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FROM BALLAD TO ROCK
A continuing tale of intra- and multi-lingual adaptation

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Abstract: In this article, we will look at the evolution of a traditional ballad into the modern popular folk song recorded most notably by the American folk singer Joan Baez (1941-) with subsequent adaptations in English by other artists (i.e. Sandy Denny and the Collins sisters) as well as translations into other European languages: French, Italian, and Danish. Our aim is to illustrate how, over time, artefacts from popular culture are subject to constant change and recontextualisation as each artist and each generation come to appropriate them and impose their own interpretations upon them. We shall examine this process with translation, looking at how rewriting and re-performing in different codes leads not only to re-encoding but also to re-interpretation within different cultural and socio-political frames.

Keywords: adaptation; ballad; transadaptation; transcreation.

1. Introduction

In this article, we will trace the evolution of the traditional English / Scottish ballad, which we shall refer to as "Geordie" (the name of the main character in most versions)[1] into its modern incarnation as a popular folk song most famously recorded probably by the American folk singer Joan Baez (1941-), and into subsequent translations and adaptations in European languages: a French version by Claude François (1939-1978); an Italian version recorded by Fabrizio De André (1940-1999); and a Danish one by the 1970s rock band Gasolin'.

The continuing story of the ballad of Geordie is an illustration of how artefacts from popular culture are subject to constant change and recontextualisations[2] over time as they are told / sung and retold / re-sung over many years and in different geographical areas, each with their own linguacultural traditions. With translation into different languages, the factors affecting interpretation and re-interpretation are similar to those within the original speech communities where the ballad came into being and evolved. However, they are also amplified by the extra cross-lingual dimension that involves the types of lexical and structural correspondences that exist between the two languages, and the effects that these have on the so-called target text's possible meaning and the ways in which it, in turn, may be interpreted by the new performers and their audiences.

[1] Among other variations on the name George, such as Georgy. Originally in Catalonia, but now also elsewhere in Spain and in other parts of Europe such as the Netherlands and Germany, a similar name, *Jordi*, is also used as a diminutive of Ancient Greek *Georgios*. There may be a connection with Geordie, but who was inspired by whom, and when precisely, is hard to say.

[2] See Linell (1998, p. 145), for whom recontextualisation is *"the dynamic transfer-and-transformation of something from one discourse/text-in-context ... to another"*.

2. The history of "Geordie"

Listed as number 209 in Francis Child's *The English and Scottish Popular Ballads*,[3] and number 90 in the *Roud Folk Song Index*,[4] the ballad Geordie is first recorded in England in the 17th century, while a ballad that is similar in some respects but different in many others is recorded in Scotland in the 18th. The earliest known publication of the English version is a London black-letter broadside "The Life and Death of George of Oxford" (some time between 1672 and 1696), although earlier precursors that are similar in style and theme have also been found. About 129 distinct versions are listed in the Roud Folk Song Index – of which eight are from Canada, 40 from England, two from Ireland, 27 from Scotland, and no less than 52 from the USA. The poet Robert Burns himself contributed a version in Scots to Volume 4 of the *Scots Musical Museum,*[5] listed in Child (1890) as version A of the ballad.

The Scottish versions bear little resemblance to the English when it comes to basic plot points and many important details. Child himself, while presenting the English and Scottish together, is doubtful of whether they can be considered as connected on anything other than a superficial level, noting (1890, p. 138):

> Whether the writers of these English ballads knew of the Scottish 'Geordie,' I would not undertake to affirm or deny; it is clear that some far-back reciter of the Scottish ballad had knowledge of the later English broadside. The English ballads, however, are mere "goodnights." The Scottish ballads have a proper story, with a beginning, middle, and end, and (save one late copy), a good end, and they are most certainly original and substantially independent of the English.

Ballads are narrative songs generally agreed to stem from the medieval French tradition of *chanson balladée.* In general, British ballads may contain influences also from North Germanic traditions of sagas and storytelling that can be seen in works such as the poem *Beowulf* or even from Celtic traditions such as the collection of Welsh prose works, the *Mabinogion*, all of which are very likely inspired, by even older works such as the *Odyssey* or the *Aeneid* (which themselves may well have been the fruits of much more ancient, prehistoric traditions). In different linguacultural contexts, they may of course also have other sources of inspiration as well. Scottish ballads are often based, frequently only loosely, on real historical events, and this seems to be the case with the Scottish "Geordie". The English version seems to be more allegorical in nature.

Below in (1) is a traditional English version of "Geordie" from Child (1890, pp. 141-142. Ballad 209):

(1)
Traditional English versions from Child (1890).

As I went over London Bridge,
All in a misty morning,
There did I see one weep and mourn,
Lamenting for her Georgy.
His time it is past, his life it will not last,
Alack and alas, there is no remedy!

Which makes the heart within me ready to burst in three,

[3] Child (1890)
[4] Vaughan Williams Memorial Library.
[5] Johnson (1792)

To think on the death of poor Georgy.

“George of Oxford is my name,
And few there‘s but have known me;
Many a mad prank have I playd,
But now they ‘ve overthrown me.”

O then bespake the Lady Gray;
“I ‘le haste me in the morning,
And to the judge I ‘le make my way,
To save the life of Georgy.

“Go saddle me my milk-white steed,
Go saddle me my bonny,
That I may to New-Castle speed,
To save the life of Georgy.”

But when she came the judge before,
Full low her knee she bended;
For Georgy’s life she did implore,
That she might be befriended.

“O rise, O rise, fair Lady Gray,
Your suit cannot be granted;
Content your self as well you may,
For Georgy must be hanged.’

She wept, she waild, she [w]rung her hands,
And ceased not her mourning;
She offerd gold, she offerd lands,
To save the life of Georgy.

“I have travelld through the land,
And met with many a man, sir,
But, knight or lord, I bid him stand;
He durst not make an answer.

“The Brittain bold that durst deny
His money for to tender,
Though he were stout as valiant Guy,
I forced him to surrender.

“But when the money I had got,
And made him cry *peccavi*,
To bear his charge and pay his shot,
A mark or noble gave I.

“The ladies, when they had me seen,
Would ner have been affrighted;
To take a dance upon the green
With Georgy they delighted.

When I had ended this our wake,
And fairly them bespoken,
Their rings and jewels would I take,
To keep them for a token.’

The hue-and-cry for George is set,
A proper handsome fellow,
With diamond eyes as black as jet,

And locks like gold so yellow.

Long it was, with all their art,
Ere they could apprehend him,
But at the last his valiant heart
No longer could defend him.

"I ner stole horse nor mare in my life,
Nor cloven foot, or any.
But once, sir, of the king's white steeds,
And I sold them to Bohemia."

Georgy he went up the hill,
And after followed many;
Georgy was hanged in silken string,
The like was never any.

In the traditional English versions, and most later versions too, the story is told in the first person. A narrator comes into a town,[6] and encounters a young woman crying for a Georgy or Geordie, who is awaiting execution for the crime of theft. He is of high birth (as also in the Scots versions), but cannot be pardoned. He will however be accorded special privileges when he is put to death. The woman is encountered on a bridge, which is symbolic because water, and the traversing of it, often represents in folklore and myth a liminal element: the boundary between two states of affairs or realities – e.g. victory and defeat, joy and despair, life and death. There is also the important element of the silken string: a marker both of status and of privilege, but also constitutes the means of execution. In various guises, this symbolism is a feature of later versions too.

3. Modern versions in English

For our discussion here, we will concentrate on modern, post-WW2, versions of Geordie. The best known of these is the successful live recording from 1962 by the American folk singer Joan Baez. The tune that she used seems to be taken from a 1942 BBC recording of a fragment of the song performed by a local English folksinger, Louisa "Louie" Hooper,[7] from the small village of Westport, Somerset. Prior to Baez, this same version had also been covered in 1957 by the American folklorist and folksinger Paul Clayton, one of Baez's acquaintances. In her version (see (2)), Baez added the missing parts of the ballad drawing from traditional written sources. In particular, she added the first verse about London Bridge, elements of which can also be seen in the Child (1890) English version ((1)):

(2)
Clayton (1957) and Baez (1962) recordings.

Paul Clayton Version (after Louie Hooper extract)	**Joan Baez Version**
	As I walked out over London bridge
My Geordie shall be hanged in a golden chain	One misty morning, early

[6] In this particular English version, but not in others, there is mention of New-Castle (Verse 4). Inhabitants of the city of Newcastle upon Tyne have since the 18th century been known as "Geordies" but this is probably of no relevance here. For one thing, there are over four different places called Newcastle / New Castle in England, and another four in Ireland.

[7] She was one of the musicians and dancers who met Cecil Sharp, the English musician and collector of folk music, as he travelled around England between 1903-23.

That's a chain of many

He stole sixteen of the King's wild deers
And he sold them in Bohenny
He stole sixteen of the King's wild deers
And he sold them in Bohenny

O he never stole no ducks nor no geese
Nor he never murdered any
He stole sixteen of the King's wild deers
And he sold them in Bohenny

O me Geordie shall be hanged in a golden chain
That's a chain of many
He stole sixteen of the King's wild deers
And he sold them in Bohenny

I overheard a fair pretty maid
Was lamenting for her Geordie

"Oh, my Geordie will be hanged in a golden chain
'Tis not the chain of many
He was born of King's royal breed
And lost to a virtuous lady"

"Go bridle me my milk-white steed
Go bridle me my pony
I will ride to London's court
To plead for the life of Geordie"

"Ah, my Geordie never stole nor cow, nor calf
He never hurted any
Stole sixteen of the King's royal deer
And he sold them in Bohenny"

"Two pretty babies have I born
The third lies in my body
I'd freely part with them every one
If you'd spare the life of Geordie"

The judge looked over his left shoulder
He said, "Fair maid, I'm sorry"
Said, "Fair maid, you must be gone
For I cannot pardon Geordie"

"Oh, my Geordie will be hanged in a golden chain
'Tis not the chain of many
Stole sixteen of King's royal deer
And he sold them in Bohenny"

As can be seen, both versions follow broadly the traditional English version given in Child ((1)), although the hero's name is given as Geordie (not Georgy). The Clayton version based on only an extract of Hooper singing is shorter. Instead of "royal deer", it speaks of "wild deer" at least in our interpretation.[8] Furthermore, the golden chains that Geordie are hanged in are described as being "a chain of many" whereas, in the Baez version, they are "*not* the chain of many" [our emphasis]. The latter makes more sense in the context of the story – Geordie will not be spared the death sentence but will be accorded a special privilege (if that were any comfort to him or his loved ones). It is very possible that either Clayton, an American, had misunderstood what Hooper sang in her Somerset accent or that Hooper herself, or the long line of singers who had handed it down to her, having learnt the song by ear, had misheard it.[9] The place where Geordie sold his deer, "Bohenny", is the same in both songs even though there is question about which exact place this name refers to.[10]

[8] The transcript is ours: from a recording of the song published on YouTube: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=nsDcLAFMaTI&ab_channel=PaulClayton-Topic.

[9] Unfortunately, we could not find the original BBC recording. There may be no copies left, or one may not have been made available on the internet.

[10] One often-cited possibility is the hamlet of Bohenie near Roybridge in the Scottish Highlands. This would give the ballad a Scottish origin, but it is difficult to see how this element, referring to a tiny non-descript settlement would survive the song's migration while more notable locations like Edinburgh ("Enbrugh" in the Scots version by Burns – see Section 2) had been changed. Another obvious candidate is Bohemia (as in the English version quoted from Child (1890) above. If intended literally, this would make little sense because it is a very long way to go to sell sixteen deer killed somewhere in Britain. It may be rather that

It is interesting that the stealing of horses in the traditional English version ((1)) is replaced by the stealing of deer. One may wonder whether this is not an element borrowed from the well-known legend of Robin Hood. The latter is probably a composite figure, an amalgam of many different popular outlaws, real and imaginary. The underlying theme in these more modern versions of Geordie seems, like Robin Hood, to be opposition to "forest law" introduced by the Normans. In many areas of England, this created game reserves and restricted common people's access to woodland and the valuable resources therein that they had traditionally enjoyed. The link between Geordie and Robin Hood may be a modern invention (influenced perhaps by cinema and television) but it shows how a cultural artefact may be made to fit the changing cultural tropes of the relevant linguacultural context. We will see this same tendency to make new associations and add new elements when the ballad is translated into different languages.

The Joan Baez 1962 recording of the song featured on her fourth (but first live) album *Joan Baez in Concert* and brought the song to the wider public's attention. It does not however constitute a standard version. Indeed, although the Baez version has been covered by many other artists, other variants have continued to be circulated and be recorded, perhaps most notably by Sandy Denny, who achieved fame as the lead singer of the folk rock band Fairport Convention, and who had recorded a home "demo" of the song in 1967 (released posthumously only in 1989), and in 1970 by the sisters from Sussex, Shirley and Dolly Collins, at that time, performing as a folk duo.

(3)
Denny (1967) and Collins (1970) recordings.

Sandy Denny Version	**Shirley and Dolly Collins Version**
As I walked under London Bridge One misty morning early, I overheard a fair, pretty maid, Lamenting for her Geordie.	As I rode over London Bridge One misty morning early I overheard a tender hearted girl Plead for the life of Geordie
"My Geordie will be hanged with a golden chain, 'Tis not the chain of many. He stole sixteen of the king's royal deer And he sold them in Boeny."	Now Geordie robbed no store-houses He never murdered any He only shot a King's white deer All for to feed his fam'ly
"Go saddle me my milk white steed Go saddle me my pony That I may ride to London's courts To plead for the life of Geordie."	Then the judge looked over his left shoulder And thus he says to Geordie: "By your confession you shall hang And the Lord have mercy upon you"
"My Geordie never hurt a man nor calf He never hurted any He stole sixteen of the king's royal deer And he sold them in Boeny."	The Geordie he looked around the court And saw his dearest Polly Said he, "My love, you've come too late For I'm condemned already"
"Two pretty babies have I borne, The third lies in my body, And I would part with them every one, If you pardon my dear Geordie."	There's six pretty babes I've born to you And the seventh lies in my body But freely would I part with them To spare the life of Geordie

Bohemia, as well as providing a rhyme for 'many' and 'any' as required by the rhyme scheme, is mentioned ironically. It is chosen as representative of somewhere far, far away, almost unreachable, as someone may refer to Timbukto, the city in Mali. It may mean that Geordie was going to sell them somewhere but when asked where, to protect his associates, gave this sarcastic answer.

But the judge looked over his left shoulder,
He said, "fair maid, I'm sorry,
I cannot pardon the one you love,
He has been hanged already."

Then Geordie he walked around the court
And said farewell to many
But the leaving of his own true love
That grieved him worst of any

Let Geordie hang in golden chains
His crimes they were not many
He only shot a king's white deer
All for to feed his fam'ly

While the Denny and Collins versions share many features and tell the same general story, there are many differences in the details of the tale and consequently in the text, and above all in the lexis used. For example, Denny, like Baez, speaks of walking over London Bridge, the Collins of riding. The Collins version stands out because, like the English version from Child (1890) in (1), it gives the heroine a name: *Polly*. This is an almost stereotypical name of a simple commoner whereas in the Child version she is of high birth (*Lady Gray*). Also in the Baez version ((2)), the woman is powerful in her own right and rich enough to own a horse even though, in the first verse, she is introduced as "fair pretty maid", which would normally indicate that is she is unmarried. Rather this phrase is probably used to indicate that, although a mother and a wife, she is still young. Interestingly, the Collins version ((3)) substitutes *maid* with the more modern *girl* in the first verse. In the Collins version, there is no mention of the Polly having a horse or of her riding. Geordie's crime is the killing of a single deer[11] to feed his family, and thus he becomes the symbol of the repressed and impoverished peasant, not someone of noble birth stealing numerous animals for material gain, or as an act of rebellion. In this version, there is no reference to either the silken string or golden chain, the powerful two-sided emblem of status and the inevitability of death.[12]

The Collins version then repositions the story in a less aristocratic social context involving people of more ordinary backgrounds. This makes sense within a broadly left-leaning context of modern folklorology where all things folk or popular are viewed as celebrations of the common person, and of their life experiences down the ages. As the great ethnomusicologist Alan Lomax[13], with whom Shirley Collins was in a relationship for about five years, wrote in a 1940 radio script, "The essence of America lies not in the headlined heroes ... but in the everyday folks who live and die unknown, yet leave their dreams as legacies."[14]

The Collins version is a more sophisticated treatment than either the Denny or Baez versions, who both sing the song accompanying themselves with a simple acoustic guitar.[15] The latter are more melodic and euphonious, despite the fact that the one is a live version and the other recorded at home and never intended for release. In short, the Collins recording with its early music arrangements and an Eclectic assortment of instruments (such as a

[11] The deer is also described as white, and the white deer or stag has a special place in medieval folklore and Christianity all over Europe. In English and North European folklore, it is associated with Herne the Hunter, derived probably from a pagan deity. In the Arthurian legends, this animal had the uncanny ability to evade capture, and it is said that the hunter's futile pursuit of it is an analogy for humankind's unending spiritual quest. The White Hart is also associated with the hapless King Richard II who was deposed, imprisoned and probably deliberately starved to death by his nemesis, King Henry IV.

[12] A theme also explored in the title song of the album ("Love, Death and the Lady") containing their version of "Geordie".

[13] Alan Lomax, ex director of the Library of Congress Archive on American Folk Song, in 1950, felt obliged to leave the USA after his political views and activities attracted the distrustful eye of the FBI, Senator McArthur, and the House Un-American Activities Committee.

[14] Cohen (2003, p. 316)

[15] We thank Stefano Nicolò Difidio, student at the *Conservatorio Nino Rota* of Monopoly, Italy, for his help in making comments about the musical aspects of the various versions here and elsewhere in this article.

sackbut, recorder, harpsicord, and some kind of parade drum) is more for those looking for a refined Early Modern / renaissance sound[16] as opposed to the transatlantic, more commercial one of either Baez or Denny. The Collins version also departs from the usual conventions of folk music at the time. The traditional melody of "Geordie" (as exemplified by Baez, Denny, or even Clayton or Hooper) has undergone major changes and been rendered almost funereal. The lyrics express a more modern political message about poverty and social injustice and is thus rather experimental in nature, like the rest of the album ("Love, Death and the Lady") that it is taken from.[17]

From this brief description of the ballad's modern incarnation as a folk song, it is obvious that it continues to be an elastic and accommodating vessel for a variety of versions, perspectives, storylines and narratives. It is this flexibility in its nature that we will see is amplified when it comes to its translations into other languages. We will concentrate on perhaps the three most famous: those in French, Italian and Danish (in that order).

4. Version in French

In 1965, three years after the success of the Baez version, the noted French singer Claude François (then at the beginning of his stellar career)[18] brought out a version in French, sharing the writing credits with one Vline Buggy[19] – see (4):

(4)
François version in French (1965).

Geordie (François version)	**Literal translation**
Il y longtemps au temps des rois	It was long ago at the time of kings
C'était à Londres par un froid matin	It was in London on a cold morning
Sur un vieux pont, une vielle femme pleurait	On an old bridge, an old woman was crying
Sur le sort de son fils Geordie	For the fate of her son Geordie
Ô mon Geordie sera pendu demain à l'aube	Oh my Geordie will be hanged tomorrow at dawn
Sera pendu par une chaîne en or	Will be hanged by a chain in gold
Il va mourir pour avoir aimé	He is going to die for having loved
Aimé la fille du roi	Loved the daughter of the king
Des nuits, des jours, longtemps j'ai marché	For nights, for days, a long time have I walked
Combien de jours, je ne m'en souviens plus	How many days, I don't remember any more
Pour arriver à la cour de Londres	To arrive at the court of London

[16] These are not in fact traditional English instruments; if the Collins had been aiming at authenticity, they might have used things such as a crwth / crouth / crowd (a bowed lyre), fiddle or English guitar.

[17] "Those unfamiliar with the late 60s and early 70s canon of Shirley and her non-vocal sister Dolly may be in for a shock. This is harsh primordial territory. Murder ballads, tales of wrong-doing and punishment meted out by an uncaring society do little to further the perennial prejudice that all British folk is 'hey-nonny-no-under-the-greenwood' stuff. Forget Nick Cave - Shirley and Dolly got there first..." From the BBC review of "Love, Death and the Lady": "Forget Nick Cave - Shirley and Dolly got there first..." Chris Jones (2003): https://www.bbc.co.uk/music/reviews/6d25/.

[18] He was successful mainly in Francophone countries but adaptations of songs he had co-written and performed such as "Comme d'habitude" (the tune of which was used by Paul Anka for the signature Frank Sinatra song "My Way") or "Parce que je t'aime mon enfant" (an English version, coincidentally "My Boy", recorded by Elvis Presley) meant he was steadily gaining international recognition before his untimely death in 1978 at the age of 39.

[19] This is a pseudonym used by two French songwriters, the sisters Evelyne and Liliane Koger. The former died in 1962. Liliane wrote over 150 songs for François.

Plaider la cause de mon Geordie	Plead the case of my Geordie
Ô mon Geordie n'a jamais volé ou tué Il est si jeune, c′est un enfant Prenez ma vie, je suis une vieille femme Mais épargnez celle de mon Geordie	Oh my Geordie never stole nor killed He is so young, it's a child Take my life, I am an old woman But save that of my Geordie
Le juge regarda par dessus son épaule Il dit: Brave dame, je regrette Il dit: Brave dame, vous devriez partir Car je ne peux rien pour votre Geordie	The judge looked over his shoulder He said: Good woman, I regret He said: Good woman, you should leave Because I can do nothing for your Geordie
Ô mon Geordie sera pendu demain à l′aube Sera pendu par une chaîne en or Il va mourir pour avoir aimé Aimé la fille du roi.	Oh my Geordie will be hanged tomorrow at dawn Will be hanged by a chain in gold He is going to die for having loved Loved the daughter of the king.

This was not the first time that he had recorded a French version of an English-language song. Like many European artists at a time, his catalogue consisted of many cover versions in his first language of American popular music.[20] Nor was it his first foray into the folk genre; in 1963, he had recorded a version of Pete Seeger's "If I had a hammer": "Si j'avais un marteau."

The timing that the François version of "Geordie" was released indicates that it is probably influenced directly by the Joan Baez recording, but there is a notable absence of rhyme, and the focus would seem to be less on the lyric or meter itself than on the enunciation of the words, and the way that the singing voice interacts with the melody. The French text as sung by François does not slavishly follow the basic melody of the song as handed down by Baez, Clayton and Hooper, but rather weaves itself around it; the individual words are often extended and blend into one another with occasional use of special effects such as echo. François also adopts different vocal styles, giving the impression almost of different singers singing different parts (something De André also achieves by performing the song as a duet: see Section 5). The music is correspondingly varied with different instruments being used at different stages: a classical guitar, where each note is plucked like a harp (*arpeggio*), providing the song with the basic chords and rhythm while other instruments, such as percussion and an electric organ, fade in reaching a crescendo towards the middle before fading out. Overall, the arrangement is multi-layered and much more complex than the Baez version. Unlike in a traditional ballad, the lyric is not in itself the primary focus of attention but rather just another element in a complex composition. The overall sound of the singer's voice, its nuances, and mutations are as important as the words actually sung.

As regards the content, the characters are changed. There is no first person narrator, no "I" in the first line, and the woman is not Geordie's wife, but his mother. One of the main plot points, Geordie's crime, is also changed. He is convicted not of theft but of a vaguer charge of having loved the king's daughter. The location remains the same, London, but on an unspecified bridge (i.e. not specifically the famous landmark, London Bridge). It is also noteworthy that while the Baez, Denny and Collins all retain the line about it being a "misty morning", in the French version, this is dropped for a more general "froid matin" ("cold morning" cfr. "brumeux matin"). This may be a relatively minor point but it is interesting in view of the fact that one of the stereotypes about London, especially at the time that the François version was recorded (when memories were still fresh of the aerial pollution that

[20] His first hit (1962) was "Belles! Belles! Belles!" – an adaptation of the Everly Brother's "Girls Girls Girls (Made to Love)".

was ubiquitous before the Clean Air Act 1956),[21] was that it was prone to fog – and the word *brumeux* in French can be used for both fog and mist (the two differing in degree, a mist being a less dense fog). Furthermore, the couplet "misty morn" survives in various English versions no doubt because of the alliteration caused by the two initial 'm's. However, no such effect would be achieved by "brumeux matin". There is no need then to keep *brumeux*. Consequently, François and Buggy may have preferred *froid* because it is monosyllabic, and overall has a sharper sound than *brumeux,* and thus fits better into the meter of the lyric.

The time context is also emphasised, "Il y longtemps au temps des rois"" ("It was long ago at the time of kings"), making this not a contemporary account given by an eyewitness narrator but rather an anonymous third person diegetic report of a historical event but with some mimesis in the form of the words, in the first person, of the different participants (i.e. the old woman, the judge). Much of the story, as told in traditional English versions and in that by Baez, is left out.

The substitution of the old mother for the young wife makes the new element possible: Geordie's having loved the king's daughter. Why François and his co-writer should choose to alter the plot in this way is unclear. The forbidden love trope is not however uncommon in the genre of folk or that of fairy tales and, if one remembers that these were not initially intended exclusively for children, and could, in their original form, be quite gruesome, the absence of a "happily ever after" ending is not entirely out of theme. Indeed, in this version, the figure of the king's daughter remains in the background, and of her or her fate, nothing is said. In some interpretations – and it can be noted that no mention is made of her pleading for his life as in the English versions – she could be seen as a *femme fatale*: the cause of the hero's downfall. It is interesting to note that François himself (known to his mainly female fans as "Cloclo") liked to project a playboy image, even though he was already married and had a young child (facts he did his best to hide). He would go on to be divorced twice and have children both in and, allegedly, out of wedlock. Later in his career, he would also co-write and perform some rather sentimental songs about the relationships between fathers and their children within the context of relationship breakdown or divorce.[22] He was also apparently very close to his own mother (born in Egypt but of Calabrian heritage), who he and his fans called "Chouffa". This aspect of François's personal life may arguably be part of the explanation why the focus is shifted from the unreliable love of a woman for her man to the unimpeachable idealised one of a mother for her son.

Another interesting theme is the idea that the old woman comes to London on foot, not on horseback, and has to endure a long arduous journey. As in the Collins version, this shows that she is not wealthy or of high social status. Furthermore, the long journey on foot reminds one of a penance or a pilgrimage, and may symbolise the lengths that a loving mother will go to save her child. These are well-worn themes that are also found within the Marian tradition of some versions of Christianity, especially the Roman Catholic.[23] The figure of the self-sacrificing mother in the François version can be contrasted with the verses in the English versions of Baez, Denny and Collins, where Geordie's wife states she would gladly give up her children to have her husband / sweetheart back. In these more patriarchal accounts, it is the loyalty of the woman to her partner which is valued higher than that of a mother to her children.

[21] This was not a uniquely modern problem either. Records of excessive pollution from smoke fires are found as far back as medieval times.

[22] E.g. "Parce que je t'aime mon enfant" (1970); "Le Téléphone Pleure" (1972).

[23] This is not to say that François, who would go on to be twice-divorced, or Buggy consciously had a Catholic agenda, merely that they were influenced by the latent Catholicism of the culture in which they had grown up.

5. Version in Italian

After the Claude François version in French, the next notable translation was into Italian by the influential *cantautore* (or singer-songwriter) Fabrizio De André in 1966. The success of the François version may have given DeAndré the idea of making an Italian version even though he was no stranger to Baez or the international folk scene. Consequently, it may just have been a case of great minds thinking alike.[24] Like François, he produces a version of the ballad that contains some original elements of his own.[25]

This version was recorded as a duet with a native English speaker, one Maureen Rix, an English teacher friend of his, with her singing the alternate verses corresponding to the parts that are spoken by Geordie's wife / sweetheart, and with both singing the fifth and seventh verses. This format conforms in a general way to the established genre within British-American folk music known as *call and response*.[26] This is only a small part of much more ancient tradition, known formally as *antiphony*, that is found in many different genres and traditions around the world, including folk carols and which, in the Western canon, dates back at least to Gregorian chants.

(5)
De André version in Italian (1966).

Geordie (De André version)	**Literal translation**
Mentre attraversavo London Bridge	As I was crossing London Bridge
Un giorno senza sole	One day without sun
Vidi una donna pianger d'amore	I saw a woman cry with love
Piangeva per il suo Geordie	She was crying for her Geordie
Impiccheranno Geordie con una corda d'oro	They will hang Geordie with a cord of gold
È un privilegio raro	It is a rare privilege
Rubò sei cervi nel parco del Re	He stole six deers from the park of the King
Vendendoli per denaro	Selling them for money
Sellate il suo cavallo dalla bianca criniera	Saddle her horse with the white mane
Sellatele il suo pony	Saddle her pony
Cavalcherà fino a Londra stasera	She will ride until London tonight
Ad implorare per Geordie	To plead the case for Geordie
Geordie non rubò mai neppure per me	Geordie did not steal not even for me
Un frutto o un fiore raro	A rare fruit or a flower
Rubò sei cervi nel parco del Re	He stole six deer in the park of the King

[24] Indeed, Joan Baez herself was no stranger to Italy. She visited in 1965 where she met a journalist and later Senator, Furio Colombo. He would become what she described as her boyfriend for a while (See Fanpage.it, "L'Italia di Joan Baez: da Morandi a De Andrè passando per Morricone" - https://music.fanpage.it/l-italia-di-joan-baez-da-morandi-a-de-andre-passando-per-morricone/). She visited again on numerous occasions and recorded a live album, "Baez in Italy" (1967) which included two songs in Italian. She worked with Ennio Morricone on two English-language songs for the soundtrack of "Sacco and Vanzetti" (a Franco-Italian production of 1971) including the theme. On 15 May 1984, on a live Italian TV show, Gianni Minà's *Blitz*, Baez performed De André's "La canzone di Marinella" in Italian.

[25] Since this original version by "Fabrizio and Maureen", De André continued to perform the song live and release new versions. In many of these not only the music but also the lyric undergoes changes. This classic 1966 André version of "Geordie" has been covered on various occasions since: notably a techno version in 2007 by the DJ, Gabry Ponte.

[26] A famous example, also featuring on a Joan Baez live album (1964), is the "Riddle Song" or "I Gave My Love a Cherry" (Child 1890, Ballad # 42) – which is structured round a dialogue consisting of various riddles and their solutions.

Vendendoli per denaro	Selling them for money
Salvate le sue labbra, salvate il suo sorriso	Save his lips, save his smile
Non ha vent'anni ancora	He is not yet twenty
Cadrà l'inverno anche sopra il suo viso	Winter will fall also on his face
Potrete impiccarlo allora	You can hang him then
Né il cuore degli inglesi né lo scettro del Re	Neither the heart of the English nor the sceptre of the King
Geordie potran salvare	Can Geordie save
Anche se piangeranno con te	Even though they cry with you
La legge non può cambiare	The law cannot change.
Così lo impiccheranno con una corda d'oro	So they hanged him with a cord of gold
È un privilegio raro	It is a rare privilege
Rubò sei cervi nel parco del Re	He stole six deer in the park of the King
Vendendoli per denaro	Selling them for money
Rubò sei cervi nel parco del Re	He stole six deer in the park of the King
Vendendoli per denaro	Selling them for money

What is interesting in this version is that, in contrast to the François version, De André retains the original name for the bridge (i.e. *London Bridge* and not *il ponte di Londra*) while using the Italian name *Londra* elsewhere for the city. Coming in the very first line, this is probably what the German philosopher and theologian Schleiermacher (1768-1834) called *foreignization*, and was designed to throw the listener directly into the unfamiliar setting of England. This effect is reinforced by the singing of Maureen Rix, whose Italian is tinged with a discernibly English accent.[27] He also includes mention of the woman riding a pony as well as a horse. This is found also in the Baez (and the later Denny) version where "pony" (line 10) forms a tail or end rhyme with "Geordie" (line 12). Whereas Baez refers to the horse as being a "milk white steed", De André describes it as being "dalla bianca criniera" ("having a white mane"). De André could be playfully alluding to another more modern work here; "Criniera Bianca" (original title "Crin-Blanc") was a famous French film directed by Albert Lamorisse, winner of the Short Film *Palme d'Or* in 1953. The story tells of how a wild Camargue stallion teams up with a young fisherboy to escape ranchers and ultimately to run away with him to an idyllic island.

It is also noteworthy that, unlike the François version, De André makes ample use of rhyme. The word "Geordie" would assonate with numerous words in Italian (including most plural masculine nouns: *cavalli*, *amici, fiumi*). The word *pony,* which is Scottish English in origin,[28] does not have an exact equivalent in Italian but has been used in Italian since the beginning of the nineteenth century.[29] Nonetheless, it has definite connotations of the British – Irish Isles (where such breeds of horses originated) or the USA (*pony express*). Consequently, this detail, like *London Bridge*, is perhaps retained also to emphasise the foreignness of the setting.

De André adds two completely original verses, five and six, as well as a line about the fact that, for the woman, Geordie had never stolen anything ("Geordie non rubò mai neppure per me / Un frutto o un fiore raro" – "Geordie never did steal not even for me / A rare fruit or a flower"). This adds a note of reproach to the woman's pleas, as she could be interpreted as bemoaning the fact that there was no nobility, romance or appreciation of beauty in his crime; he only stole for money, not for love.

[27] At the time, in France, there was the phenomenon of English female singers achieving success while singing in French, like Petula Clark or, in the late 1960s, Jane Birkin.
[28] From Scots *powney*, from Old French *poulenet*. Online Etymology Dictionary: www.etymonline.com.
[29] The *Sabatini Coletti Dizionario della Lingua Italiana*: https://dizionari.corriere.it/dizionario_italiano/.

In the two verses, there are similarly enigmatic messages. The first verse deals with the fact that Geordie is, as the old cliché goes, "too young and beautiful to die." Using poetic imagery, De André has the woman say how one day he will be old ("Cadrà l'inverno anche sopra il suo viso" – "Winter will fall also on his face") and that he could better be executed then. In this rationale, it is Geordie's beauty ("Salvate le sue labbra, salvate il suo sorriso" – "Save his lips, save his smile") that renders his imminent execution unjust. Once his looks have faded, he can be hanged. Here again, the idea that beauty is the only thing of worth is reinforced. It also makes the wider wry comment that love, however deeply felt, is often based only on superficial factors, and is inherently fickle.

The other new verse refers to the fact that, even if the English and their king sympathise with the woman's pleas, they rigidly adhere to the principle that the law cannot be changed. What use is regal or popular power, De André seems to be saying, if people let themselves be regulated by stringent rules imposed in their name but that they themselves are powerless to change? In this way, like the Collins sisters, De André seems to have planted a distinct political idea within his text.

As regards musical arrangement, the tempo of the De André version is much more upbeat, racy almost, than any of the modern English versions or that of François. The song is introduced by galloping guitar riffs which would not be out of place in a Western soundtrack. This lends the song a certain playful air which matches the irony of the elements added by De André. The overall effect is drama infused with a nuance of the tongue-in-cheek: a tragic tale with satirical undertones that Shakespeare himself might have appreciated.

6. Version in Danish

The final different language version of Geordie that we will look at is one from Denmark. Of all those examined so far, this is the one which adheres least to the pattern established by the earlier versions, either in English, French or Italian, and where there is most original input, so much so that the ballad of Geordie is only alluded to in a few places rather than serving as a template over which words and structures from a different language are overlaid. It serves to show, however, how loosely texts can resemble each other yet still be discernibly similar.

The Danish version was recorded by the legendary rock group Gasolin' in 1971. The song is credited to three of the band's members (i.e. Franz Beckerlee, Kim Larsen, and Wili Jönsson) but the lyric is believed to be mainly the work of Larsen ((6)).[30]

(6)
Gasolin' version in Danish (1971).

Langebro (Gasolin' version)	**Literal translation**
Da jeg gik ud over Langebro	When I went out over Langebro
en tidlig mandag morgen	one early Monday morning
da så jeg en der stod og græd.	then saw I someone that stood and cried
Hvis du tør – så kom med mig.	If you dare – then come with me

[30] Many in Denmark consider Gasolin' to be their homegrown equivalent to the Beatles. After they split up in 1978, Kim Larsen (1945-2018), their lead singer and guitarist, went on to become one of Denmark's most influential recording artists and songwriters. Langebro was covered most memorably in 1995 by the pop-rock band Love Shop and featured on the tribute album "Fi-Fi-Dong": a compilation of Gasolin' covers by contemporary bands.

Jeg gik forbi dæmonernes port ud for Kofoeds Skole der stod en flok og drak sig ihjel. Hvis du tør – så kom med mig.	I walked past the demons' gate. next to the Kofoed School there stood a flock and drank themselves to death. If you dare – then come with me
Jeg mødte en der gik rundt med "Vågn Op" hun var Jehovas vidne hun råbte: Jorden går under idag. Hvis du tør – så kom med mig.	I met someone who went round with "Awake!" she was a Jehovah's witness she yelled: the Earth goes under today If you dare – then come with me
Jeg så en kvinde der løb efter sin mand hun havde så skønne øjne hun råbte: Hey, du har stjålet mit liv. Hvis du tør – så kom med mig.	I saw a woman that ran after her man she had such beautiful eyes she yelled: Hey, you have stolen my life. If you dare – then come with me

Perhaps the most obvious thing about this version, in comparison to the other non-English language versions, is that there is a domestication and modernisation of the context; no mention is made of anything archaic, British, or even remotely related to London. This contrasts with both the François or De André versions, where the setting of London is preserved. In the Danish version, this is replaced by Copenhagen, specifically the Langebro (Long Bridge) of the title and also "Kofoeds Skole" (The Kofoed School),[31] which then was located in the district of Christianhavn. The other real place mentioned is "Dæmonernes port" (the Demons' gate). This was the nickname for a secluded archway next to the school, where the inebriated would gather.

It is also clear that, unlike all the other versions examined so far, the Gasolin' version, though adhering to the same general form of the others (short four-line verses with some scattered rhyming but no rigid scheme), is not really a ballad as there is no story to tell, just a vignette of apparently random images drawn from real life. It is relatively short compared to all the other versions examined so far (except for the Clayton / Hooper extract, (2)) but the imagery is full of meaning: according to *Højskolesangbogen* (the song book of the Danish folk high school for adults):[32]

> The sixties' belief in the ideals of free love and "Make Love, Not War" was being blown away by colder winds, and the free play of mind-expanding drugs had long since been replaced by the heavy hangovers of addiction and abuse as Kim Larsen strolled across the bridge.
>
> Out in Christianshavn, a young rock band took its cue from the brutal awakening to the raw realities of the seventies, and the first song on the first Gasolin' album, *Langebro*, came to represent in an uncommon way the symbolic transition between the two decades. And it was the first song that the band wrote in Danish.
>
> […] There was, and is, something forlorn and bruised about the atmosphere on Langebro and the predicaments you meet in the lyric's slow stroll across the bridge. In those few lines, Gasolin' tackled some of the big issues of the new decade: the budding women's liberation movement, religious matters with the Jehovah's Witnesses and the social catastrophe of dystopian levels of drunkenness.
>
> […] There's "someone crying" out on Langebro, a crowd "drinking themselves to death" in the Demon's Gate at Kofoed School, the Jehovah's Witness doomsday prophet predicting "the World will end today" and the woman with "such beautiful eyes" accusing her man of "stealing

[31] Named after a pastor, Hans Christian Kofoed, this institution helps adults in need through self-help programs and education.

[32] https://hojskolesangbogen.dk/om-sangbogen/historier-om-sangene/j-l/langebro.

> my life". All with the alluring little promise: If you dare, come with me, ending each stanza and breaking the mistrust. Danger may have been lurking here, but adventure lurked beyond.[33]

That said, there remain some subtle links with more traditional versions of Geordie, not least the melody, which in this version has a slower, more plodding and mournful, tempo. The musical accompaniment is of slow Blues / Jazz style guitars with Eric Clapton-like flourishes,[34] as well as a backing of two or three male voices singing drawn out non-lexical vocables that provide a harmonic counterpoint to Larsen's lead vocals.

The first verse of the Gasolin' version follows very closely that of traditional English versions, not least that of Baez. The only missing detail is the reason why the woman is crying and the substitution of the line about Geordie with the refrain / invitation "Hvis du tør – så kom med mig." ("If you dare – then come with me").

The song, *Højskolesangbogen* states, is an account of a brief experience that Kim Larsen had early one morning while crossing a bridge in Copenhagen. He came across a crying woman whom, to his lasting regret, he failed to stop and help. The bridge in question was not Langebro, but its more northern companion, Knippelsbro (Knippel Bridge). This connects the centre of Copenhagen to the various islands, historic docks, barracks and ramparts that make up Christianhavn, the area where the self-governing squatter quarter of *Fristaden* ("Freetown") *Christiania* was formally set up in 1971. According to *Højskolesangbogen,* this change was made because the word *Langebro* fitted better into the song's rhyme scheme than did *Knippelsbro*. This is a questionable assertion; it could be countered that *Knippelsbro* would probably have worked equally as well as *Langebro* within the lyric (the words share the same number of syllables and a similar stress) but the point is ultimately subjective.[35]

More convincingly, it could be argued that *Langebro* is used because, in sound, it resembles more the *London Bridge* of the English-Language "Geordie", and it thus highlights the connection between the two songs. This resemblance is reinforced by the mention of "en tidlig mandag morgen" ("one early Monday morning") that echoes the line is many of the English versions "One misty morning early" reproducing also the alliteration with the two initial *m*s.

Other shared features are the four-line verses, together with, but only in the final verse, the mention of stealing. This could be said to constitute the crime in the Gasolin' version, but, unlike in the other versions examined in this paper, there is no mention of punishment for the perpetrator, only the repercussions for his victim. This is an element of the story ignored in most of the other versions, except perhaps De André ((5)), who hints at an element of resentment on the part of the woman towards the thief, Geordie (see Section 5).

The relationship between the woman with the beautiful eyes and her man / husband (the Danish word *mand* could be translated by either) is reminiscent of that between Geordie and the woman in the more traditional versions, but the Gasolin' thief is no hero and does not enjoy the adulation of his partner, or anyone else. This is another similarity then to the De André version where one can detect a certain ambiguity in the attitude of the woman towards Geordie, even though in the Gasolin' version there is neither satire nor mixed emotions, just raw anger.

[33] Our translation.

[34] This is our impression. In fact, the playing style of Franz Beckerlee, the lead guitarist of Gasolin', is usually described as being inspired by Jimi Hendrix.

[35] By coincidence, a well-known Danish version of the English nursery rhyme "London Bridge is Falling Down" is "Knippelsbro går op og ned" ("Knippelsbro goes up and down") because Knippelsbro is a *bascule* bridge that can be raised to allow ships to pass underneath. The last verse also references Langebro, a swing bridge, "Langebro må svinge rundt" ("Langebro has to swing around").

7. Conclusions

In this article, we have looked at the way that the same cultural artefact, presumably a 16th century ballad from England, has been adapted and reworked to fit into the mores and concerns of different historical periods and, via translation, into diverse languages and cultures (France, Italy and Denmark). It is fitting that most versions of the song contain mention of bridges, usually London Bridge, but in the Danish version, Langebro. One may use bridge as a metaphor for the way that the song itself constitutes a link between different historical periods, and languages / varieties. As *Højskolesangbogen* says talking specifically about the Danish version by Gasolin':

> The melody is a traditional folk melody from the 17th century, which was reinterpreted in 1962 by the American songwriter Joan Baez. In this way, the song builds a bridge between various generations and languages, […].[36]

As this article has shown, the process by which a cultural artefact can be adapted and rewritten within different linguacultural contexts and traditions at times departs from the traditional notion of translation as an exercise ideally limited to the strictly linguistic level, where creativity on the part of the translator is restricted to finding the best equivalences at various units of structure (e.g. phonetic, morphological, lexical, syntactic).

It is in dealing with the need, or desire, to go beyond such a rigid application of creativity in translation that in recent years, at first mainly in the business domain (in particular in marketing and advertising),[37] that practitioners and scholars have begun to describe this process as *transcreation* (an idea originating in Brazil and India in the 1960s)[38] or alternatively *transadaptation.*[39] Some more traditional translation scholars have dismissed this as a gimmick or a fad, which is something which may be reinforced by its association with forms of popular culture[40] (e.g. cartoons, video games, *manga*, and *anime*).[41] However, it is useful to move beyond the traditional cline of free and literal translations as a means of classifying the myriad variety of "translations" in the widest sense of the word that one comes across in real life. Indeed, Jakobson (1959) famously described a higher level of translation at the intersemiotic level, transmutation (e.g. a film being made out of book); transcreation and what we are talking about here would seem to fall somewhere on a continuum between this and interlingual translation (e.g. from English to Italian). The kind of transcreation we see here also bears resemblances to the important feature of the arts in general where one artist is inspired by the work of another and appropriates elements of this into his or her own pieces,[42] either explicitly paying homage or by means of more subtle allusion.

[36] Our translation.

[37] A classic example being the way slogans for international brands (such as McDonald's "I'm lovin' it" are adapted for different markets and cultures).

[38] See Pedersen (2019)

[39] This can be seen as a milder form of transcreation, where changes are made only when and where they are absolutely necessary (where pure or literal translation may be deemed unsatisfactory). With transcreation, the changes may be more enterprising made not just to render the target text adequate but to and make it more appropriate and more effective in the new context (see, for example, Gambier 2014).

[40] See: Bernal Merino (2015); Chaume (2016); Díaz Pérez (2017); Gaballo (2012); Iaia (2019).

[41] In a recent paper, Timko (2021) argues that localization, transcreation, transculturation, etc. are not new types of translation but merely cultural-pragmatic adaptation: something of which translation practitioners and theorists have long been aware.

[42] Rowe (2011): "Appropriation refers to the act of borrowing or reusing existing elements within a new work. Post-modern appropriation artists, including Barbara Kruger, are keen to deny the notion of 'originality'

Of the three non-English versions of Geordie examined here, this is perhaps most clearly seen in the Danish, but to a degree it can also be seen in the French and Italian versions where significant elements are modified, taken away or added, not merely in the interests of localisation (or domestication: a phenomenon really only discernible in the Danish version), but also to highlight different interpretations of the basic story handed down in the ballad in its various manifestations.

Transcreation is undoubtedly a useful term as it allows one to include the finding of equivalences for certain elements of the process of rewriting a given text that the term *translation* has not conventionally included, such as images and video in the case of multimedia products (for example changing signage or bank notes and coins in the image of a comic strip, or toning down violent or sexually explicit images).

In our examination of the various versions of the ballad "Geordie" here, including also the various alternative English versions, it has been clear that many contextual concerns regarding the background of the (re)writer and (re)-interpreter and the specific personal, historical, social cultural, or political circumstances in which he or she is working are also relevant, yet not necessarily covered by the term *translation*.

In viewing the versions that we have analysed here, one could also argue that the terms *transadaptation* or *transcreation* do not go far enough. Here, many of the adaptations and changes made have not been done so merely for purposes of making the translation sound more "natural", or for localisation and domestication. The rationale behind them may be purely artistic, that is regarding how the author/performer has wanted to interpret the text (and the discourse it manifests) and what they want, on a level that is not merely linguistic or even specifically cultural, to communicate as an individual by means of it.

As the example of "Geordie" shows, a text may be transformed and "regenerated" across centuries and across time. What is reshaped and revisited in the various "translations" both intralingual and interlingual are not so much the words of the texts but the ideas and concepts constituting the discourse of which any of the examples that we have examined are just one physical manifestation.[43] The discourse is something much more malleable than a text can ever be, as it has no single physical form, which is to say that it can be manifested as different texts, none of which can be considered primary (or the "Original"), which is something we see when in Section 2 we tried to identify the historical source texts for "Geordie".

In the various versions of "Geordie", old and modern, in English or in other languages, it is possible to identify some common elements and features but hard to draw up a list of factors which are shared by all the various examples that we have analysed. For example, the character Geordie / Georgy is present in all the versions examined here, except that by Gasolin'; similarly, the element of the horse is present in all except those by the Collins and Gasolin'. The act of stealing is also a feature of all versions except in that by François. What we have then are not as such different versions that share a common core of features and differ only in less central aspects, but a set of texts that resemble each other to various degrees and in various aspects. Such a situational is difficult to accommodate within the classic Aristotelian theory of categories. The philosopher Wittgenstein (1953) uses the analogy of *family resemblances* as an alternative in such cases. Adopting this perspective, one may look at different versions like the ones we have examined here not as source and target texts (as is still conventional in much of translation theory), but rather as related, but

[Van Camp 2007, p. 247]. They believe that in borrowing existing imagery or elements of imagery, they are re-contextualising or appropriating the original imagery, allowing the viewer to renegotiate the meaning of the original in a different, more relevant, or more current context."

[43] Widdowson (1984, p. 100) "Discourse is a communicative process by means of interaction. Its situational outcome is a change in a state of affairs. Its linguistic product is text."

distinct, manifestations of the same discourse (or sets of discourses), in the same way that siblings may be seen as products of different mixes from the pool of DNA handed down from their various progenitors.

Furthermore, it should be borne in mind, as Christiansen (2011, p. 35) notes, that in an act of communication, participants in the same speech event work not from identical discourses but each construct and reconstruct their own. There is thus room for much divergence, which may never actually become evident at the textual level. Translation can be seen as a specific kind of speech event which involves not simply the recoding of one text, in one language, into another text in a different one. As a necessary preliminary to the process of translation, the first stage of the original discourse is manifested in one language (that of the so-called "source text"). Then, via that first text, this same discourse (or something as close as possible to it) is reconstructed in the mind of the translator who then goes on to manifest this latter discourse in a text in the second language (the so-called "target text"). Translation does not regard then only texts (which in reality are also fairly fluid concepts when one comes to consider how they may be ambiguous or open to different interpretations – i.e. be used to reconstruct a variety of different discourses in the mind of the addressee) but also discourses which may resemble or relate to each other on various levels and in various ways, as can members of the same family in Wittgenstein's insightful analogy.

The fact that the discourses producing two texts share common features may not be made entirely, or even partially, explicit. This is something covered in literary studies by the term *allusion*, and is applicable in the case of "Langebro" by Gasolin' where there are no explicit references to "Geordie" or most of the other elements common to the other modern versions (e.g. the horse, Geordie, capital punishment) both English language and not, examined here.[44] Similarly, in the De André version, there may possibly be, as we have stated (Section 5), a brief allusion to the French short film "Crin-Blanc". Furthermore, as we say in Section 3, there may well be allusion to the Robin Hood legends in some modern English-language versions.

Consideration of the different translated versions of "Geordie" here discussed shows that a given target text may contain elements from various "source discourses", not just one source text. This is seen in the François version, which, though obviously containing many explicit references to the English-Language versions of "Geordie" (not least the title), also has a plot that has been changed to incorporate the forbidden love trope of a young man falling for a woman of higher social status than him whose father does not approve (e.g. the Middle Eastern folk tale "Aladdin"). Here again, the significance of Wittgenstein's analogy with family likenesses is evident.

In conventional translation, the translator takes much care to ensure that the text that he or she produces manifests a discourse as close as possible to that envisaged by the first writer. In all three non-English language examples that we discuss here, something more akin to appropriation, homage and allusion is apparent. To varying degrees, François and Buggy, De André, and Gasolin' were not concerned with reproducing the original discourse, or with localisation (or domestication), *per se*. Instead, in the spirit of the repeated refrain of "Langebro" ("Hvis du tør – så kom med mig"), they dared to go beyond, to adapt, evolve, and innovate, all in the hope of finding something more appropriate to them and their

[44] Christiansen (2011, p. 36): "The emphasis on textual data of approaches like corpus linguistics […] can obscure the fact that many elements of the discourse, even some which are key, may not actually be manifested in the text itself, a well-known example being Aristotle's *Poetics*. This is widely regarded as, in part, a response to Plato's *Republic* even though he, Aristotle, makes no direct reference to it. Plato and his challenge to poetry can thus be said to be present in the discourse of *Poetics*, but not in the text."

audiences; or closer to what they, as artists in their own right, wanted to express through their respective versions. These are not adaptations as such of any particular source text but are expressions of the various interconnected discourses of which the various versions are textual manifestations.

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