



GENDER AND GENRE IN TRANSLATION: THE LINGUISTIC CONSTRUCTION OF FEMININITY IN THE AMERICAN AND FRENCH EDITIONS OF EARLY 1920s VOGUE

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Abstract

This paper aims to bridge the gap between gender, genre and translation studies by taking an interdisciplinary approach across these research areas and employing some of the tools of corpus linguistics to provide a contrastive analysis of the linguistic construction of femininity in the American and French editions of early-1920s *Vogue*. In particular, it takes as a sample twenty-four *Vogue* issues published in 1921 and focuses on its extensive fashion features, originally written in English and then translated or adapted so as to appear in the French edition. A contrastive analysis of two parallel corpora (one consisting of the fashion articles published in 1921 *Vogue US* and another comprising their translations/adaptations for *Vogue France*) as regards frequency, collocational patterning and co-textual environment of lexical items pertaining to the domains of fashion and femininity reveals both similarities and differences in the linguistic representation of gender identity across two different cultures, alongside the adoption of particular translation strategies.

Keywords: *gender; genre; translation; women's magazines; Vogue*

INTRODUCTION: THE GENDER, GENRE, AND TRANSLATION INTERFACE

Over the last few decades, the multiple intersections between issues of gender and translation have been extensively explored, with in-depth research into areas such as gender identity in translation, the writing and translating of the female body, the different ways in which grammatical gender can be rendered into different languages, as well as feminist translation theory and practice.¹ Since the so-called “cultural turn” in Translation Studies (TS) and the appearance of such foundational texts as Simon’s *Gender in Translation: Cultural Identity and the Politics of Transmission* (1996) and von Flotow’s *Translation and Gender: Translating in the “Era of Feminism”* (1997), a fruitful and promising dialogue between the disciplines of gender studies and TS has been initiated. As Castro perceptively remarks, most of the scholarly work produced within the two dynamic fields of feminist linguistics and feminist TS, for instance, has emphasised “the role that language and translation play in the construction of the social world” (5). In particular,

much attention has been paid to investigating how gender roles are discursively constructed through language and translation – both understood as social practices *per se* – and how gender definitions are constantly interacting with other similarly constructed parameters such as race, geography, class or sexuality, therefore having consequences at the level of material practice. (*Ibid.*)

Not only feminist linguistics but also critical approaches to the study of language, including Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA), have strongly emphasised the notion of discourse as both socially constitutive and socially conditioned, along with the close connection existing between language and power and/or language and ideology. As frequently illustrated in the literature, these approaches see discourse as a form of social practice and are especially concerned with the ways in which language variously represents, enacts or

¹ See, for instance, Camus Camus, Gómez Castro and Williams Camus; Castro and Ergun; Federici and Leonardi; Federici and Maci; Federici and Santaemilia; Federici; Larkosh; Maestri; Santaemilia, *Gender, Sex and Translation*; Santaemilia, “Woman and Translation;” von Flotow and Farahzad; von Flotow and Kamal; von Flotow and Scott; von Flotow, “Gender and Translation.”

challenges (typically unequal) social and power relations as well as dominant ideologies.² Nevertheless, apart from few exceptions including Hatim and Mason's comprehensive model of translation as communication within a sociocultural context, grounded in the notion of text type and in (C)DA, the integration of this rich theoretical framework into translation research and practice has remained largely underexplored.³ The systematic adoption of a critical approach, instead, could definitely cast new light on more or less consolidated research topics such as text genre and/in translation, especially when certain so far neglected textual typologies – e.g. women's periodicals, or the female magazine article – appear to be closely related to the representation of gender identities and ideologies. If “language is a political act of mediation and communication which either perpetuates or challenges existing power structures within wider social and cultural contexts,” Castro suggests, “the same can be said of translation,” which “is now considered a process of mediation” (5-6). In this perspective,

Language and translation inevitably are tools for legitimizing the *status quo* or for subverting it; tools for gender oppression or liberation. Yet, despite all these commonalities, in today's globalized world it is still relevant to ask whether a dialogue between academics working in the field of gender and language and in that of gender and translation has yet taken place; and if so, how fertile these interdisciplinary debates have been. (Castro 6)

Analogously, though in recent years generic features and their treatment in translation have newly gained a prominent position in TS, the analysis of certain genres such as the female periodical article in translation remains excluded from this sustained academic debate.⁴ As is well known, since the 1970s

² Cf. Fairclough and Wodak; Fairclough, *Critical Discourse Analysis*; Fairclough, *Discourse and Social Change*; Fairclough, *Language and Power*.

³ Baumgarten and Schröter provide an overview of the two disciplines of (C)DA and translation/interpreting studies, but essentially lament the lack of “a strand in TS that systematically adopts ideas from CDA.” In their opinion, “whilst we can observe an increasing cross-fertilisation between TS, the social sciences and cultural studies, a clearly identifiable strand of CDA-informed TS research would help to refine our understanding of the involvement of T&I in the generation and maintenance of unequal power relations and social inequalities” (139).

⁴ It is instructive that, while in Trosborg's *Analysing Professional Genres* (2000) only Schäffner's contribution (“The Role of Genre for Translation”) specifically dealt with the application of genre

and 1980s, genre as a notion linked to the intercultural nature of translation has become a central issue within the TS paradigm. In *Discourse and the Translator* (1990), Hatim and Mason defined genres as “‘conventionalised forms of texts’ which reflect the functions and goals involved in particular social occasions as well as the purposes of the participants in them” (69). Drawing upon the categories of genre, discourse and text as proposed in this seminal work, both Hatim and Mason’s *The Translator as Communicator* (1997) – where translation was conceived as as a discursive and sociotextual practice that embodies “attitudinal expression, with language becoming by convention the mouthpiece of societal institutions (sexism, feminism, bureaucratism, etc.)” (15) – and Mason’s “Discourse, Ideology and Translation” (1994), for instance, discussed the impact of factors of cultural asymmetry and ideological stance on translation. Taking into account the many levels of processing that the translated text undergoes, in this latter study Mason pointed out that since “the meaning potential of items within the language system [...] is exploited by a variety of users, each within their own context and for their own purposes,” it seems likely that “alternative world-views and discursive histories create divergent discourses and texts in a situation in which equivalence is normally assumed” (25). In other words, the process of target text production and interpretation can be affected by ideological shifts realised at the level of lexical choices, cohesive relations, syntactic organisation, text structure and text types. As briefly noted above, the use of CDA approaches for uncovering attitudes and ideologies conveyed in translation proves to be a promising area of research within TS. Even so, no attention seems to have been devoted to examining the translations of the particular textual genre which is the object of the present analysis, despite its being intimately linked to representations of female gender ideologies.

As for the reciprocal connections between periodical studies and TS, moreover, Özmen remarks that “translation researchers have usually drawn upon periodicals as methodological or complementary tools that they can deploy in verifying their hypotheses” and not, regrettably, as primary objects of

analysis to TS, Woodstein’s recent monograph, *Translation and Genre* (2022), shows renewed interest in merging the two areas of enquiry more systematically. Even so, the particular genre of the female periodical or the female magazine article is not taken into account in these works, and neither is it (to the best of my knowledge) in other TS publications.

investigation. As a consequence, “they have construed translators and translation within the periodicals as detached from the surrounding context rather than developing a holistic approach towards the links between translation and these particular print genres” (3) – genres which demand, and would definitely deserve, to be regarded as “typologically distinct and historically coherent objects” (Latham and Scholes 529). Contrary to this “hegemony of the book over other print genres through the concepts and methodologies it mobilizes,” Özmen suggests that, owing to the advantages they possess over books, “periodicals may be an ideal ‘excavation site’ for tracing the role that translation and translators have played in culture in the course of history” (3). Possible exceptions to such a general neglect of periodical genres within TS are, for example, Pym’s investigation of the role of translation in a French-German network of small literary reviews at the end of the nineteenth century (“Cross-Cultural Networking”), or the more recent collection *Literary Translation in Periodicals*, whose editors aptly remark that “despite the interrelatedness of Periodical and Translation Studies, the analysis of translations circulating in periodical publications remains fragmented, underexplored, and often subject to national frameworks” (Fólica et al. 2). Though informative, these studies are unfortunately circumscribed to a single type of translation (i.e. literary translation) in a single type of periodical (the literary periodical). In addition, despite the fact that the relevance of translation in other kinds of periodical publications has sometimes been analysed from the perspective of translation and media, this approach has generally focused on news media and translation in journalistic periodicals,⁵ whereas translation and/in magazines, particularly women’s magazines as sites for gendered discourses, has rarely been viewed through a contrastive linguistic, cultural and historical lens.

Building on these theoretical foundations, the present study aims to map relatively underexplored ground by bridging the gap between gender, genre and translation studies or, better, by integrating the focus on notions of text type/genre⁶ which is typical of well established functionalist approaches to

⁵ See, for instance, Bielsa and Bassnett; Holland; Van Doorslaer.

⁶ Although the two terms have often been used interchangeably within TS, Schäffner explains that text type “is understood as a category for a more abstract, theoretical classification of texts,” whereas text genre “is a label used for an empirical classification of texts as they exist in a human

translation, with what has more recently been labelled “the gender/translation interdiscipline” (Santaemilia, “Woman and Translation” 10), or “the gender and translation transdiscipline” (Federici and Santaemilia 3, after von Flotow and Scott 349). Using insights from critical linguistics and CDA, moreover, this essay takes an interdisciplinary approach across gender, genre, translation and periodical studies, and places particular emphasis on the role that language and translation play in the discursive construction and representation of the female self in the female periodical as a distinct genre. As Santaemilia also reminds us,

Both gender and translation studies have been dealing in recent years with the processes of discursive construction of identities, both male and female. We have shifted from a static, universal consideration of categories such as femininity or masculinity – which von Flotow [...] calls the first paradigm of gender and translation studies – to a second paradigm where identities are unstable, artificial, fluid constructions. [...] Through language and translation we negotiate, reinforce, consolidate or destroy a wide range of identities which are no longer stable but a product of social construction, sometimes of a strategic use or a representation. (“Woman and Translation” 20)

In line with this “second paradigm” of gender and translation studies that Santaemilia describes, and bearing in mind that “translation can help either to consolidate an identity or to demolish it, either to reinforce a stereotype or to disclose its artificial and contingent nature” (21), the present essay employs some of the tools of Corpus Linguistics (CL) to provide a contrastive analysis of the linguistic construction of femininity in the American and French editions of early-1920s *Vogue* magazine. Specifically, it takes as a sample the twenty-four issues of *Vogue* which were published in 1921 (at that time, the magazine was a semimonthly), and focuses on its extensive fashion features, originally written in English and then translated or adapted so as to appear (generally with a six-

society.” More precisely, “genres [...] are defined as global linguistic patterns which have historically developed in a linguistic community for fulfilling specific communicative tasks in specific situations” (“The Role of Genre for Translation” 210). In any case, Schäffner underlines, “knowledge of cross-cultural similarities and/or differences regarding genres and genre conventions is crucial to the translator” (214).

month delay) in the French edition.⁷ In a period which valued modernity, novelty, sophistication and exclusivity in many different domains, and which was characterised by the emergence of new identities and roles for women, *Vogue* chiefly employed evocative depictions of the latest trends in clothing to convey transformative notions of womanhood and defy gender categories. In contrast with assumed portrayals of femininity confining women to passive roles as wives and mothers, or to traditional positions within the domestic sphere, a linguistic analysis of *Vogue's* fashion features demonstrates that this periodical favoured alluring conceptions of female assertiveness and autonomy through the use of a sensuous language of desire and feeling, describing pleasurable, multisensory encounters with fashion and modernity. A contrastive analysis of two parallel corpora (one consisting of the fashion articles published in 1921 *Vogue US* and another comprising their translations/adaptations for *Vogue France*) as regards frequency, collocational patterning and co-textual environment of key lexical items pertaining to the domains of fashion and femininity discloses both similarities and differences in the linguistic representation of female identity across two different cultures. Moreover, it highlights such notable aspects as the relatively high frequency of French loanwords in the English corpus (despite the status of French texts as derived from the English originals) contrasting with an

⁷The usefulness of applying CL methodology to the study of translations and translated language has long been recognised and has evolved into the now established discipline of Corpus-Based Translation Studies (CBTS). Among other types, parallel corpora – which usually contain source texts in a given language aligned with their translations into another language – are widely used in both contrastive linguistics and CBTS. As Olohan explains, “users of parallel corpora are often interested in retrieving instances of lexis or grammatical constructions in the source language together with their translations” (25). In the present study, however, the two corpora which are the object of contrastive analysis (despite largely fitting the definition of parallel corpora) are not aligned, but rather explored independently of each other by means of new-generation software like #LancsBox (Brezina et al.), which provides POS tagging and other main functions related to lexical analysis. The results of the analysis of frequency, collocational patterning and co-textual environment of lexical items in the domains of fashion and femininity in each of the two corpora are then compared, in order to reveal overall translation strategies along with cross-cultural similarities and differences concerning the representation of femininity in the two languages. The main reason for this choice resides in the fact that the articles published in 1921 *Vogue France* are rarely direct translations which could be aligned with their English originals, but can be more properly referred to as free translations or adaptations.

extremely low frequency of (untranslated) English words in the French corpus, alongside the adoption of particular translation strategies, especially in titles.

WOMEN'S MAGAZINES AND/IN TRANSLATION

Over the past several decades, women's magazines have received sustained scholarly attention from a variety of angles, ranging from broad cultural, sociological and media studies to more focused – given their specific nature as gendered texts – feminist and gender studies. Research in these fields has placed particular emphasis on ideologies and constructions of femininity in magazine texts, but has essentially lacked a clear linguistic focus, for instance, on grammatical structure or lexical choice (in other words, on how language actually works to produce these representations), being more specifically oriented towards content analysis.⁸ In the wake of post-structuralist theory examining text and discourse as “*broad constitutive systems of meaning*” (Sunderland 6) which shape the identities and practices of human subjects, the discursive construction of femininity in periodicals specially addressed to a feminine readership has also been extensively scrutinised from the perspective of (multimodal) CDA. There is nowadays a substantial body of work on women's magazines as “bearers of particular discourses of femininity” (Caldas-Coulthard 253) which adopts a critical discourse analytic or otherwise critical linguistic perspective.⁹ However, much of this research constitutes small-scale, qualitative analysis of monolingual texts, and barely takes into account what happens to gender ideologies and discursive representations of femininity when such texts – as is typical of periodicals like *Vogue*, having multiple editions in several countries – are transposed into other languages and distributed across different cultures. In other words, despite the fact that translation “is often a major textual and editorial tool in the structural and semantic organization of periodicals drawing upon foreign sources” (Özmen 3), critical studies of women's magazines seem to have overlooked translation issues as much as TS as a discipline has largely disregarded certain periodical genres.

⁸ See, for instance, Ballaster et al.; Ferguson; McCracken; McRobbie; Ritchie et al.; Rooks et al.; Winship.

⁹ See, to name but a few, Conradie; del-Teso-Craviotto; Eggin and Iedema; McLoughlin; Talbot, “A Synthetic Sisterhood” and “The Construction of Gender.”

Since translation has frequently been defined as “an act of communication across linguistic and cultural boundaries,” as “interlingual and intercultural communication,” or as “text-production for addressees in a new cultural context” (Schäffner, “Discourse Analysis” 48), women’s magazines, seen as complex cultural products often reaching linguistically and culturally diverse audiences, certainly deserve major attention within the TS paradigm. For an international periodical like *Vogue*, translation as a textual and editorial tool has played, since the very beginning, a fundamental role in the composition and maintenance of the magazine as well as in the formation of its readership. Launched in New York in 1892, with British and French editions (edited autonomously from London and Paris, respectively) rapidly following in 1916 and 1920, *Vogue* is nowadays distributed across twenty-eight different countries and languages. In Hatim’s terminology, the source and target texts employed here for a contrastive analysis of the linguistic construction of femininity in the American and French editions of 1921 *Vogue* and its fashion features belong to “an identical generic specification” (28) – i.e. the female periodical and particularly the female fashion article – in the sense that they are aimed at the same category of readers (upper-class women interested in the latest trends in clothing as well as lifestyle) and have an analogous function in both the source and target culture. Moreover, they fit Schäffner’s definition of “parallel texts” as texts which “are useful for assessing how the same kind of factual material is verbalized in different languages, how identical communicative functions are expressed in specific genres of SL and TL” (“The Role of Genre for Translation” 214). Magazines and magazine articles in translation can also be regarded as representative examples of translation as a form of both intercultural communication (Snell-Hornby et al.; Bührig et al.) and localisation, since they constitute instances of linguistic and cultural adaptation of “moving texts” (Pym, *The Moving Text*) to a new target locale. In addition to being particularly evident in the magazine here at issue (as the analysis will show), these aspects seem to be related to the specific nature of the periodical text as a genre.

Contrary to its neglect in generic approaches to translation, the theorisation of the periodical as a distinctive publishing genre in its own

right has received considerable attention in the study of print media since the early 1990s. As scholars have variously contended, periodicals demand to be considered and read in different ways from books. While books are generally intended to be of lasting value, periodicals are specifically designed as ephemeral materials inextricably linked to the historical, geographical and cultural context in which they are produced and consumed. Together with the use of visual as well as verbal modes of communication and amalgamation of heterogeneous contents, enabling a much greater openness of interpretation, it is precisely this time- and place-sensitive nature of periodical genres which accounts for their specificity and gives them enduring value not only to cultural historians, but also to linguists and – I would argue – translation scholars as well. Moreover, the various periodical contents and texts are rarely self-contained or isolated. As genres which characteristically resist closure as well as categorical definitions, they constantly point beyond themselves, either to other contents within the same periodical, or to other texts in the same culture as well as in other languages and cultures. It is mainly for this reason that Latham and Scholes insist on both “the autonomy and distinctiveness of periodicals as cultural objects” (519) and their nature as “rich, dialogic” genres (528), thus emphasising the need to approach them as heteroglossic spaces where texts engage in dialogue with other texts and voices. In particular, when periodicals are translated and/or adapted in order to reach audiences which are linguistically and culturally diverse from their original intended audience, the periodical as a (target) text/genre even more strongly points to other (source) texts in other (source) languages. Finally, Latham and Scholes remind us that the emergence of an autonomous and, at the same time, distinctively interdisciplinary field of modern periodical studies has essentially depended upon a massive digitisation of archival holdings of periodical publications from the late seventeenth century up to the present. The increasing availability of archival resources which characterises our contemporary digital era has allowed periodical studies and related disciplines to adopt a historical approach and, in the specific case of this research, the collection of a representative (though necessarily limited) set of data employed for a contrastive analysis of the discursive representation of femininity across two different languages and cultures.

THE LINGUISTIC CONSTRUCTION OF FEMININITY IN VOGUE US AND VOGUE FRANCE: A CONTRASTIVE ANALYSIS

The present study takes as reference textual genre and as its object of analysis the twenty-four issues of *Vogue* which were published simultaneously in the US and France during the course of 1921, not only because focusing attention on the early phase of the magazine's international history allows bridging the gap between historical research on women's periodicals (which so far has essentially dealt with content examination) and linguistic analyses of such gendered media texts (which, to the best of my knowledge, have been exclusively applied to contemporary publications), but also for essentially practical reasons. The American edition of the journal has been extensively digitised and made publicly available by the Internet Archive,¹⁰ while the French edition is partially accessible via Gallica, the digital repository of the Bibliothèque Nationale de France.¹¹ This allowed the creation of two small corpora, *Vogue US* (244397 tokens, 20394 types, 20581 lemmas) and *Vogue France* (135371 tokens, 16616 types, 18087 lemmas), used for contrastive analysis. Moreover, the choice of 1921 as sample year was dictated not only by the possibility of relying on complete coverage in both languages, but also by the fact that it could give a representative idea of what the magazine looked like when it was for the first time translated and adapted to another language and culture.

CL methodology sees frequency and keyword lists as providing considerable information about the sort of topics dealt with in a corpus. Moreover, given that collocation relates to “the characteristic co-occurrence patterns of words” (McEnery et al. 56), one of the basic assumptions of CL is that “a word's collocates can be revealing in terms of the ways that its meaning is created.” In particular, “if a word has a set of collocates that are used to imbue a certain attitudinal meaning, then this can be referred to as a discourse prosody” (Baker and Levon 113), whether positive or negative. Consistent with the methodology of both CL and CBTS, quantitative and qualitative analysis of the frequency and co-textual environment of selected lexical items pertaining to the

¹⁰ <https://archive.org/search?query=vogue&and%5B%5D=mediatype%3A%22texts%22> (accessed 1 June 2023).

¹¹ <https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/cb343833568/date&rk=21459;2> (accessed 1 June 2023).

domains of fashion and femininity (with special attention to loanwords) in the two corpora will be combined with qualitative analysis of some overall strategies adopted in the translation of titles.

Comparing *Vogue US* and *Vogue France*: Translating Femininity in Periodical Texts

For a quantitative analysis of both the *Vogue US* and the *Vogue France* corpus, the Words tool in #LancsBox software package can be employed to generate a wordlist ordered by frequency and select lexical items which might be pertinent to the linguistic construction of femininity in terms of pleasurable and sophisticated encounters with contemporary fashions typical of this magazine. Ever since its early inception, *Vogue* emanated an air of refinement and social distinction by displaying exclusive garments and accessories on its glossy pages, and by addressing upper-class female readers who were (or aspired to be) affluent enough to afford them. Since close reading of *Vogue's* fashion contents demonstrates that the periodical did not make sharp distinctions between discourses about new forms of womanhood and captivating descriptions of clothes, but rather entwined these two components together, particularly instructive is the occurrence of the following types in the *Vogue US* corpus:

frock (freq. 1007), *crêpe* (874), skirt (668), hat (591), coat (523), lace (502), gown (493), velvet (482), mode (399), silk (396), frocks (354), fur (354), satin (354), models (344), costume (280), *chiffon* (266), cape (248), blouse (243), hats (240), gowns (236), bodice (228), model (209), *taffeta* (200), embroidery (200), woman (191), skirts (190), wool (185), ribbon (181), fashion (169), girdle (168), women (161), serge (150), dress (147), costumes (140), felt (137), belt (136), coats (131), *tulle* (131), organdie (123), leather (118), fabric (109), linen (104), fabrics (104), *duvetine* (103), *georgette* (100), dresses (99), *madame* (99), sash (97), scarf (95), modes (83), *chemise* (81), furs (76), clothes (74), shoes (71), *Parisienne* (71), brocade (71), jacket (70), *tailleur* (68), veil (64), capes (58), tunic (56), jersey (55), *batiste* (54), sweater (54), *velours* (54), *lingerie* (53), tweed (52), ribbons (51), laces (48), *charmeuse* (47), fashions (47), blouses (46), *Chantilly* (41), girdles (40), *tailleurs* (40), gloves (39), turban (38), frills (36), lady (36), lamé (36), *toque* (36), *suède* (36), ermine (35), shawl (35), *foulard* (34), *grosgrain* (34), millinery (34), garment (33), vest (32), *mademoiselle* (32), underskirt (32), ruffles (31), shoe (31), *voile* (31), *chenille* (29), stockings (29), flannel (29), robe (29), *crêpes* (28), garments (27), twill (27), cotton (27), nightgown (26), one-piece (26),

gingham (25), coat-frock (25), *redingote* (25), *tricorn* (24), embroideries (24), *negligée* (24), belts (24), corset (23), frill (23), silks (23), *tricot* (22), bodices (21), *tricotine* (20), jackets (20), *toile* (19), *décolleté* (19), top-coat (18), three-piece (18), plaids (17), coat-dress (17), ladies (17), flounces (17), bag (17), tweeds (16), scarfs (16), *débutante* (16), *jacquard* (15), cloaks (14), crinoline (13), two-piece (13), sashes (13), robes (13), *negligées* (13), *capeline* (12), brocades (12), coat-dresses (11), sweaters (11), tricorn (11), tea-gown (11), veils (11), *Parisiennes* (10), *broché* (10), gabardine (9), mantle (9), bonnet (9), top-coats (9), cloak (9), shawls (8), *piquetine* (8), *manteau* (8), cape-coat (8), *brassière* (8), petticoat (7), *cloche* (7), muslin (7), underwear (7), boots (6), organdies (6), flounce (6), stocking (6), satins (5), velvets (5), petticoats (5), *chemises* (4), muslins (4), *cape-manteau* (4), tea-gowns (4), *piqué* (4), sandals (4), *mousseline* (4), tea-frock (4), *redingotes* (4), *chiffons* (4), *liseuse* (3).

Analogously, the wordlist ordered by frequency generated for the *Vogue France* corpus displays the following relevant occurrences:

robe (freq. 788), crêpe (434), robes (397), jupe (373), chapeau (343), mode (317), soie (279), velours (256), manteau (254), bas (222), ceinture (206), dentelle (188), femmes (185), costume (184), modèle (176), satin (173), corsage (162), cape (152), laine (151), fourrure (148), femme (147), modèles (145), tissu (142), mousseline (129), taffetas (122), chapeaux (121), ruban (109), broderie (103), linon (101), tulle (100), jupes (94), voile (93), tissus (92), serge (87), blouse (81), tailleur (79), feutre (72), costumes (68), manteaux (65), veste (61), modes (56), georgette (49), duvetine (47), écharpe (46), Parisienne (44), volants (42), foulard (39), broderies (39), tailleurs (39), toque (38), étoffes (35), toile (34), *jersey* (34), cuir (34), organdi (34), dentelles (33), étoffe (33), fourrures (32), gants (32), rubans (32), souliers (31), capes (29), *décolleté* (28), Chantilly (28), lamé (27), châle (27), tunique (26), bonnet (26), gros-grain (26), tricorn (24), coton (24), turban (24), madame (23), crêpes (23), dame (23), sac (23), vêtement (21), chemise (21), brocart (21), batiste (19), tricot (19), soulier (19), *cloche* (18), lainage (18), *redingote* (18), *Parisiennes* (17), *piqué* (17), blouses (17), corset (16), ceintures (16), volant (15), *sweater* (15), lingerie (14), suède (14), robe-manteau (14), *capeline* (14), gabardine (14), chenille (13), chaussures (13), vêtements (13), chiffon (12), flanelle (11), charmeuse (11), mousselines (10), tuniques (10), *homespun* (9), *lady* (9), robe-chemise (9), crinoline (9), voiles (9), foulards (9), *broché* (9), *twill* (8), *tea-gown* (8), demoiselles (8), trois-quarts (7), soies (7), *tweed* (7), chaussure (7), corsages (7), chemisier (7), écharpes (6), bottes (6), vestes (6), dames (6), laines (5), chiffons (5), mademoiselle (5),

demoiselle (5), robes-manteaux (5), casaque (5), capelines (4), serges (4), jupon (4), brassière (3), sandales (3).

It seems evident that, by applying quantitative analysis to both corpora, partially similar results can be obtained. On the one hand, most of the relevant lexical items extracted from the English corpus have their equivalents in the French corpus and can be said to form translated pairs (e.g. *skirt/jupe*, *hat/chapeau*, *coat/manteau*, *lace/dentelle*, *velvet/velours*, *silk/soie*, *fur/fourrure*, etc.). On the other hand, the presence of loanwords in each corpus is markedly different. While it is well known that English very frequently employs French terms in the semantic domain of fashion – an old-established phenomenon which, in this specific case, causes many lexical items to remain unchanged in translation (e.g. *crêpe*, *chiffon*, *tulle*, *duvetine*, *georgette*, *tailleur*, *foulard*, etc.) – *Vogue France* contains very few Anglicisms (e.g. *jersey*, *sweater*, *homespun*, *twill*, *tweed*) and only seems to have maintained English originals to refer to culture-specific elements, among which *tea-gown* is a case in point. In other words, what is most remarkable about these data is not (quite predictably) the strong presence of French loanwords in English fashion discourse contrasting with an extremely low frequency of (untranslated) English words in the French edition of *Vogue*, but rather the function that Gallicisms played in the construction of the particular ideal of womanhood that the magazine intended to mediate to its linguistically varied readerships, as well as the challenges that such borrowings might have posed from the point of view of translation practice. As it seems reasonable to assume, whenever English equivalents for these loanwords actually exist, the reason why Gallicisms were preferred is that they were deemed to be far more effective in conveying notions of elegance, distinction, sophistication and chic femininity typically associated with French fashions. This is the case, for instance, with *chemise* (for nightdress), *velours* (for velvet), *lingerie* (for underwear), *negligée* (for dressing gown), *tricot* (for sweater), *décolleté* (for neckline), *manteau/cape-manteau* (for cloak, coat, or robe), *brassière* (for bra), *liseuse* (for bedjacket). However, the effect that such borrowings have on the English register is completely different in the target texts and gets lost, so to speak, in translation. When French loanwords are loaned back into French, they lose not only their status as loanwords, but also the prestige for which they were borrowed, becoming absolutely ordinary, neutral expressions in their native environment.

All in all, both editions of *Vogue* – which addressed the same ideal readership, but were clearly situated within diverse cultural contexts – insisted on promoting an identical high standard of femininity (mainly epitomised by French language and fashion culture) despite using different registers and vocabularies (largely foreign for *Vogue US*, almost exclusively native for *Vogue France*). The fact that, in the specific genre and text under consideration, translation helped consolidate female identity and reinforce a particularly alluring ideal of womanhood can also be demonstrated with the assistance of the KWIC (Key Word in Context) tool in #LancsBox, allowing for a qualitative analysis of concordance lines and providing co-textual information about relevant lexical items, such as those used to refer to female subjects. A KWIC search for the nouns *woman/women* in the *Vogue US* corpus produces such highly positive collocations as:

the smartly dressed *woman*, the distinguished *woman*, the well-dressed *woman* (3), slim and elegant is the French *woman*, the youth and prettiness of the French *woman*, a beautifully gowned *woman*, the modern *woman* (3), a new *woman*, the grace of *woman*, a smart *woman*, every smart *woman*, the characteristically smart *woman*, one smart *woman*, some smart *woman*, the smart *woman* (7), a very smart *woman*, the *woman* of the day, the *woman* of society, the *woman* of fashion (5), the *woman* of distinction (2), the *woman* of originality, the *woman* who has true distinction, the *woman* of true elegance, the *woman* of taste, the *woman* of wealth and leisure, the best-dressed *women*, *women* of society, *women* of the world, smartly dressed *women*, very many fashionable *women*, the most smartly gowned *women* in Paris, many *women* of fashion (2), many *women* of distinction, many *women* of social importance, many *women* of the smart world (2), the most modish *women*, smart *women* (6), the *women* who lead the mode, the *women* of today, the *women* of fashion.

The same procedure applied to the *Vogue France* corpus reveals equally positive collocations and semantic prosody for the nouns *femme/femmes*:

la garde-robe d'une *femme* élégante (2), délicieusement *femme* et infiniment élégante, *femme* du monde, la *femme* élégante (12), la caractéristique de la *femme* très chic, la *femme* qui sait s'habiller, le génie de la *femme*, la *femme* moderne (2), toute *femme* élégante (3), toute *femme* chic, toute *femme* d'un certain monde, une *femme* vraiment élégante, une *femme* élégante et fine, une *femme* chic, *femmes* de grande allure, les *femmes* très élégantes (2), les

femmes élégantes (15), *les femmes chic* (3), *les femmes du monde* (2), *les femmes de goût*.

In conclusion, the qualitative analysis of the most significant collocates for some of the words used to designate the female gender in *Vogue US* and *Vogue France* demonstrates that both editions of the magazine linguistically constructed femininity in terms of smartness, elegance, fashionability, modernity, novelty, originality and distinction, all of which were mediated as extremely appealing qualities epitomised by the *Parisienne*.

The occurrence of this specific epithet in both corpora is particularly noteworthy for a variety of reasons. From the point of view of the dominant gender ideology moulded and marketed by the magazine, it represents most compelling evidence that the ideal of femininity *Vogue* intended to convey to its international readership was perfectly embodied by the French woman of fashion, based on the prestige and cultural superiority of Paris as the world capital of luxury, design and haute couture. A KWIC search for the term in both corpora clearly demonstrates that – as a strategy for naming *Vogue's* archetype of womanhood – *Parisienne* and its plural form *Parisiennes* share with *woman*, *women*, *femme* and *femmes* some of their most meaningful collocates, notably the adjectives *fashionable*, *smart* and *élégantes*. From a lexical and translational perspective, moreover, *Parisienne* represents one of the numerous French loanwords employed in the American edition of *Vogue* essentially for reasons of style and register, which were loaned back in the French edition. Finally, it is also instructive that *Parisienne* very frequently appears, as a sort of catchword aimed at persuading readers to embrace the magazine's high standard of femininity, in titles and editorial captions, which suggests examining some notable strategies adopted in rendering these portions of text.

Even a quick glance at the fashion articles which appeared in *Vogue US* and *Vogue France* in the course of 1921 shows that the French edition of the magazine was mainly intended as an adaptation of the American original, rather than a translation proper. In other words, each semimonthly issue of *Vogue US* and its corresponding issue of *Vogue France* should be considered as distinct, though necessarily related, cultural products. This is mainly demonstrated by the fact that not all articles in the source language have their counterparts in the target language and, when they have, both title and main text are often altered so as to be situated in a different linguistic and cultural context, as it seems

typical of the genre under consideration. As with any text, the translation strategies employed for the titles, subtitles and editorial captions of *Vogue's* fashion features vary from fairly literal to free:

MODES AND MOTORS OF THE PARISIENNE (*Vogue US*, 15 January 1921) /
MODES ET VOITURES DE LA PARISIENNE (*Vogue France*, 1 Février 1921)¹²

EVERY PARISIENNE HAS TWO MODES (*Vogue US*, 1 June 1921) / CHAQUE
PARISIENNE A DEUX MODES (*Vogue France*, 15 Juin 1921)

THE PARISIENNE RATIFIES THE MODE (*Vogue US*, 1 December 1921) / LA
FEMME DE PARIS RATIFIE LA MODE (*Vogue France*, 15 Décembre 1921)

THE HIDDEN TREASURE OF THE PARISIENNE (*Vogue US*, 1 January 1921)
/ ÉLÉGANCES SECRÉTES DE LA PARISIENNE (*Vogue France*, 15 Janvier
1921)

THE PARISIENNE BORROWS HER JACKET FROM ANOTHER PERIOD
(*Vogue US*, 1 April 1921) / LA PARISIENNE EMPRUNTE LA VESTE D'UNE
ÉPOQUE DÉJÀ LOINTAINE (*Vogue France*, 15 Avril 1921)

PARIS DECIDES TO PACK UP AND GO: The Lure of Fashionable Old
Resorts and of Foreign Fields Untrod Prompts the Parisienne to Consider a
Smart New Travelling Wardrobe (*Vogue US*, 15 June 1921) / PARIS DÉCIDE
DE FAIRE SES MALLES: Attirée par les stations d'avant-guerre et par les
contrées inconnues, la Parisienne se compose une garde-robe de voyage,
nouvelle et chic (*Vogue France*, 1 Juillet 1921)

TOUT PARIS IS AT HOME: The Parisienne Varies the Mode With Chic
Evening Head-dresses, Novel Hats, and New Négligées (*Vogue US*, 1 January
1921) / LA PARISIENNE REVIENT PAR MOMENT A PARIS: Les soirées au
théâtre, les emplettes et le home sont prétextes à modes nouvelles (*Vogue
France*, 15 Janvier 1921)

THE WINTER WAYS OF THE PARISIENNE: The Latest Races at Auteuil
Show the Parisienne up to Her Ears and Down to Her Heels in Fur, for the
Short Skirt Has Had Its Day in Paris: the Premières at the Theatres Are
Followed with Enthusiasm, And the Call of the South Is Met with Modes
Suited to the Need (*Vogue US*, 15 February 1921) / CE QUE LA PARISIENNE

¹² In this and following quotations, the original use of capitalisation and italicisation in the two editions of *Vogue* is scrupulously maintained.

FAIT EN CE MOMENT: Les dernières réunions élégantes montrent la Parisienne vêtue de robes enroulées dont les jupes sont presque longues. A Cannes et à Nice la mode se plie aux nécessités de chaque jour – après le golf, c'est la réunion au cercle Nautique ou le rendez-vous élégant des courses de chevaux (*Vogue France*, 1 Mars 1921)

The PARISIENNE *in the* RÔLE *of* MOTHER *of the* BRIDE (*Vogue US*, 1 April 1921) / DES MERES TRES JEUNES MARIENT LEURS FILLES (*Vogue France*, 15 Avril 1921)

THE PARISIENNE INCARNATES DISTINCTION EN ROUTE: Clad in Harmonies of Grey or Beige or Brown, Impeccable to The Least Accessory, Smart at Journey's End as at Its Beginning, the Parisienne Places Travelling among the Fine Arts (*Vogue US*, 15 June 1921) / TOUT EST PRÉTEXTE A VOYAGES: Pour quarante-huit heures ou une semaine, pour une randonnée en auto ou en chemin de fer, on part sans cesse, avant le départ définitif de l'été (*Vogue France*, 1 Juillet 1921)

PARIS TRAVELS *the* HIGH ROADS *of the* NEW MODE: The Parisienne Motors with the New Mode to Rediscover Forgotten Byways And Old Corners of European Charm (*Vogue US*, 15 July 1921) / LA MODE SUR LA GRAND'ROUTE: Les femmes élégantes, vêtues selon la mode nouvelle, partent découvrir à nouveau les vieux coins perdus de France (*Vogue France*, 1 Août 1921)

As a common stylistic feature, both English and French titles generally maintain the form of either noun phrases, or categorical statements featuring unmodalised, present tense predicators. This trait contributes to the normative character that, as scholars have variously pointed out, women's magazines often assume in setting trends that readers are expected to follow. What most notably varies in the original and the translated titles, instead, is once again the ratio between native and foreign lexis, which makes some of these texts truly multilingual and heteroglossic. In addition to the epithet *Parisienne*, English titles contain several French phrases, such as *tout Paris* (in lieu of "all Paris"), *rôle* (French spelling for "role") and *en route* (in lieu of "on the way"), whereas French titles are mostly remarkable for not always preserving these "ready-made" expressions. For instance, *Parisienne* may be changed into *femme de Paris* or *femmes élégantes*, and *tout Paris* may become *la Parisienne*, whereas in several cases the entire original title and/or subtitle is completely altered. Free translation

might cause the loss of metaphorical meaning (as in *La mode sur la grand'route* for *Paris Travels the High Roads of the New Mode*) or an expansion of positive meaning (as in *élégances secrètes* for *the hidden treasure*, and *des mères très jeunes* for *mother*). Moreover, it typically shows mechanisms of cultural adaptation (as in *à Cannes et à Nice* for *the South*, and *vieux coins perdus de France* for *old corners of European charm*). As many other examples also demonstrate, in the French edition of *Vogue* magazine, free translation definitely seems to prevail against literal translation as an overall strategy employed in both article texts and titles to adapt the periodical genre to a new target locale.

CONCLUSIONS

In recent times, the dyad gender and translation has been gaining increasing critical consistency, in parallel with renewed scholarly interest in textual genre and/in translation. Despite the fact that several studies have been devoted either to exploring the multifaceted nature of translation theory and practice when seen through a gender lens, or to the treatment of certain generic features in translation, more systematic and fruitful intersections between these research areas are still needed, as is critical investigation into textual genres which have so far suffered from undue lack of attention in TS. Calling for a more intense cross-fertilisation between the disciplines of gender, genre and translation studies, this essay has also drawn attention to the mutual relevance of TS and periodical studies, especially with a view to shedding new light on such neglected genres as women's magazines or the female fashion article as mediators of gender ideologies across languages and cultures.

Borrowing Özmen's notion of the periodical as "a unique 'excavation site'" for TS – a notion which may offer "conceptual and methodological tools for analyzing periodicals with a particular focus on translation and translators" (3) – this essay has provided a contrastive analysis, both quantitative and qualitative, of the twenty-four issues of *Vogue* which were published in the US and France over the course of 1921, with a view to emphasising cross-cultural analogies and divergences concerning the representation of femininity in the two editions of the magazine as a distinct textual genre. The study has shown that, throughout *Vogue's* international history, translation has represented a key textual and editorial tool which has also contributed to consolidating gender identities and

reinforcing a particular ideal of womanhood. Although both *Vogue US* and *Vogue France* insisted on propagating discursive constructions of femininity in terms of elegance, fashionability and distinction, the practice of translation as cultural adaptation determined similarities as well as differences in the way language was actually employed along with genre and register to produce these constructions. This inevitably brings us back to notions of language and translation not only as socially constructive practices, but also as forms of communication across national and cultural boundaries.

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