TRADUCIR LA ORALIDAD: ENTRE LA EXTRANJERIZACIÓN Y LA DOMESTICACIÓN

TRANSLATING ORALITY: BETWEEN FOREIGNIZATION AND DOMESTICATION

Hanan Bennoudi
English Department
Faculty of Letters & Humanities – Agadir (Morocco)

Recibido: 15 de julio 2017. Aceptado: 1 de septiembre 2017

Resumen: El presente estudio aborda la traducción de cuentos Tarifit y proverbios Darija al inglés, con el objeto de mostrar la importancia de la cultura en los procesos de traducción, "domesticación" y "extranjerización" y la reconstrucción del texto fuente centrado en la equivalencia y la intraducibilidad. Los cuentos y los proverbios refuerzan las percepciones populares positivas o negativas sobre una sociedad determinada. También reflejan fuertemente los valores culturales y el entorno físico en el que se utilizan. Asimismo expresan instrucción sobre conceptos, normas y comportamiento. Sin embargo, no todas las culturas expresan estos conceptos, valores o realidades de la misma manera. Por lo tanto, la traducción se presenta como una herramienta de acercamiento para crear un diálogo creativo y dinámico en el marco de la literatura mundial y descubrir cómo las diferentes culturas transmiten los mismos mensajes mediante el uso de diferentes mecanismos.

Mi análisis permitire ver, por un lado, cómo se aborda la traducción de varios cuentos y cómo ha sido necesario elegir las estrategia y los mecanismos correctos para proporcionar un texto objetivo que exprese la singularidad del idioma y la cultura en la que se produjeron, sin perder la identidad del texto. Los cuentos marroquíes involucran valores nativos, prácticas religiosas y estándares sociales que rara vez coinciden con las expectativas del receptor. Como traductor, tuve que agregar detalles y circunstancias para ubicar el cuento tanto en el tiempo como en el espacio a fin de asegurar que el material sea comprensible para el público que no está familiarizado con el trasfondo oral amazigh marroquí.

Por otro lado, la colección de proverbios pone de manifiesto el hecho de que incluso si diferentes culturas pudieran expresar la misma realidad, misterio o sabiduría con diferentes palabras y expresione,; siempre hay valores y sentimientos humanos que son compartidos por diferentes personas en todo el mundo y se expresan de manera similar.
Palabras clave: traducción, darija, taarift, inglés

Abstract: My concern in this paper addresses the translation of Tarifit[1] tales and Darija[2] proverbs into English. Tales and proverbs reinforce popularly held perceptions about a certain society, positive or negative. They also strongly reflect the cultural values and the physical milieu in which they are used. They express instruction about concepts, norms and behaviour. However, not all cultures express these concepts, values or realities in the same way. For example, while some cultures may refer to snow, sea, grass….; others might use camels, snakes, deserts…etc. Therefore, translation comes as a tool of rapprochement to create a creative and dynamic dialogue among world literature and discover how different cultures vehicle same messages through the use of different mechanisms.

My analysis will bring to view, on the one hand, how I tackled the translation of a number of tales, and how it was necessary to choose the right strategy and mechanisms in order to provide a target text which would express the uniqueness of the language and the culture in which they were produced without losing the text's identity. Moroccan tales involve native values, religious practices and social standards that might rarely match the receptor's expectations. As a translator, I had to add details and circumstances in order to situate the tale both in time and space so as to assure the material is comprehensible to the audience who is unfamiliar with the Moroccan Amazigh oral background.

On the other hand, the collection of proverbs will reveal the fact that even if different cultures might express the same reality, mystery or wisdom with different words and expressions; there are always human values and feelings that are shared by different people across the globe and expressed in similar ways.

The discussion in this paper, therefore, revolves around the importance of culture in translation, 'domestication' and 'foreignization' processes and the reconstruction of the source text focusing on equivalence and untranslatability.
Key words: Translation, Darija, Taarift, English

Introduction

Oral literature is as old as man; it has been part of the Amazigh culture for many centuries. Tinfas[3] remain the most important genre and have played an important role in touching the heart of our collective being and permitted to people, young and old, to shift beyond the boundaries of reality. However, Tarifit tales have remained *terra incognita* to this day because they were shut down and stuffed in the family and village context. So, since a nation's culture is a combination of diverse voices which have a common goal: The need to tell their stories and recreate their myths; it is very important to translate these tales into English so they can travel to other peoples and other cultures. Isn't cultural diversity about making other countries' stories part of one's own cultural repertoire? Of course yes and translation is, par excellence, the best tool that helps people discover other experiences, signs and different dimensions of similar stories.

In addition, a collection of Moroccan proverbs will show that different cultures might express the same feeling, value or wisdom by using different means and at the same time they can match on many occasions while expressing the same universal human values and principles. So, translation becomes the best tool to communicate those ideas across time and space, to bridge the gap between people despite their distance, origin and culture; and promote more understanding and tolerance.

Translation and Culture:

Translation can not be simply considered as a mere linguistic operation or a simple act of communication between source language (SL) readers and target language (TL) readers. It is a transfer from one culture to another because we do not translate words in a vacuum but we translate ideas, norms, signs from source culture (SC) to target culture (TC). It is thanks to translation, new texts are introduced into a culture and the latter undergoes an innovation and embraces a new cultural knowledge which builds bridges among people from different hemispheres of the

planet. It is thanks to translation that cross-cultural contacts are improved and promoted, and the service that translators render to enhance cultures and nurture languages has been significant throughout history. In 1989, Duff stated that without translation:

> *There would be no 'Glasnost' or 'Perestroika', no Cannes film festival, no Nobel Prize, no advances in medicine, science, or engineering, no international law, no Olympic games, no Hamlet, no Peace & War. (7)*

According to many linguists, language is the essential instrument/tool by which culture is expressed, a viaduct for the beliefs, customs, rituals and behaviours which constitute cultural identity. So there is a dynamic relationship between language, culture and thought. That is why many translation theorists emphasized the cultural dimension in translation. For them, a good translator should be familiar with the culture, the customs and social settings of both source and target languages. This socio-cultural awareness can only improve the quality of translation.

According to Hatim and Mason (1990), the social context in translating a text is probably a more important variable in its genre since "translating is a communicative process which takes place within a social context." (3) Consequently, translation is a medium by which beliefs, customs, rituals and behaviours of a society/culture (SC) are transmitted to the audience of another society/culture (TC). This transfer has to be carried out very carefully by the translator because every culture expresses its idiosyncrasies in a way that is 'culture bound' i.e. cultural words, proverbs, idiomatic expressions and tales, whose origin and use are intrinsically and uniquely bound to the culture concerned, are not necessarily expressed in a similar way in different languages. . Mona Baker (1992) confirms this by stating that " the way a language chooses to express or not express various meanings cannot be depicted and only occasionally matches the way another language chooses to express the same reality" (68).

Therefore, translation has, without a shadow of doubt, proved to be a cultural act, an act that "inevitably involves at least two languages and two cultural traditions i.e. at

least two sets of norm systems on each level" (Toury 1995: 56). In other words, we cannot study nor apply translation as a mere linguistic process without referring to the socio-cultural backgrounds of the languages involved. Malinowski explains that "a language is essentially rooted in the reality of the culture…it cannot be explained without constant reference to [the] broader context of verbal utterance" (Quoted in Katan 2004: 99).

It is important to emphasize here that the process of transmitting cultural elements through translation is a complicated task because culture is a complex collections of experiences that condition daily life. Beliefs, attitudes and feelings change from culture to culture. A source language may express a behaviour that is totally unknown to the target language audience. To illustrate, social relationships are a cultural element. In Moroccan Amazigh culture, people live in extended families which eventually result in showing respect to the elders by addressing them in a certain way. For instance, in Tarifit the eldest brother in a family is called '*3zizi'* while in Tashlhit he is called ' *dadda'*. Because of the absence of a word in target language that has the same evocative value of source language, both words can be literally translated by 'uncle' in English. In this context, "the literal translation does not secure referential and pragmatic equivalence to the original" (Newmark 1968: 9) and therefore the optimal choice would be transliterating the word to reflect the idiosyncrasy of the language.

So, no matter how competent a translator can be and how familiar s/he is with the linguistic and cultural background of SL and TL; there are always 'alien' words or concepts that can not be translated. Here the translator has to convey the message in anything but alien way which may cause misunderstanding or confusion to the target audience having a different cultural background (social standards, religion, norms, and habits….etc.).

The Translation Procedure:

a Translating Tales

Folktales are universal and they exist in all cultures. They are mythical, magical and extraordinary. They

transmit a cultural heritage and they always produce the same fascination on young and old generations by teaching human values through dealing with contrasts such as evil and good, rich and poor, justice and injustice…etc. Many of us had the chance to read one of the famous tales of Perrault, Grimms and Anderson; and travelled to a world of fairies, castles and ogresses through the pages of The Beauty & The Beast, Cindrella, Gretel & Hensel…But unfortunately, very few people are aware of the rich repertoire of Tarifit folktales. In these folktales, we are able to see ordinary moments in the lives of ordinary characters whose life is marked by extraordinary events that render their lives unreal and imaginary. We see man and women struggling to survive to jealousy, fear, regret, love…

It is important to understand that during my translation of Tarifit tales I was aware it was not an easy task. Many types of barriers affect the transmission of oral literacy including geographical, political, religious, cultural and language boundaries. In addition, the formulaic expressions used in opening and closing, catch phrases, rhetoric differ from one language to another. I was required to transplant a text steeped in one culture, one history into another socio-cultural environment especially that myths and legends are major components of any culture and present major obstacles for a translator. The larger the distance is, the more difficult the translation process will be. However, when we translate an Amazigh tale into English, we are not only translating an individual performance but an example of a genre that is common to both traditions. So, folk narrative is characterized by a high degree of translatability because we are helped by the fact that the folktale is a kind of universal genre whose narrative motif and tale types are shared by traditions that stretch from Morocco to India and from Spain to America.

However, translating these tales is not a simple matter of substituting words. The translator has to deal with all the usual non-equivalence between linguistic structures, social phenomena and the social and ideological frames by which these phenomena are 'read'. Therefore, the responsibility of the translator is to produce a text that reads

comfortably and sounds 'natural' without violating the norms of the folktale style generally recognised within the community nor destroy the features that endow the original text with its particular quality. According to Von Sydow (1948: 52) " in order for a tale to succeed in a new cultural milieu…it will adapt itself more and more to prevailing taste, becoming fully acclimatised" (in Bassnett 1990: 50). Here is an excerpt from an Amazigh tale:

> *Source language: gizman, ira ijja ijjen wargaz imrk s thnain n timgharin.*
>
> *Faulty translation: in the past, was there a man married to two women*
>
> *Correct translation: once upon a time, there lived a man who had two wives*

Benjamin (1966) argues that the task of the translator of a tale must "consist in finding the intended effect…upon the language into which he is translating which produces in it the echo of the original" (Quoted in Faiq 2004: 75). So, in my English translation of Tarifit tales, it was deemed appropriate and consistent with the spirit of the tale to add some words, omit others in order to give the reader the chance to follow the smooth transition of events which will fill his soul with emotions. Bassnett states:

> Stories are always changed in their retelling, just as translations always change the original text upon which they are based. There can never be sameness in translation, for a text moves across languages, so as it is decoded and recoded, dis-remembered and re-membered, reshaped and remade into a new original to be read anew. (2014: 16)

For example, some of the tales I translated are loaded with religious, historical and religious references. To give the closest approximation of the source text, it was necessary to opt for explanatory footnotes because some of these allusions give a certain density to the language and need to be explicated in the translation in order to bring forth the richness and the spirit of the Tarifit tale to the reader. For instance, in a tale entitled 'The Tambourine' I added the following explanatory footnote: *'Years ago, beggars in*

most regions of Morocco used to beg for money or old clothes while playing with a tambourine and most of the time singing verses from the Coran.'

> *One day, a beggar passed by the house and started singing and playing with his tambourine.*

However, some cultural references in tales (demons possessing bodies, step mothers getting rid of foster kids, ogresses eating children…etc.) do not need a footnote because they are either clear from the contextual milieu or shared by both cultures as a universal concept. So adopting to keep them will definitely give the original flavor of a different culture. For instance, the reference to ogress can be done using three different words namely ' thusra', ' thargou' or 'nunja'. By choosing to keep the word in Tarifit, I am giving the chance to the foreign reader to discover the target culture, know its idiosyncrasies and enjoy its beauty. This is what Venuti calls ' Foreignization' a process which " does not offer unmediated access to the foreign text…but rather constructs a certain image of the foreign that is informed by the receiving situation" (Venuti 2008: 19-20). He explains that "foreignization is a highly desirable…strategic cultural intervention" which aims at "[sending] the reader abroad by making the receiving culture aware of the linguistic and cultural differences inherent in the foreign text" (in Munday 2012: 219)

Also particularly challenging from the translation point of view was handling the absence of an item from the cultural repertoire of the target readers. For example, the word ' aqdih' refers to a utensil made with mud used by people to store food for a longer time. So, because there is no equivalent material existing in the target culture, the translator is faced with two choices, either keep the word as it is or replace it by 'container', a choice that risks a whole domestication of the foreign text. Venuti believes that 'domestication' deprives the text from its identity and negates the chance to readers of foreign text to discover the world of this text with its surprises and shocks. According to Cohen (1962) domestication involves " the risk of reducing individual authors' styles and national tricks of speech to a plain prose uniformity" (in Venuti 2008: 6)

On the other hand, I think that the translator has to keep the rhythm of the tale created by the imagery and the word-play. So, in many cases, for the sake of clarity, I needed to shorten and simplify the style without sacrificing the repetitive quality of the style of tale telling. At different places in the different tales I translated, there was a need to sacrifice stylistic idiosyncrasies because they were hard to preserve or they could impede comprehensibility by violating the norms of the target language. According to Maria Tymzoco:

> Translation in oral tradition also involves adaptation to the poetics and the grammar of the receptor literary system. Translation adopts the motifs, themes, formulas and other structures that make memorable speech possible in the receptor system. (in Bassnett and Lefevere (eds) 1990: 53)

In other words, we cannot translate a tale literally; it will automatically die and lose its function as a literature whose aim is to reach a wider audience. Consider the following excerpts from different tales:

Example 1:

Source Language: Adusha qaa minghay bash adirigh amshek ayajdid

Literal translation: I will give all that I have to be like you bird

Improved translation: I can give anything to be free like you little bird

Example 2:

Source language: ira yejja dlmiskine oughas khli mingha shen tharwa ines.

Literal translation: He was poor; he did not even have what his children would eat.

Improved translation: He was so poor he could not even provide his family with their daily bread.

Example 3:

Source language: iffagh iqem igour igour igour, iqda3 seb3a nidoura d seb3a nrbhoura.

Literal translation: he went out, walked, walked, walked, crossed seven mountains and seven seas

Improved translation: he set out a journey across the seven hills and the seven streams

The important question of choosing a particular style in the target language and replacing a word by another is solved, I think, in the translator's subconscious during the reception of the original. I believe it is a natural process that takes place before the very act of translation begins. A translator's job is to follow the intertwining of hidden signals of the language of the original and those of the target language in order to achieve the desired adequacy of translation. When translating Tarifit tales for a wide English readership, as a translator, I must think of the tales the reader listened to in his/her childhood but not succumb to the challenges of cultural assimilation. A translation needs to be fluent, yet not at the cost of forcing the source text into the substantive patterns of the target language.

On the other hand, when dealing with grammatical constructions, it is not a problematic matter because the translator has to respect the rules of grammar of the target language at all levels, otherwise the translation would read as a 'third language' as Duff would call it. However, it becomes difficult and problematic for the translator when the tale contains whole passages of rhymed prose made up of both concord of vocal arrays and repetitions of sounds and words (assonance, alliteration) and various patterns of morphometric parallelism. Such a synergy of words should be carefully recast trying to retain the intended meaning and effect, otherwise the tale would suffer great losses and a clever translator is one who minimizes this loss. A syntactic rhythm is frequently established in the Tarifit tales on the basis of the repetition of two or three items, the stylistic function of this repetition is to establish a narrative rhythm because children love repetition and hate monotony; hence the need for keeping the rhythm in the translated tales into English. According to Bassnett, "the task for the translator remains the same: to bring the work of a writer to a new public and to try to ensure that the pleasure of reading is reproduced effectively in the second language" (2011: 51). Consider the fol-

lowing passages that were translated in a way to give the reader a chance to enjoy the pleasure and the beauty of the tale:

> *We will go through the thicket, across the river and deep in the woods and will live there.*
>
> *Hassan walked and walked and walked; deep and deep in the woods and suddenly came across a big bird.*
>
> *He will make our kingdom the worst of all kingdoms, the worst in all times.*
>
> *Goodness gracious, goodness gracious!!!!*

b Translating Proverbs

In the second part of this paper, I will look at the translation of Moroccan proverbs from Darija into English, and discuss equivalence and untranslatability in translation.

A proverb is " a simple and concrete saying, popularly known and repeated, that expresses a truth based on common sense or the practical experience of humanity" (Wikipedia: http://www.wikipedia.org). In other words, proverbs are popular wise sayings which contain advice and truth about different situations in people's lives. They are part of everyone's oral heritage and they are passed down from one generation to another.

Proverbs shape images and representations of a given society. They also strongly reflect the cultural values and the physical environment of the context they are used in. However, many proverbs express instruction about shared values among different people coming from different linguistic and cultural backgrounds. Therefore, the selected proverbs to be translated will reveal the fact that different cultures might express the same reality, mystery or wisdom with different words or expressions, and whatever the distance might be there are always human values and feelings that are similarly shared by people across the globe.

So, it is important to mention that there are some proverbs which have complete correspondence between both SL and TL; they might use one or more similar words to refer to the same message or image. Another category uses different patterns to express the same reality and the last category makes use of culture specific items rendering

the proverbs culturally untranslatable. In other words , ' Cultural Untranslatability' which, according to Catford, is " when a situational feature, functionally relevant for SL text, is completely absent in the culture of which the TL is a part " (1965:99) will likely happen due to the many differences between Eastern and Western cultures, in general ; and Moroccan and English in particular. For the sake of illustration, let us have a look at the first category:

1-Darija: ضرب لحديد ما حدو سخون
Transliteration : Dreb lhdid mahadou skhoun
Literal Translation: Hit the iron while it is still hot.
English : Strike the iron while hot.
2-Darija: ما كاين دخان بلا عافية
Transliteration : Makayn doukhane bla 3afia
Literal Translation: There is no smoke without fire.
English : There is no smoke without fire
3-Darija: صاحبك فالحزة
Transliteration : Sahbek f lhezza
Literal Translation: Your friend in dire times.
English : A friend in need is a friend indeed
4-Darija: لكلب لي كينبح ما كيعض
Transliteration : lkelb li kaynbeh makay3ed
Literal Translation: The dog that barks does not bite.
English : Barking dogs seldom bite
5-Darija: معامن شفتك شبهتك
Transliteration : m3amen cheftek chebbehtek.
Literal Translation: With whom I see you, I compare you
English : A man is known by the company he keeps.
6-Darija: سبع صنايع و الرزق ضايع
Transliteration : Sbe3 snaye3 ou rezq daye3
Literal Translation: Seven skills and no money.
English : Jack of all trades is a master of none.
7-Darija: سعاي وكيتشرط
Transliteration : Se3ay ou kaytchrret.
Literal Translation: He is a beggar and he puts conditions.
English : Beggars can't be choosers
8-Darija: كلام الليل كيديه النهار
Transliteration : Klam lile kayddih nhar

Literal Translation: Words of night are taken by day.
English : Vows in storms are forgotten in calms

9-Darija: دير ما دار جارك ولا بدل باب دارك
Transliteration : Dir madar jarek wella beddel bab darek
Literal Translation: Do what your neighbours do or move your house door.
English: When in Rome do as the Romans do.

10-Darija: الصراحة راحة
Transliteration : Saraha raha
Literal Translation: Truth is peace
English : Speak the truth and shame the devil.

However, problems may emerge when source language and target language choose different words, symbols that are part of their audience's repertoires in order to refer to specific phenomena existing in their respective cultures. In this case, I believe the translator should tailor the message in an approximate explanatory translation by keeping the culture specific term in the foreign language in order to allow readers to discover the norms, values and habits of source language. Translators are not obliged to achieve complete ' naturaleness' of expression because languages are different and so are cultures. Even if « readers' expectations, their norms and values, are influenced by culture and that their comprehension of utterances is to a large extent determined by these expectations, norms and values » (Kussmaul 1995: 70), it is important that today we give chances to people to discover other cultures, and translation is the best tool for doing that.

Although I am aware that some proverbs are untranslatable because they reflect a situation that is not obvious for the target reader, translation will no doubt bring the reader a step closer to some kind of understanding of Moroccan culture.

Let us consider some proverbs related to food and religion in Darija :

1-Darija: إيلى شي حد قال العصيدة باردة, إدير بدو فيها
Transliteration : ila shi hed qal le3ssida barda, idir yedou fiha
Literal Translation: If someone says 'the 3ssida' is

cold, tell him to put his hand in.
Explanatory footnote: 3ssida is a kind of Moroccan porridge that tends to be very hot. This proverb is used when someone is trying to minimize the efforts or a difficult task one has done. You invite him to do the same.

2-Darija: المسيد لي قريتي فيه, أنا لي بنيتو
Transliteration : Lmsid li qriti fih, ana li bnitou.
Literal Translation: 'The msid' where you studied, I built it
Explanatory footnote: 'The msid' is a Coranic school where most Moroccan kids went to study Koran and Arabic language before primary school. The proverb is used when someone tries to fool you or lie to you. You show him that you already had that experience.

3-Darija: إلى طاحت الصومعة, علقوالحجام
Transliteration : Ila tahet soum3a, 3elqou lhejjam.
Literal Translation: if the minaret falls, blame the barber.
Explanatory footnote: this proverb is used when an innocent person is blamed for something they have not done.

4-Darija: حمقا وقالولا تزغرط
Transliteration : Hamqa ou qaloula tzaghret
Literal translation: She is crazy and they asked her to ' tzaghret'

Explanatory footnote: this proverb uses the verb 'tzaghret' which are the yuyus made by women on happy occasions. So, normally, you cannot ask a crazy woman to do that in a Moroccan context because she would not stop. The proverb is used when you ask someone you already know will not do the task and then s/he ruins it all.

We must acknowledge, however, that there are aspects that are sacrificed during the process of translation like assonance, alliteration or play on words. As translators, we must accept that loss is part and parcel of the transfer from one linguistic and cultural milieu to a totally different one; and this transfer is carried out in all ways but a total correspondence.

Conclusion:

Today, Tarifit tales are definitely vanishing; they must be collected and translated so that they could travel among different peoples and cultures. These tales having been orally performed in the Amazigh dialect of Tarifit within the socio-cultural context of Moroccan family, rendering them into English involved translation not only from one language into another but from one semiotic and cultural system into a timely and spacious different system.

So, the translation of these tales was an exceptional challenge for me. There is no English/Amazigh/English dictionary so everything was like in an uncanny chess game in which you invent your combinations of move from scratch. While translating, I tried to go through a mere cosmetic procedure so that the tale could read as closely as the original because the fact that it is a translation is not an excuse. When being read, the translated tales should provoke in our inner soul authentic and secret chords of the language of a living tale and transport us to an imaginary world full of supernatural things and beings. Bassnett argues:

> …all interpreters diverge in various ways from the source text, they all reshape and restructure, they gloss, add, omit, clarify and make all sorts of linguistic adjustments to ensure the message is adequately conveyed to the listeners. (2011: 51)

Proverbs, too, are part of the linguistic and cultural heritage of a nation. A nation's culture flourishes by interacting with other cultures and the role of translation in this interaction is of paramount importance because it is thanks to translation that we know about other people, their norms and their behaviours. Translating Moroccan proverbs into English is a way of sharing the richness and variety of this cultural heritage with people who do not understand the language and make our stories part of their own stories too and promote cross-cultural understanding.

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NOTES

[1] Tarifit: the Amazigh dialect spoken in the Rif region, north of Morocco.
[2] Darija: the Moroccan Arabic dialect.
[3] Tinfas: plural of tanfust in Tarifit meaning tale.

NOTE ON TRANSLITERATION

The Moroccan proverbs I have chosen are followed by a transliteration to make them readable for those who are not familiar with Arabic script.

z t d s h	are hard letters, heavily pronounced
dh th	equivalent to th (as in there & think, respectively)
a u i	are long vowels (as in baa, moon, seen)
kh	equivalent to ch (as in loch)
gh	as in the French letter r
q	represents the Arabic qaaf (hard q)
3	represents the Arabic letter Ayn(ع)