"Hey ~~Guys~~[1], Once Upon a Time was Sexist Language …"

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In our modern bedtime story of an article, the story could read like this: "Once upon a time was sexism against women in the realm of language. The villain was 'lurking behind' the language system like a wolf, setting up linguistic traps and waiting for innocent victims to set its sexist undertones free. The linguistic traps into which many subjects tended to fall in the realm of language raised concerns among the feminist subjects, so much so that many guides and recommendations were issued to crack down on the linguistic villain and to turn the potential victims into active and unbiased speakers, so that the subjects of the realm lived happily ever after …" But now is not the time for a bedtime story, so here is rather a *reality tale* of the story of sexism in language.

Sexist practices in language affecting women, that is language marked by inequality and discrimination against women, in other terms androcentric language, can take on various forms. Not only is it a voluntary and offensive act, anchoring itself in derogatory comments or discourses on women, as evidenced, for instance, by the following advertising slogan for shoes: "Keep her where she belongs" (Troullou)[2], but it is also something speakers tend to use involuntarily because it is embedded in the linguistic systems of several languages. This is in the latter form of sexism this paper will be interested, more specifically narrowing down its analysis to French and English. Generally speaking, the use of non-sexist language[3] is linked to what is termed "politically correct language", which is why the corpus selected to carry out this study is James Finn Garner's *Politically Correct Bedtime Stories – Modern Tales for Our Life and Times* and *Once Upon a More Enlightened Time – More Politically Correct Bedtime Stories* and their translations into French, *Politiquement correct – Contes d'autrefois pour lecteurs d'aujourd'hui* and *De plus en plus politiquement correct – Nouveaux contes d'autrefois pour lecteurs d'aujourd'hui*, respectively by Daniel Depland and Janine Lévy. James Finn Garner's stories are a parodic rewriting of bedtime stories that provide the readers with occurrences of non-discriminatory language towards women.

The questions to be addressed in this article will thence be the following: considering the linguistic differences between the two languages under study, firstly, is one language more sexist than the other? Secondly, are the strategies to eliminate sexism in each language completely different? Thirdly, to what extent can non-sexist language be reproduced from English into French?

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[1] The term, which originally referred to a man, has extended its meaning to include both sexes in informal contexts, is a very good example of what feminists consider to be sexist language. See the analysis of the evolution of the term by Thomas F. Magner in his article entitled "Sexist and Non-sexist Usages in the English Language" (278).

[2] See the article by Maria Troullou that discusses sexist representations of the female figure in advertisements.

[3] In English, different terms are used as synonyms for the adjective "non-sexist" and will be used in this paper. Among them, the terms "gender-neutral" and "gender-inclusive". See the discussion about the various English synonyms and their connotations in the doctoral dissertation of Véronique Perry entitled *Aspects du genre dans la didactique de l'anglais* (187).

Fourthly, do the translators do full justice to the non-sexist language implemented in James Finn Garner's politically correct bedtime stories?

This paper, which therefore adopts a cross-linguistic approach, will argue that even if the French language is a more fertile ground for the manifestation of sexist language, sexism is also deeply rooted in the English language and also that, quite unexpectedly, the French translations prove to be more sexist than the original bedtime stories. It will moreover argue that the recommendations to avoid sexist language advocated in each language can be subsumed under six broad strategies. Therefore, this paper will firstly undertake the exploration of how sexist language manifests itself in each language. Secondly, after investigating the efforts made by each community to address the problem of sexist language, it will analyze the strategies and tools employed to achieve this goal. On the basis of this analysis, it will lastly explore the treatment of sexist language by James Finn Garner and his two French translators, Janine Lévy (JL) and Daniel Depland (DD). In other terms, this presentation will deal with translation on two different levels: on one level, it will be concerned with intralinguistic translation[4] or the rewording of sexist language into non-sexist language; on another level, it will focus on interlinguistic translation or on how non-sexist language can be translated from one language into another language, more specifically here from English into French.

I. The Language of Sexism in English and in French: Two Very Different Villains with Different Profiles?

It is commonly thought that sexist language is much more "active" in French than it is in English owing to the structural differences between the two languages. It is more precisely related to their diverging gender systems, as it is mostly through the latter that sexism can be said to "infiltrate" language. This section will initially cast light on the features of the two gender systems concerned to grasp the extent to which sexist language can be said to be more active in French than in English and to better analyse subsequently the characteristics of both languages.

1. The Gender Systems of the "Victimized" Languages

The French language is said to be "more gender-ridden" (Wilson 11) than the English language. In other words, on a scale "gauging" gender-marking in a language that would range from low to high, the French language would rank higher than the English language. In effect, even though both English and French are Indo-European languages, their evolution over time differed in many

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[4] "Jakobson […] suggested that there are three types of translation: intralinguistic, interlinguistic and intersemiotic; […] The first, intralinguistic translation, or rewording, is "an interpretation of verbal signs by means of other signs of the same language"; the second, interlinguistic translation or translation proper, is "an interpretation of verbal signs by means of other signs of some other language"; the last, intersemiotic translation or transmutation is "an interpretation of verbal signs by means of signs of nonverbal sign systems". (Baker and Malmkjær 219-20)

respects and contrary to the former, the latter practically no longer has grammatical gender. It has only natural/biological gender, mostly on pronouns. What it means is that there is a congruence between sex and gender and consequently that the pronouns "he" and "she" refer to biologically masculine and feminine referents respectively. Furthermore, unlike French, "only a subset of nouns 'carry gender' at all and this is almost entirely semantic, because they refer to gendered beings. There are also some morphologically gendered suffixes, such as –woman, –man, –ess." (Curzan 119) In French too there are gendered pronouns that carry natural gender, just as in English, but all nouns (along with their dependent forms) are also assigned a specific grammatical gender (masculine or feminine) arbitrarily, even if there is a correspondence between grammatical gender and biological gender in the field of kinship terms (Hellinger and Bußmann 7).

Given that French is more "gender-ridden" than English, sexism has seemingly more leeway to infiltrate the French language. Notwithstanding, as will be highlighted in the next section, sexist language in English is also very active and both villains share common characteristics and operate in quite similar ways in both languages.

2.   Quite Similar *Modi Operandi*

Interestingly enough, a comparative analysis of the comments made by feminists on sexism in both languages reveals that sexism manifests itself in similar ways in both languages.

a)   The Negative Connotations Conveyed by the Feminine Form

Feminists have put forward in both languages the idea that feminine forms are more often than not associated with negative connotations. Luce Irigaray contends that there is no arbitrary attribution of gender to nouns in French and that grammatical gender reflects sexist biases: "How is gender attributed to words? […] Living beings, the animate and cultured, become masculine; objects that are lifeless, the inanimate and uncultured, become feminine. Which means that men have attributed subjectivity to themselves and have reduced women to the status of objects, or to nothing." (Luce et al. 121) She specifies that this is true for several semantic fields among which occupations and ranks. She cites as an example "le moissonneur (a harvester)/la moissonneuse" (a harvesting machine), masculine and feminine respectively, and "le secrétaire d'État (secretary of state)/la secrétaire" (shorthand secretary), again masculine and feminine respectively. She also adds the example of the pair "chien (dog)/chienne" (bitch), which is pertinent in English too.

On a very similar note, Suzanne Romaine makes comments on personal noun pairs in English and their semantic evolution over time; she illustrates her point by giving the examples of "master/mistress", "Sir/Madam" and "baronet/dame" (Romaine, "A Corpus-Based View of Gender in British and American English" 160) and develops the connotations that have come to be attached to the feminine terms over time. In the same light, she stresses the process of reification at stake in the use of the feminine pronoun in English to refer to ships, cars, airplanes and other

inanimate objects. What is sometimes qualified as "the gender of animation" (Miller 242) or as "the endearing feminine" (Chuquet and Paillard 65-67) would in fact mirror sexist cultural beliefs (Romaine, "Gender, Grammar, and the Space in Between" 59). All these comments suggest that the feminine and masculine genders are not on an equal footing in both languages, which calls for further exploration of the notion of "gender asymmetry".

b)   Gender "Asymmetry"

Gender asymmetry originates in the morphological marking of the feminine form of a word while the masculine form of the same word remains unmarked. Feminists claim that this morphological difference reinforces the idea that the masculine form is the basic, neutral and normative/standard form, while the feminine form is only specific and non-standard, or an exception; in a word then "that the norm is male". (Prewitt-Freilino, Caswell and Laakso 270) This asymmetry is particularly visible in a lot of female-specific occupation words in both languages even if the word-formation patterns and the productivity of each pattern in both languages are different.

Indeed, inflectional affixes are used in both languages to create female-specific occupational terms, even though this word-formation process is more productive in French than it is in English. Among the limited number of suffixes still active in the English language is the suffix –ess: poet > poet*ess*. In French, the inflectional affix –e, among others, is used to form female-specific terms and occupations: docteur (male doctor) > docteur*e* (female doctor). Compounding, on the other hand, is much more productive in English to create feminine-specific occupational words than it is in French (Chuquet and Paillard 189). The terms "female", "lady" and "woman", each term having its own connotations (Yaguello 119), are used to feminize occupational terms in English: doctor > *female/lady/woman* doctor. In French, only the word "femme" ("woman") appears in feminized occupational titles: médecin > "*femme* médecin" (a term that one is familiar with due to the success of the TV show *Dr. Quinn, femme médecin*). Furthermore, the lack of symmetry manifests itself in the tendency to use a feminine marking on an occupational term when the latter refers to a woman, while the masculine term remains unmarked: "doctor" vs "female/lady/woman doctor" (Schulz 164). More largely, French feminists are overall dissatisfied with the agreement pattern presiding in French, which calls for the use of the inflexional suffix –e, making the feminine form of an adjective or past participle marked, while the male form remains unmarked. Therefore, in French, a man who is "happy" is "gai", but a woman is "gai*e*"; in English, the adjective is epicene[5] and its form remains identical regardless of the sex it is related to.

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[5] "A term from traditional grammar, and now with some use in sociolinguistics, referring to a noun which can relate to either sex without changing its form. […] The notion is perceived to be relevant to contemporary discussion of language and gender." (Crystal and Crystal 171)

Another asymmetry can be alluded to in this section, even if it is linked to language use, that is to say "parole" in Saussurian terms, rather than with "langue"[6] itself. Feminists have pointed out the more or less fixed ordering of terms in binary structures referring to both sexes (Cameron). It is noticeable in the following pairings of words in both languages. Each pair is translated into French in the right column.

ENGLISH	FRENCH
husband and wife	mari et femme
Mr and Mrs	M. et Mme
men and women	les hommes et les femmes

Another instance of asymmetry in English is the use of "male-oriented designation(s)" for some professions to designate female referents (Schultz 163). This question will be analysed in the next section as it is more broadly linked to what has been termed "false masculine/male generics", that is the use of the masculine or male terms to refer to both sexes (Hellinger and Bußmann 9).

c)   "False Masculine/Male Generics" or "Androcentric Generics"[7]

In both languages many grammatically masculine forms or forms with a male component in them have a "generic value" and can therefore be used not only to refer to male referents but also to female referents when the sex of the referent is unknown or unspecified. These generics fall into two grammatical categories: content words and function words. The former can be illustrated by words related to occupations, such as "frogman/homme-grenouille", "sandwich board man/homme sandwich", "homme de loi" (lawyer), to quote only a few of them, or to words referring to groups of people, such as, "mankind", "the man in the street/l'homme de la rue", "men/les hommes", or the already mentioned "guys". The function words used as false generics are personal pronouns. The third-person pronoun "he" in English and its equivalent "il" in French are used in both languages as an anaphoric form when the antecedent of a pronoun is of unknown gender. The subject pronouns generics "he"/"il" are the prescribed pronouns in contexts such as the following, that is when the sex of the referent is unknown: "When a prof registers for *St. Jerome's Day*, HE knows HE'll have a whale of a day!" The prescription is the same in English and French in similar contexts for the third-person singular object pronoun "him"/"le" respectively: "You don't need to talk HIM into coming back the following year. / "On n'a pas besoin de LE convaincre de revenir l'année suivante."

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[6] "'Langue' is a French term introduced into linguistics by Ferdinand de Saussure to distinguish one of the senses of the word language (the others being 'language' and 'parole'). It refers to the language system shared by a community of speakers, and is usually contrasted with 'parole', which is the concrete act of speaking in actual situations by an individual." (Crystal and Crystal 269)

[7] Hellinger and Bußmann specify that "The term 'false generics' was used by Kramarae & Treishler (1985: 150, 175) to refer to 'generic masculines'" and that Suzanne Romaine on her side uses the term "androcentric generics" (Hellinger and Bußmann 22).

Things are slightly different between the two languages as regards the use of third-person indirect pronouns and possessive articles for antecedents of unknown gender. As far as possessive articles are concerned, French is "less androcentric" than English insofar as possessive articles agree in gender with the nouns they qualify, not with the possessor, as it is the case in English. However, French is "more androcentric" as regards its pronominal system: first of all, the third-person indirect object pronoun "lui" ("him") does not have a feminine counterpart, hence the use by default of the masculine pronoun in all contexts – whether the referent is identified (as feminine or masculine) or not. Secondly, a specificity of French regarding false generics is that the rule of pronominalization calls for the use of the masculine plural pronoun "ils" when the antecedent refers to a group made up of both sexes. This stems from the fact that there is no neutral third-person plural pronoun like the English "they" in French and that, as a consequence, the masculine form takes precedence over the feminine form. Thus, to translate "they" in "300 women and 1 man went to the *St. Jerome's Day Conference*. THEY had a whale of a day!", the third-person masculine pronoun "ils" would have to be used. Apart from the last specificities mentioned about French, the major difference in the two languages lies in the existence of an agreement pattern in French.

3.   A French Specificity: the French Concord System

As specified further up in this article, French has a grammatical gender system, which means that the grammatical gender of the nouns or pronouns is systematically assigned to the gender-variable satellite elements present in the sentence – i. e. the articles, the adjectives, and the past participles. It also holds true for the satellite elements of the subject pronouns. And given that the masculine form has prominence over the feminine form, the masculine agreement prevails when a grammatical subject refers to both males and females. Thus in the French translation of the previous example (300 women and 1 man went to the *St. Jerome's Day Conference*), the inflexional ending of the past participle would be *masculine* plural: "300 femmes et 1 homme sont all*És* à la conférence de la St-Jérome."

All in all, although the English language is less "gender-ridden" than the French language, linguistic sexism is also deeply rooted in its system, even though to a lesser extent. Bearing that in mind, does it mean that the Anglophone communities are less dedicated to addressing the problem of sexist language than the Francophone communities? Does it also imply that the means they deploy to make language inclusive are completely different?

II.   Sexist Language, a *Persona non Grata* in Francophone and Anglophone Communities Alike

This section will concentrate on the efforts made by the Francophone and the Anglophone communities to address the issue of sexist language. More specifically, it will focus on the implementation of unbiased language in James Finn Garner's bedtime stories.

1.   The Policy Towards Sexist Language in Francophone and Anglophone Communities

It seems that the Anglophone communities have been particularly active on the promotion of gender-neutralization, as they "lead the way in the adoption of feminist linguistic alternatives for occupational terms." (Pauwels para. 15) As far as the Francophone communities are concerned, Canada has been at the forefront of the battle towards more language equity. The *Office québécois de la langue française* published the first official guide to address the issue as early as 1986. This guide, giving recommendations on occupational titles, was followed by another one on the feminization of texts in 1991. Switzerland and Belgium followed suit and also issued guides and recommendations on the same question in the early nineties. France, on the other hand, has been lagging behind due to the very conservative and adamant positions held by the *Académie française*. The question of feminization has been an ongoing debate since the eighties and it is still a controversial issue today[8]. Nonetheless, in the late nineties the *Institut National de la langue française* and the *Centre de Recherche scientifique* issued a guide on the feminization of occupational titles, which gave impetus to the movement. Things are changing slowly but more and more fields of activity tend to adopt a more inclusive language. But Canada has still a head start on the other Francophone countries: the question of sexism in language has been integrated into books on the French language or on translation and non-sexist language has seemingly entered into mainstream usage.

The general movement is therefore towards more gender equality in language even though each community is making progress at its own pace. Despite this difference, one cannot but notice the similarities between the recommendations given in both languages to avoid sexist language.

2.   The Strategies to Minimize the Use of Sexist Language

As mentioned in the introductory part to this paper, rewording sexist language into non-sexist language falls within the larger scope of translation – rewording can be considered as a particular type of translation: intralinguistic translation. For that reason, it will prove useful to map out the strategies recommended in both languages to root out linguistic sexism in terms of translation terminology. In that perspective, in the following section, common strategies recommended to implement non-sexist language will be foregrounded and examples illustrating each strategy will be provided; whenever possible a common example between the two languages will be presented, highlighting the possible linguistic correspondences between French and English. However, due to the structural differences between the two languages and accordingly to the more or less different ways in which sexist language manifests itself in these two systems, there will be cases when the example provided will be androcentric in one language but not in the other language and will therefore not require rewording; in such cases, an underlined and crossed-out "A", standing for "androcentric", will appear in the table for the language concerned. There will also be cases when

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[8] "For a variety of reasons, cultural as well as linguistic, it has been difficult for French, particularly in France, (in contrast to Francophone communities outside the Hexagon) to comfortably institute non-sexist usage" (Fleischmann).

the example quoted is androcentric in both languages but when the strategy of rewording in question will be applicable to one of the two languages only for that particular example; in this case, the letter A will appear in the table and more details will appear in a footnote. This does not mean that the strategy will not prove relevant in that language too to reword a sexist occurrence that manifests itself differently. It must be underlined that the orientations embraced by each community to create a more inclusive language vary slightly depending on their gender system: English-speaking feminists focus on gender neutralization (degendering), while French feminists rather campaign for visibility through feminization (engendering or regendering) (Perry 155).

Here is a number of strategies under which the various recommendations made in both languages could be subsumed. All the examples quoted are borrowed from various online guides on non-sexist language[9] (Lamothe et al.; Office of Francophone Affairs; The University of Arizona; Jacobson; Online; Association; Canada; Labrosse, "Langage Non Sexiste") and the definitions are extracted from Jean Delisle's *et al.*'s *Translation Terminology*[10]. Six major strategies have been delineated and will be presented in alphabetical order: amplification, explicitation, modulation, neologism, recategorization and suppression. Because the source texts[11] of the corpus selected are in English and the target texts are in French, examples in English will be presented in the left column of the table and those in French will be presented in the right column, except when relevant otherwise.

- **2.1. Amplification:** "A translation procedure where the translator uses more words in the TT than were present in the ST in order to reexpress an idea…" (Delisle et al. 116)

- Periphrasis: "The result of amplifying a TT by replacing a word from the source text with a group of words or a phrasal expression that has the equivalent sense in the TL […] This type of amplification is dictated by the constraints imposed on the sense (connotation that must be retained or evoked […])"

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[9] The guides selected were all issued by authoritative sources, be they governmental or academic, and offer a very good outlook on the various methodologies proposed by the two communities studied in this paper.

[10] The Delisle *et al.* typology was selected in the corpus of this paper on account of the methodology used to shape it, a methodology which not only makes it a reference book in the field of Translation Studies but which also makes it accessible to a wide readership: the terminology compiled in this work is the result of some research undertaken by twenty or so scholars from eight different countries who worked on eighty-eight translation handbooks before completing the *Translation Terminology* (2); furthermore, all the metalinguistic terms listed in the *Terminology* are given in four different languages (French, German, English, and Spanish, in alphabetical order), which opens the reading of the present article to more potential readers.

[11] From this point on in the paper, the terms "source text" and "target text" will be reimplaced by "ST" and "TT" respectively. The initials "SL" and "TL" will stand for "source language" and "target language" respectively.

	ENGLISH		FRENCH	
	Sexist L[12].	Non-Sexist L.	Sexist L.	Non-sexist L.
1	a tomboy	an intrepid child	*A[13]*	Ø
2	~~A~~[14]	Ø	traducteur	personne chargée de la traduction[15]

- **2.2 Explicitation** "A translation procedure where the translator introduces precise semantic details into the TT for clarification […] but which are available from the contextual knowledge or the situation described in the ST." (Delisle et al. 139)

Explicitation allows for the introduction of a female referent in a generic context. Guides in both languages recommend using this tool sparingly on account of the stylistic heaviness it can generate.

- *The introduction of a female-specific referent through coordination*

	ENGLISH		FRENCH	
	Sexist L.	Non-Sexist L.	Sexist L.	Non-sexist L.
1	Men…	Men *and women*…	Les hommes…	Les hommes *et/ou les femmes*…
2	~~A~~[16]	Ø	Les étudiants…	Les étudiants *et/ou les étudiantes*…
3	A worker with minor children should make sure *his* will is up to date.	A worker with minor children should make sure *his or her* will is up to date.	~~A~~[17]	Ø
4	(A worker with minor children should make sure *his* will is up to date.) *He* should give…	*He or she* should…	(Un travailleur[18] avec des enfants mineurs devrait s'assurer que son testament est à jour.) *Il* devrait…	*Il ou elle* devrait…

[12] "L." stands for "language".

[13] The French equivalent for "tomboy", "garçon manqué", is also androcentric. Nevertheless, no recommendation was found in the guides consulted on how to reword it.

[14] "traducteur" = "translator"; the term is epicene in English.

[15] "a person in charge of translating/translation"

[16] "les étudiants" = "students"; the term is epicene in English

[17] The possessive article "his" is not androcentric in French as it is assigned the gender of the noun it qualifies ("son testament").

[18] The term "worker" is epicene in English but not in French.

- *The introduction of a female-specific referent through typography*

	ENGLISH		FRENCH	
	Sexist L.	**Non-Sexist L.**	**Sexist L.**	**Non-sexist L.**
1	The teacher is the person who organises the class. *He* is the one who controls timekeeping.	The teacher is the person who organises the class. *He/She* is the one who controls timekeeping.	Le prof. est la personne qui organise la classe. *Il* contrôle la gestion du temps.	Le prof. est la personne qui organise la classe. *Il/Elle* contrôle la gestion du temps.
2	A̲ [19]	Ø	Les étudiants intéressés[20]…	Slashes: Les étudiant/*e*/s intéressé/*e*/s
3	The teacher is the person who organises the class. *He* is the one who controls timekeeping.	The teacher is the person who organises the class. *(S)he* is the one who controls timekeeping.	A̲ [21]	Ø
4	A̲	Ø	Les étudiants intéressés…	Parentheses: Les étudiant*(e)*s intéressé*(e)*s
5	A̲	Ø	Les étudiants intéressés…	Interpuncts: Les étudiant·*e*·s intéressé·*e*·s
6	A̲	Ø	Les étudiants intéressés…	Hyphens: Les étudiant-*e*-s intéressé-*e*-s

- **2.3 Modulation:** "A translation procedure where the translator recasts a segment in the TT by introducing a change in point of view or a clarification with respect to the original formulation." (Delisle et al. 161)
  - *Lexical modulation*

- *gender-specific term > gender-indefinite term*

	ENGLISH		FRENCH	
	Sexist L.	**Non-Sexist L.**	**Sexist L.**	**Non-sexist L.**
3	Men…	*Human beings / individuals / people*	Les hommes…	*Les êtres humains / les individus / les gens…*

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[19] The term "student is epicene in English "The students interested…"

[20] "The students interested…"

[21] Parentheses cannot be used in French to "contract" the pronouns "il" and "elle".

➤ *Metonymic modulations:*

• *member of an institution > institution itself*

	ENGLISH		FRENCH	
	Sexist L.	**Non-Sexist L.**	**Sexist L.**	**Non-sexist L.**
	A policeman/ policewoman	The police	Un policier/ une policière	La police

• *gender-specific occupational title > occupation itself*

	ENGLISH		FRENCH	
	Sexist L.	**Non-Sexist L.**	**Sexist L.**	**Non-sexist L.**
1	A policeman/ policewoman	Police work / policing	Un policier/une policière	Le maintien de l'ordre
2	A[22]	Ø	Un tuteur/ Une tutrice	Le tutorat[23]

➤ *Grammatical modulation*:

• Pluralizing the sentence

	ENGLISH		FRENCH	
	Sexist L.	**Non-Sexist L.**	**Sexist L.**	**Non-sexist L.**
1	*The teacher* is usually appointed on the basis of *his* training.	*Teachers* are usually appointed on the basis of *their* training.	A[24]	Ø
2	A[25]	Ø	*Le / la responsable* invitera les membres de son équipe à participer...	*Les responsables* inviteront les membres de leur équipe à participer...

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[22] "a tutor"; the term is epicene in English.

[23] "tutoring"

[24] Pluralizing the sentence "*The teacher* is usually appointed on the basis of *his* training" in French will not produce a more acceptable version. Firstly because the possessive article "his" is not sexist in French, secondly because the plural form of the noun "enseignant" is still assigned masculine gender. Another strategy would thus be required in French for non-discriminatory language.

[25] "The person in charge… »

- Changing the word order in binary expressions

	ENGLISH		FRENCH	
	Sexist L.	Non-Sexist L.	Sexist L.	Non-sexist L.
1	Men and women…	Women and men…	Les hommes et les femmes…	Les femmes et les hommes…

- Formulating the sentence in the active voice instead of the passive voice to avoid the masculine agreement of the past participle in French

	FRENCH		ENGLISH	
	Sexist L.	Non-Sexist L.	Sexist L.	Non-sexist L.
1	Vous êtes convoqu*és*[26]…	Nous vous convoquons[27]…	A	Ø
2	Le candidat, *il* sera nommé par l'assemblée[28]…	L'assemblée procèdera à sa nomination[29]…	A[30]	Ø

- Using an epicene term in French: either a noun or an adjective

	FRENCH		ENGLISH	
	Sexist L.	Non-Sexist L.	Sexist L.	Non-sexist L.
1	Le chargé de projet / la chargée de projet	Le / la responsable du projet	A[31]	Ø
2	Compliqué / compliquée	Difficile	A[32]	Ø

- **2.3 Neologism:** "A word created to satisfy an ad hoc need to express a concept or to produce a stylistic effect for which a language lacks existing resources." (Delisle et al. 163)

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[26] "You've been called in by…"

[27] "We've called you in…"

[28] Word for word translation: "The candidate, he will be appointed by the assembly…"

[29] "The assembly will proceed to his nomination…"

[30] The sentence would be androcentric in English but the use of the passive voice would not be a solution to make the sentence more inclusive, due to the use of the masculine object complement "him": (The candidate) "He will be appointed by the assembly." > "The assembly will appoint *him*."

[31] "project manager" is a noun and nouns are epicene terms in English.

[32] "complicated" is an adjective and adjectives are epicene terms in English.

➢ Grammatical neologisms

- Using alternatives to the generic masculine pronouns (English third-person singular pronoun "He" and French third-person plural pronoun "Ils"): grammatical portmanteau words

	ENGLISH		FRENCH	
	Sexist L.	Non-Sexist L.	Sexist L.	Non-sexist L.
1	The professor is the person who organises the class. *He* controls timekeeping.	The professor is the person who organises the class. *S/he* controls timekeeping. *"He+She"= "s/he"	A[33]	Ø
2	A[34]	Ø	Les hommes et les femmes, *ils…*	Les hommes et les femmes, *illes…* *Ils+Elles = Illes

- Using a new agreement pattern: the rule of proximity in French[35]

Adjectives or past participles agree in gender with the closest noun; the masculine no longer takes precedence over the feminine form.

	FRENCH		ENGLISH	
	Sexist L.	Non-Sexist L.	Sexist L.	Non-sexist L.
1	Les hommes et les femmes sont *beaux*.	Les hommes et les femmes sont *belles*.	A[36]	Ø

➢ Lexical neologisms

- Using derivation as a word-formation process to achieve engendering or degendering

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[33] The sentence would be androcentric in French too (Le professeur est la personne qui organise la classe. *Il* s'occupe de la gestion du temps.) but androcentrism cannot be solved by means of using an already existing portmanteau word.
[34] "Men and women, they…"
[35] For more details on this rule, see the article by Céline Labrosse on "the rule of superiority" (13).
[36] "Men and women are beautiful"

The formation of feminine-specific terms through derivation is relevant in French but not so much in English, first on account of the low productivity of the process in that language, secondly because degendering is preferred to engendering due to the pejorative connotations often associated with the feminine-specific marks[37]. On the contrary, the formation of epicene terms through derivation, a very productive process in English, is not very relevant in a gendered language like French.

i. Feminization/engendering of feminine-specific occupational terms and titles

	FRENCH		ENGLISH	
	Sexist L.	**Non-Sexist L.**	**Sexist L.**	**Non-sexist L.**
1	Professeur	Professeur*e*	A[38]	Ø
2	Chirurgien	Chirurgien*ne*	A[39]	Ø

ii. Degendering

	ENGLISH		FRENCH	
	Sexist L.	**Non-Sexist L.**	**Sexist L.**	**Non-sexist L.**
1	Occupation words ending in the suffix –man, like "mailman"	Occupation terms ending in the suffix –person or – people, like "mailperson"	A[40]	Ø

- Using compounding as a word-formation process

The formation of feminine-specific terms through compounding is relevant in French but not in English, even if it is a more productive pattern in the latter; the formation of epicene terms through compounding is more relevant and productive in English than it is in French for the same reasons as mentioned above.

i. Feminization/engendering of feminine-specific occupational term:

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[37] See Marina Yaguello's precisions on this point in *Les mots et les femmes* (119).
[38] "Professor" is an epicene term in English.
[39] "Surgeon" is an epicene term in English.
[40] "Mailman" = "postier". Derivation can only be used to form the feminine-specific term for this occupation: "postière".

	ENGLISH		FRENCH	
	Sexist L.	**Non-Sexist L.**	**Sexist L.**	**Non-sexist L.**
1	Business man	Business *woman*	Homme d'affaires	*Femme* d'affaires

ii. Degendering

- Using nouns without a "man" / "homme" component:

	ENGLISH		FRENCH	
	Sexist L.	**Non-Sexist L.**	**Sexist L.**	**Non-sexist L.**
1	Business man	Business *person*	Homme d'affaires	*Personne* d'affaires

- **2.4 Recategorization** "A translation procedure where equivalence in meaning or sense is established by changing the word class or part of speech of a word or phrase."

- Using an infinitive form instead of a conjugated form

	ENGLISH		FRENCH	
	Sexist L.	**Non-Sexist L.**	**Sexist L.**	**Non-sexist L.**
1	Each doctor determines the best way *he can treat* a patient.	Each doctor determines the best way *to treat* a patient.	Chaque docteur détermine la meilleure façon dont *il* peut traiter ses patients.	Chaque docteur détermine la meilleure façon dont *de traiter* ses patients.
2	[…] sans qu'*ils aient à* se déplacer.	[…] sans *avoir à* se déplacer.	A[41]	Ø

- Using a nominal form instead of a generic masculine adjectival form

	FRENCH		ENGLISH	
	Sexist L.	**Non-Sexist L.**	**Sexist L.**	**Non-sexist L.**
	Nous devons être *prudents*.	Nous devons faire preuve de *prudence*.	A[42]	Ø

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[41] "[…] which saves *them* the trouble of going out of *their* homes." The pronouns are neutral in English.
[42] "We must be careful…" Adjectives are gender-invariable in English.

- Using an indefinite article instead of a possessive article

	ENGLISH		FRENCH	
	Sexist L.	**Non-Sexist L.**	**Sexist L.**	**Non-sexist L.**
	A careful secretary consults *her* dictionary often.	A careful secretary consults *a* dictionary often.	A[43]	Ø

- **2.5 Suppression/Deletion[44]**

	FRENCH		ENGLISH	
	Sexist L.	**Non-Sexist L.**	**Sexist L.**	**Non-sexist L.**
1	Plusieurs étudiants ont…	Plusieurs ont…	A[45]	Ø
2	A[46]	Ø	The philosopher uses *his* reason to guide him.	The philosopher uses reason as a guide.

This contrastive analysis of the strategies used to produce non-sexist language helped put to the fore the similarities between the two languages in this respect but also highlighted the linguistic specificities of each language. These linguistic similarities and disparities gave a hint at the potential difficulties a translator would come against in translating non-sexist language from one language into another. Therefore, before focusing on the challenges the translators of our corpus faced, the next part of the study will delve deeper into the strategies at play in James Finn Garner's bedtime stories to implement inclusive language.

3.   James Finn Garner's Use of Non-sexist Language in His Bedtime Stories

James Finn Garner is a satirist at heart and his rewriting of popular bedtime stories into politically correct stories aims at showing the ridicule of the quest for politically correct language (Pierrehumbert 12). Non-sexist language is part and parcel of this quest and is therefore given pride of place in the bedtime stories, which makes this particular work a prime choice for this study. Indeed, the six strategies presented in the previous section of the paper are all showcased in the

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[43] "Une secrétaire consciencieuse consulte souvent *son* dictionnaire." The possessive article agrees with the gender of the noun it qualifies in French.

[44] In this paper, the terms "suppression/deletion" are preferred to the term "omission", as the latter is endowed with negative connotations in translation studies. Omission is indeed regarded as a translation error (Ballard para. 28).

[45] "Several *students* have…" Nouns are epicene in English.

[46] "Le philosophe utilise *sa* raison pour le guider." The possessive article agrees in gender with the noun it qualifies in French.

stories. The following section will allow for the identification of a few occurrences extracted from the corpus in which the strategies in question are implemented.

Amplification: The humorous periphrases *"environmental hygienist"* and *"domestic engineer"* are used in place of sexist occupational terms, such as "cleaning lady/woman", "charlady/woman", "maid/housemaid": "And at the instant Rosamond fell asleep, in an inspiring display of solidarity, everyone in the castle also began to slumber. **The environmental hygienist**, stopped scrubbing the floor, **the domestic engineer** stopped dusting […]" (*Sleeping person of Better-than-average Attractiveness* 960) In the same vein, the woodchopper featuring in *Little Red Riding Hood* becomes a "log-fuel technician" (145).

Explicitation: The two types of explicitation mentioned previously – coordination and typography – are both present in the stories. In the following example, the possessive article "her" is introduced through coordination as a counterpart to the possessive article "his": "Word had spread about the emperor's new clothes that only enlightened people with healthy lifestyles could see, and everyone was determined to be more right-minded than **his or her** neighbour." (*The Emperor's New Clothes* 185) In the next example, typography is used not only to introduce the feminine possessive article "her" but also the neutral possessive article "its": "To him, the ideal existence was to enjoy Nature in an unstructured and playfully exploratory manner, and he often took advantage of **His/Her/Its** beneficence by sleeping most of the day." (*The Ant and the Grasshopper* 367)

Modulation: The author resorts to both lexical and grammatical modulations.

- *A. Lexical modulation*

Apart from the systematic use of gender-neutral substitutes ("humans", "individual", 'people') all along the stories to avoid false male generics, one passage stands out as it reminds the reader of the feminine quest for inclusiveness: "They tried to be happy and took steps to avoid these pitfalls, such as naming their offspring *the non-gender-specific 'Baby'*" (*Goldilocks* 547).

- *B. Grammatical modulation*

The two types of grammatical modulations pinpointed in the previous section are present in the stories. Pluralization is used in the following extract as a means of avoiding the androcentric wording of the expression "to judge a man on his appearance": "This is not to imply that all princes judge **people** solely on **their** appearance […]" (*Cinderella* 430) As for the following passage, the modulation consists in challenging the traditional order of the binary expression "men and women": "Her eggs are stolen by **women and men**" (*A child's Garden of Political Correctness* 1322)

Neologism: This strategy is extremely productive in the stories even though the author resorts more willingly to lexical neologisms than to grammatical neologisms. One reason for that might be that most grammatical neologisms have not gained widespread acceptance or usage, as

pointed out by Dennis Baron in a list of grammatical neologisms he appropriately termed "A Chronology of the Word that Failed"?

The two word-formation patterns evoked – derivation and compounding – are both exploited in the stories. Before setting out two examples of each, let's mention the systematic use of "very extreme" (B. A. Garner 740) feminist coinages, the terms "wommon" and its plural counterpart "womyn". These are regarded as extreme in the sense that they epitomize the refusal of the most ardent feminists to see the term "man" randomly appear in a word referring to females. Here are two illustrative excerpts from the bedtime stories: "There once lived a young **wommon** named Cinderella…" (*Cinderella* 472) / "How dare you assume that **womyn** and wolves can't solve their own problems without a man's help? (*Little Red Riding Hood* 176)

In keeping with the recommendations to produce a non-sexist text, the various occupational terms used in the stories, be they the result of derivation or compounding, are mostly epicene, except for a few female-specific occupational terms, as we will see in the next few lines. The following excerpt, extracted from *Hansel and Gretel*, gives a good illustration of the dynamics at play in non-sexist language in English. In the passage, degendering is preferred over engendering by one of the locutors: the feminine-specific "spokeswommon" is reimplaced by a neutral counterpart through the affixation of the term "person":

"We'd like to meet with your *spokesman* –"
"*Spokeswommon*!" insisted one protester.
"*Spokesperson*!" shouted another.
[…] We'd like to meet with your *person of spoke*," the father said finally […]" (312)

The compound word "female employees" (184) used in *The Emperor's New Clothes* is another instance of feminization through neologism: "[…] he was at a local inn, abusing alcohol, invading the personal space of the **female employees**, and telling unenlightened stories about tinkers, dung-gatherers, and other tradespeople." (184). But overall the stories give pride of place to the direction non-sexist language takes in English: degendering or gender-neutralisation.

Amongst the most common tools used to this effect and presented in the previous section is the use of gender-neutral suffixes instead of the suffix "man". Therefore in *The Emperor's New Clothes*, there is no mention of "craftsmen" or "tradesmen" but rather of "trades*people*" and "craft*people*" instead: "[…] he was at a local inn, abusing alcohol, invading the personal space of the female employees, and telling unenlightened stories about tinkers, dung-gatherers, and other **tradespeople**." (184) / "Years of living outside the bounds of normal society had forced the tailor to develop his own moral code that obliged him to swindle and embarrass the emperor in the name of independent **craftspeople** everywhere." (184). Likewise, in *Snow White*, the original huntsman becomes a "woodsperson": "[…] the queen […] ordered the royal **woodsperson** to take Snow White into the forest and kill her." (614)

But amongst the most noticeable coinages are the terms "laundron" (*Sleeping Person of Better-than-average Attractiveness* 961), "woodchopper-person" (*Little Red Riding Hood* 145) and "mer-persun" [47] (*The little Mer-persun* 43) along with the derived words associated to it, such as "mer-people" (ibid) – all of these free playful creations on the part of the author. In a parodic imitation of the most extreme feminist neologisms, *The Little Mermaid* is renamed into "The little *Mer-persun*" in order to eliminate the sexist term "maid" and to give birth to a gender-free term. In the same spirit, the author playfully outdoes the process of gender-neutralization by using compounding with a term which is not gender-marked, the word "woodchopper"[48]: "Her screams were heard by a passing **woodchopper-person** (or log-fuel technician, as he preferred to be called)." As for the gender-marked "laundress", she is unsexed by way of the suffix *-on*: "[…] the **laundron** stopped washing the clothes […]". (*Sleeping Person of Better-than-average Attractiveness 961*)

Recategorization: This strategy is visible, for instance, in the use of an indefinite article in lieu of a gender-marked possessive article: "Q is a Quip that costs someone *a* job" (*A politically Correct Alphabet* 202)

Suppression/deletion: This strategy can be exemplified by the following sentence in which the support noun "man" is suppressed to avoid the use of a male generic: "Bursting in here like **a Neanderthal**, trusting your weapon to do your thinking for you'" (*Little Red Riding Hood* 176)

Now that the question of the implementation of non-sexist language in the corpus has been addressed, the question that remains to be answered is how these occurrences are treated by the translators of the two collections of bedtime stories. The last part of the paper will thus be dedicated to exploring some of the translations of the occurrences selected. Its aim is to show how the stories become in fact more sexist in the French versions of the bedtime stories.

III. The Translation of James Finn Garner's Non-sexist Language into French: the Unleashing of the Wolf

As underscored by Sherry Simon in "Taking gendered positions in translation theory", gender is generally not a very significant issue in translation, except in a language-centered text. Bearing in mind that James Finn Garner's stories are all about language, gender has to be taken into account by the translators of the bedtime stories. Therefore, due to the poetic nature of the text, there is no possible hesitation here, as there could be for other types of texts[49], as to whether non-sexist

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[47] The word "person" is spelled "persun" in the second volume of the stories to avoid what is termed "phallocentric spelling" in the Preface by the author (Garner 128).

[48] This must have something to do with the fact that English epicene suffixes are somehow associated to gender on account of biased social representations; words with epicene suffixes, such as the suffixes –ist or –er tend to conjure up the idea of a female or a male referent depending on the occupation denoted by the noun carrying the suffix (Yaguello 179).

[49] In the article "Constraints on non-sexist translation", Udo Langen discusses the conditions under which a translator is allowed to use non-sexist language in a translation.

language should be implemented in the target text. Besides, the poetic quality of the corpus gives more leeway to the translators to implement non-sexist strategies; indeed, French guides recommend not using certain strategies when confronted with certain types of documents[50]. Despite all that, the French versions of the bedtime stories happen to be politically incorrect. Four scenarios account for that.

Scenario 1: Non-sexist Language is Implemented in the ST but Cannot be Reproduced in the TT due to Linguistic Constraints

In this scenario, linguistic constraints make it difficult for the translators to reproduce what is at stake in the ST. The difficulty can originate in the diverging morphological features of the two languages at play or in the degree of syntactic flexibility of the languages concerned. The former difficulty can be illustrated by the use of the nouns "wommon" and "womyn" in the TT. As mentioned in the previous section, these neologisms were created in English because of the morphological features of the terms "woman" and "women". In French, the corresponding words, "femme" and "femmes", do not "display" the term "homme" or "hommes", the equivalents of "man" and "men". As a consequence, all the "wommon" and "womyn" from the ST turn into the more conventional "femme" and "femmes" in the translations. Correspondingly, the English term "mer-persun" is created in the ST as a non-sexist alternative to the term "mer-*maid*". But in French, the word "sirène", the equivalent term for "mermaid", do not pose the same problem. Interestingly enough, Janine Lévy coins the compound word "poisson-sirène" ("fish-mermaid") to translate "mer-persun"; the coinage does not do full justice to the ST. It is true nevertheless, as pointed out by Professor Chris Reyns during the *St. Jerome's Day Conference*, that the ending of "si**rène**" is homophonic to "reine" ("queen"), which leaves the possibility to use the alternative coined word "siroi" ("roi" being a "king") in the translation.

As far as syntactic flexibility is concerned, the extract below and its translation show the lack of flexibility of the French language compared to the English language in the process of engendering and degendering an occupational term through derivation.

James Finn Garner	Janine Lévy
"We'd like to meet with your *spokesman* –" "*Spokeswommon*!" insisted one protester. "*Spokesperson*!" shouted another. […] We'd like to meet with your *person of spoke*," the father said finally […]" (312)	« Mettez-nous en rapport avec votre *représentant*… -- *Représentante* ! rectifia quelqu'un parmi les protestataires. -- *La personne qui nous représente* ! cria quelqu'un d'autre. […] Nous aimerions entrer en rapport avec votre *porte-parole*, déclara finalement le père. » (21)

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[50] For more details, see the document drawn up by the Université du Québec à Montréal, "Guide de féminisation".

The morphosyntactic characteristics of the English language make it possible for the author to "play" with the original sexist term "spokesman" through derivation, and to create firstly a female-specific term, "spokeswommon", and secondly a neutral-gender term, "spokesperson", before explaining in the end the former word by way of a periphrasis, "person of spoke". In French, the derivational pattern makes it only possible for the translator to produce a feminine-specific term, "représentant*e*". Consequently, the only way to translate the gender-neutral word "spokesperson" is to explicitate the English term ("la personne qui nous représente"), which means that the playful noun phrase ending the dialogue, "person of spoke", has to be translated by another word. Janine Lévy chooses the epicene, but not so playful word "porte-parole", to guarantee some neutrality in French.

The impossibility to reproduce certain non-sexist terms in the TT should encourage the translators to be creative and to use other tools available in their language to compensate for the loss of non-sexist language in the TT. Compensation could be achieved by using the rule of proximity, a grammatical modulation advocated for by the guides consulted. *Hansel and Gretel*, a bedtime story in which the term "wommon" occurs several times and in which many grammatical subjects refer to both a female and a male referent would be the perfect story to apply this rule. Accordingly, in a sentence like the following, "Hansel et Gretel wandered along different trails, but after some time they became hopelessly lost and very hungry" (260), in which the TT requires the use of two past participles to translate "lost" and "hungry", a feminine inflexional ending could be used instead of a masculine one: "Hansel et Gretel errèrent par différents chemins, désespérément perdus et affamés au bout de quelque temps." (15) > "Hansel et Gretel errèrent par différents chemins, désespérément perdu*e*s et affamé*e*s au bout de quelque temps."

There are other times nonetheless when the non-sexist terms appearing in the ST could be reproduced in the TT but when they are not on account of the translator's choices.

Scenario 2: Non-sexist Language is Implemented in the ST but is not Quite Reproduced in the TT due to the Translator's Choices

Just as in the previous scenario, a strategy is used in the ST to implement non-sexist language, except that in that scenario no linguistic constraint prevents the translator from reproducing what is at stake in the original text. Two different cases can be pinpointed: either the translator tries to produce a non-sexist TT but fails to do so or he or she simply does not try to produce a non-sexist equivalent in the TT.

The former case can be illustrated by the examples quoted in the table below; the author introduces neutral language through the various strategies already mentioned (i.e. amplification (2-3-4), derivation (5), neologism through compounding (1), suppression (6)). The translation of each example is given in the right column of the table.

	James Finn Garner	**Translations**
1	A woodchopper-person	Une personne exerçant les fonctions de bûcheron (DD 21)
2	A log-fuel technician	Une personne exerçant les fonctions de technicien en ravitaillement en combustible. (DD 21)
3	The environmental hygienist	L'hygiéniste environnemental (JL 89)
4	The domestic engineer	L'ingénieur domestique (JL 89)
5	The laundron	Le technicien lingeur (JL 89)
6	Neanderthal	Un homme des cavernes (DD 21)

Both translators try to make use of inclusive language but all the translations are androcentric to some extent. It is true that Daniel Depland resorts to the term "person" (1 & 2), an epicene term that allows for some neutrality. However, in both occurrences what comes next is far less neutral: "bûcheron" (1) and "technicien" (2) are indeed male-specific. Janine Lévy also opts for epicene terms: "hygiéniste" (3) is an epicene noun and "domestique" (4) is an epicene adjective. However, the terms they are associated with, that is "environnemental" (3) and "ingénieur" (4) are not epicene but masculine-specific. As for the last example quoted, "technicien lingeur", which is also male-specific, two things can be said: on the one hand, it could have been a relevant choice as cultural beliefs hold it that the referent for this type of occupation is female, but it would have been so only if a balance had been found beforehand between female-specific and male-specific terms. As for the androcentric quality of the translation of the noun "Neanderthal" (6), it is quite blatant.

The second case for this scenario is when the translator does not try to produce a non-sexist equivalent. This is visible in one of the translations of the term "woodchopper-person" by Janine Levy. The term is repeated several times in *Little Red Riding Hood* and the last mention of the word is translated by the masculine-specific occupational term "coupeur de bois" (22). Even if the context makes it clear that the woodchopper is a man, Red Riding Hood asking the woodchopper how he dares assume "womyn and wolves can't solve their own problems without a man's help!" (159), the ST keeps referring artificially to him as the gender-neutral "woodchopper-person"; "la personne qui coupe le bois" could therefore have been a possibility. Another compelling example is the translation by Daniel Depland of the neutral term, "craftspeople", by the male-specific term "artisans" (27).

This non-reproduction of non-sexist language is all the more surprising as the strategies to avoid sexist language in French are many. Indeed, in all these cases, why not again adapting the ST to the structural specificities of the TL and using, for example, the typographical tools the translator

has at his disposal in French to introduce feminine-specific terms? Or why not alternating feminine and masculine specific terms when the ST lists various occupational terms[51]?

The two previous scenarios centered on non-sexist occurrences purposefully introduced in the ST and absent from the TT; the next scenario deals with occurrences which again are not sexist in the ST but this time because of the linguistic specificities of the source language.

Scenario 3: The SL is Not Sexist on Account of its Structural Specificities but is Challenging in the TL and Becomes Sexist in the TT

As pointed out in an earlier section, English nouns are not assigned gender while French nouns are. As a consequence, when translating sex-indefinite nouns from English into French, the translator has to be careful when assigning gender to nouns (Baxter 7). Robert Neal Baxter puts to the fore the need for training in this respect after conducting an experiment on final-year translation students which indicated that the latter fall prey to gender biases: when assigning gender, they "project sexual stereotypes according to the predominantly main-oriented discourse through their translation" (Baxter 7). This mirrors a more general prejudiced tendency already hinted at to associate certain professions with a particular sex.

This tendency can be pinpointed in the translations of the nouns in italics in the two following sentences: "[…] he was at a local inn […] telling unenlightened stories about *tinkers*, *dung-gatherers*, and other *tradespeople*." (184). / "He had the candidate photographed shaking hands with *factory workers*, *retirees*, and *customers* at luncheonettes" (*Puss in Boots*, p. 822). The table below shows the translation of the sex-indefinite occupational nouns ending in the suffix –er appearing in those sentences. Indeed, the terms are grammatically masculine in the TT, a choice that one might think could be related to the socio-cultural context of the bedtime stories.

	James Finn Garner	**Translations**
Sentence 1 (*The Emperor's New Clothes*, p. 189)	Tinkers	les rétameurs (DD 25-26)
	dung-gatherers	les ramasseurs de crotte (Ibid.)
Sentence 2 (*Puss in Boots*, p. 822)	factory workers	des ouvriers (JL 74)

Yet, in a politically correct discourse such as the one James Finn Garner presents the readers with, gender-neutral occupational words supposedly refer to both sexes. Besides, the translators also

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[51] Alternating genders is one of the strategies proposed by several guides (Labrosse "L'alternance Des Genres"; Lamothe et al.; Canada) to implement non-sexist language.

chose to assign masculine gender to the last two personal nouns of sentence 2, "retirees" and "customers", which are translated by "retraités" and "clients" (JL 74) respectively. Thus clearly the socio-cultural context cannot account for the choice of the masculine gender for the translation of the –er terms by the translators. Incidentally, even when the sex of the referent is made explicit in the co-text, as it is the case for the noun "saviour" (*The Little Mer-maid*), the translator opts for the masculine "sauveur" (48); a feminist would point right away to the underlying biased ideology for this choice. In any case it betrays a lack of accuracy. It is also worth noting that the only noun reworded into non-sexist language in the TT in sentence 1 is the only word that is conspicuously non-sexist in the ST, that is "tradespeople", which becomes the questionable "les autres corps de métiers" (DD 25-26) in the TT. This points to the original assumption that the translators are not sensitive to the linguistic specificities of the languages at stake and that they only focus on the visible occurrences of non-sexist language appearing in the ST. The last scenario to consider along the lines of what has just been said is the use of sexist language in free adaptations of the original text.

Scenario 4:   The ST is not Sexist and not Challenging but its Free Adaptation Makes it Sexist in the TT

We would like to mention two occurrences extracted from the two volumes to illustrate how free adaptations of the ST can prove non-constructive within the global spirit of the work of James Finn Garner. The most compelling example of this is the use of the male-specific noun "lecteurs" in the translation of both titles into French[52]. Ironically, the second volume which overtly pledges to be even more politically correct than the first volume – a pledge which is relayed in the Preface by the commentaries of the author – happens to be as sexist as can be in French right from the title. Another example that is worth quoting is the addition of the expression "jeune fille en fleur" to characterize Little Red Riding Hood in the translation of the following sentence: "Little Red Riding Hood, however, was confident enough in her own budding sexuality that such obvious Freudian imagery did not intimidate her." (144) > "Dieu merci la **jeune fille en fleur** qu'était le Petit Chaperon Rouge assumait déjà très bien sa sexualité naisssante et jamais une imagerie freudienne aussi évidente ne l'aurait intimidée." (18) This fixed metaphoric expression is tinted with sexist undertones as it taps into what feminists regard as biased metaphorical associations between women and Nature[53].

Conclusion

The end of our *reality tale* is therefore not completely magical. It is true that non-sexist language is making progress in both Anglophone and Francophone communities and that, thanks to the various

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[52] *Politically Correct Bedtime Stories – Modern Tales for Our Life and Times > Politiquement correct – Contes d'autrefois pour <u>lecteurs</u> d'aujourd'hui* (our emphasis); *Once Upon a More Enlightened Time – More Politically Correct Bedtime Stories > De plus en plus politiquement correct – Nouveaux contes d'autrefois pour <u>lecteurs</u> d'aujourd'hui* (our emphasis).
[53] See Suzanne Romaine's development on the analogy between women and nature and its underlying patriarchal ideology in "Gender, grammar and the space in between" (60).

guides issued in the various communities, more and more individuals are sensitive to the issue. But it is also true that, as stressed humorously by James Finn Garner in his politically correct bedtime stories, and as displayed in the analysis of the strategies for non-sexist language, some of the possible avenues to implement biased-free language can take their toll on the stylistic qualities of a text or discourse. Furthermore, as underlined by several researchers from both English-speaking countries and French-speaking countries, speakers tend to get confused, as alternatives to what is considered sexist-language tend to multiply[54], resulting sometimes in the undermining of the initial quest for inclusiveness[55]. The French translations of the bedtime stories that have been analysed in this paper tend to prove that even if individuals are fully aware of what sexist language is and of what the strategies to follow in order to avoid it are, the implementation of non-sexist language remains a challenge.

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[54] See the newspaper article "Good News, ~~You Guys~~ Everyone! English is Becoming More Inclusive" (Garber), which presents the findings of a study led by Brian Earp on the changes in sexist language use over the past thirty years. See also the article "La féminisation des titres dans la Francophonie : de la morphologie à l'idéologie" (Dawes), which focuses on the feminization of occupational words in Francophone communities and on the diverging choices made by each community.

[55] Susan Ehrlish and Ruth King deal at great length with what they call the "Misinterpretation and misuse of non-sexist terms" (153) in their article "Gender-based language reform and the social construction of meaning".

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