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TRANSLATION AND PERSONALITY. MULTIFACES OF PERSONALITY IN TRANSLATION

Abstract: This paper aims at explaining the translation process through a psychological perspective, the Cultural Frame Switching paradigm. Psychological studies concerned with the Cultural Frame Switching have proven that bilingualism and multilingualism favour the manifestation of different personalities of the same person, i.e. speaking different languages will lead to displaying different personalities, as a result of the cultural influences acting upon us. Along this line of research, one can expect that a translator's personality changes with the language switch. Translation thus becomes a double metamorphosis, a linguistic one, from one language to another and a psychological one, from one personality to another, and the translator, besides becoming a rewriter of the original text, is also a personality builder, internalizing different worldviews, specific to each language.

Key words: translation, bilingualism, personality, Cultural Frame Switching

Of bilinguals and translators. Accounts and psychological facts

The issue of the translator's identity is, in fact, an issue of the bilingual and multilingual personality, since the translator possesses expert skills in both the mother tongue, and the second language. Thus, a first step in understanding the translator's mental processes and cognitive functioning would imply defining and explaining the biculturalism and multiculturalism phenomenon.

Parting with the rather simplistic definition given to bilingualism by Merriam-Webster's online thesaurus, Richard Clément (2015) proposes a two-level definition: "bilingualism as a collective characteristic defining nations and bilingualism as a person's competence in one or more languages" (1), also noting that the key to understanding the concept lies in the interaction between individuals and contexts, and, as such, between man and culture. Speaking two languages alone does not make one a bilingual, if those two languages do not provide access to two different cultural levels.

"Bilingualism is, therefore, an intercultural communication (IC) phenomenon ..." (Clément 2015, 2).

So is a translator's job: She communicates interculturally, but not only for the sake of translating raw information, of expressing facts, but in order to recreate a world that is based on the author's perspective and that also needs to be adjusted to the target language that designs it. It is an accommodative experience between two cultures, two visions of the world, two perspectives on reality, resulting not in a unification, but in a more or less amiable co-existence of cultural differences:

"I think of myself not as a unified cultural being but as a communion of different cultural beings. Due to the fact that I have spent time in different cultural environments, I have developed several cultural identities that diverge and converge according to the need of the moment." (Sparrow 190, quoted in Chen2008,803-804).

The above citation speaks of an integration strategy and process, by which a person successfully blends elements of the culture of origin with elements of the receiving culture. The melange is not totally synchronous on a subjective level, as the author mentions several cultural identities. Studies show that this does not necessarily mean a personality conflict, if the person manages not to internalize the intersection point between the two cultures (Benet-Martínez and Haritatos 2005; Padilla 1994; Phinney and Devich-Navarro 1997, quoted in Chen 2008, 805). The results of such studies have formed the stem of the Bicultural Identity Integration (BII) theories, that

explain bilingualism – biculturalism as a wilful acceptance of their two identities, as compatible and not in opposition. This view is far more positive than the first self-splitting theories on bilingualism – biculturalism, that resulted later in the Cultural Frame Switching paradigm, but it still acknowledges the presences of a doubling phenomenon: double identities, double personalities.

Closely connected to the Cultural Frame Switching is the contradictory, inner-confusing perspective that Aneta Pavlenko (2006) presents as a daily reality of bilinguals or multilinguals. Switching from one language to another also implies switching from one *Weltanschauung* to another, from one understanding of the outer reality to a different one, and changing the behavioural repertoire, because entering the new world of a second or third spoken language requires an absolute change of the lens through which reality is perceived. This pronounced confusion of identity has been equated by some writers with a pathologic manifestation of schizophrenia or a similar kind of schizophreniform disorder.

What is common to both bilinguals and monolinguals interacting with them, is the realization of the presence of at least two conflicting personalities, each corresponding to a language and to its specific reality. Adler's warning that "bilingualism can lead to split personality and, worst, to schizophrenia" (Pavlenko 2006,3) seems to carry some truth.

The French-English bilingual writer Julian Green captured beautifully this struggle of the two personalities:

"I was writing another book, a book so different in tone from the French that a whole aspect of the subject must of necessity be altered. It was as if, writing in English, I had become another person. I went on. New trains of thought were started in my mind, new associations of ideas were formed. There was so little resemblance between what I wrote in English and what I had already written in French that it might almost be doubted that the same person was the author of these two pieces of work." (Green 62, quoted in Pavlenko 2006, 4).

The rendering of a similar experience is to be found in Tzvetan Todorov's essay *Bilingualism, Dialogism and Schizophrenia*, with a sensible description of his French-Bulgarian experience:

"I had changed my imagined audience. And at that moment I realized that the Bulgarian intellectuals to whom my discourse was addressed could not understand the meaning I intended. The condemnation of attachment to national values changes significance according to whether you live in a small country (your own) places within the sphere of influence of a larger one or whether you live abroad, in a different country, where you are (or think you are) sheltered from any threat by a more powerful neighbour. Paris is certainly a place that favours the euphoric renunciation of nationalist values: Sofia much less so ... [the necessary modification] required that I change an affirmation into its direct opposite. I understood the position of the Bulgarian intellectuals, and had I been in their situation, mine probably would have been the same." (Todorov 210, quoted in Pavlekno 2006,4).

Claude Esteban stresses the co-existence of two mental universes, along with the two languages:

"... having been divided between French and Spanish since early childhood, I found it difficult for many years to overcome a strange laceration, a gap not merely between two languages but also between the mental universes carried by them; I could never make them coincide within myself." (Esteban 26; translated by Beaujour 47, quoted in Pavlenko 2006,5).

The empirical works of psychoanalysis, psychology and linguistic anthropology analysed by Pavlenko (2006) confirm the intuitive point of view and the accounts presented above, i.e. that different languages may create different worlds for their speakers and that these worlds are sometimes irreconcilable, thus leading to the birth of different selves. In their turn, these selves impact differently the bilingual's behaviour

and view of the world, creating sometimes mutually excluding situations and conflicts. (Pavlenko 2006, 27)

The Indian-American writer Jhumpa Lahiri(2015) also speaks of experiencing a linguistic exile and of the inner schism brought along by speaking two different languages:

"In a sense I'm used to a kind of linguistic exile. My mother tongue, Bengali, is foreign in America. When you live in a country where your own language is considered foreign, you can feel a continuous sense of estrangement. You speak a secret, unknown language, lacking any correspondence to the environment. An absence that creates a distance within you." (30).

The writer describes her feelings while learning Italian and writing a novel in English in an article for The New Yorker:

"In this period I feel like a divided person. […]
I think of two-faced Janus. Two faces that look at the past and the future at once. The ancient god of the threshold, of beginnings and endings. He represents a moment of transition. He watches over gates, over doors, a god who is only Roman, who protects the city. A remarkable image that I am about to meet everywhere." (34).
"By writing in Italian, I think I am escaping both my failures with regard to English and my success. Italian offers me a very different literary path. As a writer I can demolish myself, I can reconstruct myself. I can join words together and work on sentences without ever being considered an expert. I'm bound to fail when I write in Italian, but, unlike my sense of failure in the past, this doesn't torment or grieve me." (35).

Learning a new language – Italian – and writing her first story in Italian, Jhumpa Lahiri (2015) goes through a partial metamorphosis, she changes herself, by doubling her personality:

"It's not possible to become another writer, but it might be possible to become two." (36).

Could this inner split, this contest between two personalities be inherent to the translator, as well, who has to retrace a writer's literary steps and develop a new personality that best expressed the world of the translation language? The intuitive answer is yes, but the scientific one will have to be given by psychologists.

Making a summary of the positive and negative effects of bilingualism on the cognitive, education and personality development, Al-Amri (2013) indicates a detrimental effect of bilingualism on personality, manifested as conflict, tension and emotional instability, citing Diebold's (1968) and Appel and Muysken's (1987) studies on alienated personalities as an effect of bilingual confusion(3).

An interesting psychological experiment designed by Nodoushan & Laborda (2014) aimed at testing the hypothesis of the dual inner self of a group of Iranian Americans, who had spent the first half of their lives in Iran and the other half in the US. The Self Concept Scale – in English and Persian – was used to examine the participants' self-concept in both languages. The results came to support the hypothesis: A discrepancy was observed between the real self and the ideal self in the Persian version of the questionnaire, as opposed to no discrepancy between the two self-concepts in the English version. The conclusion of the study was rather undoubtful:

> "... the bilingual possesses two different guises of selves which are language specific and are used in accordance to the language the bilingual speaks at any given point in time." (Nodoushan and Laborda 2014, 114).

The results of the psychological research quoted above finds more support if we consider the specific features of any language. Following the evolutionist line of research, Steven Pinker (1994)identifies six traits of the English languagethat make it so different from any other language: 1) the agreement maker, reflected in the third person singular -s, as in *He thinks*. 2) the free word order, allowing prepositions to play a crucial role in the meaning of each sentence or phrase. 3) the ergative character, i.e. the similarity between the subjects of intransitive verbs and the objects of transitive verbs. 4) English is a "topic-prominent" language. 5) English is a subject-verb-object language.

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6) English is a classifier language, i.e. it makes use of many noun classifiers. Pinker humorous argument that, based on these specific features of the English language, and of any other language taken for comparison, a Martian might wonder why the inhabitants of Earth speak thousands of "mutually unintelligible dialects" (241) carries some truth in it and justifies the further question about the need of developing different personalities in order to comfortably communicate in one language or another.

The translation, as a form of cultural communication becomes a process of self-translation, in which the translator builds herself a new personality that can encompass the specific traits of the target language, as well as the cultural values carried by every world-forging language.

Double the language, double the personality? The Cultural Frame Switching and psychological studies

One of the most pertinent psychological paradigms used to explain the cognitive and behavioural changes that occur in a person when switching from one language to another is the Cultural Frame Switching that explains the often noticed phenomenon of the bilinguals manifesting double personalities, as an expression of their biculturality, which prompts them to change their attitudes and representations when facing stimuli belonging to a different culture. In other words, when they speak a different language that acts as a priming mechanism for a different culture, bilinguals manifest a different personality. (Ramírez-Esparza 2006, 100).

Earlier studies based on this paradigm examined personality differences in French-English bilinguals, by measuring the responses to the Thematic Apperception Test (Ervin, 1964) and attributed the differences to the cultural differences (lesser importance of social roles in the American culture, more verbal language aggression in the French peer communication, more often presence of the themes of autonomy in the French culture, etc.). (Ramírez-Esparza 2006, 101-102).

Another study using the California Psychological Inventory (Hull, 1996) with Spanish-English bilingual subjects brought more evidence in support of the Cultural Frame Switching Paradigm. Again, language imprinted the participants' responses with features specific to the culture associated with each language: The Spanish culture, as a

collectivist culture values interrelational harmony, peace and gregarious tendencies and thus determined the participants to obtain higher scores on "good impression", while the individualistic, achievement-prone American culture bought along higher scores in "intellectual efficiency", when the responses were to be given in English (Ramírez-Esparza 2006, 102).

The study conducted by Ramírez-Esparza et al. (2006) aimed at testing the Cultural Frame Switching hypothesis in the field of personality differences, with English-Spanish bilinguals. The experiment was a within-subjects design, with three samples of participants. What is to be noted about this study is the fact that the psychologists chose to include in their study only bilinguals who reached a very high standard of language proficiency, both in English and Spanish. This criterion makes it possible to generalize the results to any group of professional translators, whose extremely high level of language proficiency is a common prerequisite.

In choosing the personality measurement tool, the authors explained their preference for the Big-Five paradigm, namely the Big Five Inventory. The Big Five framework is a bipolar scale, with five personality traits, each placed on a progressive continuum: extraversion, agreeableness, consciousness, neuroticism and openness. This personality test was translated into Spanish, and the participants were asked to fill out the Big Five Inventory in both languages. The results were consistent with the predictions of the Cultural Frame Switching:

"bilinguals were more extraverted, agreeable, and conscientious in English than in Spanish and these differences were consistent with the personality displayed in each culture." (Ramírez-Esparza 2006,115).

These results might seem to contradict the very definition of personality, its persistence across time and situations, but the authors explain that, from a psychological perspective, this tendency affects the whole group, therefore the individual change has to be interpreted within this context:

"... individuals tend to retain their rank ordering within a group but the group as a whole shifts. Thus, an extrovert does not suddenly become an introvert as she

switches languages; instead a bilingual becomes more extraverted when she speaks English rather that Spanish but retains her rank ordering within each of the groups." (Ramírez-Esparza 2006,115)

As people who have internalized two cultures, bilinguals tend to change their view of the world, their interpretations, depending on the language they use to express themselves (Ramírez-Esparza 2006, 118).

As expert-bilingual, the literary translator engages in a similar experience; the translation process has a double creative value: It recreates the fictional work of the author and it gives birth to a new personality that internalizes the set of values specific to the target language. Both the literary work and the translator are subjected to a transformative process: a linguistic and a psychological one. This process allows the translator to play two roles, both bearing an immense creative value: the role of the rewriter of the original text and the role of a new personality builder.

Linguistic determinism

The linguistic determinism theory is one of the first psychological explanations given to the phenomenon of bilingualism. The linguistic determinism hypothesis (also known as the Whorfian hypothesis, after its author, the psycholinguist Benjamin Lee Whorf) states that the structural differences between two languages will be reflected in the way the native speakers of the two languages perceive and understand reality. So, language has a causal effect on thought. The language we speak determines our world view and filters the relation between world and our thinking.

The examples given to support this hypothesis are too well-known: Different languages have a different understanding of basic colours and, while we can count 11 such colours in English (black, white, red, blue, green, yellow, brown, purple, pink, orange and gray), the Dani people of Papua New Guinea only count two colours (black and white or light and dark). (Gerrig and Zimbardo 2002,265). The contrast between the two perspectives on colour is rather abrupt, since a world perspective using eleven basic colours to describe the outer reality differs significantly from the one that views things in black and white.

Another classic and yet powerful example is the one contrasting the English language that has a single word for snow and the Eskimo that has more than twenty words expressing different forms and types of snow. (Wortman and Loftus 1988, 198).

More recent psychological research has reduced the influence that language exerts on thought and has pleaded for a more balanced relation between language and thought, but this controversy was strong enough to incite further interest in the matter. It was the first psychological explanation given to Ludwig Wittgenstein's famous quote on language "The limits of my language mean the limits of my world." and it reflected a general interest in the everlasting relation between language and thought, that resulted in later psychological hypotheses which were successfully tested.

Language as an instinct

In his renowned bestseller *The Language Instinct*, Steven Pinker (1994) brings evidence to the fact that language can be construed as an instinct, as a "biological makeup of our brains" (4), and not as a cultural creation that can be taught and learned in the absence of an innate, pre-birth, prewired mechanism. As an instinct or innate skill that pervades thought, language helps speakers interpret and construct reality in a manner that is specific to each language spoken, so speaking more languages can easily lead to constructing different and unique ways of expressing oneself.

The evolutionary perspective gives us the first evidence: The history of mankind has no record of a mute tribe or population; the universality of language inherent to the human species justifies the formulation of the language instinct hypothesis, and not of that of language as a cultural artefact. As Pinker (1994) puts it:

"There are Stone Age societies, but there is no such thing as a Stone Age language."(14).

The crucial argument favouring the language instinct hypothesis comes from the field of Developmental Psychology and concerns the acquisition of language by children. Pinker (1994) is of the opinion that each generation of children reinvents language, and this process is prompted by a volatile instinct they cannot control and which acts only

for a certain period of time. The critical window for successfully acquiring a language closes during childhood. (34).

As an instinct, language has to have an identifiable place in the brain, but besides the two famous areas associated with language production and language acquisition (Broca and Wernicke), the neurologists and neuro-psychologists still work on identifying a language organ or specific language genes.

Pinker's (1994) verdict is blunt and merciless:

"You don't need to have left the Stone Age; you don't need to be middle class; you don't need to do well in school; you don't even need to be old enough for school. Your parents need not bathe you in language or even command a language. You don't need the intellectual wherewithal to function in society, the skills to keep house and home together, or a particularly firm grip on reality. Indeed, you can possess all these advantages and still not be a competent language user, if you lack just the right genes or just the right bits of brain." (43).

Later research performed by psychologists and neurobiologists comes to contradict the classical theory of the roles played by the two brain areas (Broca and Wernicke) associated with language – Broca's motor area produces spoken and written language and Wernicke's sensory area allows the language comprehension. New brain scans and mapping, such as those performed by neurologist Lisa Eliot associate Wernicke's area with semantics and Broca's area with syntax. Furthermore, a new language site has been discovered, namely the perisylvian cortex, a wedge in the central hemisphere, close to the Sylvian fissure, that appears to be in charge with the language abilities of most of humanity. (Taylor 2010, 5).

It was the same neurological brain-scanning and brain-mapping devices and procedures that allowed us to gain knowledge on how the brain changes under the influence of a second language, i.e. how creativity is enriched and intelligence is stimulated. The famous Stroop Colour and Word Attention Test brought proof of better motor and cognitive abilities of bilinguals, as compared to the monolinguals, and the more invasive EEG (electroencephalogram), PET (positron emission tomography), fMRI (functional magnetic resonance imaging) and NIRS (near infrared spectroscopy)

showed different interactions of the brain with language in case of bilinguals. (Taylor 2010, 4).

An interesting experiment is cited, i.e. the one performed by dr. Franco Abro of University of Trieste, who, using functional magnetic resonance imaging on an Italian-English translator, found that speaking English (the second language) involved the right side of the brain, while Italian (the mother tongue) activated the left side of the brain. The proposed explanation was a more facile shift from one language to another, from the English in the right side of the brain, to the Italian in the left side of the brain.(Taylor 2010, 5).

Along with this line of bilingualism research, Antonio Damasio, professor of psychology and neurology at the University of Southern California speaks of two "convergence zones", two separate zones, each of them controlling the functionality of the bilingual's mother tongue and second language.(Taylor 2010, 4-5).

In her recent article on Bilingualism and Cognition, Virginia Valian (2015) reviewed an impressive number of articles documenting the differences between the bilinguals' and the monolinguals' brains: Abutalebi 2008; Abutalebi and Green 2007, 2008; Barrett, Ashley, Strait, and Kraus 2013; Chang 2014; Li, Legault, and Litcofsky 2014, etc.Changes of the neural networks and in the brain's neuroanatomy occur also in case of adults acquiring a second language (Valian 2015, 5). Interesting in the light of this article is the inhibition hypothesis that proposes an underlying mechanism – inhibition – to manage the use of two languages, namely the switch from one language to another, which requires inhibiting the language not used (Valian2015, 19).

For the translator, this switch from one language to another is instantaneous and routinized, so the inhibition process is even stronger and it must manifest itself on the personality level, as well.

There is no doubt that the translator is a skilled bilingual juggling with two or more languages, mastering skilfully the brain shift from one area to another. But the process is more complex than that: "The two languages in one individual, through synergy, create a force where the result becomes more than the sum of the parts, in effect opening up «forms of added values which go beyond the languages themselves»." (Heilmann, *pers. comm.,* quoted in Taylor 2010, 6).

It is precisely these forces that may correspond to the two personalities the translator invokes when shifting from one language to another. The shift is at the same time a shift from one personality to the other one, and from one culture to the different culture embedded in the second personality.

Tasks of phonological competition, recorded with the fMRI procedure also revealed differences between the brains of the two categories, in the sense of recruitment of different resources to manage this competition: different cortical sources, recruitment of the anterior cingulate and left superior frontal gyrus in monolinguals, proving less automatic competition mechanisms in their case, while the recruitment of fewer cortical resources in bilinguals indicated more automatization of the process, due to the reduction of activation in other task-irrelevant areas. (Marian et al. 2014, 114).

Psychology teaches us that part of our behaviour can be explained by instincts, defined as "programmed tendencies that are essential to a species' behaviour." (Gerrig and Zimbardo 2002, 367). If we accept Pinker's (1994) train of thought and envision language as an instinct, we have to ask ourselves what form of expression do the translator's language instincts take, the same instincts that allow her to use automatically both the source language and the target language. We know that personality is understood as a rather stable behaviour pattern that allows us a certain consistency across different situations and over time. So how does one use different languages with increased proficiency,if one has only one personality that is confined within the limits of a single language? One cannot. The translator cannot. In order to accomplish this, she develops a new personality that gives her consistency in the realm of the target language.

Pinker's mentalese and the spoken language

The long-lasting controversy of the one-sided dependency between language and thought (Is language dependent on thought or is thought shaped by language?) clarified the bilateral non-equivalency between the two processes: Thought does not equal language and language does not equal thought.

Pinker's (1994) arguments to support this statement come from everyone's day-to-day experience: The unpleasant surprise one has when realising one has written down something else than what they meant to express. The difference is nothing more than the discrepancy between the graphical mental system made up of symbols and not words, we use for thinking, so beautifully called by Pinker *mentalese* or the *Language of Thought*, and the more perceivable outcome of the spoken language, be it English or Romanian or any other complex utterance that we conventionally call language (1994, 72).

The differences between the two systems are not only of a structural manner, but also lie in the different degrees of complexity of the two: Mentalese is more complex, richer in concepts than the spoken language, as several concepts can be expressed by a single word, but, at the same time, it is simpler in other ways, in the sense that it eliminates such conversational non-vital concepts ("a" or "the"), allowing a better flow of thought. "Knowing a language is knowing how to translate mentalese into strings of words and vice versa." (Pinker 1994, 72-73).

Using the Pinker argument of the universal mentalese, we can assert that speaking more languages allows more personalities to come to life and to express themselves. Bilinguals don't have to force their mentalese into the narrower paths of a certain spoken language, but can make use of their double-language skills to utter the richer mentalese flow, enjoying the different semantic and syntactic constructions of each language.

A similar experience occurs during the translation process, when the translator - an expert bilingual - has to rewrite the author's mentalese, to translate it into a spoken language accessible to the readers, and, in doing so, she has to double her personality, to use the one able to express a reality that is not her, that stems from a richer source – the mentalese – and that can fully contain the language of thought. Translation becomes a vehicle of language change, coding and decoding two languages (the mentalese and the spoken language) that may seem compatible at first, but that are different in structure and complexity.

Translation as acculturation

A cross-cultural perspective on translation, equating the translation process with various acculturation strategies, allows us to compare the translator to an immigrant in search of a new identity in the land of his new adoptive country – the target language – , or in search of a way to reconcile the inherited culture and traditions – the mother tongue, in this case – with the newly assumed language – the target language. The struggle of combining two different cultures and world views usually results in diverse acculturation strategies, out of which the integration – the most adaptive strategy psychologically and socio-culturally – best encompasses the technique employed by the literary translator.

As a dynamic process, the acculturation is an expression of the individual or group cultural and psychological change that a person or group engages in, when coming into contact with a new culture. On an individual level, the concept of "psychological acculturation" expresses "changes in an individual who is a participant in a culture-contact situation, being influenced both directly by the external (usually dominant) culture and by the changing culture (usually non-dominant) of which the individual is a member" (Berry 2007, 70).The result is a psychological change, followed by the need to find the right acculturation strategy with the personal fingerprint, climaxing into a form of melange between the two cultures.

The one acculturation strategy that is considered by psychologists the most adaptive and is seen often as the best cultural compromise is the *integration*, a strategy that involves keeping one's interest in the original culture, while still interacting with the new culture. The cultural integrity is maintained, since experiencing one culture does not require annihilating the other one and the desire to keep both cultures in one's life is present. This is the reason why integration has been equated with multiculturalism, as acceptance of both the cultural diversity of ethnocultural groups and of the dominant culture (Berry 2007, 72-73)

The strategy of integration can be regarded as very similar to the translation process; the translator plays the role of an integrator of the writer's values into the translation of his own text, while trying to maintain the translator's original cultural values. The integration might be successful, but this acculturation process would still be an expression of two sets of values, the original ones, of the translator, corresponding to

the values of the dominant culture, and the values of the changing, non-dominant values of the text creator.

Following this line of thought, we may add that the translator acculturates by using a multicultural integration strategy that allows her to express her two personalities, one for the original culture, one for the changing culture. Multiculturalism thus becomes a voice of two personalities that learn to coexist, but do not identify one with the other and do not annihilate one another, as in the case of assimilation, another acculturation strategy that requires losing one voice, one personality, in favour of the other.

The Translation as Cultural Translation

In today's social-cultural climate, bilingualism is no longer an exception, an extravaganza, but a necessity that can be equalled to a phenomenon of biculturality. Its form of manifestation – the cultural translation –requires more than a linguistic translation, from one language into another, but also a translation of a set of norms and values, of a whole interpretation of the world, specific to a language, into the world view of another language. The translation bears in this case a huge cultural significance.

Ulvydiene (2013) speaks of "cultural untranslatability" (1891), a term she uses to define the cultural differences that may cause translation difficulties in case of languages corresponding to opposite cultures and cites Carfort's (1965) distinction between "linguistic" and "cultural" untranslatability (1891).

But "translation is more productive than reproductive." (Pym 2004, 18). This makes the translator more than a text mediator; she becomes the mediator of a text, of a era, of a culture, of a language. This idea instantly changes the focus from the study of translations, to the study of translators, as human agents that build bridges between different cultures, and to the "translation culture" (Pym 2004, 18), from the German term *Translationskultur*, introduced by Erich Prunc (1997). This more generous term encompasses elements referring both to the translator and to translation studies and can be understood as a "translation regime", "a set of implicit or explicit principles, norms, rules and decision-making procedures around which actors' expectations converge." (Pym 2004, 19).

Then how does the translator reconcile her job of performing culturaltranslation with the cultural untranslatability of the cultural differences? The solution to this problem lies in the translator's skill to develop a new self, a new personality, by internalizing the cultural elements of the target language and by allowing this second personality to recreate the fictional work in another language. The successful accomplishment of this task depends largely on the flexibility of her instincts – the language instincts in this case – and on the stability of her personalities – one for the source language, one for the target language.

This article should be construed as a meditation on the value of the *double* in translation: double languages, double instincts, double personalities, double metamorphosis of the source text: a linguistic and a psychological one. The proposed arguments are scientific, drawn from the psychological and psycholinguistic research of the last years, but the hypothesis formulated based on these arguments still has to be proven and inferred by psychologists, with the use of proper measurement tools, in well-thought experimental designs. The idea of the double appears once again: a double cooperation, that between the translator who submits a hypothesis and leaves it to the psychologist to test its validity.

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