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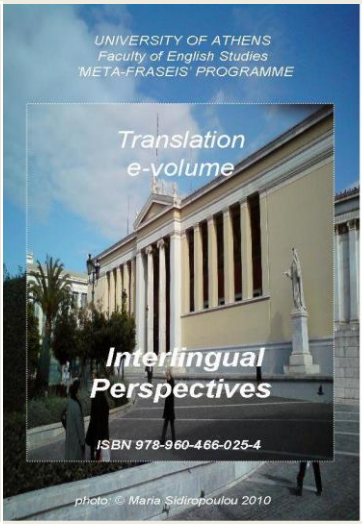

RACE AND REPRESENTATION IN THE *HEART OF DARKNESS*

Mangina Anna

Abstract
The study examines representation of European colonizers and the colonized natives in two Greek target versions (1990, 1999) of Joseph Conrad's novella *Heart of Darkness* (1899). Analysis reveals shifts in the texts' thematic focus, in agreement with the socio-political context. The 1990 version neutralizes racist implications about the natives and interferes with the representation of European colonizers by making their representation pragmatically transparent. Conversely, the 1999 version highlights racist implications with reference to the natives and assigns the theme of European colonizers pragmatic opaqueness. The study confirms that target versions can register power and discriminatory value drawing on the narratives circulating in a target environment (e.g. the narrative of Europe as 'self' or 'other', of racism etc.). These shifts encode in texts the positioning of translators and the awareness the various narratives raise in the target environment.

Key words
Racism, postcolonial theory, natives, colonizers, identity, pragmatic transparency/opaqueness

1. Representation and distortion

The postcolonial perspective into translation studies examines construction of identity in target texts to critically approach the values assumed in representation of reality through translation. For instance, in the context of European colonization, it has been pointed out

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that (in the colonizer's discourse, verbal or visual) the colonized have been represented in ways that are not in agreement with source perception of identities.

Hui (2011) points out that translation often reinforces colonization by promoting an orientalist image which Europe has constructed in order to conceptualize the East as 'other'. This is because

> the ideas, beliefs, and values that structure the culture of a colonized people are much more difficult to perceive and much more vulnerable to distortion, misinterpretation, and suppression (Tymoczko 1999: 164).

The question arises as to whether the Greek target discourse echoes the orientalist perspective, perpetuating distortion and misinterpretation. The assumption is that the orientalist image of the East is reverberating in the Greek cultural context and may have been inscribed in target versions of texts. The study examines representation of racial identities in Joseph Conrad's novella *Heart of Darkness*, to identify potential bias in representations of reality.

2. In the *Heart of Darkness* with translation

The text was originally published in 1899 and is partially based on the author's personal experiences. The main figure is Charles Marlowe, a young Englishman who travels to Congo so as to work as the captain of a steamship for a Belgian trade company taking advantage of the area's natural resources. The protagonist describes the wilderness of the Congo River, the natives and the European colonizers, the exploitation, the devastation and the darkest human instincts arousing in such situations. The political significance of *Heart of Darkness* has often been approached critically. The novella is assumed to be about the Europeans' destroying the natives without remorse:

> ...European exploitation of Africa and other areas of the world by purporting that the indigenous peoples were in need of the superior technological and religious knowledge of Europe. In *Heart of Darkness,* the hypocrisy of these aims is illustrated by the all-consuming scramble for wealth by the Europeans, who destroy the land and people without remorse. (eNotes online)

The novella is in fact anatomizing the practices of colonization, even though it has been often accused of reinforcing the image of Africa as the 'other'. Achebe (1975: 2040) challenges the way that Africa and its native inhabitants are represented in Conrad's text:

> Joseph Conrad was a thoroughgoing racist […] white racism against Africa is such a normal way of thinking that its manifestations go completely unremarked […] the real question is the dehumanization of Africa and Africans which this age-long attitude has fostered and continues to foster in the world.

The study examines representation of racial identity in two Greek translations of Joseph Conrad's novella, which are nine years apart (1990, 1999). This is a period in which the Greek society seems to have been drastically changed, with important changes occurring on the socio-political level and on a parallel with a massive inflow of immigrants. The data derive from the following sources.

ST Conrad Joseph, *Heart of Darkness* [1899]. 2002. In Abrams, M.H. (ed) *Norton Anthology of English Literature Volume 2*. W.W. Norton & Company

TT1 Κόνραντ Τζόσεφ, *Η καρδιά του σκότους*. 1990. Μετάφρ. Γιώργου-'Ικαρου Μπαμπασάκη. Αθήνα: Ερατώ.

TT2 Κόνραντ Τζόσεφ, *Η καρδιά του σκότους*. 1999. Μετάφρ. Αλεξάνδρας Παπαθανασοπούλου. Αθήνα: Πατάκη.

Examples come from the first two chapters of the book, where Marlowe narrates how he made the decision to set off to Congo and describes his arrival and his first impressions of the natives and the colonizers (ch.1) and when Marlowe talks to a native-cannibal (ch.2).

3. Representing the natives

The data show that the two versions favour different narratives in representing two of the main themes of the novella, namely, primitivism and imperial authority: TT2 tends to foreground a racist representation of the natives by manipulating the pragmatic reading of expressions, which TT1 is rather indifferent to. The tendency is manifested as follows:

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In example 1, Marlowe has reached Congo and sails to the station where his steamship is. He observes the scenery and focuses on the figures of the natives whom he sees for the first time. TT2 item *φάτσες* rendering ST *faces* has a degrading effect which TT1 *πρόσωπα* lacks. Likewise, TT2 *αποκριάτικες μάσκες* (*carnival masks*), rendering ST item *grotesque masks* carries stronger degrading connotations than TT1 item *μάσκες* (*masks*).

Example 1

ST They shouted, sang; their bodies steamed with perspiration; they had *faces* like *grotesque masks* – these chaps; (p. 1966)

TT1 Φώναζαν, έγνεφαν, τραγουδούσαν, με τα κορμιά τους ν' αχνίζουν απ' τον ιδρώτα. Τα *πρόσωπά* τους θύμιζαν *μάσκες*. (p. 36)
(*They shouted, they nodded, they sang, with their bodies steaming with perspiration. Their faces reminded of masks.*)

TT2 κωπηλατούσαν, φώναζαν, τραγουδούσαν, στάζαν απ' τον ιδρώτα. Είχαν κάτι *φάτσες* αυτοί οι άνθρωποι – σαν *αποκριάτικες μάσκες*. (p. 25)
(*they rowed, they shouted, they sang, they were dripping with sweat. These people had some mugs – like carnival masks.*)

In example 2, Marlowe comments on the names of the regions they passed by on their way to the central station of the company. ST item *farcical names* is rendered as TT1 *κωμικά ονόματα* (*comic names*) vs. TT2 *γελοία ονόματα* (*ridiculous names*). TT2 item carries a degrading effect which TT1 item lacks.

Example 2

ST We called at some more places with *farcical* names, … (p. 1967)

TT1 Αράξαμε και σ' άλλα μέρη με *κωμικά* ονόματα. (p. 38)
(We docked at other places with comic names.)

TT2 Πιάσαμε σε μερικά ακόμα μέρη με *γελοία* ονόματα, … (p. 26)
(We anchored at some more places with ridiculous names, …)

In example 3, Marlowe is talking to the company's accountant, a man who is described as an organization and cleanup freak and whose presence is hence in sharp contrast with the chaotic image of the surrounding area. The man complains about the fuss which does not allow him to focus on his work. TT1 item *καταντάει και σκεπτικός* (*he ends up being skeptical*) rendering ST *hate those savages – hate them to death* tones down intensity of complaint and erases reference to 'savages' altogether. By contrast, TT2 item is a rather literal rendering of ST item, which preserves the theme of primitivism.

Example 3

ST When one has got to make correct entries, one comes to *hate those savages – hate them to death.* (p. 1970)

TT1 Αν θέλει κανείς να κάνει σωστές καταχωρήσεις στα λογιστικά βιβλία, στο τέλος *καταντάει και σκεπτικός*! (p. 50)
(If one wants to make correct entries in the financial books, he ends up being skeptical as well!)

TT2 Όταν έχει κανείς να κάνει σωστές καταχωρίσεις, καταλήγει *να μισεί αυτούς τους αγρίους – να τους μισεί έως θανάτου*. (p. 34)
(When one has to make correct entries, he ends up hating those savages- hating them to death.)

Another shift which shows variation in the representation of the natives appears in examples 4 and 5. ST items *nigger* are rendered as TT1 *νέγρος* (*negro*) vs. TT2 item *αράπης* (*nigger*), with TT2 carrying strong racist connotations, assuming awareness of the natives' unfair treatment. Marlowe refers to the way in which Fresleven, the former captain of his steamship, attacked the chief of a local tribe believing he had deceived him in a bargain. TT1 employs the evaluative item *φουκαράς* (*poor*), which encodes a positive attitude towards the natives, while TT2 rendition seems to do justice to the representation of the theme of primitiveness in the postcolonial context.

Example 4

ST Therefore he whacked the old *nigger* mercilessly, while a big crowd of his people watched him, … (p. 1962)

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TT1 Και έτσι έσπασε στο ξύλο τον *φουκαρά* τον γέρο-*νέγρο*. Οι άνθρωποι της φυλής τον κοίταζαν εμβρόντητοι, … (p. 25)
(*And so he beat the poor old-negro up. The men of the tribe looked at him in astonishment, …)*

TT2 Ξυλοκοπούσε λοιπόν ανελέητα το γέρο *αράπη*, ενώ το πλήθος του λαού στεκόταν και τον κοίταζε … (p. 18)
(*So he was mercilessly thrashing the old nigger, while the crowd of the people was standing and looking at him…)*

Example 5

ST Everything else in the station was in a muddle, - heads, things, buildings. Strings of dusty *niggers* with splay feet arrived and departed. (p. 1970)

TT1 Όλα τ' άλλα στο σταθμό της Εταιρείας ήταν ένα συνοθύλευμα από ζαβλακωμένα κεφάλια, ανακατωμένα πράγματα και κτίρια. Φάλλαγες από γεμάτους σκόνη *νέγρους*, έρχονταν και έφευγαν. (p. 47)
(*Everything else in the station of the Company was an assemblage of dizzy heads, ruffled things and buildings. Convoys of negroes full of dust arrived and departed*.)

TT2 Όλα τα υπόλοιπα στο σταθμό ήταν μαλλιά κουβάρια- κεφάλια, πράγματα, κτίρια. Τσούρμα σκονισμένων *αράπηδων* με ξυπόλητα πόδια έρχονταν και έφευγαν. (p. 33)
(*Everything else in the station was a mess- heads, things, buildings. Crews of dusty niggers with bare feet arrived and departed*.)

Another instance of a shift which registers a less powerful representation of the natives in TT2, comes from chapter 2. The whole story is narrated through Marlowe's point of view, who in fact stands for the colonizers' voice. He is the one describing the appearance, the behaviour and the actions of the natives. There is one single part in the whole work which reproduces the discourse of the natives in the colonizers' language. Marlowe and his men are being attacked by a group of cannibals. Examples 6, 7 and 8 show the natives' attempt to speak in the colonizers' language. The difference between TT1 and

TT2 is that TT1 represents natives as being more competent in using the colonizers' language: they can

- signal temporal sequence of events (see TT1 *έπειτα* [*then*] in example 6) and they
- appear to handle the sound system of the colonizers' language effectively.

By contrast, TT2 natives

- mispronounce items (see *Τα το φάει* instead of *θα του φάει* or *Ντώσ' το* instead of *δωσ'το* in example 7), they
- do not use the gender system appropriately (see grammatically marked masculine gender in TT1 *Φάμε αυτούς* vs. TT2 inappropriate neutral gender option *Τα το φάει*) or in example 8 see TT1 masculine suffix *Πιάσ' τους* vs. inappropriate TT2 *Πιάσ' το*.

Inadequate linguistic production is manifested more realistically in TT2, by activating associations in the readers' minds of the inflow of immigrants into Greece over the 1990s. In discussing the potential of social integration of immigrants through education, in an explanatory report of the 3386/2005 law, Rousaki (2011: 11) refers to the statistics of inflow over that period. The Hellenic Statistical Authority claims that the number of immigrants in 1991 was 167.000 and by 2001 it had raised to 797.091. In fact,

> since the beginning of the 90's, Greece has turned into an immigrants' host country and appears to have one of the proportionally largest numbers of immigrants in the European Union (translation by the author).

Example 6

ST …*Give 'im to us.'* 'To you, eh?' I asked; (p. 1987)

TT1 *"Δώσ' τους έπειτα* σ' εμάς!" "Να τους δώσω σ' εσάς;" ρώτησα. (p. 107)
("Giv' em then to us!" "Give them to you?", I asked.)

KY2 *"Ντώσ' το* σε μας". "Σε σας, ε;" τον ρώτησα. (p. 70)
("Jiv' it to us". "To you, eh?" I asked him.)

Example 7

ST 'what would you do with them?' 'Eat '*im*!' he said curtly…

(p.1987)

TT1 "Και τι θα τους κάνετε εσείς;" "Φάμε *αυτούς*!" έκανε κοφτά … (p. 107)
(*"And what are you going to do with them?" "Eat them!" he said abruptly…*)

TT2 "Και τι θα τους κάνετε;" "*Τα το* φάει", μου απάντησε κοφτά… (p. 70)
(*"And what are you going to do to them?" "Eat it", he replied to me abruptly…)*

Example 8

ST 'Aha!' I said, just for good fellowship's sake. *'Catch 'im'*, he snapped, … (p. 1987)

TT1 "Γεια!" έκανα, κάπως αμήχανα και για να δείξω φιλική διάθεση. "Πιάσ' *τους*!" ξανάπε. (p. 107)
("Hi!" I said, a bit uneasily and to show a friendly attitude. "Catch <u>them</u>!" he said again.)

TT2 "Χμ", είπα, έτσι για να πω μια φιλική κουβέντα. "Πιάσ' <u>*το*</u>", μου λέει απότομα, … (p. 70)
(*"Hhmm", I said, so that I could just say a friendly word. "Catch <u>it</u>", he told me abruptly,…)*

TT2 translator seems to be taking advantage of features of the immigrants' discourse which are familiar to the Greek audience in order to "translate" the identity of a person who does not know the language, and yet s/he is forced to use it.

The section shows that the representation of the natives in the novella is diversified in the two target versions. TT2 encodes a rather negative evaluation of the natives, allowing a racist language at points, while the natives' linguistic incompetence is enforced to highlight power imbalance between colonized and colonizer. TT2 seems to be taking into consideration Achebe's view that in the *Heart of Darkness* "racism against Africa is such a normal way of thinking" (1999: 2040).

By contrast, TT1 blurs racist overtones in that it tones down the colonizers' aggression (ex. 1), it empowers the representation of the

natives (ex. 1-2 and through the representation of their poor linguistic competence in ex. 6-8).

Representation of the environment could be assumed to be outside the scope of this study, strictly speaking, but the way the environment is represented seems to parallel the discourse intentions of the Greek target versions. TT1 seems to enforce nostalgic overtones with reference to representation of the environment: see for instance TT1 item *μαούνες* ή *πλοιάρια* (*lighters or small boats*) vs. TT2 item *βάρκα* (*boat*) and TT1 item *εφήμερη επαφή με την πραγματικότητα* (*one momentary contact with reality*) vs. TT2 item *έφερνε για λίγο σε επαφή με την πραγματικότητα* (*brought you in contact with reality for a while*). The nostalgic gloss of TT1 seems to complement the TT1 translator's intention to empower the representation of the natives, by erasing the racist overtones.

Example 9

ST Now and then a *boat* from the shore gave one a *momentary contact with reality*. It was paddled by *black fellows*. (p. 1966)

TT1 Καμιά φορά, μας πλησίαζαν *μαούνες* ή *πλοιάρια* από τη στεριά. Ήταν κι αυτή μια *εφήμερη επαφή με την πραγματικότητα*. Ήταν γεμάτα μαύρους. (p. 36)
(Sometimes, lighters or small boats approach us from the shore. They too were one momentary contact with reality. They were full of black men.)

TT2 Πού και πού κάποια *βάρκα* απ' τη στεριά σε έφερνε *για λίγο σε επαφή με την πραγματικότητα*. Ήταν γεμάτη μαύρους. (p. 25)
(*Now and then a boat from the shore brought you in contact with reality for a while. It was full of black men.*)

The study now turns to the representation of the European identity, in search of traces of potential bias in the target versions.

4. Representing the Europeans

The representation of the Europeans is the other part of the colonized/colonizers binary, in the post-colonial perspective of the study. The two versions seem to represent European identities differently,

in that TT1 seems to activate attitudes of target readers towards English colonizers through loaded items, higher tenor or loan items, which TT2 rather avoids. Examples 10 and 11 are from Marlowe's dialogue with the company's doctor, whom he ought to visit before setting off so that he would verify Marlowe's health condition.

In example 10, TT1 item *υπόδειγμα Εγγλέζου* (*model of an Englishman*) rendering ST item *typical* shows TT1 version to be registering a positive evaluation of English colonizers alluding to imperial values. A positive evaluation is also conveyed through TT1 item *υπόδειγμα Εγγλέζου* (vs. a potential option *Άγγλου* for *Englishman*), which is avoided in TT2. The binary *Εγγλέζος–Άγγλος* appears in example 13, with TT1 favouring the loaded (*Εγγλέζος*) rather than standard term (*Άγγλος*).

Example 10

ST I hastened to assure him I was not in the least *typical*. (p. 1965)

TT1 Έσπευσα να τον διαβεβαιώσω ότι δεν είμαι *υπόδειγμα Εγγλέζου*. (p. 32)
(*I hastened to assure him I was not the model of an Englishman*.)

TT2 Έσπευσα να τον διαβεβαιώσω ότι δεν ήμουν διόλου *αντιπροσωπευτικός τύπος*. (p. 22-23)
(I hastened to ensure him I was not in the least a representative type.)

In examples 11 and 12, the superiority of the colonizers' is also implied by the doctor's using a formal item (*αγγλιστί* [*in English*]) to refer to the colonizers' language (example 11) and TT1 loan item *ταμπάκο* (*tobacco*) vs. standard TT2 item *καπνός* (example 12).

Example 11

ST Adieu. How do you *English* say, eh? Good-bye. (p. 1965)

TT1 Adieu! Πώς το λέτε *αγγλιστί*; Α, ναι.. Good-bye! (p. 32)
(*Adieu! How do you say that en anglais? Oh, yes…Good-bye!*)

TT2 Adieu. Πώς το λέτε *στα αγγλικά*; Ε; Good-bye. (p. 22-23)
(*Adieu. How do you say that in English? Eh? Good-bye.)*

Example 12

ST What? Tobacco! English *tobacco*; the excellent *English* tobacco! (p. 1998)

TT1 Πώς; Τι βλέπω; Έχεις *ταμπάκο*! Εξαιρετικό είναι το εγγλέζικο *ταμπάκο*! (p. 138)
(*What? What do I see? You have tobacco! The English tobacco is excellent!)*

TT2 Τι; *Καπνός*! Εγγλέζικος *καπνός*! Εξαιρετικός εγγλέζικος *καπνός*! (p. 90-91)
(*What? Tobacco! English tobacco! Excellent English tobacco!)*

In example 13 the director of the station explains to his uncle how Kurtz had sent the ivory to the station. Apart from the TT1 *Εγγλέζος*–TT2 *Άγγλος* shift in example 13, as mentioned above, the hegemonic role of an English clerk in the novella is registered, through rendition in the two versions of ST item *in charge of*: TT1 option *επικεφαλής* (TT1) highlights military hierarchy with the top position held by an *English half-caste*. By contrast, TT2 item *που οδηγούσε* (*led by an English half-caste* TT2) tones down reflection of hierarchy.

Example 13

ST The other explained that it had come with a fleet of canoes *in charge* of an *English half-caste* clerk Kurtz had with him; (p. 1980)

TT1 Ο άλλος του εξήγησε πως είχε έρθει μ' ένα στόλο από κανό. *Επικεφαλής* τους ήταν ένας μιγάς. Υπάλληλος του Κουρτς. Μισο-*εγγλέζος* μιγάς. (p. 85)
(*The other explained to him that it had come with a fleet of canoes. Head of the fleet was a half-caste. He was Kurtz's clerk. Half-English half-caste*.)

TT2 Ο μικρός τού εξήγησε ότι είχε έρθει με μια νηοπομπή από κανό *που* την *οδηγούσε* κάποιος *Άγγλος* μιγάς, ένας γραμματέας που είχε μαζί του ο Κουρτς (p. 56)
(*The young one explained to him that it had come with a convoy of canoes lead by an English half-caste, a secretary that Kurtz had with him*.)

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The representation of the French is also interesting in TT1. In example 14, Marlowe sails to the station when he sees a French boat firing a natives' camp which was supposed to be hidden somewhere nearby. See TT1 evaluative items *ατελείωτες εχθροπραξίες* (*endless hostilities*) rendering ST *one of their wars*: both TT1 items *ατελείωτες* (*endless*) and *εχθροπραξίες* (*hostilities*) are negatively charged and not carrying the same degree of legitimacy carried by ST item *wars*. The negative gloss in TT1 is also enforced by addition of TT1 item *και πάλι* (*once again*). These shifts rather put forth a critique of the French. By contrast TT2 seems to indifferently refer to wars of the French, avoiding evaluative items.

Example 14

ST It appears the French had *one of their wars* going on thereabouts. (p. 1966)

TT1 Φαίνεται πως οι Γάλλοι είχαν *και πάλι* μια από εκείνες τις *ατελείωτες εχθροπραξίες τους*. (p. 37)
(*It appears that the French had once again one of their endless hostilities*.)

TT2 Φαίνεται πως οι Γάλλοι είχαν κηρύξει κάποιον από τους *πολέμους* τους εκεί. (p. 26)
(*It appears that the French had declared one of their wars over there*.)

Another manifestation of the evaluative intention on the part of the TT1 translator regarding the French is found in the beginning of the novella. Marlowe has just started narrating the story and the narrator describes his clothes. TT2 renders ST item *in European clothes* literally, while TT1 prefers *φράγκικα ρούχα* (*Frankish clothes*), activating some evaluative representation of the foreign European. Adjective *φράγκικος* is assumed to be a loaded choice, at this point, probably negatively charged.

Example 15

ST … he had the pose of a Buddha preaching in *European*

	clothes and without a lotus-flower… (p. 1961)
TT1	… θυμίζοντας… Βούδα που κήρυττε ντυμένος με *φράγκικα ρούχα* και δίχως άνθη λωτού… (p. 18) *(… reminding of… a Buddha preaching dressed in Frankish clothes and without lotus-flowers…)*
TT2	… τον έκανε να μοιάζει με διδάσκοντα Βούδα *ντυμένο ευρωπαϊκά* και χωρίς το άνθος λωτού… (p. 14) (… *made him resemble a preaching Buddha dressed in a European way and without a lotus-flower*…)

A thorough investigation of the reflection of European identity would show whether TT1 *φράγκικα ρούχα* (*Frankish clothes*), in example 15, is actually meant negatively (and in agreement of the negative gloss ensured through TT1 items *once again, endless hostilities*), or positively thus echoing a mixed evaluation of the European 'other'.

Although the study does not pretend to offer a thorough investigation of the reflection of European identity in the *Heart of Darkness*, the limited set of data in this study suggests that TT1 is concerned with enriching the pragmatic reading of items referring to the colonizers to enhance some intended evaluation. TT1 seems to register (a) a positive evaluation about the English colonizers revealing a nostalgic attitude towards the 'foreign English', and (b) some rather distanced positioning with reference to the French. By contrast, TT2 tends to avoid evaluation by representing the European identity neutrally as something familiar and accessible.

5. Varying representations of racial identity

The data in this study suggest that the two Greek versions of Conrad's *Heart of Darkness* favour different representations of the natives and the colonizers. TT1 tones down racist comments and highlights respect for the English 'other'. By contrast TT2 elaborates on the racist overtones of the source text and does not display any particular intention to show reverence for the English, in the way TT1 does. Table 1 summatizes findings.

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Table 1. Translators' interventionist intentions in the two Greek versions.

Features: →	racist overtones	reverence for the English 'other'
TT1 (1990)	-	+
TT2 (1999)	+	±

In fact, the two versions seem to display a different focus of attention manifested through the translators' elaborating on the pragmatic reading of expressions by manipulating the implications following from expressions.

- TT1 neutralizes the racist comments about the natives (thus opting for pragmatic opaqueness) challenging Conrad's discourse perspective. TT1 also intensifies evaluation with respect to the English or the European colonizers (thus favouring pragmatic transparency – Hatim and Mason 1991). The data also show that TT1 assumes reverence for the English 'other' and a rather distanced attitude towards the French.

Conversely,

- TT2 intensifies the racist comments about the natives, in agreement with author intention (Achebe 1999, thus favouring pragmatic transparency). TT2 also neutralizes the evaluative attitude towards the Europeans (thus favouring pragmatic opaqueness).

The study aimed to examine how power and discriminatory value is inscribed in the two Greek target versions of Conrad's novella *Heart of Darkness*, to trace ideological positions encoded in text, which are socio-politically relevant.

Supposing there is a continuum with the colonized-native at one end of the continuum and the colonizer-European at the other, in TT2 the focus of attention has been moved towards the 'colonized' end, while the European identity is rather out of focus, assuming audience familiarity with the European. Table 2 summarizes the findings, with the transparent themes highlighted (+) across versions.

Table 2. Pragmatic transparency in translation vs. themes across versions

THEMES↓	TT1	TT2
Natives/colonized	-	+
Europeans/colonizers	+	-

One may wonder about the circumstances which contributed to these representations. The fact that the earlier translation is the one which tones down the racist overtones seems rather odd, as the postcolonial trend was more prominent towards the end of the 1990s and critical awareness of cultural identities is assumed to have been stronger by that time. The tendency may be justified on the grounds that the earlier translations usually have a more domesticating intention, as the work tries to find its place in the target literary polysystem. Later on, when the readership becomes acquainted with the author, more foreignizing approaches may be favoured (retranslation hypothesis Berman 1990, in Gürçağlar 2011).

Another reason might relate to sociopolitical parameters in the target environment, namely, that in the 90s Greece redefines its position in the European community (Official EU portal, online)[1]. The European consciousness of the Greek society is boosted. Europe is no longer a faraway dream; it has become accessible and familiar. This may explain why the latter version tones down reverence for the English and why the 'European' is not presented as 'other'.

The study confirms that target versions of texts can register various narratives circulating in a target environment (e.g. the narrative of Europe as 'self' or 'other', of racism etc.) registering the positioning of translator and the awareness sociopolitical conditions may have raised, or the awareness the translation approach intends to raise. This reveals the importance of studying, comparing and contrasting retranslations of the same ST. As Gürçağlar (2003, 2011) points out, historical, sociopolitical factors and the personal view-

[1] In 1992 the Treaty on the European Union is signed and is ratified a few months later by Greece. In 1993 the single market comes into effect, in 1994 "Greece takes over the Presidency of the Council of the European Union" and in 1998 "the drachma enters the European Monetary System (EMS) exchange rate mechanism".

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point of the translator can account for the shifts observed in retranslations and should be paid due attention in the analysis.

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