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# A call for a fair translatiosphere in the post-digital era

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## Abstract

Advances in translation technology in the last century have transformed the translatiosphere —the semiotic space where translators work and translations exist—in many ways. The increasingly digital nature of the translatiosphere, predominantly controlled by big companies, has repercussions in the social, economic, and political realms, with direct consequences for human translators. In this article, we propose organizing the translatiosphere in such a way that we can promote a more equitable and sustainable environment where automation plays an important role. We examine discussions on privacy and data protection, on translation tools, and on the dynamics of building such tools. We observe that the product of a translator's work, translated text, has become digital data and that there is no guarantee these data will be protected. The intellectual property rights of translators are at risk, as their data are vulnerable to processing and even appropriation by major service providers. We aim to promote a healthy discussion on these pressing issues and propose ways to improve the translation space in the age of artificial intelligence.

## Keywords

translatiosphere, data protection, copyright, translation automation, machine translation

## 1. Introduction

### 1.1. Globalization, technology, and communication

Today's global interconnectedness requires translation service at nearly every turn. Despite global crises, regional disputes, and discontent with globalism (Stiglitz, 2017), it is clear that we live and will continue to live in a globalized world. New tensions between capitalist economies will inevitably arise as they compete for resources, but the technological infrastructure demands global interconnectedness. The current postmodern global economy is an economic space where virtually everything has been monetized.

This economy is closely related to the evolution of language teaching and its industry, which, since the 19th century, has moved towards globalization and figured into the imperialist and colonialist agenda of domination (Pennycook, 1998, p. 19; Ball, 2012). Today the English language has become the driving force of globalization, acting as the lingua franca of international relations, trade, and culture. After the foundation of the League of Nations in 1920 and then after the Second World War, international relations got more complicated, countries became codependent, and nations began to forge military, political and commercial alliances. Organizations such as NATO, COMECON, UNESCO, and the EU appeared. English has been the cement of almost all these organizations (Crystal, 2019, p. 86).

Still, as the world broke into two power blocks, Eastern and Western, access to and ownership of information became central problems in the language industry. This is why machine translation (MT) became a relevant pursuit; the 1954 Georgetown-IBM experiment was a turning point in this matter. The early years of the 20th century witnessed the evolution of wartime cryptography into cybernetics, computer science, and computational linguistics. From this integration of technology and science emerged automation and the basic standards of global mobile communication and production (Kline, 2015; Rubin, 2012). Cryptography studies, spurred by the military and economic competition between the Soviet Union and the United States, evolved into natural language processing, an integral part of which was MT. Computer programming languages were important steps on the long, complex road to creating artificial languages from natural languages, mainly from standard English (DuPont, 2018). The digital environment of data is English-centric:

> With Global English as a precursor network and medium of late twentieth-century communication, computer languages maintain a parallel currency and legitimation. Like the reorganization of the *oil industry* after the influx of digital technologies, the old economy of English studies has itself been made new as the market focus for corporations, governments, and schools alike has shifted to functionality and efficiency, and specifically to the means by which information is retrieved, exchanged, and transmitted. (Raley, 2003)

Data, it is said, is the new oil (Humby, 2006), or even "the new nuclear power" (Bridle, 2018). The focus of the Georgetown-IBM experiment was on accessing data from Russian into English and translating it, a goal that continues to be critical in times of political conflict in today's world, be it data from China or Russia or North Korea. It is for this reason that we need to conceptualize today's online translation services—e.g., Google Translate (GT) and Yandex Translate—from a different perspective. The internet space in which they exist, and which makes every online text machine-translatable, has transformed the translatiosphere.

## 2. The translatiosphere

The translatiosphere is the semiotic space where every text is either a translation or a byproduct of translation—be it translated or retranslated—to create new pieces of translation. In other

words, the translatiosphere is a global network of texts that are translated or created through conscious or unconscious translational acts. Here, the concept of text is used in the sense that was used in semiotics by Juri Lotman and later developed by Itamar Even-Zohar (1979) and Hans Vermeer and Katherina Reiss (1984; 2014, p. 140) in translation studies. Text is the core unit of translation. Translation is a process that involves a dynamic interaction between source and target texts, and it is this process that creates the translatiosphere, where translators, the texts they produce and their reproductions co-exist.

The translatiosphere has been with us since the "technologization of the word" (McLuhan, 1962; Ong, 1982), from religious commandments carved in stone to messages carried by NASA's vehicle to Jupiter. From the days of the Digital Revolution, the translatiosphere has been shaped by digital data, which can be created, transferred, modified, and retrieved in ways that were previously unimaginable. The progressive mechanization of work that began with the Industrial Age evolved into an environment that limits or decreases actual human activity in production. By extension, the role of human agents in the translatiosphere has also changed. In our post-McLuhan world, we witness humanless working environments that oblige us to accept human-aided machine translation and "cyborg translators" (Robinson, 1999–2000). We observe that the practice of translation involves more and more automation, which gives rise to a variety of problems that create an increasingly inequitable translation space.

Our creation of the term translatiosphere was inspired by Juri Lotman's "semiosphere" (1984), a term he coined to define culture as a semiotic space. We conceptualize translatiosphere as the semiotic space of translation where translators work and create texts. It is continuous and historical.

André Lefevere (1990), building on the discussion by Berman (1988), had differentiated *translatio* from *traductio*: to him, *translatio* is the "linguistic side of the translation process … epitomizing the ideal of 'faithful translation.'" *Traductio*, on the other hand, is the creative version of the process (1990, pp. 17–18). We find Lefevere's evaluation historically interesting, but the dichotomy he proposes is unconvincing and inapplicable to today's global space of translation—the translatiosphere— due to its dialectical nature. Therefore, if we consider the global space of translation throughout history, translatio seems more practical. We note that Emily Apter (2003) used it in her notion of "global translatio."

The term translatiosphere must not be confounded with Cronin's *tradosphere* (Cronin, 2017), the term he coined to describe the ecological perspective of translation, noting "all the ways in which information circulates between living and non-living organisms and is translated into a language or a code that can be processed or understood by the receiving entity" (2017, p. 71). Cronin gives no hint about the etymology of his *tradosphere*, however. Regardless, the workspace of today's translators is more mechanized than ever, so if we were to classify machine tools as non-living organisms, we would lose a critical distance from our subject, the human translator. The human translator has worked and created in the translatiosphere throughout history.

In today's translatiosphere, the focus is on the datafication of translational content, which has accelerated thanks to technological advancements and what has become ubiquitous connectivity. This is also a period where many tasks are being taken over by AI-based technologies, most of which are owned and controlled by tech giants.

The digital translatiosphere dates back to the first MT experiments by IBM in the 1950s, but it only gained momentum when SYSTRAN's technology was used on the internet by Altavista's Babelfish translator in 1997. Later, companies such as Yahoo, Microsoft and Google adapted the SYSTRAN technology, and companies such as PROMT, Yandex, Reverso, Baidu, and DeepL, found

that it gave them new ways to compete globally. The internet enabled the non-physical world of machine translation, machine-aided translation, and human-aided machine translation. As we have seen during the evolution of GT, humans have helped the online machine to output increasingly better translations by contributing their own work and data.

This global online workspace, with its flow of translational texts, has grown at an unforeseeable speed. Emily Apter had conceptualized the "translation zone" (2006) with the internet in mind as "an area of intense interaction across languages" (Simon, 2013), but it was still human-centered and physical at the time. Today the zones have become almost exclusively digital, virtual, and mechanized. One can translate a literary text from Russian or Korean at home using online dictionaries and resources; one can also feed a text into an online translation service and post-edit the result; or if one wants just to have an idea about anything—from a literary text, to a billboard along the road or a warning in a restricted ecologically-damaged area—one can simply point their smartphone camera at that text to get an instant translation. It is also possible to turn one's home into a virtual office space and feed a company's translational databank without any human involvement. Everything in the world is instantly translatable, either by human translators or by machines, but predominantly by machines. This is a world where we can talk about a digital translatiosphere, where literally everything—i.e., any textual entity that can be transferred as data—is potentially machine-translatable and exists as reproduction that can itself be reproduced. These days, everything we put on the internet becomes translational data, regardless of whether that is our intention.

Tech giants' growing interest in machine translation has put access to data and protecting that data at the center of translators' discussions. We are not even half a century past the Digital Revolution, yet we are living in a post-digital world, which is, as Berry (2014) argues, "represented by and indicative of a moment when the computational has become hegemonic." We are living in a transition period where ever more translation work is being carried out using automated translation systems which have achieved a high level of quality, especially with the introduction of neural machine translation (NMT). This transition to automation as part of daily life was foreseen by the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development (UNCTAD) Report (2021), which, in summarizing estimates about the future of jobs, stated that "over the next 20 years, in Europe and the United States 30 to 50 per cent of jobs could be automated." The translatiosphere cannot be excluded from this radical change, because it is the space where the rapid growth in datafication takes place.

## 3. Datafication of translation and consequences for translators

The means of producing translation are evolving with ever-increasing levels of automation in the post-digital world, and for many translation tasks, dependence on human labor is waning. Van der Meer (2016) speculates that "the future may not need us [translators] but we certainly need a future." However, the translation sector is vast, and, with the introduction of new translation tools, competition in the market is intensifying. This compels us to consider the role human translators play in in the translation industry during this transition period.

Several researchers (e.g., Olohan, 2011; Ruokonen & Koskinen, 2017) have investigated translators' stance on the rise of technology in the last decade. The fear of losing jobs to machines has been discussed by both translation scholars and professional translators. Various aspects of translator–computer interaction have also been discussed in the literature in the last decade. These include adoption (e.g., Cadwell et al., 2016), agency (e.g., Olohan, 2011), and ergonomics (e.g., O'Brien, 2012; Ehrensberger-Dow & Hunziker Heeb, 2016). Recently, more complex topics related to translation technologies have entered the research agenda and are making their way to the top, e.g., pricing (Do Carmo, 2020), automation anxiety

(Vieira, 2020), ethical issues (Taivalkoski-Shilov, 2019), power relationships (e.g., Fırat 2019; Moorkens et al., 2016) and data protection Moorkens (2017). Moorkens (2017, p. 473), for example, emphasizes that "[a] broad knowledge of translation technology tools is vital, and this also includes understanding the data formats used by translation tools, and the legal status of data ownership, where there may be possibilities for a translator to assert their rights." Moorkens and Lewis (2019a) underline how insufficient regulation and inconsistent rules for data ownership and reuse put translators at risk. In another study, Moorkens and Lewis (2019b) maintain that translation tools have been used as instruments of control, which is likely to render the translation profession unstable, unsustainable, and unrecognizable with "trust breakdown" and "increased workplace monitoring." All of these have the potential to create unfavorable ergonomic conditions for translators, both physically and psychologically.

Digital platforms, most of which are now part of cloud-based CAT tools, have become today's extended workplaces. These platforms have incorporated significant improvements that facilitate translators' work thanks to the integration of MT engines that harness an artificial neural network and user data. Companies that own these workplaces have profited by mixing and matching fragments of all the human-generated translations that the system stores in its vast repository (Ekbia & Nardi, 2017). This repository, or "gold mine," as Ekbia and Nardi (2017, p. 219) call it, is used not only for translation purposes but for providing other services as well. Translators or "cyborg translators" (Robinson, 1999–2000), who have various levels of dependency on technology and work as post-editors in many contexts, are either intentionally or unwittingly producing valuable content for MT services. However, when control over their data is lost, translators are alienated from their work (Marx, 1844; 1959) in that they are disconnected from the macro context of the texts they are interacting with and are eventually deprived of their agency. Online services that translators use—e-mail, social media, and other cloud-based utilities—provide only minimal assurance of data protection, so by making use of these convenient tools, translators inevitably relinquish their valuable work. Van der Meer (2013) states that "end users may not realize that they are allowing these new innovative providers to use their translations—not to recreate the original work, but to carry out research in translation technology and generate derivative work." As Cronin indicates, we need to "critically evaluate the resource implications of current uses of technology and advance alternative scenarios for the development of the translation cyborg in the age of the Anthropocene" (2017, p. 102).

We have already witnessed the use of cheap labor in various sectors. Amazon's Mechanical Turk, for instance, outsources online tasks for low pay (Semuels, 2018). Such tasks resemble the job of today's translators, who work on fragmented texts due to digital Taylorist policies (Moorkens, 2020). Translators receive only paltry compensation for creating clean data for multiple-language vendors (MLVs) through post-editing, and most MLVs do not hesitate to voice their desire for clean and usable data to improve their systems (Hickey & Agulló García, 2021, p. 48). In fact, using cheap labor and outsourcing tasks are accepted as capitalism's creative ways of obscuring the value of labor—translational labor, in our context:

> Contemporary capitalism is adept at stimulating activity in which we willingly engage, so that we tend to discount, ignore, or fail to notice the value of our labor. Here we have a manifestation of capitalism's own creativity. It continually finds new sources of value in labor, new sources "outside itself" (as Marx said it must), and obscures the value of that labor in varied ways. (Ekbia & Nardi, 2017, p. 124).

Big data generated by humans in different languages contributes to MT quality, but it is accessed and processed unequally. Individual human translators lack the skill and the means to

process large amounts of data, so they cannot create their own independent MT systems using either their own or public datasets (Forcada, 2017; Vashee, 2013). Under any circumstances, however, mining big data to create customized systems is not cost-effective, which is one reason why small businesses use convenient (and free) online services (Olohan, 2021). The primary beneficiaries of the big data age are the companies who translate it into revenue, not the human translators who "are left out from the recorded traces they produce" (Nony, 2017, p. 132). As the value of data rises, human translators, who have been data producers for centuries, are losing their grip on the translation process, because this new data can be used to do the same job with incremental improvements.

Ostensibly, tech giants work toward fully automatic high-quality translation by hiding human labor. In other words, they are aiming to achieve translatorless translation—i.e., data that is produced by and for data. Tools to accomplish this are currently promoted as free and universally available. But where will this lead? What are the implications for the translation profession? The move towards the left of the famous scale by Hutchins and Somers (1992), illustrated in Figure 1, implicitly works to the detriment of human translators. The companies that own and control the means of production for translation typically increase their profits and influence many aspects of life through the service they provide. Nony (2017, pp. 134–135) argues that "computers structure individuals' behavior to determine the fulfillment of certain desires that imperceptibly and yet materially support a larger system, thus becoming the most powerful form of neoliberal management." If this is true, it is not an exaggeration to say that ownership of software and platforms only strengthens this power. Today, in reducing the contribution of human labor to the economy, will the tools that have been indispensable for human labor throughout history play the same role? What is the indirect cost of automated translation and translating with tools, and what is the impact on the translatiosphere?
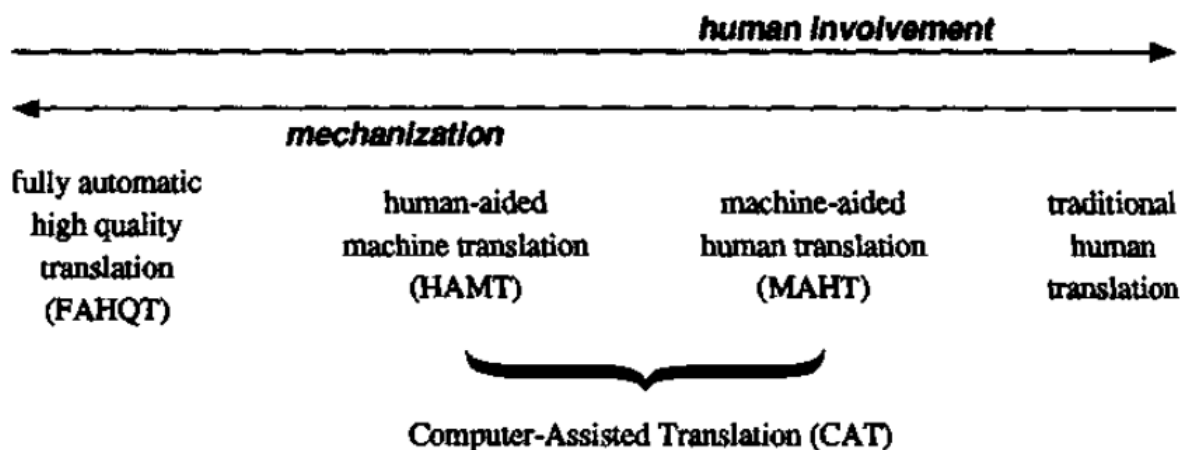


Figure 1. Human and machine translation (Hutchins & Somers, 1992, p. 148)

## 4. Unfair state of the translatiosphere

Today's translatiosphere is not without critical limitations or problems. It is an environment where human translators have become data-feeders who face complex professional problems such as low pay, owing to the devaluation of translation work (e.g., Moorkens & Rocchi, 2020), and in some contexts they face the ramifications of plagiarism and other forms of copyright violation such as instances cited by Gürses & Şahin (2021), where publishers re-publish existing translations under a fake translator name. Such unethical practices devalue the market and violate the copyright of the original translators. The idea of machines replacing humans and creativity becoming mechanized and soulless is no longer a dystopic speculation; there are

serious initiatives that make it a reality. It is also an environment where nations face thorny dilemmas when global internet companies play a significant role in cyberwars or when national governments face conflict with countries where these companies are based, e.g., legal cases against GT and Wikileaks (Cronin, 2012, p. 108). In this environment, social media and even casual internet users inadvertently produce texts for translation and monetization in an endless circuit.

Thus, this translatiosphere will exist as long as there is internet and digital communication; in the meantime, new gaps will appear and deeper problems will surface. Most translation services, e-mail providers, and data spaces that are freely available to consumers are ancillary services of global companies for purposes of collecting data, and there is no guarantee that these companies will always be available. Solutions at the local, national, and institutional level are also problematic when websites and services can be censored or used for prosecution or control. Take the global pandemic of COVID-19 as an example: even though the speculated origin of the disease was China, in a time of panic, translations from Chinese did not appear in Western media as often as they might have otherwise; it is also likely that translations from Western sources did not find much place in China. Another example is the crisis in Ukraine: years before Russia invaded, GT precipitated a crisis when it translated Russia as "Mordor," the land of evil in Tolkien's mythology; MT was blamed for this and the company claimed that it resulted from a bug in the system.[1] Nevertheless, it was a sign that automatic translation services can be used as ideological weapons during times of crisis. Moreover, there may also be times where interventions by tech giants or political powers interrupt the circulation of such texts in the translatiosphere.

Furthermore, low wages and professional devaluation are ever-present problems. Post-editing services operate much like Amazon's Mechanical Turk, GT gets editorial work for free, and translators have been complaining about low payments by companies like MyGengo.[2] The dream of speaking a common, global language through instant translation has been a utopian ideal for centuries; now that we have the means, translators find themselves forced to work for a globalized (or regionalized) financial market with no visible presence except as data processors for MT. The cost-reducing approach of the market aims for *translatorless translations*, but human translators need to be more visible and should get more involved and assert their key role in this translatiosphere.

### 4.1. The hidden cost of MT

Using MT does not come without risks, which can be considered its hidden cost. Yet it presents a unique opportunity for MLVs in their efforts to reduce translation costs (Vashee, 2013; Esselink, 2019). The Translation Automation User Society emphasizes that the pricing model should be "predictive, fair, and appropriate" (TAUS, 2013). However, the relevance of such guidelines depends on context, and the extent to which they are applied is unclear. What is more, the interpretation of "fair" can be quite subjective, so views will differ greatly. Translators, translation scholars, and other actors in the translatiosphere should therefore carefully assess the hidden cost of fully automated translation if they are to achieve a more humane and fair working environment.

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[1]   Google объяснил ошибку перевода слова \"Россия\" с украинского языка. (2016, January 5). RIA Novosti. Retrieved March 6, 2022, from https://ria.ru/20160105/1354895874.html Sharkov, D. (2016, May 1). Google Translate Glitch Turns Russia Into Mordor. Newsweek. Retrieved March 6, 2022, from https://www.newsweek.com/ukraine-google-translate-russia-mordor-411723

[2]   https://techcrunch.com/2010/01/11/mygengo-is-mechanical-turk-for-translations/

MT reduces translation costs and is touted as having "increasing value with long-term volume and repeated use; the greater the volume and usage in a specific domain or subject area, the greater the economic benefits and value to an enterprise" (Vashee, 2013, p. 130). But this tendency might create a situation where the final user "becomes dependent on the translation provided by the MT system, and thus enters into a heteronomous relationship with the system" (Cronin, 2012, p. 135). Such relationships are likely to cause alienation by stripping the human features from the "translatorial action" (Holz-Mänttäri, 1984). The long-term effects of machine translation—in terms of the way such texts are perceived and the norms they are likely to change—need to be discussed if any intervention for avoiding this pitfall is sought. Perceptions of the translation profession by those who have never undertaken any translation task will be undermined as well, because some of those tasks are depicted as being as easy as a mathematical calculation.

The translation act might be dehumanized when humans function as instruments for "disintermediating" (Cronin, 2012) it or when they help AI systems reach perfection and acquire "translation knowledge" (D'hulst & Gambier, 2018). The voice and creativity of the translator will surely diminish if MT output is used in the translation process (e.g., Şahin & Gürses, 2019; Kenny & Winters, 2020; Guerberof-Arenas & Toral, 2022).

Today, MT has the potential to create customized versions of entire texts through hybrid models—hybrids like obscenity-free versions for young readers, versions with archaic language, and versions that are ideologically driven. Customized MT output can be exploited for unethical purposes as well. These might include, for example, producing race- or gender-biased versions (Patel, 2019) or generating political discourse to interfere in the internal affairs of another country. In essence, translation results can be controlled by those who own and control the data. The absence of authorship, i.e., anonymity, will create a legal gap in the investigation of such actions, just as in futuristic scenarios where robots commit a murder (Garson, 2019). Canfora and Ottmann (2018; 2020) examine in detail the risks associated with NMT and advise that we should "inform both clients and post-editors about liability issues in the context of NMT [and] improve their awareness of this topic" (Canfora & Ottmann, 2020, p. 63). Bias and manipulation in translated texts are likely to become more visible as automation expands and as translation tools are increasingly controlled by commercially and ideologically motivated parties. Finally, it is claimed that tech giants disregard the environmental impact of building large learning models (Hao, 2019; Kahn, 2020). Cronin underlines the environmental cost of the technologies that we use "to translate and disseminate texts" (2019, p. 520). Thus, our translatiosphere comes at a price that future generations will have to pay, and it is not only the environment which is at stake; there are also concerns about privacy and ownership.

### 4.2. Ownership and privacy

The foremost question that translators and final users must bear in mind availing themselves of cloud-based services, including CAT tools and MT, is how and by whom their data will be harvested and processed. Translators who subcontract their services to companies are already required to waive their rights to their work, but the use of cloud-based or online services will put other industry professionals—freelancers and non-professional translators, for instance—into the same boat. The work of a translator is manifested in a unique form: text, which is generally presented in digital format that can then be abstracted into data. Today the conversion of source text into target text has gained new dimensions. Text, or the text-corpus, has become part of a larger pool of data for building a system that will create multiple translated works. The data from an individual human translator is anonymized and woven into the texture of

what appears to be a new fabric (Kenny, 2011). This marks the beginning of the estrangement process, which is consolidated in the post-editing phase, where translators confront a product that is isolated from their cognitive habitus.

Google is generally viewed as the best example of a digital environment that benefits translators, but there are concerns (e.g., Larsonneur, 2019). The giant service provider offers most of its services for free, but it maximizes its advertising revenues in diverse ways. Google uses and monitors personal data not only for delivering and improving its services, but also for creating new ones. E-mail messages are scanned for advertising purposes, and users' web behaviors are tracked—also with commercial motivations. This means that most of the free services offered by tech giants are, in effect, commercial products. GT has benefited from parallel texts available on the internet, and the extensive use of GT has created "additional privacy concerns, since material submitted to Google Translate becomes available to Google for other purposes" (Melby & Wright, 2014, p. 675).

### 4.3. (Inter)national politics

As more translation data falls under the control and ownership of service providers, the derivative works produced from such data are not owned by the human translators whose individual work might be the backbone of the copyrighted material. And since we consider translation a political act as well, and since the "[p]olitics of translation are closely interwoven with power relations between communities" (D'hulst & Gambier 2018, p. 152), tensions between nations can influence the nature of the data that is generated at the national level. We have seen scandals where online service providers manage to interfere in national and international political situations. The data leak scandal surrounding Facebook in the manipulation of the 2016 U.S. presidential election is a clear example (Cadwalladr & Graham-Harrison, 2018). Recent crises in the U.S. and the ensuing interventions of tech giants in the crisis through blocking accounts are also good examples. In the same period, an update on a tech giant's terms and privacy policy on a messaging application led to discussions in Turkey on the importance of control over national data.[3]

We also see that political and economic conflicts between nations can lead to changes in the policies of high-tech companies, with detrimental effects on end users: Huawei's decision not to use Google in their 5G mobile phones after the U.S. imposed restrictions in 2019 illustrates this causality (Doffman, 2019). On August 17, 2020, the U.S. administration issued a statement on this problem, depicting Huawei as "an arm of the Chinese Communist Party's . . . surveillance state."[4] Huawei's decision was symbolic in the sense that it had foreseen that 5G mobile services and data are highly integrated into people's lives: "All that data is already valuable to Google, but it could yield an even greater return once paired with advanced artificial intelligence systems that offer highly customized services, like a souped-up version of Google Assistant" (Popken, 2018).

The Russian Federation tested their technological independence by disconnecting the country from the internet in favor of using their own national software (Reuters, 2019)—a clear indicator of the country's concerns about data privacy and security (Jee, 2019). Similarly, companies like Google, Facebook, and Twitter still face challenges entering the Chinese market, partly because of security concerns. Such situations indicate that data is indeed the new oil, and that

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[3]   Turkish watchdog probes Facebook, WhatsApp over data sharing. (2021, January 11). Yahoo. Retrieved March 1, 2022, from https://finance.yahoo.com/news/turkish-watchdog-probes-facebook-whatsapp-184138911.html

[4]   https://www.state.gov/the-united-states-further-restricts-huawei-access-to-u-s-technology/ is no longer available. Please check the archived version here: https://web.archive.org/web/20200819043041/https://www.state.gov/the-united-states-further-restricts-huawei-access-to-u-s-technology/

data mining technologies and services are central not only to professional workspaces but also to political power struggles. When a nation is in conflict with another nation or with a global high-tech company such as Google, and when services that translators use are discontinued (e.g., Google Translator Toolkit) or blocked (e.g., Wikipedia,[5] or MemoQ[6]), translators will likely be unable to maintain their international professional standards. We base such predictions on the fact that working offline is now hardly an option for those in the professional or social sphere.

All these complications make it imperative to heed futuristic projections and multi-scenarios for the translation field. There may be a future where global cooperation leads to better conditions, or one where globalization disintegrates into regional bodies and where nations use data as a tool for competition. Nevertheless, the fact remains that reliance on automatic translation tools is increasing; both translation companies and individual translators outsource parts of the job. They work on raw MT output using API keys or in-house / customized systems and claim that the translation they submit to the commissioner in digital format is an original entity. A commodity presented as digital text also raises questions of originality and confidentiality.

## 4.4. Originality and Confidentiality

According to a report prepared for the EU Directorate-General for Translation, MT output "leaves no room for human creativity and would therefore be deprived of originality" (Troussel & Debussche 2014, p. 103); translations are rendered authorless and therefore unoriginal, leaving them unprotected under copyright. Confidentiality and intellectual property rights come into play not only in the process of building MT engines but also in translation memory (TM). Melby and Wright (2014, p. 671) state that "in today's translation and localization markets, many language service providers . . . control the copyright to TMs by asserting ownership in agreements." Digital platforms, online MT systems, and cloud-based translation tools are good examples of this kind of transfer of ownership of intellectual property; translators working in such workspaces risk losing their privacy, originality, and confidentiality. Such workspaces are quite convenient and user-friendly, and they offer add-ins and other services that attract novice translators. However, irrespective of warnings about data policies (e.g., Larsonneur, 2019), users tend to disregard the fact that the documents they process may contain data that should not be made public.

Another question we must ask is whether transnational tech companies and MLVs are here to stay. Most of these companies are relative latecomers to the global market; they have been around only since the last decade of the 20th century. At some point, Google (founded in 1998) may fail in the market like Yahoo (founded in 1995) did, and then what will happen to the data it has collected? All these entities are interconnected; they all live on cloud servers owned by the GAFAM group of computing companies (namely Google, Amazon, Facebook, Apple, and Microsoft) and by other tech giants such as Yandex, Baidu, and NetEase. Will they continue to live on, and will the global network depend on their ability to survive? Such questions make it necessary for us to understand that the future of data and its environment is a global issue that needs global coordination. We must bear in mind that, as the amount of data amasses, control over that data becomes an even more complicated issue.

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[5]  Wikipedia was blocked in Turkey from 29 April 2017 to 15 January 2020. https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Block_of_Wikipedia_in_Turkey

[6]  For a recent announcement by MemoQ that it had stopped selling its products and services in the Russian Federation and Belarus, see  https://blog.memoq.com/memoq-responds-to-the-war-in-ukraine

Furthermore, no one can guarantee that today's online translation systems will not become more commercialized, turning into paid services as they prove themselves to be indispensable (unless tech giants decide to continue providing their services "free" in return for data). In the same way that people pay to enjoy more online storage, using automated translation for larger volumes of texts may become a premium service even for translators who, by that time, may have grown accustomed to post-editing texts rather than translating from scratch. As the expectations of translators evolve, the time-intensive task of translating from scratch may no longer be preferred in the translation market, and individual translators may be forced to use paid automated services in order to survive. This situation is highly paradoxical, because to train and develop their systems, these services need big data that is of high quality and generated by humans—features that post-edited texts usually lack (see, for example, Kenny & Winters, 2020).

## 5. Reorganizing the translatiosphere: What can we fix and how?

In light of the above discussion, we advance the idea that our global, English-centric, computerized, digitalized internet era has created a digital translatiosphere that is both qualitatively and quantitatively distinct from its former forms. Translations have become digital data, and they are in many ways created collectively and mechanically. This situation creates its own problems, ranging from the violation of intellectual property rights to declining wages. But we maintain that today's translational big data and technological advancement should be used for creating a better translatiosphere for translators.

Initiatives such as FIT-Europe's (Fédération Internationale de Traducteurs/International Federation of Translators) conference on the theme of intellectual property aim to raise awareness about protecting translators' rights. The Translation Automation User Society published a white paper entitled "Who Owns My Language Data?" (Seinen & van der Meer 2020) that tried to clarify international concepts of intellectual property law and data protection laws as they relate to language and translation data. Although there is a lack of clarity about these issues in the post-digital era, as emphasized in the white paper, translators are considered to be in control of their work in the European context:

> If translators give up the exclusive right to their translations in literary, audiovisual or other fields, or to their memories or databases, they are the ones who must say when and where these resources can be used and at what cost. (Translatio, 2019, p. 11)

However, in many other contexts, translators are often unable to make such decisions. In this digital environment, they are not the ones who decide to protect their privacy, originality, and confidentiality, and they are often not the ones who decide what their works are used for and at what cost.

Therefore, we may have to look to a future where international cyber organizations are forged to monitor data flow through the internet, in much the same way that UNESCO functions to protect cultural heritage. Instead of depending on global translation services from Google or Microsoft, automated translation systems could help create a translatiosphere where data is used primarily to provide translation as a basic public service that is free of charge. This requires sound planning and significant funding from public resources in individual countries and internationally. The public bodies responsible for managing digital linguistic resources can work in coordination with international cyber organizations. On the other hand, in the process of building their systems and services, global and local internet companies should seek communication and coordination with scholars in the field of translation studies, which should be encouraged at every opportunity. Such a cooperative ecosystem exists in the field

of academic integrity in the struggle against plagiarism; companies work cooperatively with scholars by providing services for educational institutions and benefiting from the data they generate to improve their services. Initiatives such as the "Fair MT" workshop held at the 2019 MT Summit in Dublin[7] present good opportunities for building better communication between the parties. Translation scholars should also pay more attention to issues related to data and intellectual property rights in university education, keeping in mind the implications of the presence of such companies in their local contexts.

In the post-digital era, the translatiosphere is the space of big data. Needless to say, storing data on national servers would render the stored data inaccessible and thus unavailable for processing by third parties with commercial motivations; it would, however, make it potentially monitorable and usable by public institutions in the service of society. Using non-commercial servers for storage could therefore hinder swift global exchanges of data. This limitation can be overcome by building a global database under the auspices of an independent, international, specialized agency such as UNESCO. In such a system, the international community might move one step closer to creating a platform where they would not have to fear losing their data as a result of commercial decisions or political conflicts. A good example of such an initiative is the National European Central Translation Memory (NEC TM) Data Consortium, whose stated objective is "to organize unexploited national bilingual assets that can be used as open data and general data for machine learning, in order to lower translation costs at a national level and across member states" (NEC, 2019). However, it can be argued that NEC TM and similar systems contribute to translators losing their jobs to machines. Therefore, systems built with public funds should be designed in such a way that human translators are guaranteed fair compensation.

Anonymization of data in the current translatiosphere creates a challenge to achieving fair compensation for translators. Rapid digitization of the translatiosphere means that publishing, media, and translation companies can lower the labor price of translation, because they tend to suppress originality in translation through anonymization. By processing translations as anonymous data, companies remove authorship and blur the limits of copyright. As Moorkens and Lewis (2019a) indicate, in MT training, "the input of any individual translator is unrecognisable and their contribution to a system trained with very large amounts of data is untraceable." It is unacceptable to allow all human translation work to be exploited without compensation, and we know that MT systems that are built, trained, and fine-tuned by using the products of human translators are likely to undermine translators' job security in the long term.

We support Moorkens and Lewis' (2019a, p. 17) suggestion that "a move to a community-owned and managed digital commons would ultimately benefit the public and translators by making the industry more sustainable." In order to ensure this move, we propose that translational data acquired by private companies should be shared with and administered by an independent body, which will make the relevant data accessible to public partners. If we consider the languages of our world as the common heritage of humankind, linguistic resources should not be entrusted to the hands of a few commercially-motivated entities, although this may well be unavoidable. We have witnessed this in other fields.

## 6. Conclusion

This article has delved into concerns about the repercussions of advances in technology in the translatiosphere. We presented a critical perspective on the issues that surround the ever-

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[7]    http://fairmt.adaptcentre.ie

growing automation in the profession, such as cost, privacy, ownership, and confidentiality. We may be moving towards translatorless translation, where translation itself will take a form that differs from the one to which we are accustomed. Translatorless translation in the form of data in the translatiosphere is likely to pose a multitude of new challenges for human translators.

Removing linguistic barriers has always been an exciting project for humankind. Such endeavors should place the primary actor in the center: translators. In transitioning to a system where some translations are fully automatic, it is important that we ensure fair and equitable conditions for human translators. We need to differentiate between *translation technology* and *translators' technology*. The former is more likely to benefit end users and companies and alienate translators from their work, whereas the latter will benefit translators.

In her 1978 article *Translating and the computer*, Barbara Snell warned that "if translators are to co-exist with computers, we must become actively involved in directing their uses, let us be their masters and they the tools" (1978, p. vi). In the post-digital age, we live in computing environments; we do not simply co-exist with the technology. Most of the time it seems as if we exist only for our data to be fed to machines. In these times, we should advocate for the creation of a more equitable translatiosphere, but this will be achievable only through unified action across the globe (Gross, 1990). Translators must take an active role in this endeavor. As individuals, however, they are susceptible to exploitation, and as individuals, they lack the power to change the status quo. Big companies, on the other hand, are highly organized in their efforts to develop new ways to collect and harness their translational data. National and international translators' organizations are already taking steps to protect translators' rights and the translation industry as a whole; in doing so, they need to keep a critical distance from tech giants and encourage its members to do the same.

## 7. Acknowledgements

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# La cocina en clave de traducción identitaria y cultural

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**Food as a means of translating identity and culture – *Abstract***

Food Studies have undergone significant development in recent years, and, in fact, they have served as a starting point for other disciplines to address issues such as migration or the diaspora. As with different languages, culinary customs reflect different cultural ways of understanding the world. However, despite the similarities between Food Studies and Translation Studies, the relationship between the two has been approached from a fundamentally interlinguistic perspective, that is, as a transfer between two languages. On the contrary, in the present work we start from the conception of food as a communication system analogous to language, insofar as it allows the members of a certain community to transmit connotations of a symbolic and identity nature, among others. Thus, we will analyse the relationship between both disciplines from an eminently cultural perspective. Finally, we will show how food reveals itself as a system of communication analogous to language which enables us to show, express and communicate our identity.

**Keywords**

translation, Food Studies, culinary habits, identity, culture

## 1. Introducción

Dado su carácter multidimensional, la comida ha suscitado el interés de disciplinas relacionadas tradicionalmente como la Antropología o la Historia (González, 2000; Albala, 2007; Claflin y Scholliers, 2012; Parasecoli y Scholliers, 2012; Varona y Márquez, 2017). También ha sido objeto de estudio de otras tantas tan diversas como la Nutrición, la Economía, la Agricultura, el Arte, la Filosofía (Heldke, 2003; Kaplan, 2012), la Psicología (Conner y Armitage, 2002; Ogden, 2010), la Lingüística (Cano Silva y Alexandrescu, 2017; Gondek y Szczek, 2018), la Geografía (Carney, 2010; Friedberg 2009; Guthman, 2011; Yasmeen, 2006), el Cine (Bower, 2004; Keller, 2006), la Arquitectura (Franck, 2003; Howitz y Singley, 2006) o la Política (Varona y Márquez, 2017), por mencionar tan solo algunas de ellas. Asimismo, existen numerosos estudios que exploran la relevancia de la comida en la literatura, como los de Esteban (1992), que analiza la simbología que representa la comida en la narrativa de Benito Pérez Galdós; Gardner (2009), que estudia la significación de la comida en la novela de Laura Esquivel *Como agua para chocolate*; Carreras (2000), que estudia la traducción italiana de dicho texto en relación con la comida; Appelbaum (2006), que analiza la ficción americana moderna y su vínculo con la alimentación; Van Gelder (2000), Del Águila y Miseres (2021), que se centran en la comida en la literatura latinoamericana; y Pascual y Abarca (2013), que estudian la comida en la literatura chicana.

Así, todo ello demuestra que la cultura –entendida como un todo complejo y mutable, pero al mismo tiempo reticente al cambio (Fieldhouse, 1986), y dotado de un sistema de valores, está formado por el conocimiento, las creencias, el arte, la moral, las leyes, los hábitos y cualquier otra costumbre adquirida o aprendida inconscientemente por el ser humano como resultado de formar parte de una sociedad en particular (Tylor, 1871; Foster, 1962)– determina en gran medida el rango de alimentos que ingerimos.

Los *Food Studies* han experimentado un desarrollo notable. Para comprender esta evolución, Ferguson (2014) aduce que el papel del discurso culinario es de vital importancia, y señala que actualmente reflexionamos más que nunca acerca de la alimentación. Así, defiende que la creciente importancia del discurso culinario es, sin lugar a dudas, uno de los signos claros de nuestra época.

Según Counihan y Van Esterik (2013), este desarrollo se debe a varias razones. Primero, defienden que el feminismo y los Estudios de Género han contribuido a este crecimiento al legitimizar un dominio de la conducta humana que se ha relacionado estrechamente con la mujer a través del tiempo y las distintas culturas. Segundo, aducen la politización de la comida y la expansión de los movimientos sociales relacionados con ella, lo que en última instancia ha contribuido a aumentar la sensibilización entre el consumo y la producción. Tercero, sostienen que, ahora que ya se considera una vía de investigación académica legítima, la comida ofrece una infinidad de temas, puesto que vincula el cuerpo y el alma, lo mismo y lo otro, lo personal y lo político, lo material y lo simbólico, lo local y lo global, etc. Del mismo modo, ha servido como punto de partida para abordar temas como la diáspora y la inmigración (Ray, 2004; Ray y Srinivas, 2012), el nacionalismo, la globalización y las manifestaciones locales (Inglis y Gimlin, 2010; Wilk, 2006a, 2006b), el turismo culinario (Long, 2003), el género, la raza y la etnia (Abarca, 2006; Williams-Forson, 2006), la justicia social y los derechos humanos (Eide y Kracht, 2005; Kent, 2007), la modernización y el cambio dietético (Counihan, 2004), la seguridad alimentaria y la contaminación (Friedberg, 2004, 2009) y la percepción del gusto (Korsmeyer, 2002, 2005; Howes, 2005), entre otros.

Como veremos a continuación, las costumbres culinarias reflejan las distintas formas culturales de abordar y entender el mundo, de ahí que puedan llegar a provocar choques y conflictos entre culturas: "[y]et as often as not we talk through food to speak of love and desire, devotion

and disgust, aspirations and anxieties, ideas and ideologies, joys and judgments" (Ferguson, 2014, p. xiv).

En la misma línea que las disciplinas que hemos mencionado en el primer párrafo del presente artículo, los Estudios de Traducción también han abordado los denominados *Food Studies*, si bien desde una perspectiva fundamentalmente interlingüística —es decir, como traducción entre dos lenguas—, como así lo demuestran las investigaciones de Marco (2019), Rodríguez (2008a, 2008b) y Jurafski (2015), por mencionar tan sólo algunas de ellas. Sin embargo, los *Food Studies* solamente se han abordado en raras ocasiones como transvase intersemiótico, cultural y multidisciplinar, como así lo refleja el tercer volumen del vigésimo primer número de la revista *The Translator*, cuyo título es *Food and Translation, Translation and Food* (Chiaro y Rossato, 2015). A este respecto, es posible citar también el congreso internacional titulado "Food and Culture" (FaCT), organizado por la Universidad de Bologna y celebrado en mayo de 2014. En relación con este congreso, pionero en esta línea de investigación, es necesario citar la investigación de Grammenidis (2014), por mencionar tan sólo un ejemplo. A pesar de todo ello y de que ambas disciplinas comparten muchos elementos y la relación entre ambas es, por consiguiente, innegable, según Chiaro y Rossato (2015), no se ha investigado lo suficiente.

Además de lo anterior, es preciso incidir en que la comida cruza las fronteras gracias al lenguaje y, más concretamente, gracias a la traducción. Por lo tanto, esta disciplina, entendida en su forma más abarcadora, debería formar parte de nuestro intento de comprender qué sucede con la comida en las distintas culturas (Cronin, 2015).

Para el objeto de la presente investigación, partimos pues de la premisa de que la comida traduce y refleja la cultura que construye al comensal, de ahí que, en tanto que los alimentos pasan a formar parte de nosotros mismos, a menudo se afirme que somos lo que comemos (Lupton, [1996] 1998; Rozin, 1999; Ferguson, 2014). Además, la última barrera que atraviesa el alimento para pasar a formar parte del cuerpo es la boca, un órgano multifuncional —en tanto que forma parte del aparato digestivo y del fonador (Rozin, 1999)— y un espacio liminar (Falk, 1994). De hecho, "[t]he tongue names, the tongue tastes. Words fill the mouth as food does, they have their own savour and texture. They can be as biting, fiery, sweet, tough, tender, honeyed, sour; is there an adjective for food that doesn't apply equally well to words?" (Halligan, 1990, pp. 124-125). Asimismo, la acción de comer no solo es un acto verdaderamente privado, dado que no compartimos la comida que ingerimos (Ferguson, 2014), sino que además se trata del primer y principal medio de intervención sobre el cuerpo, antes incluso que la medicina (Lipovetsky, [2006] 2014).

Parece que actualmente la alimentación se ha convertido en una especie de obsesión en el mundo contemporáneo, tal es el aumento del interés por la gastronomía a escala mundial que el mercado de traducción en torno a este tema ha experimentado un crecimiento notable (Ferguson, 2014; Chiaro y Rossato, 2015). A pesar de ello, las referencias explícitas a la traducción siguen siendo marginales a día de hoy en los *Food Studies*. Sin embargo, es evidente que la traducción cobra importancia a la hora de despejar representaciones culturales problemáticas para los consumidores (Desjardins *et al.*, 2015). Por ende, cabe colegir que la traducción en los *Food Studies* contribuye a dos fines: primero, como vía para diseminar el conocimiento y forjar identidades; y segundo, como vía para la transmisión y representación cultural (Charron y Desjardins, 2011). Así, en tanto que constructos culturales interrelacionados, la cocina puede considerarse un objeto de estudio absolutamente legítimo para los Estudios de Traducción que no conviene obviar por su creciente importancia en la sociedad contemporánea actual.

## 2. ¿La comida como cultura? La comida *es cultura*[1]

Como apuntábamos en el apartado anterior, la alimentación es de naturaleza multidimensional. En efecto, goza de una función biológica vital y, al mismo tiempo, de una función social y colectiva primordial: "[l]a primera se extiende de lo biológico a lo cultural, de la función nutritiva a la función simbólica. La segunda, de lo individual a lo colectivo, de lo psicológico a lo social" (Fischler, [1990] 1995, pp. 14-15). Es decir, nos alimentamos a partir de los nutrimentos intrínsecos de cada alimento, pero no solo de eso, sino también de lo imaginario: "[a]bsorber caviar o un simple tomate es incorporar no solo una sustancia nutritiva, sino también una sustancia imaginaria, un tejido de evocaciones, de connotaciones y de significaciones que van de la dietética a la poética pasando por el standing y la festividad" (Fischler, [1990] 1995, pp. 16-17). Por eso, como consecuencia de la carga simbólica que lo acompaña (Bourdieu, [1987] 1988, [1979] 1991), el acto de comer puede servir también para expresar emociones o reflexionar en torno a ellas sin que suponga una decisión consciente y deliberada, puesto que interiorizamos inconscientemente las connotaciones de los alimentos.

> Food is always more than just food. Every act of consumption says something about the universe that we make for ourselves. A whole range of food choices engages fundamental beliefs that connect the individual to a group, a community, and a country. We also eat our conscience. Our food choices bear witness to our moral universe. (Ferguson, 2014, p. 42)

El denominado principio de incorporación (Sceats, [2000] 2004) es, asimismo, la piedra angular tanto de la identidad colectiva como de la alteridad porque la comida "structures what counts as a person in our culture" (Curtin, 1992, p. 4). De hecho, la cocina es fundamental en la configuración del sentimiento colectivo de pertenencia: tanto es así que, en determinadas situaciones de migración o minorías culturales, algunos rasgos culinarios siguen estando presentes aun cuando los comensales ya no dominan la lengua de origen (Calvo, 1982; De Certeau *et al.*, [1994] 1999). Dicho de otro modo, las prácticas alimentarias serían el último rasgo identitario en desaparecer en caso de asimilación total. Puede llegar a suceder incluso que ciertas recetas que llevan consigo quienes emigran adquieran una mayor significación que en la cultura y el país de origen, convirtiéndose así en lo que Calvo (1982) denomina "platos-tótem".

> Migrants take two things with them, their language and their food, and as they struggle to learn the host language they are nourished by tastes and flavours of home, albeit through what are only attempts at emulating those flavours. How many migrants in the past have been accused of producing unpleasant smells while preparing foods previously unknown to their host communities? Suffice it to think of octopus and squid, commonly eaten in Mediterranean countries but still capable of producing reactions of disgust in the UK. (Chiaro y Rosatto, 2015, p. 240)

Como decíamos, a estos platos-tótem se les atribuye un papel simbólico que los transforma de marcadores de determinadas ocasiones festivas, rituales o religiosas de la sociedad de origen en verdaderas claves de la identidad. Sin embargo, no conviene correr el riesgo de considerar las culturas culinarias como entes independientes del resto, sino, antes bien, como un conjunto que conforma, a su vez, un mundo culinario de orden superior que favorece el intercambio entre ellas (Ferguson, 2014). Y en este sentido, cuanto mayor sea el intercambio entre estos mundos, más difuminadas estarán las identidades.

En relación con lo anterior, cabe afirmar que la especificidad alimentaria se traduce en la

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[1] El título de este apartado lo hemos tomado del prefacio que elabora Sonnenfeld para el libro de Montanari ([2004] 2006, p. ix).

pertenencia a una cultura y marca, además, la alteridad de una cultura y sus individuos: "[a]sí, no se trata solamente de que el comensal incorpora las propiedades de la comida; simétricamente, puede decirse que la absorción de una comida incorpora al comensal en un sistema culinario y, por tanto, en el grupo que lo practica, a menos que se lo excluya irremediablemente" (Fischler, [1990] 1995, p. 33). Por consiguiente, un sistema culinario dado está ligado estrechamente a una cosmología determinada: tanto es así que el comensal forma parte de una cultura culinaria determinada que ordena el mundo de una cierta manera. Dicho de otro modo, la cocina incorpora al comensal a un grupo cultural y, simultáneamente, sitúa al colectivo en el universo y lo incorpora a él (Fischler, [1990] 1995, p. 69). A modo de ejemplo, podemos hacer una breve referencia al panorama literario, donde algunas escritoras mestizas o "atravesadas", según diría Anzaldúa (1987, p. 3), como Najat el Hachmi, Hatice Akyün, Chimamanda Ngozi Adichie, Esmeralda Santiago o Gloria Anzaldúa, entre otras, utilizan un lenguaje híbrido con el objetivo de poner de relieve que su identidad es doble, heteroglósica, plural y heterotrópica (Faber y Vidal, 2017; Cerrato, 2018, 2019, 2022a, 2022b). Así, los términos culinarios que trufan y caracterizan su producción literaria aparecen en la lengua minoritaria (Deleuze y Guattari, [1975] 1990), lo que demuestra que estas escritoras entienden la comida como un sistema semiótico de interpenetración entre las culturas (Bastide, 1984). En definitiva, entonces, el comensal se construye comiendo, pues la decisión de incorporar un determinado alimento nace de su identidad y puede transformarlo subrepticia e interiormente o incluso llegar a contaminarlo:

> It [eating] involves an extremely intimate exchange between the environment and the self, two entities that are ordinarily separate (except in the act of breathing, as well as eating). The insulated, safe, self, protected by skin from the rest of the world, experiences a material breach of this boundary a few times every day in the act of eating. The world enters the self (Rozin 1999, pp. 13-14).

Como consecuencia de todo ello, no cabe considerar las prácticas alimentarias meros hábitos, sino verdaderas prácticas sociales (Douglas, [1971] 1975). Y justamente, dada la relevancia de dichas prácticas sociales, no comemos todo lo que *a priori* podría resultar comestible: de hecho, nada varía tanto de un grupo a otro como la noción de lo comestible (De Certeau *et al.*, [1994] 1999). En este sentido, el siguiente fragmento literario puede servir como ilustración:

> Theológos stared down at the bubbling, aromatic contents of the pot, then extracted a kidney bean with a spoon.
>
> "You eat this?" he said.
>
> "Certainly. Why?"
>
> "We don't."
>
> "But–they sell the beans in the market!" I said. "Huge sacks of them!"
>
> Theológos smiled. "Of course."
>
> "So?"
>
> "It is food for animals. If human beings eat these, they will get sick."
>
> "Not in America!" I replied, as if this should somehow set a world standard in the matter.
>
> Theológos shrugged. "Well…" he said, and dropped the bean back in the pot.
>
> […]

> "So," said Danielle when we returned home from our celebratory feast with Theológos and were standing in the kitchen looking at the untouched pot of chili, "what are you going to do about this?"

> "Make it anyway," I answered. "The foreigners will love it!" (Stone, 2002, pp. 55-57)

Siguiendo la línea de pensamiento que refleja el extracto anterior, Cohen (1968) defiende que no existe ninguna sociedad en la que está permitido consumir cualquier alimento, en cualquier lugar y situación y con cualquier compañía. A través del proceso de socialización, los hábitos alimentarios llegan a instalarse y consiguen mantenerse a través del tiempo, si bien con ligeras modificaciones – en tanto que son producto de las prácticas cotidianas insertadas en un contexto histórico que actúa como condicionante –, porque son conductas eficaces, prácticas y dotadas de sentido en una cultura dada (Fieldhouse, 1986). Es evidente que consumimos un buen número de alimentos bien porque están a nuestra disposición, bien porque su sabor y su precio nos resultan atractivos, o bien, como señala Sanjur (1982), por cuestiones de índole social, religiosa, económica o política, lo que nos lleva a la conclusión de que la nutrición es una materia biocultural por excelencia (Fieldhouse, 1986). La cuestión estriba entonces en por qué no comemos ciertas sustancias biológicamente comestibles y rechazamos ciertas prácticas, como el consumo de perros y gatos o la entomofagia, considerada habitual en Asia, África y América Latina, y promovida por la Organización de las Naciones Unidas para contribuir a la seguridad alimentaria (FAO, 2016). De hecho, las elecciones alimentarias le sirven al individuo como lenguaje para (re)afirmar y comunicar su identidad:

> The thousands of products available in the modern supermarket provide an opportunity for each person to express individual choices, albeit ones which are usually but a minor variation on a theme. Why else should there be a market for dozens of breakfast cereals, differing little in composition and nutritional value? (Fieldhouse, 1986, p. 44)

El valor comunicativo de la alimentación resulta aún más evidente cuando reparamos en que los momentos álgidos de la vida del ser humano están marcados habitualmente por el consumo de determinados alimentos en grupo, como en los enlaces nupciales, por ejemplo. Tanto es así que, como afirma Montanari ([2004] 2006, 94), "our human socializing instinct immediately atributes meaning to the gestures performed while eating". De esta forma, si tenemos en cuenta el modo en el que consumimos la comida y las circunstancias que rodean dicho acto, esta adquiere una dimensión cultural añadida que va más allá de la nutrición: "[t]he food world of the twenty-first century is very like a loosely connected cultural field" (Ferguson, 2014, p. xxiii).

Además, un aspecto fundamental de comer en colectividad es la repartición de la comida, que suele reproducir relaciones de poder o prestigio dentro del grupo, a menos que se busque deliberadamente expresar una ausencia de jerarquía, lo que, en última instancia, deja entrever una ideología subyacente. La ideología, al igual que es una parte intrínseca en las relaciones sociales, también lo es en las prácticas alimentarias en tanto que establece la conducta que debe adoptar el integrante de una determinada cultura con respecto a un alimento determinado. Todo ello explica por qué consumimos ciertos alimentos, como los chiles, que a priori no resultan atractivos, pero que, en último término, los integrantes de la cultura correspondiente aprenden a apreciar.

En definitiva, entonces, ningún alimento es bueno o malo *per se*, aunque hayamos aprendido a considerarlo como tal. De este modo, el órgano del gusto ya no debería considerarse la lengua, sino el cerebro, puesto que determina el gusto a partir de criterios culturales que varían a lo largo del espacio y el tiempo. Por lo tanto, como sostiene Lupton ([1966] 1998), cocinar deviene un proceso moral que transfiere la materia del estado natural al estado cultural y, por

consiguiente, implica una domesticación. Así pues, la comida se civiliza a partir de la cocina y no únicamente a nivel práctico, sino también a nivel de la imaginación.

En vista de lo anterior, cabría argumentar que consumimos determinados alimentos porque lo impone el hábito. No obstante, se trataría de una afirmación tautológica, puesto que aduce como explicación aquello que debería dilucidar. Por este motivo, Fischler ([1990] 1995) concluye que la variabilidad de las elecciones alimentarias indudablemente deriva en gran medida de la variabilidad de los sistemas culturales, puesto que todo lo que es biológicamente comible no es culturalmente comestible. Tanto es así que en ocasiones la cocina puede contribuir a establecer y legitimar una cultura nacional, como en el caso de Belice (Everitt, 1987; Medina, 1997; Wilk, 1993b). En este sentido, según Wilk (1993a, 1995), uno de los efectos de la creciente preeminencia de lo extranjero en este país ha sido la objetivación de lo local. A modo de ilustración, cabe recordar la reacción de la reina Elizabeth II ante la carne de paca en un banquete servido en su honor en Belmopán y las airadas reacciones de los tabloides británicos (Wilk, [1999] 2013; 2006). Resulta evidente que estos choques culturales se deben en gran medida a una tendencia etnocentrista, que presupone la superioridad de su cultura y considera inferiores o irracionales al resto, y que hasta cierto punto es ineludible: "[s] ome degree of ethnocentrism is virtually inescapable, so engrained are such attitudes, though exposure to other cultures can broaden tolerance and aid in an understanding of how other peoples live" (Fieldhouse, 1986, p. 41).

De una cultura a otra, de hecho, una misma especie, como el cerdo, puede ser objeto de juicios contrarios:

> Muchos estadounidenses comen carne de cerdo, pero no comerían carne de gato. Difícilmente pueda justificarse esta preferencia diciendo que los gatos son, por ejemplo, más sucios o más inteligentes que los cerdos. Y dado que existen sociedades donde la gente está dispuesta a comer gatos, sabemos que los seres humanos pueden comerlos con placer y sin correr peligro. […] De hecho, todos nosotros sentimos que el contacto con algunas cosas nos contamina: tocarlas nos hace sentir sucios; comerlas nos daría náuseas. […] Sin embargo, las historias que contamos no explican realmente esas reacciones. (Appiah, [2006] 2007, p. 87)

A partir de los ejemplos anteriores, cabe colegir que los seres humanos eligen sus alimentos en función de sistemas culturales alimentarios o "cocinas", según la denominación que desarrolla Fischler ([1990] 1995, p. 34). Y es justamente aquí donde nace la analogía entre el lenguaje y la cocina: "todos los humanos hablan una lengua, pero existe un gran número de lenguas diferentes; todos los humanos comen una comida cocida, pero existe un gran número de cocinas diferentes. La cocina es universal: las cocinas son diversas" (Fischler, [1990] 1995, p. 34). En vista de lo anterior, la cocina nacional de un país es (lo que otros piensan que es) su comida tradicional y, justamente por considerarse típica, no cabe entenderla como una expresión de la individualidad, sino de la identidad de grupo. Merece especialmente la pena recoger aquí la campaña publicitaria de la agencia Whybin\TBWA con motivo del Sydney International Food Festival del 2009 en la que presentaron diecisiete platos comestibles que emulaban las banderas de otros tantos países cuyos alimentos típicos se habían empleado para diseñarlas (Gràffica, 2014). A modo de ejemplo, podemos mencionar las siguientes: la bandera de España, elaborada con chorizo y paella; la de Italia, con albahaca, pasta y tomate; la de Grecia, con aceitunas *kalamata* y queso feta; la de Estados Unidos, con perritos calientes, kétchup y mostaza; la de Tailandia, con cangrejo azul, salsa de chile dulce y coco rallado; la de la India, con curry, arroz basmati y oblea *pappadum*; la de China, con fruta del dragón o *pitahaya* y fruta de estrella; y la de Turquía, con *lokum* o delicias turcas. Por eso, en numerosas ocasiones la cocina acaba por ser el germen de algunos estereotipos:

> Thus, when someone refers to French cuisine, or Italian cuisine; to haute cuisine; to Cantonese or Szechuan cuisine, we have an immediate idea of what kinds of foods and dishes are being described. Sometimes though, our ideas of foreign cuisines can be quite misleading, formed, as they often are, from cook books, travelogues and local restaurant interpretations of classic dishes. Stereotypes are thus created and perpetuated […]. (Fieldhouse, 1986, p. 54)

Por todo lo anterior, parece que debemos entender la cocina de una forma mucho más amplia y, al mismo tiempo, específica: es decir, en tanto que el conjunto de representaciones, creencias y prácticas que se asocian a la cocina de una determinada cultura, compartida, a su vez, por el grueso de los individuos que forman parte de ella. Como es sabido, las reglas culinarias, interiorizadas en buena medida inconscientemente, gobiernan y determinan el consumo de alimentos y el comportamiento del comensal a partir de una serie de clasificaciones establecidas previamente. Tal es la trascendencia de dichas normas que su transgresión puede provocar que se someta al autor a un juicio moral: "[e]n todas partes, consumir alimentos clasificados como no comestibles, impuros, es un acto innoble que contamina a su autor" (Fischler, [1990] 1995, p. 39). Esta transgresión está castigada con distintos tipos de pena: desde la reprobación o el desdén, hasta el encarcelamiento o la muerte, pasando por el ostracismo (Gifft *et al.*, 1972). No obstante, los integrantes de una cultura determinada suelen mostrarse reticentes a violar las leyes culinarias porque "[m]ost individuals feel more secure when they are conforming to the standards of their own cultural system, which they view as being superior to all other […] more rational, more logical, more practical, more noble" (Cohen citado en Fieldhouse, 1986, p. 182).

Partiendo de la variabilidad necesaria en la dieta, el ser humano se considera omnívoro. A diferencia de los comensales especializados, goza de autonomía y libertad, y es capaz, además, de adaptarse a los cambios de su entorno: dicho en otras palabras, está preparado para sobrevivir a la desaparición de determinadas especies o cambiar de ecosistema. A modo de ejemplo, podemos aducir la impresionante diversidad de nuestros regímenes: mientras que los esquimales subsisten casi exclusivamente a partir de proteínas y grasas de origen animal, estas apenas están presentes en la dieta de los agricultores del sureste asiático (Stini, 1981). No obstante, en contraposición al comensal especializado, el omnívoro no es capaz biológicamente de obtener todos los nutrientes que necesita a partir de una sola comida. Sin embargo, la libertad de la que goza el omnívoro implica paradójicamente la dependencia de la variedad: es decir, el ser humano necesita fuentes de proteínas, como la carne o las leguminosas, pero también de glúcidos, vitaminas, minerales, etc. Esta aparente contradicción es lo que Fischler ([1990] 1995, p. 62) ha denominado "la paradoja del omnívoro"[2], que trae consigo la neofilia y la neofobia[3]. Por un lado, la neofilia hace que el omnívoro dependa de la variedad y tienda a explorar y buscar alimentos nuevos. Por otro, y al mismo tiempo, la neofobia obliga al omnívoro al conservadurismo alimentario y la prudencia, dado que, en última instancia, cualquier alimento nuevo o desconocido puede acabar resultando peligroso. En relación con esta última, el asco es un rasgo de vital importancia para la supervivencia de una especie omnívora como la nuestra, en tanto en cuanto el asco, junto con las náuseas, nos indican los alimentos que debemos evitar. No obstante, no conviene olvidar que "esa capacidad para sentir asco, al igual que todas nuestras capacidades naturales, también puede ser construida por la cultura" (Appiah, [2006] 2007, p. 88). A modo de ejemplo, es posible citar el artículo de González (2017), que presenta un decálogo de platos típicos de la gastronomía

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[2]  Rozin ya acuñó el término el *dilema del omnívoro* para referirse a esta misma idea en 1976. Para abundar en esta cuestión, véanse Rozin (1976) y Pollan (2007).

[3]  Rozin (1976) también hace referencia a la neofilia y la neofobia al estudiar los factores genéticos que inclinan a los seres humanos (y a las ratas) a escoger determinados alimentos.

española que suscitan asco entre algunos de los visitantes que llegan al país, como, por ejemplo, los percebes, las angulas, el rabo de toro o las filloas de sangre. Pese a lo anterior, es preciso subrayar que la reacción ante un mismo plato tampoco es idéntica en el seno de una misma cultura, como así lo demuestra Conde (2019).

Asimismo, y al igual que sucede con los neologismos lingüísticos, un alimento nuevo puede ocupar el lugar de uno anterior y provocar, en último término, su relegación o desaparición. De hecho, Ferguson desarrolla esta misma línea de pensamiento en torno a la paradoja del omnívoro y concluye que "the hope of gustatory delight wins out over the fear of poison" (Ferguson, 2014, p. xxii). Además, esta misma autora señala que la gran variedad a la que tenemos acceso hoy en día complica la tarea de seleccionar nuestros alimentos: "[e]verything that we hear about new foods, or unusual foods –not to mention contaminated food– exacerbates anxiety. […] Paying attention to the newly prominent dangers of consumption, modern media aggravate even as they allay the fears inherent in all consumption" (Ferguson, 2014, pp. 32-33), como sucede, por ejemplo, con los brotes de gripe aviar, gripe porcina, el mal de las vacas locas o la crisis de los pepinos españoles. En este sentido, es evidente que las alertas de seguridad alimentaria no son generalizadas ni homogéneas. En contraposición a lo anterior, varían enormemente de una persona, una cultura y una época a otra. Además, dependen en gran medida de factores sociales, como la etnia, la raza, el género, la edad y la clase social, así como de intereses económicos: a modo de ilustración, pues, es preciso poner de manifiesto los juicios ambivalentes que han acompañado, entre otros alimentos, al aceite de oliva y el de girasol, los huevos o la carne roja a lo largo de la historia. Por consiguiente, aquello que desata el pánico alimentario en un país no tiene por qué coincidir necesariamente con lo que lo desencadena en otro punto del planeta. Para lidiar con estas situaciones, las sociedades adoptan distintas estrategias. Por un lado, en las comunidades más tradicionales y reducidas, los alimentos se producen cerca de donde se consumen. De este modo, los consumidores pueden juzgar la calidad de los mismos con sus propios ojos. Sin embargo, en la sociedad actual el consumo de los alimentos a menudo se produce a una gran distancia del lugar donde se han producido. Además, los alimentos suelen envasarse para que el transporte y la conservación sean más sencillos, y generalmente se les añaden conservantes, colorantes y otros aditivos, lo que hace que el consumidor no pueda juzgar su calidad a simple vista. Por consiguiente, debe confiar su seguridad alimentaria a otros: a quien prepara la comida, a quien la suministra, a sus hábitos y costumbres alimentarios, y, en último término, a las autoridades sanitarias (Ferguson, 2014). En vista de todo lo anterior, cabría concluir que la comida "is culture when it is produced" (Montanari, [2004] 2006, p. xi). El ser humano no se conforma con tomar los alimentos de la naturaleza, sino que crea su propio alimento superponiendo la acción de la producción sobre la del depredador o la del cazador. De este modo, la comida es cultura cuando se prepara y cuando se come porque el ser humano elige su comida entre una gran variedad de alimentos disponibles a partir de criterios económicos o nutricionales y valores simbólicos (Bourdieu, [1987] 1988, [1979] 1991).

Así, la comida se erige como uno de los medios más eficaces para revelar, expresar y comunicar la identidad, lo que en última instancia nos permite deducir que la cultura podría definirse como la encrucijada entre la tradición y la innovación: "[a] very successful innovation: that is how we could define tradition" (Montanari, [2004] 2006, p. 7). La cocina es la actividad humana por excelencia porque transforma lo natural en un constructo cultural: "[t]he chemical modifications induced by cooking, and the combination of ingredients, work together to bring to the mouth a food, that, if not completely 'artificial,' is surely 'created'" (Montanari, [2004] 2006, p. 29). Sin embargo, no es acertado asociar el fuego y la cocina en todos los casos. Por un lado, considerar una práctica culinaria una mera transformación a través del fuego

puede caer en el reduccionismo y, de hecho, implicaría dejar a un lado todas aquellas que no necesitan la intermediación del fuego, como el *sushi* japonés. Por otro lado, cocinar la comida no puede identificarse con crear cocina. Cocinar implica únicamente emplear el fuego; crear cocina denota una habilidad técnica, que, además, les da importancia a los planos estéticos y artísticos. Por ende, la cocina engloba una gran variedad de posibilidades, desde las prácticas diarias hasta la alta cocina.

## 3. Conclusiones

Durante los últimos años, los denominados *Food Studies* han experimentado un desarrollo notable y, de hecho, el discurso culinario está más presente que nunca en la actualidad. Como hemos visto a lo largo del presente trabajo, la cultura determina el rango de alimentos que ingerimos. Por lo tanto, dado que las costumbres culinarias reflejan las diferentes formas de entender el mundo, también pueden provocar choques entre culturas que están en contacto, como sucede también con las lenguas. En relación con estas últimas, una de las disciplinas que ha abordado los *Food Studies* son los Estudios de Traducción, pues no en vano la comida cruza las fronteras gracias a la traducción. A pesar de que ambas tienen numerosos elementos en común y, de hecho, pueden considerarse constructos culturales interrelacionados, los *Food Studies* no se han investigado lo suficiente desde la perspectiva de la traducción.

Como hemos demostrado en el presente trabajo, la comida traduce y refleja la cultura que construye al comensal. De hecho, el principio de incorporación (re)crea la identidad colectiva —y el sentimiento colectivo de pertenencia— y la alteridad. Tanto es así que, como hemos apuntado ya, las prácticas alimentarias a menudo son el último rasgo identitario en desaparecer en caso de asimilación total. De hecho, existen determinados platos que adquieren mayor significación que en la cultura y el país de origen, y adquieren un papel simbólico.

Los sistemas culinarios están ligados a una cosmología determinada que tiene una consecuencia doble: por un lado, la cocina incorpora al comensal a un grupo cultural; por otro, sitúa al colectivo en el universo y lo incorpora a él. Por consiguiente, las prácticas alimentarias se erigen en prácticas sociales, ya que el concepto de lo comestible varía enormemente de una cultura a otra y, de hecho, ninguna cultura permite consumir cualquier alimento.

La comida, como hemos apuntado ya, se erige como un medio de todo punto eficaz para revelar, expresar y comunicar la identidad, de manera que la cultura puede definirse como la encrucijada entre la tradición y la innovación en las prácticas alimentarias.

Por todo ello, lo alimentario goza de un valor comunicativo que se transmite en la forma en la que consumimos la comida y las circunstancias que rodean dicho acto, lo cual, a su vez, añade una dimensión cultural. De hecho, el acto de comer en colectividad y el modo en el que se reparte la comida reproduce relaciones de poder y trasluce una ideología subyacente.

En vista de lo anterior, la cocina nacional de un país acaba por convertirse en numerosas ocasiones en el germen de algunos estereotipos. Asimismo, la comida también es un locus donde se producen choques culturales como consecuencia de tendencias etnocentristas que presuponen la superioridad de una cultura y consideran al resto inferiores.

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# Traduire la variation linguistique dans la littérature égyptienne

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**Translating linguistic variation in Egyptian literature –** *Abstract*

In order to describe the sociolinguistic reality of the Egyptian community, certain Arab-Egyptian writers are inserting linguistic variation into their writing. This non-standard use of language presents major challenges for translators. This study focuses on analysing the translation of diatopic and diastratic variation in two modern Egyptian novels: *Ô les filles d'Alexandrie* (Al-Kharrat, 1990) and *Les femmes de Karantina* (Eltoukhy, 2013). Based on examples drawn from our corpus, we examine the translation strategies adopted by the translators to render the regional dialect and local culture of Alexandria from Arabic into French. The analyses reveal that the translators use a wide range of creative strategies to handle non-standard language use in translation.

**Keywords**

diatopic variation, diastratic variation, Egyptian literature, translation, sociolinguistics

## 1. Introduction

Il va sans dire que la langue est un fait social et que l'acte de communiquer ne se résume pas à un simple échange de mots. Les sociolinguistes confirment que « communiquer, ce n'est pas uniquement dire, c'est faire, c'est être, c'est exister » (Blanchet, 2000, p. 10) et que la variation est une des caractéristiques essentielles des langues (Eloy, 2003, p. 172). Comme toutes les langues vivantes, l'arabe est ainsi soumis à des moyens de diversification qui font en sorte que les sujets parlants ne l'utilisent pas tous exactement de la même façon. Partant du principe qu'il y a un lien étroit entre les facteurs sociaux et les phénomènes linguistiques, les sociolinguistes décrivent les variations linguistiques selon le type de distribution des variables linguistiques repérées. Par conséquent, il y a différents types de variation : diatopique, diastratique, diaphasique, diagénique et diachronique (Gadet, 1996, 2007 ; Moreau, 1997). Gadet définit la variation comme « élément de la variabilité des langues, mise à profit par les locuteurs dans l'expression d'une identité locale ou sociale, ou pour s'adapter à l'activité en cours » (2007, p. 177). Parmi les types de variation linguistique, nous mettons en lumière les variations diatopique et diastratique qui proviennent de l'influence du milieu géographique et social auquel appartient un locuteur. Elles sont ainsi considérées comme des variations externes à la langue (Bulot et Blanchet, 2013, p. 48).

Cela dit, la nouvelle génération des écrivains égyptiens cherche à décrire la réalité sociolinguistique de la communauté égyptienne. Pour ce faire, il faut donc que les personnages s'expriment conformément à l'espace géographique où ils se trouvent et à la couche sociale à laquelle ils appartiennent. D'où l'apparition de la variation linguistique dans la nouvelle littérature égyptienne.

Or, ce type de langue non-standard pose des difficultés considérables aux traducteurs étant donné que la traduction de la variation exige bien entendu de solides connaissances linguistiques et extralinguistiques de la langue et de la culture sources. L'objectif de cette étude est donc de mettre l'accent sur l'utilisation de la variation linguistique et sa traduction dans la nouvelle littérature égyptienne. Comment l'utilisation de la variation linguistique dans la nouvelle littérature peut-elle transmettre la réalité sociolinguistique de la communauté d'origine ? Pourquoi la traduction de la variation linguistique provoque-t-elle plus de difficultés ? Quelles sont les méthodes traductives mises en œuvre pour rendre la variation linguistique arabo-égyptienne en français ? Les traducteurs ont-ils adopté une démarche traductologique précise et stable ? À quel point ont-ils pu préserver les traits linguistiques et les traits culturels du texte-source ?

## 2. Méthodologie et corpus

Profitant, d'un côté, des apports de l'approche sociolinguistique variationniste et, de l'autre, des travaux traductologiques basés sur la traduction de la variation linguistique, cette étude tente d'aborder les difficultés auxquelles le traducteur se trouve confronté lorsqu'il se donne pour tâche de transférer vers la langue-culture française la variation linguistique dans le nouveau roman égyptien. Plus précisément, nous nous appuyons sur les stratégies de la traduction de la variation proposées par Ramos Pinto (2009) et Grutschus (2016). Pour elles, lorsqu'il s'agit de traduire la variation, deux options se présentent au traducteur : la première est de ne pas maintenir les marqueurs variationnels, c'est-à-dire l'omission ou une « neutralisation » complète ; la deuxième est de rendre la variation du texte source en recourant à des stratégies en principe cumulables :

a) ajouter des commentaires métalinguistiques précisant que le personnage s'exprime dans une variété non-standard ;

b) calquer des termes d'adresse caractéristiques de la variation du texte source ;

c) augmenter la formalité du discours standard pour rétablir une différence de registre ;

d) rendre une variété diatopique ou diastratique par une variété diasituationnelle en employant des marqueurs appartenant à la langue parlée ;

e) utiliser des marqueurs de différentes variétés de la langue cible, dans le but de rendre le contraste entre le « parler standard » et le « parler non-standard » ;

f) rendre la variété du texte source par une variété spécifique de la langue cible ;

g) employer d'éléments lexicaux empruntés directement à la variété source, c'est-à-dire la littéralité ;

h) créer une variété artificielle.

Dans ce qui suit, nous montrerons à l'aide d'exemples comment les variations diatopique et diastratique arabes ont été traduites en langue française. Nous nous servirons d'exemples issus de la traduction de deux romans appartenant au nouveau roman égyptien. Nous entendons par celui-ci l'ensemble des romans égyptiens écrits à partir de la deuxième moitié du XX$^e$ siècle et qui consacrent une place considérable à l'arabe égyptien. Dans le présent article, nous étudions d'abord brièvement la représentation de la variation dans les textes littéraires égyptiens. Puis, nous abordons particulièrement les difficultés traductives qui proviennent de l'usage de la variation diatopique, qui illustre l'appartenance géographique des personnages, et de la variation diastratique, qui met en exergue le milieu social auquel appartiennent ces derniers.

Dans le but de répondre aux questions posées plus haut, nous allons nous référer à la traduction française de deux romans arabo-égyptiens : *ya banāt iskindriah* [Ô les filles d'Alexandrie] et *nisā' al-karantina* [Les femmes de Karantina] qui sont publiés en version originale arabe respectivement en 1990 par Al-Kharrat et en 2013 par Eltoukhy. Il est à remarquer que le premier roman porte le même titre qu'une chanson emblématique connue dans l'ensemble des pays arabes et qui chante les filles d'Alexandrie réputées pour leur intelligence sociale et leur bonne attitude dans les situations difficiles. Ces deux romanciers égyptiens tendent à décrire l'injustice sociale, la corruption, la déception et le malaise social dont souffrent les jeunes Égyptiens. Le trait linguistique commun à ces deux romans est l'utilisation du langage qui exprime la variation diatopique et la variation diastratique. Les personnages des deux romans partagent presque le même environnement socio-politique. Leurs événements se passent à Alexandrie, ville égyptienne qui donne sur la Mer Méditerranée, et la plupart des personnages appartiennent à la couche populaire. Il nous semble que cette utilisation distincte du langage littéraire qui reflète la réalité sociolinguistique de la communauté alexandrine est la clé de la réussite de ces deux romans. Le premier roman est traduit par Barbulesco (1997), traducteur français, né et résidant en France. L'autre roman est traduit par Osman (2017), traducteur égyptien, né en Égypte mais il vit en France. Soulignons également que nous ne pouvons certes pas aborder les extraits qui indiquent tous les types de variation linguistique dans les deux romans en question, mais nous nous bornons à analyser les passages les plus expressifs des variations diatopique et diastratique qui s'y taillent la part du lion et qui sont particulièrement aptes à illustrer notre problématique.

## 3. La représentation de la variation linguistique dans la littérature égyptienne

Comme toutes les langues du globe, l'arabe se décline en plusieurs variétés et registres comme conséquence de l'usage qu'en font les locuteurs eux-mêmes. La variation linguistique provient des différences présentes entre ces derniers : l'âge, le genre, l'origine ethnique et géographique ainsi que les conditions socio-économiques (Hudson, 1999, pp. 184-185).

Étant donné que la fonction prioritaire de l'utilisation de la variation dans le roman « vise à caractériser les personnages, c'est-à-dire à les situer aussi bien géographiquement que socialement » (Grutschus, 2016, p. 577), les écrivains égyptiens tentent d'insérer dans leur écriture la variation linguistique dans le but de refléter la réalité sociolinguistique de la communauté égyptienne.

En effet, l'utilisation de la variation linguistique dans la littérature égyptienne n'a pas fait son apparition avec le nouveau roman de la seconde moitié du XXe siècle. De grands romanciers, tels que Ihsân Abdelqodous, Youssef Idris et notamment Naguib Mahfouz, s'en sont déjà servis dans leur production littéraire afin de représenter la réalité sociolinguistique de la communauté égyptienne en l'occurrence. C'est pourquoi, il nous semble que certains jeunes écrivains égyptiens s'expriment en utilisant l'arabe égyptien pour deux raisons : d'un côté, ils cherchent à renforcer leur construction identitaire, de l'autre, ils veulent se voir en tant qu'écrivains engagés dans la représentation des soucis de leur propre communauté linguistique d'une manière réelle parce que l'arabe littéraire n'est pas la langue de la communication quotidienne. Ainsi, se développe, au sein de cette nouvelle littérature, une volonté de transgresser la norme linguistique habituelle en créant une certaine diglossie entre l'arabe standard et la variation linguistique consacrée le plus souvent au langage des personnages. Pour ce faire, les écrivains laissent l'opportunité à leurs personnages de s'exprimer comme s'ils étaient des locuteurs réels appartenant à la communauté linguistique égyptienne en assurant ainsi un « effet de réel ». Nous pouvons donc rencontrer un reflet réel de la communauté égyptienne et une véritable manifestation langagière dans cette littérature. À l'aide de la variation linguistique, la nouvelle littérature égyptienne est donc en mesure d'enregistrer les façons de parler qui varient selon les facteurs sociaux et régionaux et, par la suite, de transmettre la réalité sociolinguistique de la communauté égyptienne.

Ce qui caractérise principalement le nouveau roman égyptien, c'est son objectif essentiel de refléter la réalité sociolinguistique de la communauté égyptienne. Le recours à la langue dialectale est alors indispensable. L'écriture d'Al-Kharrat et d'Eltoukhy est remarquable puisqu'ils ne se contentent pas de reproduire les événements du roman, mais ils mettent dans la bouche de leurs personnages des termes et des expressions dialectales informels. En plus de la fonction expressive, nous constatons que la variation linguistique constitue dans les deux romans en question un marqueur d'identité sociale et régionale.

Cependant, ce registre de langue pose des problèmes aux traducteurs, notamment ceux qui n'ont jamais vécu en Égypte. Les traductologues estiment que le registre dialectal est un problème majeur qu'affronte tout traducteur de l'arabe vers le français (Ghouirgate, 2004, p. 187). Il apparaît que ce problème traductif pourrait être justifié par une double raison : d'une part, ce registre informel est différent et multiplié dans la communauté linguistique arabe et, d'autre part, les dialectes évoluent beaucoup plus vite que la langue standard. Dans le même ordre d'idées, la traduction de la variation d'une langue arabe vers le français exige une connaissance approfondie de la langue arabe standard mais aussi des variétés régionales. De plus, de par sa nature, le transfert de la variation linguistique entre deux langues différentes représente un problème culturel en théorie de la traduction puisque certains usages langagiers disposent d'un substrat culturel dont la compréhension exige une connaissance approfondie de la culture locale de départ. En outre, avant de choisir une des stratégies de traduction, le traducteur devrait « dégager la fonction de la variété au sein du texte source, ce qui facilitera la recherche d'un équivalent approprié » (Grutschus, 2016, p. 578). Compte tenu de ces difficultés, la traduction des variétés dialectales dans la littérature arabe vers la

langue française commence à susciter l'intérêt des traductologues dans le but de découvrir les problèmes et les défis lancés par ces variétés non-standard sur le plan traductologique (Youssef, 2012 ; Ghouirgate, 2004 ; Salama-Carr, 2001).

En effet, traduire un texte littéraire écrit dans une langue standard et reflétant les caractéristiques de la culture dominante d'une langue-culture vers une autre pose certainement des problèmes. De surcroît, ce qui rend la situation plus compliquée, c'est le fait que ce texte soit écrit, en partie ou en totalité, dans une variété régionale (variation diatopique) et qu'il reflète une sous-culture (variation diastratique) qui manifeste plus ou moins un certain écart par rapport à la culture dominante. En effet, les mots de la même langue pourront être connotés différemment suivant le milieu géographique et social du sujet parlant[1] (Cressot, 1991, p. 59). Le traducteur devrait donc déployer plus d'efforts et prendre plus de temps à étudier le milieu auquel appartient le texte à traduire et à chercher l'équivalent qui rendrait l'original de façon plus claire pour les récepteurs de la traduction. D'où les problèmes de transférer la variation linguistique arabe en langue-culture française. Après l'étude de la traduction des titres du corpus, nous allons examiner le transfert de certains exemples qui représentent les deux variations diatopique et diastratique dans notre corpus.

## 4. Le titre des romans

Le titre d'une œuvre littéraire engage une relation sémantique avec son contenu et constitue d'une manière ou d'une autre un seuil apte à influencer la réception de celle-ci puisque le titre d'un livre sert à « le désigner aussi précisément que possible et sans trop de risques de confusion » (Genette, 1987, p. 76). À première vue, nous constatons que le titre des deux romans choisis pour la présente étude fait référence à la fois aux variations diatopique et diastratique. Les deux romans sont respectivement intitulés *Ô les filles d'Alexandrie* et *Les femmes de Karantina*. Au niveau de la variation diastratique, les deux titres déterminent une tranche d'âge et un sexe précis. Le premier titre comprend le terme *filles*, personnes jeunes de sexe féminin, pour se référer aux filles fréquentées par le narrateur notamment pendant son adolescence. Le titre du deuxième roman fait référence aux *femmes* - êtres humains de sexe féminin, sociologiquement liés à l'âge où le mariage est possible - qui jouent un rôle majeur dans les événements. Au niveau de la variation diatopique, les deux titres portent sur un espace géographique déterminé. Le premier désigne toute la ville d'Alexandrie qui est une communauté urbaine. Le deuxième se réfère à un quartier populaire *Karantina*, qui se situe dans la ville d'Alexandrie. D'après le titre des deux romans, il nous apparaît clair que leurs événements tournent autour du sexe féminin et de la ville d'Alexandrie.

TS: يابنات اسكندرية *ya banāt iskindriah*

TC : Belles d'Alexandrie

TS : نساء الكارنتينا *nisā' al-karantina*

TC : Les femmes de Karantina

Le traducteur du deuxième roman a recours à la traduction littérale en gardant les mêmes lexique et structure que le titre original. Quant à celui du premier roman, il ajoute un jugement de valeur au titre original en rendant بنات *banāt* par *belles*. En effet, les filles du roman sont multiples et diversifiées : musulmanes, chrétiennes, juives, égyptiennes, italiennes, grecques, etc. Nous ne pouvons confirmer qu'il ne s'agit ni de bien-aimées ni de favorites dans tous les cas. De plus, d'après la description sans cesse reprise, nous nous apercevons que les filles du roman ne sont pas toutes belles au sens propre du mot. Le traducteur n'a donc pas respecté le degré de précision que l'auteur original a voulu transmettre à ses lecteurs. Cette attitude de

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[1]  Comme c'est le cas du mot invariable *'aḥeyh* (cf. infra 5).

sa part transmettrait aux récepteurs visés par la traduction un message pouvant s'étendre à la traduction tout-entière.

En outre, le traducteur a recours à l'omission du vocatif *ya* en transférant ainsi le terme d'adresse *ya banāt* en nom commun. Ce qui diminue la valeur esthétique du titre proposé car, d'une part, l'auteur original veut donner l'impression que ces filles sont présentes devant les yeux du narrateur et, d'autre part, ce vocatif fait référence à une chanson qui se rattache au chant folklorique d'Alexandrie et qui figure au début du roman يابنات اسكندرية *ya banāt iskindriah* (p.5). Il en ressort que la traduction du titre, comme celle d'autres éléments paratextuels, joue un rôle important dans la réception et la consommation de la traduction (Yuste Frías, 2010, p. 291).

### 5. La variation diatopique

Aussi appelée variation régionale (Chachou, 2018, p. 134) ou bien la variation géographique au sein d'une même langue (Pruvost, 2006, p. 163), la variation diatopique est liée à l'espace en renvoyant à la diversité des usages d'une langue donnée sur l'axe géographique. Nous pouvons distinguer des variétés différentes d'une même langue selon les diverses zones géographiques. Selon Moreau, « la variation diatopique joue sur l'axe géographique ; la différenciation d'une langue suivant les régions relève de cette variation. Pour désigner les usages qui en résultent, on parle de régiolectes, de topolectes ou de géolectes » (1997, p. 284).

Il convient de noter que l'Égypte est le pays arabe le plus peuplé et qu'en dehors de l'arabe classique et de l'arabe standard, nous y trouvons plusieurs dialectes régionaux tels que le cairote, l'alexandrin, le saʿidi, etc. L'arabe égyptien n'est pas partout parlé de la même façon. Ainsi, l'arabe égyptien d'Alexandrie présente un certain nombre de différences lexicales, phonétiques et même morphosyntaxiques par rapport à celui d'autres territoires de langue arabe standard ou d'arabe égyptien. Du point de vue de la prononciation, à la différence du cairote, le premier phonème du verbe est suivi par la voyelle courte /a/ en alexandrin ; on dit عَرفت *ʿaraft* [je sais] au lieu de عِرفت *ʿirift*. Du point de vue morphosyntaxique, le verbe est conjugué à la première personne du pluriel au lieu du singulier ainsi que le phonème /i/ est ajouté à la fin de la première personne du singulier. Citons, à titre d'exemple, وأني منرضاش *w'anī manirḍāš* [je l'acceptons pas] (*Les Femmes de Karantina*, p. 54). Pour exprimer le futur, les Alexandrins se servent du préverbe ح /ḥ/ au lieu de ه /h/ utilisé dans le cairote : حنعوم سوا *ḥanʿum sawa* [nous nagerons ensemble] au lieu de *hanʿum sawa* (*Ô les filles d'Alexandrie*, p. 35), حاستناك *ḥastanāk* [je t'attendrai] (*ibid*, p. 101), etc.

Concernant le lexique, le dialecte d'Alexandrie se sert des alternatifs de certains vocables, dont les plus connus, entre autres : جني *giny* [une livre], مشروع *mašruʿ* [microbus]. Il existe également deux interjections qui caractérisent bien ce dialecte : أيووه *ayūūh* : mot invariable qui exprime l'exclamation ; أحيه *'aḥeyh* : mot invariable qui indique l'exclamation et la désapprobation. Soulignons que tandis que celui-ci est neutre dans la communauté alexandrine, les autres locuteurs égyptiens jugent qu'il a une connotation négative.

Ce dialecte alexandrin est bien entendu lié à l'histoire d'Alexandrie et à son évolution sociolinguistique. La communauté d'Alexandrie comprenait un nombre considérable d'immigrés, notamment des Italiens et des Grecs. Pour beaucoup d'Alexandrins, leur dialecte ne s'utilise que dans un contexte familier, il n'est qu'une variété informelle que les locuteurs devraient éviter dans certaines situations d'énonciation. Étant donné que les événements des deux romans en question se déroulent à Alexandrie, les dialogues des personnages comprennent des termes et des expressions spécifiques à cette ville. Ce caractère régional rend bien difficile leur transfert vers le français.

De leur côté, les traductologues constatent que la variété régionale ancrée sur un territoire déterminé représente le plus grand défi aux traducteurs (Titus-Brianti, 2013, p. 155). La traduction de la variation diatopique pose d'énormes difficultés notamment entre deux contextes socio-culturels différents, à tel point que certains traductologues parlent de l'intraduisibilité des variétés ayant une spécificité géographique (Englund Dimitrova, 2004, p. 121).

Consultons les exemples suivants dans lesquels nous analysons la traduction des mots et des tournures touchés par la variation diatopique :

TS : مانطيقتش نشوفك كده      (*Les Femmes de Karantina*, p. 55)

TC : et moi, j'aimons pas t'voir comme ça. (p. 67)

TS : اسمعي يامنى، عايز نشوفك      (*Ô les filles d'Alexandrie, p. 10*)

TC : Ecoute, Mona, je veux te voir. (p. 11)

Ces deux expressions dialectales mettent en exergue une spécificité linguistique du dialecte alexandrin : les verbes sont conjugués à la première personne du pluriel tandis que l'énonciateur est singulier. Le premier énoncé est adressé par Abou Amira à Ali, le personnage principal, qui était triste et ce dans le but de le consoler. Le deuxième énoncé est dit par le narrateur à Mona qu'il voulait rencontrer. Il est difficile de transmettre ce trait linguistique en langue française étant donné qu'il constitue, en principe, une rupture avec la grammaire de la langue standard source. En tentant d'introduire la dimension diatopique dans sa version, Osman a recours, d'une part, à l'utilisation des marqueurs morphosyntaxiques et phonétiques de la variété parlée (emploi de la négation sans *ne*, emploi de *t'* et de *ça*) afin de démontrer qu'il s'agit d'une variété parlée dans le texte de départ et, d'autre part, à la création d'une variété artificielle en conjuguant littéralement le verbe *aimer* à la première personne du pluriel. Cette littéralité, sans commentaires métalinguistiques, augmentera l'effet d'étrangeté auprès des récepteurs de la traduction. Le traducteur est tenu parfois d'intervenir afin d'aider le récepteur de la traduction à bien comprendre le vouloir-dire du texte-source. C'est pour cette raison qu'Hurtado Albir (1990, p. 140) relie la fidélité au sens à l'intervention du traducteur « parce que si le traducteur n'intervient pas pour comprendre et réexprimer en mobilisant l'ensemble de son appareil cognitif, il se limite à traduire littéralement ». En conséquence, le traducteur aurait dû combiner également la stratégie de l'ajout des commentaires métalinguistiques dans le but de préciser que ce personnage s'exprime dans une variété non-standard.

Quant à Barbulesco, il a choisi de ne pas maintenir cette variété en proposant une version standard qui ne porte aucun trait spécifique. Peut-être le traducteur a-t-il conclu que le transfert de ce trait linguistique créerait un texte moins lisible en langue française. Nous croyons qu'il a bien fait d'adopter ici une approche cibliste en renonçant à la forme au profit du sens.

Les habitants d'Alexandrie donnent l'appellation *mašruʿ* [projet] au microbus qui sert à transporter les gens à l'intérieur de la ville.

TS : وتقود خالد إلى شقتها في كرموز (*Les Femmes de Karantina*, p. 62) هي التي تشير للمشروع.

TC : elle hélera le minibus pour ramener Khaled chez elle à Karmouz. (p. 77)

Le traducteur a recours ici à une certaine neutralisation. Le « minibus » est un petit autobus qui peut transporter une dizaine de voyageurs, mais *mašruʿ* est l'équivalent du *makrubaș* [microbus] qui est un véhicule de transport collectif utilisé au sein des villes égyptiennes.

*Yama* est un mot invariable fréquemment utilisé par les Alexandrins dans le but d'indiquer la grande quantité de quelque chose.

TS : كنت اتفرج على الصورة اللي ع الحيطة، كنت اقعد اتفرج عليها <u>ياما</u> (*Les femmes de Karantina*, p. 108)

TC : Je fixais longuement le portrait accroché au mur, et je passais des plombes à l'observer (p.134)

Osman a rendu ce mot par une variété spécifique de la langue cible *plombes* qui veut dire heures. Il a donc pu conserver le sens et le registre informel du texte source.

Quant à *'ayūūh*, cité deux fois dans *Ô les Filles d'Alexandrie*, il est tantôt rendu par *Ah bon* (*ibid*, p. 11), tantôt par l'omission (p. 52). La première attitude, relevant de la stratégie de rendre la variété diatopique par un marqueur appartenant à la langue parlée, pourrait en quelque sorte refléter la charge expressive du mot original, mais il ne pourrait reproduire sa dimension diatopique. Quant à l'omission, elle élimine le trait stylistique du texte source.

Dans *Les Femmes de Karantina*, *'aḥeyh* est mentionné une seule fois par Oum Amira pour s'étonner de la négligence de Ali envers elle (p. 55). Pour rendre en français cet élément lexical, Osman a recours à l'emprunt direct en l'adaptant à l'inventaire graphique de la langue française : *Ahê* (p. 66), marqueur inconnu du futur lecteur. Cette stratégie traductive constitue un obstacle à la traduction parce qu'elle pourrait, comme l'explique Wecksteen (2009 : 138), opacifier l'énoncé, « attirant l'attention sur lui et permettant à la connotation de s'immiscer dans le flou ainsi créé ». C'est pourquoi, Osman a décidé d'indiquer dans une note métalinguistique que la protagoniste s'exprime dans la variété alexandrine : « Interjection typiquement alexandrine, manière tantôt spontanée, tantôt délibérément exagérée de marquer son étonnement » (p. 66).

Les Alexandrins utilisent une expression particulière pour souligner le fait qu'il pleut, c'est تشتي *tištī*, néologisme basé sur le substantif شتا *šita* [hiver]. Dans *Les Femmes de Karantina*, le narrateur décrit le moment de l'arrivée de Sika, un des personnages secondaires, où il pleuvait fort.

TS : الإسكندرية كانت تشتي بقوة. (p. 171)

TC : Alexandrie traverse cette année-là […] un hiver ingrat (p. 213).

Bien que le verbe *tištī* soit obtenu par dérivation du *šita*, il est utilisé dans un nouveau sens dans le dialecte d'Alexandrie. Le traducteur l'a complètement neutralisé par une phrase qui ne porte aucune trace d'une variation quelconque : « traverser un hiver ingrat ». Il aurait, par exemple, pu proposer l'expression « il drache », l'un des régionalismes les plus emblématiques du français que l'on parle dans le Nord-Pas-de-Calais et en Wallonie, qui désigne une averse de pluie soudaine et intense (Avanzi & *al*., 2020). Cet équivalent, considéré comme étant une variété diatopique, pourrait remplir la même fonction que l'expression originale.

La livre égyptienne est appelée *gneih* ou *ǧneih* partout en Égypte, sauf à Alexandrie où elle s'appelle جني *giny*. Afin que le narrateur décrive le coût élevé de la vie et la difficulté de gagner de l'argent à Alexandrie à ce moment-là, il s'exprime ainsi :

TS : الدنيا ولعت خالص من ناحية الأسعار. والجني بقى صعب (*Les Femmes de Karantina*, p. 172)

TC : La vie est vraiment dev'nue foutrement chère, et ça d'vient difficile de croûter. (p. 214)

Tandis que le mot alexandrin en question n'est pas transféré dans la version française, le traducteur a recours aux marqueurs de la langue parlée et utilise des mots familiers pour répondre aux besoins discursifs de la variété dialectale du texte-source. En outre, tandis que l'énoncé de départ est en grande partie expressif sens et forme, celui d'arrivée inspire une réalité différente : L'énoncé source donne un effet : il est difficile d'obtenir des livres (de l'argent) ; l'énoncé cible donne une conséquence : il est difficile d'avoir quelque chose à croûter.

## 6. La variation diastratique

Depuis les années soixante-dix, les études des sociolinguistes prennent en considération la diversité socioculturelle des locuteurs et réservent une place importante aux influences des facteurs sociaux sur les pratiques linguistiques. La variation diastratique se concentre donc sur « les caractéristiques sociales des locuteurs » (Ledegen & Léglise, 2013, p. 318) en rendant

compte des traits linguistiques qui caractérisent l'usage de ces derniers et qui se reflètent en arabe égyptien, plus particulièrement, dans le lexique et la sémantique. Elle fait référence à la variation de la langue selon des caractéristiques sociales et démographiques des locuteurs, comme la classe sociale, le sexe, l'âge, la profession, etc. Selon Moreau (1997, p. 284), « [l]a variation diastratique explique les différences entre les usages pratiquées par les diverses classes sociales ». Elle se caractérise par un ensemble d'indices sociologiques qui distinguent les locuteurs entre eux.

Dans notre corpus, nous trouvons des termes et des expressions qui reflètent bien la couche sociale, le sexe et l'âge des locuteurs. Nous constatons que la variation diastratique pose moins de difficultés au niveau traductologique que la variation diatopique étant donné que, d'après notre pratique de la traduction, presque toutes les idées humaines peuvent se trouver dans deux langues-cultures différentes, mais elles se présentent différemment dans chacune d'elles. C'est pourquoi, Mounin (1963, pp. 214-215) a déjà posé l'existence d'universaux culturels en concluant que les *visions du monde* sont communicables. De même, à titre d'exemple, le parler jeune, aussi bien en arabe qu'en français, se caractérise par des traits linguistiques précis. Il en va de même pour le langage féminin. Ce qui rend, en quelque sorte, le transfert de la variation diastratique plus facile que celui de la variation diatopique. Il incombe donc au traducteur de transmettre le message en dépit des différences culturelles entre les deux contextes source et cible. Certes, on n'exige pas du traducteur qu'il trouve un équivalent identique, sens et forme, car ce n'est pas accessible dans l'opération traduisante, cependant il est amené à fournir un équivalent qui respecte à la fois le vouloir-dire du texte source et le génie de la langue d'arrivée étant donné que traduire n'est que « dire presque la même chose » (Eco, 2007), c'est-à-dire le plus proche possible.

Passons en revue la traduction de quelques éléments de la variation diastratique dans les deux romans en question.

## 6.1. Le langage de la classe populaire

Ce type de variation nous permet de diviser les pratiques linguistiques en tant que signe d'appartenance à une classe sociale particulière. Dans notre corpus, la plupart des personnages appartiennent aux classes dites populaires. Ils s'expriment dans des registres de langue conformes à leur statut social. Ce marquage sociolinguistique se reflète ainsi à travers une prononciation moins soignée et l'emploi des formes et des expressions populaires. Au fil de leurs aventures, le narrateur, le personnage principal dans *Ô les Filles d'Alexandrie*, et Ali et Ingy, les personnages principaux dans *Les Femmes de Karantina*, fréquentent d'autres personnages des classes sociales les plus marginales de la société d'Alexandrie.

À titre d'exemple, examinons la traduction de cet extrait, puisé dans *Ô les Filles d'Alexandrie* (p. 142), prononcé par la propriétaire de la maison où Qassem Isshaq, l'ami du narrateur, louait une chambre. Ce dernier vient lui rendre visite, mais il ne le trouve pas. Il a donc rencontré la propriétaire qui lui a annoncé le départ définitif de son ami. Cette femme s'exprime dans le dialecte populaire d'Alexandrie des années quarante et cinquante qui est, en même temps, la langue maternelle du narrateur :

> لا مؤاخذة ياسيدنا لفندي. صلي على كامل النور صليت لي على النبي؟ بقى احنا برضه ولاد بلد ونعرفوا الأصول. واحنا نشيلكو في عينينا من جوه يا راجل. لكن بقى على العين بصيرة..وأنت كلك نظر. برضوالبيت فيه حريم.آه. ومايخلاش الأمر من كده ولا كده. الحرمة من دول تطلع تنزل تيجي هنا تروح هنا برضه مايخلاش. واحنا بقى ولاد عرب، ودمنا حامي. مانقبلوش على دمنا إنه يبقى في البيت طلبه.. شباب يعني لوحديهم في البيت مع الحريم. داحنا كل من حاله بيدور على المعايش. الجري ورا المعايش صعب ياسيدنا لفندي، والشرف برضو صعب. ما تآخذنيش إحنا ما نقولش حاجة لا سمح الله أبدا والله العظيم موش مونكن دحنا رقابينا سدادة وانتو ولاد أصول آه ماهو الكتاب يتقرا من علوانه.

> Ne nous en voulez pas, monsieur. Béni soit Celui qui est tout lumière, béni soit le Prophète.

> Nous sommes des gens civilisés, nous savons ce qui se fait et ne se fait pas. Nous avons beaucoup de respect et d'affection pour vous. Mais on ne fait pas toujours ce qu'on veut… On voit bien des choses qu'on ne peut atteindre. Et vous, vous ne cessez de regarder à droite et à gauche… Il y a des femmes dans cette maison, et elles circulent, elles vont et viennent… Nous autres nous sommes des Arabes, nous avons le sang chaud…nous ne pouvons accepter, à cause de cela, que des étudiants demeurent ici, des étudiants qui vivent seuls, dans une maison où il y a des femmes. Nous sommes tous comme lui, d'ailleurs, chacun ici cherche à gagner son quotidien, et ce n'est pas facile, monsieur, et l'honneur non plus, ce n'est pas facile…Ne nous en voulez pas, nous n'avons rien dit, à Dieu ne plaise ! Nous sommes discrets, et vous, vous êtes des gens bien, cela se voit tout de suite. (pp. 159-160)

Ce texte est typiquement populaire. La propriétaire de la maison est une femme illettrée et assez âgée. Sa parole n'est presque pas en usage parmi les gens cultivés. لا مؤاخذة *la mu'aḫza*, est une formule de politesse populaire par laquelle on s'excuse de déranger quelqu'un. Le traducteur a opté pour l'expression standard « en vouloir à quelqu'un » qui ne reflète pas le registre populaire du texte source. Quant à ياسيدنا لفندي *yasidna lafandī*, c'est une formule d'adresse, tombée en désuétude aujourd'hui, qu'utilisaient jadis les Égyptiens de condition assez modeste pour s'adresser à un homme cultivé ou de condition élevée. Nous trouvons que l'équivalent spécifique au français « monsieur » pourrait en quelque sorte équivaloir à la formule d'origine étant donné qu'il est, selon le Robert, un titre donné autrefois aux hommes de condition assez élevée (nobles ou bourgeois). Cependant, l'équivalent proposé risque de ne pas avoir la même connotation dans la langue cible que l'original dans la langue source ; il ne pourrait pas refléter l'infériorité de l'interlocuteur que l'expression d'origine laisse entendre. Pourquoi ne pas employer ces termes d'adresse caractéristiques de la variation du texte source (*cf*. supra 2), tout en ajoutant une note métalinguistique afin de les expliquer.

D'ailleurs, dans le discours populaire, les Égyptiens utilisent des termes ou des expressions inspirés de la religion sans néanmoins viser leur propre contenu. Ceux-ci sont vidés de leurs sens et n'ont pour visée argumentative que de maintenir le contact avec l'interlocuteur. Elles remplissent donc ce que Jakobson (1963) appelle la fonction phatique du langage. Parmi ces expressions, figure fréquemment الصلاة على النبي, *al-ṣalah ʿala al-nabī* [Prière sur le Prophète], que Dieu le bénisse et lui accorde la paix. De même, dans le but de maintenir le contact avec le narrateur, la locutrice se sert de deux énoncés : le premier est impératif,صلي على كامل النور la propriétaire lui demande de faire cet acte de parole ; l'autre est interrogatif, صليت لي على النبي؟, elle lui pose une question afin de s'assurer qu'il a bien accompli cet acte de parole. Dans un tel échange, c'est normalement l'interlocuteur qui implore la bénédiction sur le Prophète. Néanmoins, le traducteur renverse la situation d'énonciation en reformulant la demande de bénédiction dans la bouche de la locutrice elle-même. Soulignons que le fait d'employer des éléments lexicaux empruntés directement à la variété source, qui ne sont pas familiers pour le futur lecteur, sans même une note métalinguistique, crée un effet d'« exotisme » dans le texte cible.

Partant du même principe, le mot بقى *ba'a*, a aussi pour fonction de créer ou de maintenir le contact avec le récepteur de son message. Ce mot invariable est essentiellement la forme accomplie du verbe بقى *baqa*, [rester, durer], mais il est vidé de son sens premier dans le discours quotidien des Égyptiens. Il est prononcé trois fois dans le message de la locutrice, en revanche, le traducteur n'en dit rien. On l'aurait traduit par un mot ayant la même fonction phatique en langue française à l'instar de « bon, ah, eh bien, tu vois », etc.

Le terme ولاد بلد *wlād balad* – dont la traduction littérale [enfants de pays] – est une expression figée se disant des gens qui résident dans les quartiers populaires et qui respectent bien les

coutumes traditionnelles de la société notamment le droit du voisinage et de l'amitié. C'est pour cela que la locutrice explique en quelque sorte cette appellation en ajoutant ونعرفوا الأصول, c'est-à-dire qu'ils reconnaissent et respectent les traditions. Le traducteur neutralise complètement cette structure en la rendant par la formule *des gens civilisés* qui signifie, selon Larousse, des personnes qui jouissent de la civilisation ou qui participent au mode de vie conforme à l'idéal de la civilisation. Ce qui ne s'accorde point avec la nature de la couche sociale à laquelle appartient l'énonciatrice.

D'autre part, l'expression figurée أنت كلك نظر *'inta kulak naẓar* [vous êtes entièrement une vue] signifie qu'il est intelligent et capable de comprendre facilement l'implicite de sa parole. L'énonciatrice veut dire au narrateur qu'il est instruit et qu'il sait bien estimer la situation qui l'a poussée à renvoyer son ami de la maison. Le traducteur a choisi de ne pas préserver la dimension figurative de l'expression source, c'est pourquoi, il l'a neutralisée dans une phrase qui donnerait un contre-sens : *Et vous, vous ne cessez de regarder à droite et à gauche*. Ce qui contredit le vouloir-dire du texte-source où il est indiqué un peu plus loin que le narrateur et son ami sont des personnes discrètes qui ne se mêlent pas des affaires des autres.

Afin de rendre ces deux énoncés واحنا بقى ولاد عرب، ودمنا حامي *wiḥna ba'a wlād ʿarab, wdamina ḥāmī*, le traducteur opte pour la littéralité. Par *wlād ʿarab*, la locutrice entend que sa famille appartient à ce groupe social qui respecte fortement les valeurs traditionnelles des Arabes, c'est pour cette raison qu'elle refuse définitivement le logement des jeunes hommes célibataires dans sa maison où habitent des femmes. Elle ne vise donc pas le sens littéral du mot. Il est vrai que l'expression *damina ḥāmī* se trouve aussi en français, « avoir le sang chaud », mais ces deux expressions arabe et française ne partagent ni la même charge sémantique ni le même socle culturel. Tandis que l'expression arabe veut dire qu'il est chevaleresque et qu'il est prompt à réagir contre tout ce qui peut violer les règles de la société, l'expression française signifie, selon le Robert, qu'il est irascible et impétueux, elle se dit donc d'une personne qui montre de la violence dans son comportement. Ainsi, la même locution exprime deux réalités différentes, voire contradictoires dans les deux langues-cultures en question. Elle désigne, en langue-culture arabe, une conduite vertueuse et prônée par la communauté, en revanche, en langue-culture française, elle indique un comportement refusé par la société. Il est vrai qu'il n'est pas facile de trouver toujours des équivalents exacts entre deux langues-cultures différentes, cependant, le traducteur est tenu de

> se rapprocher au maximum du texte, de respecter les particularités du genre, de reconstruire l'événement historique autour duquel s'articule le récit, d'utiliser les mots qui caractérisent le milieu des personnages. Le choix des procédés de traduction est un choix où les sacrifices sont inévitables et ne peuvent qu'être minimisés. (OLGA, 2020, p.42)

Quant à la locution populaire دحنا رقابينا سدادة *daḥna ra'abina saddada*, elle veut dire qu'ils sont à leur service et qu'ils sont prêts à tout faire pour les aider. Par contre, le traducteur nous transfère une autre réalité dans une phrase qui ne porte aucune trace varationnelle : *Nous sommes discrets*. Finalement, l'expression ماهو الكتاب يتقرا من علوانه *mahu al-kitāb yt'ara min 'ilwanuh* [le livre se lit d'après son titre], est rendue par une phrase neutre : *cela se voit tout de suite*, qui donne son sens, mais qui réduit amplement sa charge expressive.

## 6.2. Le langage féminin

Étant donné que la femme joue un rôle important dans les événements des deux romans en question, son langage s'impose fortement. Le langage des femmes, notamment les populaires, se caractérise par une charge affective considérable ; nous pouvons y trouver, entre autres, des termes d'adresse qui servent à relier l'énonciatrice d'une manière ou d'une autre au récepteur, comme par exemple ياضنايا *yaḍanāya*, يابن بطني *yabn baṭnī*, etc. Il est vrai que les femmes sont

innovatrices dans les changements linguistiques (Labov, 1990, p. 215). Consultons la traduction de ces extraits féminins :

TS :إطمن ياخويا. إنت وصاحبك في نن عيني الاتنين من جوة.: (*Ô les Filles d'Alexandrie*, p. 133)

TC : Rassure-toi, mon frère. Toi et ton ami, vous m'êtes chers comme la prunelle de mes yeux. (P. 149)

Dans le but de rassurer le narrateur, la propriétaire de la maison lui dit que son ami et lui sont dans la prunelle de ses deux yeux : في نن عيني الاتنين *fī nin ʿynay al-atnīn*, ce qui veut dire, d'une manière métaphorique, qu'ils lui sont très chers. En effet, l'œil est une partie du corps très précieuse pour tous les êtres humains ; c'est pourquoi, en arabe ainsi qu'en français, il s'utilise dans des expressions courantes afin de mettre en valeur quelqu'un ou quelque chose. De même, Quand on estime qu'une personne ou qu'un objet est d'une extrême valeur, on pourrait utiliser en français l'expression « tenir à quelqu'un ou à quelque chose comme à la prunelle de ses yeux ». Les deux expressions ont donc un rapport direct aux yeux, et plus particulièrement à la pupille. Donc, le traducteur a recours à cette même expression spécifique au français afin de mettre en exergue la charge émotionnelle du texte-source.
Les femmes égyptiennes pourraient utiliser également *le cœur* pour montrer leur empathie. En racontant au narrateur son voyage avec son nouveau-né qui était très malade, la propriétaire de la maison s'exprime ainsi :

TS:ميخائيل كان بعافية جدا...بدأ يشهق وكان تنفسه ثقيلا حتى أنه يا قلب أمه ازرقت شفتاه. (*Ô les Filles d'Alexandrie*, p.128)

TC : Mikhaïl allait très bien, …l'enfant avait commencé à respirer difficilement, au point que ses lèvres bleuissaient, (p.142)

يا قلب أمه *ya'alb 'umuh* [ô le cœur de sa maman] est une expression maternelle par excellence, la locutrice la prononce spontanément comme signe de tendresse et de pitié pour son bébé gravement malade. Hélas, le traducteur l'a omise dans sa version bien que le français dispose des expressions pareilles qui contiennent le cœur. Pourquoi n'utiliserait-on pas la locution « avoir le cœur gros, le cœur serré ». Il est vrai que certains traductologues autorisent l'omission de l'élément variationnel s'il joue un rôle secondaire (Grutschus, 2016, p. 578), en revanche, il s'agit ici d'un élément important qui ajoute au texte une couleur locale et qui contribue, par la suite, à placer le roman dans un contexte précis. Indiquons également que l'énoncé كان بعافية جدا *kān biʿafya gidan* signifie littéralement qu'il allait très bien mais, au contraire, il veut dire qu'il était fortement malade. Comme une sorte d'euphémisme, les Égyptiens populaires l'utilisent en visant le contraire de son sens. Adoptant la traduction littérale, le traducteur accorde à cet énoncé un sens qui contredit le vouloir-dire de l'auteur. Donc, il nous semble que l'utilisation des connaissances extralinguistiques sur la situation d'énonciation est un processus essentiel de la compréhension d'un texte littéraire : quelles sont les composantes socio-culturelles de l'auteur, quel personnage prend la parole, dans quel but et dans quel milieu géographique et social ?
La femme continue à raconter le voyage au narrateur. Craignant que son fils ne meure sans être baptisé, elle décide de le baptiser elle-même.

TS : عمدتك باسم المسيح معمودية كاملة ياميخائيل يابن بطني يابن شنودة النجار *(p. 129)*

TC : Je te baptise au nom du Christ, Mikhaïl, fils de mon ventre, fils de Chenouda le charpentier (p.143)

Une femme égyptienne populaire pourrait se servir de la locution يابن بطني *yabn baṭnī* pour mettre l'accent sur le fait que son enfant lui appartient fortement et qu'elle a grand peur pour lui. Partant, l'énonciatrice la dit à son bébé en le baptisant.

Tentant de transférer une couleur locale égyptienne, le traducteur recourt à la littéralité que nous jugeons acceptable dans ce contexte puisqu'en français, le ventre est, selon le Robert, l'abdomen de la femme, en tant que siège de la gestation et des organes génitaux internes. Le vouloir-dire du texte-source serait facilement compris par le public francophone. Donc, la traduction littérale est parfois une solution facile, voire qualifiée par Ladmiral d'idéale mais rarement possible (Ladmiral, 1994, p. 20).

## 6.3. Les intensifieurs des jeunes Égyptiens

Les intensifieurs servent à indiquer une intensification du sens dénoté par l'expression qu'ils modifient (Bussmann, 1996). موت *môt* et فشخ *fašḫ* sont deux intensifieurs qui s'emploient fréquemment dans le parler des jeunes Égyptiens. Concernant *môt*, bien que certains sociolinguistes trouvent qu'il n'est pas récemment ajouté en arabe égyptien (Woidich, 2018, p. 255), cet intensifieur dispose actuellement d'une présence remarquable dans le langage des jeunes Égyptiens vu sa charge émotionnelle. Il puise sa connotation hyperbolique dans son sens premier « mort », mais sa visée argumentative n'a rien à voir avec la mort réelle. Examinons la valeur discursive de cet intensifieur d'après ces deux exemples tirés de notre corpus.

TS : محمد خطيبي بيغير عليا موت  (*Les Femmes de Karantina*, p. 287)

TC : Mohamed mon fiancé est très jaloux (p. 355).

Cet énoncé est déclaré par Amira afin de mettre en relief sa fierté du grand amour de son fiancé. Pour exciter la jalousie de son entourage, elle choisit l'intensifieur *môt* pour décrire la jalousie mortelle de son fiancé.

Appartenant au registre neutre, la version proposée atténue la jalousie car l'adverbe d'intensité *très* n'a pas la même charge sémantique que l'intensifieur original qui indique, dans ce contexte, que sa jalousie atteint le plus haut degré possible. Il nous semble donc que ce fiancé pourrait en quelque sorte être décrit par la célèbre formule « jaloux à mort ».

TS : إنسان سكسى موت  (*Les Femmes de Karantina, p. 277)*

TC : mais aussi de symbole sexuel (p. 342).

Il s'agit de Yehia le Volcan qui jouit d'une force physique exceptionnelle. Sa prestance tandis qu'il maniait le fer et le feu, son maillot de corps et les poils de son torse attisaient le désir dans le corps des filles du quartier. Tout cela invite le narrateur à le décrire comme سكسي موت. La version française de registre neutre fait de Yehia le Volcan un personnage qui incarne de façon exemplaire la sexualité. Ce qui n'est pas incorrect. Cependant, d'une part, le traducteur rehausse en français le registre de l'expression originale toute familière. D'autre part, l'idée de l'excitation sexuelle, parfaitement soulevée dans le texte-source par l'adjectif vulgaire سكسى *sexy* et l'intensifieur *môt*, n'est pas présente dans la version française. Conséquemment, les traducteurs reconnaissent que trouver une équivalence qui peut exécuter dans la langue cible la même fonction n'est pas facilement accessible dans la traduction littéraire.

> La vraie difficulté [dans l'acte de traduire] est de trouver l'équivalence littéraire capable de faire ressentir au lecteur la même émotion que s'il lisait le texte original, et cela en oubliant qu'il lit une traduction. À mon avis, c'est à cela qu'on reconnaît une traduction réussie, ce qui est assez paradoxal quand on y pense, car cela signifie que la traduction doit avoir beaucoup de personnalité tout en étant la plus discrète possible. (Osman, 2022)

L'adjectif qualificatif جامد *gamed* [fort] pourrait aussi s'utiliser comme intensifieur dans le langage des jeunes Égyptiens pour désigner la force physique ou la capacité sexuelle. On dirait, par exemple ولاد جامدين قوى — بنت جامدة قوى - ولد جامد قوى. Il est donc variable, il s'accorde

en nombre et en genre avec celui dont nous voulons prouver la force, soit une personne ou même une chose, on dit par exemple, جامد موضوع *mawḍūʿ gamed* [sujet fort]. Dans le but d'augmenter sa charge expressive, un jeune pourrait y ajouter l'expression idiomatique آخر حاجة [dernière chose] : البنت دى جامدة آخر حاجة et ce pour insister sur le concept de la puissance maximale. Dépendant de la situation d'énonciation, cette puissance peut être au niveau de la capacité sexuelle ou de la force physique. Consultons la traduction de ces exemples :

TS : الدكتور مانعني جامد  (*Les Femmes de Karantina*, p. 179)

Selon le contexte, Sousso propose à Abou Amira de fumer la chicha, mais ce dernier le refuse définitivement.

TC : Mon médecin me l'a fortement déconseillée.  (p. 222)

Utilisant l'adverbe neutre *fortement*, le traducteur a pu indiquer l'intensification de l'avertissement du médecin dénoté par l'expression originale mais dans une phrase n'ayant aucun marqueur variationnel. Au lieu de rehausser le degré de formalité de sa version, il aurait pu rendre cette variété diastratique par une variété diasituationnelle en utilisant des adverbes d'intensité qui peuvent conserver le registre familier du texte-source, comme à titre d'exemple, « méchamment » et « rudement ».

## 7. Conclusion

Dans cette étude, nous avons démontré que les romanciers égyptiens ont inséré la variation linguistique dans la nouvelle littérature afin de refléter la réalité sociolinguistique de la communauté égyptienne d'aujourd'hui. Le langage littéraire utilisé dans les deux romans, objet de cette étude, témoigne du recours fréquent et expressif à la variation linguistique. De plus, nous avons pu retracer une certaine évolution sociolinguistique de la communauté égyptienne ; étant donné que le roman intitulé *Les Femmes de Karantina* est plus récemment publié (2013) par rapport à l'autre (1997), nous avons pu y remarquer une utilisation expressive des intensifieurs qui caractérisent bien le langage des jeunes Égyptiens de nos jours. Il s'ensuit que l'évolution culturelle de la communauté égyptienne se répercute sur la communication langagière. Ce qui exige beaucoup plus d'attention et de vérification de la part du traducteur.

À partir des passages puisés dans ces deux romans, nous avons analysé le transfert vers la langue-culture française des variations diatopique et diastratique. Il nous apparaît que les deux traducteurs ont déployé un effort considérable afin de transférer deux textes typiquement égyptiens vers la langue française. Ils n'ont pas opté pour une méthode traductive stable. Ils ont recouru à l'omission, à la neutralisation, à la littéralité, aux commentaires métalinguistiques, à la variation diasituationnelle et à la création d'une variété artificielle. D'ailleurs, Osman a excellé, en grande partie, à transmettre au lecteur francophone une image presque réelle de la communauté linguistique égyptienne et une couleur locale expliquée souvent dans une note de bas de page. Tentant de mettre en exergue les caractéristiques linguistiques de l'original, il a recours à plusieurs procédés discursifs : style relâché, oralité, langage familier, etc. Quant à Barbulesco, ses choix oscillent le plus souvent entre la neutralisation et l'omission. Il a peut-être voulu reproduire un texte facile à comprendre. Cependant, sa version renferme certaines expressions non abouties qui dénotent un manque d'aisance à comprendre le contexte socioculturel égyptien pendant les années quarante et cinquante.

En s'approchant des nouveaux romans égyptiens, tout traducteur qui ne serait pas muni d'un bagage cognitif suffisant devrait reconnaître qu'il a affaire à des textes où il y a des mots qui ne figurent dans aucun dictionnaire, où se présentent des expressions dont le vouloir-dire va contre la structure morphosyntaxique, où se trouve un simple mot dialectal dont l'explication exige des phrases dans la langue cible faute d'équivalents, où ils se rencontrent des termes

d'adresse susceptibles d'annoncer le niveau d'instruction et la classe sociale du sujet parlant, etc. Puisque l'intervention des traducteurs a une grande valeur dans la transmission d'un tel héritage et d'une telle culture, nous nous permettons de leur proposer une étude sociolinguistique approfondie sur le terrain de la communauté égyptienne avant d'entamer le processus de la traduction. Cette étude pourrait les aider à reconnaître la variation linguistique et, par la suite, à en comprendre la valeur discursive et esthétique dans la nouvelle littérature égyptienne. En fin de compte, il reste à souligner que la traduction de la variation linguistique est sous-explorée et plusieurs points peuvent être exploités dans différentes régions du monde arabe, comme, entre autres, le transfert de la variation diaphasique et du diasystème.

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# Are pseudotranslations translation-like?
# The case of Persian crime fiction

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## Abstract

The present paper is an attempt to study the textual makeup of Persian pseudotranslated texts in comparison to translated and original ones. To this end, a corpus was formed comprising three sub-corpora of translational, authorial, and pseudotranslational Persian books in crime fiction. To analyze the translational behavior of the texts, they were checked against some of the most prominent tendencies of translated literature that allowed examining the text without recourse to any source text, including explicitness, simplification, and interference. All in all, and with respect to the hypotheses constructed based on the literature, translated and pseudotranslated works were in broad agreement regarding the translational characteristics examined, yet the data did not support the claim that pseudotranslations exaggerate translational features.

## 1. Introduction

The term 'pseudotranslation' was first used in 1823 in a review journal to mean 'free translation' (Rambelli, 2009). Since then, the term has been used in a number of fields, including automated translation and localization, yet with different meanings. The term was first operationalized in 'Translation Studies' by Anton Popovič (1976), seeing it as a metatext. Following Popovič, other scholars in the field have provided different definitions for the term each focusing on an aspect of the phenomenon: some on its imitative resemblance, some on the explicit allusion to a source text, some seeing it as an ethical lapse, some as a reading technique, some as a site of transmessis, i.e., as a site for depiction of translation process or translators (see Beebee & Amano, 2010), some as a collusion between the readers and the author, some as a site of polylinguality, etc. However, the most widely used definition has so far come from Gideon Toury (1995, p. 40) taking pseudotranslations as "texts which have been presented as translations with no corresponding source texts in other languages ever having existed—hence no factual 'transfer operations' and translation relationships".

Toury's (1995) premise is that as persons-in-the-culture, text producers, including translators, are aware of the position of translations and translators as well as the functions that these serve in the host culture. Such consciousness usually manifests itself in behavioral patterns, including the textual-linguistic makeup of the text, i.e., its surface realization. Once this consciousness is manipulated in form of textual choices on the paper, original literature can be passed off as translational, thus Toury's 'disguise hypothesis', postulating that pseudotranslators fill their products with translational characteristics so that the fake nature of the product does not create suspicion, and so long as the veil has not been drawn, the text enjoys the status of a genuine translation in the host culture.

In addition to the original texts presented with fully translational appearance, i.e., as a translation both textually and paratextually—as discussed by Toury (1995, 2012), some scholars have also discussed cases of pseudotranslation where a text is presented as an authored one paratextually yet creates the impression of a translated work textually. This is usually conveyed by the author's opting for foreign setting and characters for the story. One of the most fertile grounds for such products in many literatures has been crime fiction. For instance, Sohár (1998) discussed the case of Hungarian fictitious translations in crime fiction, where the pseudotranslators used borrowed characters and international patterns, such as a highly magical pre-industrial society, as the main elements of the stories. Her thorough analysis (2000) of *Tűzvarázs*, a detective story by Vavyan Fable, showed how the authors of the book had used alien toponyms for locations or had left locations unnamed, presented a multicultural scene conjuring up the U.S., and made extensive references to international writers and characters. The work also benefited from a lot of linguistic innovations, loan words and idioms, and in some cases a blend of Hungarian and English words. The author tampered with the linguistic features of Hungarian, using many new word formation techniques for making new verbs and suprasegmental features such as bold types for some of the suffixes to highlight exoticism in the text, all giving the reader the impression of reading a translation.

Gürçağlar (2010) reported such appropriations of the foreign by hosting famous crime fictional characters such as Sherlock Holmes and Arsène Lupin in original Turkish crime stories in the post-reform Turkey. Kemal Tahir wrote series of Mike Hammer stories, with his pen name, F.M. İkinci, appearing as the writer on the book cover. To provide an impression of translation, though, Tahir opted for foreign lexical and syntactic elements, i.e., signs of translationese. Besides borrowing characters from Mikey Spillane, he used many loan words and used several references to New York and its whereabouts, to the extent of exaggeration. Gürçağlar further discussed a similar attempt by Aziz Nesin in his 'Modern Sanat', which unfolded in Paris and used French characters and extensive use of French words.

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Maher (2013) studied the case of English novels written for English readers but within the Italian milieu, i.e., with Italian main characters and in Italy. Exoticizing elements abound in the text with the application of Italian culture-specific items including customs, culinary names, newspaper names, and glossaries for organizational, social, and political concepts along with Italian formulaic expressions, terms of address, titles, swear words, and greetings which already have rough English equivalents. Some of the English terms also seem to have been calqued from Italian. Inclusion of language games, i.e., dialects and mix of languages, is yet another linguistic complexity prevalent in these pseudotranslations, e.g., some characters are shown to be unable to speak in the language of the book. In addition, there are interpreting activities in one of the texts, where one character interprets for the other characters and for the police. These strategies signal the cross-linguistic and cross-cultural nature of the dialogues in the text. Altogether, these elements repeatedly remind the English readers they are in Italy and reinforce a "sense of place" (p. 154).

Vahedikia (2018) compared a group of Persian authored, translated, pseudotranslated crime fiction in the second Pahlavi era (1941–1978) with respect to syntactic complexity. His analysis of syntactic intricacy measures indicated that translations and pseudotranslations were both significantly different from authored works with respect to clauses per sentence, T-units per sentence, and verb phrases per T-unit (a T-unit being an independent clause together with a dependent clause or a non-clausal structure). In addition, translations were significantly different from authored works regarding length of production unit, including mean lengths of sentence, T-unit, and clause, and pseudotranslations were significantly more complex than authored texts for past participles per sentence. For all the other measures analyzed, there were no significant differences between any group pairs, yet for the majority of the measures, pseudotranslations occupied a place in-between translated and authored texts.

By and large, many studies, *inter alia*, (Du Pont, 2005; Gürçağlar, 2014, 2017; Kupsch-Losereit, 2014; Logie, 2017; Lombez, 2017; Méndez-Oliver, 2017; Raleigh, 2017; Toury, 2005, 2012), have shown that pseudotranslations make an effort to benefit from the textual-linguistic features peculiar to translated texts. Yet, some scholars have claimed that pseudotranslations apply such features even to the point of exaggeration (Gürçağlar, 2010; Maher, 2013; Toury 2012).

The present study aims to test these assumptions for the case of Persian pseudotranslational crime fiction. On that account, it initially hypothesizes that Persian pseudotranslations show translation-like behavior in their textual-linguistic realization, and if so, it further hypothesizes that pseudotranslations overemphasize such imitation.

Translational textual behavior can potentially be best observed by analyzing the features characteristic of translated texts. Baker (1993) encouraged inquiring into attributes which might be universally evident in translated texts but not original utterances, which she outlined under 'universals of translation'. Her tentative agenda included explicitation, simplification, conventional TL grammaticality (leveling out) (chiefly in interpreting), overrepresentation of TL features (normalization), and avoiding repetitions. A surge of investigations has swept through translation research thenceforth to study these hallmarks in various languages and more peculiarities have been put forward throughout (see Bernardini & Kenny, 2020; Laviosa, 2021, pp. 33–35). Seeing that there have been numerous studies on these alleged common features, the relevant inquiries and findings will be presented in the related sections in lieu of presenting a review of literature thereof.

To the best of our knowledge, translational surface realization of pseudotranslations has not yet been examined with reference to alleged translation universals.

## 2. Materials and Methods

In order to test the hypotheses developed, a corpus comprising Persian authored, translated, and pseudotranslated works in crime fiction was selected with each group encompassing eight books. The last few decades could not yield sufficient data for the study given that transformation into global village, stricter copyright regulations, rise in investigative journalism, and more conspicuously, new inquiry facilities and communicative breakthroughs have made concealment of fictitious works all but impossible in the recent decades (see also Toury, 2012). Therefore, the corpus was selected from within a time span when pseudotranslating was more common in Persian. To this end, Persian pseudotranslation heyday, i.e., 1960s, was selected for data collection. Besides, crime fiction was chosen as the area of focus since it was one of the most prolific areas of pseudotranslating meanwhile—and potentially served as one of the most prototypical. Although some of the authors and translators were fairly prolific in their oeuvres, only one book from each author, translator, and pseudotranslator was incorporated into the corpus to minimize the effect of their personal style. Grab sampling as the population is, it allows for the most homogenous and yet the largest corpus possible for the case of Persian pseudotranslations among all genres.

The type of pseudotranslation examined in this study was Persian crime fiction representing authored texts paratextually but representing translations textually, i.e., books originally written in Persian bearing Persian names for the author(s) on the front cover yet featuring both foreign characters and non-Iranian settings for the story (see Maher, 2013; O'Sullivan, 2005). The first 10,000 words from each book were analyzed for the purpose of the study, forming a corpus of 240,000 words overall from 24 books. It should be noted that given that the corpus would be both automatically analyzed and manually annotated, the corpus size could not be large. The details of the books serving as the data are presented in Table 1.

| | Title | Author/translator | Date | Publisher |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| **Pseudotranslations** | Yek Ghaddam ta Jahannam | Amirahmad Razavi Arjmand | 1965 | Aflatoun |
| | Rahi be Souye Jahannam | Mohammad Barfar | 1971 | Alborz |
| | Hayoola-ye Marg | Jafar Ebrahimi | 1975 | Sha'bani |
| | Khashm-e Maik Hamer | Asghar Akhlagi | 1969 | Stare-ye No |
| | Mard-e Shomarh 1 | Mohammad Deljoo and Amir Mojahed | N. D. | Shahriyar |
| | Ghateli ba Abrou-haye Lengeh be Lengeh | Parviz Ghazi Saeed | 1966 | Kanoon Marefat |
| | Ghatl-e Sevvom | Amir Rezaee | N. D. | Asia |

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| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| **Translations** | In cold Blood/Ba Khoonsardi | Truman Capote/Bahereh Rasekh | 1968 | Ketab-haye Jibi |
| | Nightmare/Kabous | William Irish/A. Haddad | 1962 | Donya-ye Matbo'at |
| | The Green Stone/Sang-e Sabz | Suzanne Blanc/Iraj Gharib | 1964 | Ketab-haye Jibi |
| | The Thirty-nine Steps of the Ladder/39 Pelleh | John Bokan/Mirkarimi | 1967 | Ketab-haye Jibi |
| | The Postman Always Rings Twice/ Postchi Hamisheh Do Bar Zang Mizanad | James M. Cain/Soroud | 1962 | Kanooun-e Donya va Honar |
| | Goldenfinger/Panjeh Talaei | Ian Flemming/Ali Aminnia | 1964 | Golchin |
| | My Gun Is Quick/Tapanche-ye Man Sari' Ast | Mickey Spillane/Georgis Aghasi | 1962 | Golchin |
| | The Looking Glass War/Jang-e Ayeneh | John le Carré/ Hessam Emami | 1965 | Golchin |
| **Authored books** | Emshab Madari Mimirad | Jamshid Sedaghat Nezhad | 1967 | Morid Hagh |
| | Jenayat-e Bashar ya Adamforoushan-e Gharn-e Bistom | Khameh Rabi' Ansari | 1966 | Naseri |
| | Sharab-e Kham | Ismaeel Fasih | 1968 | Ketab-haye Jibi |
| | Khoun va Aftab | Manouchehr Motiei | N. D | Kanoon Marefat |
| | Yek Adamkosh Ejareh Dadeh Mishavad | Arvanaghi Kermani | 1966 | Kanoun Marefat |
| | Shahin: Khabarnegar-e Havdaes | R. Etemadi | 1965 | Arastou |
| | Siakhan | Amir Ashiri | 1971 | Kanoun Marefat |
| | Yek Mard va Seh Chehreh | Sadreddin Elahi | N.D. | Tehran-e Mosavar |

**Table 1.** Books Comprising the Corpus

The data were then analyzed for some of the common translation tendencies which allowed mere target-oriented study, including interference, explicitness, and simplification (lexical variation=[types/tokens]*100; lexical density=[content words/total words]*100). The alleged translation universals, initially hypothesized by Baker (1996), served as the basis for the analysis since they are the prime typifying features of translated texts. It should be noted that these tendencies have been much debated since their introduction, yet they were selected for our examination as they can best serve the purpose of a target-oriented analysis and for testing the hypotheses formulated in this study.

As already mentioned, simplification, explicitness, and interference were selected from among the translation tendencies as they could be studied without recourse to a source text, enabling us to examine these features in translated but also equally in authored and pseudotranslated works, for which no specific source text exists.

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Elaboration on some of these measures seems necessary here. Unlike 'explicitation', which is "a *relationship* and a *process* between instantiated and aligned pieces of translated or otherwise registerially closely related texts" (Steiner, 2005, p. 2; my emphasis), 'explicitness' has been regarded here as a contributing feature of a *product*, which could be studied independently of the source text (ST) or a closely related text. On the same basis, from among the different types of explicitness, those not requiring source and target texts comparison were examined. This included explicitness of conjunctions (syntactic), explicitness of the optional complementizer THAT (in Persian expressed by که [/keh/] (syntactic), and explicitness of cultural information where general knowledge would be required for proper understanding of the aspects of the text not understandable by the readers without cultural explanations (pragmatic), e.g., addition of a general phrase to help readers distinguish rivers, villages, drinks, foods, etc. as with addition of the word 'river' to 'the river Zayandehrood' (see Klaudy, 1998). Other aspects of explicitness could not be pinpointed without a bilingual comparison.

Interference has been considered as an omnipresent tendency in translated works (e.g., Hopkinson, 2007; Teich, 2012; Toury, 1995) and one of the most distinctive translational features (e.g., Halverson, 2017; Mauranen, 2004; Parks, 2007). It has been defined by Franco Aixelá (2009, p. 75) as "importation into the target text of lexical, syntactic, cultural or structural items typical of a different semiotic system and unusual or non-existent in the target context, at least as original instances of communication in the target language". The term has been regarded as synonymous with 'translationese' by some scholars (e.g., Franco Aixelá, 2009; Hopkinson, 2007), yet others have viewed translationese as the final and tangible outcome of interference (e.g., Yue & Sun, 2021). To avoid the pejorative connotations of the term 'translationese' and also its overlap with simplification, normalization, and leveling out, as assumed by some scholars in the field (e.g., Chen, 2020), 'interference' will be used throughout this study.

The data for interference and explicitness were gathered manually through coding by annotators. Three annotators were recruited to identify instances of these measures in the corpus. The annotators were all postgraduates of Translation Studies at a public university in Iran. They underwent two hours of intensive analysis training, which included four stages: introduction, exposure, calibration, and independent analysis. At the introduction stage, the annotators were introduced to the operationalized definition of interference. In the current study, interference in Persian was defined as any case comprising collocational clash, strange calque, uncommon dummy subject, awkward syntax, odd indirect speech, and unnatural proverb or idiom according to the literature on Persian including Farahzad (2018), Manafi Anari (2017), and Mollanazar (1990). In the exposure stage, the annotators reviewed the various forms of interference in Persian along with a few examples for each. In the calibration stage, the annotators analyzed and coded two short translated texts (208–254-words long) heavily including instances of interference presented above and compared their coding with those of the author, and any cases of disagreement were discussed and resolved. This stage was important in training the annotators to have similar notions of interference and its manifestations. The same process was also carried out for explicitness with two sample texts of 215–241 words. In the independent coding stage, after having completed the previous coding stages, the annotators analyzed all texts in the corpus for any instances of interference and explicitness. To investigate the reliability of the coding among the three annotators, i.e., to examine the inter-annotator agreement, Fleiss' kappa was run. Tables 2 and 3 list the Fleiss' kappa reliability, level of significance, and 95% CI (confidence interval) for interference and explicitness in authored books, translations, and pseudotranslations. The Fleiss' kappa ranged from *k* .80 to .89, which represented good to very good agreement.

| Text | k | p | 95% CI | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | | Lower | Upper |
| Authored books | .89 | <.001 | .77 | 1.02 |
| Translations | .87 | <.001 | .76 | .99 |
| Psuedotranslations | .81 | <.001 | .66 | .96 |

*Note*. 95% CI represents a range of values within which the true population value is likely to be found.

**Table 2.** Inter-Annotator Agreement for Interference

| Text | k | p | 95% CI | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | | Lower | Upper |
| Authored books | .87 | <.001 | .83 | .90 |
| Translations | .85 | <.001 | .81 | .88 |
| Psuedotranslations | .80 | <.001 | .76 | .84 |

**Table 3.** Inter-Annotator Agreement for Explicitness

The data for simplification were gathered by AntConc (v.4.1.0), a corpus analysis toolkit developed by Laurence Anthony (2022). The data gathered were then analyzed in IBM SPSS Statistics (v. 27.0.1.0), both descriptively and in a series of one-way ANOVAs with groups (i.e., authored, translated, and pseudotranslated texts) as the independent variable and explicitness (including cohesive and logical ties, optional THAT, and pragmatic information), interference (comprising collocational clash, awkward syntax, uncommon dummy subjects, odd indirect speech, calque, and unnatural proverbs or idioms), and simplification (encompassing lexical density, lexical variety, and sentence length) as the dependent variables. In cases where the test of homogeneity of variances was violated, the non-parametric Kruskal–Wallis was used. A Bonferroni adjusted alpha of $p = 0.007$ was used for all the analyses. The Tukey's Honest Significant Difference (HSD) test was applied for post hoc analyses for each statistically significant relationship. Finally, Plonsky and Oswald's guidelines (2014) were used for interpretation of the effect sizes (Cohen's *d* values) in the post-hoc comparisons, with $d = 1.00$ considered as a large effect, $d = 0.70$ as a medium effect, and lower thresholds of $d = 0.40$ as a small effect. The null hypothesis for all the elements was that the groups are identical in the given element ($H_0$ = There is no statistically significant difference between the groups for the measure being tested).

## 3. Results

The mean percentage for explicitness of conjunctions for authored, translated, and pseudotranslated texts was 55.01±29.94, 86.43±17.64, and 84.56±15.10, respectively. No significant differences were found between the groups regarding explicitness of conjunctions $F (2, 23) = 5.35$, $p = 0.013$. The mean percentage for explicitness of the optional complementizer THAT in authored, translated, and pseudotranslated texts was 65.03±25.87, 27.50±13.87, and 29.17±11.73, accordingly. There was a significant difference in the use of complementizer THAT between the groups $F (2, 23) = 10.79$, $p = 0.001$. The post hoc test demonstrated a difference between authored and both translated ($d = 1.81$, $p = 0.001$) and pseudotranslated books ($d = -0.700$, $p = 0.002$). Lastly, the mean percentage for explicitness of cultural information for authored, translated, and pseudotranslated texts was 30.09±31.25, 68.01±18.00, and 58.28±18.79, respectively. The difference between the groups was not statistically significant for this variable $F (2, 23) = 56.26$, $p = 0.01$.

The mean percentage for interference in authored, translated, and pseudotranslated texts was 0.00±0.00 (based on empirical observation), 11.87±9.29, and 7.00±6.09, accordingly. Since the test of homogeneity of variances was violated for this variable, the non-parametric Kruskal–Wallis was applied for the analysis of the data, which indicated a significant difference between the groups $F$ (2, 23) = 15.14, $p$ = 0.001. A subsequent pairwise analysis showed significant and large differences between authored texts and both pseudotranslated ($d$ = -1.63, $p$ = 0.05) and translated texts ($d$ = -1.81 $p$ = 0 .000).

For lexical variation, the mean percentage for authored, translated, and pseudotranslated texts was 27.05±3.34, 27.16±3.19, and 25.67±2.57, respectively. No significant differences were found between these groups $F$ (2, 23) = 5.89, $p$ = 0.56. For lexical density, the mean percentage for authored, translated, and pseudotranslated texts was 82.72±1.55, 82.45±0.94, and 82.69±1.10, respectively. No significant differences were found between the groups $F$ (2, 23) = 0.11, $p$ = 0.89. For sentence length, the mean percentage for authored, translated, and pseudotranslated texts was 13.11±2.89, and 15.94±4.42, and 15.74±1.64, respectively. No significant differences were found between the groups $F$ (2, 23) = 1.94, $p$ = 0.16 here as well.

With respect to the results, no significant difference was observed between the groups, including authored, translated, and pseudotranslated books, regarding explicitness of conjunctions, explicitness of cultural information, and elements of simplification, including lexical variety, lexical density, and sentence length. However, regarding effect size, the Tukey HSD post hoc analyses for the groups revealed statistically significant differences with large effect sizes for explicitness of THAT between authored and translated texts and with medium effects between authored and pseudotranslated texts. For interference, the post hoc analyses showed significant differences with large effect sizes between authored and pseudotranslated texts and authored and translated texts, demonstrating a very strong difference between authored and both translated and pseudotranslated texts.

## 4. Discussion

Studies conducted on simplification have provided a rather inconsistent picture of this tendency across different languages or even in the same language for translated and original works as various and contradictory rates of type-token, lexical density, and sentence length have been reported, thus, potentially undermining the universality of this hypothesis in translated literature. With respect to Persian, for instance, Taghavi and Hashemi (2021) indicated that Persian translations show higher lexical variety and density compared to authored Persian texts in their analysis of Persian sociology and psychology corpora. The analysis in our study showed a very close similitude between Persian crime fiction translations, original works, and pseudotranslations in terms of lexical variety and lexical density, implying close levels of information load and lexical richness across these texts. This was also true of sentence length as there were no significant differences between neither of the pair groups. Thus, the findings in this study failed to substantiate the claim that translated works have lower lexical density and lexical variety (Chesterman, 2011; Laviosa, 2002) and a smaller mean sentence length than non-translated works (Laviosa, 1998, 2002). Fokin (2013) attributes such inconsistent findings on the 'simplification claim' to SL and TL typological characteristics as well as the direction of translation rather than translationality, Yuan and Gao (2008) to the grammar and vocabulary of each particular language, and Alibabaee and Salehi (2012) to the specific text types selected as the data or the particular data collection and analysis procedures. Regarding the case of Persian, some scholars have argued that Persian translations avoid repetitions present in the source texts "not out of carelessness nor out of linguistic constraints, but out of normative, stylistic considerations", catering for amplification and embellishment of translation (Taki *et al.*,

2012, p. 111; see also Alibabaee & Salehi, 2012). This last assertion may stand up for the case of pseudotranslations as well, as the examples from our corpus suggest.

With reference to explicitness, the books in all groups examined proved to be virtually as explicit regarding use of conjunctions and supplementing proper nouns with explanatory cultural information; however, optional complementizer THAT was significantly less abundant in translations and pseudotranslations in comparison to the authored texts. The latter is particularly counter-intuitive regarding a vast majority of studies on explicitation as they have generally reported higher propensity for insertion of complementizer THAT in translated works compared to authored ones (e.g., Olohan, 2001, 2004). The same tendency has been shown in interpreting settings by Kajzer-Wietrzny (2012, 2018) and Sandrelli and Bendazzoli (2005) as well. Olohan and Baker (2000) have reported on lower frequency of optional THAT following SAY and TELL in British National Corpus (BNC) than Translational English Corpus (TEC) and similarly Roos (2009) has shown a lower rate of occurrence of optional complementizer after certain verbs in authored than translated texts in Afrikaans newspapers, and so has Kenny (2005) for reporting THAT in a German-English corpus of literary works. For the case of Persian, the language in focus in the present study, Vahedikia and Pirnajmuddin (2011) have reported a higher propensity for inclusion of complementizer THAT, as an optional syntactic element, in translated literature in contrast to non-translated literature in their analysis of a Persian parallel literary corpus. In the same line, Esfandiari, Mahadi, Jamshid, and Rahimi (2012) have indicated more extensive use of optional THAT in English translations of Sa'di's Golestan than its Persian original. Notwithstanding, spelling out the optional complementizer in the current study showed an opposite proclivity as optional THAT was twice as frequent in authored works in comparison to pseudotranslated and translated.

Many studies have revealed that translated texts are more explicit than authored works with respect to clausal ties, including conjunctions and logical links, e.g., Qian (2016); Magalhães and Batista (2002); Chen (2006); Englund Dimitrova (2005); Séguinot (1998); Øverås (1998); Pápai (2004); Xiao and Yue (2009); and Sipayung, Lubis, Setia, and Silalahi (2017). Blum-Kulka's explicitation hypothesis (1986, p. 300) notes "an observed cohesive explicitness from SL to TL texts regardless of the increase traceable to differences between the two linguistic and textual systems involved." Numerous inquiries in Persian have likewise indicated that Persian translations tend to explicate conjunctions much more than non-translated literature, including Masoumi Tadayyon (2012); Rahbar (2014); Mousavi (2011); Beikian, Yarahmadzehi, and Karimpour Natanzi (2013); Vahedikia and Oliaeinia (2016); Esfandiari, Mahadi, Jamshid, and Rahimi (2012); Yalsharzeh (2011); Khorshidi Mehr (2010); Jafari (2009); Monshi Toussi and Jangi (2013); Reazi (2011); Baleghizadeh and Sharifi (2010); and Jalali (2011) (cf. Taghavi & Hashemi, 2021). Similar findings have been announced for presence of pragmatic cultural information. Some studies have found explicit cultural information to be more abundant in translations in contrast to original works, e.g., Olk (2013); Safari (2012); Mansour, Al-Sowaidi, and Mohammed (2014); Vahedikia and Oliaeinia (2016); Pápai (2004); Englund Dimitrova (2005); Qian (2016); Olahan (2004); and Moradi, Rahbar, and Olfat (2015). That being said, the findings in the current study failed to indicate a significant difference between pseudotranslated, authored, and translated literature for insertion of cultural information beside proper nouns.

In our corpus, interference was a prevalent feature in all the translated works, yet intriguingly, it was also present in the pseudotranslations although not to the same extent as translations. The consensus view seems to be that interference is an 'unintentional' phenomenon (Thorovský, 2009). Correspondingly, Toury (2012) emphasizes that interference is an integral component of translation unless a deliberate attempt is made to avoid it. Notwithstanding, for pseudotranslations in our study, the contrary appears to be at work, i.e., it might be the

case that interference has been applied rather willfully, i.e., probably as a *deliberate 'strategy'* (see Veisbergs, 2016). Accordingly, and given that interference has been potentially used as a positive instrument in this case, i.e., as a strategy, it would be more logical to view it as a 'transfer' operation, not as interference (see also Mauranen, 2007; Øverås, 1998) and more specifically as 'pseudo-transfer' inasmuch as there was no source text to function as the genesis of transfer in this particular case. This also lends support to Mauranen's assertion (2004) that transfer might come to the text without having any stimulus.

According to Toury, "the more the make-up of a text is taken as a factor in the formulation of its translation, the more the target text can be expected to show traces of interference" (2012, p. 312). The translational semblance in case of the pseudotranslations here was accomplished by resorting to expressions and sentences indicating signs of anomaly in the lexicogrammatical realization of the text. To Parks (2007), lexical, syntactic, and cultural interferences are distinguishing elements of translated literature as they inevitably slow down the reader, attract attention, or invite to explore meaning (see also Thorovský, 2009). Along the same line, Veisbergs (2016) posits that syntactic interference, including clumsy structures, does not give rise to misunderstanding yet frequently exposes the 'translationality' of the text. In the translated texts in this study, syntactic interferences exhibited a significant—and in fact the strongest—contribution to translationese. Likewise, syntactic anomaly proved the most frequent type of interference within the pseudotranslated works, which initially suggests a conscious attempt at producing similitude to translated literature.

Mirabedini (1380/2001) and Khazaee and Ashrafi (1391/2012) assert that in 1953–1979, Persian gave telltale signs of being significantly affected by translation through preponderance of unnatural phrases and structures in Persian authored works. Further, Mirabedini (1396/2017) notes that Persian authorial language during this period was replete with 'interference', specifically due to the influence of indirect translation of Western fiction through intermediary languages such as Arabic. In the same line, Najafi (1361/1982) contends that as the result of encountering unnatural authorial language ensuing from frequent 'unacceptable translations', Persian writers embellished their products by 'purposive' application of interference to the brim, as a sign of modern style of writing. However, our data for interference at different levels fail to support such claims for authored crime fiction in Persian in the period examined. Notwithstanding, that the authored texts did not exhibit interference but pseudotranslations were significantly different from authored texts in this respect and indeed similar to translated works tentatively implies that there was a purposive manifestation of this tendency in pseudotranslations to maintain a translational façade—a feature also noted by Maher (2013) in her analysis of English detective stories set in Italy by the use of various English phrases seeming to have been calqued from Italian. In other words, full absence of this inclination in original works coupled with the fact that pseudotranslations had no source text to copy these elements from suggest a deliberate use of (pseudo)transfer as a translation strategy and as a disguise mechanism in the pseudotranslations.

Overall, with respect to the hypothesis put forward regarding the textual-linguistic features of the pseudotranslations and their similarities to those of the translated texts, the findings here are consistent with Du Pont (2005), Gürçağlar (2014, 2017), Kupsch-Losereit (2014), Logie (2017), Lombez (2017), Méndez-Oliver (2017), Raleigh (2017), and Toury (2005, 2012), supporting the claim that pseudotranslations integrate elements typically associated with translated literature in the target culture. The first null hypothesis here is then not supported by the results of the study. However, with respect to the second hypothesis, the findings do not bolster the claim by Gürçağlar (2014), Toury (1995, 2005, 2012), and Maher (2013), who posited that pseudotranslations 'exaggerate' translational features or 'over-do in

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imitation' of translations. Thus, the findings confirm the second null hypothesis holding that pseudotranslations do not exaggerate translational features.

Although the first hypothesis was confirmed, it should be noted that regarding the typical translational features studied here, the translations were at odds with the general reports on explicitness since the translations in our corpus were not significantly more explicit than authored texts regarding cultural information made available to the reader and explicitness of conjunctions. More surprisingly, in the only kind of explicitness that translated and authored corpora did prove to be significantly different, i.e., explicitness of complementizer THAT, it was the authored corpus that was significantly more explicit. Pseudotranslations in our study exhibited behavior similar to translated text for all kinds of explicitness examined. Regarding simplification, no significant difference was observed between pseudotranslated, authored, and translated works. Last but not least, interference proved to be significantly higher in both pseudotranslated and translated texts when compared to the authored ones. Hence, inconsistent as some of the findings are with the reports in the literature about the translation universals investigated, pseudotranslated and translated works were in great harmony in all the measures examined.

As concerns the exaggeration hypothesis, an interesting element in pseudotranslations was interference, which seems to have been exercised rather deliberately as no source text ever existed to have served as the provenance of transfer. Yet, this was just more than half the interference found in translations although pseudotranslations were significantly different from authored books as were translations. Both pseudotranslated and translated books exhibited very strong effect sizes when compared to authored books in this respect. With regard to the complementizer THAT, translations and pseudotranslations behaved almost similarly and were significantly different from the authored texts, yet the effect sizes were respectively very strong and medium for translations and pseudotranslations, demonstrating a much stronger effect on the part of the translations. The three corpora did not show any significant differences in any other feature examined.

According to Toury (2012, p. 64), when norms are active and operative, regularities could be observed in recurrent situations, which is an indication of "order and predictability". Once such regularities are recognized through their recurrence, even in cases which persons-in-the-culture may be unable to explicitly explain the norm, they can at the minimum determine when sanctioned practices are not adopted. In fact, regularities are the outcome of norms, and by the same token, proof of their activity, i.e., they are the external clues through which "instances of behavior" could be recovered (p. 63). That being the case, receivers "may have expectations about text-type and discourse conventions, about style and register, about the appropriate degree of grammaticality, about the statistical distribution of text features of all kinds, about collocations, lexical choice, and so on" (Chesterman, 2016, p. 62). The affinity of the pseudotranslations with translations rather than original works in the current study most potentially demonstrates a fair degree of compliance of pseudotranslations with the 'norm-model' governing Persian translations and observation of the expectancy norms for the translated literature in the pseudotranslations in this genre in the period and for the aspects discussed. Nonetheless, more data and larger corpora are required to be able to generalize the findings with respect to the measures explored. A stumbling block avoiding such generalization in this genre in the case of Persian is accessing more pseudotranslated works by different authors and at the same time trying to limit the time period in focus in order to achieve more consistent results. Abundant in production of pseudotranslations as the period selected is, the majority of these works were published by a handful of prolific pseudotranslators, which further limits the corpus size if to minimize the crucial issue of author's style and its effect on

the regularities studied. Yet, these findings might pose challenge to the universality of the translational tendencies studied and support the argument that they may be time- and genre-bound as the findings here are inconsistent with other studies on Persian texts in other genres and time periods.

Other studies have already shown pseudotranslations, including crime fiction (e.g., Gürçağlar, 2010; Maher, 2013; Sohár, 2000), in various literatures benefit from diverse features mostly found in translated works. The pseudotranslated crime fictional works in our corpus exhibited translational lexicogrammatical features regarding the putative universal features of translation, thus, indicating that the *pseudotranslated* crime fictions are in harmony across various literatures in their maintenance of certain translational façade to give the readers the impression of reading a translated text.

## 5. Conclusion

This study addressed the translational behavior of pseudotranslated texts. It tested hypotheses concerning similitude of pseudotranslations to translations rather than original texts and whether the pseudotranslations exaggerated translational features. Expressed in terms of effect sizes of Cohen's *d* value for 'interference', the translations and pseudotranslations yielded very large and medium effects, respectively, in comparison to the original texts; and for explicitness of 'complementizer THAT', pseudotranslations and translations both exhibited large effects compared to authored texts. As the findings demonstrated, pseudotranslations showed great affinity to translations in the elements measured, with the data indicating that the textual-linguistic makeup of the pseudotranslations in the corpus were in full agreement with those in the translated works. This is consistent with other studies in other literary traditions examining pseudotranslated crime fiction for translational characteristics. Notwithstanding, the findings in this study were counter-intuitive regarding a vast majority of reports on explicitness, which may be attributed to the norms governing translation of the genre and during the time in focus, verification of which requires larger corpora.

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Tegelberg, E. (2021). *Svensk litteratur i Frankrike – förmedling, utgivning, översättning.* CKM Förlag. ISBN 978-91-7040-151-0.

Dans le recueil d'articles intitulé *Svensk litteratur i Frankrike – förmedling, utgivning, översättning*, Elisabeth Tegelberg rassemble un grand nombre de ses publications relatives à la dissémination, la publication et la traduction d'œuvres littéraires suédoises en France. Cette collection, qu'on pourrait qualifier d'anthologie de la recherche de Tegelberg à ce sujet, regroupe sur quelque 450 pages une trentaine de textes publiés entre 1992 et 2020 sur un grand nombre de supports, allant de la presse quotidienne aux revues spécialisées, en passant par divers formats de publication en ligne. Il en suit que la composition de ce recueil est très hétérogène : la longueur, la technicité et la rigueur académique varient sensiblement d'un texte à l'autre.

L'objectif de cet ouvrage, annoncé par Tegelberg dans sa brève introduction (pp. 7-10), est de présenter une perspective sur le long terme des relations littéraires et éditoriales entre la Suède et la France. Les travaux de Tegelberg portent sur 200 ans de médiation littéraire entre ces deux pays, mais se concentrent particulièrement sur la seconde moitié du XXᵉ siècle et le début du XXIᵉ siècle. Leur période de publication, des années 1990 à nos jours, correspond à trente ans d'activité très intense dans le domaine de la traduction et de la publication d'œuvres scandinaves en France. Les textes sont regroupés dans trois grandes sections thématiques, la première portant sur la médiation littéraire de textes suédois en France, la seconde sur leur publication et la troisième sur la traduction de textes littéraires du suédois vers le français.

## Composition

La première section de cet ouvrage (« *Förmedling* ») porte sur la médiation de la littérature suédoise en France. Elle se penche sur les grands promoteurs de littérature suédoise – et parfois plus largement de littérature scandinave – en France du début du XXᵉ siècle jusqu'à nos jours. Elle se compose de cinq chapitres, dont le premier joue le rôle d'introduction à la section et présente les principaux médiateurs littéraires franco-suédois de l'époque en question. Le second chapitre introduit quelques réflexions générales sur les caractéristiques et l'évolution de la médiation littéraire au cours du siècle dernier, selon les différents profils des personnes qui se sont engagées pour faire connaître la littérature suédoise en France. Ce propos est approfondi dans les trois chapitres restants, chacun desquels est dédié à une personnalité particulière : il s'agit, respectivement, de Carl Gustaf Bjurström, Philippe Bouquet et Elena Balzamo. Ces trois portraits sont bien choisis, car ils sont révélateurs de l'hétérogénéité des vocations et activités que Tegelberg regroupe sous le concept de « médiation littéraire » et participent ainsi à la mise en évidence de la complexité de cette activité.

La seconde section de l'ouvrage de Tegelberg (« *Utgivning* ») porte sur la publication d'œuvres suédoises en France et se compose de quinze textes. La moitié d'entre eux – sept chapitres en tout – prennent pour objet d'étude les polars scandinaves et leur succès retentissant dans les librairies françaises depuis plusieurs décennies. Les huit chapitres restants portent sur la place qu'occupent les œuvres littéraires nordiques en traduction sur le marché français (deux chapitres), sur la dynamique de publication d'œuvres suédoises en France depuis la seconde moitié du XXᵉ siècle (trois chapitres), ainsi que sur le parcours éditorial en France de deux auteurs de grand renom : August Strindberg (deux chapitres) et Per Olov Enquist (un chapitre).

La troisième et ultime section de cet ouvrage, intitulée « *Översättning* », regroupe douze textes qui portent sur la traduction de textes littéraires, ou sur la traduction littéraire en général, du suédois vers le français. Les trois premiers chapitres introduisent une réflexion à proprement parler traductologique sur la gestion de l'interculturalité dans les textes, sur le vieillissement des traductions et sur les motifs de la retraduction. Sept autres chapitres s'intéressent à la traduction et à la retraduction des œuvres de certains auteurs (Vilhelm Moberg, un chapitre ; Jonas Gardell, trois chapitres ; August Strindberg, trois chapitres). L'analyse des traductions que Tegelberg conduit dans ces textes se fonde sur l'étude et la catégorisation d'un certain nombre de stratégies utilisées par les traducteurs : la traduction littérale (*direktöversättning*), l'explicitation (*precisering*), l'adaptation (*adaptering*), la généralisation (*generalisering*) ou encore la paraphrase (*förklaring*). Dans les deux chapitres restants, Tegelberg décrit le fonctionnement de ces différentes stratégies et les difficultés que peut présenter leur utilisation ; elle illustre son propos sur la base d'un corpus composé de différentes œuvres de différents auteurs.

**Appréciation critique générale**

Cet ouvrage nous semble certainement atteindre son objectif proclamé, à savoir la présentation d'une perspective panoramique des liens littéraires unissant la France et la Suède au cours d'une période particulièrement dynamique pour l'édition d'œuvres littéraires suédoises en France. Les deux premières sections notamment permettent au lecteur de se faire une idée précise des mécanismes de la médiation littéraire franco-suédoise et de la dynamique du succès de la littérature scandinave sur le marché français depuis quelques décennies. La troisième section, qui porte spécifiquement sur la traduction de ces œuvres, promettait d'être la plus pertinente pour un public de traductologues ; malheureusement, elle nous a paru mal intégrée dans la trame de l'ouvrage. À l'exception des articles qui traitent de la retraduction et donc de l'évolution des exigences des éditeurs et des lecteurs, cette section ne contribue que peu à une réflexion de grande ampleur sur les liens qui unissent la traduction à la médiation littéraire. D'un point de vue purement traductologique, les études de cas et les analyses conduites par Tegelberg sont tout à fait convaincantes et intéressantes, sans pour autant prétendre présenter d'avancées majeures pour la recherche en traduction littéraire.

Somme toute, cette anthologie des publications de Tegelberg relatives à la dissémination, la publication et la traduction d'œuvres littéraires suédoises en France constitue une lecture de choix pour toutes les personnes qui s'intéressent à l'histoire éditoriale récente unissant la France et la Suède, surtout celles dont la curiosité porte plus sur le phénomène culturel et interculturel de la dissémination d'œuvres littéraires que sur les détails techniques de la pratique traductive. Bien que certains textes ne soient plus d'actualité – la première publication de certains articles remonte à trente ans ! –, la perspective historique qu'ils offrent sur une dynamique que Tegelberg a suivi tout au long de sa carrière en fait un témoignage unique d'une période bien particulière pour la littérature scandinave en France. En revanche, l'hétérogénéité des supports d'origine des textes rassemblés ne nous permet d'identifier un public cible clairement défini pour cet ouvrage : les nombreux articles initialement publiés dans la presse grand public présentent un intérêt limité pour un public académique, alors que les articles écrits pour des revues spécialisées sont trop techniques pour un public non initié. Aussi ce recueil d'articles n'est-il pas un ouvrage qui se lit d'un bout à l'autre, mais plutôt une collection de textes portant sur trois thèmes voisins (la médiation littéraire, l'histoire éditoriale et la traduction littéraire) à consulter sélectivement par le lecteur, selon ses intérêts et ses exigences académiques.

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**Faber, P. & L'Homme, M.-C. (2022). *Theoretical perspectives on terminology. Explaining terms, concepts and specialized knowledge.* John Benjamins Publishing Company. ISBN 978 90 272 1106 4.**

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### Content and organization of the book

The present volume offers a panorama of various theoretical approaches to terminology as a field, along with reflections as to what makes – and how to make – a terminology (as a body of terms), down to perspectives on the concept of term itself. Through 500 pages (references excluded) and 22 chapters, it (re)introduces the reader to the theories and approaches that have allowed for the emergence and evolution of terminological research, from Wüster's General Theory of Terminology (GTT) through Socioterminology, Textual terminology, Sociocognitive terminology or Corpus-based terminology among others, all of this under the pen of authors who have largely contributed to this development, and while taking into consideration topics which have been central to the theories aforementioned. Notable examples of such topics are variation, standards and standardization, multidimensionality, diachrony, genre – all of which are defined and illustrated through concrete examples.

The 22 chapters are categorized into 7 thematic parts, supported with 72 pages of references and an index. The first part focuses on Wüster's General Theory, followed by a part presenting approaches that have drawn on the GTT's knowledge-based perspective and equipped it with the most recent tools available for concept and knowledge treatment and representation. As such, these first two parts tend to stand out from the rest of the volume by considering terms abstracted from texts and as belonging to a conceptual system. At the same time, the second part of the book and the contemporary perspectives it offers on the knowledge-based approach show that the latter is far from being out-dated, as each chapter highlights its applications, especially in regard with other fields.

With part 3, the reader is invited to more radically shift away from the GTT through two perspectives that have developed in reaction to the latter and which have had the study of variation as their cornerstone, namely Socioterminology and Cultural terminology. Drawing on the principles formalized by the two latter, the two approaches presented in Part 4, Textual terminology and "Terminology and lexical semantics", respectively show how studying terms in discourse and how taking the linguistic dimension of terms into consideration might be fruitful for terminological work, while Part 5 highlights the importance of corpora as both a tool for term and knowledge extraction, and as an entity whose defining features might influence the semantic and formal characteristics of terms. In part 6, the authors draw on neurosciences and cognitive linguistics to highlight the relationship between terms, concepts and cognition and invite one to use this principle as a basis for term analysis and description. As for part 7, it is dedicated to the study of terminological variation and equivalence. It starts with an article by Freixa that provides a most useful typology of the different types and causes of variation and which, as such, helps situate the following chapters.

All in all, this organization in parts allows for the identification of broader trends of research in terminology, which might help the reader make sense of the wide array of research conducted in the field.

**Recurrent themes**

In spite of the great variety of approaches presented in this book, several themes and ideas tend to run through many of the chapters. First, several authors argue that terminology has to incorporate – but also to deal with – new technologies. The latter, which tend to come from neighbouring fields such as Natural Language Processing, Corpus Linguistics or Knowledge Engineering, are often presented as unavoidable, as what had driven terminology onward, but also as presenting a challenge to terminologists. While some authors thus call for collaborating with other disciplines to facilitate their use, others have already incorporated advanced technological tools into their methodological frameworks, thus redefining the skills necessary for the terminologist who would want to adopt these more tech-savvy approaches.

Consequently, a second thread is that terminology is at the crossroads of several disciplines and that it is in part through this collaboration with the latter that the field has evolved. Paradoxically enough, by highlighting the role of other disciplines in reference to terminology as a field, the authors also allow the latter's outlines to take shape. While terminology shares some features with ontology, for instance, Montiel-Ponsada (pp. 149-173) makes it clear that these are two different fields, notably putting forward how the latter can complement one another.

Finally, an idea that is either demonstrated or mentioned in most chapters is that terms are not the monoreferential and unequivocal units that the GTT was aiming for: rather, they are multidimensional, incorporating a cognitive, linguistic and social dimension. As such, the book tends to demonstrate the relevance of Sager's definition of terminology (1990) and of Cabré's Communicative Theory of Terminology (CTT) (2000), while leaving us to wonder whether the latter constitute the new overarching theory for contemporary terminology. One might in fact regret that no chapter was dedicated to explaining the CTT, all the more so as it is mentioned in several chapters through most of the parts. But does terminology really need an all-encompassing theory that would explicitly connect, harmonize and constitute a framework for all the perspectives that have emerged since its institutionalization as a discipline? While this question is left unanswered, the diversity and richness of the book in terms of the different approaches it covers suggest that the field actually thrives the most when it is not bound to one particular approach.

**Contributions**

One of the first contributions of the book is a reappraisal of Eugen Wüster's General Theory of Terminology by John Humbley and Danielle Candel who, by presenting and assessing the criticisms that have been levelled at this theory, are able to highlight its merits through three main arguments: Wüster was more nuanced than has been assumed as regards variation and synonymy, his prescriptivism and guidelines for standardization are useful if not necessary in certain contexts, and he largely initiated the institutionalization of terminology as a field of research. At the same time, the authors acknowledge the limits of Wüster's approach, which are such that it appears difficult today for a terminologist to fully embrace the theoretical and methodological framework he has devised. The result of this reappraisal is a relatively balanced picture of Wüster's ideas and contributions, which might in fact more be seen as a tribute to the latter than as a call for reconsidering his framework as a valid and sufficient theory of terminology. Quite telling of the persistence of the criticisms directed at Wüster's theory is the fact that many of the chapters in the book tend to start with a presentation of the limits of his approach, which they somehow constitute a response to. As such, it seems that

the merits of the GTT also lie in its limits, which have allowed for the development of a great variety of reactions to emerge, as illustrated by the many perspectives and methodological approaches presented in this volume.

All in all, without aiming at exhaustiveness, this book offers a thorough overview of the theories, standards and methodological frameworks that have guided terminological work since its institutionalization as a scientific discipline. Regarding what is not covered in the book, one might regret the absence of a chapter that would offer a reflection around central concepts in terminological work such as expertise and domains, whose boundaries and definitions might be challenged by terminological studies that tackle topics which are at the frontier of these meta-categories, such as planned obsolescence, feminism or climate change (Bordet, 2013; Delavigne, 2022).

In spite of necessarily uncovered topics, the volume might be of great assistance to researchers and students who need to determine the theoretical and methodological framework that fits most their research project, providing them with a wide array of possible perspectives, while also offering elements of answer to questions that typically arise when elaborating a research project: how to build a corpus? Which tools to use for term extraction? Which forms of variation to consider? What are the standards to follow when building a term bank? In that regard, a thematic index – along with the alphabetically one that is already in the book – could have proved useful, enhancing the propensity of the book to become a key tool in the terminologist's toolbox.

Bordet, G. (2013). Brouillage des frontières, rencontres des domaines: Quelles conséquences pour l'enseignement de la terminologie et de la traduction spécialisée. *ASp. la revue du GERAS, 64*, 95–115. https://doi.org/10.4000/asp.3851

Cabré Castellví, M. T. (2000). Elements for a theory of terminology: Towards an alternative paradigm. *Terminology. International Journal of Theoretical and Applied Issues in Specialized Communication, 6*(1), 35–57. https://doi.org/10.1075/term.6.1.03cab

Delavigne, V. (2022). La notion de domaine en question: À propos de l'environnement. *Neologica – Néologie et environnement, 16,* 27–59. https://doi.org/10.48611/isbn.978-2-406-13219-6.p.0027

Sager, J. C. (1990). *A practical course in terminology processing*. John Benjamins Publishing Company.

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**Hermans, T. (2022).** *Translation and History. A Textbook.* **Routledge. ISBN 978-1-138-03697-0.**

La investigación en historia de la traducción cuenta ya con un considerable recorrido, si bien, como señala Hermans (2022, p. viii), se ha llevado a cabo de manera bastante fragmentada. Por ello, este volumen constituye, ya de entrada, una aportación relevante y necesaria. Son relativamente pocos los trabajos que abordan de manera extensa las cuestiones metodológicas en historia de la traducción (véase Lépinette, 1997; Pym, 1998; López Alcalá, 2001; o D'hulst, 2014). Por tanto, el hecho de presentar una investigación de amplio alcance y con especial énfasis en la metodología, resulta ciertamente pertinente, en especial para aquellas personas que, a través de distintos estudios de posgrado, se están iniciando en la investigación en este ámbito. Sin embargo, el interés de esta obra va mucho más allá de su contribución en tanto que manual para investigadores noveles.

En repetidas ocasiones se ha explorado la interfaz entre la historia y la investigación histórica en traducción, y se ha argumentado a favor de abordar la investigación histórica en traducción desde los planteamientos, teorías y paradigmas propuestos por los historiadores (Malena, 2011; Rundle, 2012; Rundle & Rafael, 2016; o Rizzi, Lang & Pym, 2019, entre otros). En estos trabajos, se han puesto de relieve las sinergias entre la historia y la traducción, aunque no se ha llegado discutir en profundidad, ni a ilustrar en detalle, cómo implementar este trasvase disciplinar. Hermans (2022) reconoce en su obra la impermeabilidad de las distintas áreas de conocimiento, lo cual supone un reto a la hora de exportar metodologías y saber encajarlas en el área de los Estudios de Traducción; es un reto que la obra supera con éxito.

El título del volumen *Translation and History. A Textbook*, refleja a la perfección el contenido y su principal propósito. En palabras de Hermans (2022, p. ix):

> The aim was not to write a research monograph or a research manual, but a textbook setting out key ideas and developments and offering methodological guidance.

Para ello, el libro se estructura en un prefacio, seis capítulos y la conclusión. En todos los capítulos, y a modo de hilo vertebrador, encontramos, en primer lugar, una revisión, con un todo didáctico y accesible para las personas que no están familiarizadas con la investigación en este ámbito, de contribuciones realizadas por distintos historiadores. Seguidamente, se identifica el papel de la traducción en dichas contribuciones, cuya relevancia aumenta cuando se adoptan perspectivas globales o transculturales. A través de la presentación de numerosos estudios de caso para ilustrar los conceptos clave tratados en cada capítulo, se comenta la presencia de la traducción en los trabajos llevados a cabo por historiadores y se exponen, de manera crítica, distintas vías de investigación histórica sobre la traducción partiendo de las teorías o los paradigmas comentados. Al final de cada capítulo se proporcionan sugerencias de lecturas adicionales, acompañadas de un breve resumen.

El primer capítulo, "Stories and Histories" (pp. 1-25), se centra en el concepto de narrativa y los planteamientos de Whyte sobre las narrativas y la investigación histórica. Se revisan sus antecedentes y algunos conceptos clave de esta aproximación, como "interpretación", "perspectiva", "subjetividad", "relato histórico", que relaciona con estudios realizados en el ámbito de la historia de la traducción. Asimismo, se identifican e ilustran varias tendencias tras la aportación de Whyte.

El capítulo 2, "Translation History" (pp. 26-52), trata las cuestiones centrales en el planteamiento de proyectos de investigación en historia de la traducción (el objetivo, las preguntas de investigación, el acceso y la recopilación de las fuentes primarias, la construcción del relato histórico), la periodización y la cuestión del espacio. El autor discute estas cuestiones a través de la revisión de distintos proyectos de investigación. Asimismo, examina la evolución experimentada en las últimas décadas hacia enfoques más centrados en los agentes (frente a enfoques más tradicionales que privilegian los textos) y discute el papel de las antologías como medio de acceder a las fuentes primarias.

El capítulo 3, "Questions of scale" (pp. 53-78), explora el alcance de la investigación histórica y presenta enfoques metodológicos como la microhistoria, la historia transnacional o la perspectiva mundial. De manera descriptiva y vinculada con trabajos de historiadores que han adoptado estos enfoques, se incide en las ventajas, desventajas y pertinencia de cada uno de ellos para la investigación histórica en el ámbito de la traducción.

El capítulo 4, "Concepts" (pp. 79-99), contiene la revisión de las aportaciones fundacionales para la historia conceptual de Koselleck y Skimmer. El autor resalta que la traducción ha estado presente en ambas escuelas, si bien desde esta rama de la historia se la considera un medio, una herramienta que canaliza el viaje de los conceptos de una lengua y de una cultura a otra. Pese a las divergencias en el posicionamiento del énfasis y la perspectiva adoptada al abordar la traducción, Hermans pone de relieve el terreno común compartido por ambas áreas.

En el capítulo 5, "Memory" (pp. 100-114), se presentan los Estudios de la memoria a través de la revisión de sus conceptos básicos y su origen y evolución. Se destaca el carácter transcultural que han adquirido y se incide en el papel de la traducción en el estudio de la construcción de la memoria transnacional.

En el capítulo 6, "Translation as history" (pp. 115-138), se abordan las traducciones como objetos de investigación histórica en los que se pondrán de manifiesto trazas que las interconectan y vinculan con el ambiente en el que surgen, entendido este en un sentido amplio que incluye desde convenciones textuales y debates ideológicos hasta la experiencia personal (Hermans, 2022, p. 120), puesto que las traducciones son productos de su tiempo. Desde este punto de partida, Hermans distingue dos enfoques metodológicos: el primero se centra en el estudio de los aspectos textuales de las traducciones a través de los cuales podemos construir su historia; y el segundo nos permite explorar la traducción como intervención, para lo cual Hermans presenta de manera breve su propuesta de modelo de análisis (Hermans, 2014).

En la conclusión (pp. 139-140), Hermans refuerza la idea que sustenta este volumen. La traducción está presente en las investigaciones de los historiadores y la adopción de perspectivas transculturales en las distintas ramas de la historia ha servido para abonar aún más el fértil, y aún poco explorado, terreno en común entre ambas disciplinas.

Hermans nos ofrece un volumen con un planteamiento innovador y enriquecedor para la investigación en historia de la traducción. Si bien son destacables los esfuerzos, como el autor señala en el prefacio (2022, p. ix), por escapar de la hegemonía de la tradición anglófona con estudios de caso provenientes de otras tradiciones como la china, india o alemana, las tradiciones europeas más periféricas reciben poca atención en la obra.

En el ámbito de los Estudios de traducción, la interdisciplinariedad es un lugar común; no obstante, la aplicación de esta interdisciplinariedad a la vertiente investigadora resulta aún poco frecuente desde el punto de vista metodológico. Por ello, a nuestro juicio, la aportación más significativa de la obra reseñada reside en que Hermans recorre el camino entre la historia y la investigación histórica en traducción, y al hacerlo, gracias al tono didáctico del volumen, acerca conceptos, paradigmas y teorías propios de la historia a personas no familiarizadas

con esta disciplina. De este modo, este volumen nos proporciona sólidos puentes que podemos transitar al plantear nuestra investigación; nos presenta, sin caer en la prescripción, un amplio abanico de posibilidades para adoptar un enfoque metodológico interdisciplinar y poder abordar la investigación histórica en traducción desde una perspectiva enriquecida por contribuciones realizadas por historiadores que, a su vez, pueden beneficiarse de nuestra aproximación centrada en la traducción.

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