Semantic Isotopies in Interlingual Translation: 
Towards a Cultural Approach

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This paper discusses the interlingual translation of utterances based on the notion of semantic isotopy, as developed by Algirdas Julien Greimas who, since the late 1960s, has been the central figure in the Paris School of Semiotics. More precisely, I will examine utterances such as film titles and newspaper titles translated from French into English and Greek, in order to demonstrate how isotopies are translated and, in essence, how cultural elements are reflected in the translation process. The study aims at enhancing a theoretical understanding of the cultural function of translation, an understanding also based on certain semiotic parameters such as intertextual elements and connotation reservation or equivalence.

Translating utterances

This paper discusses the interlingual translation of utterances based on the notion of semantic isotopy, as developed by Algirdas Julien Greimas (Sémantique structurale) and applied to phrases and nominal syntagms. The translation of utterances is not an easy process, since, according to Patrizia Calefato (63), “[u]tternacies produce contexts, in other words they produce effects of sense, feelings, values, behaviour, social roles, hierarchies, differences”. This is not a new stance. Valentin Voloshinov (48) remarks that, whereas words or sentences as elements are neutral and do not evaluate anything, utterances are full of the speaker’s evaluations.

Moreover, as Susan Petrilli (25) remarks, “generally, the work of translation does not deal with sentences but with utterances. Only a translator of texts in linguistics, of grammars and texts in language theory — where sentences are generally introduced as the object of analysis — is called upon to translate sentences”. In this paper, I will examine the notion of isotopy as related to the translation of utterances such as film titles and newspaper titles translated from French into English and Greek, in order to demonstrate how isotopies are translated and, in essence, how cultural elements are reflected in the translation process.

The Paris School of semiotics

The Paris School of semiotics has developed out of the theoretical tradition founded by Ferdinand de Saussure and by him called semiology. Dinda Gorlée,
in an effort to valorise the semiotic approach of Charles Sanders Peirce and its influence in translation studies, writes:

[t]he criticism of semiology (in the French tradition: structuralism) and its symbiosis with translation studies may be summarized in the following three points: a) the linguistic imperialism, in which a linguistic model can be applied to non-linguistic objects in a metaphorical replacement, without doing justice to the nature of the non-linguistic objects, b) semiology is basically the study of signifiers, and does not ask what signs mean but how they mean, the object that refers to the signs [...], c) binarism, the division into a priori dual opposition is presented as the instrument for exhaustive analysis, claiming to lead to objective, scientific conclusions. (346)

It is quite true that the work of the Paris School is closely related to linguistics, but that would seem to be an advantage when considering its possible application to translation studies. As Alexandros Ph. Lagopoulos (159-160) characteristically states, it is a school with a structuralist and linguistic basis. According to Lagopoulos, the epistemologically most cohesive core of the Paris School is the body of theory developed over four decades by Algirdas Julien Greimas. There is also a more peripheral group involved mainly with literary theory (Bremond, Todorov, Genette, and Barthes), however, as Herman Parret1 (xiv) points out, “it would be misleading to deny the omnipresence and strong authority of A. J. Greimas in the so-called Paris School of semiotics […] One finds competing proposals in almost any subdomain: from epistemology to applications, from literary semiotics to semiotics of law.”

In 1979, Greimas and his collaborator Joseph Courtés published an analytical dictionary as a guide to their own school of semiotics. Some researchers believe that “the concepts of this school have served more to provide heuristic tools than to condition the discussion” (Ahonen 426), but in my opinion, the contribution of the Paris School of semiotics lies in the fact that its views appear to be directly applicable, without it being wanting in semiotic theory.

The notion of semantic isotopy

The concept of semantic isotopy is applicable to all semiotic systems. Umberto Eco (Lector in fabula, 120), underlining the broadness of this notion, observes that isotopy covers various semiotic phenomena that are generally defined as a coherent reading path at different textual levels.

The notion of isotopy was first introduced by Greimas in his early work Sémanitique structurale (96). Isotopy – a key aspect of the Paris School approaches and structural semantics, as developed by Greimas – is a method for the analysis of texts not only in natural language but also in any semiotic system. It rests on

1. All translations from French and Greek into English are mine.
the hypothesis that the basic semantic elements and structures of a culture underlie all the semiotic systems of that culture.

For Greimas, isotopy ensures the semantic coherence of a text through the repetition of similar semantic elements or features. Jean Dubois et al. (259) argue that isotopy can serve as a basic level of semantic coherence in each utterance and Eco (Lector in fabula, 109) describes isotopies as “levels of meaning in a text” and as “levels of interpretative coherence” (119). François Rastier (83) remarks that isotopy can be found in linguistic sequences that are at a lower, equal or higher dimension than that of the sentence. Moreover, Greimas (Sémiotique et sciences sociales 20) points out that when we try to apply the concept of coherence to discourse, it appears, at first glance, to be approachable through the concept of isotopy, which is understood as the repetition of a range of semantic categories throughout the discourse that are proof of a paradigmatic organisation. Homogeneity and coherence seem to be the key aspects through which to approach isotopy. Greimas and Courtés (197) stress that isotopy ensures homogeneity in discourse.

Many researchers have dealt with the notion of isotopy. Klaus Mudersbach and Heidrun Gerzymisch-Arbogast (153) remark that the discussion on isotopy has most recently received a fresh impetus in semiotics, but despite the intensive linguistic and semiotic discussion of isotopy, the concept remains equivocal and difficult to operationalise. On the other hand, Eco (Semiotics and the Philosophy of Language 189) summarises the state of the art: “my hypothesis is that the term, variously defined by Greimas and by his school, is an umbrella term, a rather general notion that can allow for various more specific ones defining different textual phenomena”. This umbrella term constitutes the field of my study. Adopting the research method of Alexandros-Phaidon Lagopoulos and Karin Boklund-Lagopoulou (209-217), I defined isotopies by having recourse to semantic units that generally correspond to the level of the phrase.

**Semantic isotopies and translation**

For the Paris school of semiotics, a *sign* is an observable, structured object (Jean-Claude Coquet et al. 5). Since it has these properties, a sign is therefore an artificial structure which, once it has been recognised and interpreted, can be translated. As Umberto Eco and Siri Nergaard (219) and Umbaldo Stecconi (260) point out, “two texts – one the translation of the other – can be compared on various grounds, including lexical items, isotopies or sense levels, narrative structures…”. In fact, there are researchers who use semantic isotopy as a basis for their study of translation and even propose new terms, such as *isomorphic translation* (Mudersbach and Gerzymisch-Arbogast 168).

Greimas linked the notion of isotopy to translation, and observes (Sémantique structurale 71) that distinguishing isotopies and recognizing the dimensions of isotopic contexts are some of the difficulties of machine translation. What happens, though, when the translation is a human choice with a communicative dimension? Is isotopy the key to the translation process when it comes to human translation? According to Roman Jakobson (139), “the translator recodes and transmits a mes-
sage received from another source. Thus, translation involves two equivalent messages in two different codes”. It is clear, however, that these codes are connected to homogeneity in discourse. Greimas and Courtés (398) link this notion to translation, and remark that translatability seems to be one of the fundamental properties of semiotic systems and forms the basis of the semantic process. Let us, then, see how the translation of a semantic isotopy can generate semiotic data.

**Semantic isotopies in the translation of film titles**

A title can be considered as a short advertising message which aims to attract the reader’s attention with the highest possible intensity. A film title constitutes a commercial construction of particular semiotic interest. As Groupe M (96) remarks: “film titles have only one author: the cinema market”. This is why Roger Marti and Maria Zapater (83) consider translation techniques used by film distribution companies as *commercial traps* with the purpose of making film titles more attractive for the broadest possible audience. For this reason, the signifier must be easily identifiable and the signified easy to invoke. This evocative function has also been underlined by translation scholars. For Christiane Nord (281), “like other texts, titles form part of the text corpus of a culture community with which they are linked by intertextual relations: they quote other texts (and titles), and are quoted in turn”. Eco (*Lector in fabula* 111) points out the interesting matter of titles that provide a textual topic, as opposed to those which deceive and leave the reader free to decide what the topic is.

In my study of the isotopies of some indicative French film titles that were translated into Greek and English, I found that the titles can be grouped into four categories. The first category, which is the most widely encountered in Greece, consists of film titles whose translations have preserved the semantic isotopies intact (examples 1 and 2 below). This preservation of the isotopy of the source text functions intertextually for those people who are aware of the title in the source language.

**Example 1: film title Le gendarme de Saint-Tropez**

French: *Le gendarme de Saint-Tropez*
(isotopy of administration + toponymic isotopy)

English: *The Policeman from Saint-Tropez*
(isotopy of administration + toponymic isotopy)

Greek: *Ο χωροφύλακας του Σαν-Τροπέ*
(isotopy of administration + toponymic isotopy)

In this category, the isotopies remain the same, but may be weighted differently in terms of their semantic charge. Greimas (*Sémantique structurale* 98-101) talks about positive and negative isotopies, though without implying any value judgement. Thus, in example 2, even though both the Greek and English titles interlingually translate the isotopy of leisure, the adjective καλά (meaning “good”)

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2. Due to this fact, the translator – if there is a professional translator – usually remains anonymous.
in the Greek translation adds a qualitative dimension to the Christmas celebrations that is not restricted to the festive atmosphere.

Example 2: film title *Joyeux noël*

French: *Joyeux noël*  
(isotopy of leisure)

English: *Merry Christmas*  
(isotopy of leisure)

Greek: *Καλά Χριστούγεννα*  
(isotopy of leisure)

In the second category, one which is quite frequently encountered in Greece, the French isotopies are preserved in Greek, but other elements belonging to the same isotopy (example 3) or another isotopy (example 4) are also added. The first example of such a translation (example 3) is based, I believe, upon the principle that the repetition of the isotopy guarantees its decoding.

Example 3: film title *Les Dalton*

French: *Les Dalton*  
(isotopy of appellation)

English: *Les Dalton*  
(isotopy of appellation)

Greek: *Λούκιο Λουκ εναντίον Ντάλτον*  
(isotopy of appellation + isotopy of appellation)

On the other hand, the second example (example 4) functions as an explanation of the content of the film. The name “Dalton” might indeed be well-known to a Greek audience, yet it is hardly as recognizable as the name “Lucky Luke”. The same is true of the name “Iznogoud”; it is doubtful however, whether a Greek audience would connect it to its appropriate semantic field. We should not forget that, according to Roland Barthes (*Le degré zéro de l’écriture* 22) “the name itself is a sign […] a voluminous sign, a sign with a great density of meaning…”, even though traditionally translation studies would define the proper name as “the zero degree of representation” (Michel Ballard *Le nom propre en traduction* 11).

Example 4: film title *Iznogoud*

French: *Iznogoud*  
(isotopy of appellation)

English: *Iznogoud*  
(isotopy of appellation)

Greek: *Ιζνογκούντ: Χαλίφης στη θέση του Χαλίφη*  
(isotopy of appellation + isotopy of administration + isotopy of administration)
The third category consists of film titles whose number of isotopies is reduced in the translations, although the dominant isotopy is preserved (example 5). This category is not frequently encountered in Greece. The name remains untranslated, since it carries a heavy French connotation which is probably what the translator is interested in transferring to the new cultural system. According to Ballard (“La traduction du nom propre comme négociation” 219) “the name signifies and this signification manifests itself clearly in the field of cultural referents”. Early semiotic texts have already noted the choice of a proper name belonging to a certain language system, which connotatively points to another language and cultural system. This choice has been described as the advertising strategy of the complementary signified, and is based on the assonance of the name (“La rhétorique de l’image” 41).

Example 5: film title *Le fabuleux destin d’Amélie Poulain*

French: *Le fabuleux destin d’Amélie Poulain*
(isotopy of lifestyle + isotopy of appellation)

English: *Amélie*
(isotopy of appellation)

Greek: *Αμελί*
(isotopy of appellation)

The fourth category (example 6) consists of film titles whose isotopy is completely changed when they are translated into other languages. In this case, the isotopy of the original text is not recognised and can therefore not be decoded, interpreted, and translated. Another isotopy is therefore resorted to in the target language, which reminds us of William Frawley (164), who said that “there is no meaning apart from the code”, adding that “the world and possible worlds differ, and the question of referent is not even the question to pose”.

Example 6: film title *36 quai des Orfèvres*

French: *36 quai des Orfèvres*
(toponymic isotopy + isotopy of administration)

English: *36th Precinct*
(urban isotopy + isotopy of administration)

Greek: *Βρόμικος κόσμος*
(social isotopy)

Thus, the toponymic isotopy *36 Quai des Orfèvres*, which is the police headquarters in Paris, was translated as *36th Precinct* in English, an isotopy that in the English-speaking world refers to the district (precinct) covered by a police station in a metropolitan area. For the Greek title, *36 Quai des Orfèvres* was

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3 Frédérique Brisset (54) remarks that the titles of many films by Woody Allen that consist of proper names remain untranslated in French, but also that this is not a uniform practice.
translated by means of a social isotopy as Βρώμικος Κόσμος (literally meaning “dirty world”), which alludes to the underworld that the police has to deal with. As Thierry Grass (660) remarks “the more a foreign toponym is historically linked with a concrete culture, the more there is a tendency to translate it and vice-versa”. For him, a translator oscillates between calque and phonetic or semantic adaptation. We can see clearly that the preferred choice for this film title was semantic adaptation.

I would not be exaggerating if I said that equivalence was achieved here in the translation; in fact, equivalence in the sense that Juri Lotman defines it. Lotman (96) mentions that “at the basis of every act of exchange lies the contradictory formula, ‘equivalent but different’: the first part of the formula makes an exchange technically possible and the second part makes it meaningful in content”. Lotman’s view supplements other views that came before his, such as that of Jakobson (139), who states that “on the level of interlingual translation, there is ordinarily no full equivalence between code-units, while messages may serve as adequate interpretations of alien code-units or messages”. In fact, Jakobson concludes that “equivalence in difference is the cardinal problem of language and the pivotal concern of linguistics”.

Similarly, the French and English utterances Mon petit doigt m’a dit and By the Pricking of My Thumbs, respectively, have no meaning whatsoever in Greek reality (example 7). However, the name Agatha Christie has attached to it connotations of detective mystery, which are enhanced by the rest of the utterance, στα ίχνη του δολοφόνου (literally “on the murderer’s trail”). This translation choice is not frequently encountered in Greek film titles and is directly linked to the translation of the connotation, in which time plays an important role. Eco (Theory of Semiotics 56) mentions that “the difference between denotation and connotation is only due to a coding convention, irrespective of the fact that connotations are frequently less stable than denotations: the stability concerns the force and the duration of the coding convention, but once the convention has been established, the connotation is the stable functive of a sign-function of which the underlying functive is another sign-function”.

Example 7: film title Mon petit doigt m’a dit

French: Mon petit doigt m’a dit
(isotopy of information)

English: By the Pricking of My Thumbs
(isotopy of information)

Greek: Αγκάθα Κρίστι: στα ίχνη του δολοφόνου
(isotopy of appellation + isotopy of literary genre)

Semantic isotopies in the translation of titles of newspaper articles

Just like film titles, the titles of newspaper articles also function as an advertising message. Barthes’s (“Rhétorique de l’image” 45) concept of anchorage is a very
important function in advertising messages. Barthes uses this term to define a type of text-image link that diminishes both the interpreter’s choice and the inherent polysemy of images, and consequently controls and directs interpretation. It would therefore be interesting to see to what extent an isotopy that is translated serves this function. In the examples that follow we will study the titles of articles from the French newspaper *Le Monde diplomatique* that were translated by journalists for its Greek and English editions.

In the following title (example 8) of an article written by the journalist Serge Halimi in May 2012, the French title *Nouvelle donnée*, which is a semantic isotopy of information, became much more specific when it was translated into English as “Piracy as good policy” (political isotopy) and even more specific in its Greek translation as “Η Αργεντινή παίρνει την τύχη στα χέρια της” (literally “Argentina takes its fate into its own hands”), an utterance constituted by a toponymic isotopy and a political isotopy. The article is about Argentina’s decision to nationalise the companies exploiting the country’s natural resources, a decision which some newspapers denounced as piracy. While the title in the French edition of the newspaper employs an isotopy of information, the English edition uses isotopies that are less neutral and certainly not informational, since the utterance “piracy” is used to characterise this particular political action. The opposite applies to the Greek title, which puts a decidedly more positive spin on the decision in question. Consequently, changing the isotopy in the translation not only changes the title’s informational content, but also the extent to which it is evaluated as positive or negative, thus creating new connotations.

**Example 8: title of article *Nouvelle donnée***

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Language</th>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Isotopy Content</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>French</td>
<td><em>Nouvelle donnée</em></td>
<td>(isotopy of information)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>English</td>
<td><em>Piracy as good policy</em></td>
<td>(political isotopy)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Greek</td>
<td>Η Αργεντινή παίρνει την τύχη της στα χέρια της</td>
<td>(toponymic isotopy + political isotopy)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In another case of article titles (example 9), the original French title of an article written in October 2008 by Frédéric Lordon, “Le jour où Wall Street est devenu socialiste”, an utterance composed of an isotopy of economic activities and a political isotopy, has different isotopies in its English translation, “Welcome to the USA” (toponymic isotopy). In contrast, the isotopies that characterise the French utterance remain the same in the Greek translation of the French title. It is true that a political isotopy such as socialism is charged with connotations that are the diametrical opposite of the isotopy of Wall Street. Perhaps that is why the English translator refrained from reproducing an isotopy that may have caused some confusion – no matter how momentary – in the reader. The same reaction would have been evoked if a reader encountered a title such as “North Korea has become capitalist”. In Greece, however, the same political isotopy is charged with different connotations.
and enjoys a different acceptance, if we are to judge by the fact that the socialist party has been in government a number of times over the last thirty years.

Example 9: title of article *Le jour où Wall Street est devenu socialiste*

French: *Le jour où Wall Street est devenu socialiste*
(isotopy of economic activities + political isotopy)

English: *Welcome to the USA*
(toponymic isotopy)

Greek: *Η ημέρα που η Γουόλ. Στρετ έγινε σοσιαλιστική*
(isotopy of economic activities + political isotopy)

It is particularly important that we highlight the articulation of the isotopies. Usually, it is the isotopy that appears first which dominates. In the example that follows (example 10), the title “Où est la gauche à l’heure de la tourmente économique?” of the French article written by Serge Halimi in November 2011 was translated into English and Greek respectively as “Where did the left go?” and “Αναζητείται αριστερά την ώρα της κρίσης” (literally, “in search of the left in the time of crisis”). Even though the number of isotopies contained in the title may have changed when it was translated, the political isotopy, that is, the dominant isotopy, the isotopy that appears first, remained the same. We can also observe that the English utterance is more charged in connotations since the notion of search appeared in the French (Où est …) and in the Greek utterance (αναζητείται / in search of …) is replaced by the notion of escape in the English utterance (… go).

Example 10: title of article *Où est la gauche à l’heure de la tourmente économique?*

French: *Où est la gauche à l’heure de la tourmente économique ?*
(Political isotopy + isotopy of economic activities)

English: *Where did the left go?*
(political isotopy)

Greek: *Αναζητείται αριστερά την ώρα της κρίσης*
(political isotopy + isotopy of economic activities)

In the example which follows (ex. 11) I present the title “Au pays du capitalisme réel” as it was translated into the Greek and English languages. This title was drafted by the journalist Tony Wood in August 2011 for an article dealing with the economics of Russia and consists of a topological isotopy combined with an isotopy of economic activities. We see that the initial title in French was a verbal cultural palimpsest of the expression “au pays du socialisme réel”, which is a consolidated expression which we also find in the English and Greek language. Nevertheless in its English newspaper version the French title was translated as
“Who rules Russia?” in an attempt to metonymically clarify the country to which the article refers (we don’t focus on China, Cuba or North Korea).

Note that this clarification also takes place at the isopy level, as a topological isopy is transformed into a toponymic one which is very specific. The French version thus lays stress upon the isopy of economic activities whereas the English version emphasises a political isopy which asks the question who administers the economic system politically, not which is the economic system. The Greek version is very interesting as it translates the French version as “Στη χώρα του υπαρκτού καπιταλισμού” (meaning “in the country of existing capitalism”), an isopy composed of a topological isopy and an isopy of economic activities, but prints it preceded by “Ηγέτες και νέες ελίτ στη μετασοβιετική Ρωσία” (meaning “Leaders and new elites in post-Soviet Russia”), an utterance composed of a political isopy, a social isopy, an isopy of history and a toponymic isopy. This version, just like the English one, explains the French title, as it talks about “post-Soviet Russia”, an isopy composed of an isopy of history and a toponymic isopy, but at the same time these isotopies clarify the two which follow in Greek, in other words the topological isopy and the isopy of economic activities. Nevertheless, it is a very complicated version which contains sociological, political and historical isotopies which in fact characterise the historical journey of Russia throughout the 20th century.

Example 11: title of article Au pays du capitalisme réel

French: Au pays du capitalisme réel
(topological isopy + isopy of economic activities)

English: Who rules Russia?
/political isopy + toponymic isopy

Greek: Ηγέτες και νέες ελίτ στη μετασοβιετική Ρωσία.
/political isopy + social isopy + isopy of history + toponymic isopy

Στη χώρα του υπαρκτού καπιταλισμού
/topological isopy + isopy of economic activities

Some preliminary remarks

We know that translation sometimes stumbles when faced with the matter of connotations. Georges Mounin (166) states that connotations resist translation, but that we have to translate them just as we translate denotations. In the case of interlingual translation of connotation it is very difficult to select an isopy for the target language, since connotation is purely a cultural product. The advantage of using an isopy is that we can make a selection among a wide range of codes (sub-isotopies) that constitute an isopy in the target language. I believe that semantic isotopies can assist in this direction so that not only connotations but denotations as well need not be lost in interlingual translation. Indeed, semantic isopy includes a great number of isotopies of a different structure (words, phrases,
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fixed expressions), from which we can choose the isotopy most appropriate to the specific cultural system, which brings to mind the position of Jakobson (139) that “[…] the meaning of any linguistic sign is its translation into some further, alternative sign, especially a sign ‘in which it is more fully developed […]’.

In the utterances studied, isotopies are not always translated according to their articulation in the source language, but the dominant isotopy is in most cases translated. In Greek translation the isotopy of appellation seem to be more appreciated and interpretable than other isotopies. Often, equivalence in translation is not achieved within the same isotopy. The transformation of the semantic field is required by the cultural environment responsible for decoding an utterance, which demands the highest possible content of information and connotation. Even when the translator is not a professional, he/she should take into account certain semiotic parameters such as intertextual elements and connotative preservation or equivalence.

In lieu of a conclusion

In this paper I have limited my examples to utterances such as film titles and newspaper headlines. It is obvious, however, that each and every act of translation can be approached through the lens of semantic isotopies in order to enhance a theoretical understanding of the cultural function of translation. This is the contribution of the Paris School of semiotics, since this approach, which is based on the translator’s cultural knowledge, appears to be directly applicable to the field of Translation Studies, without the need for an elaborate semiotic theory as other schools seem to require.

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Works Cited


