

Formation of Drama Translation Field in Pahlavi I (1925–1941)¹

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Abstract

This research investigates the process of the gradual rise of drama translation field in an Iranian context, drawing on Bourdieu's theoretical framework. This framework is used to examine the relationship between this cultural production and its social agents in Pahlavi I (1925–1941). Understanding the phases of the formation of this field depends on understanding a number of socio-cultural factors affecting drama translation and different agents' practices. To investigate the influence of these factors on agents' practices a context-oriented research is conducted at the macro-structural level. The findings are analysed by Bourdieu's key concepts of field, habitus, and capital. It is also argued that there are important social agents who have contributed significantly to the structure of the field and its boundaries. The main conclusion drawn from the study is that socio-cultural developments over the certain period reshaped the structure of Iranian society. Iran saw the progressive rise of different social fields and also the emergence of new cultural agents and culture space witnessed the rise of drama translation thanks to attempts by agents belonging to two highly active fields of power and theatre. Moreover, in this period, the existence of two different translatorial habitus shaped the poetics of drama translation: translation for page and translation for stage which means that there were two different translatorial habitus in operation: domestication and foreignisation.

Keywords: Agency, Field, Literary field, Theatre field

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Introduction

Bourdieu (1980) describes society as a sport, a social game with its own system of rules, in which the players are familiar with the basic rules which enable their participation. Entering into the game therefore, entails having a feel for the game, this being one of the privileges of having been born a participant. It is this privilege which enables us to employ more or less unconsciously the practices inherent to the rules of this game. These practices are used to constitute a complex structure, which is constructed upon its own system of values. Inghilleri (2005) argues that Bourdieu's sociological framework focuses on the dynamics of cultural production, i.e., the process of cultural goods production. His concepts of field, habitus, and capital, in particular, made it possible to study the interactions between agency and structure.

Accordingly, this study, through the framework of Bourdieu's sociology, investigates the rise of drama translation field in Persian context where various agents and socio-cultural factors are situated. The concentration here is on an extra-textual level without taking into consideration drama text structures or translation strategies.

Sociology of Translation

Sociological research into Translation Studies (hereafter TS) has been mostly inspired by the critique of the polysystem model and the theory of translational norms and calls for a more agent-oriented study (Buzelin, 2005). The neglect of agents implicated in translation in Even-Zohar's (1978) polysystem model and Toury's (1995) theory of translational norms has gradually gained the attention of translation scholars. The emergent perception of 'sociological turn' in TS includes a series of questions dealing with interaction between human agents and agencies, translated texts and their context of production and reception, the translation market, the role played by the

publishing industry, the social status and roles of translators and the translator's profession, and the interplay of the agent's power relations (Chesterman, 2006; Inghilleri, 2005; Wolf & Fukari, 2007). According to Wolf (2007) all these studies have thus seen a new trend or research perspective which aims to reconstruct a translational field and provide a better understanding of the translational phenomena in its surrounding environment, including the social settings where the translations were produced (p. 136). The activity of translation as a social practice, or as Hermans (1997) puts it, a 'socially regulated activity' (p. 142) overlaps to a large extent with history. Hence, the unperceived complexity and multi-determined nature of sociocultural practice are revealed by the infusion of sociological research with historical analysis. In general terms, as Wolf (2006) states all this seems to have helped open up new means of evaluating the process of translation which focuses on power relations inherent in any translation activity (p. 9).

A Brief Overview of Bourdieu's Theory of Social Practice

Bourdieuian *social theory* is a theory of action, meaning that it theorises practice and explains the practice of agents. In the words of Jenkins (1992) "it is the tension between these two aspects of Bourdieu's theoretical framework that makes it so interesting: 'theory without empirical research is empty, empirical research without theory is blind'" (p. 92). Bourdieu maintains that social structure can only be explained by analysing agents' practices and relating agents to their social position and to their social trajectory. Therefore, he developed the triad terms of field, capital and habitus to explain how regularities of behaviour become established and preserved in social space. He called these terms his 'thinking tools', emerged in the course of his empirical studies (Grenfell, 2008) to uncover the dichotomous relationship between agency and structure.

Bourdieu's (1999) theoretical framework relies on a three-stage analysis focused on the relationship between the cultural field and the field of power, the internal structure of the field, and the development of the habitus of the agents occupying given positions within the field (p. 214). A field refers to a system of social positions structured internally in terms of power relationships and characterised by a struggle for dominance among its members. Thus, a field is a social arena of continuous struggle over the appropriation of certain species of capital: economic (material possessions), social (the network of social relations), cultural (education, knowledge, titles, etc.) and symbolic (prestige or social honour). The relationship between the individual and the society, or between the habitus and the field, is explicitly expressed by Bourdieu (1984) as "the body is in the social world but the social world is within the body" (p. 190). Bourdieu argues that habitus is the product of history, which produces individual and collective practice in accordance with the schemes generated in two senses: it is both the product of the history of the field of which he or she is a member and the history of his or her trajectory in the social space (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992). What can be done in the field is shaped and informed by the rules of participation, the boundaries, and the conditions of the field. That is, its structure is not fixed since there is a continuous struggle within the field to transform or preserve the field of forces (Bourdieu, 1983). Furthermore, these fields are all representative of different social or cultural worlds, which, rather than adhering slavishly to societal trends, have a greater or lesser degree of relative autonomy in that they obey their own rules. In behaving in their idiosyncratic ways, each field contributes to the overall dynamics of social space (Wolf, 2002).

Methodology

The present research seeks to explore the historical setting and the socio-cultural context which paved the way for the formation of drama translation field

in Iran. It will particularly examine Bourdieu's theoretical framework and its function in explaining the construction of this particular field. For the purpose of investigating the relationship between the translational field and its social agents, a quantitative research approach for collecting and analysing data is applied. Therefore, multiple data-collection methods, including historical and archival research and quantitative data on drama translation flows are used. The infusion of sociological research with historical analysis makes visible the unperceived complexity and multi-determined nature of this socio-cultural practice.

Results and Discussion

Tracing the Rise of Drama Translation Field during Pahlavi I (1925–1941)

Modern drama which was introduced toward the end of the 19th century flourished in Iran in the first decades of the 20th century (Ghanoonparvar, 1996, p. 529). Thus, the paper develops an understanding of Reza Shah Period which was the age of a boost for modern theatre and also the rise of the field of drama translation. We shall consider the historical setting only in so far as it helps to clarify the nature of Iranian society in Reza Shah's epoch and his policies which led to the rise of drama translation.

Socio-historical Scene

When Reza Shah came to power in the early 1920s, Iran witnessed the establishment of the following organizations and public places which are worth mentioning: Tehran University (1935), the National Museum (1937), the National Library (1937), cinemas, cafes, theatres, and other public centres necessary to accommodate a middle-class style of life (Abrahamian, 1983). Literary periodicals were founded and literary circles and societies came into being. The state attempted to foster and encourage cultural fields in order to improve the lives of individuals and create a better society. Translation was one

of the primary literary tools that larger social institutions – educational systems, arts councils, publishing firms, and even government- had at their disposal to manipulate the society in order to construct the kind of culture it desired. In terms of socio-cultural reforms that aimed to westernise the Iranian society, Reza Shah created cultural organisations, such as the Ministry of Culture to instill greater national awareness in the general public (Katouzian, 2006). Due to all these developments, many social domains (economic, literary, art, journalism and political) evolved into relatively semi-autonomous fields over these two decades.

Activities of Cultural Organisations and Public Institutions

One of the important cultural events was the establishment of an organisation called *Sazman-i-Parvarish-i Afkar* in 1939. Different divisions of this institute included lectures, radio, book editing, music, the press and also a school of acting which was opened with an official permission from the Ministry of Culture. Ali Nasr (a prominent dramatist and playwright) was appointed the head of this department which continued to function until 1959. This was the first attempt to create a training centre for dramatic art in Iran. The budget of the college was provided by Tehran Municipal Council. The development of Iranian theatre meant that professional and educated playwrights and drama translators were now required.

In 1934, *Shirokhorshid Institute* (an organisation for humanitarian services) invited Papazian, an Armenian actor and director, to travel to Tehran to establish a national theatre in Iran. He succeeded in performing the foreign plays of *Don Juan*, *Othello*, *Hamlet*, and *Bal masqué* in Armenian and Russian with the help of Armenian and Iranian actors. In 1935, the Ministry of Culture asked three important literary and artistic characters, Forughi, Minavi and Nushin to write a play for Ferdowsi millennium, to be performed for foreign and Iranian scholars. The first School of Theatre was subsequently established in

1939. In the school, which was run similar to European theatre schools, many subjects were taught, subjects such as history and acting, Persian literature, theory of music and Persian classical music, history of costume, stage design and make-up, foreign languages (French and English), voice and speech (Guran, 1981, p. 173). Similarly, much like his predecessors, Reza Shah sponsored European educations for many Iranian students and regarded this as the key to Iran's quick modernisation. With the return of some students who had graduated from European universities in dramatic arts, a new wave of drama translators replaced the Qajar princes and courtiers who translated drama texts.

Main Literary Trends and Events between 1925 and 1941

During 1920s and 1930s, literary activity gained a new impetus. Different literary genres, such as drama, short story and novel tended to focus on pre-Islamic events in order to illustrate the rich history of Iran. As many of the literati of this time had a good knowledge of foreign languages, they translated literary works too (Emami, 1993, pp. 65–91). Many of the agents working as cultural agents worked for newspapers and magazines as well. The publication of translated drama texts provoked interesting debates on literary translation in the most prestigious journals such as *Iran*, *Arman*, *Mehr*, and *Vafa*. During this period, theatrical articles were published to discuss theoretical aspects of playwriting by Nafisi, Vaziri, Hassan Moghadam and Moshfeq. In 1925, in an article in the journal of *Nama-ye Farangestan*, Moshfeq discussed the main obstacles to the growth of modern dramatic arts in Iran, and also the absence of women from the stage of Persian theatre (Malakpur, III, 1984, p. 251). An important development in the drama and theatre was the growing involvement of women as dramatists, drama translators and theatre actors in production and performance. It is noteworthy that Mino Lajvardi was one of these women who translated or rather adapted Molière's *The Imaginary Invalid* in 1930 (Oskoui, 1999).

In this period, two groups of translators can be identified in the field of drama translation. The first group belonged to literary fields such as Bozorg Alavi and Farzad and the second group belonged to the theatre field such as Hasan Naser, Bahmanyar, Shahrzad and Nushin. The existence of two different translatorial habitus shaped the poetics of the field of drama translation: translation for page and translation for stage. That is because, the structure of the field of drama translation was influenced by two main developments: an emerging trend of producing drama translations for publication, and the rise of new practices of drama translation in response to the needs of new theatrical groups which emerged in the field of theatre. This also meant that there were two different translatorial habitus in operation: foreignisation and domestication.

During this period drama translation was a service to the field of theatre. Some twenty different semi-professional acting groups (Iranian Comedy Company, Barbod Society, Nakisa, Kermanshahi Studio Dram, etc.) whose members were dependent on drama texts for stage were active on Lalehzar Street. In particular, Shahrzad and Nushin had dominated the entire field of the theatre during these two decades. For Shahrzad and Nushin who had a high status and the central position in the theatre field, drama translation was a matter of struggle for professional credibility in this field. Theatre translators now had the tricky task of attracting both cultural capital and economic capital simultaneously. To achieve a larger audience that guaranteed the successful conversion of cultural capital into economic capital, theatre agents domesticated drama texts that would ensure success and popularity and attract the largest sector of the audience. Thus, theatre translators were the most active cultural agents who struggled to accumulate capitals and to take positions in the field of drama translation.

Rise of Drama Translation as a Field

Bourdieu's theoretical framework relies on a three-stage analysis: a) the relationship between the field in question and the field of power; b) the 'objective structure of positions' that makes up the field, and the relationships between them in terms of the struggle over the capital characteristic of the field in question; c) the habitus of the agents within the field of activity (Jenkins, 2002, p. 86). This Bourdieu-inspired examination of drama translation in Iran aims to trace the social and cultural determinations of this cultural practice within a system of overlapping social, economic and political fields.

1. Relationship between the field in question and the field of power

The field of power is situated in the upper part of Bourdieu's social space where individuals and groups have considerable volume of capitals. In Pahlavi I, Iran witnessed the establishment of many public places, organisations and cultural institutions necessary to accommodate a middle-class style of life and form people's disposition. What these types of social organisations and public places had in common was that they were funded by an external entity, the state. The period sees the advantages of state intervention in the management of cultural field and the role of the state as the main agent in fostering access to cultural productions amongst citizens. The state also acted in a relatively large space by allocating budget where the market for cultural productions was absent or was in the process of formation. The market for performing arts expanded over these two decades and public subsidy (the budget provided by Tehran Municipal Council) had been available to underwrite the creation of new departments to respond to the demands created by an expanding population of educated Iranians with a disposition for performing art.

The comprehensive and rapid changes that took place in the system of culture following Pahlavi I point to the intricate relationship between the two

fields of power and culture in Iran. During this period, official culture planning was the embodiment of the state's efforts to set the course of drama translation activity. These state-sponsored institutions which had every four capital, deemed the state planning efforts more likely to succeed, or at least to be more visible. There is no doubt that these cultural organisations shaped the field of theatre and drama translation in major ways: The establishment of *Sazman-i-Parvarish-i Afkar* by Foroghi (the prime minister), who was a drama translator, was the first attempt to create a training centre for dramatic art by people in positions of influence in the field of power. *Sazman-i-Parvarish-i Afkar* certainly was an important player in the field of cultural production. The activities of this institution brought some dynamism to the theatre field in that time which led to an increase in sales figures and, to a lesser extent, to drama translation production. Under the institutional support, the cooperation of some cultural agents such as Ali Nasr (playwright and theatre practitioner) and Nushin (the father of modern Iranian theatre) in the *College of Theatre* formed strong bonds with the cultural facilitators. On that basis, we could argue that one of the major functions of the state was to provide a platform where other agents (translators, writers, poets, journalists, theatre practitioners, etc.) could represent their agency. Indeed, the field of power was the real locomotive force behind the rise of different cultural fields and subfields and also behind different agents that struggled to accumulate different capitals.

2. The 'objective structure of positions' that makes up the field, and the relationships between them in terms of the struggle over the capital are characteristic of the field in question.

Bourdieu (1996) defines field as "a network of objective relations . . . between positions" (p. 231) which is available to be occupied by members of the field. The status of these positions for agents is determined firstly by the interplay of the agents, i.e., with cultural organisations and institutions, theatre

field, literary field, etc. (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992, p. 97). The study reveals that in this period the leading translators in drama translation field were the agents from theatre fields which represents the homology of drama translation field with other fields and with the overall structure of the social space. Translators belonging to theatre field who were keen to maximise their profits usually adapted a large-scale commercial mode of production (they applied domestication as the dominant strategy in translating drama texts). In other words, drama translation was a source of economic capital rather than other forms of capital in the theatre field. It might mean theatre agents did not go into business for didactic purposes but for profit.

Moreover, Bourdieu (1993) identifies a homology between the artistic and literary producers in the field of cultural production with other fields such as economic, political or the field of power. The results show drama translators were in communication with other agents who were active in the cultural field. They had certain goals to struggle for, personal or collective interests to pursue in the field of drama translation, and material and symbolic stakes to defend in other fields. Indeed, the main reasons for selecting texts for translation were not purely literary, but theatrical. That is, Shahrzad and Nushin actively promoted drama translation and their exportation to the market through theatre. The commercial success of Shahrzad and Nushin in theatre field demonstrates their strong legitimacy in that field. Consequently, they accumulated social capital as they acted as mediators between different fields and drama translation was the object by which they gathered cultural and symbolic capitals. These agents enjoyed the visibility in other fields based on various capitals (fame, relationship with the state, and access to exclusive networks in the literary and intellectual fields). In other words, these different agents who occupied different positions in other fields, brought with them forms of capital circulated in those particular fields.

3. *The habitus of the agents within the field of activity*

Bourdieu (1990) writes that “[t]he habitus ... is the product of an individual history, but also, through the formative experiences of earliest infancy, of the whole collective history of family and class” (p. 91). In the second decade of the 20th century, the Persian cultural field saw the rise of a second generation of translators who were not Qajar courtiers. New players who belonged to various fields with different tastes (dispositions) and habitus entered drama translation field in order to play the game and take positions. The young participants from middle class families were given opportunities for agency in cultural field. In this time, new players, even women as drama translators, entered the cultural field. These agents belonged to various cultural fields - the literary one and the theatrical one at the same time. Drama translation has constituted but a small part of their activity and their specific habitus was constituted across different fields of cultural activity.

This period witnessed the rise of drama translation thanks to attempts by agents belonging to highly active fields of literature and theatre and the field of power, each arising from different cultural, economic and political dynamics. Drama translators from literary field and theatre field were working from at least two distinct professional dispositions, the former being more concerned with the play’s language and the latter with making the text work as a performance. Based on our investigation, the findings show that in this time the majority of drama translators belong to the second type. According to Bourdieu (1996), cultural agents usually chose those translation flows which they hope will economically be profitable and also give them maximum symbolic value.

Thus, in the hierarchy of drama translation field, literary field was subordinated to theatre field which means major drama translators were theatre translators and theatre field was almost subordinated to the field of power because all the institutions governing cultural production were state-run and regulated by the state intervention. Indeed, the field of power was the real locomotive force behind the rise of different cultural fields and subfields and also

different agents within them that struggled to accumulate different capitals. As a result, the field of cultural production shares interests with the field of power which, in turn, indirectly promoted drama translation field (see Figure 1). In addition, the influence of the field of power was another major socio-cultural determinant that constructs translation agents' translatorial habitus. The position-takings were divided between theatre agents and drama agents. As a result, theatre agents who translated primarily for stage took the primary position and struggled for cultural and economic capitals and literary agents who translated for page took the secondary position and struggled for cultural and symbolic capital in the semi-autonomous drama translation field (see Figure 2). The drama translator's position was not crucial at this moment but rather a marginal status in the cultural field. Indeed, drama translations were made to serve the interests of the theatre field.

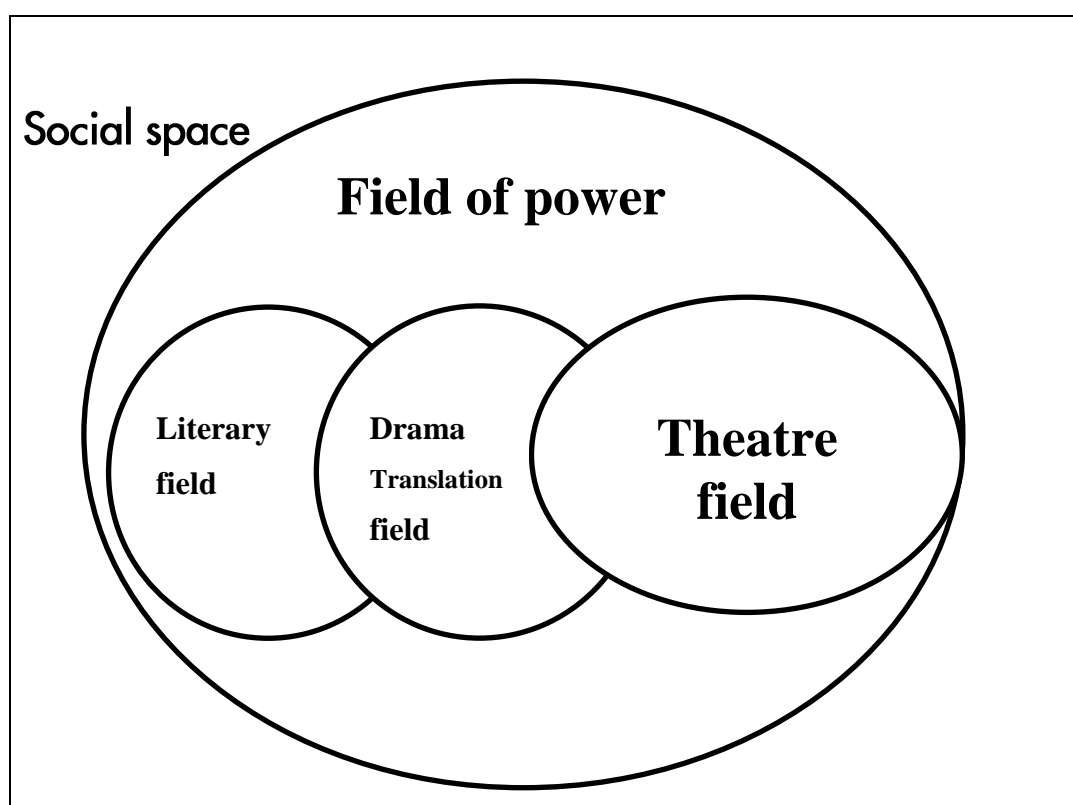


Figure 1. Drama translation field in Pahlavi I

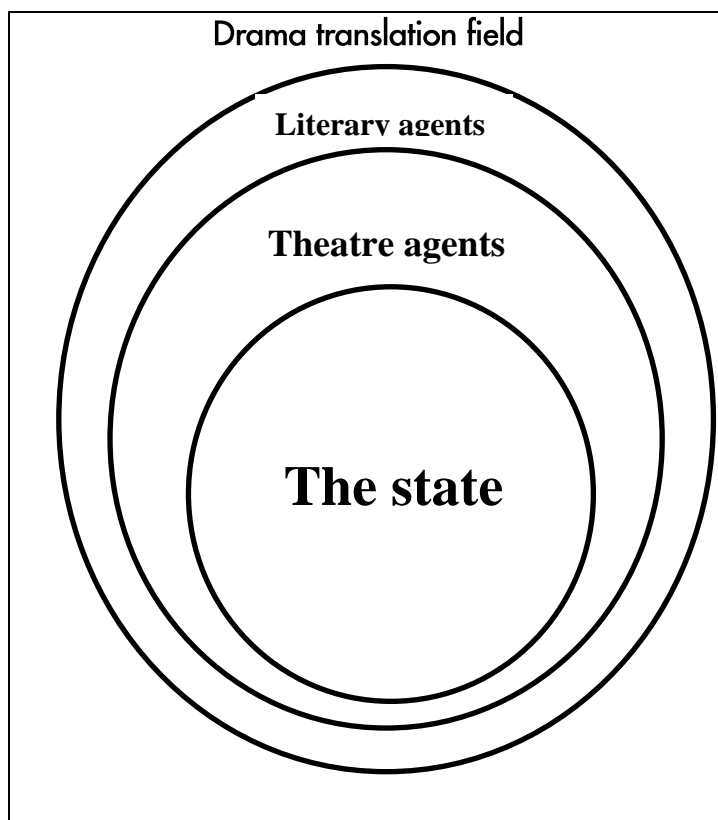


Figure 2. The positions of agents in drama translation field in Pahlavi I

This study is only a small part of a much bigger story. Bourdieu's theoretical framework enabled us to understand that translation in general, and drama translation in particular, was no longer thought of as a linguistic activity carried out in isolation, but as the product of a broader cultural context that encompassed plural social factors and forces. The researcher investigated drama translation activities against the Iranian social context and interpreted the social conditions behind translation activities. In this regard, a descriptive study of the phenomenon of drama translation field from a sociological approach was undertaken in order to obtain multiple points of view. It is worth noting that translation activity as well as the theoretical reflection on the translation of literature in Iran has so far focused mainly on the novel and poetry at the expense of the other literary genres. According to the imbalance in the course of

researching Persian translation studies, the researcher feels the need for translation practitioners and theorists to orient their activities towards the other literary genres such as drama and short stories. By focusing on drama translation, this study seeks to respond to that need.

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شکل‌گیری میدان ترجمه‌نمایشنامه در دوره پهلوی اول (۱۳۰۴-۱۳۲۰)^۱

فریده شعبانی راد^۲

چکیده

پژوهش حاضر روند تدریجی شکل‌گیری میدان ترجمه‌نمایشنامه را با استفاده از چارچوب نظری بوردیو در بافت ایرانی بررسی می‌کند. با استفاده از این چارچوب نظری ارتباط میان میدان تولید ترجمه‌نمایشنامه و عاملان اجتماعی‌اش در دوره پهلوی اول (۱۳۰۴-۱۳۲۰) مورد مطالعه قرار می‌گیرد، زیرا که پی بردن به مراحل شکل‌گیری آن به درک برخی از عوامل اجتماعی-فرهنگی و عملکرد عاملان وابسته است. مطالعه حاضر برای بررسی تأثیر این عوامل بر عملکرد عاملان در سطح ساختار کلان صورت گرفته است. یافته‌ها براساس مفاهیم اساسی بوردیو نظیر میدان، عادت‌واره و سرمایه مورد تحلیل قرار گرفت و به نقش عاملان اجتماعی تأثیرگذاری که به‌طور چشمگیری در ساختاربندی این میدان و مرزهایش مشارکت داشته‌اند نیز پرداخته شد. نتیجه‌گیری مطالعه نشان می‌دهد که توسعه اجتماعی-فرهنگی در دوره پهلوی اول موجب تغییر شکل ساختار جامعه ایرانی شد. ایران شاهد رشد فزاینده فضاهای اجتماعی گوناگون و نیز ظهور عاملان فرهنگی جدید بود و به تبع آن، میدان ادبی شاهد شکل‌گیری میدان ترجمه‌نمایشنامه به‌دنبال تلاش‌های عاملانی بود که متعلق به دو میدان فعال و تأثیرگذار یعنی میدان قدرت و میدان تئاتر بودند. علاوه‌براین، دو نوع عادت‌واره ترجمه‌ای در ترجمه‌نمایشنامه‌ها متداول شد: ترجمه برای چاپ و ترجمه برای صحنه که حاکی از وجود دو روش متفاوت ترجمه است: بیگانه‌سازی و بومی‌سازی.

واژه‌های راهنما: عاملیت، میدان، میدان ادبی، میدان تئاتر

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