

Does the Terminological Variation affect the Translational *Habitus*? A Corpus-Based Study on the Impact of Translation for Darcy Ribeiro's culturally marked terms into English

A variação terminológica influencia o Habitus Tradutório? Um estudo baseado em corpus sobre o impacto da tradução de termos culturalmente marcados nas obras de Darcy Ribeiro em língua inglesa

Talita Serpa¹

Universidade Estadual Paulista "Júlio de Mesquita Filho" (UNESP)

talita.serpa@unesp.br

<https://orcid.org/0000-0003-3324-9593>

Paula Tavares Pinto²

Universidade Estadual Paulista "Júlio de Mesquita Filho" (UNESP)

paula.pinto@unesp.br

<http://orcid.org/0000-0001-9783-2724>

Luciano Franco da Silva³

Universidade Estadual Paulista "Júlio de Mesquita Filho" (UNESP)

luciano.francco@gmail.com

<https://orcid.org/0000-0001-7485-8657>

Abstract: This paper examines two translators' translational *habitus* in face of obstacles imposed by *culturally marked terms* in Darcy Ribeiro's works. We analyse a parallel *corpus* of Social Anthropology of Civilization, composed of the books: *O processo civilizatório* (1968) e *O povo brasileiro* (1995) and their translations into English, as performed by Meggers and Rabassa. We intend to observe the translation of culturally marked terms in Darcy Ribeiro's works; to analyse the translational process concerning this terminological vocabulary; and to investigate the translators' linguistic and cultural *habitus* based on

¹ Doutora em Estudos Linguísticos pelo Programa de Pós-graduação em Estudos Linguísticos do Instituto de Biociências, Letras e Ciências Exatas da Universidade Estadual Paulista "Júlio de Mesquita Filho" (IBILCE/UNESP).

² Docente vinculada ao Departamento de Letras Modernas da Universidade Estadual Paulista "Júlio de Mesquita Filho", Campus de São José do Rio Preto (IBILCE/UNESP), onde atua no Programa de Pós-Graduação em Estudos Linguísticos. Foi coordenadora geral do Programa Idiomas sem Fronteiras e, atualmente, é coordenadora do projeto de English Teaching Assistants (CAPES/Fulbright).

³ Doutorando pelo Programa de Pós-Graduação em Estudos Linguísticos na Linha de Pedagogia do Léxico e da Tradução (UNESP).

Bourdieu's analysis. Our approach follows the guidelines from the corpus-based translation studies, corpus linguistics, and terminology. Concerning the classification and data analysis, we based our research on sociology of translation, especially verifying how the concept of *habitus* acts in the translational process of Anthropological field. The methodology adopted in our investigation required the on-line tool *Sketch Engine*. The results revealed substantial variation within the translated *cultural terms*, for example: "cangaço" (*cangaço/banditry*), "cunhadismo" (*cunhadismo/in-lawism*), "sesmarias" (*land grants/ grant pieces of land*), "brancacarrões" (*light-skinned/ light mullatos*). The constant use of this strategy showed the translators' social role through different lexical choices endowed with different social meanings, representing a trend in the translational *habitus*.

Keywords: corpus-based translation studies; corpus linguistics; anthropological terminology; translational *Habitus*; sociology of translation.

Resumo: Este artigo objetiva verificar o *habitus* tradutório de dois tradutores face aos obstáculos impostos por *termos culturalmente marcados* presentes nas obras de Darcy Ribeiro. Analisamos um corpus paralelo de Antropologia da Civilização, composto pelos livros: *O processo civilizatório* (1968) e *O povo brasileiro* (1995) e suas traduções para inglês, realizadas por Meggers e Rabassa. Pretendemos observar a tradução dos termos culturais nas obras de Darcy Ribeiro; analisar o processo de tradução deste vocabulário terminológico; e investigar os *habitus* linguísticos e culturais dos tradutores com base na teoria bourdieusiana. Nossa abordagem segue as diretrizes dos estudos de tradução baseados em corpus, da linguística de corpus e da terminologia. Quanto à classificação e análise de dados, baseamo-nos na sociologia da tradução, verificando como o conceito de *habitus* atua no processo tradutório do campo antropológico. A metodologia adotada exigiu o uso da ferramenta on-line *Sketch Engine*. Os resultados revelaram uma variação substancial dentro dos termos culturais traduzidos, por exemplo: "cangaço" (*cangaço/banditry*), "cunhadismo" (*cunhadismo/in-lawism*), "sesmarias" (*grants/ grant pieces of land*), "brancacarrões" (*light-skinned/ light mullatos*). O uso constante desta estratégia mostrou o papel social dos tradutores através de diferentes escolhas lexicais dotadas de diferentes significados sociais, representando uma tendência no *habitus* tradutório.

Palavras-chave: estudos da tradução baseados em corpus; linguística de corpus; terminologia antropológica; *Habitus* tradutório; sociologia da tradução.

Introduction

Social Sciences have always focused on cultural issues, and Anthropology has stood out as an essential area dedicated to exploring theories on the origin and differentiation between men and societies. At the beginning of the 20th century, the advance of socio-cultural analysis led to the discovery of culture as a singular human phenomenon. The interest of the new researchers, such as Radcliffe-Brown and Lévi-Strauss, respectively English and French ones, focused on identifying functions and structures capable of providing knowledge of customs and social representations as a common axis. This led the authors to identify the relativity of particular cultural forms and their

economic and social (and even geographical) variables.

The understanding of traditions, myths and cults, such as forms of marriage, kinship nomenclatures, civil laws, systems of power organization, allowed researchers to discover the dynamics of specific constructions that, once institutionalized, regulated and gave meaning to problematic social practices. The sets of behaviors would guide human activities so that customs would act as institutions and sources of value (Miceli, 1989).

Thus, to delimit the structural lines of the cultures and societies in Latin America, as well as to spread the theoretical propositions of the greatest European anthropologists in developing countries, the governments and research institutions of the former colonial metropolises promoted the elaboration of international scientific works in the countries of Amerindian nations. With this, an intense translational process became imminent to adapt the source texts (STs) to new contextual research needs, altering the linguistic elements and the relations among peoples involved and elevating translation to a cultural act.

Snell-Hornby (1986) considers that STs and target texts (TTs) are formed by social contents representing distinct points of view to conceptualize a standard set of customs. The translator acts similarly to a social scientist, and the translation is assumed as a textualization of cultural values of different human groups implicit in language. The contact with peoples and societies previously considered inferior leads to interaction with new social practices.

In this way, STs and TTs favor the perception of one people's dominance over another. The translational process allows social scientists to read and reread the social analyses proposed in the texts, presenting new methods and ideologies that help develop Anthropology.

As far as Social Sciences are concerned, the translator's role associates cultural mediation with an interpretative recognition of the social repertoire related to Source Culture and Target Culture. In general, the task is concentrated in the scholars' hands, leaving aside factors such as the translator's professional training and the knowledge of the translational process stages.

The development of Anthropological research in Brazil gained strength with the creation of the Social Sciences Course by the University of São Paulo (USP) and the School of Sociology and Politics (ESP) in the 1930s. The country research remained based on Europeanized theories and had its primary material related to the colonizing groups' historical accounts, still written in European languages.

However, contrary to the pre-conceived and imported analytical perspectives, Brazilian anthropologists such as Florestan Fernandes, Roberto DaMatta and Darcy Ribeiro proposed a theory that would promote a civilizational process in the country, free from the previous theoretical Eurocentric action. In this regard, Darcy Ribeiro (1995) emphasizes that:

[...] we lacked a general theory whose light would make us explainable on its terms, fused into our historical experience. The theorizations coming from other contexts were all too Eurocentric and, therefore, powerless to make us intelligible. Our past, not having been the past of others, our present was not necessarily their past, nor our future a shared future.⁴. (Ribeiro, 1995: 13).

⁴ [...] nos faltava uma teoria geral, cuja luz nos tornasse explicáveis em seus próprios termos, fundida em nossa experiência histórica. As teorizações oriundas de outros contextos eram todas elas eurocêntricas demais e, por isso mesmo, impotentes para nos fazer inteligíveis. Nosso passado, não tendo sido o alheio, nosso presente não era necessariamente o passado deles, nem nosso futuro um futuro comum.

Darcy Ribeiro promotes new parameters for the constitution of a people's identity, reformulating objects, *terms*, hypotheses, and environments, which permeate the theoretical writing and literature. The author seeks to insert a set of new categories to the principle of Brazilianness, aiming to highlight the values of miscegenated culture and highlighting the typical characteristic factors of less favored social groups, namely social groups: -Blacks, -Indians, -Mulattoes, -Caboclos, thus creating a series of six books entitled *Social Anthropology of Civilization* (henceforth *SAC*)⁵.

In this sense, the translational process of his intellectual production is a task of great responsibility, even for experienced professionals. It is not enough to know the linguistic content and/or vocabulary that makes up the work; it is necessary to be aware of the concepts, disciplines and theorizations, as well as the sociocultural characteristics addressed by the researcher, to highlight his critical tone, his proposals in order to better explain the Brazilian people.

Within this framework, the present paper intends to observe the linguistic-translational behavior⁶ of two translators when dealing with difficulties arising from the translational process of Darcy Ribeiro's works, which uses *culturally marked terms* (Aubert, 2006). With this in mind, we present the results of the research based on the STs in Portuguese: *O processo civilizatório: etapas da evolução sociocultural* (1968) and *O povo brasileiro: a formação e o sentido do Brasil* (1995); and on the TTs in English: *The Civilizational Process* (1968) and *The Brazilian People: formation and meaning of Brazil* (2000), carried out, respectively, by Betty J. Meggers and Gregory Rabassa.

Through reflection on variations in the translation into English of such terminological elements present in the *corpus* of STs and TTs, we aimed to test a new methodology, using Corpus Linguistics (Berber-Sardinha, 2000, 2004) to unveil mechanisms of cultural reinterpretation of Anthropological *habitus* through translational practice. We also used Sociology of Translation (Simeoni, 1998, 2002; Toury, 1978, 1995, 1998; Gouanvic, 2002, 2005) to find out how the intercultural terminology may affect Darcy Ribeiro's seminal text interpretation.

We used *Sketch Engine* (Kilgariff et al., 2014), which provided us with the necessary resources to gather data for observing terminology. We believe that through corpus-based studies, a search for the translation of Ribeiro's *terms* throughout the two books under analysis has become possible. This investigation allowed us to be more aware of translators' social role, considering the options and trends presented because of *terms* representing typical Brazilian culture and history elements.

Corpus Linguistics, Terminology and Social Sciences

A *corpus* is a "collection of a naturally occurring examples of language, consisting of anything from a few sentences to a set of written texts or tape recording, which have been collected to linguistic studies" (Hunston, 2002, p. 2). A linguistic corpus can also be defined as a set of wordings actually

⁵ The publications include: *O processo civilizatório: etapas da evolução sociocultural* (1968); *As Américas e a civilização* (1970); *Os índios e a civilização* (1970); *O dilema da América Latina* (1971); *Os brasileiros* (1972); e *O povo brasileiro: a formação e o sentido do Brasil* (1995).

⁶ Linguistic behavior is understood as the lexical-semantic and syntactic choices adopted by translators in their TTs' composition.

issued by language users at a given time (Ducrot; Todorov, 2001) or as a set of written or spoken texts in a language, available for analysis (Trask, 2004).

In short, corpus-based approaches have an empirical nature, analyzing recurrent patterns of language usage in large collections of naturally occurring texts. The corpus is investigated through extensive use of computers, involving both automatic and interactive techniques and relying on both quantitative and qualitative analytical methods.

Baker (1995) considers *corpus* analysis as a source of descriptive-comparative material that can help perceive differences between the language of translation and texts initially written in a given language. In the present study, we used a parallel *corpus* composed "(...) of source texts and their translations" (Baker, 1993, p. 263).

Concerning the concept of *terms*, Barros (2004) clarifies that a text,

[...] term is a word since it is a model of lexical realization in the text. Its character as a term is because it designates a specific concept of a domain of specialty. The terminological set present in this text is, in fact, a subset of the vocabulary set. Thus, a term is also a word, in addition to being a word⁷. (Barros, 2004, p.42).

In Social Sciences, the objects of analysis are constantly evolving, and, according to Winick, in his *Dictionary of Anthropology* (1961), anthropologists are called, throughout their research, to create special *terms*. Many of these *terms* cannot be defined with absolute precision and are used based on a tacit consensus about their meanings. This agreement depends more on a shared notion of a particular connotation than on a clear verdict on the denotation of the word itself.

Many Anthropological *terms* take the characteristics of their historical formulation to the present discourse. The different meanings attributed to Social Science *terms* by various researchers generally reflect fundamental differences in the approach in studies about societies, human/community relationships and cultural changes. However, it is essential to note that although there are such differences in analytical perspective, anthropologists, sociologists and other social scientists tend to maintain the consensual unity within the area of specialty.

Therefore, the Social Sciences sub-areas present a specialized language to create theoretical meanings that assume their characteristics within each social scientist's work. Aubert (2006) points out that *terms* related to the Brazilian culture can be seen within the theories associated with the so-called *cultural markers*. Among the main studies focused on the sociocultural analysis of *terms*, we can mention Aubert's investigation (1996, 2006) which highlight that:

- (a) each language has its own *cultural markers*;
- (b) these *cultural markers* are challenges to the translational process;
- (c) the *cultural markers* in STs allow specific translational behaviors, which are different in their nature or distribution from those found in non-culturally marked texts. (Aubert, 2006, p.23)

⁷ [...] termo é um vocábulo, uma vez que é um modelo de realização lexical no texto. Seu caráter de termo se dá pelo fato de que designa um conceito específico de um domínio de especialidade. O conjunto terminológico presente nesse texto constitui, na verdade, um subconjunto do conjunto vocabular do mesmo. Assim, um termo é também um vocábulo, além de ser uma palavra.

According to Aubert (1996, p. 31), the translational procedures are not just a lexical-syntactic transcoding; they involve a set of sociocultural components. For this researcher, language is a social fact since it integrates and articulates a whole range of behaviors of the social groups and constitutes one of the most elaborated instruments for thinking, saying, and acting on the world within intra- and inter-group relations.

The Variation in Terminology Production in the Social Sciences

It is important to emphasize that terminological *variation* needs to be considered when dealing primarily with texts such as those of the Social Sciences.

Faulstich (2002) affirms that there is a *variation* of *terms* in different contexts, considering the language non-stability. From the author's perspective, terminological research must understand that "terms, in the linguistic and social environment, are entities that are susceptible to variation and change, and that communications between members of society are capable of generating international concepts for the same *term* or of generating different *terms* for the same concept"⁸ (2002, p.70).

In Translation, these factors allow us to correlate possible changes of analytical perspective from one language to another by identifying the alternation of functions that *variants* suffer within societies. For Faulstich (2002, p.76), the *terms* are closely related to the place they take within a social system. Their performance is part of a pragmatic nature, which conditions the possible *variation* mechanisms.

The author considers that this type of variant occurs in pairs of linguistic *loans* and vernacular forms and she adds that:

Linguistic loans are lexical items that originate from a foreign language and then become variants in the social context of the target language because they cause the emergence of an equivalent vernacular form regarding the linguistic environment alien to its natural permanence.⁹ (Faulstich, 2002, p.77).

We consider that this approach establishes a relationship of theoretical convergence with the precepts of Toury's (1978) studies about the *standards*; and of Baker's texts (1992, 1993, 1995), considering the proposal of descriptive and observational analysis of current use in both SL and Target Language (TL).

Corpus-Based Translation Studies

Based on Mona Baker's approaches (1993, 1996), "(...) translated texts record genuine communicative events and, as such, are neither inferior nor superior to other communicative events in any language. However, they are different, and the nature of this difference needs to be explored and recorded" (Baker, 1993, p.234).

⁸ Os *termos*, no meio linguístico e social, são entidades passíveis de *variação* e mudança e que as comunicações entre membros da sociedade são capazes de gerar *conceitos* interacionais para um mesmo *termo* ou de gerar *termos* diferentes para um mesmo *conceito*.

⁹ Os empréstimos linguísticos são itens lexicais que se originam de língua estrangeira e, depois, no contexto social da língua recebedora, se tornam variantes porque provocam o surgimento de uma forma vernacular equivalente, por causa do ambiente linguístico estranho à sua permanência natural.

The researcher proposes a form of analysis of linguistic data that links them not only to cultural values but also to the very nature of the TT and the standard procedures adopted for translation; that is, it delimits the object, as well as the method, for an innovative and independent scientific investigation. Laviosa also follows the principles behind Corpus-based Translation Studies and states that “[C]orpus-based Translation Studies represent an area of research attracting a growing number of enthusiastic scholars who genuinely believe in its potential to inform well thought out projects throughout the world and reconcile the plurality of needs and interests within the discipline” (Laviosa, 2002, p. 33).

This author understands that the integration of Toury's studies with Sinclair (1991) principles incorrectly assumes that open-choice principle in ST is often replaced by the idiom principle that there is a pattern in the use of language. Thus, for Laviosa (2002), there is a rational motivation for translators' options, verified and evaluated through *corpora*.

Baker (1996, p.178) emphasizes that this type of approach enables a greater awareness that meaning is not independent, but takes place within a specific situational and social linguistic context.

Interdisciplinarity between Theoretical Assumptions of the Social Sciences and Translation Studies

The translation of the *terms* present in Darcy Ribeiro's works reveals more than factors related to terminological and linguistic *variation*. It places us before relevant social issues, such as the suitability of a new social theory for a target audience that uses the TL, which, as Baker (1993) points out, reveals Eurocentrism characteristics present in the translational process.

Theorists such as Nida (1945), Bourdieu (1980), Hermans (1996), Simeoni (1998, 2002) and Gouanvic (2002, 2005) have devoted part of their research to identify the linguistic element as an essential transmission of community traditions.

In the context of the translation phenomenon, the same authors consider the need to use socio-anthropological theory to identify better cultural traits present in leading a given language to other cultures. This is an attempt to associate the verification of society's descriptive model with the methodology of Translation Studies.

In the article "Linguistics and Ethnology in Translation-Problems" (1945), Nida assumes a posture entirely focused on studying the alternation of social behaviors revealed through TT. The theorist presents the "word" as a socio-cultural entity and the "text" as a set of complex social elements that interact within linguistic patterns. According to Nida, words are fundamental symbols of culture elements (Nida, 1945, p.9).

In more recent works, Baker (2018) and Malone (2016) stress that it is essential for the translator to present a socio-cultural content of one society to another to be aware of the contrasts concerning the social habits represented in languages. Thus, an investigation of both cultures' cultural aspects makes it possible to observe the semantic issues and the ideological and interpretative *variations* expressed by different social groups more clearly. To this end, they consider that an almost anthropological work of recognition of historical, folkloric, political and economic elements, etc., is carried out, considering the implication of these factors in each language's formal characteristics. This

means investigating the meaning of various social items and the words used to designate them, combining the Social Sciences theories with the analysis of linguistic description to allow the translator a more excellent knowledge of cultural phenomena and the contexts of which the words are symbols.

The impact of the assumptions presented by sociologists has made possible the formation of a Sociology of Translation Studies, which is divided into three main cutouts: the role of the social agent (translator); the value of social practice (translating); and the social product (the TT).

Between the 70s and 80s, the French sociologist Pierre Bourdieu presents the concepts of *habitus* and *field*. The theoretical proposal concerning translation is that language takes a position within the exchange relationship in which the lexicon is constituted as a symbolic good (for not presenting material characteristics) with values appropriate to each social group's communication.

The translation is characterized as an instrument of power grounded and delimited by standardized, hierarchized and socially valued behaviors. Moreover, the translators are motivated by particular *habitus* inserted in different action *fields*.

In this sense, we follow Bourdieu's ideas (1980), observing the *habitus* as a knowledge acquired in society that allows social practices regulation. This awareness integrates all the provisions that constitute the competence for the agents (translators) to have access to appropriate strategies and to be able to obtain greater profit possibilities (success).

Habitus comprises all the measures, action patterns or perceptions that individuals acquire through their social experience. By socializing, men incorporate ways of thinking, feeling, and acting sustained by the collective. Bourdieu (1972, 1980, 1982) considers these provisions to be the source of individuals' future practices.

The author defines society as an overlapping of domains: economic, cultural, artistic, sporting, religious. Each of these domains or *fields* is organized in a certain logic by social forces. The interactions are structured in such a way as to mobilize the agents to have *habitus* data within each *field*. In this way, it is a social position in which the participants have almost all the same interests, but each one presents its expectations beyond the social position it occupies.

According to the Bourdieu's definition:

[...] a field is defined by questions of specific interests, which are irreducible to other fields interests and are not perceived by those who are not immersed in that given field [...]. For an activity within such an environment, people willing to adapt to the game resort to *habitus* such as previous knowledge of the laws immanent to the process and its difficulties.¹⁰ (Bourdieu, 1980, p.113)

From the application of these concepts in the theoretical set of Translation Studies, authors such

¹⁰ *Un champ [...] se définit entre autres choses en définissant des enjeux et des intérêts spécifiques, qui sont irréductibles aux enjeux et aux intérêts propres à d'autres champs (on ne pourra pas faire courir un philosophe avec des enjeux de géographe) et qui ne sont pas perçus de quelqu'un qui n'a pas été construit pour entrer dans ce champ [...]. Pour qu'un champ marche, il faut qu'il y ait des enjeux et des gens prêts à jouer le jeu, dotés de l'habitus impliquant la connaissance et la reconnaissance des lois immanentes du jeu, des enjeux, etc.*

as Simeoni (1998, 2002) and Gouanvic (2002, 2005) suggest a Sociology of translated text as a product, a Sociology of this product itself and its relational consumption in various *fields*.

In his article, "The Pivotal Status of the Translator's Habitus" (1998), Daniel Simeoni gives the notion of *habitus* a new role. The author points out that the translator's *habitus* contributes to forming a standardized behavior in all translation strategies.

The theoretician tries to integrate the category of *habitus* to the systematic models of analysis, associating it with the concept of *norms* proposed by Toury (1978), assuming that the translator's *habitus* is culturally determined, at the same time it is determining the agents and products. Simeoni (1998) contributes to consolidate the conception of the translational practice as a *system* and to conceive the interpretation of the socio-cultural data presented by the TTs as an activity regulated by the *norms*.

The influence of sociological hypotheses provides an investigation of the role and function of translation in directing social behavior. Theo Hermans (1996) believes that Descriptive Translation Studies can encompass the social and ideological impact of translation. The emphasis on the analysis of standards may be the first step towards such a structure since the standardized domain is involved in all stages of the translation procedure and, therefore, "the contours of translation as a recognized, social category" (Hermans, 1996, p.42).

A step beyond the conceptualization of "social" in translation, which includes a standard concept, could develop methodological tools to evaluate the text to recognize the social forces that govern the translation process.

Thus, associating the descriptive analysis with the Corpus Linguistics method, as proposed by Baker (1993, 1995, 1996) in the Corpus-based Translation Studies, reveals that there is a routine for languages, a convention and a predilection for data uses and, also, we could add, to a linguistic *habitus*, in Bourdieu's view (1982).

In this context, our proposal seeks to combine the sociological conjectures presented in Corpus-based Translation Studies, Corpus Linguistics and, in some precepts of terminology, as the basis for empirical research of the TTs, in order to verify factual data that will allow us to relate social facts to translational production.

Through *corpus* analysis, it is possible to verify lexical and terminological recurrences as tendencies to the obedience of translational standards or to the assimilation of a recidivist *habitus* that ends up being recognized by observing the product, i.e., the TT. Therefore, the proposed translation traits corroborate the sociological view that translators assume a given posture that is suitable for similar *habitus*.

Material and Method

For this research, the main *parallel corpus* was composed by the works written by Darcy Ribeiro:

- 1) *O processo civilizatório* (1968) (tokens: 70.632; words: 61.534);
- 2) *O povo brasileiro* (1995) (tokens: 133.317; words: 113.309);

And by the respective translations into English performed by Meggers and Rabassa, respectively:

1) *The Civilizational Process* (1968) (tokens: 59.963; words: 53.142);

2) *The Brazilian People* (2000) (tokens: 156.622; words: 138.771);

The data selection was done using *KeyWords* of the *Sketch Engine*, which facilitates the compilation of *culturally marked terms*. The word selection was organized according to *keyness* rates, by using simple maths, which determines the *keyness* score of both keywords and terms. It works with normalized (relative, per million) frequencies in the focus and reference corpora. In our research we used the reference corpus called Portuguese Web 2011 (ptTenTen11), that has 4,622,750,491 tokens and 3,896,392,719 words, and the English Web 2020 (enTenTen20), that has 44,968,996,152 tokens and 38,149,437,411 words.

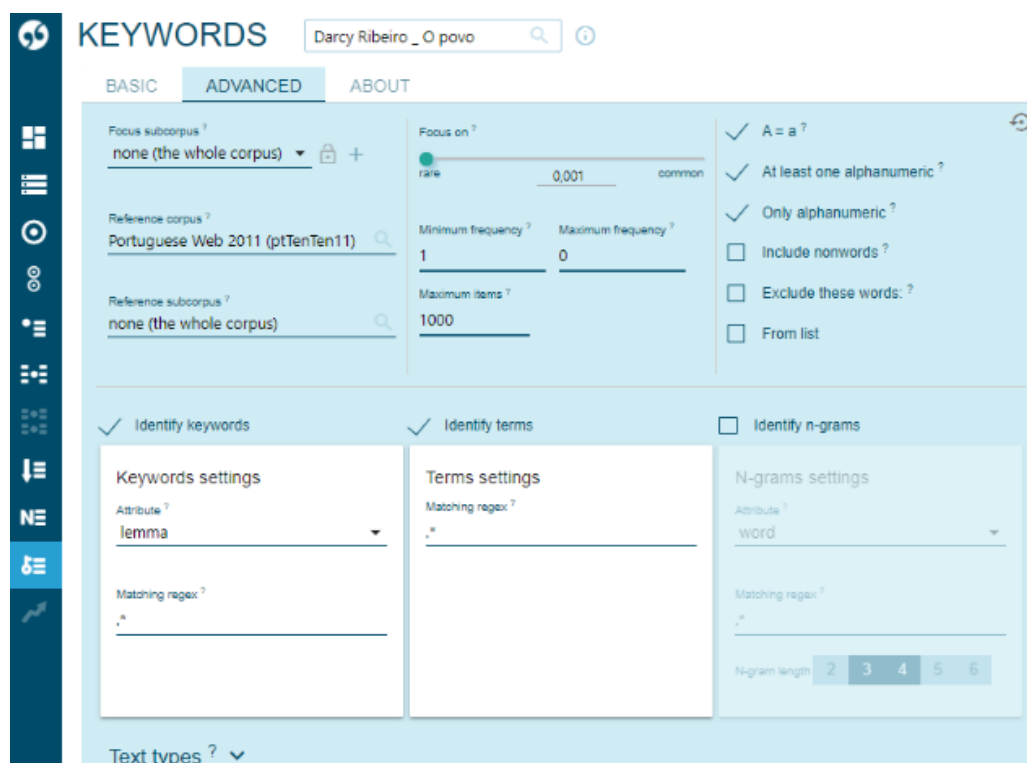
The platform points out:

Keyword and term extraction is used to:

- Extract terminology for use in translation and interpreting
- Extract single words and multi-words units which are typical of a corpus/document/text or which define its content or topic
- Compare two corpora/documents/texts by identifying what is unique in the first corpus (SKETCH ENGINE, 2021)

The keywords are words that appear more frequently in the study corpus when compared to a larger reference corpus. According to Bondi (2010), keyword analysis has the power to reveal features of a text or corpus which are not immediately obvious. In our research we used the Keywords tool in Sketch Engine and selected the rarer words in Darcy Ribeiro's works and their TTs into English according to the criteria presented in the figure below.

Figure 1: Criteria for the selection of *keywords* in our main corpus



Source: Sketch Engine (Kilgarriff, et.al. 2014)

We chose to work with *Sketch Engine* because it is one of the most modern language processing tools. Also, the speed with which the algorithmic calculations are performed, analyzing billions of words per second to provide linguistic data, is very beneficial. And finally, Kilgarriff (2009) points out that the statistics of simple maths “(...) is a method for identifying keywords of one corpus vs another. It includes a variable which allows the user to turn the focus either on higher, or lower frequency words”.

Kilgarriff explains that the highest values reached by the simple maths statistics show the highest frequency words (100, 1000...), i.e. those that are most common, while the lowest values (1.01....) focus on the rarest words.

The equations used to observe the variation of *Keywords* in *Sketch Engine* relate the most frequent words in a corpus X compared to the most frequent words in a reference corpus, which, in the case of our research are the Portuguese Web 2011 (ptTenTen11) and the English Web 2020 (enTenTen20). Inside the platform, the interface is very friendly and allows us to find the *keyness* score, calculated by the following formula:

$$\frac{fpm_{rmfocus} + N}{fpm_{rmref} + N}^{11}$$

¹¹ Is the normalized (per million) frequency of the word in the focus corpus, is the normalized (per million) frequency of the word in the reference corpus, is the so-called smoothing parameter (is the default value). (Sketch Engine, 2022).

Therefore, we used *Sketch Engine* functions based on mathematical and statistical computations to search and filter queries in a *parallel corpus*. With *My corpus* tool we compiled our own textual set (in the case of the present research, they were Darcy Ribeiro's anthropological works) and generated the lists of simple statistics for the use of the *keywords* for both STs and TTs.

We decided to evaluate the *keywords* because of their interdisciplinary feature and their use in different areas, combining cultural studies, lexico-grammar, and comparative quantitative *corpus*. Thus, as Stubbs (2010) points out, in his text *Three concepts of Keywords for culture studies*, *keywords* are a "focal point around which entire cultural domains are organized" (Wierzbicka, 1997, p. 156). This field of analysis considers Raymond Williams's theories (1976) to resume concepts developed by Firth (1935), for whom *keywords* are "sociologically important words, which one might call focal or pivotal words" (e.g. *work, labor, trade, leisure*).

In the 1950s, Georges Matore (1953) suggests that lexicography was also a sociological discipline and, therefore, authors such as Francis (1993, p. 155) started to propose that words and their combinations in context lead to a unity of meaning that is culturally marked. The *keywords* here are used to identify what people regularly talk about: their conventional ways of expressing their shared values, such as "how difficult or easy life is made for us, how predictable things are, and how well we understand what is going on" (p. 141). Therefore, the analysis on a *corpus* directs analysts to observe how texts drive cultural schemas and tend to become spaces of interaction between human groups.

Finally, Scott and Tribble (2006) consider that *keywords* are words which are significantly more frequent in a sample of text than would be expected, given their frequency in a large general reference *corpus*. They suggest that keywords are related to texts and that:

(1) First (...) certain words characterise individual texts (such as *Romeo and Juliet*), as well as text-types and intellectual areas (such as medicine and natural science, p. 29). (2) Second, the software turns texts into word-lists or lists of n-grams, and then compares the lists from different text collections. By filtering and sorting the lists, vast quantities of text are reduced to much simpler patterns (p. viii, 5, 40), which are invisible to the naked eye. (3) Third, content words directly indicate the propositional content of texts. However, although "keyness is a textual matter", since the texts have been ripped apart into lists of individual words and/or n-grams, the patterns ignore text segmentation. (Stubbs, 2010, p. 25-26)

Thus, the *keywords* in our *corpus* were selected to exemplify *cultural markers* and their possible *variations* in Anthropological SL and TL. For this purpose, a *support corpus* was formed by dictionaries and books focused on Anthropological terminology (Dicionário de Ciências Sociais, 1986; Outhwaite and Bottomore, 1993). These works aimed to observe the conceptions of *terms* that make up the terminology used by the author and translators and the relationships of meaning that are established in different cultures and societies, seeking to contemplate the use of *culturally marked terms* in Anthropology in SL and TL.

Analysis of *Terms* in *O Processo Civilizatório* and Possible Terminological Variations in Betty J. Meggers' Translational Process

Firstly, we generated the keyword lists from Darcy Ribeiro's first *SAC* work, and after consulting the correlated Social Sciences dictionaries, we selected the *terms* comprehended as the initial basis for this research.

We present, below, Tables 1 with the twenty words with high *keyness* from the ST and TT under analysis:

Table 1: Twenty words with high *keyness* in the *parallel corpus* of the work *O processo civilizatório/ The civilizational process*

O processo civilizatório		The Civilizational Process	
WORD	KEYNESS	WORD	KEYNESS
1 MACRO-ETNIA	99,106.2	MACRO-ETHNOS	133,416.6
2 NÔMADES	82,513.9	ERGASTERIONS	83,385.7
3 ERGASTERIONS	70,790.4	EXPANSIONISM	33,354.9
4 ESTAMENTAÇÃO	69,840.4	EMPRESARIAT	33,354.9
5 CASAS-CRIATÓRIOS	42,474.7	SUPRA-COMMUNITY	26,329.0
6 TALASSOCRACIAS	34,344.3	DECULTURATION	20,137.3
7 CONTINGENCIAMENTO	28,316.8	FEUDALIZATION	17,859.4
8 DECULTURAÇÃO	20,012.2	NON-ENSLAVEMENT	16,315.1
9 EUROCENTRISMO	14,158.9	PLEBEUS	15,967.8
10 FEUDALIZAÇÕES	14,158.9	SUPER-STATISM	15,634.9
11 ESTADOS-IGREJA	14,158.9	PEASANT	15,009.1
12 PROTOFEUDALISMO	14,158.9	MACRO-SOCIETIES	14,714.6
13 EXPANSIONISMO	14,158.9	REBELLION	12,937.8
14 ENCOMENDEROS	14,158.9	PROTO-FEUDALISM	12,718.4
15 COGOVERNADORES	14,158.9	SOLDIER-PRIESTS	12,718.4
16 CORREIEIROS	14,158.9	STAGNATION	12,506.3
17 POVOAMENTO	14,158.9	DETRIBALIZATION	7,500.8
18 POPULAÇÃO	14,158.9	REDOMESTICATION	5,001.0
19 MACRO-SOCIEDADE	11,640.7	PROLETARIAT	4,566.2
20 SUPERESTATISMO	11,640.7	ETHNOS	4,343.4

Source: Elaborated by the authors (2021)

By working on the *keyness* of lexical items in the inaugural work of the *SAC* series, we were able to recognize which are the main subjects approached by the author, who deals with the civilizational processes of Latin American countries.

We can observe that, by making use of *terms* that are understood by all Social Sciences areas, Ribeiro and Meggers, both in SL and TL, share the language of specialty, as well as often intersect objects of research, since the Anthropological *field* can be influenced by issues of political, economic, historical and geographical subjects.

Within this perspective and based on the investigation of the constitution of Ribeiro's text, we verified, regarding the translational process, that the translator needs to be aware of four different *habitus*, which will compose their behavior:

- 1)The linguistic *habitus* (lexical-terminological);
- 2)The *habitus* of the Social Sciences;
- 3)The *habitus* of Anthropology;
- 4)The *habitus* of the *SAC*.

We believe that *parallel corpora* use improves the analysis of these four behaviors applied to the process used by professional translators, allowing us to promote a type of linguistic research that associates language phenomena to societal expressions. We can find specific patterns that are not restricted to social and cultural acts in terms of recurrence. We must also pay attention to the fact that no *habitus* acts in isolation in translational behavior; they compose a constant and changeable set so that any change in one plan will lead to changes in the others. We assume that the translational process occurs within a variable normative circle that, at the same time, determines the behaviors.

In Anthropology, it is interesting to think that for many years, the translators' *habitus* has resonated with the academic and methodological formation of Brazilian researchers since the classical works are still read in their translations into Portuguese in the main undergraduate courses in the country. By presenting Darcy Ribeiro's texts translated into English, we began to observe the influence of the Brazilian anthropologist's conduct in forming new ways of interpreting the national society. We also evaluate the *variability* and determine the role of translation as social action because the TT will generate knowledge applied to the theoretical production under study.

In the context of the formation of standard behavior for translators, we see that the words with high *keyness* of the ST under analysis also reveal, with greater amplitude, the Social Science *habitus*, since they list *terms* that constitute general objects of the area, such as: *alienação* (alienation), *aristocracia* (aristocracy), *burocracia* (bureaucracy), *campesinato* (peasantry), *humanidade* (humanity), *pátria* (nation), *pessoa* (person), *povo* (people), *racismo* (racism) and *religião* (religion). In turn, Meggers acts as a disseminator of the use of ideas already consecrated in the language of speciality that reorders and reinserts the native peoples in a context of non-domination, in which they are active characters for the constitution of Latin American civilizational processes. The TT assumes the responsibility of promoting the acceptability of Darcy Ribeiro's proposals among the international Anthropological community.

Based on this aspect, it is still necessary to consider the impact of the *variation* of lexical choices in the translation of some *terms* found in the ST *corpus*, the formation of the Anthropological *field*, and the *translational habitus* constitution. In general, Meggers respected a certain regularity and pattern, following Terminology principles. However, we have seen that Faulstich (2000) points to the existence of *variability* in terminological formation, especially concerning social and cultural issues, which has led us to consider the possible occurrence of this phenomenon in the translation of the works that make up the main *corpus* of this research.

There were few distinct options adopted by Meggers for the translational process, as far as *terms* are concerned. Below, we present Table 2, with some occurrences of this *variation*:

Table 2: List of *terms* that present *variation* in Megger Translation in *O processo civilizatório*

Terms	First Option	Second Option	Third Option	Fourth Option
Patronato	Patronage	Management	--	--
Senhorio	Landlord	Feudal Lord	Chief	Master
Socialização	Sociability	Socialization	--	--
Trabalhador	Worker	Laborer	--	--
Trabalho	Work	Labor	--	--

Source: Elaborated by the authors (2021)

In this way, we found that the translator presented alternations of *terms* to specific elaborate ideas, evoking other meanings to Darcy Ribeiro's theory. For example, under the idea of *trabalho* (labor), we observed that this word has a wide use among sociologists and that it has at least five main meanings, which show the different phases of its evolution.

Initially, it corresponded only to the ideas of *labor*, that is, physical effort. However, during the second half of the 19th century, the term came to be used as a figure of speech, personifying an act, in expressions such as *right to work*, *product of work*, *product of labor* and *value of work*, always maintaining correspondence with the standards of capitalist, mercantile societies.

Considering the definition of *work* in the *Dictionary of Anthropology* (1961) we verify a small change in meaning, so that this term represents the precondition for human life, the creation of material culture that separates nature from man and animal. In this context, *work* is a term that is related to the cultural formation, since there are no "values" and "beliefs" without material development and there is no material development without *work*. A concept of *work*, in Anthropology, therefore, shows that societies have been reconstructing their environment by virtue of their creative power based on *work* and that this type of activity can be carried out even in non-capitalist societies, unlike the term *labor*, as explained.

With this, we note that Darcy Ribeiro's theoretical production, much more than a corpus of *SAC* that provides terminological knowledge, can be studied as a revolution in the anthropological analytical posture that will provoke the emergence of distinct perspectives and new *terms* by both the author and the translator. To deal with the ST, Meggers used her previous *habitus* in Social Sciences and Anthropology. Besides, she equates the terminology to create a social interaction environment respective to the ST.

Based on this proposal, we also verified the production of some *terms* coined under the author's social conditions and the use of Latin- Brazilian cultural elements and factors that gain the status of *terms* within the SCA. Table 3 presents examples of possible *cultural markers* from Ribeiro's theory found in *O processo civilizatório*.

Table 3: Cultural markers in the work *O processo civilizatório* and the respective translations by Meggers

<i>Cultural markers</i>	<i>Translational Option</i>
Povos Novos	New Peoples
Povos Transplantados	Transplanted Peoples
Capatazia	<i>Non-translated term</i>
Roçado	Field
Tribos de Lavradores da Floresta Tropical	Tropical Forest Horticulturists

Source: Elaborated by the authors (2021)

Concerning the use of the *term* "povos novos", Darcy Ribeiro defines it as the confluence of Portuguese rules with the racial matrices and distinct cultural traditions, so that they merged to give

allow a new population formation, a new model of societal structuring. For the author, these people are new because they are different from its formative bases, being strongly mestizos and a syncretic culture.

New people, also, because it is a new model of societal structure, inaugurating a singular form of socio-economic organization based on a renewed type of slavery and continued servitude to the world market. New, even because of the unbelievable joy and the astonishing will for happiness, in a people that has suffered so much, that stirs and moves all Brazilians.¹² (Ribeiro, 1995, p.19)

This concept contrasts with another idea developed by the author, that of "testimonial peoples", that is, population groups from Latin American colonies that witnessed the invasion of Latin American colonies by the Europeans without losing their cultural and national integrity. In Brazil, the theorist also observes that the civilizing process was constituted by the reception of "transplanted peoples", who represented an "ethnic identity" perfectly defined in Europe, and that found it easy to incorporate themselves to a new "civility", born out of the "black and indigenous matrices".

From these results, we also observe, in the next topic, how words with high *keyness* in Darcy Ribeiro's final work, *O povo brasileiro*, acted to confirm the data presented so far and to insert new factors to the *translational habitus*, mainly regarding the use of *cultural markers*.

Analysis of Terms in *O Povo Brasileiro* and Possible Terminological Variations in Gregory Rabassa's Translational Process

We generated the keyword list from the final work of *SAC* by Darcy Ribeiro, and, after consulting the previously mentioned dictionaries of the correlated Social Sciences areas, we selected one hundred words with high *keyness* from *O povo brasileiro*.

In *O processo civilizatório*, we observed that different *contexts* could change the interaction between different cultures, which is evident in the Brazilian anthropologist's works. However, the different point of views also occurs in Ribeiro's theories, considering that, with the passing of the years, the researcher started to approach, inside the *SAC*, relevant factors to the formation of the Brazilian national identity.

We consider, therefore, that in a first moment, Darcy Ribeiro focused on the aspects related to the differentiation of the Latin American civilizational process as a whole, turning, in the following works, directly to the analysis of the particularities of the concretization of the territory and the cultural bonds of the Brazilian people and closing his innovative proposal in 1995, with the publication of *O povo brasileiro*.

We present, below, Table 4 with the twenty words with high *keyness* of the ST and TT of this finalizing work:

¹² Povo novo, ainda, porque é um novo modelo de estruturação societária, que inaugura uma forma singular de organização sócio-econômica, fundada num tipo renovado de escravismo e numa servidão continuada ao mercado mundial. Novo, inclusive, pela inverossímil alegria e espantosa vontade de felicidade, num povo tão sacrificado, que alenta e comove a todos os brasileiros.[Translated by the authors]

Table 4: Twenty words with high *keyness* in the *parallel corpus* of the work *O Povo Brasileiro/ The Brazilian people*

O processo civilizatório			The Civilizational Process	
	WORD	KEYNESS	WORD	KEYNESS
1	NEOBRASILEIROS	54,051.9	NEO-BRAZILIANS	117,042.0
2	MACRO-ETNIAS	47,122.2	MAMELUCO	110,049.5
3	BRASILÍNDIO	28,149.8	BRAZILINDIANS	102,157.8
4	TERRITÓRIO	22,503.8	MATUTOS	91,694.8
5	SUJIGAÇÃO	22,503.8	CUNHADISMO	76,223.3
6	RANCHARIAS	16,814.1	BACKLANDERS	74,481.6
7	DECULTURAÇÃO	15,903.9	GAÚCHOS	63,280.3
8	BRANQUIZAÇÃO	15,272.5	MACROETHNICITY	56,214.1
9	PROTO-ETNIA	15,002.8	CAIPIRA	44,678.7
10	PÉ-DE-CHÃO	15,002.8	GUAIAKURU	42,791.4
11	NEGRO-MASSA	15,002.8	TAPUIA	24,707.0
12	ALDEAMENTOS-REDUÇÕES	15,002.8	DECULTURATION	19,274.0
13	CUNHADISMO	14,886.3	HAMMOCKS	18,738.7
14	MICRO-ETNIAS	13,647.2	MOCÓ	18,533.7
15	CHACINAMENTO	12,334.6	MASSAPÉ	18,339.7
16	TEMERICÓ	10,472.1	CABANOS	18,232.9
17	ILHAS-BRASIL	10,472.1	BALAIOS	17,590.7
18	POVO-MASSA	10,181.8	PROTO-CELL	16,105.2
19	PROTOCÉLULA	8,449.7	IEMANJÁ	15,120.5
20	EX-ÍNDIOS	8,043.2	CABOCLO	14,700.6

Source: Elaborated by the authors (2021)

As we have seen, the alternation of the degree of *keyness* allows us to know the main themes addressed by Darcy Ribeiro in his theory and the relationship he establishes with the translational process and with the different audiences he seeks to reach. The number of occurrences of a given *term* may also reveal a possible tendency of the author to emphasize specific socio-anthropological analytical contents, so it is essential that the translator, when starting the TT composition activity, keeps in mind the author's theoretical proposals and the ideas he stresses and builds. Such work becomes feasible through the use of *corpora*.

It is interesting to note that there is a deepening of the study of the peculiarities of the nationality and the *mestizaje* of Brazil in the composition of *The Brazilian people*. New nuclei of terminological creation are being formed: (1) *terms* related to parenting relationships, such as *compadrio* (common paternity/comradeship), *cunhadismo* (cunhadismo/in-lawism), and *agregação* (being joined/aggregation); (2) regionalities and regionalisms, such as *vacarias* (cattle herding), *usinas* (sugar mills/ factory plantations), *sesmarias* (land grants/ grant pieces of land), *engenhos* (plantations), and *agreste* (the more humid border strips called *agreste*/ *agreste*); (3) new social types, such as *sesmeiros* (grants), *sertanistas* (sertão scouts/ men of sertão superior/ expeditionaries), *seringalistas* (rubber dealers), *caipiras* (sharecroppers/ caipiras), *caboclos* (mixed-bloods/ caboclos), *senhores de engenho* (plantation owners/ plantation masters), and so on; (4) new concepts of *mestizos*, such as *bandas forras* (no translation), *terceirões* (no translation) and *brancarrões* (light-skinned/ light mullatos); (5) ideologies for the formation of *mestizos*, such as *branquitude* (whiteness/ white men) and *negritude* (blackness); (6) processes of national integration, such as *abrasileiramento* (cultural brazilianization) and *caipirização* (caipirization); (7) factors resulting from the entry of

Europeans into the country, through the *aldeamentos-reduções* (reduction settlements), *missões* (missions) and the intervention of *bandeirantes* (bandeirantes); (8) interactions with the possible forms of production (agricultural and cattle raising) in the Brazilian territory, that is, *aquerenciamento* (gathering), *arraial* (settlement/ camp/ encampment/ town/ halmet/ gathering), *arranchamento/ arrendamento* (shack dweller); (9) social revolutions, such as *balaiada* (balaiada), *balaios* (balaios), *cabanagem* (cabanagem) and *cabanos* (cabanos); and (10) social workers, such as *biscateiros* (biscuit sellers/ odd-job workers), *balateiros* (balata-gum gatherers), *boiadeiros* (drovers), *braceiros* (workers), etc.

By generating the *keyness* in the TL, we verified the reiteration and acceptance of Ribeiro's propositions in the TT. Rabassa adds to the *habitus of SCA* his understanding of traditional *habitus* and puts these two principles above the need for terminological standardization, emphasizing the social values so appreciated by Darcy Ribeiro in his Anthropology and expanding the possibilities of lexical choices that go, throughout the work in English, composing the environments and social agents so that the identification of the reader with these "characters" typical and necessary to understand the concept of Brazil is even closer. Contrary to what occurs in the author's first work, here no omissions or adaptations are found to the context of the society of arrival; on the contrary, most of the keywords are not in the field of Anthropology, but the cultural markers allows us to work with the notions and elements of social conditions researched by the author within the general analysis of the book, because they occur with high *keyness*, in most cases, and because they constitute an essential part of the ST of Darcy Ribeiro's Terminology.

It is interesting to note how the relation of meaning *variation* appears explicitly in the TT, corroborating Faulstich's (2002) proposals on lexical alternation for the constitution of *terms*. With this, we verified that, in his translational production, Rabassa provides, besides the perspective of a Brazilian behavior for the *SAC*, the internalization to the *translational habitus* for the constitution of more precise ideas and social environments.

As we did in *The civilization process* analysis, we also considered the *variation* in the translation of some *terms* found in the ST to realize the *SAC field* and the accompanying *translational habitus*. Below, we present Table 7, with some of the occurrences of variation in the construction of the concepts:

Table 7: Cultural markers of the work *O povo brasileiro* and the respective variation in translational options by Rabassa

Cultural Markers	First Option	Second Option	Third Option	Fourth Option
Chimarrão	Maté-Drinking	Gourd	Unsweetened Mate	Mate
Cangaço	Cangaço	Banditry	--	--
Favela	Favela Shantytown	Shantytown Favela	Favela	--
Jagunço	Jagunço	Thug	--	--
Senzala	Senzala	Slave Quarter	--	--

Source: Elaborated by the authors (2021)

In the context of the idea of *cangaço*, we note that in SL, this *term* corresponds to the configuration of a situation of "banditism", "brigandage", "criminality" and "nomadism" characteristic of "mestizo communities" specific to the Brazilian northeast. The members of these human nuclei were always armed and used to live in gangs. They lived by looting and robbing, always being pursued by the police or in dispute with similar groups. Their area of activity was inserted in the *Polígono das Secas*. One of its greatest peculiarities was the use of a set of weapons and tools called *cangaço* (hence the name of the social process): the *parnaíba*, a knife with a long, rigid blade; the rifle or carabiner, usually a Winchester 44; cartridges crossed in the chest; the cotton bags, with ammunition and medicine; changes of clothes; smoke; matches; sticks to clean the guns, etc.

The *Dicionário de Ciências Sociais* (1986) says there were several attempts by many Brazilian researchers to explain the causes of the *cangaço*. At first, several authors, such as Euclides da Cunha (1902), tried to base their studies on the theories of the ethnologist Nina Rodrigues (1899), for whom the criminality of the Brazilian mestizo was linked to the bad conditions of anthropological development for the mestizos in Brazil. This point of view persisted for years, and in the 1920s, Lourenço Filho (1926), in his work about Padre Cícero, still affirmed that certain biological conditions led to "banditism".

The *cangaço*, also characterized as "banditism", exclusively can be considered today as a response to the decadence of the semi-feudal latifúndia in the northeast of Brazil. It manifested itself as a primary rebellion against the submission of the rural man to the conditions of misery imposed by the large landowners.

In the TT, Rabassa recovers an important part of the concept of *cangaço* by linking it to the idea of "banditry". This *term* characterizes a type of violence common to rural societies of traditional culture and consists of the appearance of armed gangs that loot, kidnap, and assault travelers, citizens, representatives of the state, and the higher levels of society. They invade villages, towns, and cities, but avoid attacking rural communities, which often help and protect them, idealizing them as heroes.

By linking the concept of *cangaco* to the precepts of the *term* "banditry", the translator presents to the target society a characteristic common to the Brazilian people, that is, the tendency that needy groups have to consider the "rougues" or "social bandits" as saviors and redeemers of the standards of national citizenship. Rabassa adapts himself to the Darcynian theorization, adopting the posture of an advocate of new social relations. The TT, *The Brazilian People*, represents, for the target society, a cultural analysis of Latin anthropologists who constitute the intellectual elite of the economically and socially oppressed countries that are now gaining a voice in the globalized world.

Thus, as much as the TT approaches the theory and thematic ideology in Ribeiro's ST, the contextualization needs to encompass the insertion of a new meaning in some situations. In this context, Rabassa's options constitute *the SCA field* with a more excellent approximation to the *context of the Brazilian typical social system*.

Final Remarks

This research, based on Corpus-based Translation Studies (Baker, 1993, 1995, 1996), Corpus Linguistics (Berber Sardinha, 2004; Tognini-Bonelli, 2001), Translation Sociology (Toury, 1995; Simeoni, 1998; Gouanvic, 1995, 1999, 2002, 2005) and, partly, Terminology (Barros, 2004), follows

the proposal of an interdisciplinary study developed by Camargo (2007) for the observation of the translational process into English for *SAC* terminology created by Darcy Ribeiro's two main works that compose our corpus.

With the help of this approach, it was possible to compare, in an empirical way, the terminological and social variation of the *culturally marked terms* present in STs and TTs.

The interdisciplinarity and search tools made it possible to verify whether translators' terms were similar to the terms used by English-speaking anthropologists and social scientists. We also checked the possible changes in meaning contained in the author's and translators' choices concerning terms with high *keyness* in texts of Social Sciences and Anthropology, for example: *consanguinidade* (inbreeding), *exogamia* (exogamy), *escravidão* (slavery), *família* (family) and *parentesco* (kinship); and for *Brazilianisms* such as: *boia-fria*, *caipira*, *capanga*, *favela* and *jagunço*. We tried to find the basis for a typical *translational habitus* and an awareness of the translator's social role.

Ribeiro's works as the main parallel corpus were aligned to our objectives once they favor the contact with an innovative anthropological theorization, which defends Brazil as an independent nation and shows the foundations of the Brazilian nationality.

Thus, Darcy Ribeiro brought to light various aspects of national culturality to be worked on within the anthropological terminology, creating new terms and referring to various Brazilian elements to construct his analysis, which composes the core of cultural markers observed in our research.

The *SCA* proved to be a different field from all the other proposals for the evaluation of Brazilian society by anthropologists from American, British and French schools, and, for this reason, the terminology used by the author proved to be innovative and distinct from most of the terms found in the corpora. This demystified the idea of a fixed standardization of Social Sciences terms, as already pointed out by the *Guide for the Translations of Social Sciences Texts* (2006).

We thus analyze that the variability of translational choices places translators in an essential position as constituents of new *terms* and mediators of conceptual relationships. We observed that the *translational habitus* would represent the relationships established between the Source Culture and the Goal Culture, which are presented in the use and choices of the lexicon. Therefore, the translator's social role would be related to the inference of the relations between the *habitus* contained in the STs and their reallocation in the target society, which, in turn, is also a set of *habitus* and norms.

The *Sketch Engine*, through its tools and utilities, has considerably facilitated the search for a large amount of data, obtained in a much faster and more precise way than manually. The *keyness* lines served as support and clarified doubts regarding the terminology raised. It favored the analysis that the terms have no independent meaning since their elements interrelate to each other, creating their specificities according to the *context* to which they apply in the SL or the TL.

As mentioned above, these factors allowed the observation of recurrent translators' behaviors, which led us to, hereafter, work on the social issues involved in the translational process and product (TT) by checking the terminological variability of translators' choices with the aid of Corpus Linguistics theory and tools. In analyzing these elements, we noted that translation is a social act, going through linguistic factors and attributing to words, and more precisely to terms, values to be negotiated between the source and target communities.

Finally, starting from the terminology of *SAC*, through which Darcy Ribeiro proposed the constitution of a nationalist cultural investigation by researchers trained in the country, we observed

how it would be possible to formulate a *habitus* for Brazilian Anthropology. Thus, after understanding the constituents of the author's conduct for his area, based on the theories proposed by Bourdieu (1980), Simeoni (1998, 2007), and Gouanvic (2005), we noted the factors observed by each translator to compose their behaviors and, consequently, the *translational habitus*.

References

AUBERT, F.H. 1996. *Introdução à metodologia de pesquisa terminológica bilingue*. São Paulo: Humanitas Publicações-FFLCH/USP, 160 p.

AUBERT, F. H. 2006. Indagações acerca dos marcadores culturais na tradução. *Revista de estudos orientais*, (5):23-36. <https://doi.org/10.11606/issn.2763-650X.i5p23-36>

BAKER, M. 2018. *Translation and conflict: A narrative account*. London: Routledge, 226 p. <https://doi.org/10.4324/9780429438240>

BAKER, M. 1993. Corpus linguistics and translation studies: Implications and applications. In: M. BAKER; G. FRANCIS; E. TOGNINI-BONELLI. (Eds.). *Text and technology: in honour of John Sinclair*. John Benjamins Publishing. p. 233-250. <https://doi.org/10.1075/z.64.15bak>

BAKER, M. 1995. Corpora in translation studies: An overview and some suggestions for future research. *Target. International Journal of Translation Studies*, 7(2):223-243. <https://doi.org/10.1075/target.7.2.03bak>

BAKER, M. 1996. Corpus-based translation studies: The challenges that lie ahead. In: H. SOMERS. (Ed.). *Terminology, LSP and translation: studies in language engineering in honour of Juan C. Sager*. John Benjamins Publishing, p.175-186. <https://doi.org/10.1075/btl.18.17bak>

BARROS, L. A. 2004. *Curso básico de terminologia*. Edusp, 287 p.

BERBER SARDINHA, T. 2004. *Linguística de corpus*. Editora Manole Ltda, 405 p.

BONDI, M. 2010. Perspectives on keywords and Keyness. 2010. In: M. BONDI; M. SCOTT. (Eds.). *Keyness in texts*. Amsterdam / Philadelphia. John Benjamins Publishing Company, p. 1-18. <https://doi.org/10.1075/scl.41.01bon>

BOURDIEU, P. 1980. *Questions de sociologie*. Paris: Éd. de Minuit, 142 p.

BOURDIEU, P. 1982. *Ce que parler veut dire*. L'économie des échanges linguistiques. Paris: Fayard, 243 p.

CAMARGO, D. C. 2007. *Metodologia de pesquisa em tradução e linguística de corpus*. São Paulo: Cultura Acadêmica.

DICIONÁRIO DE CIÊNCIAS SOCIAIS. 1986. Coord. Benedicto Silva. 2ªed. Rio de Janeiro: Fundação Getúlio Vargas. 1421 p.

DUCROT, O.; TODOROV, T. 2001. *Dicionário enciclopédico das ciências da linguagem*. São Paulo: Perspectiva, 344p.

FAULSTICH, E. L. J. 2001. Aspectos de terminologia geral e terminologia variacionista. *TradTerm*, (7):11-40. <https://doi.org/10.11606/issn.2317-9511.tradterm.2001.49140>

FAULSTICH, E. L. J. 2002. Variação em terminologia: aspectos socioterminologia. In: G. RAMOS; M. F. PÉREZ LAGOS. (org). *Panorama actual de la terminología*. Madrid: Editorial Comares, p. 65-92.

FIRTH, J. R. 1935. The technique of semantics. *Transactions of the Philological Society*, p. 36–72. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1467-968X.1935.tb01254.x>

FIRTH, J. R. 1957. A synopsis of linguistic theory, 1930–1955. *Studies in Linguistic Analysis*, p. 1–32.

FRANCIS, G. 1993. A corpus-driven approach to grammar: Principles, methods and examples. In: M. BAKER; G. FRANCIS; E. TOGNINI-BONELLI. (Eds.) *Text and Technology*, Amsterdam: John Benjamins, p. 135-157. <https://doi.org/10.1075/z.64.10fra>

GOUANVIC, J. M. 2002. The Stakes of Translation in Literary Fields. *Across Languages and Cultures*, 3(2):159-168. <https://doi.org/10.1556/Acr.3.2002.2.2>

GOUANVIC, J. M. 2005. A Bourdieusian theory of translation, or the coincidence of practical instances: Field, ‘habitus’, capital and ‘illusio’. *The translator*, 11(2):147-166. <https://doi.org/10.1080/13556509.2005.10799196>

HERMANS, T. 1996. Norms and the determination of translation: a theoretical framework. In: R. ALVAREZ; M. VIDAL. (eds.). *Translation, Power, Subversion*. Multilingual Matters: Clevedon, England, p. 25-51.

HUNSTON, S. 2002. *Corpora in applied linguistics*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 241 p. <https://doi.org/10.1017/CBO9781139524773>

KILGARRIFF, A. 2009. Simple maths for keywords. In: M. MAHLBERG; V. GONZÁLEZ-DÍAZ; C. SMITH. (eds.). *Proceedings of Corpus Linguistics Conference CL2009*, University of Liverpool, UK. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s40607-014-0009-9>

KILGARRIFF, A. *et al.* 2014. The Sketch Engine: ten years on. *Lexicography*, 1(1):7-36.

MALONE, J. L. 2016. *The science of linguistics in the art of translation*: Some tools from linguistics for the analysis and practice of translation. New York: SUNY Press, 241 p.

- MATORE, G. 1953. *La méthode en lexicologie*. Paris: Didier.
- MICELI, S. 1989. *História das ciências sociais no Brasil* (Vol. 1). São Paulo: IDESP, 576 p.
- NIDA, E. 1945. Linguistics and ethnology in translation-problems. *Word*, 1(2):194-208. <https://doi.org/10.1080/00437956.1945.11659254>
- OUTHWAITE, W.; BOTTOMORE, T. (org.) 1993. *The Blackwell Dictionary of Twentieth-Century Social Thought*. London: Blackwell Publishers, 880 p.
- RIBEIRO, D. 1968. *O processo civilizatório: etapas da evolução sociocultural*. São Paulo: Companhia das Letras, 328 p.
- RIBEIRO, D. 1968. *The Civilizational Process*. Translated by Betty M. Meggers. Washington: Smithsonian Institution Press, 201 p.
- RIBEIRO, D. 1995. *O povo brasileiro: a formação e o sentido do Brasil*. Rio de Janeiro: Global Editora e Distribuidora Ltda, 368 p.
- RIBEIRO, D. 2000. *The Brazilian People: formation and meaning of Brazil*, Translated by Gregory Rabassa. University Press of Florida, 332 p.
- SIMEONI, D. 1998. The pivotal status of the translator's habitus. *Target. International Journal of Translation Studies*, 10(1):1-39. <https://doi.org/10.1075/target.10.1.02sim>
- SIMEONI, D. 2002. Translation and Society: The Emergence of a Conceptual Relationship. *Journal of Contemporary Thought*, (15): 5-23.
- SINCLAIR, J. M. 1991. *Corpus, concordance, collocation*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 179 p.
- SNELL-HORNBY, M. 1986. The Bilingual Dictionary-Victim of its own tradition? In: R. HARTMANN. (ed.) *The history of lexicography*. London: John Benjamins Publishing, p. 207. <https://doi.org/10.1075/sihols.40.22sne>
- STUBBS, M. 2010. Three concepts of keywords. In: M. BONDI; M. SCOTT. (Ed.). *Keyness in texts*. London: John Benjamins Publishing, p. 21-42. <https://doi.org/10.1075/scl.41.03stu>
- TOGNINI-BONELLI, E. 2001. *Corpus linguistics at work*. London: John Benjamins Publishing, 236 p. <https://doi.org/10.1075/scl.6>
- TOURY, G. 1978. The nature and role of norms in literary translation. In: J. S. HOLMES; J. LAMBERT; R. VAN DEN BROECK. (ed.). *Literature and translation: New perspectives in literary studies: With a basic bibliography of books on translation studies*. Leuven: Acco, p. 83-100.

TOURY, G. 1995. *Descriptive translation studies—and beyond*. London: John Benjamins Publishing. 366 p. <https://doi.org/10.1075/btl.4>

TOURY, G. 1998. A handful of paragraphs on 'translation' and 'norms'. *Current Issues in Language & Society*, 5(1-2):10-32. <https://doi.org/10.1080/13520529809615501>

TRASK, R. L. 2004. *Dicionário de linguagem e lingüística*, Traduzido por Rodolfo Ilari. São Paulo: Contexto, 368 p.

WINICK, C. 1961. *Dictionary of anthropology*. New York: Littlefield Adams, 710 p.

WIERZBICKA, A. 1997. *Understanding Cultures through their Key-words*. Oxford: OUP, 328 p.

WILLIAMS, R. 1976/1983. *Keywords. A Vocabulary of Culture and Society*. London: Fontana, 270 p.

Submetido: 17/10/2021

Aceito: 10/02/2022