



UNIVERSITÀ  
DEGLI STUDI  
DI TRIESTE

# Il ruolo controverso degli interpreti negli Stati Uniti del diciannovesimo secolo

Storia e teoria della traduzione  
a.a. 2024/2025

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# Interpretazione

- ✓ “**Interpreting is a form of Translation** in which a **first and final rendition in another language** is produced on the basis of a **one-time presentation** of an utterance in a source language” (Pöchhacker 2016: 11)



- “Interpreting [...] as **translational activity**, as a special form of ‘Translation’” (Pöchhacker 2016: 9)
- “interpreting can be distinguished from other types of translational activity most succinctly by its **immediacy**” (Pöchhacker 2016: 10)

# Interpretazione = traduzione

- ✓ “Professional Translation is a professional **service activity**” (Gile 2009: 44)



- “L’interpretazione può essere definita come un **servizio** che si esplica attraverso un atto di comunicazione e prende la forma di un’attività interlinguistica e interculturale di produzione testuale” (Viezzi 1999: 142)
- “L’interpretazione è un servizio che mira a soddisfare dei bisogni, in particolare i **bisogni comunicativi** di oratore e ascoltatore” (Viezzi 1999: 145)

# Interpretazione ≠ traduzione

- ✓ La traduzione è differita (e.g. traduzione di Omero)
- ✓ L'interpretazione è *hic et nunc*
- ✓ Diversi tempi di esecuzione → produzione e fruizione immediate per l'interpretazione, in momenti diversi per la traduzione

# Interpretazione

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*international*

*intra-social /  
community*

CONFERENCE

LIAISON / DIALOGUE

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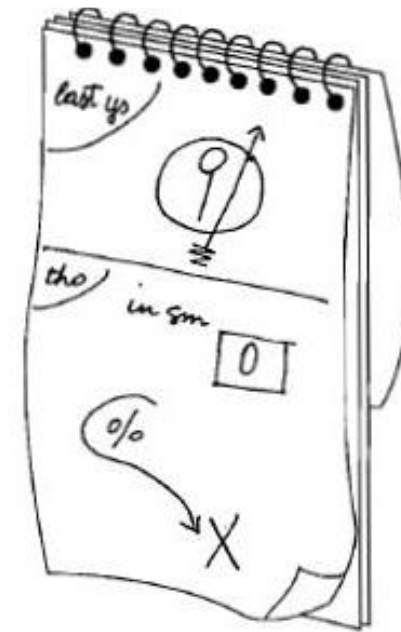
**INTERPRETING**

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(Pöchhacker 2016: 17)

# Interpretazione di conferenza

- Interpretazione simultanea
- Interpretazione consecutiva



- Whispered interpreting / chuchotage
- Traduzione a vista
- Interpretazione in lingua dei segni...

# Interpretazione dialogica



- Interpretazione per i servizi pubblici, per l'impresa, in ambito sanitario, di tribunale, nelle scuole...

# Interpretazione dialogica

## PROFESSIONAL INTERPRETERS HAVE ALWAYS PLAYED AN IMPORTANT PART IN INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

— The second-oldest profession



### THE SECOND-OLDEST PROFESSION

Throughout history, bilingual, intercultural or international negotiations and relations have involved interpreters – for so long, in fact, that accounts often omit them. Crusaders, explorers, conquerors, merchants, diplomats and others have always relied on intermediaries who could bridge linguistic and cultural divides. While there are records of early, self-described interpreters – in [Byzantium](#), for instance, in England after the [Norman Conquest](#) or in the [Ottoman Empire](#) – these go-betweens were often co-opted into interpreting or did so because it fitted in with their other activities.

✓ AIIC <https://aiic.org/site/world/about/history/profession> (consultato il 2 Aprile 2024)

# Interpreti negli Stati Uniti del XIX secolo

- ✓ “I want you to go and tell the Great Father [the President of the United States of America],” Sitting Bull responded, “that I do not want to sell any land to the government.” He picked up a pinch of dust and added: “Not even as much as this.” (Brown 1970: 489)



- ✓ *Bury my Heart at Wounded Knee (Seppellite il mio cuore a Wounded Knee)*, Dee Brown

# Interpreti negli Stati Uniti del XIX secolo

- ✓ **XIX secolo** → il governo USA intraprese negoziati frenetici con le tribù dei nativi Americani per convincerli a rinunciare alle loro terre sacre tramite la firma di trattati
- ✓ Risultato dei negoziati → pulizia etnica o "ridistribuzione" delle tribù native
- ✓ A questi negoziati, gli interpreti erano regolarmente presenti per permettere la comunicazione tra nativi Americani e funzionari governativi anglofoni

(Brambilla 2016: 63)

# Interpreti negli Stati Uniti del XIX secolo

- ✓ Brambilla, Emanuele (2016). Cowboys, Indians and Interpreters. On the controversial role of interpreters in the conquest of the American West. *The Interpreters' Newsletter*, 21, 63-78 [ISSN: 1591-4127].
- ✓ <https://www.openstarts.units.it/server/api/core/bitstreams/72040846-8fd9-43c4-b37c-079f5efb9421/content>

# Espansione del governo statunitense verso ovest



# Indian Assimilation Policy (1790-1920)

- ✓ Lanciata da **George Washington** e da **Henry Knox**



All'epoca conosciuto anche come *Caunotaucarius* o *Conotocarius* → soprannome, datogli dagli Irochesi nel 1753, che significa “distruttore di città” / “divoratore di villaggi”



1° Segretario alla Guerra degli USA, durante la presidenza di George Washington

- ✓ Assimilazione → “trasformazione” culturale e “conversione” dei nativi Americani

# Indian Removal Act (1830)

- ✓ Approvato dal Congresso USA nel 1830
- ✓ Obiettivo → cacciare le tribù native dalle loro terre, tramite la stipula di trattati oppure con la forza
- ↓
- ✓ Risultato → pulizia etnica di varie tribù → “Trail of Tears”, il sentiero delle lacrime → serie di deportazioni forzate dei nativi Americani in terre ad ovest del fiume Mississippi

# 1860-1890

- ✓ Trentennio della “soluzione finale” al “problema indiano”
- ✓ Culmine → il massacro di Wounded Knee, l’ “Olocausto Sioux”, “the symbolic end of Indian freedom” (Brown 1970: 40)

# Ruolo degli interpreti nelle relazioni tra Americani e Indiani

- ✓ Ruolo fondamentale → permettevano la comunicazione tra anglofoni e le varie tribù indiane in diverse situazioni, dai negoziati politici alle funzioni quotidiane più ordinarie, e.g. commercio (Kawashima 1989: 2)
- ✓ **Interpretazione** → estremamente problematica a causa di “the fundamental structural differences between English and the Indian languages, the highly symbolic and allusive character of Indian diplomatic discourse, and the radical disparateness of White and Indian cultures” (Kawashima 1988: 252-253)

# Interpretazione nelle relazioni tra Americani e Indiani

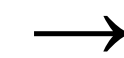
- ✓ “Like most oral peoples [...] the Indians depended upon imagery to express their thoughts, so that the English translations were filled with graphic similes and metaphors of the natural world. If an eloquent Indian had a poor interpreter, his words might be transformed to flat prose, but a good interpreter could make a poor speaker sound poetic.” (Kawashima 1989: 2)
- ✓ “It was usually impossible for interpreters, with the best intentions, to render the dignified and thoughtful speech of the Indians into adequate English” (Kawashima 1989: 5)

## **“A shortage of skilled interpreters” (Kawashima 1989: 4)**

- ✓ “The parley began coldly, with two interpreters attempting to translate the exchange of conversation. Realizing the interpreters knew fewer words of Kiowa than he knew of English, Satanta [a Kiowa war chief] called up one of his warriors, Walking Bird, who had acquired a considerable vocabulary from white teamsters.” (Brown 1970: 430)
- ✓ “Only those who were thoroughly familiar with the customs and traditions, as well as languages, of both cultures were able to translate accurately and effectively”  
(Kawashima 1988: 253)

# Chi erano gli interpreti? (1)

- ✓ “Interpreters quite often were half-bloods who knew spoken languages but seldom could read or write.” (Brown 1970: 15)
- ✓ “A great many were mixed bloods, and a considerable number who witnessed treaties were illiterate and signed their names on the treaty documents with a mark.” (Prucha 1994: 214)



## Chi erano gli interpreti? (2)

- ✓ “Some interpreters were traders who knew Indian languages and customs”, mentre “others were whites (men and women) who had taken up life among the Indians, sometimes originally as captives.” (Prucha 1992: 213-214)
- ✓ Interpreti bianchi → missionari con familiarità in uno o più dialetti indiani, oppure altri personaggi che avevano imparato uno o più dialetti per necessità, e.g. commercianti di pellicce, oppure “mezzosangue” o prigionieri (Kawashima 1989: 4)

→

# Chi erano gli interpreti? (3)

- ✓ Ma l'interpretazione non era prerogativa dei bianchi:
  - “Most of the interpreters employed in Indian-white relations in the seventeenth century were **Indians**; only a small number of whites served in this capacity. From the beginning, however, the colonists had made efforts to learn the native languages, considering the learning of the Indians' languages to be crucial for winning their mind and soul. [...] Yet for the settlers in general, Indian languages were extremely difficult to learn. The number of colonists who endeavored to learn native tongues, most of them missionaries, did not increase with the passage of time. **More Indians learned English than settlers voluntarily tried to learn their languages.**” (Kawashima 1989: 3)

# Chi erano gli interpreti? (4)

- ✓ “It was, however, **the whites** who dominated the activities of the interpreters during the eighteenth [and nineteenth] century” (Kawashima 1989: 3)
- ✓ “Their [the interpreters’] importance [...] was tremendous, for if the treaties were to make much sense as contracts, the two parties needed to understand what each was saying. The importance was amplified by the fact that the English version of the treaties alone was the standard.” (Prucha 1994: 213)
- ✓ “The fact that the monopoly of language and communication during negotiations for Indian lands provided competitive advantage soon became evident. [...] *the interpreter* rapidly became a highly-demanded professional profile in the newly-formed United States of America.” (Brambilla 2016: 68)

# Chi erano gli interpreti? (5)

- ✓ “The importance of Indian interpreters expanded and was gradually institutionalized. Although the office of the interpreter was not a full-time job nor did it command high prestige, the position often involved much more **responsibility** than its title implied. The interpreters were actually the field representatives of the colonies in their dealings with the Indians. They were required not only to translate one language to another but simultaneously to serve as messengers and diplomatic agents to the Indian country, often for extended periods of time.” (Kawashima 1989: 7)
- ✓ Gli interpreti lavoravano come “forest diplomats” (Kawashima 1989: 12) or “diplomats in the wilderness” (Kawashima 1989: 8)

# “Forest diplomats” o “diplomats in the wilderness”



- ✓ Penn's Treaty with the Indians, Benjamin West, dipinto a olio, 1771-1772 (<https://www.colorado.edu/center/west/2020/12/10/historys-essential-workers-search-lessons-elusive-lives-interpreters-and-translators>)

# Chi erano gli interpreti? (6)

- ✓ **Abilità necessarie** → “mastery of languages and full understanding of both the white and Indian traditions and cultures.” (Kawashima 1989: 8)
- ✓ “Among numerous interpreters (who were usually selected from among those traders and mixed bloods who had good reputations) actively engaged in white-tribal relations, there emerged a small number of highly capable persons who began to assume **political roles**. It was these **interpreters with political ability** that came to dominate the scene in [...] Indian relations.” (Kawashima 1989: 7-8)

# Interpretazione e corruzione

- ✓ Il trattato divenne presto “a major device through which the colonists acquired land from the tribes, [...] a means to **deceive and cheat the Indians**” (Kawashima 1989: 4), spesso grazie anche alla connivenza degli interpreti
- ✓ L'interpretazione diventa un lavoro prestigioso che attrae individui avidi e corrotti
  - “Occasionally, some corrupt persons strictly sought the opportunity as interpreters to enrich themselves.” (Kawashima 1989: 6)

# Un contesto interpretativo singolare (1)

- ✓ “Having understood that treaty commissioners and interpreters were not always trustworthy, Indian chiefs and tribe members, traditionally viewed as ‘sweet [...] gentle [...] decorous and praiseworthy’ (Brown 1970: 20), opened their eyes and started reshaping interpreter-mediated meetings by hiring their own interpreters.” (Brambilla 2016: 69)
- ✓ “The interpreters at the treaty councils, to a large extent, came from a pool of agency interpreters authorized by law. And Indians often brought “their” interpreters to meetings, individuals of long acquaintance with the tribes and highly respected by the Indians they represented.” (Prucha 1994: 213) →

# Un contesto interpretativo singolare (2)

## ✓ FREQUENTE PRESENZA DI 2 INTERPRETI

- 1 nominato dal governo USA
- 1 scelto dagli Indiani per la sua reputazione e affidabilità

(Brambilla 2016: 69)

- ✓ “Most Indian leaders spoke freely and candidly in councils with white officials, and as they became more sophisticated in such matters during the 1870’s and 1880’s, they demanded the right to choose their own interpreters.” (Brown 1970: 15)

## Un contesto interpretativo singolare (3)

- ✓ “Indian chiefs [...] seldom trusted or relied solely on interpreters representing the colonists. Both sides were usually aided by their own independent interpreters. [...]

Generally, Indians had a negative attitude toward white interpreters and viewed them with suspicion. [...] The Indians who served as interpreters for the Indian tribes were capable and thoroughly trusted members who understood sufficient English and therefore were able to detect deliberate fraud by white interpreters. Indians were usually very careful in approving the interpreters appointed by the whites in their negotiations.” (Kawashima 1989: 4-5)

# Un contesto interpretativo singolare (4)

- ✓ “Interpreter-mediated interactions soon turned into peculiar communicative situations in which two partisan interpreters were present and acted for the exclusive interests of their respective clients.” (Brambilla 2016: 70)
- ✓ ATMOSFERA DI COMPLETA SFIDUCIA e DIFFIDENZA NEI CONFRONTI DELL’ALTRA PARTE  
↓
- ✓ Contesto interpretativo agli antipodi degli standard etici attuali

# Charles Picotte (1830-1896)



# Charles Picotte (1830-1896)



# Charles Picotte

- ✓ Figlio del commerciante di pellicce francese **Honoré Picotte** e di **Eagle-Woman-That-All-Look-At**, o semplicemente **Eagle Woman**



- sorella del capo della tribù degli Yankton Sioux (Maroukis 2004: 38), amico di Toro Seduto
- ✓ Charles lavora come interprete per Toro Seduto
  - “The younger Picotte had already done some interpreting for Sitting Bull [...]. Sitting Bull knew that he could trust the [...] son of Eagle Woman to interpret his words and wishes correctly.” (Pope 2010)

# Charles Picotte

- ✓ In generale, lavora come interprete durante gli incontri tra la sua tribù d'origine – gli Yankton Sioux – e il governo statunitense
- ✓ Lavora durante i negoziati per il trattato Yankton → cessione di terre al governo USA
  - “Because he spoke both languages - English and the dialect of the Yankton Sioux - Picotte was the logical choice to serve as the liaison between the chiefs and the government.” (Karolevitz 1994)
  - “A close advisor to his uncle, the head chief, and fluent in several languages, Picotte was the key interpreter during the negotiations.” (Maroukis 2004: 38)

# Charles Picotte

## ✓ Trattato Yankton

- Siglato il 19 Aprile 1858
  - Gli Yankton cedono il 96% delle loro terre e vengono confinati in una riserva
  - Con l'articolo 11 del trattato, "The Yancton acknowledge their dependence upon the Government of the United States" (Maroukis 2004: 39)
- ✓ Gli Yankton perdono la loro terra e la loro libertà

# Charles Picotte

- ✓ È l'unico a trarre beneficio dalla stipula del trattato Yankton
  - Riceve 640 acri di terra dal governo per i suoi “valuable services” (Maroukis 2004: 39)
- ✓ Il trattato fu firmato da 16 persone – 15 tra capi e membri degli Yankton + Charles P., ma molti capi si opponevano al trattato
  - “Their names are on the treaty, but they did not personally put their mark on the document. Their mark was made by their “duly authorized delegate and representative, Chas. F. Picotte”. Did these three band chiefs give this authority to Picotte because they could not attend the signing? Did they return home in protest? Did Picotte, whose self-interest was tied to the treaty, simply usurp the right to sign for them in their absence? The answer is unclear.” (Maroukis 2004: 39)

# Charles Picotte

## ✓ Personaggio enigmatico

- ✓ Ciò che è certo è che il trattato fu motivo di controversia tra gli Yankton, molti dei quali incolparono il capo tribù e suo nipote, Charles Picotte (Maroukis 2004: 40)
- ✓ “Charles Picotte is a mystery, but his role in Yankton’s history is clear” (Karolevitz 1994)
  - Svolse un ruolo fondamentale nello sviluppo della **città di Yankton**, situata sulle terre ricevute dal governo e inizialmente nota come “Charlie’s town” (Karolevitz 1994)
  - “Did he sell out his tribespeople for his own gain, or did he [...] do what he could to facilitate the inevitable? [...] Picotte was not just a pawn in the history-making event. He may have been honestly working for the best interests of his people, but he was also an official member [...] of the Upper Missouri Land Company certain to benefit from the treaty.” (Karolevitz 1994)

# Il reverendo Samuel D. Hinman (1839-1890)

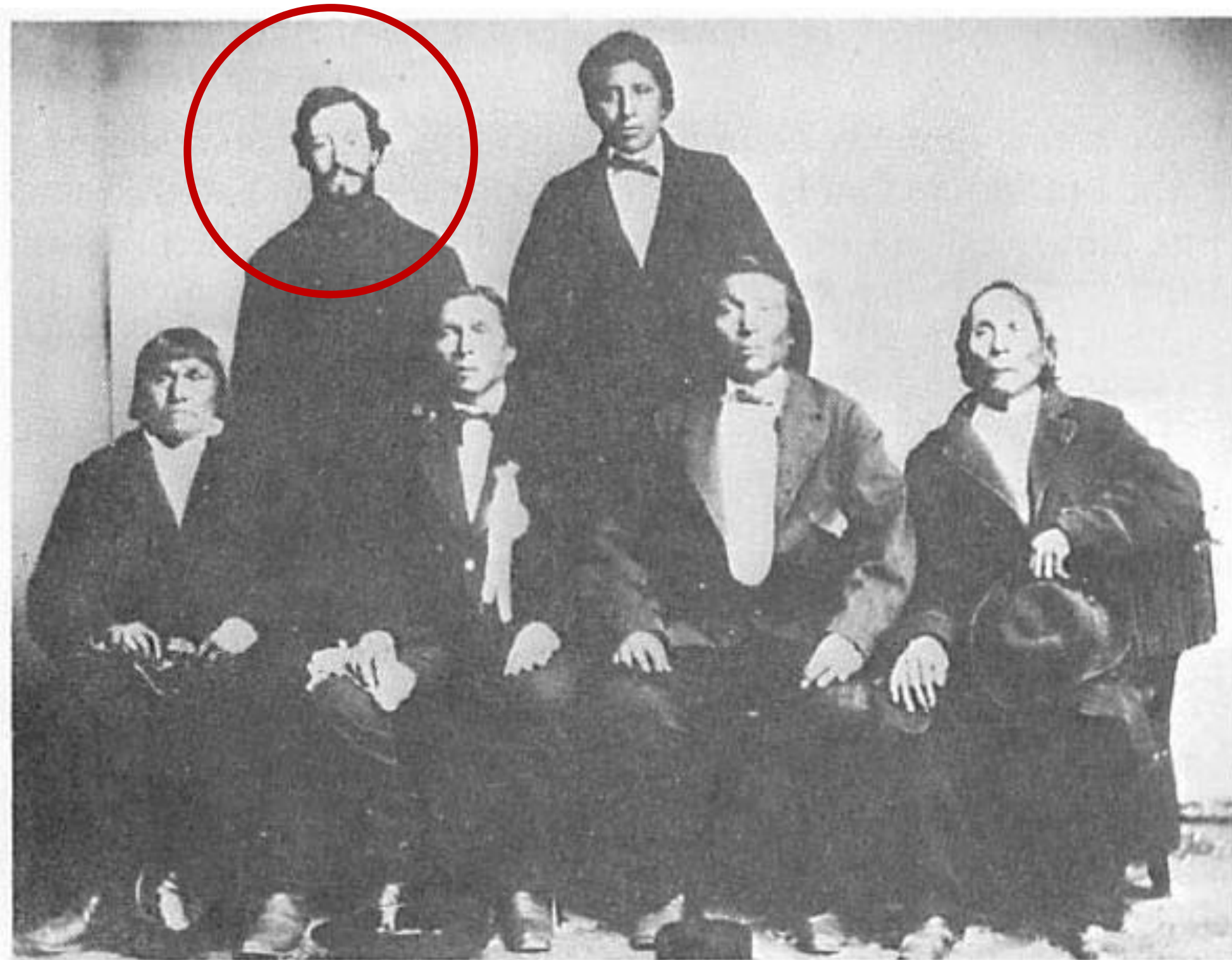


- ✓ Immagine tratta da Anderson G.K. (1979) "Samuel D Hinman and the opening of the Black Hills", *Nebraska History* 60, 520-542. ([https://history.nebraska.gov/wp-content/uploads/2017/12/doc\\_publications\\_NH1979SDHinman.pdf](https://history.nebraska.gov/wp-content/uploads/2017/12/doc_publications_NH1979SDHinman.pdf))

*Hinman as a young man.  
Courtesy of Minnesota Historical  
Society.*



# Il reverendo Samuel D. Hinman (1839-1890)



*The Reverend Samuel D. Hinman (standing, left) with Santee head men: Scarlet All Over, Red Legs (seated, left), Shooter, Wapastia, Flute Player. Photo by A. Z. Shindler, Washington DC, 1867. Courtesy of South Dakota State Historical Society.*

- ✓ Immagine tratta da Anderson G.K. (1979) "Samuel D Hinman and the opening of the Black Hills", *Nebraska History* 60, 520-542. ([https://history.nebraska.gov/wp-content/uploads/2017/12/doc\\_publications\\_NH1979SDHinman.pdf](https://history.nebraska.gov/wp-content/uploads/2017/12/doc_publications_NH1979SDHinman.pdf))

# Il reverendo Samuel D. Hinman

- ✓ Personaggio meno misterioso e più influente di Charles Picotte
- ✓ Probabilmente **l'interprete più famoso nell'America del XIX secolo**
- ✓ Missionario, visse tra i Sioux fin da quando era giovane, “believed that what the Indians needed was less land and more Christianity” (Brown 1970: 724)
- ✓ Da sempre “determined to learn the Dakota language, so that he would not be dependent on interpreters to help him preach the Gospel” (Allen 2009: 117)
- ✓ Vivendo tra i Sioux, divenne ben presto “fluent in the Sioux language [...] familiar with Sioux ways [...] an astute observer of Indian affairs” (Anderson 1979: 520-524)

# Il reverendo Samuel D. Hinman

- ✓ 1874 → il generale Custer richiede i suoi servizi per esplorare le **Black Hills** – luogo sacro agli indiani Sioux – perché si diceva fossero piene d'oro (Anderson 1979: 524)
- ✓ **Anni '70 del XIX secolo**
  - anni del massacro di Wounded Knee
  - anni in cui “control of the Western Dakota Territory was being wrested from the Sioux” (Anderson 1979: 520)
  - anni in cui Hinman fece fortuna come missionario, esploratore e **interprete**

# Il reverendo Samuel D. Hinman

- ✓ Accompagna i capi indiani alle visite presso il Ministero degli Interni per discutere la cessione delle loro terre
- ✓ I Sioux resistono → Hinman viene nominato membro di una commissione – capeggiata dal governatore Newton Edmunds – incaricata di risolvere “il problema Sioux”
  - “The commission should have its own Sioux interpreter, loyal to the commission alone. The agency interpreters – all mixed-blood Sioux – would not do. They all had some loyalty to their own people. Edmunds was determined to have as interpreter **the Reverend Samuel D. Hinman**, who had been a missionary among the Sioux since his youth, **who spoke better Sioux than most Sioux did, and who understood these Indians better perhaps than any other white man.**” (Hyde 1956: 113)
- ✓ Al contrario di oggi, l'IMPARZIALITÀ non era considerata un buon requisito per un interprete

# Il reverendo Samuel D. Hinman

- ✓ “Hinman knew his value to any commission seeking to induce Sioux chiefs to sign away their lands. Hinman was being offered one hundred dollars (equivalent to about five hundred at present day) a month and all expenses paid; but he demanded ten dollars a day, the same remuneration that Chairman Edmunds was to receive.” (Hyde 1956: 114)
- ✓ La commissione doveva raccogliere le firme di almeno tre quarti degli uomini Sioux adulti →

# Il reverendo Samuel D. Hinman

- ✓ Per raccogliere il numero necessario di firme, Hinman:
  - Mentì ai Sioux in merito ai motivi delle visite e della raccolta firme (Brown 1970: 723)
  - Promise bestiame ai Sioux in cambio della loro collaborazione (Brown 1970: 724) → i Sioux non sapevano leggere e, quindi, non erano consapevoli del fatto che stavano cedendo le loro terre in cambio di bestiame
  - Minacciò coloro che si rifiutavano di firmare (Brown 1970: 724-725)
  - Costrinse anche i bambini a firmare (Brown 1970: 724-725)

# Il reverendo Samuel D. Hinman

- ✓ Membro di quel “group of crusaders [...] at work in North Dakota Territory with plans for attracting a flood of white settlers into the Sioux lands” (Hyde 1956: 107)
- ✓ Nonostante i suoi metodi, la commissione non riuscì a raccogliere le firme necessarie e gli imbrogli di Hinman furono portati alla luce da una nuova commissione
- ✓ Le continue accuse causarono la fine della sua carriera da interprete → “the government never used him as interpreter again” (Allen 2009: 126)

# Conclusioni

## ✓ INTERPRETAZIONE NEGLI STATI UNITI DEL XIX SECOLO

- **Contesto interpretativo:** negoziati formali per discutere la cessione di terre da parte delle tribù indiane
- **Caratteristiche:** presenza di **due interpreti di parte**
- **Requisiti:** conoscenza delle due lingue/dialetti e culture coinvolte, parzialità
- Già dal XVIII sec. → maggioranza di interpreti bianchi, influenti e con **potere politico**, veri e propri **agenti governativi**

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