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Commented Translation of Les Hommes de l'eau

by G. Bourgoignie

Elizabeth Fragua

Under the Supervision of J. Darbelnet

Submitted to the School of Graduate Studies and Research
in Partial Fulfillment of the
Requirements for the Degree of
Master of Arts

School of Translators and Interpreters
University of Ottawa
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Elizabeth Fragua, OTTAWA, Canada, 1983.

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Preface

This thesis is a commented translation which is divided into two major parts. The first part comprises the translation of a French text into English and the second part consists of the comments. The original text has been inserted at the end of the paper for reference.

The text we have chosen to translate is a chapter on kinship in an ethnography called Les Hommes de l'eau by Georges Edouard Bourgoignie.¹ The book is an anthropological study done in Benin (formerly Dahomey) on a group of lake-dwellers called the Tofinnus. The Tofinnus are an African ethnic group living in the lake regions of southern Benin and depending on fishing as their means of livelihood. They are a patrilineal society with the lineage as their principle of social organization. However, community decisions and solidarity are gradually giving way to individualism and their society is now becoming endangered by progress. As a result, they may be forced to emigrate to more lucrative lake areas in Nigeria.

The choice of an anthropological text dealing with kinship was prompted by interest in and familiarity with

¹ Georges Bourgoignie, Les Hommes de l'eau (Paris: Editions universitaires, 1972).

the subject and its jargon gained from courses taken in the field. Moreover, we felt it necessary to limit ourselves to one aspect since Anthropology is such a broad field including such areas as Physiology, Prehistory, Archaeology and Cultural Anthropology. All elements of a society, i.e. economics, politics, religion, marriage customs, residence, etc., revolve around an ethnic group's social structure. In other words, kinship determines who you live and work with, look up to, worship and marry, and where you live. As well as being a central factor of social organization, kinship has its own terminology. It is thus a subject of substantial but not insurmountable scope with its own specialized vocabulary. The register of the text is functional as opposed to literary and the style, scientific.

There were several problems involved in choosing a text on kinship in French. It was difficult to find non-translated material in French on kinship and even more difficult to find a relatively recent work. The only texts encountered on kinship per se were La Parenté by Francis Zimmermann,² and Les Domaines de la parenté by Marc Augé,³ both a collection of texts by various authors. In the former book, many of the texts were translations of English texts while in the latter work, the different kinship categories appeared to correspond exactly to the English

² Francis Zimmermann, La Parenté (Paris: Presses universitaires de France, 1972).

³ Marc Augé, Les Domaines de la parenté (Paris: Librairie François Maspero, 1975).

categories and in some cases the English terms were even provided in parentheses. It thus seemed more appropriate to translate an ethnography compiled in a French-speaking country than kinship theory. It was also difficult to co-ordinate such factors as subject matter, date and length in one text. Another consideration in choosing a text was sufficient technical vocabulary and a minimum of foreign kinship terms. We therefore finally chose the chapter on kinship in Les Hommes de l'eau.

This paper has been set up in the manner which seemed most appropriate for the reader. The translation was isolated from the original text and the comments so that it could be read as a unit rather than a translation. Moreover, comments in the form of footnotes would have obstructed the reading of the text, so they were written up in the form of endnotes. As the two texts have not been placed side by side for comparison, the comments which follow the translation reproduce the original text and the translation sentence by sentence or segment by segment. Although it may seem to lengthen the paper needlessly, this recapitulation was done in an attempt to facilitate the reader's task.

The superscripts referring to the comments apply to the translation but have also been inserted in the original text for cross-reference. However, the numbers are not always in order in the French text due to inversions or alterations in sentence construction.

References mentioned in the comments have not been

footnoted so as not to confuse the reader.

We have attempted to translate as freely as necessary in order to make the translation sound as idiomatic as possible, being very careful, however, not to betray the original meaning. The technical terms are dealt with in different ways depending on whether they are "calques" or paraphrases of English terms, equivalent French terms or terms coined in French for which there are no English equivalents.

We are obviously dealing with two different criteria in our translation analysis. The first is based on the different language patterns in French and English and the second relates to problems encountered in translating technical terms. However, in many cases a syntactical or lexical change has been effectuated in the translation of a technical term or, conversely, a linguistic difference may just happen to be illustrated with a technical term. We have attempted to separate these two criteria by indicating the abbreviation TT (technical term) in our comments in those cases where terminology is the major issue, but will simply mention here the examples of translation procedures which happen to be performed on technical terms.

The first category comprising technical terms (TT) primarily in the field of Anthropology includes comments 1, 3, 9, 10, 12, 15, 19, 25, 42, 63, 78, 91, 98, 101, 133, 138, 158, 159, 165, 169, 174, 244, 252, 255. The second category composed of examples where specialized (anthropological)

vocabulary is used but in which the terms, themselves are not the issue includes comments 5, 8, 17, 23, 26, 35, 41, 45, 46, 51, 64, 72, 83, 84, 94, 117, 128, 144, 148, 155, 184, 240, 241, 247, 251. The latter group have not been marked TT in the comments as it is the lexical or structural change that is being emphasized.

Despite these distinctions drawn up for the sake of analysis, it was difficult in many cases to decide whether "le discours" or terminology took precedence. Therefore, even though we have established these two categories, they are not clear cut (as in comments 45, 51, 64, 84, 98, 101, 144, 155) where both the technical term and the translation method used are equally important.

Our major source for analysis is J.-P. Vinay and J. Darbelnet's Stylistique comparée du français et de l'anglais⁴ (SCFA). Many of the authors' terms used in the comments have been briefly explained but the most common translation processes have simply been named. This thesis is relatively technical and is thus aimed at those readers who have studied translation and are familiar with SCFA. For quick reference, each translation principle mentioned is followed by the corresponding item number in SCFA. Due to the length of the thesis and the large number of translation techniques alluded to, it was impossible to reserve a chapter to

⁴ J.-P. Vinay & J. Darbelnet, Stylistique comparée du français et de l'anglais (Paris: Didier (1958), 1973 ed.).

describe each one. Furthermore, it is not our intention to duplicate Vinay and Darbelnet's glossary of terms in English, as it is also assumed that those reading this thesis understand both French and English. The glossary of technical terms used in SCFA with examples is found on pages 4-16. We strongly advise anyone reading this paper to briefly review these terms.

Linguistic patterns (as seen in SCFA) as well as subjectivity and style play an important role in translation. Vinay and Darbelnet's manual is an extremely useful tool for the translator, demonstrating how certain linguistic patterns in one language frequently correspond to a different set of patterns in another. In this study in which translation principles have been applied post hoc, the recurrence of certain linguistic patterns becomes evident in the passage from one language to the other. In order to illustrate these patterns, it was necessary to provide numerous examples of a given translation technique. This repetition will also allow the reader to become more familiar with the various translation procedures. Such seemingly unimportant modifications as punctuation have been dealt with in detail. We will notice that "économie" is often evident when going from French to English, in which the target language uses fewer terms to express the same idea (#166-170). Another typical translation pattern is the noun-verb "transposition", where a French noun is rendered by a verb in English (#82 b). "Caractérisation adverbiale" is a third procedure frequently observed in which a prepositional

phrase such as "sur le plan politique" becomes the adverb "politically" (#112). These translation tendencies are not necessarily found in all types of texts. For example, in some cases the French version may be more concise. These patterns will be dealt with further in our analysis and conclusion.

On the other hand, as language is very versatile and a single idea may be expressed in various ways, there is no absolute one-to-one correspondence. The artistic aspect of language is the reason for which there exist so many possible variations of a single translation. In order to illustrate this subjectivity, we have shown in our comments alternative translations in a number of cases and discussed their stylistic differences. This also indicates that there is often no absolute translation but several possible solutions. Another reason for showing various possibilities is to provide some insight into the thought process involved in translating, where several ideas come to mind and then the choice is made by the process of elimination. The final choice will, of course, be subjective. As we have illustrated here, perhaps the eternal question of whether translation is an Art or a Science can be resolved by stating that both elements are present.

Certain translation principles referred to in our comments may not be found in SCFA as they have been taken from a course given by Professor Darbelnet⁵ to the Master's

⁵ J. Darbelnet, "Linguistique et traduction" (School of Translators & Interpreters, Univ. of Ottawa, Ottawa, 1977-78).

students in translation at the University of Ottawa in 1977-78. For example, a translation process known as "bifurcation" is mentioned, where one term can be rendered by two possible translations, e.g. "oil" which may be either "huile" or "pétrole" depending on the context. The translator is faced here with a necessary choice.

Other sources used were anthropological works, ethnographies, translation journals and various dictionaries which are all listed in the bibliography. The only bilingual glossary of kinship terms located was compiled in Les Domaines de la parenté by Marc Augé, pp. 49-56.

The translation of the French text we have chosen would be particularly useful to the English-speaking student of Anthropology seeking information on African ethnic groups and could also be of help to the Translation student working on an anthropological text. For this purpose, a bilingual glossary of technical terms found in this text has been included after the bibliography. For basic information on the concepts of kinship, George Murdock's Social Structure⁶ used by Bourgoignie is an excellent reference. A table (57) dealing with the different aspects of social organization can be found on pages 193-194.

We would like to extend our gratitude first and foremost to our thesis advisor and co-author of SCEA, Professor Darbelnet,

⁶ George Murdock, Social Structure (New York: Macmillan Co. (1949), 1967 ed.).

whose detailed examination of our work and astute criticism has made this commented translation possible. We would also like to thank Professor Harris of the School of Translators and Ted Murray of Computer Sciences who were instrumental in the preparation of this thesis, and Professor Lapointe of Social Sciences who was consulted on matters pertaining to Anthropology. Finally, we would like to acknowledge Raymond Peppermans, terminologist for the Secretary of State and Monique Bisson-Carpentier of the Office de la langue française for their assistance in locating unilingual dictionaries of Anthropology.

Translation

17

Fundamental Characteristics of the Kinship System

Kinship is based on three fundamental principles:

- descent,¹ which is² the rule determining in which line³ the blood ties are traced;⁴
- residence, which is the rule determining where a given family must set up their household;⁵
- type of group, which is the rule governing the structure and hierarchy of kinship groups.

On the basis of⁶ these three parameters, George Murdock proposed the following classification (1):

Descent:

- Patrilineal (from father to son).
- Matrilineal (from mother to daughter).
- Bilateral (both lines together).
- Double (both lines separately).⁷

Residence:

- Patrilocal (husband's father's household).⁸
- Matrilocal (wife's father's household).
- Matri-patrilocal (first, wife's father's household, then husband's father's household).

Avunculocal (husband's mother's brother's⁹ household).

Bilocal (choice between patri or matrilocal).

Neolocal (different household from the above).

Types of groups:

Clan (unilineal descent, common residence).

Sib, lineage¹⁰ (unilineal descent, different residence).¹¹

Deme (bilateral descent, different residence).

Extended family (unilineal or bilateral descent, common residence).

Nuclear family.¹²

If we apply this classification to Tofinnu society, we find it is structured according to patrilineal descent, patrilocal residence and clan (extended family) groups.¹³

Rules of Descent

The Tofinnu family unit is based on a unilineal agnatic (2) system,¹⁴ the exogamic patrilineal lineage. Instead of recognizing as kin¹⁵ cognates, i.e. descendants of the maternal and paternal lines, the patrilineal clan system values¹⁶ male descent almost exclusively. Kinship is only recognized patrilineally¹⁷ and kinship ties, irrespective of rights or obligations, go no further.¹⁸ The clan is "a group having unilineal descent in which all the members regard one another as in some specific sense kinsfolk (3)".¹⁹ The criterion on which membership is based²⁰ is neither habitat, number of descendants, nor closeness of ties²¹ or personal contacts, but solely being²² a "recognized"

descendant of the founder of the clan. Ancestors of common descent are as much a part of the clan as the living members.²³ Anyone who belongs to the clan must regard its members as his kinsmen and behave toward them accordingly, in compliance with the principles of classificatory terminology. The clan (oko) and the lineage (hennu) are structured along the same principles but they differ as a social group in the sense that the latter includes only those²⁴ members of the descent line²⁵ living at a given time. "The distinction between clan and lineage is that in a lineage group each member can actually, or at least theoretically, trace his genealogical connexion with any other member by descent from a known common ancestor whereas in a clan, [which is usually a larger body,] this is not possible. [(A moiety may be divided into clans) and usually is so.] (4)"²⁶ When a Tofinnu meets a stranger,²⁷ he classes²⁸ him by descent. This accounts for²⁹ his excellent knowledge of long genealogies as opposed to³⁰ the ignorance of³¹ the ordinary Westerner about his ancestry beyond one or two generations. The latter³² uses other frames of reference to class an individual such as³³ social class, occupation, income, nationality, car, place of residence, etc., whereas³⁴ the Tofinnu's only system of social reference is the patrilineal kinship system.

The paternal lineage called toko is a closed group, brought together by a common ancestor who is the centre of ancestor worship.³⁵ There are social ties with the corresponding maternal lineage and there are even some

"kinsmen", but they do not belong to the kinship unit per se. They are called nonko as they are non-clan kinsmen related by marriage. Paternal ties remain within the paternal lineage while all maternal relationships³⁶ lie³⁷ outside the lineage unless the rules of exogamy are broken.³⁸

Exogamy, which forbids a man to marry a woman from his own family group, is the working principle of the clan system along with the principle of classificatory terminology. The clan and the lineage are social entities which must be preserved, in other words perpetuated throughout time. To ensure their growth and continuity, exogamous unions are carried out spontaneously.³⁹ The Tofinnu custom is categorical on this point.⁴⁰ Basically, unions are lineally⁴¹ exogamous. Genealogical surveys made in the polygynic society of the pile-dwelling⁴² villages revealed that the first wife usually comes from one of the village lineages other than the paternal lineage. As we will see further on, this is because the first wife is obtained through a transaction⁴³ between two lineage headmen,⁴⁴ whereas the following wives are chosen, and often come from lineages of other pile-dwelling or waterside⁴⁵ villages. For fifteen polygamous men, in the direct line⁴⁶ from Sokénu of Ganvié (fig. 65), half⁴⁷ of the 55 wives counted (exactly 27) were from outside⁴⁸ the major settlement of pile-dwellings.⁴⁹ No rule of village⁵⁰ or ethnic endogamy has ever been instituted, although it is certain that the first refugees in the Lower So often had to intermarry.⁵¹ Nevertheless, the heterogeneous nature⁵² of the swamp settlement made lineal exogamy possible

to a certain extent.⁵³ Later on, the French conquest and ensuing peace-making made it even easier by facilitating moves and temporary migrations. Yet even today,⁵⁴ the Tofinnus prefer to marry⁵⁵ women from their own village or from another pile-dwelling village, as aguénu women do not readily adapt⁵⁶ to the pile-dwelling lifestyle. Naturally, the fact that the fishermen live in isolation gives the observer the impression that endogamy prevails,⁵⁷ but if we take a closer look,⁵⁸ we find that ethnic endogamy runs in no way counter to the rules of lineal⁵⁹ exogamy observed by the Tofinnus. In Ganvié, the latent rivalry between Dakoménu and Sokoménu promoted lineally⁶⁰ endogamous unions in the past. It is the exception that proves the rule.⁶¹ Moreover, the present tendency for the lineage to dwindle down to⁶² the limited family unit⁶³ promotes a new de facto endogamy. People from the same lineage concession (sinta) have been known to intermarry,⁶⁴ which was indefensible⁶⁵ in the past.

As the extended family (hennu) often comprises a great many individuals, it is difficult to determine whom one may marry.⁶⁶ The sole reference point is the head of the family (the hennugan) who is the keeper of the only system of social reference, i.e. genealogy in the paternal line.⁶⁷ Exogamy thus means that it is forbidden⁶⁸ to marry anyone under⁶⁹ the same head of the extended family. For the union to be official,⁷⁰ as we will see further on, one lineage headman must make the marriage proposal and offer the dowry⁷¹ to another lineage headman who, in turn,⁷² accepts.

the proposal and receives the dowry.⁷³ However, in the case of members⁷⁴ of the same lineage, the hennugan is both the petitioner and the acceptant, which is impossible!⁷⁵ Marriage between collaterals is strictly forbidden,⁷⁶ whatever the degree of⁷⁷ the kinship tie. Classificatory terminology indicates that in retracing the descent line, all collaterals⁷⁸ of the father's generation are classed with⁷⁹ the father. Their descendants, in turn, are related⁸⁰ by the same ties, which makes them brothers (nonviwés).⁸¹ It is sometimes necessary to go back a long way⁸² (in the case of clan rather than lineage exogamy) to find the common ancestor of two alleged kinsmen⁸³ who are forbidden to intermarry.⁸⁴ The rules of exogamy thus prohibit marriage between kinsmen who are very distant in some cases.⁸⁵ On the other hand, it is this⁸⁶ same idea that explains the licitness of marriage between very close kinsmen such as a girl and her maternal cousin, since the latter does not belong to the paternal lineage. By the same token, there is nothing to prohibit marriage between the children of a brother and a sister. The brother's children are in the charge of the father's hennugan whereas the sister's children are in the charge of their own father's rather than their mother's hennugan, as kinship is traced⁸⁷ only in the paternal line.

The strictness of exogamy rules can be obviated⁸⁸ by reducing the extent⁸⁹ of the family group, tracing the common ancestor back to one or two generations rather than ten or more... There is a growing trend today in this direction.⁹⁰

The rules of exogamy have almost been reduced to prohibiting incestuous sexual relations between members of the nuclear family.⁹¹

Rules of Residence

In Tofinnu society residence is patrilocal, i.e.⁹² the wife moves into⁹³ her husband's lineage group. Patrilocal residence⁹⁴ is easily explained by the theory of George Murdock who sees⁹⁵ environment as the determining factor of the division of labour between the sexes⁹⁶ which, in turn, determines the system of residence which then determines the kinship structures and type of descent (5). The Tofinnu specializes in fishing. He⁹⁷ is responsible for the task of building fisheries, transporting equipment to fishing and fish-breeding sites,⁹⁸ and placing or casting the various nets.⁹⁹ In short, his activity is basically the one imposed on him by his environment, i.e.¹⁰⁰ fishing. It is also the man who takes care of the construction and maintenance of the huts. The lake environment has made it necessary for these huts to be built on piles.¹⁰¹ These jobs are too heavy for the woman who is in charge of household chores which are sometimes back-breaking as well.¹⁰² She also looks after the processing and trading of the fish caught¹⁰³ by the man. Girls are said to take part¹⁰⁴ in oyster fishing on rare occasions,¹⁰⁵ although we have never been able to witness the event.¹⁰⁶ It has taken the fisherman years¹⁰⁷ to acquire his art and build his fisheries. It would be

unthinkable for him to leave the soil on which he was born and raised¹⁰⁸ and in which he has invested so much.¹⁰⁹ He would be losing his means of livelihood¹¹⁰ as well as his family's, and hindering that of the sinta. Therefore it is logical that the woman, who abandons virtually no speciality or investment by leaving, move to¹¹¹ the village, to the residential and lineal community of her husband when she gets married.¹¹²

When a wedding takes place¹¹³ members of the same between pile-dwelling village, residence may sometimes become matri-patrilocal (residence in wife's father's household at first, then in husband's father's household) or even matrilocal (residence in wife's father's household) or avunculocal (residence in husband's mother's brother's household) because of a shortage of space in the paternal sinta or komé.¹¹⁴ The actual situation which compels a woman to continue to live in her father's household despite her married status¹¹⁵ is called vidotohué. Furthermore, with the present trend among young people toward emancipation,¹¹⁶ the rule for setting up household¹¹⁷ is sometimes neolocal, whereby¹¹⁸ the emancipated young couple settle down wherever they choose¹¹⁹ without heeding¹²⁰ the preceding rules, as long as they have the practical and financial means to do so.¹²¹ However, patrilocal residence still remains the general rule today.

Family groups

If the extent¹²² of the family unit were reduced to accomodate the principle of exogamy, if individual freedom were increased and social relations simplified, the problem of real or imaginary segmentation of the Tofinnu society's polyclannish structure would arise.¹²³ The lineage has a tendency to grow exponentially¹²⁴ until it sometimes constitutes¹²⁵ a group of several thousand people. The group expands physically as well as socially.¹²⁶ There comes a point when fissioning occurs entailing mass emigration of a segment of the lineage, and the same process begins again¹²⁷ elsewhere around a new founder. The hierarchy of the family groups that share the authority and the gradual segmentation of the kinship¹²⁸ group can be represented by a diagram¹²⁹ in which each family unit is in the charge of the previous one, in an increasingly theoretical sense¹³⁰ however (fig. 69).

(a) OKO (transcription in Tofingbé dialect of the Fon word ako or¹³¹ clan) is the largest kinship group of individuals joined together by a real or imaginary kinship tie in their¹³² worship of a common ancestor.¹³³ It includes all other groups. In actual fact, the bond is ordinarily so tenuous that it virtually no longer exists, even spiritually.¹³⁴ There is nothing left in common but a few expressions of greetings. It is the clan according

to the above description.¹³⁵

KUN is a type of superlative which denotes the large size of an oko or a group of okos brought together by the need to form a stronger unit. It is more like the tribe.

(b) HENNU is the lineage which may vary in size¹³⁶ depending on whether or not its founder dates back a long way¹³⁷ and was a man of importance. It is the extended family¹³⁸ which is composed of the head of the family (the hennugan) with his wives and children, the married boys with their wives and children, the unmarried girls,¹³⁹ the head of the family's brothers also with their wives and children, and potential¹⁴⁰ assimilated members (slaves, servants or strangers¹⁴¹ invited to stay and join the family) with their families.¹⁴² A. Serpos Tidjani defines the extended family¹⁴³ by stating that "all those who descend from a common ancestor (imaginary or not) or are able to claim kinship with him¹⁴⁴ (servants, slaves) consider one another kin.¹⁴⁵ They do not necessarily live under the same roof,¹⁴⁶ but they are obliged to take part in paying homage to the dead¹⁴⁷ who may or may not be deified (6)".¹⁴⁸ The hennu does not usually go farther back¹⁴⁹ than five generations, beyond which it acquires¹⁵⁰ the superlative ZUN.

— ZUN, the major lineage, is a type of superlative denoting the large size of an extended family, the hennudaho (large hennu), or a group of extended families. The superlative is then tagged onto¹⁵¹ the name of the founder of the hennu.

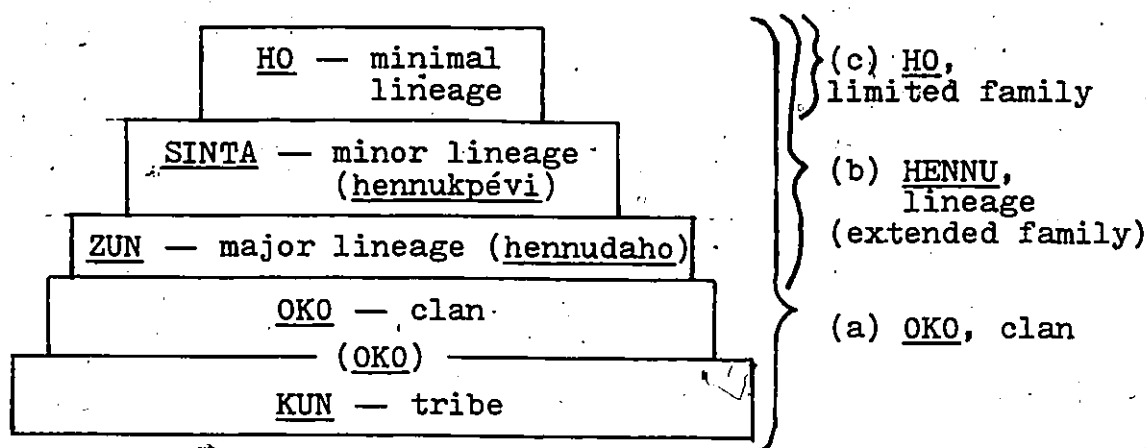
— SINTA, a territorial segment of the lineage or a minor lineage (the hennukpévi) is a smaller-scale hennu which brings the extended family closer together in their daily living, i.e. in the socio-spatial confines of the pile-dwelling concession (the sinta) and in the socio-temporal framework of generally three generations.¹⁵² Under the authority of the sintagan (?), it constitutes a kind of microcosm which has its own existence and organization and which strives to be self-sufficient.¹⁵³ In this case, the kinship unit overlaps the territorial group. It is for this reason that a breakdown of a few sinta-families has been illustrated in the chapter on habitat (8).¹⁵⁴

— The expression "family community"¹⁵⁵ is widely used in Lower Dahomey to emphasize the ties of blood or allegiance to a common ancestor in a lineage group. It usually coincides with the notion of hennu, although at times it designates a more extensive or, on the contrary, a more limited group.¹⁵⁶ In view of this relativeness, it was thought preferable¹⁵⁷ to retain the expression "extended family".

(c) HO (9), the minimal lineage, is the limited family, the conjugal family,¹⁵⁸ the ho-family, "elementary"¹⁵⁹ when it comprises the man, his wife and their child or children and¹⁶⁰ "polygynous" or "compound" when it comprises the husband with his wives and their respective children (8). Sometimes servants are included. Although it is of no importance whether or not they live together, the family members generally live under the same roof, in the same

hut or¹⁶¹ hotin. The kinship and territorial groups overlap as in the case of the sinta-family and often the hennudaho whose members thus constitute a residential group or komé.

Fig. 69 — Diagram of the Tofinnu Family Groups.



The clan (oko) has died out;¹⁶² only the lineages have survived, more so in the form of sinta and ho than hennu. The inability of the oversized structure, even the hennu, to adapt to today's lifestyle has led to its disintegration.¹⁶³ On the other hand, the sinta is better suited to¹⁶⁴ the Tofinnus' individualism and the demands of everyday life. Some day the conjugal family (ho) will undoubtedly become the basic reality at the expense of the sinta-family. The evolutionary process¹⁶⁵ could be accelerated over the next few years as the present economic crisis and ensuing emigration¹⁶⁶ prevent the sinta from carrying on its function as a production unit.¹⁶⁷ The time when numerous fisheries could be operated communally is in the past.¹⁶⁸ Many extended families no longer own

fish farms.¹⁶⁹ Their only collective property is often reduced to the mausoleum (yoho) for their dead¹⁷⁰ or certain deified ancestors, but this is no longer a case of property utilized communally on a daily basis.¹⁷¹ The Tofinnu is thus turning toward types of individual fishing which require few or no investments.¹⁷² Henceforth, there is a tendency¹⁷³ for the conjugal family¹⁷⁴ to become a social and economic entity in its own right which naturally benefits, if need be, from the customary solidarity.

In tandem with the¹⁷⁵ disintegration of the extended family, the worship of distant ancestors which kept these large groups together,¹⁷⁶ as it were, is dying out.¹⁷⁷ The very close ancestors are venerated, and if by chance the decision to pay homage to a distant ancestor is reached,¹⁷⁸ the ceremony often assumes an almost private character. Henceforth, we witness an increase in the number¹⁷⁹ of ancestors and the¹⁸⁰ surprising phenomenon where the lineage segments choose to retain ties with closer ancestors rather than a distant one¹⁸¹ who may or may not be imaginary, but who is not renounced for such a reason. The integration factor thus assumes¹⁸² a more fraternal than cultural dimension (for example, all the Dakoménu are brothers and all the Sokoménu are brothers) without, however, one excluding the other.¹⁸³ The evolutionary process has also affected the traditionally supreme authority of the head of the extended family, the hennugan or sintagan. In the past, the entire family organization depended on the head of the family.¹⁸⁴ The title of hennugan was passed down

to him because he was the eldest and because of real or assumed qualities attributed to him prior to the death of the hennugan he succeeded.¹⁸⁵ Moreover, he often received his title from the deceased who appointed him to carry on the work of the ancestors. He was the link between¹⁸⁶ the living group and the deceased group and in that capacity in charge of ensuring the continuity of the lineage and ancestor worship. To assume such a responsibility effectively, he had to be recognized as having absolute powers.¹⁸⁷ As we have already witnessed, he was the guardian¹⁸⁸ not only of his own descendants but also of his brothers, sisters, cousins and their descendants, in other words all collaterals insofar as they were related to him by the remembrance of a common ancestor. He thus had authority and powers over a very large group. No material or ceremonial transaction was valid unless¹⁸⁹ it was carried out¹⁹⁰ or approved by the hennugan himself. In short, the members of the group were all under¹⁹¹ the authority of the hennugan. His decisions were accepted without question¹⁹² and his importance is illustrated by his list of prerogatives:¹⁹³

he organizes ritual ceremonies,

he settles disputes between members of the extended family,

he organizes and authorizes marriages, he authorizes divorces,

he sanctions high misdemeanours committed by members of the lineage,

he banishes¹⁹⁴ from the group anyone found guilty of

incest or other equally serious offenses...

The hennugan is actually the kingpin¹⁹⁵ of the whole family organization. His authority reigns supreme,¹⁹⁶ but he often consults first with the oracle Fa and with the help of the tanyinons or "old aunts"¹⁹⁷ who assist in ancestor worship. They are the old women of the extended family who intervene in the prayers and offerings to the ancestors as in everyday life because of their wisdom and competence. Among other things, their presence at wedding ceremonies was mandatory so as to¹⁹⁸ seal the union, as it were, with the consent and blessing of the ancestors. We will come back to this point further on. The hennugan was also assisted at Ganvié by one or more¹⁹⁹ dekpègans who were the young men's²⁰⁰ leaders. The number of dekpègans was based on²⁰¹ the number of young men and their respective powers. The young women have the same institution with the ahuligan as their leader.²⁰² In spite of these helpers, problems and friction²⁰³ among members of the extended lineage were often caused when the above prerogatives²⁰⁴ were exercised,²⁰⁵ as it was impossible to reconcile the interests of each and everyone²⁰⁶ in an ever expanding group.²⁰⁷ As a result, internal pressures were brought to bear²⁰⁸ on the hennugan who was gradually compelled to surrender²⁰⁹ most of his powers to the family councils. Henceforth, the headman is assisted and supervised, if not contradicted, by a council which is generally, but not invariably,²¹⁰ made up of elders immediately lower in rank.²¹¹ The process is well described by Serpos Tidjani who specifies,

with reference to²¹² the head of the family, that nowadays "for any serious matter he must seek the opinion and even comply with the wishes²¹³ of the majority, at the risk of sowing discord²¹⁴ within his family group and enjoying less authority over²¹⁵ those who are distantly related²¹⁶ to him. This is why he is the last to speak²¹⁷ at meetings. His opinion, which carries the most weight²¹⁸ and is equivalent to a final ruling,²¹⁹ is given only after he has heard the conflicting²²⁰ views of his council members. His decision simply ratifies what has been suggested by the majority (10)."²²¹ It is thus the family authorities, the influential members of the family, who ultimately²²² make the final decisions.²²³ During the colonial period, their communal²²⁴ decisions could acquire more weight — at least in the eyes of the Europeans — by being ratified first in the Gbessou Court and then in the Abomey-Calavi Court which, as we have witnessed, handled Tofinnu matters.

The hennugan is still acknowledged as patron of religious rites.²²⁵ His authority which has become²²⁶ strictly spiritual and ritual continues, however, to grow with his age and the size of the lineage.²²⁷ Soon even²²⁸ the members of-the²²⁹ family councils were unable to agree unanimously²³⁰ and had to surrender most of their powers to the sintas' smaller councils. These, in turn, have recently been compelled to meet the individuals themselves half-way.²³¹ In fact, the colonial phenomenon contributing with the dispersal, evolution and autonomy that it entailed, first the hennu and then the sinta gradually lost their substance.

Their restraining force weakened,²³² spouses and spouses-to-be gained more freedom, children became more emancipated and heirs gained from partitioning...²³³ Although the hennugan is a thing of the past²³⁴ in urban environments, his equivalent on a smaller scale,²³⁵ the sintagan, is still going strong²³⁶ in the pile-dwelling villages, despite the evolution in progress. His²³⁷ authority is approximately the same as the hennugan's²³⁸ with the difference lying in the number of people in his charge.²³⁹ In most cases,²⁴⁰ the legal and economic rights assumed by the heads of the conjugal family are still exercised under the guardianship of the sintagan. It is certain, however, that the present trend is heading toward²⁴¹ a shift of authority from the head of the family to the father, the head of the conjugal family. The Tofinnu is at the crossroads²⁴² of two diverging trends: one individualistic and²⁴³ the other communal. His economic activity is limited by the size of his dugout canoe²⁴⁴ while his social framework remains governed by laws, taboos and conformity to a larger community: the extended family.²⁴⁵ However, there is a growing trend toward the replacement of²⁴⁶ the extended family²⁴⁷ by the limited family which is based this time on the size of the dugout canoe and the scope of economic activities.²⁴⁸ A process of reduction, disintegration, and individualization is taking place whereby the sinta-family has replaced the hennu, and in turn the ho-family, which has become the socio-economic unit, is emerging.²⁴⁹

(1) Murdock George, Social Structure, New York, The MaxmiPlan Company, 1949, Chapters 1 to 5.

(2) A man's agnates are those²⁵⁰ cognates traced down the male line²⁵¹ from a common male ancestor.²⁵²

(3) Radcliffe-Brown, op. cit., p. 49.

(4) Radcliffe-Brown, op. cit., p. 17.

(5) Bessaignet Pierre, Principes de l'ethnologie économique, Paris, Librairie Générale de Droit et de Jurisprudence, 1966, pp. 62-67 (Murdock's theories).

(6) Tidjani, Serpos A., "Notes sur le mariage du Dahomey", in Etudes Dahoméennes, Porto-Novo, IRAD, VI-1951, p. 45.

(7) It was thought preferable²⁵³ to use the term sintagan, head of the sinta, rather than hennugan kpévi,²⁵⁴ head of a small hennu. .

(8) See Chapter 12.

(9) It should be noted that in the Tofingbé dialect, there is no word to designate the nuclear family.²⁵⁵ The terms ho and sinta refer to the locality, the hut and the pile-dwelling concession, and by extension to the family ties which are formed therein, i.e.²⁵⁶ the ho-family and the sinta-family.

(10) Tidjani, op. cit., p. 54.

Comments

French: La parenté procède de trois principes fondamentaux:
— la filiation,¹ c'est² la règle qui détermine
dans quelle lignée³ se comptent les liens de sang;

English: Kinship is based on three fundamental principles:
— descent,¹ which is² the rule determining in
which line³ the blood ties are traced;⁴

¹ The term "filiation" seems to belong to a more specialized vocabulary than "descent" which is used in such current phrases as "he is of noble or humble descent". SCFA offers a list of examples where French prefers a more intellectual term than English, under the heading of "doublets savants et populaires" (#56). For another meaning of "descent", see the quote in comment 19. As "descent" can mean either "filiation" or "descendance", there is "bifurcation" when going from English to French (Class by M. Darbelnet). (TT)

² A principle clause is not acceptable in English after a colon as it is in French (": — la filiation, c'est la règle"), so a subordinate clause was used in the translation instead (": — descent, which is the rule").

³ "Lignage" corresponds to "lineage" and "ligne" to "line". However, the word "lignée" can mean either "lineage" or "line" depending on the context. In this case, reference is being made to the male or female "line" rather than a lineage group. When a term has more than one possible translation, there is "bifurcation" (Class by M. Darbelnet). (TT)

⁴ "Se comptent" is an example of the "animisme" of

pronominal verbs typical to French (#188). Although this construction is not used in English, the metaphorical value of the French term has been recaptured in a different image in the translation "are traced". The active-passive "modulation" which was carried out here is a common procedure when translating pronominal verbs (#225, #120 b).

French: — la résidence, c'est la règle qui détermine en quel lieu doit s'établir⁵ une famille donnée;

English: — residence, which is the rule determining where a given family must set up their household;⁵

⁵ The translation of "s'établir" by "set up their household" is an example of the abstract to concrete "modulation" (#219).

French: Reprenant⁶ ces trois variables, George Murdock a proposé la classification suivante (1):

English: On the basis of⁶ these three parameters, George Murdock proposed the following classification (1):

⁶ "Reprenant" was initially translated fairly literally by "coming back to", but as the parameters were outlined directly above and not a few pages before, "based on" seemed more appropriate. The English uses a more impersonal approach than the French.

French: Bilatérale (les deux lignes confondues).
Double (les deux lignes séparées).⁷

English: Bilateral (both lines together).
Double (both lines separately).⁷

⁷ The translation of "confondues" by "together" and "séparées" by "separately" are examples of "transposition", where one part of speech is translated by another, in this case adjectives by adverbs (#81). In English, an ellipse was made of the verb "traced" or "viewed" (#145).

French: Patrilocale (lieu du père de l'époux).⁸

English: Patrilocal (husband's father's household).⁸

⁸ The translation of "lieu" by "household" is a "modulation lexicale" involving a shift from general to specific (#76). The scope of the French term is much broader than the English.

French: Avunculocale (lieu de l'oncle maternel⁹ de l'époux).

English: Avunculocal (husband's mother's brother's⁹ household).

⁹ "Mother's brother" rather than "maternal uncle" is the usual equivalent in anthropological texts for "oncle maternel". It is obviously on a more colloquial level of language than the French expression, so we may call the expressions "doublets savants et populaires" (#56). (TT)

French: Sib, lignée¹⁰ (filiation unilinéaire, pas de résidence commune).¹¹

English: Sib, lineage¹⁰ (unilineal descent, different residence).¹¹

¹⁰ We have already seen "lignée" translated as "line" when computing one's genealogy (comment 3). However, in this case, "sib" and "lignée" refer to actual kinship groups and thus the term "lineage" is appropriate here. (TT)

¹¹ A type of "modulation" called "le contraire négativé" was used in translating "pas de résidence commune" by "different residence" (#224).

French: Famille nucléaire.¹²

English: Nuclear family.¹²

¹² "Famille nucléaire" is clearly a "calque d'expression" of "nuclear family" (#33). However, Bourgoignie is referring directly to Murdock's classification when he uses the anglicized term and refrains from using it again in the

remainder of the chapter. (TT)

French: Appliquant cette classification à la société tofinnu, les formes de filiation, de résidence et de groupement sont respectivement patrilinéaire, patrilocale et clanique (famille étendue).¹³

English: If we apply this classification to Tofinnu society, we find it is structured according to patrilineal descent, patrilocal residence and clan (extended family) groups.¹³

¹³ The syntax of this sentence may appear to have been altered needlessly. However, it was done in order to avoid having to resort to the uncommon adjective "clannish". Moreover, while "clanique" is an adjective of relationship, "clannish" is an adjective of quality and therefore inappropriate. "Clan", a noun, has the value of an adjective if followed by another noun, as is the case in the translation. This common English construction dispels the awkwardness of a literal translation without altering the sense.

French: Le groupement familial tofinnu est basé sur un système unilinéal et agnatique (2):¹⁴ le lignage patrilinéaire exogamique.

English: The Tofinnu family unit is based on a unilineal agnatic (2) system,¹⁴ the exogamic patrilineal lineage.

¹⁴ The colon, which breaks the continuity of the sentence, was replaced by a comma indicating apposition. Both forms of punctuation announce what is to follow ("traitement") (#210, #213). A dash can also be used in English for this purpose, but its acceptability is disputed.

French: Au lieu de reconnaître comme parents¹⁵ les cognats, c'est-à-dire les descendants des lignes maternelle et paternelle, le système clanique patrilinéaire attache une importance¹⁶ quasi

exclusive à la filiation masculine.

English: Instead of recognizing as kin¹⁵ cognates, i.e. descendants of the maternal and paternal lines, the patrilineal clan system values¹⁶ male descent almost exclusively.

¹⁵ If the English structure seems awkward, it is because the normal syntax "instead of recognizing cognates, i.e.... as kin" was unable to incorporate the parenthesis immediately after "cognates" without separating "cognates" from "as kin". The proximity of the two terms seemed more important for the sake of clarity than syntactic smoothness. "Parents" would normally be translated by the layman by "relatives", "relations" or "parents". However, in Anthropology, the proper equivalent is "kin", "kinsfolk" or "kinsmen". There is thus a divergence between the usual term and the technical term (#14). By the same token, "parenté" and "parental" are translated by "kinship". Correct translation of such terms depends on familiarity with the jargon. (TT)

¹⁶ English often replaces nouns or verb phrases containing nouns by verbs (#87 1). This is the case in the translation of "attache une importance quasi exclusive à la filiation masculine" by "values male descent almost exclusively". The "transposition" verb + noun by verb resulted in a second "transposition", "exclusive" (adjective) by "exclusively" (adverb) (#81-85). This is an example of "enchaînement des traductions", in which one change calls for another (M. Darbelnet). The translation of "attache une importance" by "values" is also an example of "économie lexicale" (#168).

French: La parenté ne sera reconnue qu'en ligne paternelle¹⁷ et les liens parentaux, non les droits ni les devoirs, s'y arrêteront.¹⁸

English: Kinship is only recognized patrilineally¹⁷ and

kinship ties, irrespective of rights or obligations, go no further.¹⁸

¹⁷ "En ligne paternelle" was rendered by "patrilineally". The translation of an adverb phrase in French by a simple adverb in English is dealt with in the section on "caractérisation adverbiale" (#87 3, #112).

¹⁸ In rendering "s'y arrêteront" by "go no further", a type of "modulation" known as "le contraire négatif" has taken place (#224). The literal rendition "stop there" is also possible.

French: Le clan est "un groupe ayant une descendance unilinéaire selon laquelle tous les membres peuvent se considérer à un titre quelconque comme des parents (3)".¹⁹

English: The clan is "a group having unilineal descent in which all the members regard one another as in some specific sense kinsfolk (3)".¹⁹

¹⁹ This is the original English quote which we will compare with our own translation so as to illustrate that more than one version is possible. We propose as an alternative "a unilineal descent group in which all members may consider one another in some capacity as kinsmen". "Kinsmen" was preferred to "kinsfolk" because of the archaic overtones of the latter. (TT)

French: Le critère d'appartenance²⁰ n'est ni l'habitat, ni le nombre de descendants, ni la distance²¹ ou les contacts personnels, mais uniquement le seul fait d'être²² descendant "reconnu" du fondateur du clan.

English: The criterion on which membership is based²⁰ is neither habitat, number of descendants, nor closeness of ties²¹ or personal contacts, but

solely being²² a "recognized" descendant of the founder of the clan.

²⁰ "Le critère d'appartenance" was translated by "the criterion on which membership was based", utilizing the procedure of "amplification" (#165). A more literal translation would be possible but not as explicit. This choice is therefore an example of "option" rather than "servitude" (#11).

²¹ The French term "distance" can be used physically or figuratively as in the English expression "distantly related". However, "distance" in English is not readily used in a figurative sense. As the issue at hand is kinship ties, "distance" was rendered by "closeness of ties", resulting in a "modulation lexicale" known as "renversement du point de vue" (#76 6). The opposite viewpoint has been expressed as we are dealing with the relative distance or closeness of ties.

²² The procedure of "concentration" took place in translating "mais uniquement le seul fait d'être" by "but solely being" (#165). This is a common structural difference of French and English according to M. Darbelnet. It should also be noted that the French is redundant in its use of both "uniquement" and "seul".

French: Les ancêtres de la même souche sont membres du clan autant que les vivants.²³

English: Ancestors of common descent are as much a part of the clan as the living members.²³

²³ Although "les vivants" could be correctly rendered by "the living", the English term has a more global connotation than is required here. It was necessary to be more restrictive by adding "members" after "living". To avoid repetition, "membres" used earlier on in this sentence was rendered by "a part of". "La même souche" could have

been translated more literally by "from the same founder" but this precision was deemed unnecessary, so the translation reads "of common descent".

French: Clan (oko) et lignage (hennu) sont structurés selon les mêmes principes mais ils diffèrent comme groupe social en ce sens que le second ne comprend que les²⁴ membres de la lignée²⁵ vivant à un moment donné.

English: The clan (oko) and the lineage (hennu) are structured along the same principles but they differ as a social group in the sense that the latter includes only those²⁴ members of the descent line²⁵ living at a given time.

²⁴ According to M. Darbelnet, oppositions are stronger in English than in French (Class^r by M. Darbelnet). For example, the "déictiques", or words which call to mind or refer to something previous or something to come, play an important role in English (#234). In translating the definite article "les (membres)" by "those (members)", the members living at a given time are being opposed to those of past and future times.

²⁵ In this sentence, it is essential to distinguish between "lignage" and "lignée", the former referring to a group, the latter to a continuum of groups. In this case, "lignage" was rendered by "lineage" and "lignée" by "descent line". As explained here by Bourgoignie, the difference between "lignage" and "clan" is that the former is synchronic and the latter is diachronic. The descent line, also diachronic, is not a group but a classification used to illustrate who belongs to the lineage or clan. (TT)

French: "La distinction entre un clan et un lignage est que dans un lignage, chaque membre peut, en fait ou théoriquement, prouver le lien généalogique qui l'unit à un membre quelconque de son lignage

par l'existence d'un ancêtre commun, alors que cela est impossible dans un clan, et l'est en général (4)."²⁶

English: "The distinction between clan and lineage is that in a lineage group each member can actually, or at least theoretically, trace his genealogical connexion with any other member by descent from a known common ancestor whereas in a clan, [which is usually a larger body,] this is not possible. [(A moiety may be divided into clans] and usually is so.) (4)"²⁶

²⁶ If we compare this original English quote to its French counterpart, we notice that the French version is incomplete. The phrase "et l'est en général" does not seem to make sense or refer to anything as it should be a part of the following sentence which Bourgoignie has accidentally omitted. Those parts left out in the French text have been boxed off in the original English quote. The following faulty translation of the faulty French text illustrates the importance of finding original quotes:

"The distinction between a clan and a lineage is that in a lineage, each member can, actually or theoretically, prove his genealogical tie which relates him to any member of his lineage through a common ancestor, whereas this is impossible in a clan, and usually is (4)."

By locating the actual English quote, the intended meaning of the French text has been restored.

French: Lorsque le Tofinnu rencontre quelqu'un qu'il ne connaît pas,²⁷ c'est par filiation qu'il va le situer.²⁸ De là²⁹ son excellente connaissance de longues généalogies qui contraste avec³⁰ l'ignorance que manifeste³¹ l'Occidental ordinaire pour ses ascendants au-delà d'une ou de deux générations. C'est que celui-ci utilise en fait³² d'autres cadres de référence pour situer un

individu:³³ classe sociale, profession, revenus, nationalité, voiture, lieu de résidence, etc. Pour le Tofinnu, par contre,³⁴ le système de parenté patrilineale constitue le système exclusif de référence sociale.

English: When a Tofinnu meets a stranger,²⁷ he classes²⁸ him by descent. This accounts for²⁹ his excellent knowledge of long genealogies as opposed to³⁰ the ignorance of³¹ the ordinary Westerner about his ancestry beyond one or two generations. The latter³² uses other frames of reference to class an individual such as³³ social class, occupation, income, nationality, car, place of residence, etc. whereas³⁴ the Tofinnu's only system of social reference is the patrilineal kinship system.

²⁷ "Quelqu'un qu'il ne connaît pas" may be correctly translated by a literal rendition, but "stranger" concisely expresses the same idea, making use of the principle of "concentration" (#165). The French cognate "étranger" is a "faux-ami" so the French had to paraphrase the idea (#54-55).

²⁸ The term "situer" appears twice in the above section and has been rendered by "classes", effectuating a "modulation lexicale". "Classes" is more concrete than "situer" in that we can actually visualize the genealogy being drawn or the status being charted (#76 1). If a more general term such as "places" or "locates" were used in English, it would have to be qualified by adding "in his genealogy" or "on the social ladder". The first case is thus more the idea of "identifies" and the second of "rates" or "ranks". "Classes" was thus the only term considered appropriate for both, and it seemed important to keep the same term in both cases for the sake of the comparison. "Classer" could have been used in French, but was perhaps avoided as "classe sociale" soon follows the verb "situer" in the second instance. "Classify" might be another possibility

but would be less appropriate with regard to people.

29 It was necessary to add a main verb ("this accounts for") to the English sentence as it is incorrect to use the grammatically incomplete or elliptic sentence commonly used in French to produce a stylistic effect. Alternative versions could be "hence is derived" or "hence comes".

30 The translation "qui contraste avec" by "as opposed to" involves a "transposition" (#81-85). Relative and participial phrases are often interchangeable.

31 The translation of "que manifeste" by "of" is an example of "dépouillement", the opposite of "étoffement" (#177, #91).

32 In the segment "c'est que celui-ci utilise en fait d'autres cadres de référence pour situer un individu", "en fait" like many "charnières" does not add anything to the English version. Rather than translating it simply for the sake of being literal, "en fait" has been discarded as superfluous, as was "c'est que". According to SCFA, "l'anglais... fait beaucoup moins appel aux articulations explicites, donc laisse au lecteur le soin de suppléer lui-même les articulations qui s'imposent et joue plutôt avec la juxtaposition des phrases et segments de l'énoncé." (#208) The French is thus more explicit in the linking of ideas.

33 In many cases such as this in our translation, colons are replaced by "i.e." or "such as" in order to make the sentence less segmented. Both the punctuation and the verbal forms indicate equally well that something is to follow ("traitement") (#210, #213).

34 Another example of a less punctuated style in the translation is the joining of the last two sentences in this section by the conjunction "whereas" which expresses

, the opposition of "par contre". In addition, the phrase "pour le Tofinnu" was blended into the sentence by the use of the possessive, thereby eliminating the two commas setting off "par contre".

French: Le lignage paternel, appelé toko est un groupe clos, uni à partir d'un aïeul commun autour duquel s'organise le culte des ancêtres.³⁵

English: The paternal lineage called toko is a closed group, brought together by a common ancestor who is the centre of ancestor worship.³⁵

³⁵ The translation of "autour duquel s'organise le culte des ancêtres" by "who is the centre of ancestor worship" is an example of a "modulation" called "renversement des termes" (#223). The French stresses the periphery while the English refers to the centre. A translation such as "around whom ancestor worship revolves" would be heavy and awkward. An alternative is "focus".

French: En fait, les liens de paternité sont intérieurs au lignage paternel, tandis que tous les rapports de maternité³⁶ lui sont³⁷ extérieurs à moins d'aller à l'encontre des règles d'exogamie.³⁸

English: Paternal ties remain within the paternal lineage while all maternal relationships³⁶ lie³⁷ outside the lineage unless the rules of exogamy are broken.³⁸

³⁶ Different means of "caractérisation" are evident in the translation of "liens de paternité" by "paternal ties" and "rapports de maternité" by "maternal relationships" (#109).

³⁷ Vinay and Darbelnet believe that "il [l'anglais] préfère généralement remplacer "être", mot signe, par un mot image." There are two examples of this tendency in this sentence. In the first case "sont" is translated by "remain" and in the second case by "lie" (#43).

³⁸ The translation of "à moins d'aller à l'encontre des règles d'exogamie" by "unless the rules of exogamy are broken" involves two "modulations". The first is a shift from active to passive (#225) and the second from cause to effect which comes under the heading of "modulation explicative" (#220). Note that in this sentence, as in comment 32, "en fait" was not translated.

French: Pour assurer leur extension et leur descendance, on a recours spontanément à des unions exogamiques.³⁹

English: To ensure their growth and continuity, exogamous unions are carried out spontaneously.³⁹

³⁹ In translating "descendance" by "continuity", a "modulation lexicale" known as "renversement du point de vue" has been implemented. The French term implies a downward direction while the English indicates a forward movement (#76 6). The English term "descendance" would sound strange in this case. The active-passive "modulation" in the translation of "on a recours à" by "are carried out" illustrates the principle of French "subjectivisme" and English "objectivisme" (#187, #225).

French: La coutume tofinnu est catégorique;⁴⁰ l'union est essentiellement exogamique au niveau du lignage.⁴¹

English: The Tofinnu custom is categorical on this point.⁴⁰ Basically, unions are lineally⁴¹ exogamous.

⁴⁰ The semi-colon after "catégorique" was rendered verbally in the English text by adding "on this point", resulting in "explicitation" (#151).

⁴¹ The translation of "au niveau du lignage" by "lineally" is an example of different forms of "caractérisation" (#112).

French: Les enquêtes généalogiques faites dans la société polygynique des villages lacustres⁴² ont montré que la première épouse est le plus souvent issue

d'un lignage du village mais différent du lignage paternel.

English: Genealogical surveys made in the polygynic society of the pile-dwelling⁴² villages revealed that the first wife usually comes from one of the village lineages other than the paternal lineage.

⁴² The closest equivalents for "lacustre" are "lacustrian" and "lacustrine", both very uncommon words in English. The term "lakeshore" would be easily understood, but in this case would be the wrong meaning of "lacustre" which, according to the Petit Robert, can mean either near or on a lake. In the photographs at the back of Bourgoignie's book Les Hommes de l'eau (pp. 367-382), we can see that their huts are built on piles (or pilings) right on the lake. Harrap's offers as a translation for "lacustre": "lacustrian, lake or pile dwelling". The first term has already been ruled out as too technical but the second and third terms are both possible depending on the context. "Pile-dwelling" is, of course, the most precise and has thus been retained wherever possible. (TT)

French: Ceci résulte du fait que la première épouse est, comme nous le verrons plus loin, le résultat d'une transaction⁴³ entre deux chefs de lignage.⁴⁴ Les épouses suivantes sont par contre choisies et souvent issues de lignages propres à d'autres villages lacustres ou riverains.⁴⁵

English: As we will see further on, this is because the first wife is obtained through a transaction⁴³ between two lineage headmen,⁴⁴ whereas the following wives are chosen, and often come from lineages of other pile-dwelling or waterside⁴⁵ villages.

⁴³ The translation of "est le résultat d'une transaction" by "is obtained through a transaction" involves an abstract-concrete "modulation" (#219) and a noun-verb "transposition" (#82 b).

⁴⁴ Differentiation through "caractérisation" can be observed in the translation of "chefs de lignage" by "lineage headmen" (#109). Note also that this sentence has been joined to the next by "whereas", translating "par contre" as in comment 34.

⁴⁵ The problem in translating "riverain" is not the same as with "lacustre". In this case, it is uncertain whether the opposition is "lake-river" or "in the water-on the shore". However, the fact that "riverain" can apply to any water body advises us to use the equally general English term "waterside" rather than "riverside".

French: Pour quinze hommes polygames, pris dans la descendance⁴⁶ directe de Sokénu de Ganvié (fig. 65), on totalise 55 épouses dont la moitié⁴⁷ (27 exactement) sont étrangères⁴⁸ à la métropole lacustre.⁴⁹

English: For fifteen polygamous men, in the direct line⁴⁶ from Sokénu of Ganvié (fig. 65), half⁴⁷ of the 55 wives counted (exactly 27) were from outside⁴⁸ the major settlement of pile-dwellings.⁴⁹

⁴⁶ An abstract-concrete "modulation lexicale" was made in rendering "descendance" by "line" (#76 1) and the principle of "dépouillement" was used in rendering "pris dans" by "in" (#177).

⁴⁷ Although "half" has been given a position of greater value than "la moitié" by being inserted in the principle rather than the subordinate clause, the exogamy rate is more to the point of the text than the number of wives of 15 polygamous men. For this reason and for reasons of sentence structure, the order of priority of the clauses was altered.

⁴⁸ In translating "étrangères" by "from outside", we have chosen to paraphrase the idea rather than use the cognate "stranger". As seen in comment 27, "étranger" and

"stranger" are not usually interchangeable (#54-55).

⁴⁹ "Métropole" usually means "capital city" but we are dealing with the village of Ganvié in this case which is not the capital of Dahomey but rather of the lake villages. So in this context "métropole" has been translated by "major settlement". We may conclude that "métropole" can have a broader connotation than "metropolis".

French: Une règle d'endogamie villageoise⁵⁰ ou ethnique n'a jamais été instituée, quoiqu'il soit certain que les premiers réfugiés dans la Basse So ont dû souvent se marier entre eux.⁵¹

English: No rule of village⁵⁰ or ethnic endogamy has ever been instituted, although it is certain that the first refugees in the Lower So often had to intermarry.⁵¹

⁵⁰ The term "villageois" can apply either to a village or to the country (rural). This is example of "bifurcation" in which the choice between two possible meanings must be made (Class by M. Darbelnet). As we are dealing with tribal villages, the correct sense is obviously the first. As there is no English adjective corresponding to "villageois", the French term was translated by the noun "village" used as an adjective, as in the case of "clanique" and "clan" (comment 13). Note that the negation has been shifted from the adverb "jamais" to the article "no".

⁵¹ "Quoiqu'il soit certain [qu'ils]... ont dû" was initially translated by "although [they]...are sure to have", but the idea of necessity was lost. Therefore, we have opted for the more literal rendition, "although it is certain that [they]... had to". In the remainder of the sentence the principle of "concentration" was involved in rendering "se marier entre eux" by "intermarry" (#165).

French: L'hétérogénéité⁵² du peuplement des marécages



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Signature

Louis Emery

Stability of the Electron Bubble
in Rare Gas Solids

by

Louis Emery

Thesis submitted to the School of Graduate Studies
of the University of Ottawa in partial fulfilment
of the requirements for the degree
of Master of Science in Physics

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Chapter I

Description of the Problem

In this thesis we report a calculation which determines the relative stability of two types of excited electron states in rare gas solids (RGS): the electron bubble and the lowest energy conduction state. To the author's knowledge no theoretical work has ever been published concerning this, although there is published experimental evidence¹⁻³ which is very closely related to this problem. The relative stability of one state is deduced from the measurement of the negative charge carrier mobility in the rare gas solid. These values indicate that the conduction state is the stable one for Neon, Argon and Krypton solids (these are the rare gas solids which are to be treated in this thesis). The same thing holds for the rare gases in liquid form with the exception of liquid Neon, where the electron bubble is stable. These experimental findings will be used to confirm our results.

We shall use a new pseudopotential method of treating these excited electron states. This one-electron Hartree-Fock method has been used for the Rydberg series of rare gas and alkali atoms and for the self-trapped exciton bubble in solid Ne with success.^{4,5}

Of the two states, the electron bubble is of the most interest because an atomistic approach is used rather than a continuum approximation of the solid as in the electron bubble theory in liquid rare gases. Conduction bands in RGS have been calculated by many workers with different methods.^{21-34,41} Our pseudopotential, which was initially developed to treat electronic defects in

insulators, can be easily extended to calculate conduction bands for insulators.

Our electron bubble model is as follows. Around an electron localized within a solid, the neighbouring atoms will undergo outward displacements which form the cavity. The electron is presumably lodged on a vacancy site. It is also possible that the electron places itself on an interstitial site, but this is considered less probable than the former mostly because of the large concentration of vacancies in RGS at thermal equilibrium at high temperature. The reason for the repulsion of the surrounding atoms is this. The interaction between the defect electron and the atoms is two-fold. In our Hamiltonian we have a repulsive term and an attractive term. The repulsive term arises from the orthogonality requirement of the defect electron wavefunction with respect to all other core electron wavefunctions. The attractive part includes the polarization energy (defect has net charge $-e$), the short range coulomb and exchange energy and, to a lesser extent, deformation energy. Considering these factors we expect that the repulsion term overpowers the attractive term in light inert gas cases. In the heavier rare gases, the atomic polarizability is much larger making the effect of the excess electron on the atoms less repulsive. In reference 6 are listed the experimental electronic affinities of the rare gas atoms. The values for Ne, Ar and Kr are, respectively, -1.4 , -0.4 and 0.3 eV. Ignoring for the moment that electron bubbles could be unstable this means that the size of the defect's cavity should increase as the atomic number of the rare gas decreases. This tendency should appear in our results.

To determine the relative stability of the two possible states, we simply compare their respective thermodynamic free energies, and the lowest one will be that of the stable state. The energy of the bubble is taken to be the sum of the electronic energy of the defect, the polarization energy and the lattice deformation energy. The energy of the extended state will include the polarization or correlation energy as calculated by a method based on previous works in RGS band calculations.

It seems appropriate to briefly compare this thesis's treatment of the stability problem as applied to RGS with the treatment from earlier works (refs 7,8) of the stability problem as applied to rare gas liquids (RGL). These works report that the excess electron state in RGL of atomic number greater than that of Ne should be quasifree (i.e. a conduction state) while the Ne liquid case was found to be unlikely, or at best, uncertain. We expect qualitatively the same tendency for the solid case. The fundamental difference is their use of the continuum approximation of the liquid. For the liquid this seems to be the practical approach since an atomistic one would be complicated by the energetic motion of the atoms. In the continuum approximation the stability criteria are given in terms of liquid density, surface tension, atomic polarizability and atomic scattering length (with polarization effects excluded). In their model of the electron model the number density of atoms around the electron makes an abrupt change at some radius, the density being zero inside the cavity and equal to the equilibrium density outside the cavity. The potential energy within the sphere is taken to be a constant with respect to that of the liquid. This energy is estimated from

experimental scattering length. For the surface tension, experimental bulk values is used and any structure or 'fuzziness' of the surface of the cavity is ignored. To determine the polarization effects the liquid is approximated by a continuous medium of a given dielectric constant.

The main motivation of our calculation was the application of the new hybrid pseudopotential with 1-s gaussian bases to a type of electronic defect even though it turns out unstable.

were performed:

French: Les règles d'exogamie interdisent donc les unions entre parents parfois⁸⁵ très éloignés.

English: The rules of exogamy thus prohibit marriage between kinsmen who are very distant in some cases.⁸⁵

⁸⁵ In this sentence "parfois" is polysemic. It can mean either "sometimes" or "in some cases" which implies the principle of "bifurcation", or the need to choose between two possible meanings (Class by M. Darbelnet). The proper sense of "parfois" in this context is "in some cases".

French: Par contre, c'est la⁸⁶ même idée qui explique la licéité d'un mariage entre parents très proches comme une fille et son cousin maternel puisque ce dernier n'appartient pas au lignage paternel.

English: On the other hand, it is this⁸⁶ same idea that explains the licitness of marriage between very close kinsmen such as a girl and her maternal cousin, since the latter does not belong to the paternal lineage.

⁸⁶ English uses the "déictique" "this (same idea)" where the French settles for the definite article "la (même idée)". In this case, it is a "charnière de rappel" (#210, #234).

French: En effet, l'enfant du frère est sous la dépendance du hennugan de son père tandis que celui de sa soeur n'est pas sous la dépendance du hennugan de sa mère mais sous celle de son propre père, la parenté n'existant⁸⁷ qu'en ligne paternelle.

English: The brother's children are in the charge of the father's hennugan whereas the sister's children are in the charge of their own father's rather

than their mother's hennugan, as kinship is traced⁸⁷ only in the paternal line.

⁸⁷ The translation of "existant" by "traced" involves an abstract-concrete "modulation lexicale" (#76 1).

French: Comment échapper⁸⁸ à la rigueur des règles de l'exogamie? En diminuant la profondeur⁸⁹ du groupe familial; ramener l'ancêtre commun à une ou deux générations plutôt qu'à dix ou plus...

English: The strictness of exogamy rules can be obviated⁸⁸ by reducing the extent⁸⁹ of the family group, tracing the common ancestor back to one or two generations rather than ten or more...

⁸⁸ The question "Comment échapper à la rigueur des règles de l'exogamie?" is answered in the following sentence. Although a rhetorical question does not usually require an answer, this question certainly has an oratorical effect. Vinay and Darbelnet consider this tendency to be characteristic of French but not of English (#204). The question has thus been incorporated into the next sentence in the English version, so that the translation reads "The strictness of exogamy rules can be obviated by..." The translation of "échapper" by "can be obviated" involves an active-passive "modulation" (#225).

⁸⁹ In translating "profondeur" by "extent", it is clear that the first term has a definite direction while the second does not. The French word displays a phenomenon called "l'aspect vectoriel" and the English word "aspect ambivalent" (#67). Although "profondeur" is more specific than "extent", the remainder of the sentence explains that we are dealing lineally and not laterally, thereby compensating for the apparent loss of information (#151). An alternative translation is "size".

French: L'évolution actuelle va dans ce sens:⁹⁰ les règles

de l'exogamie se sont quasi réduites aujourd'hui à interdire les relations sexuelles incestueuses entre membres d'une famille restreinte (père, mère et enfants).⁹¹

English: There is a growing trend today in this direction.⁹⁰
The rules of exogamy have almost been reduced to prohibiting incestuous sexual relations between members of the nuclear family.⁹¹

⁹⁰ In the translation of "L'évolution actuelle va dans ce sens:" by "There is a growing trend today in this direction.", several structural alterations have been made without, however, changing the meaning. An adjective-adverb "transposition" is encountered in rendering "actuelle" by "today" (#82 h). The verb "go" in "va dans ce sens" has been omitted in the English version, but there is sufficient movement in the term "growing" and in the preposition "in" to warrant the semantically void "there is". As in the previous translation of "évolution" by "tendency" involving a "modulation lexicale" (comment 62), the French term "évolution" stresses the change (cause) while "growing trend" indicates that it is continuing (effect) (#76 2). Note that the colon indicating "traitement" (providing an explanation) (#213) has been replaced by simple juxtaposition of sentences, illustrating the "développement raisonné" of French as opposed to the "développement intuitif" of English (#207).

⁹¹ The French expression "famille restreinte" is clearly not as precise as "nuclear family" which is defined by Anthropologist Leopold Pospisil in The Kapauku Papuans of West New Guinea as "a kinship group composed of father, mother, and their children". It was therefore unnecessary to include the parenthesis used to clarify the French. "Restreint" was used earlier but was unqualified and therefore translated by the equally general term "limited" (comment 63). Later, it is used to include both "nuclear" and

"polygynous" (comment 158). As Bourgoignie coins his own terms to fit the Tofinnu family, he is obliged to provide definitions or explanations as he goes along. The translations of these terms must therefore be just as flexible. In this case, the translation involved using "doublets savants (nuclear) et populaires (restreinte)" (#56). However, "restreint" and "limited" also become technical terms when applied to the context of kinship. (TT)

French: Dans la société tofinnu la résidence est patrilocale;⁹² l'épouse vient vivre dans⁹³ le lignage de son mari.

English: In Tofinnu society residence is patrilocal, i.e.⁹² the wife moves into⁹³ her husband's lineage group.

⁹² The colon was rendered by "i.e.", both forms indicating "traitement", announcing that something is to follow. (#210, #213).

⁹³ There is no change in meaning in the translation of "vient vivre dans" by "moves into". There are however, some subtle differences. First of all, Bourgoignie takes the husband's position when he says "l'épouse vient vivre" whereas he could have said "va vivre", in which case he would be putting himself in the woman's place. This necessary precision in French involves a "gain" (#151). Another difference is that the movement expressed only by "vient" in the original text is captured in both the verb and the preposition in English. "Vivre" implies no movement and "dans" does not have the dynamic aspect of English prepositions (see "valeur cinétique des particules", #151).

French: Cette patrilocalité⁹⁴ s'explique aisément par la théorie de George Murdock qui voit⁹⁵ dans l'environnement le facteur déterminant de la division sexuelle⁹⁶ du travail, celle-ci déterminant à son tour le système de résidence, lequel

détermine alors les structures de parenté et le type de filiation (5).

English: Patrilocal residence⁹⁴ is easily explained by the theory of George Murdock who sees⁹⁵ environment as the determining factor of the division of labour between the sexes⁹⁶ which, in turn, determines the system of residence which then determines the kinship structures and type of descent (5).

⁹⁴ As in the translation of "hétérogénéité (comment 50), "patrilocality" sounds foreign and probably does not exist, so "cette patrilocalité" was rendered by "patrilocal residence". The demonstrative was not necessary in English as it is obvious that the Tofinnu society is still the issue at hand. "Cette" is a "déictique orienté vers le passé" (#234). If "this" were used in the English text, we would expect an opposition to be made, such as "that patrilocal residence". No "déictique" or "charnière" is necessary in the translation to recall the subject under discussion.

⁹⁵ In the phrase "la théorie de George Murdock qui voit...", it is uncertain whether it is "la théorie" or "George Murdock" "qui voit", since "qui" could modify either, and "voir" could be an example of "animisme" and modify "théorie" (#188). However, this would sound rather strange in English so we have chosen to assume that "George Murdock" is the subject of "qui voit", using "who" rather than "which" or "that". In the event that this choice is incorrect, it is still justified so that the translation will sound natural.

⁹⁶ Both "sexuel" and "sexual" can refer to the sexual act or to anything concerning the sexes, but the latter sense is much more frequent in French than in English. Although both senses exist in the two languages, they are more evenly distributed in French. We might conclude, then,

that the French term has a "sens intellectuel" and a "sens affectif" while the English word is mainly used in its "sens affectif". "Sexuel" was thus translated by "between the sexes". The above is dealt with under "l'aspect stylistique des faux-amis" (#55).

French: C'est à lui⁹⁷ qu'incombent les tâches de la construction des pêcheries, du transport des matériaux sur les lieux de pêche et de pisciculture,⁹⁸ du placement ou du lancer des divers filets.⁹⁹

English: He⁹⁷ is responsible for the task of building fisheries, transporting equipment to fishing and fish-breeding sites,⁹⁸ and placing or casting the various nets.⁹⁹

⁹⁷ By rendering "c'est à lui" by "he", the procedure of "mise en relief par compensation" has been used (#173). In French, emphasis was achieved syntactically while in English, phonetically.

⁹⁸ In the translation of "les lieux de pêche et de pisciculture" by "fishing and fish-breeding sites", a "modulation" from general to specific was made in rendering "lieux" by "sites" (#219) while the rendition of "pisciculture" by "fish-breeding" involved "des doublets savants et populaires" (#56). (TT)

⁹⁹ The "prédominance du substantif" in French is apparent in this sentence in the terms "construction", "transport", "placement" and "lancer" (#86-87). These nouns were rendered by the gerunds "building", "transporting", "placing" and "casting" in which the verb form has the function of a noun. This is an example of "transposition" (#82).

French: En bref, son activité est essentiellement celle que l'environnement lui a imposée:¹⁰⁰ la pêche.

English: In short, his activity is basically the one imposed on him by his environment, i.e.¹⁰⁰ fishing.

100 This translation offers another example of "traitement" where the colon was rendered by "i.e.", thereby making the sentence less abrupt (#210, #213). An alternative translation would be "namely".

French: C'est l'homme aussi qui se charge de la construction et de l'entretien des cases que le milieu lacustre a obligé à construire sur pilotis.¹⁰¹

English: It is also the man who takes care of the construction and maintenance of the huts. The lake environment has made it necessary for these huts to be built on piles.¹⁰¹

101 "Que le milieu lacustre a obligé à construire sur pilotis" was initially rendered by "which had to be built on piles as a result of the lake-dwelling environment". However, this version is heavy and long-winded so we divided the sentence into two (after "cases") and came up with, "The lake environment has made it necessary for these huts to be built on piles". "Lacustre" was translated by the general term "lake", as "pile-dwelling" would have made the sentence redundant and illogical. Furthermore, it was necessary to retain the idea of lake in this case. (TT)

French: Ce sont là des travaux trop lourds pour la femme à qui incombent les tâches, parfois pénibles aussi,¹⁰² des travaux domestiques.

English: These jobs are too heavy for the woman who is in charge of household chores which are sometimes back-breaking as well.¹⁰²

102 The translation of "ce sont là" by "these" is another example of "mise en relief par compensation" (see comment 97) (#173). The principle of "dilution" was voluntarily applied in rendering "parfois pénibles aussi" by "which are sometimes back-breaking as well" to avoid an abrupt translation (#165). In rendering "pénibles" by "back-breaking", a "vue directe"

was rendered by a "métaphore usée" (#181-182, Class by M. Darbelnet).

French: Elle s'occupe également de la transformation et du commerce du poisson ramené¹⁰³ par l'homme.

English: She also looks after the processing and trading of the fish caught¹⁰³ by the man.

¹⁰³ The translation of "ramené" by "caught" rather than "brought home" involved a "modulation lexicale" emphasizing the means rather than the result (#76 3).

French: Rarement¹⁰⁵ — nous n'avons jamais pu observer le fait¹⁰⁶ — des jeunes filles participeraient¹⁰⁴ à la pêche des huîtres.

English: Girls are said to take part¹⁰⁴ in oyster fishing on rare occasions,¹⁰⁵ although we have never been able to witness the event.¹⁰⁶

¹⁰⁴ "Dilution" is illustrated in the translation of "participeraient" by "are said to take part" (#165). This special use of the conditional form which does not exist in English is referred to in SCFA as "les dires" (#128) and in L'Emploi des temps verbaux en français moderne by Paul Imbs as "conditionnel d'information hypothétique".

¹⁰⁵ The translation of "rarement" by "on rare occasions" involves different forms of "caractérisation adverbiale", except that in this case it is the French that uses the adverb and the English which resorts to the adverbial phrase (#112). "Rarely", "seldom" or "infrequently" would be too negative here, so this change was necessary.

¹⁰⁶ A couple of interesting points should be discussed in the translation of " — nous n'avons jamais pu observer le fait —" by "although we have never been able to witness the event". The procedure which sets off a segment of a sentence by dashes or brackets is called "l'incidente" (#213).

"Although" made the idea of opposition explicit in the translation whereas it was only implicit in the French version.

French: Il a fallu des années au pêcheur¹⁰⁷ pour acquérir son art et construire ses pêcheries.

English: It has taken the fisherman years¹⁰⁷ to acquire his art and build his fisheries.

¹⁰⁷ An abstract-concrete "modulation" was made in translating "il a fallu" by "it has taken" (#219). We do not have an English equivalent for the French expression whereas the French can also say "cela lui a pris" and "il a mis".

French: Quitter le terroir sur lequel il a été formé dès l'enfance¹⁰⁸ et dans lequel il a investi,¹⁰⁹ est chose impossible.

English: It would be unthinkable for him to leave the soil on which he was born and raised¹⁰⁸ and in which he has invested so much.¹⁰⁹

¹⁰⁸ The translation of "il a été formé dès l'enfance" by "he was born and raised" is an example of "équivalence" in which one idiomatic expression ("figée") is rendered by another (#230). In this type of translation the translator does not heed the formal aspect of the phrase but translates globally. A relatively literal translation would have been clumsy and redundant ("on which he was raised from childhood/infancy"). Other possibilities are "where he was brought up" or simply "native (soil)". However, the former version is awkward while the latter omits the idea of "formé".

¹⁰⁹ In translating "il a investi" by "he has invested so much", we have obviously added a degree of intensity not expressed in the original text. Perhaps this was done to satisfy English's tendency to be more explicit (#151), or simply to differentiate between "investir" and "placer", both equivalents of "invest". Note also in this sentence

that "chose impossible" was translated by "unthinkable", as the English term "impossible" is more commonly used in its "sens intellectuel" than its "sens affectif" (#55 2). In this case, the French term indicates a refusal rather than an impossibility.

French: C'est perdre son gagne pain,¹¹⁰ celui de sa famille et affaiblir celui du sinta.

English: He would be losing his means of livelihood¹¹⁰ as well as his family's, and hindering that of the sinta.

¹¹⁰ In translating "c'est perdre son gagne pain" by "he would be losing his means of livelihood", a metaphor has been rendered by "vue directe" using the technique of "équivalence" (#181, #230, Class by M. Darbelnet). Although the term "bread-winner" exists, it was not possible to incorporate it here, nor was it necessary to retain the image.

French: Aussi est-il logique qu'au moment du mariage la femme,¹¹² qui par son départ n'abandonne quasi aucune spécialité, ni investissement, vienne vivre dans¹¹¹ le village, dans la communauté résidentielle et lignagère de son mari.

English: Therefore it is logical that the woman, who abandons virtually no speciality or investment by leaving, move to¹¹¹ the village, to the residential and lineal community of her husband when she gets married.¹¹²

¹¹¹ For the translation analysis of "viene vivre dans" by "move to", see comment 93.

¹¹² The translation of "par son départ" by "by leaving" and "au moment du mariage de la femme" by "when she gets married" provide good examples of noun-verb "transpositions" (#82 b) and the tendency of French to use a noun where English resorts to a subordinate verb (#87 1).

French: Parfois, lorsqu'il s'agit d'un mariage¹¹³ à l'intérieur d'un même village lacustre, pour des raisons de manque de place dans le sinta ou le komé paternel,¹¹⁴ la résidence peut devenir matri-patrilocale (résidence au lieu du père de l'épouse pour commencer, puis lieu du père de l'époux), voire même matrilocale (résidence au lieu du père de l'épouse) ou avunculocale (résidence au lieu de l'oncle maternel de l'époux).

English: When a wedding takes place¹¹³ members of the same pile-dwelling village, residence may sometimes become matri-patrilocal (residence in wife's father's household at first, then in husband's father's household) or even matrilocale (residence in wife's father's household) or avunculocal (residence in husband's mother's brother's household) because of a shortage of space in the paternal sinta or komé.¹¹⁴

¹¹³ The translation of "lorsqu'il s'agit d'un mariage" by "when a wedding takes place" involves an abstract-concrete "modulation" displayed by the verbs (#219). "Mariage" and "marriage" may be considered partial "faux-amis" inasmuch as they both have the meaning of married life, but "wedding" rather than "marriage" is used to refer to the actual ceremony (#55).

¹¹⁴ In the phrase "dans le sinta ou le komé paternel", "paternel" could modify only "komé" or both "sinta" and "komé". However, it would be logical to qualify both terms as paternal or maternal since "sinta" is not necessarily paternal. The translation thus reads "in the paternal sinta or komé".

French: La situation de fait qui oblige la femme régulièrement¹¹⁵ mariée à continuer à habiter chez son père est appelée vidotohué.

English: The actual situation which compels a woman to continue to live in her father's household despite her married status¹¹⁵ is called vidotohué.

¹¹⁵ The usual sense of "régulièrement" would imply a rather flippant woman which is highly unlikely in this case. However, the less common meaning of "legally" or "in accordance with the regulations" would make much more sense and the context dispels any possible ambiguity (#150, #156). The translation of "régulièrement mariée" by "despite her married status" is an example of "dilution" (#165).

French: Parfois également, dans le sens de l'émancipation contemporaine des jeunes,¹¹⁶ la règle d'établissement¹¹⁷ est néolocale:¹¹⁸ les jeunes émancipés s'installent où bon leur semble¹¹⁹ sans tenir compte¹²⁰ des règles précédentes, du moins lorsqu'ils en ont les moyens pratiques et financiers.¹²¹

English: Furthermore, with the present trend among young people toward emancipation,¹¹⁶ the rule for setting up household¹¹⁷ is sometimes neolocal, whereby¹¹⁸ the emancipated young couple settle down wherever they choose¹¹⁹ without heeding¹²⁰ the preceding rules, as long as they have the practical and financial means to do so.¹²¹

¹¹⁶ A few changes worth examining have been implemented in the translation of "dans le sens de l'émancipation contemporaine des jeunes" by "with the present trend among young people toward emancipation". "Dans le sens de l'émancipation" is rendered by "with the...trend...toward emancipation", "contemporaine" becomes "present" modifying "trend" rather than "emancipation" (as the latter would be illogical in English) and "les jeunes" is translated by "young people" (and by "young couple" further on in the sentence), entailing in both cases a general-specific "modulation" (#219). These syntactical alterations clearly have not prevented us from reconstructing the "unités de traduction" (app. II).

¹¹⁷ As in comment 5, the translation of "établissement" by "setting up household" involves an abstract-concrete

"modulation" (#219), thereby opposing "le plan de l'entendement" and "le plan du réel" (#41).

118 The colon after "néolocale" indicating "traitement" has been replaced by the term "whereby" (#210, #213). Both forms accomplish the same function.

119 The cliché "où bon leur semble" can only be translated by "équivalence" (#230). "Wherever they see fit" seems a bit too calculated and "wherever their hearts desire" too colloquial for this text, so we have opted for "wherever they choose". All three possibilities are set idiomatic expressions and another variation of our translation is "wherever they please".

120 The translation of "tenir compte des" by "heeding" is an illustration of the common use of verb-noun combinations with a general verb plus a noun in French as opposed to simple verbs in English (#87 1) and of "économie lexicale" (#167).

121 The translation of "les moyens pratiques et financiers" by "the practical and financial means to do so" involves an "ellipse" in French (#145-146) and "amplification" in English (#165).

French: Diminuer la profondeur¹²² du groupe familial pour accomoder le principe de l'exogamie, accroître la liberté de l'individu et simplifier ses rapports sociaux, c'est poser le problème de la segmentation, réelle ou fictive, de la structure polyclanique de la société tofinnu.¹²³

English: If the extent¹²² of the family unit were reduced to accomodate the principle of exogamy, if individual freedom were increased and social relations simplified, the problem of real or imaginary segmentation of the Tofinnu society's polyclannish structure would arise.¹²³

¹²² As in comment 89, "profondeur" was translated by "extent", creating a loss of information (#151). It would be possible to compensate for the "aspect ambivalent" of "extent" by adding "lineally" after "reduced", thereby restoring the "aspect vectoriel" of "profondeur" (#167). However, if the reader recalls that the problem of exogamy was overcome by limiting the family group lineally, the term "extent" will be fully understood without further qualification. An alternative solution is "size".

¹²³ A fairly literal rendition of this sentence is possible but the long list of verbal subjects would be structurally heavy. The cause-effect relationship expressed by the string of infinitives followed by "c'est" plus an infinitive was portrayed by a conditional clause.

French: Le lignage a tendance à s'accroître en progression géométrique¹²⁴ jusqu'à constituer¹²⁵ parfois un groupement de plusieurs milliers de personnes.

English: The lineage has a tendency to grow exponentially¹²⁴ until it sometimes constitutes¹²⁵ a group of several thousand people.

¹²⁴ "Economie lexicale" took place in rendering "en progression géométrique" by "exponentially" (#167).

¹²⁵ The translation of "jusqu'à constituer parfois" by "until it sometimes constitutes" is an example of "dilution" (#165) and a transfer from an infinitive to a personal mood.

French: Le groupe s'étend aussi bien sur le plan matériel que sur le plan social.¹²⁶

English: The group expands physically as well as socially.¹²⁶

¹²⁶ By comparing the means of "caractérisation adverbiale" in the translation of "sur le plan matériel" by "physically" and "sur le plan social" by "socially", the French shows a preference for nouns as opposed to adverbs in English (#112).

French: Il arrive un moment où une scission se produit entraînant l'émigration collective d'un segment du lignage; et le même processus recommence¹²⁷ ailleurs autour d'un nouveau fondateur.

English: There comes a point when fissioning occurs entailing mass emigration of a segment of the lineage, and the same process begins again¹²⁷ elsewhere around a new founder.

¹²⁷ "L'aspect inchoatif" marks the beginning of an action and is present in "recommence" and in such literal renditions as "begins again" or "starts over again" (#60). Other possible translations viewing the complete cycle rather than just the beginning ("recurs" or "repeats itself") were considered but not retained.

French: La hiérarchie des groupements familiaux entre lesquels se répartit l'autorité et la segmentation progressive du groupe parental¹²⁸ peuvent être schématisées dans une structure¹²⁹ où chaque groupement familial est sous la tutelle, de plus en plus théorique¹³⁰ d'ailleurs, du précédent (fig. 69).

English: The hierarchy of the family groups that share the authority and the gradual segmentation of the kinship¹²⁸ group can be represented by a diagram¹²⁹ in which each family unit is in the charge of the previous one, in an increasingly theoretical sense¹³⁰ however (fig. 69).

¹²⁸ "Parents" and its derivatives have already been discussed in comment 15 in terms of "niveau de langue" (#14). It should also be noted that "parents" and "parental" are partial "faux-amis" in the two languages as the terms have a greater extension in French than in English (#55).

¹²⁹ In examining the "découpage" of the phrase "schématisées dans une structure" and its translation "represented

by a diagram" there seems to be a one-to-one correspondence, but if we analyse the term "schématisées" we find two "unités de traduction": "represent" and "schematically" (app. II). The first unit is rendered in English by the verb and the second by the word "diagram". "Structure" specifies the type of diagram drawn which implies a loss of information in the translation (#151). However, we may be able to guess the form of the diagram as we already know it represents a hierarchy. Furthermore, the figure itself is explicit enough to compensate for the information loss.

¹³⁰ Although "théorique" modifies "tutelle", "theoretical" modifies "sense" rather than "charge". The French adjective has been rendered by an adverbial phrase ("in a theoretical sense"). This change can be justified as the entire phrase "is in charge of" acts as a verb and must therefore be modified by an adverbial form rather than an adjective. An alternative translation using the adverb would be "more and more theoretically". Both cases involve a "transposition" (#82 h).

French: (a) OKO (transcription en dialecte tofingbé du mot fon ako:¹³¹ clan) est le plus grand groupement parental des gens unis par un lien de parenté réel ou fictif dans le¹³² culte d'un même ancêtre.¹³³

English: (a) OKO (transcription in Tofingbé dialect of the Fon word ako or¹³¹ clan) is the largest kinship group of individuals joined together by a real or imaginary kinship tie in their¹³² worship of a common ancestor.¹³³

¹³¹ The colon has often been replaced throughout our translation by "i.e.", both forms serving to announce a definition or explanation ("traitement") (#213, #210). "Or" is frequently used in English for the same purpose, as in this case.

¹³² It is common to translate the definite article by the English possessive adjective as we have done here ("le culte/their worship") (#95). SCFA discusses this tendency under abstract-concrete "modulation" (#219).

¹³³ Although it would be perfectly accurate to translate "d'un même ancêtre" by "the same ancestor", the expression "a common ancestor" is more frequently found in anthropological texts. (TT)

French: En réalité, en temps normal, le lien est si ténu qu'il n'existe quasi plus, même sur le plan spirituel.¹³⁴

English: In actual fact, the bond is ordinarily so tenuous that it virtually no longer exists, even spiritually.¹³⁴

¹³⁴ The translation of "en temps normal" by "ordinarily" and "sur le plan spirituel" by "spiritually" involve different means of "caractérisation" (#112). The French could have also said "d'habitude" and "spirituellement" but the adverbial phrase is a stylistic preference in this case. In general, however, French has fewer simple adverbs than English (M. Darbelnet).

French: C'est le clan tel que nous venons d'en parler.¹³⁵

English: It is the clan according to the above description.¹³⁵

¹³⁵ The translation of "venons d'en parler" (verb + inf.) by "the above description" (adj. + noun) involves a "transposition inverse" (#89).

French: (b) HENNU, c'est le lignage qui peut être de taille variable¹³⁶ selon que son fondateur est éloigné dans le temps¹³⁷ ou non, selon qu'il fut homme d'importance ou non.

English: (b) HENNU is the lineage which may vary in size¹³⁶ depending on whether or not its founder dates back

a long way¹³⁷ and was a man of importance.

¹³⁶ In translating "peut être de taille variable" by "may vary in size", a "transposition" was made in which the adjective "variable" is rendered by a verb (#82 i).

¹³⁷ The phrase "est éloigné dans le temps" translated by "dates back a long way" is a special kind of "transposition" called a "chassé-croisé" (#88). The verb "est éloigné" is rendered by the noun phrase "a long way" while the prepositional phrase "dans le temps" is rendered by the verb "dates back".

French: C'est la "famille étendue"¹³⁸ qui groupe le chef de famille — le hennugan — avec ses femmes, ses enfants; les garçons mariés avec leurs femmes et leurs enfants, les filles non encore mariées;¹³⁹ les frères du chef de famille également avec leurs femmes et leurs enfants; et les assimilés éventuels¹⁴⁰ (esclaves, serviteurs ou hôtes étrangers¹⁴¹ invités à rester et à se mêler à la famille) avec leurs familles.¹⁴²

English: It is the extended family¹³⁸ which is composed of the head of the family (the hennugan) with his wives and children, the married boys with their wives and children, the unmarried girls,¹³⁹ the head of the family's brothers also with their wives and children, and potential¹⁴⁰ assimilated members (slaves, servants or strangers¹⁴¹ invited to stay and join the family) with their families.¹⁴²

¹³⁸ Being an unfamiliar expression in French and undoubtedly a "calque d'expression" of "extended family", "famille étendue" was set off in quotations (#33). As the English term is an established expression, the quotations have been dropped. Perhaps a less anglicized expression, such as "grande famille" could have been used in the original text. (TT)

139 In the translation of "les filles non encore mariées" by "the unmarried girls", the principle of "économie par évidence" comes into play (#166-170). There may be a slight information loss which could be remedied by resorting to a more literal rendition "the still unmarried girls", but this would make the translation unnecessarily heavy.

140 "Eventuel" has the cognate "eventual" in English but it is a deceptive one, a "faux-ami", as the two terms have different meanings (#55). The correct sense of "éventuel" is "potential" or "possible" and not "ulterior".

141 "Hôtes étrangers" could be rendered fairly literally by "foreign or strange guests", neither of which would be the correct sense. It has been translated simply by "strangers", as the idea of "guests" is implicit in the word "invited". These "strangers" are probably from some neighbouring village and thus could not be referred to as "foreigners". This is an example of "bifurcation" (Class by M. Darbelnet).

142 This sentence has been punctuated with a series of semi-colons. However, Vinay and Darbelnet state that the semi-colon in English has the function of "charnière de terminaison", so we have replaced them with commas in the translation (#213).

French: A. Serpos TIDJANI la¹⁴³ définit en disant que "se considèrent comme parents toutes les personnes descendant d'un ancêtre (mythique ou non) commun, ou pouvant se réclamer de lui¹⁴⁴ (serviteurs, esclaves);¹⁴⁵ les intéressés peuvent ne pas vivre sous le même toit.¹⁴⁶ Mais ils sont astreints à la participation au culte des morts,¹⁴⁷ divinisés ou non (6)".¹⁴⁸

English: A. Serpos Tidjani defines the extended family¹⁴³ by stating that "all those who descend from a common ancestor (imaginary or not) or are able

to claim kinship with him¹⁴⁴ (servants, slaves) consider one another kin.¹⁴⁵ They do not necessarily live under the same roof,¹⁴⁶ but they are obliged to take part in paying homage to the dead¹⁴⁷ who may or may not be deified (6)".¹⁴⁸

¹⁴³ The pronoun "la" before "définit" could have been correctly rendered by "it". However, "l'explicitation des pronoms" in French cannot be reproduced in English which has no grammatical gender (#96, #98) while it is a "servitude" in French to specify the gender (#11). This presents the problem of ambiguity where "it" could refer to "hennu" or "extended family". The gender of the French pronoun clarifies that the latter is the correct choice and we are obliged to repeat the expression "extended family".

¹⁴⁴ The principle of "explicitation" was used in translating "se réclamer de lui" by "claim kinship with him" (#150, #156) and a general-specific "modulation" was effected (#219).

¹⁴⁵ As in comment 142, the semi-colon has been used in the French text. As English generally dislikes such strong breaks in the middle of a sentence, the semi-colon has been replaced by a full stop, and as the sentence after the full stop is considerably short, it has been added onto the following one.

¹⁴⁶ The translation of "peuvent ne pas vivre sous le même toit" by "do not necessarily live under the same roof" involves a "modulation" although it is difficult to pinpoint which kind (#219-228). The original expresses a negated possibility while the translation suggests a negated necessity. A more literal translation "may not live under the same roof" is also possible but could be ambiguous as "may" can indicate possibility or permission. "Might not" or "don't have to" would be clear but not very elegant.

¹⁴⁷ A couple of points seem worthy of discussion in the translation of "la participation au culte des morts" by "to take part in paying homage to the dead". The "transposition" in rendering "participation" by "take part" illustrates a tendency in English to utilize verbs where French prefers nouns (#82 b, #86). As the ancestors are not necessarily deified, "culte" has been translated by "paying homage" rather than "worship". Punctuation alterations should also be noted.

¹⁴⁸ The collection "Etudes dahoméennes" is in French only and therefore there is no available translation for this quote.

French: Le hennu ne remonte¹⁴⁹ généralement pas à plus de cinq générations; au-delà, il hérite¹⁵⁰ du superlatif ZUN.

English: The hennu does not usually go farther back¹⁴⁹ than five generations, beyond which it acquires¹⁵⁰ the , superlative ZUN.

¹⁴⁹ In translating "remonte" by "go farther back", the French expression traces the ancestor upward and the English backward (as in comment 82) resulting in a "modulation" (#216-229):

¹⁵⁰ The figurative use of the term "hérite" cannot be transposed in English, so "acquire" was used retaining only the basic meaning (#182). Note also punctuation changes.

French: Le superlatif est alors accolé au¹⁵¹ nom du fondateur de l'hennu.

English: The superlative is then tagged onto¹⁵¹ the name of the founder of the hennu.

¹⁵¹ The "mot signe" "accolé (au)" was translated by the "mot image" "tagged (onto)", making the transition from the "plan de l'entendement" to the "plan du réel" (#41).

"Accolé" used to be an image which has weakened.

French: — SINTA, segment territorial de lignage ou lignage mineur, hennukpévi (petit hennu), est une sorte de diminutif ramenant la famille étendue dans les cadres plus étroits de la vie quotidienne, c'est-à-dire dans ceux, socio-spatiaux, de la concession lacustre — sinta — et ceux, socio-temporels, de trois générations en général.¹⁵²

English: — SINTA, a territorial segment of the lineage or a minor lineage (the hennukpévi) is a smaller-scale hennu which brings the extended family closer together in their daily living, i.e. in the socio-spatial confines of the pile-dwelling concession (the sinta) and in the socio-temporal framework of generally three generations.¹⁵²

(¹⁵² Although the translation of "ramenant la famille étendue dans les cadres plus étroits de la vie quotidienne" by "which brings the extended family closer together in their daily living" appears to be a relatively free translation, the term "cadres" which was not retained at this point was transferred to the second part of the sentence where the French used the term "ceux". The process of "compensation" was used (#171). In the first instance, "ceux" was translated by "confines" and in the second instance by "framework" for variation. A "transposition" was performed in rendering "dans les cadres plus étroits" (prep. phrase) by "closer together" (two adverbs) (#82 h).

French: Sous l'autorité du sintagan (?), il constitue une sorte de microcosme qui a sa vie propre, son organisation et qui cherche à se suffire à lui-même.¹⁵³

English: Under the authority of the sintagan (?), it constitutes a kind of microcosm which has its own existence and organization and which strives to be

self-sufficient.¹⁵³

¹⁵³ The translation of "cherche à se suffire à lui-même" by "strives to be self-sufficient" is an example of what Vinay and Darbelnet entitle "tournures analytiques" of French as opposed to "tournures synthétiques" of English (#144).

French: C'est donc au chapitre de l'habitat que nous avons détaillé la composition de quelques familles-sinta (8).¹⁵⁴

English: It is for this reason that a breakdown of a few sinta-families has been illustrated in the chapter on habitat (8).¹⁵⁴

¹⁵⁴ A literal translation of this sentence would have been perfectly acceptable but it seemed more natural to place the prepositional phrases at the end of the sentence ("in the chapter" and "on habitat"). The active voice was replaced by the passive (#225), illustrating the "subjectivisme" of French as opposed to the objective character of English (#187). If we examine the "unités de traduction" in the translation of "nous avons détaillé la composition" by "a breakdown... has been illustrated", we find that the idea of analysing or breaking down the components is found in the verb ("détaillé") in French but in both the noun ("breakdown") and the verb ("illustrated") in English (app. II). Other possible translations are: "the composition... has been analysed" or "an analysis of the composition... has been made".

French: — L'expression "collectivité familiale"¹⁵⁵ est abondamment utilisée dans le Bas Dahomey pour souligner dans un groupe lignager les liens de sang ou d'allégeance à un ancêtre commun.

English: — The expression "family community"¹⁵⁵ is widely used in Lower Dahomey to emphasize the ties of blood or allegiance to a common ancestor in a

lineage group.

¹⁵⁵ Although most of the denotations of "collectivité" and its cognate and "communauté" and its cognate correspond, the commonly used term for a group of people living in an organized unit is "collectivité" (or "communauté") in French and "community" in English.

French: Elle se confond la plupart du temps avec la notion hennu; tantôt par contre elle désigne quelque chose de plus vaste ou au contraire de plus réduit.¹⁵⁶

English: It usually coincides with the notion of hennu, although at times it designates a more extensive or, on the contrary, a more limited group.¹⁵⁶

¹⁵⁶ There are several points worth mentioning in this sentence. "Confondre" and "confuse" are "faux-amis", so "elle se confond" was rendered by "it coincides with" (#55). The English cognate would wrongly imply that the merging of terms was by mistake. The principle of "économie lexicale" was used in translating "la plupart du temps" by "usually" (#167). The abruptness of the semi-colon followed by "par contre" in the French text was attenuated by using a simple comma followed by the conjunction "although". The vagueness of "quelque chose de" was replaced by a more concrete idea "group" giving rise to an abstract-concrete "modulation lexicale" (#76 1).

French: Devant cette relativité, nous avons préféré¹⁵⁷ garder l'expression "famille étendue".

English: In view of this relativeness, it was thought preferable¹⁵⁷ to retain the expression "extended family".

¹⁵⁷ The translation of "nous avons préféré" by "it was thought preferable" involves a typical active-passive "modulation" excluding the agent (#225, #121), entailing the transition from subjective to objective representation

(#187) and a verb-adjective "transposition" (#82 i). Note that "relativité" was translated by "relativeness" rather than its cognate to avoid confusion with the scientific sense of "relativity".

French: (c) HO (9), lignage minimal, est la famille restreinte, la famille-ménage,¹⁵⁸ la famille-ho; "élémentaire"¹⁵⁹ lorsqu'elle groupe l'homme, sa femme et leur(s) enfant(s);¹⁶⁰ "polygyne" ou "composée" lorsqu'elle groupe le mari avec ses femmes et leurs enfants respectifs (8).

English: (c) HO (9), the minimal lineage, is the limited family, the conjugal family,¹⁵⁸ the ho-family, "elementary"¹⁵⁹ when it comprises the man, his wife and their child or children and¹⁶⁰ "polygynous" or "compound" when it comprises the husband with his wives and their respective children (8).

¹⁵⁸ "Famille restreinte" and "famille-ménage" both pose some difficulty in translating. In this case "famille restreinte" cannot be translated by "nuclear family" as the ho-family includes both nuclear (or elementary) and polygynous families, and Bohannan confirms in his work Social Anthropology that the nuclear family is monogamous (p. 74). "Restreinte" was thus translated by "limited" here and in other instances where the term is not further qualified. We are faced with the problem of "bifurcation" in translating "ménage", which may mean either "couple" or "household" (Class by M. Darbelnet). However, as the household can contain members with no biological tie whatsoever and is a residential rather than a family group, this meaning can be ruled out. The term "conjugal family" has been used rather freely in the absence of an alternative. According to Bohannan, the conjugal family is simply the nuclear family seen from the standpoint of one of the spouses as opposed to the natal family which is viewed from the child's standpoint (p. 100-101). The term has been used here in a larger sense to include the

couple(s) and their children, as is the case with Bourgoignie's use of the term "ménage". Any ambiguity these terms may present is clarified by the remainder of the sentence (#156, #159). (TT)

159 Bohannan explains in Social Anthropology that the "elementary" or "biological" family are simply alternative names for the "nuclear" family (p. 73). (TT)

160 Note that the choppiness created by the two semi-colons in French was avoided by using a comma for the first and the co-ordinate conjunction "and" in place of the second.

French: Bien que le fait de vivre ensemble ou non n'ait aucune importance, les membres de la famille vivent généralement sous le même toit, dans la même case:¹⁶¹ hotin.

English: Although it is of no importance whether or not they live together, the family members generally live under the same roof, in the same hut or¹⁶¹ hotin.

161 As in comment 131, to avoid the abruptness of the French, the colon has been replaced by the co-ordinate conjunction "or", both forms serving to introduce an explanation or definition (#210, #213). Note that "or" is used again in the following sentence to avoid apposition ("un quartier, un komé" / "a residential group or komé").

French: Le clan (oko) s'est effacé;¹⁶² les lignages seuls subsistent, plus dans leur forme de sinta et de ho que de hennu.

English: The clan (oko) has died out;¹⁶² only the lineages have survived, more so in the form of sinta and ho than hennu.

162 The translation of "s'est effacé" by "has died out" is a typical example of French "animisme" utilizing the "forme pronominale" (#188). However, both terms are metaphorical

involving a "modulation lexicale" known as "changement de symbole" (#76 ii). The life-death metaphor continues with the translation of "subsistent" by "have survived".

French: L'inadaptation de la structure trop vaste, même de ce dernier, à la vie moderne a facilité sa désagrégation.¹⁶³

English: The inability of the oversized structure, even the hennu, to adapt to today's lifestyle has led to its disintegration.¹⁶³

¹⁶³ The principle of "concentration" was applied in translating "trop vaste" by "oversized" (#167). "Inadaptation" could be adequately rendered by "maladjustment", but it is more natural to speak of the "inability to adapt". This alteration involves "amplification" (#165) and a "transposition" from a noun to a noun followed by an infinitive (#81). Another possible, less literal translation is "Unsuited to modern living conditions, the overextended structure, even the hennu, has hastened its disintegration." This alternative solution demonstrates just how different two versions of the same text may appear.

French: Le sinta, par contre, se conforme mieux à¹⁶⁴ l'individualisme des Tofinnu et aux exigences de la vie quotidienne.

English: On the other hand, the sinta is better suited to¹⁶⁴ the Tofinnu's individualism and the demands of everyday life.

¹⁶⁴ The translation of "se conforme mieux à" by "is better suited to" is another example of "animisme", in which the "forme pronominale" is rendered by a passive (#188).

French: La mutation¹⁶⁵ pourrait être accélérée dans les prochaines années du fait que la crise économique actuelle et l'exode¹⁶⁶ qui en découle, enlève au sinta son caractère d'unité de production.¹⁶⁷

English: The evolutionary process¹⁶⁵ could be accelerated over the next few years as the present economic crisis and ensuing emigration¹⁶⁶ prevent the sinta from carrying on its function as a production unit.¹⁶⁷

¹⁶⁵ Although "mutation" has its cognate in English, the English term is used primarily with reference to biological change. As we are dealing here with social change, the translation reads "evolutionary process". (TT)

¹⁶⁶ As in the previous comment, "l'exode" has its formal equivalent. However, "exodus" is not as commonly used as the French term so there would be a stylistic divergence (#55, 2: tableau B). "Emigration" or "depopulation" are more frequently seen, so the former term has been retained to translate "exode". The relative clause "qui en découle" modifying "l'exode" was rendered by the present participle "ensuing", involving a "transposition" (#81) and "économie lexicale" (#167).

¹⁶⁷ In the translation of "enlève au sinta son caractère d'unité de production" by "prevent the sinta from carrying on its function as a production unit", two "modulations" were made. The "contraire négatif" was used in translating "enlève au sinta" by "prevent the sinta from carrying on" (#224), and "une partie pour une autre" was applied in rendering "caractère" by "function" (#222). An alternative translation of this phrase is simply "... carrying on as a production unit" where a part is rendered by a whole (#221). Note that the singular verb has become plural in English as it is impossible to modify only one subject when two nouns are joined by "and". Logically, the French should have done the same.

French: Le temps n'est plus¹⁶⁸ où l'on peut exploiter collectivement de nombreuses pêcheries.

English: The time when numerous fisheries could be operated communally is in the past.¹⁶⁸

168 It is possible to translate "le temps n'est plus où" by "the time when... is no more" or "... is a thing of the past" but the "niveau de langue" would be poetic (#14). As we are dealing with a functional or scientific text rather than a literary work, a more neutral tone was required and the expression "in the past" was chosen.

French: Beaucoup de familles étendues ne sont plus propriétaires de domaines piscicoles.¹⁶⁹

English: Many extended families no longer own fish farms.¹⁶⁹

169 The translation of "propriétaires de domaines piscicoles" by "own fish farms" involved a noun-verb "transposition" (#82 b), and "doublets savants (domaines piscicoles) et poulares (fish farms)" (#56). (TT)

French: Leur seul bien immobilier collectif est souvent réduit au mausolée (yoho) consacré à leurs morts¹⁷⁰ ou à certains ancêtres divinisés, mais tout cela n'est plus un bien quotidiennement exploité en commun.¹⁷¹

English: Their only collective property is often reduced to the mausoleum (yoho) for their dead¹⁷⁰ or certain deified ancestors, but this is no longer a case of property utilized communally on a daily basis.¹⁷¹

170 "Consacré à leurs morts" rendered by "for their dead" is a classic example of "dépouillement" (#177) and of a French plural ("morts") translated by an English collective with a plural meaning ("dead") (#105).

171 In the translation of "quotidiennement exploité en commun" by "utilized communally on a daily basis", there is a double "transposition" in which the adverb is translated by a prepositional phrase and vice versa (#81). "Daily" by itself is, of course, possible but would be awkward here.

French: Le Tofinnu se tourne alors vers des formes de pêche individuelle qui ne nécessitent aucun ou peu d'investissements.¹⁷²

English: The Tofinnu is thus turning toward types of individual fishing which require few or no investments.¹⁷²

¹⁷² The phrase "aucun ou peu d'investissements" was translated here by "few or no investments", following the logical order of English. It is possible that French permits a different logic here, but "peu de" probably followed "aucun" as it must immediately precede the noun it modifies. This is an example of "servitude" (#11, #183).

French: Le ménage¹⁷⁴ tend¹⁷³ dès lors à devenir sa propre entité socio-économique qui, en cas de besoin, bénéficie bien sûr de la solidarité coutumière.

English: Henceforth, there is a tendency¹⁷³ for the conjugal family¹⁷⁴ to become a social and economic entity in its own right which naturally benefits, if need be, from the customary solidarity.

¹⁷³ The translation of "tend" by "there is a tendency" is an example of the rare "transposition inverse" where an English noun-verb combination corresponds to a French verb (#89). "Tends to" or "has a tendency to" are perfectly acceptable translations but it seemed preferable in English to use a more objective representation (#187).

¹⁷⁴ Once again the term "ménage" is ambiguous and could mean either "household", "couple" or "family". However, it is not difficult to determine which is meant here and rule out "household" if we take into account that we are dealing with family rather than residential groups, and if we look at the next sentence which refers to the disintegration of the extended family (#156, #159). Furthermore, as children would always be a part of the minimal unit, "couple" can also be ruled out. "Ménage" was thus translated by "conjugal

family". (TT)

French: Parallèlement à cette¹⁷⁵ décadence de la famille étendue, on néglige¹⁷⁷ le culte rendu aux ancêtres éloignés qui assuraient en quelque sorte l'intégration¹⁷⁶ de ces vastes groupements.

English: In tandem with the¹⁷⁵ disintegration of the extended family, the worship of distant ancestors which kept these large groups together,¹⁷⁶ as it were, is dying out.¹⁷⁷

¹⁷⁵ The demonstrative "cette" was rendered by the definite article which, in English, has the value of a "déictique", in this case pointing toward a previous statement (#234).

¹⁷⁶ A noun-adverb "transposition" ("intégration" = "together") is apparent in the translation of "assuraient... l'intégration de ces vastes groupements" by "kept these large groups together" (#82 e).

¹⁷⁷ In rendering "on néglige" by "is dying out", there has been a shift from subjective to objective representation (#187), and an active-passive "modulation" (#225). More literal renditions such as "is being forgotten" or "is sinking into oblivion" are possible, but as we are dealing with the custom our version seemed more appropriate.

French: On vénère les ancêtres très proches et si d'aventure on se décide à rendre un culte à l'ancêtre éloigné,¹⁷⁸ la cérémonie prend souvent un aspect presque privé.

English: The very close ancestors are venerated, and if by chance the decision to pay homage to a distant ancestor is reached,¹⁷⁸ the ceremony often assumes an almost private character.

¹⁷⁸ There is a tendency in French to use "on" where English resorts to the passive voice (#120 a). These

contrasting types of representation are known as "subjectivisme" and "objectivisme" respectively (#187). "On vénère" and "on se décide" have both been rendered by passives, but the latter expression presented a further complication as it is pronominal. "On vénère" was translated simply by "are venerated" and "on se décide" by "the decision is reached".

French: On assiste dès lors à une multiplication¹⁷⁹ des ancêtres et à ce¹⁸⁰ phénomène étonnant où les segments de lignage cherchent à rapprocher leurs ancêtres plutôt qu'à se raccrocher à l'ancêtre lointain,¹⁸¹ mythique ou non, qu'on ne renie pas pour autant.

English: Henceforth, we witness an increase in the number¹⁷⁹ of ancestors and the¹⁸⁰ surprising phenomenon where the lineage segments choose to retain ties with closer ancestors rather than a distant one¹⁸¹ who may or may not be imaginary, but who is not renounced for such a reason.

¹⁷⁹ The principle of "amplification" was used in translating "une multiplication" by "an increase in number" (#165). The English cognate of the French term would more likely be utilized in relation to progeny than ancestors. The terms may therefore be considered partial "faux-amis" (#55).

¹⁸⁰ Under the heading of "marques" the authors of SCFA claim that the definite article and the demonstrative do not necessarily correspond in the two languages, but that the definite article, often omitted in English, can correspond to the French demonstrative (#95). This is the case in our translation of "ce phénomène étonnant" by "the surprising phenomenon", in which the "déictique" points to the following statement (#234).

¹⁸¹ If we reconstruct the "unités de traduction" (app. II) in the translation of "cherchent à rapprocher leurs ancêtres

plutôt qu'à se raccrocher à l'ancêtre lointain" by "choose to retain ties with closer ancestors rather than a distant one", a number of "transpositions" and "modulations" are apparent. The translation of "cherchent" by "choose" and "se raccrocher à" by "to retain ties with" both involve a "modulation" (#218-229). It should also be noted that a single verb has replaced two verbs. A verb-adjective "transposition" took place in rendering "rapprocher" by "closer" (#82 i). The remaining "unités" translate more or less literally. In this rendition, it is clear that the idea and not the words was translated.

French: Le facteur d'intégration devient¹⁸² donc plus une dimension fraternelle — tous les Dakoménu, par exemple, sont frères; tous les Sokoménu sont frères — qu'une dimension culturelle; l'un n'excluant pourtant pas l'autre.¹⁸³

English: The integration factor thus assumes¹⁸² a more fraternal than cultural dimension (for example, all the Dakoménu are brothers and all the Sokoménu are brothers) without, however, one excluding the other.¹⁸³

¹⁸² The translation of "devient" by "assumes" is an example of a "modulation explicative" (#220). The idea of change in "devient" is implied in "assumes" which indicates a new departure.

¹⁸³ The punctuation in this sentence has been altered somewhat. Both the dashes in the original text and the parentheses in the translation indicate "l'incidente" (#213) while the semi-colons breaking up the French sentence were replaced by the conjunctions "and" and "without" to make the English smoother.

French: Toute l'organisation familiale reposait en effet dans le passé sur le chef de famille.¹⁸⁴

English: In the past, the entire family organization depended on the head of the family.¹⁸⁴

¹⁸⁴ The "charnière" "en effet" has once again been omitted in the English text (see also comment 72) and the "rapport explicatif" expressed by simple juxtaposition of sentences (#211).

French: Le titre d'hennugan lui était dévolu en raison de sa primogéniture et des qualités réelles ou supposées qui lui étaient reconnues du vivant de l'hennugan auquel il succédait.¹⁸⁵

English: The title of hennugan was passed down to him because he was the eldest and because of real or assumed qualities attributed to him prior to the death of the hennugan he succeeded.¹⁸⁵

¹⁸⁵ Two "modulations" were effected in the translation of this sentence. The first, a "modulation explicative", is found in the translation of "en raison de sa primogéniture" by "because he was the eldest" in which the French expresses the cause (first born) and the English the effect (eldest) (#220). The second, an example of "renversement des termes", is found in the translation of "du vivant de l'hennugan" by "prior to the death of the hennugan" (#223). "During the lifetime of the hennugan" would indicate a long period rather than an isolated incident and "while the hennugan (he succeeded) was still alive" is clumsier. Both possibilities, however, would be acceptable.

French: Il était la charnière qui relie¹⁸⁶ le groupe des vivants à celui des défunts et en tant que tel chargé d'assurer la pérennité du lignage et du culte.

English: He was the link between¹⁸⁶ the living group and the deceased group and in that capacity in charge of ensuring the continuity of the lineage and ancestor worship.

186 The translation of "qui relie" by "between" is an example of "dépouillement" (#177).

French: Une telle responsabilité, pour être efficacement assumée, impliquait la reconnaissance de pouvoirs absolus.¹⁸⁷

English: To assume such a responsibility effectively, he had to be recognized as having absolute powers.¹⁸⁷

187 "Une telle responsabilité, pour être efficacement assumée" was rendered by "to assume such a responsibility effectively". An alternative would be "for such a responsibility to be effectively assumed..." However, the second clause would have to be introduced with "it was imperative that he..." or "it was necessary for him to be...", making the sentence unnecessarily heavy. "Impliquait la reconnaissance des pouvoirs absolus" does not indicate who is recognizing whose powers, but it is obvious that the people would be accepting the authority of the hennugan. There are various ways of translating this idea, some of which are: "meant his being recognized as having absolute powers", "meant it was necessary that he be recognized as having absolute powers", "implied the need for him to be recognized as having absolute powers" or simply "he had to be recognized as having absolute powers". The first possibility reads well but is not quite explicit enough and the word order ("meant his being...") is not very natural. The other translations introduce the idea of a necessary condition, using the process of "explicitation" (#149). The second and third solutions are heavy, so the final version was considered the most adequate. The idea of "impliquait" was rendered by using a construction similar to the conditional clause. In fact, an "if... then" construction could also have been used in this sentence.

French: Il avait sous sa dépendance, nous l'avons vu,¹⁸⁸
non seulement ses propres descendants mais aussi

ses frères, soeurs, cousins et leurs descendants, c'est-à-dire tous les collatéraux dans la mesure où ceux-ci étaient liés à lui par le souvenir d'un ancêtre commun.

English: As we have already witnessed, he was the guardian¹⁸⁸ not only of his own descendants but also of his brothers, sisters, cousins and their descendants, in other words all collaterals insofar as they were related to him by the remembrance of a common ancestor.

¹⁸⁸ In the translation of "nous l'avons vu" by "as we have already witnessed", "l'incidente" was rendered by a phrase set off by commas in French and a subordinate clause in English (#213). By adding "already", the translation renders explicit an element which is understood in the original (#149). A "modulation" was made involving "renversement des termes" in translating "il avait sous sa dépendance" by "he was the guardian" (#223).

French: Toute transaction matérielle ou cérémonielle n'avait de valeur que si¹⁸⁹ elle avait été accomplie¹⁹⁰ ou approuvée par lui-même.

English: No material or ceremonial transaction was valid unless¹⁸⁹ it was carried out¹⁹⁰ or approved by the hennugan himself.

¹⁸⁹ The translation of "toute transaction matérielle ou cérémonielle n'avait de valeur que si" by "no material or ceremonial transaction was valid unless" is an example of a "modulation" referred to as "le contraire négativé" (#224). "Aucune" would have been equally possible in French. The fact that "valeur" can mean either "value" or "validity" implies that there is "bifurcation" (Class by Darbelnet). In this case the second meaning is the correct one.

¹⁹⁰ A change of tense took place in rendering "elle avait été accomplie" by "it was carried out". According

to SCFA, "Quand il s'agit de marquer la succession des temps passés, le français est plus exigeant que l'anglais, et certains passés anglais doivent se rendre par un plus-que-parfait" (#116).

French: En bref, les membres du groupe sont soumis à¹⁹¹ l'autorité de l'hennugan dont on ne conteste pas la volonté¹⁹² et dont l'inventaire des prérogatives montre l'importance."¹⁹³

English: In short, the members of the group were all under¹⁹¹ the authority of the hennugan. His decisions were accepted without question¹⁹² and his importance is illustrated by his list of prerogatives."¹⁹³

¹⁹¹ Although "soumis à" could have been translated by "subject to", "under" is quite sufficient. "The principle of "dépouillement" is evident (#177).

¹⁹² "Volonté" usually corresponds to "will" but in the sense of "willpower" rather than "wishes" or "decisions". The use of the term "will" in this latter sense is archaic and has thus been replaced by "decisions". Although "dont on ne conteste pas (la volonté)" could have been rendered simply by "(his decisions) are not questioned" or "... go unquestioned", further explicitation seemed in order (#149). The translation "(his decisions) are accepted without question" involved a "modulation" known as "le contraire négativé" and an active-passive "modulation" shifting from subjective to objective representation (#224, #225, #187). Although wishes, rules, etc. are generally "complied with" rather than "accepted", the juxtaposition of "with" and "without" is better avoided.

¹⁹³ It seemed preferable to split this long, involved sentence into two so as to eliminate its complexity, replacing "dont" with "his" rather than "whose". In the translation of "dont l'inventaire des prérogatives montre l'importance" by "his importance is illustrated by his list of prerogatives",

an active-passive "modulation" took place (#225). "Dont (l'inventaire)" is again rendered by "his (list)" while the translation of "l'importance" by "his importance" involves an abstract-concrete "modulation" (#219). This tendency is also dealt with under the heading of "les marques" (#195).

French: il exclut¹⁹⁴ du groupe celui qui se rend coupable d'inceste ou d'autres délits aussi graves...

English: he banishes¹⁹⁴ from the group anyone found guilty of incest or other equally serious offences...

¹⁹⁴ "Exclude" generally corresponds to "exclure" but the term seems somewhat mild in this context. "Casts", "banishes" or "ostracizes" are more forceful and therefore more appropriate in this case.

French: L'hennugan est, en fait, la cheville¹⁹⁵ de toute l'organisation familiale.

English: The hennugan is actually the kingpin¹⁹⁵ of the whole family organization.

¹⁹⁵ "Cheville (ouvrière)" corresponds literally and figuratively to "kingpin". An initial attempt was made to find another metaphor in English derived from a part of the body but "heart" or "backbone" did not portray the dynamic character of "cheville", so "kingpin" was considered more appropriate.

French: Son autorité décide souverainement,¹⁹⁶ souvent après consultation de l'oracle Fa et avec l'aide des tanyinon, c'est-à-dire des vieilles tantes¹⁹⁷ pourvoyeuses du culte des ancêtres.

English: His authority reigns supreme,¹⁹⁶ but he often consults first with the oracle Fa and with the help of the tanyinons or "old aunts"¹⁹⁷ who assist in ancestor worship.

¹⁹⁶ A literal translation of "son autorité décide souverainement" would defy English logic as it is he who decides by means of his authority and not his authority per se which decides. However, "his authority reigns supreme" is a perfectly acceptable translation. Any attempt to retain the idea of "decide" produced very involved sentences such as, "he has the authority to make the final decision", "his authority is supreme in decision-making" or "... as far as decisions are concerned", or "his authority is the supreme deciding factor". "His word is final" is a simple alternative but rather weak.

¹⁹⁷ "Tanyi" in Fon dialect means "aunt", so assuming that "old aunts" is the translation of the Tofinnu term "tanyinon", it was set off in quotation marks. "C'est-à-dire", a transition element indicating "traitement", is replaced by the simple co-ordinate conjunction "or" which serves the same purpose.

French: Leur présence était entre autres obligatoire aux cérémonies du mariage; c'était¹⁹⁸ en quelque sorte sceller l'union avec l'accord et la bénédiction des ancêtres.

English: Among other things, their presence at wedding ceremonies was mandatory so as to¹⁹⁸ seal the union, as it were, with the consent and blessing of the ancestors.

¹⁹⁸ The French sentence is broken up by a semi-colon followed by "c'était" introducing the reason for their presence being required. The expression "so as to" serves the same purpose and provides a smoother sentence.

French: L'hennugan était également assisté à Ganvié d'un ou de plusieurs¹⁹⁹ dekpègan, chef des jeunes gens.²⁰⁰

English: The hennugan was also assisted at Ganvié by one or more¹⁹⁹ dekpègans who were the young men's²⁰⁰ leaders.

199 "Un ou plusieurs" translated literally gives "one or several" which is very unidiomatic in English. We would be more inclined to say "one or more", a "modulation" from specific to general (#219).

200 Translating "jeunes gens" presents the problem of "bifurcation" (Class by M. Darbelnet). Do we translate this term by "young people" or "young men"? Two sentences farther on we come across "le chef des jeunes filles" as opposed to "le chef des jeunes gens" which solves our problem by pointing to the latter meaning.

French: Le nombre de ceux-là était fonction de²⁰¹ celui des jeunes et de leurs compétences respectives.

English: The number of dekpègans was based on²⁰¹ the number of young men and their respective powers.

201 "Etait fonction de" was rendered by "was based on". "Varied according to", "was proportional to" and "was dependent upon" are all alternative translations. In translating "~~ceux-là~~", "dekpègans" is repeated and in translating "celui", "number" is repeated (see comment 247).

French: On trouve la même institution du côté féminin; l'ahuligan est le chef des jeunes filles.²⁰²

English: The young women have the same institution with the ahuligan as their leader.²⁰²

202 A fairly literal translation of the French would read, "The same institution is found on the female side; the ahuligan is the young women's leader." The primary objection to this version is the use of the term "female" which is on a different level of language than "féminin" (#14). It is generally used either in an administrative context or in scientific jargon referring to animals. "Feminine", of course, would be a "faux-ami" in this context (#55). The problem could be avoided by saying, "The same institution is found on the young women's side; the ahuligan

is their leader." However, the sentence does not flow because of the two principle clauses joined by a semi-colon, and the idea of sides conjures up a vision of opposing teams. In electing to translate "on trouve la même institution du côté féminin" by "the young women have the same institution", we have discarded the French "subjectivisme" or "... la tendance du français à faire intervenir le sujet pensant dans la représentation des événements et de leur cadre..." (#187). The abruptness caused by the punctuation in the French sentence was attenuated by incorporating the second principle clause into the first so that the translation reads, "The young women have the same institution with the ahuligan as their leader."

French: Malgré ces aides, l'exercice des prérogatives citées²⁰⁴ créait souvent des difficultés et des heurts²⁰³ entre les membres du lignage étendu,²⁰⁵ car il était impossible de concilier les intérêts des uns et des autres²⁰⁶ dans un groupe de plus en plus large.²⁰⁷

English: In spite of these helpers, problems and friction²⁰³ among members of the extended lineage were often caused when the above prerogatives²⁰⁴ were exercised,²⁰⁵ as it was impossible to reconcile the interests of each and everyone²⁰⁶ in an ever expanding group.²⁰⁷

²⁰³ Although the literal meaning of "heurt" and "friction" do not coincide, "heurt" can be either a physical or a moral conflict or encounter: In this case it is used figuratively as is the term "friction".

²⁰⁴ In translating "les prérogatives citées" by "the above prerogatives", an ellipse of part of the meaning has been made in both versions. The French sees no need to specify where or when the prerogatives were mentioned (omitting the idea of "above"), whereas the translation does not bother to state that they were mentioned (leaving

out the idea of "citées"). Both ellipses are justified by what SCFA refers to as "explicitation par la situation" (#150, #156).

205 In translating "l'exercice des prérogatives citées créait souvent des difficultés et des heurts entre les membres du lignage étendu" by "problems and friction among members of the extended lineage were often caused when the above prerogatives were exercised", a "modulation" from the active ("créait") to the passive voice ("were caused") was performed (#225). Logically, we should have used "by" rather than "when", but "by the exercising of the above prerogatives" is heavy and "by exercising the above prerogatives" requires that the agent be specified, which we prefer to avoid. The situation is the same but simply viewed from a different standpoint.

206 "Lès uns et les autres" is an idiomatic expression which was translated by a cliché in English "each and everyone". Although the structures are very similar, these expressions must be treated as an indivisible entity. The process of "équivalence" was used, "abandonnant l'analyse des UT [unités de traduction] pour ne retenir que la situation" and the example of "open to the public" rendered by "entrée libre" was provided (#230). Alternative translations are "one and all" and "all and sundry" but they do not portray the same "tonalité esthétique", as they are somewhat poetic (#14).

207 The translation of "de plus en plus large" by "ever expanding" typifies the dynamic nature of English verb forms. "Increasingly large" is also a possible solution but it is less forceful as it does not contain "l'aspect dynamique" of the English action verb "expanding" (#66).

French: Aussi des pressions internes s'exercèrent²⁰⁸ sur l'hennugan qui petit à petit dut céder²⁰⁹ la plupart de ses attributions à des conseils de famille.

English: As a result, internal pressures were brought to bear²⁰⁸ on the hennugan who was gradually compelled to surrender²⁰⁹ most of his powers to the family councils.

208 To avoid the infrequent term "bore", "s'exercèrent" has been translated by "were brought to bear", resulting in "dilution" (#165).

209 In translating the term "céder", the first expressions that come to mind are "give up" or "hand over"... These are rather colloquial, so a more neutral term such as "surrender" seemed more appropriate (#14).

French: Le chef est dorénavant assisté et contrôlé, sinon contredit, par un conseil dont la composition variable²¹⁰ est faite en général des doyens immédiatement inférieurs.²¹¹

English: Henceforth, the headman is assisted and supervised, if not contradicted, by a council which is generally, but not invariably,²¹⁰ made up of elders immediately lower in rank.²¹¹

210 In the translation of "un conseil dont la composition variable est faite en général des doyens" by "a council which is generally; but not invariably, made up of elders" it may seem that we are purposefully avoiding a literal translation. However, "a council whose variable composition (or better "...whose composition which may vary...") generally includes elders" sounds awkward and redundant ("composition... includes"). The translation of "la composition est faite" by "is made up of" is another example of the importance of nouns in French as opposed to verbs in English (#86-87). The translation of "variable" by "but not invariably" involves "le contraire négatif" (#224) and the addition of "but", emphasizing the opposition between "en général" and "variable". English is more inclined to mark oppositions than French (Class by M. Darbelnet). An alternative translation

for "variable" is "but not exclusively".

211 "Inférieur" and "inferior" are partial "faux-amis" due to their different connotations. The French term can have the physical meaning of "lower" or the spiritual idea of "lower in quality or worth", while the English term is basically derogatory and used in the latter sense. In this case we might say that both terms have the same "sens affectif" but "inferior" lacks the "sens intellectuel" of "inférieur" (#55). Thus, the French word has been translated by "lower in rank".

French: Le processus est bien décrit par Serpos TIDJANI qui, parlant du²¹² chef de famille, précise qu'aujourd'hui "il doit pour toute question sérieuse solliciter l'avis, même se conformer aux désirs²¹³ de la majorité, au risque de semer la zizanie²¹⁴ dans son groupement familial et de se faire moins obéir de²¹⁵ ceux qui sont éloignés²¹⁶ de lui. C'est pourquoi dans les réunions, il parle en dernier lieu.²¹⁷ Son avis, qui est prépondérant²¹⁸ et vaut une décision,²¹⁹ ne sera donné que lorsqu'il aura entendu les avis divergents²²⁰ des membres de son conseil. Sa décision ne fait qu'entériner ce que la majorité a suggéré (10)".²²¹

English: The process is well described by Serpos Tidjani who specifies, with reference to²¹² the head of the family, that nowadays "for any serious matter he must seek the opinion and even comply with the wishes²¹³ of the majority, at the risk of sowing discord²¹⁴ within his family group and enjoying less authority over²¹⁵ those who are distantly related²¹⁶ to him. This is why he is the last to speak²¹⁷ at meetings. His opinion, which carries the most weight²¹⁸ and is equivalent to a final ruling,²¹⁹ is given only after he has heard the conflicting²²⁰ views of his council members. His

decision simply ratifies what has been suggested by the majority (10).²²¹

212 The translation of "parlant du" by "with reference to" involves a "transposition" in which the present participle is rendered by a prepositional phrase (#81-85).

213 Although "désir" has the cognate "desire", the English term is stronger, being generally used in the sense of a longing or craving rather than a wish. "Désirs" was thus rendered by "wishes".

214 "Semer la zizanie" is an interesting metaphor which is difficult to transfer into English. "Sowing discord" retains only a part of the agricultural image since "discord" literally relates to music (although it is used apart from it). However, as the expression is very common the image, along with its poetic or archaic overtones, has weakened considerably. The overall meaning has been retained by translating one set expression by another, and thus utilizing the process of "équivalence" (#230-231). This type of "équivalence" is referred to as "allusions figées dans le lexique" (#240). Variants using a "vue directe" would be "creating dissension" and on a lower register "stirring up trouble" (Class by M. Darbelnet).

215 "Se faire moins obéir par" was rendered by "enjoying less authority over", entailing a "modulation explicative" where the English version stresses the cause (the authority exerted) and the French the effect (the obedience received) (#220).

216 In the translation of "ceux qui sont éloignés de lui" by "those who are distantly related to him", the translation explicitates the idea of being related (#150, #156) which the original considers obvious from the situation and leaves out, thereby making an ellipse (#168). This is also an example of a general-specific "modulation" (#219).

217 "Il parle en dernier lieu" was first translated by "he has the final word" but as this was not always true, it was subsequently corrected to "he is the last to speak".

218 By translating "(son avis) qui est prépondérant" by "(his opinion) which carries the most weight", the procedure of "dilution" has been used, whereby the same idea is expressed in more words in the translation than in the original (#165). This is also an example of "doublets savants (prépondérant) et populaires (carries the most weight)" (#56).

219 The translation of "vaut une décision" by "is equivalent to a final ruling" involves the process of "amplification" (#165).

220 Although "divergents" could be rendered by "different" or "various", a stronger term such as "conflicting" expresses the opposition more accurately. "Diverging" would sound unnatural as the common expression is "conflicting views", illustrating "la propriété des termes" in which certain terms are arbitrarily associated with others (Class by M. Darbelnet).

221 As has been stated in comment 148, the collection "Etudes dahoméennes" is in French only and therefore no translation has been found for this quote.

French: Ce sont donc les autorités familiales, les membres influents de la famille, qui en définitive²²² décident souverainement.²²³

English: It is thus the family authorities, the influential members of the family, who ultimately²²² make the final decisions.²²³

222 The translation of "en définitive" by "ultimately" illustrates the tendency to render an adverbial expression

in French by a simple adverb in English (#112).

²²³ "Décident souverainement" was translated by "make the final decisions", "transposing" a verb to a verb-noun combination and an adverb to an adjective (#82).

French: Durant la période coloniale leurs décisions collégiales²²⁴ pouvaient acquérir plus de poids — du moins aux yeux de l'Européen — en se faisant homologuer au Tribunal de Gbessou d'abord, d'Abomey-Calavi ensuite, qui, nous l'avons vu, s'occupait des affaires des Tofinnu.

English: During the colonial period, their communal²²⁴ decisions could acquire more weight — at least in the eyes of the Europeans — by being ratified first in the Gbessou Court and then in the Abomey-Calavi Court which, as we have witnessed, handled Tofinnu matters.

²²⁴ "Décisions collégiales" was rendered by "communal decisions" rather than "collegial decisions". Although the denotations of "collégial" and "collegial" correspond, the English term would seem rather ironic applied to an obscure African ethnic group. The more neutral term "communal" was chosen as it does not contain the scholarly connotation of "collegial".

French: On continue à reconnaître à l'hennugan le patronage des rites religieux.²²⁵

English: The hennugan is still acknowledged as patron of religious rites.²²⁵

²²⁵ In translating "on continue à reconnaître" by "is still acknowledged", an active-passive "modulation" took place which is a typical rendition of "on" plus an active verb (#225, #120 a). The translation of "continue à" by "still" involves a verb-adverb "transposition" (#82 a), and in rendering "patronage" by "patron" the action has been

replaced by the agent.

French: Son autorité devenue²²⁶ purement morale et rituelle, continue cependant à être d'autant plus grande qu'il est âgé et que l'importance numérique du lignage est grande.²²⁷

English: His authority which has become²²⁶ strictly spiritual and ritual continues, however, to grow with his age and the size of the lineage.²²⁷

²²⁶ In translating "devenue" (past participle) by "which has become" (relative clause), "dilution" has taken place (#165).

²²⁷ "D'autant plus grande qu'il est âgé et que l'importance numérique du lignage est grande" may be translated in a number of ways, e.g. "all the greater the older he is and the larger the lineage", "all the greater as he grows older and the lineage expands (or grows larger)", "grows with his age and the size of the lineage", or even "(the extent of his authority) is proportional to his age and the size of the lineage". Although all these solutions are possible, we have opted for the simplest and most concise, which is "grows with his age and the size of the lineage". In translating "à être d'autant plus grande" by the dynamic verb "grow" and "l'importance numérique du lignage est grande" by "the size of the lineage", "économie" has taken place (#166-170).

French: Bientôt ces²²⁹ conseils de famille ne purent eux-mêmes²²⁸ faire l'unanimité de leurs éléments²³⁰ et durent céder la plupart de leurs attributions aux conseils plus restreints des sinta; ceux-ci depuis peu doivent à leur tour lâcher du lest²³¹ en faveur des individus eux-mêmes.

English: Soon even²²⁸ the members of the²²⁹ family councils were unable to agree unanimously²³⁰ and had to

surrender most of their powers to the sintas' smaller councils. These, in turn, have recently been compelled to meet the individuals themselves half-way.²³¹

228 In the phrase "ces conseils de famille ne parent eux-mêmes", there is emphasis by pronoun repetition (#194). In the translation we have expressed emphasis by the term "even" in "even the family councils were unable to". This is an example of "mise en relief par compensation" (#173).

229 According to Vinay and Darbelnet, the English definite article is a "déictique" which may point to something mentioned earlier (in this case "the family councils"). In the examples provided it corresponds to the French demonstrative pronoun rather than the definite article (#234). This explanation justifies our translation of "ces conseils de famille" by "the family councils".

230 The translation of "faire l'unanimité de leurs éléments" by "the members... agree unanimously" is an example of a "modulation explicative" in which the French emphasizes the cause or means and the English, the effect or result (#220). A slightly redundant alternative could be "agree unanimously among themselves".

231 This sentence has been broken into two as a full stop (after "councils") seemed preferable to a semi-colon (after "sinta"). The "métaphore figée" "lâcher du lest" cannot be reproduced using the image of ballast in English. However, another metaphorical expression referring to making concessions ("meet half-way") exists in English. Although the image has changed, the situation is basically the same. This is an example of "équivalence" (#229).

French: Leur force contraignante s'est amenuisée;²³² les époux et les futurs époux y gagnèrent en liberté, les enfants en émancipation, les héritiers en

cloisonnement...²³³

English: Their restraining force weakened;²³² spouses and spouses-to-be gained more freedom, children became more emancipated and heirs gained from partitioning..²³³

²³² "Restrain" (prevent from doing) renders one meaning of "contraindre" (which can also mean "to force to do"). In translating "s'est amenuisée" by "weakened", the French stresses a reduction in size and the English in strength. This could be considered a concrete-abstract "modulation lexicale" (#76).

²³³ The parallel structure of the original sentence ("gagnèrent... en" + noun) has been sacrificed in order to make the meaning of the translation clear. It thus reads "... gained more freedom, ...became more emancipated and... gained from partitioning".

French: Si l'hennugan est bel et bien mort²³⁴ en milieu urbain, dans les villages lacustres, son homologue en plus petit,²³⁵ le sintagan, malgré l'évolution en cours, se porte encore fort bien.²³⁶

English: Although the hennugan is a thing of the past²³⁴ in urban environments, his equivalent on a smaller scale,²³⁵ the sintagan, is still going strong²³⁶ in the pile-dwelling villages, despite the evolution in progress.

²³⁴ As "bel et bien mort" obviously refers to the custom rather than the person, our translation reads "a thing of the past", resulting in "équivalence" (#230-245). An alternative translation retaining the life-death metaphor is "irrevocably dead".

²³⁵ A general-specific "modulation" has taken place in rendering "en plus petit" by "on a smaller scale" (#219).

²³⁶ The literal sense of "se porte encore fort bien" is

"is still in excellent health". However, the issue is once again the custom, so we propose the translation "is still going strong". The life-death metaphor could also be retained in the alternative solution "is still very much alive".

French: L'autorité de celui-ci²³⁷ est sensiblement la même que celle de l'hennugan²³⁸ avec la différence numérique des personnes dont il est responsable.²³⁹

English: His²³⁷ authority is approximately the same as the hennugan's²³⁸ with the difference lying in the number of people in his charge.²³⁹

²³⁷ "Celui-ci" was rendered by "his" rather than "the latter's" as the remainder of the sentence clarifies any possible ambiguity.

²³⁸ "Celle de", literally "that of", was rendered more economically by using the possessive form "hennugan's". This common device illustrates the principle of "concentration" (#165).

²³⁹ A major structural change has been made in translating "avec la différence numérique des personnes dont il est responsable" by "With the difference lying in the number of people in his charge". The original version is definitely more economical in portraying the idea of "numérique" but the translation compensates by replacing a relative clause ("dont il est responsable") by a prepositional phrase ("in his charge") (#168).

French: Les droits légaux et économiques que se sont arrogés les chefs de ménage continuent, dans la grande majorité des cas,²⁴⁰ à être exercés sous la tutelle du sintagan.

English: In most cases,²⁴⁰ the legal and economic rights assumed by the heads of the conjugal family are still exercised under the guardianship of the sintagan.

²⁴⁰ "Dans la grande majorité des cas" was translated more economically by "in most cases" (#167).

French: Il est certain cependant que la tendance actuelle va dans ce sens²⁴¹ d'un passage de l'autorité du chef de famille au père, chef de ménage.

English: It is certain, however, that the present trend is heading²⁴¹ toward a shift of authority from the head of the family to the father, the head of the conjugal family.

²⁴¹ Another example of "économie lexicale" is found in the translation of "va dans ce sens de" by "is heading toward" (#167).

French: Le Tofinnu se trouve à la croisée²⁴² de deux tendances divergentes: l'une individualiste,²⁴³ l'autre communautaire.

English: The Tofinnu is at the crossroads²⁴² of two diverging trends: one individualistic and²⁴³ the other communal.

²⁴² The literal and figurative sense of "croisée" is fortunately found in the term "crossroads". Therefore, the metaphor passes perfectly from one language to the other (#181'1).

²⁴³ The comma in French has been replaced by the coordinate conjunction "and", resulting in a smoother sentence. Both are "charnières de liaison" (#210).

French: Son activité économique est réduite à la taille de sa pirogue;²⁴⁴ son encadrement social reste dominé par les lois, les tabous, le conformisme à une collectivité plus large: la famille étendue.²⁴⁵

English: His economic activity is limited by the size of his dugout canoe²⁴⁴ while his social framework remains governed by laws, taboos and conformity

to a larger community: the extended family.²⁴⁵

²⁴⁴ English variants of "pirogue", a dugout canoe, are "piragua" and "periagua" (Oxford, Harrap's). The technical term is readily understood in French but not in English, so the definition "dugout canoe" was used instead. This is an example of "doublets savants et populaires" (#56). (TT)

²⁴⁵ Punctuation has been modified in two instances in this sentence to make it less halting. The semi-colon after "pirogue" acting as a "charnière de liaison" between two propositions is replaced by the conjunction "while", and the comma after "tabous" joining an enumeration is replaced by the conjunction "and" (#210, #213). The value of the French punctuation has been transferred verbally in English.

French: L'évolution actuelle remplace cependant de plus en plus²⁴⁶ celle-ci²⁴⁷ par la famille restreinte bâtie cette fois à la mesure de la pirogue et des activités économiques.²⁴⁸

English: However, there is a growing trend toward the replacement of²⁴⁶ the extended family²⁴⁷ by the limited family which is based this time on the size of the dugout canoe and the scope of economic activities.²⁴⁸

²⁴⁶ We will attempt to examine the "découpage" of the "unités de sens" in the translation of "l'évolution actuelle remplace cependant de plus en plus..." by "however, there is a growing trend toward the replacement of..." (app. II). "Evolution actuelle" is rendered by "trend" which indicates both the present time and that a change has taken place. "Growing" translates "de plus en plus", and "toward" indicates the continuation of change implied in "évolution". "Remplace" is "transposed" by the corresponding noun "replacement" (#82 b). This breakdown of translation units shows how all units have been retained in the English version.

247 "Celle-ci" referring to "la famille étendue" in the former sentence served to avoid repetition, whereas both were rendered in English by "the extended family" for the sake of clarity. According to Vinay and Darbelnet (#240):

Gomme le souci de recourir aux clichés provient en général du désir d'éviter les répétitions (elegant variation), il se peut que LA [langue d'arrivée] n'en ait pas besoin: on sait que l'anglais ne craint pas les répétitions, au contraire.

Although we are not dealing with clichés here, the situation is similar where French uses a variation and English repeats the term.

248 In rendering "bâtie" by "is based on", a concrete-abstract "modulation lexicale" has been effected, whereas in translating "à la mesure de la pirogue et des activités économiques" by "the size of the dugout canoe and the scope of economic activities", the more usual reverse procedure has taken place (#76 1).

French: Un processus de réduction, de désintégration, d'individualisation est en cours: la famille-sinta a supplanté l'hennu; la famille-ho, devenue l'unité socio-économique, émerge à son tour.²⁴⁹

English: A process of reduction, disintegration, and individualization is taking place whereby the sinta-family has replaced the hennu, and in turn the ho-family, which has become the socio-economic unit, is emerging.²⁴⁹

249 The punctuation in this sentence has been altered so that the comma after "désintégration" and the semi-colon after "l'hennu", "charnières de liaison", are rendered by a comma followed by "and", while the colon after "cours", "charnière de traitement", is rendered by "whereby" (#210, #213).

French: (2) Les agnats d'un homme sont les²⁵⁰ cognats descendant par les mâles²⁵¹ du même ancêtre mâle.²⁵²

English: (2) A man's agnates are those²⁵⁰ cognates traced down the male line²⁵¹ from a common male ancestor.²⁵²

²⁵⁰ The definite article "les (cognats)" was rendered by the demonstrative "those". The definite article was not used in English as it was deemed necessary to stress that an opposition is being made between the male line of cognates and all other cognates.

²⁵¹ In translating "descendant par les mâles" by "traced down the male line", two abstract-concrete "modulations lexicales" were carried out, evident in the terms "traced" and "line" (#76 1).

²⁵² As seen in comment 133, the accepted expression in Anthropology for "même ancêtre" is "common ancestor" rather than "same ancestor". (TT)

French: (7) Nous avons préféré²⁵³ utiliser de terme sintagan, chef du sinta, plutôt que celui de hennugan kpévi,²⁵⁴ chef d'un petit hennu.

English: (7) It was thought preferable²⁵³ to use the term sintagan, head of the sinta, rather than hennugan kpévi,²⁵⁴ head of a small hennu.

²⁵³ As in comment 156, in translating "nous avons préféré" by "it was thought preferable", an active-passive "modulation" took place (#225), entailing the use of objective rather than subjective representation (#187) and a verb-adjective "transposition" (#82 i). "Using the term sintagan was preferred" is also possible but the parenthesis "head of the sinta, rather than hennugan kpévi, head of a small hennu" would have to come between "sintagan" and "was preferred", resulting in a structurally awkward sentence.

²⁵⁴ The "déictique" "ce (terme sintagan)" was rendered by the English definite article, also a "déictique" (#234). Note also that in rendering "plutôt que celui de hennugan

kpévi" by "rather than hennugan kpévi", "celui de" has not been translated. The repetition added nothing to the translation and was therefore omitted.

French: (9) Il faut noter que dans le dialecte tofingbé, il n'existe aucun mot pour désigner la famille restreinte formée du couple et des enfants.²⁵⁵

English: (9) It should be noted that in the Tofingbé dialect, there is no word to designate the nuclear family.²⁵⁵

²⁵⁵ As the Tofinnu do not distinguish between nuclear and polygynous family, Bourgoignie considered it necessary to clarify "famille restreinte" in this case by adding "formée du couple et des enfants" (see comment 63). At first glance, there may appear to be an omission in the description of the family members in our translation. However, "nuclear family" needs no further explanation as it is by definition made up of the couple and their children (see comment 91). This example is a case in point of "concentration" in which the same thing is expressed in fewer terms (#165). (TT)

French: Les termes ho et sinta expriment la localité, la case et la concession lacustre, et par extension les relations familiales qui s'y développent.²⁵⁶ la famille-ho, la famille-sinta.

English: The terms ho and sinta refer to the locality, the hut and the pile-dwelling concession, and by extension to the family ties which are formed therein, i.e.²⁵⁶ the ho-family and the sinta-family.

²⁵⁶ The colon, indicating "traitement", has been rendered by "i.e." which also announces that something is to follow. (#210, #213), and the comma between "la famille-ho" and "la famille-sinta" has been replaced by "and". These two modifications in punctuation allow for a smoother sentence.

Conclusion

To sum up this in-depth study based on SCFA's translation principles, first of all we will discuss the basic problems encountered in the translation, then the major translation tendencies illustrated in our comments, and finally the balance between translation theory and practice.

Two very distinct but intertwined problems in the translation of the text, terminology and syntax, were the primary obstacles encountered in the translation. Another problem worth discussing is that of ambiguity which is evident on a lexical level. Before dealing with these issues, we should keep in mind that the task of the translator is essentially one of transference of ideas from one language to another, but also involves a continual process of selection and elimination of possible choices. He must take into account such factors as tone, style, level of language and, of course, cultural differences. His task will also depend on the type of text to be translated. As in this case we are describing yet a third social entity, the cultural aspect (i.e. French and English cultural differences) was not consequential and so there were no examples of "adaptation" (#246-259). Moreover, due to the non-literary nature of the text, there were few examples of "équivalence" (#230-245).

However, the translator of a functional text such as

ours is faced with the preliminary task of specialized preparation. If he is unacquainted with the field, it is imperative that he research the area sufficiently to be able to render the terminology adequately. Being familiar with the field of Anthropology was a definite asset to our translation, but many of the French terms were vague or not clearly defined, perhaps coined by the author to fit the Tofinnus' kinship groups. This problem was resolved by keeping our terms equally vague unless further defined.

When translating technical terms, the first thing that had to be established was whether or not there was an equivalent English term. If so, it was translated accordingly. If not however, a term had to be found or coined, such as "conjugal family" for "famille-ménage" and "limited family" for "famille restreinte". In the second example, it was necessary to determine who was included in the kinship group so that, unless otherwise qualified, the precise term "nuclear family" was avoided.

Another consideration when translating terminology was based on the level of language which could not always be retained (#56):

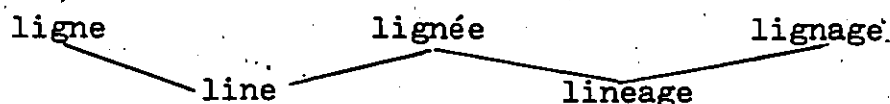
"mot savant"

riverain
lacustre
filiation
oncle maternel
pisciculture
kinsmen
nuclear family
nuclear family

"mot populaire"

waterside /
lake/pile-dwelling
descent
mother's brother
fish-breeding
parents
famille restreinte formée
du couple et des enfants
famille restreinte (père
mère et enfants)

A third problem encountered in translating terminology was that of "bifurcation" (Class by M. Darbelnet) in which a choice between two possible meanings had to be made. The terms "ligne", "lignée" and "lignage" corresponded with the terms "line" and "lineage" in the following manner:



The term "lignée" is thus an example of "bifurcation". Other examples of this principle were "lacustre" which is equivalent to either "lake-shore" or "lake-dwelling" (more precisely "pile-dwelling"), "riverain" which can mean "riverside" or "waterside", "ménage" which can refer to the household or the couple, and the English term "descent" which corresponds to both "filiation" and "descendance". The context determined the choice of meaning.

It was often difficult to decide not only whether a translation problem was essentially linguistic or terminological, e.g. "limited family" (comment 91). Adroitly stated by M. Darbelnet:

En fait, est technique tout terme pris au sens propre et étroitement lié à un domaine d'emploi. Il est donc très difficile de dire où commence et où finit le vocabulaire spécialisé, et nous ne savons jamais quand un mot du vocabulaire courant va s'annexer un sens technique.¹

¹ J. Darbelnet, "Théorie et pratique de la traduction professionnelle: différences de point de vue et enrichissement mutuel", *Meta*, 25, No. 4 (1980), 396.

As mentioned above, another problem encountered in our translation was related to syntax. Although the language and meaning of the text were relatively straightforward with few figures of speech and little imagery, in many cases a literal translation produced awkward sentence construction. In our comments, we have attempted to show that analysis and translation of a text is no simple cut and dried matter and that there are different ways of dividing up the same reality. This has been apparent in the different "découpage" of semantic units (app. II) and in structural differences. As a result, many sentences have been jumbled around to the point that little formal equivalence remained.

As illustrated in comments 90, 116, 152, 154, 186, 211, 227 and 246, when the "unités de traduction" are examined it is obvious that there is not always a one-to-one correspondance. One word may encompass the meaning of two or three terms in the other text while another word may be void of meaning and simply exist as a structural device. This leads to the key concept that we must translate ideas or units of meaning rather than words. Tied in with this notion is the principle of "mise en relief par compensation" in which emphasis may be expressed in different ways, e.g. phonetically as opposed to grammatically (#173). An essential lesson which may be learned from SCFA relates to the ability to stand back from the form of the source language, if necessary, to reproduce a given message or situation.

Another problem encountered, this time on a lexical level,

was related to ambiguity as seen in cases of "bifurcation" and "faux-amis" (#54-55). Several examples of "bifurcation" have been cited in the section dealing with terminology. In this case of ambiguity, the situation determines the choice between two possible solutions. As for "faux-amis", it is often tempting to select a cognate which appears to have the same meaning in both languages. Unfortunately for the translator, the denotations or connotations of the cognates do not always correspond, as in the case of "collectivité-collectivity", "communauté-community", "étranger-stranger" and "inférieur-inferior". In the final example the "aspect affectif" is prevalent in the English term so "inférieur" was rendered by "lower in rank".

In dealing with both lexical and syntactic problems, we must try to achieve a basic goal expressed in SCFA, "Quant au traducteur de profession, il doit connaître toutes les nuances de la langue étrangère et posséder toutes les ressources de sa langue maternelle." (#3) We cannot presume to have attained this degree of perfection in our translation, but have attempted to make a thorough analysis of our problems in the hope of producing a good translation.

As for the comments, a study of translation techniques applied was effected in an attempt to illustrate the recurrence of certain translation patterns. As it is impossible to comment on everything worthy of mention, we have undertaken to discuss those differences which recur throughout our translation. Some may seem more interesting than others but

such commonplace variations as punctuation and linking words are just as important as lexical or structural modifications. There may also appear to have been too much detail or repetition but this was done voluntarily. By providing several examples of the same translation techniques, we have attempted to elucidate certain translation tendencies followed in the passage from French to English.

There has been a definite tendency to utilize more nouns in the French text which is illustrated by the numerous noun-verb "transpositions" (#82 b) and the French "prédominance du substantif" (#86-87). This pattern is also evident in the examples of "caractérisation adverbiale" (#112) where an adverbial phrase is rendered by a single adverb in English. (We found the English version to be more economical in this area.)

The English text has also demonstrated a preference for a more objective representation by employing such formulas as "there is/are" or the passive voice excluding the agent whereas the French has resorted to a more subjective level with "on" and the active voice (#187).

There has been a noticeable shift from the "plan de l'entendement" to the "plan du réel" in the passage from French to English, as seen in the "mots signes" rendered by "mots images" (#41-45), the abstract-concrete and general-specific "modulations" (#76 1, #219), as well as certain examples of "amplification" (#165) and "explicitation" (#151) in which the English text needed to spell out all the details.

Another pattern in our translation was the conciseness

of English as opposed to French. There were more than twice as many examples of this tendency in the English version on both the levels of thought ("économie" versus "amplification", #165-170) and syntax ("concentration" versus "dilution", #165), while the few examples of elaboration in English were basically due to the need to render an idea more explicit. There were also numerous examples of "dépouillement" (#177) as opposed to "étoffement des particules" (#91). Despite our findings here, the reverse may be true in a different type of text, such as legal documents (M. Darbelnet).

There has been a general tendency in our translation to use less punctuation than the French or to replace punctuation with a linking word (i.e., or, and, such as, e.g.). This has been done with a view to providing smoother, less halting sentences. Not only have we utilized less punctuation but also fewer "charnières". For example, "en fait" and "en effet" have frequently been omitted in our translation. According to Vinay and Darbelnet, French is a "langue liée" or "articulée" applying a "développement raisonné" while English follows a "développement intuitif" or "sensoriel" by simply juxtaposing the elements of a message (#206-209). Once again, the French resorts to the "plan de l'entendement" and the English, the "film du réel".

The above generalizations drawn from analyzing the translation of this text do not necessarily apply to all French-English translations but are a good indication that the two languages have essentially different ways of expressing the same idea.

This thesis has attempted to show the need for a balance between linguistic theory and practice. We have applied a precise set of translation rules to the infinite vehicle of language which has been no easy task. The shades of meaning as seen in the "modulations" (#75-76, #216-219) have been difficult to discern as it is hard to analyze the thought process behind the designation in each language. Some examples fit the different categories perfectly while others do not, as it is impossible for theory to account for every possible modification carried out in the transition from the source to the target language. This should be kept in mind when the comments are read.

Despite this imbalance between theory and practice, our study has been valuable in elucidating general translation tendencies, thus demonstrating that translation is not a totally arbitrary procedure. Vinay and Darbelnet help us to develop a deeper consciousness of language by presenting a detailed analysis of the different structures and thought patterns in the two languages. SCFA forces the translator to analyze subtleties he would not normally stop to consider, bringing him closer to the language mechanism. This guide will not necessarily teach an uninitiated person how to translate, but can assist the translator in making decisions or choices between alternatives by doing a step-by-step analysis of the problem.

Nevertheless, in a number of our comments we have illustrated

that there are various possible translations of a given sentence and thus a wide range of choices or "options" (#11). It was also interesting to compare our own version of a quote, translated into French in Bourgoignie's text, with the original English quote (see comment 19). Language is an extremely versatile vehicle as a single idea may be formulated in so many different ways. This is clearly expressed by M. Darbelnet when he speaks of "idiolecte" and "pluralisme de l'usage".² There is thus a margin of subjectivity involved in translation which may make it equally difficult to evaluate the quality of a translation.

Our study has enabled us to strike a balance between the Art and Science of translation. With the help of SCFA, we have illustrated certain patterns followed in the passage from the French to the English text, which might possibly be extended to French-English translations of other similar texts. On the other hand, the linguistic analysis was made after the translation was completed and yet the translation patterns do exist, as they recurred throughout our post hoc study of the techniques. Even if the translation principles of SCFA were not always applied consciously, the knowledge of certain basic differences in the structure and approach of the two languages was certainly helpful in permitting us to compose a translation which strived systematically to be idiomatic.

By demonstrating side by side the mechanism of two systems

² Darbelnet, p. 397.

of thought and expression through a minute examination of the pieces of both mechanisms, SCFA has provided us with an awareness of the intricacies of language and how two languages work and differ from one another. This indispensable information provides the translator with a certain consciousness of the thought process involved in translation which can assist him when he is in a bind. According to Seleskovitch on the subject of trial and error translation:

... établir une systématique qui mène toujours à la réussite est une théorisation à laquelle il ne manque que l'explicitation. La réussite suppose la découverte des principes qui sont en cause, même si leur formulation fait encore défaut.)

Thus the inexperienced translator can benefit immensely from SCFA by learning to use certain translation principles rather than discovering them by trial and error or failing to discover them at all. SCFA is a guide which portrays through its proliferous examples of translation tendencies the intrinsic link between theory and practice. As for whether translation is more an Art or a Science, there is no absolute answer, but as Vinay and Darbelnet suggest in SCFA, "la traduction devient un art une fois qu'on en a assimilé les techniques" (#1).

³ D. Seleskovitch, "Pour une théorie de la traduction inspirée de sa pratique", Meta, 25, No. 4 (1980), 401.

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LES CARACTÈRES FONDAMENTAUX DU SYSTÈME DE PARENTÉ

La parenté procède de trois principes fondamentaux :

- la filiation¹, c'est² la règle qui détermine dans quelle lignée³ se comptent les liens de sang ;
- la résidence, c'est la règle qui détermine en quel lieu doit s'établir une famille donnée ;
- le type de groupement, c'est la règle qui établit la structure et la hiérarchie des groupes parentaux.

Reprenant⁴ ces trois variables, Georges Murdock a proposé la classification suivante (1) :

La filiation :

- Patrilinéaire (de père à fils).
- Matrilinéaire (de mère à fille).
- Bilatérale (les deux lignes confondues).
- Double (les deux lignes séparées).⁵

La résidence :

- Patrilocale (lieu du père de l'époux).⁶
- Matrilocale (lieu du père de l'épouse).
- Matri-patrilocale (lieu du père de l'épouse pour commencer, puis lieu du père de l'époux).
- Avunculocale (lieu de l'oncle maternel⁷ de l'époux).
- Bilocale (choix entre patri ou matrilocale).
- Néolocale (lieu différent des précédents).

Les types de groupement :

- Clan (filiation unilinéaire, résidence commune).
- Sib, lignée⁸ (filiation unilinéaire, pas de résidence commune).⁹
- Deme (filiation bilatérale, pas de résidence commune).

Famille étendue (filiation unilinéaire ou bilatérale, résidence commune).

Famille nucléaire.¹²

Appliquant cette classification à la société tofinnu, les formes de filiation, de résidence et de groupement sont respectivement patrilinéaire, patrilocale et clanique (famille étendue).¹³

LES RÈGLES DE FILIATION

Le groupement familial tofinnu est basé sur un système unilinéal et agnatique (2).¹⁴ le lignage patrilinéaire exogamique. Au lieu de reconnaître comme parents¹⁵ les cognats, c'est-à-dire les descendants des lignes maternelle et paternelle, le système clanique patrilinéaire attache une importance¹⁶ quasi exclusive à la filiation masculine. La parenté ne sera reconnue qu'en ligne paternelle¹⁷ et les liens parentaux, non les droits ni les devoirs, s'y arrêteront.¹⁸ Le clan est « un groupe ayant une descendance unilinéaire selon laquelle tous les membres peuvent se considérer à un titre quelconque comme des parents (3) ». ¹⁹ Le critère d'appartenance²⁰ n'est ni l'habitat, ni le nombre de descendants, ni la distance²¹ ou les contacts personnels, mais uniquement le seul fait d'être descendant « reconnu » du fondateur du clan. Les ancêtres de la même souche sont membres du clan autant que les vivants.²² Tout individu qui en fait partie doit considérer les membres de celui-ci comme ses parents et se comporter vis-à-vis d'eux en conséquence, conformément aux principes de la nomenclature classificatoire. Clan (toko) et lignage (hennu) sont structurés selon les mêmes principes mais ils diffèrent comme groupe social en ce sens que le second ne comprend que les membres de la lignée²³ vivant à un moment donné. « La distinction entre un clan et un lignage est que dans un lignage, chaque membre peut, en fait ou théoriquement, prouver le lien généalogique qui l'unit à un membre quelconque de son lignage par l'existence d'un ancêtre commun, alors que cela est impossible dans un clan, et l'est en général (4) ». ²⁴ Lorsque le Tofinnu rencontre quelqu'un qu'il ne connaît pas, c'est par la filiation qu'il va le situer.²⁵ De là son excellente connaissance de longues généalogies qui contraste avec l'ignorance que manifeste l'Occidental ordinaire pour ses ascendants au-delà d'une ou de deux générations. C'est que celui-ci utilise en fait d'autres cadres de référence pour situer un individu : classe sociale, profession, revenus, nationalité, voiture, lieu de résidence, etc. Pour le Tofinnu, par contre,²⁶ le système de parenté patrilinéale constitue le système exclusif de référence sociale.

Le lignage paternel, appelé toko est un groupe clos, uni à partir d'un aïeul commun autour duquel s'organise le culte des ancêtres.²⁷ Avec le lignage maternel correspondant, on a des liens sociaux, on y a même quelques « parents », mais ceux-ci ne font pas partie de l'unité

parentale proprement dite ; ils sont appelés « nonko » du fait qu'ils sont parents non claniques associés par un mariage. En fait, les liens de paternité sont intérieurs au lignage paternel, tandis que tous les rapports de maternité lui sont extérieurs à moins d'aller à l'encontre des règles d'exogamie.³⁵

L'exogamie, qui interdit à un homme d'épouser une femme de son propre groupe familial, est avec celui de la nomenclature classificatoire, le principe opératoire du système clanique : le clan et le lignage sont des entités sociales qui doivent être conservées, c'est-à-dire continuées dans le temps. Pour assurer leur extension et leur descendance, on a recours spontanément à des unions exogamiques.³⁶ La coutume tofinnu est catégorique : l'union est essentiellement exogamique au niveau du lignage.³⁷ Les enquêtes généalogiques faites dans la société polygynique des villages lacustres³⁸ ont montré que la première épouse est le plus souvent issue d'un lignage du village mais différent du lignage paternel. Ceci résulte du fait que la première épouse est, comme nous le verrons plus loin, le résultat d'une transaction³⁹ entre deux chefs de lignage.⁴⁰ Les épouses suivantes sont par contre choisies et souvent issues de lignages propres à d'autres villages lacustres ou riverains.⁴¹ Pour quinze hommes polygames, pris dans la descendance directe de Sokénu de Ganvié (fig. 65), on totalise 55 épouses dont la moitié (27 exactement) sont étrangères⁴² à la métropole lacustre.⁴³ Une règle d'endogamie villageoise⁴⁴ ou ethnique n'a jamais été instituée, quoiqu'il soit certain que les premiers réfugiés dans la Basse So ont dû souvent se marier entre eux.⁴⁵ L'hétérogénéité⁴⁶ du peuplement des marécages rendait quand même plus ou moins possible une exogamie lignagère. Plus tard, la conquête française et la pacification qui s'ensuivit, rendirent la chose encore plus aisée en facilitant les déplacements et les migrations temporaires. Il n'empêche qu'aujourd'hui encore⁴⁷ les Tofinnu se marient plus volontiers⁴⁸ avec les femmes de leur village ou d'un autre village lacustre, les femmes aguénu se soumettant difficilement⁴⁹ au genre de vie lacustre. Pour l'observateur une impression d'endogamie découle tout naturellement du constat de l'isolement des pêcheurs,⁵⁰ mais à y regarder de plus près⁵¹ on constate qu'une endogamie d'ethnie ne va aucunement à l'encontre des règles d'exogamie observées chez les Tofinnu au niveau du lignage.⁵² A Ganvié, la rivalité latente entre Dakoménu et Sokoménu a favorisé dans le passé des unions endogames au niveau lignager.⁵³ Ce sont les exceptions qui confirment la règle.⁵⁴ D'autre part, l'actuelle évolution réductrice⁵⁵ du lignage vers le ménage restreint⁵⁶ favorise une nouvelle endogamie de fait. On a remarqué des mariages entre gens d'une même concession lignagère (sinta), chose intolérable⁵⁷ autrefois.

Comme la famille étendue (hennu) regroupe souvent un très grand nombre d'individus, il est difficile de déterminer avec quelle personne on peut se marier.⁵⁸ Le seul point de repère est le chef de famille, le hennugan, dépositaire de l'unique système de référence sociale : la généalogie dans la ligne paternelle.⁵⁹ L'exogamie s'entend donc de l'interdiction d'épouser des personnes soumises au même chef de famille étendue. En effet, nous le verrons plus loin, pour être constituée,⁶⁰

l'union exige la demande en mariage et la dot offerte par un chef de lignage à un autre chef de lignage qui consent et reçoit.²¹ Or, dans le cas de personnes appartenant au même lignage, le hennugan est à la fois le sollicitant et l'acceptant. C'est impossible ! N'est autorisé aucun mariage entre collatéraux quel que soit le degré auquel se situe le lien de parenté. La nomenclature classificatoire montre qu'en ligne collatérale ascendante, tous les parents de la génération du père sont assimilés au père ; les mêmes liens continuent à unir leurs descendants qui sont donc frères, nonviwé.²² Il faut parfois remonter très haut (dans le cas de l'exogamie clanique plutôt que lignagère) pour retrouver l'ancêtre commun de deux individus qu'on dit parents et entre lesquels le mariage est interdit. Les règles d'exogamie interdisent donc les unions entre parents parfois très éloignés. Par contre, c'est la même idée qui explique la licéité d'un mariage entre parents très proches comme une fille et son cousin maternel puisque ce dernier n'appartient pas au lignage paternel. Rien n'interdit également le mariage entre enfants d'un frère et ceux d'une sœur. En effet, l'enfant du frère est sous la dépendance du hennugan de son père tandis que celui de la sœur n'est pas sous la dépendance du hennugan de sa mère mais sous celle de son propre père, la parenté n'existant qu'en ligne paternelle.

Comment échapper à la rigueur des règles de l'exogamie ? En diminuant la profondeur du groupe familial ; ramener l'ancêtre commun à une ou deux générations plutôt qu'à dix et plus. L'évolution actuelle va dans ce sens : les règles de l'exogamie se sont quasi réduites aujourd'hui à interdire les relations sexuelles incestueuses entre membres d'une famille restreinte (père, mère et enfants).²³

LES RÈGLES DE RÉSIDENCE

Dans la société tofinnu la résidence est patrilocal.²⁴ L'épouse vient vivre dans le lignage de son mari. Cette patrilocalité s'explique aisément par la théorie de George Murdock qui voit dans l'environnement le facteur déterminant de la division sexuelle du travail, celle-ci déterminant à son tour le système de résidence, lequel détermine alors les structures de parenté et le type de filiation (5). Le Tofinnu s'est spécialisé dans la pêche. C'est à lui qu'incombent les tâches de la construction des pêcheries, du transport des matériaux sur les lieux de pêche et de pisciculture, du placement ou du lancer des divers filets.²⁵ En bref, son activité est essentiellement celle que l'environnement lui a imposée : la pêche. C'est l'homme aussi qui se charge de la construction et de l'entretien des cases que le milieu lacustre a obligé à construire sur pilotis. Ce sont là des travaux trop lourds pour la femme à qui incombent les tâches, parfois pénibles aussi, des travaux domestiques. Elle s'occupe également de la transformation et du commerce du poisson ramené par l'homme. Rarement nous n'avons jamais pu observer le fait — des jeunes filles participeraient à la pêche des huîtres. Il a

fallu des années au pêcheur¹⁰⁷ pour acquérir son art et construire ses pêcheries. Quitter le terroir sur lequel il a été formé dès l'enfance¹⁰⁸ et dans lequel il a investi¹⁰⁹ est chose impossible. C'est perdre son gagne pain¹¹⁰, celui de sa famille et affaiblir celui du sinta. Aussi est-il logique qu'au moment du mariage la femme¹¹¹, qui par son départ n'abandonne quasi aucune spécialité, ni investissement, vienne vivre dans le village, dans la communauté résidentielle et lignagère de son mari.

Parfois, lorsqu'il s'agit d'un mariage à l'intérieur d'un même village lacustre, pour des raisons de manque de place dans le sinta ou le komé paternel¹¹², la résidence peut devenir matri-patrilocale (résidence au lieu du père de l'épouse pour commencer, puis lieu du père de l'époux), voire même matrilocale (résidence au lieu du père de l'épouse) ou avunculocale (résidence au lieu de l'oncle maternel de l'époux). La situation de fait qui oblige la femme régulièrement mariée à continuer à habiter chez son père est appelée vidotohué. Parfois également, dans le sens de l'émancipation contemporaine des jeunes¹¹³, la règle d'établissement¹¹⁴ est néolocale¹¹⁵ : les jeunes émancipés s'installent où bon leur semble sans tenir compte¹¹⁶ des règles précédentes, du moins lorsqu'ils en ont les moyens pratiques et financiers¹¹⁷. Cependant la règle générale reste encore aujourd'hui la patrilocalité.

LES GROUPEMENTS FAMILIAUX

Diminuer la profondeur¹²² du groupe familial pour accommoder le principe de l'exogamie, accroître la liberté de l'individu et simplifier ses rapports sociaux, c'est poser le problème de la segmentation, réelle ou fictive, de la structure polyclanique de la société tofinim¹²³. Le lignage a tendance à s'accroître en progression géométrique¹²⁴ jusqu'à constituer¹²⁵ parfois un groupement de plusieurs milliers de personnes. Le groupe s'étend aussi bien sur le plan matériel que sur le plan social¹²⁶. Il arrive un moment où une scission se produit entraînant l'émigration collective d'un segment du lignage ; et le même processus recommence¹²⁷ ailleurs autour d'un nouveau fondateur. La hiérarchie des groupements familiaux entre lesquels se répartit l'autorité et la segmentation progressive du groupe parental¹²⁸ peuvent être schématisées dans une structure¹²⁹ où chaque groupement familial est sous la tutelle, de plus en plus théorique¹³⁰ d'ailleurs, du précédent (fig. 69).

(a) OKO (transcription en dialecte tofinimbé du mot fon ako¹³¹ clan) est le plus grand groupement parental des gens unis par un lien de parenté réel ou fictif dans le culte d'un même ancêtre¹³². Il englobe tous les autres groupements. En réalité, en temps normal, le lien est si ténu qu'il n'existe quasi plus, même sur le plan spirituel¹³³. Il ne reste en commun que quelques expressions de salutation. C'est le clan tel que nous venons d'en parler.¹³⁴

KUN est une sorte de superlatif exprimant la grande taille d'un oko ou d'un ensemble d'oko rassemblés par la nécessité de former un groupement fort. C'est plutôt la tribu.

(b) *HENNU*, c'est le lignage qui peut être de taille variable selon que son fondateur est éloigné dans le temps ou non, selon qu'il fut homme d'importance ou non. C'est la « famille étendue » qui groupe le chef de famille — le hennugan — avec ses femmes, ses enfants ; les garçons mariés avec leurs femmes et leurs enfants, les filles non encore mariées ; les frères du chef de famille également avec leurs femmes et leurs enfants ; et les assimilés éventuels (esclaves, serviteurs ou hôtes étrangers invités à rester et à se mêler à la famille) avec leurs familles. A. Serpos TIDJANI la définit en disant que « se considèrent comme parents toutes les personnes descendant d'un ancêtre (mythique ou non) commun, ou pouvant se réclamer de lui (serviteurs, esclaves) ; les intéressés peuvent ne pas vivre sous le même toit. Mais ils sont astreints à la participation au culte des morts, divinisés ou non (6) ». Le hennu ne remonte généralement pas à plus de cinq générations ; au-delà, il hérite du superlatif ZUN.

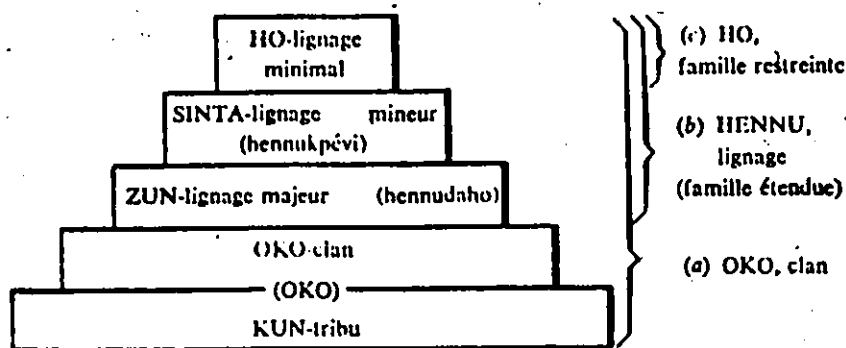
— *ZUN*, lignage majeur, est une sorte de superlatif exprimant la grande taille d'une famille étendue, hennudaho (grand hennu), ou d'un ensemble de familles étendues. Le superlatif est alors accolé au nom du fondateur de l'hennu.

— *SINTA*, segment territorial de lignage ou lignage mineur, hennukpévi (petit hennu), est une sorte de diminutif ramenant la famille étendue dans les cadres plus étroits de la vie quotidienne, c'est-à-dire dans ceux, socio-spatiaux, de la concession lacustre, *sinta* et ceux, socio-temporels, de trois générations en général. Sous l'autorité du sintagan (7), il constitue une sorte de microcosme qui a sa vie propre, son organisation et qui cherche à se suffire à lui-même. Dans ce cas, le groupement de parenté recouvre celui de la localité. C'est donc au chapitre de l'habitat que nous avons détaillé la composition de quelques familles-sinta (8).

— L'expression « collectivité familiale » est abondamment utilisée dans le Bas Dahomey pour souligner dans un groupe lignager les liens du sang ou d'allégeance à un ancêtre commun. Elle se confond la plupart du temps avec la notion hennu ; tantôt par contre elle désigne quelque chose de plus vaste ou au contraire de plus réduit. Devant cette relativité, nous avons préféré garder l'expression « famille étendue ».

(c) *HO* (9), lignage minimal, est la famille restreinte, la famille-ménage, la famille-ho ; « élémentaire » lorsqu'elle groupe l'homme, sa femme et leur (s) enfant (s) ; « polygyne » ou « composée » lorsqu'elle groupe le mari avec ses femmes et leurs enfants respectifs (8). Parfois s'ajoutent des serviteurs. Bien que le fait de vivre ensemble ou non n'ait aucune importance, les membres de la famille vivent généralement sous le même toit, dans la même case, le hotin. Les groupes de parenté et de localité se recouvrent comme dans le cas de la famille-

FIG. 69 — Structure des groupements familiaux tofinnu



sinta et souvent dans celui de l'hennudaho dont les membres constituent alors un quartier, un komé.

Le clan (oko) s'est effacé¹⁶² ; les lignages seuls subsistent, plus dans leur forme de sinta et de ho que de hennu. L'inadaptation de la structure trop vaste, même de ce dernier, à la vie moderne a facilité sa désagrégation¹⁶³. Le sinta, par contre, se conforme mieux à l'individualisme des Tofinnu et aux exigences de la vie quotidienne. Sans doute la famille-ménage, ho, deviendra-t-elle un jour la réalité fondamentale au détriment de la famille-sinta. La mutation¹⁶⁴ pourrait être accélérée dans les prochaines années du fait que la crise économique actuelle et l'exode¹⁶⁵ qui en découle, enlève au sinta son caractère d'unité de production¹⁶⁶. Le temps n'est plus où l'on peut exploiter collectivement de nombreuses pêcheries. Beaucoup de familles étendues ne sont plus propriétaires de domaines piscicoles¹⁶⁷. Leur seul bien immobilier collectif est souvent réduit au mausolée (yoho) consacré à leurs morts ou à certains ancêtres divinisés, mais tout cela n'est plus un bien quotidiennement exploité en commun. Le Tofinnu se tourne alors vers des formes de pêche individuelle qui ne nécessitent aucun ou peu d'investissements¹⁶⁸. Le ménage tend dès lors à devenir sa propre entité socio-économique qui, en cas de besoin, bénéficie bien sûr de la solidarité coutumière.

Parallèlement à cette décadence de la famille étendue, on néglige¹⁶⁹ le culte rendu aux ancêtres éloignés qui assuraient en quelque sorte l'intégration¹⁷⁰ de ces vastes groupements. On vénère les ancêtres très proches et si d'aventure on se décide à rendre un culte à l'ancêtre éloigné¹⁷¹, la cérémonie prend souvent un aspect presque privé. On assiste dès lors à une multiplication des ancêtres et à ce phénomène étonnant où les segments de lignage cherchent à rapprocher leurs ancêtres plutôt qu'à se raccrocher à l'ancêtre lointain¹⁷², mythique ou non, qu'on ne renie pas pour autant. Le facteur d'intégration devient donc plus une dimension fraternelle — tous les Dakoménu, par exemple, sont frères ; tous les Sokoménu sont frères — qu'une dimension cultu-

elle ; l'un n'excluant pourtant pas l'autre.¹¹³ Le processus évolutif a également marqué l'autorité naguère souveraine du chef de famille étendue, le hennugan ou sintagan. Toute l'organisation familiale reposait en effet dans le passé sur le chef de famille.¹¹⁴ Le titre d'hennugan lui était dévolu en raison de sa primogéniture et des qualités réelles ou supposées qui lui étaient reconnues du vivant de l'hennugan auquel il succédait.¹¹⁵ D'ailleurs, il tenait souvent son titre du défunt qui le désignait pour poursuivre l'œuvre des ancêtres. Il était la charnière qui relie le groupe des vivants à celui des défunts et en tant que tel chargé d'assurer la pérennité du lignage et du culte. Une telle responsabilité, pour être efficacement assumée, impliquant la reconnaissance de pouvoirs absolus.¹¹⁶ Il avait sous sa dépendance, nous l'avons vu,¹¹⁷ non seulement ses propres descendants mais aussi ses frères, sœurs, cousins et leurs descendants, c'est-à-dire tous les collatéraux dans la mesure où ceux-ci étaient liés à lui par le souvenir d'un ancêtre commun. Son autorité et sa compétence s'étendaient donc à un groupe fort important.¹¹⁸ Toute transaction matérielle ou cérémonielle n'avait de valeur que si elle avait été accomplie¹¹⁹ ou approuvée par lui-même. En bref, les membres du groupe sont tous soumis à l'autorité de l'hennugan dont on ne conteste pas la volonté¹²⁰ et dont l'inventaire des prérogatives montre l'importance.¹²¹

- il organise les cérémonies rituelles,
- il règle les litiges entre les membres de la famille étendue,
- il organise et autorise les mariages, il autorise les divorces,
- il sanctionne les faits graves commis par les membres du lignage,
- il exclut¹²² du groupe celui qui se rend coupable d'inceste ou d'autres délits aussi graves...

L'hennugan est, en fait, la cheville¹²³ de toute l'organisation familiale. Son autorité décide souverainement,¹²⁴ souvent après consultation de l'oracle Fa et avec l'aide des tanyinon, c'est-à-dire des vieilles tantes¹²⁵ pourvoyeuses du culte des ancêtres. Il s'agit des femmes âgées¹²⁶ de la famille étendue, qui à cause de leur sagesse et de leur compétence interviennent dans les prières et les offrandes aux ancêtres comme dans la vie courante. Leur présence était entre autres obligatoire aux cérémonies du mariage ; c'était en quelque sorte sceller l'union avec l'accord et la bénédiction des ancêtres. Nous y reviendrons plus loin. L'hennugan était également assisté à Ganvié d'un ou de plusieurs dekpegan, chef des jeunes gens.¹²⁷ Le nombre de ceux-là était fonction de celui des jeunes et de leurs compétences respectives. On trouve la même institution du côté féminin ; l'ahuligan est le chef des jeunes filles.¹²⁸ Malgré ces aides, l'exercice des prérogatives citées¹²⁹ créait souvent des difficultés et des heurts¹³⁰ entre les membres du lignage étendu, car il était impossible de concilier les intérêts des uns et des autres dans un groupe de plus en plus large.¹³¹ Aussi des pressions internes s'exercèrent sur l'hennugan qui petit à petit dut céder la plupart de ses attributions à des conseils de famille. Le chef est dorénavant assisté et contrôlé, sinon contredit, par un conseil dont la composition variable est faite

en général des doyens immédiatement inférieurs²²⁸. Le processus est bien décrit par Serpos TIDJANI qui, parlant du chef de famille, précise qu'aujourd'hui « il doit pour toute question sérieuse solliciter l'avis, même se conformer aux désirs²²⁹ de la majorité, au risque de semer la zizanie²³⁰ dans son groupement familial et de se faire moins obéir de ceux qui sont éloignés de lui. C'est pourquoi dans les réunions, il parle en dernier lieu. Son avis, qui est prépondérant et vaut une décision²³¹, ne sera donné que lorsqu'il aura entendu les avis divergents des membres de son conseil. Sa décision ne fait qu'entériner ce que la majorité a suggéré (10) »²³². Ce sont donc les autorités familiales, les membres influents de la famille, qui en définitive²³³ décident souverainement. Durant la période coloniale leurs décisions collégiales²³⁴ pouvaient acquiescer plus de poids — du moins aux yeux de l'Européen — en se faisant homologuer au Tribunal de Gbessou d'abord, d'Abomey-Calavi ensuite, qui, nous l'avons vu, s'occupait des affaires des Iofinnu.

On continue à reconnaître à l'hennugan le patronage des rites religieux²³⁵. Son autorité devenue²³⁶ purement morale et rituelle, continue cependant à être d'autant plus grande qu'il est âgé et que l'importance numérique du lignage est grande²³⁷. Bientôt ces conseils de famille ne purent eux-mêmes faire l'unanimité de leurs éléments et durent céder la plupart de leurs attributions aux conseils plus restreints des sinta : ceux-ci depuis peu doivent à leur tour lâcher du lest²³⁸ en faveur des individus eux-mêmes. En effet, le phénomène colonial aidant avec ce qu'il entraîna de dispersion, d'évolution, d'autonomie, le hennu d'abord, le sinta ensuite perdirent peu à peu de leur contenu. Leur force contraignante s'est amenuisée²³⁹, les époux et les futurs époux y gagnèrent en liberté, les enfants en émancipation, les héritiers en cloisonnement²⁴⁰. Si l'hennugan est bel et bien mort en milieu urbain, dans les villages lacustres, son homologue en plus petit, le sintagan, malgré l'évolution en cours, se porte encore fort bien. L'autorité de celui-ci est sensiblement la même que celle de l'hennugan avec la différence numérique des personnes dont il est responsable²⁴¹. Les droits légaux et économiques que se sont arrogés les chefs de ménage continuent, dans la grande majorité des cas, à être exercés sous la tutelle du sintagan. Il est certain cependant que la tendance actuelle va dans le sens d'un passage de l'autorité du chef de famille au père, chef de ménage. Le Iofinnu se trouve à la croisée de deux tendances divergentes : l'une individualiste, l'autre communautaire. Son activité économique est réduite à la taille de sa pirogue²⁴², son encadrement social reste dominé par les lois, les tabous, le conformisme à une collectivité plus large : la famille étendue²⁴³. L'évolution actuelle remplace cependant de plus en plus²⁴⁴ celle-ci par la famille restreinte bâtie cette fois à la mesure de la pirogue et des activités économiques. Un processus de réduction, de désintégration, d'individualisation est en cours : la famille-sinta a supplanté l'hennu ; la famille-ho, devenue l'unité socio-économique, émerge à son tour²⁴⁵.

(1) Murdock George, *Social structure*, New York, The Maxmillan Company, 1949, chapitres 1 à 5.

(2) Les agnats d'un homme sont les ⁷⁵⁰cognats descendant par les mâles du même ancêtre mâle.²⁶¹

(3) Radcliffe-Brown, *op. cit.*, p. 49.

(4) Radcliffe-Brown, *op. cit.*, p. 17.

(5) Bessaiget Pierre, *Principes de l'ethnologie économique*, Paris, Librairie Générale de Droit et de Jurisprudence, 1966, pp. 62-67 (les théories de Murdock)

(6) Tidjani, Serpos A., « Notes sur le mariage du Dahomey », in *Etudes Dahoméennes*, Porto-Novo, IRAID, VI-1951, p. 45.

(7) Nous avons préféré ²⁶¹utiliser ce terme sintagan, chef du sinta, plutôt que celui de hennugan kpévi, ²⁶¹chef d'un petit hennu.

(8) Voir chapitre 12.

(9) Il faut noter que dans le dialecte tofingbé, il n'existe aucun mot pour désigner la famille restreinte formée du couple et des enfants. Les termes ho et sinta expriment la localité, la case et la concession-lacustre, et par extension les relations familiales qui s'y développent : la famille-ho, la famille-sinta.

(10) Tidjani, *op. cit.*, p. 54.