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Surveying the use of CAT tools, terminology management systems and corpora among professional translators: General state of the art and adoption of corpus support by translator profile[1]

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Abstract

Several international surveys show that language professionals are well acquainted with computer-assisted translation (CAT) tools as well as with (integrated) terminology management systems. However, corpora can be valuable in the translation process as well. To complement the previous surveys, we conducted a survey among Belgian and Dutch translation professionals which assessed their use of CAT tools, terminology management systems and corpora.[2] We distinguished the translator profiles of in-house and freelance translators. On the basis of the literature review we hypothesized that corpora, CAT tools and translation management systems are used more frequently by in-house translators. But, whereas the latter two are indeed more popular among the in-house translators of our survey, corpora are much less frequently used by both translator profiles in surprisingly equal measure. Parallel corpora are used most by the respondents. However, the distinction between a translation memory (TM) and a corpus is not always clear to professional translators in our survey. In order to increase familiarity with corpora among translators we plead for a broad implementation of corpora into CAT tools.

Keywords

Corpora, CAT tools, terminology management systems, translation profession, translator profile

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1. Introduction

Survey research is a frequently used instrument to assess the use of corpora, CAT tools and terminology management systems, both in Europe and worldwide (Cf. section 2. Survey research: an overview). Our small-scale survey conducted among Belgian and Dutch professional translators confirms previous surveys, indicating a low level of familiarity with corpora (Zaretskaya, Corpas Pastor, & Seghiri, 2015, p. 250; Zaretskaya, Corpas Pastor, & Seghiri, 2018, p. 47). This can be attributed to the lack of training for the use of corpus tools (e.g., *WordSmith*, *AntConc*, *Sketch Engine*) among future translators, the lack of ready-made specialized corpora (Wilkinson, 2010), the lack of awareness of the potential benefits of corpora "as a supplement to other resources and references" among future translators (Frankenberg-Garcia, 2015, p. 354), or the lack of translator-oriented corpus-tools (cf. Fantinuoli, 2016). The compilation and exploitation of corpora is also time consuming and corpora do not provide productivity gains immediately (Bowker, 2004, p. 240). This leads to the assumption that, in order to promote the use of corpora in the translators' workflow, it may be useful to have "an easy-to-use program for compiling and managing parallel and comparable corpora" (Zaretskaya *et al.*, 2015, p. 253).[3] In addition, translators do not necessarily need 'clean' and annotated corpora, contrary to linguists, who mainly want to draw scientific conclusions from the corpus data (Loock, 2016, p. 18). The time investment for corpus compilation and exploitation for academic purposes might be circumvented for professional translators' use of corpora. In the future, the integration of corpora into CAT tools could address these drawbacks (Bernardini & Castagnoli, 2008, p. 52). Integrating corpora in a CAT tool will also sensitize translation professionals to the potential benefits of corpora for translation. These may include the addition of non-translated original native language data to the traditional translated TM-segments translators usually rely upon.

Contrary to corpora, TM technology is integrated as a central feature in CAT tools and the TM function is widely used by professional translators. But TM technology also entails disadvantages. Poor-quality TMs will negatively impact the global translation quality. Therefore, TM maintenance is of utmost importance.

For the purposes of the current paper, we want to look into the adoption of corpora by professional translators, as well as the adoption of the (more established) CAT tools and terminology management systems and establish any potential influence of different translator profiles.

The article is structured as follows. We start with an overview in section 2 of previous surveys conducted on a European and a global scale to assess the use of corpora, CAT tools and terminology management systems between 2004 and 2016. In reviewing the existing recent surveys, we paid special attention to the potential impact of translator profiles. This has prompted a hypothesis with a focus on in-house versus freelance translators and uptake of new technologies: we expected a higher frequency of corpus use among in-house translators compared to freelance translators among our respondents. As the proportions in the available surveys we review in section 2 are approximative indications for these profiles, we distinguished discrete categories for the in-house and freelance translators in our small-scale survey, related to different aspects of the use corpora, CAT tools and terminology management systems as translation aids.

3 Depending on the scholar, a comparable corpus can either consist of (1) two single monolingual corpora, containing original texts (written in the language of the native speaker) in a particular language and translations in that language (Baker, 1995, p. 234) or (2) original texts in two or more languages (Johansson, 2007) or language varieties, cf. http://www.essex.ac.uk/linguistics/external/clmt/w3c/corpus_ling/content/corpora/types/comparable.html) matching in genre, moment of publication, etc. (Johansson, 2007, p. 9).

A second hypothesis concerns the type of corpus use. It may be expected that parallel corpora are far more popular among translators than other types of corpora. But comparative and monolingual corpora may impact translation quality positively as well. Therefore, we have also analyzed our survey data on reported corpus types.

A third hypothesis concerns the availability of corpora dependent on the translated language pairs and corpus tradition in those languages. We hypothesized that translators working with English will consult different types of corpora (incl. monolingual) more frequently in their translation practice than other translators.

The results of our survey data for Belgian and Dutch professional translators on the above hypotheses will be discussed in section 3. Section 3 starts with a comparison of some overlapping survey questions in another recent Belgian survey, which is mainly market-oriented and which was conducted shortly after we launched our survey. In section 3.3 we add a comparison of freelance and in-house translators' work practice concerning corpora, CAT tools and terminology management systems on the basis of the discrete categories for these respondent profiles. In section 3.4 we provide more fine-grained analyses of respondent data for corpus use by language combination and types of corpora on the basis of our small-scale survey.

Finally, we look at current and future possibilities of integrating corpora into CAT tools in section 4.

2. Survey research: an overview

2.1. Surveying the use of corpora

2.1.1. Introduction and rationale

We begin our overview of survey research into the use of electronic translation aids with the least obvious aid from professional translators' perspective, but the type we wish to focus on with this paper, as we believe it may fill an opportunity for better translation product quality, viz., that of corpus use. We focus on information regarding respondent occupation from the surveys we will review, as we hypothesize that the use of corpora as a translation aid is better integrated in professional environments which offer more direct training and support, sometimes related to higher education and academic institutions active in the field. Thus, our hypothesis is that in-house translators will adopt corpus use more readily than freelance translators. For this reason, these two respondent profiles are also specifically selected in our discussion of the reviewed surveys. For the discussion of the survey we have conducted for this paper (section 3) we also focus on the in-house versus freelance respondent profiles based on this hypothesis. For a resource such as that of corpora, which initially served academic research purposes, to be integrated in professional practice, it is advisable to integrate it in a CAT tool, which has become the basis of most professional translators' toolkits now.

First, we review in section 2.1 three surveys conducted within Europe (cf. Table 1), starting with the oldest one (MeLLANGE, 2006: UK and other respondents), then comparing the data to more recent European surveys from Spain (Gallego-Hernández, 2015: 526 respondents) and Switzerland (Picton, Fontanet, Maradan, & Pulitano, 2015: 202 respondents). We continue with data from the global surveys by Blancafort & Gornostay (2010) and by Zaretskaya *et al.* (2015, 2018) (cf. Table 2).

2.1.2. Survey review

A short survey in the framework of the MeLLANGE project (2006) researched, among other things, the use of conventional corpora in Europe. The largest group of respondents (567 or

56%) originated from the United Kingdom. In total, 1015 respondents completed the survey. Note that this survey was conducted among both student and professional translators, but the major part of the respondents (74%) were professionals (MeLLANGE, 2006, p. 4).

The survey established that overall 41.8% of all respondents used corpora when translating (MeLLANGE, 2006, p. 6). The professional translators' use of corpora even amounted to 44.2% in this survey (MeLLANGE, 2006, p. 10). It must be noted that English corpora in particular are widely available (Frankenberg-Garcia, 2015, p. 356). As the largest group of respondents from this survey is UK-based, this may influence the corpus user rate. However, this cannot be firmly established, as the respondents' answers were not subdivided by country. On the basis of this information, however, we will attempt to formulate an answer to the question of corpus use by professional translators and language pairs, by considering the results of our small-scale survey per language pair (section 3.4). On the basis of Frankenberg-Garcia's statement we hypothesize that corpus use will be more common among translators working with English in their language pair.

The types of corpora which were overall most frequently used were monolingual corpora in the target language (25.9%) and in the source language (22.8%) (MeLLANGE, 2006, p. 6). The main reason why respondents did not use corpora was because they were fully unacquainted with the concept of corpora (41%). But a great majority (84%) was interested in being provided with tailor-made corpora and tools for extracting terms from domain-specific corpora (83.4%). Furthermore, 85.9% of the respondents was also very keen on learning more about the potential of corpora (MeLLANGE, 2006, pp. 7-8), which showed that there was definitely a future interest for corpora among translators at that time already.

Other, more recent surveys conducted within Europe, for instance in Spain (Gallego-Hernández, 2015: 526 Spanish respondents) and Switzerland (Picton *et al.*, 2015: 202 respondents), confirmed these findings, with respectively nearly 50% and even 70% of respondents who use corpora sometimes, often or very often. In Picton *et al.*'s survey, the high percentage of in-house translators might also be a factor which impacts the corpus user rate positively, as companies and institutions may have more means and organizational structures which allow them to acquire new insights and stay up to date with new tools and possible support systems than freelance translators. In the Spanish survey multilingual corpora were the most frequently used corpus type (Gallego-Hernández, 2015, p. 381). The frequent use of multilingual corpora may be due to the relative unavailability of monolingual corpora for Spanish translators. The survey shows that 71% of the corpus users uses free online ready-made corpora. In addition, 66% compiles their own corpora (Gallego-Hernández, 2015, p. 381). For this compilation task Spanish translators may more often search for parallel texts (source texts and their translations), thus explaining the frequent use of multilingual corpora instead of monolingual corpora.

	location respondents	occupation respondents	overall corpus use
MeLLANGE (2006)	Europe, mostly UK (56%)	students (26%), professional translators and interpreters (74%)	41.8%
Gallégo-Hernández (2015)	Spain	in-house translators (14%), freelance translators (55%), project managers (3%), respondents with other sources of income (28%)	50%
Picton *et al.* (2015)	Switzerland	in-house translators (80%), freelance translators (18%), 'other' (1%)	70%

Table 1. Corpus use in Europe by respondent occupation (2005-2015)

The inverse magnitudes in Table 1 of in-house translators and freelance translators in Gallégo-Hernández' survey and in Picton *et al.*'s survey published in the same year (2015) combined with the frequencies for overall corpus use appear to confirm the above suggestion that in-house translators may have better access to corpora as a translation aid: Gallégo-Hernández' survey shows a 50% overall corpus use and includes only 14% in-house translators and 55% freelance translators, whereas Picton et al.'s survey shows a considerably higher corpus use, based on a clear majority of 80% in-house translators and only 18% freelance translators.

Recent figures from a global survey by Zaretskaya *et al.* (2015, 2018) based on a clear majority of freelance translator respondents (91%) and only 6% in-house translator respondents also point to a very low adoption of corpora as a translation aid by freelance translators, thus confirming the above suggestion once more (cf. Table 2). Zaretskaya *et al.*'s study in 88 different countries worldwide queried the familiarity with translation technologies other than translation memories. It appeared that a very low rate of respondents used corpora (15%) and corpus tools (17%). Very few (freelance) translators use corpora and there are even fewer translators who compile their own corpora, because this task is simply too time-consuming (Zaretskaya *et al.*, 2015, p. 253). This was also already established by Bowker (2004) in her research on professional translators in Canada, when she stated that they often lack the time to set up corpora before they start their translation task (p. 240).

	occupation respondents	overall corpus use
Blancafort & Gornostay (2010)	in-house translators, freelance translators (30%), terminologists, language teachers and translator trainers, localization experts	50%
Zaretskaya *et al.* (2015, 2018)	students (2%), in-house translators (6%), freelance translators (91 %)	15%

Table 2. Corpus use worldwide by respondent occupation

In another fairly recent study with respondents worldwide, which surveyed respondents with more varied occupation profiles, including not only translators, but also terminologists, language teachers, translator trainers and localization experts (cf. Table 2) 50% indicated that they collect corpora, particularly parallel and comparable corpora (Blancafort & Gornostay, 2010, p. 21), assumedly with the aim of using them as a translation resource.

Although the studies which have been reviewed in this section do not allow fully watertight comparison of respondents' profiles and corpus use, as they were not designed as replication studies with regard to respondent occupation, we see clear indications which point to higher adoption of corpora (not TM-based) by in-house translators than by freelance translators. As mentioned, in-house translators may benefit from the state-of-the-art and didactic environment offered by their companies. The same function is, of course, at the heart of higher education translation training environments, where corpora have proven to be useful resources (cf. Bowker, 1998, 1999; Kübler, 2003; Kübler, Mestivier & Pecman, 2018). This could also explain the 50% corpus collection rate in Blancafort and Gornostay's (2010) survey, as it includes language teachers and translation trainers among the respondents. But it must be added that few details are provided about the percentages of the respondents' occupations in their survey.

2.2. Surveying the use of CAT tools

2.2.1. Introduction and rationale

Following our overview of the use of corpora in translation practice in the recent past as a starting point for the integration of corpora in translators' daily professional practice, let us now have a look at the adoption and evolution of the tool which would allow this integration most naturally, viz., the use of CAT tools among different translator profiles.

In our survey the notion 'CAT tool(s)' includes translation memories (TMs) as a widely used component (cf. also Vandeghinste *et al.*, 2019, p. 3, on the core function of the TM for CAT tools). The following definition was provided for the respondents: "A CAT (computer-assisted translation) tool supports the translation process through software. Usually a CAT tool consists of several components, such as a translation memory (TM) and a terminology management system. A translation memory is a database which stores source segments and their translated target segments. Translation memories can be created from scratch in the CAT tool itself or translation memories can be imported in your CAT tool to retrieve segments immediately. Using translation memories makes the translation process faster and more efficient."[4]

The current section will review the following surveys on the aspect of CAT tool use: the survey by Picton *et al.* (2015) for Switzerland and the global surveys by Blancafort & Gornostay (2010) and Zaretskaya *et al.* (2015, 2018) which were also discussed with a focus on the use of corpora in section 2.1. In addition, the UK related surveys by Fulford & Granell-Zafra (2005) and Dillon & Fraser (2006) will be reviewed, as well as the global surveys by Lagoudaki (2006), Gough

[4] Cf. also the following description, which summarizes the main functions of CAT tools well: "A CAT tool is a computer program that helps to translate text documents more efficiently through four main functions: [i] A CAT tool segments the text to be translated in segments (sentences) and presents the segments in a convenient way, to make translating easier and faster. [...]", [ii] The translation of each segment is saved together with the source text. Source text and translation will always be treated and presented as a translation unit (TU) [...], [iii] The main function of a CAT tool is to save the translation units in a database, called translation memory (TM), so that they can be re-used for any other text, or even in the same text. Through special 'fuzzy search' features the search functions of CAT tools even find segments which do not match 100 %. This saves a lot of time and effort and helps to make a coherent and consistent translation, [iv] The fourth basic function of a CAT tool is the automatic look-up in terminology databases, and the automatic display and insertion of the search results. (formally adapted from http://www.metatexis.com/cat.htm). Cf. also Vandeghinste *et al.* (2019, p. 3) on improved fuzzy matching).

(2011), Allard (2012) and Van den Bergh *et al.* (2015). Apart from the focus on prevalence of general CAT tool use, attention will also again be devoted to respondent profiles (in-house versus freelance especially), and recent evolution of CAT tool adoption.

2.2.2. Survey review

In a survey by Fulford and Granell-Zafra (2005) reporting on the use of translation technologies among freelance translators (89% of respondents) and in-house translators (11% of respondents) in the United Kingdom only 28% indicated that they used CAT tools, such as *Trados*, *SDLX*, *Transit* and *Déjà Vu* (p. 10). But another survey around the same time targeting the same freelance and in-house translation profession profiles in the United Kingdom (Dillon & Fraser, 2006) reported a total of 52% of TM users (p. 72). The respondent profiles for Dillon & Fraser's survey (2006) included similar numbers of in-house translators and freelance translators as Fulford and Granell-Zafra's (2005) survey, with respectively (11%) and (85%); some respondents belonged to both the in-house and freelance category (4%) (p. 72) (cf. Table 3). We should note, however, that Fulford and Granell-Zafra's lower CAT tool adoption results related to the freelance translators only (p. 8). Picton *et al.*'s more recent survey (2015), whose respondents are mainly in-house translators, shows a higher percentage of CAT tool users (82%).

	location respondents	occupation respondents	overall CAT tool use
Fulford & Granell-Zafra (2005)	UK	in-house translators (11%)*, freelance translators (89%) *Survey results relate to freelance translators only	28%
Dillon & Fraser (2006)	UK	in-house translators (11%), freelance translators (85%), both freelance and in-house translators (4%)	52%
Picton *et al.* (2015)	Switzerland	in-house translators (80%), freelance translators (18%), 'other' (1%)	82%

Table 3. CAT tool use in Europe by respondent occupation (2005-2015)

Apart from an evolution over time, the survey results on the adoption of CAT tools discussed above may reflect freelance translators' hesitation to implement new technologies, such as CAT tools in the recent past, compared to in-house translators, whose adoption of new translation technologies might be connected to their agencies' direct professional support. This reflects the suggested conclusion in the previous section (2.1) relating to the adoption of corpora as a translation aid among freelance translators versus in-house translators with relevant figures from especially more recent findings (Gallégo-Hernández, 2015; Picton *et al.*, 2015; Zaretskaya *et al.*, 2015, 2018). The adoption of CAT tools by professional translators precedes a potential adoption of corpora as a possible translation aid; and a pattern based on translators' profiles may shine through here.

Apart from an evolution towards increased CAT tool use (incl. TM) over the years other factors also play a role. Let us have a look at the global surveys on the use of CAT tools. Around the same time as Fulford & Granell-Zafra's and Dillon and Fraser's UK surveys Lagoudaki (2006) established in her worldwide survey that 82.5% of the respondents used a TM system. The high rate of TM system users in this case is due to the fact that most respondents specialized in technical texts, which in most cases contain "a great amount of terminology, standard expressions […] and a high degree of internal repetition; therefore, the possibilities for content re-use are many" (Lagoudaki, 2006, p. 12). Blancafort and Gornostay's (2010) study similarly shows high CAT tool (incl. TM) adoption (74%) for their mostly technical translation profiled respondents (p.6). The studies by Gough for global in-house and freelance translators (2011, p. 203) and Allard (2012, p. 399) showed increasing frequencies for CAT tool use, respectively over 80% and 90.8%. The latter high rate may be explained by the fact that CAT tool use was one of the conditions for participation in the survey, which focused on terminology management, however.

In the following years, global CAT tool utilization rates consistently reached at least 75% (Zaretskaya *et al.*, 2015, 2018; Van den Bergh *et al.*, 2015). The respondents' occupations in the different surveys do not greatly influence the CAT tool use rate at this later stage in the evolution of CAT tool use by professional translators, although we do see the highest adoption rate (90.8%) in the survey which lists the highest proportion of in-house translators in Table 4.

	occupation respondents	overall CAT tool use
Lagoudaki (2006)	freelance translators (73%); company owners (8%); company employees (19%)	82.5%
Blancafort & Gornostay (2010)	in-house translators, freelance translators (30%), terminologists, language teachers and translator trainers, localization experts	74%
Gough (2011)	mostly freelance translators	> 80%
Allard (2012)	in-house translators (44%), freelance translators (56%)	90.8%
Zaretskaya *et al.* (2015, 2018)	students (2%), in-house translators (6%), freelance translators (91%)	76%
Van den Bergh *et al.* (2015)	in-house translators (24%), freelance translators (72%), terminologists (11%), interpreters (10%), project managers (7%), post-editors (7%)	> 75%

Table 4. CAT tool use worldwide by respondent occupation (2006-2015)

The most common, albeit vague, reason why respondents indicated they do not use a TM system in Lagoudaki (2006) was unsuitability of TMs for their work. Other reasons were the high purchase cost, dissatisfactory TM trial experience and the lack of benefit. Surprisingly, also 16% of the respondents at the time had not had the opportunity yet to learn how to use the TM tool which they possessed. However, on a promising note, 71% of the non-users intended to try out or buy a TM system (Lagoudaki, 2006, p. 14). The motivations to use a TM were firstly economizing time, and secondly terminological consistency and quality increase. According to the respondents of this study from 2006 (p. 18), TM systems also save costs and it is the best approach for exchanging glossaries, TM databases, etc. These tasks have not changed much over the years, as confirmed by the survey by Zaretskaya *et al.* (2015), which also lists the following tasks executed with TMs in addition to translation: "consistency check, import of TM, terminology management, completeness check, analysis for invoicing, terminology quality assessment, terminology extraction, among others" (p. 251).

On the question how respondents had acquired CAT tool skills Van den Bergh *et al.* (2015) established that most global users were self-taught (p. 115). Only 29.45% of the respondents in Zaretskaya *et al.*'s (2015) survey had followed specialized courses on CAT tools (p. 249). But in the earlier survey by Lagoudaki (2006) almost half of the respondents stated that they had received training on TM technologies, in various forms, i.e., short courses or seminars, company trainings, colleagues, etc. (p. 16). However, these differences in CAT tool training might be attributed once again to the difference in the different surveys' respondent profiles: whereas Zaretskaya *et al.*'s (2015, 2018) survey includes only students, in-house and freelance translators, Lagoudaki (2006) surveyed translators, project managers, reviewers, subtitlers, terminologists, interpreters, other translation professionals (DTP specialists, graphic designers, web authors, …).

In conclusion – and excluding confounding factors (technical translation profiles in Lagoudaki, 2006 and CAT tool use as a condition for survey participation in Allard, 2012) – there are clear indications on the basis of the data in Tables 3 and 4 discussed above that freelance translators have caught up on CAT tool adoption over the years, starting around 2005 to the more recent surveys in 2015.

2.3. Surveying the use of terminology management systems

2.3.1. Introduction and rationale

Before turning our attention to some additional aspects of the use of CAT tools, terminology management systems (TMS) and corpora on the basis of our survey in comparison with another Belgian survey in section 3 we finalize our review of recent surveys with that part of translators' work which was systematized earliest, albeit first using personally devised systems, viz., that of terminology management.

In our survey *terminology management* is defined for the respondents as "the collection, storage and retrieval of terms. Terminology management can be performed using standard tools such as Microsoft Word or Excel. Specific *terminology management systems* are also available, which can be used stand-alone or can be integrated in a CAT tool. An example of a terminology management system is SDL MultiTerm, which can be integrated in SDL Trados." A termbase is defined in the survey as "A database containing terminology".[5]

In addition to the surveys reviewed above from Blancafort & Gornostay (2010), Allard (2012) and Zaretskaya *et al.* (2015, 2018), we also review earlier data from Zielinski & Ramirez (2005) and more recent data from Steurs & van der Lek-Ciudin (2016) in the current section.

2.3.2. Survey review

Over the years survey research has shown that terminology management has always been part of the activities of language professionals worldwide (Allard, 2012; Blancafort & Gornostay, 2010; Steurs & van der Lek-Ciudin, 2016; Zaretskaya *et al.*, 2015, 2018; Zielinski &

5 Cf. also Bowker (2015, p. 310-311) on the evolution from personal terminology collections in word processors, spread sheets, etc. in the past to specially designed terminology management systems with term bases which allow integration with other tools such as translation memories (TMs) and term extractors. Cf. also Popiolek's (2015, p. 347) description of the key components of terminology management infrastructure as a database which allows storage and editing, searching and retrieval of terminology, ideally in an automated manner, among other aspects.

Ramirez, 2005), although some respondents in Allard's study indicated "that other resources such as the World Wide Web, existing glossaries and dictionaries, or online corpora meet their terminological needs" (2012, p. 125).[6] Some respondents lacked knowledge, thought it was not their responsibility, found it was too time-consuming or did not see the added value of terminology management (Steurs & van der Lek-Ciudin, 2016, p. 13). Respondents involved in terminology management have mostly used TMSs which were integrated into their main CAT tool in the recent past (Allard, 2012, p. 125; Steurs & van der Lek-Ciudin, 2016, p. 18). As with the market leading position of *Trados Studio* for translation memory systems (TMs) (cf. global surveys by Lagoudaki, 2006; Blancafort & Gornostay, 2010; Allard, 2012; Van den Bergh *et al.*, 2015) *Trados MultiTerm* – which can function as a stand-alone tool or can be integrated in *SDL Trados* – also ranks first as the most popular brand for terminology management systems. (Blancafort & Gornostay, 2010, p. 11; Steurs, De Wachter, & De Malsche, 2015, p. 228; Zielinski & Ramirez, 2005, p. 3).

But terminology is also still recorded in spreadsheets (e.g., *Excel*) and word processors (e.g., *Word*) (Allard, 2012, p. 126; Steurs & van der Lek-Ciudin, 2016, p. 16). Not all respondents recorded terminology in their integrated terminology management system, as some found it too complex, had received too little training or the system was not suited to their needs (Allard, 2012, p. 125-126). The sources used by respondents to collect terminology are glossaries, dictionaries and databases, as well as client resources according to Blancafort & Gornostay's study (2010, p. 13).

	occupation respondents	overall TMS use
Zielinski & Ramirez (2005)	freelance translators (65%), in-house translators (28%), both freelance and in-house translators (5%)	91%
Blancafort & Gornostay (2010)	in-house translators, freelance translators, terminologists, language teachers and translator trainers, localization experts	56%
Allard (2012)	in-house translators (44%), freelance translators (56%)	86.4%
Zaretskaya *et al.* (2015, 2018)	students (2%), in-house translators (6%), freelance translators (91 %)	58%
Steurs & van der Lek-Ciudin (2016)	in-house translators (25%), freelance translators (73%), revisors/editors (24%), terminologists (11%), interpreters (10%), post-editors (6%)	74%

Table 5. Terminology management systems worldwide by respondent occupation (2005-2016)

When we consider TMS use among freelance translators compared to in-house translators in the surveys referenced in Table 5, which provide frequencies for these user profiles, the earlier study by Zielinski & Ramirez (2005) shows a high adoption of TMS among a respondent population with a majority of freelance translators (65%). One explanation which might be suggested is that some freelance translators may have been more dependent on TMS which were not integrated in a CAT tool at a time when the use of a CAT tool with a translation memory was still not pervasive among most translators prior to 2005. The survey Allard (2012) conducted

6 The specific terminological needs are not directly specified in Allard (2012).

somewhat later included a more balanced division of freelance translators (56%) versus in-house translators (44%) and shows a similar high adoption of TMS. We should note, however, that Allard's (2012) survey was aimed particularly at CAT tool users. As CAT tools frequently offer built-in TMS systems, this might perhaps explain the high TMS user rate (86.4%) among the survey respondents in this case. Conversely, relying on translation memory (TM) segments while translating may perhaps appear to reduce the need to consult terminological databases in a translator who is working against the clock; this might reduce the *perceived* need to consult a TMS as frequently as a translator might have done who did not rely on the TM segments offered by a CAT tool. This might perhaps explain the fairly low rate (58%) of TMS use in Zaretskaya *et al.*'s more recent study (2015, 2018), when CAT tools had already become far more widespread than was the case around the turn of the century. Steurs & van der Lek-Ciudin's (2016) recent survey, which includes a fair majority of freelance translators, but also other diverse profiles, however, shows a higher adoption of TMS (74%), but still a much lower rate than the 91% TMS adoption in Zielinski & Ramirez' (2005) earlier study.[7] A conclusion which may be suggested here is that somewhat more contextualized input for translators (i.e., in the form of TM segments) than that of more isolated terms may reduce the perceived need for explicit TMS consultation among professional translators. In our survey conducted in 2017-2018 we found that translation is the most frequently executed task with CAT tools (79% of respondents), followed by the import of translation memories (53%) and terminology management (52%) (cf. section 3).

3. The current situation among Belgian and Dutch translation professionals

3.1. Introduction to our survey, general findings and the CBTI-BKVT survey

By their very nature TM segments offer fairly limited context. Therefore, we also wanted to focus on specific aspects of the use of corpora as a translation resource (cf. section 3.4). In the current section we report on the findings of a small-scaled survey which we conducted on CAT tool use, terminology management and especially corpus use among translation professionals in Belgium and the Netherlands. Apart from general comparison in sections 3.1 and 3.2 with the previous surveys reviewed above we also added two additional specific points of interest in sections 3.3 and 3.4 to the findings provided by the earlier, reviewed surveys, viz., the use of CAT tools, terminology management systems and also corpora by job role, language combination and text domain.

Our interest in the job role data was inspired by the approximative conclusions which were drawn on the basis of the reported proportions of freelance versus in-house translators in the reviewed surveys. On this point we hypothesized a higher adoption of these three types of translation aids among in-house translators (section 3.3). With respect to corpora we focussed on language combinations: as there is a longer tradition of corpus use for English and more English corpora have been available for English since the development of corpora and corpus linguistics our hypothesis was a higher adoption of the use of corpora by translators working with English in their language combination (section 3.4). Finally, we also considered the use of corpora in function of the translators' main text domain in section 3.4, as we expected a possibly higher uptake of the use of corpora for more specialized text domains.

Between March 2017 and February 2018 we gathered 116 surveys in total.[8] We received 101 surveys for which all questions were answered. Our results are based on those 101 fully com-

[7] Blancafort & Gornostay's (2010) study was not added to the discussion here, as (i) their survey does not provide percentages for the different respondent profiles and (ii) it also included occupational profiles which assumedly use TMSs more frequently, such as terminologists, translator trainers and localization experts.

[8] The initial goal was to collect between 100 and 200 fully completed surveys.

pleted surveys. We first collected general profiling information, such as age group, main qualifications, job role (freelance versus in-house translators), years of experience, language combination and specialization (cf. Appendix 1 for the complete survey, containing 25 questions). Respondents were sought by contacting the *Belgian Chamber of Translators and Interpreters* (CBTI-BKVT) in 2017. Survey invitations were also e-mailed to translation agencies and freelance translators were located through the Yellow Pages (Belgium) and the website of the *Vereniging van Vertaalbureaus in Nederland (VViN) (Netherlands Association of Translation Companies*) and https://www.vertaalbureau-info.nl/azindex.php for the Netherlands. Calls for respondents were also launched on Facebook.

In January 2018 the *Belgian Chamber of Translators and Interpreters* (CBTI-BKVT) opened a survey to its own members for a period of forty days throughout all regions of Belgium. The CBTI-BKVT survey mainly presents information on current translation rates and related aspects such as income and revenue. In addition, it also queried aspects such as workload satisfaction, etc. (CBTI-BKVT, 2018). This market-oriented survey collected 439 surveys, but not all respondents filled out all questions, as there was no obligation to do so. Thus, the sample size varies for the different questions of the CBTI-BKVT survey. Apart from questions related to financial aspects some other questions overlap with our survey. Our survey focusses on the use of CAT tools and terminology management systems and adds the category of corpora as a translation aid. In addition, we collected separate data for the job roles of freelance translators and in-house translators, with the aim of comparing the potential impact of a translator's direct professional environment on the use of these translation aids.

Although it is difficult to compare the demographic set-up of the CBTI-BKVT survey and our survey in terms of respondents' ages because of different age classifications in the survey questions, the CBTI-BKVT survey appears to report on a somewhat overall younger population than our survey, which includes fairly similar figures for all younger age groups, but a slightly larger group of respondents between 51 and 60 years of age (27%), who have over 20 years of experience. As in the CBTI-BKVT survey the largest group of our respondents have more than 20 years of translator experience. The other respondents have similar experience profiles in both surveys, apart from a somewhat larger group of the least experienced in the CBTI-BKVT survey.

The largest group of respondents in our survey has a master degree in translation (41%); other qualification profiles in our survey are a master degree in languages (19%), but also a bachelor degrees in translation (17%), whereas the CBTI-respondents virtually all have master degree, mostly in translation (70% of respondents). Like the CBTI-BKVT respondents most of our respondents work as freelance translators, with 77% and 64% respectively. English/Dutch is the most frequent language combination among our respondents (72%), followed by French/Dutch (57%) and German/Dutch (35%). In this respect our survey, which included Dutch translation professionals as well, differs from the Belgian CBTI-BKVT survey, as our survey focussed on language combinations including Dutch, with French, English, German and Spanish in both translation directions.

For a consideration of the text domains and specializations we listed a number of domain options in our survey (cf. Table 6 below). The respondent group of freelance translators translate legal texts most often (29.2%). The smaller respondent group of in-house translators also indicated legal texts as one of their main text types for translation (30.6%), together with administrative texts (36.1%) (cf. Table 6). This is also one of the more frequent text types for the freelance translators (20%), together with texts related to health (18.4%), tourism (20%) and especially marketing (26.2%). The domains of health and tourism are not frequent among the in-house translators in our survey, however (both 5.6%).

	None	Administra-tion	Engineering	Health	Finance	Information Technologies	Marketing	Law	Tourism
% of Freelance translators	12.3%	20.0%	13.8%	18.4%	12.3%	13.8%	26.2%	29.2%	20.0%
% of In-house translators	30.6%	36.1%	13.9%	5.6%	19.4%	19.4%	13.9%	30.6%	5.6%

Table 6. Text domains: relative frequencies of freelance translators and in-house translators in the current 2017-2018 survey

When we consider the absolute frequencies of the freelance respondents and the smaller group of in-house respondents of our survey (cf. Figure 1 below), law and administration again show up as overall dominant domains. The CBTI-BKVT survey lists domain options related to those in this paper's survey, but based on a different a division and a different querying methodology concerning text domains, so that a full comparison is not possible. But for the question on the respondents' *first* specialization, law is also the most frequent domain (respondents' *first* specialization (21%) in the CBTI-BKVT survey (p.14). Marketing was not frequently indicated as the CBTI-BKVT respondents' first specialization.[9]

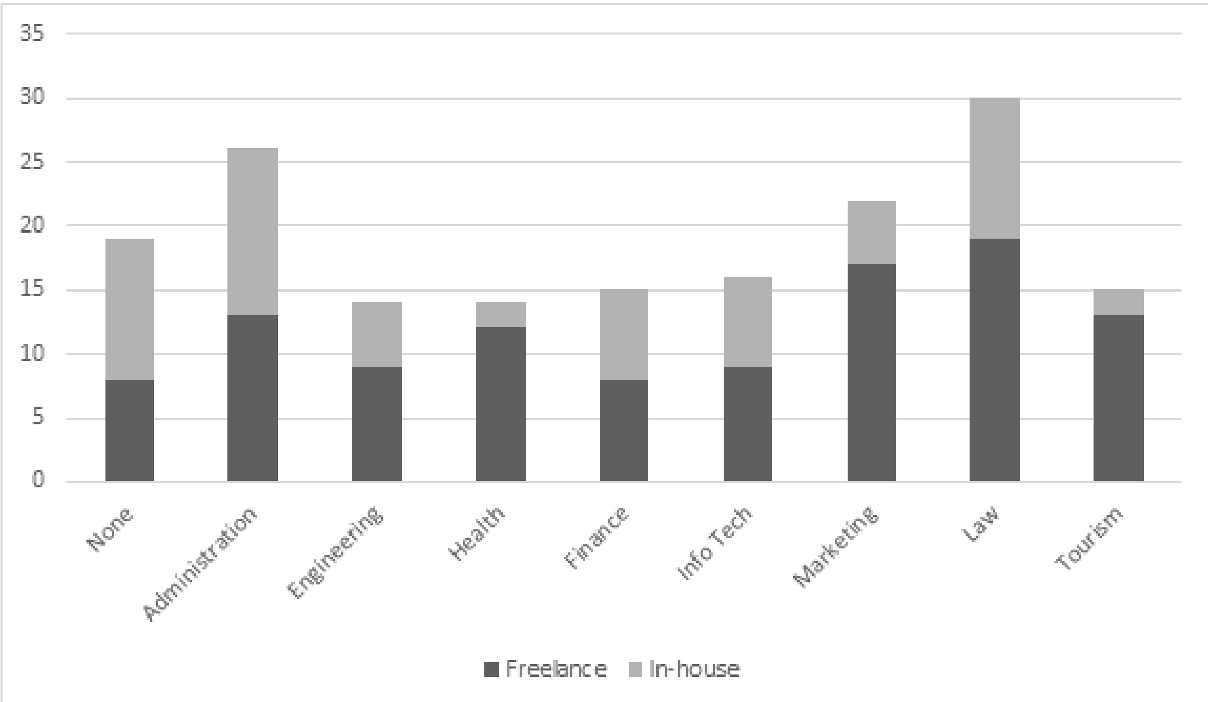


Figure 1. Text domains: absolute numbers of freelance translators and in-house translators in the current 2017-2018 survey

In addition to the listed domain options respondents also frequently added other text types or general subjects, such as mobility and transport, gastronomy, technical, automotive, arts and also a small proportion for literary translation (5%).

9 Considerations on translation of marketing related texts as 'transcreation', a job role which differs from the traditional translator's job role, would lead us beyond the scope of the current article.

3.2. The use of CAT tools, terminology management systems and corpora in our survey (2017-2018): general findings and comparison with the CBTI-BKVT survey

We found that a vast majority of the respondents in our survey (80%) uses CAT tools. This is in line with previous surveys conducted in Europe (Picton *et al.*, 2015) and worldwide (Allard, 2012; Gough, 2011; Van den Bergh *et al.*, 2015; Zaretskaya *et al.*, 2015). This result is also in line with the 77% CAT tool use among 421 respondents in the Belgian CBTI-BKVT (2018) market survey report, which includes three basic questions concerning the use of CAT tools among all translator profiles, summarized in three graphs (p. 30-31), viz., (i) "Do you use CAT tools […] or similar tools when translating?", (ii) "Why don't you use CAT tools" and (iii) Which CAT tools do you use?"[10] (cf. below for comparison with our findings on the last two questions).

In our survey 82 out of 101 respondents indicated that they are specialized translators. The great majority of these specialized translators (64) also uses CAT tools, which corresponds to the finding that a high TM usage rate relates to (technical) translation specialization (Blancafort & Gornostay, 2010, p. 5; Lagoudaki, 2006, p. 12).

Concerning the question which CAT tools professional translators use, *SDL Trados* has maintained a strong global position within the translation industry over the years. This is also shown by the fact that in our survey, in correspondence to the surveys previously discussed (Allard, 2012; Blancafort & Gornostay, 2010; Lagoudaki, 2006; Van den Bergh *et al.*, 2015), *SDL Trados* still ranks first (72%). *MemoQ* ranks second in our survey with 30%, reflecting the CBTI-BKVT (2018) findings (p. 31). Over half of the respondents of our survey received CAT tool training (56), many in the form of external training (34 respondents specifically referred to workshops, seminars, webinars, etc.; cf. Lagoudaki, 2006). Not surprisingly, translating is the most frequent activity with CAT tools (79% of respondents), followed by the import of translation memories (53%) and terminology management (52%). Of the 20 respondents who do not use CAT tools, 9 state they do not need them (45%), possibly because of the domains they specialise in, e.g., literature, audiovisual translation, history and art. These are domains which are generally not characterized by repetition and are therefore less suitable for CAT tool use. However, 6 of the non-CAT tool users (30%) plan to use CAT tools in the future. 5 of those are less experienced translators (1-5 years of experience). These findings reflect the CBTI-BKVT findings, where 60% of those who do not use CAT tools indicated that they do not need them, but – more relevantly perhaps – as much as 26% also stated that they do not know how to use CAT tools. (p. 30). We can also assume that over the years a proportion of those translators who reported an *intention* to start using a CAT tool has actually done so, as the indication of such an intention (compared to actual use) was higher in past surveys (Lagoudaki, 2006) than in ours.

Concerning terminology management, 65% of the respondents make use of integrated or stand-alone terminology management systems mostly. As expected, based on the CAT tool results where *SDL Trados* appears to be most popular, *SDL MultiTerm* also ranks first for terminology management (70%), in line with previous surveys (Allard, 2012; Steurs & van der Lek-Ciudin, 2016). When asked how respondents engaging in terminology management obtain terminology, they mostly indicate that they compile their own termbases or terminology lists based on source texts and their translations for future use (56%).

With 48 versus 53 respondents respectively the difference between corpus versus non-corpus use is much smaller than the difference between CAT tool versus non-CAT tool use (81 versus 20). But, despite providing written definitions in the survey as well as in most of the e-mailed survey invitations to define what we considered to be a TM on the one hand and a corpus on

[10] The CBTI-BKVT (2018) survey next reports on the use of MTPE (machine translation post-editing (p. 31-32) among professional translators.

the other, this distinction did create confusion for some of the respondents, as they stated they used TMs to build corpora.[11] TMs provide matching content for segments from the source text which is to be translated. This content is harvested from segments in the TM; hence context beyond the segments is not taken into account. In other words, TMs can be described as repositories of which all the sentences it contains are out of context (Bowker, 2006, p. 179). A corpus is a running text; hence relevant textual context beyond the sentence (or segment) is available. It must be added here that often corpus query systems allow the user to retrieve limited sections (a number of sentences). This context can sometimes be expanded. Overall, corpus use provides more context than TM use does (cf. Tatu, 2011; Bowker & Barlow, 2008). Due to the confusion stated above, the real number of corpus users may be lower than shown in our survey.

When we compare how the findings from our survey for CAT tool use and corpus use differ from previous surveys, we see that Blancafort & Gornostay (2010) (who surveyed varied respondent profiles but did not provide clear indications for the proportions of the respondent profiles in their survey) report findings very similar to ours, with 74% CAT tool use and 50% corpus use (cp. also 50% corpus use in Gallégo-Hernández [mainly multilingual], 2015 and 41.8% MeLLange, 2006). Interestingly, however, the survey which has a high proportion of in-house translators (Picton et al., 2015) reports a very similar frequency of CAT tool usage (82%) compared to our findings, but a considerably higher frequency of corpus use (70%) than our finding for a respondent group with only 36% in-house translators. And Zaretskaya *et al.* (2015, 2018), whose main respondent profile is that of freelance translators (91%), report very low corpus use (15%) (in addition to a 76% CAT tool use, which is similar to the other findings reported here for CAT tool use). From this we might tentatively conclude that corpora, as the lesser known potential translation aid, finds easier adoption in the recent surveys among in-house translators than freelance translators. This apparent conclusion was taken as the basis for a hypothesis along these lines tested for the data from our survey by dividing survey responses for both translator profiles, as will be discussed in section 3.3.

Parallel corpora (source texts and their corresponding translations) are clearly the most popular corpus type (81%) among the respondents in our survey. 38% of the respondents also build their own corpora. However, nearly half of these do-it-yourself corpus compilers mention translation memories for corpus building. This indicates once more the blurred line between a translation memory as a feature of a CAT tool and a corpus. Other, genuine corpus building methods mentioned by our respondents are *MemoQ* and *MultiTrans*, which are CAT tools incorporating corpus building features (cf. infra). 53% of the non-corpus compilers indicate not being interested in building their own corpora. Finally, respondents who do not use corpora mainly do not do so because they are not familiar with them (28 out of 53). This confirms the findings of previous surveys on corpus use (MeLLANGE, 2006; Zaretskaya *et al.*, 2015). 34 out

[11] The following succinct definitions of a corpus and different types of corpora were provided to the respondents in the survey text (cf. Appendix 1): "A corpus in this survey refers to a collection of written texts which is used for searching equivalent terms while translating. A corpus which contains original texts in one particular language is called a monolingual corpus. A corpus including collections of texts with similar content in different languages or language varieties (e.g., British English, American English, Australian English) is called a comparable corpus. A comparable corpus does **not** consist of original texts along with their corresponding translations (cp. parallel corpus). Therefore, the (linguistic) content is not influenced by translation processes. A parallel corpus consists of original texts in one particular language, along with their translations in a different language. Examples of parallel corpora on the web are Linguee and Reverso Context, which are ready-made corpora. However, translators can also compile their own corpora."

of the 53 non-users in our survey are also not planning on using corpora in the future. This shows once more that it is necessary to raise corpus awareness among translators (cf. also Frankenberg-Garcia, 2015).

3.3. CAT tools, terminology management systems and corpora: A comparison of freelance and in-house translators' work practice

In addition to the more general questions discussed in section 3.2, we also studied the use of CAT tools, terminology management systems and corpora in relation to job role on the basis of our survey data.

When we compare the use of the three types of translation aids in Figure 2 for Belgium and the Netherlands by freelance versus in-house translators in our survey, we see a considerably larger adoption of both CAT tool support and terminology management systems, with respectively 13.5% and 10.7% higher uptake by in-house translators in our survey. However, contrary to the hypothesis formulated in section 2.2 that corpora find easier adoption as a translation aid among in-house translators than their freelance colleagues, based mainly on findings from Picton *et al.* (2015) and Zaretskaya *et al.* (2015, 2018) and their respective respondent profiles, the use of corpora is not only less popular than the use of CAT tools among our respondents, but also has very similar adoption in *both* job roles in our small scale survey: half of the in-house translators and 46.2 % of the freelance translators stated that they use corpora to support their work. Assumedly, the fact that corpora are not integrated in the translation workflow systems, unlike CAT tools and terminology management systems, affects both categories of translators in a similar way.

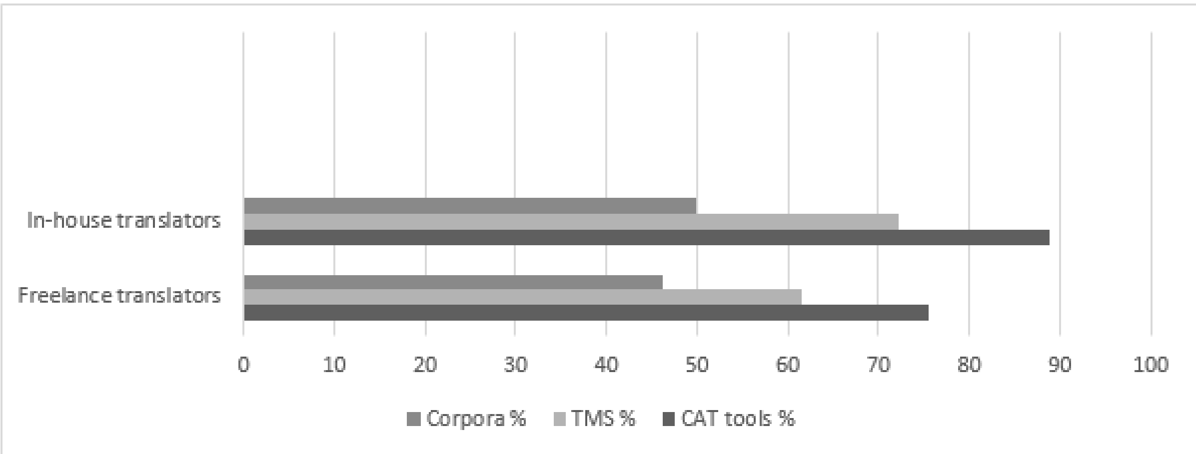
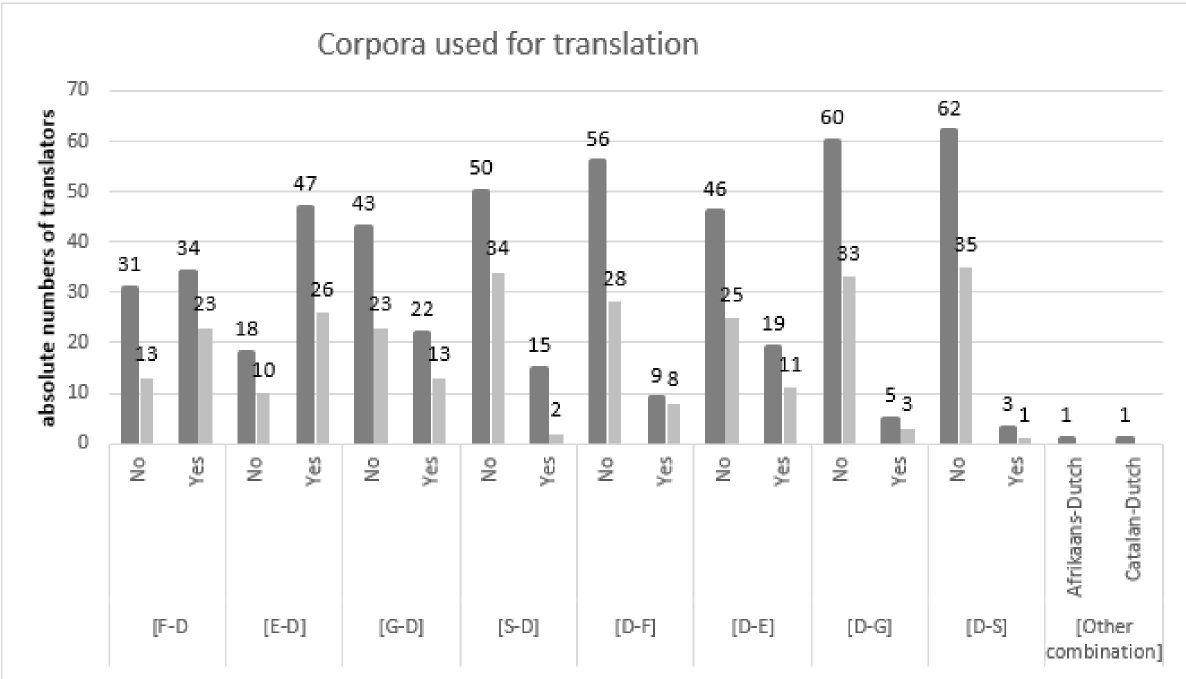


Figure 2. Use of CAT tools, terminology management systems and corpora by Belgian and Dutch freelance and in-house translators in the current survey (2017-2018)

3.4. Use of corpora by language combination and types of corpora

Apart from the general findings we especially wanted to consider the use of corpora as a translation aid for different language combinations, as we expected a higher uptake of the use of corpora by translators working with English in their language combination, in view of the longer and more extensive availability of English corpora compared to other languages (cf. section 2.1.2 with reference to MeLLANGE, 2006 and Frankenberg-Garcia, 2015). This hypothesis is confirmed by the findings of our small-scale survey. We see a considerably higher uptake of corpora among both in-house and freelance translators for the language combination English/Dutch compared to all other language combinations in our survey (French/Dutch, English/Dutch, German/Dutch, Spanish/Dutch and all the reverse combinations). Interestingly, however, this is not the case for Dutch to English translators in our survey, where many more respondents indicated that they do not use corpora (cf. Figure 3).



Freelance translators In-house translators

Figure 3. Corpus use per language combination in the current survey (2017-2018)

We also found a somewhat higher uptake of the use of corpora for translations from French into Dutch by both freelance and in-house translators than the other language pairs. But, as for English and Dutch, the opposite is clearly true for the reverse translation direction (cf. Figure 3). Whereas our respondents indicated that they used corpora clearly more often for English to Dutch translations, and somewhat more often for French to Dutch translations than for the other language pairs, corpora are not often used for translations from Dutch (probably most of our respondents' mother tongue) into English or French in our survey.

Let us now consider which types of corpora are used and compare with the MeLLANGE survey (2006) (cf. section 2.1.2), where most frequently monolingual corpora in the target language (25.9%) and in the source language (22.8%) were used. In terms of relative frequencies for the translation pairs English/Dutch and French/Dutch our respondents mostly indicated parallel corpora. This points to the traditional use of TMs, and as mentioned before, might perhaps overlap with it in respondents' interpretation, despite the definitions of corpora provided in the survey. Parallel corpora appear to be used especially by the French/Dutch in-house translators (cf. Figure 4). This may be related to the two main official languages of Belgium, which has resulted in the availability of a wealth of (official) bilingual text materials. But we also see a higher percentage of the use of parallel corpora among the English/Dutch in-house translators compared to the English/Dutch freelance translators in Figure 4. Overall, the group of French/Dutch in-house translators makes more frequent use of all types of corpora distinguished in our survey than their French/Dutch freelance colleagues (cf. Figure 4). The English/Dutch in-house translators make more use of self-compiled, parallel and monolingual corpora in the target language, but the English/Dutch freelance translators make slightly more use of monolingual corpora in the source language and comparable corpora.

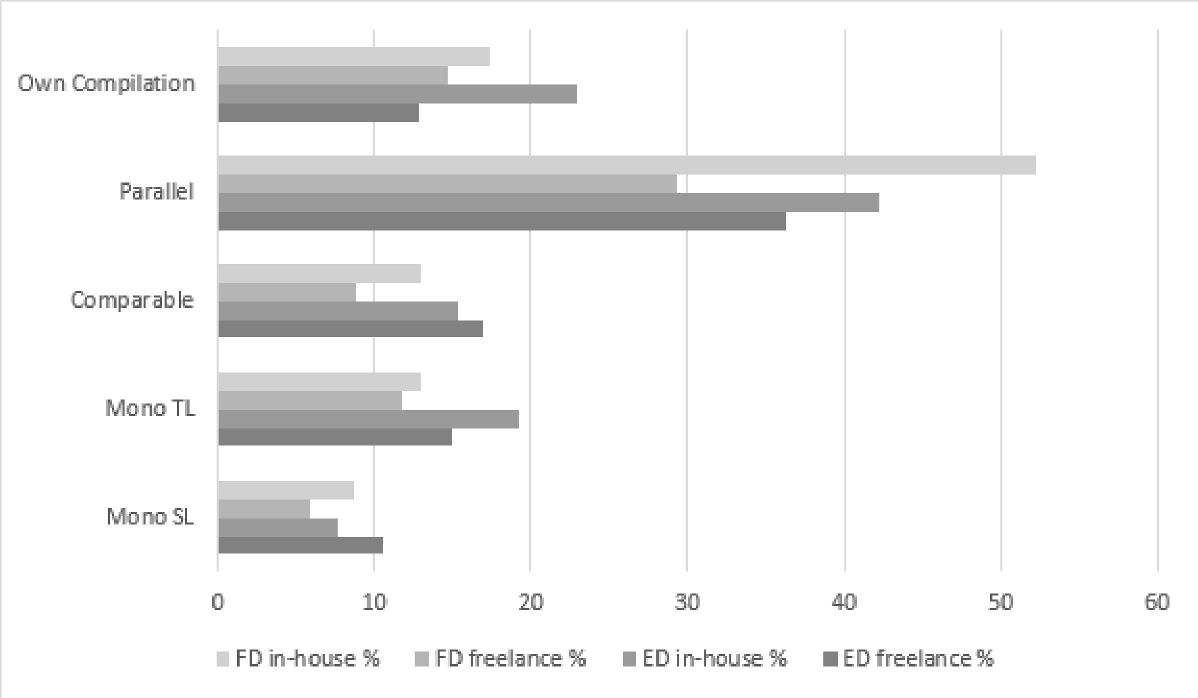


Figure 4. Type of corpus for freelance and in-house translators with language pairs English/Dutch and French/Dutch[12]

In order to assess the use of corpora as a translation resource in its own right, unrelated to the more traditional recourse to parallel corpora (incl. possibly ready-made corpora readily available on the internet such as Linguee and Reverso Context) and TMs, we also considered total frequencies *excluding* parallel and self-compiled corpora. The total relative frequencies for monolingual corpora in the source text and target text languages and comparable corpora amounts to approximately 42 % for both freelance and in-house English/Dutch translators, but drops to 26.5% and 34.7% for their French/Dutch freelance and in-house colleagues respectively. When we consider recourse to self-compiled corpora the English/Dutch in-house translators clearly stand out (cf. Figure 4).

A comparison of the degree of corpus use by translated text domain in our survey did not yield any considerable differences, apart from a slightly higher figure of corpus use for legal texts by both freelance and in-house translators, and very similar proportions of use and non-use for administrative texts by in-house translators only.

Obviously, the small-scale survey can only point to possible tendencies in terms of the use of (i) corpora for different language pairs in a given language context (e.g., Belgium) and (ii) different types of corpora as translation resources. But it may point to some categories and distinctions worth investigating further, based on clear definitions of corpora and corpus types on the basis of larger data sets.

[12] The frequencies are relative to the following totals: 47 English/Dutch freelance, 26 English/Dutch in-house, 34 French/Dutch freelance and 23 French/Dutch in-house translators.

4. The future: towards an integration of corpora in CAT tools?

The survey results discussed earlier show that CAT tools and their TM component are very frequently used in current professional translation practice. The use of TMs entails both advantages and disadvantages. Bowker (2005, p. 15) and Leblanc (2013, p. 6) state that they improve translation quality by increasing consistency. When several translators work on the same translation project, TMs can be shared, which has a positive influence on translation consistency for collaborative translation projects as well (Bowker, 2005, p. 15). However, the use of TMs does not always benefit translation quality. In some case TM output is based on different TMs provided by different translators; if the TM is not properly maintained this negatively impacts consistency. Moorkens' (2012) study about TM quality also points to faulty TM maintenance as one of the causes of inconsistency. This confirms that TM translations are often inconsistent (Moorkens, 2012, p. 210). As translation quality depends on the content of the TM, poor quality TMs will also negatively impact overall translation quality. Translators may lose time they would have saved using a high quality TM when they need to correct translations generated by poor quality TM content. The fact that TMs do not typically store full running texts, but rather isolated segments without any context, contrary to corpora, may also negatively impact the quality of translations (Bowker, 2005, p. 15).[13] In addition, quality issues may arise when the TM is no longer up-to-date due to changes in terminology, or a proposed translation might not fit the context (Bowker, 2005, p. 19). Another disadvantage is the time and effort needed to learn how to master a TM system (Fernández-Parra, 2010, p. 3; García, 2006, p. 98).

To address some of the drawbacks of TM translation, such as decreased consistency and decontextualization, corpora could be incorporated in translation practice. However, in order for corpus use and corpus compilation/search tools to become popular among professional translators they probably ought to be integrated in CAT tools (incl. TMs) and translators' current workflow. Such an integration, which has already taken place with regard to terminology management systems in CAT tools, requires interaction with web search engines in order "to search, retrieve and morphologically annotate corpora based on user specifications" (Bernardini & Castagnoli, 2008, p. 52). Full and fuzzy matches would be searched automatically in gold standard TMs, while hypotheses could be tested and developed by "manual concordancing of comparable and parallel texts" (without any contribution from TMs) (Bernardini & Castagnoli, 2008, p. 52).[14,15] The integration of corpora and corpus features, such as concordancing (Bowker & Barlow, 2008, p. 52; Tatu, 2011, p. 173) (finding a search word or pattern in context), into TMs leads to so-called hybrid tools (Bowker, 2004, p. 223; Bowker & Barlow, 2008, p. 20). In Table 7 we compiled information from Tatu (2011) and Bowker & Barlow (2008) to compare TMs and corpora / corpus features (such as bilingual concordancing); Table 7 also shows in which ways the implementation of corpora / corpus features in TMs can be beneficial.

[13] SDL Trados provides a Context match function, however, where the previous/next segment is retained to flag matches as context match, so that the available context may be extended somewhat in this case.

[14] Only in Lagoudaki's earlier survey (2006), containing very diverse profiles, are specific occupations mentioned: translators use TMs most (39%), followed by project managers, reviewers and a small number of subtitlers (p. 12). For these last occupations no specific rates are provided.

[15] A fuzzy match is a segment in the TM that approximately or partly matches the segment in a new source text (Bowker & Barlow, 2004, pp. 72-73).

TMs	Corpora / corpus features
Risk of misaligned segments: manual verification of segments necessary during the alignment process	Segments are not extracted from their surrounding texts: the translator can still look at the text preceding or following the segments in question (no manual verification of segments needed)
Isolated sentences	Possibility of seeing the larger context while translating
The matching principle is based on the number of characters	Matches can be found based on semantics
Matches are displayed according to their ranks (automated decision-making process)	The translator is free to choose the best translation option
Mostly automatic copying and pasting of fuzzy matches or term matches	Translating from scratch is sometimes faster than editing an already existing translation
Sentence updating	Full text updating

Table 7. Comparison between TMs and corpora / corpus features

Alignment (linking source to target segments) is a crucial pre-processing step both in TMs and in (parallel) corpus querying. When using a TM, there is the risk "of 'automatically' retrieving misaligned segments" (Bowker & Barlow, 2008, p. 10). If this occurs in a bilingual concordancer (a tool which is aimed at finding all the occurrences of a search word or pattern in a corpus) the translator can still look at the text preceding or following the segment in question, because a concordancer "does not extract the segment from its surrounding text", contrary to a TM (Bowker & Barlow, 2008, p. 10). Therefore, manual verification is not necessary prior to using a concordancer and this in turn saves time (Bowker & Barlow, 2008, p. 10).

As TMs store isolated sentences as translation units on the one hand, but context is an essential factor in translation on the other, implementing parallel corpora, including semi-automatic concordancing (cf. Bowker & Barlow, 2008), would allow translators to see the larger context. This is not possible when exclusively using a TM (Bowker, 2006, p. 179; Bowker & Barlow, 2008, p. 10; Frérot, 2010; Leblanc, 2013, p. 7; Tatu, 2011, p. 174) as a TM could be described as a repository of which all the sentences it contains are out of context (Bowker, 2006, p. 179). The segmented approach of TMs also changes the relationship translators have with the text, as it renders translation into a decontextualized activity. Often this approach influences "the quality of the final product in terms of syntagmatic cohesion and idiomaticity" (Leblanc, 2013, p. 7). Furthermore, this approach impedes creativity (Leblanc, 2013, p. 7).

With regard to matching, TM systems take into account similarity looking at the number of characters, leaving aside semantics (inflections, compounding, etc.). However, a parallel corpus and its concordancing tools will take this semantic dimension into account when proposing translation variants (Bowker & Barlow, 2008, p. 13; Tatu, 2011, p. 176). Further, contrary to TM software, parallel corpora and their concordancing tools display all possible matches, which leaves translators free to choose the best option(s). In this way they are not subject to a rather automatic decision-making process, as TMs display matches according to their ranks, and the highest-ranked match does not necessarily equal the best translation (Bowker & Barlow, 2008, p. 11; Tatu, 2011, p. 177). This automatic decision-making process makes translators lazy and passive, as TMs tend to be the only resource they consult or they just accept the TM suggestions without any questioning (Leblanc, 2013, p. 7).

Furthermore, many TM systems "automatically copy and paste fuzzy matches or term matches directly into the target text" (Bowker & Barlow, 2008, p. 11), but sometimes, typing a translation from scratch is faster than editing an automatically inserted segment from the TM. In this case the use of a bilingual concordance is more beneficial, as no text is automatically inserted in target documents, (Bowker & Barlow, 2008, p. 11). However, shadowing sessions of translators showed that some translators rather avoid translating from scratch, using "the 'collage' method, i.e., gathering translated sub-segments from the TM database and constructing sentences around those sub-segments" (Leblanc, 2013, p. 8). It is unclear how this affects translation quality.

Reusability is often claimed to be the top advantage of TM systems. However, updating sentences is likely to be more difficult and expensive than updating full texts, which is why a "more flexible, corpus-like approach" (Tatu, 2011, p. 178) should be adopted to the TM's recycling procedure (Bowker & Barlow, 2008, p. 16). Some CAT tools, such as *MultiTrans* and *Logiterm*, have tried to incorporate a feature allowing to see a larger context by generating *bitexts* (parallel corpora), which avoids the problem of decontextualized translation. This means that matches are linked to an entire document, instead of an isolated sentence (García, 2015, p. 72; Gow, 2003, p. 36). The aligned corpora generated in *MultiTrans* are fully accessible and can be searched while translating. Such a feature is mostly limited to parallel corpora at present. In addition, terminology extraction from different other types of corpora is also possible (cf. Frérot, 2010; cf. also Heylen & De Hertog, 2015, on Automatic Term Extraction or ATE). *SDL Trados* also includes corpus-like features, e.g., "project reference documents, *PerfectMatch* technology, and *AutoSuggest* dictionaries" (Mellinger, 2014, p. 22). Project reference documents are stored with the *SDL Trados* project files. The translator can open, view and search them if required while preparing for his translation. *PerfectMatch* technology allows for comparison between source files and existing bilingual (previously translated) documents instead of comparing source files to TMs (Mellinger, 2014, p. 22). *AutoSuggest* dictionaries are created in *SDL Trados* based on the analysis of TMs. Suggestions are made to the translator at the sub-sentential level which he can either use or discard (Mellinger, 2014, p. 23), with the aim of identifying "repetitive phrases or turns of phrase that can improve the translator's ability to produce a translation that is similar in style and tone to previously translated material" (Mellinger, 2014, p. 24). To our knowledge the only CAT tool thus far incorporating the use of bilingual as well as monolingual corpora during translation is *MemoQ*, through its *Library™* technology.

5. Conclusions and further research

The suggestions and efforts established above with regard to the integration of corpora into CAT tools mostly concern aligned parallel and (to a lesser extent) comparable corpora (Bernardini and Castagnoli, 2008; García, 2015; Tatu, 2011).[16] However, Bowker (1998) showed that translation quality could also be improved by using specialized monolingual native-language (original) corpora, i.e., specialized corpora in one particular language written in the language of the native speaker. Corpora provide information other tools do not, particularly with regard to language use, which improves translation fluency (Loock, 2016, p. 2). With our survey data presented in Figure 4 (section 3.4) on freelance and in-house translators' use of monolingual corpora in the source and target language for the language pairs English/Dutch and French/Dutch we aimed to provide a starting point, displaying the use of this type of corpus as a

[16] Cf. also Cristal project (https://hal.archives-ouvertes.fr/hal-00986391/file/Josselin-LerayEtAl_Euralex2014.pdf) with reference to the integration of contexts automatically retrieved from comparable corpora into CAT Tools (cf. also Picton, Planas & Josselin-Leray, 2017).

translation aid by our Belgian and Dutch respondents. To assess the effect of monolingual original corpora integrated into CAT tools a comparison of translations carried out with these monolingual original corpora and/or TMs is required, for instance with regard to coherence (context) and consistency. Such research into the integration of (monolingual) corpora and/or corpus-based features into the current world leading CAT tool (*SDL Trados*) could now also be extended as SDL has fairly recently acquired Donnelly Language Solutions, responsible for the *MultiTrans* tool (SDL plc, 2018). In addition, *SDL Trados* provides Application Programming Interfaces (APIs) to build applications which can help to optimize translation processes. An example of such an application which could be useful with regard to the integration of corpora into CAT tools is *Web Lookup* for instant web searches in *SDL Trados Studio* ("Taking translation to the next level: How customers use SDL APIs and applications to overcome the challenges of today's translation industry", SDL plc, 2017, pp. 13-14).

The main findings of our survey in terms of our hypotheses can be summarized as follows. Based on approximative indications of corpus use in the European and global recent surveys reviewed in section 2 we expected a higher frequency of corpus use among in-house translators compared to freelance translators. In that respect we did find higher adoption of the two other translation aids discussed in this paper, viz., CAT tools and TMSs, among the in-house translators of our survey. The great majority of our respondents use a CAT tool, in line with the findings of the European and global surveys reviewed in section 2. But whereas especially in-house translators make most use of CAT tools in our survey, the frequencies are much more similar (and lower) for corpus use among *both* the freelance and in-house translators of our survey. Thus, for both translator profiles this may point to the need to integrate corpora better in their translation workflow systems and current tools, notably CAT tools. In addition, integrating corpus use in translation students' curriculum, as illustrated well by Kübler et al. (2018), will probably lead to more corpus use among future translators.

From our survey parallel corpora still appear to be the most popular corpus type among those who indicated corpus use, as expected. Nevertheless, comparable and monolingual corpora may also provide benefits to be pursued in translation practice.

Concerning language pairs and corpus use we hypothesized that translators working with English make more frequent use of corpora as a translation aid, in view of the longer tradition of corpora and corpus linguistics for English compared to other languages. This hypothesis was clearly confirmed by our data.

We hope that the categorizations of our small-scale survey distinguished for the current paper may inspire further analysis based on larger datasets from greater respondent numbers, which might provide more conclusive evidence for the tentative conclusions which have been drawn here on the basis of our survey.

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Appendix 1 : Complete Survey

Survey: The use of CAT tools and corpora by professional translators

Introduction […..]

Definitions

What follows is a clarification of several terms used in the survey, in order to avoid ambiguity.

- CAT tool: A CAT (computer-assisted translation) tool supports the translation process through software. Usually a CAT tool consists of several components, such as a translation memory (TM) and a terminology management system. A translation memory is a database which stores source segments and their translated target segments. Translation memories can be created from scratch in the CAT tool itself or translation memories can be imported in your CAT tool to retrieve segments immediately. Using translation memories makes the translation process faster and more efficient. A few examples of CAT tools are SDL Trados, MemoQ and Wordfast.

- Terminology management: Terminology management in this survey refers to the collection, storage and retrieval of terms. Terminology management can be performed using standard tools such as Microsoft Word or Excel. Specific terminology management systems are also available, which can be used stand-alone or can be integrated in a CAT tool. An example of a terminology management system is SDL MultiTerm, which can be integrated in SDL Trados.

- Termbase: A database containing terminology.

- Corpus: A corpus in this survey refers to a collection of written texts which is used for searching equivalent terms while translating. A corpus which contains original texts in one particular language is called a monolingual corpus. A corpus including collections of texts with similar content in different languages or language varieties (e.g., British English, American English, Australian English) is called a comparable corpus. A comparable corpus does not consist of original texts along with their corresponding translations (cp. parallel corpus). Therefore, the (linguistic) content is not influenced by translation processes. A parallel corpus consists of original texts in one particular language, along with their translations in a different language. Examples of parallel corpora on the web are Linguee and Reverso Context, which are ready-made corpora. However, translators can also compile their own corpora.

Part I: General Information

Q1: What is your age group?

◦ 18-30 (A1) ◦ 31-40 (A2) ◦ 41-50 (A3) ◦51-60 (A4) ◦ 60+ (A5)

Q2: What are your main qualifications?

◦ Professional bachelor degree in Translation
◦ Master degree in Translation
◦ Master degree in Interpreting
◦ Master degree in Languages (or equivalent)
◦ Specialized courses, seminars, etc.
◦ Other, please specify:

Q3: Which of the following best describes your job role?

◦ In-house translator
◦ Freelance translator

Q4: How many years of translation experience do you have?

◦ Less than 1 year ◦ 1 - 5 years ◦ 6 - 10 years
◦ 11 - 15 years ◦ 16 - 20 years ◦ 20+ years

Q5: Which language combination(s) do you work with?

From …	Into …
◦ French	◦ Dutch (SQ001)
◦ English	◦ Dutch (SQ002)
◦ German	◦ Dutch (SQ003)
◦ Spanish	◦ Dutch (SQ004)
◦ Dutch	◦ French (SQ005)
◦ Dutch	◦ English (SQ006)
◦ Dutch	◦ German (SQ007)
◦ Dutch	◦ Spanish (SQ008)
◦ Other(s), please specify:	

Q6: Which text domain(s) (if any) do you specialize in?
◦ I do not specialize in any domain.
◦ Administration (SQ001)
◦ Engineering (SQ002)
◦ Health (SQ003)
◦ Finance (SQ004)
◦ Information Technologies (SQ005)
◦ Marketing (SQ006)
◦ Law (SQ007)
◦ Tourism (SQ008)
◦ Other(s), please specify:

Part II: CAT tools
General use

Q7: Do you use (a) CAT tool(s)?
◦ Yes ◦ No
(if the answer is *Yes*, continue to Q8; if the answer is *No*, continue to Q12)

Q8: Which CAT tool(s) do you use?
◦ Across (A1)
◦ Alchemy CATALYST (A2)
◦ DéjaVu (A3)
◦ Lionbridge Translation Workspace (A4)
◦ MateCat (A5)
◦ MemoQ (A6)
◦ MemSource (A7)
◦ MultiTrans (A8)
◦ Similis (A9)
◦ Swordfish (A10)
◦ SDL Trados (A11)
◦ Transit (A12)
◦ OmegaT (A13)
◦ Wordbee (A14)
◦ Wordfast (A15)
◦ Other(s), please specify:

Q9: Have you received any training on CAT tools?
◦ Yes ◦ No
(if the answer is *Yes*, continue to Q10; if the answer is *No*, continue to Q11)

Q10: What kind of training on CAT tools did you receive?
◦ Training course(s) at school (SQ001)
◦ In-house training course(s) (SQ002)
◦ External training through workshops, seminars, webinars, etc. (SQ003)
◦ I am self-taught in the use of CAT tools and did not receive any training. (SQ004)
◦ Other, please specify: (SQ005)

Q11: Which of the following tasks do you perform with CAT tools?
◦ Translation (SQ001)
◦ Translation consistency check (SQ002)
◦ Translation completeness check (SQ003)
◦ Import of translation memories (SQ004)
◦ Text analysis (e.g., for invoicing) (SQ005)
◦ Terminology management (SQ006)
◦ Terminology quality assessment (SQ007)
◦ Other(s), please specify: (SQ008)

Q12: Why do you not use CAT tools?
◦ They are too expensive.
◦ They are too complicated.
◦ I feel I do not need them.
◦ Other, please specify:

Q13: Are you planning to use CAT tools in the future?
◦ Yes ◦ No

<u>Terminology management</u>

Q14: Do you engage in terminology management?
◦ Yes (A1) ◦ No (A2)
(if the answer is *No*, continue to Part III: Corpora)

Q15: Which resources do you use to manage terminology?
◦ Microsoft Word (SQ001)
◦ Microsoft Excel (SQ002)
◦ Terminology management system (stand-alone or integrated in a CAT tool) (SQ003)
◦ Other(s), please specify:

Q16: Which terminology management system(s) do you use?
(only answer if *Terminology management system* was selected in Q15)
◦ crossTerm (Across) (SQ001)
◦ qTerm (MemoQ)
◦ SDL MultiTerm (Trados)
◦ Star Termstar (Transit)
◦ Other(s), please specify:

Q17: How do you <u>mostly</u> obtain terminology?
(Only answer if *Yes* was selected in Q14)
◦ I compile my own termbases/terminology lists based on source texts and their translations for future use. (A1)
◦ I obtain terminology from clients which I use when doing translations for them.
◦ I obtain terminology from other resources (the Internet, literature, etc.) which I then use to fill out a term-base/terminology list.
◦ Other, please specify:

Part III: Corpora

Q18: Do you use corpora in translation?
◦ Yes (A1)
◦ No (A2)
(if the answer is *Yes*, continue to Q19; if the answer is *No*, continue to Q22)

Q19: What kind of corpora do you use? Select all that apply.
◦ Monolingual corpora in the source language
◦ Monolingual corpora in the target language
◦ Comparable corpora
◦ Parallel corpora

Q20: Do you build your own corpora for translation?
◦ Yes (A1)
◦ No (A2)
(if the answer is *Yes*, continue to *Any additional remarks*, if the answer is *No*, continue to Q21)

Q21: How do you build your corpora, e.g., which tools do you use for corpus building?

Q22: Would you be interested in building your own corpora for translation?
◦ No (A1)
◦ Yes, please provide your e-mail address: ______________________

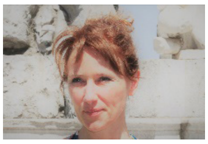
Q23: Why do you not use corpora?
◦ I am not familiar with them. (A1)
◦ They are too time-consuming to compile. (A2)
◦ I feel I do not need them. (A3)
◦ Other, please specify:

Q24: Are you planning to use corpora in the future?
◦ No (A1)
◦ Yes. Please provide your e-mail address: ______________________

Part IV: Miscellaneous

Q25: Any additional remarks:
____
____

Q26: Please provide your e-mail address if you are interested in receiving the results of this survey.



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Parallèles 31(2) Octobre 2019

La traducción al español del inglés afroamericano para doblaje: el caso de la serie *Insecure*

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Translating African American English into Spanish for dubbing: The case of the series *Insecure — Abstract*

Nowadays, a substantial majority of series and movies comes from the United States, whose social reality has always been linked to the fight for freedom and the elimination of racism. These themes have often been depicted in audiovisual products. The African-American population has its own dialect: African American English (AAE). Although black people have long been present in films and television, AAE has only been realistically used in audiovisual media in the last few years. These characters pose a challenge to translators, and their growing presence in audiovisual products requires further analysis of this topic, which currently lacks an extensive bibliography. In this paper, we analyse the original text and Spanish dubbing from a selected corpus comprised of several episodes of the American series *Insecure*. After classifying the distinctive features of the AAE by their nature, we study how these characteristics are translated. We also compare both versions so that we can identify the most prominent translation strategies and techniques in each category. This analysis aims to determine if there has been any effort to reproduce AAE in the Spanish dubbing or if, on the contrary, it has been completely eliminated.

Keywords

Audiovisual translation, dubbing, African American English, language variation

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1. Introducción

En la actualidad, vivimos una época dorada de la televisión en la que, gracias a la proliferación de plataformas audiovisuales que emiten sus contenidos por Internet y bajo demanda, la oferta de series y películas ha aumentado considerablemente. Muchas de estas producciones audiovisuales provienen de Estados Unidos, país en el que los conflictos raciales entre la población blanca y la afroamericana han estado presentes desde el principio de su historia.

La realidad social de la comunidad afroamericana en Estados Unidos ha estado muy ligada precisamente a la lucha por la libertad y por los derechos civiles, por la igualdad de oportunidades y por la erradicación del racismo en la sociedad. No obstante, la imagen que se ha proyectado de esta comunidad durante muchos años en los productos audiovisuales ha sido a menudo una tergiversación que ha dado lugar a estereotipos que se han ido perpetuando en el tiempo (Weaver Jr., 2016). Aunque no todos los papeles interpretados por personas afroamericanas durante las tres últimas décadas del siglo XX tenían un componente negativo, sí que todos ellos encajaban dentro de un rol definido y marcado, creándose así diferentes perfiles (Punyanunt-Carter, 2008). Es lógico pensar que cuantos más productos y canales de transmisión existan, más importancia cobrará esta imagen ficticia de lo que es ser afroamericano, y más se deformará la realidad.

Uno de los elementos principales que caracterizan a la población afroamericana es el uso de un sociolecto propio de su comunidad: el inglés afroamericano, al que se suele hacer referencia por sus siglas en inglés *AAE* (*African American English*). El *AAE* no estuvo presente en el cine hasta la década de los ochenta, pues la tónica general era intentar hacer olvidar al espectador que la persona que aparecía en pantalla era negra, por lo que este característico sociolecto apenas aparecía. En los años noventa, se utilizaba principalmente como elemento humorístico en el cine de Hollywood más comercial, al tiempo que se iba introduciendo de manera natural poco a poco en producciones independientes, con directores como Spike Lee al frente de esta tendencia (Naranjo Sánchez, 2015).

En los últimos años, la presencia del *AAE* en cine y televisión es cada vez mayor, quizás como respuesta a la situación política que se vive en estos momentos, que ha dado lugar a numerosos movimientos sociales como el *Black Lives Matter,* que luchan por la igualdad y el fin de la violencia contra las personas negras. Lo que antes se limitaba a círculos más limitados y filmes independientes, ha llegado a la televisión (tanto en abierto como por cable) y al cine comercial. La comunidad afroamericana ha comenzado a hacerse un hueco delante y detrás de las cámaras, con historias que representan sus vivencias de forma menos estereotipada y que reivindican su idiosincrasia.

Si bien el *AAE* es un dialecto con sus propias reglas gramaticales, la cultura dominante lo ha considerado tradicionalmente inferior, lo que ha contribuido a la estigmatización de sus usuarios (Koch, Gross, & Kolts, 2001). El panorama cinematográfico y televisivo actual trata de revertir esa idea y durante los últimos años hemos asistido a un cambio que va cobrando fuerza con el tiempo. El triunfo de *Moonlight* (Barry Jenkins, 2016) en la ceremonia de los Óscar de 2017 constituyó sin duda alguna un hito en este sentido.

Guiones de series como *Atlanta* (Hiro Murai, 2016), *Insecure* (Melina Matsoukas, 2016), *Queen Sugar* (Ava DuVernay, 2016), *Dear White People* (Justin Simien, 2017), *Nola Darling* (Spike Lee, 2017) o *The Chi* (Rick Famuyiwa, 2018) no se entenderían ni tendrían la misma fuerza y significado sin el uso del *AAE*. La cada vez más abundante presencia de personajes que hablan este dialecto parece indicar que en el futuro nos encontraremos con más series para las que el traductor debe estar preparado. Puesto que el espectador de habla hispana sigue demandando películas y series dobladas (Cine&Tele, 2018), este tipo de producto presenta un reto muy particular, relacionado con las diferencias culturales asociadas al *AAE*. El traductor debe decidir cómo adaptar las especificidades de la lengua origen (LO) e intentar trasladarlas al español, pese a que no existe un equivalente para ello en la lengua meta (LM).

Con el fin de contribuir a colmar la laguna bibliográfica existente en la actualidad en este ámbito (Huertas Abril & Cruz, 2014; Naranjo Sánchez, 2015), nos hemos propuesto los siguientes objetivos: identificar los rasgos característicos del *AAE* presentes en el corpus seleccionado y clasificarlos atendiendo a su naturaleza; analizar cómo se han traducido para el doblaje de España dichos rasgos específicos; y describir las estrategias predominantes en cada categoría. Así, pretendemos determinar si se ha realizado algún esfuerzo por reproducir en el doblaje el sociolecto afroamericano presente en la versión original, o si, por el contrario, se pierde por completo en la versión española. En este sentido, a partir de la revisión teórica de la literatura existente, hemos partido de dos hipótesis de trabajo: por una parte, creemos que la estrategia de traducción más utilizada en general será la neutralización; por otra parte, pensamos que la manera de afrontar la traducción dependerá del nivel lingüístico: mientras que en el tratamiento del léxico predominará la preservación, en los niveles gramatical y fonológico se utilizará más la neutralización.

Tras presentar en el marco teórico las principales características de la traducción para el doblaje de la variación lingüística, las particularidades del *AAE* y la escasa bibliografía existente sobre su doblaje, describiremos el corpus y la metodología aplicada. A continuación, expondremos los principales resultados. Por último, estableceremos ciertas consideraciones finales que valoramos necesarias. Creemos que este estudio contribuye a ampliar los trabajos existentes y a los Estudios Descriptivos en Traducción (Díaz-Cintas, 2003) al aportar datos cuantitativos de la tendencia actual de tratamiento del *AAE*, que pueden ser tenidos en cuenta en futuras investigaciones longitudinales, así como ejemplos que pueden servir para ilustrar ciertas estrategias de traducción.

2. Marco teórico

2.1. Traducción para el doblaje de la variación lingüística

Uno de los problemas más complicados a los que se enfrentan los profesionales de la TAV es la traducción de la variación lingüística. No es una dificultad exclusiva de esta modalidad, pero es mucho más visible en el discurso oral que en el escrito. Se ha dividido este tipo de discurso marcado en tres grandes grupos: variedades estilísticas, dialectales y de registro (Chaume Varela, 2012). Dada la naturaleza de nuestra investigación, nos centraremos en la variedad dialectal, pues es la categoría a la que pertenece el *AAE.*

Los dialectos son sistemas lingüísticos autónomos con respecto a la lengua estándar utilizados a nivel local (Taffarel, 2013). Estos presentan un reto para la TAV por la manera en la que están directamente relacionados con un grupo social o una región. La situación ideal sería que existiera un grupo equivalente en la cultura meta; sin embargo, en la práctica es bastante improbable que esto ocurra, pues las connotaciones de los dialectos de la cultura meta nunca van a coincidir exactamente con las de los dialectos de la cultura origen. Los dialectos no solo se diferencian del lenguaje estándar en cuestión de léxico, sino que su gramática y pronunciación también cambian (Díaz Cintas & Remael, 2006).

Dentro de la variedad dialectal existen a su vez diferentes categorías: dialectos geográficos, temporales, sociales, estándares/no estándares e idiolectos. Chaume Varela (2012) incluye el *AAE* dentro de los dialectos sociales (también llamados sociolectos), pues estos reflejan una estratificación social dentro de una comunidad lingüística particular, asociada a un estatus socioeconómico. El primer paso que deben seguir los traductores que se enfrentan a este tipo de dialecto es detectar sus características y la función de cada una de ellas en el texto origen (TO), para después evaluar si estas particularidades aparecen a lo largo de todo el producto o si solo lo hacen en el discurso de algunos de sus personajes. Esto es importante porque, en principio, cuando se utiliza siempre un mismo dialecto no habrá necesidad de transmitir una variación en el texto meta (TM) y la traducción se realizará en el lenguaje estándar de la cultura meta (Chaume Varela, 2012).

El problema aparece cuando se utilizan dos dialectos de la misma lengua en el mismo producto: como es muy probable que no exista un equivalente dialectal en la LM, no se suele sustituir un dialecto por otro, al menos hoy en día, porque podría considerarse políticamente incorrecto. Esto ocurría más a menudo en el pasado, donde encontramos ejemplos como el de *Lo que el viento se llevó* (Victor Fleming, 1939), película en la que aparecía el personaje de Mammy, la sirvienta afroamericana de la casa, que hablaba haciendo uso del *AAE.* En esta ocasión, se sustituyó un dialecto social *(AAE)* por uno geográfico (se utilizó un acento cubano), una decisión arriesgada y que, en la actualidad, no se suele tomar, pues se prefiere una solución que implique cambiar características del sociolecto por equivalentes sociales no estándar en la LM que no estén ligados a un dialecto geográfico (Chaume Varela, 2012).

Reutner (2013) analiza el doblaje español de *Bienvenue chez les Ch'tis* (Dany Boon, 2008), donde el uso de dos lenguas bastante similares (el picardo y el francés estándar) constituye un factor fundamental para el funcionamiento de la película. En las conclusiones se sopesan las posibles opciones de traducción, entre las que se encuentra la sustitución del dialecto que aparece en la versión original por una variante dialectal de la LM (en esencia, la técnica utilizada en *Lo que el viento se llevó*). Esta opción se descarta finalmente porque, pese a que era una solución a tener en cuenta porque produciría un efecto similar al de la versión original, comparar dos regiones o dos dialectos es imposible desde el punto de vista fonético y connotativo y, además, habría un problema de deficiencia de autenticidad al asignar un dialecto del español a personajes de una región francesa.

Arampatzis (2013) sugiere una serie de estrategias de traducción frente a casos de variación lingüística en el doblaje: utilizar la lengua estándar en la traducción; conservar la variación mediante el uso de un dialecto de la LM; compensar mediante un cambio en el timbre o en la intensidad de la voz para producir un efecto similar al original, acompañado o no de elementos léxicos que marquen el enunciado; o asignar nuevos significados a vocablos (creación discursiva), que resultaría imprevisible fuera de contexto. En contraposición, en el subtitulado, los rasgos gramaticales dialectales se suelen eliminar siempre, por lo que se usa el lenguaje estándar y, en algunos casos, se compensa transmitiendo la variedad dialectal a través del léxico escogido (Díaz Cintas & Remael, 2006, pp.192-195).

En definitiva, la traducción de la variedad lingüística conlleva una serie de problemas para el traductor de doblaje, quien, siguiendo a Agost Canós (1998), tendrá como mejores aliadas las competencias lingüística y cultural y la creatividad.

2.2. Características del *AAE*

A menudo, los estudios centrados en el *AAE* comienzan por señalar lo que no es (Cuckor-Avila, 2001; Green, 2002): pese a lo que la mayoría de los hablantes de inglés estándar piensan, no es un inglés hablado de forma incorrecta ni tampoco un repertorio de vocabulario callejero propio de una clase social ignorante y marginal (Pullum, 1999).

El *AAE* es «el más complejo de los dialectos sociales americanos, [...] utilizado por un 80 % de la comunidad negra de los EEUU» (Mateo Martínez-Bartolomé, 1990, p. 97). El estado sincrónico y diacrónico del *AAE* se ha estudiado más que el de cualquier otra variedad de inglés estadounidense; de hecho, un informe publicado en 1996 indica que el volumen de publicaciones que han versado sobre él es, como mínimo, cinco veces mayor que cualquier otra variedad del inglés en general (Wolfram & Thomas, 2002). A lo largo de la historia, el *AAE* ha obtenido diferentes denominaciones, todas referidas a la misma variedad dialectal. En nuestro trabajo, hemos decidido utilizar la denominación *AAE* como hace Green (2002), es decir, sin limitaciones por rango de edad y refiriéndonos al dialecto que utilizan muchos afroamericanos en la actualidad.

El *AAE* es una variedad que presenta unos patrones lingüísticos que lo diferencian del inglés estándar. Cada autor tiene su propio sistema en el que cataloga dichas características ordenándolas en diferentes grupos. Teniendo en cuenta los modelos de Rickford (1999), Green (2002) y Naranjo Sánchez (2015), hemos creado nuestra propia clasificación para adecuarla a las necesidades específicas de este trabajo, categorizando en tres grupos los diferentes rasgos: fonológicos, léxicos y gramaticales. En los próximos subapartados, expondremos nuestra clasificación y explicaremos en detalle las particularidades de cada nivel lingüístico.

2.2.1. Rasgos fonológicos

Debido a la imposibilidad de extendernos demasiado, hemos decidido exponer únicamente algunos de los principales rasgos fonológicos del *AAE.* Nos centramos específicamente en los que son comunes a Rickford (1999, pp. 4-5) y Green (2002, pp. 106-123), pues consideramos que son suficientes para caracterizar el sociolecto.

a) Reducción del grupo de consonantes final, sobre todo las acabadas en *t* o *d* y el sufijo *-ed,* que se pronuncia [t]: *pos' (post), han' (hand)* o *pass' (passed).*

b) Eliminación de la última consonante (en especial las nasales) después de una vocal: *ma' (man)* o *ca' (cat).*

c) Pronunciación del sonido *ng* de los gerundios como *n: walkin' (walking).*

d) Eliminación de la *d* y la *g* iniciales en algunos auxiliares: *ah 'on know' (I don't know)* o *ah'm 'a do it (I'm gonna do it).*

e) Eliminación de sílabas átonas iniciales o a mitad de palabra: *'fraid (afraid)* o *sec't'ry (secretary).*

f) Eliminación de la vocalización de la *r* después de una vocal: *sistuh (sister)* o *fouh (four).*

g) Pronunciación de th [θ] como *t* o *f: tin (thin)* o *baf (bath).*

h) Pronunciación de th [ð] como *d* o *v: den (then)* o *bruvver (brother).*

2.2.2. Rasgos léxicos

Abarcar la totalidad del léxico utilizado por los hablantes de *AAE* sería una tarea imposible, por lo que solo abordaremos algunos vocablos o expresiones a modo representativo.

En primer lugar, hay que resaltar que muchas de las palabras propias del léxico del *AAE* existen también en el del inglés estándar, pero en el primero adquieren un significado añadido diferente. Por ejemplo, la palabra *kitchen* tiene el mismo significado en ambos ('cocina'), pero en el *AAE* se usa también para referirse al pelo que nace en la nuca (Green, 2002).

En segundo lugar, comentaremos brevemente el *slang* propio del *AAE.* Tal y como apunta Green (2002), dar cuenta del *slang* en un trabajo es una tarea que representa un desafío, principalmente por la rapidez con la que evoluciona. Algunas de las palabras más características de este grupo son:

a) *Ass*: Se utiliza de forma metonímica para referirse a otra persona con un matiz enfático (Naranjo Sánchez, 2015, p. 427), o como parte de una construcción que Spears (1998) denomina -*ass words,* como por ejemplo, *bitch-ass,* normalmente actuando como intensificador.

b) *Nigga*: Las personas negras han tomado el control de este término despectivo y la usan entre ellos sin connotaciones negativas. Es un término que puede usarse de manera tanto positiva como negativa, e incluso con un uso neutral en el que simplemente sustituye a *guy* o *dude* (Spears, 1998).

c) *Shit*: tiene numerosos significados, y su potencial creativo sólo depende de los vacíos semánticos que rellene. Por ejemplo, en ocasiones se usa como sustituto de *stuff* (Naranjo Sánchez, 2015, p. 429).

2.2.3. Rasgos gramaticales: morfológicos y sintácticos

Exponemos a continuación los principales rasgos de variación lingüística a nivel gramatical del *AAE* (Rickford, 1999, pp. 6-9; Green, 2002, pp. 34-105; Trotta & Blyahher, 2011, pp. 19-31).

a) Ausencia del verbo copulativo/auxiliar *(is* y *are)* en tiempos presentes: *He Ø tall (He is tall)* o *They Ø running (They are running).*

b) Uso de *be* invariable para acciones habituales: *He be walkin' (He usually walks).* En interrogativas y negativas, se usa con el auxiliar *do: Do he be walking every day?, She don't be sick, do she?*

c) Uso de *be* invariable en lugar del futuro *will be: He be here tomorrow (He will be here tomorrow).*

d) Uso de *been* o *bin* átono en lugar de *has/have been: He been sick (He has been sick).*

e) Uso de *BIN* enfático para señalar un período lejano: *She BIN married (She has been married for a long time (and still is).*

f) Ausencia de *-s* en la tercera persona de singular del presente, uso de *don't* en vez de *doesn't* y de *have* en lugar de *has: He walkØ (He walks), He don't sing (He doesn't sing), She have it (She has it).*

g) Generalización de *is* y *was* en segunda persona y plurales: *They is some crazy folk (They are some crazy folk), We was there (We were there).*

h) Uso de *y'all* como contracción de *you all.*

i) Uso generalizado de *ain't* para la negación en lugar de *am not, isn't, aren't, hasn't, haven't, didn't.*

j) Negación múltiple o concordancia negativa (negación del auxiliar y de todos los pronombres indefinidos de la frase): *I don't never have no problems (I don't ever have problems).*

2.3. El doblaje del *AAE*: Estado de la cuestión

Aunque el *AAE* está ampliamente estudiado a nivel lingüístico, hasta ahora hay pocos trabajos que se centren en la traducción audiovisual al español de este dialecto. Para reflejar el panorama actual, hemos seleccionado algunos de ellos que nos ayudarán a exponer las líneas principales de investigación. Cabe mencionar que no todos están enfocados concretamente en este dialecto en sí, pues algunos se centran en las variaciones lingüísticas en general, dentro de las cuales se encuentra el *AAE* como uno de los ejemplos que se analiza. Además, algunos autores se basan en aspectos que tienen relación con el dialecto, con temas como la identidad social de fondo o análisis de referentes culturales afroamericanos.

Huertas Abril y Cruz (2014) analizan los elementos culturales afroamericanos presentes en *The Help* (Tate Taylor, 2011) —titulada *Criadas y señoras* en España—, con el objetivo de «determinar qué estrategias de traducción se han empleado para hacer comprensibles los culturemas de la película para el público español y cómo se adapta y refleja el *AAVE* [*AAE*] en los subtítulos» (2014, p. 80). Para ello, se estudia la cultura afroamericana a lo largo de los años, las características principales del *AAE* y la forma en que se aborda la traducción de dichos elementos en el subtitulado de la adaptación cinematográfica de la novela. Aunque no se aborda la traducción para doblaje, su interés reside en que aporta información sobre el tema para futuras investigaciones y en él se concluye que es necesario seguir profundizando en la traducción del *AAE* «para avanzar en la investigación traductológica, así como en la práctica profesional de la traducción» (2014, p. 103).

The Wire es el foco de atención de dos trabajos que analizan el doblaje de la serie desde puntos de vista afines. Navarro Andúgar y Meseguer Cutillas (2015) realizan un estudio comparativo entre la versión original y la española con el que se trata de averiguar si el TM transmite similares connotaciones sociales que el TO. En él se exponen no solo los rasgos de la variación lingüística del *AAE*, sino también los del español vulgar, pues se considera que se podría mejorar el doblaje de la serie utilizando características de esta variación lingüística. Para ello, se proponen traducciones alternativas que intentan reflejar «agramaticalidades propias del inglés afroamericano» (2015, p. 644). En las conclusiones, se afirma que «la versión doblada muestra una tendencia general a obviar las formas de variación lingüística, al menos en su vertiente morfosintáctica» y que, aunque la serie cumple con el cometido sociolingüístico en el plano léxico, en relación a las peculiaridades del *AAE*, este carece de «todos esos rasgos sociolingüísticos que tanta información aportan sobre la condición social del personaje» (2015, p. 663).

El otro trabajo centrado en *The Wire* (Vallverdú Delgado, 2015) realiza un análisis descriptivo y crítico de la serie en su versión original y doblada al español. Tras exponer las principales características del *AAE,* se compara si dichas particularidades se han transmitido de alguna manera en el doblaje. El análisis comparativo entre el TO y el TM deja claro que el producto resultante es mucho menos colorido y más llano que el original, por lo que todos los personajes hablan de manera muy similar y con un español estándar y, por lo tanto, se concluye que no se consigue transmitir el mismo efecto en los espectadores. Según este estudio, uno de los problemas al enfrentarse a la traducción del *AAE* es la falta de un dialecto equivalente en español, pero también apunta hacia un posible miedo del traductor a no ceñirse al español estándar que puede parecer inapropiado para un profesional de la lengua. La conclusión es bastante similar a la del trabajo anterior: la versión española carece de los matices que proporciona el *AAE* y se expone que, aunque no hay una traducción correcta y una incorrecta, sí que se podría haber hecho un esfuerzo mayor para lograr transmitir esas diferencias dialectales.

Menéndez-Valdés Pérez (2015) estudia la variación lingüística para el doblaje. No se profundiza demasiado en el *AAE*, pero sí se dedica un pequeño apartado a una escena de *The Wire,* y se llega a las mismas conclusiones que los anteriores autores, pues se expone que «la versión doblada no provoca el mismo efecto en el público meta y le quita toda la fuerza al personaje, sin llegar a trasmitir su carácter» (2015, p. 46). En él se sugieren también doblajes alternativos, en los que se utilizaría un español menos estándar y con más transgresiones lingüísticas.

Por otro lado, Naranjo Sánchez (2015) realiza un análisis exhaustivo del *AAE* y se centra específicamente en la traducción de «los rasgos dialectales y marcadores del 'discurso negro' en español a través de un análisis de la versión original y doblada de una muestra total de 19 largometrajes pertenecientes al género del cine afroamericano» (2015, p. 416). La autora hace un recorrido por el cine afroamericano, señalando el momento clave en el que se comenzó a introducir el *AAE* en las producciones audiovisuales y cómo su uso se asocia en los últimos años a un intento por reflejar los problemas sociales de las comunidades afroamericanas, en lugar del uso cómico al que estaba reducido hasta entonces.

También se hace referencia a una problemática ya expuesta por otros autores: no existe un dialecto equivalente en la cultura meta, por lo que es difícil reproducir las características del *AAE* y se tiende a usar la neutralización como técnica principal de traducción. Tras la exposición de los marcadores más importantes del *AAE*, se procede a comparar las dos versiones, y se obtienen datos cuantitativos sobre las estrategias seguidas en la traducción del doblaje. El estudio arroja luz sobre el tratamiento del *AAE* en el doblaje español, y aporta pruebas que señalan que existe un intento por parte de los traductores por recrear un discurso marcadamente étnico, al que llama *afro-dubbese*. Sin embargo, se expone que se necesitarán más estudios sobre el doblaje para ratificar que los espectadores perciben el TM como afroamericano y que, en efecto, se ha ido creando un lenguaje específico para el doblaje del *AAE* (2015, p. 438):

> Further studies from a more empirical or process-oriented approach allowing for deeper insight into the dubbing practice and/or a reception experiment would probably be necessary in order to fully verify if the target text is indeed perceived as black-specific by the receiving audience. This would presumably reveal whether we could actually talk about a potentially emerging black-specific dubbed discourse, which we have previously referred to as 'afro-dubbese'.

Es interesante comprobar que la TAV en Italia se enfrenta exactamente a los mismos retos y problemáticas que la española. Corrizzato (2012, 2016) analiza el doblaje al italiano de dos películas que utilizan el *AAE: Bamboozled* (Spike Lee, 2000) y *Selma* (Ava DuVernay, 2014). Se llegan a conclusiones muy similares en ambos casos: la estrategia de traducción más utilizada es la neutralización, lo que provoca la pérdida de características específicamente étnicas. Una vez más, se señala como problema principal a la falta de un equivalente dialectal y, como consecuencia de ello, los espectadores del producto doblado pierden información sobre las particularidades culturales propias de la población afroamericana.

Si bien en Alemania tampoco existe una equivalencia directa del *AAE,* Queen (2004) aporta datos que muestran un pequeño cambio en la traducción de esta variación lingüística. Al estudiar el doblaje al alemán de 32 películas de diferentes géneros en las que aparece al menos un personaje que habla *AAE,* se establece que, aunque en la mayoría de las ocasiones se pierden las particularidades lingüísticas de la población afroamericana, hay un determinado caso en el que el doblaje refleja de alguna manera ese cambio de dialecto: cuando el personaje es joven, hombre y con lazos con la cultura urbana, se dobla con un alemán específico de los jóvenes de clase obrera del norte y la parte central de Alemania.

En general, todos los trabajos coinciden en que la estrategia de traducción que más se utiliza en el doblaje del *AAE* es la neutralización, pero existen discrepancias sobre si hay un intento por reflejar las características étnicas de este dialecto. Mientras que Naranjo Sánchez (2015), en el que es quizá el estudio más exhaustivo hasta el momento, presenta datos que parecen corroborar que hay un intento por conservarlas al menos en algunos niveles lingüísticos, similar a lo que expresan Navarro Andúgar y Meseguer Cutillas (2015) sobre el plano léxico en concreto, otros generalizan sobre los resultados, sin analizarlos por separado. En definitiva, creemos que es necesario profundizar en esta línea de estudio para intentar ofrecer más claridad sobre las estrategias seguidas en la traducción al español de este dialecto. La relativa escasez de trabajos centrados en este tema hace difícil obtener información concluyente sobre el doblaje del *AAE* y, teniendo en cuenta la creciente importancia del mismo dentro de las producciones audiovisuales, es preciso aportar nuevos datos que puedan servir de referencia a futuros investigadores.

3. Metodología

3.1. Selección del corpus

Para nuestra investigación, establecimos ciertos criterios de selección previos que debía cumplir el corpus: era indispensable que la serie hiciera uso del *AAE*, preferentemente en combinación con el inglés estándar para que existiese una variación clara que se pudiera reflejar en el doblaje; la serie debía tener una mínima calidad contrastada; y por último, tenía que ser reciente porque nos interesaba analizar un doblaje actual.

Insecure no solo cumple el requisito fundamental que nos propusimos (es decir, hace uso del *AAE*), sino que lo utiliza de una manera muy particular: no aparece continuamente, sino que depende de la situación en la que se encuentren los personajes afroamericanos, ya que estos interactúan con diferentes personas de distintos ambientes, con personas blancas y negras, hombres y mujeres, con los consecuentes cambios de lenguaje. Quizás si no existiera esa variedad, se podría valorar no reflejarlo en el doblaje. Además, a pesar de que no se utiliza en todo momento, consideramos que el volumen textual de *AAE* es suficiente y adaptado a las limitaciones impuestas por las características de este trabajo.

Otros factores claves para su selección han sido los datos de audiencia y los premios recibidos, que avalan la calidad de la serie. Estrenada el 9 de octubre de 2016 en Estados Unidos en el canal de televisión por cable HBO, *Insecure* se convirtió poco a poco en un éxito de la cadena, pues el primer capítulo de la segunda temporada triplicó los números de audiencia con respecto al episodio piloto, de 365 000 a 1,1 millones de espectadores (Adalian, 2017). Issa Rae, su creadora, pero también protagonista, productora y guionista de la serie, ha recibido numerosos premios y reconocimientos, entre los que se encuentran dos nominaciones al Globo de Oro a la mejor actriz de comedia, tanto en 2017 como en 2018, y una nominación al Emmy en la misma categoría en 2018.

Insecure se compone hasta ahora (octubre 2019) de tres temporadas de ocho capítulos de entre 25 y 40 minutos cada uno. El hecho de que la serie sea tan reciente nos ofrece la oportunidad de analizar cómo se realiza la traducción hoy en día, lo que puede resultar de utilidad para las futuras temporadas de esta serie o de series con características similares. El doblaje que analizaremos será el que ha realizado SDI Media para HBO España, y siempre desde una perspectiva académica e investigadora. El traductor de esta versión ha sido Mario Pérez, mientras que Jaime Roca se ha encargado de la dirección del doblaje y del ajuste.

La serie nos muestra la vida de Issa Dee, interpretada por Issa Rae, una joven afroamericana del Sur de Los Ángeles que trabaja en una organización sin ánimo de lucro que se dedica a ofrecer ayuda y orientación a jóvenes estudiantes. Issa es la única persona negra que trabaja allí, por lo que el resto de la plantilla asume que ella tiene todas las respuestas sobre cualquier asunto relacionado con la cultura negra, lo que da lugar a situaciones incómodas pero hilarantes. La mejor amiga de Issa es Molly, también afroamericana, a la que da vida Yvonne Orji, una abogada que triunfa en el ámbito profesional pero que no tiene tanta suerte en su vida amorosa.

HBO contactó con Issa Rae tras el éxito que cosechó la actriz con la *webserie* que haría posible la creación de *Insecure*: *The Misadventures of Awkward Black Girl* (2011). La preocupación principal en la carrera de Rae como creadora y guionista es mostrar que no es necesario que una chica negra pase por situaciones extremas y violentas para que merezca la pena contar su historia (Wortham, 2015).

Hemos analizado el doblaje de los tres primeros episodios de la primera temporada, cada uno de ellos de alrededor de 27 minutos de duración. Hemos elegido el capítulo piloto por ser el primero de la serie, un episodio en el que normalmente se establecen las características principales del conjunto, tal y como ocurre en *Insecure*. Además, desde el principio se muestran en él escenas en las que el *AAE* adquiere mucha importancia dentro de la narrativa. Hemos seleccionado además los capítulos 2 y 3 al considerar que una duración total de aproximadamente 80 minutos (la extensión media de una película) se ajustaba a las particularidades de nuestro trabajo.

3.2. Parámetros de análisis

Para poder clasificar de forma sistemática los datos analizados, hemos hecho uso de ciertos parámetros de análisis propios de los estudios de traducción. Para evitar posibles confusiones terminológicas, exponemos a continuación cómo los entendemos en este caso concreto.

a) Estrategia de traducción: Este término se ha utilizado con diversas acepciones en traductología (Hurtado Albir, 2011), en esta investigación utilizamos estrategia de traducción para referirnos al método general elegido al acometer una traducción. En este caso, dadas las características específicas de este estudio y siguiendo a Naranjo Sánchez (2015), distinguiremos entre «neutralización» y «preservación». La neutralización ocurre cuando el TM elimina cualquier característica específica del TO ligada, en este caso, al *AAE,* mientras que la preservación tiene lugar cuando el TM transmite dichas características mediante alguna técnica de traducción.

b) Técnica de traducción: Constituye el procedimiento que se utiliza para conseguir la equivalencia traductora (Hurtado Albir, 2011, p. 268), Para este trabajo, hemos seleccionado varias de las técnicas expuestas por esta autora (pp. 269-271) y, a continuación, presentamos sus definiciones y también algunos ejemplos del TO en inglés y su traducción para doblaje extraídos del corpus para ilustrar cada una de ellas:

- Compensación: Se introduce en otro lugar del TM un elemento de información o efecto estilístico que no se ha podido reflejar en el mismo lugar en que aparece situado en el TO. En el siguiente ejemplo se muestra la compensación de un rasgo léxico: *I know what that **shit** means.* (**Coño,** claro que lo sé).
- Elisión: No se formulan elementos de información presentes en el TO. En el siguiente ejemplo se muestra la elisión de un rasgo léxico: ***Bitch**, you're right.* (Eso es verdad).
- Equivalente acuñado: Se utiliza un término o expresión reconocido (por el diccionario, por el uso lingüístico) como equivalente en la LM. En el siguiente ejemplo se muestra la elisión de un rasgo léxico: *Oh, look, **nigga**, guess you're still single*. (Hey, **negrata**, veo que no te casas).
- Generalización: Se utiliza un término más general o neutro. En el siguiente ejemplo se muestra la generalización de un rasgo gramatical: *Ø You think somebody will take it?* (¿Se lo llevará alguien?)
- Variación: Se sustituyen elementos lingüísticos o paralingüísticos (entonación, gestos) que afectan a aspectos de la variación lingüística por otros de la LM alejados de la norma. En el siguiente ejemplo se muestra la variación de un rasgo fonológico: *Couldn't fin**d** anoth**er** bitch to make your toes tingle.* No has **cazao a** otra zorra que te ponga de las patas.

4. Resultados

4.1. Caracterización del *AAE* de la versión original de *Insecure*

Nuestro primer paso consistió en analizar y clasificar las características particulares del *AAE* que aparecían en el corpus escogido en tres niveles lingüísticos (fonología, léxico y gramática). En la Tabla 1 presentamos los resultados cuantitativos obtenidos sobre los tres parámetros mencionados.

Capítulo	Fonología	Léxico	Gramática
1x01: Insecure as f**k	91	67	28
1x02: Messy as f**k	81	63	44
1x03: Racist as f**k	77	35	33
TOTAL	249	165	105

Tabla 1. Resultados cuantitativos de la presencia del *AAE* en el corpus

Como se puede observar en los resultados, el número de casos detectados que se incluyen dentro del apartado de fonología es mucho mayor que los que figuran en los apartados destinados al léxico y la gramática.

4.2. Caracterización de la traducción para el doblaje de *Insecure*

Al analizar los datos de las tres categorías (fonología, léxico y gramática) de forma global, queda bastante claro que la estrategia general seguida para la traducción para el doblaje del *AAE* presente en *Insecure* ha sido la neutralización: de un total de 519 incidencias, únicamente en 142 casos ha habido una aproximación en la que primaba la preservación de las características propias del habla de la comunidad afroamericana, lo que constituye el 27 % del total.

Para comprender mejor los datos expuestos, consideramos que es necesario hacer un análisis por separado de cada categoría estudiada y exponer en qué porcentajes se han utilizado las técnicas de traducción mencionadas en el apartado 3.2. En la Figura 1 presentamos la frecuencia de uso de cada técnica de traducción, separadas según la estrategia a la que pertenecen.

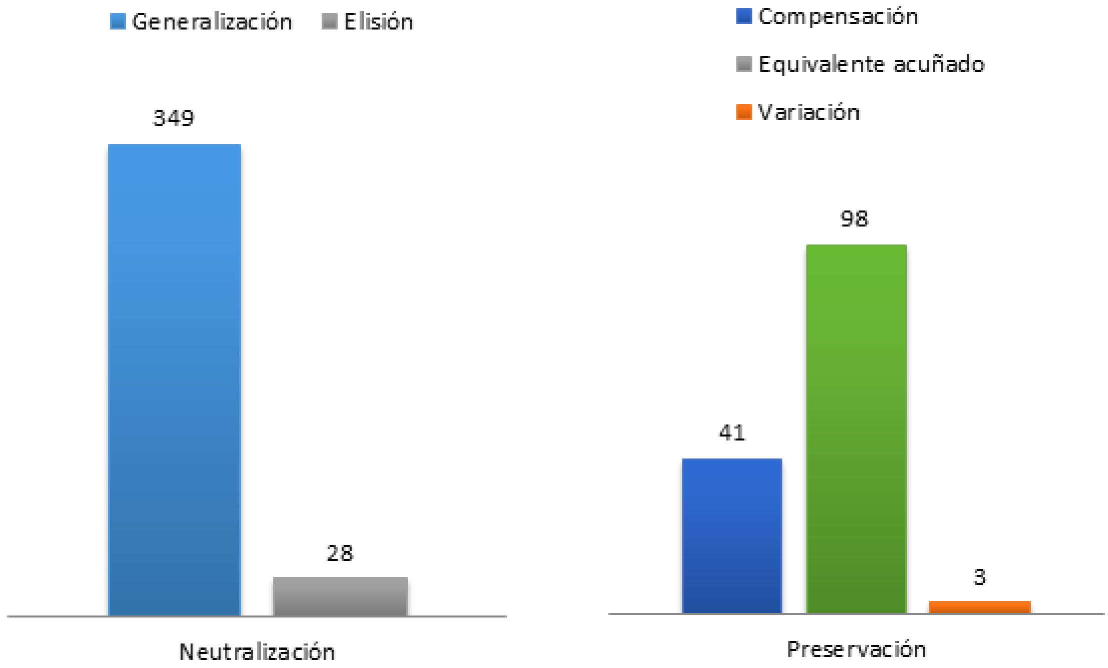
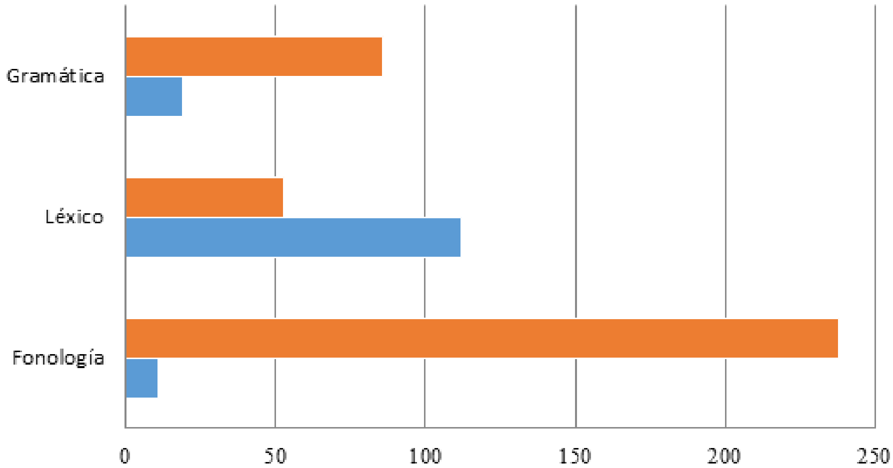


Figura 1. Análisis cuantitativo de las técnicas de traducción

En el caso de la fonología, las características propias del *AAE* se han preservado de alguna manera en 11 ocasiones de un total de 249. En el 72,73 % de esas 11, se ha utilizado la compensación como técnica de traducción, mientras que en el 27,27 % restante se ha optado por la variación. El léxico es la categoría en la que más se intenta preservar la caracterización del *AAE*: de 165 casos, se ha conservado en 112 de ellos, mediante un equivalente acuñado (87,5 %) o la compensación (12,5 %). Por último, en cuanto a la gramática, de los 105 casos detectados se han preservado sus rasgos en 19 de ellos a través de la técnica de compensación (100 %). En la Figura 2 se exponen los datos sobre la cuantificación de las estrategias de traducción utilizadas en cada categoría en forma de gráfico y tabla de valores.



	Fonología	Léxico	Gramática
Neutralización	238	53	86
Preservación	11	112	19

Figura 2. Análisis cuantitativo de las estrategias de traducción del corpus por categorías

Estos datos ponen de manifiesto las dificultades a las que se enfrenta el traductor según la categoría lingüística: mientras que es relativamente fácil respetar el léxico mediante equivalentes léxicos o compensaciones de algún tipo, es más complicado trasladar las características fonológicas y gramaticales de un dialecto que no tiene equivalente en español sin caer en estereotipos regionales que no tendría sentido utilizar dado el contexto estadounidense de la serie.

4.3. Aspectos cualitativos

En este apartado ilustraremos brevemente dos de las técnicas empleadas en la neutralización de los rasgos lingüísticos del *AAE*, con el fin de ejemplificar posibles versiones alternativas del doblaje que preservan en cierta medida el carácter distintivo del AAE.

Número de ficha: 1
Número y título de capítulo: 1x01: Insecure as f**k
***TCR*:** 06.53
Versión original
Molly: I'm a **grown-ass** woman.
Versión doblada
Molly: Soy una mujer adulta.
Parámetro de análisis: Rasgo léxico
Estrategia de traducción: Neutralización
Técnica de traducción: Generalización

En la Ficha 1 se observa cómo una de las protagonistas utiliza el término grown-ass. Consideramos que, pese a que hay veces en las que las «-ass words» actúan como partículas neutras, en esta ocasión es una manera de intensificar su irritación y darle más expresividad al diálogo. Aunque la traducción es correcta en el ámbito léxico, creemos que se podría haber añadido alguna partícula que enfatizara más el enfado de Molly en ese momento, como por ejemplo: «Soy una mujer adulta, joder», siempre y cuando se pudiera respetar la sincronización de la escena.

Número de ficha: 2
Número y título de capítulo: 1x02: Messy as f**k
***TCR*:** 03.06
Versión original
Chad: That's what's up, man. Hey, **I'ma** be sellin**'** you a house soon, fam.
Versión doblada
Chad: Claro, sí. Pues nada tío, seguro que pronto te vendo una casa.
Parámetro de análisis: Rasgo fonológico
Estrategia de traducción: Neutralización
Técnica de traducción: Generalización

Es difícil encontrar rasgos fonológicos de la LM que no estén directamente ligados a un dialecto regional, pero creemos que en el ejemplo de la Ficha 2 se podría usar la reducción en algunas palabras, por ejemplo: «Claro, sí. Pues **na'** tío, seguro que pronto te vendo una casa». Consideramos que este tipo de reducción, aunque desaconsejada en el doblaje, podría ser una buena solución en ciertas ocasiones y sin abusar del recurso.

Número de ficha: 3
Número y título de capítulo: 1x01: Insecure as f**k
***TCR*:** 08.13
Versión original
Issa: **Bitch**, you're right. Molly: I know.
Versión doblada
Issa: Eso es verdad. Molly: Pues claro.
Parámetro de análisis: Rasgo léxico
Estrategia de traducción: Neutralización
Técnica de traducción: Elisión

En general, consideramos que la elisión de los rasgos léxicos en Insecure suele ocurrir por motivos de ajuste y no por censura. Sin embargo, creemos que el caso de la Ficha 3 en concreto podría haberse solucionado, por ejemplo, de la siguiente manera: «Tía, es verdad», evitando así eliminar un rasgo presente en la versión original.

5. Consideraciones finales

Con este trabajo hemos pretendido profundizar en la dificultad que entraña la traducción de un sociolecto de un idioma a otra lengua en la que no existe un dialecto que comparta características sociales similares a las del *AAE*. Para ello nos marcamos dos objetivos y creemos que hemos alcanzado ambos de forma satisfactoria. El primer objetivo fue identificar los rasgos característicos del *AAE* presentes en el corpus seleccionado, para después clasificarlos atendiendo a su naturaleza. Tras analizar los resultados, detectamos que los rasgos característicos con mayor incidencia eran los fonológicos, seguidos de lejos por los léxicos y en tercer lugar se situaban los gramaticales.

El segundo objetivo consistía en analizar cómo se han traducido para el doblaje de España dichos rasgos y describir las estrategias y técnicas predominantes en cada categoría. En general, la neutralización es la estrategia más utilizada en el conjunto de la traducción. Así se confirma nuestra primera hipótesis, en la que planteábamos que predominaría la neutralización como estrategia de traducción principal. Por otro lado, nuestra segunda hipótesis también se confirma, ya que la estrategia preponderante en la traducción de rasgos fonológicos y gramaticales es la neutralización, mientras que la preservación es la estrategia más común en el tratamiento de los rasgos léxicos. En cuanto a las técnicas de traducción, cuando la estrategia empleada es la neutralización, la más usada es la generalización; mientras que el equivalente acuñado es la técnica más frecuente en el caso de la preservación. Cabe destacar que, tras comparar los resultados obtenidos con los del trabajo de Naranjo Sánchez (2015), el más relevante y afín a nuestra investigación, encontramos que los resultados relativos a las estrategias son similares (especialmente los relacionados con la traducción del léxico y la fonología).

Otra conclusión que podemos extraer de los datos de ambos trabajos es que no parece haberse producido un cambio importante a la hora de lidiar con este dialecto pues, pese a que *Insecure* es bastante más reciente que los largometrajes analizados en el otro estudio (estrenados entre 1989 y 2007), los resultados sugieren que la traducción del *AAE* no ha evolucionado.

Mientras que en la versión original se detecta de manera clara la diferencia entre el *AAE* y el inglés estándar, creemos que la versión española no logra aportar los mismos matices que el original. Consideramos que se podría intentar realizar un doblaje más rico que reflejara mejor las diferencias entre unos personajes y otros, aunque es cierto que ir en contra de las recomendaciones que se han seguido hasta ahora sobre el ejercicio de esta profesión (sobre todo las relacionadas con el hecho de respetar las convenciones de la lengua estándar) no es una decisión que se deba tomar a la ligera. No obstante, tal y como hemos presentado en el apartado 4.3, creemos que podrían hacerse pequeños cambios en la traducción que reflejaran un poco mejor esas particularidades del sociolecto.

Dada la escasez de trabajos sobre este tema, creemos que este trabajo será de utilidad en el futuro tanto para los profesionales como para los docentes y estudiantes de traducción. Por una parte, con él creemos haber contribuido al desarrollo del estudio del doblaje en general, y de la traducción de la variación lingüística para el doblaje en particular, al tiempo que hemos dado visibilidad a un tipo de producto que está en auge y que previsiblemente seguirá llegando a nuestro país en igual o mayor cantidad que hasta ahora. Con esta aportación pretendemos también animar a otros a seguir investigando sobre este tema, pues consideramos esencial que se continúe esta línea de trabajo para contar con más datos que permitan llegar a una conclusión más ajustada a la realidad. Así, se podría promover quizá la obtención de un doblaje de mayor verosimilitud, capaz incluso de facilitar la llegada de otras series y películas de este tipo que todavía no han encontrado un hueco en España.

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Paterson (2017) de Jim Jarmusch aux prises avec le « bon usage » du sous-titrage

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Jim Jarmusch's *Paterson* (2017) at odds with good subtitling practice — *Abstract*

This article tackles the link between the poetics of Jim Jarmusch's movie *Paterson* (2017) and its DVD subtitling into French. The subtitler is commonly viewed as a mediator who, among other things, is in charge of transposing the filmmaker's writing into another language and culture. However, to what extent can the collaboration of two means of expression — on the one hand, the soundtrack and the whole screen as a potential writing area, and on the other hand, the lower part of the screen devoted to the translated words — do justice to the iconoclastic poetics of this movie? When subtitling *Paterson*, is the translator inevitably led to force the text into the often-tight dimensions of the usual codes of subtitling? The analyses show that the conventional strategies of subtitling are sometimes ill-equipped to convey Jarmusch's very accurate segmenting of the text and his progressive unveiling of information.

Keywords

Jim Jarmusch, subtitling, *Paterson* (2017), poetics, norms

« Poetry in translation is like
taking a shower with [one's] raincoat on ».
(citation d'un dialogue de Paterson : 01:43:27)

La comparaison que nous mettons en exergue a de quoi interloquer le spectateur : le personnage à l'origine de cette phrase ne suggère-t-il pas que c'est *de la poésie même* que l'on se prémunit lorsqu'on entreprend de traduire un poème ? Pour aller dans ce sens, on arguera ainsi que, si la forme a une importance capitale dans certains types de traduction, que si elle n'en a même jamais autant qu'en poésie, il y a fort à parier qu'un poème, importé dans un cadre qui lui est de surcroît peu favorable – le sous-titrage et a) son nombre limité de caractères et de lignes à l'écran (Pérez González, 1998) b) son mode de présentation de l'information très codifié sur le plan de la place du sous-titre à l'écran, du temps d'exposition du spectateur au texte, ou du mode d'apparition de ce dernier (De Linde & Kay, 1999 ; Díaz Cintas & Remael, 2007) c) le fait qu'un certain type de segmentation des énoncés semble faciliter la lecture du spectateur (Perego, 2008) –, puisse d'autant plus se voir mis à mal[1]. Il est probable, de surcroît, que ce qui est au cœur de son identité poétique soit potentiellement perdu dans le processus de traduction : tout « média [audiovisuel], de par les contraintes créées par l'espace-temps de l'image, exige du sous-titreur que sa pratique poétique soit une poétique pratique », comme l'écrivent Dussol et Şerban (2018, p. 16). Bien entendu, les codes de sous-titrage utilisés dans les films ne répondent pas à un quelconque arbitraire, comme le soulignent les chercheurs qui se sont appuyés sur les capacités de traitement de l'information (Lavaur, 2008, pp. 113-129) pour contribuer à fonder la légitimité de certains de ces choix. Toutefois, dans quelle mesure la spécificité d'une œuvre donnée peut-elle résister à une codification du sous-titrage qu'il n'est pas interdit de juger un peu rigide dans certains contextes ? Dans le cadre d'une œuvre à la poétique iconoclaste (cf. 1.1 et 1.2) en particulier, et compte tenu des normes préalablement mentionnées (les règles de « bon usage du sous-titrage » déjà évoquées), dans quelle mesure le traducteur est-il contraint de réduire l'écriture aux dimensions du médium pour lequel il exerce sa tâche ?

1. Cadre poétique et enjeux traductologiques

Paterson[2], l'œuvre de Jim Jarmusch présentée au Festival de Cannes en mai 2016, sortie dans les salles françaises le 21 décembre 2016 et en DVD en avril 2017, est un support intéressant pour aborder cette question, pour trois raisons au moins.

1.1. L'envahissement des différents espaces sémiotiques par le discours littéraire

La première tient à l'une des spécificités essentielles de l'œuvre : le fait qu'il s'agisse d'un film profondément littéraire, non dans le sens où Truffaut l'entendait par exemple (à savoir par son traitement des dialogues ou sa reconstitution historique)[3], mais au sens où c'est une œuvre qui met l'écrit au centre de son dispositif : les textes saturent littéralement l'écran et la bande-son. Or on achoppe ici à l'une des problématiques de la traduction de *Paterson* : même si, comme nous le rappellerons au cours de l'analyse (cf. 1.3.1), un film sous-titré combine le

[1] Il s'agit clairement d'une stratégie de traduction, puisque le sous-titreur a bien souvent pour consigne de respecter un certain type de segmentation.

[2] Le film fait notamment le portrait d'un chauffeur de bus – poète résidant à Paterson, dans le New Jersey, et évoque le surgissement de l'inspiration poétique au sein d'une existence relativement quelconque.

[3] On pense notamment aux *Deux Anglaises et le Continent* (1971) ou à *L'Histoire d'Adèle H.* (1975).

discours initial du cinéaste et celui de la traduction, il y a néanmoins de nettes différences de capacités expressives entre l'espace de création du cinéaste (entendu comme l'écran dans son entièreté et la bande sonore) d'une part, et la « fenêtre » habituellement réservée aux sous-titres (le domaine réservé du traducteur) d'autre part. Nous indiquons dans le tableau ci-dessous quelques différences majeures entre ces deux espaces :

Caractéristiques de l'espace expressif de Jarmusch dans *Paterson*	**Caractéristiques de l'espace expressif du sous-titreur de *Paterson* dans la version étudiée**
L'ensemble de l'écran est potentiellement source d'expression. Lorsque les textes poétiques apparaissent, ils occupent une bonne partie de celui-ci.	L'espace expressif est limité au bas de l'écran.
La bande-son constitue aussi un espace expressif utilisable par le cinéaste.	La bande-son ne peut être manipulée directement par le sous-titreur.
Choix d'une police relativement inhabituelle, qui se rapproche de l'écriture manuelle.	Utilisation d'une police neutre et classiquement utilisée par le sous-titrage.
Plus grande liberté dans le mode de présentation des caractères : ils apparaissent parfois progressivement à l'écran, puis disparaissent tout aussi progressivement (*fading*).	Apparition / disparition nette des caractères
La plupart du temps, les mots sont dévoilés les uns après les autres, selon un principe cumulatif.	Un segment traduit en chasse un autre.
Les mots qui apparaissent à l'écran ne suivent pas nécessairement l'énonciation du poème par Paterson.	Les mots traduits se calent sur la voix du poète.

Table 1. Caractéristiques de l'espace expressif du cinéaste et de celui du sous-titreur

1.2. L'enchevêtrement des voix

La seconde raison tient à un très singulier principe d'entremêlement de la parole dans le film, bien éloigné de celui que l'on trouve chez des cinéastes comme Howard Hawks, Jacques Tati ou Robert Altman : Paterson est filmé en train de transcrire sur son carnet de notes les mots qui lui viennent à l'esprit, et en même temps que les images captent le geste d'écriture, des caractères s'impriment à l'écran et viennent se faire l'écho du premier écrit, selon des modalités qui varient régulièrement. Simultanément, le spectateur entend la voix intérieure du poète, qui semble, lentement[4], se dicter à lui-même les mots qu'il va écrire. Poème visuel et sonore sur l'émergence du poétique, *Paterson* le film donne littéralement à voir et à entendre le processus d'écriture, en temps réel, au fil de l'inspiration de Paterson, le personnage principal.

Notons que la démultiplication de la voix poétique évoquée ci-dessus est tout sauf anecdotique ici puisque la répétition est au cœur du film, et plus généralement du travail de Jarmusch : dédoublement des noms (« Paterson » comme nom de ville, de personnage, de livre) ; des personnes (plusieurs figures de jumeaux, une petite fille qui lit un poème que Paterson aurait pu écrire) ; des obsessions (la crainte partagée par la communauté que le bus tombé en panne ne se transforme en boule de feu) ; des motifs filmiques (le premier plan de chaque

[4] La vitesse de diction ne constitue pas, en ce sens, une véritable contrainte de traduction.

matinée se fait sur le couple allongé sur un lit, en plongée ; les nombreux travellings latéraux) ; des motifs géométriques (les cercles sur les rideaux) ; des couleurs, qui contribuent à imprimer un rythme au film (le noir et le blanc) ; des repères de temps (la structure temporelle est articulée autour des sept jours de la semaine) ; de certains fragments de poèmes, pour ne citer que quelques exemples (« Spécial Jim Jarmusch : plaisirs de la répétition », 2016). Cette démultiplication des voix / voies par lesquelles nous parvient l'écriture s'inscrit donc dans un contexte plus large, qui contribue à lui donner tout son sens. Quelle fonction servent ces répétitions ? L'œuvre de Jarmusch est depuis longtemps obsédée par la question du regard sur les choses et sur les moyens de l'affûter. C'est bien parce que la répétition structure le temps et l'espace, leur donne une forme familière, que les moindres variations perçues finissent par nous toucher. Chez Jarmusch, ainsi :

> repetition […] contributes a slightly oneiric quality by portraying a highly schematic universe, a closed world where the same components knock against each other over and over again as in a vacuum — or in a dream. At the same time, Jarmusch's repetitions do not work toward closure but uncover difference at the heart of the same. By being inserted in a new context, what is repeated is constantly reworked anew (Suárez 2007, p. 63).

Dans *Broken Flowers* (Jarmusch, 2005), par exemple, un amant à la recherche d'un fils qu'il a eu avec l'une de ses conquêtes passées, traverse les États-Unis et rend visite à quatre d'entre elles. La structure cyclique adoptée par le cinéaste – « Don's actions are always the same: setting off, turning up at an unknown address, giving flowers to an ex-lover from the past, trying to find out about his unknown hypothetical son and taking off again empty-handed » (Piazza, 2015, p. 276) – met surtout en valeur ce que chaque femme a de profondément singulier. Elle donne aussi le sentiment d'exercer la vigilance du spectateur, qui doit, dans un contexte qui exclut tout soulignement des effets, décider laquelle pourrait avoir été la mère de l'enfant. Pour Murillo (2016, p. 132), « [c]'est donc une qualité de l'attention que Jim Jarmusch suscite chez les spectateurs en laissant de côté les moments d'intensité dramatique ». Le spectateur est ainsi amené à s'interroger sur ce qui, au sein de cette structure répétitive, « fait la différence ». *Paterson* est, lui aussi, structuré autour de cette différence, parfois infime, au sein du même : comment, semble se demander le cinéaste, le nouveau naît-il à partir de l'ancien ? Comment la différence surgit-elle au milieu du banal, du quotidien, pour créer le poétique ? On peut imaginer dans ce cadre que la démultiplication des canaux par lesquels transite l'écriture dans *Paterson* est un moyen de redoubler la portée de l'effet poétique, d'ouvrir le champ de la perception : la sensualité de la poésie passe à la fois par la beauté du geste d'écrire sur un carnet, l'apparition progressive des caractères d'imprimerie à l'écran, la diction de l'acteur principal ; par cette répétition du même, donc, et par la variation au sein de ce même. Or comment rendre la démultiplication de ces voix (le volet écrit et le volet oral, notamment) et les subtiles variations qu'elle suscite en ne pouvant manipuler qu'un seul canal expressif ?

1.3. L'irruption d'une voix étrangère

La troisième raison viendra à l'esprit si l'on se rappelle le caractère international de la carrière réalisée par *Paterson* dans ses versions doublées et sous-titrées[5]. Celui-ci nous amène en effet à nous interroger notamment sur cette quatrième voix, le sous-titrage, au statut incertain : à la fois intra-diégétique, puisque renvoyant aux paroles du personnage Paterson, mais aussi en un sens étrangère au territoire du film (Cornu, 2014, p. 333), puisque non prévue initialement par le cinéaste.

[5] À noter que le cinéaste confesse son aversion pour le doublage de ses films, symptôme, pour lui, de notre penchant pour le verbocentrisme, et sa préférence pour le sous-titrage (Piazza, 2015, p. 206).

Mais pour saisir pleinement l'influence de cette voix supplémentaire au sein du système constitué par l'ensemble des autres voix, on aura tout intérêt, d'abord, à définir le statut de chacune des voies d'expression poétique et les relations qu'elles entretiennent les unes avec les autres. Ainsi, l'apparition plus ou moins progressive des mots (ou des vers selon les cas) à l'écran au fur et à mesure de leur diction par *Paterson* ne se contente pas de scripturaliser le code oral, pas plus que la voix du poète ne serait un simple écho du texte écrit : c'est à partir du rapport dynamique entre les voix que le film exacerbe la recherche de sens et d'émotion. De cette façon, le code écrit, coexistant avec ces mots prononcés un par un, est renvoyé tout de même à l'incertitude et à la fragilité d'un processus créatif qui se déploie dans l'instant. Inversement, le code oral, fuyant, semble gagner quelque peu en substance par le biais de sa matérialisation par l'écrit. Comment, ainsi, la voix du sous-titreur s'intègre-t-elle dans cet ensemble ?

1.3.1. L'interaction du sous-titrage avec le système complexe des voix

On touche ici au cœur de ce qui fonde le sous-titrage, et qui le distingue catégoriquement de la traduction littéraire : la coexistence de deux voix (celle du cinéaste et celle du sous-titreur) par opposition au principe de substitution qui régit la traduction écrite dans la plupart des contextes. Là où la traduction littéraire efface les signes de l'énonciation première pour reconstituer à partir de la page blanche un ensemble second, ensemble dont les constituants tendent vers une forme d'« équivalence », le sous-titrage compose avec un « déjà-là » qui, certes, n'oriente pas le sens dans une direction univoque, mais impose une présence dont il faut tenir compte dans la création des sous-titres : « In contrast to the singular modality of literary and textual translation, where new tends to supplant old, screen translation always involves their meeting » (Dwyer, 2017, p. 2017). Dans le sous-titrage, le principe fondateur est donc que la convergence des signes en présence (images, bande-son *et* sous-titres) doit déboucher sur un document-cible dont la fonction est proche de celle du film auquel le spectateur de la langue d'origine est exposé.

Dans cette perspective, le rapprochement du sous-titrage avec la traduction littéraire ne peut donc être que superficiel. Si les sous-titres rappellent en effet quelque peu, de par leur origine énonciative et leur place sur l'écran, la note de bas de page du livre traduit, les processus en jeu sont pourtant bien différents : là où le lecteur peut se passer, au moins en théorie, de la lecture de ces notes dans un roman traduit par exemple, le spectateur qui ne connaît pas la langue d'origine des dialogues est lui, à moins de vouloir passer à côté de tout un pan de la signification, contraint d'y avoir recours. En d'autres termes, si la traduction littéraire peut établir une frontière assez étanche entre le cœur du texte et sa marge, dans le sous-titrage, la ligne de démarcation est beaucoup moins nette : le sous-titre *collabore* étroitement avec les autres paramètres techniques, y compris la bande-son et les mots inscrits à l'écran, pour effectuer son travail de rendu du sens. Non seulement, comme l'écrit Dwyer (2017, p. 8), « l'aspect multimodal des écrans oblige 'l'original' et la traduction à se faire face, induisant de ce fait une obligation de comparaison » (ma traduction), mais les informations à l'écran (images et texte) en viennent à constituer un contexte qu'il est nécessaire de prendre en compte pour élaborer le texte des sous-titres et qui influera de toute manière sur l'interprétation de ces derniers ; de même, le texte des sous-titres éclaire l'interprétation des signes visuels et auditifs présents à l'écran. La recherche est donc contrainte aussi de s'interroger sur la manière dont l'inscription d'un texte second au sein d'un texte préexistant affecte l'ensemble.

1.3.2. Conséquences sur le plan de la traduction

Si, dans le sous-titrage, le cœur du problème est donc l'interaction des divers systèmes sémiotiques — sous-titres compris —, il faut bien finir par se poser la question de savoir *quels éléments* doivent être intégrés aux sous-titres et quels autres doivent être écartés. Dans un film classique, le sous-titreur peut distinguer clairement ce qui relève, dans son travail, du sous-titrage des mots qui apparaissent à l'image d'une part, du dialogue d'autre part. Mais dans le film de Jarmusch, la prise en compte du contexte poétique constitue un élément de nature à complexifier sérieusement sa tâche : qu'est-il censé traduire, puisque les mots parlés sont aussi ceux qui s'affichent à l'écran ? Si l'on ne constatait pas de variations stylistiques d'un mode d'expression à l'autre, la question ne se poserait pas : traduire l'un reviendrait à traduire l'autre. Ici, en revanche, chaque modalité d'écriture semble à la fois renvoyer aux autres et, en même temps, développer une forme d'indépendance (dans le mode d'apparition des mots, dans le rythme de présentation à l'écran, particulièrement). Le traducteur peut-il, dans ces conditions, s'accommoder de l'idée selon laquelle il ne faudrait rendre que le dialogue parlé ? Dans l'hypothèse où, au contraire, il penserait que, s'agissant d'un film sur l'écrit, il faudrait mettre l'accent sur cette modalité de l'expression — position que nous défendons ici —, les sous-titres ont-ils les moyens de rendre compte de tous les paramètres poétiques contenus dans les écrits à l'écran ? On pourrait d'abord évoquer les effets de cumulation de l'information (vs. la substitution d'une information par une autre dans le sous-titrage), de rythme / découpage ou de typographie. Doivent-ils faire l'objet d'un rendu dans la traduction ? Dans l'affirmative, ce rendu doit-il être systématique ou limité à certains contextes précis ? Quels critères discriminants utiliser, dans ce cas ? On pense ensuite aux variations subtiles que le film introduit dans le mode de présentation de certains poèmes ou vers récurrents. Dans quelle mesure, par exemple, le spectateur est-il conscient qu'il voit ou entend tel poème pour la deuxième ou la troisième fois, dans un découpage et dans un mode de présentation différents, s'il ne connaît pas la langue-source et s'il doit se concentrer sur la lecture des sous-titres ?

Comme on le constatera dans la deuxième partie de cette étude, le traducteur a globalement recours aux stratégies de sous-titrage usuelles rappelées en début d'article. On ne saurait évidemment les disqualifier du seul fait de leur classicisme. On peut en revanche s'interroger sur le type de contexte dans lequel elles se révèlent (in)efficaces à rendre les paramètres poétiques jugés essentiels. En cohérence avec les récentes recherches en matière de traduction audiovisuelle – Díaz Cintas et Remael (2007, p. 64) arguent par exemple du fait que « puisque le sous-titrage se focalise sur les éléments les plus pertinents sur le plan de l'information, souvent, les propositions susceptibles de renouveler le contexte sont conservées, là où celles qui se contentent de le confirmer sont laissées de côté » (ma traduction) – nous suggérerons dans cette étude que le facteur prédictif de l'efficience des stratégies de sous-titrage classiques[6] est le degré de (d'in)dissociabilité entre le sens et le mode de présentation visuelle des éléments. En effet, dans le cas où les textes apparaissant à l'écran présentent des éléments de nature non directement linguistique sans lien étroit avec leur sens, comme une police de caractères donnée, un mode de présentation de l'information (cumulation vs. substitution), un rythme de présentation particulier, autrement dit, des éléments décodables sans le support de la connaissance d'une langue étrangère, ceux-ci n'ont a priori pas besoin de faire l'objet d'un décodage dans le sous-titrage. Dans ce cas, en effet, les éléments non linguistiques du texte initial se combinent aux sous-titres pour créer une fonction équivalente dans le document-cible. En revanche, lorsqu'il y a indissociabilité du linguistique et du non-linguistique dans le texte initial, la conséquence est double : a) l'association sous-titres / éléments non textuels dans le film de départ a beaucoup moins de chances de se réaliser efficacement b)

6 Nous entendons par « stratégies classiques » le respect des normes habituelles de sous-titrage sur le plan a) du lieu d'inscription du sous-titre, b) de son mode d'apparition (non progressif) à l'écran, c) du mode de segmentation de la phrase, d) du nombre de caractères et de lignes maximum autorisés, e) du temps de présence du texte à l'écran, f) du type de police de caractères utilisé.

dans le cas où le sous-titre s'efforcerait d'importer ces éléments de nature non directement linguistique dans l'espace qui lui est alloué, il n'aurait pas forcément les moyens de rendre toutes les nuances présentes dans le texte apparaissant à l'écran.

1.3.3. Méthodologie et positionnement théorique

Nous aborderons la question de l'efficacité du rendu de la poétique du film sous l'angle des différences observées dans les formes à disposition du public, dans la version originale d'une part, et dans la version sous-titrée d'autre part. Nous décrirons le plus scrupuleusement possible ces dernières et nous nous attacherons à les commenter afin de mettre en évidence leur impact éventuel : il nous paraît raisonnable d'émettre l'hypothèse que si différences formelles importantes il y a, les effets produits par le film pourraient eux-mêmes être significativement dissemblables et la perception de la construction poétique altérée.

L'article revendique en partie seulement une approche descriptive (dans la mesure où l'étude d'une traduction professionnelle particulière constitue son point de départ), mais ne fera pas néanmoins l'économie d'une réflexion sur la manière dont la codification à l'œuvre dans le sous-titrage peut parfois affecter négativement le rendu de certaines caractéristiques poétiques. L'une des spécificités essentielles de la traductologie tient, à nos yeux, au fait que les conclusions qu'elle tire sont étroitement dépendantes de la conception qu'elle se fait de la « bonne » traduction. Or le champ d'application de telle ou telle définition n'est jamais universel. Rappeler, ainsi, que la conduite du traducteur est partiellement dictée par les normes contraignantes régissant la profession dans une culture donnée (Toury, 1995) ou par les injonctions émanant du donneur d'ordre (Nord, 1997) donne certes des indications sur ce qui se fait ou est censé se faire dans un cadre culturel ou professionnel particulier ; elle ne renseigne, en revanche, pas nécessairement sur la manière dont il convient d'agir lorsque la poétique, placée au cœur du projet traductif, contrevient auxdites normes ou injonctions —auquel cas ces dernières ne sauraient à nos yeux constituer le seul horizon possible de la traduction. Ces modèles, certes fort utiles dans nombre de situations, manquent peut-être parfois de flexibilité contextuelle.

Nous voudrions donc nous placer ici dans les pas d'un Anthony Pym (1997), pour lequel la traduction relève davantage d'un processus transactionnel dynamique entre diverses parties. Dans l'esprit du traductologue, la focalisation ne se fait pas *a priori* sur l'un des éléments engagés explicitement ou non dans la transaction — le texte-source ou le public visé comme dans certaines approches basées sur l'équivalence (Pym, 2014), le donneur d'ordre dans la théorie du Skopos (Nord, 1997), le traducteur lui-même, etc. : le projet traductif est la résultante de l'interaction entre ces différents éléments, l'un d'entre eux étant susceptible de prendre le dessus sur les autres en fonction des spécificités contextuelles, tant que la transaction reste avantageuse pour toutes les parties. L'œuvre de Pym (2014) constitue en ce sens un rappel salutaire : au-delà du souci de l'exactitude du rendu du texte-source, de l'adaptation éventuelle au public-cible, de la « loyauté » qui lie le travailleur à son employeur, ou de la prise en compte des normes qui régissent sa profession, le traducteur est d'abord impliqué humainement dans cette transaction traductionnelle, raison pour laquelle son éthique personnelle est aussi engagée ; là où le Skopos ou l'approche descriptive prétendent fixer elles seules la finalité de la traduction, les écrits de Pym redonnent au traducteur une partie de cette prérogative, le replaçant de ce fait au cœur de l'équation. Cette approche transactionnelle relève bien d'une forme de gestion du risque, puisque l'éthique du traducteur ou sa déontonlogie peuvent clairement entrer en conflit avec les normes ou injonctions susmentionnées (même si, paradoxalement, ces normes furent créées sur des bases éthiques) : dans le cas où il mettrait excessivement en avant ses considérations éthiques ou déontologiques, le traducteur prend le risque de passer à côté du travail qui pourrait lui être confié ; dans le cas où, au contraire, il les passerait sous silence, il pourrait mettre en péril sa crédibilité (s'il contrevenaient aux usages de sa profession en termes de rendu qualitatif, par exemple).

Or dans le cas de la singularité du cadre poétique posé par *Paterson*, est-il éthique de prioriser le normatif (les règles de « bon usage » du sous-titrage) ou l'injonctif (les éventuelles consignes du donneur d'ordre, difficiles à mettre en évidence ici puisque nous n'avons pas d'informations sur les conditions de production des sous-titres) et de ramener le premier aux dimensions imposées par les seconds ? Si l'étude prend certes acte des trouvailles souvent concluantes de la traduction qu'elle choisit pour objet, elle assume donc un positionnement qui relève sans doute aussi d'un certain prescriptivisme : non pas dans le sens où elle s'arrogerait le droit de « corriger » le travail du traducteur, mais plutôt parce qu'elle voudrait contribuer à promouvoir d'autres possibles susceptibles d'étendre le champ de l'équivalence poétique en matière de sous-titrage. Nous nous éloignons donc en cela quelque peu de la position de l'auteur de *Pour une éthique du traducteur*, pour qui la question essentielle reste de savoir s'il faut traduire ou non, puisque nous nous aventurons sur le terrain de la question de l'opportunité de l'extension de l'espace traductionnel habituel, c'est-à-dire de celle des *moyens* virtuellement négociables par le traducteur afin de servir au mieux la poétique de l'œuvre en question.

Nous indiquons, pour clore cette première partie, que nous avons travaillé sur la version DVD éditée par Le Pacte (Jarmusch, 2017), adaptée en français par Claire Guillot pour les poèmes de Ron Pagett utilisés par Jarmusch et par B. Eisenschitz pour le reste des traductions. Sur un plan structurel, l'étude est organisée autour de la question de la dissociation possible (ou non) entre éléments visuels et linguistiques.

2. Dissociation généralement possible entre éléments visuels et linguistiques

Commençons par rappeler que, lors des scènes de lecture des poèmes, le film est régi la plupart du temps par le principe d'apparition progressive et cumulative des mots à l'écran au fur et à mesure de leur énonciation. L'effet recherché s'apparente à une illustration de la figure de « l'art en train de se créer ». Le film s'interroge en effet sur l'inspiration du poète et sur les conditions surprenantes de son surgissement, en l'occurrence au sein d'un quotidien d'une profonde banalité. Il est à noter ici que l'écart par rapport au traitement habituel de la poésie au cinéma est important dans le sens où le procédé stylistique en question est rarement, à notre connaissance, utilisé dans les films. Dans le sous-titrage, en revanche, un segment chasse l'autre : la phrase précédente disparaît au moment où la nouvelle fait son apparition. Contraint de s'inscrire dans un espace plus étriqué que celui mis à la disposition de l'énonciateur-source, prié de ramener la poétique du texte-source aux dimensions permises par le sous-titrage, le traducteur compose avec ses contraintes professionnelles. Il s'agit néanmoins de relativiser l'impact de ce choix. En effet, d'abord, sur le plan stylistique, le texte en langue anglaise est toujours visible à l'écran, donc même si l'accès au sens par ce biais est compromis pour celui qui n'a pas de connaissances en langue anglaise, la figure stylistique, qui n'est pas de nature directement linguistique, est potentiellement décodable. Par ailleurs, on note fréquemment un effort du sous-titreur pour essayer de respecter certains effets de rythme, pour s'aligner sur le phrasé de l'acteur, comme le montre l'exemple de la **table 2**[7] :

[7] Dans la colonne A (productions orales ou écrites du film originel), nous représenterons systématiquement l'effet d'accumulation de l'information dans les textes qui apparaissent à l'écran (chaque nouvelle ligne indique qu'un mot ou un segment nouveau a été ajouté) ; dans la colonne B, nous faisons état des traductions que l'on voit à ce moment précis (un segment en chassant un autre). Pour la colonne A, nous rappelons que s'il y a parfois un décalage temporel entre la voix du poète et sa transcription en anglais, le texte écrit est toujours une fidèle représentation des paroles dites par Paterson. À noter que la taille de la police de caractères dans nos tableaux n'est pas porteuse de sens.

PHASE 1 :

A	B	Repères temporels
We have	Nous avons	00:04:59
We have plenty	plein	00:05:02
We have plenty of matches	d'allumettes	00:05:04
We have plenty of matches in our house.	à la maison.	00:05:06

Table 2. Premier extrait du texte intitulé « Love Poem » et son sous-titrage

On constatera que le sous-titrage vient ajouter un quatrième système, un écho supplémentaire en quelque sorte, mais là où il y a presque toujours parfaite harmonie entre voix / geste d'écriture / affichage électronique des caractères à l'écran (l'écrit semblant « se marier » avec l'image et le son), la « voix » des sous-titres semble occuper un statut intermédiaire et, de ce fait, menace potentiellement la perfection de cette figure de style. En effet, en tant que sous-titrage, les paroles traduites à l'écran renvoient d'abord à la voix des acteurs (le sous-titre se cale sur celles des personnages), si bien que là où le film évoque une circulation dynamique entre les différentes voix / voies, la version sous-titrée ramène systématiquement l'écrit vers l'oral. Là où, dans le film originel, l'écrit donne un certain poids aux paroles, là où l'oral, au contraire, arrache les mots écrits à leur pesanteur, le texte du sous-titrage renvoie, lui, aux paroles, et ce de manière unilatérale. On arguera tout de même que ce phénomène se fait en contexte : il ne semble pas déraisonnable de penser que les habitudes de visionnage en V.O.S.T. font que la plupart des spectateurs de films d'auteurs savent assimiler le sous-titrage à un commentaire extra-diégétique dont la vocation est d'éclairer le sens de paroles prononcées par les personnages.

Étudions maintenant l'exemple de la table 3 :

A	B	Repères temporels
We keep them	Nous les gardons	00:05:09
We keep them on hand	toujours à portée de main.	00:05:12
We keep them on hand always		

Table 3. Deuxième extrait de « Love Poem » et son sous-titrage

On mettra cette fois-ci l'accent sur la modification apportée dans le *rythme* de présentation des éléments : dans cet extrait, là où le texte-source présente l'information selon un mode ternaire, le lecteur des sous-titres, lui, y a accès par le biais de deux segments seulement. Cette modification de rythme est aussi présente dans l'**exemple de la table 4**, lequel témoigne de différences importantes de découpage entre les deux versions :

A	B	Repères temporels
I	Je traverse	01:07:04
I go		
I go through		
trillions	des milliards de molécules	01:07:08
trillions of		
trillions of molecules		

that	qui s'écartent	01:07:13
that move		
that move aside		
to	pour me laisser passer	01:07:15
to make		
to make way		
to make way for		
to make way for me		
while	alors que de chaque côté	01:07:20
while on		
while on both		
while on both sides		
trillions	des milliards d'autres	01:07:22
trillions more		
stay	restent là où elles sont.	01:07:25
stay where		
stay where they		
stay where they are.		
The	Les lames des essuie-glaces	01:07:28
The windshield		
The windshield wiper		
The windshield wiper blade		
starts	se mettent à grincer	01:07:30
starts to		
starts to squeak.		
The	La pluie s'est arrêtée.	01:07:33
The rain		
The rain has		
The rain has stopped.		
I	Je m'arrête.	01:07:37
I stop.		

Table 4. Extrait du poème « The Run » et son sous-titrage

On constate qu'il y a trente-sept étapes dans la présentation de l'information en V.O., contre onze seulement dans la V.O.S.T. On pourra toujours arguer du fait que ce phénomène de découpage différencié est fréquent dans le sous-titrage de films, mais il faut bien avouer que le contexte est ici bien spécifique : *Paterson* évoque le processus créatif et la mise en œuvre de sa traduction réclame donc *a priori* certains ajustements. Dans ces deux passages, on peut en fait avoir le sentiment que le décodage par le traducteur de la rythmique initiale ne donne pas lieu à une transmutation dans un langage qu'il aurait choisi lui-même : c'est plutôt la technique (le repérage) qui semble imposer au sous-titreur de se conformer au rythme qu'elle lui impose. Cependant, cette altération rythmique, théoriquement dommageable dans le sens où la diction très scandée rappelle cette idée d'écriture en train de se faire, est toutefois potentiellement compensée, une fois encore, par la conservation du texte originel à l'écran.

Ajoutons qu'il est assez probable que le sous-titreur ait réfléchi à ces questions de rythme et d'énonciation progressive des éléments puisque, lors de la réapparition du poème des tables 2 et 3, un peu plus loin dans le film, il met en œuvre une stratégie qui nous paraît des plus cohérentes par rapport au projet artistique jarmuschien :

PHASE 2 :

A	B	Repères temporels
We have plenty of matches in our house.	Nous avons plein d'allumettes à la maison.	00:08:09
We keep them on hand always.	Nous les gardons toujours à portée de main.	00:08:12

Table 5. Deuxième extrait de « Love Poem » et son sous-titrage (seconde apparition)

À travers l'écho d'un poème identique à deux moments distincts du film, quelle est l'intention du cinéaste ? D'abord, il y a un effet de répétition, semblable aux autres échos visuels et sonores. Ensuite, l'idée est sans doute de marquer la différence entre le moment où l'écriture est en train de se faire, et celui où elle est presque achevée et où le poète n'a plus qu'à « récapituler » ce qu'il a pensé antérieurement (Paterson est souvent interrompu dans son écriture et doit régulièrement reporter à plus tard la finalisation d'un poème). Ici, on constate que le sous-titreur marque bien la différence entre la phase 1 (voir plus haut) et la phase 2, puisqu'en phase 2, la phrase apparaît en entier. Certes, là où Jarmusch considère chacun des vers dans son unité (du point de vue de la diction de l'acteur ; du point de vue typographique, selon l'équation : un vers / une ligne), le sous-titreur, sous le coup de la camisole à laquelle le sous-titrage le soumet, brise cette règle (un vers sur deux lignes), influant involontairement sur le contenu en se soumettant aux injonctions normatives qui veulent que le nombre de caractères par ligne ne dépasse pas une certaine limite. On peut néanmoins gager que le spectateur reste conscient que la phrase s'inscrit dans le contexte d'un sous-titrage de film : un simple coup d'œil au mode de présentation des textes à l'écran peut lui rappeler qu'il a affaire à des poèmes, et qu'en poésie, l'unité est le vers.

Le dernier point sur lequel nous souhaitons attirer l'attention dans cette partie concerne les effets de caractères utilisés par Jarmusch. Á la scène située au repère 49 : 35 dans la version Le Pacte, alors que le deuxième vers disparaît progressivement, le troisième s'affiche, tandis que le quatrième vient prendre la place du premier (technique utilisée spécifiquement pour ce poème). Le texte évoque alors le réveil du poète et les choix stylistiques (effet de *fading* sur les caractères, répétitions de mots : « When I wake up earlier than **you** and **you** / are turned to **face** me, **face** / on the pillow and hair spread around », c'est moi qui souligne) pourraient évoquer la difficulté à émerger du sommeil, la lenteur du rythme que l'on adopte au sortir de la nuit. La dissociation entre le sens d'une part (accessible via les sous-titres), la police d'écriture et l'effet choisis d'autre part (texte du cinéaste à l'écran), peut laisser penser que le décodage a tout de même des chances d'être effectué. On se rappellera en outre le contexte de visionnage du film : il se fait dans un cadre privé. Le spectateur est libre de regarder le film autant de fois qu'il le souhaite, de le segmenter tant qu'il le veut grâce aux différentes fonctions du lecteur DVD : cela rend possible une connaissance assez intime de l'œuvre ainsi qu'un décodage au moins théoriquement satisfaisant.

3. Dissociation difficile entre les éléments visuels et linguistiques

Nous commencerons par aborder cette question à partir de l'**exemple de la table 6** :

A	B	Repères temporels
That	C'était avant	00:08:22
That was		
That was before		
That was before we discovered	de découvrir	00:08:26
That was before we discovered Ohio Blue Tip	les allumettes Ohio Blue Tip.	00:08:28
That was before we discovered Ohio Blue Tip matches		

Table 6. Troisième extrait de « Love Poem » et son sous-titrage

Comme dans les exemples présentés en partie 2, on note que le texte sous-titré est appréhendé à la fois plus vite et de manière moins fragmentée que le dialogue-source et sa transcription anglaise. Cependant, ce qui maximise ici la neutralisation de la forme initiale est le fait que le rythme de présentation (en six étapes) est indissociable du sens associé aux éléments (la présentation du segment « Ohio Blue Tip matches », qui semble retardée autant que possible, comme pour donner un peu plus d'importance à cet objet sur lequel l'attention du poète se concentrera dans la suite du texte). D'autre part, à un niveau plus localisé, l'intonation descendante de l'acteur est aussi marquée après « Ohio Blue Tip », laissant entendre que le vers est terminé ; ainsi, l'adjonction du mot « matches » est à la fois attendue (car congruente avec le segment qui le précède) et surprenante (car elle défie quelque peu la logique du schéma intonatif descendant). Cet étrange effet est perdu, ou tout au moins largement affaibli, suite au découpage moins segmenté proposé dans la traduction (l'apparition simultanée des mots : « les allumettes Ohio Blue Tip »), découpage vraisemblablement induit par le fait que la logique substitutive du sous-titrage ne peut guère tolérer une apparition mot-à-mot du texte sur de trop longs segments.

Dans l'exemple suivant (**table 7**), c'est en partie, semble-t-il, un respect scrupuleux de la syntaxe des énoncés initiaux, conjugué à l'impossibilité dans le sous-titre de proposer des énoncés trop longs ou de jouer sur le mode d'apparition de l'information (adjonction plutôt que substitution), qui amène à une modification du coefficient d'attente du spectateur[8] :

[8] Nous entendrons ce terme comme la présentation plus ou moins rapide à l'intention du public d'un élément donné ; le fait d'exposer très vite ou au contraire de retarder l'apparition de cet élément a une incidence sur la manière dont le spectateur entre en relation avec cet objet textuel.

A	B	Repères temprorels
They are	Ce sont	00:08:32
They are excellently	de petites boîtes solides	00:08:34
They are excellently packaged		
They are excellently packaged sturdy		
little	parfaitement assemblées	00:08:39
little boxes		
little boxes with dark	avec une étiquette	00:08:43
little boxes with dark and light blue	bleu clair, bleu foncé et blanche	00:08:44
little boxes with dark and light blue and		
little boxes with dark and light blue and white		
little boxes with dark and light blue and white labels		
with words	et des mots qui dessinent un porte-voix	00:08:49
with words lettered in		
with words lettered in the shape		
with words lettered in the shape of a megaphone		
as if to say	comme pour crier	00:08:54
as if to say even louder	encore plus fort au monde	00:08:56
as if to say even louder to the world		

Table 7. Quatrième extrait de « Love Poem » et son sous-titrage

Il semble que la syntaxe de l'anglais, qui antépose normalement les adjectifs qualificatifs au sein du groupe nominal, tout comme la licence cinématographique que le cinéaste s'accorde dans la représentation de l'écrit à l'écran (l'apparition progressive du texte), facilitent tous deux le report de l'information (« boxes », « labels »), créant ainsi un effet d'attente, voire de surprise chez le spectateur. Ici, le respect de la structure de la phrase du texte-source (une restructuration syntaxique du type : « Parfaitement assemblées, // dotées d'une étiquette bleu clair, bleu foncé et blanche, // ce sont de solides petites boîtes » constituerait une alternative acceptable, par exemple), tout comme les contraintes techniques, créent un changement dans le coefficient d'attente du spectateur et le rendu poétique. Au final, il est permis de penser que ce choix de traduction se révèle plus préjudiciable qu'un simple écart par rapport à la syntaxe du texte-source.

L'énonciateur-source ne se contente pas de jouer avec le report de l'information : la présentation visuelle des éléments à l'écran détermine aussi l'appréhension du sens par le spectateur. Sachant l'importance que peut prendre la dimension visuelle du texte dans l'art, ce point est particulièrement prégnant[9]. Commençons par la question des enjambements, si essentielle en matière de poésie. *Le Petit Robert* (2016) les définit ainsi : « Procédé rythmique consistant à reporter sur le vers suivant un ou plusieurs mots nécessaires au sens du vers précédent. » Nous nous baserons pour cela sur l'**exemple de la table 8** (pour une question de gain de place, nous ne faisons pas figurer pour ce dernier l'apparition progressive des mots dans la colonne A) :

[9] Pour une évocation de l'importance du rendu visuel en matière de sous-titrage des poèmes, on pourra par exemple se reporter à l'étude de Benoît Turquety (2014).

A	B	Repères temporels
That is what you gave me, I	C'est ce que tu m'as offert,	00:17:36
become the cigarette and you the match, or I	moi devenu cigarette	00:17:38
	et toi allumette, ou	00:17:41
the match and you the cigarette, blazing	moi allumette et toi cigarette	00:17:45
with kisses that smoulder toward Heaven	brûlants de baisers	00:17:49
	que l'on grille jusqu'au paradis.	00:17:53

Table 8. Cinquième extrait de « Love poem » et son sous-titrage

Comme dans les exemples précédents, c'est l'indissociabilité du sens et de la présentation visuelle du texte original qui est susceptible de rendre le sous-titrage problématique. L'observation de ce segment peut en effet nous amener à conclure que la fonction des enjambements, qui est peut-être ici de mettre en évidence l'attirance paradoxale des opposés, est scotomisée par la traduction, laquelle présente à deux reprises le sujet et l'objet au sein du même vers (« Moi devenu cigarette » / « et toi allumette »). Toutefois, dans le cas analysé, ce ne sont pas des facteurs techniques qui empêchent le respect du découpage initial, puisque les vers présentés sont relativement courts. Nous ferons l'hypothèse que ce sont les normes de sous-titrage, qui répugnent en général à la dislocation d'un segment considéré comme une unité (sujet / verbe / complément d'objet, par exemple), qui sont à l'origine de ces choix (Díaz Cintas & Remael, 2007, pp. 172-178).

Les questions de présentation peuvent aussi jouer sur la manière dont le cinéaste permet au spectateur de se positionner par rapport au texte poétique. Alors que dans la première partie du film, le public est tributaire de l'énonciation du poète et de son écho par le biais des caractères imprimés à l'écran, Jarmusch propose ensuite au public de s'émanciper de ce procédé : cinq vers apparaissent bientôt simultanément à l'écran, laissant le loisir au spectateur de se laisser porter par la voix de l'acteur ou d'anticiper sur la lecture que ce dernier effectue. C'est donc sur le facteur « liberté accordée au public » que Jarmusch choisit de jouer ici (**table 9**) :

PHASE 1 :

A	B	Repères temporels
When you're a child you learn there are three dimensions: height, width, and depth. Like a shoebox.	Quand on est enfant,	00:23:31
	On apprend qu'il y a trois dimensions :	00:23:34
	la hauteur, la largeur	00:23:37
	et la profondeur.	00:23:39
	Comme dans une boîte à chaussures.	00:23:41

Table 9. Extrait du poème « Another One » et son sous-titrage (première apparition)

Dans ce cas précis, le sous-titrage se cale sur l'énonciation du poème par Paterson. De manière intéressante, ce même texte apparaît une dizaine de minutes plus tard dans le film, avec un découpage différent :

PHASE 2 :

A	B	Repères temporels
When you're a child	Quand on est enfant,	00:35:22
you learn there are three dimensions:	On apprend qu'il y a trois dimensions :	00:35:24
height, width, and depth.	la hauteur, la largeur et la profondeur.	00:35:27
Like a shoebox.	Comme dans une boîte à chaussures.	00:35:31

Table 10. Extrait du poème « Another One » et son sous-titrage (seconde apparition)

On prêtera particulièrement attention ici à l'ordre dans lequel ces deux extraits apparaissent. Si la présentation simultanée de vers est, comme on l'a noté plus haut, sans doute l'indicateur d'un certain achèvement du texte dans l'esprit du poète, si la présentation fragmentée est au contraire à mettre sur le compte d'une poésie en train de se faire, la segmentation du texte *après* une première présentation non segmentée doit peut-être être appréhendée comme une réinterprétation (celle du lecteur comme celle de l'acteur) du texte. Le sous-titreur qui souhaite rendre l'effet de différenciation dans le découpage (apparition globale suivie d'une apparition cumulative), se trouve en tout cas confronté à un sérieux problème : s'il se focalise sur les mots prononcés par le poète, l'effet voulu par Jarmusch est perdu, puisque le sous-titrage présentera dans les deux occurrences l'information en plusieurs étapes et qu'il est présomptueux de penser que le spectateur non anglophone va repérer, lors de la seconde apparition du poème anglais à l'écran, qu'il s'agit du même segment en langue étrangère, découpé différemment. Si le traducteur décide en revanche de rendre plutôt les mots écrits pour permettre au spectateur de comprendre que Jarmusch lui laisse le choix entre l'énonciation progressive par le poète et la liberté de parcourir le texte en autonomie, il sera alors potentiellement confronté aux limites techniques imposées par le sous-titrage. Dans la traduction professionnelle étudiée, le rendu en phase 2 est presque totalement similaire à celui en phase 1.

4. Conclusion

L'étude aura mis en évidence le fait que les stratégies usuelles de sous-titrage sont quelquefois mal armées pour rendre compte du savant découpage des segments textuels et de l'effet de dévoilement progressif de l'information voulus par Jarmusch. Les effets de report de l'information, qui tenaient le spectateur en haleine dans la version originale, paraissent bien souvent atténués. Sur le plan de la présentation visuelle des éléments à l'écran, les formes ne sont que partiellement préservées. On retiendra, certes, que dans certains contextes, les signes à l'écran ne sont pas de nature exclusivement linguistique et sont donc accessibles au non-anglophone, mais on peut cependant émettre l'hypothèse que le sous-titrage, par le surcroit d'attention qu'il requiert du spectateur, ne lui permet pas un décodage aussi complet des paramètres cinématographiques que celui potentiellement effectué par le public anglophone. C'est alors la figure du médiateur, du passeur, qui pourrait être mise en cause : comment le traducteur saurait-il s'accommoder de sa tâche si le langage et la technique mis à sa disposition sont figés dans une forme invariable ? Comment une œuvre artistique initiale, fondée par définition sur une utilisation non conventionnelle du langage, pourrait-elle trouver « équivalence » dans un médium qui se refuserait à se réinventer ? Peut-être faut-il alors, comme Nornes (1999), appeler à une forme de sous-titrage plus subversif ? En effet, si, comme le dit le poète étranger à la fin de *Paterson*, on souhaite éviter de traduire la poésie comme on prend une douche en imperméable, on pourra alors arguer du fait que le sous-titrage de certaines œuvres artistiques mérite bien un peu du sur-mesure que seul un traducteur conscient du contexte esthétique dans lequel il travaille et libre de réinventer son langage peut lui apporter, afin que le texte continue de respirer, pour qu'il donne la pleine mesure de son potentiel. Par exemple, les éléments suivants pourraient faire l'objet d'une attention particulière : repérage en ayant en tête dès le départ le cadre poétique du film de façon à mieux respecter notamment l'apparition progressive de l'information et le coefficient d'attente du spectateur ; prise de distance par rapport à la syntaxe de certains énoncés-sources, lorsque des facteurs comparativement plus significatifs sont en jeu dans la traduction ; possibilité de placement des sous-titres – afin d'autoriser le spectateur à repérer les effets de découpage prévus par le cinéaste – ailleurs que dans la partie inférieure de l'écran ; souplesse vis-à-vis du nombre maximum de lignes de traduction pouvant s'afficher ; davantage de licence dans les règles de passage à la ligne dans le sous-titre, notamment pour respecter l'intégrité des vers en matière de traduction poétique).

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A descriptive analysis of French teaching and the place of translation in Bachelor's curricula in Nigerian universities

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Abstract

Teaching French in Nigeria can help mitigate the communication barrier between Nigeria and its French-speaking neighbors. However, acquiring French and translating from English into French can present challenges to Bachelor students in Nigerian universities. This paper examines the context of teaching French studies and translation in Nigeria using the National Universities Commission Benchmark Minimum Academic Standards (NUC-BMAS) for undergraduates in the country, as well as other relevant documentary sources. Results show that French is taught at all levels of education and that translation has always been an integral part of the curriculum. Translation is not only taught to increase proficiency in French; it is a separate competence that can orient graduates towards self-employment. Further research is needed to ascertain exactly how translation is taught and how Bachelor students in Nigerian universities are translating into French.

Keywords

Curriculum design, French teaching, translation, Nigeria, universities

1. Introduction

Although the emphasis in this paper is on French and translation in Nigeria, it is important to know that English is the official language of Nigeria, the country, having been colonized by the British between the 19th and 20th centuries (Araromi, 2013; Offorma, 2012). While Fakuade (1994) considers English Nigeria's national language, Araromi (2013) states categorically that the "English language is the lingua franca in Nigeria" (p. 94). However, it is useful to clarify that, although English is indisputably the official language of Nigeria, its characterization as the lingua franca of the country appears to be debatable, except if one wants to refer to the varieties of English in Nigeria called Nigerian Pidgin English and/or Nigerian English. As an ethno-linguistically heterogeneous society, Nigeria faces a problem of creating/selecting a suitable and acceptable lingua franca, especially among the numerous indigenous languages (Fakuade, 1994). Nigerian Pidgin English, sometimes simply referred to as 'pidgin' or 'broken English', which is widely spoken by both literate and non-literate Nigerians, is, in some cases, considered more or less a lingua franca within the Niger Delta regions (Akande & Salami, 2010). This is because, many Nigerians within the northern region still find it somewhat difficult to use it. Since the issue of a lingua franca in Nigeria remains debatable, Fakuade (1994) simply considers English the country's national language derived "from the fact that there is a multiplicity of languages and ethnic groups" (p. 41) in Nigeria.

Considered part of the colonial legacies in Nigeria, English is deeply rooted in the country. To date, it remains the most significant and commonly used language among the diverse ethnic groups in Nigeria even after the country's independence in 1960 (Araromi, 2013; Iteogu, 2016; Offorma, 2012). Teaching across all disciplines is usually carried out in English and "use of English features most often on the general study program virtually in all universities in Nigeria. This is in view of the fact that English language is the […] official language of administration in Nigeria" (Araromi, 2013, p. 94).

Irrespective of the status of English referred to above, French is also important in Nigeria. French teaching in the country dates as far back as the 19th century and, directly or otherwise, translation has always been an integral component of the acquisition of French in Nigeria (Adebisi, 2015; Iloh, 2018). It is apt to also affirm that "translation studies cut across almost all the universities, whether federal, state, public or private" (Iloh, 2018, p. 175). Iloh (2018) states that although some Nigerian universities at the Bachelor's level introduce translation exercises "from English into French and vice-versa without any theoretical basis […] some universities incorporate basic theories of translation art or science" (p. 175). This assertion proves that translation in Nigerian universities is not simply taught as a pedagogical tool for the acquisition of French, but also as a feature of translator training. The emphasis on English–French and French–English translation across Nigerian universities proves how seriously French is taken in Nigeria. Indeed, the teaching of French is essential to the nation, in view of the country's geographical setting and the place of the language in international diplomacy. Situated in the west of Africa, Nigeria could best be described as an 'island' in the francophone world (Offorma, 2012). This is because the country is surrounded by francophone countries, including Benin, Cameroon, Niger and Tchad; except for the southern part, which borders the Atlantic Ocean. Thus, the teaching of French in Nigeria is considered vital since knowledge of and proficiency in the language can enhance an optimal understanding between Nigerians and their predominantly French-speaking neighbors.

According to Araromi (2013), French is important in Nigeria because it can facilitate unity and global partnership between Nigerians and other people of the world. Thus, Araromi concludes that Nigeria cannot afford to be an island to itself in terms of international relations and communication. Hence, the entire Nigerians need French in addition to English in order to interact effectively with the French-speaking world.

In the same vein, Omonigho (2016) argues that Nigerians need to have a good command of, at least, two international languages such as English and French, like their neighbors. According to Omonigho, a bilingual Nigeria in the present globalized setting has many advantages. While quoting Nanduti (2009), Omonigho states that being bilingual can create opportunities for people by opening doors to other cultures. It can also help individuals understand and appreciate people from other parts of the world as well as create job opportunities for people in professions that require bilinguals (Omonigho, 2016).

The inevitable need for French in Nigeria must have been a motivating factor for the former Nigerian dictator, late General Sani Abacha, to declare it the country's second official language in 1996 (Igboanusi & Putz, 2008). Ogunkeye (2007) asserts that because of that declaration "Nigeria became officially, an English/French bilingual country" (p. 4). The elevation of French to this status is because the government of Nigeria viewed French as a language capable of promoting smooth interaction between Nigerians and their French-speaking neighbors (Iteogu, 2016; Olayiwola & Ogundele, 2015)

The objective in this paper is to analyze the place of French in Nigeria and to provide a descriptive analysis of how French is taught in Nigerian universities, particularly at the Bachelor's degree level. In doing so, we will shed light on French studies in Nigeria and on the place of translation in the Bachelor's curricula vis-à-vis French teaching in Nigerian universities.

2. Background to French studies in Nigeria

To understand the present status of French in Nigeria, it is important to highlight some historical details relevant to the current debates of French in the country. It is equally important to juxtapose French with English. This section therefore provides an overview of the prioritization and entrenchment of French teaching in the Nigerian educational curriculum despite the wide use of English in the country. In addition, it focuses on the objectives and the significance of French teaching in Nigeria.

Notwithstanding the importance of French in Nigeria, English remains a powerful means of communication in the country. However, the Nigerian variety of English, which could be referred to as Nigerian English, seems, in some instances, to deviate from the two main varieties of English – American and British English – taught in the world today. McArthur (2002) argues that the variety of English used in Nigeria ranges from standard English to creative semantic extensions whose structures seem to be influenced by mother tongues and West African Pidgin English. According to Nordquist (2018), while most of the creative usages or coinages of English by Nigerians could be attributed to the socio-cultural uniqueness of Nigerian cultural expressions, which English has not (yet) lexicalized, the coinages or semantic extensions also stem from a lack of familiarity with the idiomatic conventions of standard English. Irrespective of the argument about English in Nigeria, the popular understanding is that English is a common medium of communication in Nigeria, though with a variety that seems to be nativised. In giving some accounts of language education in Nigeria, Omolewa (1978) summarizes the views of Awoniyi (1973), Ogunsola (1975) and Omolewa (1975) and states that there is a "debate on the hegemony of English in Nigeria as the official language for administration and the most important language for commerce" (p. 379).

More current research reveals that English remains strong and unrivalled in Nigeria because of the colonial experience. According to Araromi (2013), "lack of strong political will and the influence of the past colonial experience led to the adoption of English language as the sole official language in Nigeria to the detriment of French language" (p. 94).

Thus, it is understood that right from the colonial era up to the present, English occupied and continues to occupy a powerful position in the communicative transactions in Nigeria. On the contrary, French did not have much recognition in Nigeria during the colonial administration and still lags, in comparison with English, as far as communication in the country is concerned.

Perhaps, this status of French vis-à-vis English was partly because French had a strong influence on only the colonized territories of France. According to Omolewa (1978),

> there is no doubt that the colonial powers agreed that it was the responsibility of the occupying colonial power not only to administer the occupied land but to replace the traditional institutions by 'modern' institutions. Language teaching was considered necessary tool of administration and the responsibility of the colonial power (p. 381).

During the colonial era, the British held sway in Nigeria and this could have been the reason behind the non-presence of French in the Nigerian territory. While quoting Charton (1937), Omolewa (1978) establishes that "France had won a large slice of African soil during the scramble for Africa and was busy establishing her culture and civilisation in these territories" (pp. 380–381), leaving Nigeria solely in the hands of the British.

Based on Omolewa's (1978) arguments, we can conclude that France's nonchalant attitudes towards sponsoring a language outside of its territory could be a result of the colonial agreement and cooperation that existed among French and British officials in a bid to promote their economic and socio-political interests. Specifically, Omolewa (1978) argues that "already in the colonies, there was remarkable degree of cooperation between French and British colonial officials in the promotion of trade, the arrest of fugitive immigrants, the establishment of border posts, and immigration and customs control" (p. 381).

Additionally, France's inability to strengthen French outside of its captured territories appeared also to be a result of the recommendation of the colonial administrators' study team which was in Africa between 1920 and 1921 (Omolewa, 1978). The study team recommended that "the first language to be taught is that of the European power in control" (Jones, 1922, p. 67) so that autochthonous leaders would be able to communicate effectively with colonial administrators. With this, English remained without any rival in Nigeria during the colonial era, despite the influence of French across Europe and many other areas across Africa during the period under review. It is apt to argue in this circumstance that French would not have been a major language in Nigeria during the colonial era as a result of colonial policies and agreements that warranted the teaching of only the language of the power in control: in Nigeria, Britain was the colonial power in control.

It should be reiterated that despite the hegemony of English in Nigeria during and even after the colonial era, French remained and still remains clearly present in Nigeria's educational curriculum. However, Omolewa (1978) affirms that "although French was not excluded from the school curriculum, its teaching was of poor quality" (p. 384).

As mentioned above, the teaching of French in Nigeria dates back to the 19th century (Adebisi, 2015) during the period of Europe's invasion of the African continent. According to Offorma (2012), French was introduced in some Nigerian schools in 1859 before the country's independence in 1960. That is to say the subject was actually one of the earliest subjects introduced into the Nigerian educational system. It is worthy to note that German was also one of the subjects introduced into the Nigerian educational curriculum at the time, but it was abandoned because it appeared irrelevant "to the actualisation of Nigeria's foreign policy objectives in Africa" (Iteogu, 2016, p. 19). Indeed, Iteogu (2016) concludes that Nigeria became the first anglophone country in Africa to teach French in schools.

Despite Nigeria's early beginnings of teaching French in schools, French faced some challenges in the country. According to Offorma (2012), "it was only after independence that mere interest in French teaching and learning started but these were in a perfunctory manner" (p. 142). Also expressing concern over the status of French in Nigeria, Soyoye and Mojola (1998) state that despite the early beginning of the learning and teaching of French, the language suffered some setbacks with respect to its teaching since the era of colonization. According to Iteogu (2016), this is because, in 1882, the British colonial administrators made English the only non-Nigerian language to be taught in schools. However, Iteogu (2016) does state that French was allowed for students who desired to take it "at some British examinations such as the Junior and Senior Cambridge" (p. 19). This affected the teaching of French and German in Nigeria at the time and there was no significant change in the situation until the country gained its independence (Soyoye & Mojola, 1998).

Furthermore, Iteogu (2016) affirms that after the independence of most African countries in the mid-20th century, the Organisation of African Unity formulated a policy for linguistic integration of Africa in 1961 to promote unity among Africans. For this reason, English and French were chosen to be taught in schools of member countries at all levels. This was when French was seen to have been better placed in Nigeria's educational curriculum, though Iteogu (2016) asserts that it was still studied as an elective subject.

Beside the placement of French as an optional subject in the curriculum, records show that even teachers, especially competent ones, were in short supply. Offorma (2012) states that "the very first challenge to French teaching was production of competent teachers to teach the subject at the secondary school level" (p. 143). At universities, the lack of competent teachers was also visible. This led to concrete steps towards putting in place policies that would promote the teaching of French in Nigeria.

Subsequently, French was elevated by successive governments to the "status of a second official language in Nigeria" (Iteogu, 2016 p. 19). As there was a need for effective interaction with neighboring countries, it became necessary for every Nigerian to have a good command of French; hence, the establishment of concrete educational policies.

3. Policies for French in Nigeria

So far, this paper has emphasized the importance of French in Nigeria as well as the history and circumstances of teaching French as a second official language in the country. For French to function effectively as a second official language in Nigeria, it is necessary to put concrete policies in place. Following this logic, the Nigerian government has indeed put in place educational policies and there appears to be considerable political willpower to promote the language.

The Nigerian policies for French discussed in Section 3.1 (Teacher Training Courses) and Section 3.2 (Curriculum Development) are structured to reflect the challenges facing French in the country and to pave the way for the realization of the aims of teaching French in Nigeria. Therefore, the first step was the need for teacher training. The second step consisted of curriculum development.

3.1. Teacher training courses

A foreign language such as French may be difficult to acquire naturally in an anglophone environment such as Nigeria. This is because, when compared with English, the use of French appears to be quite limited in the country. Therefore, French in Nigeria seems to be better acquired through instructional settings. This is why the unavailability of (skilled) teachers initially formed the primary source of concern to promote the learning of French in Nigeria. According to Offorma (2012), "the very first challenge to French teaching was production of competent teachers to teach the subject at the secondary school level" (p. 143).

Consequently, the need for teachers of French led to setting up "a pilot course in French in 1962" (Offorma, 2012, p. 143) at the universities of Nsukka and Ibadan. The hope was that the universities could assuage the lack of teachers of French. Offorma (2012) argues that the pilot program was put in place, among other reasons, "to produce teachers who would implement the French curriculum in the secondary schools" (p. 143). Even candidates without any prior knowledge of French were gaining admission to study French in those universities:

> candidates, who had no knowledge of French at all were admitted into the Department of French and they were taught through the means of audio-visual method in their first year. The second-year programme was mainly literature and courses on French civilisation. In the third year, the students were sent to Dakar for summer vacation courses. This is what translated to *the Year Abroad* in all the Nigerian University Foreign Languages Programmes today. It is known as the *Immersion method.* It is the best way to learn a language […] Graduation is in the fourth year (Offorma, 2012, p. 143)

Subsequent to setting up the pilot French course, departments of French were accredited in universities and colleges of education, up to then referred to as Advanced Teachers' Colleges, to adequately train teachers of French (Offorma, 2012). However, the teaching of French at this point was not effective because

> language curriculum content […] was foreign-oriented, reflecting the content and examination modes of the Cambridge Overseas Examination […] The examinations focused on translation, the Nigerian child in this situation faced the problem whereby he/she was required to translate from one language to the other and none was his/her mother tongue. Furthermore, he/she was not proficient in any of *the two languages-English or French"* (Offorma, 2012, pp. 143–144).

For Offorma (2012), this ineffectiveness led to changings in the French curriculum to enable students to benefit more. However, in 1981, the Nigerian government "categorised French and Arabic as language options at both the Junior and Senior Secondary School levels" (Offorma, 2012, p. 144) while the categorization of French was not stated in any part of the "policy document under reference for language education at the tertiary level of education" (Awobuluyi, 1998, para. 9).

Policies geared towards enhancing the effectiveness of teaching French in Nigeria seem to be continually put in place. To this end, Offorma (2012) affirms that the university of Nigeria, Nsukka, even began to offer a vacation program similar to internship in 1984 to train candidates who wanted teaching qualification; the Nigeria Certificate in Education (NCE) and this program were set to improve teachers' French teaching skills.

3.2. Curriculum development

Aside from teacher training, teaching French itself in Nigeria generally demands an active French language educational policy as mentioned above. According Iteogu (2016), "there is the need for a coordinated French language curriculum within the context of a Nation's Policy on Education" (p. 20).

Therefore, to have a firm national policy on French education, the Nigerian government decided to put in place institutions such as the Nigerian Education Research and Development

Council (NERDC), the Nigeria French Language Village (NFLV) and the Centre for French Teaching and Documentation (CFTD). These institutions are charged with French language curriculum development and its implementation at different levels (Iteogu, 2016). The institutions are also expected to carry out activities for the development and promotion of French teaching and learning in Nigeria.

It is important to discuss briefly all the three institutions mentioned above, as they all contribute in one way or the other to promote French teaching and learning in the country. However, emphasis will be on the role of the Nigeria French Language Village (NFLV). This is because, of the three institutions mentioned here, the NFLV is supposed to be the only institution that serves as an interuniversity center established not just for teaching of French, but also for managing the French language immersion program for learners of French in Nigeria. Because the emphasis in this article is on the teaching of French in Nigerian universities, the role of the NFLV needs to be more elaborately described than the other agencies.

3.2.1. Nigerian education research and development council (NERDC)

The Nigerian Education Research and Development Council is concerned with research and the development of education-related matters in Nigeria. It was established in 1988 as a parastatal of the Nigeria Federal Ministry of Education with enabling decree, "which brought the merger of four existing educational research and development bodies into one organization. One of the former bodies was the Language Development Centre" (NERDC, 2003, p. 3). According to Iteogu (2016), the department of foreign languages under the Language Development Centre of the NERDC undertakes "activities which revolve around the research and development of English, French and Arabic" (p. 21).

Furthermore, the Language Development Centre conducts research into French studies and publishes textbooks in French for primary and secondary schools. It also publishes materials for teacher education and develops the national curriculum for French at the primary and secondary levels of education in Nigeria (Iteogu, 2016). Additionally, Iteogu (2016) states that to ensure the effective implementation of the functions of the NERDC's Language Development Centre, the center undertakes activities such as language research, language development and documentation as well as applied linguistics activities such as language pedagogy, curriculum development and translation/interpretation activities.

3.2.2. Centre for French teaching and documentation (CFTD)

As French is structured in Nigeria "to equip students with both linguistic and communicative competence" (Owoeye, 2010, p. 4) of the language, the Nigerian government has put in place the Centre for French Teaching and Development (CFTD) to work hand in hand with the Nigeria French Language Village (NFLV), Alliance française, the French embassy as well as the French cultural centers in Nigeria for the development of the French language curriculum. The status of the CFTD and the NFLV have been raised to that of national institutions for the training and retraining of teachers of French in Nigeria (Iteogu, 2016 p. 21) .

3.2.3. Nigeria French language village (NFLV)

As earlier stated, French occupies a very important and crucial position in Nigeria. Its importance as Nigeria's second official language accounts for the reason the Nigeria French Language Village was established in 1991 (Owoeye, 2010).

The Nigeria French Language Village (NFLV) organizes a language immersion program that is mandatory for all students learning French at Nigerian institutions of higher education. The immersion program is an integral component of the Bachelor's program and the Nigeria Certificate in Education in French. The idea behind the establishment of the NFLV is to "provide a programme that is practical in approach and familiar to the background of the learners" (Iteogu, 2016 p. 21). According to Iteogu (2016), the NFLV "was set up primarily to play a key role in the development and research in French language studies in Nigeria at the tertiary level" (p. 21) and it has been "complementing the efforts of the universities and the NERDC" (p. 21). The NFLV is the only institution that is accredited and certified by the Federal Government of Nigeria to organize the compulsory language immersion program for students of French who are in their penultimate classes in Nigerian institutions of higher learning. (Information-Nigeria, 2012; Hotnigerianjobs.com, 2012)

The Federal Government of Nigeria established the NFLV to replace the one-year study-abroad program, which was previously undertaken by Nigerian students in France. The idea is geared towards creating an artificial French environment geographically closer to Nigerian students. Since its establishment in 1991, the NFLV has been closely involved in activities such as teaching and research in the area of French studies and development (Iteogu, 2016 p. 21). The institution has also actively promoted the teaching and learning of French across other educational institutions in Nigeria. In addition, it structures many formal or informal programs in French for Nigerians, who are not necessarily students, but who wish to learn French to satisfy their needs to become proficient in the language.

Consequently, it is believed that the Nigerian Government has made conscious and consistent efforts to ensure quality investment in the NFLV so that it would not just remain the nation's interuniversity center for French studies, but it would also fulfil the purpose for which it was established. The NFLV has the capacity to provide the most rewarding residential French immersion experience for students of French in Nigerian institutions of higher learning. In addition, it has adequate language teaching aids and audiovisual equipment to facilitate the teaching and learning of French (Information-Nigeria, 2012). Socio-educative activities such as sports, debates, talk shops, film shows and excursions to neighboring francophone countries are also organized by the NFLV and all activities at the institution are conducted in French. Indeed, activities carried out at the NFLV conform with the academic standards of Nigerian universities in line with the following provision of the law:

> Section 10 (1) of the Education (National Minimum Standards and Establishment of Institutions) Act, Cap E3, Laws of the Federation of Nigeria 2004, empowers the National Universities Commission to lay down minimum standards for all programmes taught in Nigerian universities (NUC-BMAS, 2014, p. i).

Therefore, as an integral part of the syllabus at Nigerian universities and colleges of education, the NFLV runs courses that conform with the stipulations and guidelines of the minimum academic standards of the National Universities Commission (NUC). This is to ensure that the academic standard set by the NUC for all Nigerian university students is not compromised.

3.2.4. Nigeria French Language Project (NFLP)

Apart from the Centre for French Teaching and Documentation (CFTD) and the Nigeria French Language Village (NFLV), there is also the Nigeria French Language Project (NFLP). The NFLP is run by the Nigerian government, in partnership with France, and coordinates the teaching and promotion of French in Nigeria. Indeed, this agency was established to improve the quality of French teaching in Nigeria (Igboanusi & Putz, 2008). Igboanusi & Putz (2008) affirm that through accredited agencies such as the Alliance française and the French Institute for Research in Africa (IFRA), France provides support for the implementation of French language policy in Nigeria. The Alliance française and the IFRA have different centers in Nigeria with state-of-the-art learning infrastructure to facilitate the teaching and learning of the language. The centers are usually run by qualified teachers of French, many of whom are French (Igboanusi & Putz, 2008).

4. Nigeria Universities Commission (NUC) requirements for French

"French – the one that is common in Nigerian educational settings today – is designed to equip students with both linguistic and communicative competence" (Owoeye, 2010, p. 4). Owoeye's assertion confirms the main objective of the Nigeria Universities Commission (NUC) policy on French teaching and learning in Nigerian universities. The stipulations of NUC are to make graduates of French highly bilingual and linguistically competent to be able to use French in the most effective style.

Consequently, through the NUC, Nigeria appears to have deployed all necessary measures to ensure quality and standard, not only for the degree in French, but also for all of the degree programs in the country. The NUC is a Nigerian government agency, established since 1962 as the Executive Cabinet's advisory body. It was given a statutory responsibility in 1994 to (1) grant approval for the establishment of institutions of higher education offering degrees and (2) ensure quality assurance of all academic programs offered in Nigerian universities (NUC, 2018). The NUC has put several measures into place to ensure globally acceptable standards of teaching French so as to have graduates across all academic disciplines with a good level of communicative skills in French.

Indeed, the NUC designed the curriculum for French education in Nigeria to improve learners' general knowledge of French and to enhance the acquisition of adequate oral and written skills in French. In so doing, graduates of French from Nigerian universities are expected to receive recognition for adequate communicative skills. According to NUC-BMAS (2014), curriculum design should ensure that graduates of French have the requisite knowledge of French grammar and usage, of elegance and style in diction and of appropriate varieties of language in the various administrative and professional job opportunities. They should also be able to pursue postgraduate studies in language, linguistics and literature.

As far as curriculum design and translation competence is concerned, it is noteworthy to state that, although translation is not explicitly mentioned as one of the potential postgraduate courses on offer to graduates of French from Nigerian universities, Iloh (2018) affirms that "most universities with Departments of French or Foreign or Modern European Languages undertake postgraduate programmes and Translation Studies is one of the programmes" (p. 175). Iloh (2018) further states that in the postgraduate program in translation, "prerequisites for admission requirements are a good Bachelor's degree in French or its equivalent. There must be evidence that the candidate has had sufficient training in translation. This brings to mind the undergraduate training in translation" (p. 176).

In addition to the intended learning outcomes of other courses in the Faculties of Arts and Humanities at Nigerian universities, it is stipulated in the NUC-BMAS (2014) that the French language program is designed:

> 1. To train students to acquire adequate communicative competence in both the spoken and written varieties of French, thereby giving them a good grounding and effective mastery of the language in its various applications […]
>
> 2. To equip students with the knowledge of the forms of the varieties of French used in different professional domains such as business communication, diplomacy, legal communication, electronic broadcast media, print journalism, advertising and sports commentaries, book publishing and biography writing.

3. To equip students with adequate linguistic knowledge of the French through a detailed study of its sound system, its lexicon, its syntax, semantics and usage.

4. To prepare students adequately to carry out research at the postgraduate level in the area of French and Linguistics.

5. To orient students towards self-employment by a focus on skills such as creative writing and other kinds of original output through independent thought, inventiveness and creativity (pp. 127–128)[1]

Clearly, these outcomes, especially the one that relates with biography writing, would provide graduates of French not just the opportunity to develop their linguistic competence, but a chance to carry out research and learn interesting facts and opinions about people around the world. Moreover, outcomes 1 and 2, which highlight the need to train students to acquire communicative competence are essential to translators. For instance, business communication could be the actual 'purpose' of translation, but when translators communicate with clients, they also need writing skills to conduct their communication professionally. This is essentially part of identity creation for translators/professionals. Indeed, with the outcomes above, it is expected that at the end of the Bachelor's program, "graduates of French should be seen to have achieved greater competence and sophistication in all branches of French language and literature, in critical and creative expression, as well as a better understanding of the relevance of French to the society" (NUC-BMAS, 2014, p. 128). According to NUC-BMAS (2014), although it is generally believed that French language and literature is a text-centered discipline, in the context of learning the language in Nigerian universities, students of French are brought into contact, at the end of the program, with cultures of the French-speaking people across the globe. In so doing, students can tap the vast repertoire of cultural practices for which the French-speaking people and, indeed, other people around the globe are known.

Consequently, there are specific resource requirements for teaching and learning French, particularly in the universities. Since the universities do not generally have vast numbers of students taking French, learners are provided with a conducive learning environment, which includes adequate facilities such as libraries, computers, language laboratories and recording equipment. There are also well-trained staff members to develop the necessary competences in students. According to NUC-BMAS (2014) data, one lecturer should teach twenty students or less at a time to ensure the effectiveness of learning and teaching practices.

In addition, standards are also set for admission into French courses and for graduating with a Bachelor's degree in French studies in Nigerian universities. Of course, as is the case in universities in other parts of the world, minimum standards are usually set as policies for the smooth and consistent progression through academic courses and programs. In Nigeria, the NUC has set benchmark minimum standards for all university programs. A Bachelor's degree in French is generally completed in four years. According to the BSU (2017), the four-year Bachelor's program is usually open for candidates who successfully passed the required subjects at senior secondary school. Candidates are also required to register for French and pass it, along with other subjects in the mandatory University and Tertiary Matriculation Examination (UTME) administered once a year nationwide by the Joint Admissions and Matriculation Board (JAMB).

Furthermore, candidates with attested educational gaps in French and other senior secondary school subjects and candidates who never took French at the lower level of education are usually subjected to an extensive one-year pre-degree program at university. These two groups of students must pass all the pre-degree courses in addition to the UTME before gaining admission to start a four-year Bachelor's program in French. However, candidates who have success-

[1] Objectives not originally numbered.

fully completed programs at other higher institutions and have obtained a National Diploma Certificate (ND) or a Nigeria Certificate in Education (NCE) in French with, at least, an Upper Credit may be allowed through Direct Entry (DE) to do three years starting from the second year in the university (BSU, 2017).

The French courses for Bachelor's degrees in Nigeria are designed specifically to enhance the effective training of graduates of French to acquire both oral and written communicative competence. This gives the graduates a good grounding and mastery of French in its various applications, thereby enabling them to explore different aspects of the language in their future endeavors. That is why translation is also incorporated into the French syllabus to prepare students for self-employment after their studies. Although the structure of the training of Bachelor students of French in Nigeria includes translation, translation is not explicitly mentioned in the NUC BMAS intended learning outcomes. However, translation is included in the training (see Sections 4.1 and 4.2, as well as Tables 1–4) and this also appears to be implicitly present in outcome 1: communicative competence, which entails writing competence and outcome 5: self-employment.

4.1. French courses and translation in the curriculum

In today's world, translation plays a crucial role in facilitating mutual understanding among different people around the world. This means that translation enables the forging of global, borderless, interactive relationships among people from different ethnic and cultural backgrounds. Thus, translator training today is a pressing necessity (Tar, 2012). In Nigeria, translation is receiving much attention and it is offered at all levels in Nigerian universities. Translators' activities are also regulated by a professional body. In order to regulate the activities of translators in Nigeria, the National Association of Translators and Interpreters (NATI) was created in 1978. Subsequently, the Nigerian Institute of Translators and Interpreters (NITI) was created in 1996 as an offshoot of NATI (NITI, 2019). As stated on the NITI website, NITI would also likely establish a training school for translators in the future, but for now, it is "a professional association, the accreditation body, the regulator and protector of translation and interpretation profession in Nigeria" (NITI, 2019, para. 2).

Traditionally, translation courses are offered in the department of foreign languages across Nigerian universities (Uwajeh, 2013). Specifically, Mombe (2019) states that translation is actually taught as a component of Bachelor's programs in French across Nigerian universities, although "no Bachelor of Arts degree in Translation studies […] is awarded by any Nigerian university" (p. 66). This means that, although Nigerian universities do not specifically award Bachelor's degrees in translation, directly or indirectly, translation has always been an integral part of French studies in Nigeria at the Bachelor's level. The study of French has also brought translation studies to prominence especially in the Bachelor's curricula in Nigerian universities (Iloh, 2018). In Section 4.2, we adopt a holistic approach to providing an overview of the French courses with special attention to the presence of translation in Bachelor's programs.

For the teaching of French in Nigerian universities, the courses shown in Tables 1–4 and their credit units apply. Students must take and pass these courses before they can graduate. Students who fail any core course must re-register it at the next available opportunity. In addition, such students must also register for any other new courses at the next level of study subject for a maximum of 24 credit units. The credit system in use in Nigerian universities is described in more detail in Section 4.2 (BSU, 2017; NUC-BMAS, 2014).

4.2. Course credit system (CCS)

The Course Credit System (CCS) is a system in Nigerian universities where areas of a given subject are broken down into examinable course units that are weighted accordingly. Following the minimum academic standards set by the National Universities Commission (NUC), the French Bachelor's program is broken down as presented in Tables 1–4. The Bachelor's program runs for three years (for Direct Entry candidates) or four years (for candidates who gained admission through the University and Tertiary Matriculation Examination (UTME) (BSU, 2017; NUC-BMAS, 2014).

The Course Credit System (CCS) allows for the effective assessment of students' academic performance on a semester basis (BSU, 2017; NUC-BMAS, 2014). In Nigeria, two semesters make up one academic year. Thus, a 3-year Bachelor's program in French requires a minimum of 6 semesters for DE candidates, while a normal 4-year Bachelor's program requires a minimum of 8 semesters.

In this system, courses are arranged in a progressive order of level of academic progress (e.g., year-one or 100 level). Usually, codes representing courses of study are abbreviated. For the French program, the abbreviation 'FRE' is usually written before the level of study. Codes with odd numbers generally represent first-semester courses while those with even numbers represent second-semester courses; e.g., FRE 101 (1st semester) or FRE 102 (2nd semester) for Year 1, FRE 201 (1st semester), FRE 202 (2nd semester) for Year 2. Years 3 and 4 are also coded in that manner.[2] General Studies (GSTs) and courses from other departments are usually taken by the students of French to broaden their horizons and to increase employability after graduation in areas other than French (BSU, 2017; NUC-BMAS, 2014).

Following the NUC BMAS, Bachelor's degree candidates are expected to take a minimum of 15 credits and a maximum of 24 credits each semester. In all, Direct Entry candidates are expected to graduate with a minimum credit total of 108. By contrast, candidates who gained admission through the Universities and Tertiary Matriculation Examination (UTME) usually graduate with a minimum credit total of 144 (BSU, 2017, p. 20). Also, each semester is expected to cover a minimum of 15 weeks of lectures and assessment. Therefore, in one academic year, academic activities are expected to cover a minimum of 30 weeks of contact between staff and students.

In the Course Credit System (CCS), courses are weighted based on the credits assigned to courses. Credits consist of the number of student–teacher contact hours in each week of a semester. Credits are used to measure the weight of courses and the work load of students (NUC-BMAS, 2014). Course weighting varies according to the credits assigned to the courses. Each credit represents a student–lecturer learning contact of 60 minutes (i.e., 1 hour). This means that a course with 2 credits may require two one-hour classes per each week in a semester. Alternatively, such a course may require a one-hour class in addition to 3 hours of practical work per each week of a semester (BSU, 2017; NUC-BMAS, 2014).

Below is the presentation of the overview of courses offered in the Bachelor's program of French. More detailed description of translation-related courses is presented in the appendix.

2 Course codes may vary from one university to the other. Here, we follow the NUC B-MAS coding system, which is a model for all universities. At the NFLV, for instance, courses are presented as FLV 321, FLV 322 etc., but such courses have "FRE" equivalence in Year 3 of the conventional universities.

	FIRST SEMESTER			SECOND SEMESTER	
Course Codes	Course title	Credits	Course Codes	Course title	Credits
FRE 101	Corrective French Grammar 1	2	FRE 102	Corrective French Grammar II	2
FRE 103	Introduction to Composition writing in French	2	FRE 104	Introduction to French Literary Genres: Poetry and Drama	2
FRE 105	Practical French 1	2	FRE 106	Practical French II	2
FRE 107	Introduction to French Literary Genres: Prose	2	FRE 108	Composition Writing in French: Informal and Formal writing	2
FRE 109	Introduction to a Second Foreign Language 1	2	FRE 110	Introduction to a Second Foreign Language II	2
LIN 101	Introduction to Linguistics 1	3	LIN 102	Introduction to Linguistics II	3
GST 111	Communication in English 1	2	GST 112	Logic, Philosophy and Human Existence	2
GST 113	Nigerian Peoples and Cultures	2	GST 121	Communication in English II	2
GST 121	Use of Library, Study Skill and ICT	2			
	Total Credits	19		Total Credits	17

Table 1. Course overview for year 1[3]

	FIRST SEMESTER			SECOND SEMESTER	
Course Codes	Course title	Credits	Course Codes	Course title	Credits
FRE 201	*Translation: Theory and Practice*[4]	*2*	*FRE 202*	*Translation: "Version and Theme"*	*2*
FRE 203	French Grammatical Structures	2	FRE 204	Introduction to French Phonetics and Phonology	2
FRE 205	Creative Writing in French I	2	FRE 206	Creative Writing in French II	2
FRE 207	Advance Practical French I	2	FRE 208	Advanced Practical French II	2
FRE 209	Second Foreign Language Study (Practicum)	2	FRE 210	Second Foreign Language Study (Practical)	2
LIN 205	Advanced Studies in Linguistics	3	FRE212	Advanced English Composition II	2

3 Taken from (BSU, 2017) and (NUC-BMAS, 2014).

4 Translation courses in the tables are italicised for easy identification.

GST 211	History and Philosophy of Sciences	2	FRE 214	French Literature in the 18th century	2
EPS 201	Entrepreneurship Studies I	2	FRE 216	Introduction to the Culture and Civilizations of Francophone Africa	2
FRE 211	Survey of French Literature: 16th and 17th Centuries	2	LIN 208	Advanced Studies in Linguistics II	3
FRE 213	Critical Appreciation of Literature	2	GST 222	Peace and conflict Studies	2
FRE 215	Background to Caribbe-an Literature in French	2	EPS 202	Entrepreneurship Studies II	2
	Total Credits	23		Total Credits	23

Table 2. Course overview for year 2

	FIRST SEMESTER			SECOND SEMESTER	
Course Codes	Course title	Credits	Course Codes	Course title	Credits
FRE 301	Translation I (Theme)	2	FRE 302	Translation II (Version)	2
FRE 303	Advanced Studies in French Phonetics	2	FRE 304	The Sociolinguistics of French	2
FRE 305	Advanced Studies in French Language Structure I	2	FRE 306	Advanced Formal and Informal Writing in French II	2
FRE 307	Advanced Formal and Informal Writing in French I	2	FRE 308	Oral Communication skills in French I	2
FRE 309	Oral Communication skills in French I	2	FRE 310	Comparative African Literature in English and French	2
FRE 311	Comparative study of Nigerian and French Civilizations and Cultures	2	FRE 312	French Literature in the 19th Century: Prose	2
FRE 313	French Literature in the 19th Century: Poetry and Drama	2	FRE 314	Caribbean French Literature	2
FRE 315	Introduction to African Literature in French	2	FRE 316	Introduction to Project writing/Research	2
CMP 301	Advanced application of Computers to Language I	2	CMP 302	Advanced Application of Computers to Language II	2
	Total Credits	18		Total Credits	18

Table 3. Course overview for year 3

	FIRST SEMESTER			SECOND SEMESTER	
Course Codes	Course title	Credits	Course Codes	Course title	Credits
FRE 400	Project (Dissertation writing)	6	*FRE 402*	*Advanced Translation II (Version)*	*2*
FRE 401	*Advanced Translation I (Theme)*	*2*	FRE 404	Linguistics Applied to the Teaching of French Language	2
FRE 403	Linguistics Applied to the Teaching of French Language I	2	FRE 406	20th Century French Literature: Prose	2
FRE 405	Advanced Creative Writing in French	2	FRE 408	Post-independence Francophone Africa Literature: Prose	2
FRE 407	20th Century French Literature: Drama and Poetry	2	FRE 410	Theories of Literary Criticism	2
FRE 409	Post-independence Francophone Africa Literature: Poetry and Drama	2	FRE 412	Francophone Literature: Europe and Canada	2
FRE 411	Culture and Civilizations of Member Countries of the Francophone	2	FRE 414	Multilingualism and Language Contacts	2
FRE 413	Contemporary French Theatre	2	FRE 416	Nigerian Literature in French	2
PHL 403	Philosophy of Language	2			
	Total Credits	22		Total Credits	17

Table 4. Course overview for year 4

From the presentation of the courses above, we can state that translation is taught at the Bachelor's level in its own right, since it represents 12 credits of the 157 as shown in Tables 1–4.[5] Although Iloh (2018) highlights that translation courses begin in Year 3, the researcher fails to support this position with any source. On the contrary, the NUC-BMAS (2014), which is the point of reference that sets the minimum standards of all academic programs in Nigerian universities, presents the structure of French courses as presented above. Therefore, it is more appropriate to argue that translation courses actually start in Year 2 of the Bachelor's program. This implies that a certain level of proficiency of writing skills and various applications of French is expected before commencement of translation studies. Although a total of 12 credits appears somewhat limited for undergraduate translator training, the intended learning outcomes for the Bachelor's program in French (see Section 4) state that graduates of French

5 Credits shown here include General Study (GST) and elective courses from other departments. While GSTs are obligatory for all students, elective courses are optional; designed to broaden students' knowledge in other disciplines.

are supposed to be adequately trained to be able to use French in its various applications. Translation being part of the curriculum, the graduates are also supposed to be prepared for advanced translator training.

It is also worthy to note that translation is integrated into the Bachelor's curriculum in addition to specific courses on writing and it is considered a separate competence. However, this does not mean that the grammar translation method is not used in other courses. It also goes to prove that translation is not only seen as a means to increase proficiency in French, since it is taught in both directions (i.e., French–English, English–French). If translation were taught only to increase written proficiency in French, it would be offered only as translation from English into French and not in both directions.

5. Conclusion

This paper has described the context of French teaching in Nigeria in general and in Nigerian universities in particular. In so doing, we have described the geographical setting of Nigeria with regard to the French-speaking countries that surround it, highlighting how Nigeria, as an English-speaking nation, is an 'island' surrounded by French-speaking countries and how French is important to the country. French is vital to Nigerians since the language has the potential of serving as an instrument of unity and a tool for global partnership between Nigeria and other nations of the world that use French. Therefore, in addition to English that is deeply rooted in Nigeria, it is established that French is needed by Nigerians for international alignment and communication.

Moreover, the work described Nigerian government's commitment towards realizing the objective of making French a second official language. We revealed that through formulations of different policies and establishment of various agencies, the Nigeria government strives for the promotion of French in the country. The establishment of agencies, such as the Nigeria French Language Village (NFLV), the Centre for French Teaching and Documentation (CFTD), the Nigeria French Language Project (NFLP) and Alliance française, is a step towards promoting French and giving it a pride of place in Nigeria.

Therefore, it is concluded that with the awareness being created by researchers in the field of French studies in Nigeria, and its glaring importance in the country, French would not just be a second official language on paper but a greater majority of Nigerians would be using it as an important means of communication as much as they do in English. This is why different aspects of French studies in Nigerian universities, particularly the Bachelor's curricula incorporate aspects that enhance students' writing skills into French including translation. In fact, we pointed out that translation is not only a means to increase proficiency in French; it is viewed as a separate competence, which would eventually orient graduates of French towards self-employment. Thus, to actualize the objective of incorporating translation into French studies at the Bachelor's level, there is a need to further interrogate the position of translation in the curricula. The questions calling for further research are: how exactly is translation itself taught? What are the tools for teaching translation? How do Bachelor candidates in Nigeria translate into French? Is there any influence of English on the translation into French by Bachelor students in Nigeria? What could be responsible for the interference of English when they translate into French? Moving forward, therefore, the issue of the influence of English on the translation into French by students in Nigerian universities has to be adequately investigated.

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APPENDIX

This appendix lists the translation courses presented in the NUC-BMAS (2014, pp. 127–137) and the Handbook of Languages and Linguistics, Benue State university, Makurdi-Nigeria (2017). In addition to other courses dealing with French, these translation courses are the minimum standard requirements that all Nigerian universities offering French follow in the Bachelor's program of French Studies. Other Nigerian universities also have their specific handbooks designed in compliance with the NUC BMAS guidelines.

Year 1
(2nd semester)

FRE 108- Composition writing in French: informal and formal writing (2 Credits) Students are introduced to Francophone African oral literature such as folktales, myths, legends and proverbs, its evolution to the written form with emphasis on early writings on Africa and Africans and by Africans before independence.

Year 2
(1st semester)

FRE 201- Translation: theory and practice (2 Credits) This course takes students to the very beginning of what is required in translation. It introduces students to the various theories and procedures in translation.

(2nd semester)

FRE 202- Translation: version and theme (2 Credits) This course is the continuation of FRE 201 as described above.

Year 3
(1st semester)

FRE 301- Translation I (Theme) (2 Credits) Course designed to equip students with more skills and techniques of translation from French into English and vice-versa, through practical exercises.

(2nd semester)

FRE 302- Translation II (Version) (2 Credits) Here, students are to translate from and into French more complicated texts. They are initiated into the analysis of translation errors.

Year 4

(1st semester)

FRE 401- Advanced translation I (Theme) (2 Credits) Translation from English into French and vice versa at an advanced level.

(2nd semester)

FRE 402- Advanced translation II (Version) (2 Credits) This course is the continuation of FRE 401 as described above.

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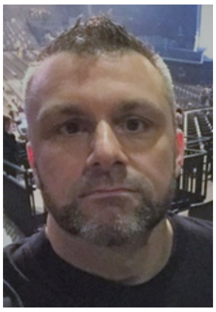

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Misrahi-Barak, Judith & Ravi, Srilata (Eds.). (2017). ***Translating the postcolonial in multilingual contexts. Traduire le postcolonial en contexte multilingue.*** **Montpellier: Presses universitaires de la Méditerranée. ISBN 978-2-36781-241-0. EUR 24.**

This volume explores *translation* in postcolonial, multilingual settings in the figurative sense of the word – as movement between cultures or the "translation of bodies" – and in its literal meaning, which involves the close study of a source text and a target text. The work brings together scholars from the fields of postcolonial studies and translation studies and is thus intended as a reply to Susan Bassnett's call in 2013 for the establishment of a dialogue between these two fields of research, (as referred to by the editors in the introduction of the present volume).

The thirteen essays included here report on issues related to linguistic heterogeneity, postcolonial resistance, and 'border' identities. For reasons of cohesion, these essays are restricted to the geographical areas where French and English are spoken. To a certain degree, this bilingual limitation (with respect to French and English) is also mirrored in the languages used in the articles; despite the fact that the number of articles in English (ten) clearly outnumbers those written in French (three). The geographical zones that are included in this volume, however, are more evenly distributed. The reader will note that all four sections ("Translating Islands", "Translator's Africa", "The Mediterranean as/in Translation", and "The Americas in Translation") contain studies of French- and English-speaking regions or countries. Roughly half of the contributions adopt a perspective that includes both French and English. Other languages that are referred to in this work are Mauritian, Haitian, Reunionese and Louisianan Creole, Hindi, Gikuyu, Wolof, Swahili, Arabic, Mā'ohi, Māori, and, to some extent, Chinese.

The authors have primarily investigated 'contemporary situations'; i.e., literature or other artistic expressions that were produced during the latter part of the 20th century and onwards. One exception to this is the study of late 19th century New Orleans. The essays analyze novels written by some of the most renowned postcolonial writers; for example, Maryse Condé and Ngũgĩ wa Thiong'o, as well as works by less well-known authors; for example, the Lebanese-Canadian actor, writer, and director, Wajdi Mouawad. Two essays examine world famous authors which are not exclusively (Albert Camus) or hardly (Amy Tan) associated with the 'postcolonial'. The topics addressed in these essays are varied, and although perhaps not particularly unfamiliar to the discipline, they include, for example, 'self-translation', 'paratext', 'dual readership', 'testimonial writing', 'institutional recognition' (in the form of international literary awards), 'reader reception', and 'translation as a stylistic literary device'. Of especial value are the contributions which deal more specifically with the topic of 'postcolonial areas as target cultures'; the extent to which these areas serve as a market for, or a producer of, in-translations. I highlight the value of such work because this perspective has not been subject to wide-ranging attention in the literature. For example, consider Julia Waters' article on the Mauritian author, Ananda Devi, and the author's self-translation of her novel *Pagli* into English, for the Indian market. Waters shows how this act of rewriting led to important changes of style and content in the translation; most importantly, the author has reinforced her critique of prevailing ethnic divisions of an island society – divisions imposed upon descendants of slavery and indenture.

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The essays show that 'translation' clearly remains to function as a useful metaphor for the articulation of postcolonial resistance, since postcolonial works may successfully be read as 'translations'. Consider Megan C. MacDonald's parallel reading of Algerian author Malika Mokeddem's novel *N'Zid* and Frantz Fanon's multilingual passport, located in a French archive in Normandy. Focusing on the notion of 'amnesia', she argues that both items can be read as maps of the Mediterranean and as (albeit, metaphorical) ways of translating Algeria. Another example is Tobias Warner's study of two versions of Ousmane Sembène's *La Noire De…* (the original from 1966 and the restored version from 2008). In order to obtain funding from French sources, the Senegalese director had to make notable changes to his original work; changes which have undeniable implications with respect to the artistic expression of the film. Warner notes that a color sequence was cut from the film and the African protagonist's voice was replaced by the voice of a Haitian actress. According to Warner, "[t]he film presents itself a site of translation, turning the restrictions it confronted into an immanent aspect of its aesthetic" (p. 115).

The present volume should also remind the reader that the need for cultural translation to reach a Western readership is not a thing of the past. In her analysis of Rwandan women's testimony writings, Catherine Gilbert observes that patronage by Western intellectuals (in the form of collaboration, prefaces etc.) was a necessary condition for these narratives to be published. On the other hand, mediation without such cultural translation may run the risk of failing to ensure that communication with the Other takes place. Valérie Magdelaine-Andrianjafitrimo argues, for example, that self-translations and bilingual writings in La Réunion are often left unheard, because these editions seldom reach a wider audience, either locally or in mainland France, and thus these works pose a challenge to the idea of 'translation as mediation'. According to this author, these expressions of resistance or 'hybridity' would be too difficult for a French audience unfamiliar with the source culture to access.

The use of paratextual materials in the process of translating postcolonial literature is certainly far from uncontroversial and has been severally criticized in the literature. In her article on literary translation of indigenous writers from New Zealand and Tahiti in the Polynesian Pacific, Jean Anderson invites the reader, however, to reevaluate this strategy. Anderson argues that Pacific Islander authors are less concerned with "talking back" to the former *métropole* and are more interested in the act of "talking to". Consequently, their (Pacific Islander) texts necessitate a translation strategy which ensures that the person who is "talked to" (i.e., the reader of the target text) is invited to listen. A translator herself, Anderson provides us with a set of examples of how the bicultural nature of the original works (English and Māori; French and Mā'ohi) can be maintained in translation; all the while not jeopardizing the understanding of the reader, whether they be local- or global readers. Anderson does note, however, that not every publisher might allow for such creative renderings of the subversive techniques often used by postcolonial authors. Given this, Anderson suggests that the translator may make use of a certain degree of paratextual "intervention". In the light of her aim of creating an informed "community of readers", Anderson's suggestion appears as both a pragmatic and sympathetic way of encouraging regional- and international distribution and consumption of translated postcolonial fiction.

One cannot but congratulate the editors for producing this volume, since it is indeed a true gem; it is rich and diverse in perspectives and approaches, while, at the same time, includes a good number of high-quality articles covering most parts of the world where French and English are spoken (Sub-Saharan Africa, North Africa, North America, and Islands in the Caribbean, the Indian Ocean, and the Pacific). Taking the current importance of the 'sociological turn' in translation studies into account, one might, however, perhaps have wished for one or two essays that used methodologies more common to the social sciences, including statistical analyses, surveys, interviews, and such like. Such an approach could provide the reader with more information with respect to the actual consumers of postcolonial artistic expression.

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Wiesmann, Eva (2018). *Der notarielle Immobilienkaufvertrag in Italien und Deutschland. Eine kontrastive diachronische Untersuchung zur Bedeutung von Norm und Konvention sowie zur Entwicklung der Textsorte.* Berlin: Frank & Timme. ISBN: 978-3-7329-0511-9. EUR 68.

Eva Wiesmann's monograph offers an overview of notarial deeds of sale for real estate in Italy and in Germany. Its main objective is the development of an analysis model that allows to carry out a corpus-based contrastive description of the investigated type of legal text. More importantly, it is meant to explore which factors influenced its linguistic features in the course of time and to what extent it has been affected by provisions regulating the office of notary on the one hand, and by conventions determined by the books of forms and/or traditional notarial practices on the other.

Comparable corpus-based studies, dealing with a specific type of text in two or more legal systems and using the theoretical framework of contrastive textology, usually follow a synchronic approach (p. 31). Wiesmann instead decides to enrich her analysis by including the diachronic dimension, as the subtitle suggests. As a result, she delivers a valuable contribution to the diachronic linguistic investigations – rather the exception than the rule in contrastive textology, as statistics clearly show (p. 32) – and offers a valuable contribution to the study of German and Italian legal languages and cultures.

With regard to their content, the chapters in the study could be divided into two blocks, separated by the extensive and insightful chapter 6. The first block (chapters 1 to 5) provides the theoretical and practical information needed to understand the results of the contrastive analysis presented in chapter 6. The second block includes the Conclusions and outlook (Chap. 7), followed by a Summary in Italian (Chap. 8) and a comprehensive updated Bibliography (Chap. 9). Finally, the closing Appendix (Chap. 10) contains the copy of one Italian and one German original notarial deed of sale for real estate from the 19th century.

The first block opens with an Introduction (Chap. 1) in which the author states the aims and objectives of her analysis and describes the structure and contents of the book. The choice of the text type ("notarial deed of sale for real estate") is well explained with both historical and practical reasons (p. 13-14). The research questions addressed by the study and their corresponding research hypotheses can be summarized as follows:

1. The higher degree of synchronic variability – at various linguistic levels – found in the Italian texts, as compared to the German ones, might be due to a greater orientation towards traditional notarial practices.

2. The influence of history and traditions on notarial practices of the present time might be stronger in Italy, where the Latin notary office first originated, than in Germany.

3. Diachronic changes in the Italian and the German deeds of sale might be the effect of different factors. While the former seem to be strongly influenced by tradition, the latter change in order to comply with new provisions. In other words, the strong orientation to traditional notarial practices in Italy might have inhibited the linguistic innovation caused by new legal standards.

Chapter 2 gives an overview of the traditional and new approaches of contrastive textology, with a special focus on the integration of the diachronic dimension (2.1). After describing the objects of study of the discipline and its development over the years, the author explores the role of notarial deeds of sale for real estate as an object of interdisciplinary research conducted by lawyers, legal historians, philologists as well as linguists and translation scholars (2.2).

The following chapter 3 contains an interesting and enlightening overview of the linguistic and textual features of the type of text under scrutiny (3.2). Since it is composed of both a standardised frame structure (i.e., the notarial deed) and a transaction-specific written declaration (i.e., the deed of sale for real estate), it requires a comprehensive analysis on different linguistic, textual and legal levels, as the later chapter on methodology will elucidate (Chap. 5).

Chapter 4 begins with a detailed overview of the birth of the notarial profession and its historical development in Italy and Germany (4.1). Subsequently, it moves on to an in-depth description of the factors which are likely to have affected the linguistic and textual features of notarial deeds, namely provisions regulating the office of notary (4.2.1), books of forms (4.2.2) and traditional notarial practices (4.2.3). These elements are relevant to both the analysis model – described at the end of Chapter 5 – and the text analysis carried out on its basis (Chap. 6). The final section (4.3) offers a comparative examination of the deed of sale for real estate and the tasks of a notary in Italy and Germany today.

The last chapter of the first block (Chap. 5) illustrates the theoretical and methodological basis of the analysis. After summarizing the working methods of contrastive textology (5.2) and explaining her research design (5.3), the author gives a detailed description of the corpora used for the analysis (5.4). The main object of investigation is the so-called "primary corpus". It consists of one German and one Italian subcorpus, each containing 100 original notarial deeds of sale for real estate, drawn up between 1860 and 1959, transcribed and digitized by the author. The "secondary corpora" are composed of a secondary corpus I and a secondary corpus II, both of which consist of two subcorpora, one for each language. The first contains provisions regulating the office of notary in the two legal systems; the latter is a collection of notarial templates extracted from books of forms that might have been used by the draftsmen of the deeds of sale included in the primary corpus. All these corpora serve different research purposes and turn out to provide interesting data. The primary corpus, for example, allows both intralingual analysis and interlingual comparisons, in particular of the standardised frame structure, on the synchronic as well as the diachronic axis. On the other hand, the examination of the two secondary corpora makes it possible to explore whether and to what extent the Italian and German notaries were guided during the drafting process by provisions and/or by templates. The chapter concludes with a description of the analysis model, developed by the author specifically for this work (5.5).

After such a comprehensive introductory part, covering the first five chapters, the reader may now tackle the empirical part of the work, contained in Chapter 6. The contrastive analysis has been carried out primarily on a sample of content elements belonging to the frame structure and appearing in both the Italian and the German notarial deeds. Each element is dealt with in a separate section, consisting of three subsections. While the first two are dedicated to Italy and Germany respectively, the third one ("Vergleich") highlights the differences emerged from the corpus analysis and their degree of observance of provisions and/or conventions. The final section of the chapter (6.5) summarizes the findings of the analysis with regard to the research hypotheses formulated in the introduction. The different impact of provisions and conventions on the investigated content elements is clearly outlined in Table 52 (p. 413-416).

Wiesmann's monograph is challenging and demanding, for various reasons. The impressive amount of information contained in its chapters, the theoretical and methodological background (Chap. 2, 3) and the overall complexity of the subject matter are among the main ones. On the other hand, frequent cross-referencing between the chapters and some useful repetition of crucial concepts provide coherence to the text and enable a better understanding of the data and findings presented. These textual devices are helpful especially when the style of writing adds unnecessary linguistic difficulty to the complexity of the topics. The degree of difficulty inherent in a study of this kind explains the author's choice to precede the linguistic-textual analysis (Chap. 6) with an exhaustive overview in which the notarial deed of sale for real estate is placed in the German and Italian historical, cultural and legal context that produced it (Chap. 4). Finally, special mention deserve the corpora, specifically compiled by the author for the analysis and thoroughly described in section 5.4. Particularly noteworthy is the primary corpus, because it contains only authentic texts obtained from German and Italian public archives.

In conclusion, this work is a valuable interdisciplinary resource for academics – both linguists and lawyers – as well as practitioners (legal translators) who need to get linguistic and/or legal insight into a common text type in the legal relations between Italy and Germany. The intralingual and interlingual approach of the analysis makes it interesting also for readers interested mainly in one of the two languages investigated. In this respect, the presence of separate subsections for each country in 6.4, the section presenting the analysis of selected content elements extracted by the corpora, might prove very useful for this kind of readers.

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Pecman, Mojca (2018). ***Langue et construction de connaisSENSes. Energie lexico-discursive et potentiel sémiotique des sciences.*** **Paris: Editions L'Harmattan. ISBN: 978-2-343-11731-7. EUR 30.**

Cette monographie de Mojca Pecman (Maître de conférences à l'Université Paris Diderot) est consacrée à la question de la construction du sens et à celle de la construction des connaissances – d'où le titre – à travers l'analyse des discours scientifiques. L'auteure part en effet du principe que la langue est le principal outil qui assure ces deux fonctions et voit donc la science comme dotée d'une nature lexico-discursive. Cette réflexion est d'autant plus intéressante que la construction du sens, si elle est le plus souvent inconsciente, n'en reste pas moins une activité fondamentale de l'espèce humaine, *a fortiori* à une époque où nous sommes amenés à communiquer en permanence et par de multiples moyens et où la masse informationnelle croît de façon exponentielle, représentant à la fois une opportunité et un défi.

Elle entend bien entendu souligner le rôle important qu'occupe la linguistique dans cette ambitieuse entreprise, mais elle se garde bien de l'isoler des autres disciplines ; au contraire même, puisqu'il est plusieurs fois fait référence à d'autres sciences cognitives. Parler seulement de « linguistique » serait du reste sans doute ici trop réducteur, dans la mesure où cet ouvrage (qui accorde une place centrale aux corpus) aborde à la fois des notions et des méthodes de la terminologie et de la phraséologie, de l'analyse lexicale et de l'analyse du discours, ou encore de la traduction spécialisée.

L'un des fils conducteurs de cette réflexion est l'étude de l'opposition, bien souvent vue comme problématique, entre, d'une part, la nécessité de structurer les connaissances d'un domaine et, d'autre part, celle de rendre compte de la variabilité à laquelle on se trouve inévitablement confronté au sein des discours scientifiques. Dans cette optique, M. Pecman s'intéresse au rôle prépondérant joué par la langue (caractérisée par la créativité et l'innovation) dans l'évolution des sciences et s'attache à repérer, dans les textes, les indices qui témoignent de la construction (nécessairement dynamique) de ces connaissances. Loin de se contenter d'énoncer des principes théoriques, elle garde toujours en vue les applications qui peuvent bénéficier de ses recherches, en particulier la création de ressources lexicales et d'aide à la traduction spécialisée, pour lesquelles elle dispose de l'expérience pratique acquise grâce au projet ARTES (Aide à la Rédaction de TExtes Scientifiques), dont elle est responsable.

Ce souci permanent de rester proche à la fois des données et de l'utilisation qui peut en être faite n'est d'ailleurs pas étranger aux indéniables qualités didactiques de l'ouvrage. Ce dernier s'adresse en effet à un public qui se veut large : chercheurs comme étudiants, traducteurs comme linguistes, ou pourquoi pas tout simplement curieux. Les (futurs) traducteurs spécialisés y trouveront probablement un intérêt particulier, dès lors que les enjeux de la traduction et les difficultés auxquels ils risquent d'être confrontés sont régulièrement abordés. L'auteure s'appuie en effet sur son expérience de l'enseignement universitaire pour délivrer un propos clair et pédagogique, qui veille à ne jamais perdre le lecteur. Ainsi, outre les exemples authentiques (en français et en anglais), qui sont systématiquement expliqués lorsqu'ils relèvent d'un domaine spécialisé, les renvois entre et à l'intérieur des chapitres sont également légion – et appréciables pour qui voudrait s'affranchir au moins partiellement de la lecture linéaire des

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quatre chapitres qui constituent l'ouvrage. Quant aux phénomènes observés en discours spécialisé, ils sont mis en parallèle avec des phénomènes similaires en discours général, chaque fois que cela est possible et pertinent.

À vrai dire, si l'on devait formuler un seul regret, c'est que cette démarche ne soit pas encore plus explicitement assumée. Étant donné que les références concrètes aux formations données aux étudiants de Master sont récurrentes au fil des chapitres, nous pensons qu'il aurait été légitime – et peut-être même préférable – que ces dernières soient présentées dès l'introduction, pour pouvoir ensuite y faire référence, ce qui aurait permis d'éviter l'une ou l'autre courte redite (ainsi à propos du corpus construit dans le cadre d'un des Masters, qui est présenté à trois reprises dans des termes presque identiques). Ce n'est là bien sûr qu'une suggestion sur la forme, qui ne remet nullement en cause la qualité du travail présenté.

Le premier chapitre, présenté comme préliminaire, est naturellement et de loin le plus général. Il offre un très rapide panorama de quelques-uns des principaux courants de pensée et de quelques-unes des théories (historiquement) dominantes en linguistique, en les rattachant aux auteurs les plus emblématiques, et revient brièvement sur quelques concepts fondamentaux de la linguistique générale. Si certains lecteurs pourront, s'ils le souhaitent, faire l'économie de ces quelques premières pages, elles constituent néanmoins une introduction succincte et bienvenue, tout en précisant le cadre dans lequel s'inscrit la réflexion qui suivra. Aux considérations générales sur la langue et sur sa complexité s'ajoute notamment l'affirmation que les études en sciences du langage ont tout à gagner à croiser les différents niveaux d'analyse, à travailler sur des données authentiques (d'où l'essor, voire la généralisation de la linguistique de corpus), ainsi qu'à s'intéresser aux travaux réalisés dans d'autres disciplines scientifiques.

Le deuxième chapitre revient principalement sur l'importance de la variation (sous ses différentes formes : synonymie, polysémie, néologie formelle et sémantique) en terminologie et en lexicologie, et sur la difficulté à définir précisément les notions de mot, de terme ou même de néologisme (pour l'auteur, « [l]es termes représentent […] nos connaissances stables, cristallisées, et les néologismes le potentiel d'évolution de nos connaissances », p. 53). Il y est aussi montré que les mêmes matrices de formation lexicale (métaphore, composition, etc.) peuvent être utilisées tant en discours général qu'en discours spécialisé, dans des proportions toutefois souvent très différentes. Il est rappelé, à juste titre, que la variation (autrement dit, l'instabilité) est un phénomène fréquent – quoique longtemps sujet à controverse – en terminologie, et qu'elle peut être vue comme un indice d'évolution des connaissances, qui a de ce fait beaucoup à nous apprendre. Le chapitre se conclut par quelques éléments de réflexion sur la domination de l'anglais en tant que langue scientifique et sur les répercussions de cette situation sur le chercheur francophone.

Le troisième chapitre poursuit la quête du sens et des connaissances en s'arrêtant tout d'abord longuement sur l'acte définitoire, sur sa fonction et sur les propriétés de la définition. Il s'intéresse aussi aux contextes riches en connaissance, qui sont précieux à la fois pour établir des définitions ou des notes et pour identifier directement dans la langue – parfois de façon moins évidente, il est vrai – les liens sémantiques qui unissent les termes, et ainsi pouvoir structurer les connaissances d'un domaine. Le chapitre en vient ensuite à la question, lourde de conséquences pratiques, de la représentation des connaissances, notamment au travers d'ontologies, d'arbres de domaine et d'arborescences. Plusieurs dictionnaires spécialisés et bases terminologiques existants sont également présentés, et leurs points forts, mais aussi les limites inhérentes aux ressources de ce type sont mis en évidence. La base de connaissances terminologiques (*Terminological Knowledge Base*) ARTES, avant tout conçue comme un outil pédagogique pour lequel les étudiants sont partie prenante et dont le contenu et l'interface sont présentés plus en détail, vise à dépasser certaines de ces limitations en intégrant des données et des modes de consultation qui reflètent à la fois les processus linguistiques et les processus cognitifs. Enfin, le dernier phénomène considéré dans ce chapitre (mais non le moindre !) est celui des collocations qui, si elles ne se laissent là non plus pas aisément définir, ne cessent d'être étudiées et de montrer leur intérêt, ce qui leur vaut logiquement d'être de plus en plus souvent intégrées dans les dictionnaires. C'est par le biais de la question de leur rôle dans la construction du sens qu'elles sont ici abordées, l'auteur nous invitant à les considérer « comme des instanciations du sens des unités lexicales dans le discours, en même temps que des associations privilégiées entre mots ou termes » (p. 166).

Le quatrième et dernier chapitre entreprend de déterminer comment la science crée de l'innovation au moyen de la langue. Il s'attarde tout d'abord sur le fonctionnement du discours scientifique, qui repose sur le paradigme « connu » *vs* « nouveau » : les auteurs proposent en effet des connaissances nouvelles, qui s'ajoutent ou s'opposent aux connaissances déjà établies. M. Pecman revient ensuite à nouveau sur la variation terminologique et avance que celle-ci peut être intentionnelle, et par là servir une fonction rhétorique, en « attir[ant] le regard du lecteur sur l'élément novateur de la recherche » (p. 175). Pour appuyer son propos, elle présente les résultats d'une étude menée sur un petit corpus d'articles scientifiques en anglais, découpés selon leurs sections traditionnelles (introduction, méthode, résultats, etc.), et montre qu'un même concept peut être alternativement évoqué sous une forme dite « compacte » (N+N) et sous une forme plus analytique (N of N). Elle propose aussi d'attribuer à la variation une fonction davantage « cognitive », dans la mesure où celle-ci permet, dans certains cas, de rendre plus transparent le sens des termes (et plus précisément les relations entre leurs constituants). Les rôles de la métaphore grammaticale (et son intérêt pour la reformulation et la construction des connaissances), de la métaphore conceptuelle et de l'emprunt interne (toujours plus fréquents dans les discours spécialisés) sont également discutés. Une longue et intéressante section est consacrée aux procédés de création et à la dynamique lexicale actuellement à l'œuvre en anglais ; les nombreux exemples qui y sont étudiés permettent par la même occasion de relever quelques-unes des difficultés qui peuvent se poser lors de la traduction vers le français. Sont encore présentés les concepts de collocations génériques (le « métalangage de la science », p. 220), puis de mouvements (*moves*) qui participent directement, dans l'article scientifique, à l'articulation entre reconnaissance et nouveauté, deux critères nécessaires pour une communication efficace. Cet ultime chapitre s'achève en réaffirmant une vision textuelle de la science, dans laquelle « ce n'est pas tant la science qui modifie profondément le lexique, la lexico-grammaire et le discours d'une langue mais […] c'est grâce à la langue que la science peut évoluer » (p. 223).

On le voit, les phénomènes envisagés sont nombreux – ce qui n'est finalement guère surprenant au vu de l'ampleur du sujet traité – et la lecture de cette monographie n'en est que plus enrichissante. Fondée principalement sur les réflexions et les études de M. Pecman, elle est également enrichie de références à de nombreux autres travaux, tant anglophones (on ne s'étonnera pas de voir y figurer entre autres *The language of science* de M. A. K. Halliday et *Collocations in science writing* de C. Gledhill) que dans le champ francophone. On la recommandera assurément à celles et ceux que ces questions intéressent, de même qu'aux étudiants, qui y trouveront un ouvrage accessible et concret.

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