded as the consequences of some sort of negotiation among the members of a society for their common good. The Israeli scholar, Gideon Toury, is commonly known to have introduced the concept of norm into Translation Studies. Toury (1995) provides a definition of the concept of norm that gives insights into its source, content, subjects and function as follows:

[...] the translation of general values or ideas shared by a community – as to what is right and wrong, adequate and inadequate – into performance instructions appropriate for and applicable to particular situations, specifying what is prescribed and forbidden as well as what is tolerated and permitted in a certain behavioral dimension [...]. (p. 55)

Christina Schäffner (1999), the editor of the book, *Translation and Norms*, considers the functions of the norms as follows:

Norms function in a community as standards or models of correct or appropriate behaviors and of correct or appropriate behavioral products. (p. 5)

The common sense concerning the appropriate behavior in a specific culture is what attributes to norms the characteristics of enabling social members to evaluate the acceptability of their social practices. It is through this common sense that individuals estimate the possible reactions to and likely consequences of their social practices. From this perspective, norms can be said to facilitate social interaction in favor of a successful communication on the part of the participants who have this common knowledge of the tolerated and the permitted behaviors and direct their interactions accordingly. The active participation of each individual in the formulation of this normative framework contributes to the establishment of a social order which is the initial step of the long-term social stability. Such dynamism might be summarized as the reflection of the social expectations on the individual behaviors of the social members, or social agents in the sense that they are part of an ongoing socialization process at every step of their

lives. Indeed, what social agents think as appropriate and how they act accordingly depend on their perception of what the other social agents expect of them. Hermans (1996) refers to such a situation as “expectations of expectations” (p. 30). This expression implies the existence of common sense within a society. This common sense embodies the dominant discourse in that society. The dominant discourse might be said to direct the social members’ expectations of expectations. Therefore, in terms of their discursive practices, the social members might need to take into account the expectations of the society. As it is obvious, the common sense in a given society is important in terms of both the discursive and the non-discursive practices. From this perspective, the regulative characteristics of the norms might be regarded as an invisible hand facilitating the social interactions among individuals by means of normative propositions. However, such determining feature of the norms with respect to the individual behaviors also creates a restrictive image, because the available alternatives of free social agents are limited to the ones considered as appropriate in a given culture. Such a restrictive force also has its origin in the likelihood of the implementation of sanctions, once the excluded alternatives are adopted.

The nature of the norms requires further details. Different levels of the strength of the shared values and attitudes bring forth the use of different concepts as regards the norms. Toury (1995) makes a distinction between idiosyncrasies and rules, and suggests that those weaker norms fall into the idiosyncrasy side of the continuum and the stronger ones into the rule side of it (p. 54). While idiosyncrasies reflect the subjectivity of the decision-making social agents, rules are the objective phenomena which require obedience in a social structure. Norms are positioned between these two phenomena, and their objectivity and binding force increase towards the rule end. Hermans (1996) approaches this issue by adding the notions of convention and decree (p. 32). While conventions and decrees are positioned in the opposite ends of a continuum, norms and rules occupy the space between them. The same relation of objectivity and binding force is also valid in this continuum. What all these concepts have in common is the regular behavior. It is beneficial to add, just at this point, that although the concept of behavior is always referred to in the explanations concerning the norms by various theorists and scholars, the most precise content of such behavior is put forward by Hermans (1996), who underlines the activities of speaking, writing and translating (p. 29). What is part of

a social structure as a convention, a norm or a rule is observable in the regularities. These phenomena get social agents to perform specific course of social practices in specific social situations, and that results in regularities when all agents come under their influence. From this perspective, irregularities come to forefront with the possible consequence of sanctions, when it is norms or rules in question. Since conventions imply frequently performed course of actions, they are mostly associated with preferences and what is unconventional does not create crucial problems at all. The thin line between conventions and norms, in this sense, is the intensity of common sense of the appropriate social behavior. When a social practice takes a form beyond a mere preference and gains a stronger foothold as an appropriate and accepted behavior in a given society, its binding force increases to such an extent that the said social practice gets the status of a norm. This is some sort of transition from expectation to acceptance.

The social aspect of norms makes them acquire two resulting natural features: norms are socio-culturally specific and instable (Toury, 1995, p. 62). Since even the groups in a specific society show different regularities, the socio-cultural differences between different societies are inevitable. The societies with their own shared values, expectations and attitudes have their own norms. Likewise, just as a society is a dynamic whole with its historical, social, cultural, economic, political, literary events, permanent stability is not possible in a specific social field. Therefore, such instability is also inevitable in terms of the prevailing norms in a given period.

An important point about the norms is their unchallenged nature, in other words, the social agents' submission to these norms in an unquestioning manner. The power of the norm authorities, as well as the recognition of and conforming to the existing norms, contribute to the validity of norms (Chesterman, 2000, p. 56). Norm authorities play an important role in both the norm-setting acts and in the acts of conforming to the norms. They actively use their norm-setting power and assume a determining effect regarding the possible sanctions. For example, the norm authorities in the production of a given literary piece might be the state organs like the Ministry of Education, which has influence on the literary productions, or the members of a publishing house, including its owners and editors. Therefore, the actors involved in a production process cannot be reduced to the visible actors. The implicit norm authorities are also supposed to be taken

into consideration. The dominant discourse to be used by the writer stands as the concrete image of the pressure exercised by the norm authorities. Ideology is the constitutive element of this pressure. The complexity of the relations and the acts as to the norms in literary text production might be said to originate from this ideological dimension of the norm authorities. Moreover, the actual practice of conforming to the norms makes positive contribution to the recognition and the endurance of the norms. However, the binding force of the norms can be changed, depending on certain power relations. This is most often the case in the change of political power in a given period. The social, cultural and political priorities of the parties differ from each other. Therefore, the changes in the political arena might lead to changes in the norm-setting acts.

The power relations between the norm authorities and the members of a society are dependent on the relations of dominance and subservience. Norm authorities handle the norm-setting process, while the members of a society are expected to conform to the existing norms. The norm-setting power of the dominant social actors stems from their dominant position in social structure through various means which the dominated subjects do not have access to. Therefore, the norms of the dominating actors become dominant norms, while those of the subordinated actors exist in a less privileged state. While submission is the mainstream alternative in such a case, resistance is also an option for the subordinated people. As it is obvious, power relations and ideology lie in the center of the normative behaviors.

2.2. THE TRANSLATIONAL NORMS

2.2.1. The Translational Norms Categorized by Gideon Toury

Norm, as a sociological concept, might be regarded as a social reality in a given society. Translational activities take place in a target-culture hosting the STs in the form of the TTs. Therefore, it is no surprise that a translational act is surrounded by both the source and the target norms. Indeed, in various contexts ranging from the translation classes to the professional translation networks, the agents of translation get involved into a norm-governed process. The prevailing norms in the educational settings with the teachers acting as norm authorities reflect the normative power of educational institutions. The

more professional settings reveal the influence of a wider social context with diversified norm authorities. This requires the combination of a micro-level and a macro-level enquiry into the dimensions of a translational practice. This means an analysis of the TTs produced by the translators, as social agents and competent professionals, on the one hand, and the social structure with its components, including the other social agents and the norms, on the other hand.

Toury is regarded by many scholars as the person who tried to show the close link between the norms and Translation Studies in 1970s and 1980s. According to Toury (1995), the decision-making process of the translators in their translational activities is governed by the following translational norms:

1. Initial norms
 - a. Adequacy
 - b. Acceptability
2. Preliminary norms
 - a. Translation policy
 - b. Directness of translation
3. Operational norms
 - a. Matricial norms
 - b. Textual-linguistic norms

Initial norms, as the name implies, prevail the decision-making process in the pre-translational act. According to Toury (1995), they give direction to a TT on the way to either the SL culture or the TL culture (p. 56). Depending on the initial translation decisions of the translator, a TT may reveal syntactic and semantic traces of the SL, the ST and the SL culture in which case the TT is assumed to be an adequate translation. This provides an adequate transfer of the ST meaning and surface structure in accordance with the source norms.

The translator may also prefer to prioritize the target norms in which case the TT can be said to be located in the target-culture side of the border that separates it from the source counterpart. This TT is assumed to be an acceptable translation, because the needs of the target readers are satisfied just in the way considered as appropriate and acceptable

in their own culture. Therefore, a TT is considered as adequate when it is source-oriented and as acceptable when it is target-oriented.

Preliminary norms, like initial norms, precede actual translation process. According to Toury (1995), they are composed of the two crucial decisions made before the translational act (p. 58). One of them is the translation policy, which is about the selection of the texts to be translated and made part of the target system. The wide range of actors and factors involved in the construction of a specific translation policy vary from the publishing house owners to the translators and from the agenda of the existing political power to the reader response. It is clear that different translation policies reflect different concerns or interests which cannot be thoroughly explained without taking into consideration the ideological dimension of the related actors and their power relations. Specific state organs or publishing houses have their own translation policies.

The other preliminary norm is about the determination of the language from which the ST is to be translated into the TL, that is, directness of translation. The translation might be from the ST itself or a translation of the ST. A particular translation policy may or may not allow the use of an intermediary language. Directness of translation is often a visible feature of a TT, since there is usually an informative note on the cover or the first page of a TT stating the specific language the ST was translated from. However, the choice of the SL is again not to be reduced to a merely linguistic decision. Power and ideological relations are observable also in this preliminary norm. Taking a particular position for or against a specific language to translate from might be closely related with the text in question. The authority which rejects the use of an intermediary language might have concerns about the TT produced in that specific language.

One important example is evident in the history of translation. When the 16th century translator William Tyndale translated Bible into English directly from the original Hebrew and Greek texts rather than the Latin texts, his English translation drew a harsh criticism from the Church authorities. As a matter of fact, he was accused of heresy and killed in 1536 (Delisle & Woodsworth, 1995, p. 33). As it is obvious, at the time when Bible reading and interpreting activities were conducted only by the Church authorities, the language of the ST could cause the death of a translator. This implies that the religious authorities had concerns about the content of the Bible in the languages other

than Latin. The basic point here is the ideological manipulation of the translation activities by the power holders for whom the language pairs in a translation process are of great importance, since which texts written in which language reflects their own representations of reality.

Operational norms, unlike initial norms and preliminary norms, accompany the actual translation process. According to Toury (1995), they illustrate the micro-structural aspects of the TT opted for by the translator (p. 58). Matricial norms imply the completeness and the arrangement of the TT in comparison with the ST. The TT may provide a textually complete rendering of the ST or show deficiencies of various text units ranging from a word to a clause, or from a sentence to a paragraph which are actually the part of the ST concerned. The arrangement of the TT may also differ from the ST in terms of the order of titles or ideas. The translator may merge the textual content of two sections or two paragraphs in a section. Likewise, the places of particular sentences may be changed for coherence-related purposes. However, such linguistic choices may turn out to be extra-linguistic choices, once they have ideological motives. Textual-linguistic norms basically imply the lexical and the syntactic choices of the translator in the decision-making process. The translator's decisions concerning which words to use and how to use them in a text are within the scope of the textual-linguistic norms.

2.2.2. The Translational Norms Categorized by Andrew Chesterman

Andrew Chesterman makes a valuable contribution to the close link between the translational act and the social network by suggesting a categorization of the translational norms. Chesterman (2000) puts forward the following translational norms:

1. Expectancy norms
2. Professional norms
 - a) Accountability
 - b) Communication
 - c) Relation

According to Chesterman (2000), expectancy norms are product-oriented translational norms and are completely about a TT and its acceptability in the target-culture by the target-culture readers (p. 64). Expectations of the readers are considered to have impact on the TT. In this respect, expectancy norms are, to some extent, related to Toury's initial norms. Indeed, the decision on creating a source-oriented or target-oriented translation might be made under the influence of expectations. Chesterman (2000) makes an important remark on the part of the translators and their prominent role in actual translation practice by mentioning translator's own expectancy norms (p. 70). These norms may involve the expectations of specific textual linguistic properties of the ST at a micro level or the semantic content of the ST at a macro level.

Professional norms are production-oriented translational norms adopted by the translators during the translation process. Although they act as translator's guide (like Toury's operational norms) during the production of a TT, the professional norms introduced by Chesterman cannot be reduced merely to the linguistic dimension. They are composed of accountability, communication and relation norms.

Accountability norms are about the responsibility of the translators for their translational behavior, including the language use, the strategies made use of in case of specific translation problems, the transference of the ST structure and meaning to the TT. Communication norms are about the achievement of a desired level of communication between the source-culture and the target-culture by means of the TT made available for the use of the target readers. Relation norms are about the level of the overlap between the ST and the TT. While accountability and communication norms can be observed in any type of communicative act between the concerned parties, relation norms are peculiar to translational act. Expectancy norms and professional norms can be referred to as "constitutive translational norms" and "regulative translational norms" from the perspective of Christiane Nord, respectively (as cited in Brownlie, 1999, pp. 9-10). Expectancy norms are constitutive in the sense that they are product-oriented and closely related to the reader response. Professional norms are regulative in the sense that they are process-oriented and have regulative power over the translator's decisions in the production of a TT.

2.3. THE DECISION-MAKING PROCESS IN TRANSLATIONAL ACTIVITIES

2.3.1. Translation as a Norm-governed Activity

Translational norms are adopted by individual translators in a long-term socialization process. Schäffner (1999) draws attention to the social aspect of the translational norms as follows:

Translational behavior is contextualized as social behavior, and translational norms are understood as internalized behavioral constraints which embody the values shared by a community. All decisions in the translation process are thus primarily governed by such norms, and not (dominantly or exclusively) by the two language systems involved. (p. 5)

The TTs which the translators produce bear their signatures, and thus become departure points of what Toury calls “environmental feedback”. According to Toury (1995), such feedback functions as a bridge between the norms and the translator’s cognition in order for the norms to be reflected in actual translation practice (p. 248). Both environmental feedback and sanctions play a role in the internalization of the norms by the translators. As a result, the translators might need to pay a close attention to their own translational practice. Therefore, this norm-governed translational behavior brings forth the regular practices and the translation competence (Toury, 1999, pp. 26-27). From this perspective, it is safe to state that the environmental feedback, the negative sanctions (such as the termination of a translator’s contract by a publishing house, the imprisonment of a translator or any other member of a publishing house, the prohibition of the translated book by the government, the fine imposed on a translator or a publisher due to a translated book) or the positive sanctions (such as the rewards given for translated books, the increased popularity of a translator in a given society, the enhanced occupational status of a translator in the network of the publishing houses), the internalization process and the regularities lead to norm-governed relations between the norm authorities and the translators. However, the effect of the translator’s personal values and ideology plays a determining role in their internalization of the translational norms and, in return, their conformity with the norms. Therefore, the translator may choose to be either subservient to or resistant to the norms prevailing in his/her society.

2.3.2. Norm Authorities in Translational Activities

The binding force of the norms is closely related to the actors who have norm-governed relations among each other. Schäffner (1999) illustrates these relations as follows:

Norms are binding, and their violation usually arouses disapproval of some kind among the community concerned. The force of a norm is built up in the relationships between norm authorities, norm enforcers, norm codifiers, and norm subjects. (p. 2)

Norm authorities might also be observed in Lefevere's accounts of the ideological aspect of the translational activity. Within this context, the concept of "patronage" comes to the fore. Patronage is a highly complex ideological concept the implementation of which takes different forms and intensity depending on the concerned parties. Firstly, patronage can be imposed upon translators by the norm authorities who are closely involved in the translational activities. Secondly, and more importantly, patronage can be applied by those persons outside the literary system who have as much power as those who actually participate in the translational act. Lefevere (as cited in Munday, 2001, p. 128) considers "the publishers, the media, the political parties" as the significant actors in this respect. Norm-setting power can be used by more than one person by means of a publishing house with all its members ranging from owners to editors, media with all its members and types of communication tools, a political party with all its political figures and agenda. Moreover, an individual person having the monopoly of power can also set the rules of a specific translational project all alone. This is often the case in totalitarian regimes where literary production is just one of those fields that are under the control of the political leadership. Furthermore, Lefevere (as cited in Munday, 2001, pp. 128-129) draws attention to ideology, economy and status-related aspects of these relations. Ideological element is the indispensable part of such an approach especially in terms of those actors outside the literary system. The economic and status elements are more closely related to each other regarding the relation in which the economic means provided on the part of the translators in return for their loyalty to patronage bring them particular status (as cited in Munday, 2001, pp. 128-129).

Patronage is related to both the preliminary norms introduced by Toury and the expectancy norms introduced by Chesterman. It is especially the translation policy that

explicitly reveals the ideological component of patronage. The patron decides on the specific ST to be translated sometimes. It is just at this point that the expectancy norms step in and regulate how the translator handles the ST by taking into consideration the patron's expectations of the expectations.

There are two important concepts of Lefevere (as cited in Chesterman, 2000, p. 78) which are closely related to both norms and ideology. One of them is the concept of "the universe of discourse", which is about the content of the ST embedded in not only its syntactic but also its semantic features. Translators can prefer either to transfer the ST meaning without intervention or to mitigate (or completely omit) the parts they think inappropriate for the TT readers. This category is closely related to the expectancy and the accountability norms. Crucial translation decisions as regards the discursive structure of the TT are under the influence of the readers' receptions and reactions. Translators are, on the other hand, the primary addressees of such reactions. Another important point is the "translator's own ideology". Translators are not socially isolated professionals with the mechanic power of transforming the ST into the TT. On the contrary, they are members of a specific society in which they undergo a socialization process through the participation of other social members such as professionals (as cited in Chesterman, 2000, p. 78).

This view is also the source of Lefevere's (as cited in Munday, 2001, p. 127) concept of rewriting which posits that not a single translation can be considered in isolation from the translator's ideology. From this perspective, this category is related to the accountability and the communication norms. Translators are accountable for their translational decisions as regards how they handle the ST and create the TT.

2.3.3. Censorship

Norms play a key role in the acceptability of a given translation in the target-culture. This is justified by the fact that what is considered as acceptable is equal to what conforms to target translational norms. ST-oriented TT is regarded as adequate, but not as acceptable. Therefore, any sort of shift from the target norms is considered as a norm-breaking act and the TT fails to achieve acceptability in the target-culture system. As a matter of fact, it is safe to consider the concept of censorship in connection with

the norms. The role of censorship in the decision-making process of the translators is also observed in Toury's (1995) accounts:

Censorship can also be activated during the act of translation itself though, inasmuch as the translator has internalized the norms pertinent to the culture, and uses them as a constant monitoring device. (p. 278)

Censorship acts as a strategic instrument to mitigate or completely omit a translated text's features which imply deviations from the target norms. This is used as a tool to achieve acceptability in the target-culture. However, this is the visible aspect of censorship at a textual level which also has extra-textual motives. For example, the legitimization of the dominant discourse by the government may lead to the prevention or the prohibition of the publications which contradict the dominant discourse. This is one type of censorship. This legal dimension may also lead to another type of censorship, namely self-censorship. Aware of the legal consequences of the publications with counter discourse, text producers may take preventive measures by means of self-censorship. The concept of censorship has a more complicated dimension than the elimination of certain parts of the TT. Censorship can take the form of preventing the publication of specific TTs, prohibiting and confiscating them and even filing a court case against their producers including the owner, editors, writers and translators of the publishing house in question.

Within this context, Toury's (1995) description of norms as a "constant monitoring device" is extremely important (p. 278). This device actually acts as self-censorship. Translators become self-censoring mechanisms, once they themselves make restrictive decisions in their act of translation, thinking that the TTs they produce will already be the objects of censorship in any way. Translators may think that it is more appropriate to censor particular features of the TTs to bring them into conformity with the prevailing translational norms. In this regard, self-censorship, which is a kind of mainstream censorship, is as powerful as the latter.

Toury's (1995) expression of "constant monitoring device" (p. 278) might be approached from the socio-cognitive perspective of Van Dijk. Toury's use of this expression to describe norms implies that the norms are actually the mental constructs of the translators. Although norms are socially constructed in a given society, they are

internalized by the translators. As a result, the translators need to constantly monitor their translational decisions in order to identify their level of conformity with the prevailing norms in the society. This brings forth the role of Van Dijk's (2000) another crucial concept, namely "social cognition" (p. 11). Translators' need for a monitoring device might be said to originate from this concept. Van Dijk (2009) considers the norms as the primary "social representations" (p. 78). From this perspective, the translators' monitoring device acts as a mediator between these social representations and the translational decisions. This also implies the transition of social cognition into the mental constructs in the form of the norms.

2.4. TRANSLATION AS A NORM-BREAKING ACTIVITY

When a text is translated from one language into another, the TT in question occupies a certain position in the target-culture. This inevitably leads to the prominence of the target-culture. According to Toury (1995), this is the case due to the decisive role of the target-culture in terms of the status of the TT and the translator (p. 26). The status of both the TT and the translator is related to the concept of acceptability. Conformity with the target norms is equal to a higher likelihood of acceptability. Norms have their origin in society and their regulative power over the actions of the social actors takes the form of social pressure. Conformity with the target norms may result in specific rewards, while non-conformity may have the consequence of the implementation of particular sanctions. From this perspective, norms can be seen as the social realities already existing in a given culture. It is when the social actors decide not to take the risk of sanctions and prefer to act in accordance with the prevailing norms that such social pressure is accompanied by subservience.

Therefore, any normative approach to the dynamics of translation needs to take into account the translators, both as the social actors and as the professionals, exercising their competence. This is most explicitly referred to by Toury (1995) as follows:

[...] 'translatorship' amounts first and foremost to being able to play a social role, i.e., to fulfill a function allotted by a community – to the activity, its practitioners and/or their products – in a way which is deemed appropriate in its own terms of reference. The acquisition of a set of norms for determining the suitability of that kind of behavior, and for maneuvering

between all the factors which may constrain it, is therefore a prerequisite for becoming a translator within a cultural environment. (p. 53)

Considering that translation is a matter of alternatives and choices, the translator's decision-making process assumes the crucial part of the translational activity. Indeed, any TT bears the signature of its creator, i.e. the translator. Hermans' (1999) suggestion that "...translations perhaps tell us more about those who translate than about the source text underlying the translation" also indicates the power of agency (p. 58).

Although translation is a norm-governed activity, translators may also have reasons for non-conformity and make norm-breaking translational decisions. Toury (1995) explains such preferences of translators as follows:

It is clear that a translator always has more than one option at his or her disposal. However, it is not the case that all these options are equally available, given the constraints imposed by the target-culture. Rather, they tend to be hierarchically ordered. Of course, a translator may also decide to work against the order offered him/her by the target literary-cultural constellation. **However, any deviation from 'normative' modes of behavior is liable to be negatively sanctioned**, if only by detracting from the product's acceptability, as a translation, or even as a target-language text. Most translators are quite reluctant to pay such a price and therefore the tendency is normally to adhere to prevalent norms. (p. 163, emphasis mine)

It is obvious that the alternatives at the translators' disposal during their translational activity have a hierarchical relationship depending on the notion of acceptability. Although the expectancy norms occupy higher positions within this hierarchy, translators may opt for those options towards the lower end of the hierarchical continuum. How they come to make norm-breaking decisions is a complicated process, involving various agents. Hermans (1996) touches upon the characteristics of this resistant decision-making process by suggesting that "which norms are broken by whom will depend on the nature and strength of the norm and on the individual's motivation" (p. 31).

The evaluation of the nature and strength of the norms raises the question of sanctions. The translators who are ready to face possible negative consequences attach priority to the individual motivations. Being members of the culture they are part of, they undergo different socialization processes, encounter different social situations, participate in

different social events, come into contact with different social agents, become members of different social organizations, and most importantly, develop different ideologies. However, the notion of individuality is also supposed to be questioned in the face of “the social”. Since the translational act is carried out by the translators not in isolation from their social surrounding, the TTs that they produce inevitably shed light on their ideological stance shaped by the social elements they interact.

Sanctions, which assume a decisive role to some extent in norm-breaking action, may also be of positive nature. Pym (2008) sheds light on this point as follows:

If translators are going to be rewarded (financially, symbolically or socially) for taking risks, then they are likely to take risks, rather than transfer them. Translators may then have an interest in breaking all the maxims, norms, laws or universals that theorists throw at them. (p. 325)

A norm-breaking action is performed at the expense of acceptability and Chesterman (2000) draws attention to the motivations for norm-breaking as follows:

Translators do have the option of *not* conforming to norms, after all, if they find there is sufficient motivation to do so and if they can persuade their clients to accept this. (p. 85)

As it is obvious, norm-governed relations are very complicated. The fulfillment of a norm-breaking action by means of a norm-breaking translation is the first step towards invalidating the prevalent norm and even introducing new one. However, the possibility of such an introduction is in direct proportion to the plurality of active agents, such as the other translators working on the same norm-breaking path.

Chesterman introduces a new perspective into the norm-breaking translational activities through Fairclough’s (1992) concept of “**emancipatory discourse**” (as cited in Chesterman, 2000, p. 189). In line with this concept, Chesterman proposes the expressions “emancipatory translation” and “emancipated translator”. Moreover, he suggests that “an emancipated translator assumes the right to break norms” (Chesterman, 2000, p. 190). These concepts indicate the existence of a struggle between the opposing parties and the relationship between the dominating and the dominated groups. Emancipation is the result of the subordinated group’s achievement of emancipating themselves from the dominance of the opposite group. Ideology

constitutes the groundwork of this power relations in which the concerning parties become subjects of either dominance or subservience.

The counter-ideology of the subservient groups has the key role in terms of resistance to the dominant norms. The norm-breaking translational behaviors adopted by the emancipated translators are evident in the norm-breaking translational decisions which are in non-conformity with the prevalent translational norms in a given society. For Chesterman (2000), the main principles of the emancipatory translations can be summed up in three categories (p. 194). Firstly, translation is a matter of choice, and there is always more than one choice at the translator's disposal. The emancipated translators are free to choose from the alternatives in accordance with what they themselves think appropriate in creating the relation between the ST and the TT. Secondly, the translational act is not reduced to the translator alone, but is based on the other social and professional agents, such as the publishing house owner, the editor and the TT readers. Thirdly, the translators hold the responsibility for their own norm-breaking actions. Indeed, they are aware of the possible consequences of their norm-breaking decisions (Chesterman, 2000, p. 194).

Norm-breaking translational activities are also observed in Turkey. These norm-breaking actions mostly result in negative sanctions. However, these negative sanctions do not prevent the norm-breaking actors from their norm-breaking activities. Both the translators and the publishers become resistant to the legitimization of the dominant discourse by producing texts on counter-discourse. For example, the translation of Chuck Plahniuk's book, *Snuff* (2008), was done by Funda Uncu. The Turkish translation, *Ölüm Pornosu*, was published by the Ayrıntı Publishing House in 2011. As a result, both the publisher, Hasan Basri Çıplak, and the translator, Funda Uncu, were sued for obscenity. The most interesting fact concerning this case was that they were sued on September 30th, 2011, International Translation Day. The following statement from the back cover of the book provides better insights into why it became a subject matter of a lawsuit in Turkey: "if you have taboos and you are afraid of breaking them, do not read this novel!" This statement is especially important, because the translation is an explicit declaration of a norm-breaking activity.

CHAPTER 3

THE TURKISH CONTEXT: DOMINANT DISCOURSES VERSUS DOMINATED DISCOURSES

3.1. AN OVERVIEW OF THE TURKISH PUBLICATION HISTORY

The state intervention has been observable in the history of the Turkish publications. The period between the years 1923 and 1950 saw the reign of the Republican People's Party (CHP) in Turkey. The literary policy of the newly-emerged Turkish Republic was based on westernization and modernization. In this period, one could witness various prohibited books. For example, Rıfat Ilgaz's book, *Sınıf* (1944), was prohibited due to its communist propaganda. Both the content of the poems and the red cover of the book were associated with communism. Moreover, the introductory note in the subsequent edition of the book, which was published by the Çınar Publishing House in 1996, underlines the prohibition of this book. Likewise, as it is stated in Oral's (2011) article, "Alerji duyulan yazarın kitabı: Sırça Köşk" (i.e. "The book of the allergenic author: Sırça Köşk"), which was published in *Sabit Fikir* on June 27, 2011, Sabahattin Ali's book, *Sırça Köşk* (1947), was prohibited due to its story criticizing the state structure and the social system. On the other hand, as it is stated in the Council of Ministers' decision given in the article, "Nâzım'ın yurttaşlıktan çıkarılması" (i.e. "The denaturalization of Nâzım"), Nâzım Hikmet, is a writer whose works were also banned due to the allegations of the communist propaganda. While many books were being prohibited mostly due to their counter-ideological content, there was a great deal of effort, on the other hand, devoted to the modernization process by means of the translational activities (Tahir-Gürçağlar, 2008, p. 37).

The most important development in this respect was the establishment of the Translation Bureau in 1940, which resulted in the translations of the western classics. The single-party reign of the Republican People's Party ended in 1950 when the Democratic Party (DP) came to power. It was also in 1950 that the Press Law was adopted. The rule of the Democratic Party between 1950 and 1960 did not change the restrictive force over the publication of original and translated books. The end of the

Democratic Party rule came after a coup d'état, dated May 27, 1960, which resulted in the adoption of the 1961 Constitution, which was deemed by many people as having a democratizing nature in the face of religious inclinations witnessed in the policies of the DP government. As a matter of fact, in their article "1961-1973 yılları arasında Bakanlar Kurulu kararı ile yasaklanan yayınlar" (i.e. "The publications which were prohibited in the 1961-1973 period by the Council of Ministers' decision"), Mustafa Yılmaz and Yasemin Doğaner (2006) categorizes the reasons for the prohibition of certain books as follows: "the communist propaganda", "the Kurdish propaganda", "the Greek and Armenian propaganda", "humiliating the Turkish identity", "obscenity", "the religious propaganda" and "the Christian propaganda". Those years were claimed to have witnessed not only the prohibition of the import of certain books, but also their translations in Turkey.

Another important development in the Turkish political history was the memorandum on March 12, 1971. What was especially interesting about the 1970s is the Ministry of National Education decision, dated October 16, 1975. According to Gürses' (2006) article, "Yeniden: 'Toplatılan kitaplardan seçmeler'" (i.e. "Again: 'Selections from the confiscated books'"), which was published in *Çeviribilim* on June 21, 2006, with the Ministry's decision, certain books were prohibited from the school libraries, which arouse harsh reaction from The Writers' Union of Turkey. The press release of The Writers' Union was a condemnation of this decision which led to the prohibition of various books by both the internationally-acknowledged writers and the Turkish writers. The reason for the prohibitions was their pejorative content in terms of the national and moral values in Turkey, as well as the motivation for destroying the status quo. This implementation also drew world-attention, since the translations of many international writers' books were prohibited from the school libraries.

Another coup d'état took place on September 12, 1980, which resulted in the 1981 Constitution. During the rule of the Motherland Party, which came to power in 1983, besides the ideological issues, obscenity was the subject matter of the prohibited books. According to Doğan's (2011) article, "10 soruda 'Muzır Kurul'" (i.e. "A 10- question inquiry into 'The Council for Obscenity'"), which was published in *Sabit Fikir* on September 30, 2011, The Obscene Publications Act for the Protection of Minors, which

entered into force in 1927, was often used in the 1980s. Moreover, the act underwent changes so as to include the members appointed by various state organs in the related authoritative committee. Furthermore, as of the 1980s, the Kurdish and Armenian issues became hot topics in many controversial books most of which led to the trial of publishers, authors and translators.

3.2. LEGITIMIZATION AND NATURALIZATION OF DISCOURSE IN TURKISH SOCIETY

The dominant discourse within a society might be secured through the legitimization of discourse (Van Dijk, 2000, p. 35). This means that the dominant discourse is legally supported by means of the laws. Particular laws are enacted in order to prevent any deviation from the dominant discourse. As a result, such sanctions as confiscation, fine or imprisonment might be implemented. In this respect, the dominant discourse gains both a legal and a public characteristic.

In Turkey, the Turkish Penal Code has various articles that regulate the publications, including the translations. An important fact about the translational activities is that the translators are held responsible for the books they translate in Turkey. This is especially the case when the author is abroad and cannot be present in the trials held in Turkey. In such situations, as it is also stated in Biçen's (2014) article, "Çeviriden vazgeçmek ister misiniz?" (i.e. "Do you want to give up translation?"), published first on October 8, 2006 and then, on March 13, 2014, translators are held responsible for what they translate. They are accused of making the ST available in Turkish for the Turkish-language readers who, otherwise, could not read the ST. Therefore, the legitimization of discourse in Turkey reinforces the dominant discourse of the state power. On the other hand, it leads to the punishment of the people involved in the production of the texts which are not in harmony with the dominant discourse.

3.2.1. The Turkish Nation and Mustafa Kemal Atatürk

In terms of the freedom of thought and expression on the part of the publishers, writers and translators, the Article 301 of the Turkish Penal Code is considered as the

mainstream tool of the Turkish state. The content of the Article 301 requires the implementation of penalties in the case of the humiliation of the Turkish nation, the Turkish state, the Grand National Assembly of Turkey, the Turkish government, and its judiciary, military and law enforcement organs. The Article 301 occupies the center of any controversial issue regarding the freedom in publications, because the authorities may consider any textual production within the scope of this Article. Besides the Article 301 and other similar articles in the Turkish Penal Code, the activation of the Law on Crimes Committed against Atatürk is influential in the case of certain publications. Humiliating expressions in a work, be it a ST or a TT, used in the context of Atatürk's life, as well as his policies, may give rise to a lawsuit. In this respect, the Turkish translations of Armstrong's *Grey Wolf* (1932) can be given as examples. *Grey Wolf* includes defamatory remarks about Atatürk. The book was first translated by Peyami Safa, and was published by the Sel Publishing House in 1955. The subsequent translations were made by different translators and were published by different publishing houses. Gül Çağalı Güven's translations were published by the Arba Publishing House in 1996 and by the Nokta Publishing House in 2005. Ahmet Çuhadır's translations were published by the Kum Saati Publishing House in 2001 and by the Kamer Publishing House in 2013. Although the translations were censored, they resulted in lawsuits and punishments. For instance, the publications of Gül Çağalı Güven's translation, dated 1996, were prohibited. The publication of her translation, dated 2005, was withdrawn with court decisions and expert report.

It is also necessary to note that Elif Şafak, an internationally-acknowledged Turkish writer, who is known to write her books in English and work in close cooperation with the translator of her books, was accused under the Article 301 of the Turkish Penal Code due to her book *Baba ve Piç (The Bastard of Istanbul)*, which was translated by Aslı Biçen and published by the Metis Publishing House in 2006. Upon the publication of the book, which was about the relations between the Turkish and Armenian families, both the publisher, Hüseyin Semih Sökmen, and the translator, Aslı Biçen, alongside Elif Şafak, were put on trial.

An interesting example of a trial related to a translated book concerns the translation of John Tirman's book, *Spoils of War: The Human Cost of America's Arms Trade* (1997).

The Turkish translation, *Savaş Ganimetleri: Amerikan Silah Ticaretinin İnsani Bedeli* was done by Lütfü Taylan Tosun and Aysel Yıldırım, and it was published by the Aram Publishing House in 2005. The publisher, Fatih Taş, and the translators, Lütfü Taylan Tosun and Aysel Yıldırım, were accused under the Article 301 of the Turkish Penal Code and under the Law No. 5816 on Protecting the Moral Personality of Mustafa Kemal Atatürk for the use of expressions which were considered as the expressions that insult the military authorities and Atatürk.

Another example is Noam Chomsky and Edward S. Herman's book, *Manufacturing Consent: The Political Economy of the Mass Media* (1988). The Turkish translation, *Rızanın İmalatı: Kitle Medyasının Ekonomi Politiği* was published by the Aram Publishing House in 2006. This legal case is particularly important, because the publisher, Fatih Taş, the editors Ömer Faruk Kurhan and Lütfü Taylan Tosun, and the translator, Ender Abadoğlu, were all accused under the Article 301 and the Article 216 of the Turkish Penal Code due to the use of the term “genocide” within the Turkish context. The publisher Taş's emphasis on the fact that it was the first time that the editors of a book were also put on trial contributes to the unique nature of this case regarding a translated book. The trial ended with the acquittal of the people charged. This example is particularly important for this thesis, because this thesis also focuses on the translation of a ST, the main focus of which is the Armenian issue and the alleged maltreatment of the minorities by the Turks.

3.2.2. Obscenity

Gate-keeping of the state power is also ensured by the laws on obscenity in Turkey. The Article 226 on obscenity constitutes the basis of many legal cases concerning the publishers, the authors and the translators of books which are considered to fall into the scope of this particular article.

For example, the Turkish translation of Henry Miller's book, *Tropic of Capricorn* (1939), was published as *Oğlak Dönencesi* by the Can Publishing House in 1985. The obscene content of the book resulted in a legal decision for the collection of its all printed versions in Turkey. According to Oral's (2011) article, “Sana ve *Oğlak Dönencesi*'ne nice yüzyıllar” (i.e. “Happy new centuries to you and *Tropic*

Capricorn”), which was published in *Sabit Fikir* on September 28, 2011, what is more interesting about this translation is that the publishing houses protested such restrictive implementations. Although those comprehensive protests proved somewhat fruitful to draw attention to such kinds of censorship, the final decision was the annihilation of the book in Turkey. However, the Can Publishing House published the translation on the hundredth anniversary of Henry Miller’s birthday. The court decision was added to the Turkish translation. Moreover, the expressions which were regarded as obscene were covered in black. The Can Publishing House considered such strategy as legal and applicable.

Furthermore, the Sel Publishing House provides us with the recent examples of how obscenity leads to serious legal consequences on the part of both publishers and translators in Turkey. To illustrate, *Genç Bir Don Juan’ın Maceraları*, the Turkish translation of French writer Guillaume Apollinaire’s book, *Les exploits d'un jeune Don Juan* (1911), done by İsmail Yerguz, resulted in the accusation of both the publisher, İrfan Sancı, and the translator, İsmail Yerguz under the Article 226 of the Turkish Penal Code in 2009. Upon the positive report of the Protection of Minors from Obscene Publications Committee, both the publisher and the translator were acquitted.

A similar case is also evident in the translation of W.S. Burroughs’ book, *The Soft Machine* (1961), done by Süha Sertabiboğlu. The Turkish translation, *Yumuşak Makine*, was published by the Sel Publishing House in 2011. Both the publisher, Sancı, and the translator, Sertabiboğlu, were sued. The Article 226 of the Turkish Penal Code and the Protection of Minors from Obscene Publications Act were also relevant to this case. The most important aspects of this particular legal case were the way through which both the publisher and the translator defended themselves. It is stated in “Turkish Publishers Association The Freedom of Publication Report 2012” (i.e. “Türkiye Yayıncılar Birliği Yayınlama Özgürlüğü Raporu 2012”) that Sancı claimed that it was only natural to encounter the taboo-breaking expressions in the books of Burroughs, an important member of the Beat Generation, while Sertabiboğlu said that he just acted in accordance with his profession by translating a ST.

3.2.3. Religion

Similar restrictions are supported by the laws in the case of the works with religious elements. The Article 216 on Inducing the Public to Malice and Hostility regulates the public discourse on the religious beliefs of all sections of the public. Within the scope of this Article, the publications that involve certain religious lexical items and/or semantic structures are considered as ideologically motivated to insult the concerning religious sects, religious authorities or religious values and beliefs as a whole. The main argument of the opponents of this article is the act of pointing out a particular word, phrase or sentence and considering it as the basis of insult to the religious belief or authority in question. Therefore, religion is also a controversial topic that causes the trials of publishers, writers and translators.

For example, when Nedim Gürsel's book, *Allah'ın Kızları*, was published by the Doğan Publishing House in 2008, it was accused by a reader of involving certain expressions that insulted the Islamic beliefs and values. Although the book was considered within the scope of the Article 216 of the Turkish Penal Code, the author was acquitted.

The most controversial issue as to the translations of the books with a religious content is Salman Rushdie's book, *The Satanic Verses* (1988). The striking point is the fatwa of the Iranian religious leader, Ayatollah Khomeini, which was dated 1989. As a result, Rushdie, his publishers and translators were expected to be killed. After the declaration of this fatwa, Rushdie had to live in seclusion and under protection. Although the Turkish translation of this book could not get a place in bookshelves in Turkey due to censorship, it became the subject matter of a heated debate between Salman Rushdie and Aziz Nesin in early 1990s when both raised harsh criticisms against each other. It is understood in Nesin's (1993) correspondence with Rushdie that Rushdie accused him of a loose translation produced within a short period and publishing the translation serially in the newspaper, *Aydınlık*, without his permission. More importantly, Rushdie blamed Nesin for provoking a kind of religious unrest in Turkey by exploiting his book through translation.

3.3. NEGATIVE SANCTIONS AND POSITIVE SANCTIONS

State control over publications might take several forms in Turkey. There are laws with specific articles regulating the implementation of sanctions for the books having an inappropriate content. As a matter of fact, the publication of certain books might be prevented or they might be prohibited from sale after publication. This is one type of censorship. Moreover, all the professionals involved in the production of a book, including the publishing house owners, editors, authors and translators, might be sued. The legal decision might be acquittal, fine or even imprisonment. According to “Turkish Publishers Association The Freedom of Publication Report 2013” (i.e. “Türkiye Yayıncılar Birliği Yayınlama Özgürlüğü Raporu 2013”), one particular aspect of trials which is highly criticized by the professionals and the readers is the pending trials. Even if the decision turns out to be acquittal, long periods of trial are said to discourage similar publications. Another controversial issue is the conditional release which requires publishers, authors or translators not to get engaged in similar publications within a given period. The opponents of this implementation criticize it on the grounds that this is an explicit intervention in the freedom of publication.

A relevant example is the trial of Orhan Pamuk, the first and only Turkish writer who received a Nobel Prize. After Pamuk gave a foreign journal an interview in which he also talked about the Turkish history, he was accused under the Article 301 of the Turkish Penal Code. Although the legal proceedings were ceased in 2006 and Pamuk did not receive any penalty, this case drew worldwide attention. Another example is Nedim Gürsel, who was the author of the book, *Uzun Sürmüş Bir Yaz* (1976). He received the Turkish Language Association Reward for this book in 1976. The book consisted of the stories about the period after the 1971 memorandum. All the printed versions of this book were collected after the 1980 coup d'état. It was considered as containing humiliating expressions for the military authorities.

As it is obvious, the state power is ensured by means of legal implementations. However, some publishers, authors and translators who are determined to protect their right to intellectual production take up a counter-stance through various organizations. These organizations bring together many professionals from various fields. The Professional Organization of Book Translators (ÇEVBİR), The Conference Interpreters

Association of Turkey and The Association of Translation are the main organizations established to protect the rights of translators and interpreters in the legal cases. The restrictive control over the publications are also resisted by various organizations such as The Writers' Union of Turkey, The Turkish Center of PEN (Türkiye Pen), The Professional Association of Publishers (YAY-BİR), The Turkish Publishers Association, The Publishers Union of Turkey, The Owners of Literature and Science Works Professional Union (EDİSAM), as well as The Turkish Press Council, The Turkish Journalists Association and The Journalists Union of Turkey. These organizations have the right to be present at any legal case in which a publisher, an author or a translator is involved.

CHAPTER 4

CASE-STUDY: THE TURKISH TRANSLATION OF *SMYRNA 1922* *THE DESTRUCTION OF A CITY*

4.1. MARJORIE HOUSEPIAN DOBKIN

4.1.1. A Brief Biography

Marjorie Housepian Dobkin (1922-2013) was an Armenian-American author. She was also a Professor lecturer in Barnard College at Columbia University. Joan George's book, *Merchants in Exile: The Armenians in Manchester, England, 1835-1935*, shows that the members of the older generation in her family also had a history in Turkey (George, 2002, p. 116). Her articles titled "The Unremembered Genocide" (1966) and "George Horton and Mark L. Bristol: Opposing Forces in U.S. Foreign Policy, 1919-1923" (1983) as well as her introductory note in the book, *Neither to Laugh nor to Weep-A Memoir of the Armenian Genocide* (1999) are among her notable works in Armenian Studies.

Marjorie Housepian Dobkin is the author of the following books: *A Houseful of Love* (1957), *The Smyrna Affair* (1971), *Smyrna 1922 The Destruction of a City* (1972), *The Making of a Feminist: Early Journals and Letters of M. Carey Thomas* (with M. Carey Thomas, 1977), *Inside Out* (with Jean Cullen, 1989).

4.1.2. *Smyrna 1922 The Destruction of a City*

Smyrna 1922 The Destruction of a City (1972) is a book written by Marjorie Housepian Dobkin. It was previously published in 1971 with the title *The Smyrna Affair*. As it is also understood from certain lines of Dobkin, the subsequent editions of the book contain some additional information she could not reach while writing the original one (Dobkin, 1988, p. 14).

Smyrna 1922 The Destruction of a City is dedicated "to the victims". Beneath this expression on the first page, there is a quotation from Henry Miller's *The Colossus of Maroussi*, which addresses "the Smyrna affair [...] almost expunged from the memory

of present day man.” On the next page, there is a map titled “Turkey and The Near East at the Time of The Lausanne Settlement”. The book consists of an introduction and twenty one chapters. Using no titles for these chapters, Dobkin starts each of them with striking quotations from “Halide Edib, Tacitus, John Maynard Keynes, George Horton, Henri Berenger, John Davidson, Montaigne, S. G. Benjamin, A. J. Hepburn, Mark L. Bristol, Rose Berberian Cachoian, The Turkish Historian Seaddedin, Melvin R. Johnson, Roman Proverb, The Greek historian Christobulus, Official Turkish communiqué Angora, Merrill, Ernest Hemingway, a Turkish tourist brochure and Adolf Hitler”. There are also a rich *Bibliography*, chapter-based *Notes* and an *Index* part at the end of the book.

In the *Introduction*, Dobkin (1988) gives insights into her departure point of writing this book as follows:

It was in the course of a trip eastward through Europe and the Middle East that I first heard controversy about the burning of Smyrna. In Salonika many of the inhabitants were refugees from Smyrna, having escaped, they said, from “the great fire of 1922.” They claimed it had been deliberately set by the Turks to drive out the Christian population. Three weeks later, in Izmir, I heard the Turkish version of the Smyrna fire: the Greeks had set fire to the city before abandoning it, after Kemal Ataturk’s victory. I resolved to look into the matter upon my return. By this time history had surely reached a verdict that was distilled and encapsulated in the Encyclopedia Britannica. (p. 6)

Drawing upon the abovementioned controversy about the Smyrna fire, Dobkin makes use of many sources written from the perspective of both sides. To illustrate, she identifies her first priority as “finding as many Turkish and pro-Turkish sources as possible” (Dobkin, 1988, p. 7). “Archival materials, official reports, various bulletins and articles, accounts of eyewitnesses” and many related sources are constitutive of this book (Dobkin, 1988, pp. 8-9). In this respect, it sheds light on the considerable effort of Dobkin, who also gained access to official sources and testimonies of eyewitnesses.

Smyrna 1922 The Destruction of a City is about the burning of Smyrna. The book alleges that there was a certain kind of maltreatment by the Turkish government and soldiers. These allegations were also supported by the accounts of the eyewitnesses. It is possible to read many lines which describe minorities falling victims to the alleged

Turkish violence. From this perspective, this book might be considered as a taboo in Turkey.

Dobkin's confidence in the authenticity of what is written in her book is evident in her following statement: "A more extensive search for oral histories would, I am certain, have made this book substantially longer but not substantially different" (Dobkin, 1988, p. 10). In this respect, it is safe to regard her book as being contrary to what the publisher, Zarakolu refers to as the "official history of Turkey" (personal communication, March 25, 2014), which is considered by certain intellectuals as the manipulated version of history that hides the truth.

4.2. THE BELGE INTERNATIONAL PUBLISHING HOUSE

4.2.1. The Belge International Publishing House and Its Norm-breaking Activities

The Belge International Publishing House was established by Ragıp Zarakolu and his wife Ayşe Zarakolu in Istanbul in 1977. In the course of time, this publishing house has welcomed writers and translators who have made contributions to an important mission which it is widely associated with. The interesting point of this mission stems from its norm-breaking character. The Belge International Publishing House is a member of the Turkish Publishers Associations, and the following statement is written in its profile section on the web page of Turkish Publishers Associations: "Our publishing house, which was established in 1977, owns the principle of opposing any type of taboo" ("Belge International Publication", n.d.).

Besides the original Turkish books, the Belge International Publishing House offers its readers a wide range of books translated from English, French, German, Greek, Armenian, Georgian, Arabic, Italian, Spanish, as well as Kurdish and Syriac. There are also bilingual books in French-Turkish, Greek-Turkish or Armenian-Turkish.

In the e-mail interview dated March 25, 2014, Ragıp Zarakolu puts emphasis on several taboos that he and the other members of the Belge International Publishing House have tried to break since 1977. In this respect, Zarakolu describes the Belge International Publishing House as "avantgarde" in the period of 1977-1991 (personal communication, March 25, 2014). Identifying the taboos that exist in Turkey, Zarakolu sees 1982 as the

year which witnessed the taboos concerning “the left, the Armenians and the Kurds”¹ (personal communication, March 25, 2014). For Zarakolu, “when the Articles 141 and 142 of the Turkish Penal Code were abolished in 1991, the taboo concerning ‘the left’ was also broken” (personal communication, March 25, 2014). This might also be considered as paving the way for the other taboo-breaking activities. As a matter of fact, the Belge International Publishing House continued to publish several books on “the taboo concerning the Kurds”. Drawing attention to human rights violations, Zarakolu identifies the purpose as “preventing another possible genocide” (personal communication, March 25, 2014). It is understood that he tries to play an important role in breaking this particular taboo, as well.

However, at this point, Zarakolu mentions two important points which might be considered within the scope of the negative sanctions as the consequence of the norm-breaking activity, which has been dealt with in Section 2.4 of Chapter 2 (personal communication, March 25, 2014). Firstly, he and his wife were asked to withdraw from the partnership of the Alan Publishing House. Secondly, they had to get the books on the taboo subjects published only by the Belge International Publishing House. Moreover, Zarakolu underlines how they tried to break “the taboo concerning the Armenian issue” in 1992 (personal communication, March 25, 2014). It is obvious that breaking this taboo was more challenging than breaking the others due to the lack of supporters in Turkish society. He provides us with one particular example as to the way of breaking this taboo: the publication of the Turkish translation of the book, *The Armenian Taboo*. The Turkish translation, *Ermeni Tabusu*, was published by the Belge International House and resulted in several trials. The defense was made with the publication of another book, namely *Genocide as a Problem of National and International Law (Uluslararası Hukuk Sorunu Olarak Jenosid)*. The result was acquittal. Zarakolu states that “another taboo was broken” (personal communication, March 25, 2014).

Zarakolu further addresses “the Pontus taboo” (personal communication, March 25, 2014). It is also possible to observe the implementations of some negative sanctions in that case. The prohibition of the writer, Andreadis, from entering into Turkey by the

¹ Unless otherwise noted, the translation of the quoted material is my own.

Turkish government, the prohibition of the book *Pontus Culture* by the Turkish government, and the attacks from the media are among the negative sanctions that he addresses. According to Zarakolu, the “military institution” is another taboo issue that had a strong foothold in Turkey (personal communication, March 25, 2014). He claims to have received compensation from the Turkish Republic after having been accused of “insulting the Turkish army” due to the publication of a report narrating the alleged maltreatment of the people in the eastern regions. That shows the strong foothold of the Turkish army as a norm topic in Turkish society. It is obvious that Zarakolu perceives the “military institution” as a taboo issue.

Another taboo issue that he underlines is “the taboo concerning Kemalism”. Zarakolu states that “breaking this taboo became possible when the taboos concerning the Kurdish issue and the Armenian issue were broken” (personal communication, March 25, 2014). It is understood that the publication policy of the Belge International Publishing House also included the books written by the imprisoned authors in 1985. Zarakolu claims to have broken another taboo by publishing the works of the people who were sent to prisons (personal communication, March 25, 2014).

Zarakolu makes an important distinction between the taboos imposed by the state and the taboos imposed by the society (personal communication, March 25, 2014). He claims that the latter has a stronger root in Turkey. For Zarakolu, the reason is that people are unwilling to read those books which contradict the dominant ideologies in Turkey. Zarakolu refers to this inclination as “cultural censorship” (personal communication, March 25, 2014). As stated in Section 2.3.3 of Chapter 2, there is a close relationship between censorship and acceptability. Zarakolu’s reference to the unwillingness of the readers sheds light on this point. The prevailing norms within a society usually concern the acceptability of a translation by the target readers. The negative attitude of the readers towards the taboo subjects brings forth what Zarakolu refers to as “cultural censorship”.

In an interview which was conducted by Ayşe Akdeniz and published in *Agos* on March 2, 2013, Zarakolu identifies “the primary concern of the Belge International Publishing House as focusing on ‘the alternative history’”. In the e-mail interview, Zarakolu criticizes what he refers to as “official history”, and he points out the importance of

“alternative history” (personal communication, March 25, 2014). Zarakolu states that “we started off in the 1980s for the sake of creating an ‘**alternative history**’, ‘**counter history**’ with some academic writings” (personal communication, March 25, 2014, my emphasis). As stated in Chapter 1, there is a close relationship among ideology, power and dominance. Discourse has great importance in certain cases where the certain ideologies are in conflict with each other. From this perspective, the departure point of Zarakolu and the Belge International Publishing House represents an example of that situation. The publications of this publishing house are intended to serve as a means to counter the dominant ideology and the gate-keeping activity of the Turkish state.

What Zarakolu refers to as “official history” might be defined as what the Turkish governments throughout the Turkish political life held to be true and what regulated the public discourse in that direction (personal communication, March 25, 2014). In this respect, Zarakolu criticizes the state control over the public discourse in Turkey. His term, “alternative history”, on the other hand, is the alternative of what he calls the “official history”. In Section 1.3.3 of Chapter 1, the concepts of resistance and subservience have been mentioned. The naturalization of discourse has been identified as the dominant power’s tool of disseminating the dominant ideology and preventing the expansion of the counter-ideology. In this respect, the publications of the Belge International Publishing House bear a norm-breaking character in that they represent the “alternative history” as opposed to the “official history”.

As we have seen in Chapter 2, Schäffner (1999) relates the binding force of the norms with the relations between the norm authorities and the norm subjects (p. 2). Lefevere (as cited in Munday 2001) categorizes the various actors who are involved in the decision-making process of a translation (p. 128). As a matter of fact, the state authorities may also act as norm authorities. Holding a norm-setting power, they may have a profound influence on the public discourse which the members of a society have access to. Accordingly, Zarakolu states that:

Truth is relative. Perceiving a picture depends on from which perspective you look at it. That is exactly what we want to do. We want to complete the lost pieces of the picture that the official history and ideology have tried to cover for about a century and to enable the perception of the whole picture. (Zarakolu, personal communication, March 25, 2014)

In this regard, within the Turkish context, the publications of the Belge International Publishing House bring forth a counter discourse. For example, the article “Mavi Kitap, dört yıl sonra yine TBMM yolcusu” (i.e. “Blue Book to be sent to GNAT again after four years”), which was published in *Agos* on February 19, 2013, is about Ragıp Zarakolu’s effort in trying to send *Mavi Kitap* to the Grand National Assembly of Turkey. In his article, Ertani (2013) states that *Mavi Kitap* is described as “the collection of the first-hand experiences of the Armenian Genocide”. The Armenian Genocide is a taboo subject in Turkey. Therefore, it is referred to as “the so-called Armenian Genocide” in Turkey. Within this context, Zarakolu discursively resists “the official history” of the state power in Turkey with “the alternative history” written in *Mavi Kitap*.

A particular focus on “alternative history” is evident in the publication policy of the Belge International Publishing House. In this sense, translated texts serve as an important means of fulfilling the taboo-breaking mission. They might be considered as making a substantial contribution.

As of its establishment in 1977, the Belge International Publishing House has continuously faced negative sanctions due to its taboo-breaking policy. This caused various members of the Belge International Publishing House to be punished over the years through the prohibition and confiscation of the books, fine, detention and even imprisonment. Zarakolu provides an example which illustrates this issue in a better way (personal communication, March 25, 2014). He claims to have been convicted due to the publication of the book, *Gerçek Bizi Özgür Kılacak (The Truth Will Set Us Free)*, because its translator was abroad. In Vassaf’s (2012) article titled “Ragıp Zarakolu’nu susmaya mahkum ettik” (i.e. “We made Zarakolu keep silent”), which was published on *Radikal* on May 6, 2012, there is an excerpt from Zarakolu’s speech in PEN Award Ceremony, where he received International Freedom to Publish Award. In his speech, Zarakolu draws attention to the convicted writers of Belge, namely, Aziz Tunç, Erol Dünder, Yüksel Genç, Tacettin Karagöz, Doğan Özgüden, Edip Yalçinkaya, N. Mehmet Güler, and Zeki Bayhan. In that speech, he also refers to the translator, Suzan Zengin, whose translational activities mainly include “Greece, Cyprian, Assyrian, Armenian and German literatures”.

4.2.2. Ragıp Zarakolu: The Patron

Ragıp Zarakolu is a writer and publisher, who is especially known for his intellectual activities on human rights issue. He is the founder of the Belge International Publishing House, which he established together with his late wife Ayşe Zarakolu in 1977. Their primary concern might be considered to have been the freedom of expression. However, during the periods of coup d'état, martial law and memorandums, various Belge publications were confiscated, prohibited or led to fines. Ragıp Zarakolu was taken into custody, was charged with fines and spent years in prisons several times due to his publications.

There are some important points related to Ragıp Zarakolu. Firstly, Zarakolu is not only the founder of the Belge International Publishing House, but he is also a member of PEN Turkey. Secondly, he is the member of The Committee for Freedom of Publication in the Union of Publishers of Turkey. He tries to make contributions to the freedom of thought and expression in Turkey through his activities. Thirdly, he is among the founders of Human Rights Association of Turkey, which was founded in 1986. This is among the main reasons why he is also known as an important human rights activist. Fourthly, and most importantly, as İkiz (2012) also shows, it is possible to read various news articles in which the Swedish parliamentarians are said to have made applications for the nomination of Ragıp Zarakolu for Nobel Peace Prize in 2012. Zarakolu is widely-known for his taboo-breaking publication policies in Turkey.

4.2.3. Attila Tuygan: The Translator

Attila Tuygan studied in the School of Foreign Languages at Istanbul University. In the e-mail interview, dated December 25, 2013, Tuygan, as a professional book translator, claims to have a single criterion as to which publishing houses to work for: “those publishing houses must be small, independent and **close to my worldview**” (my emphasis). Therefore, it would not be wrong to say that the Belge International Publishing House fulfills this criterion. In response to the question as to when he met Ragıp Zarakolu, Tuygan says that he first came early 1980s to Cağaloğlu, where he used to attend a translation workshop together with his friends from university (personal

communication, December 25, 2013). He states that he met Zarakolu “when he came up with books in his hands” to this workshop which was rather a translation bureau (personal communication, December 25, 2013). He underlines the beginning of a closer relationship with the Belge International Publishing House from then on.

The relationship between Tuygan and Zarakolu is an interesting one. As is also confirmed by Tuygan himself, it is more than an official interaction between a founder of a publishing house and a translator. They are rather close friends (personal communication, December 25, 2013). At this point, it is important to cite a quotation from Tuygan: “The Belge International Publishing House is rather a communal union. Such attributions as patronage, directorship, editorship, typesetting are not used within the publishing house” (personal communication, December 25, 2013). In Section 2.3.2 of Chapter 2, Lefevre’s concept of “patronage” has been mentioned. Within the framework of this concept, the publisher, Zarakolu, assumes the role of “patron”, since he is the founder and the director of the publishing house and the initiator of various translations. However, the relation between Tuygan and Zarakolu confirms that the patron does not use the power of patronage over the translator.

Translators assume an intermediary role between the ST author and the TT reader. Agents other than the translators may play crucial roles in the translation process. Likewise, the expectations of the TT readers may play a similar role in the translational decisions. In this respect, Tuygan provides important facts as to his own translation processes. In response to the question as to whether he feels free in his translational decisions, he firstly states that he has never faced “a single word of intervention from Ragıp Zarakolu, his wife Ayşe Zarakolu, his son Deniz Zarakolu or any other person” (personal communication, December 25, 2013). The reason behind that is evident in his upcoming statements: “the books which I translate are already in parallel with the opinions, identity and independence of the publishing house. There is neither censorship nor self-censorship in Belge!” (Tuygan, personal communication, December 25, 2013). Although he is the director, Zarakolu is not the only power holder. By the same token, Tuygan is not a subservient translator who performs according to the demands of the publishing house. Instead, both the patron of the publishing house and the translator assume power to the extent that Tuygan’s translation is published without any

intervention by Zarakolu. As to the expectations of the TT readers, Tuygan claims to have no such considerations at all (personal communication, December 25, 2013). In Section 2.2.2 of Chapter 2, the expectancy norms have been identified as having a key role in the translator's decision-making process. From this perspective, Tuygan's translation process constitutes a good example of why the expectancy norms do not always work in that way. As a matter of fact, in his translation process, Tuygan is not concerned with whether his translation process contradicts the norms of the readers. He does not endeavor to meet the social expectations or conform to the social norms. Tuygan describes the Belge readership as follows: "if people are going to read the books which I translate, or the books of the Belge International Publishing House, I assume that they have reached a particular degree of 'maturity' or 'adulthood'" (personal communication, December 25, 2013).

Tuygan was once put on trial due to one of his translations for the Belge International Publishing House. His translation, *Bir Ermeni Doktorun Yaşadıkları Garabet Haçeryan'ın İzmir Güncesi (An Armenian Doctor in Turkey: Garabet Hatcherian: My Smyrna Ordeal of 1922)*, was published in 2005. The publisher, Zarakolu, was put on trial under the Article 301 of the Turkish Penal Code for "insulting the Turkish army and the Turkish identity". As it is also stated in Zarakolu's foreword in *İzmir 1922 Bir Kentin Yıkımı*, when Tuygan assumed the responsibility for the translated book, Zarakolu's trial ceased. Tuygan claims to "have willingly taken responsibility for his 'fault'" (personal communication, December 25, 2013). Both Zarakolu and Tuygan were charged with fine in that legal case. Tuygan provides another example for a legal case in which he was the translator of a book (personal communication, December 25, 2013). The book was *Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nda Ermenilere Yönelik Muamele 1915-1916 (The Treatment of Armenians in the Ottoman Empire, 1915-1916)*, which he translated with another translator, Jülide Değirmenciler.

Attila Tuygan translates from English into Turkish. His translations which were published by the Belge International Publishing House are as follows: *The Cryptochristians [Gizli Din Taşıyanlar]*, *The Kurds: Culture and Language Rights [Kürtlerin Kültürel ve Dilsel Hakları]*, *The Role of Institutions in the Armenian Genocide [Ermeni Soykırımında Kurumsal Roller]*, *An Armenian Doctor in Turkey:*

Garabed Hatcherian: My Smyrna Ordeal of [1922 Bir Ermeni Doktorun Yaşadıkları Garabet Haçeryan'ın İzmir Güncesi], *Documentation of the Armenian Genocide in Turkish Sources [Türk Kaynaklarında Ermeni Soykırımı]*, *Ambassador Morgenthau's Story [Büyükelçi Morgenthau'nun Öyküsü]*, *Circassians [Çerkesler]* (with Gülden Kangal), *Bank Ottoman: Memoirs of Armen Garo [Osmanlı Bankası: Armen Garo'nun Anıları]*, *The Knock At The Door A Journey Through The Darkness of The Armenian Genocide [Amasya'nın Dikenleri Ermeni Soykırımının Karanlığına Yolculuk]*, *Smyrna 1922 The Destruction of a City [İzmir 1922 Bir Kentin Yıkımı]*.

Attila Tuygan's translations which were published by other publishing houses are as follows: *The Armenian genocide: Armenocide, causes, commission, consequences [Ermeni Soykırımı: Ermenikırım, nedenler, eylemler, sonuçlar]*, *The Treatment of Armenians in the Ottoman Empire, 1915-1916 [Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nda Ermenilere Yönelik Muamele 1915- 1916 Cilt 2]* (with Jülide Değirmenciler), *The Red Rugs of Tarsus: A Lady's Experiences in Turkey at the Time of the Armenian Persecutions 1909-1914 [Tarsus'un Kırmızı Kilimleri: Bir Kadının 1909 Ermeni Katliamı Tanıklığı]*, *The Revolutionary Ideas of Karl Marx [Marx'ın Devrimci Fikirleri]*, *Morality Without God? [Tanrısız Ahlak?]*, *Producing Islamic Knowledge. Transmission and dissemination in Western Europe [Avrupa'da Müslüman Öznenin Üretimi- Fikirler, Bilinçler, Örnekler]*, *A History of Modern Indonesia [Komünistlerden İslamcılara Bir 20. Yüzyıl Tarihi: Endonezya]*, *Black Book: the tragedy of Pontus, 1914-1922 [Pontus Trajedisi 1914 - 1922 Kara Kitap]* (with Anaïs Martin and Adnan Köymen), *The Kurdish and Armenian Genocides: From Censorship and Denial to Recognition [Kürt ve Ermeni Soykırımları Sansür ve İnkardan İkrara]*, *The Communist Manifesto [Komünist Manifesto]* (being prepared).

4.2.4. Ali Sait Çetinoğlu: The Afterword Writer

Ali Sait Çetinoğlu is a writer and researcher in the field of history and human rights. He makes contributions to the Belge International Publishing House with the books he writes or edits. Çetinoğlu considers himself to make contributions to the taboo-breaking activities of the Belge International Publishing House by “writing notes, forewords and afterwords as well as preparing or recommending books” (personal communication,

January 8, 2014). Çetinoğlu also writes articles in some journals and newspapers. It is possible to read his articles on such topics as human rights, minorities, the Armenian issue and the Kurdish issue.

Ali Sait Çetinoğlu is the author of the following books: *Varlık Vergisi 1942-1944 (Ekonomik Ve Kültürel Jenosid)*, *Exterminators Yok Ediciler ve Erdemli Müslümanlar*, *The Greek Genocide: The Mass Crime in Pontus* (with Theofanis Malkidis and Ragıp Zarakolu), *Kilikya Katliamı 1909*.

Ali Sait Çetinoğlu is the editor of the following books: *Resmi Tarih Tartışmaları 3 / İttihatçılıktan Kemalizm'e* (with Fikret Başkaya), *1915 Bir Papazın Günlüğü*, *Hrant'ın Katil(ler)i*, *Rafael Lemkin'in Ermeni Soykırımı Dosyası*, *Resmi Tarih Tartışmaları 8 (Türkiye'de Azınlıklar)* (with Fikret Başkaya), *Emval-i Metruke Olayı (Osmanlı'da ve Cumhuriyette Ermeni ve Rum Mallarının Türkleştirilmesi)*, *Volta Bir düş Irmağı*, *Soykırımın İkinci Safhası* (with Attila Tuygan and Ragıp Zarakolu), *Ermeni modern Tarihi ve Ermeni Sürgünleri 1375-1916*, *Alman Belgeleri (Ermeni Soykırımı 1915-1916 - Alman Dışişleri Bakanlığı Siyasi Arşiv Belgeleri)* (with Ahmet Batmaz, Doğan Akanlı, İrfan Cüre, Ragıp Zarakolu, Sena Adalı, Toros Sarian, Yasemin Gedik), *Gomidas Vartabed ile Çankırı Yollarında* (with Ahmet Batmaz and Ragıp Zarakolu), *Mardin 1915 Bir Yıkımın Patolojik Anatomisi, Takibat, Tehcir ve İmha (Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nda 1912-1922 Yılları Arasında Hristiyanlara Yönelik Yaptırımlar)*, *Öncesi ve Sonrası ile 1915 İnkâr ve Yüzleşme* (with Mahmut Konuk), *İsmail Beşikçi ve İfade Özgürlüğü* (with Mahmut Konuk), *Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nun Son Yılları*. Ali Sait Çetinoğlu is among the authors of the following dictionaries: *Kavram Sözlüğü I*, *Kavram Sözlüğü II*, *Resmi İdeoloji Sözlüğü*.

4.3. İZMİR 1922 BİR KENTİN YIKIMI

4.3.1. A Brief Description

İzmir 1922 Bir Kentin Yıkımı is the translation of Marjorie Housepian Dobkin's book, *Smyrna 1922 The Destruction of a City*. It is Attila Tuygan's translation which was published by the Belge International Publishing House in 2012. While there are twenty one chapters and an introduction part in the ST, its **Turkish translation contains a**

foreword by Ragıp Zarakolu, an afterword by Ali Sait Çetinoğlu and eight photographs. There are also biographical notes on both the author, Marjorie Housepian Dobkin, and the translator, Attila Tuygan, on the first page. While the bibliography and the chapter notes are at the end of the ST, they are placed within the content itself in its Turkish translation. Tuygan claims to have taken this translational decision to ease the reading process (personal communication, December 25, 2013).

4.3.2. The Background of the Translation Process

Attila Tuygan suggests that the idea of translating *Smyrna 1922 The Destruction of a City* goes back to 2006 (personal communication, December 25, 2013). In 2006, Ragıp Zarakolu was put on trial under the Article 301 of the Turkish Penal Code due to publishing the book, *Bir Ermeni Doktorun Yaşadıkları Garabet Haçeryan'ın İzmir Güncesi*. That book was Tuygan's translation of Dora Sakayan's book titled *An Armenian Doctor in Turkey: Garabed Hatcherian: My Smyrna Ordeal of 1922*. Tuygan states that Zarakolu wanted to use the translation of certain parts of Dobkin's book, since it was highly related to the content of Sakayan's book in terms of "the Turks, the Turkish army, the setting and so on" (personal communication, December 25, 2013). From this perspective, in that legal process, the choice of the ST was related to the individual preference of the publisher, Zarakolu. It is interesting that the departure point of translating a book with a taboo subject is the translation of another book due to which both the publisher and the translator were put on trial.

Tuygan notes that he did not face any intervention in his translational decisions (personal communication, December 25, 2013). Therefore, it is safe to attribute the lexical, syntactic and semantic structure of the Turkish translation of *Smyrna 1922 The Destruction of a City* to Tuygan's own decision-making process.

4.4 THE TURKISH TRANSLATION OF SMYRNA 1922 THE DESTRUCTION OF A CITY AS A NORM-BREAKING ACTIVITY

Ragıp Zarakolu, the founder of the Belge International Publishing House, attaches great importance to translational activities. Zarakolu states:

I emphasize the importance of translation in terms of humanism, enlightenment and cultural development. If it weren't for translation, humanity would stay in the darkness of the middle age. Therefore, the translated books are especially important in our publishing house. (Zarakolu, personal communication, March 25, 2014)

The striking aspect of the translational activities in this publishing house stems from their taboo-breaking character. In this respect, Zarakolu (personal communication, March 25, 2014) emphasizes the “strategic position” of translations in his publishing house. It is obvious in his following statement that the publishing house tried to benefit from that “strategic position” by publishing the Turkish translation of *Smyrna 1922 The Destruction of a City*:

By publishing Dobkin's book, **we tried to overcome all kinds of censorship**. We were not sued but there was the possibility of investigation under the Article 301 of the Turkish Penal Code. Although we knew that the distributors and the book-sellers would not be willing to keep this book and the media would not display it in the book journals, we published the book. (Zarakolu, personal communication, March 25, 2014, my emphasis)

4.4.1. A Textual Analysis of the Turkish Translation of *Smyrna 1922 The Destruction of a City*

4.4.1.1. The Translator's Choices which Serve to Reinforce the ST Message

Example 1:

The following excerpt is from the *Introduction* of the ST. Dobkin (1988) refers to “American Consul George Horton's view of the atrocities committed by Greek troops” in the related passage:

ST: “I see a difference between the excesses of a furious and betrayed army, retreating through a country which it had held for several years, and without its officers, and the conduct of the victorious **Turkish army** which, instead of protecting the helpless people which it had in its power, **deliberately set about massacring and outraging it**’ (National Archives 767.68/476).” (Dobkin, 1988, p. 14)

TT: ““Birkaç yıldır elinde tuttuğu bir ülkeden çekilen ve başlarında subayları olmayan gözü dönmüş bir ordunun aşırılıklarıyla yönetimi altındaki biçare halkı korumak

yerine onları **bilerek katleden ve inim inim inleyen Türk ordusunun** tavrı arasında bir fark görüyorum.’ (Ulusal Arşiv 7667.68/476).” (Dobkin, 2012, p. 22)

There is a comparison between the acts of the Greek and Turkish troops in the ST. Although the acts of both sides are described in negative terms, those of the Greek side are conveyed in a way through which the Greeks were depicted as the victims. On the other hand, the acts of the Turkish side are conveyed in negative terms through the words “massacring” and “outraging”. The translation of “outraging” is important. “**Outraging**” is translated as “**inim inim inleyen**” into Turkish. This expression consists of a reduplication with the expression “**inim inim**”. Reduplication reinforces the meaning that could also be conveyed by just one word. The translator does not use a single word like “zulmeden”, but uses the expression “inim inim inleyen”. This usage in the TT makes contribution to the strengthening of the ST’s allegations that the Turkish troops were oppressive.

Example 2:

The following sentence is from *Chapter I* of the ST. It is an eyewitness’ account about a scene in which the Armenians were alleged to be slaughtered:

ST: “‘The slaughter of the Armenians was a **joy** to the Turks,’ a missionary eyewitness has recorded.” (Dobkin, 1988, p. 35)

TT: “‘Ermeniler’in boğazlanmaları Türkler’i **neşeye boğdu**,’ diye kaydetmiş bir misyoner tanık.” (Dobkin, 2012, p. 50)

The slaughtering of the Armenians is alleged to be “a joy” for the Turks in the ST. A brutal scene in which the Armenians are harmed is said to be enjoyed by the Turks. The word “**joy**” is translated as “**neşeye boğmak**”. That is, there is a change in the word-class from a noun into a verb. Rather than using a noun like “sevinç”, “neşe” or “haz”, the translator translates this noun as “neşeye boğmak”. The verb, “**boğmak**”, strengthens this expression in a way to increase the intensity of the word “**neşe**”. Therefore, it would not be wrong to say that the word “joy” gains a more intensified meaning in the TT due to a change in the word class.

Example 3:

The following excerpt is from *Chapter II* of the ST. The related passage is about the two Armenian citizens, called Zohrab and Vartkes, who are said to have been “led away with the others, never to return”:

ST: “The Turks subsequently declared to interested parties that Zohrab had died of ‘heart disease’ and Vartkes ‘from a fall from his horse’. **The stories were intended to be apocryphal.**” (Dobkin, 1988, p. 42)

TT: “Bunun ardından Türkler ilgililere Zohrab’ın ‘kalp krizi sonucu’, Vartkes’inse ‘attan düşerek’ öldüğünü söylediler. Öykülerin uydurma olduğu **her halinden belliydi.**” (Dobkin, 2012, p. 58)

The expression “**her halinden belliydi**” (i.e. “quite obvious” in English) in the TT reinforces the “**apocryphal**” nature of “the stories” in the ST. The addition of this expression in the TT makes the ST meaning clearer and more certain. The use of these lexical units serves the purpose of persuasion. This is an important strategy used by the translator in order to persuade the target readers. It is obvious that even a change of a single word acts as a strong point in order to strengthen the ST’s allegations and persuade the TT readers.

Example 4:

The following excerpt is from *Chapter II* of the ST. The related passage is about “deportation”. The passage gives details about this process:

ST: “And always there were the gendarmes, prodding the exhausted figures with whips and clubs, refusing them water when they passed wells and streams, bayoneting those who lagged behind, **and** committing increasingly perverted attacks.” (Dobkin, 1988, p. 44)

TT: “Ve bitap düşmüş insanları kırbaç ve sopalarla döven, kuyu ve derelerden geçerken su içmelerine izin vermeyen, düşenleri süngüleyen **ve bunlar yetmiyormuş gibi** sapıkça saldırılarda bulunan jandarmalar her daim yanlarındaydı.” (Dobkin, 2012, p. 61)

What is striking in the translation of the ST excerpt is the addition of the expression, “**bunlar yetmiyormuş gibi**” (i.e. “on top of that” in English), which is used together with the conjunction “ve” in the TT. These lexical units are added to the TT to create an additional influence on the target readers. This expression enables the target readers to further visualize the alleged severity of the events that are written in the ST. Therefore, the expression “bunlar yetmiyormuş gibi” acts as an emphatic expression that aims to intensify the existing sentiments of the target readers. The translator reveals his attitude and ideological stance regarding the events narrated in the ST.

Example 5:

The following sentence is from *Chapter II* of the ST. It is given in a passage about the deportation process:

ST: “**Apologists** have claimed that these atrocities were simply the work of barbaric and fanatic tribesmen, but Ambassador Morgenthau has shown that they were a matter of deliberate policy.” (Dobkin, 1988, p. 44)

TT: “**Utangaç inkarcılar**, bu mezalimlerin vahşi ve tutucu aşiret üyelerinin işi olduğunu ileri sürmüşlerdir, fakat Büyükelçi Morgenthau bilinçli bir politikanın uzantısı olduğunu göstermiştir.” (Dobkin, 2012, p. 61)

The word “**apologists**”, refers to “özür dileyenler” in Turkish. However, the translator uses “**utangaç inkarcılar**” to translate this word. The words, “özür dileyenler” (i.e. “apologists” in English) and “utangaç inkarcılar” (i.e. “embarrassed deniers” in English) have different connotations. The translator adds an extra dimension to the TT, emphasizing and alleging that the Turks are “deniers”. Even though the ST does not mention that the Turkish side is in denial in the excerpt above, the TT foregrounds this point.

Example 6:

The following excerpt is from *Chapter III*. The related passage is about a peace agreement between Russia and Turkey which also had an important role for the future of the Armenians:

ST: “In the face of the armistice injunction to reduce his forces, the Turkish military leader in the area (a Turkish army officer named Kiazim Karabekir) **was busily expanding them by distributing arms to the Turkish population** from the ample stores the Allies had left behind.” (Dobkin, 1988, pp. 58-59)

TT: “Kuvvetlerinin azaltılmasını öngören mütareke kararına rağmen bölgedeki Türk askerî lideri (Kazım Karabekir), **Türk nüfusa** İtilâf Güçlerinin geride bıraktıkları depolardan **silah dağıtarak yayılmakla meşguldü.**” (Dobkin, 2012, p. 84)

“**Silah dağıtmak**” and “**silah dağıtarak yayılmak**” are two different acts. Even though the ST does not allege that Kazım Karabekir is spreading his forces through the use of arms, the TT adds that what he does is to spread and act in defiance of the armistice. Having changed the meaning of the ST, the TT depicts the Turkish side as guilty.

Example 7:

The following excerpt is from *Chapter VI* of the ST. It is from a passage about the relationship between Soviet Russia and Turkey, which is also important for the Armenian population:

ST: “...the Soviets (with the approval of **a good many Armenians** who saw the **alternative** as domination by Turkey) thereupon took over the tiny remaining province of Yerevan...” (Dobkin, 1988, p. 91)

TT: “Sovyetler (Türk egemenliğinden kurtulmak için **yılana** sarılan **pek çok saf Ermeni**’nin onayıyla) küçücük kalan Erivan vilayetini ele geçirdi...” (Dobkin, 2012, p. 134)

The expression “a good many” conveys information on the quantity. It also provides information on the number of the Armenians, to a certain extent. “A good many Armenians” is translated as “pek çok **saf** Ermeni”. The translator adds the word “saf” to the TT in order to depict the Armenians as naïve, and thus victim. Moreover, the translator adds the metaphor, “**yılan**”, to the TT. This metaphor is used in Turkish to describe the evil people. Therefore, this usage is preferred in order to persuade the target readers that the Turks are guilty. As a result of the translator’s lexical choices, while the Armenians are depicted as victims, the Turks are depicted as guilty in the TT.

Example 8:

The following statement of Admiral Mark L. Bristol is an excerpt from *Chapter IX*:

ST: “For two days after the Greek High Commissioner and other officials departed, there was no government and no control. It was during this time that the robbing, looting, and murdering **began**.” (Dobkin, 1988, p. 110)

TT: “Yunan Yüksek Komiseri ve diğer görevliler ayrıldıktan iki gün sonra, ne hükümet kalmıştı, ne de kontrol. Bu süre zarfında soygunlar, yağmalar ve cinayetler **aldı başını gitti**.” (Dobkin, 2012, p. 161)

The negative acts of “robbing, looting, and murdering” are said to have begun in the ST. The verb “began” is translated as “aldı başını gitti”. The expression “**aldı başını gitti**” is used in order to create a meaning that the oppression has long begun and no one can prevent it. This verbal phrase depicts the Turkish side as merciless and cruel. It makes the beginning of the acts written in the ST date back to a much earlier time. Therefore, it helps depicting the Turks as acting in that way “for a long time” in the eyes of the target readers.

Example 9:

The following excerpt is from *Chapter XXI* and is also the last sentence of the ST. Preceded by a passage about “the survivors of the Smyrna fire”, it constitutes a separate paragraph:

ST: “The course of history since 1922 suggests that the ultimate victims **may be** those who delude themselves.” (Dobkin, 1988, p. 235)

TT: “1922’den beri tarihin seyri, asıl kurbanların kendilerini aldatanlar **olduğunu göstermektedir**.” (Dobkin, 2012, p. 344)

In the ST, Dobkin concludes her book with a hypothesis. She uses the modal “**may**” in her hypothesis. The TT is a declarative sentence with no use of modality. From this perspective, it is not a hypothesis in the TT. Rather, the use of “**olduğunu göstermektedir**” implies certainty that “those who delude themselves” are absolutely

the victims. The translator makes a translational decision that intensifies and adds certainty to the final remarks of the author.

Example 10:

The following excerpt is from the *Introduction* of the ST. It is stated that this is a headline from “*New York Times* published on September 15, 1922”. The headline is about the burning of Smyrna:

ST: “SMYRNA BURNING, 14 AMERICANS MISSING
1,000 MASSACRED AS TURKS FIRE CITY
KEMAL THREATENS MARCH ON CAPITAL
OUR CONSULATE DESTROYED” (Dobkin, 1988, p. 6)

TT: “**TÜRKLER KENTİ ATEŞE VERDİĞİNDEN DOLAYI İZMİR YANIYOR,**
14 AMERİKALI KAYIP, 1.000 ÖLÜ, KEMAL MERKEZE İLERLİYOR
KONSOLOSLUĞUMUZ TAHRİP EDİLDİ” (Dobkin, 2012, p. 11)

In this headline, the burning of Smyrna is attributed to the “Turks”. The translator puts the allegation that “**Türkler kenti ateşe verdiğiinden dolayı**” at the beginning of his translation. Tuygan, the translator of *Smyrna 1922 The Destruction of a City*, who underlines the space limitations in newspaper headlines, states that he himself could have added a similar expression related to the burning if it had not been placed in the ST (personal communication, December 25, 2013). This is a very important claim. It reveals that the translator believes in what is written in the ST and considers himself as having the power to convey such an idea if it had not been placed in the ST.

4.4.1.2. The Translator’s Translational Decision to Disregard Censorship

The following examples illustrate how the translator treats some ST excerpts that can be seen as taboo issues in Turkish society.

Example 1:

The following sentence is from *Chapter VI*. Dobkin regards the 1915 events as “genocide” rather than “deportation”:

ST: “Here, Armenians who had escaped the 1915 **genocide** had been induced to return to their homes under promises of French protection.” (Dobkin, 1988, p. 88)

TT: “Burada, 1915 **soykırımından** kaçmış Ermeniler Fransız himayesi vaatleriyle evlerine dönmeyi beklemeye başlamışlardı.” (Dobkin, 2012, p. 129)

Smyrna 1922 The Destruction of a City is abundant in the words which describe the Turks as the offensive people and the Armenians as those who were in the defensive position. Accordingly, the alleged maltreatment of the Armenians is referred to as “genocide” rather than “deportation” throughout the book. However, the Turkish state, throughout the Turkish political life, has not acknowledged the expression “Armenian Genocide”. The widely-used expression, instead, is “the so-called Armenian Genocide”, or “sözde Ermeni Soykırımı” in Turkish. The use of “so-called” is an open rejection of the allegations. From this perspective, there is a clash of attitude between the allegations of the Armenians and the Turkish public discourse. The highly negative expressions in the ST represent a counter-discourse. The translator’s loyalty to the ST is evident in his use of “soykırım” rather than “sözde soykırım”. This is not surprising, given the translator’s following statements:

The books I translate are generally on “genocide” and this subject is a delicate one. I might have encountered nationalist, anti-Turkish aggressive expressions in the accounts of genocide victims or their relatives or the researchers. I do not remember any instance in which I felt irritated. (Tuygan, personal communication, December 25, 2013)

Example 2:

The following sentence is from *Chapter XV*. The related passage is about the brutal scenes in which the Turks are alleged to badly treat the Armenians:

ST: “As the afternoon progressed it became evident that the Turks were systematically **hunting down** Armenians.” (Dobkin, 1988, pp. 175-176)

TT: “Akşama doğru, Türkler’in sistematik bir biçimde Ermeniler’in **peşine düştükleri** iyice belli olmuştu.” (Dobkin, 2012, p. 254)

The expression, “hunting down”, was translated as “peşine düştükleri”. There is no censorship in the TT. The translator did not censor the alleged systematic acts of the Turks written in the ST.

Example 3:

The following sentence is from *Chapter XXI*. The related passage is about the views of Toynbee, a well-known historian:

ST: “Since the Turkish Armenians were offering the Turks no provocation whatever, **‘the Turkish contentions fail from first to last’**, he had written.” (Dobkin, 1988, p. 234)

TT: “Türkiye Ermeniler’inin her ne olursa olsun Türkler’i kışkırtacak hiçbir şey yapmadıklarından dolayı, **‘Türk tezleri(nin) baştan sona çürük’ olduğunu** yazmıştı zamanında.” (Dobkin, 2012, p. 342)

The expression, “the Turkish contentions fail from first to last”, was translated as “Türk tezleri(nin) baştan sona çürük olduğunu”. In the ST, it is alleged that the Turkish arguments concerning the Armenian issue are not persuasive. The translator conveyed the ST message by using the word “**çürük**” in the TT. Therefore, there is no censorship in the Turkish translation of a ST which contradicts the Turkish claims concerning such an important issue as the Armenian issue.

The following examples illustrate how the translator treats some ST excerpts that can be seen as taboo issues in Turkish society.

Example 4:

The following sentence is from *Chapter XIII*. It is about a scene in which the Turkish soldiers overcame the Greek soldiers and attacked a family’s house:

ST: “Moments after they had left, Turks broke into the house, **smeared the walls and paintings with jam, and hacked the furniture to pieces.**” (Dobkin, 1988, p. 146)

TT: “Onlar terk ettikten hemen sonra, Türkler evi bastılar, **duvar ve resimleri reçelle kapladılar ve mobilyaları parçaladılar.**” (Dobkin, 2012, pp. 212-213)

The expressions, “smeared the walls and paintings with jam” and “hacked the furniture to pieces”, were translated as “duvar ve resimleri reçelle kapladılar” and “mobilyaları parçaladılar”, respectively. The ST expressions which depict the Turks as the vandals who damage families’ houses were translated without any euphemizing of the ST meaning.

Example 5:

The following excerpt is from *Chapter XIII* of the ST. It is a quotation from Consul Hurton’s testimony about Smyrna events:

ST: ““There seemed to be **a definite plan to clean out the Armenians** and to deal with the Greeks at their leisure,’...” (Dobkin, 1988, p. 152)

TT: ““**Ermeniler’i yok etmek** ve boş zamanlarda da Rumlar’la ilgilenmek **üzere belli bir plan** var gibiydi,’...” (Dobkin, 2012, p. 220)

The expression, “a definite plan to clean out the Armenians”, was translated as “Ermeniler’i yok etmek [...] üzere belli bir plan”. The ST’s allegation that the Turks planned to clean out the Armenians was translated without regard to the opposing Turkish claims.

In the above-mentioned examples, there are highly negative expressions used in the context of the Turks in the ST. There is no censorship in the TT, since the same defamation is completely transferred into Turkish. The translator did not use any translational strategy to mitigate the level of defamation in the TT. Therefore, he did not manipulate the TT in order to conform to the target norms. He could have made particular lexical choices in order not to break the target norms, but he did not.

Example 6:

The following sentence is from *Chapter XX*. The related passage is about the “exchange” of Christians and Muslims between Greece and Turkey. It is stated that the Turks acted against the agreement by “issuing orders for immediate departure or preventing the departure of those employed on public works where services were needed”:

ST: “When the exchange finally got under way, **the Turks proceeded to violate all the terms of the agreement.**” (Dobkin, 1988, p. 218)

TT: “Sonunda mübadeleye başlandığında, **Türkler anlaşmanın tüm şartlarını ihlal etmeye başladılar.**” (Dobkin, 2012, p. 318)

The Greeks are narrated as being among those who were alleged to be exposed to the Turkish brutality during the Smyrna events. In the ST excerpt, the Turks are alleged to violate a legal agreement, and that is reflected in the TT with the expression, “Türkler [...] ihlal etmeye başladılar.” The translator did not censor this alleged violation by the Turkish government. The reflection of the alleged contravention of law in the TT serves as a tool to resist the dominant discourse in Turkey.

The following examples illustrate how the translator treats some ST excerpts that can be seen as taboo issues in Turkish society.

Example 7:

The following excerpt is from *Chapter XIV*. It is about a news article on Smyrna events:

ST: “Constantine Brown’s dispatch in the *Chicago Daily News* was to be no less frank: ‘A crime which **will brand the Turks forever was committed yesterday when Turkish soldiery, after finishing pillaging, set this city on fire.**’” (Dobkin, 1988, p. 167)

TT: “Constantine Brown’ın *Chicago Daily News*’daki haberin de bundan aşağı kalır yanı yoktu: ‘**Dün, yağma işini bitiren Türk askerleri kenti ateşe verdiklerinde, sonsuza kadar Türkler’in peşini bırakmayacak bir suç işlendi.**’” (Dobkin, 2012, p. 241)

In the ST, the Turks are alleged to be guilty due to the acts of the Turkish soldiers. The Turkish soldiers are accused of both “pillage” and burning the city. In the TT, the translator used the word “**yağma**” (i.e. “plunder” in English). These usages in the context of the Turkish soldiers contradict the public discourse in Turkey. However, the word choice of the translator is in parallel with the ST message. By taking such translational decisions at the lexical level, the translator breaks the expectancy norms.

This is because the Turkish soldiers are regarded as blessed in Turkish society. There is even a special concept, “Mehmetçik”, in Turkish. In this word, the prefix “-çik” denotes affection for the Turkish soldiers. In the online dictionary of Turkish Language Association, the word “Mehmetçik” is defined as “the noun which is used with the feeling of affection to refer to the Turkish soldier” (“Mehmetçik”, n.d.).

Example 8:

The following sentence is from *Chapter XV*. The related passage is about the struggle of the refugees:

ST: “These relatively ‘safe’ areas were, however, **infested with Turkish soldiers**, who were continually **robbing the refugees** of whatever they had left, and **snatching away** the younger women.” (Dobkin, 1988, p. 175)

TT: “Ancak bu nispeten ‘güvenli’ alanları da, **mültecilerin geride bıraktıklarını talan edip** genç kızları **kaçıran Türk askerleri istila etmişlerdi.**” (Dobkin, 2012, p. 253)

The expressions, “infested with Turkish soldiers”, “robbing the refugees” and “snatching away” were translated as “Türk askerleri istila etmişlerdi”, “mültecilerin geride bıraktıklarını talan edip” and “kaçıran”, respectively. All the negative acts which were alleged to be carried out by the Turkish soldiers were translated into Turkish without any censorship.

The Article 301 of the Turkish Penal Code has a regulation that particularly concerns the acts against the military of the Turkish state. Any discursive practice considered as insulting the Turkish Army might be subject to the Article 301. However, the translator did not use any omission or euphemism in those expressions that contradict the Turkish public discourse. This is also evident in his following statements:

I do not have principles at all. I just want the books I translate to be in line with my worldview, to stir up a hornet’s nest, to make a hole in the official history, to be inconvenient from the viewpoint of the [Turkish] State, to spark debates. That is all I want. The only thing I bother while translating is to convey the authorial intention in the correct way...To correctly convey the opinion of the author in the same content and style. (Tuygan, personal communication, December 25, 2013)

The following examples illustrate how the translator treats some ST excerpts that can be seen as taboo issues in Turkish society.

Example 9:

The following sentence is from the *Introduction*. Dobkin (1988) states that “the attempted extermination of Armenians” was already accepted by Atatürk. Therefore, Atatürk is alleged by Dobkin to have consented to the Smyrna events:

ST: “It has recently come to my attention that Mustapha Kemal (Ataturk) **himself acknowledged** the attempted **extermination of Armenians** conducted in 1915-16 and summarized in chapter 2 as a part of the historical background of events leading to the sack and burning of Smyrna.” (Dobkin, 1988, p. 15)

TT: “Kısa bir süre önce, M. Kemal’in 1915-16’da **Ermeniler’e yönelik imha girişimini bizzat kabul ettiği** dikkatimi çekti ve bunu, İzmir’in yağmalanıp yakılmasına yol açan olayların tarihsel arka planının bir parçası olarak 2. bölümde özetledim.” (Dobkin, 2012, p. 24)

The expression, “himself acknowledged [...] extermination of Armenians”, was translated as “Ermeniler’e yönelik imha [...] bizzat kabul ettiği”. The ST underlines the allegation that Atatürk participated in the Symrna events. The ST message was translated in accordance with this alleged participation.

Example 10:

The following excerpt is from *Chapter VII*. The book alleges that Atatürk gave orders during Smyrna events:

ST: “Kemal had once declared to his followers: ‘If it is the will of God that we are defeated, **we must set fire** to all our homes, to all our property; **we must lay the country in ruins and leave an empty desert.**’” (Dobkin, 1988, p. 100)

TT: “M. Kemal bir seferinde destekçilerine ilan etmişti: ‘Allah izin vermez de yenilirsek, bütün evlerimizi, bütün mallarımızı **ateşe vermeliyiz; ülkeyi harabeye çevirmeli ve çöle döndürmeliyiz.**’” (Dobkin, 2012, p. 148)

The expressions, “we must set fire”, “we must lay the country in ruins” and “leave an empty desert”, were translated as “ateşe vermeliyiz”, “ülkeyi harabeye çevirmeli” and “çöle döndürmeliyiz”, respectively. These expressions were used in the ST within the context of Atatürk’s alleged attitude towards the Smyrna city. All the destructive orders which were alleged to be given by Atatürk were translated without censorship.

Example 11:

The following sentence is from *Chapter XI*. “The final effacing of unassimilable elements from the land” is alleged to have been Atatürk’s inherited “task” by Dobkin. Dobkin alleges that Atatürk had played a role at the very beginning of the Smyrna events:

ST: “In joining his nation to the twentieth century, Kemal was to complete the task begun by his predecessors-**the final effacing of its unassimilable elements from the land.**” (Dobkin, 1988, p. 132)

TT: “M. Kemal, ulusunu Yirminci Yüzyıla entegre ederken seleflerinin başlattıkları işi tamamlayacaktı; bu da, **asimile edilemeyen unsurların topraklardan sonsuza kadar silinmesiydi.**” (Dobkin, 2012, p. 192)

The expression, “the final effacing of its unassimilable elements from the land”, was translated as “asimile edilemeyen unsurların topraklardan sonsuza kadar silinmesi”. The ST alleges that it was Atatürk’s task to efface the “unassimilable elements”. The expression, “unassimilable elements”, was used to refer to all the people other than the Turks. The ST expression which blames Atatürk for the act of “effacing” was translated without censorship.

In Turkey, there is the Law No. 5816 on the Crimes Committed against Atatürk. This law is in force for the protection of Atatürk’s moral personality. The publications about Atatürk are assessed under this particular law. There are books which were exposed to censorship in order to evade the legal sanctions due to this law. As mentioned in Section 3.2.1 of Chapter 3, *Bozkurt*, the Turkish translation of H. C. Armstrong’s book, *Grey Wolf* (1932), is a good example. *Grey Wolf* is known as Atatürk’s first biography which was written when he was alive. It contains many negative expressions about the life and

the policies of Atatürk. It has five Turkish translations which were censored. The level of censorship differs in the different translations. The role of the translators in censorship requires a special attention, since they might be considered under the influence of their patrons, the social norms and the abovementioned law. This is the subject of an academic study: Ayşe Saki, from Hacettepe University, carries out an M.A. thesis on *A Critical Discourse Analysis Perspective on Censorship in Translation: A Case Study of the Turkish Translations of Grey Wolf*. This study is based on the basic assumption that the protection of Atatürk's moral personality is regarded as a norm in Turkish society, and the Turkish translations of *Grey Wolf* were censored due to this concern.

On the other hand, the translator of *İzmir 1922 Bir Kentin Yıkımı*, did not censor any of the highly negative expressions about Atatürk written in the ST. He produced a source-oriented TT. Unlike the norm-governed translation process in the Turkish translation *Bozkurt*, the translation process of *İzmir 1922 Bir Kentin Yıkımı* reveals a norm-breaking aspect in terms of the expressions about Atatürk. The translator explains his translational decisions as follows:

I am used to such sentences. By the way, I wholeheartedly believe that they are true. Moreover, I believe that it is a translator's task to convey the feelings and the opinions of the author correctly. The opposite would be interpreting or censoring. (Tuygan, personal communication, December 25, 2013)

4.4.2. A Paratextual Analysis of the Turkish Translation of *Smyrna 1922 The Destruction of a City*

4.4.2.1. An Overview of Paratexts

A book is not merely composed of the main text which its author has offered to its readers. Rather, the text may have its extensions within or outside the border of the book in question. The literary theorist, Gérard Genette, in his book, *Paratexts: Thresholds of Interpretation*, describes these extensions as “paratexts”:

Paratexts are those liminal devices and conventions, both within and outside the book, that form part of the complex mediation between book, author,

publisher, and reader: titles, forewords, epigraphs, and publishers' jacket copy are part of a book's private and public history. (Genette, 1997)

Genette categorizes the elements of "paratexts" into two large groups, namely "peritext" and "epitext". Overall, he names all those elements materially existing within a book as "peritext" and those outside it as "epitext" (Genette, 1997, p. 5).

"Peritext" mainly consists of title, epigraph, preface, postface, cover and all other possible elements that are physically parts of a book. Genette (1997) names a book's "cover, title page and their appendages" as the "publisher's peritext" (p. 23). This is because their arrangement depends on the publisher's decisions on which the author may also have influence.

Genette pays special attention to prefaces. For Genette (1997), the function of "original authorial preface" is "to ensure that the text is read properly" (p. 197). "Authentic allographic preface" differs from the authorial preface in terms of the writer who can also be anybody other than the author. Therefore, Genette (1997) calls this person simply as "preface writer" (p. 263). A preface in translation whose writer is not the author of the book might be considered as allographic.

"Postface" is also a very important element of the "peritext". Unlike preface, it does not aim at a proper reading, but is offered to the readers at the end of a book. In this regard, Genette draws attention to the ineffectiveness of a postface when compared to a preface. He states that a postface fails to fulfill two important functions that a preface is able to satisfy: "holding the reader's interest and guiding him by explaining why and how he should read the text" (Genette, 1997, p. 238).

Since the peritextual elements are physically present within a book, any illustration used in a book is considered within the framework of the "peritext". Illustrations are the peritextual elements which are used with the intention of helping the readers visualize what is desired to be imagined.

Genette divides "epitexts" into the groups of "public and private". Within the scope of "public epitext", he considers "posters, advertisements, press releases and other prospectuses" as the elements of "publisher's epitext" (Genette, 1997, p. 347). "Interviews" also constitute a group of "public epitext". An interview is mostly about a

particular book and takes place after it is offered to readers (Genette, 1997, p. 358). Within the scope of “private epitext”, the components of “confidential epitext” are “correspondence” and “oral confidence” (Genette, 1997, p. 372). “Correspondence” is the written and “oral confidence” is the oral mode of an author’s fulfillment of information requirements.

As it is obvious, a book cannot be reduced to its main text alone. There are various elements both within and outside a particular book which constitute its “paratexts”. They have important functions in the interpretation of the book. Genette (1997) also draws attention to their significance by providing the following slogan: “watch out for the paratext!” (p. 410).

4.4.2.2. The Foreword of *İzmir 1922 Bir Kentin Yıkımı*

The foreword of Ragıp Zarakolu starts with how he met Marjorie Housepian Dobkin, the author of *Smyrna 1922 The Destruction of a City*. It is understood that the connection between Dobkin and Zarakolu was not limited to the translation process of the book.

Zarakolu (2012) attributes “the most comprehensive oral historical study on the 1922 Smyrna events” to Dobkin (p. 7). Zarakolu expresses his pleasure for being able to publish the Turkish translation of *Smyrna 1922 The Destruction of a City* before the author’s death (personal communication, March 25, 2014). One reason for that seems to be what Zarakolu refers to as “her academic level and objectivity” he observed in this book (personal communication, March 25, 2014).

Zarakolu (2012) asks a question in his foreword: “How is the Turkish translation of this book, which was published twenty years later, going to be received by the people of İzmir who wonder the history of their city?” (p. 8). This question is important, because it provides us with a clue as to the purpose of its translation.

Zarakolu (2012) makes a criticism of the “political literature” in Turkey by referring to the expressions, “we shed blood together with the Kurds” and “throwing the enemy into the sea” (p. 8). The allegations for the reasons behind the use of these expressions are mentioned in *Smyrna 1922 The Destruction of a City*. There are accounts in the book in

which the Turks and the Kurds are alleged to have outraged the Armenians, and the Greeks were alleged to be forced to leave their hometowns.

Zarakolu (2012) makes a brief analysis of the exchange between Greece and Turkey in his foreword. He draws attention to the negative attitude of the people who moved from Greece to Turkey and those from Turkey to Greece (p. 8-9).

The foreword reveals the purpose of translation: “Unfortunately, the new generations are unaware of the Smyrna fire, the destruction that the civil society faced, the detention of the surviving men over 17 years old in the camps” (Zarakolu, 2012, p. 9).

In his foreword, Zarakolu (2012) expresses his gratitude to Attila Tuygan, the translator of *Smyrna 1922 The Destruction of a City* (p. 9). His appreciation is of special importance, because Tuygan not only took the responsibility for the convicted book, *Bir Ermeni Doktorun Yaşadıkları: Garabet Haçeryan’ın İzmir Güncesi* (An Armenian Doctor in Turkey: Garabed Hatcherian: My Smyrna Ordeal of 1922), but also accepted to translate Dobkin’s book to be used in the trial on the publication of the book mentioned above. It was when Tuygan was held responsible as the translator that the charges against Zarakolu were dropped. The solidarity between Zarakolu and Tuygan against the legitimization of the dominant discourse by the Turkish government is observed in the foreword.

In the foreword, it is suggested that “the oppressed Armenian people were tried to be blamed for Smyrna fire by the official history” (Zarakolu, 2012, p. 10). Zarakolu (2012) criticizes the deportation which only included the “intellectuals, journalists, political activists” and puts emphasis on “the end of the Armenian society in İzmir in September 1922” (p. 10). Zarakolu directs our attention to the concept of the “official history” once again in his foreword. His negative attitude towards this concept is evident in his remarks.

Dobkin’s excerpt from Falih Rıfkı Atay’s book, *Çankaya* (2004), is also included in Zarakolu’s foreword: “Why were we burning Smyrna? Were we afraid that it would become giaour?” (Zarakolu, 2012, p. 10). Zarakolu, as the founder of the Belge International Publishing House, is widely known within and outside of Turkey for his

taboo-breaking activities and his resistance to censorship. It is, therefore, not surprising that he addresses Atay's famous lines about the Smyrna fire.

Zarakolu concludes his foreword with an important remark: "I am honored by the fulfillment of another belated duty by the Belge International Publishing House, which has struggled for over forty years for bringing about the truths in the face of taboos and facing them" (Zarakolu, 2012, p. 10). In response to the question as to what he meant by "duty", Zarakolu makes emphasis on tracing the "truths" (personal communication, March 25, 2014). This means that he does not credit the official discourse in Turkey and aims at introducing the counter-discourse, which he believes in and wants the readers in Turkish society to become familiar with.

4.4.2.3. The Afterword of *İzmir 1922 Bir Kentin Yıkımı*

In *Smyrna 1922 The Destruction of a City*, there are depictions of the alleged maltreatment of the ethnic and religious minorities by the Turks. The afterword written by Ali Sait Çetinoğlu also begins with a sentence that draws attention to this content: "Smyrna 1922: The lives of the Christians were so cheap in the Smyrna dock that day; and after!" (Çetinoğlu, 2012, p. 345).

Çetinoğlu underlines what is alleged to be the Turkish maltreatment. Çetinoğlu's afterword is supportive of and even complementary to the textual content of Dobkin's book. This is because he separates pages for several important quotations from Attila Tuygan's translation, *İzmir 1922 Bir Kentin Yıkımı*. For example, as a follow-up to his remarks, he cites the translation of the following statements of the American Consul George Hurton:

[...] The next step was the so-called "disarming". This meant, as always, the disarming of the Christian element and the furnishing of weapons to the Turks. That the object was not so much to collect hidden arms as to terrorize the inhabitants was soon made evident from the tortures inflicted during the search. (Dobkin, 1988, p. 37)

Çetinoğlu's inclusion of the paragraphs of Dobkin's book in his afterword repeats Dobkin's allegations, which serves to persuade the Turkish reader. This is evident in the several remarks in which he openly refers to the Armenian deportation as a kind of

genocide. Firstly, he states that “the genocide was rehearsed in a small scale in Kilikya in 1909.” Secondly, he states that “the second rehearsal of the genocide was in the Aegean and Thrace” (Çetinoğlu, 2012, p. 347). Çetinoğlu (2012) alleges, in his afterword, that those events developed into “the 1915 Genocide” in the future (p. 347).

The function of Çetinoğlu’s (2012) afterword as a complementary to the translation is also evident in his reference to Emmanuil Emmanuilidis’ book, *The Last Years of the Ottoman Empire*. Here, Çetinoğlu (2012) draws attention to the existence of “an unending Turkish hatred against the Greek” (p. 347). In his second footnote, he provides an example of provoking Turkish news in which an old Greek soldier is said to have murdered a girl and cut off her breasts. “The corpses of women and children, the Balkan rulers stepping on the Turkish flag, the use of black color for the lost cities in the maps” are some of the examples that Çetinoğlu cites from this book to portrait what is alleged to be the Turkish provocative actions for the readers (Çetinoğlu, 2012, p. 348).

Çetinoğlu (2012) identifies 1914 as the year “when the Greeks took the first blow” (p. 348). For him, this was through “the Turkification process in Thrace and İzmir”. He also explains, through certain figures, how “the Greeks were kicked out and their properties were confiscated” (Çetinoğlu, 2012, p. 348). This provides a historical background for the upcoming Smyrna events.

Çetinoğlu’s most explicit challenge that confronts the Turkish official discourse on the Armenian issue is as follows: “With the process of the Armenian Genocide, the death journey starts under the pretence of *deportation* of the Hellenic and Pontic Greeks in the west” (Çetinoğlu, 2012, p. 349). The italic emphasis on the word “deportation” is especially important because it is the milestone of what Çetinoğlu, as well as Zarakolu and Tuygan, refers to as the “official history”. Referring to the alleged looting by the Muslim villagers narrated in Emmanuilidis’ book, Çetinoğlu (2012) gives further insights into, the so-called deportation rather than the so-called genocide. This is an important element of a counter discourse that lays the groundwork for an “alternative history”.

Çetinoğlu provides an important comparison between the two accounts regarding the Smyrna events. Firstly, he quotes the following remarks from Emmanuilidis: “The number of Armenians was low in İzmir. There, the real threat was the crowd of Greeks. When it was the turn of the Greeks, of course the Armenians were also going to be dealt with.” Secondly, he quotes from Consul Horton: “There seemed to be a definite plan to clean out the Armenians and to deal with the Greeks at their leisure” (Çetinoğlu, 2012, p. 349). Then, he underlines the overlap between these two accounts. This is a comparison intended to refute the Turkish claims. It strengthens the ST’s allegations and acts as a persuasive remark for the target readers.

It is important to pay attention to the specific quotations in this afterword. Another important one is the translation of the following remark: “After what the Turks had done, they feared the Armenians, ‘and a malefactor who is afraid for his life is always the most dangerous kind of criminal’” (Dobkin, 1988, p. 75). This is used in a passage about “the Turkish violations of the peace terms concerning the security of the Christians”. The attention of the readers is constantly drawn to the alleged violence of the Turks and the victimization of the Armenians.

Çetinoğlu identifies the Smyrna events in 1922 as “the conquest of Kemalists” and states that “loot, plunder, killings and fire were the very *conquest*” (Çetinoğlu, 2012, p. 350). The italic emphasis on the word “conquest” is important. The act of conquering is performed when the territory in question belongs to someone else. Therefore, the use of this word in italic might be considered as a way of attracting attention to this particular fact. Moreover, writing his third footnote for the word “conquest”, Çetinoğlu provides an excerpt from Falif Rıfki Atay’s book *Çankaya* (2004) with that famous line: “Why were we burning İzmir?” (Çetinoğlu, 2012, p. 350). His remarks represent an allegation about the Turkish act of burning Smyrna during the conquest.

Çetinoğlu (2012) states that the content of *Smyrna 1922 The Destruction of a City* is also in parallel with the book *Number 31328*, written by İlias Venezis, in which the allegations of the purposeful killings of the Armenians are written (p. 352). This is Çetinoğlu’s another complementary remark for Dobkin.

The final remark of Çetinoğlu serves as a reminder. He emphasizes the need for a memory refresh for the Smyrna fire. Çetinoğlu also makes important suggestions in the interview which underlines the power of the translational activities: “there are many memoirs and primary sources confirming Dobkin that wait to be translated” (personal communication, January 8, 2014).

As it is obvious, Çetinoğlu’s afterword serves to support the allegations in *Smyrna 1922 The Destruction of a City*. There are several excerpts from the Turkish translation of Attila Tuygan. It also includes several others from those books with the same topic. This afterword contradicts what is regarded as the “official history”, since Çetinoğlu refers to the Armenian issue as a fact rather than an allegation, and the Smyrna events as the outcome of the Turkish conquest and the alleged Turkish violence argued to be committed against the religious and ethnic minorities, including the Greeks and the Armenians. In this sense, Çetinoğlu displays a kind of discursive resistance to the official discourse.

4.4.2.4. The Pictures Placed in the Turkish Translation, *İzmir 1922 Bir Kentin Yıkımı*

There are eight photographs at the end of *İzmir 1922 Bir Kentin Yıkımı*. They are authentic photographs taken during the Smyrna fire. Since they are physically in the TT, they might be considered as the “peritextual” elements.

There are no photographs in the ST that show the burning of Smyrna or the conditions of the people who experienced this event. Attila Tuygan gives insights into the decision of including related photographs in the TT as follows:

While searching for a cover picture, we encountered about 50 photographs. We thought that if we could use at least some of them, we could get the reader to imagine that turmoil a bit better. All those photographs were taken from the ships of in-shore or off-shore Allies. They display not only the indifference of the Allies to this life and death situation but also the fierce of both fire and violence. Actually, there were also some photographs that showed the people trying to swim in the sea and the bloated corpses but we could not use them due to spatial limitations. (Tuygan, personal communication, December 25, 2013)

As is seen, the photographs were intended to be important peritextual elements which would create a deeper influence on the TT readers.

The first photograph shows the condition of Smyrna after the event of burning. The level of destruction is obvious, given the destroyed buildings and the mess in the city. The second and the third photographs show the devastating fire that leads to smoke clouds. The fourth photograph depicts the coastal area where there were people getting on board. The fifth, sixth and seventh photographs show buildings that were getting out of view due to the smoke clouds spreading out widely. The last photograph offers a closer view. There were a great many people on board getting ready to leave the city. One particular detail is the existence of a boat with an American flag. This implies the involvement of the American forces within the boarding and leaving process.

CONCLUSION

The focus of this thesis has been placed on the translation practice as a norm-breaking activity. Unlike the studies which place an emphasis on translation as a norm-governed activity (Toury 1995, Brownlie 1999, Schäffner 1999, Chesterman 2000, and the like), this thesis has tried to demonstrate the norm-breaking power of translational actions.

The departure point of this study has been the taboo-breaking role of the Belge International Publishing House. This publishing house is widely known for the publications on the taboo subjects in Turkey. Such subjects constitute the content of various translated books published by this publishing house. Therefore, it has been observed that the translational activities constituted an important part of achieving this taboo-breaking role.

Within this framework, the case-study has been carried out on the Turkish translation of Marjorie Housepian Dobkin's *Smyrna 1922 The Destruction of a City*, which was done by Attila Tuygan and was published by the Belge International Publishing House in 2012. The CDA approaches of Van Dijk and Fairclough have been adopted in the examination of the norm-breaking aspects of the translation practice.

Van Dijk's major term used in this study has been "social cognition". In this respect, the Turkish translation, *İzmir 1922 Bir Kentin Yıkımı*, has been analyzed with particular emphasis on how the translator has had a significant role in introducing a counter-discourse through his translation process, rather than having a mediating role between the social cognition in Turkish society and the personal cognition of the target readers. The concept of norm has been prominent in the examples which challenged the prevailing discourse on the Armenian issue in Turkey.

The major terms in Fairclough's critical perspective that have been adopted in this study have been "power", "hegemony" and "gate-keeping". In this respect, *İzmir 1922 Bir Kentin Yıkımı* has been analyzed with particular emphasis on the translator's use of the TT as a means of resisting the dominant discourse and making contributions to the counter-discourse in Turkey. The norm-breaking translational decisions have been observed throughout the translation process. Moreover, the e-mail interviews with

Ragıp Zarakolu (the publisher), Attila Tuygan (the translator) and Ali Sait Çetinoğlu (the afterword writer) have provided important insights into the motivations behind the resistant translation practice.

In the introduction part, the first research question has been identified as “what are the aspects that make the Turkish translation of *Smyrna 1922 The Destruction of a City*, *İzmir 1922 Bir Kentin Yıkımı*, a taboo issue in Turkey?” The complementary question has been “what are the ideological implications of the selection of *Smyrna 1922 The Destruction of a City* as the source-text by the Belge International Publishing House?” The textual analysis has shown that the Armenian issue and the Greek issue have constituted the main part of the book. The Turks, the Turkish soldiers and the Turkish authorities have been identified as the issues that composed a considerable part of the book. The interviews with the actors who contributed to the TT have acted as an important epitextual element. It has been especially Zarakolu, who has emphasized the concept of taboo in Turkey. Based on his classification of the taboo issues in Turkish society, *Smyrna 1922 The Destruction of a City* has been identified as a book that contained “the Armenian issue as a taboo”, “the Greek issue as a taboo”, “the military as a taboo” and “Kemalism as a taboo”.

Moreover, the selection of *Smyrna 1922 The Destruction of a City* as the ST by the Belge International Publishing House have revealed that this translation practice has been intended to be an instrument of the publishing house’s taboo-breaking role. Given the above-mentioned types of taboo issues which are alleged to be prevailing Turkish society, the translational decisions taken within the context of the translation mentioned above reflect resistance to the dominant ideology and the dominant discourse in Turkey. The negative expressions used in the book in terms of the Turks and the Turkish authorities, including Mustafa Kemal Atatürk and the Turkish soldiers, are in contradiction to the dominant public discourse in Turkey. The likelihood of a trial case for the translation, which was underlined by Zarakolu (personal communication, March 25, 2014), also supports the contradictory nature of this book. From this perspective, the Turkish translation serves as a kind of discursive resistance to the naturalization of the dominant discourse and the dissemination of the dominant ideology as a central part of social cognition in Turkey. In this sense, the initiation of this translation practice is

based on the instrumentalization of a translational activity for achieving particular purposes. The case study has confirmed that the particular purpose of the translation is to break the taboos and the prevailing norms in Turkish society. Therefore, from the view point of Venuti (2008), one important implication of this translation practice might be defined as “resistancy” (p. 248).

The second research question has been identified as “what is the role of the translational norms in the translation of *Smyrna 1922 The Destruction of a City* into Turkish?” It has been complemented by the question, “in what ways is the Turkish translation a norm-breaking translational activity?” Both the textual and the paratextual analyses have shown that the norms have been disregarded in the translation process. The initiation of this translation revealed the norm-breaking act in the first place. Moreover, the norms, which are the primary components of social cognition, have been observed to have no decisive role in the translational decisions within the Turkish translation entitled. All the expressions used in the ST within the framework of the Armenian issue, the Greek issue, the subject of military and the subject of Kemalism, which are the taboo subjects in Turkish society have been translated into Turkish without any kind of censorship.

In terms of the Armenian issue, the translator has been identified to use the expression “the Armenian Genocide” rather than the “so-called Armenian Genocide”, which is a part of the dominant discourse. Moreover, the Turkish translator’s attitude has revealed a consistency in terms of all the other ST expressions which back up the allegations about the Armenian issue. As regards the Greek issue, the translator did not impose censorship on the ST’s allegations about the atrocities during the exchange process. One might have expected that the Turkish translator either omitted such allegations or he resorted to euphemism in such contexts. However, the translator did not use such strategies. As regards the military issue, the translator translated all the ST defamations concerning the Turkish soldiers. As regards Kemalism, the translator translated all the negative expressions that depicted Atatürk in a way which challenges the official and dominant discourse on Atatürk in Turkey.

Censorship might be said to be used in the publications in order to preserve social cognition within a society. In a translation practice, the expressions which contradict the target-culture norms might be censored in order to create a TT which is in line with,

rather than in opposition to, the target-culture norms. From this perspective, by being completely faithful to the ST, the translator of *İzmir 1922 Bir Kentin Yıkımı* acted as a norm-breaking actor. It seems that the translator does not hesitate to challenge the prevailing social discourse in Turkish society. As a matter of fact, Tuygan enounces that he disregards the expectations of the Turkish readers while taking his translational decisions (personal communication, December 25, 2013). It is explicit that rather than paying attention to the target- culture norms, Tuygan prioritized the ST ideology and the ST author. He attached importance to the transference of the ST discourse into Turkish. The trials of the translators as the consequence of the taboo-breaking activities (the examples of which are in Chapter 3 and Section 4.2.1. of Chapter 4) might be said to create certain expectations in this regard, and thus the expectancy norms, in Turkey. From this perspective, the expectancy norms have been broken in the translation process. In CDA terms, by disregarding the prevailing norms in the target-culture in his translation process, the translator has produced a source-oriented TT without any influence of the values in Turkish society which constitute social cognition.

The third research question has been “in what ways is the Turkish translation process of *Smyrna 1922 The Destruction of a City* instrumentalized to resist the dominant discourse in Turkey?” In this question, the key word is instrumentalization which is adopted for particular purposes. It has been observed that the act of translating has been instrumentalized by the actors involved in the production of the TT, *İzmir 1922 Bir Kentin Yıkımı*. The dominant discourse in Turkey might be said to be the opposite of what is written in the ST, which is a representative of the counter-discourse. The Turkish translation has been observed to be instrumentalized through the use of particular textual and paratextual elements that further strengthened the ST discourse in order to resist the dominant discourse in Turkey.

The discursive practice in Fairclough’s three-dimensional approach has been identified in Section 1.3.2.1 of Chapter 1 to consist of text production, distribution and consumption. From this perspective, in the production process of the Turkish translation, *İzmir 1922 Bir Kentin Yıkımı*, the translator played a key role by creating a TT that reinforced the ST message. His use of the discursive strategies at a lexical level for this purpose seems to be intended to persuade the target readers. Zarakolu (the

publisher) and Çetinoğlu (the afterword writer) are also the primary actors in the production process. Zarakolu's foreword and Çetinoğlu's afterword are the peritextual elements used as the complements to the Turkish translation.

The foreword, which was written by Zarakolu, is an important peritextual element that served for the purpose of this translation. Zarakolu's (2012) condemnation of certain metaphors in the Turkish political discourse such as "we shed blood together with the Kurds" and "throwing the enemy into the sea" (p. 8) confirmed the instrumentalization of this translation practice to discursively resist the dominant discourse in Turkey. That also clarified Zarakolu's stance on the controversial Smyrna fire. In his foreword, Zarakolu (2012) alleged that the Armenian people were innocent in the context of the burning of Smyrna and he aimed to challenge what he referred to as the "official history" in Turkey. By reminding the taboo-breaking mission of the Belge International Publishing House, he expressed his happiness at publishing this translation.

The afterword, which was written by Çetinoğlu, is another peritextual element that complemented the reading of the actual translation in a way to reinforce the ST discourse and to persuade the target readers. The word "soykırım" (i.e. "genocide" in English), which is used several times in the afterword, also signals that the Turkish translation is intended to contradict the dominant discourse on the Armenian issue in Turkey, the important feature of which is the addition of the expression "sözde" (lit. "so-called" in English) to the word, "soykırım" (lit. "genocide"). Çetinoğlu (2012) drew attention to the allegation concerning the Armenian issue and asserted that what is referred to as "deportation" (i.e. "tehcir" in Turkish) in the public discourse is actually a "genocide". His conclusion focused on the need to remind people of the burning of Smyrna. Therefore, his adoption of a counter-discourse is explicit in the afterword.

The photographs in the Turkish translation, which illustrate certain scenes of the Smyrna fire, are also important peritextual elements that act as a strategy to reinforce the ST's allegations. Unlike the ST readers, the TT readers are provided with some illustrations that may help them visualize the disaster vividly. From this perspective, what was written in the ST by the author is reinforced not only by the translator's translational decisions at the textual level, but also the publishing house's decisions at the peritextual level.

In the distribution process, the booksellers are the primary actors. According to Zarakolu, the translation was published despite the likelihood of the booksellers' unwillingness to put it on sale (personal communication, March 25, 2014). This reveals the strong foothold of the dominant discourse in the Turkish marketplace, which implies the hesitation of the booksellers to offer such texts that challenge the public discourse and introduce a counter-discourse in Turkish society.

In the consumption process, the target readership assumes the primary role. In all the interviews with the actors who contributed to the Turkish translation, the concern for offering this translation to as many readers as possible is explicit. Therefore, this translation practice represents the desire to introduce a kind of counter-discourse to the Turkish readers who are claimed by those actors to be constantly exposed to the dominant discourse in Turkey.

The fourth research question has been “how influential is the concept of patronage in the translation process of *Smyrna 1922 The Destruction of a City*?” In the case study, it has been found out that the translation was carried out by the translator who is not exposed to any kind of influence by the patronage. The patron of the publishing house has been seen as influential merely at the initiation of the translation practice. The relation between Tuygan and Zarakolu has confirmed their common goal of resisting the dominant discourse in Turkey by disseminating their counter-discourse through *İzmir 1922 Bir Kentin Yıkımı*.

The interviews with Zarakolu, Tuygan and Çetinoğlu have acted as important epitextual indicators for this thesis. It has been observed that the dominance of the public discourse over different kinds of counter-discourse in Turkey has been criticized by the actors. A criticism of the hegemonic pressure which is claimed by Zarakolu, Tuygan and Çetinoğlu to be imposed on the publication policies in Turkey in favor of the dominant ideology and the dominant discourse has been underlined by the actors. In the interview, Zarakolu draws attention to the power of translation in “enlightening” the members of a society and underlines the taboo-breaking role of translation (personal communication, March 25, 2014). Tuygan emphasizes his ignorance of the translational norms and his priority of revealing his own truths in his translation process, and he identifies his main concern as the act of challenging the state ideology in Turkey

(personal communication, December 25, 2013). Çetinoğlu underlines the need for other translations which serve the same function (personal communication, January 8, 2014).

This thesis has revealed that the Turkish translation of Marjorie Housepian Dobkin's *Smyrna 1922 The Destruction of a City*, *İzmir 1922 Bir Kentin Yıkımı*, has been instrumentalized by the Belge International Publishing House to break taboos. The translational decisions taken before the act of translation (i.e. the choice of the ST) and during the act of translation (i.e. the choice of lexical units) have been observed to be in harmony with this motivation. Therefore, in Venuti's (2008) terms, this translation represents a resistant translation (p. 252). In this translation practice, Zarakolu, Tuygan and Çetinoğlu have been seen as the actors who discursively resisted the dominant discourse in Turkey. They have been identified as using translation as a mind-structuring device to that end. It has been observed that what these actors, as the members of the Belge International Publishing House, do is to create an emancipatory discourse which is in harmony with their own ideology. Therefore, *İzmir 1922 Bir Kentin Yıkımı* can be identified as a translational activity which has been carried out to challenge the ideological power relations reflected in many Turkish publications. In this regard, *İzmir 1922 Bir Kentin Yıkımı* has revealed the characteristics of a norm-breaking activity, since the social norms in Turkish society have been disregarded in the translation. This translation is clearly intended to bring forward a change in social cognition in Turkey.

Last but not least, this thesis has shown the following points:

- 1) the integrated use of the approaches of Van Dijk and Fairclough in translation studies provides the researchers with a broader perspective in their analyses concerning the translation practices as mind-structuring and gate-keeping activities that have an important role in the relationship between the common-sense and the target-readership,
- 2) the integrated use of the CDA models of Van Dijk and Fairclough and the norm theory of DTS makes important contributions to translation studies by enabling the researchers to better understand and analyze the link between the translated texts and the cognitive process of the translator, as well as, the power and ideological relations in the society.

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APPENDIX 1:

THE INTERVIEW QUESTIONS

THE INTERVIEW QUESTIONS FOR ATTİLA TUYGAN

Attila Tuygan-The Belge International Publishing House

1. Did you know the publisher, Ragıp Zarakolu, and/or his wife, Ayşe Nur Zarakolu, before the establishment of the Belge International Publishing House?
2. How long have you been translating books for the Belge International Publishing House?
3. Were you assigned as the editor of the publishing house immediately after the death of Ayşe Nur Zarakolu?
4. Do you have a say in the selection of the books to be translated into Turkish? Are there any translations which were published with your initiatives?
5. As far as I am concerned, you have a close relationship with the publisher, Ragıp Zarakolu, which is beyond a relationship between a publisher and a translator. From this perspective, do you always agree with him in terms of book translations or are there some instances of disagreement?
6. While translating books, do you feel free in terms of translational decisions or do you feel the need to constantly control your translation process in accordance with the views of the publishing house?
7. It is observed that apart from translating, you also edit books. What are your obligations during the editing process?

Attila Tuygan-İzmir 1922 Bir Kentin Yıkımı

1. You translated the book, *Smyrna 1922 The Destruction of a City*, written by Marjorie Housepian Dobkin into Turkish as *İzmir 1922 Bir Kentin Yıkımı*. Did you know or read the book before translating?
2. It is written in the foreword written by Ragıp Zarakolu that he feels honored as the Belge International Publishing House “fulfilled another belated duty” by publishing the Turkish translation. What is the definition of duty in this context

for you? Do you also think that you fulfilled such a duty by translating the book into Turkish?

3. It is written in the foreword written by Ragıp Zarakolu that he was put on trial “under the Article 301 for humiliating the Turkish army and the Turkish nation” due to publishing a book and that his case was dropped when you took on the responsibility as the translator. What were the difficulties you faced during this legal process?
4. It is written in the foreword written by Ragıp Zarakolu that he wanted you to translate Dobkin’s book to use as a defense material in the trial and that he thanks you for your Turkish translation. What did you think about translating a book to be used as a defense material in a trial in which you already took on the responsibility as the translator?
5. Do you have any other translations that led to Ragıp Zarakolu’s trial and for which you took on the responsibility as the translator?
6. On the first page of your translation, besides the personal information about your birth and education, there is the expression that you “were detained several times after the 12th September coup d’état.” Did you or the publishing house prepare the information? What is the purpose of including this information specifically?
7. Did the translations lead to your detention after the period of the 12th September coup d’état? If so, what were the reasons? Could they be primarily the content of the books?
8. In your translation, there is a foreword by Ragıp Zarakolu and an afterword by Ali Sait Çetinoğlu. Apart from a few translator’s notes, there is no similar note of yours. Is it your preference? Do you think that such complementary paratextual elements make important contributions to the interpretation of your translation by the readers? Why?
9. Before your translation process, were you informed by the publishing house about particular issues which you were supposed to be careful about? Were there any interventions into your translation process that you consider as positive or negative? For example, were you asked to translate certain concepts or names in a particular way throughout the book, as in the use of İzmir for the name, Smyrna?

10. What was the content of your relationship with the Belge International Publishing House in the period that began when you started translating and ended when you handed in your translation? For example, what was the issue on which you corresponded mostly? (If they are not personal, can I have some samples?)
11. In your translation process, particularly in terms of the concept of norm, were there any expressions that made you think twice or hesitate while translating? Why?
12. Word order is an important issue in translation. What can you say about your translation of the expression, “SMYRNA BURNING [...] AS TURKS FIRE CITY” (page 6), as “TÜRKLER KENTİ ATEŞE VERDİĞİNDEN DOLAYI İZMİR YANIYOR” (page 11)?
13. Translator’s cognition is an indispensable part of the process in which a source text is turned into a target text and offered to the target readers. It is observed that you translated the expression, “(with the approval of a good many Armenians who saw the alternative as domination by Turkey)” (page 91), as “(Türk egemenliğinden kurtulmak için yılana sarılan pek çok saf Ermeni’nin onayıyla)” (page 134). How can you explain your translational decision?
14. Taking into consideration the social norms and the reception of the book by the readers, did you have any hesitation while translating certain expressions denouncing Mustafa Kemal Atatürk and the Turkish nation? Or, based on this issue, did the intensity of your communication with the publishing house increase?
15. As regards the controversy in the book, there are the Greeks and the Armenians on the one hand and there are the Turks on the other hand. In a considerable part of the book, the alleged atrocity of the Turkish side comes to forefront. Can we say that such controversy made you adopt a particular stance in your translation process and take translational decisions in that direction?
16. Do you think that you made contribution to breaking taboos by translating the book into Turkish? By the same token, can we say that your translation added a new dimension to the norms in translation?

17. It is observed that the bibliography and various notes which were placed at the end of the book by the author are placed as footnotes in the textual content of the translation. Did you take this translational decision yourself? Do you think that such difference influence the way the readers interpret the book?
18. There is no illustration in the source text. However, there are 8 photographs which were placed in the target text. Did you need to add these photographs yourself? What is the purpose of adding these photographs to the translation?
19. On the book cover of the translation, beneath the name of the author, Marjorie Housepian Dobkin, there is the expression, "Translator: Attila Tuygan". Similarly, on the first page, besides the information about the author, there is a biographical note on you. Can we say that the Belge International Publishing House pays particular attention to the visibility of the translator?

Attila Tuygan-Translation

1. What are the language pairs of your translations?
2. Is there any book which you were asked to translate but you refused to translate it? If so, can we say that the reason for your refusal is ideology-related?
3. Are there certain principles that you take into consideration in all of your translations? Can we say that you update such principles in each of your book translations in accordance with the book, the author and the reader?
4. How influential is the target readership on your decisions during your translation process? Do you produce your translations by taking into consideration the likelihood of the target readers to interpret your translation under the influence of certain ideologies and norms?
5. Do you think that there is a difference between readers' attitude towards the original texts and the translated texts? Do you think that the readers may adopt a suspicious attitude towards your translations?
6. What do you think about the situations in which a translated book constitutes a legal cause due to its content and leads to legal proceedings? Do you think that certain translated books are taken within the scope of legal proceedings by the related authorities due to a perception of translation as a dangerous act?

7. Are the books which are subject to legal implementations in Turkey categorized as original and translation? Do you think that the translated books which are considered within such legal framework should be considered separately from the original books?
8. What do you think about the role of translation in the freedom of thought and expression? Can we say that translated books help individuals to overcome the social norms and develop their own opinions?
9. Do you think that translational practice has sociological dimensions?
10. As it is also stated on the first page of your translation, *İzmir 1922 Bir Kentin Yıkımı*, apart from the Belge International Publishing House, you also have translations which were published by other publishing houses. Were you asked to translate for these publishing houses or did you make the proposal yourself? What are your criteria while deciding on which publishing houses you will work for?
11. If you were a publisher, would you add certain novelties to your publication policy apart from those of the Belge International Publishing House? If so, what would they be?

THE INTERVIEW QUESTIONS FOR RAGIP ZARAKOLU

Ragıp Zarakolu-The Belge International Publishing House

1. Do the original books or the translated books occupy the center position in the Belge International Publishing House? Can we say that you prioritize either of them?
2. What are the language pairs of the translated books published by the Belge International Publishing House?
3. As it is stated in many of your speeches and almost all the texts on the Belge International Publishing House, your publishing house has a taboo-breaking characteristic. In this sense, can we say that you particularly search for the related texts to translate into Turkish? What are the features of the texts that will help break the taboos in Turkey when translated into Turkish?

4. How do you decide on which books to translate into Turkish? Which members from the publishing house participate in the decision-making process?
5. What are your criteria while deciding on which translators to work with? Who makes the proposal?
6. What was the content of your communication with the translator before and/or during the translation process? For example, did you emphasize particular language usages? Did you want the translator to translate certain concepts or names in particular ways throughout the translation?
7. Have you ever had to introduce the translator with a pseudonym due to certain reasons in any of the translated books published by your publishing house?
8. After its establishment in 1977, the Belge International Publishing House saw two important events, namely the 1980 coup d'état and the 1994 bomb attack. Did such events have negative influence on the translational activities in the publishing house?
9. Do the various legal regulations in Turkey direct the translation policy of the publishing house?
10. Do you think that your publishing house serves as a model for other publishing houses by publishing the translations of the books which are considered as a taboo? Can we say that the tradition of the Belge International Publishing House begins to prevail through translations?

Ragıp Zarakolu-İzmir 1922 Bir Kentin Yıkımı

1. It is written in your foreword in *İzmir 1922 Bir Kentin Yıkımı*, Attila Tuygan's Turkish translation of Marjorie Housepian Dobkin's *Smyrna 1922 The Destruction of a City*, that you feel honored as the Belge International Publishing House "fulfilled another belated duty". Why do you consider the Turkish translation of this book as a duty?
2. One important feature of your foreword is that there is the expression, "Kocaeli No. 2 F-Type High Security Closed Institution for the Execution of Sentences" ("Kocaeli 2 Nolu F Tipi Yüksek Güvenlikli Ceza İnfaz Kurumu"), beneath your name. Is there an ideological message for the target readers of the translation taking into account the fact that you wrote your foreword in a prison?

3. It is written in your foreword that you were put on trial in the period of 2004-2007 “under the Article 301 for humiliating the Turkish army and the Turkish nation” due to publishing a book and that your case was dropped when the translator, Attila Tuygan, took on the responsibility as the translator. How did this process take place? Before that situation, had you had a similar experience in which the translator took on the responsibility and your case was dropped?
4. How did you decide on translating Dobkin’s book as a defense material in the trial? How did you use this translation as a defense material?
5. Before the translation process, did you ask the translator, Attila Tuygan, to be careful about certain issues during his translation process? For example, did you ask the translator to translate certain concepts or names in a particular way throughout the book, as in the use of İzmir for the name, Smyrna?
6. What was the content of your communication with the translator, Attila Tuygan, in the period that began when he started translating and ended when he handed in his translation? For example, what was the issue on which you corresponded mostly? (If they are not personal, can I have some samples?)
7. As regards Dobkin, it is stated in your foreword that “the most comprehensive work on oral history belongs to her” (page 7). What is the purpose of your statement that foregrounds the authority of the author?
8. In your foreword, you say that “unfortunately, the new generations are unaware of the Smyrna fire, the destruction that the civil society faced, the detention of the surviving men over 17 years old in the camps” (page 9). Can we infer from this statement that the target readers of this translation are the Turkish teenagers?
9. Do you think that your foreword plays a key role in the interpretation of the translation by the readers? Why?
10. In your foreword, you state that “the oppressed Armenian people were tried to be blamed for the Smyrna fire by the official history” (page 10). Within this context, did you have particular expectations from the translator, Attila Tuygan, while translating the expressions in the source text which indicate that it was the Turks who started the Smyrna fire?
11. In your foreword, you state that “today, even the book, *Çankaya*, written by Falih Rıfkı, a Kemalist writer, is published with censorship since it raises the

question, ‘Why were we burning Smyrna? Were we afraid that it would become giaour?’” (page 10). Did you mention this situation in order to emphasize that your publishing house can overcome such censorship?

12. In your speech at The Freedom of Thought and Expression Reward 2012 ceremony, you stated: “There are three levels of censorship. We can identify the first level as the censorship imposed by the state. The second level is related to economics. The third level is self-censorship. And finally, the newly emerging type is the cultural censorship.” Which types of censorship did you try to overcome by publishing *İzmir 1922 Bir Kentin Yıkımı*? Why?
13. It is concluded from the same speech that you consider the struggle against censorship as not a right but a responsibility of the publishing houses. Within this context, can we say that you particularly indoctrinate the translators of your publishing house with such attitude? If so, how do you do that?

Ragıp Zarakolu-Translation

1. What do you think about the position of translation in breaking taboos?

THE INTERVIEW QUESTIONS FOR ALİ SAİT ÇETİNOĞLU

Ali Sait Çetinoğlu-The Belge International Publishing House

1. How did your professional connection with the Belge International Publishing House begin?
2. Your book, *Varlık Vergisi 1942-1944 (Wealth Tax 1942-1944)*, was published by the Belge International Publishing House. It is observed that you also participate in the editing phase of the production of other books. What are your obligations during this phase?
3. Are you often expected to write foreword or afterword for the books published by the Belge International Publishing House?
4. Do you think that you contribute to the taboo-breaking feature of the Belge International Publishing House? If so, how?

5. Ragıp Zarakolu has been subject to legal implementations due to publishing certain books. Have you also been subject to such legal implementations due to the books or the articles that you wrote?
6. As of its establishment, the Belge International Publishing House has undergone certain legal proceedings. What do you think about the situations in which the translated books constitute legal causes for the legal proceedings?
7. It is observed that you are also the author or the editor of the books published by other publishing houses. Do you consider an ideological relationship between these publishing houses and the Belge International Publishing House? What are your reasons for working particularly for these publishing houses?

Ali Sait Çetinoğlu-İzmir 1922 Bir Kentin Yıkımı

1. There is your afterword in *İzmir 1922 Bir Kentin Yıkımı*, Attila Tuygan's Turkish translation of Marjorie Housepian Dobkin's *Smyrna 1922 The Destruction of a City*. Can you explain your writing process within the framework of your communication with the Belge International Publishing House? For example, were you expected to emphasize certain issues or to be careful about certain language usages?
2. It is written in the foreword written by Ragıp Zarakolu that he feels honored as the Belge International Publishing House "fulfilled another belated duty" by publishing the Turkish translation. What is the definition of duty in this context for you? Do you also think that you fulfilled such a duty by writing an afterword for the translation?
3. Can we say that you have provided certain elements in your afterword which serves the taboo-breaking mission of the Belge International Publishing House? If so, what are they?
4. It is observed that in your afterword, you have provided certain quotations from Attila Tuygan's Turkish translation and certain quotations from other sources. Can we say that you particularly adopt such comparative and confirmative writing style? How did you develop your afterword?

5. Did you have a chance of reading the foreword written by Ragıp Zarakolu, before writing your afterword? If so, did you need to make changes in your afterword in accordance with the foreword?
6. What do you think about the role of your afterword in the interpretation of the translation by the readers?
7. Did you pay particular attention to your expressions while writing your afterword due to some concerns about possible negative reactions based on certain norms?

APPENDIX 2:**THE PICTURES PLACED IN THE TURKISH TRANSLATION,
*İZMİR 1922 BİR KENTİN YIKIMI***

