Language acquisition, translation, and resistance to globalization

Lillian DePaula*

Abstract

In pedagogy, there is the need of presenting a repetition and a triggering of rehearsals. It becomes more and more important to be able to discuss theories of translation, within the same language, from one language to another, or from one semiotic sign to another as a way of promoting interdisciplinary studies, as a way of disseminating a repetition of rehearsals. In this discussion, a theory of translation examines the exercise of moving ideational and interpersonal matter from one mode of expression to another. Transposing ideas, affections, a certain matter, from one mode of expression in a language to another in the same language is one type of exercise.

Traveling from one language or mode of expression to another is yet another type of game. But transaction between subjects is always a matter of translation.

Bewilderment comes in there not being sufficient understanding of what the different types of translation, different types of bilingualism represent and of how they can be worked into a pedagogy as an advantage and not as an obstacle to expression.

Keywords: translation, education, bilingualism

Opening act: introduction

…The bilingualism (sometimes trilingualism) of [the] texts mediates against certainty and centrality; each letter writer grapples with the intractability of language and expresses profound skepticism about the connection of words to deeds, to reality, to representation.

* Professora Doutora de Departamento de Letras da Universidade Federal do Espírito Santo
Lillian DePaula

In mapping the discourse of desire expressed in letter writing from Ovid’s *Heroides* to the twentieth century *New Portuguese Letters*, Kauffman (1982) traces elements of transgression and transformation embedded in the representations of repressed emotions. Epistolary transgression fiction is marked by a feminine voice, denigrated and downgraded by a higher literary masculine voice and manner of stating deeds, reality and representation, which – while it devalues the sentimental –, ultimately will find that it is the feminine voice that stretches a guiding tune throughout the labyrinth. That Ariadne be not betrayed this time round, instead she should be translated. A combination, that of being betrayed with that of being translated, which might, as we shall be discussing, prove itself difficult to keep in separate footing. Illusion of presence: writing as a recollection – as a way of making the object of one’s affection perceptible. Translation. Transformation and transgression in making one’s affection perceptible.

Words coming from afar
through the waters of the Nile,
one day, this page; papyrus,
will have to be translated,
into symbol, into Sanscrit,
into all the dialects in India,
it will have to say good morning
to one we speak at ear’s reach
it will have to be the brusque stone
someone let the glass drop on
Isn’t that just how life is?

Palavras trazidas de longe
pelas águas do Nilo,
um dia, esta página; papiro,
val ter que ser traduzida,
para o símbolo, para o sânscrito,
para todos os dialetos da India,
val ter que dizer bom-dia
ao que só se diz ao pé do ouvido,
val ter que ser a brusca pedra
onde alguém deixou cair o vidro
Não é assim que é a vida?

The first text, the one on the left column, is my translation of a fragment from the poem “Aviso aos Náufragos” (“Warning for the Shipwrecked”) by the Brazilian poet Paulo Leminski. Placing a text in the position Western standard has set for first reading translates the notion that the first piece presented is in the original language, and the second piece is the translated text. Naturally the chronological association between first and original, source and influence help locate space and time. Different literary drives may suggest that the writer manipulate the paratext so as to lead the reader to unexpected patterns and interfere with the readers’ set of beliefs.

The presentation of bilingual texts or of translated texts without their corresponding originals brings into question vivid and well delineated issues related to the validity of one way of naming, describing or judging people and/or things. If you have the same story told in different languages, how much of each language will speak through/into the story? How much of the story will really be the same and what difference will that make? What is the purpose of discussing what goes on in between texts? How will monolinguals lose in not taking part in bilingual games and aesthetics? Why may bilinguals feel excluded in the public school system and turn out feeling inadequate in whatever language they turn to? How can a good thing go
The giving over act: Translation, transgression and treason

or mapping the role of translation as hermeneutic exercise

So taunt me, Deceive me, desert me, I’m yours, till I die…

There are, we may conjecture, many occasions in which treason would be heartily encouraged (we should hope!). Situations in which a subject is moving against an artificial constraint: the U. S. soldier alone in the jungles of the East faces an injured enemy soldier and in treason to the created notion of patriotism, he helps the enemy soldier and consolidates with a higher set of principles which dictate that he be to the other as to himself. The fact that one may have to practice treason under certain situations will, following an angle from a different perspective, indicate that the gesture of treason also points to an act of higher committing ties and to a demonstration of foreign or unexpected loyalties. (Did Ariadne’s dad expect her to go head over heels for Theseus, a foreigner?) Betrayal comes with a statement of commitment. The soldier alone with an enemy species chooses to act in faith of human solidarity. There’s a thin line, often totally cut loose, drawn to the ground, that permits the moving forwards into territories of unlimited boundaries, of creative transformations. It’s about saying yes to a proposition, being open to a new arrangement; being capable of rewriting a lost story however meager the imagination be – remembering and recording and then, only so as to later remember, again forgetting. There’s the story of a betrayal of a smaller notion in favor of a larger picture.

If betrayals also bring commitments, the movement from one to the other presents different fractions/sides of the same coin, as going from one language to another, presents different aspects of the same text. What is visible, in between the texts, is the mediation against certainty and centrality. The seeking for representation is made all the more visible when there are many versions available, making more available a larger number of empty spaces exposed awaiting further exposure. There are an endless number of paths to be dis-covered in between texts. White rivers – is it the Amazon? – awaiting willing and willful navigators.

The dictionary gives metaphorical examples for the word betrayal. Because of its possible physiological characteristics, the more feverously it argues towards the notion of a betrayal being an act of revelation as when: his voice betrayed his words…a betrayal necessarily bringing about a revelation…the redness in her cheeks, her tone of voice spoke differently from the words pronounced: or, the truth came through the tone of his voice /the soldier did not have any reason to kill the enemy soldier, each soldier, each not yet 17 in age, felt a sense of uselessness in the prospect of warfare and gave over. Not yet seventeen translated into life, not death. Given synonyms, according to the Webster’s New College Dictionary, for betrayal are deceit and revelation. There is some initial bewilderment in accommodating deceit and revelation as synonyms for betrayal.

But the bewilderment better illuminates the adage traduttore traditore: we come to more clearly seeing the consequentiality between one and the other with language exemplifying its case. While deceiving, the translator will be revealing, or
while revealing there will be deceit, if not of the content of someone else’s text, certainly that of his/her own text, the translated version. The concept of repetition and rehearsal permeates the underlining impulse of each text, of each attempt at seeking representation. The translated text will finally be under the jurisdiction of the reader, who will decipher a translator’s travels through betrayal and revelation. Ample exemplifications may be found in the domains of anthropology.

Ethnographers, for instance, are translators in true travels. Dislocating themselves to foreign lands, they return to find in the written expression a channel that takes them back to their homeland. The question is, nevertheless, if their writings ever truly bring the foreign home with them, or whether the foreign other comes to the text forced into dresses of colors closer to the author’s home character than to those under study. In the article “Old Ethics Die Hard: The Yanomami and Scientific Writing”, Ramos (2001) demonstrates how an Indigenous group from the Amazon region gained a created characterization as the result of misappropriations and problems of translation. She refers to an article in Science in which Napoleon Chagnon claimed that 44% of adult Yanomami males were killers and, as killers, they attracted more women, producing more children than non-killers.

The scientific precision indicated in the percentage numbers made available as data helped solidify the image of the Yanomami earlier portrayed by Time Magazine in 1976 in which they are described as “horrifying” and like “baboon troops”. Chagnon is acknowledged by Time as its sole source and never denounced any misuse of his writings by that periodic. The magazine apparently translated Chagnon with precision. The same does not happen, Ramos insists, when it’s Chagnon’s turn to perform the task of the translator. According to Ramos, the Yanomami notion of “killing” in the context of warfare is far from being the same as western thinking. The term unokai glossed as “killer” disregards the fact that although an enemy may have been killed by a specific person, anyone who shot an arrow at the wounded or even the dead body takes on the condition of unokai.

Ramos points as Chagnon’s main weaknesses the fact that he shows total disregard for the “native’s point of view” and that he either has poor command of the local language or chose to ignore its intricacies so as to compose his statistical data more comfortably. Describing any ethnic group as “fierce”, “gentle” or whatever simplified formula will – states Ramos – directly influence whatever may follow from those descriptions. In the case under consideration, for example, much turmoil followed.

Among the many damaging consequences resulting from the created image presented of the Yanomami, Ramos reports, is the hair raising and intellectually disturbing question articulated by an American feminist professor from Menlo College in California, in response to an article titled “An Amazonian Tragedy” published in the Wall Street Journal (March 21, 1990) discussing the gold rush in Yanomami land and mentioning the alleged violent behavior Yanomami men have of beating women. The scandalously fierce question posed is whether such a “brutal and primitive society” deserves to be protected against the twentieth century at all. Such a horrific collocation is one of the voiced representations of the dangers that will follow the misappropriation of anthropological material. Bad fiction being abundantly produced.
Language acquisition, translation, and resistance to as scientific pronouncements. Translations being poorly performed, or performed to the benefit of bigotry and intolerance.

But if what deceives also reveals no better illustration than Patrick Tierney’s bombastic book *Darkness in El Dorado* (2000) to state a case. Here we find fierce – to apply a much abused term used to characterize the Yanomami – accusations of unethical behavior against the Chagnon team. Though some of Tierney’s findings may be refutable, what clearly is exposed is the dangerous dynamics created when bad fiction is being produced as serious scientific research. The task of the anthropologist, as that of the translator, once embedded by an aura of “neutrality” neglects to account for the emotional and authorial bond each translator/anthropologist will have, or not have, with the study at hand.

As the translator/anthropologist deceives in representing his object, more material is put out for revelation by another reader’s scrutiny. But that is more plausibly accomplished because readers also have access to texts and other sources made available to the author/translator/anthropologist and can therefore accompany and evaluate the material thereby produced. Available on the world web, a recent report on the Yanomami and scientific research is located on the American Anthropology Association homepage. The report brings to discussion issues that permeate translation studies and testify to the tight and common grounds translation and ethnography share elucidating how each experiences and performs the task of the other. The result of the work of five researchers involved in different but complementary ways of analyzing and perceiving the Yanomami communities is presented as a certain translation of other written pieces covering the last 40 years of Western contact and it culminates with the production of a book that questions the ethical role of anthropologists and journalists in manipulating information they have obtained through bonds of trust with groups with whom they shared experiences and cultivated friendships.

The resisting act: who is afraid of Virginia Woolf and what is so very frightening

If, on the one hand, it is disturbing to find translation studies frequently absent from the consideration of the social sciences, it is, on the other, almost an absurdity that studies so intimately tied to interpretation might ever be ignored in literature and language studies. The notion that it has been excluded from foreign language studies is, once one is arrested with the case, tremendously shocking. That this situation hardly be noticed is still an even greater disturbance. The role translation has played in second and foreign language acquisition, in the past and today, the differences suggested depending on the languages at play (learning English as a second or foreign language today is very different from learning Portuguese as a second or as a foreign language), must be considered by evaluating the asymmetrical relations between the languages at stake. The absence of great concern in understanding the language of such an isolated and small group as the Yanomami follows with notions that there are linguistic hierarchies, as dictates the bogus belief in the superiority of one language over another. The missing angle being the proposition that language is
the common thread linking the different peoples. In language, whatever language it be, we find the common goal of seeking for representations, of devising and creating ways of making one’s affections perceptible in a very Ariadnian way, by giving one’s affection a sur-vival, a representation. Again with a vow to reformulate a final treason into a translation, a representation of sur-vival.

“...The anthropologists should ask us directly. The Yanomami can speak his own language. These anthropologists can translate. They have to hear our language. They have to hear us in our own language. What does the Yanomami think? What does the Yanomami think is beautiful? You have to ask the Yanomami themselves.” Davi Kopenawa

The activity of translating is demanded “in life” from all corners and sides yet we should not expect to find the practice and theory of translation being studied in language classes -- we should not expect to discuss what language is --- any language --- what it does and how it does or does not, while placed side by side, is an issue hardly to be investigated by students in language, literature or foreign language classes. Postcolonial studies deconstructivism, mainly but also feminist studies and theories of resistance especially, have brought translation studies beyond the realms of linguistics by expanding and considering it through sides and angles the translating eagle eye sees in the open spaces between languages and texts.

In comparative literature, journeys performed from French to English, from English to French, by Marilyn Gaddis Rose (1997) show a bilingual mind exercising hermeneutics in the interliminal space, a place experienced by having more than one possibility at hand. The understanding that is brought about by bringing forth similarities and differences between different versions of the same text is unique. Needless stress the italics placed on same, for the notion of originality is being addressed within the proposition of there being created a new text from in between the written texts.

The interliminal space delimited throughout Rose’s Translation and Literary Criticism (1997), the same space very much occupied by exegetes with their eyes on polylingual pages, demonstrates a type of exercising that highlights a notion that monolinguals miss, which is that “when more than one word points to a familiar thing, the excess shows that no word can “own” or “be” that thing” (Sommer: 2004: XXI). Teaching bilinguals about deconstructivism is, Sommer will argue, almost redundant. Translation, that is, the exercising of bilingual skills, is an activity that promotes the entrance to certain passages that exist in the, only apparently, bare and empty white columns in between texts. And I will insist on the image of white columns, passages, white rivers, in between texts: locus of adventure.

When one is in between texts, just as when one is in the middle of a river, as Guimarães Rosa’s character in “The third bank of the river” in mute silence tells us, one is in position of seeing both sides of the banks through a perspective of unsettling possibilities. The position of a third bank, in the empty corridors left open between two or many different texts, sets one afloat on a white river of silence and confusion, possibilities arise and different angles appear at each treason revealed
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Once translation theory and practice is acknowledged as an instrument that highlights and directs a certain manner of proceeding with language and with how it mediates reality, bilingual, polylingual texts will be considered due to how they repeat and reinforce notions of plurality, of additions into language, of language always managing to stretch while still managing to be more condensed and precise, of hybridity occurring naturally as a part of language life. Once so many contemporary theories rely on translation studies to exemplify and illustrate relations pertaining to meaning and willingness to power, the more intriguing becomes the fact that often second and foreign language teaching approaches view translation practice with wary eyes, some claiming the practice as damaging for fluent production in second or foreign language. In the mid 1980s, one of the major and very elite private foreign language schools in Brazil announced, as the most positive effect of its method, the fact that after the first class the student would already start thinking in the target language – strangely insinuating that learners might do otherwise.

It becomes paramount to examine the reasons supporting the exclusion of translation practice and thinking from the many areas of knowledge. As we produce an ever greater amount of literature directed towards challenging the displacement of the translation activity from any epistemology or theory of knowledge, we reconsider the issues that have maintained translation studies off active grounds.

While it is disgruntling to have some divorce anthropology from translation practices, it is all the more disturbing to have translation practice and theory neglected in language, literature and foreign and second language study. What is the underlining message being repeated as we claim a second position for any translated piece of text or discourse, when we claim that the practice of bilingual study will prevent full mastery of a second or foreign language, when we choose not to study, question, and understand what it is to translate and to consequently be a bilingual. What it means to have infinite ways of presenting a certain matter, ideational matter, and I think of the sense given to the medieval matter of Brittany, for instance, translated from one language to another, presenting variations to a story seen from the unique perspective of each voice seeking representation.

In pedagogy, there is the need of presenting a repetition and a triggering of rehearsals. It becomes more and more important to be able to discuss theories of translation, within the same language, from one language to another, or from one semiotic sign to another as a way of promoting interdisciplinary studies, as a way of disseminating a repetition of rehearsals. In this discussion, a theory of translation examines the exercise of moving ideational and interpersonal matter from one mode of expression to another. Transposing ideas, affections, a certain matter, from one mode of expression in a language to another in the same language is one type of exercise. Traveling from one language or mode of expression to another is yet another type of game. But transaction between subjects is always a matter of translation. Bewilderment comes in there not being sufficient understanding of what the different types of translation, different types of bilingualism represent and how they can be worked into a pedagogy as an advantage and not as an obstacle to
expression.

There may be the understanding that different types of bilinguals (voluntary/obligatory; coordinate/compound) exist and that a good part of the population of any given place will have one or many types of bilinguals. The fact that so little is understood of the processes involved in the different kinds of mechanism resorted to by speakers of more than one language, all the same, is disconcerting.

Dealing with translation, bilingualism or Virginia Woolf presents an internal spinning mechanism that drives in the same stroke: the milky substance of the white rivers of ambiguity and possibilities; the puffy substance of a cloud of unknowing are equally more visible in interliminal space. One of hesitation and doubt, confusion and Babel, of creation through an analysis of a reproduction, a repetition, rehearsal, through an act in movement. The questions presented by the bilingual, by the translator, invite more than one possible angle because the interpreter examines from the position of one who is in the middle, having at each turn a view of one of the possible sides. The notion of centrality and certainty is necessarily under question.

Closing Acts: making one’s affection perceptible in rehearsals, repetitions, and movements

Just as literary understanding is enhanced by performing voyages in the streams laid out in between texts of different languages, so is the ability to perform in language enhanced through the understanding of the mechanisms that produce language by deconstructing them during the translation process. The translation procedure, whether it be within the same language, from one language to another or from one form of expression to another, as from a poem to a painting, repeats and rehearses the mechanism relied on during an act of creation and lends to the creator the experience called for in the production of expression.

Currie proposed the study of the environment as a main theme from which learning would be sought during an experiment conducted among primary school students in the mountain regions of Espírito Santo, Brazil. Resorting to a Paulo Freirian way of producing knowledge, Currie used the environment enveloping students to engage them in activities that would lead them from one area of knowledge to another in a naturally occurring pace. Though she did not use procedures taken directly from interlingual translation, she performed constant translation activities as she translated the world of elements into a world of action, a world of things into a world of deeds and back again.

Here I am proposing a repetition and a rehearsal of any activity considered worth revisiting. Translation being highlighted as when I discuss the consequences that the sky heavy in dark dense clouds outside the window may have, or as when I suggest a visual representation of a story. Moving an ideational matter from one mode of expression to another, repeating almost like a mantra, a certain mode of expression through different realizations works as a linking thread for the production of a certain desired texture. The obvious example in interlingual translation is the fact that many writers translate other writers as an exercise in learning how to write (the Romans, writers of the Middle Ages – writers of today, the day before yesterday as
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well), or the fact that reading one same writer over and over for long stretches of time may bring the repetition of the writer’s syntactic pace and semantic selection into the reader’s language production. People will sometimes sound like books, which is only a problem when it goes by unnoticed and does not call for further thought.

The translation activity when theorized, or when it is given the time for retracing, rethinking is, as Kanavillil Rajagopalan has noted, a site where, within colonial discourse, language will repress but also represent the avenue for resistance. The many metaphors that accompany translation reveal the various political and ideological forces the activity of translating represents. It is this notion of translation as a metaphor for survival that orients the directions of this research.

In Heloisa Barbosa’s doctoral thesis *The Virtual Image: Brazilian Literature in English Translation*, we find a fine argumentation in favor of reading one’s self through the translation the other re-presents and there is, as the author states in her concluding pages, much Brazilian translated literature to be analyzed and put into dialogue under the perspective opened through the comparison of a text with its translation. Barbosa reports on the hardship students felt in reading, in translation, the short story “A terceira margem do rio” by Guimarães Rosa and questions why and how the Portuguese version produces such different effects. Brazilian literary criticism is scant in English and English speakers reading in Portuguese are all the more scarce. Barbosa’s investigation indicates valuable directions research may take while either comparing originals with one or more translations or placing many versions of the same text side by side as in the Hexapla Bible. Open pages, each containing six versions of the same text, presenting wider open white blank spaces in between the texts, resembling rivers that invite the reader on a journey of exploration, will enhance our understanding of a piece of text in focus, in repetition, being restated.

Pages presenting a selection of texts in different languages side by side pronounce well not only the very obvious notion that languages distinguish themselves thanks to distinctive properties each language contains, but also – and this is perhaps the most important lesson the translation experience validates—the fact that languages are similar in what they may express. Distinct languages in contact will rub off on to one another, permeate certain paths and repeat themselves creating a new deviance that permits the languages involved to evolve and move onwards. But there is a constant struggle to keep languages from intruding on one another, and as Price and Lugones (2003) demonstrate, of imagining linguistic realms as separate and hermetically sealed so as to reinforce colonial thinking since, as they argue, one of the ways in which the West maintains domination is by imagining languages as separate.

But that languages are separate and safely kept in tightly closed containers, available to those according to whether and how well they belong to one or another realm, is an argument that better qualifies notions of nationality and better supports and enhances differences among peoples more than it contributes to pronounce the similarities. To whose advantage is it then to advocate thinking in one specific language (one which may, coincidentally, also dominate and suppress other languages)? Who, as Carroll questioned, is to be the Master, in the end? The directions indicated by
the Tower of Babel may not be as gloomy as we think. The profusion of languages and the confusion exposed by each being owing possession of tongues as tools may, instead of focusing on the strains of producing communication, highlight that multiple possibilities and the very unique ability humans have of reading the world and of, consequently, writing into the world new and original manifestations of old and past readings is far from being a curse, but rather a passage through recreation and life.

Christopher Larkosh (2002: 99-121) keenly demonstrates how a Western polyglot as Victoria Ocampo might strangely appear monolingual. The language of the empire is emphatic not so much in that it spreads where it lands, but more so in how it interpenetrates and moves within the land and tongue of the subjected. As movements of independence strive to maintain home the mother tongue, survival depends on how well the mother molds and stretches alliances with the father. While the father/colonizer may not bother in understanding the conquered land’s speech, the mother tongue will only live on by lending her ears and learning the new code.

But expressing oneself in the language of the master may entail, America has exemplified abundantly, the repression/suppression of one’s home tongue. For many Indian Brazilians the process of moving from one language to another is beginning/has begun recently and is being unfolded as we go further into the twenty first century. While we might locate misappropriation resulting from mistranslations as we saw exemplified in the term unokai, we also find thoughtful and concerned attention directed towards bilingual studies within isolated groups, as the Yanomami bilingual educators demonstrate. In Paraguay, the only nation in the American continent to hold two official languages, we have a unique situation calling for more thorough examination by neighboring nations.

But, while Portuguese is the official language in Brazil and English the non-official language of its elite, foreign language teaching develops its outset through the perspective of taking learners to the target language world and, preferably, leaving them there. In Brazil, the young well bred intelligentsia will watch American TV sitcoms in the original and even sneer at the attempts at translations: it just won’t sound right in another language, they will insist. Knowing a foreign language, they’ve been taught, means not having to translate and, when confronted with a translation, of being able to point to the losses the practice brings.

Considering the experience being offered in Paraguay by bilingual educators, especially those working with Indian groups, important insights will be obtained which may be transferred to foreign language teaching in public schools – as an activity that will not only take the learner to the language of the foreign, but also bring him safely back home. Curiously, the stronger the impact of one language over the other the more sharply the translation activity is placed into jeopardy and questioned for the better or worse. The fact that a methodology urges one NOT to translate should be revised under the new light offered by studies in bilingual education, in translation studies.

A fine and interesting strategy suggested in fiction pointed out by Adriana Pagano (2002:80-98) is the pedagogy of translation as education advocated in Julio Cortázar’s novel Libro de Manuel. The methodology presented in the novel is
Language acquisition, translation, and resistance to parallel to readings performed within the interliminal space proposed by bilingual texts, in which going from one language to the other ascertains the impossibility of determining a center, of fixing one definite truth. The method proposed in A Manual for Manuel, Pagano stresses (2002: 93), “puts foreign languages to the service of translation, here understood as a rereading of culture and history.” Reintroducing translation activity as part of foreign language methodologies proposes precisely that: taking full appropriation of another tongue as a tool which rereads the other, while it also leads us to our own selves. It appears that a secure strategy of guaranteeing a dynamic questioning of power relations in a globalized world is by reverting the curse of Babel, instead of the strive for one language, we shall strive for eternal language play translated in the multiplicity of expression the many languages propose and explore.

Notes:


2 On originality and translation see FILGUEIRAS, L.V.D’s doctoral thesis titled A Invenção do Original via Tradução Pseudotradução e Autotradução, Universidade de São Paulo, 2002.

3 One of the main protagonists under scrutiny in recent discussions on ethnics and science by the American Anthropological Association.


5 On asymmetrical relations between languages three titles work well together in presenting a comprehensive understanding of language in colonial and postcolonial relations: 1) Linguistic Imperialism by Robert Phillipson; 2) The Cultural Politics of English as an International Language by Alastair Pennycook; and 3) A. Suressh Canagarajah’s Resisting Linguistic Imperialism in English Teaching.


7 Based on a four year experience, Currie’s book reports on learning strategies that take into view Multiple Intelligences and the dynamics of learning from a Paulo Freire perspective.

8 In much of Rajagopalan’s work he deals with translation as a site of resistance. Alongside with other theorists as R. Arrojo, H. Barbosa, J. Price, M. Lugones, M.G. Rose, who place translation as a mode of proceeding, the bilingual is invited to speak and honor the site occupied.

9 See the internet version of the information bulletin of the CCPY, the Pró-Yanomami Commission, especially see the aims of the Yanomami Bilingual Educational Programme, summarized as follows:
Allow the implantation of an educational policy which prizes Yanomami culture and strengthens the identity of the people;
Organise literacy classes in the maternal language, to ensure its use throughout the learning period, both as a subject in itself and as a teaching tool for all the other
subjects in the school curriculum.
Train Yanomami teachers as educators and researchers in a way which ensures that
the Yanomami can control the new intercultural process;
Collaborate in the preparation of a differentiated and specific curriculum for Yanomami
communities;
Collaborate with the preparation of teaching materials in the Yanomami language;
Transmit knowledge which will strengthen the participation of the Yanomami in
Brazilian society, as citizens, with better conditions to manage and defend their own
territory, their interests and rights. Such knowledge should add to their capacity to
take a critical approach to events;
Teach Portuguese as a second language with the aim of making it possible for the
Yanomami to participate in the different forums where their rights are discussed and
decided;
Encourage reflection on the changes which have happened in Yanomami society
since contact.

10 Spanish and Guarani are both official languages. Spanish is spoken by
about 75% of the total population and Guarani by over 90%. Five percent of the
population speaks only Spanish. There are no other major vernacular languages. There
are 21 languages spoken in Paraguay, but only Spanish, Guarani and Plattdeutsch
(low German) are spoken by at least 50,000 people. About 95% of the people are of
mixed Spanish and Guarani Indian descendants.

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