



SAFARA

**Revue internationale de
langues, littératures et cultures**

UFR de Lettres et Sciences Humaines
Université Gaston Berger de Saint-Louis

ISSN: 0851-4119

**N°15
2016**

SAFARA N° 15/2016

Revue internationale de Langues, littératures et cultures

UFR Lettres et Sciences Humaines, Université Gaston Berger,
BP 234 Saint Louis, Sénégal
Tel +221 961 23 56 Fax +221 961 1884
E-mail : omar.sougou@ugb.edu.sn / mamadou.ba@ugb.edu.sn

Directeur de Publication

Omar SOUGOU, Université Gaston Berger (UGB)

COMITE SCIENTIFIQUE

Augustin	AINAMON (Bénin)	Maweja	MBAYA (Sénégal)
Mamadou	CAMARA (Sénégal)	Babacar	MBAYE (USA)
Simon	GIKANDI (USA)	Maki	SAMAKE (Mali)
Pierre	GOMEZ (Gambie)	Ndiawar	SARR (Sénégal)
Mamadou	KANDJI (Sénégal)	Aliko	SONGOLO (USA)
Baydallaye	KANE (Sénégal)	Marième	SY (Sénégal)
Edris	MAKWARD (USA)	Lifongo	VETINDE (USA)

COMITE DE RÉDACTION

Rédacteur en Chef :	Badara SALL, UGB
Corédacteur en Chef :	Babacar DIENG, UGB
Relations extérieures :	Moussa SOW, UGB
Secrétaire de rédaction :	Mamadou BA, UGB

MEMBRES

Abdoulaye	BARRY (UGB)	Maurice	GNING (UGB)
Khadidiatou	DIALLO (UGB)	Fallou	NGOM (USA)
Oumar	FALL (UGB)	Ousmane	NGOM (UGB)

© SAFARA, Université Gaston Berger de Saint Louis, 2016

ISSN 0851- 4119

SOMMAIRE

An Afrocentric and Feminist Analysis of the Issue of Race and Subalternity in Emecheta's *Second Class Citizen* 1

COULIBALY Aboubacar Sidiki

Le dispositif scénique ou l'écriture scénographique dans *Les Vainqueurs* d'Olivier PY 17

Ignace Bassène

La mythologie et son expression poétique dans *Les Amours* de Ronsard..... 37

Tafsir Mamour BA

L'île de Bahila de Cheik Aliou NDAO ou une pédagogie de la révolution..... 47

Ibrahima BA

Duplicidad de la temporalidad y atemporalidad en la trilogía novelesca de Abel Posse sobre la conquista de América: *Daimón*, *Los perros del paraíso* y *El largo atardecer del caminante* 63

Ndiro SOW

La topografía parisiense en *Susana y los cazadores de moscas* y *Laura o la soledad sin remedio* de Pío Baroja 79

Ndèye Khady DIOP

Bible Translation and Feminism in Burkina Faso: Some Reflections drawn from the Dioula and Mooré Biblical Versions 93

F. Emilie G. SANON-OUATTARA / André KABORE

Etude comparative de l'origine des proverbes wolof et anglais 113

Astou Diop

Micro-violences et incidents à l'école : les violences scolaires comme symptômes de la crise d'un modèle éducatif 137

Mamadou Lamine COULIBALY

Adverbe de négation: place et portée stylistico-sémantique dans la phrase 153

YAO Kouadio Jean

L'apport du français à l'enseignement et l'apprentissage de l'anglais 171

Youssoupha COULIBALY / Papa Meïssa COULIBALY

Bible Translation and Feminism in Burkina Faso: Some Reflections drawn from the Dioula and Mooré Biblical Versions

F. Emilie G. SANON-OUATTARA / André KABORE

Université Ouaga I Professeur Joseph-KI-ZERBO

Abstract

This paper considers translation as the reflexion of norms, and culture as a man-dominated frame in which occur daily interactions. Hence, any culture-based translation process in a man-dominated frame tends to replicate or deepen women's inferior image. Taking for granted women's inferiority in Burkinabe patriarchal society, this paper examines the degree in which the existing state of women's inferiority has been transferred into Bible translation. The analysis shows that the mapping of Bible translation into culture by the use of dynamic /functional equivalence maintains and sometimes widens existing biblical inequalities between men and women. It reveals that the feminist trend has had no positive effect on Bible translation in that country. The methodology used is analytical and critical. Verses dealing with the relationship between men and women were selected in French, used as a source text in most Bible translations in Burkina Faso, and Mooré and Dioula, two Burkina languages. The analysis was made through a linguistic comparison of the selected verses to show how the differences between men and women were deepened in the Mossi and Dioula versions as compared to French. Translation shows a reflexion of some traditions of Burkina Faso, thus creating a vicious circle for the feminist fight in this country.

Keywords : Bible - translation - Culture - norms - feminism

Résumé

Cet article considère la traduction comme le reflet des normes dans une société donnée, et la culture comme un cadre dominé par le genre masculin dans lequel ont lieu les interactions de tous les jours. Ainsi, tout procédé de traduction basé sur la culture cible dans un contexte dominé par le genre masculin tend à reproduire ou à empirer l'image inférieure de la femme. En partant du constat que la femme est inférieure à l'homme dans la société patriarcale du Burkina Faso, cet article examine comment cet état d'infériorité a été transféré dans les traductions bibliques. L'analyse démontre que le fait d'inscrire les traductions bibliques dans un cadre culturel, à travers l'équivalence dynamique, maintient et quelquefois renforce les inégalités déjà existantes dans la Bible entre les hommes et les femmes. Le mouvement féministe n'a pas eu d'effet positif sur les traductions bibliques au Burkina Faso. La méthodologie utilisée est analytique et critique. Des versets traitant des rapports entre les hommes et les femmes ont été sélectionnés en français, utilisé comme langue source dans plusieurs projets de traduction biblique au Burkina Faso, mais également en mooré et en dioula, deux langues du Burkina Faso. Une analyse comparative des versets sélectionnés démontre comment les différences entre les hommes et les femmes ont été maintenues ou renforcées dans les versions mooré et dioula par rapport au français. La traduction a reflété certaines traditions du Burkina, créant un cercle vicieux qui freine la lutte des féministes dans ce pays.

Mots clés : Traduction - Bible - Féminisme - Culture - Mooré - Dioula

Introduction

Bible translation has always been a passionate issue in that it brought about many contradictory approaches on what translation should be. From Cicero to Saint Jerome, there have been a lot of approaches whose criticism gave way to the formulation of further translation techniques and theories. Among them are the norms in Translation theories (Toury 1995), and the influence of translation commissioner (Nord 1991). Modern theories in the field of Bible translation include the "dynamic equivalence" by Nida (1964) which advocates the use of culture – a male-dominated frame – in the target audience to produce an accepted text.

Feminism can be considered as a philosophical approach which advocates equality between men and women in society. In Burkina Faso, Bible translations were carried out in a particular context where the French versions preceded the original Greek and Hebrew ones, and were partly used as source versions to translate the Bible into Burkina Faso's local languages. There has been a change of attitude toward the biblical language in favor of feminist actions throughout the world. The Bible is known to have a 'patriarchal' bias denounced by feminists. The debate about using an 'inclusive language' (Blomberg 2005) is suggestive of a general environment where women are claiming more justice on the biblical ground. The issue of gender in Bible translation is not new (Bullard 1987, Hess 2005, Bock 2005). The 'male orientation', 'male emphasis' and the 'patriarchal concerns' have been raised (Bock 2005) and the debate on how to produce a neutral version without twisting the words is on (Bock 2005: 170).

This paper intends to show how gender issues were handled in recent Bible translations in Burkina Faso. The following research questions will be dealt with:

- Did the feminist movement throughout the world have an impact on Bible translation in Burkina Faso?
- Did the strategies used by Bible translators in Mooré (language spoken by the Mossi) and Dioula reflect the feminist trend or do they deepen inequalities between men and women?

The study targets the following objective:

- To show that the influence of norms and culture in translation strategies deepens the inequalities between men and women in societies like Burkina Faso's where all the power is in the hands of men.
- To show that the feminist movement has had no impact on Bible translation in Burkina Faso.

Our study is built around the following hypotheses:

- The recourse to culture to produce a culturally-accepted translation in Burkina deepens inequalities between men and women

- Due to the relative similarities between Semitic culture and African's, translators did not encounter many difficulties in translating verses advocating the subordination of women to men.

Methodology

The methodology is analytical and critical. We rely on the literature available on biblical studies, translation studies and feminist actions on Bible translation to build our analysis. Norms and culture in translation, the *skopos* theory, dynamic/functional equivalence are the theoretical framework of our study and main themes on translation we shall discuss. A textual comparison of some verses about women conditions translated into two Burkina languages, Mooré and Dioula is also presented to complete the analysis. These verses were selected among those establishing a kind of hierarchy between men and women or just referring to the relationships between men and women. The French version used in this study is TOB (traduction oecuménique de la Bible) translated in 1988 by Alliance Biblique Universelle. The Mooré version used is *SebrSôngo* translated in 1998 by Alliance Biblique Universelle and the Dioula version *Ala ka kuma* produced in 2008 by Alliance Biblique du Burkina Faso.

A documentary review introduces our analysis, followed by a comparison of some biblical verses in Mooré and Dioula to French and Greek and then a discussion is provided before some concluding remarks.

1. Theoretical Review

1.1. Norms and culture in translation

Every human activity is regulated by norms which seem to be closely related to culture defined by Nord (1997: 33) as

whatever one has to know, master or feel in order to judge whether or not a particular form of behavior shown by members of a community in their various roles conforms to general expectations and in order to behave in this community in accordance with general expectations unless one is prepared to bear the consequences of unaccepted behavior.

For Vermeer referred to by Nord (1997), special emphasis must be put on the dynamic quality of culture in that it focusses on human action and behavior. For him, culture is "the entire setting of norms and conventions an individual as a member of his society must know in order to be 'like everybody' - or to be able to be different from everybody"(Vermeer 1987: 28) quoted by Nord (1997: 33).

Norms can be defined as "the social reality" of "correctness notions" (Chesterman 1993: 5). For Nord (1991) they are different from conventions which are less binding. There are laws governing any human activity and translation is no exception. "The laws of translation behavior are not prescriptive; they are designed to facilitate the prediction of real

world phenomenon and/or their explanation. They do not oblige anybody unless they are accepted as binding norms with a recipient culture" (Toury 1991: 187).

But norms need to be validated and some are validated by norm authority. They can be expected to operate not only in translation of all kinds, but also at every stage in the translating event and hence to be reflected on every level of its product. There are preliminary norms and operational norms (Toury 1995: 58). Preliminary norms have to do with two main sets of consideration which are often interconnected: those regarding the existence and actual nature of a definite translation policy and those related to the directness of translation. Translation policy refers to those factors that govern the choice of text types, or even individual texts to be imported through translation into a particular culture/language at a particular point in time. Operational norms direct the decisions made during the act of translation itself. They affect the matrix of the text. The so-called matricial norms may govern the very existence of target language. The importance of norms makes it possible to understand the general environment surrounding any act in society and Bible translation is no exception.

1.2- Bible Translation

The Bible is the holy Book of Christianity and the most translated book in the world. The history of its translation has been very complex. According to Nida (1998: 23), it can be divided into three main periods: the Greco roman period (200 BC to AD 700), the reformation period (16th and 17th century) and the modern period which covers the 19th and 20th century. The first translation was the Greek Septuagint version of the Hebrew Old Testament in the second century BC. This translation influenced the canon, vocabulary used in the scriptures, and principles of translation. The canon of the Bible has been defined differently over time and by different groups; the Catholic Bible includes books not taken into account in the Protestant Bible. For Catholics, "the question of the canon was finally decided at the council of Trent, which in Session IV, on 8 April 1546 fixed the extent of the vulgate" (Ruger, 1989: 301). Books outside the canon are called Apocrypha (14 books of the Septuagint) and pseudepigrapha (spuriously attributed to biblical figures). The term "canon" refers to the closed corpus of biblical literature regarded as divinely inspired. The Hebrew biblical canon represents a long process of selection, as testified to by the Bible itself which lists some 22 books that have been lost, no doubt, among other reasons, because they were not included in the canon. Books were only included if they were regarded as holy, that is, divinely inspired. Most translations which followed were based on the Greek Septuagint, so, the cultural and sociolinguistic impact it had, were perpetuated till the modern era. During the Greco Roman period, there has been some translations into Latin of the New Testament (Nida 1998). Many other translation undertakings started just after. Soon after, some versions revealed unsatisfactory and needed to be revised. Saint Jerome was committed to this task, which he did in a very satisfactory way according to church leaders (idem). He has a lot of

influence on the principles of Bible translation. The numerous punishments experienced by former Bible translators (Delisle and Woodsworth 2012, Foz 1998) is evidence that the setting of Bible translation principles were related to the will of church leaders and to sociolinguistic and cultural factors, which presumably were all man-dominated.

Eugene Nida was one of the most prolific writers on Bible translation. His principles of equivalence, "formal equivalence" and "dynamic equivalence" (Nida (1969: 159), influenced a lot further Bible translations. "Formal equivalence focusses attention on the message itself, in both form and content (...). A translation of dynamic equivalence aims at complete naturalness of expression and tries to relate the receptor to modes of behavior relevant within the context of his own culture" (idem). The choice of the form of translation depends on the skopos of the translation and depends on the commissioner (Nord 1991) who sets his or her objectives and validates the translation. So far, there haven't been many women engaged in Bible translation in the role of the commissioner. The first one reported by Bullard (1987) was Mrs Montgomery in 1924. The issue of gender in Bible translation was addressed by many authors: Bullard (1987), Hess (2005), Bock (2005), Blomberg (2005). Bock (2005 : 170) distinguishes two basic approaches that underlie the debate about gender-sensitive translation : the ideological gender sensitivity which seeks to 'degenderize' the Bible, that is, to remove all language that is male-specific and excludes women and to use a neutral language and the translational gender sensitivity which renders terms to make clear the gender scope of passages especially when they use an all-encompassing reference to man or mankind to address both men and women. Both approaches use the 'dynamic /functional equivalence'. However, translational renderings are more restrictive and will make fewer changes than ideological ones. The following part is a selection of verses where the relationship between men and women is addressed.

2. Results

2.1. Similarities

Verse 1

Gn 3: 16

French : Il dit à la femme : « Je ferai qu'ençeinte, tu sois dans de grandes souffrances ; c'est péniblement que tu enfanteras des fils. Ton désir te poussera vers ton homme et lui te dominera ».

Dioula : Ala y'a fɔ ye muso ko : "Ne bena i ka deen woloko gweleya kosɔbɛ. I bena tɔɔɔwolowaati la. I cɛɛnigɛbena kei la, ale bena kei kuntigi ye"

Literal translation of the Dioula version: God said to the woman: " I will make childbirth very difficult for you. You will suffer a lot during delivery. You will have desire for your husband and he will be your chief."

Mooré: B lèèg n yeela pagâ : « fo sâ n wa tûtê, f naong na yàà wùsg-wùsgo, yaa toog pùgê la f na n dog f kamba, f na n tûlga f sàda ne tûlsem kâsenga la yê n na n dà naam la a soog fo. »

Literal translation of the Mooré version: He then said to the woman: "when you are pregnant, your suffering will be immense; it is in suffering that you will give birth to your children; you are going to desire your husband with great desire and he will reign over you and own you."

Commenting on this verse, Eugene H. Maly (1970: 13) says that "The present condition of woman as wife and mother is seen as a punishment of the first sin. The punishment is threefold: Woman bears children in pain; her desire for her husband, despite its consequences, is controlled with difficulty; man dominates woman in the domestic and social order. Man's domination, although part of the order of creation, is intensified by sin beyond the divinely willed measure." This presentation fits perfectly the culture of Burkina Faso. Indeed, men dominate women in the domestic and social order. The desire for the husband can be understood in the framework of polygamy where men are allowed to have as many wives as they want. The Dioula and Mooré versions follow the French version but the Mooré version added something, which further deepens the domination of men over women.

Verse 2

Dt 22: 22-23

French : Si l'on prend sur le fait un homme couchant avec une femme mariée, tous deux mourront : l'homme qui a couché avec la femme et la femme elle-même. Tu feras disparaître d'Israël le mal. Si une jeune fille vierge est fiancée à un homme, qu'un autre homme la rencontre dans la ville et couche avec elle, vous les conduirez tous deux à la porte de cette ville et vous les lapiderez jusqu'à ce que mort s'ensuive : la jeune fille parce qu'elle n'a pas appelé au secours dans la ville, et l'homme parce qu'il a usé de la femme de son prochain. Tu feras disparaître le mal du milieu de toi.

Dioula : Ni cɛɛ dɔ minɛna ɲamɔɔya keyɔɔɔ lani mɔɔɔ wɛɛɛ ka muso ye, u fila bɛɛ ka kan ka faga, cɛɛ nin, ani a lara ni muso min ye. O la, aw bena kojugu bo Isirayɛlidenw cɛma. Ni cɛɛ dɔ ye sunguru maminɛnin kunben dugu kɔɔɔ ka la n'a ya, aw bena u minɛ ka taga n'u fila bɛɛ ye dugu donda la, k'u bon ni kabakuru ya k'u faga. Aw ka sunguru nin faga bari a tun be dugu kɔɔɔ, a do ma kule ka mɔɔɔ wele ka n'a dɛmɛ. Aw ka cɛɛ nin faga, bari a jɛnna ni mɔɔɔ wɛɛɛ ka muso ye. O la, aw bena kojugu bɔ aw cɛma

Literal Translation: if a man is caught sleeping with another man's wife, both must be killed, the man and the woman he slept with. This way, you will withdraw evil from the people of Israel. If a man meets in town a girl who has a fiancé and sleeps with her, you must lead them both out of the city and stone them to death. You must kill the girl because when she was in the city, she did not cry out for help. The man must be killed because he slept with another man's wife. This way, you will throw evil out of us.

Mooré : 22 B sā n ling yoaad ne pag sēn tar sīda, b kũda b yiiba fāa, paga ne raoã. Yiis **wubd** a woto buud Israyel **svka**. ²³ B sā n zoe n **kāaba** pa-kul sīda ti ned a to seg-a tēnga pug **n sāam-a**, ²⁴ y talld-b la b yiib fāa n yiis tēnga noore la y labd-b lame n kv. Y kũda **bi-puglā tyella maama tēngasvka** la **a pa kelem ye**. Y kũda raoã t'a **kēe** ne a to paga. Yiis wēng f **svka**.

Literal translation of the Mooré version: If an adulterous man is caught with a woman who has a husband, both should be killed: the woman and the man. Throw out abomination of this kind out of the midst of Israel. If a virgin girl is already promised to a man and if another man meets her in town and despoils her, both should be brought out to the border of the town where they should be stoned to death. The girl should be killed because the business was done in the middle of the town and she did not cry out. The man should be killed because he slept with another man's wife. Drive away the evil out of your midst.

Joseph Blenkinsopp (1970: 115), in his commentary on this verse in Deuteronomy says that "The second law, on adultery, forbidden in the 'ten words' (Dt 5:18; Ex 20:14), carries the death penalty for both parties here and in Lv 20:10. According to the Hammurabi Code (§129; ANET 171, 181), both parties were drowned; the Assyrian laws also attached the death penalty to adultery, although both these laws and the Hammurabi Code granted wide discretionary power to the injured husband." By saying "here", he means that elsewhere the death penalty is not for both parties, only for the woman. The laws of these societies give power to the injured husband and nothing to the injured wife.

Concerning the translations, we can notice two major changes in the Mooré version: In French it is said "if a man is caught..." In the Mooré version, they speak of 'an adulterous man', alluding to what this man wants to do with the woman, namely to sleep with her. It means that the mere fact of a man being with a woman is not bad, all depends on his intentions. The phrase 'adulterous man' specifies that the man is committing a sin. Indeed, in the Mossi society, to sleep with another man's wife is a crime. So, this specification is likely to be given for that reason; both men and women are sinners. In addition to that, the Dioula version used 'sunguru' (a girl), while the Mooré and French versions translated by 'virgin girl' which is reflective of their conception of girls (unmarried) in the society.

Verse 3

1Co 11, 7-10.

French : L'homme, lui, ne doit pas se couvrir la tête, parce qu'il est l'image et le reflet de Dieu ; quant à la femme, elle est le reflet de l'homme. Ce n'est pas l'homme en effet qui a été tiré de la femme, mais la femme de l'homme ; et ce n'est pas l'homme, bien sûr, qui a été créé pour la femme, mais la femme pour l'homme. Voilà pourquoi la femme doit avoir sur la tête un signe de sujétion, à cause des anges.

Dioula : Cɛɛ man kan ka fugulan biri a kuun na, bari ale ye Ala jaa, n'a boɗafen ye, nga muso, ale y'a cɛɛ boɗafen ye. ⁸Bari mɔɔ dantuma na, cɛɛ ma bo muso la, nga muso le bora cɛɛ la. ⁹Cɛɛ ma dan muso kama, muso le danna cɛɛ kana. Meɛkɛw kosɔn, muso ka kan ka fani biri a kuun na min b'a dira ko a ye mɔɔ do ta ye.

Literal translation : A man should not wear any hat on his head, because he is the image and honor of God, but, the woman is the man's honor ; for, at the beginning, the man was not taken from the woman but it is the woman who was taken from the man. Men were not created for women but the opposite. Because of the angels, women must cover their heads, to show that they belong to somebody

Mooré: ⁷Rao ka tog n teeg a zug bũmb ye, ti rap yaa Wɛnnaam ne b ziira wɛnego; sã n ya paga, y ɛla rao wã ziiri. ⁸Sɪd me, ka pag n deng taoore ti rao vuma yi a neng ɛye, yaa rao n denge. ⁹Ka rao wã la b naan n kɔ pag ye, yaa paga la b naan n kɔ raoa. ¹⁰Yaa r ɛyĩnga, la malek rãmba waoogr yĩnga, pag zug tog n teeg bũmb sɛn wilgd t'a ka so a meng ye.

Literal translation: A man should not have anything on his head, because the man is the image of God's glory; if it is woman, she is the man's glory. In fact, it is not the woman who came first so that man's life comes from her, it is the man who came first. It is not the man that was created for the woman, it is the woman who was created and given to the man. It is because of this and for angels' glory, that a woman's head should be covered with something to show that she does not own herself.

Richard Kugelman (1970: 270) in his commentary on this verse gives the following explanation: "Some Christian women, influenced perhaps by the liberal atmosphere of cosmopolitan Corinth and emboldened by the attitude of 'the knowledgeable' toward their freedom, were attending the assemblies without wearing a veil. Paul reprobates this behavior as unbecoming to a woman, because God has established a hierarchy, in both the natural and the religious spheres, in which the female is subordinated to the male sex. This hierarchical subordination of the woman should be recognized in her behavior and dress. The veil is a symbol of this subordination." So, within the Church, God's house, the man removes his hat

to express his subordination to God who is his lord. At home, the woman removes her veil as she is under her husband's house.

Verse 4

1Co 14: 34-35.

French : Que les femmes se taisent dans les assemblées, car il ne leur est pas permis de prendre la parole ; qu'elles se tiennent dans la soumission, selon que la Loi même le dit. Si elles veulent s'instruire sur quelque point, qu'elles interrogent leur mari à la maison ; car il est inconvenant pour une femme de parler dans une assemblée.

Dioula : Bari Ala te koferekenin tigi ye, nga heretigi lo. Muso ka kan ka je lajen yorow la i n'a fo a be ke Ala ka jama cema yoro bee la cogo min na. Sira ma d'u ma ka kuma, olu ka kan ka to yeremajigi la, i ko a fora Ala ka sariya la cogo min na. N'u b'a fe ka koo do faamu, u ka kan k'u ceew jininga soo kono. N'o te, a daganin te muso ka kuma Krista ta jama cema.

Literal translation : because God does not like unfair things, but he is the owner of peace. A woman must not speak where people are gathered as it is done within the people of God. They do not have the right to speak, they must stay humble as it is prescribed in the law of God. If they want to understand some things, they have to ask their husbands at home. Otherwise, it is not allowed to women to speak within the assembly of God.

Mooré: ³⁴bi pagba ra yaag b noor ye. B ka tar sor n gom ye; bāmb sēn tōe yaa sakr bala, la Noorā n dat rē. ³⁵B sā n dat n sok n bāng būmbu, b gū yir n sok b sɪdb rāmba. Ka tog ti pag gom kʷng suk ye.

Literal translation: Let women not open their mouths. They are not allowed to speak; what they can do is just to obey, and it is the Law that wants this. When they want to ask in order to know something, let them wait until they are back home and ask their husbands. It is unbecoming for a woman to speak in an assembly.

There is no major change in the translation of this verse in Mooré and Dioula as compared to French. Nevertheless, it is worth mentioning here that the first woman who ever tried a translation of the whole Bible (Mrs Montgomery), gave another version of this verse (Bullard 1987). For her, Paul did not mean that women should keep quiet, but she interprets the passage as a quotation from the earlier Corinthian letter to Paul. "In your congregation, you write, 'as in all the churches of the saints, let the women keep silence...for it is shameful for a woman to speak in church'. What was it from you that the word of God went forth, or to you only did it come?". So, here we see that depending on who is translating, the interpretation may change.

Richard Kugelman (1970: 272) in his commentary on this verse clarifies that it was a wish that "The custom of the churches of Palestine (of the saints) prohibiting women to

speaking publicly in the Christian assembly should be observed also in Corinth. Thus Paul abrogates the Corinthian practice of permitting women 'to prophesy' in the assemblies (11:5). As one of many churches that have received the gospel, they should not presume to institute practices contrary to the customs of the primitive Palestinian communities."

Verse 5

Eph 5: 21-23

French: Soyez soumis les uns aux autres dans la crainte du Christ. Que les femmes le soient à leurs maris comme au Seigneur : en effet, le mari est chef de sa femme, comme le Christ est chef de l'Eglise, lui le sauveur du Corps.

Dioula : Krista nasiran koson, aw k'aw yeremajigi jogon ye. O la, musow, aw k'aw yeremajigi aw cew ye, i n'a fo aw b'a keMatigi ye cogo min na. Bari ceele y'a ka muso kuntigi ye, I n'a fo Krista ye a ka jama kuntigi ye cogo min na, min y'a farisogo ye, a kera min kisibaga ye.

Literal translation: Because of the fear to Jesus Christ, be subject to one another. For this reason, women, be subject to your husband as you do to the Lord. For, the man is the head of the woman the same way as Christ is the master of his people which is his body and which he has saved.

Mooré : ²¹Zoe-y Krista la y sak taaba. ²²Bɪ pagba sak b sɔdb ramba wala b sɛn sakd Soaala. ²³Sida yaa paga zu-soaba wala Krista sɛn ya Tiginga zu-soaba ti bamba la Yinga faagda.

Literal translation of the Mooré version: Fear Christ and be obedient to one another. Let women obey their husbands as they obey the Lord. The husband is the wife's head as Christ is the Church's head; he is the saviour of the body.

The biblical scholar, Joseph A. Grassi (1970: 348), in his commentary of the letter to the Ephesians, said: "Be subject to one another out of reverence for Christ: This saying begins a *Haustafel*. It announces a principle that will be successively applied to the relations between husband and wife, children and parents, slaves and masters. Christ's self-sacrificing love for others (5:1) is now the model for home life." He tells the readers that anything that has been said is to be understood in the sense of being "subject to one another". To « be subject to one another » supposes that everyone must be subject to the other part; women are asked to obey their husband and the husband is compared to the Lord. Later, on verse 25 instruction is specifically given to the husband: "husbands, love your wives just as Christ loved the Church and gave himself up for her."

So far, there has been a relative similarity between the French version and the Mooré and Dioula ones which do not reveal any major difference between these people. The following verses reveal a difference between the French and Dioula versions, which deepens inequalities against women.

2.2. Differences

Let us analyze the following examples:

Verse 1

Mark 12 : 19

French : « Maître, Moïse a écrit pour nous : si un homme a un frère qui meurt en **laissant une femme**, mais **sans laisser d'enfant**, qu'il **épouse la veuve** et donne une descendance à son frère».

Dioula: “Ni cee do saara k'a ka muso to k'a soro a muso ma den soro, a dogoce" ka kan k'o muso nin ta, janko ka den soro muso nin ma, ka k" a koroce sii ye».

Literal translation: if a man dies leaving his wife childless (before she could have a child), his younger brother must have the wife to have children for his brothers.

Mooré: ¹⁹«Soaala, a Moyiiz ra koo tond noor kanga: <Ned yao bi a keem sa n ki n bas pag sen pa rog biiga, pakr ne keema bi ne yao wa ti b rik pug-koorã n dog biig n ko sen ki-a wa.>

Literal translation: “Lord, Moses gave us this law: ‘If somebody’s younger or older brother dies and leaves a woman who has not given birth to a child, it is a duty for the older or younger brother to take the widow and give birth to a child for the one who died.’”

The analysis of these verses in local languages reveals many facts: there is a similarity between what is prescribed in the Bible and some traditions in Burkina. The levirate is still practiced in Burkina and the person who is allowed to inherit the woman is the younger brother. In the French version, it is the man who is childless but in Mooré and Dioula, the childless person is the woman. Though the result is the same, that is, the couple is childless, one may see an accusation of woman of the guilt of childlessness when there is no child in a family.

Besides, in Dioula, it is specified that the younger brother can inherit the wife, which is actually the case. It is true that there is no word to say ‘brother’ in general in Dioula. One needs to add the adjective younger or older. The same goes for Mooré which the Mooré version expressed by adding the adjectives ‘younger’ or ‘older’ to the noun brother, which is

incongruent in Mossi culture because people are not allowed to inherit their younger brother's wife.

Verse 2

1 Corinthiens 7 : 2

French : «Toutefois, pour éviter tout dérèglement, que chaque homme ait sa femme et que chaque femme ait son mari»

Dioula: « Nga, kakalaya kosɔn, a ka nyi cɛɛ kelen kelen be ka muso furu, muso kelen kelen be ka sigi cɛɛ fɛ ».

Literal translation: however, because of adultery, each man must get married and each woman must stay with a man

Mooré : La sɛn na n yilɛ ti y pɔs ne yel kɛga, bi rao tar paga, ti pag me tar sɔda.

Literal translation: "So that you may be away from bad things, let each man have a wife, and each wife have a husband."

There is not much to say about the Mooré translation which seems as neutral as the French version but this is not the case in Dioula where there is an ambiguity against women. It is not clearly said in that version that each one, man or woman, must have only one partner. The number of wives with whom man gets married is not clearly stated; however, it is clearly said that 'each wife must stay with one husband'. Consequently, this verse, taken as such, does not forbid polygamy, which is still practiced in Burkina. The French versions are clear with the possessive adjectives 'sa' et 'son', which show that it is singular. In the Greek version, terms like *εκαστος* (ekastos) (each man), *εκαστη* (ekastê) (each woman) and the expression *τονιδιονανδρα*(ton idion andra) (her own husband) prove clearly that everyone, man or woman is allowed to have only one person. The ambiguity of the Dioula version reflects the traditional conception of marriage.

The following verses dealing with repudiation reinforce this perception of women's lower status, as compared to men.

Verse 3

Mark 10 : 11-12

French : Si quelqu'un répudie sa femme et en épouse une autre, il est adultère à l'égard de la première. Et si la femme répudie son mari et en épouse un autre, elle est adultère.»

Dioula : «Mɔgɔ mɔgɔ y'a ka muso gwen ka dɔwɛɛ ta, o tigi be kakalaya kɛ. A b'a muso fɔɔ hake ta. Ni muso min bɔra a cɛɛ fɛ ka taa furu dɔ wɛɛ ma, a be kakalaya kɛ ».

Literal Translation: Any man who repudiates his wife to marry another one commits sin towards the first one. If a woman leaves her husband and gets married to another one, she commits adultery.

Mooré: «Ned ning sēn yiisd a paga n le kē ne pag a to, yaa yoob la a maanda. ¹²Sā n ya pag n yi n bas a sida n tu rik rao a to, yaa yoob bal la a maanda.»

Literal translation: “Anybody who puts out his wife and enters with another wife, it is adultery that he is in. If it is a woman who goes out and leaves her husband and takes another man, it is adultery she is in.

The same word is applied to both man and woman in the French version, namely ‘répudier’, while in Dioula and Mooré, the man ‘repudiates’ or ‘puts out’ while the wife ‘leaves her husband.’. Hence, the wife can neither repudiate nor put out her husband unless she builds her house and takes her husband in, which is not yet admitted in Burkina cultures. The husband is referred to in both Mooré and Dioula as the “owner of the house ». As the head of family and owner of the house, the husband decides what to do, whom to keep in his house or repudiate. The wife who ‘goes out’ or ‘leaves’ her husband is offending her husband in the same way the wife is offended when she is put out.

The Greek term is nonetheless the same for both man and woman: ἀπολυση (apoluonê). The same way goes for the word ‘épouser’. When it is the man who ‘épouse’ it is said ‘he takes a wife’ while for the woman it is said, ‘to get married to’ ‘she gets attached to someone else’, she cannot ‘take’, for she is powerless in traditional society. Indeed, men are considered as decision-makers and women must be meek and humble.

This is also true for the verses Corinthians 11: 5, 7, 8, 9, 1, Corinthians 14 : 34, 35, Ephesians 5 : 22, 23, 24, Colossians 3 : 18, 1 Timothy 2 : 11, 12, 1 Peter 3 :1. In John 8 : 5, the punishment of the adulterous woman is clearly mentioned while nothing is said about the man with whom adultery was committed. In addition, Mathew 5 : 31-32 gives the conditions in which a man can repudiate his wife, which is if she commits adultery, but no condition is provided to a woman to repudiate her husband, which adds to the numerous inequalities noticed in the Bible against women.

3. Discussion

The history of Bible translation teaches how canonical books were chosen and how the validation of early translations was made (Nida 1998). Norms play an important role about what should be accepted and the personality as well as the deep convictions of the validators appear in their decisions. Those who were in charge of validating translation were male authorities and women had no word to say. During our research for our PhD thesis, in May

2000 in Paris, we had the privilege to discuss with Eugene Nida, one of the most learned scholars (in translation) and translators of his time who, in the field of Bible translation, conducted many translation projects throughout the world. He recognized men's influence in the translation process of the Bible. According to him, some passages, namely in John 8 : 1-11 (the story of the adulterous woman), were intentionally cut off from the Greek version because decision-makers were men.

One could have guessed this fact because the story seems incomplete or unfair. All the power is given to men and in that respect, there are similarities between Semitic and African cultures, especially those in West Africa and Burkina Faso. Indeed, in some Moose (Mossi) areas, traditions even forbid the gathering of men and women at the same place and Camara (1976) reported the same fact for the Malinke (Dioula speaking) society. Religion is considered as men's affair and women are set apart, because they are considered as immature beings and are there not allowed to get close to the sacred. So, they are not allowed to take the floor publicly and have nothing to say in religious issues (Camara 1976). In those conditions, no-one, not even women themselves, could think of equality between them and men. Polygamy and divorce enable us to understand clearly what position a woman held in pagan families at the time of Christ: a servant, a tool of man—a play-thing of his passions, and this situation still prevails in Burkina Faso. Ordinarily, the consent of a young woman was not required in marriage. Her father gave her to whom he wished, or whoever paid most for her. Among some peoples, there were also laws that gave the husband absolute power over his wife: he could punish her at will, sell her as a slave or even put her to death. The Divine Redeemer raised woman from this state of degradation by restoring her primitive dignity as a companion of man, like unto himself." (Civardi 1961: 4-5).

Translation is manipulation and has had subversive roles in texts related to Bible translation and feminism, as Alvarez and Vidal (1996 :6) put it: " with the appearance of the polysystem theory, translation takes on a principle role in shaping the literary polysystem and assumes an important subversive power which can be illustrated by examples of translations of the Bible and in texts related to post-colonialism and feminism." It is quite impossible to produce an absolutely neutral translation because depending on the *skopos* of the translation, choices are unavoidable and the translation commissioner has the main role to play in determining the priorities. This influence of translation commissioner and that of the translator herself/himself appears clearly in Mrs Helen Barrett Montgomery's translation (Bullard 1987). She is believed to be the first woman to undertake a biblical translation project and her version was said to bear a feminist touch in her choice of the words to be used. To comment on her work, the American Baptist Publication Society announcement said of it : "Mrs Montgomery has given a sweet, womanly touch to the finer passages" Bullard (1987 : 119). Indeed, thinks Bullard (1987 :121),

there are a few passage where the translation reveals a definite feminine interest. In Rom 16 : 1, Paul commends to his audience a woman named Phoebe, described as a diakonos of the church at Cenchreae; here alone, in the letters, the King James' version renders the

word as 'servant', elsewhere it is 'deacon', or 'minister. Today's English version (which also avoids 'deacon' also) says 'she serves the church' there; The New English Bible elevates her and says she 'holds office' at Cenchreae. the Revised Standard Version, the Jerusalem and New Jerusalem Bibles, and the New American Bible (the last three being catholic translations) go ahead and call her a 'deaconess'. Montgomery goes further than all, and calls Phoebe 'a minister of the church at Cenchreae' with a footnote referring to the use of the words.

There are many other examples in Montgomery's work which support the arguments that Bible translation is not free from manipulation because any translation is first of all a matter of interpretation. In Rom 16:7, a passage described someone as 'notable among the apostles' presumably meaning that they are apostles, that person and Andronicus. The name of the person 'Junias' appears in an accusative case and it is impossible to say whether the name refers to a man or a woman. Several church fathers such as Jerome and Chrysostom understand it as a woman's name, as there is a textual variant Julia which is a woman's name. Montgomery decided boldly in her translation and with no footnote to consider it as a man's name "Salute.... Andronicus and Junia..who are notable among the apostles" (Bullard 1987 : 121).

In 1 Cor 14. 34-36, Paul denies women the right to speak in church.

Montgomery interprets this passage as a quotation from the earlier Corinthian letter to Paul. « In your congregation, you write, 'as in all the churches of the saints, let the women keep silence...for it is shameful for a woman to speak in church. What was it from you that the word of God went forth, or to you only did it come? She had good reason for this approach. We know that at other points, Paul is quoting from the Corinthian letter addressed to him, giving the viewpoints of his opponents as in 1Cor 8, 1-4, 10.23 and probably 7.1 In Montgomery's interpretation, Paul is hardly forbidding women to speak in church; He is actually condemning those who do forbid them to speak (Bullard, 1987 :121-122).

This woman translator is said to be a daughter of a pastor, a church leader herself, a licensed Minister, an elected president of what was then the Northern Baptist convention, the first woman ever to have held such an office in a major Christian denomination (Bullard 1987 : 119). So, she was strong enough to make her own decisions in the translation process.

Translation techniques have evolved through time. Etienne Dolet (1509-1546), was the first writer to formulate a theory of translation and who was "executed after 'mistranslating' one of Plato's dialogues in such a way as to imply disbelief in immortality." So, fear of making heresies played an important role in translators' tasks. It is in this sense that Ost (2009: 116) said that « Traduire serait désormais un acte de foi et une pratique missionnaire ». The five principles for the translator formulated by Etienne Dolet were :

- (1) The translator must fully understand the sense and meaning of the original author, although he is at liberty to clarify obscurities.
- (2) The translator should have a perfect knowledge of both SL and TL.
- (3) The author should avoid word-for-word renderings.
- (4) The translator should use forms of speech in common use.
- (5) The translator should choose and order words appropriately to produce correct tone. (Bassnett, 2002 : 58).

Following these principles, one can understand that instead of saying “a woman repudiates her husband” the translator says “a woman leaves her husband”. For men the result is the same, and by this process, the translator has avoided word-for-word ; but for women, there is a big difference because it shows the authority on the one hand and the meek on the other. It is said that Saint Jerome who translated the Bible into Latin in 384 used Cicero’s method, that is, “he translates not *verbum e verbo*, but *sensum e sensu*”. (Ost 2009 : 116).

Nowadays, the fight for equal treatment between men and women is on in many countries, especially the said "developed ones." This has brought about a great deal of reflection about the masculine bias in Bible translation and a new vocabulary, the ‘inclusive language debate’. (Ellingworth 1987, Blomberg 2005). As Ellingworth (1987 : 46) rightly put it, "the problem involves five main factor: on the one hand, the biblical culture and languages ; on the other hand present day receptor languages and culture, and between them the translation process itself." So, how to use non-sexist, non-male oriented language to produce equal justice to both halves of human race? Even if fundamentally there is no major change in the story of the Bible, the influence of feminist actions in some countries is noticeable in the debate around Bible translation and this suggests an evolution in the society. In Africa in general, fights for the emancipation of women is seen as utopia. Women themselves, in this part of the world, do not believe that equal treatment and rights is possible between them and men. The use of dynamic/functional equivalence creates a kind of vicious circle because Bible translators rely on the culture and beliefs of the target audience, which is against women and this ‘biaised Bible’ is taken again as a reference to tell women that their fight is vain because even ‘God decided that they are inferior’. The general attitude towards women in society has many well-rooted causes among which culture and religion, which, to some extent, influence one another in the case of Bible translation.

Conclusion

Any action undertaken in a given society is influenced by the norms and /or culture of that society. Norms are validated by authorities who have hardly been women throughout the world. Translation is supposed to reproduce the ‘same story’ in another language and unfortunately neutrality is difficult in that field, and the strongest tend to impose their interpretation upon the weak. Bible and its translation have negatively influenced feminists’ fights because the Bible itself in many versions contains references where men are presented

as women's masters or chiefs. Feminist fights across the world has had an effect in some societies as a particular attention is increasingly being granted to the 'sexist' and 'language-inclusive' vocabulary. Unlike these western countries where women started to claim their rights on the ground of Bible translation, feminism has no impact on Bible translation in Burkina Faso, for, translators have used the norms of the target environment which may be seen by feminists as being detrimental to women. Hence, the differences between men and women are sometimes well expressed in Mooré and Dioula biblical translations, sometimes deepened because of a lack of suitable vocabulary to express the biblical reality. Since culture still plays a key role in society, it is used to express and explain everything. So, cultural and functional theories of translation rely on culture to produce culturally and functionally accepted versions, which, in turn, can influence the relationships between men and women.

References

- AA VV (1979). *Wènd Koèèga*. Ouagadougou : Imprimerie Presses Africaines.
- ALLIANCE BIBLIQUE DU BURKINA FASO (2001). *Layidukura*, le nouveau testament en Dioula.
- ALLIANCE BIBLIQUE DY BURKINA FASO (2008). *Ala ka kuma*, Ouagadougou, Alliance Biblique.
- ALLIANCE BIBLIQUE DY BURKINA FASO (1998), *Sebr Sôngo*. Ouagadougou: NP, 1998.
- ALVAREZ, Roman and VIDAL, Carmen-Africa (1996) "Translating: A Political Act" in ALVAREZ, Roman and VIDAL, Carmen-Africa (eds.)(1996). *Translation, Power, Subversion*, Clevedon, Philadelphia, Adelaide, Multilingual Matters, pp. 1-9.
- BADINI-FOLANE, Denise (1997). « La représentativité féminine dans les gouvernements du Burkina Faso de 1958 à 1991 » *Cahiers du Cerleshs*, n° 14, p. 139 – 171.
- BASSNETT, Susan (2002). *Translation Studies*. Third edition. London and New York, Routledge.
- BLENKINSOPP, Joseph (1970). "Deutoronomy", in BROWN, Raymond E, Fitzmyer, Joseph and Murphy Roland E, (eds.). *The Jerome Biblical Commentary*. London, Dublin, Melbourne: Geoffrey Chapman, pp 101-122.
- BLOMBERG, Craig L. (2005). "Today's New International Version : The Untold Story of Good Translation" in *The Bible Translator*, volume 56, No 3. Hong Kong, United Bible Societies, pp 187 – 210.
- BOCK, Darrell L. (2005). "You Make the Call : Are Gender-Sensitive Translations safe or Out ?" in *The Bible Translator*, volume 56, No 3. Hong Kong, United Bible Societies, pp 169 - 186
- BOSIO-VALICI, Sabine et ZANCARINI-FOURNEL, Michelle (2001). *Femmes et frères de l'être : un siècle d'émancipation féminine*. Paris, Larousse.

- BROWN, Raymond E, FITZMYER, Joseph and MURPHY, Roland E, eds. (1970). *The Jerome Biblical Commentary*. London, Dublin, Melbourne, Geoffrey Chapman.
- BULLARD, Roger A (1987). "Feminine and Feminist Touches in the Centenary New Testament" in *The Bible Translator*, volume 38, No 1, January 1987. Hong Kong, United Bible Societies, pp 118-121.
- CAMARA, Sory (1976). *Gens de la parole : Essai sur la condition et le rôle des griots dans la société Malinke*. Paris, La Haye, Mouton.
- CHESTERMAN, Andrew (1993). "From 'is' to 'ought': Laws, Norms and Strategies in Translation Studies" in Target, *International Journal of Translation Studies*, number 5:1. Amsterdam: John Benjamins, pp 1-20.

- CIVARDI, Luigi (1961). *How Christ Changed the World: The Social Principles of the Catholic Church*. Illinois, Tan Books and Publishers.
- DE LAME, Danielle et ZABUS, Chantal (1999). *Changements au féminin en Afrique Noire*. Vol. I: *Anthropologie*. Paris, L'Harmattan.
- DELISLE, Jean and WOODSWORTH Judith (2012). *Translators through History*. Amsterdam, Philadelphia, John Benjamins Publishing Company, Revised Edition.
- ELLINGWORTH, Paul (1987). "Translating the Bible Inclusively" in *Meta*, vol 32, No 1. Montreal, les presses de l'université de Montreal, pp. 46-54.
- EYENE, Christine (dir.) (2009). *Africultures n° 74-75 : Féminisme(s) en Afrique et dans la Diaspora*. Paris, L'Harmattan.
- FOZ, Clara (1998). *Le traducteur, l'église et le roi*. Ottawa, les presses de l'université d'Ottawa, Artois Presses Université.
- GRASSI, Joseph A. (1970). "The Letter to the Ephesians", in BROWN, Raymond E, FITZMYER, Joseph and MURPHY, Roland E, eds. (1970). *The Jerome Biblical Commentary*. London, Dublin, Melbourne, Geoffrey Chapman, pp. 341-349.
- HERMANS, Theo (1996). "Norms and the Determination of Translation : A Theoretical Framework" in ALVAREZ, Roman and VIDAL, Carmen-Africa (eds.) (1996). *Translation, Power, Subversion*. Clevedon, Philadelphia, Adelaide, Multilingual Matters, pp 25-51.
- HESS, Richard, S (2005). " Adam, Father, He : Gender Issues in Hebrew Translation" in *The Bible Translator*, volume 56, No3 July 2005. Hong Kong, United Bible Societies, pp. 144-152.

- ILBOUDO, Monique. « Le féminisme au Burkina Faso : mythes et réalités », *Recherches féministes*, vol. 20, n° 2, 2007, p. 163-177.
- KUGELMAN, Richard (1970). "The First Letter to the Corinthians", in BROWN, Raymond E, Fitzmyer, Joseph and Murphy Roland E, eds. *The Jerome Biblical Commentary*. London, Dublin, Melbourne: Geoffrey Chapman, pp. 254-275.

- MALY Eugene H. (1970). "Genesis", in BROWN, Raymond E, FITZMYER, Joseph and MURPHY, Roland E. (eds.). *The Jerome Biblical Commentary*. London, Dublin, Melbourne: Geoffrey Chapman, pp. 7-46.
- NIDA, Eugene (1998). "Bible Translation" in BAKER, Mona (ed.). (1998). *The Routledge Encyclopedia of Translation Studies*, London, New York, Routledge, pp 22-28.
- NIDA, Eugene A. (1964). *Towards A Science of Translating: with Special Reference to Principles and Procedures Involved in Bible Translation*. Leiden, Brill.
- NORD, Christianne (1997). *Translating as a Purposeful Activity: Functionalist Approaches Explained*. Manchester, Saint Jerome Publishing.

- NTIRI WILLIAMS Daphne (ed.) (1982). *One is not a Woman, one becomes... The African Woman in a Transitional Society*. Michigan: Bedford Publishers.
- OST François (2009). *Traduire : Défense et illustration du multilinguisme*. Paris, Fayard.
- RUGER, Hans Peter (1989). "The extent of the Old testament Canon" in *The Bible Translator*, Volume 40, No 3, pp 301-307.

- SANON-OUATTARA, F. Emilie G (2005). *La traduction en situation de diglossie : le cas du discours religieux chrétien au Burkina Faso*, thèse de doctorat. Groningen, Rijksuniversiteit Groningen.
- TOURY, Gideon (1995). *Descriptive Translation Studies and Beyond*. Amsterdam, Philadelphia, John Benjamins Publishing Company.