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THE TRANSFER OF IDEOLOGY IN THE POST-INDEPENDENCE FRENCH AFRICAN NOVEL: SEMBENE OUSMANE'S *XALA* IN TRANSLATION

JANINE BEVERLY FREEMAN

A TRANSLATION PROJECT SUBMITTED TO THE FACULTY OF ARTS, UNIVERSITY OF THE WITWATERSRAND, JOHANNESBURG, FOR THE DEGREE OF MASTER OF ARTS IN TRANSLATION.

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DECLARATION

I declare that this research project is my own, unaided work. It is submitted in partial fulfilment for the degree of Master of Arts in Translation at the University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg. It has not been submitted before for any degree or examination at any other university.

.....Reenen.....

The 20 day of May 19 95

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ABSTRACT

This project examines Clive Wake's translation of *Xala*, a neo-colonial French African novel by Sembène Ousmane (1973), focusing on the manner in which the ideological content of the novel is approached and dealt with in translation. A comparison of passages in the source text, chosen on the basis of their ideological contribution to the novel, with the corresponding passages in the target text forms the basis of the study.

A linguistic assessment and comparison of the two texts is conducted within Norman Fairclough and J.B. Thompson's theories on language and ideology. Descriptive Translation Studies, incorporating the Lambert & Van Gorp model of translation description, also forms part of the theoretical framework supplementing the project.

The aim of this project is to investigate the impact of the translator as an intermediary between author and reader with specific reference to Sembène's ideology and comments of colonialism, capitalism and patriarchy. A descriptive examination of the translation shows how the translator can affect the ideological impact of the novel and, on a larger scale, how translators can in small but significant ways shape culture and history.

INTRODUCTION

This study focuses on the Sembène Ousmane novel *Xala* (1973) and its translation for Heinemann Publishing Ltd. by Clive Wake in 1976. Like many of his previous works, *Xala* represents Sembène's commitment to the fight for freedom from colonialism of his native Senegal and its people. Traditionally, Sembène's works form part of a greater literary movement committed to the same struggle. Africa's protest literature dominated African literary development from the earliest days of colonialism right up until the post-independence period in the late seventies. *Xala* forms part of the latter stage of the movement and its issues are those of post-independence.

Xala is a chronicle of society in post-independence Senegal, and instead of telling about freedom and liberation, Sembène provides an insight into the continuing domination of the masses, not by the white French colonizer but by their own people, a new materialistic black bourgeoisie bent on obtaining status and European sophistication at all costs.

Synopsis of *Xala*

Xala opens with a description of a businessmen's group celebrating the coming independence. For these men, independence is heralded by the appointment of the first black president of the group. The description is thick with the irony that these businessmen are merely fronting for the

French who still hold the real reins of control. During this introduction we meet the protagonist El Hadji Abdou Kader Bèye who becomes the focus of the introduction, since he is about to enter into his third marriage and has invited the Group along as guests.

They leave in a long convoy of chauffeur-driven Mercedes. El Hadji, in the meantime, leaves the party to go and collect his first two wives who must accompany him to the ceremony. The two accounts in which El Hadji collects his wives from their respective homes reveal Sembène's denunciation of polygamy as an instrument in the repression of women. Adja Awa Astou, the first wife, has a certain status which Sembène in the end shows as being solely numerical. She is submissive, resigned, kept alive in her torment only by her adoptive religion and her children.

The second wife, Oumi N'Doye lives only to please her husband and be pleased by him - not in a spirit of true love but in competition. She is bothered, in fact threatened, by the advent of yet another rival and she redoubles her efforts to please him. In her mind, she is the only wife, El Hadji's favourite.

At the wedding El Hadji shows his eagerness to embrace Western customs and levels of sophistication in his refusal to perform traditional African rituals. On his wedding night, he finds himself unable to perform sexually, which devastates both bride and groom, but none more so than N'Goné's (the third wife) aunt, la Badiène.

El Hadji discovers that he has the 'xala', a curse of temporary sexual impotence. Anxious, he searches mentally for the person who is responsible. El Hadji's honour and social status, his most valued assets, are immediately at risk. He begins a hunt for a cure. He consults a series of marabouts, witch-doctors, diviners and clairvoyants - at great financial expense - which added to his family commitments renders him insolvent. His impotence becomes absolute - sexual, emotional and financial. Pressure to perform in each of these areas comes from all directions, from colleagues and family. He writes bad cheques and defaults on his hire-purchase payments. To add insult to injury, he is expelled from the Businessmen's Group because of the misappropriation of the proceeds from a thirty ton sale of rice. The bank manager is not convinced by El Hadji's desperate pleas and the second and third wives eventually desert him.

It is only in the final scene of the novel that we meet the man responsible for the curse. He is a beggar who day after day sits chanting outside El Hadji's office, only to be repeatedly removed by the police at El Hadji's request. El Hadji has been targeted by the beggar for selling a large piece of land belonging to the man's clan, despite proof of the clan's ownership. This man and a host of outcasts - cripples, lepers, degenerates - converge on El Hadji's villa where, if he wishes to be cured, he is to strip naked and be spat on by all in attendance. The novel ends in a cliffhanger, with the armed security forces waiting outside to disperse this peculiar gathering.

Theoretical Framework

Xala is interesting to study in relation to translation because of its complex ideological content and the equally complex representation of this new bourgeoisie. The main aim of this study is to examine the transfer of ideology in Wake's translation and to investigate whether the richness of social criticism that Sembène has incorporated into his work is or is not retained. How is the main function of protest literature, the ideological function, transmitted into English for an English audience?

This ideological function is contained in Sembène's language and discourse. Before embarking on this analysis, a discussion of how ideology is infused in language is necessary.

J.B. Thompson's conception of discourse analysis lays down a clear guide of how users of language achieve their ideological aims. Thompson's methodology of discourse analysis begins with the assertion that ideology cannot be studied within its own theoretical framework. Like Fairclough, Thompson sees the inextricable link between language and ideology, proposing that ideology be studied within the framework of general social theory: "The study of ideology is inseparable from the socio-historical analysis of the forms of domination which meaning serves to sustain." [Thompson 1984: 135].

Clearly, language use cannot be divorced from ideology. To study ideology therefore, is "to study the ways in which meaning (signification) serves to sustain relations of domination," [Thompson 1984: 134].

The procedure for analysing ideology proposed by Thompson may be illustrated as follows:

1. Social analysis
   - agents and action
   - institutions
   - structural elements
2. Discursive analysis
   - narrative
   - argumentative structure
   - syntactic structure
3. Interpretation
   - meaning

On the first level, an analysis of the social and historical context is conducted. This analysis proceeds on the three levels mentioned above, where agents act to pursue their aims and in doing so must interact with institutions which define or enforce the limitations of these actions by mediating discourse. The structural elements are the actual power relations that set the conditions for the persistence of the institutions. In an application to this study, it may be said that El Hadji (agent) acts through his Group (institution) whose functions are determined by the principle of Capitalism (structural element) which has set up society in such a way that he wields a certain amount of power over his poverty-stricken countrymen.

The second phase, discursive analysis, involves the analysis of narrative, where ideology may be represented as legitimate by a text's argumentative structure, where a text may be organised in such a way as to legitimize certain ideologies and conceal or distort others and finally it involves the analysis of syntactic structure. This is the section that is most valuable to this study. An analysis on this level looks at the ways in which syntax

can alter discourse by using one or more of the following tools: nominalization, passivization, the use of pronouns and tense structure. It is at this level that Norman Fairclough's work is incorporated into the study.

The analysis of ideology is carried out through an analysis of shifts between the source and target texts. The focus is on changes in expressive and experiential value and how ideology is affected through changes in these values. What follows is a short description of Norman Fairclough's work and how his contributions are used in the micro-level analysis.

Norman Fairclough examines language use and how this relates to relations of power - in this case the relations between El Hadji and his wives, colleagues and ordinary citizens of Senegal.

Fairclough aims, in his study of language and power, to correct the underestimation of the power of language and to show the ways in which language contributes towards support or change in the social relations of power. Fairclough asserts that various assumptions are implicit in the language people use and that these assumptions can be viewed as ideologies, which Fairclough selects as his focus. This is not merely because studies have virtually neglected the concept but because "the exercise of power, in modern society, is increasingly achieved through ideology, and more particularly through the ideological workings of language" [Fairclough 1989: 2].

Society, language and ideology are therefore viewed as inextricably linked and this view, because of its direct overlap with the focus of this research, is ideally suited as a theoretical frame of reference.

To analyze ideology in language (any stretch of text) Fairclough proposes that we use discourse analysis - where discourse refers to "language as a form of social practice," [1989: 20]. This implies that language is a part of society, a social process, one that is conditioned by other parts of society which do not have linguistic functions like institutions of religion, education, family. In this study, for example, we may extrapolate that these institutions and the relations of power they entail govern the way El Hadji interacts with his wives and the way men refer to women in that society. The power relations observable in *Xala* are those between men and women, the young and the old, the Businessman's Group and the colonial administrators and finally the bourgeoisie and the proletariat.

In the shifts discussed in Chapter 3 of this study, it will become clear that language is used by Sembène with a very ideological purpose in mind. Close analysis of his language reveals this purpose. The translation occasionally assists Sembène in this regard, but very often, the discourse present in his language, his social purpose, is dulled and neutralised.

In order to analyze ideology, we must begin with language - the actual text. Fairclough offers a framework for such analysis which is ideally suited to research of a source and a target text. The method of analysis he proposes can therefore be applied to both texts individually and the conclusions will be yielded upon comparison of the two.

Fairclough suggests that the analysis ask ten questions of the text. They are the following:

A. Vocabulary

1. What *experiential* values do words have?
   - What classification schemes are drawn upon?
   - Are there words which are ideologically contested?
   - Is there *rewording* or *overwording*?
   - What ideologically significant meaning relations (*synonymy, hyponymy, antonymy*) are there between words?
2. What *relational* values do words have?
   - Are there euphemistic expressions?
   - Are there markedly formal or informal words?
3. What *expressive* values do words have?
4. What metaphors are used?

B. Grammar

5. What experiential values do grammatical features have?
   - What types of *process* and *participant* predominate?
   - Is agency unclear?
   - Are processes what they seem?
   - Are *nominalizations* used?
   - Are sentences active or passive?
   - Are sentences positive or negative?

6. What relational values do grammatical features have?
   - What *modes* (*declarative, grammatical question, imperative*) are used?
   - Are there important features of *relational modality*?
   - Are the pronouns *we* and *you* used, and if so, how?

7. What expressive values do grammatical features have?
   - Are there important features of *expressive modality*?

8. How are (simple) sentences linked together?
   - Are complex sentences characterised by *coordination* or *subordination*?
   - What means are used for referring inside and outside the text?

C. Textual structures

9. What interactional conventions are used?
   - Are there ways in which one participant controls the turns of others?
10. What larger-scale structures does the text have?

[Fairclough 1989: 110-112]

Some of the questions, however, will be more applicable to the study than others. Questions 1, 2, 3, 6 & 7 will form the basis of the analysis of the shifts and differences between *Xala* and its translation.

Thompson's final phase, interpretation, involves arriving at the meaning of what is said, meaning which impacts on discourse. When discourse carries out its ideological function, meaning often operates as "explicitly referring to one thing and implicitly referring to another, by entangling these multiple referents in a way which serves to sustain relations of domination," [Thompson 1984: 137--138].

Where applicable, the shifts discussed are analyzed in terms of these 3 phases. This method of analysis allows the overall ideological background out of which Sembène operates to be compared with the way it is dealt with in the translation.

To better set out this analysis, the theoretical framework of Descriptive Translation Studies (DTS) is incorporated, with particular reference to the José Lambert and Hendrik Van Gorp model of translation description. This model provides a grid upon which translation analysis can be ordered and planned, paying special attention to the varying levels on which shifts can occur, ie macro and micro levels, beyond and within the word. This takes place within the analysis of discourse using Norman Fairclough. What follows is a short description of DTS, its main premises and models for practical implementation.

DTS forms one of the three branches of translation studies. It is an empirical approach, focusing on the nature of translation and emphasizing process. Seeing translation as a complex activity, DTS considers the process to be influenced by a multitude of relationships between source-related and target-related factors, for example, the relationship between source and target audiences. DTS aims to examine the process in light of these relationships and to isolate the most important features of these relationships, which are naturally different for each source and target text.

José Lambert and Hendrik Van Gorp propose a model that orders these relationships in a way that makes it possible to carry out source-target text comparisons. This is the supplementary model used in this study. The model provides a framework against which the source text and target text features may be mapped and identifies the chief sets of relationships that bear on the process of translation, incorporating historical and theoretical components which supplement the practical comparison-based components, so that all aspects of translation processes are covered.

Lambert and Van Gorp's hypothetical base draws heavily on the chief principles of polysystem theory (that each literary system is comprised of a network of interacting systems). The various parameters of the entire translation process, or 'translational phenomena' as presented by Itamar Even-Zohar and Gideon Toury form the groundwork of the Lambert and Van Gorp model. Their scheme explores the relationship between source text systems and cultures and target text systems and cultures.

Given the vastness of literature and the multitude of dynamics at work in the process of literary production, these relationships carry different weighting in different situations. For this reason, the Lambert and Van Gorp model is adapted to the analysis of *Xala* and its translation. As Theo Hermans says, the "scholar, as well as the translator, has to establish priorities" [Hermans 1985: 47].

The relationships to be discussed are those existing between the source and target text cultures, the African audience and the English European audience, between the Senegalese African culture and English Western culture and finally between Sembène Ousmane and the English translator.

An exploration of these relationships is facilitated by looking at the background to the production of each text. Factors impacting on this production need to be discussed in detail (Chapter 1).

The Lambert and Van Gorp model is comprised of four stages or processes. For a complete representation of these levels see Appendix B. First is the preliminary data analysis. This involves the comparison of metatexts (covers and inside covers), titles and title pages (for example, presence or absence of genre indication), presence of absence of a translator's preface (which is often very helpful to an analysis of this sort) and general strategy (whether translation is complete or partial).

The second level is the macro-level analysis. This looks at the overall representation of textual divisions (into eg. chapters), titles of chapters, relations between different types of narrative, dialogue and description,

monologue and dialogue, internal narrative structure, dramatic intrigue and authorial comment. The first two levels will serve as models for analysis in this study (Chapter 2).

The third and most complex stage of the model is the micro-level analysis, examining shifts on many levels, including lexico-semantic and modal levels. At this point the study will use Fairclough and Thompson as their work is far more suited to this study in terms of their focus on discourse.

The fourth level of systemic context draws together the oppositions between the macro- and micro-levels and between text and theory (norms and models. In addition, intertextual relations are explored (these are relations with other translations and creative works) as well as intersystemic relations.

The systemic context is dealt with at the beginning of the analysis and will take place in Chapter 1, in order to isolate issues most pertinent to the in-depth analysis in Chapters 2 and 3. The study is organised as follows:

Chapter One - A discussion of *general* publishing strategies involved in the ST (Présence Africaine) and TT (African Writers Series) to expand on social and economic factors impinging on publication. A discussion of the *specific* ST and TT systems - a comparison between authors, audiences, motivations to clarify the political and historical factors impacting of the writing and translating of *Xala*. Initial hypotheses are formulated here.

Chapter Two - Preliminary data and macro-level analysis - a comparison between the ST and TT and the further development of hypotheses.

Chapter Three - A discussion of ideology and language leading to a micro-level analysis consisting of two broad categories of shifts and an attempt to account for these shifts in terms of discourse analysis. Additional hypotheses will be formulated here.

Conclusion

CHAPTER ONE

SOCIO-HISTORICAL ANALYSIS OF THE TWO TEXTS

This chapter has been included in this study because the general history of Présence Africaine and the African Writers Series is linked to the aims and purposes of translating and writing African literature as well as the factors (economic and historical) which affected translation in colonial and post-independent years. In terms of Thompson's method of discourse analysis, these factors feature prominently in his first level of ideology: this section identifies the agents operative in the mass literary production that characterises Présence Africaine and the African Writers Series. The institutions (political, social and economic) that shape the development of literature are also investigated.

What follows is a brief history of Présence Africaine and the African Writers Series, outlining some of the major issues which have affected their development as well as some of their chief aims. This history will provide the insight necessary to understand the complex intersystemic relations that exist between the source and target texts.

Présence Africaine

Xala, the original, was published by Présence Africaine in 1973. As with the African Writers Series, Présence Africaine too produced a series, "Ecrits" of French African literature. A study of Présence Africaine and its aims in publishing African literature is important since it reconstructs the

milieu or climate in which the original was produced - knowledge which is of course crucial to the translator. This Paris-based company was founded concurrently with a journal series of the same name by Alidune Diop and Jacques Rabemananjara in 1947 and both are still thriving today under the management of Diop's widow, Christiane. Présence Africaine undertook the publication of French African novels as well as journal pieces. Présence Africaine was also responsible for founding the African Society of Culture.

The aim of Présence Africaine and its above-mentioned affiliates echoes that of the African Writers Series. Quite simply, it aims to:

> sensitize the Africa peoples in their fight for cultural identity and development; and further, to stress their past civilization and to uncover the presence of the African inheritance inside the millions of persons of African background scattered throughout the world.
>
> [Ojo-Ade 1986: viii]

The journal, *Présence Africains* has promoted and supported the publication of short essays, articles and dissertations by African authors in the same way that Présence Africaine, the publishing house has enabled struggling African authors to have their works published against all odds. The African Writers Series has also granted hopeful African authors this opportunity. At Présence Africaine, the only condition is that the works "concern Africa, do not betray our anti-racist, anti-colonial clause, nor the solidarity of the colonized peoples," [Mouralis 1992: 7]. The same applies to the journal series, which has featured contributions by such major African writers as Aimé Césaire, Léopold Sédar Senghor, Julius Nyerere and the Frenchmen Jean Paul Sartre, André Gide and Georges Balandier.

Their involvement in the founding of Présence Africaine has often raised the issue of the political role played by this institution. Many writers view Présence Africaine's actions as purely political, but Benetta Jules-Rosette says that their role transcends the mere political: "Présence Africaine as a publication network and an intellectual movement was both a source of cultural innovation and a vehicle of social and political mobility for the members of the group". She adds: "Of only one fact I am certain, that the Présence Africaine publishing venture was a catalyst [my emphasis] in a major intellectual movement" [Jules-Rosette 1992: 14-15]. So although the movement is political in the sense of the values it promotes, it is not affiliated to any particular political party or movement. Founder Alioune Diop was vehemently opposed to allegations that Présence Africaine was sympathetic solely to Pan-Africanism and the concept of negritude. Jules-Rosette expresses Diop's opposition:

> Présence Africaine was born out of protest against the colonization and assimilation produced by 'Latin' culture. Diop frames the goals of Présence Africaine as a liberating search for African identity and values in art and culture.
>
> [1992: 17-18]

Présence Africaine sought freedom from colonization and cultural hegemony through art: no more, no less. V.M. Mudimbe, author of the book "*The Surreptitious Speech: Présence Africaine and the Politics of Otherness 1947-1987*" recognized this simple aim. He writes:

> It reported on them, answering the obligation of providing information, but it never gave up its independence. In this respect, the editorial politics of the journal as well as those of the publishing house undeniably reveal a will to lead a debate on all the problems broached. Besides, it is surely not a coincidence that the 'round table' is a concept especially favoured by Présence Africaine.
>
> [Mudimbe 1992: 9].

Therefore, Présence Africaine does not purport to offer indiscriminate support for political parties. Its only condition is that they support revitalisation and new creation. These motives and ideals have naturally endeared Présence Africaine to a particular audience over the years. By its simultaneous distribution in Paris and West Africa, as well as its choice of French as a language of publication, the audience for Présence Africaine's publications included African and European intellectuals in France, African scholars and writers at home, and a larger public of interested individuals ranging from Parisian "café society" to the African and West Indian bourgeoisie [Jules-Rosette 1992: 31]. This audience range was therefore ideally suited to Sembène's work, and *Xala* in particular, since its attack was directly aimed at the African bourgeoisie and the former colonial power, France.

The African Writers Series

The African Writers Series, like Présence Africaine, is also steeped in tradition and history. It is the most extensive library of African literature in the world and since its inception in 1962, it has grown to comprise over 300 titles. These titles include non-fiction, fiction, drama, poetry and anthologies of all kinds.

The series was started by William Heinemann. A colleague presented him with a manuscript which he described as "the best novel I have read since the war". The novel was Chinua Achebe's Things Fall Apart and Achebe was in fact the founder editor of the Series' first 100 titles. This first

publication set the wheels in motion for a struggling new generation of writers - one of the few opportunities for total unknowns to have their works published.

It is necessary at this initial stage of an historical account of the African Writers Series to clarify a matter which, according to Vicky Unwin, the International Director of Heinemann Educational Books, has been much misunderstood by critics and researchers alike: this is the matter of the target audience. She says it is a misconception that the Series was geared at educating Western readers into the ways of Africa and its people. James Currey describes the series as a "series by Africans for Africa" [Currey 1993: 41]. The series was originally aimed at African markets exclusively. The later broadening of the market to include a Western readership was a purely economic decision. This is important in terms of later publishing strategies.

The target audience of the African Writers Series titles was to undergo a transformation however. In Africa in the 1960s and 1970s, many African countries experienced an economic boom with their new-found independence and spending on education increased. They were able to enjoy their own published literature. Later, in the 1980s, the oil crisis and the recession it caused led to a slump in sales figures. The foreign exchange restrictions forced Heinemann to reconsider its target market since ordinary people in Africa - Heinemann's readership - could no longer afford

books. Orders soon dried up. The Series could hardly be sustained by the faithful but all too small market of Western academics. To compete with other series in the West, Heinemann began to package its product in attractive ways. The change of policy with regard to target markets led to a dual pricing system: high trade prices in the West and lower prices in Africa, where the Series was in large part used in education.

In general, the focus of the African Writers Series titles has been socio-political since its inception and change on social and political fronts is reflected in most of the works. Vicky Unwin summarises the focus of the Series as follows:

> Close analysis of the content of the African Writers Series against a chart of political change would reveal a mirror image of the issues faced by Africa in its literature.
>
> [Unwin 1993: 3]

This is supported by the clear reflection in early titles (1960s) of the struggle for independence from colonial powers, for example *Houseboy* (1960) by Ferdinand Oyono (AWS 29) and *The Poor Christ of Bomba* by Mongo Beti (AWS 88). Post-independence problems were documented in later novels like *Xala* (AWS 175) and *My Mercedes is Bigger Than Yours* by Nkem Nwankwo (AWS 173).

The inclusion of Western markets has led to increased editorial freedom allowing the Series to include the work of promising and more adventurous young writers on issues of concern in the post-independence era. The relaxation of certain censorship controls in African countries also led to increased editorial freedom among African writers who had less to fear in terms of exile.

The guiding principle of the Series is therefore easier to uphold and remains, according to Unwin, the "reflection of the mood of Africa, the voicing of the concerns that dominate the lives of ordinary people" [Unwin 1993: 3].

These noble intentions have been the source of much criticism levelled at the African Writers Series. Some say that the Series is a colonial relic and that African authors should not consent to being published by a foreign multi national. Unwin argues against this, asserting that the primary audience is still Africa, and its authors remain promising African authors. Unwin counters criticism that Heinemann has been sapping profits from Africa and exploiting its people: the first Heinemann trip to Africa in 1959 saw Africa as a market and not a source for production. Another criticism is that the Series has published too many titles. Chinua Achebe says rather publish too many than too few and argues that the number is minuscule considering the size of Africa.

Amazingly, the African Writers Series has been able to withstand years of unstable, short-lived ownership and variable management techniques. In 1962 the Series was managed by Val Milne in what was basically an experimental stage. From 1963-1967, Keith Sambrook took up the reins and consolidated a good start. James Currey held the reins from 1967 to 1984 and eventually left because he felt that the great era of the African Writers Series had come to an end, with the best writers being under-sold and under-recognised in Britain. Vicky Unwin has been in charge since 1984.

Of obvious importance to this study is the translation policy practised by the African Writers Series publishers. Heinemann, however, seems reluctant to commit themselves to any one translation policy. According to Robert Chilenga during interviews at the Johannesburg branch of the company, broad guidelines are given to translators and these seem to stand in place of a rigid, comprehensive translation policy. These guidelines state that translators should not be overly influenced by the style of the source text author. Heinemann goes so far as to give preference to translators who have already published works in their mother tongue prior to undertaking the translation. This allows for the formation of a personal style, which Heinemann feels will prevent the translation from reading like a translation.

The obvious requirements also apply. No significant portions may be omitted in the translation and conversely, no personal additions exceeding the boundaries of changes to accommodate personal style may be included.

Apart from these interviews, other more official information concerning translation policies seems non-existent. In an article on the thirtieth anniversary of the African Writers Series, only two fleeting references are made to translation. It would appear that no substantial research into or investigation of translation techniques has ever been undertaken. Perhaps it is unreasonable to expect this from a publishing house, considering that only 15% of their titles are translated. This percentage may lead to the misconception that many African Writers Series titles are originals when they are in fact translations. Looking closely at *Xala* and other translations in the Series, the fact of translation is in no way emphasised. The only clues to titles being translations are the words on

the title page: "Translated by X" in small italics. The relative anonymity or invisibility of the translator is supported by the absence of a translator's preface or any editor's or publisher's note mentioning the translator and his or her strategy.

Now that the broader historical issues pertaining to publication have been highlighted, it is necessary to explore in some depth the issues pertinent in the production of *Xala* in particular, its historical and political role as well as its place in French literature and the place of its translation. The remainder of this chapter is therefore devoted to an analysis and comparison of the specific source and target text literary systems. It also highlights the most important and influential social and political factors which had an impact on the production of the two works. This section thus corresponds to both Thompson's social analysis (agents, action and institutions) as well as stage four of the Lambert and Van Gorp model which traditionally follows the shift analysis. The primary reason for this back-to-front application of the Lambert and Van Gorp model is to identify the places that *Xala* and its translation occupy in their respective literary contexts. Combined with the more important features of the background of each work, a systemic analysis at the beginning of the study is of great benefit in terms of identifying those issues most pertinent to the subsequent analyses (stages 1-3 of the Lambert and Van Gorp model).

An initial investigation into the systemic relations between the two texts also facilitates the formulation of certain preliminary hypotheses, which will either be proved or negated during the course of the analysis according to the preliminary data, macro-level and micro-level analyses.

Source text literary system

Xala was published in 1973 and could be said to form part of the genre of African protest literature, principally denouncing the evils and shortcomings of colonialism. This literary movement can be said to have preceded *Xala*, which deals mainly with post-independence political and social conflicts. Most of Sembène's satire is directed at issues surrounding post-independence. Another important characteristic that sets apart Sembène's work is that it is in many ways anti-negritude.

The negritude movement was in large part led by Léopold Senghor and Aimé Cesaire and was particular to French-speaking African writers. This movement opposes colonialism and the French ideal of the assimilation of black culture. But Sembène has tried to break away from the mainstream of French African literature. A short discussion on negritude is important in trying to locate Sembène's creative motivation.

Abiola Irele defines negritude as:

> the literary and ideological movement of French-speaking black intellectuals, which took form as a distinctive and significant aspect of the comprehensive reaction of the black man to the colonial situation that was felt and perceived by black people in Africa and in the New World as a state of global subjection to the political, social and moral domination of the West.
> [1990: 67]

But Sembène feels that the notion of negritude is "used to mystify the masses and to mask real and pressing problems" [Saber 1985: 65]. He feels

that many French-speaking African writers use negritude and colonialism to explain away the problems in Africa. Sembène refuses to be a part of this collusion, even though he understands and is largely sympathetic to their cause:

> Il ne faudrait pas nier sous prétexte de négritude toutes nos contradictions, toutes nos erreurs, même celles qui furent antérieures à la pénétration française.
>
> [Hennebelle 1978: 113]

Further proof of Sembène's part-acceptance part-rejection of negritude is that none of his works revolves solely around the evils of colonialism and the effect on black consciousness and identity. His works are always interspersed with broader socio-political, religious and economic issues. Saber sums up Sembène's attitude as follows:

> Like his African counterparts, he is quite aware of the extensive damage inflicted on the African people and their culture during the colonial period. However, Sembène's perspective and conception of African culture and its political and social role are at variance with those of the Negritude writers. For Sembène, "la culture, à tous égards, est politique".
>
> [1985: 90-91]

From this it may be inferred that Sembène sees culture as being shaped by the political order of the day and the values it enshrines - not by consciousness and awareness carried in the genes of all Africans. The negritude movement has been criticised by Nigerian authors as being overly defensive and too exclusive, since it applies only to French-speaking African authors.

The roots of Sembène's way of thinking or ideology may also be traced to his background. Born in Dakar, Senegal in 1923, Sembène Ousmane has exceeded his critics' expectations by becoming a world-famous and much translated novelist and renowned film-maker after almost no formal education.

Early occupations included working as a fisherman, plumber, mechanic and bricklayer in his home town of Dakar. In 1942 he was drafted into the French colonial army where he fought in Africa and Europe. In 1947, his return to Senegal coincided with the strike of Dakar's railway workers. This sparked an interest in trade unionism and other forms of political activity. A year later he left Senegal for Marseilles where he worked as a docker and stevedore.

In 1950 he joined the French Communist Party and it was then that his interest in literature began. He studied in Moscow and became a Marxist-Leninist in 1957. Back in Paris he met with other leftist authors like Mongo Beti, Camara Laye, Ferdinand Oyono, Jean-Paul Sartre and Simone de Bouvoir. These meetings, together with his studies in Moscow, greatly affected his literary evolution. Much has been written about Sembène's Marxist-Leninist tendencies, since his ideas affect the way he views the world of the African and the way he represents this to the audience. In a study of the social and political influences on French African authors, Saber writes:

> Sembène adopts an essentially Marxist analysis of the social reality in post-independent Senegal, especially as regards the great disparity between the elite and the masses of the people, the role of women in society, the effects of polygamy and religion.
>
> [Saber 1985: iii].

Influences on the career of Sembène have been inextricably tied to his own personal experience. Critics have noted that the subjects and themes of his works correlate geographically and chronologically with important events in his own life.

A few of his most important novels illustrate this correspondence. In his first novel, *Le Docker Noir* (1956), he was, as a black docker working in France, ideally situated to use his own experiences for his work. Similarly, *Les Bouts des Bois de Dieu* (1960) enabled Sembène to share his experience of trade unionist activities with his audience. In *Xala* (1973) Sembène found the opportunity to lash out at the nouveau riche exploiting the masses in Senegal, a process of dehumanization and disenfranchisement that Sembène encountered on return trips to Dakar.

The aims of Sembène's works are summarised as follows:

> Sembène's driving concern has been to denounce hypocrisy, stupidity and injustice, as well as to expose the consequences of ignorance, superstition and fatalistic passivity. His goal has always been to restore a sense of honour and dignity in the poor and exploited of Africa.
>
> [Wynchank 1987: ix-x].

Sembène's chief aim in writing *Xala* was to expose the new bourgeoisie as corrupt and exploitative inheritors of colonial power. It observes the social dilemma experienced in more or less the same form by all African colonies after gaining independence. It also traces the acute disenchantment of the still-exploited masses. On a more positive note, the downfall of this new leadership is also depicted.

Sembène has always wanted to reach the people and to deliver a message. High levels of illiteracy (about 80%) among his people turned Sembène towards film. Sembène began to see film as an effective and powerful medium to "help his people gain consciousness of the socio-political realities in post-independent Senegal as well as to portray and record their struggle" [Saber 1985: 69]. Illiteracy is a crucial issue to consider when attempting to locate Sembène's main audience.

Translators and critics of African literature in French have seriously debated and questioned the identity of the audience these writers are aiming their works at. *Xala* is particularly interesting from this point of view.

Much African protest literature in French is geared to denouncing the evils of colonialism. These works, since they are written in French, are widely read throughout French Africa, and since they are usually published by the larger French publishing houses, their audience is often thought to be almost exclusively located in France. This fact would be supported by high levels of illiteracy in French of French Africa. It may be added that the targets of these writers' criticism, the former colonial masters, form a large body of the source readership. This is not always the case, however. Présence Africaine's audience is described as follows:

> As indicated by its simultaneous distribution in Paris and West Africa, as well as its choice of French as a language of publication, the audience for Présence Africaine's early publications included African and European intellectuals in France, African scholars and writers at home, and potentially a larger public of interested individuals ranging from Parisian café society to the African and West Indian bourgeoisie.
> [Jules-Rosette 1992: 31]

The alternative position is argued by certain translators with some conviction. Catherine Glenn-Lauga points out: "Clearly, the Senegalese writer writing in French is not writing for a local audience" [Glenn-Lauga 1987: xii]. If this were absolutely true, Sembène would have missed his mark. If Sembène's creative aim *is* mainly political, why would his criticism of the new bourgeoisie not be aimed exclusively or at least to a significant degree, at the members of this bourgeoisie? Although his writing in French does exclude the illiterate Senegalese, it would be fairly accurate to assume that the more educated of the Senegalese population, the African bourgeoisie mentioned by Jules-Rosette, would be literate, and not only literate in the national languages but in the official French as well. Glenn-Lauga does later concede that of the 20% literate Senegalese, about 10% would be potential readers of his books. Although this 10% is significant, translators and critics tend to focus on reception by the other 80%. Sembène's satire would be pointless unless the novel were directed at the bourgeoisie. They represent Sembène's primary audience. They are the ones that he attacks most blatantly. His secondary audience would be members of the greater French-speaking community, and would most obviously include the formal colonial power, France.

In many ways *Xala* does indirectly attack this nation of oppressors, for it was they who, after independence, left power to greedy middle-class citizens who, although fairly well educated, knew nothing about equality and caring for the masses. The French are represented as merely passing authority over to this new bourgeoisie. Sembène makes it clear, however, that there was no grace in this gesture. The Senegalese in positions of so-called power are merely used as fronts behind which the French, who still controlled most of the economy, saw fit to hide.

The interesting factor about African novelists writing in French is that although they write in the language of the oppressor, their work is a product wholly of African culture - it deals specifically with life in Africa. This is extremely important from the translator's point of view and this issue is central to this project. Glenn-Lauga writes:

> When we translate his text[s] into English we contribute to his endeavour by making the text accessible to many other readers in English-speaking Africa and in the English-speaking world generally.
>
> [Glenn-Lauga 1987: xi].

She is quick to point out that the "African human, social and political milieu is and must be what the writer feeds on and what he must give expression to..." [1987: xi-xiii]. She clearly has the view that the Africanness of the text must not be sacrificed for accessibility during the translation. Another important factor that impinges on translation decisions is the contradiction inherent in expressing African experience through a foreign language, foreign both culturally and linguistically. This situation involves what is almost a double act of translation in terms of the author who, for example, has to convert Wolof thoughts into French which are turn translated into English. Although the scope of this research prevents adequate investigation of this crucial feature of African literature, some mention must be made of this duality. It is a source of much concern to translators like Glenn-Lauga:

> The question facing the translator is whether the contradiction or tension between the stuff the books are made of and French, the foreign idiom in which their Africanness is couched, can be felt in the original text, and if so, how to reflect it in the translation.
>
> [1987: xii].

This position is somewhat milder than the theories of proponents of source-oriented translation like Vladimir Nabokov, who advocate transforming the target language, making it as foreign sounding as the French in this case. Nabokov advocates this extreme type of source-oriented literary translation at the expense of elegance, clarity, modern usage and even grammar. [Nabokov 1975: xl. Glenn-Lauga's moderation in this regard is demonstrated by her recognition of the importance of accessibility.

In trying to form a clear picture of the source text system, restricting ourselves to purely literary factors would yield an incomplete analysis, especially since African literature of this kind is so politically motivated. Politics forms an essential and unifying thread throughout the genre of African protest literature in which *Xala* is placed. Themes in the works of this genre are predominantly devoted to anti-colonialism and freedom.

Xala's themes are largely political as may be expected, but the anti-colonialism theme is not predominant. Other themes are also explored and appear like leitmotifs throughout the novel - a constant reminder of Sembène's commitment to social observation. For Sembène: "Writing is a social necessity, like the job of the mason, the carpenter, or the iron-worker..." [Killam 1973: 150]. These other important themes are the exploitation of the masses by their own people, the problems inherent in polygamy, religious hypocrisy and the materialistic new bourgeoisie.

Target text literary system

Xala was translated by Clive Wake in 1976, two years after the original appeared and one year before the film was released. Clive Wake is regarded as one of the foremost translators of African literature from French into English. Wake was a staff member at University College in Harare, Zimbabwe and later lectured in French at the University of Kent. Much of his translation has been done together with John Reed. Together they compiled and translated the anthologies *French African Verse* (AWS 102) and *Prose and Poetry* (AWS 180). Their joint translations include Léopold Sédar Senghor's *Nocturnes* (AWS 71), Mongo Beti's *Perpetua and the Habit of Unhappiness* (AWS 181) and J. Rabearivelo's *Translation from the Night* (AWS 167). Wake has also translated Sembène Ousmane's *Véhi Ciosane* (AWS 92) and Williams Sassine's *Wirriyamu* (AWS 199).

The target audience, as described in Chapter 1, was at the time of *Xala*'s publication most likely a mixture of English-speaking Africans and British and American readers. Having clarified the source and target audiences of *Xala* and its translation, it is necessary to expand on the dichotomous relations between source text culture and target text culture. The writer, Sembène, is a synthesis of two cultures, a phenomenon of which he is totally aware, since this is how he describes his anti-hero, El Hadji. The French of the African community has dual roots, just like El Hadji: the language and culture they learned from the colonizers, which in most cases was forced on them by having French as a medium of instruction, and their strong African cultural heritage which has informed the way they view the world and the way they use language.

Sembène's thinking and personal ideology is strongly steered and affected by his range of African experience, and his background is rather synonymous with struggles for power, identity and cultural autonomy, factors that are taken for granted in Clive Wake's world. Sembène experienced life as the colonized, Wake did not. The main aim of this project is to show that the variance between the world views or ideologies of the source text author and the target text author and the different audiences for whom they are writing have an effect on the translation.

Undoubtedly, this system differs from that of the source text. The genre of African literature was very much promoted and supported by Heinemann Publishing Ltd. and their African Writers Series (AWS) which comprises around three hundred titles. Of these titles, around 15%, 45 titles, are translations. Translations are mainly from French into English, with one or two translated from Arabic or Portuguese into English.

A definition of this genre is best sought in the motivation of founder William Heinemann in starting the AWS. He felt that there was a need for indigenous African literature in English. Education and culture-sharing were the obvious consequences of fulfilling such a need. So whereas Sembène is seen as a social commentator and his work as social comment and criticism, Clive Wake merely has to transfer his comments into English and fulfil the need envisaged by his publisher: to share with an English audience African culture and experience. Wake is essentially an intermediary.

Comparison of ST and TT literary systems

Further differences between the source and target text systems can be found by placing the works in their respective literary systems and in the broader polysystem. Even-Zohar has written extensivaly on the benefits of viewing literature as part of a system (his popular polysystem). The polysystem approach is a dynamic approach, that is so say texts occupy different positions at different points in time. These may be central or peripheral positions. Texts may be either canonized or non-canonized. Canonized texts are "those literary norms and works which are accepted as legitimate by the dominant circles within and whose conspicuous products are preserved by the community to become part of its historical heritage" [Even-Zohar 1990: 15]. Non-canonized works are "those norms and works which are rejected by these circles as illegitimate and whose products are often forgotten in the long run by the community (unless they change their status)" [Even-Zohar 1990: 15]. It must be stressed that these terms are not evaluative, in other words they do not imply that canonized texts are better than non-canonized texts.

Within this definition of the system and its phenomena, the differences between the ST and the TT can be summed up as follows: Since the ST comes from a long tradition of protest literature and exhibits all the characteristics of this literature, it fits into a central and canonized group of novels. In the target system however, *Xala*'s translation is non-canonized and is located at the periphery of the system.

Although African readers of the English will regard *Xala* as central and canonized, the larger English audience consisting of Western academics will find *Xala* more marginal (due to the relatively small percentage of African readers of the translation. the target system will be taken to mean the majority of the target audience, western readers). In the source text system, *Xala* is conformative, not challenging many of the requirements and ideas associated with protest literature. In the target text system however, traditional Western ideas of literature and ideology are challenged. This challenge is brought on by the representation of totally foreign themes (foreign to the Western audience). Having said this, *Xala* in the target system is rather innovative. In the source texts system, *Xala* explores well-worn themes in the context of African literature, but in Western literature these themes are new and innovative. *Xala's* themes do not strictly adhere to the English repertoire.

Hypotheses

This in-depth comparison between publishing strategies and literary systems, together with random analyses of the translation already conducted, enable the formulation of various preliminary hypotheses:

Firstly, the translator has sacrificed certain issues for the sake of accessibility for his Western audience. For example, a key factor in Sembène's criticism of polygamy is the representation of women not only as sexual objects but as actual bargaining chips in a sick economic power game. In many traditional marriage customs, women are traded with cattle and other commodities. The word "commodities" is appropriate because it refers to the representation of polygamy as a consumerist institution.

Goods (wives) are traded, bargained for and the more goods you have the higher your social status. The application of basic economic principles to this practise captures the coldness and emotionlessness of what is basically a transaction, not a marriage. In Western societies, women are not traded and bartered with in this way, and the translator has therefore omitted this representation.

Accessibility is also placed ahead of Sembène's critique of the materialism of the new bourgeoisie. These people are preoccupied with European status symbols and marks of sophistication. Where labels and brands names used purposely by Sembène appear in the ST, they are omitted in the TT. Wake has sacrificed this important feature of the bourgeoisie in the attempt not to confuse his audience by confronting them with foreign brand names. These omissions affect the ideological representations of the main characters and dull the author's intentions.

The exploitation of women within the polygamous marriage is a central theme in *Xala*. Sembène represents marriage as a master-servant relationship in which El Hadji is the master and his wives and other characters his servants. His relationship with each of his wives is markedly different and through this variety, Sembène gives a holistic impression of polygamy and the multiple effects it has. Dialogue with each of his wives is therefore understandably different, with modality being an essential determinant of the nature of the master-servant relationship. In Wake's translation there are definite shifts in modality which are brought about by various linguistically-based factors such as lexis, punctuation and information structure. These shifts, although linguistic in nature, have ideological

effects in the way that the wives are represented as less submissive and as having a higher status in the TT than in the original. They represent a distortion of the nature of polygamy and the status of women in Africa.

These are some of the principle hypotheses which will be under investigation during the analysis of the translation. The findings of the analysis as they relate to the hypotheses set out in this chapter will be discussed in the conclusion.

CHAPTER TWO

PRELIMINARY DATA ANALYSIS

The descriptive analysis as proposed by Lambert and Van Gorp has four levels of analysis, the first being the level of preliminary data. The preliminary data includes the following aspects of the source and target texts: the presentation of the title and the title page, metatexts (ie. comments relating to the work itself), and the general translation strategy. According to Lambert and Van Gorp, the preliminary data analysis should lead to the formulation of various hypotheses which are subject to analysis on subsequent levels.

Title and title page

Source text

The title page of *Xala* contains only the author's name, the title of the work with the genre classification "roman" [novel] directly beneath the title. The foot of the page bears the name and address of the publisher, Présence Africaine.

Apart from a list of Sembène's published and still to be published works on the inside cover, there is no other metatext present (no dedications, acknowledgements, publisher's/editor's or author's notes). Given Sembène's status and popularity in the world of African literature it may be argued that insightful introductory metatexts at this advanced stage in his career could no longer be necessary.

Target text

The title page of the translation simply bears the author's name, the title *Xala* and beneath it in smaller italics the words "Translated by Clive Wake". At the foot of the page, the publisher's name and head offices. The only difference from the source text is the absence of genre specification, which would be very rare in English. This absence supports certain initial hypotheses that the translation is target-audience oriented: "unfamiliar" practices have been kept to an absolute minimum.

Metatexts

Source text

The front cover of the work in bright yellow like others published by Présence Africaine and bears the title, the author's name and a frame headed by the word "ECRITS" containing a drawing: it is a image of a hand in black and white. The fingers are extended and mottled specks cover the hand and the background. This picture is identical to that on the cover of all Présence Africaine "ECRITS" editions, and therefore serves as a signature for the series and the publishing house. The back cover contains a brief biography of Sembène Ousmane together with a brief synopsis of *Xala*.

Footnotes, as parts of the metatext, are usually used to explain words, concepts or actions contained in the text which an author feels his or her audience would not be familiar with and in *Xala* these cases abound. Sembène uses footnotes to give explanations of Wolof words and titles such as *awa*, *weje*, *moomé* and *ayé* as well as culture-specific practices such as 'laver la

linge'. Other footnotes are provided in which Sembène gives an historical insight into the conditions of for example polygamy which do not form part of the narrative but which he feels are essential data facilitating the understanding of certain characters.

Sembène also provides constant and sometimes repetitious reminders of the titles of characters and their relationships to other characters, which may qualify as metatext.

Target text

The front cover of the translation bears the author's name, the title *Xala* and the words "already released as a film", which has a promotional tone to it. The cover picture is a photograph of El Hadji and his first wife from the film *Xala* produced by Sembène in the seventies.

The back cover is most informative. It bears a photograph of Sembène in the top left corner and below this there is a short biography and a list of titles and dates of other published works together with a short synopsis of *Xala*, highlighting the most important themes of the novel.

In the top right hand corner there are extracts from three reviews which read:

> "...balloon-pricking satire..."
> *Publisher's Weekly*
> "...a brilliant, cutting social commentary on a modern society crumbling before our eyes..."
> *San Francisco Review of Books*
> "...a beautifully subtle and firmly intelligent writer..."
> *The Sunday Times*

The target text is clearly geared at promoting sales of the work. It appears as a package put together in the most marketable way possible. The source text is comparatively unadorned and lacks the attention-seeking frills of its English translation.

Clive Wake retains only five footnotes in his translation (nine appeared in the source text), these being direct translations of footnotes found in the source text. The footnotes that he does not retain are worked into the text either by means of paraphrase or as bracketed direct translations of source text footnotes. Wake appears to oppose the interruption of the narrative for the sake of extra information. Maybe this is due to the audience for whom he is translating which may not appreciate being overloaded with lengthy explanations of foreign references when the issues with which the novel deals are foreign enough as it is.

The other metatexts present in the source text (the constant reminders of who the characters are) are omitted in the translation. This in fact supports the theory that Wake is aiming for a target-oriented translation. These details have been omitted to make the text more digestible to the target audience. What this has also done is strip the text of its originality and "Africanness". In the society Sembène is writing about, these family relations are important and need to be stressed. These forms of address may also serve as a sign of respect.

Translation strategy of *Xala*

Like most publications by Heinemann Educational Books (HEB), the African Writers Series titles are geared at educating the reader from a different culture. This translation is intended to function as a translation and the reason for this conclusion is the prominence of the attribution to the author of the back cover of the translation. Another interesting point concerning the translation is that the success of *Xala* the film has been used to sell the translation. This is supported by the inclusion of the cover photo and inside photos together with the words "already released as a film". It almost implies, as often happens with novels adapted into films, that the novel is better for having been made into a film. Its adaptation into film is almost an accolade.

One can only speculate as to the initial translation norm that Clive Wake had in mind when beginning his translation since he does not provide a preface. This applies to almost all the translations forming part of the African Writer's Series.

MACRO-LEVEL ANALYSIS

The macro-level analysis deals with the following aspects:

> - division of the text (in chapters, acts and scenes, stanzas...)
> - titles of chapters, presentation of acts and scenes,...
> - relation between types of narrative, dialogue, description; between dialogue and monologue, solo voice and chorus,...
> - internal narrative structure (episodic plot?, open ending?,...); dramatic intrigue (prologue, exposition, climax, conclusion, epilogue); poetic structure (e.g. contrast between quatrains and tercets in a sonnet)
> - authorial comment; stage directions;...
>
> [Lambert & Van Gorp 1985 :52]

Lambert and Van Gorp add that these considerations as applied to both texts should introduce hypotheses regarding the strategies adopted by the translator when dealing with micro-level issues such as lexis, modality and dominant grammatical patterns.

Division of the text

There are no clear divisions of the original text. Présence Africaine has separated scenes with a small graphic which Heinemann has reproduced as three asterisks in the translation. At other points, a space of approximately half an inch has been left to demarcate the subsequent text from that which preceded it, which is a more subtle indication of scene change.

Xala is therefore structured as a long string of consecutive scenes. The changing of the scene almost always involves a change or characters, perspective or the passage of time.

Wake has not interfered with Sembène's representation of scene changes. The space-space and graphic-graphic transfer supports Clive Wake's and Heinemann's source-oriented approach to the reproduction of structure at least.

According to Ahmed Saber, this notion of unbroken sequences bears a likeness to montage: "Sembène wrote *Xala* with the intention of adapting it into a movie..." [1985: 111]. These divisions are for Sembène the easiest way to facilitate adaptation and are therefore not insignificant or attributable to personal style.

Relationship between types of narrative

At least four different types of narrative can be observed in *Xala*:

1. Description
2. Dialogue between characters
3. Monologue (personal thought patterns)
4. Authorial comment with regards to historical, political and religious issues as well as characters.

These are judiciously retained in the translation, again reflecting Wake's reluctance to interfere with macro-structures.

Internal narrative structure

The structure of *Xala*'s narrative is further proof of Sembène's intention of adapting it into film. This intention has prescribed the narrative structure that is observed:

> there is no linear narration of the plot. Instead the narrative progression is composed of a series of carefully juxtaposed scenes and tableaux whose narrative flow and temporality are disrupted by the occurrence of flashbacks.
>
> [Saber 1985: 112].

The juxtaposition of film-like sequences is reproduced in the translation. The dramatic intrigue is unaltered and the cliffhanger ending is retained to torment the target audience readers as well.

Authorial comment

There are four passages in the text that qualify as authorial comment, almost metatext in fact. They are typically instances in which Sembène shares his personal thoughts, be they on polygamy, colonialism or even one of the characters. The first few words of each passage clearly identify what follows as almost being separate from but not unrelated to the narrative:

1. "In order to understand this woman..." [ST:54;18/TT:35;25]
2. "It is perhaps worth pointing out that..." [ST:94;7/TT:60;24]
3. "In our country..." [ST:98;20/TT:63;16]
4. "It is worth knowing something about..." [ST:104;footnote/TT:66;23]

If this type of information is footnoted in the source text (as is the case with number 4), it is worked into the main text in the translation. This is consistent with Wake's general reluctance to use footnotes, as discussed in the preliminary data analysis.

The textual references identified as Sembène's personal thoughts (numbers 1,2 & 3) are translated as they are. The only difference is that they are bracketed in the translation. A possible reason for this is that Wake wanted to make it clear to his audience that what follows is clearly separate from the narrative and not to be confused by conflicting or seemingly concurrent perspectives of character and author.

Findings

Each stage of the Lambert and Van Gorp model is intended to lead to hypotheses for further analysis on the subsequent level. Therefore, the findings of the preliminary data and macro-level analysis contained in this chapter should lead to hypotheses as regards the micro-level, which will be evaluated in the next.

The preliminary data and macro-level analyses carried out in this chapter allow for the formulation of the following conclusions. In their publication strategies, Heinemann have adopted a very market-oriented and consumer-oriented approach, trying to sell the translation using the marketing tools present on the front and back covers. Their main aim has been to attract the reader and to sell the novel. Once they succeed here, the aspect which keeps the attention of the reader is the translation. The translation strategy is Wake's contribution and will no doubt have been guided and moulded by what the publisher sees as most pleasing to the market. Wake has taken great pains not to overburden the readers of *Xala* in English. Most references are concisely and quickly explained in the text, not requiring the reader to scan cumbersome footnotes. In cases where Sembène reminds and re-reminds his readers of characters, their titles and their connections to other characters, Wake omits these references. Clearly he does not want the translation to seem repetitious and constant reminders may be construed as condescending.

The micro-level analysis allows the formulation of further hypotheses regarding accessibility and the adaptation to target culture conventions, lending support to the above findings.

CHAPTER THREE

MICRO-LEVEL ANALYSIS

The micro-level analysis is primarily based on Norman Fairclough's theory of discourse analysis, more specifically his ten questions contained in the introduction to the study. This departure from the traditional application of the Lambert and Van Gorp model is necessitated by the need to focus on the ideological consequences of language.

In this particular study, only the following categories of the Lambert and Van Gorp model are important: selection of words, modality and language levels.

Many shifts are observed in Clive Wake's translation but the shifts around which this study is based are not isolated. They occur in patterns and this is when they become significant and need to be studied. They can be grouped under two broad headings:

- shifts affecting the characterisation and status of the co-wives
- shifts affecting representations of capitalism and criticism of the new bourgeoisie

These shifts are discussed in turn with references to further sub-headings. Shifts are grouped according to the specific grammatical, semantic or lexical phenomena which produced them, such as changes in expressive value, changes in experiential value, omissions, punctuation and language levels.

These extracts have been selected in terms of their thematic contributions to the novels, and since the themes of *Xala* are chiefly political and social these extracts incorporate the most important ideological assumptions on which the novel is based.

- **Shifts affecting the characterisation and status of the co-wives**

Changes in expressive value

In Extract F, lines 13-14 contain a shift which lessens the impact of Adja Awa Astou's emotions and also of her commitment to her husband and her family. "raisons de son existence" is translated by Wake as "mainstays". The resulting change in meaning is as a result of the difference in expressive value between the ST and the TT. Fairclough states that such differences are ideologically significant. Thompson's focus on institutions prompts a linkage of "raisons de son existence" with institutions of marriage and religion that promote a patriarchal conception of life, which "mainstays" makes less clear. Sembène feels that in the absence of a fulfilling married life, these women concentrate their energies around other things: religions, their children, etc in a way that is almost unhealthy, obsessive even, the only things ensuring their existence. "mainstays" expresses this euphemistically and more subtly, which affects the way women will be viewed by the target audience.

In Extract G, line 5, the word "union" is important since it does not necessarily denote "marriage", which is the word Wake has used. As early as line 5, Oumi admits to finding the marriage unbearable, so her use of "union" should be regarded as marked. Oumi draws upon certain

classification schemes which draw an ideological distinction between the words "union" and "marriage". Her competitive instinct, which has been nurtured by her polygamous marriage, leads her to consider any other of her husband's marriages as mere "unions", not able to be compared with her "marriage". "Union" is used by Sembène for particular ends: he is discrediting the marriage by calling it a union. Oumi could easily have said "ce mariage" if she actually saw it as one.

The translation does not give credit to Sembène's and Oumi's denunciation of the marriage. This same shift in fact occurs elsewhere the novel [Extract G, line 14 and TT:44;2/ST:67;28].

Although the following example relates to the characterisation of men in the novel, their attitudes towards female characters highlight the low esteem in which women are held in Senegalese society. In Extract E, line 5, the French "donzelle" literally refers to "young miss" in a pejorative sense, according to the Collins-Robert French English Dictionary. This is clearly lacking in Wake's translation. "Fair lady" has many connotations associated with it: grace, beauty and charm. To the President, who has just referred to N'Goné as "ta vierge" [your virgin], these attributes mean absolutely nothing.

In line 11 of Extract D, which documents Adja Awa Astou's moment of resistance, Wake equates an absence of animosity with lifelessness. This affects our impression of Adja Awa Astou's emotional state. The fact that her eyes reflect no animosity carries an implication that it would not be unreasonable if they did.

In Extract D. lines 26 & 59 and Extract G. lines 9, 24 & 31 and indeed throughout the source text, Sembène refers to the co-wives numerically as "la première", "la deuxième" and "la troisième". The expected noun "épouse" is consistently omitted. This contributes to Sembène's representation of the wives as reifications. Wake however does include the noun "wife", actually identifying the women as real people. To Wake's credit, he does follow Sembène's pointers in Extract G, lines 71 & 73. Still, the manner in which he handles the status of these women is erratic. In Wake's defence one might say that "your third" and "the first" are strange constructions in English, but they are no less strange in the French where their purpose is marked. This is all the more reason to retain the structure.

In Extract G, line 29, Oumi's mother says "C'est le lot de toutes les femmes" which is translated as "It is the lot of all our women". This "our" implies a solidarity which is totally absent between any of the women in this novel. This is borne out by the animosity shown between Adja Awa Astou and Oumi N'Doye as well as the lack of support of Oumi's mother who discourages her daughter from resisting the suppressive rules of polygamy. It is the relational value of the pronoun "our" which illustrates this solidarity. When pronouns are used in such a way, Fairclough says they "stress the unity of a people at the expense of recognition of divisions of interest," [Fairclough 1989: 128].

Fairclough writes of two types of modality. First, relational modality - when it concerns one person's authority over another and second, expressive modality - the modality of the author's evaluation of the truth.

According to Fairclough, "modality is expressed by *modal auxiliary verbs* like *may, might, must, should, can't, ought* but also by various other formal features including adverbs and tense," [Fairclough 1989: 127]. The following example shows how a change in tense transfers authority from the author to one of his characters.

Oumi N'Doye is almost the exact opposite of Adja Awa Astou. She rather militantly voices Sembène's opposition to polygamy and the first paragraph of Extract G provides an example of the intervention of Sembène's own thought into Oumi's interior monologue. The translation, by altering the tense of a few lines has changed the attribution of the words, and the criticism of polygamy becomes Oumi's and not Sembène's. Extract G, lines 1-8, are a description of Oumi's present thoughts, hence the use of the imperfect. From line 8 ["La première..."] the tense is present and then changes back to imperfect later on. Why is the present used in the French here, and why has Wake chosen to keep everything in the past? The change in French from past to present seems to indicate a change in voice. This is no longer Oumi's train of thought but Sembène's. He seems to be stating present facts, universal truths. We can assume this because elsewhere in the novel, he does interrupt the narrative to provide his own authorial comment [cf. page 44]. Sembène is making a statement about the status of co-wives that the present tense helps to make sound universally true. But this remains Oumi's thoughts in the translation due to the retention of the past tense. In this way, Sembène's direct critique of polygamy, one of his main purposes for writing the novel, falls by the wayside. A champion of women's rights, Sembène says: "Il faut libérer les femmes. Ou plus exactement ne pas s'opposer à leur libération car nous constatons que de toute façon elles l'arrachent par elles-mêmes." [Hennebelle 1978: 120].

In Extract D, lines 63-65, there is an inexplicable shift in meaning. In the French, Oumi clearly states that she is going to enter into competition with Adja Awa Astou. War has been declared by Oumi, yet Wake has managed to mistranslate completely, saying that it is Adja who sees Oumi as a rival.

Extract D, lines 59-60, provide an example of Oumi N'Doye's jealousy, which is crucial in the novel. But her mood is neutralised by the translation of this section. The clefting in French ("C'est elle...") emphasises the theme ("elle"). The information structure of the French might sound odd in English if translated literally but Wake could better have conveyed her character if he had said: "She's the one who persuaded you...." or "So it was she who persuaded you..." instead of simply "She persuaded you...".

Omissions

Extract C, lines 15-26, is extremely expressive and very important to characterisation in the novel. El Hadji is seething with anger at his daughter and Adja Awa Astou, in her usual way, seeks to avoid this state of disequilibrium. Here, Rama is the one who assumes the anti-polygamy stance and she voices this to her father, for which she is beaten. There is an omission in the translation which is quite inexplicable. The line [15]: "- Oses-tu dire que je suis fourbe? hurlait le père." This lessens El Hadji's display of anger in the English.

Extract G, line 35 bears an omission of "une cloîtrée" in the translation. While it does not detract from the audience's understanding of Oumi's feelings, the nominal repetition "une cloîtrée, une oubliée" does intensify her feelings, and this may not be clear enough to the English audience.

Changes in punctuation

There does not appear to be any acknowledgement of the role played in discourse by punctuation in either Fairclough or Thompson. It is nevertheless very important as it affects tonality and emphasis, particularly in dialogue. Shifts in punctuation occur constantly in Wake's translation. The shifts discussed below are examples of the most serious shifts and represent only a fraction of what is to be found in the remainder of *Xala* and its translation.

In Extract G, line 21, Oumi gives us a clear idea of how she used to view her position as one of El Hadji's wives by describing it as "Unique", a capital "U" with the whole word emphasised by inverted commas. In the translation, the word chosen is "only" but it is given none of these distinguishing marks. "Only" does not denote "special", which "unique" in the French does and which is actually the way Oumi regards herself: she is his "favourite" [line 18].

In Extract C, attempting to diffuse a potentially violent situation, Adja Awa Astou speaks firmly to El Hadji (lines 22-24 & 26) and El Hadji replies, equally firmly, in line 24. Wake chooses to leave out three successive exclamation marks, one from each interchange. These shifts impact on the mood and tone of the speakers. The exclamations in Adja's words denote a display of impatience that is quite uncharacteristic, and therefore important. She has been frustrated by Rama's tactlessness. Normally, these outbursts are placidly ignored. Perhaps Wake could have conveyed this impatience in his translation: instead, her words are softened, almost

as if she were being submissive. The exclamation in El Hadji's phrase is more effectively dealt with in the translation, for although his anger in not conveyed by punctuation, Wake compensates by translating the neutral verb "ponctuer" with the expressive verb "to shout".

Is the visual impact of the exclamation mark greater than the stronger verb "shout"? If so, does this softening of El Hadji's words have anything to do with the omission of line 15 of the extract?

El Hadji begins to disrespect his wives, trying to maintain his dominance while the outside forces are trying to force his submission. His feelings are clear in Extract D, lines 67-68 & 75. Sembène conveys El Hadji's disrespect by using exclamation marks in his dialogue. All three of them are dropped in the translation, significantly softening his words. The same occurs in Extract D, lines 23-25 and 67-68.

Extract D also contains several examples of how Wake's translation affects Sembène's portrayal of polygamy and the status of women through changes in expressive vocabulary. El Hadji is trying to coax Adja Awa Astou out of the Mercedes to enter the house of the second co-wife. For the first and only time in the novel, Adja refuses to yield to his wishes, knowing that she would be letting herself in for an uncomfortable encounter.

Lines 23-25 of Extract D show an Adja Awa Astou who is very much out of character. The shift is between "d'avance je te demande pardon!" and "I beg you to forgive me." The remainder of her turn of dialogue is translated very literally, but why the shift from "demande" to "beg" with the omission of the exclamation mark lending force to her words? The entire mood of the

statement is affected. In the French Adja Awa Astou appears assertive, firm and controlling for once in her life, a significant change in character, which is transformed in the translation to create a woman enfeebled and prostate, living to do her husband's bidding. The effect is a change in discourse: the translation perpetuates the myth of powerless, obedient wives of polygamists, unable to assert their identities, becoming mere numbers. As El Hadji says, "il connaissait bien sa première, sa fierté" Line 26]. The translation reads "his first wife's [my emphasis] pride..." She is accorded the title "wife" by Wake but Sembène knows that in reality these women are just numbers. He has reflected this throughout the novel.

In Extract D, lines 67-68, Wake's translation contributes to this softening: from "Mais ferme-la, tu veux" to "But please stop talking like that." El Hadji's words are transformed from an order (with a forceful exclamation) into a supplication.

- **Shifts affecting representations of capitalism and criticism of the new bourgeoisie**

Changes in expressive value

Extract E, line 2: In the commercial world of *Xala*, the image of goods representing people is very common. N'Goné, in particular, is one of these commodities, a luxury item set to improve the status of the buyer, El Hadji. The French "consommer" is therefore marked, as it fits into this line of imagery which is threaded throughout the novel. Fírinne Ní Chréacháin-

Adelugba has written an extensive essay on the "commercial" nature of the language used by Sembène in *Xala*. She says: "The world which provides the structures and vocabulary for relationships in *Xala* is that of commerce..." [1978: 93]. She discusses this particular example:

> "El Hadji is encouraged by one and all: 'Va consommer ta vierge' (p. 42),[5] the traditional language of sex here lending itself admirably to the commercial world of *Xala*..."
>
> [1978: 94].

End-note '5' reads: "The effect is lost in Wake's translation: 'Off to deflower your virgin!'" [1978: 102]. "Deflower" has none of the connotations of "consommer", and does not contribute to the critique of consumerism. These types of shifts overlap with those which affect the status of women in the novel.

The difference between "consommer" and "deflower" would according to Fairclough be ideologically significant. "Consommer" may be viewed as a pejorative African reference but "deflower" is clearly Western. Wake's translation has downplayed to an extent the base materialism with which Sembène's characters operate. Part of this materialism is the dehumanising aspect of consumerism. N'Goné is never really given any identity and is portrayed as a product, a mere bargaining chip in the transaction between El Hadji and Yay Bineta. Wake concentrates on representations of N'Goné as a sexual object by using "deflower" in this context, which is fairly common. He is not being unfaithful to the original, but N'Goné is not just merely a sexual object. She is a product on the market, traded like cattle. Wake has recognised the image of sexual object as familiar to his audience, but it seems that the image of the woman as an object in all spheres of her life would not be as familiar to his audience. Sembène's image would be more

relevant to an African audience, since marriage customs often involve the trading of the young bride in exchange for X amount of money, heads of cattle or other commodities to which considerable value is attached in African societies.

The following two examples are shifts which transform concrete ideas into abstract ones. In Extract C, lines 9, the shift from "cinq mille francs" to "some money" is interesting. It is a shift from concrete to abstract and its effect on the translation is that money is pushed out of the limelight that Sembène has created for it. In the original, money is a central theme, and the fact that the child has stipulated a sum is important. The same occurs in Extract D [line 36]. The fact that the children have already decided on the amounts before they ask shows that they think about it first. Money is significant not only to their parents but to them as well.

In Extract A, line 2, there is a shift from "son action syndicale" to "his involvement in trade union activity". The French implies that El Hadji's connection with the trade union is direct, while the English "involvement" is a move towards the abstract.

In line 5, there is a shift from "relations" [contacts] to "friends". This represents the Senegalese business world and its businessmen as amiable characters and the word "friends" carries an emotional connotation which is absent in the French. As becomes evident in the later stages of the novel, the businessmen are anything but friends and in their cut-throat society, they are all merely connections, each caring as little for the other as the next.

In line 6, "ils monopolisèrent" becomes "they held a monopoly". The shift is one of transitivity, the French being a more active construction than the softened English phrase.

In line 7, "aubaine" [windfall] is translated as "period of success" in the English. Windfall implies a gain that falls into your lap by sheer luck, whereas the "period of success" does not. Everything that these businessmen have achieved has been the product of sheer luck, not a striving towards success. They are fronts, not businessmen.

In line 8, "la hissa au sommet" becomes "placed him way ahead". The verb "hisser" literally means to pull up, heave or haul. The connotation in these words is that the object (El Hadji) is unable of reaching the top himself, without outside assistance. The translation "placed" conveys a more effortless rise to the top.

Extract D is a description of the second wife's villa and in line 3 there is a shift from "gothique" to "black". What this does is effectively alter the visual image Sembène creates of this villa. Gothic lettering on a plaque outside is rather pretentious in an African town such as Dakar - this description is obviously intentional and goes some way towards furthering our impression of these characters as base and besotted with frivolous displays of European and Western sophistication gleaned from their colonial masters. "Black" as a translation neutralises this impression and contributes nothing to this idea.

Extract D. lines 29-30, describe the sitting-room in the villa. Sembène makes a point of mentioning the brand label of the furniture ["Meubles de France"]. In the translation, this is neatly paraphrased as "expensive French furniture". While the shift is not great, the effect of mentioning the label is lost. In this consumerist and materialistic society, labels would be important, especially to Oumi.

A similar shift occurs in Extract D, lines 75-82, where El Hadji requests a drink of water. His wife specifically replies that they are out of 'Evian'. Sembène then mentions in brackets that El Hadji only drank 'Evian'. Not just any mineral water will do - it must be 'Evian'. The label is therefore important and Wake would have had much to gain by keeping it.

In Extract H, the shift in line 4 from "ambitions" to "success" is significant, since ambition implies a will to achieve while success implies that this has been done. A key factor in Sembène's representation of these men is that they are ambitious, but their greed stands in the way of success.

In line 5 there is a shift from "collègues" to "friends". The latter implies a closer more personal association between the men. They are anything but close. This shift is similar to the one in Extract A, line 5. Semhène's consistent use of "collègues" as opposed to "amis" is a comment about the institution of business in the post-independence era. In the bourgeoisie Sembène is portraying, it is every man for himself. The structure of line 5 and 6 provides further insight into the character of this group. In the French, the President repeats "chers collègues" and his words are slowed by the dots making his speech pedantic and exaggerated. Also, "pour un événement, c'en est un!" is unusually structured. In the translation, the

description precedes the dialogue, he does not repeat "dear friends" and a major section of the last sentence is omitted. This may have been viewed as redundant by Wake, but that is probably exactly what Sembène was aiming for. Most of what these men say at their meetings is said in this pompous manner and it should remain so in the translation.

Changes in experiential value

Fairclough says that the experiential value of a word is an indication of the way the speaker's world is represented, the way that speaker sees the natural or social world. In Extract B, line 2, Sembène explains El Hadji's paradoxical nature with two symmetrical phrases which Wake has translated by means of a paraphrase. The effect of the symmetry was that it clearly showed the opposition between his two facades using the antonym pairs "bourgeoise-féodale", and "européenne-africaine" to describe his education. Wake's translation shows this opposition less clearly. Wake has opted to leave out "bourgeois", probably because it is a loaded term in English, implying in addition to middle class, a snug and comfortable existence. This is nevertheless appropriate considering the El Hadji's standard of living. Wake did not want to convey this, yet he has retained the word "feudal" in the English, which is just as loaded as an expression of a particular relation of production. The terminology Sembène chooses to use here is important considering the political context in which he writes. Sembène's played an active role in Marxist politics in Africa and during his studies in Moscow, Marxism and related socialist ideas played an equally important role in the development of his writing skills. While

studying in Moscow he even translated the Communist Manifesto into Wolof so that his own people could access this political thought. He has always involved his art in his political ideas:

> Moi je suis pour le socialisme, mais je sais bien que je ne vais pas provoquer le renversement du régime capitaliste avec un film, si progressiste soit-il... Je ne voudrais pas donner aux spectateurs le sentiment, l'illusion de faire la révolution par procuration.
>
> [Delmas 1978: 114].

Sembène's ideas on politics are rigid and significant and the language he uses to explain his political ideas is not unintentional, but rooted very deeply in his profound support of Marxism:

> il n'existe sur terre que deux types fondamentaux de régime: le socialisme et le capitalisme. Moi je suis pour le socialisme...Moi, je ne sais pas quelle est la solution. Je ne sais pas ce qu'il faut faire. Je sais seulement qu'il y a deux types de régime social possible et que l'un est meilleur que l'autre.
>
> [Hennebelle 1978: 121].

When Sembène uses words like "capitalisme", "socialisme", "bourgeoisie", "masses", "embourgeoisement" and "féodale", the translator must recognise their special significance and the need for literal translation.

Omissions

There is an omission of "Il joua le jeu" in line 17. The game-playing of the new bourgeoisie, especially the members of the Businessmen's Group is a key factor in Sembène's denunciation of this class. Money games are an important feature of capitalist economies. The same omission occurs in Extract K, line 22-23 of "Le jeu était dangereux, mais il fallait le risquer."

Line 18 of Extract A contains another senseless omission: "A chaque fin d'exercice, il signait des procès-verbaux". Wake may have felt that this line seemed out of context and lacked significance, or the omission could be attributed to mere negligence. From another angle, the line reflects the detachment of El Hadji's "business" dealings. The article "des" is also important. The line translates literally as: At the end of each financial year, he signed minutes. In English, the "des" is usually not translated, and in this case, it makes El Hadji's actions seem all the more vague and murky. The omission of this line fails to convey this to the English audience.

In Extract K, line 3, there is an omission of the words "sur un organisme sain". El Hadji actually believes the Businessmen's Group to be a healthy organisation, even though he is about to denounce it. This denunciation is not wholehearted, however, but a gesture of desperation - an attempt to drag his colleagues down with him.

In line 38 the three "et ceteras" in the French are omitted. El Hadji lists a whole lot of enterprises for which they are mere fronts and ends his list with "etc., etc., etc." This serves to emphasize that the enterprises he has listed are merely the tip of the iceberg of corruption, misrepresentation and skulduggery which characterises the new bourgeoisie.

Changes in language levels

Sembène goes to great pains to illustrate the pretentiousness of this new bourgeoisie. In Extract J, El Hadji's meeting with the bank manager, the pretence is not in status symbols but in language. In line 9, "très fair-

play" gives an indication of the way the French language is transformed by the L2 user of French, in this case the author Sembène. Wake paraphrases: "to play fair".

The second example is the appellation "mon grand" in Extract J line 10. It is almost impossible to have a literal translation here but Wake uses "elder brother" which he calls a "Wolof sign of respect" straying from Sembène's own explanation of the term, which does not mention Wolof since "mon grand" is most obviously French.

The third example is "Couz" in line 14. "Couz" is explained in the French as "diminutif de cousin", but since Wake simply uses "cousin" he leaves this detail out and the effect of using the colloquial address is lessened. The extent of El Hadji's "sucking up" is diminished. The fact that "couz" is used in a French conversation by an L2 user is significant, and the English audience will miss this point.

A fourth example takes place in Extract I, line 23, with "primo" and "secondo" translated as "firstly" and "secondly". The context in which these words are spoken are important since they express the way the new bourgeoisie behaves in an overly sophisticated fashion.

The final example is one which occurs several times throughout the French. In Extract D, line 37 El Hadji responds to a question asked by his daughter saying "O.K.". Wake translates this as "All right": once again a shift from colloquial language (borrowed from English in this case) to the more formal.

Findings

According to Lambert and Van Gorp, the analysis of the micro-level should "lead to a renewed confrontation with macro-level strategies, and hence to their consideration in terms of the broader systemic context." [Lambert & Van Gorp 1985: 53]

The analysis of these shifts can be formulated into several additional hypotheses, some of which overlap with the tentative hypotheses laid down in the conclusion to chapter 2.

Clive Wake's translation does not attach as much importance as Sembène to the issue of the co-wives' status. This works to reinforce a particular reading of the novel. Wake concentrates on aspects of the narrative, making it more readable and digestible for his audience, not giving enough credit to Sembène's critical and satirical intentions. Wake's digestibility is achieved at the expense of the mood of the dialogue and marked grammatical structures.

It appears that Wake has not wanted to confront his audience with possibly unfamiliar names. For his audience, these might be construed as too foreign and would require too much effort. Wake has given them less importance than Sembène's characters have attached to them. For the sake of digestibility, the audience has been deprived of this valuable insight into the materialism of the new bourgeoisie.

CONCLUSION

In Chapters 1, 2 and 3, several hypotheses were formulated with regard to the general translation strategy used by Clive Wake in his approach to Sembène Ousmane's novel. These hypotheses are now reconsidered and reformulated to encompass the entire novel. They are not confined to any specific level eg. macro or micro.

The initial hypotheses of the previous chapters can be condensed as follows:

1. Wake's translation of *Xala* downplays Sembène's criticism of polygamy through:
   (a) the 'accessible translation of words referring to the status of the co-wives
   (b) shifts in the tonal value of dialogue between El Hadji and his wives

2. Wake's translation pays less attention to the critique of capitalism and materialism through:
   (a) the 'free' translation of consumerist terms
   (b) the 'accessible' translation of brand names and words referring to status symbols
   (c) shifts in language levels

It is important to assert that these shifts are not isolated and confined to the chosen extracts. This particular translation strategy has been applied throughout the novel, and it is the pattern and regularity of these

shifts that makes them significant: it hints at the systematic transformation of *Xala* into a digestible, easy-to-read, non-threatening piece of literature which Wake has clearly intended for a L1 English-speaking audience. This move towards accessibility has entailed the Westernization and anglicizing of almost all foreign references in the text.

This has extended to the manner in which the names of certain characters have been adapted in the English:

El Hadji Abdou Kader Bêye	→	El Hadji Abdou Kader Beye
N'Goné	→	N'Gone
Papa Jean	→	Papa John
la Badiène	→	the Badyen
Sérigne Mada	→	Sereen Mada
Kébé	→	Kebe

French place names, lingering reminders of the colonial era, have also been adapted to conform to more acceptable (more English) conventions in terms of appearance and sound:

Diéko (or Jéko)	→	Jeko
N'Dakarrou	→	N'Dakaru

This shift is also common to English translations of other French African novels. More examples are found in the translation of Ferdinand Oyono's *Le Vieux Nègre et la Médaille* by John Reed[1]:

Mami Titi	→	Mammy Titi
Gosier d'Oiseau	→	Gullet
Saint Pierre	→	Saint Peter
Ignace	→	Ignatius

This type of shift happens more consistently in *Xala* than in the example listed above. In *Vehi Ciosane*[2], also translated by Clive Wake, the shifts are also more numerous:

Ngoné	→	Ngone
Ndiobène	→	Ndiobene
Gnagna Guissé	→	Gnagna Guisse
Déthyé Law	→	Dethye Law
Badièye	→	Badieye
Yaye Khurédia	→	Yaye Khuredia

This 'Westernization' of language would seem to verify Thompson's and Fairclough's assertions that language is used to serve ideological or political functions. This is the basic premise in both views on discourse.

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[1] 1969: *The Old Man and the Medal*, published by Heinemann. London. Number 39 in the African Writers Series. The original version was published by Editions Julliard in 1956.

[2] 1972: *White Genesis*, published by Heinemann, London. Number 92 in the African Writers Series. The original version was published by Présence Africaine in 1965.

By restricting representations of 'Africanness' in the translation, Wake through his choice of alternatives overlooks the importance of these representations, which reinforces the supremacy of the West, its customs and its language. This is precisely what anti-colonialist literature is fighting against.

Certain institutions, for example polygamy and capitalism, are not treated with the contempt Sembène intended in his original language: Wake's translation is a small step toward the legitimation of these institutions and the values and customs they promote.

A Marxist would probably argue that a translation of this kind tries to reproduce the relations of production of Western societies, the status quo of colonialism which represented the other as foreign, inaccessible, threatening and wrong.

While the character of *Xala* has not changed - it remains a novel of political protest - it has been made to conform to modern Western ideals of accessibility and audience-satisfaction. Certainly much attention has been paid to making the novel economically viable in these respects. All that is African has been adapted to this end. Translators of African literature, editorial policy aside, should for example be aware of the experiential value hidden in words and names like those just listed, for their meaning should precede their simple transformation into English: there is history, and indeed ideology, embedded in those words.

The shifts discussed in the micro-level analysis are the most obvious changes between the source and target text. While there does not appear to be a large number of shifts, it is their nature rather than their number which is disturbing.

The works of Fairclough and Thompson have been very useful to this study since they foreground these vital issues. Once these issues had been clarified, Fairclough's ten questions were helpful in highlighting certain areas (for example expressive and experiential values) in which the translation differed most significantly from the original.

The discourse analysis in this study in fact began with an analysis of the translation within the boundaries of Lambert and Van Gorp's methodology of translation description. This methodology clearly outlined the areas which would most likely yield significant findings.

In practice, this led to an exploration of several different shifts either present or absent in the translation, for example lexis, modality, speech reproduction and so on. In this particular translation, shifts occur mainly at the levels of lexis and language levels.

During the early stages of research when Lambert and Van Gorp's method of analysis was applied to *Xala*, it produced an extensive yet superficial description of what occurred in the translation. So although shifts in lexis and language levels could be recognised and described, they could in no way be sufficiently accounted for.

Therefore, to facilitate a description of the implications of lexical shifts for example, especially since the focus of the analysis is ideology, discourse analysis according to Fairclough had to be introduced. By suggesting that a change in lexis or vocabulary could be explained in terms of differing experiential, expressive and relational values, Fairclough's discourse analysis makes it possible to analyse the power relations, historicity and interrelations which impose themselves in the communication situation and which lead to specific kinds of meaning.

In this study therefore, the researcher found discourse analysis extremely useful and appropriate for the study of ideology in literature, particularly translation and a combination of Fairclough's and Thompson's work is an effective working model for translation analysis of this kind, where application to first the source text and then the target text is able to yield detailed and extensive findings as to the nature of ideology and how it hides in language. Furthermore, it has shown that discourse analysis is able to be applied outside of the analysis of hard news and propaganda detailed in the work of Fairclough and Thompson. Discourse analysis can be successfully extended past these areas to contribute towards many kinds of literary study, particularly where the message and its reception, as it is in protest literature, is of such dire importance.

APPENDIX A

A. Vocabulary

1. What *experiential* values do words have?
   What classification schemes are drawn upon?
   Are there words which are ideologically contested?
   Is there *rewording* or *overwording*?
   What ideologically significant meaning relations (*synonymy, hyponymy, antonymy*) are there between words?
2. What *relational* values do words have?
   Are there euphemistic expressions?
   Are there markedly formal or informal words?
3. What *expressive* values do words have?
4. What metaphors are used?

B. Grammar

5. What experiential values do grammatical features have?
   What types of *process* and *participant* predominate?
   Is agency unclear?
   Are processes what they seem?
   Are *nominalisations* used?
   Are sentences active or passive?
   Are sentences positive or negative?

6. What relational values do grammatical features have?
   What *modes* (*declarative, grammatical question, imperative*) are used?
   Are there important features of *relational modality*?
   Are the pronouns *we* and *you* used, and if so, how?

7. What expressive values do grammatical features have?
   Are there important features of *expressive modality*?

8. How are (simple) sentences linked together?
   Are complex sentences characterized by *coordination* or *subordination*?
   What means are used for referring inside and outside the text?

C. Textual structures

9. What interactional conventions are used?
   Are there ways in which one participant controls the turns of others?
10. What larger-scale structures does the text have?

[Fairclough 1989: 110-112]

APPENDIX B

THE LAMBERT AND VAN GORP MODEL: A SYNTHETIC SCHEME FOR TRANSLATION DESCRIPTION

1. Preliminary data:
   - title and title page (eg. presence or absence of genre indication, author's name, translator's name,...)
   - metatexts (on title page; in preface; in footnotes - in the text or separate?)
   - general strategy (partial or complete translation?)

   These preliminary data should lead to hypotheses for further analysis both on the macro-structural and micro-structural level.

2. Macro-level:
   - division of the text (in chapters, acts and scenes, stanzas...)
   - titles of chapters, presentation of acts and scenes,...
   - relation between types of narrative, dialogue, description; between dialogue and monologue, solo voice and chorus,...
   - internal narrative structure (episodic plot?, open ending?,...); dramatic intrigue (prologue, exposition, climax, conclusion, epilogue); poetic structure (e.g. contrast between quatrains and tercets in a sonnet)
   - authorial comment; stage directions;...

   These macro-structural data should lead to hypotheses about micro-structural strategies.

3. Micro-level (i.e. shifts on phonic, graphic, micro-syntactic, lexico-semantic, stylistic, elocutionary and modal levels):
   - selection of words
   - dominant grammatical patterns and formal literary structures (metre, rhyme,...)
   - forms of speech reproduction (direct, indirect, free indirect speech)
   - narrative, perspective and point of view
   - modality (passive or active, expression of uncertainty, ambiguity,...)
   - language levels (sociolect; archaic/popular/dialect; jargon...)

   These data of micro-structural strategies should lead to a renewed confrontation with macro-structural strategies, and hence to their consideration in terms of the broader systemic context.

4. Systemic context:
   - oppositions between micro- and macro-levels and between text and theory (norms, models,...)
   - intertextual relations (other translation and 'creative' works)
   - intersystemic relations (e.g. genre structures, stylistic codes...)

[Lambert & Van Gorp 1985: 52-53]

EXTRACT A

El Hadji Abdou Kader Bèye était un ancien instituteur, rayé du corps enseignant à cause de son action syndicale à l'époque coloniale. Après son renvoi des cadres, il s'était initié à la revente de certains produits alimentaires, puis il s'était fait intermédiaire dans les transactions immobilières. Etendant ses relations dans le milieu libano-syrien, il se trouva un associé. Des mois, voire un an durant, ils monopolisèrent la commercialisation du riz, denrée la première nécessité. Cette aubaine le hissa au sommet des sous-traitants à la petite semaine qui pullulent.

Vint l'indépendence du pays. Avec son petit capital amassé, ses relations, il fit cavalier seul. Il se fraya une voie vers le sud, du côté du Congo: importation de poissons séchés. Un filon! Il naviguait entre les deux rives: Sénégal-Congo. Mais une concurrence mieux nantie, en bateaux et en solides relations, l'obligea à décrocher. Dynamique, il se retourna vers l'Europe avec des crustacés. Faute de crédits bancaires et de soutien, il revenait à son point de départ. Mais, très connu, ayant une "surface", le milieu industriel l'utilisa comme prête-nom moyennant quelques redevances. Il joua le jeu. Il était aussi membre du conseil d'administration de trois ou quatre sociétés de la place. A chaque fin d'exercice, il signait des procès-verbaux. La loi n'y voyait goutte. Mais tous savaient la vérité...

EXTRACT A

El Hadji Abdou Kader Beye had once been a primary-school teacher, but he had been dismissed from the service because of his involvement in trade-union activity during the colonial period. After his dismissal he had acquired business experience in the grocery trade and had then set himself up as a middleman in property transactions. He had made an increasing number of friends among the Lebanese and Syrian businessmen, one of whom became his associate. For nearly a year they had held a monopoly in the sale of rice, a staple commodity. This period of success had placed him way ahead in the ever-growing field of small middlemen.

Then came Independence. By now he had capital and connections, so he was able to set up on his own. He turned his attention to the south, especially the Congo, concentrating on the importation of dried fish. It was a gold mine, until a competitor with better ships and more solid business connections forced him out. He turned his energies towards Europe, with shell-fish. Lack of funds and inadequate financial backing obliged him to abandon this scheme. However, because he was well-known and had a certain standing in the business community, overseas investors paid him to act as a front. He was also on the boards of two or three local companies. He played his various roles well but, although the law was fooled, everyone knew what was really happening.

EXTRACT B

El Hadji Abdou Kader Bèye était, si on peut dire, la synthèse de deux cultures. Formation bourgeoise européenne, éducation féodale africaine. Il savait, comme ses pairs, se servir adroitement de ses deux pôles. La fusion n'était pas complète.

EXTRACT B

El Hadji Abdou Kader Beye was what one might call a synthesis of two cultures: business had drawn him into the European middle class after a feudal African education. Like his peers, he made skilful use of his dual background, for their fusion was not complete.

EXTRACT C

El Hadji Abdou Kader Bèye fit son apparition dans le salon, très alertement.
- Je vous salue, dit-il, s'adressant aux deux adolescents. Tu es prête? demanda-t-il à sa femme.
- Oui.
- Rama, et toi?
- Je ne viens pas, père.
- Pourquoi donc?
- Père, tu me files cinq mille francs pour l'école? Mactar, le fils cadet s'approcha du père. El Hadji sortit une liasse de billets et en compta cinq qu'il lui remit.
Rama était debout. Son regard croisa celui de sa mère, et elle dit:
- Je suis contre ce mariage. Un polygame n'est jamais un homme franc.
Le gifle atteignit la joue droite de Rama. Elle chancela et tomba.
- Oses-tu dire que je suis fourbe? hurlait le père.
Le père s'était de nouveau rué vers Rama. Prompt, le fils cadet, Mactar, s'interposa entre les deux.
- Ta révolution, tu la feras à l'université ou dans la rue, mais jamais chez moi.
- C'est pas chez toi, ici. Tu n'as rien, ici, répliqua Rama; un filet de sang coulait du coin de sa bouche.
- Partons! Allons-nous-en, El Hadji, disait la mère en entraînant l'homme vers la porte.
- Si tu avais bien élevé cette fille! ponctuait El Hadji à l'adresse de sa femme.
- Tu as raison!... Pense qu'on attend. C'est ton jour de noce.

EXTRACT C

El Hadji Abdou Kader Beye came into the sitting-room with a sprightly step.

'Greetings!' he said to the two children. 'Are you ready?' he asked his wife.

'Yes.'

'And you, Rama?'

'I'm not going, father.'

'Why not?'

'Father, can you give me some money for school?' asked Mactar, approaching his father. El Hadji took out a bundle of notes and counting five gave them to his son.

Rama stood where she was. She caught her mother's eye and said: 'I'm against this marriage, father. A polygamist is never frank.'

El Hadji's slap struck her on her right cheek. She stumbled and fell. He moved towards Rama to repeat the blow. Quickly Mactar stepped between them.

'You can be a revolutionary at the university or in the street but not in my house. Never!'

'This is not your house. Nothing here belongs to you,' retorted Rama. A trickle of blood ran from the corner of her mouth.

'Come, El Hadji. Let us go,' said the girl's mother, pulling her husband towards the door.

'You should have brought that child up properly,' El Hadji shouted at his wife.

'You are right. Come, they are waiting. It's your wedding day."

EXTRACT D

La seconde villa de la deuxième épouse ne différait de la première que par la clôture. Des nèmes ombrageaient la façade. La porte d'entrée si signalait par une plaque émaillée avec, en impression gothique: "Villa Oumi N'Doye."

Modu, le chauffeur, arrêta l'auto face à l'entrée; il ouvrit la portière à son patron. El Hadji Abdou Kader Bèye, hors du véhicule, attendit un instant sur le trottoir, puis se penchant vers l'intérieur, il invita Adja Awa Astou:

- Descends, veux-tu!

Adja Awa Astou glissa son regard sur le visage de son mari et fit "non" de la tête. Dans ses yeux à elle, aucune aminosité ne se reflétait. Une impassibilité intérieur si profonde qu'on aurait pu penser à une absence de toute réaction. Dans ses yeux règnait un sentiment de force, la flamme de l'inertie contrôlée.

El Hadji ne soutint pas le regard. Il se déroba it. Puis, comme s'il s'adressait à une autre personne, la voix quémandeuse, il sollicita:

- Adja, tu rentres et tu ressors! Que veux-tu qu'Oumi N'Doye pense de toi?

Adja Awa Astou n'avait pas baissé son regard. L'étiquette? Elle se maîtrisait pour ne [illegible] exploser. Du fin fond d'elle-même, telle des vagues furieuses, la déception grondait. Sincèrement croyante, elle se dominait, domptait sa fureur, suppliait son Yalla de l'assister. Contrôlant un débit de paroles, elle dit:

- El Hadji, d'avance je te demande pardon! Mais tu sembles oublier que je suis ta AWA. Je ne mettrai pas les pieds dans cette maison. J'attendrai ici.

El Hadji Abdou Kader Bèye connaissait bien sa première, sa fierté! A peine eut-elle fini de parler qu'elle reprit son maintien raide, le visage tourné de l'autre côté. Le mari poussa la porte d'entrée de la villa.

Après le jardin, l'homme accéda à la salle de séjour, richement meublée, avec des éléments portant la griffe "meubles de France". Des fleurs artificielles trônait. A peine était-il entré dans ce salon que Marien, la fille cadette, quinze ans, très grande pour son âge, en minirobe, lui sauta joyeusement au cou.

- Tu n'es pas en classe? questionna le père.
- Non! J'ai une autorisation d'absence. Je viens avec des copines au mariage. Père, tu me dépannes de mille balles?
- O.K. Et ta mère?

Espiègle, Mariem lui indiquait du pouce la direction. Le père lui remit trois billets en traversant la pièce.

Oumi N'Doye voyait El Hadji dans son miroir. Elle consolidait à l'aide d'épingles sa perruque noire.

- Je suis à toi dans un moment, dit-elle en français. Avec qui es-tu dans la Mercédès?
- Adja Awa. Elle est restée dans l'auto.
- Pourquoi n'entre-t-elle pas? s'enquit Oumi N'Doye avec vivacité, en se retournant vers l'homme. "Mariem! Mariem!", appela-t-elle.

Mariem arriva, la main à la porte:

- Mère?
- Fais entrer Adja Awa. Elle est dans l'auto. Dis-lui que je suis sous la douche.

Mariem ressortit.
- Elle est en colère?
- Qui? demanda El Hadji, prenant place sur le lit.
- Adja Awa Astou.
- Pas que je sache, répondit-il, feuilletant une revue féminine.
- C'est elle qui t'a poussé à épouser cette troisième! Uniquement par jalousie. Parce que je suis plus jeune qu'elle, cette vieille peau.

Le coup avait-il produit un effet? El Hadji ne réagit pas. Elle avait parlé d'une voix grinçante, entre les dents. Restée sans réponse, elle poursuivait: "Elle jouit maintenant, ta vieille. Elle m'attend dehors pour voir comment je vais me comporter, han? Je vais entrer en compétition avec ta vieille peau de poisson sec. Pas de doute qu'elle s'entendra avec cette N'Goné pour emmerder, mais nous allons voir!..."
- Ecoute bien, Oumi! Je ne veux pas de disputes, ni ici, ni là-bas. Si tu ne veux pas venir, c'est ton affaire. Mais ferme-la, tu veux!...
- Qu'est-ce que je disais! Voilà que tu me menaces! Dis que tu ne veux pas me voir, là-bas. Peut-être c'est ta Adja qui ne veut pas. Elle te l'a dit, han? Ta troisième, N'Goné, est faite comme nous toutes.

Debout, face à l'homme, elle parlait, menaçante:
- Crois-moi, je n'y vais pour me bagarrer, chez ta *TROISIEME*. Tu peut te tranquilliser...
- Donne-moi à boire! J'ai très soif, dit El Hadji pour faire diversion.
- Il n'y a pas d'Évian dans la maison. (El Hadji ne buvait que de l'eau d'Evian). Veux-tu l'eau du robinet? demanda Oumi N'Doye, moqueuse, avec un air de défi qui plissait les commissures de ses lèvres.

El Hadji Abdou Kadé[illegible]oye quitta la pièce. Dehors, il appela le chauffeur, Modu.
- Patron?
- Apporte-moi l'Evian.

EXTRACT D

The second wife's villa was identical with the first's except for the hedge. Trees provided shade at the front. The front door had an enamel plaque with the words 'Villa Oumi N'Doye' in black lettering.

Modu the chauffeur drew up at the entrance and opened the door of his employer's car. El Hadji Abdou Kader Beye climbed out and stood for a moment on the pavement. Then he put his head through the window and said to Adja Awa Astou:

'Come on, get out!'

Adja Awa Astou glanced at her husband and shook her head. Her eyes were lifeless, they had a deep inscrutability that seemed like a total absence of reaction. But there was the strength of controlled inertia burning in them.

El Hadji could not sustain her look. He turned away. Then, as if he were addressing someone else, he pleaded with her:

'Adja, either you get out or you return home. What will Oumi N'Doye think?'

Adja Awa Astou has not lowered her eyes. Etiquette? She struggled to keep her temper. Deep inside her like an angry sea, her resentment welled up. But since she was sincerely religious she controlled herself and tamed her fury, imploring Yalla to help her. Restraining the urge to speak out, she said:

'El Hadji, I beg you to forgive me. You seem to forget that I am your Awa. I will not set foot in that house. I'll wait here.'

El Hadji Abdou Kader Beye knew his first wife's pride very well. As soon as she finished speaking her bearing became rigid again and she turned her face away from him. Her husband crossed the garden and pushed open the front door of the villa. He entered the sitting-room, full of expensive French furniture and artificial flowers. As soon as he appeared the youngest daughter, Mariem, flung her arms joyfully around his neck. She was fifteen years old, big for her age, and wore a mini-skirt.

'Shouldn't you be at school?' asked her father.

'No, I've got permission to stay away today. I'm coming to the wedding with some of my friends from school. Father, can you give me some money?'

'All right. Where's your mother?'

Mischievously Mariem indicated where she was with her thumb. Her father gave her three bank-notes as he crossed the room.

Oumi N'Doye saw El Hadji in her mirror. She was securing her black wig with the aid of pins.

'I'll be with you in a minute,' she said in French.

'Who's with you in the Mercedes?'

'Adja Awa. She's waiting in the car.'

'Why doesn't she come in?' asked Oumi N'Doye immediately, turning towards the man. 'Mariem! Mariem!' she called.

Mariem arrived and stood with her hand on the door knob.

'Mother?'

'Tell Adja Awa to come inside. She's in the car. Tell her I'm having my shower.'

Mariem went out.

'Is she angry?'

'Who?' asked El Hadji, sitting on the bed.

'Adja Awa Astou.'

'Not that I know of,' he replied, leafing through a woman's magazine.

'She persuaded you to marry this third wife purely out of jealousy. Just because I'm younger than she is, the old cow.'

Had her shaft gone home? El Hadji did not react. She had spoken with

heavy sarcasm, gritting her teeth. There was still no reply so she went on:

'She's playing games now, your old woman. She's waiting outside just to see how I will take it, isn't she? Your old piece of dried fish-skin thinks I'm her rival. I bet you she'll gang up with that N'Gone to annoy me. But we'll see about that.'

'Listen, Oumi I don't want any quarrelling, here or at the wedding. If you don't want to come that's your affair. But please stop talking like that.'

'What was I saying then? Now you're threatening me. If you don't want me at the wedding say so. That's what she said, didn't she? Your third, N'Gone, is no different from us.'

She stood facing the man, menace in her voice.

'Believe me, I'm not going to your third's to pick a fight. You needn't worry.'

'Get me something to drink. I'm very thirsty,' said El Hadji to change the subject.

'There is no mineral water in the house.' (El Hadji only drank mineral water). 'Will you have tap water?' asked Oumi N'Doye in a mocking tone of voice and with an air of defiance that wrinkled the corners of her mouth.

El Hadji Abdou Kader Beye left the room. Outside he called his chauffeur Modu.

'Sir?'

'Bring me some mineral water.'

EXTRACT E

El Hadji s'approchait de ses pairs, riant.
- Tu te retires? Va consommer ta vierge, l'accueillit insidieusement le Président du Groupement; l'haleine fétide, chancelant, il passa un bras au cou d'El Hadji et s'adressant aux autres d'une voix pâteuse: "Chers Collègues, notre frère El Hadji, dans un moment, va "percer" sa donzelle..."
- Oeuvre délicat, renchérit le député à l'Assemblée nationale, en se levant péniblement de sa chaise. Après quelques rots empuants, il poursuivit: "El Hadji, crois-le, nous sommes prêts à te porter secours."
- Oui, s'écirèrent les autres.
Chacun y ajouta de son cru.

EXTRACT E

Laughing, El Hadji joined his business colleagues.

'Are you leaving now? Off to deflower your virgin!' the President of the 'group' greeted him with unsubtle innuendo. His breath smelt and he was unsteady on his feet. Putting his arm around El Hadji's neck he addressed the others in a thick voice: 'Friends, our brother El Hadji will be off in a moment to "pierce" his fair lady.'

'A delicate operation!' contributed a member of parliament, rising with difficulty from his seat. After a string of smelly burps he went on: 'Believe me, El Hadji, we'll gladly give you a hand.'

'Yes, indeed!' the others chimed in.

Each added his bit.

EXTRACT F

Adja Awa Astou, de retour chez elle, se sentit légèrement souffrante. Elle ne laissa rien paraître à ses enfants qui l'assaillaient de quesitons sur le déroulement de la cérémonie. La jalousie, avait-elle pensé, était bannie de son coeur. Quand, il y a longtemps de cela, son mari prit une seconde épouse, elle dissimula son affliction. La peine était moindre alors: c'était l'année où elle fit le pèlerinage à La Mecque. Néophite, elle était très pénétrée des dogmes de sa nouvelle religion. Devenue Adja, elle se disuadait de garder en son coeur - qu'elle voulait pur, immaculé - toute haine, toute vilenie envers autrui. A force de volonté, ele fit taire toute velléité de haine à l'encontre de la seconde épouse. Elle voulait être une épouse selon les canons de l'Islam: les cinq prières par jour, l'obéissance totale à son mari.

La religion, l'éducation de ses enfants devinrent les raisons de son existence. Les rares amies qu'elle avait encore, ou les amis de son mari, parlaient d'elle comme d'une épouse exemplaire.

EXTRACT F

Back at the villa Adja Awa Astou felt unwell. She hid it from her children as they assailed her with questions about the festivities. She had thought jealousy was banished from her heart. When long ago her husband had taken a second wife, she had hidden her unhappiness. The suffering had been less then, for that was the year when she had made the pilgrimage to Mecca. She was completely absorbed in her new religion. Now that she was an *adja*, she wanted to keep her heart pure, free of any hatred or meanness towards others. By an act of will she had overcome all her feelings of resentment towards the second wife. Her ambition was to be a wife according to the teachings of Islam by observing five daily prayers and showing her husband complete obedience. Her religion and the education of her children became the mainstays of her life. The few friends she still kept and her husband's friends all spoke of her as an exemplary wife.

EXTRACT G

Oumi N'Doye possédait une vaste connaissance de la mode féminine importée, des grands couturiers et des vedettes de cinéma. Sa lecture quotidienne était les romans-photos. Elle les dévorait, y croyait et rêvait de ces amours palpitantes qu'elle aurait souhaité vivre. Depuis hier, elle était mal dans sa peau. La troisième union de son mari lui était insupportable, la minait même. L'idée qu'elle était une deuxième, une facultative, l'enrageait. Cette position du milieu, cette escale était intenable pour les *wëjë* co-épouses. La première épouse implique un choix, elle est une élue! La deuxième est une facultative! La troisième? Une estimée. Pour les *moomé-aye*, la seconde épouse est une charnière. Elle avait examiné sa position dans ce cycle de rotation de l'homme entre les co-épouses, elle se voyait en disgrâce.

Oumi N'Doye ne pouvait se défaire de pensées malveillantes à l'égard d'Adja Awa Astou. "Pourquoi ne réagit-elle pas contre cette union? Elle doit être heureuse en ce moment, cette vieille peau de singe", monologuait-elle. Elle, Oumi N'Doye, avait été la préférée d'El Hadji. De son temps, elle gardait l'homme plus que ne le lui permettait le code de la polygamie. De son temps aussi, au faîte de son règne en tant que favorite, elle volait des jours et des nuits à Adja Awa Astou. Et jamais cette première épouse n'était venue se plaindre, revendiquer son dû. Oumi N'Doye avait fini par se croire, se considérer comme l'"Unique" épouse. Sans gêne, elle accompagnait El Hadji à toutes les festivités, même quand ce n'était pas ses *moomé*. Avec Adja Awa Astou, elle acceptait la vie polygamique, mais l'introduction d'une troisième réveillait en elle cette blessure antique des femmes musulmanes de chez nous. Elle était frustrée. Un moment, elle avait projeté de divorcer.

– Divorcer, pourquoi? Une femme seule, sans l'assistance d'un homme ne peut que se prostituer pour vivre, faire vivre ses enfants. C'est notre pays qui le veut ainsi. C'est le lot de toutes les femmes, lui avait confié sa mère pour l'en dissuader. Si encore tu avais du travail, on comprendrait ton refus de cette troisième épouse. Ta première est d'origine catholique, comment toi, née musulmane, oses-tu refuser? Puis, ton mari a de quoi vous entretenir. Regarde bien autour de toi...

Oumi N'Doye, rassérénée par ces conseils, n'alla plus se plaindre chez ses parents. Elle refusa d'être une cloîtrée, une oubliée, une qui ne voyait son homme que pour l'accouplement.

EXTRACT G

Oumi N'Doye was a great expert on overseas women's fashions, those of the *grands couturiers* and the film stars. Photo-novelettes were her daily reading. She devoured them, believing everything in them, and dreamed of passionate love affairs she would have liked to experience. She had felt uneasy since the previous day. She found her husband's third marriage intolerable; it devalued her. The thought that she was a second choice, an option, enraged her. The middle position, giving her a kind of intermediate role, was unbearable for a co-wife. The first wife implied a conscious choice, she was an elect. The second wife was purely optional. The third? Someone to be prized. When it came to the *moomé*, the second wife was more like a door-hinge. She had given a lot of thought to her position in the man's marital cycle and she realized that she was in disgrace.

Oumi N'Doye could not overcome her feeling of ill-will towards Adja Awa Astou. "Why doesn't she show disapproval of this marriage? She must be pleased about it, the old monkey-skin," she muttered to herself. She, Oumi N'Doye, had been El Hadji's favourite. There had been times when she had kept the man longer than the code of polygamy allowed. There had been times too, at the height of her reign as the favourite, when she had robbed Adja Awa Astou of whole days and nights. The first wife had never complained, never demanded what was her right. Oumi N'Doye had come to think of herself as the only wife. Without the least concern for Adja Awa Astou she had accompanied El Hadji to receptions, even when it was not her *moomé*. With Adja Awa Astou she could accept the life of polygamy, but the advent of a third wife reopened the wound of frustration suffered by all the Muslim women of our country. She even thought momentarily of divorcing El Hadji.

'But why divorce him? Without a man's help a woman has to fall back on prostitution to live and bring up her children. This is the way our country wants it. It is the lot of all our women,' her mother has told her, to persuade her not to divorce her husband. 'If you had a job one could understand your rejection of his third wife. Your first co-wife was a Catholic. How can you, born a Muslim, dare refuse? What is more, your husband has the means to support you. Look around you...'

Chastened by this advice Oumi N'Doye did not return to her parents with her complaints. She was not going to accept being forgotten, a woman who only saw her man to couple with him.

EXTRACT H

Le Président du Gouvernement se tut. Son regarde brillait de satisfaction. Il posait sur chacun, dans l'assistance: une douzaine de personnes, richement habillées. La coupe des complets, en drap anglais, sur mesure, les chemises impeccables exprimaientassez leurs ambitions.

- Chers collègues, repit le Président, avec calme, souriant de contentement... Chers collègues, pour un événement, c'en est un! Depuis l'occupation étrangère, jamais nos grands-parents, ni nos pères n'ont eu à diriger la Chambre (par megalomanie, peut-être, ces gens ne prononçaient jamais "Chambre de Commerce et d'Industrie" mais ils disaient "la Chami..."). Notre gouvernement en me désignant à ce poste de haute responsabilité, fait un act de courage, il manifeste en cette période de détérioration des termes de l'échange un désir d'indépendence économique. C'est un fait historique que nous vivons. Nous devons être reconnaissants à notre gouvernement et à l'homme qui est à sa tête...

EXTRACT H

The Group's President paused in his speech. His eyes shone with satisfaction as they came to rest on each member of his audience in turn: ten or so expensively dressed men. The cut of their made-to-measure suits and their immaculate shirts were ample evidence of their success.

Smiling and relaxed, the President resumed his speech: 'Friends, this is a great occasion. Since the beginning of the foreign occupation no African has ever been the President of the Chamber' (Perhaps because of their megalomania, they always referred to the 'Chamber of Commerce and Industry' as the 'Chamber'.) 'In appointing me to this post of great responsibility our government has act with courage and shown its determination to achieve economic independence in these difficult times. This is indeed an historic occasion. We owe a debt of gratitude to the man at its head.'

EXTRACT I

Dans le vaste salon du siège du "Groupement des Hommes d'affaires", deux mémères et trois hommes faisaient le pied de grue. Connu de la secrétaire du Président, en galant homme, il la convainquit de l'urgence d'une entrevue de la plus haute importance.

Dès que la voie fut libre, El Hadji se faufila sans tenir compte des grognements de ceux qui attendaient. La climatisation du bureau le saisit aussitôt; c'était une pièce immense, avec des bibelots accrochés, des meubles d'acajou vernis.

- Tu aurais pu me téléphoner, lui fit remarquer le Président, le visage noir, poupin. Aujourd'hui est jour d'audience pour le public.

- Tant mieux! pontuait El Hadji, décié. Dis-moi ce qui se passe? Pourquoi suis-je l'objet d'une réunion.

- D'abord, où en es-tu avec ton *xala*?

- Fini. Parti.

- J'en suis très heureux pour toi. Pour cette réunion, rien de grave. Tes collègues tiennent à stoppper le préjudice que tu leur fais. Un préjudice très important.

- Quel préjudice?

- Calme-toi. En affaire, il faut avoir la maîtrise saxonne, le flair américain et la politesse française. Nous sommes entre nous. Tu me connais personellement. Mais entre vous, gens d'affaires, je ne suis qu'un arbitre. Or, tes collègues se heurtent à des difficultés dont ils t'accusent d'être le responsable: *primo* les chèques sans provisions, et *secondo*...

EXTRACT I

In the spacious waiting-room of the 'Businessmen's Group' offices, two old women and three men were already waiting. The President's secretary like him because he was always so courteous, and he was able to convince her of his need to see the President urgently on a matter of great importance.

As soon as the door opened El Hadji stepped through, paying no attention to the grumblings of the others. The air-conditioning came to meet him. It was a very large room, with curios hanging on the walls and polished mahogany furniture.

'You should have phoned me,' remarked the President. He had a black baby face. 'Today I receive the general public.'

'So much the better,' said El Hadji firmly. 'Tell me what is going on. Why am I the subject of a meeting?'

'First, have you been able to do anything about your *xala*?'

'It's finished. Over and done with.'

'I am very pleased for your sake. As for this meeting, it is nothing to worry about. Your colleagues want to stop the rather serious prejudice you are causing them.'

'What prejudice?'

'Keep calm. In business you must have the Englishman's self-control, the American's flair, and the Frenchman's politeness. Here it is just you and me. You know me well. But between you and the others, I am only an arbitrator. The thing is your colleagues are having difficulties for which they hold you responsible. Firstly dishonoured cheques, and secondly...'

EXTRACT J

Le sous-directeur, homme entre deux âges, la figure bien lisse, noire, les yeux protégés par les lunettes à monture dorée, les cheveux peignés, en bras de chemise blanche avec une cravate sombre, le reçut très affablement, l'installa dans un fauteuil près de la table basse où traînaient un paquet de cigarettes et un briquet en métal doré. Ce jeune cadre avait fait ses études dans les grandes écoles en France. Il avait ensuite suivi des stages dans les succursales en Afrique, dont la banque-mère est à Paris. Sa mission était de favoriser la naissance d'une classe moyenne d'hommes d'affaires africains. Très fair-play, il mit El Hadji à l'aise en l'appelant "mon grand", diminutif de grand frère et signe de respect.

El Hadji Abdou Kader Bèye s'adressait à lui avec une familiarité exagérée, le ton suborneur. Avec effusion, volubilité, il s'informait de sa famille et ne tarissait pas de "Couz" - diminutif de cousin - ,comme si leurs liens de parenté étaient une évidence. Le sous-directeur s'efforçait de son mieux à s'exprimer en wolof. Par manque de pratique, son langage se colorait de mots parasites si bien qu'il avait fini par aborder le français.

- "Grand", je sais que je ne suis pas parmi tes intimes! Lors de ton troisième mariage, tu ne m'as pas invité. Or tout Dakar en parle...

- "Couz", tu dois connaître la carence de nos secrétaires africaines. Ton nom figure en bonne et belle place sur la listes de mes adresses.

Le sous-directeur arma son fume-cigarette et l'alluma.

La conversation s'étirait. Une fuite!... Ils abordaient divers sujets, temporisant, evitant l'essentiel.

EXTRACT J

The deputy manager was a man of indeterminate age, with a smooth black face, eyes protected by gold-rimmed spectacles, and carefully combed hair. He wore a white shirt and a dark tie. He received El Hadji affably, installing him in an armchair next to a coffee-table on which lay a packet of cigarettes and a gold-plated lighter. He has studied at a French business school and had then done his probation in various African branches of the bank, the head-office of which was in Paris. Its aim was to assist the emergence of an African commercial middle-class. Anxious to play fair with El Hadji, the young man put him at ease by addressing him as 'elder brother', a Wolof sign of respect.

El Hadji Abdou Kader Beye addressed him with exaggerated familiarity in a persuasive tone of voice. He asked effusively after his family, calling him 'cousin', as if there were obvious family ties between them. The deputy manager did his best to express himself in Wolof. Through lack of practice his speech was so full of borrowed words that in the end he had to resort to French.

'Elder brother, I know I am not one of your close friends. You didn't invite me to your third marriage. All Dakar is talking about it!'

'Cousin, you must know how bad our African secretaries are. Your name is definitely on my address list.'

The deputy manager placed a cigarette in his holder and lit it.

The conversation dragged on. Delaying tactics...They broached various subjects, putting off and avoiding the real issue.

EXTRACT K

Une autre prit la parole. Lui aussi déblatérait. Comme tous, il avait le souci du bien-être du peuple. El Hadji avait l'impression d'être un abcès sur un organisme sain qu'il fallait vider. Il eut droit de la parole.

- On t'écoute.

Il était dérouté. Durant quelques secondes il eut de la peine à articuler, déchiré entre les attitudes à adopter. Il commença presque en murmurant, tout était incohérent dans sa tête.

- Qui m'accuse? Et de quoi m'accuse-t-on?

Inattendu! Personne ne lui répondit. Cet instant de surprise lui redonnait confiance. Sûr de lui-même, il fit circuler un regard interrogateur:

- ... Qui sommes-nous? De minables commissionaires, moins que des sous-traitants. Nous ne faisons que de la redistribution. Redistribuer les restes que les gros veulent bien nous céder. Sommes-nous des Hommes d'affaires? Je réponds, pour ma part: non. Des cul-terreux...

- Je proteste, Président, intervint Laye. Il nous insulte. Tu manges au même merdier que nous. Tes leçons, à d'autres!

Ce fut un tumulte général, chacun voulut parler. El Hadji se contrôlait. Une douce chaleur le baignait. Cette joie interne éveillait en lui de vieux souvenirs de militant. Certes, la combativité d'alors s'était émoussée avec des véhicules, les villas, le compte bancaire, l'eau d'Evian, mais il savait qu'il avait touché un point sensible et vulnérable de ses collègues. Le jeu était dangereux, mais il fallait le risquer.

- Du calme! Messieurs, du calme, cria le Président, tapant sur le table avec son petit marteau. Du calme... Ecoutez, Messieurs! Il n'y a pas lieu de s'offusquer.

- El Hadji se croit encore à l'époque coloniale. Cette époque où il haranguait le peuple avec fourberie est morte, bien morte. Nous sommes indépendants. C'est nous qui gouvernons. Et tu collabores avec le régime en place. Donc, cesse tes phrases creuses, stupides, d'obédiance étrangère.

- Président, est-ce que je peux finir? demanda-t-il, très maître de lui.

- Oui, El Hadji.

- C'est vrai, Laye?

- Pas d'aparté! Expose ton cas, tonna Laye.

- Bien! Nous sommes des culs-terreux! Les banques appartiennent à qui? Les assurances? Les usines? Les entreprises? Le commerce en gros? Les cinémas? Les librairies? Les hôtels? etc., etc., etc. De tout cela et autres choses, nous ne contrôlons rien. Ici, nous ne sommes que des crabes dans un panier. Nous voulons la place de l'ex-occupant. Nous y sommes. Cette Chambre en est la preuve. Quoi de changé, en général comme en particulier? Rien. Le colon est devenu plus fort, plus puissant, caché en nous, en nous ici présents. Il nous promet les restes du festin si nous sommes sages. Gare à celui qui voudrait troubler sa digestion, à vouloir davantage du profit. Et nous?...Culs-terreux, commissionaires, sous-traitants, par fatuité nous nous disons "Hommes d'affaires". Des affairistes sans fonds.

- Cette tirade est trop longue, El Hadji, intervint Diop, homme chauve, au crâne bosselé et brillant. Nous ne sommes pas au théâtre. Monsieur est dans la gadoue jusqu'à la bouche et il nous fait des leçons de révolutionnarisme. Il fallait y penser avant. Finissons-en! Votons son exclusion.

EXTRACT K

Someone else spoke. He followed the same blustering line of reasoning. Like all of them he was concerned about the welfare of 'the people'. El Hadji felt as if he were an abcess which had to be lanced. He had the right to speak.

'We are listening.'

He was confused. For a few seconds he found it difficult to say anything, uncertain what approach to adopt. He began almost in a murmur, his ideas all in a muddle.

'Who is accusing me? What am I accused of?'

Unexpected! No one replied. This moment of surprise restored his confidence. Sure of himself, he looked around questioningly.

'What are we? Mere agents, less than petty traders! We merely re-distribute. Re-distribute the remains the big men deign to leave us. Are we businessmen? I say no! Just clodhoppers!'

'I protest, Mr President,' intervened Laye. 'He is insulting us. You eat from the same dungheap as we do. Go and preach to others.'

There was a general uproar; everyone wanted to speak. El Hadji controlled himself. A pleasant warmth spread through his body. It was an inner joy that woke in him memories of his militant days. No doubt his old aggressiveness had been blunted by his cars, his villas, his bank account and the mineral water, but he knew he had touched his colleagues on a sore spot.

'Order! Gentlemen, order!' shouted the President, banging the table with his gavel. 'Order! Come along now! There is no need to take offence, gentlemen.'

'El Hadji thinks he is still living in colonial times. Those days when he harangued the crowds with his trickery are over, well and truly over. We are independent now. We are the ones who govern. You collaborate with the régime that's in power. So stop all this empty, stupid talk about foreign control.'

'Mr President, may I finish?' El Hadji asked, fully in control of himself.

'Yes, El Hadji.'

'Isn't that true, Laye?'

'No asides! Put your case!' roared Laye.

'All right. We are a bunch of clodhoppers. Who owns the banks? The insurance companies? The factories? The businesses? The wholesale trade? The cinemas? The bookshops? The hotels? All these and more besides are out of our control. We are nothing better than crabs in a basket. We want the ex-occupier's place? We have it. This Chamber is proof. Yet what change is there really in general or in particular? The colonist is stronger, more powerful than ever before, hidden inside us here in this very place. He promises us the left-overs of the feast if we behave ourselves. Beware anyone who tries to upset his digestion, who wants a bigger profit. What are we? Clodhoppers! Agents! Petty traders! In our fatuity we call ourselves "businessmen"! Businessmen without funds.'

'You have gone on long enough, El Hadji,' interrupted Diop, a bald man with a shiny, bumpy head. 'We aren't at the theatre. You're up to your neck in muck and you preach revolution to us. You should have thought of all that before. Let's get it over. Let's vote his expulsion.'

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