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**RETRANSLATION AND CULTURAL TRANSFER: THE
COMPARATIVE ANALYSIS OF THE TURKISH AND
FRENCH TRANSLATIONS OF CHINUA ACHEBE'S
THINGS FALL APART WITHIN THE FRAMEWORK
OF AIXELA'S TRANSLATION STRATEGIES**

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**MASTER'S THESIS
DEPARTMENT OF TRANSLATION AND INTERPRETATION
TRANSLATION AND CULTURAL STUDIES**

AUGUST 2021



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ETİK BEYAN

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Hibo Ahmed Omar

25.08.2021

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(Master's Thesis)

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ABSTRACT

This study aims to observe the role of retranslation on cultural transfer, its advantages and inconvenients within the framework of Aixela's Culture-Specific Items (CSI) translation strategies. To achieve our primary and prominent objective, the focal point of our study is the book called *Things Fall Apart* of Chinua Achebe first published in 1958 which is a great reference of postcolonial literature. The first Turkish translation of Anjel Selveroğlu is known as *Ruhum Yeniden Doğacak* published in 1983 and the second Turkish version *Parçalanma* by Nazan Arıbaş, published in 2007. On the other side, two French translations, the first entitled *Le Monde s'effondre* by Michel Ligny in 1966 and the second *Tout s'effondre* by Pierre Girard in 2013 have also been analysed. Aixela's translation strategies of CSIs (1996) and Antoine Berman's Retranslation Hypothesis constituted the theoretical framework of this thesis and gave us necessary tools to analyze the translation of cultural elements. The Retranslation Hypothesis helped us to verify if retranslations or the latter written versions of *Things Fall Apart* are translated closer to the source text. Through this study, it is essential to note that the transfer of cultural elements is a mean to establish the reality and to identify the real identity of the colonized nations in a different language, thus the book *Things Fall Apart*. The main strategies used by the Turkish and French translators are evaluated in the cultural transference context. Through the analysis that we have done, we remarked that Berman's Retranslation Hypothesis has been verified in the second Turkish translation where the translator Erbil has applied more strategies from Conservation category. However, this hypothesis has not been verified in the second French translation. Indeed, the first French translator Ligny has adopted more Conservation strategies than the second translator Girard, contrary to what could be expected according to the Retranslation Hypothesis.

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YENİDEN ÇEVİRİ VE KÜLTÜREL AKTARIM: CHİNUA ACHEBE’NİN THINGS
FALL APART ESERİNİN TÜRKÇE VE FRANSIZCA ÇEVİRİLERİ ÜZERİNE
AIXELA’NIN ÇEVİRİ STRATEJİLERİ ÇERÇEVESİNDE KARŞILAŞTIRMALI BİR
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ÖZET

Bu çalışma, Aixela’nın Kültüre Özgü Öğelerin (CSI) çeviri stratejileri çerçevesinde yeniden çevirinin kültür aktarımı üzerindeki rolünü gözlemlemeyi amaçlamaktadır. Bu doğrultuda postkolonyal literatürün önemli bir eseri olan ve ilk kez 1958’de yayımlanan Chinua Achebe’nin *Things Fall Apart* adlı eser çalışmamızın odak noktası olmuştur. Anjel Selveroğlu’nun ilk Türkçe çevirisi 1983’te yayımlanan *Ruhum Yeniden Doğacak*, ikinci Türkçe çevirisi ise Nazan Arıbaş’ın 2007’de yayımlanan *Parçalanma* olarak bilinmektedir. Öte yandan, 1966 yılında Michel Ligny tarafından *Le Monde s’effondre* ve 2013 yılında Pierre Girard tarafından *Tout s’effondre* başlıklı iki Fransızca çeviri de incelenmiştir. Aixela’nın CSI’lerin çeviri stratejileri (1996) ve Antoine Berman’ın Yeniden Çeviri Savı, bu tezin kuramsal çerçevesini oluşturmaktadır ve kültürel unsurların çevirisini incelemek için gerekli araçları sağlamıştır. Yeniden Çeviri Savı, *Things Fall Apart*’ın yeniden çevirilerinde kültürel unsurların kaynak metne daha yakın çevrilmiş olmasını öngörmektedir. Türkçe ve Fransızca çevirmenlerin kullandığı temel stratejiler kültürel aktarım bağlamında değerlendirilmiştir. Yapılan inceleme, ikinci çevirmen olan Erbil’in “koruma” kategorisine ait daha fazla strateji kullandığını, dolayısıyla eserin Türkçe yeniden çevirisinde Berman’ın Yeniden Çeviri Savı’nın doğrulandığını göstermiştir. Ancak bu sav, Fransızca yeniden çeviride doğrulanmamıştır. Zira, eseri ilk kez Fransızcaya çeviren tercüman Ligny, Yeniden Çeviri Savı’na göre beklenenin aksine, ikinci tercüman Girard’dan daha fazla “koruma” stratejisine başvurmuştur. Aynı zamanda bu çalışma kültürel unsurların aktarımının, sömürgeleştirilmiş ulusların gerçek kimliğini farklı bir dilde ortaya koymalarına aracılık ettiğini, dolayısıyla *Things Fall Apart* kitabının bu bağlamda önemli olduğunu göstermiştir.

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1. INTRODUCTION

Things Fall Apart is a novel written by Nigerian author Chinua Achebe, and it is set in Nigeria, specifically in a small village called Umuofia. The book compared the period before and after the arrival of white missionaries, which resulted in unforeseen political and institutional changes. As a result, the aim of this research is to examine how these changes occurred in the Turkish and French translations, as well as how the translators of both versions transferred cultural elements and which strategies they employed. Achebe's primary goal in writing this book was to portray a positive picture of African culture while also educating and inviting readers to learn more about it through his writings. Most European writings depicted African cultures as primitive and uncivilized during colonization. This was Achebe's key motivation for writing *Things Fall Apart*: he intended to teach Europeans about the uniqueness of this society. For a long time, Translation Studies has been prescriptive because all translations done during this time were more concerned with style and texts than with the translation itself. The word "translation studies" was coined by James S. Holmes, an American living in Amsterdam. Nowadays, Translation Studies is an interdisciplinary area that deals with theories and their applications, which includes history, linguistics, philosophy and comparative literature, among other areas.

It wasn't until 1990, when the "Cultural Turn" was added, that this area was elevated to a new level. "The study of translation in its cultural, political, and ideological context" is what the term "cultural turn" means (Bassnett and Lefevere, 1990: 8). With this new turning point, translation works can no longer be studied in the same way they were previously. New fields have emerged as a result of the Cultural Turn, such as postcolonial translation, which challenges the position of translation between cultures and the complicated relationships that colonizers and colonized retain. The aim of postcolonial translation studies was to show that culture plays an important role in translation. During colonization, colonizers used translation as a tool to establish a "false picture" of colonized communities, especially those in the Third World. It also aided colonized nations in reclaiming their lost identities and re-establishing the true decor of their society in their writings. The postcolonial area often deals with cultural differences between colonizers who

wielded influence and colonized citizens who were reduced to illiteracy. The colonizers used English to reaffirm their supremacy in terms of language in the texts written during this time period.

Our main theory for completing this study would be Aixela's (1996) Culture-specific items translation strategies (CSI). CSI are characteristics that are specific to a particular culture. Food, clothing, custom, faith, and so on are examples of these things. Words like *egwugwu* and *uri*, for example, are only used by the Igbo group to refer to particular cultural objects. As a result, using these words in a translation of another text may be problematic, as some readers will be familiar with and the others will not. These CSI could reduce the efficacy of the translation if those expressions did not have a lexical counterpart in the target language. This thesis will concentrate on Aixela's CSI methods in order to explore the translated versions of *Things Fall Apart*.

Berman's Retranslation Hypothesis will also be discussed extensively in this research. Berman proposed the retranslation theory in 1990, claiming that translation is a "incomplete" act, and that this incompleteness can only be repaired by later developed translations. Berman's concept of completion refers to achieving a translation that is similar to the source text. He also argued that all translations, without exception, are at risk of "failure" because, in his opinion, previous translations have been more concentrated on the outside aspect of the text and its stylistic aspect rather than the cultural aspects, resulting in a cultural divide between the two languages involved.

The aim of the research is to see how retranslation affects the transition of cultural elements to target languages and cultures. This means that we'll look at how the cultural elements of *Things Fall Apart* have been transferred too the versions of the text, using Aixela's CSI translation techniques and the role of Berman retranslation theory in the process. We have chosen some research questions for this analysis that will assist us in correctly verifying our hypothesis.

The following are our study questions:

1) How did the cultural elements from *Things Fall Apart* get transferred to the Turkish and French translations? Do the first and second translations in different target cultures (Turkish and French) show the same tendencies?

2) Is Berman's Retranslation Hypothesis verified in *Things Fall Apart's* Turkish and French retranslations?

3) What role does retranslation play in postcolonial translation? Indeed, Achebe's goal in writing this book was to highlight the harm done by white missionaries as well as the importance of culture for Africans, especially Nigerians. So, can we say that the Turkish and French retranslators aimed at promoting the Igbo culture closer to the way that Achebe did?

We will respond to these questions, which form the foundation of our research, through our review. In this study, we will verify Berman's retranslation hypothesis, which goes like this:

The first translation tends to adapt the original text to the target culture's norms and laws, while the second translation tends to be closer to the source text, because if a text is retranslated, it is because it was not adapted to the new culture, and so a retranslation is required (Berman, 1990: 5).

Since our research is focused on a comparison of Chinua Achebe's book *Things Fall Apart* and its French and Turkish translations, we will use a qualitative approach to collect cultural elements from the source text and analyze their translation strategies in four target texts using Aixela's CSI translation strategies. Finally, we'll discuss on translators' choices and strategies of CSI's translation to verify Berman's Retranslation Hypothesis by determining which of the translated versions is closer to the source text and to better understand the role of retranslation in postcolonial translation.



2. THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

2.1. Culture and Translation Studies

Translation is constitutive of civilizations and cultures that have crossed times. No society, no culture has never fully enough in itself. Exchanges, whether commercial, literary, scientists and others have always participated in these constructions, and translation has played an essential role. These contacts were also established at the interlinguistic level. The ultimate example is given with the Oaths of Strasbourg of February 14, 842 which constitute, in a way, the birth certificate of the French language. They mark the alliance between two Frankish sovereigns: Charles the Bald and Louis the German. Charles the Bald pronounces oaths in the language spoken by the soldiers of Louis the German. As for Louis German, he proclaims them in the Romance language to make himself understood by troops of Charles the Bald. The two kings, son of Louis the Pious, unite by this gesture against their third brother, Lothaire I (Kate Wills, 2017). The exact origin of the written version of the Oaths is still subject to discussion. However, the symbolism of this founding translational act continues, and the Oaths of Strasbourg are the first French written document. The practice of translation, however, dates back to a very long period before the birth of the written French. Humanity translates for 3000 years before our era; the profession of translator is thus part of the oldest trades in the world. Translation was originally a caste and family affair. Thus, ancient Egypt represented a multilingual area. The princes of Elephantine passed on the art of performance in their families, as evidenced by inscriptions on their tombs which date from the middle of the 3rd millennium BC. As for the famous Rosetta stone, it is probably one of the largest testimonies of the translating activity of Antiquity in this region of the world of the bilingual, trilingual and even quadrilingual dictionaries have also been found in Mesopotamia, the homeland of early writing with more than sixty languages. In Carthage, a major trading post in the 10th century BC, a caste of translators worked on linguistic transmission. They were distinguished by their shaved heads where a parrot was tattooed; if its wings were closed, the translator only worked in one language. If they were deployed, he knew several.

The Romans, despite their military superiority, are aware of the progress of Greek civilization. It is through translation that they acquire their knowledge, very

often through pastiche which does not quote reference works. By the way, although the Roman elites were often bilingual, their status may prevent them from using Greek. So, in exchanges between the two nations, the need for interpreters and translators is felt. Several words are developed to designate the act of translating: *verto*, the version; *converto*, conversion; *transverto*, transfer; or *translato*, translation. It is also in the Roman Empire that, for the first time, translations are signed. So, Cicero has translated many great Greek thinkers such as Demosthenes, Plato or Xenophon. He was also the first to theorize about translation in *De Optimogenere oratorum* [Of the best kind of speaker], where he refuses word for word in order to make the best the author's idea and style while respecting the laws of the language.

2.2. Culture in Translation

It is widely noticed that culture plays a prominent role in translation works. It is undeniable that culture and translation are two inseparable notions and these knots between the two improve the translation works in the translation field. Discussing the problems of equivalence in translation, Nida shows equal role to both linguistic and cultural differences and he states that "differences between cultures may cause more severe complications for the translator than do differences in language structure" (Nida, 1964: 130). It is further observed that when the two concerned cultures are closely similar, the translators can provide a common understanding while translating. Therefore, culture is crucial in translation studies because of the lexical and the cultural background it provides.

Lotman's theory states that "no language can exist unless it is steeped in the context of culture; and no culture can exist which does not have at its centre, the structure of natural language" (Lotman, 1978: 211-32). The statement of Lotman shows us that including cultural studies in the translated texts increases the quality of the final produced translation. Bassnett underlines the importance of this double consideration when translating by stating that language is "the heart within the body of culture" (1980: 13-14), the survival of both aspects being interdependent. Linguistic notions of transferring meaning are seen as being only part of the translation process; "a whole set of extra-linguistic criteria" must also be considered. As Bassnett furthers her view by saying:

“The translator must tackle the SL text in such a way that the TL version will correspond to the SL version...To attempt to impose the value system of the SL culture onto the TL culture is dangerous ground” (Bassnett, 1980: 23).

Thus, when translating, it is important to give attention to the way lexical transference is translated and also the way cultural elements are translated in the target language and how the latter will be perceived in this target culture.

2.3. History of Translation

On the other hand, a translation is obviously always done by a translator, if we exclude the possibility of machine translation. It is therefore altruism to speak of intervention by the translator on translation. A translation is both a conscious action and a mediation which is developed from a series of decisions or choices that are expressed by processes or techniques. The translator makes decisions based on several criteria: linguistic or textual limitations, instructions (professional or unprofessional) of the client or the translation strategies he adopts. This is in order to draw conclusions as to the existing trends in a given period (which can be contemporary), in a particular region or community, or in a specific genre of text, or even with a translator. These trends, even norms, in the production and reception of translations will make it possible to determine the role played by the latter in history or their contribution to a historical or cultural phenomenon or event.

The etymology of the word translation derives from a Latin term which means “to bring or to carry across”. In the ancient Greek, the first translation came out from Cicero and Horace and later reformed by Dryden who differentiates “formal equivalence” from “dynamic equivalence” which was early known as “fidelity” versus “transparency”. In other words, in every translation done, those two translation strategies were crucial in the translation studies. The early done translations were formerly word-to-word translations because at that epoch, the sense of a translation was not the principal issue. To sum up, those were the first steps into the literary and translation works. The ancient Greek was well-known for their several worshipping of Gods, thus the translation of the religious texts was sacred and only given to the most performant translators. In these religious books, word-to-word translation was put forward because any mistranslated word in these books was seen as a sin and therefore none dared to achieve an incorrect translation.

2.4. Translation of Holy Books in Early Epoch

2.4.1. Early Translation Strategies

2.4.1.1. Word-to-word strategy

Word-to-word translation or literal translation is the providing of a text from one language to another without carrying about the sense of the original text. In such cases, the translators dealt with text using this strategy to stay faithful to the original text. This kind of strategy is used in legal texts (in particular realm), scientific and in technical purposes.

2.4.1.2. Sense-to-sense strategy

The sense-to-sense translation strategy was first pronounced by Cicero during the period of the ancient Greek. The aim of this strategy is to achieve an equivalence of meaning of the source into the target text. In the other hand, this means that the translators must find a way through this strategy to let the target text sound like the source text. Here, the translator's main objective is to attain an equality in terms of meaning between the two texts and to maintain it during its translation process. After the industrial Revolution, the economy of every country developed easily and then new machines appeared for printing text earlier written with hands. The development of the economy of certain countries facilitated translation and at the same time brought translation into a new level which reduced the charge of the translators. Due to the internet, the translator's work became easy in terms of their comprehension towards certain words. Through the latter, they were not anymore moving from one place to another. This means that, they finished and achieved their translation task through their computers using translation applications and also through the use of dictionaries to accelerate their translation process. With the arrival of this revolution, they downloaded new translation applications to further their knowledge in terms of translation and its items. Another advantage of the internet for translators is that through it; they created groups between translators to develop their skills, exchange ideas and to improve themselves in this realm.

2.4.2 Translation in the Antiquity

The first major translations were done upon the Hebrew bible which was translated into Greek. Jews have forgotten the Hebrew language of their ancestral

and then preferred to translate the Bible into the Greek language, so they can read it. In the antiquity, all translations were concerning about the Bible's translation into Greek and into Latin. For the achievement of a successful translation, Cicero who was a great philosopher, orator and also a translator came up with the word-to-word translation strategy to proceed to the translation of the Bible into Latin. Besides, Jerome was also known as ST. Jerome states that while translating the Bible, the translator should use sense-to-sense translation strategy to keep its translation as close as possible to the source text. The translation of the Bible was important because they were afraid of translating incorrectly. Its translation was sacred because when translating, the translator should choose the adequate strategy which will help him to obtain a successful version (Lebert, 2020).

2.4.3. The Middle Age Translations

In the Middle Ages, translations took another level. In the antiquity, the dominant subjects were more religious (translation of the Bible into Latin and Greek). Moreover, the main realms of translations from Arabic, Greek into Latin were scientific, medical and philosophical. Roger Bacon, a 13th century scholar was the first scholar who thought about the fact that a translator should have some basic knowledge concerning the source text culture and the target's one, so that he will improve himself in this field. At that period, translators, in their translations were totally free of writing whatever they wanted. According to Stefania Gandin, translators tend to modify the source text contains due to a lack of knowledge concerning the target text (Gandin, 2009: 6). Some of them were offering a translated version which was completely far from the source text. The lack of experimented scholars was obvious and there was a need to stop this randomly produced translation.

2.4.4. Translation Studies

In the 20th century, it is the emergence of the discipline called Translation Studies. The expression of "translation studies" was first coined by James S. Holmes in his paper called "The name and the nature of Translation Studies" in 1972. In the 21th century, the translator's works were more developed. All their interest was given to the target languages, the languages into which they were supposed to translate. They worked hardly to acquire knowledge and more stylistic techniques to improve

their translations, thereby enriching their translations. Translation Studies includes plenty of academic disciplines such as literature, history, linguistics, philosophy etc. Nowadays, the internet furthered the translation services through the development of some translation strategies and techniques on online. Therefore, it also helped to decrease the rate of unemployment by hiring new translators because being a bilingual translator was not anymore sufficient. A translator should have enough basic knowledge and skills to develop hardly its techniques in each language. Being a translator is a profession and the latter should imply himself psychologically and physically to achieve a well-versed translation. When a translator accomplishes an exemplary work, he is always called for by other clients and organizations which appreciate its works.

2.5. Postcolonial Translation

The term “postcolonial” refers to the historical breakdown between the colonizers and the colonized, in other word, the accession to independence for the then colonized nations by Great Britain, France, and Holland etc. The postcolonial author’s main objective was to challenge the colonial presupposition and get rid of it through their written literature. Their works are only composed of literature but also of cultural products where the colonized language is put forward. In addition, “postcolonial” also refers to a theory where the author’s works related to colonialism are discussed. Those works do not only relate simple literary works but also put the light on the colonial empires and lands which still belong to the colonizers. The discourse of the postcolonial authors discussed mostly about themes such domination, resistance, feminism and racist issues. In other word, they put forward all the sufferings of the colonized through their works and exposed it to the world as a form of rejection the ideologies of the former colonizers. Those works also determined the difference of ideologies between the former colonizers and the authors of the then colonized, in other word there was an ideological confrontation. A translation study appeared as an easily distinguishable discipline in 1980 and nowadays plays a crucial role in literary works and, in the academy; it has been developed thoroughly through worldwide and still redefined since the introduction of translation studies. The notion which helped this field to expand was the “cultural turn” of Bassnett and Lefevere (1990). After the introduction of culture in translation

studies, it was not anymore question about the linguistic challenges which were put forward then but the challenges of two different cultures in translation studies. This means that, former translations were more linguistic targeted but since the introduction of culture in translation studies, culture became the driving motor of the translation process. Therefore, culture became the module of translation and it is important to note that the introduction of culture in translation studies contributed to the apparition of others fields.

Simon underlines the benefits of Cultural Studies to the translation field with the following statement: “Cultural studies bring to translation an understanding of the complexities of gender and culture. It allows us to situate linguistic transfer within the multiple “post” realities of today: post structuralism, post colonialism and post modernism” (1996: 136). This means that cultural studies helped the scholars to situate their translations within a particular field and it is also noteworthy to underline that cultural studies helped the emergence of other fields like feminist translation, postcolonial translation etc. Postcolonial translation studies are one of these emerging fields after the cultural turn in translation studies. Many scholars such as Michael Cronin, Sherry Simon, author of the following articles “The City as TranslationZone” by Michael Cronin (2014), “The City in Translation” by Simon Sherry (2008) “The Translator’s Invisibility”: *A History of Translation* by Lawrence Venuti (2008). Tejaswini Niranjana, Maria Tymoczko and Douglas Robinson have taken the Postcolonial Translation Studies into another level through their works. With the expansion of the Postcolonial field; we remarked that translation became a mean to inform the history of colonialism by including the cultural aspects that give life to this field. Thus, the statement of Bassnett and Trivedi is a case in point:

Translation does not happen in a vacuum, but in a continuum; it is not an isolated act, it is part of an ongoing process of intercultural transfer. Moreover, translation is a highly manipulative activity that involves all kinds of stages in that process of transfer across linguistic and cultural boundaries. Translation is not an innocent, transparent activity but is highly charged with significance at every stage; it rarely, if ever, involves a relationship of equality between texts, authors or systems (Bassnett ve Trivedi, 2002: 2).

This means that, postcolonial translation is affected by the cultural representations of the two powers (the colonizers and the colonized) and the

translation done under the colonialism context was “ideological as conforming to or rebelling against the dominant ideology” as Munday wrote in his essay (Munday, 2010: 125). In the view of the power conflict, Alvarez and Vidal define the translation as “one of the most representative paradigms of the clash between cultures” (1996: 2). This means that translation, during the period of colonialism, was a reflection of the two powers, two cultures and two languages of the settlers and the colonized nations. Especially, when translation is performed between the languages of the colonizer and the colonized, these power relations become more apparent. Dominant colonized were often the ones who used to determine the road to take in terms of translation works. They used to give directives to the translators to execute during the translation process following the instructions gave by them. As a result, colonizer’s ideologies and politics were enhanced by the translators and the literature of the colonized was almost destroyed.

Therefore, translation was the perfect tool for the colonizers to spread their influence and their superiority. Consequently, colonizers in their translations rewrote the history of colonialism in their sauce by describing those colonized nations as “savage” and “primitive” societies which need to be civilized. They justified their colonization mission by using civilization as their main excuse to conquer the lands of the colonized nations. They used all kinds of pejorative words to describe these “primitive” societies and to show their superiority among the other nations which do not belong to the sphere of Europe.

Decolonizers always sought for a certain form of postcolonial identity which is based on cultural interactions between different identities (culture, ethnic, gender etc.). In postcolonial literature, the most analyzed subjects belonged to colonizers including their political identities, social and cultural factors. Postcolonial theory describes the difference between the two dominant culture and languages during the colonial period. Postcolonial translators seek to overthrow the colonial system in writing in the European language in order to invite European readers to know about the colonized culture. From the view of Paul Bandia in *Translation as Reparation* (2014), translation is not anymore, a simple transference of two cultures but also a fusion of the culture between the two concerned cultures. In other word, when a translator transfers the cultural elements of the source text into a specific target

culture, is not only a cultural transference which occurs but a fusion and a melting pot of two cultures. Therefore, translation became a bridge where two cultures meet each other and at the same time a mediator where the differences carried by these cultures are decreased. Translation serves as mediator between cultures in order to overthrow the cultural differences (between colonizer and colonized). The concept of hybridity of Homi Bhabha plays a prominent role in postcolonial literature. The word “hybridity” means a combination of two languages, the colonized and the colonizers’ one. It is a concept which refers to the diversity of language in the postcolonial period. In *Things Fall Apart*, hybridity translation strategy is shown by the presence of Igbo words in the book.

2.5.1. Third World and Subaltern Theory of Gayatri Spivak

Third World was an expression given to the ex-colonized. They mostly include countries from Africa and Asia continents. When those nations obtained their independence, especially the smallest countries among them faced problems in creating their own institutions and politics. This expression refers to the countries which were in development and still in development nowadays. During the World War II, colonizers observed that Third World countries were not part of their union, so they decided to give them aids and military support in order for them to join in return. The emergence of the expression “Third World” came out from the construction of small countries which got independence after a hard period of colonialism and they had a common point because those countries were underdeveloped and they were characterized by a rapid demographic growth. (Caroline Banton and Peter, 2020)

Spivak, a postcolonial theorist who became famous due to her popular essay called “Can the Subaltern Speak”, a 1988 essay but originally published in 2010. She is opposing to the idea that the western world could have any sort of influence over the Third World. According to her, the expression “subaltern” refers to the represented group of people in the society, already defined by Gramsci (1947: 55). In the colonial context, the subaltern groups do not have any freedom, they were not considered by the others and all their complaints were unconsidered. During the colonization period, she observed the existence of racial discrimination. Classes were made and only by them and only the rich were able to join the rank of the colonizers.

This classification affected mostly women, poor class and black. The arrival of the elites into the classes of the colonizers was seen as a new beginning because their arrival permitted to the colonizers to strengthen their exploitation and their authority. Still according to Spivak, this new collaboration permitted to widen the difference and to increase racial discrimination gap. When the elites joined the colonizers, the subaltern group situation became worst because they were not given any role and then the colonizers were seen as the heroes who saved the elite's class. All powers and authorities were in the hand of the colonizers and the relationship between the colonizers and the colonized looked like master and slave relation. According to Spivak statement, the subalterns tried several times to communicate their sufferings but unfortunately, they were seen as foreigners. Their sufferings resulted from the inequality they witnessed daily during the colonization. The domination of the colonizers was not limited to lands but also affected the minds of the colonized by taking benefit from their lack of education (Spivak, 1988).

2.5.2. Neo-Colonialism and Its Reasons

The result of neo-colonialism caused the exploitation of foreign capital belonging to the less developed countries of the world. Investment, under neo-colonialism, increases rather than decreases the gap between the rich and the poor countries. The struggle against neo-colonialism is not aimed at preventing the financial power of the developed countries being used in such a way to impoverish the less developed. Kwame Nkrumah is a Ghanaian politician who came up with the expression "Neo-colonialism". The main reason of neo-colonialism is that developing countries generally do not have access to the capital and took from the under-developed countries in order to ameliorate their natural resources, those developed countries offered them the tools in exchange of a high percentage in terms of benefits. This means that the colonizers offer their help to the undeveloped country so, that they will have the big part of benefit. Therefore, the development of those well-countries such as Europe, America is due to the benefits they took from the undeveloped and due to the benefit of the low price in the natural resources in order to buy it higher in abroad (Abraham, 1962).

2.5.3. From Colonialism to Neocolonialism

Colonialism is still continuing and can be observed in different ways. Colonization is still observed in the then colonized nations due to inequalities of incomes and segregation between the colonizers and the colonized. In result, these inequalities can pave the way to frustration and racist issues. It is noteworthy to evoke that colonialism deals also with economic issues such as the exploitation of the colonized wealth by the colonizers and taking the benefits they gained from this unilateral trade. This trade is a unilateral trade because only the colonizers took the big part of the cake eventhough the primary materials do not belong to them. Colonizers brought with them their policies that are unique to them to conquer the colonized lands and their wealth. Therefore, we are going to take a look into the strategies of this economic colonialism which includes big business, foreign tradeand tied aid.

During colonialism and after it, a crucial number of white investors throw their economic interest in the colonized nations. They directly invested their capitals and spotted their multinational companies there. This means that, in order for the European to avoid the high cost of the manoeuvre in their territory, they preferred to move to Africa and Asia territories where the manoeuvre is cheaper. Once, they found their ideal location to begin their investment, they started to increase their exportations and their staffing. In return, they helped thoseunderdeveloped countries to obtain new infrastructures and teach them new techniques in trade affairs. Even with the offerred help, advantages and inconveniences are not always at the same level. In terms of taxes, developed countries are less taxed than the African countries. This means, when the developed ones want to export mares from the African countries, taxation is not that expensive, thus the main reason why most of their companies are located there while for the Africans who want to export their mares to the European territories, the taxation is monstrous.

2.5.4. Identity Problems

Works classified as postcolonial are often dealt with identity issues. During colonization, the colonizers established a set of rules and spread the Europeans mindset to colonize these nations. This means that, during their settlement they spread the idea that European culture is superior comparing to the colonized one and

due to this change, some of the colonized people joined them. When the colonization was finished, those people had problems in finding their identity whether they belonged to their source culture or the European one they adopted. After the end of colonization, the colonized people struggled a lot in with the idea of reaffirming their real identity and these ideas are frequently found in their literature. Trade had penalized the activities of the colonial countries. Nowadays, foreign trade remains one of the most tools for developing countries. The lack of infrastructure and the industrial lag helped the external markets to develop and gain.

2.5.5. Resistance Translation Strategies in Postcolonial Context

Resistance is a prominent translation strategy in the postcolonial translation studies. According to Tymoczko, resistance “presumes the existence of a specific power that exerts force in particular ways or in particular directions” (Tymoczko, 2007: 210). In the postcolonial period, the role of the translators was to put an end to the influence of the colonizers by rejecting all forms of colonization in their writings. As Tymoczko says a translator in the postcolonial period “thwarts the directions that the power wishes to take and to impose on others” (2007: 210). This means that, in this period, the translators which were not under the influence of the colonizers were opposing to all forms of domination in their writings. They used to tell the history of colonization differently from the colonizers as a matter of resistance. Literature was their only mean to speak out about the oppression the white settlers practiced on them. A postcolonial translator must choose determinant strategies and distinct directions to report the colonizers lies. Several forms of resistant strategies are witnessed by the scholars to study the postcolonial translation. The resistant strategies will be deeply developed in the coming parts of our study.

2.5.6. The Main Theoricians of Postcolonial Translation

2.5.6.1. Edward Said

Edward Said is a professor of literature, a public intellectual and the founder of the academic field of postcolonial studies. He was one of the important theorists who promoted and impacted the postcolonial field with all his contributions. His postcolonial theory is mostly based on correcting the wrong image the westerns attributed to the Orient and the East. The westerns painted a false image about the Orient and East by describing them as “savage” and “uncivilized” people. In his most

influential work, *Orientalism* (1978), where he made a distinction about the Orient and the Occident, he states that even if colonialism ended, there is still some sequels that persist in others form such as corruptions, civil wars etc. He furthers his statements by saying that colonization has finished but the westerns are still exercised on us indirectly another form of colonization. According to him, colonizers came and imposed their culture in our floors. They did not care about the existence of other languages and other cultures. They used this strategy of colonization in order to get rid of any aspect of the colonized, they also used the strategy of education and enlightenment to conquer some African territory and promote their English language. Through his book, he is speaking out about the oppression and exploitation the colonizers supported. Besides, he describes the way the Occident sees the Orient. In other word, the westerns see the Orient as the place to be banished, the place were savages and uneducated people live. He continues saying that most Orientalist works had been influenced by those Western colonizers and they gave to the Orient the image they wanted. They described the Orient completely differently from the image they had. They preferred to mislead their people and by doing this act, they tried to maximize their legacy of domination. Edward Said says that the relationship between the Orient and the Occident is a sort of relation based on power, domination etc. Consequently, Said proposes to study histories, colonizers and colonized ones because their description of the Orient and the East is a one angle analysis and description. In other word, in order to stay objective in their writings (authors or translators), they should look into the background of involved stories, cultures and spaces to avoid favouritism made towards one people. He suggests taking a look on other works made by Orientalist writers to observe the pression under which they finalize their works. By analyzing these works, he says that we can figure out some unknown subjects such as slave trade in the work of Austen in *Mansfield Park*, the same goes to Conrad in *Heart of Darkness* (1899) where he describes Africa with all negative adjectives. By quoting all these works, Edward's aim is not to blame them. Through his book, Edward promotes a certain form of resistance concerning the misrepresentations and the misinterpretations attributed to the Orient. To sum up, besides correcting the false image given to the Orient in his book, he is also advocating for both side analysis to avoid violence given to a particular nation in

colonial context. He believes that there is an untold part of the history concerning the African continent (Edward, 1978).

2.5.7. Translation During Colonialism

Literary translation is used as a form of colonial strategy, since it “informs the hegemony apparatus that belong to the ideological structure of the colonial rule” (Niranjana, 1995: 33). Therefore, the colonizers chose texts that are suitable with their current ideologies and translated them into their languages to show the superiority of their languages and cultures. For a long period, numerous texts were translated into the language of the colonizers and all the literary texts of the colonized were put aside. Moreover, as Bassnett and Trivedi say: “reciprocal” but “one way” (Bassnett ve Trivedi, 2002: 6). This means that Europeans texts were more influent because in their translations, they targeted the European audience and all their texts were dedicated to them. Colonizers never gave interest to the colonized and even less to their literature. All the texts written by the colonized were banished. Colonizers did not care about the situation of the colonized nor in their literature. All kind of resistance texts were destroyed by the colonizers because they wanted to tell the history of colonization by their own way and to misrepresent the language of the colonized wrongly. In other word, they never targeted to comprehend the culture of the colonized; their only objective was to impose their domination in all forms. Consequently, translation is not anymore used as a literary work but as a way to criticize the colonized. The colonizers limited all forms of resistance translation under their domination because colonized used translation as a mean to search the real identity and to re-establish the image of the colonized nations. The colonized used the translation to speak out about their situation where they were treated as animals comparing to the white settlers and to underline the false image the colonizers gave to them through their asymmetric translations. In parallel, colonized produced uncountable numbers of translations to reject the translations of the colonizers and to redecorate their images. They used translation as an arm to respond to the colonizer’s oppression. Furthermore, for Bassnett and Trivedi (2002: 6) colonizers used translation as a mean to reduce the colonized languages and their cultures to reaffirm their superiority. Consequently, translation became a plan of action to transfer the ideology of a certain group and to spread power all over the

world as the settlers did during their colonization. On the other side, translation became also a mean for colonized nations to write down about the realities and the oppression they bore. Therefore, translation does not include any more cultural aspects because during colonization, translation was only used for political matters and cultural aspects were completely neglected. In addition, translation is not neutral since there is always one part that is more present than the other one (colonizers more than the colonized). Therefore, we could say that translation during colonialism circumstances was not a partial process since there are political factors that influence it. Lefevere's definition of translation is a good case in point. He states that translation is not "a window opened on another world" but "channel opened, through which foreign influence penetrate, challenge and subvert the native culture" (2003: 2). This means that translation is seen as a channel which promotes one language and one culture and that the translated texts of the colonized are not taken into account.

After analyzing the translation during colonization period, Robinson classified translation into three categories (Robinson, 1997: 31):

- As a channel of colonization parallel to and connected with education and the overt or covert control of markets and institutions.
- As a lightning-rod for cultural inequalities continuing after the collapse of colonialism.
- As a channel of decolonization".

This classification of translations represents the three periods during which translation took place. Firstly, in his first classification, he is emphasizing on the role the translator had in this period. Translators in colonization epoch were used to promote and express the supremacy of white colonizers' culture and language. They were not able to write other than what they were asked for. Secondly, translation was a weapon to the colonized to redecorate their images through their writings and to re-establish their real identity. And finally, translation was used to put an end to colonialism and all the texts produced under the presence of the white settlers were abolished and new texts appeared to narrate the real stories of colonialism. In postcolonial translation, it is essential to mention the hybridity translation strategy of Bhabha (1985) in order to study the inequality that the colonized suffered from colonization. This translation strategy results from the relation of the colonizers and

the colonized. Therefore, this hybrid is conceived as “heterogeneous” rather than “homogeneous” since only colonizers were the first to get benefit of everything.

Following the footprint of Bhabha, Sherry Simon came up with the notion of “contact zone where cultures, previously separated, come together and establish on going relations” (2012: 58). Basically, cultures that have been separated came together under a particular situation or zone to explore and to find a negotiation space. Due to the migration of colonized people, the socio-demographic aspect of European has completely changed and they became one nation before all. This means that, when colonized people moved to European territories, they were not marginalized anymore as they were during the colonization period. Thus, as Simon states, “the idea of culture as a set of unchanging values has given way to the idea of culture as negotiation” (2002: 58). Consequently, the hybridity notion is found in all the contemporary texts because postcolonial texts play a prominent role in postcolonial translation studies.

From this view, Salman Rushdie states that migrants are also “translated beings”. As we can understand from this naming, colonized were transformed by the encounter of new cultures after they moved into European territories. This means that, when colonizers decided to travel to abroad, they discovered new cultures and this discovering was not always as expected. As a result, they had difficulties to identify their real identities. They hardly fought to figure out their identity. Therefore, they “became agents of cultural exchange, they have been translated” as Simon claimed (2000: 22).

Scholars of postcolonial translation studies analyzed the strategies of postcolonial authors and translators who come up with new strategies to diminish the inequality of speech the settlers narrated. Commonly, in postcolonial texts, colonized are the ones the speech is dealt about but without forgetting the colonizers who played a crucial place during this epoch. Postcolonial translation studies dealt with colonialism issues, inequality, land problems and socio-cultural aspects. Tymoczko’s statement on postcolonial translation studies is a crucial case in point which highlights the importance of case studies in postcolonial translation in the following manner:

“A scholar must show how the conclusions deriving from the study of single translator or single country relate to the broader sphere of translation in postcolonial situations and the cross-cultural, cross-temporal concept translation in general” (2007: 193).

Concluding from what Tymoczko has stated, postcolonial translation highlights the involvement of two cultures, especially those of the colonized and the colonizers. Hence, postcolonial translation can also be seen as a mean to change the stereotypical perceptions of the colonizers and the European readers about the “primitive” Africa. Dominant Western culture used translation as a form a monolingual speech between the two societies and put forward the idea that they are one society (colonizers and colonized) while the reality is not as they extolled. The postcolonial writing is a heterogeneous since one culture and language were dominant, thus the colonizer’s ones. Therefore, “translation is a way for heterogeneous cultures to come to terms with their own hybridity and to construct national identity” (Tymoczko, 2007: 198). Therefore, postcolonial translation is a complex issue since translators of postcolonial texts cannot express their own socio-cultural ideologies for fear of losing their jobs. Colonizers banished all kind of resistance texts to affirm their superiority and to narrate the history as they wanted. Moreover, all texts translated under their supervision were manipulated because they imposed rules and a particular ideology that should be followed in their translations. Scholars like Bhabha, Spivak and Frantz Fanon (who wrote *Les Damnés de la Terre* in 1961) analyzed the condition of colonized people and various prominent authors like Senghor, Rushdie, Thiong and Achebe produced important illustrations to underline and express their point of view about colonized societies who lived under oppression of the colonizers. Through their translations and books, they established the postcolonial reality and tried to denounce the colonized people’s sufferings through their books and essays.

It is clear that so many scholars and theorist gathered themselves to speak out about the sufferings of the then colonizers using different types of strategies but in this study, in order to analyse our data, we will use Aixela’s Culture Specific-Items’ translation strategies which will be presented in the next chapter.



3. AIXELA'S TRANSLATION STRATEGIES OF CULTURE-SPECIFIC ITEMS.

Nowadays, translation has gone through several transformations. These observed changes can be in terms of technology, politics and has taken advantages from them to improve and to obtain better outcomes. Globalization is the major phenomenon that accelerated these transformations because it facilitated the communication of different cultures which became an important fact of their everyday life. Besides, we can see the emergence of new theories to enhance the translation process. In this point of view, Susan Bassnett (1980) brought the attention on the cultural and historical background of texts and offered some insights into cultural factors that affect translation and translation strategies in use (Bassnett, 2011). It greatly influenced other scholars to pay attention to cultural, as well as political and historical context of translated texts. Lefevere (1992) acknowledged that translator's function in a given culture at a given time" (Lefevere, 1992: 15) and the way they perceive themselves and their culture greatly contributes to the way they translate (Lefevere, 1992). This cultural turn challenged previous theories and norms, offering new views about the impact of culture in translation studies however Susan Bassnett (1998) states that the collaboration between these were not a surprising outcome but rather expected facts (Bassnett, 1998). In past decades, translations works were mostly descriptive because the main discussed themes were based on politics and economics. The common perception is that language closely correlates with culture, however some scholars perceive even stronger connection between translation and culture, thus their need to achieve a great translation and as Jiang writes in his essay, "The relationship between culture and language without language, culture would not be possible" (Jiang, 2000: 328).

In 1990, Bassnett and Lefevere co-published *Translation, History and Culture*, formally exposing the idea of the importance of cultural turn in translation. Cultural turn concept emphasized especially on the status of culture in translation and influence of culture in translation process in the target language. The aim behind translating some literary works is not to reproduce a copy of the original text but to put forward the freedom of literary works. A translated work where culture is put forward focus mainly on cultural context, their history, the norms and the values they

seek to transmit (Zeng, 2006: 45). This new approach helped to develop another new perception about translation itself. Polysystem theory was the first theory used during the cultural turn. Through the Polysystem theory, translators decided about the adequate method to translate some texts. In the 1990s, at this particular epoch, some politics tried to convert cultural turn into political issues and at this time, cultural turn approach was not attained. Therefore, cultural turn was a mean to spread the then political norms. Cultural turn was not only an approach dealing with translation and texts but it had some other deep social issues. At the same time, it was not put forward by Bassnett and Lefevere abruptly but came into being gradually. Bassnett and Lefevere just took advantage of the proper opportunity and made it formally known by the public. The social causes of cultural turn in translation studies were complex. From the word-to-word translation to translation involving the background, the reality and the environment, it has been a long and gradual history. First, the main purpose of translation has been to facilitate communication between people who had different languages. For example, in early trade of goods, people from different nations and different languages who needed to understand each other called for a translator. Then, the only aim of translation was the basic comprehension of the other party in trade context. Secondly, translation has been used as a mean to spread some religious beliefs. For example, the Bible has been repeatedly translated into several languages to spread through it some religious beliefs all over the world. Thirdly, translation has been seen as a tool to introduce some political ideas and then promote them as when the Marxism was translated into Chinese to promote Feudalism ideas. Culture is one of the most relevant characteristics of a whole civilization because every culture is unique in all sorts. These differences include tradition, cultural beliefs, values and norms. Every nation has its own language, but also its own culture. The common language can give birth to a common culture. People from different cultures need to exchange in order to communicate and this cannot be achieved without translation. So, we can see that translation is the product of culture exchange. In other words, translation and culture are two unseparated disciplines. In the past, theorist limited their focus on linguistics. However, within the cultural turn, they tried to shift their works on social and cultural issues and involved them. Translating some cultural items can seem an impossible mission sometimes but it can be possible on the other hand if the translator effectively knows

the original text's culture, so culture is very crucial to translation. In the early epoch, translations were mostly done word-to-word and cultural elements and the cultural background were completely ignored. Therefore, translation was incomplete and misunderstood. Nowadays, some translators are still having difficulties in choosing the adequate strategy to translate. The involvement of culture in the translation process was necessary for the strengthening of translation studies. Translators should effectively represent the reality and the social issues in their translation. For example, if the translator is translating a feminist book, he must point out all the feminist approach. Beyond seeking the equivalence in meaning, the translator should include the current issues and their reality, thus a political accuracy rather than equivalence in meaning. Defining culture is a complicated task even if there are several scholars who tried to define it. A general definition of culture is represented by Geert Hofstede (2010) who says that "culture is the collective programming of the mind that distinguishes the members of one group or category of people from others" (Hofstede et al., 2010: 6). Another definition of culture is given by Davies (2003), saying that "culture as a set of values, attitudes and behaviours shared by a group and passed on by learning" (Davies, 2003: 68).

According to Eugene Nida (1964), the differences of culture create complicated problems for translators. Translators should look at the deep and inner meaning of cultural items. They must know every detail concerning this culture so that their translations will be at the expectations of the target culture to avoid any sort of misunderstandings. As Aixela says "Each linguistic or national linguistic community has at its disposal a series of habits, value judgements, classification systems etc which sometimes are clearly different and sometimes overlap" (Aixela, 1996: 3).

While translating, there are cultural differences that cause problems and this can challenge translator's capacities. Thus, Larson (1984) states that "translators need to understand beliefs, attitudes, values, and the rules of the SL audience in order to adequately understand the source text and adequately translate it for people who have a different set of beliefs, attitudes, values and rules" (Larson, 2001: 4-5). This means that the translations without knowing these criteria cannot achieve a good translation. Therefore, cultural translation is not only about choosing an adequate

strategy but also having an adequate competence of the source and target cultures. Guo (2012) describes culture as “patterns of customs, traditions, social, habits and values, the entire ways of people”. Furthermore, Vermeer (1992) refers to culture as the “the totality of norms, conventions and opinions which determine the behavior of members of society, and all results of this behavior”. Cultural turn gave opportunity to the emergence of some theories to better exploit a text in all levels. Lefevere thinks that translation is a form of manipulation. He described as “refracted” those texts that had been readjusted to the target audience in order to change their way of interpreting things. From these definitions, we can observe that language plays a very important role in culture. Each community has its own cultural particularities; thus, the translator’s job is to become a transcultural intermediate between different cultures.

According to Aixela, translation is a complex process which affects theoretically and practically the history of the two languages or the two cultures involved. Basically, translation involves two languages or can mix several cultures. Most of the theorists see translation as a bridge between two unknown cultures, civilizations, history and different geographic aspects. The emergence of translation was due to the interaction between people who used to do trade. In principle, translation offers to the readers the facility to understand a foreign culture. Aixela underlines the notion of arbitrary system which evokes the inaccessibility of some meanings in the target language. In other word, he is saying that the perception of some words and their meanings change according to the opposed culture. Words that are perceived to be in a particular place in the source text might be in a different place in the target language and meanings might differ too. In the linguistic vernacular, this is called the “interpretive diversity” (1996: 53). The way of interpreting the meanings of the words and expressions of one culture cannot be suitable for the other culture. Taking into consideration these problems, translators must have a heavy background about the cultures in question. Pragmatic or intertextual diversity are also other major problems faced by translators. Conversation and speech differ according to cultures as well as geographical changes. For example, in Africa, when elders give speech, they use proverbs and old sayings to show the complicity and the richness of their languages. Translating cultural texts is not an easy task because translators should take into account the

variability of those cultural elements. In most cases, differences between the two cultures in question can occur in all level. Those differences are traditional and linguistical. Thus, the law of translatability proposed by Itamar Even Zohar and then revisited by Gideon Toury can be applicable when the two involved cultures are similar and when cultural elements can be easily translated and accepted by the readers of the target text (Aixela, 1996: 55). To cure the problems of untranslatability in translation process, Aixela proposes Culture-Specific Items that he defines as:

Those textually actualized items whose functions and connotations in a source text involves a translation problem in their transference to a target text, whenever this problem is a product of the non-existence of the referred item or of its different intertextual status in the cultural system of the readers of the target text (Aixela, 1996: 58).

Culture-Specific Items rose from problems faced by translators while translating the source text. Items found in the source text might not be available in the target text (without reference), that is why Aixela seeks to get rid of such complications through the translation strategies for Culture-Specific Items.

The following are the main two strategies in CSI of Aixela and they are heading by two separated groups which are *Conservation* and *Substitution*.

3.1. Conservation

3.1.1. Repetition

The translators try to remain close as possible to the source text, however known also as “the respectful” strategy (Aixela, 1996: 61). The translators avoid any risk of exposing the target readers to any kind of misunderstandings. The translators make the original text looks identically to the target text despite the differences that can occur. Repetition is a well-known strategy beyond the translation process; it is also used in literary works and theatre scenes. It is called for when actors or translators do not find another word that can replace or in order to increase the effect of the word in question.

3.1.2. Orthographic Adaptation

Orthographic Adaptation strategy refers to transcription. It involves copying or representing a foreign character or a speech. The alphabet of the original text can be different from the one of the target text's (Aixela, 1996: 61).

3.1.3. Linguistic Translation

This strategy emphasises on translator's wish of choosing a denotatively close reference to stay faithful to the original text, and thus, offering a target text which is relatively identical to the source text (Aixela, 1996: 62)

3.1.4. Extratextual Gloss

The translator uses previously mentioned items because he thinks that he must give some explanations to the readers of the target text to avoid misunderstandings during their reading. The readers might be uncomfortable during their reading because there are some words, expressions which are foreign to them. In such cases, the translator's job is to explain those 'foreign words' in the text by footnotes and glossary or sometimes in brackets to avoid confusing its audience.

3.1.5. Intratextual Gloss

This translation strategy is the same as the extratextual gloss, except that in this strategy, the translator includes the explanations directly in the text. Here, explanations are written somewhere else to avoid disturbing readers. The aim of this strategy is to solve the problems of ambiguities which happen in most case. In such strategy, the translator's clear expression is above all. Conservation category includes seven types of strategies while Substitution category will be analyzed immediately in the following paragraph.

3.2. Substitution

3.2.1. Synonymy

The translator looks for a suitable synonym or a parallel reference to avoid repeating the CSI. Through this strategy, the translator is manipulating the target text because first of all, the original word will not be seen and another word will take its place. For example, the use of pronouns and circumlocution words to avoid the repetition of the same word.

3.2.2. Limited Universalization

This strategy refers to the act of replacing the CSI with a more usual one for the readers of the target text to facilitate their reading. The translator, to stay as

faithful as possible, will seek for a closer reference in the source culture but with less specificity.

3.2.3. Absolute Universalization

Absolute Universalization is identical to limited Universalization but here the translator does not find a closer reference in the source text and then decides to delete all the foreign connotations and then choose a neutral one to its readers. The fact of not finding a reference in its source text will push him to look for another reference which does not have a link with the source culture but effectively responds to the objective fixed already.

3.2.4. Naturalization

The translator brings the CSI into the intratextual corpus by making specific in target language culture. The translator, by making such decision, seeks to bring the culture of the source text to the target, and then introduces to them this new culture in order to promote it. According to Aixela, this kind of strategy is mostly used in literature.

3.2.5. Deletion

The translator considers the CSI unacceptable on ideological and stylistic ground, or he/she thinks that it is not relevant enough and sometimes too hard to comprehend by the readers of the target culture. The audience of the target culture might find those CSI too obscure to understand. The latter might not want to stay longer in understanding those CSI. Therefore, the translator omits them to avoid incomprehension for the sake of its target readers.

3.2.6. Autonomous Creation

This strategy refers to the act of inserting non-existent cultural reference in the source text cultural references for several aims. The translator creates some CSI that do not exist in the source text to attract the attention of the target audience.

The next chapter deals about Retranslation and Berman's Retranslation Hypothesis.



4. RETRANSLATION AND BERMAN'S RETRANSLATION HYPOTHESIS

4.1. Retranslation

Retranslation is translating a text that has been previously translated. Retranslation can be divided into three categories. The first category includes the translation of a text that has been already translated in another foreign language. The second category includes a retranslation in the same language because the first translation became old and therefore there is a need to renew the previous translation(s). The third category is about a reproduction of a retranslation from a text which disappeared (Robinson, 1999: 1). As languages develop and new words appear, the old translations became old and there is a need to retranslate in order to update them linguistically. Many retranslations accomplished great success while others were far from the original text and this led to unsuccessful retranslations. The phenomenon of retranslation in Translation Studies has been discussed with distinct point of views. The first Retranslation Hypothesis has been developed by the French scholar Antoine Berman and then joined by Yves Gambier and Paul Bensimon in 1990. The objective of introducing the retranslation phenomenon in Translation Studies was a matter of “ageing” and the recommendations of the target audience about contemporary translations concerning the previous translations. According to Berman, first translations are not mostly the “famous ones” in translation history, therefore it is important to retranslate in order to obtain a successful translation that will impact translated literary works. A successful retranslation should be repeatedly retranslated, each time of it, new theories and new words can appear which should contribute effectively to reach the latter goal and at the same time attract the attention of target readers. While for Bensimon (1990), there are two types of translations. He differentiated between the facts that previous done translations are mostly “target-oriented” because translators seek how to make resemble the source text to the target text. By this way, translators decrease the level of foreignness that the target audience will notice in its translation. While in retranslation, the translator's aim is to be more sources oriented. The latter develops another strategy to include the foreignness which characterizes the source text in the target one by uncovering it and exposing the source text culture to the target audience which is the reason why retranslation is often linked with L. Venuti's (1998) foreignization strategy. For

Venuti, retranslations are needed because social ideologies, social context and views change, therefore, previous translations cannot respond anymore to these changes. In addition, retranslations are also called for in order to cope with these changes and to come out with a new translation that satisfied the current context. However, he is arguing that, no matter the new retranslations are still challenging with the previous ones and compare to each one in order to draw differences between them and select the more qualified one.

Another important view on retranslation is revealed by Chesterman (2000-2004). According to him, retranslations are means to show off the capacities of translation in literary works and in a universal level. For him, retranslated previous translation with new perceptions and completely different strategies make the scholars proud and translators are more appreciated. Consequently, Pym (1998) differentiates between two statuses of retranslation. There are passive and active retranslations. According to him, passive retranslations are when translators came up with a new translation and do not have an idea about the existence of previous translations. To the active and passive retranslations suggested by A. Pym, he still proposes to add another distinction:

- Endogenetic retranslations, based on linguistic fluctuations between versions and also compared to the original (deliberate passive translations),
- And exogenetic retranslations (active and passive as reinterpretations), stimulated by editorial, commercial, cultural criteria. Thus, depending on the degree of distance over time, the functions performed by each translation in the receiving polysystem and the level of analysis, retranslations may be perceived differently and given meaning and variable causality. They might think that the book he or she is trying to retranslate has not been translated earlier while active retranslations are about a translator who thinks that previous translations are incomplete and that he or she should retranslate it in order to fill the gaps and new vocabularies are discovered to enrich the coming retranslations. Past translations are covered with incompleteness, failure and hesitations that disabled their success. The retranslation version of the source cannot be the direct equivalent of the source text or a common re-writing because the

retranslated version can be published in a different edition house from the original version. It cannot also be similar because of the writing style of the new translation. With the new version, the source text can be taken into another level by changing and using words with their new synonyms (Pym, 1998).

The Bermanian retranslation hypothesis cannot be applied in all forms of retranslations because it is based on a historical distance, on writers writing styles and on socio-cultural contexts which are the main causes of retranslations.

4.1.1. Retranslation Hypothesis

There is no doubt that Antoine Berman was the first who came up with the problem of retranslations in 1990. According to him, retranslation is necessary because of the ageing problem that translations face most of the time and in order to correct the incompleteness left by the previous translations since the translation process is a subjective activity. Reductions in the translation process are often due to the objective of achieving a “great translation” in the target language and systematically related to the source language. This means that translators used different strategies to translate the source text into the target language to attain the level of “great translations”. The historical explanation of retranslation is a simple updating of the source text which is considered as an “aged” text which needs to be retranslated to keep it up to date. The source text should also need to be retranslated because first translations were more “target-oriented” where only the source text was the center of the translation process. First translations were also seen as an introduction of the source text in order to please the receivers of the target culture while a translation instead of underlining the specificities of the SL culture, the uniqueness of the author’s writing style. The continuity of retranslations will help to tend closer to the original and reduce the gap between the source text and its previous done translations. This reduction of distances between the source text and its translations will help to achieve the “great translations” that Berman once talked about. According to Berman, first translations are more exposed to the “failure”. This means, that first translations are more target-oriented, therefore there will be a certain incompleteness in it since source culture is not well described. Consequently, they are failed since the primary aim of the translation is not achieved. Berman says that first translations are

failed and that there is a need of a retranslation which will correct all these pragmatics fawls. Besides, retranslation arises from the need to reduce the failure of the previous translations. Therefore, Berman proposes the “kairos” option, the perfect moment to undertake the step of retranslation and this gives an opportunity to the translators to personify this chance. Berman concepts of “great translation” and “kairos” are the main keys of Berman’s Retranslation Hypothesis. Moreover, the datedness of a translation cannot be only linked to the “ageing” of its language. This means that, there must be other reasons why a translation is not anymore recent. There are other causes that pushed the translators to retranslate the translated previous works. Due to historical development, previous translations need to be adjusted with the progression of the history. In addition, it is not only the history that is changed, along with this progression, languages also progress (Berman, 1990).

4.1.2. Views on Retranslation Hypothesis

Bensimon (1990) thinks that first retranslations are more target-oriented than the new produced translations. This means that, to him, previously translated works are more focused on the target text, trying to be close without taking into account the cultural items of the source text. He further claims that, there is a difference between first translations and the other ones. He argues that first translations are tending to naturalize the CSI of the source text. They are seeking to introduce the source culture into the target’s one, to facilitate the reception to the readers of the target audience. While recent translations try to maintain the distance of foreignness between the two cultures. In the latter, the percentage of foreignness is not reduced instead; the translators of retranslations seek to bring the source text culture to the target one by evoking all the source text CSI in their translations. Rodriguez (1990) claims the fact that retranslations can be a different way of adaptations, a way to be much closer to the source text. For him, retranslations are a way to bring the source text closer to the future readers. Therefore, retranslation is again linked to the factor of time, the evolution and the change of the context in which texts are translated. Retranslations are synonyms of evolution because they always tend to follow the current situation of the society and its changes. By examining them, we can see the development of the translation theories and literary works.

According to Gambier (1994: 414), retranslations are a form of “assimilating”. During the process of retranslation, a translator should clearly understand all the text, write down all the differences in order to avoid a failure as the first translations did. Actually, ancient translations were seen as “failure” because they were more targets oriented instead of being source oriented. In brief, to Gambier, former translations were target oriented and this contributed to their failures while retranslation’s aim is to reduce the degree of domestication (Gambier, 1994: 415-416).

For Koskinen and Paloposki (2004: 36), the needs behind a retranslation may change according to several factors. These factors are socio-cultural, political, and religious. These factors might change the perceptions of the target audience. Consequently, the outline of the text in question in retranslation is also important. To start, launching a retranslation project allows you to propose a new version of the original work without reproducing the errors identified in the previous translation. These can be spelling mistakes, misinterpretations, style errors, dubbing errors or subtitling errors. Obviously, the retranslation itself may contain errors, hence the interest in repeating this process regularly. Then, the implementation of a retranslation is necessary when the previous translation goes against the will of the author. The case of the novel *Minuit*, published in 1936 by Julien Green, illustrates this need: under the Third Reich, the German translation of this work intentionally gave a morbid image of the French, without taking into account the original version in French. In addition, performing a retranslation makes it possible to adapt the vocabulary of a work to changes in the language to which it must be transposed.

4.2. Bermanian Hypothesis of Retranslation

Berman’s hypothesis about retranslation explores a different vision of it, including the fact that previous translations are directly targeting the target culture. The retranslation cannot be equivalent to the source even if they planned to be close as possible (translators) because retranslation is produced to correct the previous translation. The concept of “great” translation of Berman is therefore not working with all retranslations. The Bermanian hypothesis of retranslations explains one side of it because he is more concerned about the problems of “ageing” of translations. Thus, the reductions are not a simple question of dated successions: Berman’s

hypothesis is not sufficient to describe all the retranslations. Other factors (editorial policy, targeted readers, personality of the translator, type of collection, illustration and mode of reproduction of the book, etc.) allow to apprehend them affirming that each translation should be studied in its own historical context rather than in relation to its predecessors. The tropism of academics, however pushes them to always fall back into the text, to revel in it (often with a value of judgement) forgetting that literature is both literacy and business.

4.3. Reasons for Retranslation

The reasons for retranslating are thus diverse from the status of the original text which seldom intangible to the choices of the translator-interpreter, from the request of an editor to curiosities of a new readership, without forgetting the lexical, semantic, syntactic errors of a particular translation or the evolution of languages (especially in terms of their lexicon, register) (Thornberry, 1996). These last two parameters are not, however sufficient to retranslate. This list would be incomplete without the translation writing with the simplifications, explanations, and neutralizations and updated in the works on corpus: these "universals" confirm and both reflect that the translation is indeed an interpretation.

4.4. Adequate and Acceptable Translation

According to Toury, if the translation process moves towards the source text, the translation product will be adequate. On the other hand, if the translation process moves towards the norms in the target language, the result will be an acceptable target text (Toury, 1995). Adequacy is determined through the comparison of the textual elements, whereas acceptability is more about the comparison of target text's cultural elements. The context of culture in which the words occurred should be maintained in order to achieve a successful translation. The perception of people of different cultures is different in all way. Sometimes, there are words that look unlike but carry different meaning depending on the cultures in question. In the aim of an adequate translation, the translator's job is to include those norms within the source text in order to achieve an acceptable translation. In fact, the translators are aware about the use of the words in the source text and also the impacts that the latter will have on its readers. Thus, the translator should be careful about the way of translating those words so that it will have the expected effect as the author did in the

original text. Such aim can only be reachable if the translator has a deep knowledge about the work that he or she is undertaking. A translator should master well the technical part of the translation which includes the theory and the strategy to choose in order to effectively analyze the text. If a translator succeeds in gathering all these skills, his translated works will benefit the readers of the target language. To further its knowledge, a translator should know the historical background of the two involved cultures as well as the author's writing style. All these details will help him/her to stay as close as possible to the source text. In literary works, a translator is always advised to adopt a "retrospective approach" which will help him to comprehend well the source text. According to Toury, the translator will often look at the source text and its content. He will then locate himself regarding the source text; this means that he will use the source text as a reference which will guide him through the translation process. The translator should take care of the source text and its retranslated version because his work will be published under the name of the author. Normally, the authors are free in their imagination and they can write wherever they wish but the translator's freedom is limited to the author's one and the one of the target text's. In other words, this means that the translators should be more careful about such issues because if they try to modify any item, this will have some drawbacks on their future career.

The retranslation is still current and always ambiguous in its content, aim and ambitions. To Toury, it can be understood in different ways:

- Either as a return to the original (retroversion or retrotranslation) in certain literary works, for example to improve the changes due to the transfer.
- Either as a translation of another translation made into a different language from the one of the source text's title disseminated, therefore makes it possible to relay the original to a third language-culture, according to an indirect process. The relay also exists in interpretation, in audio-visual translation, especially between less widely used languages, e.g., Finnish-French-Czech or Greek-English-Portuguese (Gambier, 2003: 57-59)
- Either as a translation into the same language of the same source text, produced after another translation. This study focuses on this concept. The retranslator does not necessarily read previous versions which are

accessible to varying degrees, depending on whether or not they are distant in time. The retranslation does not only concern the texts legitimized in a literary system (canonical texts or not, like comics, detective novels and children's books: see Du Nour, 1995) but also philosophical texts, religious, dramatic, community (of the European Union), scientific (works of exact sciences or social sciences essays: see Susam-Sarajeva, 2003). In some cases, it is given as almost inevitable (e.g. for a new bet of a play - Aaltonen, 2003; Zurbach, 2003); in others, it is perceived as unnecessary repetition (Jianzhong, 2003). It cannot also be denied that the retranslation in this third sense establishes a relation with "revised version", "reviewed and corrected" (enough not to be accused of plagiarism from an earlier translation), that is to say, in fact focuses on the state of a text who can be a commercial argument, the "new translation" being supposed to be more appropriate to taste.

The historical reason of retranslation is linked to their problems of "ageing" which push the translators to repeatedly translate in order to keep the original text and its retranslations update. A translator would also have to retranslate because first translation is more "target-oriented". This means that translators of the first translations did not represent the source text effectively in their retranslation. Their texts were "target-oriented" and all the specificities of the source text, including the foreignness and the socio-cultural aspects were neglected. The reproduction of new retranslations will always tend to correct the flaws of the first translation, get closer to the original texts and to reduce the gap between the source text and its retranslations. In other word, the coming retranslations aim is to give more priority to the culture of the source text and will find a way to represent it adequately. Basically, translations are always penetrated by the concept of "kairos", which is about searching for the perfect and appropriate moment to translate a text. According to the Ancient Greek, a translator should not constantly retranslate; he or she should wait the critical moment where it is opportune to act. Therefore, retranslation should be done when there is a need due to some reasons. The main reason why retranslation arises is not to delete the previous translations but to get rid of the failure they caused. In addition, retranslations give birth to the apparition of new vocabularies, enrich the language and put forward the significance of the source text culture.

After discussing the general motives and the views of retranslation, the next section will focus specifically on the analysis of the *Things Fall Apart*, its Turkish and French versions and at the same time look into the strategies used by the translators of each version.





5. PRESENTATION OF THINGS FALL APART AND ITS TURKISH AND FRENCH TRANSLATIONS

5.1. Presentation of Chinua Achebe

Chinua Achebe was the first African writer who developed an African style in his writings. He was considered as the only writer who truly used the English language perfectly. Achebe had a unique style of writing which differentiates him from the English writers. He always stated that “art is, and always was, at the service of man. Our ancestors created their myths and told their stories for a human purpose” (Achebe, 1975). He took the role of the writer as a guide and a teacher to teach to the other cultures the importance of the African culture. In his books, he transmitted the messages about the greatness of the African culture and the place it occupies among the Africans. In addition, he tried to give back to Africa the dignity it lost with the arrival of the white missionaries. The settlers painted an awful image about Africa in order to show the superiority of their culture and spread the Eurocentric notion in all their history. For this reason, he always gave a particular importance to oral traditions. In the book, there are a lot of cases of oral traditions where elders share their experiences with the young generation around the fire at night. In the African tradition, oral tales play a crucial role since there were not writers who could transform those tales into writings. Besides, those tales were transmitted from one generation to the other one to entertain the future generations and to promote the greatness of their culture. Achebe described the literature with this passage:

“Literature alters the situation in the world. A great and important book does that and nothing can be done without reference to it. It has made a statement which changes the relationships and perceptions of the world” (cited in Mezu, 2006: 272).

Achebe always believed that a writer should respond to the needs of his community and use its talent in favor of his people. From his view, literature was a mean to change the transformations brought by the white settlers and to redecorate the image of the African continent. Therefore, he does not only encourage the African literature but also the Africans to obtain their real identity after the colonization period. He is the author of multiple novels, poems, short stories and children’s stories such as *Things Fall Apart* (1958), *No Longer at Ease* (1960), *Arrow of God* (1964), *A Man of the People* (1966), *Anthills of the Savannah* (1987),

Marriage Is A Private Affair (1952), *Dead Men's Path* (1953), *The Sacrificial Egg and Other Stories* (1953), *Civil Peace* (1971), *Girls at War and Other Stories* (1973), *African Short Stories* (1985), *The Heinemann Book of Contemporary African Short Stories* (editor, with C. L. Innes) (1992), *The Voter, Chike and the River* (1966), *How the Leopard Got His Claws* (with John Iroaganachi) (1972), *The Flute* (1975), *The Drum* (1978). He also wrote some critical essays such as, *The Novelist as Teacher* (1965), *An Image of Africa: Racism in Conrad's "Heart of Darkness"* (1975), *Morning Yet on Creation Day* (1975), *The Trouble With Nigeria* (1984), *Hopes and Impediments* (1988), *Home and Exile* (2000), *The Education of a British-Protected Child* (2009), *There Was A Country: A Personal History of Biafra* (2012). Except the children stories, all his essays and books carry a message about colonization and related topics such as identity problems and culture.

5.2. Presentation of *Things Fall Apart*

Things Fall Apart is the declaration of Africans before and during the colonization of black Africa by Europeans. Besides, the Igbo will witness a socio-cultural change from the first days of the arrival of the colonizers.

Things Fall Apart was published in 1958 by Chinua Achebe. It is the most popular book that Achebe wrote in his life. This book is very important when it comes to African literature but also in the postcolonial fields since the book was written in the postcolonial epoch. The book emphasizes on the troubling relation between the colonizers and the colonized. It shows off the controversial relation this two opposite people had and therefore raises questions on cultural discourses between the West and the East during colonization period. Several studies have been done on this book because it is the main reference when it deals with postcolonial literary works. The book has been sold over 8 million copies and almost in fifty languages, and therefore became the best-selling book of African literature. *Things Fall Apart* is a kind of book where literature and history are combined. This means that, in *Things Fall Apart* Achebe describes and tells the history of the Igbo community in a literary way. The book is about an Igbo community, their daily activities, their beliefs and cultural morals that are put forward. Achebe describes the cultural confrontation between the colonizers and the villagers of Umuofia. In *Things Fall Apart*, Achebe rejects the ideas conceived by the white colonizers about the

Africans. He wrote this book to tell the real story in an effective way, that's why his work has been appreciated. As Gupta notes:

“What matters most about the African fiction in general and *Things Fall Apart* in particular, is the fact that they provide a fruitful context for the creation of postcolonial trends emerging at the center of the twenty first century fiction” (2010: 2).

There are many cultural elements of the African culture that is observed in *Things Fall Apart*. Achebe flawlessly paints the complexity of the social establishment and their traditions which is observed along the book. The novel is also viewed on sociological terms because of the constitution of the social hierarchy and how things are organized among the Igbo. Achebe reveals about the traditions, their culture, taboos and all that constitute this society to emphasize on the greatness of this community. He also developed about their judicial system that causes them some troubles after the arrival of the colonizers. This judicial system includes the respect of the elders, the division of tasks among men and women in terms of agriculture and crop of yams. It was the case of Okonkwo, he did not have the chance of inheriting any kind of wealth from his father but despite this obstacle, he proved by his hardworking that he deserves respect and recognition. As it is written in *Things Fall Apart*: “Fortunately, among these people a man was judged according to his worth and not according to the worth of his father” (Achebe, 1994: 8). Achebe demonstrates through this, that Igbo society was organized and had some logical judgement. Igbo was people who had their own culture, languages, beliefs and religion that differentiate them from the other people. In the book, Achebe describes Okonkwo as a cruel and a nationalist character who loved his village. The reason why Achebe preferred to represent Okonkwo as such a character can be linked to the reality of men in Africa continent. According to the Africans, if a man shows off his feelings, he is called effeminate because men should not permit to themselves to express their feelings. They should always look strong and cruel. Readers could not understand such behaviors and could even hate the character through their reading. Achebe also introduces characters like Obierka who was a close friend to Okonkwo. He was a close friend of Okonkwo, always by his side in all circumstances even when he was sent to exile, they stayed in touch. The arrival of the white missionaries

brought changes in the Umuofia village. The brutal arrival of the settlers left the Igbo without any preparation to attack the enemy. Later in the book, the conflict between the Igbo and the colonizers is told. When the missionaries arrived in Umuofia, they found complicated their judicial system and religion and changed it without spending any effort to understand it. They built churches to preach their religion and schools to teach English language to children. As soon as the building finished, some of the villagers joined them to escape from the aggressivity of their cultures. Those people include the mother of twins and the outcaster who were in Umuofia. This book draws the picture Africans who welcomed colonizers into their land and then became colonized by them. At the end of the book, when Okonkwo returned to his fatherland, he discovered the irreversible transformations his village went through. He was surprised by the disappearance of his ancestor's values and he was also shocked by his clan's men who will refuse to join him in order to fight against the colonizers. He commits suicide, although committing a suicide in his clan is seen as a huge sin. Achebe represents in his book how all the colonized are wrongly represented by the colonizers and that colonized are always portrayed as "savage" and "primitive". At the end of the book, the District Commissioner is surprised with the tradition of Igbo community where the person who commits suicide should only be touched and buried by strangers. Consequently, the latter decides to write about this scene even if he will not attribute a whole chapter to this abnormal story (Achebe, 1958: 196).

Great cases of oral traditions are represented in *Things Fall Apart*. Cultural aspects such as proverbs, idioms, names of characters and places specific to Igbo clan are also found in the book. Achebe left some Igbo words without explaining or translating them to promote the Igbo clan culture. A lot of proverbs and an African style of writing are also observed to differentiate its writing from the one of European writers. By including the oral tradition styles, Achebe demonstrates the real identity of African culture and redecorates their images. He explains his contentment about his first book *Things Fall Apart* with this statement: "One of the things that give me joy is that with *Things Fall Apart* I have placed the Igbo culture on the world map" (cited in Mezu, 2006: 33). From a literary view, *Things Fall Apart* book is classified as a hybrid book since aspects like colonization and power matters are discussed. Indeed, the Igbo people are a community who shows great

attachment to traditional values. They stick on their traditions in all situations. Okonkwo, the main character in this book, is described as a courageous character that does not fear any humankind. He works so hard to improve himself and to avoid following the footprint of his father. His father was the laziest person that Umuofia village had even witnessed. Chinua Achebe presents therefore Okonkwo as a rough person without pity, an ambitious man who wants to improve himself and become an important personality in his clan. But the latter was forced to go to an exile of seven years due to his unwilling and unexpected accident. All his plans of acquired titles in his clan were paved away. His exile was the beginning of the colonization of Umuofia village. He spent the whole seven years in his motherland and when he decided to return to his fatherland, he has been surprised by the division his clan went through. He gathered some of the remaining men of the clan to destroy the church and to plan a war against the settlers but unfortunately, he and his men went to prison. When, he came out of the prison, he called for a war against the colonizers but none was interested and this non-interest of his clan led to his death.

5.3. Characters and Major Themes of The Book

Okonkwo

The main character of the book is a character that is seen as a leader in Umuofia village. The unsuccessfulness of his father helped him to paint such a person since his childhood. His commitment in terms of war and hardworking helped him to earn a good position among his clan. Through his hardworking, he has achieved wealth and several titles. According to Achebe, his main flaw was his fear of resembling to his father. To avoid this, he never shows off feelings, and only anger towards his family was his main mean to transmit his dissatisfactions.

Nwoye

Okonkwo's first child, a child whom Okonkwo was never proud of. When he looks at him, he always saw the image of his father. According to him, Nwoye has inherited his father's laziness. Okonkwo wanted him to be like him but, unfortunately Nwoye was not interested in his father's affairs. When Okonkwo brought Ikemefuna home, Nwoye began to do things unlike his new brother. When Okonkwo was in exile, Nwoye joined the settlers and converted to Christianity because he always doubted about some rules of his clans. Therefore, Okonkwo found

this act as “effeminate” because he has always been convinced that Nwoye followed the footprint of his grandfather, Unoka.

Ezinma

Ezinma was the only child of Okonkwo from his second wife called Ekwefi. Ezinma was the only child who survived after several infancies. For this reason, Ekwefi had a particular way to behave towards her. She never refused her something and Ezinma used to call her mother by her name. She was the favorite child of Okonkwo because she was different from the others and always had a certain faculty of quickly understanding things around her. Okonkwo wished she will be a boy and despite this thought, he never treated her differently from her other brothers and sisters. When they were in exile, she became beautiful as her mother was then.

Ikemefuna

A boy given to Okonkwo by a neighbouring village. Ikemefuna lives in the hut of Okonkwo’s first wife and quickly becomes popular with Okonkwo’s children. He develops a specific close relationship with Nwoye, Okonkwo’s oldest son, who looks up to him. Okonkwo also becomes very fond of Ikemefuna, who calls him “father” and is a perfect clansman, but Okonkwo does not demonstrate his affection because he fears that doing so would make him look weak.

Mr. Brown

The first white missionary to travel to Umuofia. Mr. Brown institutes a policy of compromise, understanding, and non-aggression between his flock and the clan. He even becomes friends with prominent clansmen and builds a school and a hospital in Umuofia. Unlike Reverend Smith, he attempts to appeal respectfully to the tribe’s value system rather than harshly impose his religion on it.

Reverend James Smith

The missionary who replaces Mr. Brown. Unlike Mr. Brown, Reverend Smith is uncompromising and strict. He demands that his converts reject all of their indigenous beliefs, and he shows no respect for indigenous customs or culture. He is the stereotypical white colonialist, and his behavior epitomizes the problems of colonialism. He intentionally provokes his congregation, inciting it to anger and even indirectly, through Enoch, encouraging some fairly serious transgressions.

Uchendu

The younger brother of Okonkwo's mother. Uchendu receives Okonkwo and his family warmly when they travel to Mbanta, and he advises Okonkwo to be grateful for the comfort that his motherland offers him lest he angers the dead—especially his mother, who is buried there. Uchendu himself has suffered—all but one of his six wives is dead and he has buried twenty-two children. He is a peaceful, compromising man and functions as a foil (a character whose emotions or actions highlight, by means of contrast, the emotions or actions of another character) to Okonkwo, who acts impetuously and without thinking.

Unoka

Unoka was the father of Okonkwo. Okonkwo has never been proud of his father due to his lack of commitment towards his family. Unoka used to borrow money from the clan's men to feed and he never worked to earn money. He never gave them back until the owners came to house. He was not among the warriors of the village because he feared the blood and he was passionate by the music. In terms of music, he was a talented musician and went to other villages to perform with his band.

Obierika

Okonkwo's close friend, his daughter's wedding provides one of the biggest events for festivity. Obierika visited his friend when he was on the exile and used to bring him some money from the yams. He looks out for his friend by selling Okonkwo's yams to ensure that the latter will not suffer from financial problems. He was surprised by the decision taken by the elders towards Okonkwo after involuntary act he committed.

Ekwefi

Okonkwo's second wife, once the village's most beautiful woman. Ekwefi was once married and she ran out from it because she says he loved Okonkwo. She has been pregnant several times and none survived; only Ezinma broke this vicious circle.

Enoch

A fanatical convert to the Christian church in Umuofia. Enoch's disrespectful act of ripping the mask off an egwugwu during an annual ceremony to honor the earth deity leads to the climactic clash between the indigenous and colonial justice systems. While Mr. Brown, early on, keeps Enoch in check in the interest of community harmony, Reverend Smith approves of his zealotry.

Ogbuefi Ezeudu

The oldest man in the village and one of the most important clan elders and leaders. OgbuefiEzeudu was a great warrior in his youth and now delivers messages from the Oracle.

Chielo

A priestess in Umuofia village who was a close of Ekwefi and therefore called Ezinma "my daughter" and she carried the latter on a night on her back to help her out with her grief.

Akunna

One of the clan's main important leaders. He had several times discussion with Mr Brown to draw the strategies people should follow to convert to Christianity.

Nwakibie

A wealthy clansman to whom Okonkwo will ask to borrow 800 seeds of yams in order to grow them. Nwakibie was puzzled in front of Okonkwo because he was afraid that his borrowings will not be respected. So, in this view, we can say that Nwakibie contributed to the wealth of Okonkwo.

Mr. Kiaga

The representer of Christian missionary who arrives in Mbanta. He builds a church to promote Christianity and helps the Igbos to convert to this new religion as Nwoye did.

Okagbue Uyanwa

A popular medicine man who deals with health problems which Ezinma suffered from. Okonkwo called him out to help him to solve the health problems that Ezinma was exposed to.

Maduka

Obierika's son. Maduka wins a wrestling contest in his mid-teens. Okonkwo wishes he had promising, manly sons like Maduka because after the death of Ikemuafo, his other son was not interested in his father's matters.

Obiageli

The daughter of Okonkwo's first wife. Although Obiageli is close to Ezinma in age, Ezinma has a great deal of influence over her because she had gone through hard times to finally realize her desire to become a mother.

Ojiugo

Okonkwo's third and youngest wife and the mother of Nkechi. Okonkwo beats Ojiugo during the Week of Peace because she went out without permission of him.

After giving a preview on the book itself and the characters that are involved, from the main characters to the secondary characters, now we are going to take a look at the main themes discussed in the book.

Gender Role: Women in Igbo village were not given importance as their husbands or brothers. They were only married for householding. None of them married women who were able to take decision without her husband's presence. They were taking care of the farms, their children and accepting all the decisions and point of views of their husbands. They were not allowed to be present during meetings with elders. On the other hand, men occupied a great place in the Igbo village. A great man should be respected by his wives, should not be coward (as the father of Okonkwo), and should know how to fight against the enemies. Okonkwo was respected by all the men in the village because of his hardworking and his bravery (courage and determination during fight period). He was afraid of being as

his father and tried through his entire life to be the opposite of the latter and not showing any feelings. He used to keep them inside him.

Culture: Culture is ideas, customs and behaviors of a particular person or society. In *Things Fall Apart*, we can observe several types of culture. Firstly, the main activity or the major gain livelihood of the Igbos was agriculture. Besides, we can also observe some other physical occupation such as the wrestling games and the traditional dances, music during the events and the winners were rewarded as was the case for Okonkwo when he defeated Amalinze. Amalinze was unbeatable until Okonkwo nailed him. In addition, another cultural element that entertained the Igbo was the dowry. Igbo society was a society of polygamy because men of this community could marry more than one woman. Therefore, the price of the dowry was fixed by the family in law, especially the family-in-law of the bride as was the case when the daughter of Obierka was getting married, "in this way, the amount of Akekue's dowry was finally fixed at twenty bags of cowries. It was dusk when the two parties reached this agreement." (Achebe, 1958: 90).

Marriage: Before getting married, the groom brings twenty bags of cowries as the dowry of the bride. Sometimes, her parents can ask above the twenty bags of cowries and if the groom really loves the bride, he will undoubtedly bring it no matter what it costs. The wealthier men in the clan used to get married to several women and the more a man get married, the wealthier he is. Men in Igbo clan practiced polygamy, for instance Okonkwo get married with three women.

Family Life: In Igbo village, every wife used to have its own hut and there she lives with her children. Those huts were very huge, which means that there were enough places to live in and raise their children. Okonkwo had three wives and each one of them lived alone. Family life was very important. Every child used to live together and the same goes to the parents. None of the parents dared to sleep elsewhere than their hut. If a woman was bitten by her husband and left her husband's house, she rushed to her parent's house to find comfort by their sides. The law of Umuofia is that, if a woman runs away from her husband, her bride-price is returned. The next day, her husband comes to bring her home after settling the problems. This shows us how family life was crucial and points out the reality that

Igbo village is a village ruled by a patriarchal ideology where men were above in terms of gender role.

Religion: Religion is a repeated theme in *Things Fall Apart*. African people used to worship several Gods before the arrival of the settlers. Therefore, they used to believe on the existence of a God called *Chukwu* who created everything on earth and the presence of little Gods who were the messenger of *Chukwu*. These Gods were made of wood to which Igbos offered gifts to realize their wishes. But the arrival of the colonizers changed all these habits. Christianity was more tempting than those stones. Like some African communities, the Igbos had no king. The hierarchical position was determined by one's hardworking, courage and the titles he gained during the wrestling activities. Okonkwo had already two and if he had not been to exile, he could have had his third one. As Achebe said in the book: "He had lost years in which he could have taken the highest titles of the clan" (Achebe, 1958: 161).

According to Igbo community, there were one God that they worshipped and other gods which protected them from any dangerous events. When they had wishes or desires or they were going through hard times, they brought foods and their entire energies to those Gods in order to respond to their demands. There are also minor Gods like *Ala*, the earth Goddess or *Igwe* the Sky God, *Yams* the king of cops, *Agbala* the oracle of earth etc.

Traditional Beliefs: The Igbo traditions are a common to Africans because they used to respect their customs and norms by following certain types of rules fixed. Even though, they had some understandable beliefs such as throwing the twins after their birth because they are considered as abomination and their only place should be in the Evil Forest, a forest where all evil spirits were found. People who suffered from leper and albinos were not accepted also. When they suffered from such diseases, they were obligated to leave their habitations to avoid any spread of bad evils. Igbos could not bury them because they were not considered as human beings. Any kind of violence during the Week of Peace was not accepted because at this week, people should visit each other and avoids any type of quarrel. At this Week of Peace, Okonkwo beat his young wife because she went out without his permission. In addition, killing someone who belongs to the clan was also seen as a

humiliation to the clan. When such involuntary act occurred, the person was supposed to go on an exile of seven years as it was the case for Okonkwo. After a deep analyzation of the Igbo traditions, all we can say is that they were rough and none was saved in the context of misbehaving but the arrival of the settlers' upheaveled all their way of life.

Elders in Umuofia village were fully respected and they were looked as the ancestors. When the elders used to arrive within a ceremony, the youngsters paved the way to them in order to let them dance. Elders in Igbo society were given a special place due to their experiences and their wisdom. They are the ones who fixe rules and of course, the first to respect them. During meetings, the final decision fell to them. They are the only ones who can fix problems and quarrels. Tales were told by them because they were the most experienced. Elders were the representation of the ancestors in earth and all their decisions were accepted without any discussion. Twins in Igbo in Umuofia were seen as a sin, in other word, if a woman gave birth to twins, they were thrown in the Evil Forest where bad evil lives. According to the village, twins bring bad chance. Thus, Evil Forest was designed for undesirable people like the white missionaries. At night, a snake was never called by its name, because it would hear and this kind of beliefs is still practiced in African localities. There was also in Igbo community what is called the Week of Peace. According to them, during this week, none should be beaten and bad behavior was unacceptable. Therefore, in Umuofia clan, if a clansman killed someone, he would not be buried by them because he is considered as evil, an abomination and an offence against the earth (the case of Okonkwo at the end of the book). And another interesting traditional belief which consists of, when a man was afflicted with swelling in the stomach and the limbs, he was not allowed to die in his house. He was carried to the Evil Forest and left there to die. All these beliefs show us and help us to know more about the culture of the Igbo people and their daily life. It may seem awkward to someone who does not know the African culture as the white missionaries who were shocked and wanted to get rid of them. Finally, the death of the royal python which the Igbo clan used to call "our father" was a great animal. If a clansman killed a royal python accidentally, he used to make sacrifices of atonement and performed an expensive burial ceremony such as was done for a great man.

5.3.1. IGBO Words in *Things Fall Apart*

The following board represents the Igbo words presented in *Things Fall Apart* by Chinua Achebe. Those Igbo words represent the cultural and traditional aspect of Igbos in Nigeria. Those words are all collected from the book and the latter facilitated the communication among them since they were a community which did not know the English language. By including these words to a fully English book, Achebe shows off the beauty of this language and culture and at the same time invites the target readers into this culture.

IGBO WORDS	MEANINGS
<i>Ndichie</i>	Elders
<i>Obi</i>	Hut
<i>Agbala</i>	A man who has not taken not a title and it was also another name for women.
<i>Eze-agadi-nwayi</i>	Tooth of an old woman
<i>Ilo</i>	Village or a playground
<i>Jigida</i>	Waist beads
<i>Ogbanje</i>	One of those wicked children who, when they died, entered their mother's womb to be born.
<i>Egwugwu</i>	The nine representer of the village
<i>Uri</i>	Marriage
<i>Efulufu</i>	Worthless, empty men
<i>Albinos</i>	White men
<i>Umuada</i>	Gathering of people from the village
<i>Tie-tie</i>	Rope
<i>Nso-ani</i>	Sin
<i>eneke-nti-oba</i>	A bird that flies endlessly
<i>Iba</i>	Fever
<i>iyi-uwa</i>	A Stone that links ogbanje to the spirit world
<i>ruoyim de de de dei!</i>	Language used by the egwugwu for greetings
<i>Go-di-di-go-go-di-go. Di-go-go-di-go</i>	Sound of the drum beats
<i>osu</i>	Name of the people considered as outcasts in Umuofia
<i>Yes, sah</i>	Yes sir
<i>Chukwu</i>	The responsible god of the Igbos
<i>Ikenga</i>	A carved wooden that symbolize the strength of a man's right hand
<i>ogwu</i>	Medicine or magic used by the fetish

Table 5.1. Igbo words and their meanings

5.3.2. Proverbs Used by the Igbos in *Things Fall Apart*

This part of our study includes proverbs we collected from the book *Things Fall Apart* and they are accompanied by their explications. In Igbo community, proverbs were very crucial and they were mostly used by the elders during constructive conversations with the youngers. In general, proverbs have always taken a huge place in the culture of whatsoever community and sometimes they are not correctly translated because the context in which they were uttered can differ.

PROVERBS AND OLD SAYINGS	EXPLANATIONS
If I fall down for you and you fall down for me, it is play.	It means that during negotiation, both sides should give something of their selves.
An old woman is always uneasy when dry bones are mentioned (Chapter 3).	This proverb means that when something personally is said it affects the person in question.
You can tell a ripe corn by its look (Chapter 3).	This means that you can know by one look if someone is ready for something or not.
A baby on its mother's back does not know that the way is long (Chapter 11).	This proverb means that a baby who is carried by his mother does not have a clue about things that turn around.
If one finger brought oil, it soils the others (Chapter 13).	This means that one fault made can destroy everything you made so far.
Proverbs are the palm-oil with which words are eaten (Chapter 1).	Proverbs are essential to Umuofia community because they contain wisdom and helps people to further their knowledge.
Our elders say that the sun will shine on those who stand before it shines on those who kneel under them (Chapter 1).	This proverb was used by Unoka to express his gratitude towards people who lend him money.
If a child washes his hands he could eat with kings (Chapter 1).	One should improve himself by his acts in order to be respected and build his place among the clan.
When the moon is shining the cripple becomes hungry for a walk (Chapter 2).	Moon was important for Umuofia people and with the moon; they were capable of doing anything.
A man who pays respect to the great paves the way for his own greatness (Chapter 3).	If you respect to the elders and their greatness, you will also be great and respected by all.
Let the kite perch and let the eagle perch too. If one says no to other, let his wing break (Chapter 3).	This proverb refers to Okonkwo who was afraid of having the same misfortune and the same end as his father.
The lizard that jumped from high iroko tree to the ground said he would praise himself if no one else did (Chapter 3).	Even if there is none to appreciate your achievements, you will be proud of your accomplishments alone.
A toad does not run in the daytime for nothing (Chapter 3).	There is nothing that happens without reason.

Eneke the bird says that since men have learned to shoot without missing, he has learned to fly without perching (Chapter 3).	Someone should know the hard work spent in something in order to appreciate the value of those things.
Looking at the king's mouth, one would think he never sucked at his mother breasts (Chapter 4).	Okonkwo struggled a lot to obtain his position among the clan because now he is not vulnerable anymore as he was when he was young.
Those whose palm-kernels were cracked for them by a benevolent spirit should not forget to be humble (Chapter 4).	People who are luckier own this luckiness to their gods and they should be humble.
When a man says yes, his <i>chi</i> says yes also (Chapter 4).	A man's <i>chi</i> helps him to achieve the entire task that is in his mind.
Never kill a man who says nothing (Chapter 15).	You should not do something wrong to someone who did not offend you.
A child's fingers are not scalded by a piece of hot yam which its mother puts into its palm (Chapter 8).	Children who obey their parents will never be punished by them.
When mother-cow is chewing grass, its young ones watch its mouth (Chapter 8).	Children learn a lot from their parents.
There is nothing to fear from someone who shouts (Chapter 15).	Someone should not be afraid from someone who shouts because shouting will be the only thing they will do.
Living fire begets cold, impotent ash (Chapter 17).	In this quote, fire represents Okonkwo while impotent ash represents Nwoye. Therefore, Okonkwo reflects how Nwoye was weak as his grandfather, Unoka.
A child cannot pay for his mother's milk (Chapter 19).	Parent should be responsible of their children and they should take care of them.
A man who pays respect to the great paves the way for his own greatness (Chapter 3).	If you respect the elders and their greatness, you will also be great and respected by all.
Mother is supreme (Chapter 14).	Mother is an important figure because she is the one who brings you into life.
Men have learned to shoot without missing their mark and I have learned to fly without perching on a twig (Chapter 24).	Influences from the outside people and the environment can have great effect on someone's life.
Never make an early morning appointment with a man who just married a new wife (Chapter 15)	A newly married feel this need of spending time together and they are focused on each other, so making an appointment with them will not have the expected results.
The lizard that jumped from the high iroko tree to the ground said, that he would praise himself if no one else did (Chapter 3).	This proverb means that when there is no one to speak to your place, you should then speak for yourself.

Table 5.2. Proverbs and old sayings accompanied by their explanations

Oral Stories: At night, children and elders used to gather around the fire and tell stories to entertain their children. Examples of these stories are found in the book

Things Fall Apart such as the story of the snake lizard and the tortoise shell. However, behind these stories, there were always a moral lesson from the real life, sometimes wise advices and none was told in vain.

Music: Igbo village, especially the musicians used drums and flute during burial or marriage ceremonies and also when the ancestors give them visit. *Ekweudu* and the *ogene* were the main tune.

Food Preparation: For Igbo community, yams, foo-foo, palm oil, cassava and kola nuts were their main traditional foods. Kola nuts were served when a visitor came and they used to say that “Who brings kola, brings life” while the other foods were used for daily meals or during ceremonies. Therefore, in Umuofia, every man owned a part of land to cultivate foods, buy them and nourish his family from it. Yams were not cultivated everytime. In order to cultivate them, one should wait the rain period and before its arrival, he must take care of the land, prepare them to receive rain. Kola nuts were the main important food to welcome the visitors and it was broken by the visitors themselves as sign to welcome them in good condition.

Colonization: Colonization had a great impact on the Igbo society due to the social and cultural modifications they went through. Okonkwo, who exiled to his motherland due to an unexpected death from his village, returned after seven years and remarked all the modifications the so-called missionaries brought into the lifestyle in the Umuofia village. Okonkwo wanted to confront them but unfortunately none supported him in this idea. As he said in the book: "He knew that Umuofia would not wage war. He knew it because the men had let the other messengers escape. They had let themselves be carried away by the tumult instead of acting". In view of this, Okonkwo preferred to kill himself instead of witnessing his clan falling apart. The arrival of the colonizers seemed for the Igbo society an obstacle to their own development. For Igbo society, colonization appears as an obstacle to socio-cultural development. With colonization, we can observe that African traditions are paving the way to the tradition and culture of the white colonizers.

Solidarity: Solidarity is what brings people together and occupies an important place among the Igbo society. Unoka, the father of Okonkwo was a lazy person and he always fed his family with the debt he used to borrow from the clan's

men. He borrowed every time debt without paying them back and despite his ungiving, people used to give him whenever he needed. This show how much the Igbo was united. After the death of his father, Okonkwo struggled hard to avoid the same faith of his father and all his efforts paid off. Thus, with the kindness Nwakibie feels towards him, he made to himself a place and he was respected among the elders. Besides, we cannot forget the help of Obierka when Okonkwo exiled. He took care of his farms and his yams and brought him the money he gained from it. For instance, when he said: “It is the money of your yams”, said Obierika. “I sold the big ones when you left” (Achebe, 1958: 171).

5.4. The Before and the After the Arrival of the White Missionaries

Fundamental to the Age of Imperialism was the scramble for Africa period of the 1880s to the 1890s. The Europeans showed interest towards the African resources, consequently they landed in African lands in order to take over all these resources. During this period, many Europeans settled in African countries. They came to Africa to help them in civilizing their people however; this was only a strategy they used in order to colonize them. Soon they arrived; they settled and began their dominations in social, political and cultural dimensions. The colonizers held a “eurocentric” perception on the colonized by affirming that their European culture was superior comparing to other existing cultures. Therefore, the colonizers showed their selves as the place of civilization or the birthplace of the civilization the worldwide witnessed. They considered the colonized as inferior to them because they were uneducated and uncivilized people. In addition, the colonizers took advantages of this lack of education to colonize and dominate them effectively. To clarify all these misunderstandings and to promote the African culture, Achebe wrote *Things Fall Apart*.

Language plays a very important role among the Igbo community. It gives them a sense of belonging and they use it as a way to preserve their cultural heritage. Language gives them a certain sense of belonging to the clan and a certain specificity that differentiates them from the other cultures. As Achebe wrote in the book, the Igbo society is a society that is doubtful when it comes to change. They are puzzled towards the changes resulted after the arrival of the white missionaries. They are a primitive society which is used to its own calm and that any kind of change could

leave puzzled. They refused to send their children to school to acquire knowledge that can help them improve their English capacities, so that they can read and write in this new language. Mr Brown built schools to encourage them learning the English language since they were now ruled by white colonizers and, therefore English was the new official language. Even though, the colonizers used to talk in English among them, the Igbo could not stand to this change. Language is a tool that helped them to figure out their membership. The colonizers had difficulty to understand this point and they wanted a quick change. Language is also a tool that helped them with their social place. This means that, in order to win a place in the Igbo society, one should work hard to attain such achievements. For instance, Okonkwo was a wealthy man, not because of his title concerning the number of spouses he had but because he did not manage any effort to obtain such title. While his father, Unoka was a lazy man and despite having one wife, he had difficulty to feed them correctly. Consequently, the village called him “*agbala*” which is used to refer to “women as well as men who have not taken a title” (1958: 13). Thus, Unoka passed away without getting a title. In Igbo society, a man is called wealthy if he had achieved these three criteria: having several spouses, obtaining a title or producing many yams. Unoka fulfilled none of these, thus he was unwealthy. However, the readers are aware that Igbo society is a community cut from the rest of the world because it was a little community and wanted to preserve their culture without any sort of interruption from outside. They were an unfrequented community because of their lack of knowledge concerning the outside world. They did not show any kind of interest to what happened outside Umuofia village. Their daily life was limited to Umuofia village. They thought that Umuofia was the only place in world and that the world was limited to it. Consequently, they refused to send their children to school when the white missionaries came to Umuofia and they rejected the white men’s education. The arrival of the white missionaries upheaved their lives because they had never thought that white people could step into their village. They stuck to their language despite all the temptations they went through. This shows the devotion they had towards their language. The main reason of their falling apart was the unexpected arrival of the colonizers. Before the arrival of the white missionaries, the Igbos already had their own judicial systems transmitted by the knowledge of their ancestors. Their courts were led by the elders of the village whenever a quarrel or a

misunderstanding occurred. Those elders used their wisdom, knowledge they gained from their daily life and transmitted to them by their ancestors. They were trusted because the villagers knew that they could not rule unfairly. In addition, when the white missionaries came to Umuofia, they firstly changed this judicial system by their own and then began ruling in their own way by following their superiors. This was the first change they have been subjected in Umuofia and this disadvantaged them because the laws of the settlers were completely different from the Igbos' ones. The Igbos was surprised when they burnt the church and they were imprisoned due to this act. For them, burning the church was not a huge problem but for the settlers, their act was unforgivable. The change of the judicial system shows that the colonizers were not interested on the rules and traditions of it. They did not even give interest on this culture and tradition. Their only objective was to rule the village and force the Igbos to accept this new culture and tradition by forcing them to accept their own, they were not conscious about the destruction of the Igbo culture and tradition. This lack of interest and consideration towards the colonized culture only furthered the gap of differences between the European and the African culture. Colonizing them was their number one objective because if their objective was not like the latter, they could have taken the time to understand their way of life, culture and traditions and later come up with theirs. Comparing to the white colonizers, when a member of the village committed an act of violence, they were not imprisoned but in contrary they were questioned on their act before taking a decision. While, the colonizers imprisoned Okonkwo and other villagers when they burnt the church without searching the reasons that pushed them to this kind of act. For instance, when Okonkwo beat up his youngest wife during the Week of Peace, he was questioned for his act because violence during the Week of peace was forbidden (Achebe, 1958: 124).

For example, Okonkwo shoots one of the messengers who were sent by the missionaries to break up their meeting (ibid. 144). He did this because he was tired of the white missionaries and the power of authority they had claimed over their village. Although it is not the best decision to be taken by him, it is understandable why he did it. Instead, they let the other messengers escape and watched the missionaries take total control of their territory. It could be argued that this is the case because their hostility, whether on a smaller scale or larger scale, has always been restricted

within the boundaries of their land. Based on this statement, it is justified why Igbos do not fight back against the white missionaries who take refuge in their land and threaten to change all aspects of their culture. It is rather disappointing that Igbos not only welcomes the white missionaries to their land but they also easily allocate them a piece of it. The decision by the rulers of Mbanta to allocate land to the missionaries was the worst mistake the Igbos could make (ibid. 105). It gave the missionaries the impression that the Igbos were a weak society and that they could easily influence them with their culture. However, it can also be argued that the decision taken by the Igbos to give them a piece of land where the evil forest lay is an indication of the respect and loyalty they still have for their own culture (ibid. 105). Despite, the Igbos fail to make known to the white missionaries the dark nature of the forest, any remorse concerning the new culture and religion was lost. They do not even understand the concept behind Christianity. This is because until now the nature of white people and their culture has existed outside of their language and culture. Because the white missionaries are convinced that the Igbos are primitives, they obligate themselves to civilize them even though the so-called primitives do not ask for their help or did not call them to be civilized. They believed in themselves to be the long-awaited answer to the problems that the Igbo society faces and other literary scholars such as Edward Said of *Orientalism* (although not from the text itself) believe them to be cunning in wanting to take control of Igbo land and the lands resources by coming to Umuofia under false pretence of their true intentions which was to rule Umuofia. When the white missionaries arrived to Umuofia, they expected that the villagers of Umuofia would be easily ruled people without asking any question concerning their arrival and almost immediately expected the people of Umuofia to submit to their authority. However, the colonizers used religion as a first pretence to overrule them. Twins in Umuofia were thrown because they were seen as abomination. Soon after the arrival, they will be joined by some villagers who wanted to escape from the violence their religion shows towards them. The son of Okonkwo will be among them and he will soon join the settler's religion which was Christianity. He already had some questions concerning his religion after the death of Ikemefuna. He considered Ikemefuna as a brother and he was so affected by his loss. He was against the idea of killing an innocent, so he decided to join the church to show his unsatisfaction towards his clan's tradition. His father was not at all pleased

by his decision and felt disappointed about his son's decision. Okonkwo then decided to banish him from his own family. Okonkwo always felt that he could never count on his son and the reality of joining the enemy camp was not a surprise for him. The disowning Okonkwo felt towards his own son shows once more that the Igbo community has difficulty to deal with change. The unfaithfulness of Nwoye towards his religion means disrespectfulness towards his father and the clan's ones. Such act has never occurred in the Igbo community, that's why Okonkwo took such decision to mark the Igbo's violent rules and the hate they feel towards the settlers. So, in order to show his unsatisfaction towards the white colonizers, he preferred to commit suicide against himself to oppose to their dominations. Nwoye was not the only one who joined this religion, pregnant mothers who were expecting twins also joined him because they suffered from the culture of the Igbo where twins should be thrown whenever they were born. Achebe can be considered as a great writer because in his book *Things Fall Apart*, he did not only talk about the inconveniences due to the arrival of the white missionaries but he also underlined the advantages of their coming because they somehow invested in the development of this little village as Achebe said in his book. However, the arrival of the white colonizers had some advantages; it also caused some negativity such as promoting the "eurocentrism" in their culture and their dominations. Igbo society was doubtful against the changes brought by the white men such as sending children to school to learn the English language. However, the white settlers contributed to the development of this little village, their strategy of forcing the Igbo to abandon their way of life and culture to adopt theirs was undoubtedly incorrect (Achebe, 1958).

5.5. Presentations of the French Translations and Publishing Houses Some Hypothesis on Retranslation Objectives of French Versions

These motivations may include several reasons. First, it is not certain that Achebe lacks recognition in France, at least in the university field, if we judge by the number of works devoted to it. As she notes Françoise Ugochukwu (Nigerian literature), the field of Nigerian literature in France has continued to grow since the 1970s, which was manifested in particular by a more diversified representation of its authors within the French literary landscape. Second, as we pointed out previously, France lagged behind several European countries in terms of translation and

retranslation. This was all the more astonishing than *Things Fall Apart* was out of stock for seven years. So, there is no doubt that the new translation responded to a pressing need and therefore did not threaten directly the first version published by Présence Africaine. It is interesting to note that this retranslation appeared in parallel with the translation of a collection the Education of a British-Protected Child, also signed Girard, whose merit is to enlighten the French readership on the positions and the intellectual trajectory of the Nigerian author.

5.5.1. Le Monde S'effondre

Le monde s'effondre has been translated in 1966 by the French translator called Michel Ligny. It has been published by Gallimard and Présence Africaine in 1972. It is possible to find the rare copies which are unavailable in libraries. Présence Africaine is the edition house of the first French translation and it was founded in 1947. Information concerning this edition house will be given in the following section.

5.5.2. Présence Africaine

The literary and cultural review *Présence Africaine* was founded in Paris in 1947 by the Senegalese intellectual Alioune Diop. An inaugural text “Niamn'goura or the raison d'être” of African Présence by Alioune Diop, MM. Richard Wright and Thomas Diop published in 1947 clearly explains the objectives of the journal which were publishing Africanist studies on culture and black civilization, "African texts" and switching to review "works of art or thought concerning the World black (1947: 185-192). In the first issues, its founder Alioune Diop surrounds himself with all the personalities interested in the world of Blacks: ethnologists, anthropologists (Marcel Griaule, Georges Balandier, Théodore Monod, Michel Leiris, and Paul Rivet), writers, philosophers (Aimé Césaire, Léopold Sédar Senghor, Jean-Paul Sartre, André Gide, Albert Camus, Richard Wright) but also gallery owners and art critics (Charles Ratton, William Fagg). The share of French authors decreases after the first five numbers.

If, in 1947, Alioune Diop wrote “this review does not take place under the obedience of any philosophical ideology and politic”, in 1955, he clearly redefined his objectives: “All articles will be published subject to that their outfit lends itself to it, that it concerns Africa, that it does not betray our anti-racist will, anti-colonialist,

nor our solidarity with the colonized people” (1947: 187). *African Présence* was a dissemination tool that enabled black intellectuals and writers to claim their cultural and historical identities which the colonial context denied or CV “exoticized”. This journal was therefore a movement, a network of exchanges and a forum for the different streams of ideas related to “black worlds” to express themselves. *African Présence* was also one of the actors who made it possible very early to constitute the library of the founding texts of anti-colonialism in France (Aimé Césaire, Jean-Paul Sartre, Frantz Fanon).

This exhibition which includes the texts of anti-colonialism in France aims to show the major role played by *Présence Africaine* in history political and cultural of black francophone, anglophone and lusophone intellectuals of the 1950s-1960. It explores and analyzes its catalytic role during the first 20 years of her existence. In fact, it was during this period that *Présence Africaine* founded a publishing house (1949), produces the film *Statues Also Die* by Alain Resnais and Chris Marker (1953), created a cultural association (1956), organized two Congresses of black writers and artists (1956, 1959) and actively participated in the implementation of the "first festival of Negro arts" in Dakar (1966). It is also an opportunity to pay tribute to Alioune Diop, a great personality too little known in France, whose hundredth anniversary of birth will be celebrated in 2010 by Senegal. Thanks to the *Présence Africaine* team (Yandé Christiane Diop, Suzanne Diop, Françoise Balogun, Romuald Fonkoua and Marie Kattié) who collaborated in the organization of this exhibition.

5.5.3. Tout S’effondre

Tout s’effondre is the second French translation of *Things Fall Apart* published in 2013 in Actes du Sud edition house. Pierre Girard is the translator of this second version and hemight have retranslated this book to improve the quality of the language and correct a number of errors due to a lack of knowledge of Igbo.

5.5.4. Editions Actes Du Sud

The edition house called Actes du Sud has been created in 1978 in a little village called La vallée des Baux by Hubert Nyssen and his wife, Christine Le Boeuf. The objective of this edition house is to encourage the creativity of all those who participate in their editorial adventure and to promote the recognition of the talent of their participants (<https://www.actes-sud.fr>).

5.6. Presentation of the Turkish Translations and Publishing Houses

5.6.1. Ruhum Yeniden Doğacak

Anjel Selveroğlu is the first translator who translated *Things Fall Apart* into Turkish with the title *Ruhum Yeniden Doğacak* under Üç Çiçek Yayınevi (1983) for its first publication and Sosyalist Yayınlar (1997) for its second appearance. It is important to note that after this publication, Selveroğlu resigned from his translation duties and therefore, it was her last translation.

5.6.2. Üç Çiçek Yayınları

Üç Çiçek Yayınları was established by Adnan Özer in the 1980's. He was a talented poet and known for his political opinion and socialist commitments. He believed that the coup d'état of 1980 poorly affected the art and literature in Turkey and decided to found a publishing house where he could work with other socialist poets and authors. Within the body of the publishing house, he also published a journal named as *Üç Çiçek Dergisi* (Üç Çiçek Journal) in order to introduce young poets and writers, whose works couldn't draw the attention they deserved. In his publishment, he included different fields such literature, cinema and art. Adnan Özer believed that Turkey, like many other societies, was under the influence of Western Literature. However, new literature types in the Third World which had the power to demolish stereotypes were emerging and Turkish people were unaware of these. He decided to introduce the works in Africa and South America to Turkish readers. Many works from the Third World were translated and published by Üç Çiçek Yayınları and articles regarding the postcolonial literature were written in *Üç Çiçek Dergisi*. This publishing house was closed because of financial issues, although it contributed to literature in Turkey in the 1980 (Altıntaş, 2015).

5.6.3. Sosyalist Yayınlar

Sosyalist Yayınlar was founded in 1992 by Hasan Basri Gürses, a socialist himself. He took charge in İSK (Maden İş Sendikası- Miner's Union) and TİP (Türkiye İşçi Partisi - Worker's Party of Turkey). He made contributions to develop socialist literature in Turkey. Many ideological books promoting socialism were translated and published by Sosyalist Yayınlar. It published and translated works written by Friedrich Engels, Lenin, Dolares Ibbarruri, Jürgen Kuczynski, etc. Other

political books written in Turkish and published by Sosyalist Yayınlar are: *Mustafa Suphi: Yaşamı, Yazıları, Yoldaşları* (Mustafa Suphi: His Life, Works and Comrades), *Şefik Hüsnü: Yaşamı, Yazıları, Yoldaşları* (Şefik Hüsnü: His Life, Works and Comrades), *Savunma* (Defence) by Behice Boran. Sosyalist Yayınlar generally focused on the struggle of the peoples oppressed and colonized by imperialism and emphasized that oppressed people should act in unison to struggle against imperialism. Seven categories determined by Sosyalist Yayınlar are: Araştırma, İnceleme ve Tartışma Dizisi (Research, Review and Debate Series), Büyük Devrimler ve Devrimciler Dizisi (Great Revolutions and Revolutionaries Series), Dünya İşçi Hareketleri Dizisi (World Labor Movements Series), Edebiyat-Sanat-Kültür Dizisi (Literature-Art-Culture Series), İnceleme ve Araştırma Dizisi (Review and Research Series) and Kategorisiz ve Tarih Dizisi (Uncategorized and History Series) (Altıntaş, 2015).

5.6.4. Parçalanma

The second translation was achieved by Nazan Arıbaş Erbil and was published by İthaki Yayınları in 2011. This retranslation was published under the title *Parçalanma*. She also successfully accomplished the translations of the other books that composed the African such, *No longer Ease* (Artık Huzur Yok) and *Arrow of God* (Tanrının Oku). Other books translated by her include *Moll Flanders*, *Andersen's Fairy Tales*, and *the Ghost in Love*, *Jacob's Room*, *the Black Swan* and *90 Minutes in Hea*.

5.6.5. İthaki Yayınları

İthaki Yayınları was established in 1997, under the guidance of Penguin Publishing House. In those years, science fiction and fantasy literature were not appreciated and couldn't draw the attention. Therefore, İthaki Yayınları was founded by seven dilettantes to address this issue. They translated and published science fiction and fantasy novels. Since 2002, the publishing house added other fields of literature to its structure and published many works of prominent authors ranging from Albert Camus to Jean Paul Sartre. The publishing policy of İthaki Yayınları is stated as being against sexual, religious, linguistic and ethnic discriminations. Therefore, they do not publish works violating this principle. The publishing house

aims to serve a type of literature which prioritizes quality over quantity (Altıntaş, 2015).

The coming chapter will deal with the analysis of the data we collected from the original book of Chinua Achebe and its French and Turkish versions. We will also determine the strategies used by the translators to translate the source text's CSIs.



6. COMPARATIVE ANALYSIS OF *THINGS FALL APART* AND ITS TURKISH AND FRENCH TRANSLATIONS

In this chapter, we are going to look at the examples collected in the source text and how they have been translated in each version using Aixela's CSI translation strategies.

Firstly, we are going to draw a board composed of three columns. The first column will include the writers of the translated versions (Turkish and French) and the date of their publication. Furthermore, the second column will be reserved to the examples we collected from the source text. And finally, in the third column, we are going to write the strategies used by each of the translators within the framework of Aixela's CSI translation strategies.

The following are the explanations about the source text and the target texts indicated in the board.

1. **(Achebe, 1958):** Source text of Chinua Achebe entitled *Things Fall Apart*.
2. **(Selveroğlu, 1983):** The first Turkish translation by Anjel Selveroğlu entitled *Ruhum Yeniden Doğacak* and published in 1983.
3. **(Erbil, 2011):** The second Turkish translation, in other words the Turkish retranslation by Nazan Arıbaş Erbil entitled *Parçalanma* and published in 2011.
4. **(Ligny, 1966):** The first French translation by Michel Ligny entitled *Le Monde s'effondre* and published in 1966.
5. **(Girard, 2013):** The second French translation by Pierre Girard entitled *Tout s'effondre* and published in 2013.

TEXT	EXAMPLE	STRATEGY
(Achebe, 1958)	He was very good on his flute¹ his happiest moments were the two or three moons after the harvest when the village musicians brought down their instruments, hung above the fireplace. (p. 4)	
(Selveroğlu, 1983)	Çok çalardı¹ . Hasatı izleyen iki, üç gece, yaşamının en mutlu saatlerini oluştururdu, bu dolunay gecelerinde köyün çalgıcıları ocağın üstünde asılı duran çalgıların indirirlerdi. (p. 9)	SUBSTITUTION Deletion¹
(Erbil, 2011)	Çok güzel flüt çalardı¹ . Hasat mevsiminden sonar köyde müzisyenlerin ocağın üstüne astıkları enstrümanlarını ellerine aldıkları iki üç aylık dönem en mutlu zamanlarıydı. (p. 10)	CONSERVATION Orthographic adaptation¹
(Ligny, 1966)	C'était un excellent joueur de flûte¹ et il n'était jamais aussi heureux que lorsque les musiciens du village, pendant deux ou trois lunes suivant la récolte, décrochaient leurs instruments suspendus au-dessus du foyer. (p. 10)	CONSERVATION Orthographic adaptation¹
(Girard, 2013)	Il était très bon à la flûte¹ et ses moments les plus heureux étaient les deux ou les trois lunes qui suivaient la récolte, et où les musiciens du village décrochaient leurs instruments suspendus au-dessus du foyer. (p. 10)	CONSERVATION Orthographic adaptation¹

Table 6.1. Example 1

Analysis: In this paragraph, Achebe puts the light on the father of Okonkwo. Unoka, the father of Okonkwo liked music, for him music was a mean to escape from his daily problems. He was a lazy person and never wanted to do anything that can help him to change his current situation (like acquiring a title among the clan). Here, we can notice that the translators such as Erbil, Ligny and Girard chose the same strategy which is orthographic adaptation while Selveroğlu changed a little bit the source text's information using the deletion strategy from the substitution category. For example, Erbil shifted the following passage as “**He was very good on his flute**” as “**Çok güzel flüt çalardı**”, Ligny translated this part as “**C'était un excellent joueur de flûte**” and Girard as “**Il était très bon à la flûte**”. They adapted orthographically the CSI “flute” in their translations. While on the other hand, Selveroğlu shifted the English part as “**Çok çalardı**” by deleting the information of the “flute”. By translating as “**Çok çalardı**”, she left the target readers without any information. Therefore, we can say that Selveroğlu chose the deletion strategy of Aixela's Substitution category while the other translators chose the orthographic adaptation strategy to remain closer to the source text's information.

TEXT	EXAMPLE	STRATEGY
(Achebe, 1958)	Silk-cotton tree which was sacred Spirits¹ of good children lived in that tree waiting to be born. Young women who desired children came to sit under its shade. (p. 44).	
(Selveroğlu, 1983)	Tam arkalarında büyük, yaşlı ve kutsal bir ağaç vardı¹ . Doğmayı bekleyen çocukları ruhları o ağaçta yaşıyorlardı. Bu nedenle çocuk isteyen genç kadınlar gelip bu ağacın gölgesinde otururlardı. (p. 42)	SUBSTITUTION Deletion¹
(Erbil, 2011)	Arkalarında kutsal olarak kabul edilen büyük ve eski bir kapok ağacı vardı¹ . Bu ağacın içinde, doğurulmayı bekleyen iyi çocukların ruhları yaşardı. Sıradan günlerde, çocuk isteyen kadınlar oturmaya gelirdi. (p.48).	CONSERVATION Linguistic translation¹
(Ligny, 1966)	Derrière eux se dressait le grand et vénérable kapokier sacré¹ . Les esprits des bons enfants habitaient cet arbre avant de venir au monde. En temps normal, les jeunes femmes en mal d'enfant venaient s'asseoir à son ombre. (p. 62).	CONSERVATION Linguistic translation¹
(Girard, 2013)	Derrière eux se dressait l'énorme et antique cotonnier sacré¹ . Des esprits de bons enfants vivaient dans cet arbre en attendant de naître. Les jours ordinaires les jeunes femmes qui désiraient des enfants venaient s'asseoir à son ombre. (p. 54).	SUBSTITUTION Attenuation¹

Table 6.2. Example 2

Analysis: Here, in the source text, the author speaks out about a vicious circle which affects women who want to get pregnant. Women who were having problems in giving birth came to this special tree and they used to sit under it and then wait for several days by praying and asking their gods to give them children. Erbil and Ligny chose the linguistic translation strategy, Girard chose the attenuation strategy and Selveroğlu makes a deletion because as we can see in the above written sentences, the above CSI is not translated similarly by all the translators.

For example, Selveroğlu translated “**Silk cotton tree**” as “**kutsal bir ağaç**” which means in English “**sacred tree**” while Achebe was talking about the “silk cotton tree” and Selveroğlu was supposed to precise this CSI because now in her translation, the only information that we have about the tree is that it is a sacred tree, so there is a deletion strategy which is applied by the latter. On the other side, Erbil translated “**Silk cotton tree**” as “**kapok ağacı**” which refers to the vegetable fiber made from the down that covers the seeds of the kapok tree and cheese. In addition, Ligny translated “**Silk cotton tree**” by “**venerable kapokier**” because this tree produces the “kapok” in French. These can be considered as linguistic (non cultural)

translations because as it is defined by Aixela, “kapok ağacı” and “kapokier” are “denotatively very close reference[s] to the original, but increases [their] comprehensibility by offering a target language version which can still be recognized as belonging to the cultural system of the source text” (1996: 61-62). However, Girard translates “Silk cotton tree” as “antique cotonnier sacré”. The kapok contains a fiber close to the cotton but “cotonnier” is not the exact meaning of “silk-cotton tree” because the first one refers to the “cotton plant”. That is the reason why Girard’s strategy can be considered as attenuation, one of the “potential strategies” that Aixela defines as “replacement, on ideological grounds, of something ‘too strong’ or in anyway unacceptable, by something ‘softer’, more adequate to target pole written tradition or to what could, in theory, be expected by readers” (1996: 64). Girard may have chosen this strategy thinking that “cotonnier” would be geographically more familiar to the French readers than “kapokier” ou “fromager” which is a synonym.

TEXT	EXAMPLE	STRATEGY
(Achebe, 1958)	His mother and sisters worked hard enough, but they grew women’s crops, like coco-yams ¹ , beans and cassava ² . Yam ³ , the king of crops, was a man’s crop. (p. 22)	
(Selveroğlu, 1983)	Annesi ve kız kardeşleri yeterince çalışıyorlardı, ama onlar ancak manyok ² , fasulye gibi kadınların yetiştirebileceği ürünlerle uğraşabiliyorlardı. Ürünlerin kralı yerelmasını ³ yetiştirmek ise erkek işiydi. (p. 23)	SUBSTITUTION Deletion ¹ Naturalization ³ CONSERVATION Linguistic translation ²
(Erbil, 2011)	Annesi ve kız kardeşleri de çok çalışıyordu, ama onlar gölevez ¹ , fasulye ve manyok ² gibi kadınlara özgü tohumları ekiyordu. Tohumların kralı yamı ³ ekmek erkeklerin yapabileceği bir işti. (p. 27)	CONSERVATION Linguistic translation ¹ Linguistic translation ² Repetition ³
(Ligny, 1966)	Sa mère et ses soeurs n’epargnaient pas leur peine, mais elles entretenaient des semailles de femmes : ignames-coco ¹ , haricots, manioc ² . L’igname ³ , la reine des légumes, était une culture d’homme. (p. 32)	CONSERVATION Linguistic translation ¹ Linguistic translation ² Linguistic translation ³
(Girard, 2013)	Sa mère et ses soeurs travaillaient dur sans doute, mais elles faisaient pousser des plantes de femme, telles que les ignames-coco ¹ , les haricots et la cassave ² . L’igname ³ , le roi des plantes, était une plante d’homme. (p. 30)	CONSERVATION Linguistic translation ¹ Orthographic adaptation ² Linguistic translation ³

Table 6.3. Example 3

Analysis: Crops were divided into two groups: the ones grown by the men and the others grown by the women. In this example, three CSIs have been analyzed: “**coco-yams**”, “**cassava**” and “**yam**”.

For the first CSI “**coco-yams**”, all the translators chose the linguistic translation strategy from the Conservation category, except Selveroğlu who did not translated it using the deletion strategy from the Substitution category.

As for the word “**cassava**”, Turkish translators used the equivalent “**manyok**” and the first French translator, Ligny, translated as “**manioc**”. However, the second French translator Girard made a different choice and transferred it as “**cassave**” instead of “**manioc**”. It should be reminded that “**manioc**” is a plant while “**cassava**” is the root of cassava often used to make bread in the form of pancake (Dictionnaire Langue Française). Consequently, Girard’s strategy can be considered as ortographic adaptation. He may have wanted to stay closer to the English word “**cassava**”, even if the French word “**cassave**” does not exactly have the same signification.

Finally, the word “**yam**” is translated as “**l’igname**” by the French translators, which can be considered as a linguistic translation from the Conservation category. However, the first Turkish translator Selveroğlu translates it as “**yerelması**” which means “Jerusalem artichoke” or “sunchoke” in English. Consequently, her translation is not exactly the equivalent of the original word. A more suitable translation, without repeating the English word, could have been “**hint yer elması**” but she chose a word which is more common to Turkish readers even if it does not correspond to the cultural element in the source text. This strategy can be considered as naturalization from Substitution category. In addition, “**yerelması**” is the wrong writing. According to TDK, the correct form is “**yerelması**”.

TEXT	EXAMPLE,	STRATEGY
(Achebe, 1958)	So, Okonkwo encouraged the boys to sit with him in his obi ¹ , and he told them stories of the land-masculine stories of violence and bloodshed. (p.51)	
(Selveroğlu, 1983)	Okonkwo oğullarını kendisiyle birlikte obi ¹ 'de oturmaya özendiriyor, onlara yöresel öyküler anlatıyordu. Kan dökülmesini zorbalığı oven erkeksi öyküler anlatıyordu. (p.48)	CONSERVATION Repetition ¹
(Erbil, 2011)	Bu yüzden Okonkwo, çocukları obi ¹ 'sinde kendisiyle birlikte oturmaya teşvik ediyor, onlara yaşadıkları topraklara ilişkin şiddet ve kan dolu erkek. (p.54)	CONSERVATION Repetition ¹
(Ligny, 1966)	Aussi Okonkwo encourageait-il les garçons à s'asseoir avec lui dans son obi ¹ et leur racontait des histoires du pays, des histoires viriles de violence et de sang. (p.68)	CONSERVATION Repetition ¹
(Girard, 2013)	Aussi, Okonkwo encourageait-il les garçons à s'asseoir avec lui dans son obi ¹ et il leur racontait les histoires du pays, des histoires viriles de violence et de sang. (p.61)	CONSERVATION Repetition ¹

Table 6.4. Example 4

Analysis: Okonkwo has always been cruel and rude towards its wives and children. He never showed them any kind of emotion or either any love. For him, someone who shows off his feelings was considered as someone who is weak. So, he always struggled with himself to put aside his feelings and to show the bad sides of its personality. He did not accept that children listen to their mother's stories which were mostly about love, princesses etc. To avoid such things, he always gathered his children after work and told them about the glorious missions he then achieved, stories of men, violence in order for them to become as him in the future. Therefore, the translators of the French and the Turkish versions called for the repetition translation strategy from Conservation category. They called off this strategy because the above sentences contain crucial CSI which should be translated adequately without deleting. For example, the CSI “**obi**” has been translated using the repetition strategy by all the translators. Moreover, there is an important point we noticed in the Turkish versions. The translators of the Turkish used the apostrophe mark at the end of the CSI “**obi**” to underline the foreignness of this word. The apostrophe is used to distinguish proper names from other names. The punctuation mark used in Turkish to separate suffixes after proper name is called an apostrophe ('). The apostrophe is written adjacent to the right of the word to which it belongs. No space is left for the attachment after the apostrophe. In other words, when a suffix is added

to the proper name, an apostrophe is placed on the right of the proper name, and the suffix is written without spaces. In the Turkish language, the apostroph mark is used to separate the suffix and a proper noun while here, in the Turkish translated versions, the translators made the decision to add the apostrophe even though they should not add it. This strategy of adding an apostrophe at the end of cultural word shows the wish of keeping the foreignness of this word despite its retranslation in the Turkish target text. Besides, it is another form of conserving the CSI of the source text in the target texts, thus the use of the repetition strategy. For the French translations, the translators kept the CSI “**obi**” untouched thanks to the similar morphosyntactic rules than English. The word is not accentuated or highlighted using italics or quotation marks for example.

TEXT	EXAMPLE	STRATEGY
(Achebe, 1958)	As the elders said, if a child washed his hands, he could eat with kings. (p. 8)	
(Selveroğlu, 1983)	Eskilerin dediği gibi, küçük bir çocuk bile ellerini yıkadığında krallarla yemek yiyebilirdi. (p.11)	CONSERVATION Linguistic translation
(Erbil, 2011)	Ataların dediği gibi, bir çocuk elini yıkadıysa krallarla birlikte yiyebilirdi. (p. 14)	CONSERVATION Linguistic translation
(Ligny, 1966)	Les anciens disaient qu'un enfant qui s'était lavé la main pouvait manger avec les rois. (p.15)	CONSERVATION Linguistic translation
(Girard, 2013)	Comme disaient les anciens, si un enfant se lavait les mains, il pouvait manger avec les rois. (p. 15)	CONSERVATION Linguistic translation

Table 6.5. Example 5

Analysis: This proverb emphasizes on the relationships between the elders and young generation of Igbos. In this society, age was so overriding but one's achievements meant a lot too. As Achebe highlights it in the book, in order to gain respect, one should work hard as Okonkwo did. Most of the time, proverbs and old sayings seem to be a tough task for translators. Proverbs, old sayings and idioms are the most complicated cultural elements to translate. There are some proverbs which have equivalence and others not. So, translators chose the linguistic translation strategy in order to preserve the particularities these proverbs contain and shift it similarly in the target culture. The above written proverbs are a case in point. Every culture is characterized by its traditions, values, norms and proverbs which play a very crucial role in culture. For example, the CSI in English is “If a child washed his

hands, he could eat with kings”. Therefore, Selveroğlu translated this CSI as “**küçük bir çocuk bile ellerini yıkadığında krallarla yemek yiyebilirdi**”, she used the linguistic translation strategy but she shifted the word “**child**” as “**küçük çocuk**” while the word “**çocuk**” by itself could be sufficient. Erbil, on the other hand transferred this part as following “**Ataların dediği gibi, bir çocuk elini yıkadıysa krallarla birlikte yiyebilirdi**”, so she used the linguistic translation strategy. So, here we can observe a little difference between “**eskilerin**” and “**ataların**”. The difference between two words is that “**eskilerin**” means elders or old person while “**ataların**” means ancestors in English. The word “**ataların**” is a key word to the Turkish population because it refers to people who talked steadily at times and connates the word “**atasözü**” which is the equivalent of “**proverb**”.

For Ligny, “**Les anciens disaient qu’un enfant qui s’était lavé la main pouvait manger avec les rois**” this shifting is slightly adequate with the source text CSI and we can notice that he completely omitted the “**if**” condition form of the sentence and wrote it in a different way while Girard translated as the strategy used is linguistic translation the source text CSI similarly without changing neither the form nor the content. Here is no doubt that both of the French translators used linguistic translation strategy in their retranslations.

TEXT	EXAMPLE	STRATEGY
(Achebe, 1958)	People should not talk when they are eating or pepper ¹ may go down the wrong way. (p. 43)	
(Selveroğlu, 1983)	Yemek yerken konuşmamak gerekir, yoksa yediğimiz ¹ yanlış yere gider. (p. 41)	SUBSTITUTION Limited universalization ¹
(Erbil, 2011)	İnsanlar yemek yerken konuşmamalı, yoksa biber ¹ yanlış bir yere gidebilir. (p. 47)	CONSERVATION Linguistic translation ¹
(Ligny, 1966)	On ne devait pas parler quand on mange ou on risque d’avaler le poivre ¹ de travers. (p. 59)	CONSERVATION Linguistic translation ¹
(Girard, 2013)	On ne doit pas parler la bouche pleine, sinon le piment ¹ risque de passer du mauvais côté. (p. 53)	CONSERVATION Linguistic translation ¹

Table 6.6. Example 6

Analysis: This proverb was uttered by Ezinma when she brought the food to her father Okonkwo. It is a way to say that when eating food, one should be cautious to what he or she is saying; otherwise, foods will cause some disaster and may go to

unwanted place. Here, we have a case of an old saying told by the elders cited in the source text. Linguistic translation is generally called for when it comes to proverbs to maintain the cultural particularities of the latter. In this proverb, the focal point was the CSI “pepper”. Erbil, Ligny and Girard chose this translation strategy to avoid future ambiguities and at the same time to clearly transfer the CSI. Only Selveroğlu used the limited universalization strategy and the following example will clarify us this choice.

For example, Selveroğlu (1983) substituted the CSI “**pepper**” for a general expression “**yediğimiz**” (what we eat) in her translation. The whole sentence “Yemek yerken konuşmamak gerekir, yoksa yediğimiz yanlış yere gider” means in English that someone should keep quiet while eating otherwise our eatings can go to some undesired places. While the second Turkish translator Erbil (2011) did not delete the above CSI and literally translated the source text CSI as it is in her translation. In other words, Erbil used the linguistic translation strategy from the Conservation category while Selveroğlu (1983) used the limited universalization strategy from the Substitution category, probably thinking that the CSI “pepper” would be too foreign for Turkish readers.

Ligny (1966), on the other hand used linguistic translation strategy but, in his translation, he translated the word “**pepper**” as “**poivre**” while “**poivre**” is used to describe the black pepper. Girard (2013) also used the linguistic translation strategy, transferring “pepper” as “piment”. According to *Collins Dictionary*; there are two significations of “piment” in English. The first translation of “piment” in English means “pepper” but the figurative translation or signification of it is “spice”. For example, in the French language they say “ajouter du piment à quelque chose” which means “to add a bit of spice into something” in English.

TEXT	EXAMPLE	STRATEGY
(Achebe, 1958)	“We have both heard both sides of the case said Evil Forest ¹ . “Our duty is not to blame this man or to praise that, but to settle the dispute”. (p. 88)	
(Selveroğlu, 1983)	“İki tarafı da dinledik”, dedi Günahkârlar Ormanı ¹ . “Bizim görevimiz doğru karara varıp tartışmaya son vermek, yoksa birini övüp, ötekini kınamak değil.” (p. 82)	CONSERVATION Linguistic translation ¹
(Erbil, 2011)	“Davanın iki tarafını da dinledik,” dedi Kötülük Ormanı ¹ . “Bizim görevimiz birini övüp diğerini yermek değil, anlaşmazlığı çözmektir.” (p. 90)	CONSERVATION Linguistic translation ¹
(Ligny, 1966)	Nous avons entendu les deux parties, dit Forêt Maudite ¹ . Notre devoir n’est pas de blamer tel homme ou de féliciter tel autre, mais de vider la querelle. (p. 113)	CONSERVATION Linguistic translation ¹
(Girard, 2013)	Nous avons entendu les deux parties, dit Forêt Maudite ¹ . Il ne nous revient pas de blamer un homme ni de le féliciter, mais de régler cette querelle. (p. 102)	CONSERVATION Linguistic translation ¹

Table 6.7. Example 7

Analysis: In Umuofia, there were Evil Forest which represented each village and they were called for when there were quarrel between the people of the clan. Their primary role was to settle these quarrels and to find solution to put an end to it. Sometimes, they used to appear suddenly in order to transmit messages or to punish some.

The CSI here is “**Evil Forest**”; therefore, to transfer it the translators chose the linguistic strategy. Translators should choose an equivalent translation strategy to achieve the process of translation. They chose linguistic strategy. The Evil Forest that Achebe describes in his book is about a forest where all the unwanted people of the clan were thrown. The Evil Forest is land beyond the village considered desecrated by the Igbo. People who contract infectious diseases or the bloating disease (like Okonkwo's father), are considered unclean and cursed by the village. Thus, they are taken to the Evil Forest and left to die. It is same for twins who are born in Umuofia (<https://www.enotes.com>). Therefore, Selveroğlu translated “Evil Forest” as “**Günahkârlar Ormanı**” which means “the forest of the wrongdoers” in English. On the other hand, we have Erbil who shifted Evil Forest as “**Kötülük Ormanı**” which means “the forest of wickedness”. Both can be considered as the equivalent of the word “evil”. However, the word “Günahkârlar” may be more impacting than “Kötülük” because the former is thoroughly used in the religious

context to refer to a sin done by someone while the latter is a daily use word and does not have even the same power as “Günahkârlar”.

In the French translations, we have the equivalence “**Maudite**” which is the French reference of the CSI “**Evil**”. The word “Maudite” means in English “cursed” or “unlucky”. Consequently, we can say that all the translators shared the same method which is literally translating the source text’s meaning and linguistic translations from the Conservation category according to Aixela.

TEXT	EXAMPLE	STRATEGY
(Achebe, 1958)	And there were indeed occasions when the Oracle ¹ had forbidden Umuofia to wage a war. If the clan had disobeyed the Oracle ² , they would surely have been beaten, because their dreaded agadi-nwayi ³ would never fight what the Ibo ⁴ call a fight of blame ⁵ . (p. 12)	
(Selveroğlu, 1983)	Gerçekten de kimi durumlarda Kâhin ¹ Umufia’nın savaşmasını engellemiştir. Bütün kabile eğer Kâhin ² ’e karşı çıkılırsa yenik düşeceklerini biliyordu, çünkü ürkütücü agadi-nwayi ³ Ibo’ların ⁴ deyimiyle, ayıplanası bir savaşa ⁵ girişmezdi (p. 14).	CONSERVATION Linguistic translation ¹ Linguistic translation ² Repetition ³ Repetition ⁴ SUBSTITUTION Naturalization ⁵
(Erbil, 2011)	Geçmişte, kahinin ¹ Umuofia’yasavaş açmayı yasakladığı zamanlar olmuştu. Böyle bir buyruğun ardından klan, kahini ² dinlemeyip savaşa girseydi kesinlikle yenilirdi. Çünkü o korkulan agadi-nwa-yi ³ ’leri, İgbo halkının ⁴ deyimiyle ‘utanç savaşı’ ⁵ nda asla etki göstermezdi. (p. 18)	CONSERVATION Linguistic translation ¹ Linguistic translation ² Repetition ³ Linguistic translation ⁴ Intratextual gloss ⁴ Linguistic translation ⁵
(Ligny, 1966)	Et il y eut bel et bien des cas où l’ Oracle ¹ interdit à Umuofia d’entreprendre la guerre. Si le clan avait désobéi à l’ Oracle ² , elle aurait sûrement été battu, parce que son agadi-nwayi ³ redouté n’aurait jamais combattu dans ce que les Ibos ⁴ appellent une guerre de honte ⁵ (p. 20).	CONSERVATION Linguistic translation ¹ Linguistic translation ² Repetition ³ Repetition ⁴ Linguistic translation ⁵
(Girard, 2013)	Et celui-ci ¹ avait, en maintes circonstances, interdit à Umuofia de déclarer une guerre. Si le clan lui ² avait désobéi, il aurait certainement été battu, car tous craignaient qu’ agadi-nwayi ³ refuse de prendre part à ce que les Ibos ⁴ appellent un « mauvais combat » ⁵ . (p. 19)	SUBSTITUTION Synonymy ¹ Synonymy ² Naturalization ⁵ CONSERVATION Repetition ³ Repetition ⁴

Table 6.8. Example 8

Analysis: In this example, five CSI have been analyzed: “**the Oracle**” mentioned twice, “**agadi-nwayi**”, “**the Ibo**” and “**the fight of blame**”.

The first and the second CSIs which is “the Oracle” is defined as “a priest or a priestess which acts as a medium through whom advice or prophecy was sought from the gods in classical antiquity” by the *Oxford Dictionnary*. The Igbo used to consult the “Oracle” when they were planning wars. This CSI has been differently translated by the translators of the above versions. Selveroğlu and Erbil used the word “**kâhin**” which refers to a person who reported news with predictable words; therefore, its English reference is “prophet, predictor or an oracle”. The first Turkish translator wrote it with a capital letter to conserve the literary device of personification while the second used lower case. Even if both Turkish translators chose the linguistic translation strategy, it can be considered that Selveroğlu’s strategy is more conservative because of the use of upper case for the first letter of “**Kâhin**”. Ligny also used the linguistic translation strategy to translate the CSI “Oracle” because he shifted with its French reference “Oracle” that already exists in the French vocabulary. However, Girard transferred the first “Oracle” by “celui-ci” and the second “Oracle” by “lui” using the synonymy strategy for this CSI because he substitutes it for “celui-ci”.

If we look at the third CSI “**agadi-nwayi**”, it is similarly translated in all TTs. In all these versions, the latter CSI is rewritten alike. This CSI means a medicine, especially a war medicine used by the Igbo during wars and through this medicine they came out winners. In *Things Fall Apart*, Achebe speaks out about the oldness of this medicine and that one of the principal founders was a one leg woman, thus the reason why the Igbo call out this medicine “**agadi-nwayi**” or “**la vieille**”. The translators kept this CSI untouched because translators preferred to conserve those cultural references. In addition, it is clear that they used the repetition strategy to push the target audience to develop an idea about this new culture. However, Erbil and Girard, in other words the Turkish and French retranslators wrote the term in italics to underline the foreignness of the cultural item, which can be considered as a more conservative strategy.

The fourth CSI corresponds to the expression “**Ibo**” which has been translated differently by the translators. Selveroğlu took back the expression “**Ibo**” but she added the Turkish suffix of plural “**-lar**” accompanied by an apostrophe to mark the foreignness of this word. It is also important to note that Igbo and Ibo mean

the same thing and they both refer to a group of people based in Nigeria. The language of this group is also called Igbo. Therefore, Selveroğlu here used the repetition strategy because she conserved the initial form of this CSI in her translation. However, Erbil used the linguistic translation and intratextual gloss strategy because she translated the CSI “Ibo” as “İgbo halkının” adding the information “halk” (people), meaning that it refers to a group of people. As for the choice of “İgbo” instead of “Ibo”, she may have considered that “İgbo” is more current than “Ibo” in Turkish. She may also have taken into consideration that “Ibo” is the abbreviation of the Turkish name “İbrahim”. Consequently, the Turkish readers might confuse with this equivalence which do not correspond with the source text’s CSI. On the other side, both French translators translated the CSI “the Ibo” as “les Ibos” and not “Igbo” which seems to be a more current usage to describe this people. In this way, they conserved the source text but they added the French plural article “les” and the mark of plural “s” at the end of the noun to provide a more understandable form to French readers. Consequently, both French translators strategies can also be considered as repetition. It is worthy to note that since the French and the English alphabet are closely the same, it is easier for the French translators to find a close equivalence.

The last CSI is “**fight of blame**”. In the book, Achebe underlines the fact that if the Igbo would not consult the Oracle, they will be beaten by the other contestants of the other villages. For this reason, it was undoubtedly important to consult the Oracle. Selveroğlu took the CSI “fight of blame” and shifted it as “**ayıplanası bir savaş**”, while Erbil used the expression “**utanç savaşında**” and a double quotation mark to emphasize the foreignness of the expression. Both “ayıp” and “utanç” can be considered as synonyms of “blame” or “shame” in English. However, “ayıp” has a more cultural connotation in Turkish compared to “utanç”. Besides, Selveroğlu did not use a quotation mark and did not even write it in italic to underline the foreignness of the expression. Consequently, Selveroğlu’s translation can be considered as naturalization while Erbil used the linguistic translation strategy. On the other hand, we have Ligny, who also uses the linguistic translation strategy to translate this CSI. For example, to maintain the foreignness of this CSI in this target language, he shifted the English CSI to “**une guerre de honte**” by putting the latter in quotation marks. When we put a quotation mark around a word, it often indicates

that it is not widely used in the target community. As for Girard, he translated the source text's CSI which is "fight of blame" as "**mauvais combat**" using the naturalization strategy from the Substitution category. It's a typical collocation that can be relevant to the target community, and the foreignness of the term is effectively marked by the quotation marks because Achebe by using "blame" is not referring to "shame" itself but he is talking about the fact that by not consulting the Oracle, the Igbos could make a wrong decision.

TEXT	EXAMPLE	STRATEGY
(Achebe, 1958)	It was a crime against the earth goddess ¹ to kill a clansman ² , and a man who committed it must flee from the land. The crime was of two kinds, male and female. Okonkwo had committed the female, because it had been inadvertent. He could return to the clan after seven years. (p. 117)	
(Selveroğlu, 1983)	Kabileden birini ² öldürmek toprak tanrısına ¹ karşı işlenmiş bir suçtu ve bu suçu işleyen kişi kabileden kaçmalıydı. Suçlar dişi ve erkek olmak üzere ikiye ayrılıyorlardı. Okonkwo'nun suçu dişiydi. Çünkü istemiyerek işlemişti ve yedi yıl sonra kabileye dönebilirdi. (p. 107)	SUBSTITUTION Limited universalization ¹ Naturalization ²
(Erbil, 2011)	Klan üyesini ² öldürmek toprak tanrıçasına ¹ karşı işlenmiş bir suç sayılırdı. Bu suçu işleyen kaçıp gitmesi gerekirdi. Suç, erkek ve dişi olmak üzere iki türlüyüdü. Okonkwo'nun dişiydi, çünkü istemeyerek olmuştu. Klana ancak yedi yıl sonra dönebilirdi. (p. 116)	CONSERVATION Linguistic translation ¹ Linguistic translation ²
(Ligny, 1966)	C'était un crime contre la déesse Terre ¹ de tuer un membre du clan ² , et un homme qui le commettait devait quitter en hate le pays. Ce crime était de deux espèces, male et femelle. Okonkwo avait commis le crime femelle, parce que c'était un accident. Il pourrait rejoindre le clan au bout de sept ans. (p. 152)	CONSERVATION Linguistic translation ¹ Linguistic translation ²
(Girard, 2013)	Tuer un homme du clan ² était un crime contre la déesse de la Terre ¹ et celui qui l'avait commis devait quitter le pays. Il y avait des crimes males et femelles. Celui d'Okonkwo était un crime femelle parce qu'il l'avait commis par inadvertance. Il pourrait réintégrer le clan au bout de sept années. (p. 133)	CONSERVATION Linguistic translation ¹ Linguistic translation ²

Table 6.9. Example 9

Analysis: There were rules and norms to follow in the Igbo community for the sake of the clan. The author emphasizes on a particular cultural rule of which Okonkwo was the first victim. In this example, the translation of two CSIs has been analyzed: "**the earth goddess**" and "**a clansman**".

As for the first CSI, Selveroğlu translated the CSI “**earth goddess**” as “**toprak tanrısı**”. She may have preferred to choose “**tanrı**” instead of “**tanrıça**” considering that the Turkish readers are more familiar with the former reference which is a male representation of God. This choice can be considered as a limited universalization strategy. As for the translator of the Turkish retranslation, Erbil, she translated the same expression as “**toprak tanrıçası**”, which includes a female representation as in the source text. It can be considered that Erbil used the linguistic translation strategy. In the French translations, Ligny translated “**earth goddess**” as “**la déesse Terre**” and Girard as “**la déesse de la Terre**” which both include a female representation as in the source text. Both translations can be considered as linguistic translations. However, there is an important point that should be underlined in their translations. In Ligny’s translation, the literary device of personification of the goddess is more obvious due to the use of “**Terre**” (earth) without the definite article “**la**”. In Girard’s translation, this personification is only represented by the use of uppercase for the first letter of “**Terre**”. Consequently, the translators of both Turkish and French versions chose the linguistic translation strategy and literally translated except Selveroğlu who chose the limited universalization strategy, deleting the female representation of the goddess but still keeping the foreignness of the CSI.

The second CSI is the expression “**clansman**”. To translate this CSI, Selveroğlu chose the naturalization strategy while Erbil chose the linguistic translation strategy. Selveroğlu translated “clansman” as “**Kabileden birini**” and Erbil translated the latter as “**Klan üyesini**”. In English, the expression “**kabileden birini**” refers to “a person of the clan” while “**klan üyesini**” refers to a “clan member”. There is a slight difference between the two expressions, despite the fact that they are almost identical. Consequently, the two equivalences are synonyms, in other words, “**kabile**” and “**klan**” are synonyms but the reference “**klan**” is evidently a more conservative way to preserve this cultural item. It is noteworthy to say that the reference “**kabile**” used by Selveroğlu is an Arabic native word and this reference is closer to the Turkish lexic, thus the use of the latter by the first Turkish translator. The word “**klan**” is an English borrowed word with an orthographic adaptation which settled overtime in Turkish. However, it has not been considered as an orthographic adaptation strategy because the term has been evaluated as a whole. As for the French translators, their translations of this term as “**un membre du clan**” (a

member of the clan) by Ligny and “**un homme du clan**” (a man of the clan) by Girard have been considered as linguistic translations. Yet, it should be noted that the retranslator Girard’s version which is the exact equivalent of “a clansman” seems to be slightly more conservative than the first translator’s one which translated “man” as “member”.



TEXT	EXAMPLE	STRATEGY
(Achebe, 1958)	The royal python ¹ was the most revered animal in Mbanta and all the surrounding clans. It was addressed as “ Our father ” ² , and was allowed to go wherever it chose, even into people’s beds. It ate rats in the house and sometimes swallowed hens’eggs. If a clansman killed a royal python ³ accidentally, he made sacrifices of atonement and performed an expensive burial ceremony such as was done for a great man. (p. 149)	
(Selveroğlu, 1983)	Görkemli piton ¹ Mbanta ve çevresindeki kabilelerle en çok saygı duyulan hayvandı. Ona “ Efendimiz ” ² diye hitap edilir ve istediği yere gitmesine izin verilirdi, insanların yataklarına bile... Evlerdeki sığanları yer, kimi zaman tavukların yumurtalarını da yutuverirdi. Eğer kabileden biri kutsal pitonu ³ bilmeden öldürecek olursa, tıpkı öyün ileri gelenlerinden biriymiş gibi, bir çok kurban verir ve büyük bir tören düzenlerdi. (p.134)	CONSERVATION Linguistic translation ¹ SUBSTITUTION Naturalization ² Limited universalization ³
(Erbil, 2011)	Asil piton yılanı ¹ , Mbanta ve civardaki tüm klanlarda en fazla saygı duyulan hayvandı. Onun için “ Atamız ” ² denir ve istediği yere gitmesine, hatta insanların yataklarına girmesine bile izin verilirdi. Evdeki fareleri yer, bazen de tavukların yumurtalarını yutardı. Bir klan üyesi, asil piton yılanını ³ kazara öldürecek olsa kefareti için kurbanlar keser ve tıpkı büyük bir adamın ölümünde yapıldığı şekilde pahalı bir cenaze töreni düzenlerdi. (p. 147)	CONSERVATION Linguistic translation ¹ Linguistic translation ² Linguistic translation ³
(Ligny, 1966)	Le python royal ¹ était l’animal le plus vénéré à Mbanta et dans tous les clans alentour. Pour s’adresser à lui, on disait: « Notre Père » ² et il avait le droit d’aller où il voulait, jusque dans les lits des gens. Il mangeait les rats dans la maison, et quelquefois avalait des oeufs de poule. Si un membre du clan tuait un python royal ³ accidentellement, il faisait des sacrifices d’expiation et accomplissait une coûteuse cérémonie funéraire, comme on l’aurait fait pour un grand homme. (p. 191)	CONSERVATION Linguistic translation ¹ Linguistic translation ² Linguistic translation ³
(Girard, 2013)	Le python royal ¹ était à Mbanta et dans les clans des alentours un animal qu’on vénérât entre tous. On s’adressait à lui en l’appellant « notre père » ² et on le laissait partir où il voulait, jusque dans le lit des gens. Il mangeait les rats de la maison et gobait parfois les oeufs des poules. Si un membre du clan tuait accidentellement un python royal ³ , il faisait des sacrifices expiatoires et organisait sans compter des funérailles dignes d’un grand homme. (p.169)	CONSERVATION Linguistic translation ¹ Linguistic translation ² Linguistic translation ³

Table 6.10. Example 10

Analysis: In Umuofia, there was a sacred python which was respected by everyone. He was a symbol of the Igbo society because they carried about its well-being and its death can cost a lot to the killer. For this example, we have three CSI and there are: “**The royal python**”, “**Our father**” and “**royal python**”.

For the first and the third CSIs which are the two occurrences of “**royal python**”, Selveroğlu and Erbil used the linguistic translation strategy because they literally translated the first CSI. Selveroğlu shifted “royal python” as “**görmekli piton**” while Erbil translated “royal python” as “**asil piton**” in the first and the third CSI. It is important to note that “asil” is the first sense while “görmekli” is the second sense of “royal” in Turkish but both are listed as equivalents in dictionaries. However, “**kutsal**” (sacred) that Selveroğlu used for the translation of the second occurrence of this term does not appear as an equivalent in dictionaries. Therefore, the translation of “royal python” as “kutsal piton” is considered as a limited universalization strategy. According to TDK, “kutsal” means “Güçlü bir dinî saygı uyandıran veya uyandırması gereken, kutsi, mukaddes” (holy that arouses or ought to evoke strong religious veneration). From this definition, we can clearly see that “kutsal” means “holy” and it cannot be the synonym of the expression “görmekli” used previously by Selveroğlu. The two French translators also used the linguistic translation strategy because they both shifted twice with the French equivalence which is “**python royal**”.

The second CSI of this example is “**Our father**”. For this CSI, Selveroğlu used the naturalization strategy because she replaced the source text’s CSI which is “Our father” by “**Efendimiz**”, According to TDK, “efendimiz” means “Buyruğu yürüten, sözü geçen kimse” (one who walks the command). Therefore, “efendimiz” cannot be the exact equivalence of “Our father” because Selveroğlu substituted it by a usual reference that is known by the target culture. Erbil used the linguistic translation strategy because she shifted “Our father” by “**Atamız**” which means “ancestor” or “father”. On the other hand, the French translators Ligny and Girard also chose the linguistic translation strategy because they transferred the CSI “our father” as “**notre père**”. However, Ligny used the literary device of personification writing “**Notre Père**” with capital letters, which underlines the foreignness of the cultural item.

TEXT	EXAMPLE	STRATEGY
(Achebe, 1958)	A toad ¹ does not run in the daytime for nothing. ² (p. 20)	
(Selveroğlu, 1983)	Kara kurbağa ¹ gündüz gözüyle boşu boşuna koşmaz. ² (p. 22)	CONSERVATION Linguistic translation ¹ Linguistic translation ²
(Erbil, 2011)	Bir nedeni olmalı, kurbağa ¹ gündüz vakti boş yere koşmaz. ² (p. 25)	SUBSTITUTION Naturalization ¹ CONSERVATION Linguistic translation ² Intratextual gloss ²
(Ligny, 1966)	Un crapaud ¹ ne ne court pas en plein jour pour rien. ² (p. 30)	CONSERVATION Linguistic translation ¹ Linguistic translation ²
(Girard, 2013)	Un crapaud ¹ ne sort pas de sa cachette en plein jour pour rien. ² (p. 27)	CONSERVATION Linguistic translation ¹ SUBSTITUTION Limited universalization ²

Table 6.11. Example 11

Analysis: In the above example, the analysis has been done at two levels: the translation of “toad” and the translation of the whole proverb. Both of them are considered as cultural items.

First of all, we will look at how the word “**toad**”, the main CSI of the above proverb, has been translated in the four translations. At the first place, Selveroğlu, Ligny and Girard have picked up the linguistic translation because they used the equivalence of the English CSI in their translations. Though, according to the *TDK Dictionary*, Selveroğlu did not use the correct spelling of the term which should be “kara kurbağası” and not “**kara kurbağa**” as she wrote. However, Erbil made the choice of going through naturalization by translating “toad” as “**kurbağa**” which means “frog” and not “toad” in Turkish. She may have done this choice probably because the Turkish readers are more familiar with the equivalence “kurbağa” even if it does not exactly correspond with the English CSI.

Secondly, we will focus on the translation strategies of the whole proverb. This proverb means that there is nothing that can happen without a cause. It is also a proverb found in the Turkish language and its equivalent goes like the following: “Ateş olmayan yerden duman çıkmaz”. Translating proverbs requires from the translator to have further knowledge in languages, their cultures and knowledge and this will determine which strategy to choose to translate it in order to attain the

intended meaning. For the translation of the whole proverb, the translators of both versions used different strategies. For example, Selveroğlu and Ligny used the linguistic translation strategy because they stayed faithful to the source text's information. They literally translated the source text's CSI which is the proverb above without any substitution. Erbil, on the other hand, also used the linguistic translation strategy but included an intratextual gloss because she added some explanations in her text that do not exist in the original text such as “bir nedeni olmalı” (there should be a reason). Girard used the limited universalization strategy because he translated the proverb by using more usual words and replaced the part “run in the daytime” by “sortir de sa cachette” which means “come out of hiding” in English. He may have tried to translate with a common expression in order to facilitate the reading for target readers but still conserving the cultural element.

TEXT	EXAMPLE	STRATEGY
(Achebe, 1958)	The Feast of the New Yam¹ was approaching and Umuofia was in a festival mood. It was an occasion for giving thanks to Ani, the earth goddess and the source of all fertility² . (p. 35)	
(Selveroğlu, 1983)	Taze Yerelması Şöleni¹ yaklaşıyordu ve Umuofia şölen havasına girmişti. Toprak tanrıçası ve bereket kaynağı Ani^{ye2} şükran bildirme zamanıydı. (p. 34)	CONSERVATION Linguistic translation¹ Linguistic translation²
(Erbil, 2011)	Yeni Yam Bayramı¹ yaklaşırken Umuofia'ya şenlik havası hakimdi. Bu bayram, toprak tanrıçası ve her türlü bereketin kaynağı Ani^{ye2} şükranlarını sunmak için bir vesileydi. (p. 39)	CONSERVATION Repetition¹ Linguistic translation²
(Ligny, 1966)	La Fête de la Nouvelle Ignose¹ approchait et une atmosphère de réjouissances emplissait Umuofia. C'était une occasion d'offrir des remerciements à Ani, la déesse de la terre et la source de toute fertilité² . (p.49)	CONSERVATION Linguistic translation¹ Linguistic translation²
(Girard, 2013)	La Fête de l'Ignose nouvelle¹ approchait et Umuofia avait déjà le cœur aux réjouissances. Cette fête était l'occasion de remercier Ani, déesse de la Terre et de la Fertilité² . (p.44)	CONSERVATION Linguistic translation¹ Linguistic translation²

Table 6.12. Example 12

Analysis: There was a ritual in every year in Igbo society in order to celebrate the arrival or the growth of the new Yams. They used to organize an event to welcome the new yams in order to start the new year with new fresh yams. Yams were the main food appreciated by the Africans, especially by the Igbo village. It was

a sacred sort of food and only men were supposed to occupy the task of letting them grow.

In this example, we have two CSIs which will be further analyzed. These two CSIs are **“The Feast of the New Yam”** and **“Ani, the earth goddess and the source of all fertility”**.

Our first CSI is **“The Feast of the New Yam”**. For this CSI, The translators of both languages used in general the linguistic translation strategy because they literally translated this CSI in order to keep closer to the source text. Moreover, there is an important difference between the two Turkish translations that need to be mentioned. Selveroğlu translated **“The Feast of the New Yam”** as **“Taze Yerelması Şöleni”** while Erbil translated this part as **“Yeni Yam Bayramı”**. It can be noted that the most important part of the cultural element “yam” is translated as “yerelması”, by the first translator whereas the second translator repeats the English term “yam”. Consequently, Erbil’s translation strategy is considered as repetition while Selveroğlu’s strategy is noted as linguistic translation. It is also important to mention that translating “yam” as “yerelması” (sunchoke) has been considered as a naturalization strategy in other examples containing the term “yam” but here, it is exceptionnaly considered as linguistic translation because the expression “Taze Yerelması Şöleni” is evaluated as a whole and the whole expression can not be considered as naturalization. Another slight difference is that Selveroğlu used the word **“taze”** (fresh) to describe the yam while Erbil used **“yeni”** (new) to underline the fact that yams of the new year were new. For the French translators who both used the linguistic translation strategy, the positioning of the translation of the adjective **“new”** can be noted. Ligny did not change the placement of the latter as in the source text while Girard put the adjective **“new”** after **“igname”** probably in order to put the light on “igname” which is a paramount meal for the Igbo.

Our second CSI is **“Ani, the earth goddess and the source of all fertility”**. Ani was a female goddess of the earth and fertility in the Odinani religion of Igbo culture. In Odinani, Ani ruled the underworld and she carried the dead ancestors in her womb and her name is translated as “ground” in Igbo language. Thus, the productivity of fertile land is reliant on her. As in the previous example, the translators also used the linguistic translation strategy. Firstly, Selveroğlu used the

linguistic translation strategy for this CSI and shifted it as “**Toprak tanrıçası ve bereket kaynağı Ani**” but she omitted the adjective “all” found in the source text. Erbil on the other hand translated similarly to the source text and added the adjective “all” in his translation as we can see above. On the other hand, we have the two French translators who also translated this CSI using the linguistic translation strategy. For example, Ligny shifted this CSI as “**Ani, la déesse de la terre et la source de toute fertilité**” putting the stress on this part “la source de toute fertilité” to show the importance of land and agriculture to the Igbos because the Igbos satisfied their basic needs through the harvest. Girard also used the linguistic translation strategy because he translated the CSI in question as the following “**Ani, déesse de la Terre et de la Fertilité**”. Girard used capitals letters in his translation while writing the words “Terre” and “Fertilité” which is a literary device of personification and a form of showing the importance of ground to this community. It is also paramount to say that in French language, when we refer to Gods and their functions, we write down all in capital letters.

TEXT	EXAMPLE	STRATEGY
(Achebe, 1958)	In this way Akueke’s bride-price ¹ was finally settled at twenty bags of cowries ² . (p. 68)	
(Selveroğlu, 1983)	Sonunda Akueke’nin başlık parasının ¹ yirmi torba salyangoz kabuğu ² olmasında karar kılındı. (p. 65)	CONSERVATION Linguistic translation ¹ Linguistic translation ²
(Erbil, 2011)	Bu şekilde Akueke’nin başlık parası ¹ sonunda yirmi çuval cowry ² olarak kararlaştırıldı. (p. 72)	CONSERVATION Linguistic translation ¹ Repetition ²
(Ligny, 1966)	De cette manière, le montant de la dot ¹ d’Akekue fut finalement fixé à vingt sacs de cauris ² . (p. 90)	CONSERVATION Linguistic translation ¹ Orthographic adaptation ²
(Girard, 2013)	C’est ainsi que la dot ¹ d’Akueke fut finalement fixée à vingt sacs de cauris ² . (p. 81)	CONSERVATION Linguistic translation ¹ Orthographic adaptation ²

Table 6.13. Example 13

Analysis: In Africa, the bride price is a crucial step in the life of the future newly marrying couples. It is a must do thing before the marriage. Before getting married, the future groom should pay a huge amount of money to marry the wished bride. This bride price is always fixed by the family of the bride and whatever the amount is, the groom should pay it. Although in some areas, the bride price is

exchange by animals like camels, cows etc. It is a traditional event and yet still be applicated in African countries. Thus, it is a cultural particularity to those African countries and this may not be found in other cultures. Here, it is Akueke's bride price that had been fixed.

Our first CSI is "**bride-price**". It is generally agreed that the equivalence of this CSI in Turkish is "**başlık parası**". So, the choice of this equivalence has not been considered as a cultural translation but a linguistic one. Consequently, Selveroğlu and Erbil used the linguistic translation strategy by transferring it as "**başlık parası**" to Turkish. The two French translators also chose the linguistic translation strategy for this CSI because they shifted the source text's CSI "**bride-price**" by its French equivalence which is "**dot**".

Our second CSI is "**cowries**" (the plural form is "cowry" or "cowrie" according to *Collins Dictionary*). For this CSI, the translators have chosen different strategies. Selveroğlu used the linguistic translation strategy because she shifted "**cowries**" by "**salyangoz kabuğu**". According to *Collins Dictionary*, the first definition of "cowrie" is "any marine gastropod mollusc of the mostly tropical family Cypraeidae, having a glossy brightly marked shell with an elongated opening" and the second definition of the term is "the shell of any of these molluscs, esp the shell of Cypraeamoneta (money cowry), used as money in parts of Africa and Asia". Therefore, "salyangoz kabuğu" can be considered as a correct equivalence of the term as well as a linguistic translation. Erbil used the repetition strategy for this CSI because she conserved the source text's CSI in her text and translated by the singular form "**cowry**". As for the French translators, it can be considered that they used the orthographic adaptation strategy because they both preferred "**cauris**" a French equivalence having a close spelling to the English term, instead of "porcelaine" which is mentioned in *Word Reference Dictionary* as the unique equilavence of the term. According to *Larousse Dictionary*, "cauri" or "cauris" means "coquillage du groupe des cyprées (ou porcelaines) qui a servi longtemps de monnaie à diverses populations notamment en Afrique noire et en Asie" (a cypress shell that has historically been used as currency by numerous populations, particularly in Africa and Asia). Through this definition, it is clear that the French translators chose a form

which is closer to the source text's CSI instead of a common form used in the French language.

TEXT	EXAMPLE	STRATEGY
(Achebe, 1958)	As he broke the kola ¹ , Unoka prayed to their ancestors for life and health, and for protection against their enemies. (p. 6)	
(Selveroğlu, 1983)	Kolayı ¹ kırarken Unoka bir yandan da atalarına yakarak uzun ve sağlıklı bir yaşam ve düşmanlarına karşı korunma istedi. (p. 9)	CONSERVATI ON Repetition ¹
(Erbil, 2011)	Unoka kolayı ¹ kırarken uzun bir ömür, sağlık ve düşmanlarından korunmaları için atalarına dua etti. (p.12)	CONSERVATI ON Repetition ¹
(Ligny, 1966)	Tout en brisant la cola ¹ , Unoka pria leurs ancêtres de leur accorder vie et santé, et protection contre leur ennemis. (p. 12)	CONSERVATI ON Linguistic translation ¹
(Girard, 2013)	En cassant la cola ¹ , Unoka adressa une prière a leurs ancêtres pourqu'ils leur donnent vie et santé, et protection contre leurs ennemis. (p. 12)	CONSERVATI ON Linguistic translation ¹

Table 6.14. Example 14

Analysis: Kola is an Igbo traditional fruit and it means alot to the African society. It is eaten and presented during different events and ceremonies especially to welcome guests into one's home. Our main CSI here is “**Kola**”.

Selveroğlu and Erbil chose the repetition strategy in their text. They both transferred the CSI “kola” without any change in their translation. Their strategy is considered as repetition instead of linguistic translation because even if the term “kola” exists in Turkish, it means, according to *TDK Dictionary*, the name of the plant “*Cola acuminata*” or the drink made from the leaves of this plant. The correct equivalence of “kola” in Turkish would be “kola cevizi” which is the fruit of this plant: “kola bitkisinin sert kabuklu meyvesi” (hard-shelled fruit of the plant). Despite that Achebe refers to the fruit Igbos used to eat constantly in their daily life and not the plant, Turkish translators repeated “kola” instead of translating as “kola cevizi” which would be the exact meaning. Consequently, it is considered as a repetition rather than a linguistic translation strategy.

On the other hand, the term “kola” exists in French in two differents forms. According to the *Larousse Dictionary*, it can be written as “kola” or “cola”. The French translators made the choice of a linguistic translation strategy by writing kola

with a “c”. They preferred to go with the French spelling which is a more target-oriented spelling because it is closer to the French alphabet. Otherwise, the choice of writing the CSI “kola” with “k” would have indicated a will of conserving the source text’s CSI. To summarize, the French translators used the linguistic translation strategy, whereas the Turkish translators used the repetition strategy, because they did not literally translate “kola”, but borrowed instead from the source text’s CSI and used it in their translations, even if that was not the meaning intended by Achebe.

TEXT	EXAMPLE	STRATEGY
(Achebe, 1958)	Yam pottage ¹ was served first because it was lighter than foo-foo ² and because yam ³ always came first. Then the foo-foo ⁴ was served. (p. 157)	
(Selveroğlu, 1983)	Önce içinde yerelması bulunan türlü yemeği ¹ getirildi, çünkü hem öteki yemeklerden ² daha hafifti, hem de yerelması ³ başyemektir. Sonra acı yaprak çorbası ⁴ sunuldu. (p. 140)	SUBSTITUTION Limited universalization ¹ Absolute universalization ² Naturalization ³ Dislocation ⁴
(Erbil, 2011)	Önce yam yemeği ¹ servis edildi, çünkü lapadan ² daha hafifti, ayrıca yam ³ her zaman öncelikliydi. Sonra lapa ⁴ dağıtıldı. (p. 154)	CONSERVATION Linguistic translation ¹ Repetition ³ SUBSTITUTION Absolute universalization ² Absolute universalization ⁴
(Ligny, 1966)	Le potage d’ignames ¹ fut servi le premier parce qu’il était plus léger que le foo-foo ² et parce que les ignames ³ tiennent toujours la première place. Puis on servit le foo-foo ⁴ . (p. 201)	CONSERVATION Linguistic translation ¹ Repetition ² Linguistic translation ³ Repetition ⁴
(Girard, 2013)	On servait d’abord le potage d’ignames ¹ parce qu’il était plus léger que le foufou ² et parce que les ignames ³ venaient toujours en premier, avant le foufou ⁴ . (p. 177)	CONSERVATION Linguistic translation ¹ Orthographic adaptation ² Linguistic translation ³ Orthographic adaptation ⁴

Table 6.15. Example 15

Analysis: Yam was one of the main foods consumed by the habitants of Umuofia village. Therefore, its cultivation was tough. When eating, yam used to be served before the other foods because it is lighter than cassava and foo-foo. In this example, we have four CSIs which need to be analyzed. They include, “**yam pottage**”, “**foo-foo**”, “**yam**” and the second occurrence of “**foo-foo**”.

Our first CSI is “**yam pottage**”. For this CSI, Selveroğlu chose the limited universalization strategy because she replaced the CSI “yam pottage” with a more universal equivalence. She shifted yam pottage as “**içinde yerelması bulunan türlü**

yemeği” (any dish that contains sunchokes) which is an expression more comprehensible by the target readers but still remaining foreign because of the food’s particularities, even if the main content “yam” has not been correctly translated and replaced by “sunchokes” which does not represent the same food. Erbil used the linguistic translation strategy for this CSI because she shifted this CSI literally and chose as reference “**yam yemeği**”. Ligny and Girard chose the linguistic translation for this CSI because they both shifted it similarly and closer to the source text. They chose “**le potage d’ignames**” as reference to the above CSI.

Our second and the fourth CSIs are “**foo-foo**”. For the first occurrence of this CSI, Selveroğlu used the absolute universalization strategy translating it with “**öteki yemeklerden**” (than other foods). She translated the second occurrence as “**acı yaprak çorbası**” (bitter leaf soup) which is not the equivalent of “foo-foo” in anyway but the translation of another cultural item also analyzed in a different example. Here, Selveroğlu may have been confused. Even if it is difficult to understand such a choice, her strategy can be considered as dislocation which is explained by Aixela as “displacement in the text of the same reference” (1996: 64). Erbil used the absolute universalization strategy substituting “foo-foo” by “**lapa**”. According to *Merriam Webster Dictionary*, “foo-foo” means a “dough made from boiled and mashed plantains”. However, in Turkish, “lapa” only refers to the “mashed part” of this meal, thus the equivalence of “lapa” is “mashed” in English and “püre” in Turkish. The translation of this CSI is too neutral and does not correspond with the source text’s CSI. Ligny used the repetition strategy for this CSI because he repeated the source text’s CSI even though there is a French equivalence of it. He also wrote in italic in his text and this proves us that he wanted to conserve the foreignness of this CSI in his translation. Girard used the orthographic adaptation strategy because he shifted both occurrences of this CSI with its French spelling which is “**foufou**”.

Our third CSI is “**yam**”. Selveroğlu used the naturalization strategy for this CSI in her text. She substituted “yam” with “**yerelması**” while “yerelması” means “jerusalem artichoke” or “sunchoke”. The right equivalence of “yam” in Turkish is “hint yer elması” and the right orthographical form is “yer elması”. The Turkish retranslator Erbil chose the repetition strategy because she repeated “**yam**” in her

translation. As for the French translators Ligny and Girard, they chose the linguistic translation strategy because they translated this CSI literally in the target languages as “**igname**”.

TEXT	EXAMPLE	STRATEGY
(Achebe, 1958)	When a man says yes, his “ chi ” says yes also. (p. 26)	
(Selveroğlu, 1983)	Eğer insan evet derse, kişisel tanrısı ¹ da evet der. (p. 27)	SUBSTITUTION Absolute universalization ¹
(Erbil, 2011)	Bir adam evet dediğinde çi ’si ¹ buna uymak durumunda kalmıştı. (p. 31)	CONSERVATION Orthographic adaptation ¹
(Ligny, 1966)	Quand un homme dit oui, son chi ¹ dit oui aussi. (p. 38)	CONSERVATION Repetition ¹
(Girard, 2013)	Lorsqu’un homme dit oui, son chi ¹ l’approuvait. (p. 34)	CONSERVATION Repetition ¹

Table 6.16. Example 16

Analysis: In Nigeria within the Igbo community, they believed that each person has a god that accompanied him or her through their entire life. They consulted the latter whenever they wanted to realize something or even when they were going to war. When someone says “yes” to something, they usually thought that his or her god also says “yes”. Okonkwo always believed in these fictional thoughts however, sometimes his god did not respond as expected. Therefore, to shift the CSI “**chi**”, Selveroğlu utilized the absolute universalization strategy because the CSI “**chi**” in her translation has been replaced by a more neutral reference such as “**kişisel tanrısı**” which means “his/her personal god” in English. Erbil used the orthographic adaptation strategy because she used the Turkish form that corresponds with the English CSI. She used a letter from the Turkish alphabet “**ç**” to replace it with the Turkish spelling “**çi**”. She adapted the source text’s CSI to the Turkish language and then facilitated to its readers the comprehension of this term. On the other hand, the two French translators used the repetition strategy to translate the CSI “**chi**”. It may be easier to apply the repetition strategy in the French language because the English and French alphabets are closer. It is not the case for the Turkish language because the latter’s alphabet is different from the two other languages and adapting this to the Turkish language can be a bit tough.

TEXT	EXAMPLE	STRATEGY
(Achebe, 1958)	It is an abomination for a man to take his own life. It is an offence against the Earth ¹ , and a man who commits it will not be buried by his clansmen. His body is evil, and only strangers may touch it. (p. 196)	
(Selveroğlu, 1983)	Bir insanın kendi canına kıyması günahdır. Toprağa ¹ karşı işlenmiş bir suçtur, öyleki kendi kabilesinden birileri tarafından gömülemez. Gövdesi kötülüklerle dolu ve ona yalnız yabancılar dokunabilir. (p. 172)	CONSERVATION Linguistic translation ¹
(Erbil, 2011)	Bir adamın kendi hayatına son vermesi tiksinti uyandıran bir şeydir. Toprak tanrıçasına ¹ karşı işlenmiş bir suçtur ve bunu yapan kişiye kendi klanından olan insanlar gömemez. Onun bedeni artık kötüdür yalnızca yabancılar dokunabilir. (p. 190)	CONSERVATION Linguistic translation + Intratextual gloss ¹
(Ligny, 1966)	C'est une abomination pour un homme de se défaire de sa propre vie. C'est une offense à la Terre ¹ , et un homme qui la commet ne peut être enterré par les membres de son clan. Son cadavre est maudit, et seuls des étrangers peuvent le toucher. (p. 252)	CONSERVATION Linguistic translation ¹
(Girard, 2013)	Prendre sa propre vie est une abomination pour un homme. C'est une offense à la Terre ¹ et celui qui la commet ne peut pas être enterré par ceux de son clan. Son corps est maudit, et seuls des étrangers peuvent le toucher. (p. 219)	CONSERVATION Linguistic translation ¹

Table 6.17. Example 17

Analysis: In Igbo community, there were special rules for people who committed suicide. It was seen as a huge sin to take one's own life and this person was not buried by its own clan. Only strangers could touch him and bury him. Unfortunately, Okonkwo was a victim of this cruel rule. He committed suicide because he was not able to bear the white settlers and their politics. He was speechless about how his clan succumbed to the domination and changes brought by them. He came back with ambitions to regain his place within the members of its village but unfortunately things were not as he left and all these changes drove him to commit suicide. The CSI which will be analyzed in this example is “**Earth**” and through this book, we understood that the Earth goddess ruled a crucial place in the daily lives of Igbos. Therefore, we can observe that Selveroğlu used the linguistic translation strategy because she shifted the CSI “**Earth**” as “**Toprağa**” which is the Turkish equivalent. Erbil used the linguistic translation and the intratextual gloss strategies to shift “**Earth**” as “**Toprak tanrıçasına**”. Erbil did not limit his translation with the translation of the CSI in question but she also explained it to

avoid confusion to its readers by adding the information “tanrıçasına” (goddess). The equivalence of “Toprak tanrıçasına” in English is “Earth goddess” and this was what Achebe referred to through the CSI “Earth”. On the other hand, we have the French translators who used the linguistic translation strategy to translate this CSI. They translated the CSI “Earth” as “à la Terre” and by doing this, they personified the earth as the author did in the source text. They shifted as if the earth was a person and they did not underline that it referred to the “Earth goddess”.

TEXT	EXAMPLE	STRATEGY
(Achebe, 1958)	As the elders said, if one finger brought oil it soiled the others. (p. 118)	
(Selveroğlu, 1983)	Yaşlıların dediği gibi, bir parmağa yağ bulaşırsa diğerleri de kirlenirdi. (p. 108)	SUBSTITUTION Limited universalization
(Erbil, 2011)	Yaşlıların dediği gibi, bir parmağa yağ bulaşırsa diğerleri de kirlenirdi. (p. 117)	SUBSTITUTION Limited universalization
(Ligny, 1966)	Comme disaient les anciens, si un seul doigt portait de l’huile, il souillait les autres. (p. 153)	CONSERVATION Linguistic translation
(Girard, 2013)	Comme le disaient les anciens, quand un doigt touchait l’huile, il salissait tous les autres. (p. 135)	SUBSTITUTION Limited universalization

Table 6.18. Example 18

Analysis: Old sayings and proverbs are cultural heritages that need to be greatly looked after and stick-on despite time. Translator’s most difficult task during the process of translation is to look for means in order to overcome the translation of proverbs and achieve a perfect equivalence in terms of meaning. There are some proverbs that can be found in different cultures and languages while others not. When there is no equivalence in the target language, it is always suitable to do a literal translation for the sake of the attended meaning. For example, Selveroğlu translated this English proverb “**if one finger brought oil it soiled the others**” as “**bir parmağa yağ bulaşırsa diğerleri de kirlenirdi**”. It can be noted that she translates the verb “brought” as “bulaştırmak” and according to *Tureng Dictionary*, the common usages of “bulaştırmak” in English are “infect” and “contaminate”. Therefore, it can be said that Selveroğlu wanted to substitute the original expression with a more accessible one using the limited universalization strategy. Erbil also used the limited universalization strategy because her translation is identical to the one of

Selveroğlu. It is probable that Erbil inspired his translation from the one of Selveroğlu for this proverb.

In this example, Ligny used the linguistic translation strategy because he translated literally the source text's proverb. For example, he translated the verb "brought" as "portait" and "soiled" as "souillait" which are closer to the source text rather than commonly used forms in the target language. From those observations, we can conclude that Ligny's translation is the closest to the source text's meaning. Girard, on the other hand shifted the verb "brought" by "touchait" and "soiled" by "salissait" with more commonly used collocations in French. In fact, in French language, the expression "un doigt touchait" (a finger touched) is linguistically more common and natural instead of the expression "un doigt portait" (a finger brought) which does not sound as "natural" as "un doigt touchait". Therefore, his strategy can be considered as limited universalization because he chose more "natural" expressions in French but still conserving the foreignness of the proverb.

TEXT	EXAMPLE	STRATEGY
(Achebe, 1958)	They called him the little bird nza¹ who so far forgot himself after a heavy meal that challenged his chi. (p. 30)	
(Selveroğlu, 1983)	Karnını doyurduktan sonra chi'sine meydan okuduğunu unutuverdiği için de ona nza-küçük-kuş¹ diyorlardı. (p. 30)	CONSERVATION Repetition ¹
(Erbil, 2011)	Onu ağır bir yemeğin ardından kendini kaybedip çi'sine meydan okuyan küçük kuş nza'ya¹ benzettiler. (p. 34)	CONSERVATION Repetition ¹
(Ligny, 1966)	Ils appelaient le petit oiseau nza¹ qui, après un repas plantureux, s'était oublié au point de provoquer son chi. (p. 43)	CONSERVATION Repetition ¹
(Girard, 2013)	Ils le comparèrent au petit oiseau nza¹ , qui s'était oublié après un gros repas au point de lancer un défi à son chi. (p. 38)	CONSERVATION Repetition ¹

Table 6.19. Example 19

Analysis: In this example, the CSI to analyze is "little bird nza". It can be noted that all the translators used the repetition strategy when transferring the main part of the CSI which is "nza". However, the translator of the first Turkish translation made a slightly different choice by reversing the order of the noun and the adjective, putting "nza" in the top of her translation and the adjective after it. Besides, she separated all the words with hyphens as "nza-küçük-kuş" to underline the particularity of the phrase. This structure highlights the cultural element. Erbil also

used the repetition strategy because she translated the English CSI as Achebe wrote it in *Things Fall Apart*. She transferred it in the Turkish language as “**küçük kuş nza’ya**”. Both of the Turkish translators chose the repetition strategy in order to conserve the source text’s CSI, even if the first translator’s strategies can be considered as more conservative. As for the French translators, they also translated the CSI using the same strategy as Selveroğlu and Erbil. Ligny and Girard also repeated “nza” in their translations and wrote “**petit oiseau nza**”.

TEXT	EXAMPLE	STRATEGY
(Achebe, 1958)	This year they talked of nothing else but the nso-ani ¹ which Okonkwo committed. (p.30)	
(Selveroğlu, 1983)	Halk o yıl Okonkwo’nun işlediği günahtan ¹ başka bir şey konuşmuyordu. (p. 30)	SUBSTITUTION Naturalization ¹
(Erbil, 2011)	Bu yıl tek konuştukları şey Okonkwo’nun işlediği nso-ani ¹ ’ydi ¹ . (p. 34)	CONSERVATION Repetition ¹
(Ligny, 1966)	Cette année, ils ne parlèrent de rien d’autre que du nso-ani ¹ qu’Okonkwo avait commis. (p. 43)	CONSERVATION Repetition ¹
(Girard, 2013)	Cette année là, on ne parla que du nso-ani ¹ commis par Okonkwo. (p. 38)	CONSERVATION Repetition ¹

Table 6.20. Example 20

Analysis: In this example, Achebe is referring to the sin Okonkwo has committed during the Week of Peace. The Week of Peace, according to the Igbos, is a holy week during which no one can commit a minor sin, but instead, neighbours visit each other and eat a lot of kola. During this holy week, Okonkwo disobeyed this law when he beat his wife when he could not find her in her hut, and he managed to bite her despite warnings from his neighbours. This was an insult against the earth goddess, in other words, an “**nso-ani**”, which is the CSI to be analyzed in this example.

In order to translate this CSI, the translators of both languages utilized different strategies. Among them, we have Selveroğlu who used the naturalization strategy because she translated the original text’s cultural element with a more specific reference which is “**günahtan**” in the target language culture. Erbil used the repetition strategy because she took back the source text’s CSI and rewrote it in her translation. On the other hand, the two French translators also chose the repetition strategy as the Turkish retranslator Erbil. They both wrote in their translation “**nso-ani**” as it is in the source text.

TEXT	EXAMPLE	STRATEGY
(Achebe, 1958)	It is an ozo ¹ dance, the men said among themselves. (p. 55)	
(Selveroğlu, 1983)	“ Ozo ” ¹ dansı dedi adamlar aralarında. (p. 52)	CONSERVATION Repetition ¹
(Erbil, 2011)	Adamlar kendi aralarında “bu ozo ¹ dansı”, dediler. (p. 58)	CONSERVATION Repetition ¹
(Ligny, 1966)	C’est une danse ozo ¹ , dirent les hommes entre eux. (p. 74)	CONSERVATION Repetition ¹
(Girard, 2013)	“C’est une danse ozo ¹ ”, dirent les hommes entre eux. (p. 67)	CONSERVATION Repetition ¹

Table 6.21. Example 21

Analysis: Ozo was a class of men who held an ozo title. It refers to the ritual which accompagnies the granting of a title to a person (<http://www.cliffsnotes.com>). The men who held this title received big honour in the land and this title symbolized wealthness and prosperity. In the first Turkish translation, Selveroğlu used the repetition strategy because she repeated the source text’s cultural element “ozo”. She also just placed “ozo” in quotation marks, not the whole speech, as Erbil or Girard did, indicating that she wanted to emphasize on the word’s foreignness and highlight the cultural element, which can be considered as a more conservative approach, even if all the translators used the repetition strategy. Erbil also used the same strategy which is repetition because she also followed the footprint of Selveroğlu by using the same repetition strategy and by repeating again the source text without translating it in the target language. The same goes to the French translators who made the choice of keeping the source text’s CSI and representing it as it is in their languages. They could have explained it in their target languages even if there is a no a direct equivalence in their languages but they preferred to conserve it in all languages.

TEXT	EXAMPLE	STRATEGY
(Achebe, 1958)	Everyone knew then that she would live because her bond with the world of ogbanje ¹ had been broken. (p. 76)	
(Selveroğlu, 1983)	Değil mi ki ogbanjelerin ¹ dünyasıyla bağı kesilmişti artık yalnız Ekwefi değil herkes inanıyordu onun yaşayacağına. (p. 71)	CONSERVATION Repetition ¹
(Erbil, 2011)	O zaman herkes çocuğun yaşacağını anlamıştı çünkü ogbanje ¹ dünyası ile olan bağı kopmuştu. (p.78)	CONSERVATION Repetition ¹
(Ligny, 1966)	Tout le monde sut alors qu'elle vivrait, car le lien qui l'attachait au monde des ogbanje ¹ avait été brisé. (p. 99)	CONSERVATION Repetition ¹
(Girard, 2013)	Tout le monde avait pensé, alors, qu'elle vivrait puisque son lien avec le monde ogbanje ¹ avait été rompu. (p. 89)	CONSERVATION Repetition ¹

Table 6.22. Example 22

Analysis: An ogbanje is a “wicked” child who continually re-enters its mother’s womb only to die again and again causing its presents grief (<http://www.cliffsnotes.com>). This story of the ogbanje belongs to Ekwefi, the second wife of Okonkwo who had multiple pregnancies but lost them suddenly because of the cursed cycle of ogbanje. It is until the intervention of the medicine man who mutilated the dead body of Ekwefi’s third child to discourage the ogbanje’s return (www.sparknotes.com). According to this medicine man, this wicked child can only be defeated if the pregnant woman stays with her people. By staying with her people, this pregnant woman breaks the tormentor cycle of this evil child. Ekwefi followed the medicine man’s advices and gave birth to Ezinma. Therefore, Selveroğlu used the repetition strategy because she repeated the source text’s cultural element adding the suffix “-lerin” which is the plural suffix in Turkish. Erbil, on the other hand used the repetition strategy because she took back the original text’s CSI in her translation as we can observe in the above board. The French translators chose also the repetition strategy because they also repeated “**ogbanje**” in their translations.

TEXT	EXAMPLE	STRATEGY
(Achebe, 1958)	Unoka went into an inner room and soon returned with a small woodend which containing a kola nut, some alligator pepper ¹ and a lump of a white chalk. (p. 5)	
(Selveroğlu, 1983)	Unoka bir odaya girip üzerinde kola cevizi, biraz perse biberi ¹ ve bir parça tebeşir bulunan yuvarlak, tahta bir tepsiyle geri döndü. (p. 9)	SUBSTITUTION Deletion +Autonomous creation ¹
(Erbil, 2011)	Unoka içerideki odaya gidip az sonra üstünde kola cevizi, cennet biberi ¹ bir topak beyaz tebeşir bulunan küçük, ahşap bir tablayla döndü. (p. 11)	SUBSTITUTION Limited universalization ¹
(Ligny, 1966)	Unokas'en fut dans une pièce interieure et revint bientôt avec une petite soucoupe de bois contenant une noix de cola, un peu de piment d'alligator ¹ et un morceau de craie blanche. (p. 12)	CONSERVATION Linguistic translation ¹
(Girard, 2013)	Unoka disparut dans une autre pièce a l'intérieur de sa maison et revint avec un petit plateau en bois chargé d'une noix de cola, d'un peu de piment de crocodile ¹ et d'un baton de craie blanche. (p. 12)	SUBSTITUTION Limited universalization ¹

Table 6.23. Example 23

Analysis: An alligator pepper is a pepper from the West Africa made through seeds. It is used sparingly in foods because it is also used as medicine against some diseases. As we can see in the board, the translators of the four versions do not use the same strategy no even the same equivalence for the CSI in question.

At the first place, we have Selveroğlu who used two strategies in order to translate our CSI which is “**alligator pepper**” and she translated it by “**perse biberi**”. However, according to *TDK Dictionary*, “perse” means “bir takımyıldızın adı” (the name of a constellation) and any other reference has been found for “perse biberi” in Turkish. She used the deletion strategy first because she removed the CSI “alligator pepper”, and then she used the autonomous creation strategy because she replaced the original cultural element source with a new one which did not exist in the source text. As a result, the reference she selected is not the correct equivalence of the source text’s CSI. On the other hand, we have Erbil who used the limited universalization strategy because she replaced the source text’s CSI with a more usual reference which is “**cennet biberi**”. According to *TDK Dictionary*, “cennet biberi” means “zencefilgillerden, karabiber tadında bir bitki” (a ginger-like herb that tastes like black pepper). This means that “cennet biberi” used by Erbil is a spice from the ginger family. The English version of “cennet biberi” is “grains of

paradise”. In Latin, it is called “Aframomum melegueta”. Even though Erbil provided us a reference that exists in Turkish; this reference is still not the exact one. In the Turkish language, the exact reference of “alligator pepper” is “timsah biberi”.

As for the French translators, Ligny rendered "alligator pepper" as "**piment d'alligator**". The French term "piment d'alligator" already exists, and it is the well-known equivalence of the source text's CSI. Girard used the limited universalization translation strategy because he substituted the CSI “alligator pepper” by “**piment de crocodile**”. However, the reference “piment de crocodile” does not exist in the French language. He wanted to give to its readers a comprehensive equivalence but he could not give the exact one.

TEXT	EXAMPLE	STRATEGY
(Achebe, 1958)	On the third day he asked his secondwife, Ekwefi, to roast some plantains ¹ for him. (p. 71)	
(Selveroğlu, 1983)	Üçüncü gün Okonkwo ikinci karısı Ekwefi'ye muz ¹ pişirmesini söyledi. (p. 57)	SUBSTITUTION Absolute universalization ¹
(Erbil, 2011)	Üçüncü gün ikinci eşi Ekwefi'den biraz plantain ¹ kızartması istedi. (p. 63)	CONSERVATION Repetition ¹
(Ligny, 1966)	Le troisième jour, il demanda à sa seconde femme Ekwefi de lui rôtir des bananes à cuire ¹ . (p. 79)	CONSERVATION Linguistic translation ¹
(Girard, 2013)	Au troisième jour, il demanda à Ekwefi, sa deuxième épouse, de lui rôtir des bananes plantains ¹ . (p. 71)	CONSERVATION Linguistic translation ¹

Table 6.24. Example 24

Analysis: The term plantain refers to a type of banana with a different flavour profile and culinary application than the sweet, yellow banana which most people are familiar with. Plantains are usually larger and tougher than bananas, with much thicker skin. They may be green, yellow or very dark brown (<https://www.healthline.com>). Plantains are very consumed in Africa. Achebe wrote “plantains” in his book and we will look at how this CSI has been translated in other target languages.

First of all, we have Selveroğlu who used the absolute universalization strategy from the Substitution category because she shifted “**plantains**” as “**muz**” and the latter is the neutral reference for it in the Turkish language. “Muz” means “banana” in English and there is a difference between “banana” and “plantain” as explained above. She used “banana” as a reference to “plantain” but she

did not explain the difference between them, thus she is misleading the target readers through this problem of equivalence. Erbil used the repetition strategy because she conserved the original text's CSI "**plantain**" in her translation.

In French, the only existing spelling is "plantin". The first French translator Ligny chose the linguistic translation strategy because he shifted "**plantain**" with "**bananes à cuire**" which is the French equivalent. However; Girard used also the linguistic translation strategy because he transferred the CSI "plantain" as "**bananes plantains**". In French, plantains are also known as "bananes plantains" because they are not similar to the normal bananas that everyone knows. Through this strategy, even if it is also considered as a linguistic translation, the French retranslator Girard seems to have a more conservative approach than Ligny because he repeats the term "plantain" of the source text, conserving the foreignness of the cultural element and transferring the meaning to French because this CSI already exists in French.

TEXT	EXAMPLE	STRATEGY
(Achebe, 1958)	They were mostly the kind of people that were called efulefu ¹ , worthless, empty men. (p. 135)	
(Selveroğlu, 1983)	Çoğunluğu efulefu ¹ diye anılan türden kişilerdi değersiz bom boş adamlardır. (p.121)	CONSERVATION Repetition ¹
(Erbil, 2011)	Genellikle efulefu ¹ denen değersiz boş insanlardır. (p. 133)	CONSERVATION Repetition ¹
(Ligny, 1966)	C'était principalement le genre des gens qu'on appelait efulefu ¹ , des hommes sans valeur. (p. 173)	CONSERVATION Repetition ¹
(Girard, 2013)	C'était pour l'essentiel le genre d'individu qu'on traitait d'efulefu ¹ : personne vide, qui ne vaut rien. (p. 153)	CONSERVATION Repetition ¹

Table 6.25. Example 25

Analysis: Men called efulefu in Umuofia village were men who joined the politic of the settlers and through this, they were considered as traitor. According to the Igbos, "efulefu was a man who sold his matchet and wore the sheath to battle" (Achebe, 1958: 135). In Igbo, "**efulefu**" means worthless. Furthermore, in order to translate this CSI, the four translators used the same strategy of repetition. In their translations, they all used the same source text's CSI. It is apparent that they chose to preserve the foreignness of this word through the repetition strategy.

TEXT	EXAMPLE	STRATEGY
(Achebe, 1958)	It was a full gathering of umuada ¹ in the same way as they would meet if a death occurred in the family. (p. 123)	
(Selveroğlu, 1983)	Gerçek bir aile toplantısıydı, biri öldüğünde de böyle toplanırlardı. (p. 111)	SUBSTITUTION Deletion¹
(Erbil, 2011)	Aileden birisi ölmüş olsa nasıl bir araya geleceklerse, şimdi de umuada ¹ olarak eksiksiz biçimde bir araya gelmişlerdi. (p. 123)	CONSERVATION Repetition¹
(Ligny, 1966)	C'était un rassemblement complet d' umuada ¹ , semblable à celui qui les réunirait si un décès survenait dans la famille. (p. 160)	CONSERVATION Repetition¹
(Girard, 2013)	C'était un rassemblement complet d' umuada ¹ , comme on le faisait pour un décès dans la famille. (p. 142)	CONSERVATION Repetition¹

Table 6.26. Example 26

Analysis: Umuada were daughters who married outside the clan in Umuofia. All of the clan was gathered to ask some questions about their unexpected marriages in order to determine their faithfulness. Selveroğlu used the deletion strategy from Aixela's Substitution category for this example. She did not replace the original text's CSI "**umuada**" with another reference. Erbil, on the other hand, preferred the repetition strategy to preserve the source text's cultural item while the CSI is already in her transference. If we look at the French translators, we can see that they both used the repetition strategy.

TEXT	EXAMPLE	STRATEGY
(Achebe, 1958)	There was foo-foo and yam pottage, egusi soup ¹ and bitter-leaf soup ² and pots and pots of palm-wine ³ . (p. 156)	
(Selveroğlu, 1983)	Türlü yemeği, acı yaprak çorbası ² ve taslar dolusu şarap ³ vardı. (p. 139)	SUBSTITUTION Deletion ¹ Absolute universalization ³ CONSERVATION Linguistic translation ²
(Erbil, 2011)	Yam lapası ve yemeği, egusi çorbası ¹ , acı yaprak çorbası ² ve testi testi palmiye şarabı ³ vardı. (p. 153)	CONSERVATION Repetition ¹ Linguistic translation ² Linguistic translation ³
(Ligny, 1966)	Il y'avait du foo-foo et du potage d'ignames de la soupe egusi ¹ et de la soupe de viande et de poisson ² et des pots de vin de palme ³ . (p. 200)	CONSERVATION Repetition ¹ Linguistic translation ³ SUBSTITUTION Deletion +Autonomous creation ²
(Girard, 2013)	Ily'avait du foo-foo et du potage d'ignames, de la soupe egusi ¹ , de la soupe d'herbes ² , ainsi que des pots et des pots de vin de palme ³ . (p. 176)	CONSERVATION Repetition ¹ Linguistic translation ³ SUBSTITUTION Absolute universalization ²

Table 6.27. Example 27

Analysis: During ceremonies, Igbos had different sorts of meals to prepare in order to welcome their guests. Foo-foo and yam pottage were part of these meals. In this example, we have three CSIs which are: “**egusi soup**”, “**bitter-leaf soup**” and “**palm wine**”.

There was also “**the egusi soup**” which was composed of melon seeds prepared for a soup. Therefore, we can see in this example that this CSI has been preserved in the translated versions. However, Selveroğlu adopted a different strategy which is deletion. She used this strategy because she removed the source text’s CSI which is “egusi”. The CSI “egusi” is completely eradicated by Selveroğlu. Erbil used the repetition strategy because she kept the CSI “egusi” unspoiled translating “egusi soup” as “**egusi çorbası**”, “çorba” meaning “soup” in English. For the first CSI, the French translators also used the repetition strategy because they conserved the CSI “**egusi**”.

For the second CSI which is “**bitter-leaf soup**”, Selveroğlu and Erbil translated similarly because they both shifted like the following “**acı yaprak**

çorbasi” using the linguistic translation strategy. For the second CSI, Ligny used the deletion in addition to autonomous creation strategy and Girard used the absolute universalization strategy. For instance, Ligny used the latter strategy because he first deleted the CSI “bitter-leaf” and then added some elements that do not figure out in the source text. For example, he translated “bitter-leaf soup” as “**soupe de viande et de poisson**” while “bitter-leaf soup” should be translated as “soupe d’herbes amères ou soupe de feuilles amères”. Here, we can clearly notice that Ligny added elements that do not belong to the source text’s cultural item. On the other hand, Girard used the absolute universalization strategy because he translated “bitter-leaf soup” by “**soupe d’herbes**”, deleting the information “bitter” and transferring the equivalent of “leaf soup” which is a neutral food that could exist in all cultures.

Our third CSI is “**palm-wine**”. Selveroğlu substituted palm-wine with “**şarap**”, which is an absolute universalization strategy. According to *TDK Dictionary*, şarap means “üzüm veya başka meyve sularını türlü yöntemlerle mayalandırarak elde edilen alköllü içki” (alcoholic beverage obtained by fermenting grapes or other fruit juices with various methods). The exact translation of “palm-wine” is “palmiye şarabı” in Turkish but Selveroğlu did not take into consideration the “palm” which is the tree this particular wine is made from. Perhaps, she used this neutral equivalence to avoid confusing its readers. Erbil, on the other hand shifted “palm wine” as “**palmiye şarabı**” using the linguistic translation and its translation of this CSI suits with the source text’s cultural item. The two French translators also used the linguistic translation strategy because they both translated literally the source text’s CSI. They shifted “palm wine” as “vin de palme” because the latter reference also exists in the French language, which may have probably helped the French translators.

TEXT	EXAMPLE	STRATEGY
(Achebe, 1958)	They were called Kotma ¹ and because of their ash-coloured shorts they earned the additional name of Ashy-Buttocks ² . (p. 164)	
(Selveroğlu, 1983)	Onlara kotma ¹ diyorlardı ve kül rengi şortlarından dolayı da Kül Götlüler ² adını takmışlardı. (p. 145)	CONSERVATION Repetition ¹ Linguistic translation ²
(Erbil, 2011)	Onlara kotma ¹ diyorlardı ayrıca kül rengi şortlarından dolayı bir lakapları daha olmuştu: Küllü Kalçalar ² . (p.162)	CONSERVATION Repetition ¹ Linguistic translation ²
(Ligny, 1966)	On les appelait kotma ¹ , et à cause de leurs shorts couleur de cendre, ils méritèrent le nom supplémentaire de Fesses-Cendrées ² . (p. 211)	CONSERVATION Repetition ¹ Linguistic translation ²
(Girard, 2013)	On les appelait les kotma ¹ , et à cause de leurs shorts gris couleur de cendre ils gagnèrent le surnom supplémentaire de Fesses-de-Cendre ² . (p. 187)	CONSERVATION Repetition ¹ Linguistic translation ²

Table 6.28. Example 28

Analysis: The expression “kotma” refers to the native Africans Igbos hired by the settlers to enforce their law in the Umuofia village. “Kotma” is a Pidgin English word derived from the word court and messengers (<http://www.cliffsnotes.com>). Selveroğlu and Erbil used the repetition strategy because both of them transferred the source text’s CSI similarly even if the meaning is not at the expectation of the source text one. In this example, our two CSI are: “**Kotma**” and “**Ashy-Buttocks**”.

Firstly, Selveroğlu, Erbil, Ligny and Girard shifted “**kotma**” as “**kotma**” in their translations using the repetition strategy because they kept the source text’s CSI identical. The Turkish translators did not keep the capital letter in Kotma while the French translators wrote this CSI in italic and this is seen as conservative choice. Ligny and Girard wrote both in italic to shed the light on the foreignness of this CSI. This is a more conservative choice in order to keep intact the source text’s cultural item.

The second CSI is “**Ashy-Buttocks**”. In Turkish, “kalça” and “göt” are acceptable translations for “buttocks”. Therefore, we can say that Selveroğlu and Erbil applied both a linguistic translation for this second CSI. Therefore Erbil’s translation seems to be closer to the meaning of the source text because “kalça” is a more usual equivalent for “buttocks” in dictionaries. Ligny and Girard also chose the

linguistic translation strategy. But Ligny translated “Ashy-Buttocks” as “**Fesses-Cendrées**” in order to put the light on the adjective “**Cendrées**” and to answer to the question that the readers of the target culture could ask themselves which is “how was their ashy?” Girard, on the other hand stayed faithful to the source text’s cultural item but he shifted “**Ashy-Buttocks**” as “Fesses-de-Cendre”.

TEXT	EXAMPLE	STRATEGY
(Achebe, 1958)	But as the dog said “If I fall down for you and you fall down for me, it is play”. (p. 68)	
(Selveroğlu, 1983)	Eğer ben senin için, sen de benim için düşsen, bu bir oyun olur. (p. 63)	CONSERVATION Linguistic translation
(Erbil, 2011)	Ben senin için çömelirsem, sen de benim için çömelirsen oyun olur. (p. 71)	CONSERVATION Linguistic translation
(Ligny, 1966)	Si je m’abaisse pour vous et que vous vous abaissez pour moi, c’est le jeu. (p. 90)	CONSERVATION Linguistic translation
(Girard, 2013)	Si je descends pour toi et que tu descends pour moi, c’est le jeu. (p. 81)	CONSERVATION Linguistic translation

Table 6.29. Example 29

Analysis: This proverb is uttered during the marriage of the daughter of Obierka. It is about the fixation of the bride’s price among the two families. The reason why this proverb is uttered is because they were trying to find a compromise concerning the bride price. Here, translators have made different choices transferring the verb “**fall down**”, which will be analyzed in this example.

First of all, Selveroğlu used the linguistic translation strategy because she translated the verb “**fall down**” with its Turkish equivalent “**düşmek**” which also describes the act of falling. Erbil, on the other hand utilized the linguistic translation strategy from the conservation category. She choses another equivalence to translate the source text’s CSI but the original meaning is still there. She used as reference the verb “**çömelmek**”. According to *TDK Dictionary*, “çömelmek” means “dizlerini bükerek topukları üzerine oturmak” (sit on their ensembles by someone’s knees), in other words, “crouch down” in English. This meaning does not exactly suit with the source text’s meaning but it can still be considered as a linguistic translation. The French translators also used the linguistic translation strategy. For example, Ligny transferred “**fall down**” by “**s’abaisser**” which is the literal meaning and the latter means “to stoop” according to *Collins Dictionary*. Girard on the other hand, used the verb “**descendre**” (to go down) as an equivalence of “**fall down**” which also can be considered as a linguistic translation. Consequently, we can observe that all the

translators chose the linguistic translation strategy and gave the literal equivalent of this CSI and the denotative meaning of the proverb instead of making rather a cultural translation and focusing on the connotative meaning.

TEXT	EXAMPLE	STRATEGY
(Achebe, 1958)	New yams could not be eaten until some had first been offered to these powers ¹ . (p.35)	
(Selveroğlu, 1983)	Önce tanrıçaya ve ruhlara ¹ bir kaç tane sunulmadan, yeni yerelmalarından hiç kimse yiyemezdi. (p.34)	SUBSTITUTION Limited universalization ¹
(Erbil, 2011)	Yeni yamalar, ancak içlerinden birazı bu güçlere ¹ adandıktan sonra yenebilirdi. (p.39)	CONSERVATION Linguistic translation ¹
(Ligny, 1966)	On ne pouvait manger de nouvelles ignames avant d'en avoir d'abord offert quelques-unes à ces puissances ¹ . (p.49)	CONSERVATION Linguistic translation ¹
(Girard, 2013)	On ne mangait pas d'ignames avant de leur ¹ avoir offert quelque unes. (p.44)	SUBSTITUTION Synonymy ¹

Table 6.30. Example 30

Analysis: In this example, we have one CSI which is “**Powers**”. We will look at how the latter has been translated in both versions. At first place, we have Selveroğlu who used the limited universalization strategy because she utilized a known reference by its readers which is “tanrıçaya ve ruhlara”. Then, we have Erbil who used the linguistic translation strategy because she shifted “Powers” by “**güçlere**”. The latter is the literal equivalence of “power” but without a capital letter. On the other side, we have Ligny who also used the linguistic translation strategy because he transferred “powers” by “**puissances**”, here again, without a capital letter, in other words, the literary device of personification. And finally, Girard used the synonymy strategy for this CSI because he used the pronoun “leur” instead of the word itself. In other words, he replaced the original CSI by its synonymy which is the pronoun “leur”.

In the coming section, we are going to discuss about the rate of conservation and substitution done by the translators of the four versions.

7. DISCUSSION

In this section, we will compare the rates of conservation and substitution strategies in each language, comparing the first translation and the retranslation, and then discuss the distribution of strategies for each translation. In this study, we have collected 30 examples and in each example we had several CSIs. The total number of the CSI used in this study is 48. In the above graphics, the total of Conservation and Substitution strategies for each translator can exceed the total of CSI because translators may have used more than one strategy in the translation of a CSI.

In the following graphic, we will analyze the rate of conservation and substitution used by the Turkish translators in the first translation and the retranslation.

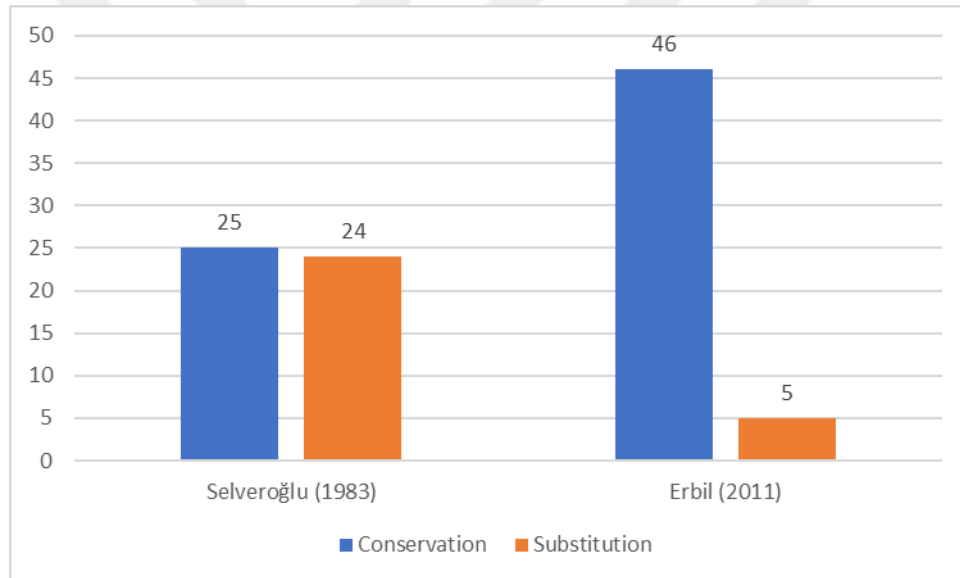


Figure 7.1. The Rate of Conservation and Substitution Strategies Used by the Two Turkish Translators

The above graphic shows us the rate of conservation and substitution used by the Turkish translators in the first translation and the retranslation.

First of all, we can say that the rate of conservation and substitution strategies of Selveroğlu are barely the same but for Erbil, there is an important difference between her use of both categories. Here, we can clearly see that the first translator Selveroğlu (1983) had an almost equal use of Conservation and Substitution

strategies whereas the retranslator Erbil (2011) had a clearly conservative tendency in her choice of strategies.

Secondly, the results provide us to observe the effect of retranslation: The second translator Erbil used more conservation strategies comparing to the first translator. The first Turkish translator Selveroğlu used 25 Conservation strategies during her translation while Erbil used 46 Conservation strategies as it is represented in the graphic. These findings clearly show that retranslation has been effective in preserving the cultural characteristics of the source text in Turkish.

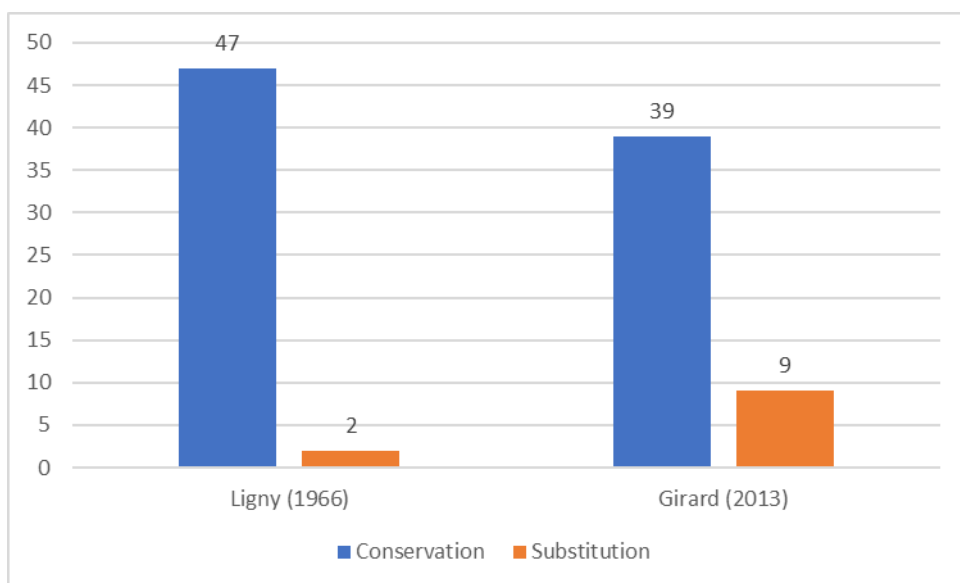


Figure 7.2. The Rate of Conservation and Substitution Strategies Used by the Two French Translators

In this graphic, we will comment the rate of Conservation and Substitution used by the French translators. First of all, we will begin with Ligny who used 47 Conservation strategies in *Le monde s'effondre* while Girard used 39 Conservation in *Tout s'effondre*. Consequently, we can observe that there is no a huge difference in number between Ligny and Girard. In the other side, Ligny used 2 Substitution strategies while Girard used 9 as it is represented in the graphic. As a result, there is no discernible effect of retranslation as we have found in the Turkish traductions. However, it should be noted that the results of French translations do not verify the Retranslation Hypothesis because it is the first translation published in 1966, even earlier than the first Turkish translation, which has the highest rate of Conservation strategies.

Furthermore, we shall examine the repartition of strategies utilized by each translator in their translations in the next graphics.

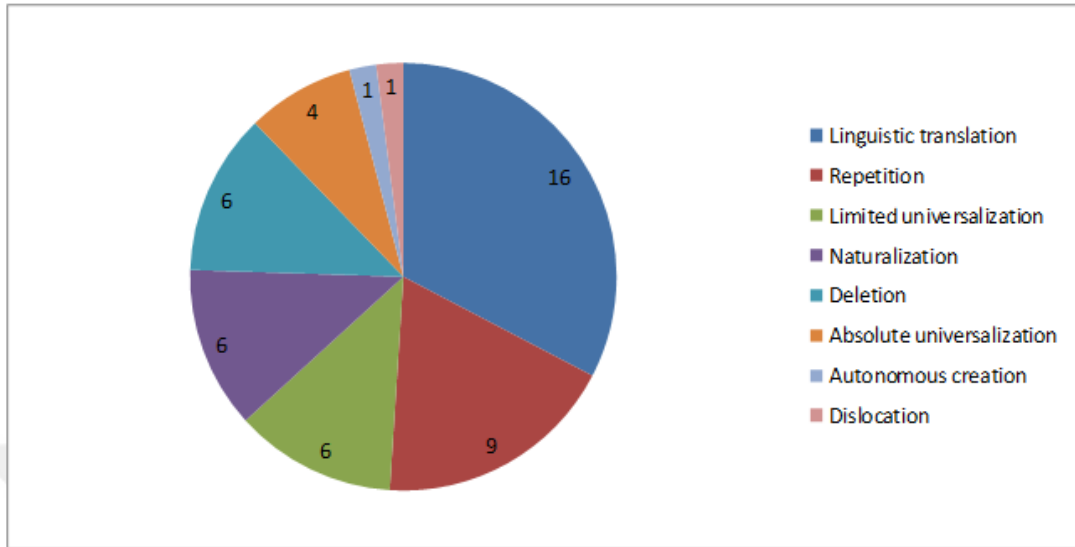


Figure 7.3. Repartition of Strategies Used by Anjel Selveroğlu in *Ruhum Yeniden Doğacak* (1983)

In the above graphic, we can clearly observe that Selveroğlu's mostly used strategies have been linguistic translation and repetition strategies within the framework of Aixela's translation strategies of CSIs. More precisely, she used 16 linguistic translation strategy; she then used 9 repetition strategy, 6 limited universalization, 6 naturalization, 6 deletion, 4 absolute universalization and finally 1 dislocation and 1 autonomous creation strategy. In other words, she frequently used two strategies (linguistic translation and repetition) from the Conservation category and six different strategies from the Substitution category.

Despite the publishing date and the fact that this is the first translation of *Things Fall Apart* in Turkish, the author plainly endorsed conservative strategies such as linguistic translation (which is identical with non-cultural translation for Aixela) and even repetition. At the same time, the varieties of Substitution strategies also show that the translator may have tried to make the text understandable to readers from the target culture. But, even if it was the first translation of the book in Turkish, and maybe the first encounter of a new culture with Turkish culture, it can be said that the translator strived to partially maintain the cultural elements.

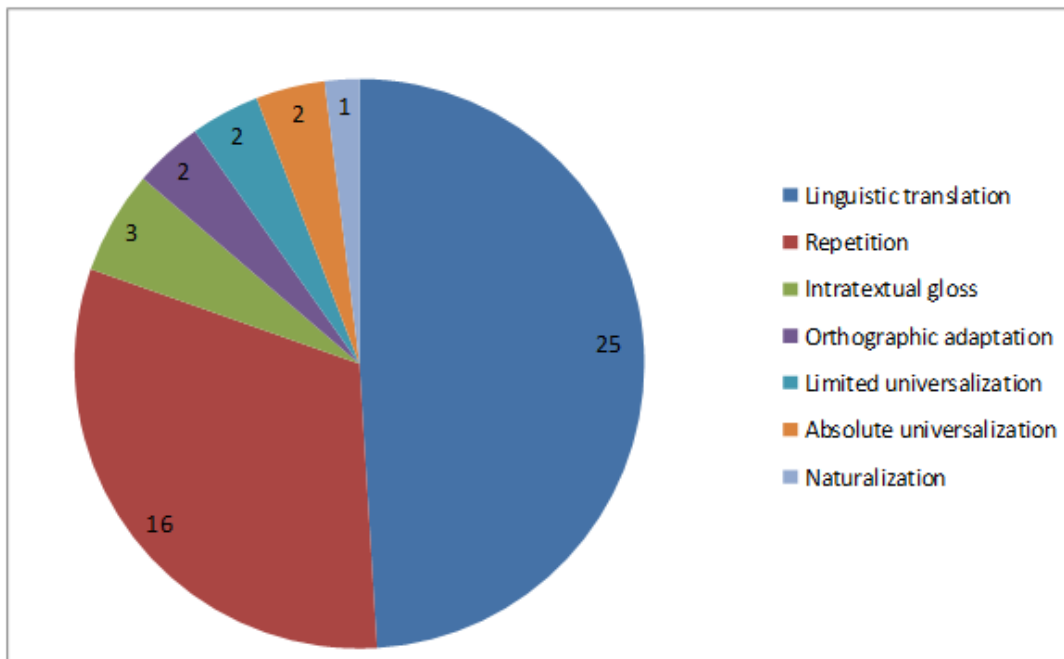


Figure 7.4. Repartition of Strategies Used by Erbil Aribas in Parçalanma (2011)

In this graphic, it is clear that Erbil mostly used strategies are linguistic translation and repetition. She used 25 linguistic translation strategy, 16 repetition, 3 intratextual gloss, 2 orthographic adaptation, 2 limited universalization, 2 absolute universalization and finally 1 naturalization strategy. It should be noted that Erbil's linguistic translation and repetition rates are far greater than Selveroğlu's, especially the repetition strategy. This implies that Erbil fought for more cultural elements to be transferred by maintaining them in her translation. It is also significant to note that Erbil is the first place where orthographic adaptation and intratextual strategies are arised. As a result, the rate of conservative strategies is more significant in her translation. Furthermore, the naturalization rate, as well as the other substitution strategies, is quite lower with Erbil, indicating that her goal has probably been to maintain the cultural aspects rather than adapting them to the target culture in order to make the text more accessible. It is also worthy to note that, in contrasting to Selveroğlu, the substitution strategies such as autonomous creation and dislocation are not present in Erbil's translation. In comparison to Selveroğlu, Erbil used many more conservation strategies, implying that she pushed for the transfer of cultural elements through various conservation strategies in order to depict Igbo culture rather than adapting the text to the source culture.

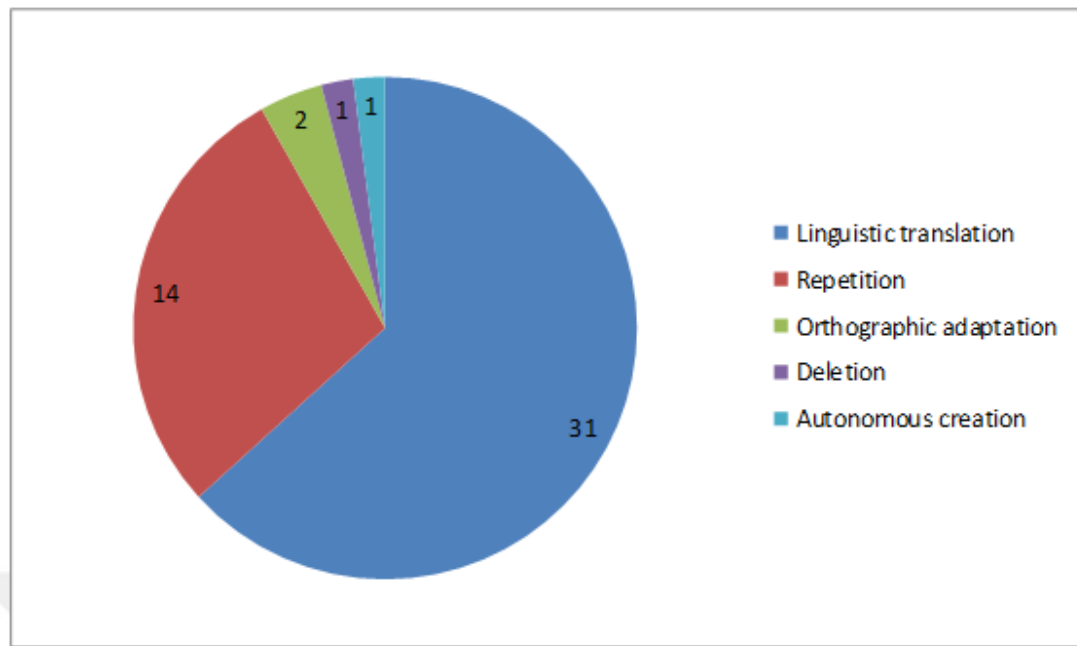


Figure 7.5. Repartition of Strategies Used by Ligny in *Le Monde S'effondre* (1966)

Here, Michel Ligny who is the first French translator of *Things Fall Apart* used largely the linguistic translation strategy as the above data indicates. He used 31 linguistic translation, 14 repetition, 2 orthographic adaptation strategies from the Conservation category and only 1 deletion and 1 autonomous creation strategy from the Substitution category. Therefore, here we can see that the rate of linguistic translation used by Ligny is higher than the one of Selveroğlu but lower than the one used by Erbil. We can also notice that Ligny has only used two strategies from the substitution category which are autonomous creation and deletion while Selveroğlu used 24 and Erbil used 5 substitution strategies. Even if he is the first French translator, he did not miss up with the cultural elements of the source text. It is clear that, his main objective has been to conserve the source text's cultural elements in his translation.

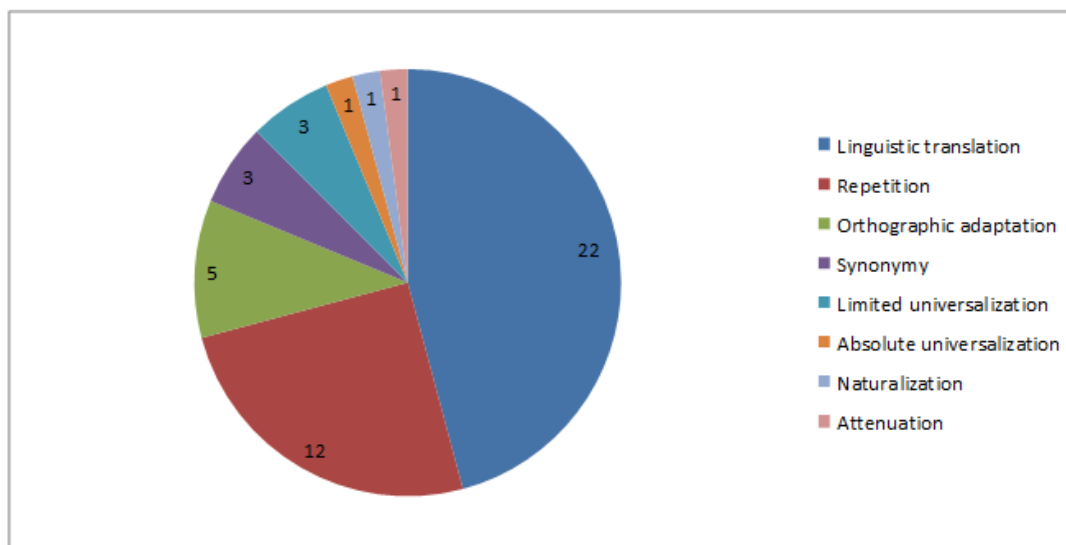


Figure 7.6. Repartition of Strategies Used by Girard in *Tout S'effondre* (2013)

Here, according to this graphic, Girard used so many different strategies from the two categories. It is undeniable that Girard's most used strategies are linguistic translation and repetition. He used 22 linguistic translation, 12 repetition, 5 orthographic adaptation, 3 synonymy, 3 limited universalization, 1 naturalization, 1 absolute universalization and finally 1 attenuation strategy. Despite his use of different strategies from the substitution category; the rate of the conservation strategies used is still dominating even if the rates are lower compared to Ligny's translation. These results show that retranslation did not have a positive effect on the transfer of CSIs in this retranslation.

The next section is the conclusion which will be the last part of our study where all our research questions will be discussed.

8. CONCLUSION

In this thesis, the two Turkish and French translations of *Things Fall Apart* of Chinua Achebe have been analyzed using Aixela's translation strategies of Culture Specific-Items.

The main objective of this thesis was to evaluate the cultural elements's representation of *Things Fall Apart*, in its Turkish and French translations and to observe how the Retranslation Hypothesis of Berman affected the latter. Our second main objective was to verify if this hypothesis was valid in the retranslations analyzed in our study. In order to evaluate how these cultural transfers took place, we conducted a comparative analysis of strategies used by the translators.

Our first research question was defined as "How the transfer of cultural elements of *Things Fall Apart* took place? Can we observe the same tendencies in the first and the last translations in the different target cultures? By analyzing the two Turkish versions, it has been found that Selveroğlu and Erbil used strategies from both Conservation and Substitution categories. When analyzed in detail, it can be observed that Erbil, the second Turkish translator used more strategies from Conservation category compared to the first Turkish translator Selveroğlu. For example, Erbil used 46 Conservation strategies while Selveroğlu used 25 of them. In addition, Erbil used 5 Substitution strategies while Selveroğlu used 24. These tendencies clearly show us the fact that retranslation had positive effects on the second Turkish translation of *Things Fall Apart*. In addition, Selveroğlu at some point rendered the Igbo words in her translation, sometimes she transferred them with their Turkish equivalents as we saw in the above examples, and sometimes she completely adopted the deletion strategy of the Substitution category of Aixela's translation strategies of CSIs. As a result of using these strategies, we can say that Selveroğlu was less conservative than Erbil in her translation. The use of Igbo words in *Things Fall Apart* shows off the resistance of Achebe to the white culture tendencies, a culture which aimed at overrunning the culture of the colonized nations. It is also noteworthy to note that she shortcutted some of the Igbo words' explanations and preferred to use them as glossary (extratextual gloss strategy). On the other hand, we have Nazan Arıbaş Erbil who followed better the footprint of Chinua Achebe in terms of introducing the Igbo culture to the target culture. She

shifted the untranslatable CSI terms by using strategies from the Conservation category to remain faithful to the source text's CSIs. Erbil did not omit nor delete the Igbo words and their explanations found in the source text. Consequently, the strategies used by Erbil were more appropriate to the transfer of the source text's CSI. Erbil used repetition and the linguistic translation strategies in most of her transfer. She seems to have followed the same resisting strategy of Chinua Achebe in the postcolonial context. Erbil's version can be considered as closer to the source text than Selveroğlu's one because in her version Substitution strategies were fewer. She transferred the CSIs more cautiously to the target culture even if the readers of the target language might not be familiar with the latter. Another important point that we noted during this analysis for Selveroğlu is that she translated incorrectly some of the cultural elements of the source text and she misrepresented them. This could be explained by the cultural gap between the source and target cultures at the time of the translation process. Perhaps the translator lacked the resources to expand her knowledge of Igbo culture in comparison to Erbil, who must have had greater possibilities to learn about it. It may have been a difficult task for the Turkish translators to follow a defined translation policy because the CSIs of Igbo community is widely different from the Turkish language and this can be the main reason of not finding an equivalent word for all the Igbo words in the source text.

On the other hand, we have the two French translators who also used both of Conservation and Substitution strategies in their translations. It can be noted that Ligny who first translated the novel in French in 1966 and published at the *Présence Africaine* had the same misunderstandings as Selveroğlu. Ligny seems to have used the context in order to interpret certain cultural elements instead of transferring them without any modification. This strategy can help the target readers to understand the source text's culture but without knowing the basic characteristics of Igbo tradition. Transplanting a text and a culture which are not familiar causes a problem to the concerned translators because during their transplantation, it is necessary to use the cultural words of this culture. Translating a text or a culture which the translators are not familiar with can create some difficulties to them because the African culture is all about oral traditions, proverbs and daily experiences. In order to understand those features, translators should acquire contextual knowledge where those stories occurred. Most of the time, Ligny used the linguistic translation strategy because he

shifted the source text's CSI in a denotative form which sometimes caused him some problems. In our analysis, we noted that Ligny sometimes misinterpreted some cultural elements and consequently misrepresented the Igbo culture such as when he translated the expression "Alligator pepper" by "piment d'alligator" which is the literal and the incorrect translation of the latter. According to the Retranslation Hypothesis, the second French translator Girard was expected to improve the translation in French, but unfortunately, the above mentioned findings did not reveal the same points. For example, Ligny used 47 conservation strategies while Girard used only 39 of them. On the other hand, Erbil and Ligny showed more conservative tendencies during their translation process and stayed more loyal to the original text, their transference in terms of style and strategy suited greatly and the resistance style witnessed in *Things Fall Apart* was successfully represented in their translations. As a conclusion, the rate of conservation in the second Turkish translation is higher comparing to the second French translation. In other words, the Turkish retranslation is closer to the source text than the French retranslation. Erbil applied more conservation strategies to effectively represent the Igbo culture and behind all, the African culture.

The second research question was: Is Berman's Retranslation Hypothesis verified in *Things Fall Apart*'s Turkish and French retranslations? Through our analysis, we noticed that the hypothesis of Berman is half proved because we noted that the Turkish retranslation was more conservative and consequently closer to the source text and Achebe's objectives than the French retranslation. They might be several reasons behind this result. Selveroğlu may not have applied more conservation strategies because of the cultural gap between the Igbo and the Turkish culture. The fact that she was the first translator in the Turkish language may have encouraged her to make the text more understandable for Turkish readers as well as trying to introduce them the Igbo culture. As for the French translations, it can be observed that contrary to Girard, Ligny used higher number of conservation strategies as the above findings back up our sayings. In other words, the first French translation published in 1966 was more conservative than the retranslation. This result which contradicts Berman's Retranslation Hypothesis can be explained by the publishing house factor. Indeed, it has already been explained that Présence Africaine, the publishing house of the first translation was founded by a Senegalese

intellectual Alioune Diop and that its main objective was to publish Africanist studies which do not “betray our anti-racist will, anti-colonialist, nor our solidarity with the colonized people” (Diop, 1947: 187). Consequently, the clearly apparent conservative approach of the first translator Ligny can be the result of the publishing house policy. In addition, even though Girard’s retranslation fortunately proposes more suitable translations instead of some choices criticized in Ligny’s translation, there is still a big gap between the two translations. For example, the confusion between “farms” and “fermes”, the gender of the yam (female), and the replacement of “cassava” by “cassava” and “palm heart” by “palm-nut”. Finally, we can say that even if some aspects of Girard’s retranslation represent a real progress, some improvement can still be done with new retranslations. By the way, retranslation can be a mean to improve the previous translations even if it is not really the case for our French retranslation which does not verify the Retranslation Hypothesis concerning the translation of cultural elements. Retranslation studies need to be deepened in order to achieve a successful and “great” translation as Berman claimed. Maybe calling for another retranslation might solve the problem of “incompletion” that Berman revealed in his hypothesis. To summarize, we can say that even if we can see a more conservative approach, so an improvement in only the Turkish retranslation, other retranslations need to furtherly represent the African culture.

Our third research question was “What role does retranslation play in postcolonial translation?” Because colonizers erased all forms of resisting literature during colonization, retranslations played a significant role in postcolonial texts. They rewrote history to fit their own ideas and distorted the colonial nations in all ways. As a result, postcolonial writers took up the pen to retell history and describe the oppression they faced at the hands of the colonizers. They retranslated the existing writings before creating new ones that confirm their true identity and promote their own culture. Retranslations should be continued in order to improve past works and to offer to this discipline a new perspective to provide postcolonial translations to achieve their goals.

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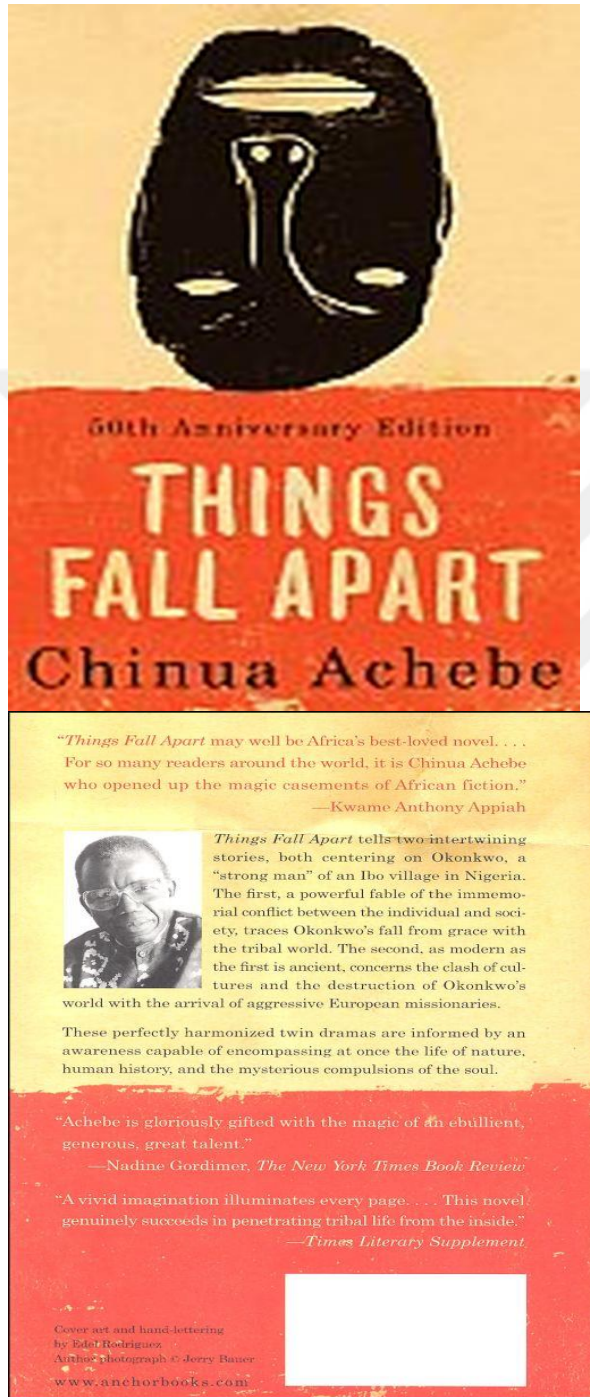




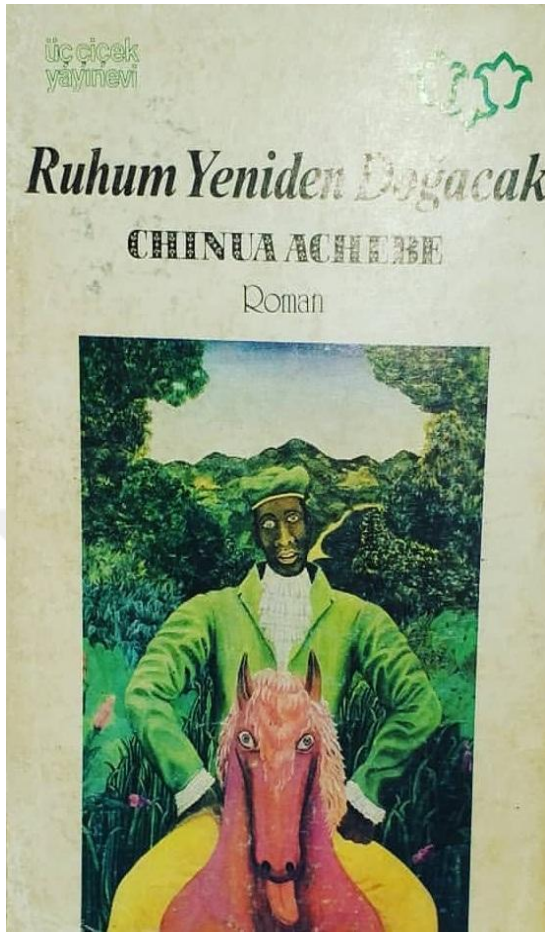
APPENDICES

APPENDIX 1: COVERS OF *THINGS FALL APART* AND ITS TURKISH TRANSLATIONS

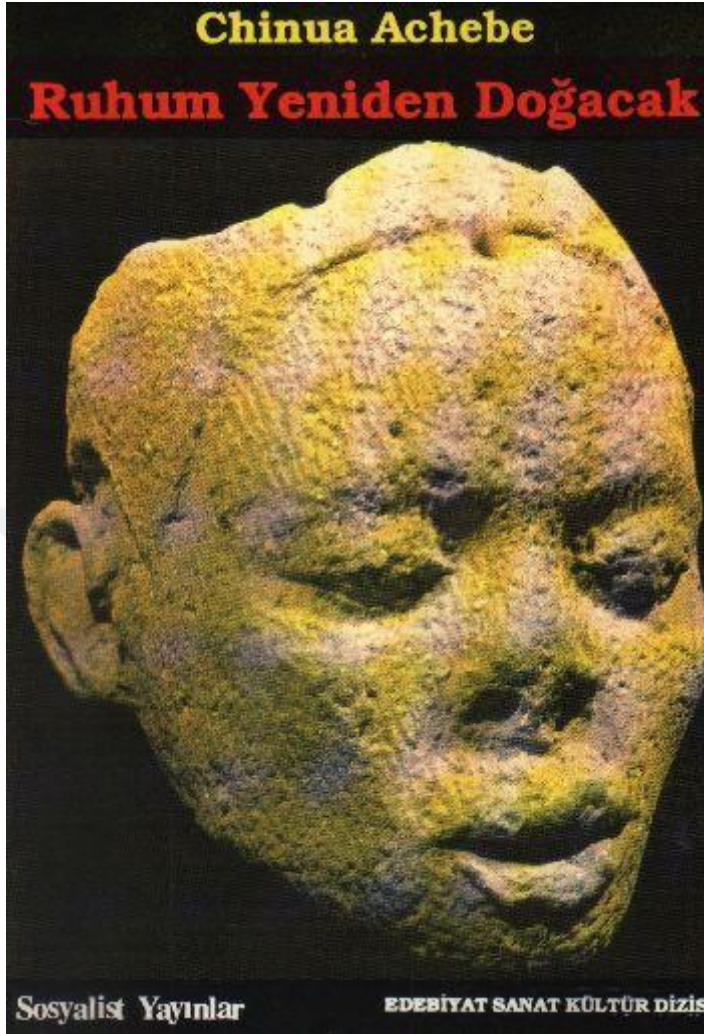
FRONT AND BACK COVERS OF *THINGS FALL APART* (1994)



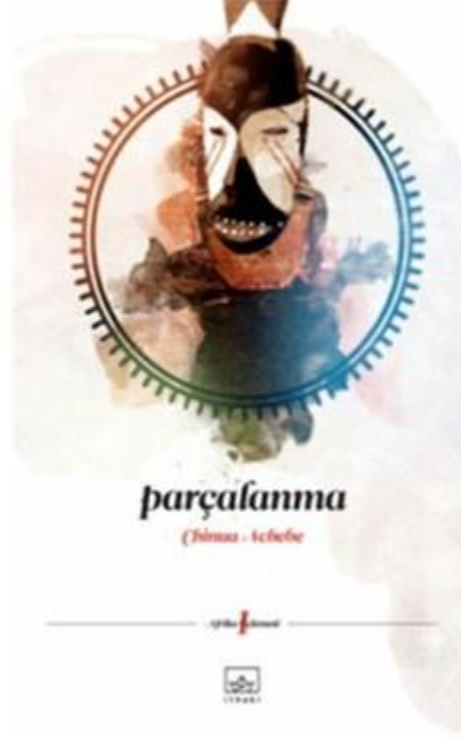
FRONT AND BACK COVERS OF *RUHUM YENİDEN DOĞACAK* (1983)



FRONT AND BACK COVERS OF *RUHUM YENİDEN DOĞACAK* (1997)

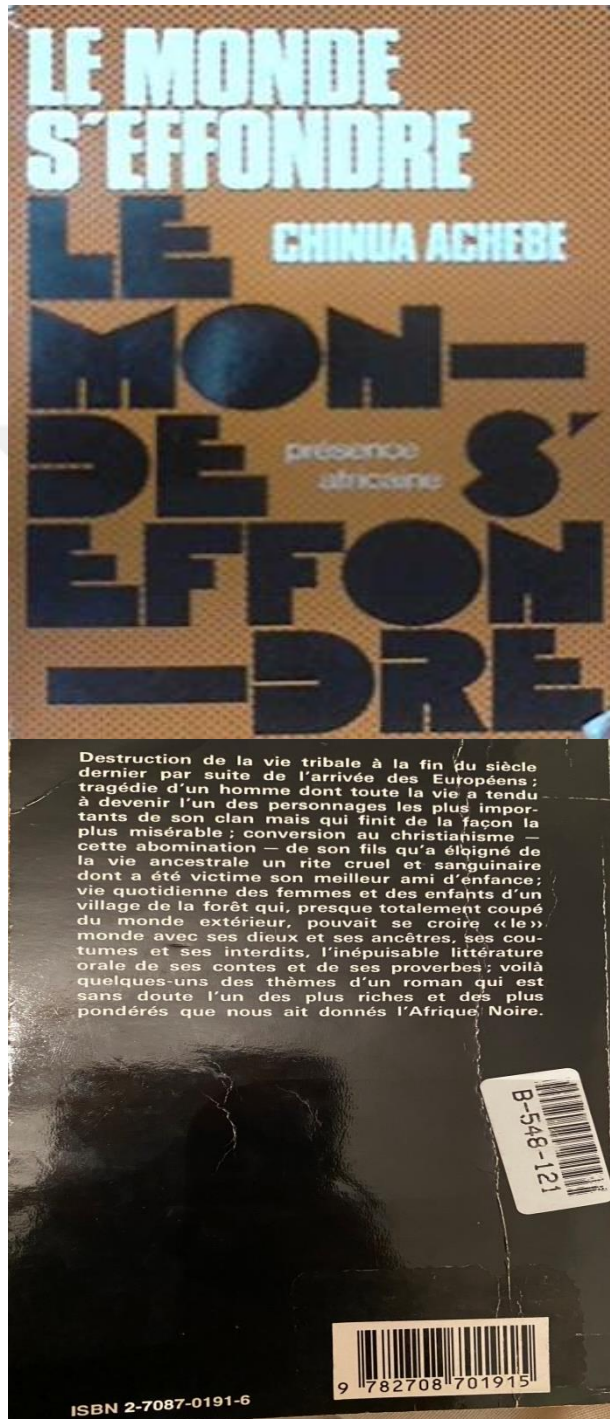


FRONT AND BACK COVERS OF *PARÇALANMA* (2011)

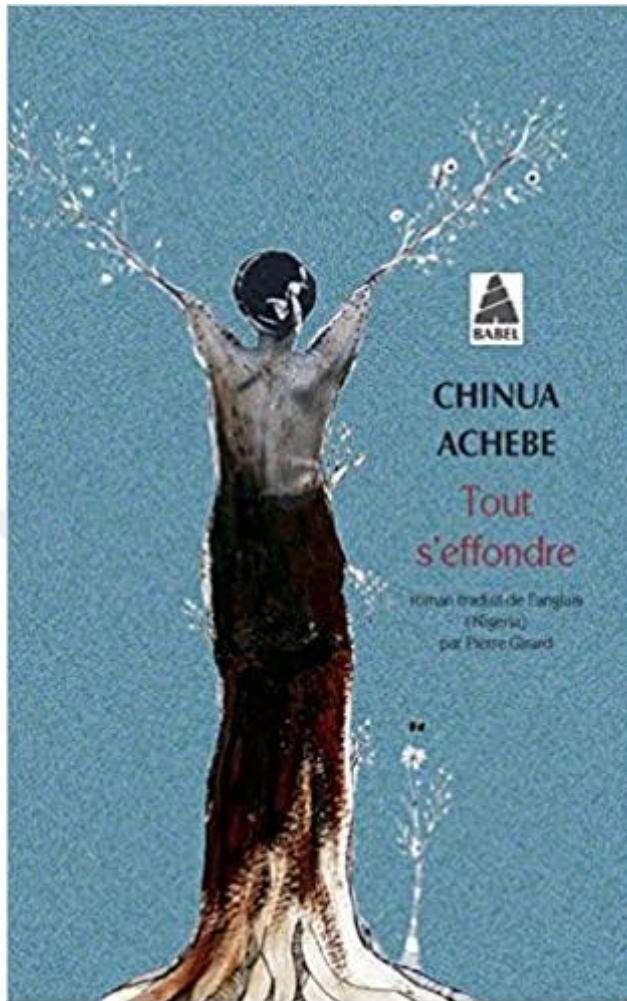


APPENDIX 2: COVERS OF THE FRENCH TRANSLATIONS

FRONT AND BACK COVERS OF *LE MONDE S'EFFONDRE* (1966)



FRONT AND BACK COVERS OF *TOUT S'EFFONDRE* (2013)



BABEL, UNE COLLECTION DE LIVRES DE POCHE

TOUT S'EFFONDRE

Dans le village ibo d'Umuofia, Okonkwo est un homme écouté dont la puissance et le courage sont vantés par tous, un fermier prospère qui veille sur ses trois épouses et sur ses huit enfants, un sage guerrier jouissant de la confiance des anciens. Son monde repose sur un équilibre cohérent de règles et de traditions, mais l'extérieur s'apprête à violer cette réalité qui semblait immuable : les missionnaires d'abord, les colons britanniques ensuite vont bouleverser irrémédiablement l'existence de tout un peuple.

Tragique roman à la langue limpide, *Tout s'effondre* rend hommage à l'Afrique précoloniale à l'aube de sa décomposition. "Tant que les lions n'auront pas leurs propres historiens, l'histoire de la chasse glorifiera toujours le chasseur", dit un proverbe africain. Avec cette fable cruelle, Chinua Achebe devenait l'un des premiers lions du continent à prendre la plume.

Né en 1930 à Ogidi (Est du Nigeria), dans une famille chrétienne ibo, Chinua Achebe a été professeur d'université, journaliste, éditeur. Après la guerre du Biafra (1967-1970), durant laquelle il a soutenu la sécession, il est parti enseigner au Canada puis aux États-Unis, où il s'est éteint en 2013, à Boston. Auteur d'une œuvre immense, il a reçu le Man Booker International Prize en 2007.

Publié en 1958, *Tout s'effondre* a été traduit en une cinquantaine de langues et vendu à des dizaines de millions d'exemplaires.

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Yabancı Dil

Francizca, İngilizce, Arapça ve Türkçe

Yayınlar

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Hobiler

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