Style *of* Translation: An exploration of stylistic patterns in the translations of Margaret Jull Costa and Peter Bush

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I hereby certify that this material, which I now submit for assessment on the programme of study leading to the award of Doctor of Philosophy, is entirely my own work and has not been taken from the work of others save and to the extent that such work has been cited and acknowledged within the text of my work.

Signed

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Table of Contents

List of Abbreviations

CTS	Corpus-based Translation Studies
DTS	Descriptive Translation Studies
CL	Corpus Linguistics
CTPB	Corpus of Translations by Peter Bush
CTMJC	Corpus of Translations by Margaret Jull Costa
BB	Bush-Buarque (file pair)
BG	Bush-Goytisolo (file pair)
BO	Bush-Onetti (file pair)
BP	Bush-Paz (file pair)
BS	Bush-Sepúlveda (file pair)
BBST	Bush-Buarque source text (i.e. source text in BB file pair)
BGST	Bush-Goytisolo source text
BOST	Bush-Onetti source text
BPST	Bush-Paz source text
BPST	Bush-Sepúlveda source text
BBTT	Bush-Buarque target text (i.e. target text in BB file pair)
BGTT	Bush-Goytisolo target text
BOTT	Bush-Onetti source text
BPTT	Bush-Paz source text
BPTT	Bush-Sepúlveda source text
JCQ	Jull Costa-Queiroz (file pair)
JCSC	Jull Costa-Sá-Carneiro (file pair)
JCSF	Jull Costa-Sánchez Ferlosio (file pair)
JCV	Jull Costa-Valenzuela (file pair)
JCVI	Jull Costa-Valle Inclán (file pair)
JCQST	Jull Costa-Queiroz source text
JCSCST	Jull Costa-Sá-Carneiro source text
JCSFST	Jull Costa-Sánchez Ferlosio source text
JCVST	Jull Costa-Valenzuela source text
JCVIST	Jull Costa-Valle Inclán source text
JCQTT	Jull Costa-Queiroz target text
JCSCTT	Jull Costa-Sá-Carneiro target text
JCSFTT	Jull Costa-Sánchez Ferlosio target text
JCVTT	Jull Costa-Valenzuela target text
JCVITT	Jull Costa-Valle Inclán target text
Dict	Included in the Collins English Dictionary
L-ST	Language of origin of linguistic item in source text
L-TT	Language of origin of linguistic item in target text
ST	Source Text
TT	Target Text

Abstract

The aim of this study is to identify and explore typical stylistic traits in the work of two translators, using a corpus-based, data-driven methodology. Following Halliday (1971), Leech and Short (1981) and Baker (2000), the translator's style is seen here as involving a consistent pattern of choices that distinguishes the work of one translator from that of others. In the present study such patterns emerge from a data-driven analysis of a purpose-built parallel corpus containing works of Spanish and Portuguese fiction and their translations into English by Margaret Jull Costa and Peter Bush. Comparative data are drawn from COMPARA, a bi-directional parallel corpus of English and Portuguese narrative. The quantitative analysis shows that Margaret Jull Costa makes greater use of italics for emphasis than does Peter Bush, or than would be expected on the basis of norms for translations from Portuguese. Peter Bush's translations, on the other hand, are characterized by a comparatively high use of source language words. The qualitative analysis focuses on the communicative function of emphatic italics and source language words in context, drawing on the Hallidayan (1967) notion of information focus, on Hermans' (1996) treatment of self-referentiality and Aixelá´s (1996) treatment of culture-specificity in translation. I argue that Margaret Jull Costa emphasises readability in her translations, which leads to a discussion of explicitation (Blum-Kulka 1986/2001, Klaudy and Károly 2005, House 2004), and to a further study, modelled on Olohan and Baker (2000), that compares patterns of omission and inclusion of the connective 'that' after reporting verbs SAY and TELL. The findings are discussed in the light of the translators' backgrounds and ideologies, as evidenced from their writings on translation and from interviews carried out by the researcher. I conclude that one of the motivating factors behind the translators' strategies is how they see their role as translators in relation to their audiences.

Introduction

After over a decade of translation research using corpus methodology, it is time to look at the larger picture presented by the data gathered so far in order to review and refine the initial assumptions. Most of the work done in corpus-based translation studies has attempted to reveal regularities in translation, both at the level of norms and universals. This has proven to be a productive and fruitful line of research, but it has also sidelined the study of variation within translation corpora. A brief overview of some studies of normalisation and related tendencies, presented in Chapter One, shows that one recurring factor influencing the results seems to be translators' individual preferences.

In 2000, Baker published an article where she suggests that translators have a style of their own, and that corpus methodologies can be used to reveal translators' stylistic profiles. Since then, the study of translator style has received some attention in the literature. However, most studies carried out to date have reached very tentative conclusions. In particular, they have failed to show that the stylistic patterns revealed in target texts do not reflect source text preferences (Baker 2000; Olohan 2003; Mikkhailov and Miia Villikka 2001); or that they are consistent across more than one work by the same translator (Bosseaux 2001; Winters 2004a, 2004b, forthcoming; Malmkjær 2003). This study attempts to provide more conclusive evidence of consistent stylistic preferences in translators' work, by using a parallel corpus including several translations by two translators (Margaret Jull Costa and Peter Bush).

As Baker (2000) points out, the traditional view of style associates it exclusively with 'original' texts. In Chapter Two, I argue that this traditional perspective on style implies that literary artistry can be found only in 'originals', and that translation is only interesting because of the problems involved in reproducing literary creativity. Current work in translation studies has questioned the association of source text with original and target text with reproduction, stressing the translator's discursive presence in the translated text (Hermans 1996a, Bosseaux 2004a, 2004b, forthcoming) and the creative aspects of translation (Kenny 2001).

Drawing from the field of literary stylistics, particularly from Halliday (1971), Leech and Short (1981), and Milic (1971), and forensic stylistics (Craig 1999), I revisit the notion of translator style proposed by Baker (2000) and offer a more refined version of her model. This model involves the identification of consistent stylistic patterns that can be attributed to a translator, and relies on the use of a parallel corpus, followed by consideration of extra-linguistic factors that may offer plausible explanations for the patterns identified.

In Chapter Three I describe the process of designing and building a corpus specifically for the study of a translator's style. Two parallel corpora are built for the purposes of the present study: the Corpus of Translations by Margaret Jull Costa (CTMJC) and the Corpus of Translations by Peter Bush (CTPB). The method of analysis is inductive and progresses from the gathering of empirical observations, to the examination of the effects of different variables, and from there to generalisations. This approach is described as data-oriented. No concrete hypotheses are formulated as to what the stylistic traits characterising the two translators' work might be; rather, the analysis unfolds from the study of one typographic feature (italics) which may have several unrelated functions in the text. The most salient quantitative patterns, and in particular those that are found to point to differences in the work of the two translators, are then examined in more detail. Where a consistent pattern is revealed, a qualitative analysis is carried out with the aim of describing the communicative function of the stylistic patterns and their effects at the ideational, interpersonal and textual levels of language. Finally, the results are triangulated with data obtained from interviews with the translators and from the analysis of metatexts. These data also provide the basis for an explanation of the results in terms of audience design.

The bulk of the analysis presented here concerns two stylistic features: the use of italics for emphasis (Chapter Four) and the use of source language words, in particular cultural borrowings and self-referential words (Chapter Five). The results concerning emphatic italics are explained in the light of previous research which suggests that italics can facilitate and guide interpretation (McAteer 1990) and the Hallidayan (1967) notion of information focus. The communicative function of source language words in the translations is explored by drawing on Hermans' (1996) treatment of self-referentiality and Aixela's (1996) treatment of culture-specificity in translation. It is argued that,

underlying the use of emphatic italics and some of the instances of cultural borrowing, there is a tendency to facilitate the reader's interpretation. This leads to a discussion of explicitation in translation and to a further study, modelled on Olohan and Baker (2000), focusing on patterns of use and omission of the connective 'that' after reporting verbs SAY and TELL.

In Chapter Six, I present a summary of the stylistic effects of the features investigated and consider the different extra-linguistic factors that may have influenced each translator's approach. The extra-linguistic factors taken into account are: the socio-economic context, the translator's background, the reception of each translator's translations, the translator's project and position (Berman 1995) and the horizon of translation (ibid). When the results are presented in the light of this information, two explanatory frameworks emerge as potentially capable of accounting for the translators' motivation: Venuti's (1995, 1998) domestication versus foreignisation model, and audience design in translation (Hatim and Mason 1997, Mason 2000). The first model is discarded as not replicable, and because it would lead to unwarranted conclusions regarding the translators' ideological positions in relation to translation. The model of audience design in translation, however, is found to provide an adequate framework. The different approaches revealed by the translators' stylistic preferences are then explained as deriving from their different conceptualisations of their role as translators in relation to their audiences. A short conclusion evaluates the findings and the methodology and offers suggestions for further research.

1 Corpus-based translation studies: from the universal to the individual

> This [normalisation] is one side of the story, in which literary translators' creativity would seem to be constrained by markets, publishers, editors, and perhaps even their own desire to have their work accepted. But it is not the full story.
>
> Kenny (2001: 67-68)

Introduction

In this chapter, I describe how corpus linguistics methodologies were first introduced to descriptive translation studies and how this led to the emergence of a new research paradigm: corpus-based translation studies. I review some of the research carried out within this field and show that it has concentrated almost exclusively on the study of translational norms and universals, relegating to a second place the study of variation. I argue that it is time to look at the larger picture presented by the data gathered so far, in order to review and refine the initial assumptions. Some of the results of a few studies of normalisation in translation (Kenny 2001; Munday 1998; Saldanha 2004; Baker 2004) point to the need to account for the diversity in translators' individual approaches to their task.

Baker (2000) elaborated on the notion of the translator's style and proposed the application of corpus tools in order to trace translators' stylistic preferences. Since then a small number of corpus-based studies have shed more light on this issue (Bosseaux 2001; Mikkhailov and Villikka 2001; Olohan 2003; Winters 2004a, 2004b). However, all these studies have been exploratory in nature and they have not provided conclusive evidence of consistent stylistic traits that are not source-text dependent and that can distinguish the work of one translator from that of others. I finish by arguing that translators' stylistic profiles should be explored in more detail and by pointing out some of the challenges involved in this task.

Corpus-based translation studies and the search for norms and regularities

Corpus-based translation studies

The first wave of corpus-based translation studies (CTS) focused on the search for norms and regularities in translation. This can be explained by the fact that corpus analysis was first proposed as particularly adapted to the purposes of empirical descriptive translation studies (DTS) (Baker 1993). DTS encouraged researchers to move away from the traditional comparison of translations against 'originals', which entailed evaluating degrees of equivalence and faithfulness, usually from a prescriptive perspective. The object of DTS is instead to explain translated texts in their own terms and not as mere reproductions of other works. In other words, it aims at establishing what are the distinctive features of these texts, so that the principles governing their production can then be explained and predicted. Toury was the first to elaborate on the need for descriptive translation studies (1995). Toury argues that the position of the translated text in the literary system of the target culture,[1] the way in which a translation functions in this culture and the strategies to which the translator has resorted in order to produce the translation, are all interconnected (ibid: 24). Thus the main focus of descriptive, target-oriented translation studies will be to reveal the interdependencies and, in particular, the regularities which mark those relationships (ibid). This requires finding patterns that are repeated across large numbers of translations, for which purpose electronic corpora are particularly suitable.

> Needless to say, one assumed translation,[2] or even one pair of texts,
> would not constitute a proper corpus for study, if the intention is indeed
> to expose the culturally determined interdependencies of function,
> process and product, not even for that one translation (ibid: 38).

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[1] Even-Zohar (1978) maintains that literature is a complex polysystem, i.e. a system linked to other social and cultural systems and consisting itself of other sub-systems, such as translated literature. Toury (1995) argues that translated literature belongs to the literary system of the target culture; it is initiated in and for the target culture, and shaped by its values.

[2] Defined as "all utterances which are presented or regarded as such within the target culture, on no matter what grounds" (Toury 1995: 31).

Within linguistics, a corpus can be defined as "a large collection of authentic texts that have been gathered in electronic form according to a specific set of criteria" (Bowker and Pearson 2002: 9). Corpus linguistics (CL) is basically a methodology which can be applied to a wide range of linguistic enquiries; however, there is more to CL than the use of corpora. Some scholars consider CL to be a research paradigm in its own right (see, for example, Tognini-Bonnelli 2001), on the basis that doing research using corpora generally entails some basic assumptions as to what is the object of enquiry and how it should be studied. Some of these principles, stemming from an empirical perspective, are shared by DTS and have been, as Laviosa (2004) points out, key to the success story of CTS.

Both DTS and CL investigate actual instances of language in use. As is obvious from the definition of corpora offered above, the whole idea behind corpus linguistics is the use of authentic, or naturally occurring, texts (as opposed to intuitive, invented, isolated sentences). This approach goes hand in hand with what Toury recommends as the appropriate methodology in DTS: "a study in translation activities which have already yielded their products would start with the *observables;* first and foremost, the translated utterances themselves, along with their constituents" (1995: 36). Both insist on the relationship between observable language phenomena and the non-observable norms that govern translators'/speakers' choices; in other words, they see a connection between everyday routine and cultural transmission (Laviosa 2004, Stubbs 1996). In both DTS and CL norms are essentially probabilistic and dependent on extralinguistic factors such as literary subsystem, text function, register and so on, which requires that texts and texts types are studied comparatively across text corpora. Last but not least, CL and DTS are interested in describing rather than prescribing behaviour.

It was Baker who first pointed out these connections between DTS and CL and predicted that the latter would have a significant impact in translation studies (Baker 1993). It is interesting to note here that she predicted a much more immediate and noticeable impact in applied translation studies than in the theoretical and descriptive branches of the discipline (ibid: 242). However, we can safely say that the effect of CL on DTS has been at least as significant as its effect on applied translation studies. Baker herself focused on the benefits of applying corpus tools to descriptive studies of

translation. Large corpora, argued Baker, would enable DTS to explore "on a larger scale than was ever possible before, the principles that govern translational behaviour and the constraints under which it operates" (ibid: 235).

Laws, norms and universals of translation

Toury places literary translation constraints along a scale that goes from relatively absolute rules to fully subjective idiosyncrasies. In the middle ground there are norms, understood from a sociological perspective as:

> … the translation of general values or ideas shared by a certain
> community - as to what is right and wrong, adequate and inadequate -
> into specific performance instructions appropriate for and applicable to
> particular situations, specifying what is prescribed and forbidden as well
> as what is tolerated and permitted in a certain behavioural dimension.
> (Toury 1995: 54-5)

The basic translational norm will express the conventional degree of compromise between what is considered a worthwhile literary work in the target system and what is considered a faithful representation of the source text as it stands in its own system. That is, in touryan terms, the compromise between adequacy, the subjection to the norms of the source (con)text, and acceptability, the subjection to the literary norms of the target system. The translator's decision on the priority of acceptability or adequacy is what Toury calls the 'initial norm' (ibid: 56). Norms operate at different levels in the translation process. Sometimes an overall choice regarding adequacy and acceptability at the macro-level is not consciously made but decisions at the micro-level can still be accounted for in those terms. And even when the global approach can be identified as a tendency to one or the other extreme, the decisions at the micro-level may still contradict this tendency (ibid: 57). Besides, norms differ across cultures and within the same culture, where the co-existence of competing norms prevents the system from becoming stable at any point.

However, norms are not the only explanation for regularities in translated language. Toury also talks about "laws of translation behaviour" (Toury 1993), which are not culturally determined and therefore have the power of prediction. Laws are designed to predict what is likely to happen in a defined set of conditions, based on the knowledge of what translation *can,* in principle, involve, and what it *does* involve, under any set of circumstances. Therefore, laws are probabilistic and they are first hypotheses, which need to be tested and refined before they can actually be properly called laws.

Toury mentions yet another factor that can explain regularities in translation and which he calls "universals of translation behaviour". Universals, like laws, are not culturally or socially determined,[3] they operate "irrespective of the translator's identity, language, genre, period and the like" (Toury 1987: 95). The notion of universals is taken up by Baker, who suggests they can be a starting point for CTS. Baker defines universals as "features which typically occur in translated texts rather than original utterances and which are not the result of interference from specific linguistic systems" (Baker 1993: 243). As examples of possible universal features she mentions:

- a rise in the level of explicitness,
- a tendency towards disambiguation and simplification,
- a strong preference for conventional 'grammaticality',
- a tendency to avoid repetition,
- a tendency to exaggerate features of the target language,
- a specific type of distribution of certain features in translated texts vis-à-vis source texts and original texts in the target language.

In order to find empirical evidence for these universals Baker proposes using a corpus of texts translated into a certain language from a variety of source languages to isolate patterns that occur across the corpus, irrespective of the source language. We would need a corpus of original texts in the same language as the translational corpus to see if these patterns occur with a significantly higher or lower frequency in original texts than in translated texts. The experiments would then be repeated for other languages. This is the model for what would become known as a comparable corpus: two collections of

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[3] Based on this shared feature, Chesterman (1993: 4) interprets Toury's laws as synonymous with 'universals'.

texts in the same language, one consisting of originals and the other of translated texts, compiled according to the same criteria so as to cover similar domains, variety of language and time span (Baker 1995: 254).

The other types of corpora Baker suggested would be useful in translation studies were parallel corpora and multilingual corpora (Baker 1995). The former would consist of original source-language texts in language A and their translated version in language B. This is the type of corpus used in the study reported here and is described in more detail in Chapter Three. A multilingual corpus consists of sets of two or more monolingual corpora in different languages, built on the basis of similar criteria. Multilingual corpora, posits Baker, would enable us to study how certain meanings and functions are typically expressed in non-translated language.

In a later article Baker (1996) focuses on potential universals of translation which could be tested using the above kinds of corpora and describes the kind of textual manifestations the universals might have in the translated texts. A tendency to explicitate - spell things out rather than leave them implicit - would manifest itself in longer target texts, as compared to their respective source texts, in the use of optional linguistic features such as 'that' in reported speech, or in a heavier use of conjunctions and adverbs such as 'because', 'therefore', 'consequently', and so on (ibid: 180-1). Breaking up long sentences and other specific uses of punctuation that direct certain interpretations and block others could be evidence of simplification, understood as a tendency to facilitate readability. Simplification could also be revealed by comparatively low lexical density[4] and type-token ratio.[5]

Normalisation, understood as the "tendency to exaggerate features of the target language and to conform to its typical patterns" (ibid: 183) would be reflected in a preference for conventional grammatical structures, collocations or punctuation patterns. Levelling out, defined as "the tendency of translated texts to gravitate towards the centre of a continuum" (ibid: 184), would manifest itself in a higher degree of

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[4] The ratio of the number of lexical words (i.e. running words minus function words) to the number of running words in a text (Stubbs 1986: 33).
[5] The ratio of the number of different words (types) to the number of running tokens in a text.

homogeneity among translated texts than among non-translated texts in the same language.

It is worth noting that, first, it is very difficult to draw boundaries between one type of tendency and another because they are closely related and therefore tend to overlap,[6] and second, there is no agreement among commentators as to how regular patterns in translated language should be classified. The interpretation of observable patterns in the text in terms of cultural or cognitive constraints is not straightforward, which probably explains why different commentators differ in their classifications of regularities. What Baker refers to as normalisation and describes as a potential *universal* in translation, for instance, is very similar to what Toury calls the *law* of growing standardisation: "textual relations obtaining in the original are often modified, sometimes to the point of being totally ignored, in favour of [more] habitual options offered by a target repertoire" (Toury 1995: 268).

To give just one example, whereas Toury suggests explicitation could be a universal tendency, Weissbrod maintains that it may be norm-induced (Weissbrod 1992). What is more, Baker distinguishes only between norms and universals, but we have seen that Toury makes other distinctions, between idiosyncrasies, norms, laws and universals, and also distinguishes several types of norms (Toury 1995). Hermans also discusses norms in translation and proposes a different typology: conventions, norms, rules and decrees (Hermans 1996b), while Chesterman talks about 'memes' of translation (Chesterman 1993).[7]

It is also important to note here that the use of the term 'universal' to refer to typical patterns of translation has been questioned on theoretical and empirical grounds (see, for example, Tymoczko 1998, Kenny 1999). Baker herself has lately revised her use of the term 'universals'. Calling a linguistic feature a 'universal' implies that it cannot and does not vary across time and cultural contexts, which is far too strong and ahistorical a

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[6] The same surface expression may point to different features or tendencies (Baker 1996: 180). For example, breaking up long sentences could indicate a tendency to simplify (Laviosa-Braithwaite 1997) or to normalise, if the target language genre conventions favour shorter sentences.
[7] For the sake of concision and clarity, these different typologies will not be discussed here. The aim of this exposition is simply to show how central the role of norms and universals is in corpus-based translation studies rather than to discuss each notion in detail.

position to take with respect to any potential feature or regularity we might be able to identify at this stage (Baker, personal communication). However, Laviosa argues that the notion of translation universals can still be effectively exploited in DTS provided it is not considered as an "absolute category ... capable of explaining the translator's choices in every circumstance" but as a "descriptive construct, an open-ended working hypothesis" (Laviosa 2002: 77).

The fact that there is no agreement on the terminology to refer to the regularities that are the staple of research in descriptive translation studies probably has to do with the precarious state of any interpretation. It is not possible to state, at this stage, whether a regular tendency to, say, standardise, reflects a need to produce a fluent and coherent literary work according to the norms of the target culture, or is independent of such norms and an inevitable consequence of the translation process itself.

Despite the lack of a coherent explanatory framework, the investigation of typical features of translated language has been the focus of most corpus-based descriptive studies of translations. The most commonly tested hypotheses have been those concerning simplification, explicitation and normalisation (for an overview of work in this area see Laviosa 2002). Many studies confirm the existence of patterns typical of translated language (see, for example, Olohan and Baker 2000; Olohan 2001; Øverås 1998; Laviosa 1998a, 1998b). However, there have also been some unexpected results. For instance, Øverås' study of explicitation, based on a corpus of translations from Norwegian into English and from English into Norwegian, confirmed the predominance of expliciting shifts - as compared to impliciting shifts - but also showed that the translations from English into Norwegian contained more explicitation and more implicitation than the translations from Norwegian into English. This is a very interesting finding that, in my opinion, was overshadowed by the results that confirmed the initial hypothesis. In Laviosa's studies of simplification, some of the results (concerning sentence length) differ according to whether the hypotheses are tested on a corpus of translated narrative (1998b) or of translated newspaper articles (1998a), which suggests that the norms may not be the same across different genres. But again, the emphasis is on what is pervasive across the genres and not on what is different and unexpected.

As explained above, one of the obvious reasons why CTS have concentrated on norms and relegated more exceptional findings to a second place is that the methodology was first described as particularly adapted to the study of regular patterns and, in particular, to potential universals of translation behaviour. Another reason could be *how* the methodology itself has been applied. Tognini-Bonelli (2001) has distinguished between corpus-based and corpus-driven studies, the main difference being that the former approach starts with a pre-existing theory which is validated using corpus data, while the latter builds the theory step by step in the presence of the evidence. The two approaches are further discussed in Chapter Three. For the time being, it is sufficient to point out that one of the problems with applying pre-existing theories to the analysis of corpus data is that we are predisposed to see what the theory expects us to, and when confronted with diverging evidence, as long as it does not disprove the theory, it is easier to note it down as a secondary issue than to try and account for the exceptions, which may imply revising our theories.

Some researchers have already pointed out the risks of focusing too much on norms and leaving aside variation. Kenny, for example, warns against relegating exceptions or indeterminate cases to the "ranks of the unanalysed" and points out that:

> Norms may start out as mere explanations for regularly observed patterns
> in translation behaviour, but there is a risk that they can start to restrict
> the potential of translation studies in general, and corpus-based
> translation studies in particular (Kenny 2001: 70).

In Saldanha (2004), I have argued that it is worthwhile, when doing corpus-based translation studies, to try and account for the exceptions as well as offer evidence for the norm. If we divert our attention from the theories we have been intent on proving and look at our results from a different perspective, we will discover that exceptions can offer interesting insights and, what is more important, new data-driven hypotheses. I have also suggested that, given the considerable body of empirical data already available, it may be time to start exploring new hypotheses based on such data (ibid). In other words, I believe we should review our theories in the light of the findings so as to refine our theoretical framework and rethink the direction in which corpus-based translation studies are heading.

This does not mean, of course, that the norms and universals framework should be abandoned. As Baker has remarked "it is precisely because corpora enable us to establish regularities that we can identify the unusual or state in explicit terms what precisely is unusual or creative about it" (Baker 1999: 292).

Universal or individual preferences? Some corpus-based studies of normalisation and related tendencies

In this section I review some corpus-based studies of normalisation and related tendencies (such as conservatism, standardisation, fluency) and show that there is an underlying pattern among the results which points to a potential new area of research in corpus-based translation studies: the individual styles of translators.

Normalisation of lexical creativity (Kenny 2001)

Dorothy Kenny (2001) has carried out the most extensive and in-depth study to date of normalisation in translation using a corpus-based methodology. Kenny designed and compiled a German-English parallel corpus of literary texts (GEPCOLT) and used two reference corpora: the British National Corpus, for English, and the Mannheim Corpora, for German. The aim of the study was to analyse the English translations of creative lexical items and collocations in German source texts in order to establish whether normalisation typically takes place.

Assuming that creative word forms appear at a very low frequency in a corpus and tend to occur in the writing of one author only, creative lexical forms in GEPCOLT were identified among hapax legomena and from keyword lists[8] for individual texts or authors. Hapax legomena were retrieved automatically using a word list ranked by frequency, and non-creative forms had to be filtered out manually.

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[8] Lists of keywords for a specific text are obtained by comparing a frequency ranked list for that text with one for the corpus as a whole. The keywords are those with significantly high or low frequency in the texts under investigation. The frequency and keyword lists are obtained automatically using Wordsmith Tools. -

Creative collocations were selected from concordances of a common node, AUGE[9] ('eye') and from lists of clusters from individual texts.[10] These were cases that occurred only once in the corpus or only across texts by a single author and that were not included in standard lexicographical sources or attested in larger corpora. An example of the kind of creative collocations retrieved in such a way is: *die Jungs mit den zwei linken Augen*,[11] literally 'the boys with the two left eyes', which is a play on a more conventional collocation *zwei linke Hände haben*, literally 'to have two left hands', which means 'to be clumsy' (ibid: 191). Lists of clusters from individual texts were used in order to find idiosyncratic collocations.

Lexical normalisation was deemed to have occurred or not depending on "whether or not the translator has matched a lexically creative form or collocation in the source text with an equally creative form or collocation in the target text" (ibid: 140). The corresponding word forms and collocations in the target text were considered creative when they were not known to the researcher, not recorded in standard lexicographical sources such as dictionaries, and not present in the British National Corpus (ibid).

Normalisation occurred in 44% of cases where translators had to deal with creative hapax legomena and in 22% of all the instances of unusual collocations. Normalisation did not occur in the cases of writer-specific forms considered. These figures, however, average out some important differences that suggest that some types of normalisation were more common than others. Normalisation of hapax legomena consisting of derived forms and complex verbal nouns occurred in over 80% of all cases while normalisation of other creative compounds was found in only 38% of cases (ibid: 177). As a tentative explanation, Kenny suggests that translators may "feel more justified in falling back on the conventional systemic resources of the target language to render unusual derived forms and complex verbal nouns" than they would be in the case of text-specific creative compounds (ibid: 188). Unusual collocations based on exploitation of habitual source language collocations were also more likely to be normalised in translation than other kinds of unusual collocations. These results reinforce the idea that some types of

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[9] SMALL CAPITALS are used here and elsewhere to represent lemmas.
[10] Also know as bigrams, trigrams, etc. Repeated groups of orthographic words occurring together and in the same sequential order. Lists of clusters can be retrieved automatically using Wordsmisth Tools.
[11] In Bierman, Pieke (1990) *Violetta*, Berlin: Rotbuch Verlag.

normalisation are more common than others and that exploitations drawing on source-language specific systemic relations (as opposed to text-specific relations) are more susceptible to translation solutions that draw on the systemic resources of the target language (ibid: 208).

A most interesting aspect of Kenny's study is that, when looking at the results against the background of the texts from which they are drawn and the translators responsible for their translations, the tendency to normalise does not necessarily seem to be a function of the creativity of the source text but rather "a function of the translator, or the translator's brief" (ibid: 183). A clear association cannot be demonstrated because GEPCOLT contains only a limited amount of output by each translator, therefore this is no more than a tentative conclusion. However, as Kenny notes, "indicative patterns of translational behaviour do begin to emerge even in a small corpus" (ibid: 188). On the one hand, there are translators like John Brownjohn who was found to normalise most of the creative forms and collocations retrieved in his source texts (one by Natascha Wodin and another by Bodo Kirchoff). In the first text Kenny retrieved 34 creative hapax forms and 20 of them are normalised by Brownjohn (ibid: 182). In Kirchoff's text only three cases were retrieved, and two of them are normalised in the translation. Looking at the translation of creative collocations, a similar pattern emerges. Out of 13 creative collocations in Wodin's text, 10 are normalised in Brownjohn's translation, and the single case of creative collocation found in Kirchoff's text is also normalised. On the other hand, there are translators like Michael Hulse and Malcolm Green who seem to avoid normalisation. GEPCOLT contains two texts by Elfriede Jelinek translated by Hulse and in both cases Hulse normalises just over one third of the creative hapax forms (6 out of 18 instances in one text and 7 out of 18 in the other). Creative collocations of the node AUGE are normalised in one of six cases. In three translations by Malcom Green there are only 3 cases of normalisation out of 14 creative forms. Green's translations are of two texts by Gerhard Roth and one by Unica Zürn. It is in the latter that 3 writer-specific forms were found using a keyword list. These forms are repeated several times in the texts and in all cases Green uses equally creative forms in the target text. Green does not resort to normalisation when translating creative collocations either. Several instances of repeated collocational idiosyncrasies were found in the work of Unica Zürn, and normalisation did not occur in any of those cases. It would appear,

then, that Green avoids normalisation consistently, which is consistent with his personal translation agenda of "relieving German letters of its stodgy image" (ibid: 187).

There are other factors, apart from the translators' approach to their task, that could be having an effect on these results, such as publishers' policies. Kenny points out that while Green's publisher, Atlas Press, specialises in avant-garde literature for a small 'elite' of readers who appreciate experimental literature, Brownjohn's publishers (Harvill, HarperCollins and Harcourt Brace) are more mainstream. In any case, it would seem that normalisation, although a common enough phenomenon, is not a uniform tendency and further research on what exactly triggers this phenomenon - whether it is the translator's individual preferences or publishers' policies - is needed.

Normalising shifts of cohesion and word order (Munday 1998)

Munday analyses translation shifts in *Seventeen Poisoned Englishmen,* Edith Grossman's translation of a short story by García Márquez, and tries to explain some of them with reference to typical target-language patterns and the "translator's specific idiolect". A manual analysis following Leuven-Zwart's model (Leuven-Zwart 1989, 1990) showed that Grossman adhered closely to the structure and vocabulary of the original. Using concordances, Munday explores certain shifts of cohesion and word order in more detail. Shifts of cohesion are illustrated with the case of the Spanish definite article 'the' being replaced by the English possessive pronoun 'her' in 23 instances, which results in tighter cohesion, increased explicitation and a shift in the focus of the narrative. Concerning word order, Munday notices that the translator often changes the place of circumstantial adjuncts in the translation, generally to the first position in the sentence. Four cases of displaced circumstantial adjuncts are explored further by looking at their typical position in two English corpora (the British National Corpus and the Associated Press Corpus). The results seem to indicate that although the translator does conform to typical target-language norms in most cases, she also goes against the norm in one instance, which, Munday suggests, could reflect the translator's idiolect. Although the data provided in this study is too scarce to draw any conclusions, it is instrumental in demonstrating how corpus techniques, and particularly the use of reference corpora, can be used in order to determine to what extent translation shifts are due to normative constraints or to translators' individual habits.

Fluency and patterns of repetition of fixed and semi-fixed lexical phrases (Baker 2004)

We have seen above how normalisation, or 'conservatism' (see Baker 1996:176, 183), as understood by Baker (1996), is related to Toury's law of growing standardisation. Baker (2004) associates claims of conservatism and standardisation, with those of sanitisation (avoiding regionalisms, irregular spelling and so on) and levelling out. Underlying these tendencies, as well as that of fluency described by Venuti (1995),[12] there is an intention to produce unmarked language: language that does not draw attention to itself. Baker hypothesises that if translators do favour fluent, unmarked language then this preference should be reflected in a higher occurrence of fixed or semi-fixed lexical phrases (such as 'at the same time', 'from time to time', 'in other words', 'that is to say', etc.) in translated language than non-translated language. In order to test this hypothesis Baker uses the narrative component of the Translational English Corpus (TEC) and a subset of the British National Corpus. TEC is an ongoing project and at the time when Baker did her study it had around 6.5 million tokens of fiction and (auto)biographies translated into English from a variety of languages. The BNC subset was specially selected so as to be used together with TEC to form a comparable corpus. The results confirm the hypothesis; fixed or semi-fixed lexical phrases are more common in TEC than in the BNC subset. However, this is not a uniform tendency; some translators seem to rely on lexical phrases more than others and, in some cases, it is possible to observe preferences for certain specific phrases. In the work of Giovanni Pontiero, for example, the frequency of repeated lexical phrases is much higher than in the work of other translators, and glossing or explicating expressions (such as 'that is', 'in a manner of speaking') are particularly common.

Patterns in the use of split infinitives (Saldanha 2004)

In Saldanha (2004) I report on a study that was initially designed to find evidence of standardisation in translated language but revealed a completely different picture from the one expected. The corpora were the same used by Baker (2004), the only difference being that some of the TEC texts were left out because the corpus had to be balanced in

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[12] See discussion of Venuti (1995) and (1998) in Chapter Six.

terms of the gender of the translators represented, and TEC contains far more translations by men than by women. The linguistic feature under investigation was split infinitives and the hypothesis was that they would be less common in translated than in non-translated texts, and less common in translations by women than in translations by men. This hypothesis is based on the claims that translators tend to standardise and that women use more standard forms than men (Holmes 1993).[13] Split infinitives were chosen as a measure of standardisation because English grammars and usage guides recommend avoiding them, especially in written language.[14] Therefore, it was assumed that authors and translators who tend to favour more conservative and typical forms would avoid split infinitives.

The results contradict the hypothesis, and if anything, they point in exactly the opposite direction to what was expected, i.e. that translators are less conservative than authors and that women translators are even less conservative than men translators. There are a total of 72 occurrences of split infinitives in the non-translated corpus (BNC subset), compared to 92 in TEC. The occurrences in the BNC subset are almost evenly split between texts written by women and men, but not so in TEC where 56 of the occurrences of split infinitives are in translations by women, and 36 occurrences in translations by men. However, it is not possible to generalise from these figures, because the occurrences of split infinitives in the two corpora are not evenly distributed. The 35 occurrences in the corpus of texts by women authors are concentrated in only 11 of the 84 texts included. The 37 occurrences in the work by men authors are concentrated in 21 out of 73 files. The 56 split infinitives in texts by women translators are concentrated in 12 (out of 30) files and they are distributed very irregularly across those 12 files. The 36 split infinitives in the texts by men translators are concentrated in

[13] Women's preference for standard forms was proposed as a potential sociolinguistic universal by Holmes (1993). Much of the research in the language and gender field has concentrated on the use of standard and vernacular forms by men and women and, although exceptions to this pattern have been found, in most cases the evidence supports the above hypothesis (for a more in-depth discussion of this tendency see James 1996).

[14] See for example, *Longman's Grammar of Contemporary English* (Quirk *et al* 1972), Todd and Hancock's *International English Usage* (1986), the *Collins English Dictionary* (1995: 1493); and *Fowler's Modern English Usage* (Burchfield 1996).

7 (out of 35) files, and their distribution is even more irregular than that found in translations by women: two files account for 28 occurrences.[15]

A closer look at the split infinitives in each of the translations shows that it is not only the frequency of the split infinitives that varies considerably from one text to another but also the type of adverb used between 'to' and the infinitive (ibid). Split infinitives with very uncommon adverbs (occurring less than 50 times per million words in the BNC), occur only in translations with four or more split infinitives. Split infinitives using adverbs of manner also tend to appear only in these translations. When there are just one or two occurrences in the same translation, more common adverbs are used, and these are usually adverbs of modality.

It is suggested that a possible explanation for the uneven distribution of split infinitives and the apparent association between the frequency and the type of split infinitives could be the translators' stylistic preferences. Split infinitives being such a rare feature, a much larger corpus would be needed in order to prove that these are consistent patterns across several translations by the same translator. However, the few cases where translators were represented with more than one translation in the TEC subset seemed to indicate that this is likely. For example, in the two translations by Samira Kawar there were 17 instances of split infinitives in one and 7 in the other, and in most cases the adverbs used were adverbs of manner, as in: "Assayed began to eloquently repeat the gist of a conversation ...".[16] At the other end of the scale we find translators such as Peter Bush and Lawrence Venuti, who were represented with several translations of works from different authors but did not use split infinitives in any of them. Another translator, Carol Maier, uses three split infinitives in one translation and two in another, and in all cases she uses one of two common adverbs, 'finally' and 'not'. Thus, Maier seemed not to avoid split infinitives but to use them where they would not stand out.

Although these are very inconclusive findings, when considered together with the other studies pointing in a similar direction and reported above, they reinforce the idea that (1)

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[15] The BNC contains text extracts of 40,000 words while TEC contains full texts. This is the reason why there are many more files in the BNC subset than in the TEC subset, and probably explains why there are overall fewer occurrences per file in the BNC.
[16] In *The Eye of the Mirror,* by Lianda Badr, translated from the Arabic by Samira Kawar and published by Garnet, 1994.

overall generalisations are often misleading and (2) the role played by translators' individual preferences may be more important than had previously been envisaged. In Kenny's words, normalization "is one side of the story... But it is not the full story" (2001: 67-68).

When translation scholars refer to variability in relation to translation norms they tend to stop short of considering individual styles. Tymoczko, for example, makes a very strong case for not sidelining variability in CTS, warning us that "comparison is always implicit or explicit in inquiries about translation, and there is often a tendency to focus on likeness rather than difference and to rest content with perceptions of similarity" (1998: 656). Tymczko goes on to enumerate the different factors at play in translation: different languages, the individual particularities of specific pairings of languages in translation exchanges, and the characteristics of translation as cultural interface at different times and places and under different cultural conditions (ibid: 657). Still, she does not seem to consider variation in translations carried out at the same time, in the same place and under the same cultural conditions.

Toury, while discussing the difficulties of defining translation, notes that translation is a "category which is characterised precisely by its variability: difference across cultures, variation within a culture and change over time" (1998: 13). Although Toury does mention "variation within a culture" it is not clear that he is thinking of individual styles. Still, the issue of translators' individual approaches to their task is not new in the literature and has been discussed at length. In fact, critical evaluations of translators' approaches to the original were among the most common topic in translation studies before the advent of the descriptive paradigm. It would seem that, whenever the work of an individual translator is considered in detail, it is in order to offer critical evaluations, and as soon as researchers try to avoid evaluative judgements, then the focus shifts from the individual to the general. However, very recent work in translation studies has started to account for differences in translators' approaches from a descriptive point of view, describing differences as stylistic preferences rather than offering assessments of quality. The work of Munday (1998) and Kenny (1999, 2001) was a first step in this direction, but it is not until the publication of Baker's (2000) work on the translator's style that a coherent theoretical model, capable of describing individual differences in terms of stylistic profiles, starts being developed.

Corpus-based approaches to the study of the translator's style

Baker (1999) describes how corpora can be used in order to investigate the linguistic behaviour of professional translators. Baker stresses the need to account for diversity as well as regularities within the translation corpus. Baker's 1999 article can be seen as a preface to the article she published in 2000 proposing a corpus-based methodology for the study of the style of a literary translator. Baker points out that, so far, any attempts at describing the translator's intervention have been limited to descriptions of general tendencies, in the case of May (1994), or instances of open intervention, in the case of Hermans (1996a). Baker goes a step further and argues that corpora can be used for exploring the stylistic profile of literary translators. The methodology proposed by Baker involves using a corpus of several translations by the same translator. In order to illustrate this methodology, Baker uses five English translations by Peter Bush, one from Portuguese and four from Spanish, and three Arabic-to-English translations by Peter Clark. She compares the type/token ratio, average sentence length and the use of reporting structures with the verb SAY by each translator. She finds that the type/token ratio is lower overall for Clark, with a very restricted range of variation among individual texts. In Bush's translations there is much more variation among individual texts (ibid: 250). The average sentence length is again much lower for Clark and with much less variation among individual texts (ibid: 251).

With regard to reporting structures, Baker compares the use of different forms of the lemma SAY, both in direct and indirect speech, and takes into account whether they were modified by adverbial expressions and whether the optional 'that' following the verb was spelled out. She finds that Clark makes much heavier use of this verb, particularly in the past tense and in direct speech. Bush seems to prefer the present form of the verb and uses it in indirect speech. Baker also notes a strong preference for modifying verbs of speech in Clark's translation, while in Bush's texts the emphasis is on attributing opinions and thoughts to someone. Finally, Baker remarks on an overall preference for omitting the optional 'that' in reporting structures in Bush's translations.

These results show that it is possible, in principle, to identify patterns that are typical of the work of one translator. However, before those patterns can be attributed to the style of an individual literary translator it is necessary to establish that they are not simply

carried over from the source text, whether as a feature of the source language, the poetics of a particular group, or the style of the author (ibid: 258). Because the corpus available to Baker was not a parallel corpus (i.e. the source texts were not available) and she is not proficient in the source language of the Bush corpus, it was not possible to examine all the source texts. Still, Baker points out that some of the patterns identified as distinctive of Clark's translations, such as the heavy use of modifiers with the verb SAY, may be largely carried over from his Arabic source texts; while others, such as Clark's preference for the past tense, mark a departure from the source text, where the present tense is used. The source texts could also be influencing the figures for type/token ratio and sentence length given by Baker. Although the type/token ratios in all texts translated by Bush are higher than in those translated by Clark, they are particularly high in translations of Goytisolo's works (3 out of the 5 texts in the Peter Bush corpus), and the same pattern emerges when looking at the averages for sentence length. In addition, the greater variation among texts translated by Bush could be due to the fact that they are translations of texts by three different authors, and two of them are autobiographies while the rest are fiction. The three translations by Clark are of two different authors and all of them are of fiction.

The final stage in Baker's study involves exploring potential motivations for the patterns revealed. One of the advantages of the Translational English Corpus is that extralinguistic information is available in an easily retrievable header file. This information was used in order to offer some tentative explanations for the differences in the work of the two translators, based on the assumption that such tendencies are indeed a reflection of the translators' individual styles. Clark's translations are apparently less challenging linguistically: he tends towards explicitation (use of 'that') and uses less diversified vocabulary and shorter sentences. Baker suggests that Clark's tendency to simplify and explicitate, if such a tendency could be demonstrated, might be due to the fact that he has lived most of his life in the Middle East and has acquired the habit of accommodating his language to the needs of non-native speakers (ibid: 259). In relation to Bush's translations, Baker suggests that Spanish and Brazilian cultures are probably more familiar to the average reader of translations than Arabic culture, which allows Bush to create a sense of immediacy, capitalising on the resources of the English language (such as use of present tense and indirect speech) (ibid: 260).

Baker's article does not offer definitive results; its main strength is in opening new avenues for research in CTS. Since then other studies have started to explore those avenues (Bosseaux 2001; Olohan 2003; Winters 2004a, 2004b, forthcoming). In her study of contractions in translated and non-translated language, also based on the Translational English Corpus and the comparable subset of the British National Corpus, Olohan reveals that contractions are much more common in non-translated English (Olohan 2003). Nevertheless, in this, as in some of the studies of conservatism and normalisation described above, the overall frequencies average out important differences among individual texts or groups of texts (for example, by one translator). A closer look at one specific contraction and its corresponding long form ('who's' and 'who is') shows that 36% of all occurrences of 'who is' are found in files representing approximately 10% of the corpus. What is more, 20% of all the occurrences are produced by one translator, Giovanni Pontiero (ibid: 82).

Olohan also examines in more detail the results for translations by Peter Bush and Dorothy S. Blair and finds that Bush prefers a range of contracted forms over their corresponding long form 67% of the time, while Blair opts for contractions 24% of the time (ibid: 82). However, at least in the case of Bush, the overall figure hides more subtle patterns of variation: contracted forms are more common than longer forms only in certain works. In translations of texts by Juan Goytisolo, there is a clear preference for longer forms. A quite likely explanation for this preference is that Goytisolo's texts are mainly narrated in the first person and contain very little dialogue, while in the other two translations dialogue is used extensively. In translations by Blair, on the other hand, there is a consistent preference for longer forms across all the texts. These are translations of texts by two different authors, and in all of them there is little dialogue and much first-person narration (ibid: 82). In brief, the differences between the work of Bush and Blair may be due to the influence of the authors' styles and genre conventions rather than to the translators' individual styles.

Baker suggests that instead of looking at different translations by the same translator, another productive line of research could be comparing different translations of the same text by two or more translators (Baker 2000: 261). This is the method adopted by Bosseaux (2001) and Winters (2004a, 2004b, forthcoming). Bosseaux (2001) compared

two French translations of Virginia Woolf's *The Waves* (by M. Yourcenar and C. Wajsbrot) in terms of lexical diversity (as measured by type/token ratio), average sentence length, and strategies of naturalisation and exotisation. The results for average sentence length and type/token ratio showed that the two translations differed in terms of lexical diversity and punctuation. According to Bosseaux, a comparison with the same measures for the source text shows that the translator does 'bring something different to the text' (ibid: 69). This claim should be taken with caution though, since it seems to ignore systemic differences between French and English, which will obviously be reflected in differences in type/token ratio. By looking at the two translators' approaches to the translation of culture-specific elements from the field of food and architecture, proper names and other miscellaneous lexical items, Bosseaux establishes that one of the translators wants to bring the text closer to the French readers while the other wants to introduce the reader to a different culture (ibid: 73).

In her later work Bosseaux (2004a, 2004b, in press) examines translation shifts in the fictional point of view. Bosseaux (in press) focuses on the system of deixis. The linguistic co-ordinates of space and time, notes Bosseaux, serve to anchor the fictional character in his or her fictional world, and thus provide a window and vantage point for readers (ibid). She shows that certain patterns of repetition of the deictic expression *I am*, which adds to the dramatic effect in Woolf's text, are not carried over to the target texts, although Yourcenar keeps the emphasised *I* in more cases than Wajsbrot. In another case of repetition of deictic items (*here and now*, repeated 8 times in the source text) it is Wajsbrot who reproduces the repetition (using the formula 'ici et maintenant'), while Yourcenar produces diverse equivalents. Bosseaux (2004b: 264) argues that there is a loss of deictic anchorage in Yourcenar's and Wajsbrot's translations and that Wajbrot's translation is deictically less emphasised than Yourcenar's. Bosseaux (2004b) also looks at expressions of modality and transitive constructions. In relation to modality, she notes that both translations are affected by the avoidance of repetitions and non-translation, although Yourcenar's translation is closer to the original's pattern of modality (ibid: 265). Concerning transitive constructions, Bosseaux notes that the translators opt for an active construal in which the passive Goal of the original becomes active Actor or Controller in the translations (ibid). Bosseaux (2004a) explores the translation of free indirect discourse in three French translations of Woolf's *To the Lighthouse*. She shows that, in one of those translations, shifts in

focalisation and instances where one indirect discourse is rendered as direct discourse result in a text where the voices of the narrator and the character are more clearly distinguished than in the source text.

Bosseaux's aim is to investigate the translator's discursive presence through his/her personal strategies; her studies show how the translator's voice is "superimposed on the character's voices and that of the implied author" (2004b: 273). However, Bosseaux is more concerned with how the source text's point of view is affected by different translators' strategies rather than with the translators' stylistic profiles.

Winters (2004a, 2004b, forthcoming) compares two translations into German of F.Scott Fitzgerald's *The Beautiful and Damned,* carried out by Hans-Christian Oeser and Renate Orth-Guttman, with the aim of identifying elements of the two translators' styles. Winters (2004a) investigates the use of modal particles in the translations and finds that, although both translators make substantial use of modal particles, they do not use them in the same instances (i.e. as translations of the same source text segments). She suggests two potential explanations: Oeser's tendency to stay closer to the source text than Orth-Guttman, and Orth-Guttman's tendency to use modal particles as metacommunicative means to indicate the translator's presence in the text. Winters (2004b) discusses loan words and code switches in the translations, and argues that Orth-Guttman tends to germanise the text more than Oeser, bringing it closer to the reader. Winters (forthcoming) investigates speech-act report verbs in the same translations. She shows that Oeser tends to choose literal translations of the speech-act verbs in the source text while Orth-Guttman tends to avoid repetition and does not follow the source text as closely as Oeser.

In Bosseaux (2001, 2004b, in press), the different approaches to the translation of *The Waves* could be partly explained by the fact that there was a gap of fifty years between the publication of the two translations. This is not the case in Winters (2004a, 2004b, forthcoming), because both translations were published in the same year. However, neither Bosseaux nor Winters consider more than one translation by the same

translator.[17] Therefore, although they show that individual translators can adopt quite different approaches to the translation of the same source text, their results do not show whether those patterns are indeed consistent stylistic traits in the translators' work, rather than individual interpretations of specific texts.

To the best of my knowledge, the only other corpus study that has focused exclusively on the issue of translators' styles, apart from Baker's (2000) and Winters' (2004a, 2004b, forthcoming), is Mikkhailov and Villikka (2001). Mikkhailov and Villikka ask very much the same question as Baker (2000) and also use corpus techniques, but follow quite a different methodology. Their corpus includes Russian fiction texts and their translation into Finnish, mostly by the same translator, E. Adrain, including two translations of one text by Dostoyevski (one by E. Adrain and another by V. Kallama), and one translation of a second text by a different translator (U.L. Heino). In the first instance, Mikkhailov and Villikka apply measures previously used for authorship attribution: vocabulary richness and comparisons of most frequent words and keywords. The results are not encouraging. Measures of vocabulary richness across texts by different authors are not consistent enough to indicate that they are a reliable measure of authorship, at least in these texts. It could hardly be expected, then, that they would be consistent across translations by the same translator. It is interesting to note though, that the vocabulary richness of E. Adrian's translation of Dostoyevski's text is more similar to that of Kallama's translation of the same text than to other translations by Adrian. The results concerning frequent words and keywords point to a high degree of source-text influence, which is not surprising if we take into account that frequent lexical words (especially when compared using lemmatised lists as in this case) are heavily dependent on the text's content. Mikkhailov and Villikka also look at usage patterns of certain individual words, namely, the Finnish equivalents for two Russian modals (*kazhetsja* and *vse-taki*). In this case, the results are positive and indicate that the translators clearly favour some equivalents to others. What is more, the frequencies of the Finnish equivalents in the two translations of the same novel are quite different (ibid: 382).

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[17] Winters is currently working on a larger-scale project where the results from the two translations of Fitzgerald's text are compared with results from several other translations by the same translators. This study promises to provide much more substantial evidence in support of the notion of translators' style. This work is being carried out at Dublin City University.

Conclusion

In this chapter, I have introduced corpus-based translation studies and offered an overview of the research carried out in the field, in particular with regard to strategies of normalisation and translators' stylistic preferences. Some studies of normalisation seem to indicate that there are important differences in the approach taken by individual translators. However the evidence on translators' stylistic preferences gathered so far is extremely fragmented and has been explored only superficially. Still, there are important lessons to learn from these studies. First, we need to be aware of the dangers of over-generalising from raw frequencies without taking into account internal variation in the corpus. Second, results should be considered from different perspectives: translational norms, source text interference, individual strategies, among others. Third, it is essential to record as much extralinguistic information as possible for the texts included in the corpus. If we are to offer plausible explanations for our results, we need to account for the influence of factors such as authors' styles, translators' backgrounds and the editing process. Finally, the studies reviewed above expose the need to complement the data gathered from comparable corpora with that obtained from parallel corpora (and vice versa) and with information provided by reference monolingual corpora. When the data come from a comparable corpus, we cannot account for source text effects. When the data come from parallel corpora, the problem lies in the absence of parameters of reference, such as other translations by the same and other translators, that would allow us to establish if the patterns revealed are actually typical of a translator's work. This means that in order to describe translators' stylistic profiles we need customised corpora and these are not already available. I will come back to this issue in Chapter Three. With reference to the second point mentioned above, the need for a multi-facetted approach to the data, we have seen that there are several variables that need to be filtered out before we can properly speak of 'translator's style'. Kenny (2001) pointed out publishers' policies, Olohan's findings (2003) reveal the influence of the narrative structure of the source text, Baker (2000) discusses the impact of differences in the systemic structures of the two languages involved, and that is without mentioning the obvious issue of the author's style.

So far we have discussed 'style' as if it were a stable notion. However, there are many different, sometimes conflicting, views on what 'style' is. In the next chapter I explore

the concept of style as it has been applied in literary stylistics and in relation to translation, and describe in more precise terms how that concept can be applied to the translator's work.

2   The translation of style and the style of translation

> There are no regions of language in which style does not reside
>
> Halliday (1971: 339)

Introduction

This chapter starts by presenting a traditional view of style that associates this concept exclusively with 'original' texts and maintains the illusion that good translators can remain invisible. This view has been challenged by recent post-structuralist theories that question the very notion of 'originality' in relation to writing, and by recent translation theories that question the desirability and the feasibility of the translator's invisibility. However, the idea that translators have a style of their own goes beyond arguments of visibility, it implies that translators have a 'voice' but also that they leave subtle traces of their presence in the text, which, together with more overt interventions, form a consistent and motivated pattern. In the second part of this chapter, I look at several ways of understanding 'style' and examine certain key notions related to this concept, such as 'prominence' and 'literary relevance', as well as distinctions between stylistic elements, such as 'stylistic options' and 'rhetorical choices'. Two perspectives on how to approach the style of translations are presented: the concept of translational stylistics (Malmkjær 2003) and of the translator's style (Baker 2000). I propose a definition of 'translator's style' and discuss what factors are likely to have an influence in shaping a particular translator's style.

Style and translation

Leech and Short define stylistics as the linguistic study of style, and literary stylistics in particular, as the study of the relation between language and artistic function (1981:13). They point out that 'style' is a relational term: we talk about 'the style of x', where 'x' is some extralinguistic factor, which Leech and Short call the stylistic domain (ibid: 11). In this sense, 'style' is usually applied to the linguistic characteristics of a particular

writer, genre, period, school of writing, but hardly ever to the work of a translator. The reason for this may have something to do with what Leech and Short describe as the goal of literary stylistics: to gain some insight into the writer's art. They point out that "we should scarcely find the style of Henry James worth studying unless we assumed it could tell us something about James as a literary artist" (ibid: 13). Accordingly, unless translators are considered literary artists, we should scarcely find their work worth studying. And because translation has traditionally been viewed as a derivative rather than creative activity, the implication is that: "a translator cannot have, indeed should not have, a style of his or her own, the translator's task being simply to reproduce as closely as possible the style of the original" (Baker 2000: 244).

Leech and Short also recognise another goal in stylistics, that of discovering the author of works of doubtful attribution. However, they remark that this type of investigation has tended to concentrate on linguistic traits that may not necessarily be artistically relevant (such as range of vocabulary, sentence length, or the frequency of certain conjunctions) on the assumption that "a writer's genuine 'thumbprint' is more likely to be found in unobtrusive habits beyond conscious artistic control" (Leech and Short 1981: 14). This kind of study is also of interest to us because if these traits are truly beyond the writer's artistic control, they can be expected to differentiate not only different writers but also different translators. I will return to this question later in this chapter. For the time being, it is sufficient to say that in this other branch of stylistics, translators have not received much attention either, probably for the same reasons as mentioned above. If translation is not considered an artistic enterprise, then it is not worthwhile trying to attribute "translatorship" in unclear cases.

The translation of style

Generally speaking, whenever style is mentioned in relation to translation, it is usually associated with the source text and its author and, from the translator's point of view, it is always seen as a problem. A typical example of this way of viewing style is provided by Tim Parks' *Translating Style*, whose goal is explained in the following terms:

The idea that inspires the following chapters is that by looking at original and translation side by side and identifying those areas where translation turned out to be problematic, we can achieve a better appreciation of the original's qualities and complexities, and likewise of that phenomenon we call translation. (Parks 1998: 13)

The implications are that:
- studying style in translation involves looking at problems
- studying style in translation helps us to appreciate the *original*'s qualities and complexities
- an original is interesting because of its qualities and complexities
- translation is interesting as a phenomenon

Parks (1998) looks at problems of style in six translations of English Modernists into Italian. Although he claims that "the intention of this book is never to criticize" (ibid: 195), in each case he concludes that it is precisely in those places where the translators have failed that the key stylistic value of the source text lies. So, for example, D.H. Lawrence's *Women in Love* seeks to escape a classical 'housedness' in language, by drawing attention to the linguistic medium, and "it is this element of Lawrence's text which is lost and for the most part inevitably, in an Italian that seems all too at home with itself and the conventional patterns of mind it enshrines" (ibid: 46). The evaluation is always made in terms of how much is lost: "Loss in translation was a loss of philosophical complexity in Lawrence. Loss with Joyce was much more to do with a loss of reading experience, a loss of intimate apprehension ... " (ibid: 107). In the rare occasions where Parks praises a translation, the praise is short-lived and generally precedes a particularly harsh piece of criticism, as in the following example (concerning the translation of Samuel Becket's *Watt* by Cesare Cristofolini):

> Summing up we can say that while the translation clearly 'works', in that it does carry over many of the passage's devices and is certainly good fun to read, it constantly erodes Beckett's comic foregrounding of the formal aspects of language, its tendency to motor on regardless of content, if

only to arrive at some appearance of a conclusion. And this, after all, is
Beckett's subject. (ibid: 140)

Also quite telling is that, while Parks usually refers to the source text by the name of its
author, the translation is generally 'the translation' or 'the Italian', and the translator's
name is rarely used. The different ways of referring to author and translator are
indicative of the relative importance of each in Parks' view. The author is seen as an
individual possessing a unique talent, but the translator is not important as an individual,
it is only his or her function as reproducer of the author's creativity that matters.

The different status that author and translator have in the opinion of Parks (himself a
well-known author and translator) is also evident in his appreciation of the liberties
taken by an author translating his own work (Samuel Beckett) and a translator (Nadia
Fusini) translating someone else's work (Virginia Woolf's *Mrs Dalloway*). Talking
about the translation into Italian of Samuel Beckett's *Murphy*, Parks notes that
(ibid:125):

> Our first thought is that the translator is taking unforgivable liberties. …
> These are major changes and they will remain inexplicable until we
> realize that the Italian version has been translated, not from the original
> English, but from the French. And the French translation was done by
> Beckett himself.

Parks concludes that "Beckett's translation of his own writing shows an author being
faithful to the original inspiration of the work, rather than the surface sense of the text at
any particular point" (ibid: 142). However, in the case of Fusini's translation of *Mrs
Dalloway*, the liberties taken by the translator are interpreted rather differently. Parks
notes "a tendency, perhaps, to distort the text to fit in with the translator's own
individual interpretation" (ibid: 92). The author's interpretation is intrinsically valid,
because the author is the only one with insight into the 'original inspiration of the work'.
The translator's interpretation, on the other hand, is seen as an imposition. But are not
all translations the product of a translator's interpretation? And what other view can
translators impose but their own? Parks seems to imply that there is one, and only one,

correct interpretation, but who can objectively establish whose interpretation is the correct one?

According to Boase-Beier, Parks' text is primarily a comment on originals and not on translations (Boase-Beier 1999). She suggests that Parks' first and most interesting aim is to suggest that translations can be a tool of textual criticism (ibid: 138). This is obviously one of the aims of the book, and it might be an interesting approach to literary criticism, but it is so at a great expense for the literary translator's enterprise. Boase-Beier notes that Parks seems to subscribe to the idea that 'poetry is what gets lots in translation', and points out that "by examining what is lost in translation he shows us that *this* is what is stylistically essential to the text" (ibid). The translator's failure is then a foregone conclusion.

The point I wish to make here is that as long as we see style as a quality associated exclusively with source texts that can never be properly translated, then translations will always be portrayed negatively. And if we do think that translations have something to offer in terms of stylistic value, then we need to find a different way of conceptualising style in relation to translation.

Challenging originality

This view of translation as reproduction, rather than production, and as a derivative, - rather than creative – activity, has a long tradition. Chamberlain, in her analysis of the metaphorics of translation, suggests that translation has historically been represented along two parallel conceptual lines: one following the concepts of: paternity, originality, production, authorship, masculinity; and another those of maternity, derivation, re-production, translation, femininity (Chamberlain 1988). She argues that this view of translation is reflected in the metaphorical language that has been traditionally used to describe translation, from the 'belles infidèles' to Steiner's hermeneutic model. Chamberlain draws attention to the fact that this 'superficially aesthetical' distinction has important material consequences in the areas of, for example, academic tenure and royalties (ibid).

However, contemporary scholarship in the areas of literature and translation has challenged the two basic ideas underpinning the view of translation as reproduction: the originality of the author's work and the necessary transparency of good translation.

Philosophers like Foucault (1979) and Barthes (1979, 1989) have called for a redefinition of the notion of authorship. Foucault (1979) argues that the author does not precede the work and is not the source of significations that fill a work, but a 'functional principle' by which our culture regulates the proliferation and circulation of discourses. In 'The Death of the Author', Barthes describes writing as a neuter composite where all identity is lost. "Once a fact is *recounted*", he argues, "...the voice loses its origin, the author enters into his own death, writing begins" (Barthes 1989: 49). Barthes' argument is based on the multiple origins of a text, which he describes as "a fabric of quotations, resulting from a thousand sources of cultures" (ibid: 53). The only place where that multiplicity comes together is not in the author but in the reader, but this reader has no identity either, it is simply 'someone' without history or biography who holds the text as a unit (ibid: 54). From Barthes' perspective, the translator as a reader would be someone who holds the unity of the text, but only for a moment, because as soon as the translator starts writing, she or he will have no more claim than the author as a producer of meaning in the text. According to Barthes, style is never original, because it is "essentially a citational process, a body of formulae, a memory ..., a cultural and not an expressive inheritance" (Barthes 1971: 9). Writing of any kind is not more than a way of transforming pre-existing models, whose origins cannot be traced but which form part of the collective memory of literature (ibid: 8).

The idea that no text is objective, universally meaningful or original is at the heart of post-structuralist theories in translation. These approaches reject what they see as 'essentialist' ideas according to which meaning is 'in' the text and can therefore be extracted from it (Arrojo 2002: 28). Godard, for example, states that translation is not a "carrying across, but a reworking of meaning" (Godard 1991: 73), and that writing and translation are "arts of approach... no final version of the text is ever realizable" (ibid: 81).

The view taken in the present study is of translation studies as an empirical discipline, and from our perspective, the view of meaning as something inherently and inevitably unstable is, ultimately, as unhelpful as over-reductionist theories based on equivalence. It does not allow for the description of the regularities that enable an empirical discipline to explain and predict the phenomena it concerns itself with. A more useful perspective is offered by Said (1979: 171), who argues that: "wordliness, circumstantiality, the text's status as an event having sensuous particularity as well as historical contingency, are incorporated in the text, are an infrangible part of its capacity for conveying and producing meaning." From this point of view, a translation's meaning will be necessarily different from that of its source text, because they are both embedded in different circumstances and have different histories; and both author and translator are important factors in the creation of meaning in one case and another.

Challenging invisibility

The idea that in any text there is a multiplicity of meanings which is never stable but constantly reconstructed by authors, readers, and translators alike is exploited by feminist theories of translation which have reframed the question of fidelity, suggesting it should be directed toward neither the author nor the reader, but the writing project. Thus they justify the manipulation of texts in order to serve a political agenda, in order to highlight, for example, the feminist discourse of a text or to undermine the chauvinist discourse of another. Feminist translators, in accordance with these principles, bring their personal histories and political positions into their writings, making their own presence visible in the text. Several strategies are applied to this end, such as the extensive use of notes and glosses, as in Wisselinck's translation of Daly's *Gyn/Ecology* (Daly 1980). Metatexts, such as essays, prefaces, and even translator's diaries (Godard 1995, cited in Simon 1996: 23), are also used for the purposes of highlighting the translator's subjective involvement in the text. More interventionist practices can take the form of feminising an entire English translation written in the 'generic' French, as is the case in de Lobtinière-Harwood's translation of *Lettres d'une autre by* Lise Gauvin (in Kadish and Massardier-Kenney 1994).

Feminist translators are not alone in challenging the traditional view of a faithful translator as one who should replicate the style of the author and leave no traces of his/her presence. Venuti (1995) also argues against 'invisibility' from an ideological point of view. According to Venuti, invisibility is the result of the preference (of publishers, reviewers and readers within the Anglo-American tradition) for fluent translations, where

> the absence of any linguistic or stylistic peculiarities makes it seem
> transparent, giving the appearance that it reflects the foreign writer's
> personality or intention or the essential meaning of the foreign text – the
> appearance, in other words, that the translation is not in fact a translation,
> but the "original" (Venuti 1995:1).

Venuti calls for translators to exert an ethnodeviant pressure on the target-language cultural values to register the linguistic and cultural difference of the foreign text, sending the reader abroad. According to Venuti's agenda this is to be achieved by 'foreignising'[1] translations, a strategy that involves the translation of foreign texts so far excluded by domestic literary canons, and/or the use of marginal discourse (ibid:20) in the translations themselves.

The translator's voice

The idea of the translator's invisibility has not only been challenged on ideological grounds but also within descriptive translation studies. For Hermans (1996a) and Baker (2000), the question is not whether translators should or should not make their presence visible in the text, because they assume that any translator will *inevitably* leave traces of their intervention.

Hermans claims that we read translations and listen to interpreted speech under a necessary illusion: that of transparency and coincidence (Hermans 1996a). Although we

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[1] In more recent expositions of his theory Venuti (1998) also calls this strategy 'minoritising'. See Chapter Six for a discussion of Venuti's theory.

know that there is a mediator, we are meant to forget their existence. Still, transparency can only be an illusion, not only because the language is different and languages are asymmetrical but also because the context, the intent, the function, in brief, the whole communicative situation changes. This displacement is obviously brought about by the translator, who is then supposed to disappear without leaving any traces. But, Hermans asks, "can the translator ... disappear without textual trace? ... Exactly whose voice comes to us when we read translated discourse?" (ibid: 26). This question, as Hermans points out, can be examined from different angles, including an ideological one, as we have seen above. Hermans (ibid) and Schiavi (1996) examine it from a narratological perspective.

Schiavi criticises the main current narratological models for overlooking the presence of the translator and develops the concept of the translator's voice to account for such presence (Schiavi 1996). Schiavi observes that narratological approaches to textual analysis apply to translations the same descriptive categories used for original texts, and argues that when a narrative structure is transferred from one language into another there is a displacement and an element of "originality" which "cannot be ascribed to a vacuum, but must be textually attributed to the translator" (ibid: 9).

Hermans (1996a) claims that the translator's voice may be more or less overtly present in the text. It is overtly present when it disrupts the text, for example in a paratextual note, but it may also "remain entirely hidden behind that of the Narrator, rendering it impossible to detect in the translated text" (ibid: 27). Nevertheless, Hermans argues, the translator's voice should be postulated in all translations, "on the strength of those cases where it is manifestly present and discernible" (ibid). Hermans does not elaborate further on the less overt interventions. Instead, he focuses on instances where "the presence of an enunciating subject other than the Narrator becomes discernible *in the translated text itself*" (ibid: 33). Hermans describes three situations in which this is likely to happen and illustrates them using translations of the Dutch novel *Max Havelaar*, by Multatuli. The first case is when the translator has to intrude in the discourse to provide the information that would have been available to the implied reader of the source text but is not available to the implied reader of the translation. Typical examples are historical and topical allusions. The second situation is broadly described as cases of "self-

reflexiveness and self-referentiality involving the medium of communication itself" (ibid: 28). These are cases when the language refers to itself or exploits its own economy through wordplay. The third case is referred to as "contextual overdetermination" and is exemplified with reference to a conversation in the novel where certain initials are mentioned. These initials correspond to a proverb, to the name of one of the characters and to the name of the author's wife, to whom the book is dedicated. It would be extremely difficult, if not impossible, for the translator to maintain all the references of those initials in any other language without overtly interrupting the discourse with an explanation, for example in the form of a footnote.

The translations compared in Hermans' study differ in the extent to which the discursive presence of the translator becomes visible or remains hidden in the situations described. However, Hermans concludes, cases like the ones described require that the translator's voice be posited even when it is not traceable. If current approaches to narrative have failed to do so, and we, as readers, continue to ignore it, this is because of the dominant ideology of translation in our (Western) culture, which allows no space for foreign bodies: "To let in plural voices means destabilising and decentring the speaking subject, and creates the prospect of a runaway inflation of voices and meanings" (Hermans 1996a: 44).

Re-conceptualising style in relation to translation

The concept of the translator's style involves going a step further from that of the translator's voice, because it assumes that apart from overt interventions there are more subliminal traces that can be revealed. It also involves the idea of a coherent pattern, as opposed to one-off interventions. In the next section I will have a closer look at how the concept of style can be defined and at its significance in relation to translators rather than source-text authors.

Monist, dualist and pluralist perspectives

Leech and Short (1981) present two traditional and opposing views of style: the dualist and monist perspectives. The former sees manner and matter, or expression and content, as independent. From this perspective, style is a choice of manner that does not affect content. From the monist perspective, the elaboration of form inevitably brings an elaboration of meaning. Leech and Short argue that the dualist approach has the advantage of allowing us to easily define the object of analysis by leaving sense aside and focusing on stylistic variants with different stylistic values. However, it implies that it is possible to write in a neutral style, and how can we judge what is the 'default choice'? Is it possible to have 'no style'? Leech and Short point out that even if some linguistic choices could be described as 'unmarked' and 'neutral', the choice of such a form instead of others is still a linguistic choice, and as such can be fruitfully examined in stylistics (ibid: 18). The problem with the monists' perspective, from Leech and Short's point of view, is that it denies the possibility of paraphrase and translation, understood as the expression of the same content in different words. We come back to this point below.

A more refined version of monism, which Leech and Short call the 'pluralist' perspective, is offered by Halliday (1971). Halliday's functional theory of language explains linguistic phenomena by reference to the functions that language plays in our lives:

- ideational: the way in which language conveys and organises the cognitive realities of experience;
- interpersonal: the function through which the speaker intrudes into the speech event to express comments, attitudes and evaluations, and sets up a particular relationship with the listener/reader;
- textual: what allows for the creation of text by allowing language to make links with itself and the situation.

According to this model, the language system is a network of interrelated options, deriving from all the various functions of language, which define, as a whole, the resources for what the speaker wants to say. Halliday (ibid: 338) stresses that:

> *all* types of option, from whatever function they are derived, are
> meaningful. … and if we attempt to separate meaning from choice we are
> turning a valuable distinction (between linguistic functions) into an
> arbitrary dichotomy (between 'meaningful' and 'meaningless' choices).

Basic to both Halliday's and Leech and Short's understanding of style are the concepts of *prominence* and literary *relevance*. In every work of fiction, certain linguistic features stand out because they depart from a norm: they are deviations (ungrammatical forms) or deflections, departures from some expected pattern of frequency. This phenomenon is called *prominence*. Theorists have debated whether the notion of prominence should be conceptualised as 'departure' from a norm rather than achievement of a norm. Understanding prominence as departure may suggest that what is 'normal' is of no interest from a stylistic point of view. Halliday notes that "there is no single universally relevant norm, no one set of expectancies to which all instances may be referred", so whether prominence is departure or achievement of a norm depends on the standpoint of the observer (ibid: 341). When prominence is a matter of deflection, whether the prominent feature is frequent or infrequent will depend on our relative norm of comparison. A pattern may be infrequent in a text, but common in the language as a whole or a certain genre. Our norm of comparison may be anything from a single text (if we focus on a specific passage thereof) to a corpus of texts that are comparable to the one under study, or even a particular language. However, as Halliday notes, our own expectancies as readers can often guide us in the right direction, because we are sensitive to the relative frequency of different grammatical and lexical patterns (ibid: 343).

The fact that a linguistic feature is prominent does not necessarily mean that it has stylistic relevance, since there are idiosyncrasies of style which have no discernible literary function. For a prominent feature of style to achieve literary relevance it has to form a coherent pattern of choice, together with other features of style, and impact on

the meaning of the text as a whole. Halliday argues that in order to distinguish between mere linguistic regularity and regularity which is significant for the poem or prose work in which we find it, we need to relate the linguistic patterns to the underlying functions of language. This is because if a particular feature contributes to the total meaning of the work, it does so by means of its own value in the language, the linguistic function from which its meaning is derived (ibid: 339).

Halliday illustrates this point by reference to William Golding's *The Inheritors,* a novel about a group of Neanderthal people in which the language reflects their limited understanding of the world around them. According to Halliday, the theme of the novel is how humans understand the processes of the world and their agency in relation to them. The precise point that Halliday makes with this example is that stylistic significance can be located in the choice of 'subject matter', at the level which, according to the dualist perspective, there should be no variance. Halliday bases his analysis on certain transitivity patterns that realise a certain meaning and whose choice is, in part, explained by the choice of subject matter. For example, when a man raises his bow before shooting an arrow, what we see from the Neanderthal's point of view is "a stick rose upright" The prevalence of clauses such as this one, with inanimate subjects and intransitive verbs, and the lack of transitivity clauses of action with human subjects reveals the Neanderthal lack of understanding of certain relations of cause and effect, which is the key to their tragic destiny.

Leech and Short (1981) object that, when Halliday claims that even choices dictated by subject matter are part of style, he fails to make an important discrimination between choices such as 'clavicle' and 'collar-bone' or 'clavicle' and 'thigh-bone' in a medical book. The difference between the first two is a matter of register variation but the second a matter of fact (ibid: 35). Leech and Short stress the importance (and convenience, from the analyst's point of view) of recognising a difference between language itself and the world beyond language that is projected through it. In other words, they insist on the distinction between the referential function of language (that which brings about changes in the fictional world) and those aspects of language that have to do with stylistic variations. They propose another 'pluralist' model that allows for more than one level of stylistic variation but also retains this basic distinction.

According to this model, there are three distinct levels at which stylistic choices can be made: semantic, syntactic and graphological, and three different levels of functional significance associated with them: ideational, interpersonal and textual. The difference from Halliday's model, apart from a slightly different interpretation of the three functions, is that Leech and Short recognise an invariable element in the system, that of the fiction, which must be taken for granted.

Leech and Short's model seems at first sight the one that could be most easily applied to the study of translations, since it allows us to distinguish between what is carried over from the source text (the fictional world) and what necessarily involves variations when transferred into another language, where style resides. However, the image of the fictional universe portrayed to the reader of the source text might be different from that portrayed to the reader of the translation. Van Leuven-Zwart argues that frequent and consistent stylistic shifts affecting culture-specific elements can affect the ideational function of the translation by creating an exotic image of the fictional world at the story level (van Leuven-Zwart 1989, 1990). Sometimes, the effect of these particular stylistic shifts is one of "exotization", as illustrated with an example where Bernstein, the translator of a text by García Márquez, keeps the Spanish word "plaza" in the target text (van Leuven-Zwart 1989: 164):

E.2.1   ST: Los almendros de la plaza …
       TT: The almond trees in the plaza …

It could be argued that in this case the fictional world remains the same, even though there is a change in the point of view, whereby the fictional world is presented as more distant to the reader of the translation than to the reader of the source text. In other cases, the effect may be the opposite (naturalisation), as in example 2.2, taken from an English translation by Peter Bush of a text by Juan Carlos Onetti:

E.2.2   BOST: Cualquier noche de aquellas en que tomamos mate y conversamos…
       BOTT: Any of those nights when we drank tea and chatted …

Here the word 'mate' is translated as 'tea'. These two words 'mate' and 'tea' are not different conceptualisations of the same underlying reality but references to different things, both of which exist side to side in the fictional (and real) world.[2] In Leech and Short's model this shift would not belong to the realm of style. It seems then that the distinction between variable (stylistics) and invariable elements (fictional world) is not always useful when describing translations. It seems more appropriate to focus on the effects that choices - whether they involve changes in the fictional word or not - might have at what van Leuven-Zwart calls the macrostructural level, i.e. the effects on the interpersonal, ideational and textual functions of the overall text. Changes in the fictional world, such as the one in Bush's translation described above, are generally restricted to very particular instances and do not affect the capacity of the text as a whole to function as an accurate representation of the fictional world presented in the source text. However, when they are frequent and consistent throughout the text, they may become prominent and relevant stylistic features.

Stylistic habits and rhetorical choices

Literary relevance is related to the Prague School notion of *foregrounding*, understood as artistically motivated deviation (Leech and Short 1981: 48) or, in Halliday's words, as prominence that is motivated (1971: 339). In Halliday's model, whether a pattern is motivated or not depends on whether it contributes to how the text functions at the ideational, interpersonal or textual levels. This way of understanding motivation in terms of its effects avoids looking at the source of motivation, the author's intention, which brings up a thorny issue traditionally avoided by stylisticians: how much conscious control do writers have over their style?

This question is addressed by Milic, who argues that writers are more conscious of some aspects of the writing process than of others and proposes a distinction between decisions made unconsciously, which he calls *stylistic options,* and decisions made consciously, which he calls *rhetorical choices* (Milic 1971: 85). These two categories

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[2] 'Mate' is a hot herbal infusion popular in some South-American countries. Unlike tea, it is drunk from a gourd using a metal straw, and the gourd is typically shared and passed around among a group of mate drinkers.

are not seen as opposites but as the two poles of a continuum (ibid 91). Milic claims that the traditional approach in literary stylistics treats all decisions constituting style as conscious rhetorical choices, representing the realisation of artistic intentions, or mingles together habitual and artistic characteristics. Milic stresses that a great deal of the writing process is carried out automatically and cites as evidence cases of authorship attribution, which are based on the assumption that the style of an author has a certain consistency due to the habitual nature of the writing process (ibid: 84). This brings us to the other goal of stylistics that was mentioned briefly at the beginning of the chapter.

Both authorship attribution studies and forensic linguistics use quantitative and statistical techniques generally referred to as stylometry. Stylometrists look for objective, quantifiable methods of identifying the style of a text, and define 'style' as "the measurable patterns which may be unique to an author" (Holmes 1994:87). At its heart lies the assumption that there is an unconscious aspect of style, which cannot be consciously manipulated but which possesses features that are quantifiable and may be distinctive (Holmes 1998:11).

Authorship attribution studies and studies in forensic stylistics have demonstrated that the habitual aspects of composition are more distinctly manifested at the minor syntactic level, such as the use of function words and average sentence length, and it is at this level that stylistic options would manifest themselves. Rhetorical choices, on the other hand, are not made as part of language generation, but as part of the evaluation of what has been generated and include rhetorical figures such as anaphora, chiasmus, and so on, as well as the logical ordering of the parts of the discourse (Milic 1971: 85). Milic also argues that, because they are selected for the production of certain specific effects, rhetorical choices would reveal no consistency across the works of a writer, contrary to stylistic choices, which are not determined by the context.

There are some problems with Milic's model, the main one being its reliance on a concept, 'consciousness', that is so difficult to pin down. Even if we could agree on a definition of 'consciousness', it would still not be feasible to determine with a reasonable degree of accuracy to what degree a certain linguistic behaviour is or is not conscious. Besides, rhetorical choices can also be consistent across the works of a writer. To give just one example, José Saramago's peculiar use of punctuation is consistent across his

work and it has to do with his intention to reproduce speech rhythms. Saramago's extremely long sentences, his particular use of commas in order to mark conversation turns and scarce use of other punctuation marks such as question marks, dashes, and colons, are certainly deliberate, but also typical of all his works.

Nevertheless, it is useful to have different terms to refer to the linguistic habits that are the object of forensic stylistics and those linguistic features that are deliberately used by a writer to create a certain effect. The use of 'stylistic choices' has been criticised (see Milic 1971: 92) and the word 'habit' may be a better term to refer to these non-deliberate stylistic features, so here I will refer to stylistic habits and rhetorical choices. In addition, rather than defining these terms in relation to consciousness/unconsciousness, stylistic habits will be understood as automatic linguistic habits that nevertheless have a relevant stylistic effect and rhetorical choices as patterns deliberately foregrounded in order to produce a certain effect. What is more, these categories should be seen as theoretical constructs that are useful for methodological purposes while remembering that the distinction is not clear-cut and there will be some grey areas between them.

The literary relevance of stylistic habits

Milic states that "the stylistic options taken together are the style of the writer and represent the primary field of inquiry for the analyst of style" (Milic 1971: 87). It is interesting to note that, in this sense, Milic is taking a stand that is diametrically opposite to Halliday's and Leech and Short's, since he is arguing for stylisticians to be concerned with 'unmotivated' prominence. This position implies that automatic linguistic habits, despite being 'unmotivated', do have literary relevance.

The two levels of style that Milic refers to as stylistic choices and rhetorical choices are a common assumption in much of the work in stylometry, but still there is disagreement as to whether the patterns deriving from stylistic habits have literary relevance. One of

the techniques used in authorship attribution studies is known as *cusum*[3] and Farringdon, referring to this technique, says that "it has nothing to do with 'style' in the literary sense" (Farringdon 1996: 14). For Farringdon, style is "more than the habitual language patterns and structures each person has developed and uses unconsciously" (ibid: 86). It involves an authorial 'voice' that has to do with "language use and authentic individuality" and does not affect the underlying permanent structure of unconscious language usage that can be identified by cusum (ibid). Farringdon bases her claim on evidence from her analyses of the linguistic habits of, among others, Iris Murdoch and Muriel Spark. Farringdon compared Murdoch's philosophical essays with her literary novels. Murdoch had asserted a subjective awareness of deliberately changing her style for each kind of writing, however, the author's deliberate and conscious change of style did not affect the habits that form the cusum identification (ibid:14). Samples of Spark's writing before and after what she describes as a crucial development in her career (where she claims to have found her 'voice') also proved to be homogeneous as regards cusum.

Craig points out that one of the reasons why authorial attribution and descriptive stylistics have been pursued separately is that the leap from frequencies to meaning is a risky one. Analysts who try to offer explanations for their quantitative findings in terms of the world-view or psychology of a writer are usually met with dismissive critique (Craig 1999: 103). However, Craig remarks that:

> There is an odd asymmetry in the notion that frequencies of linguistic features can classify style and yet cannot play a part in describing it. … After all, how much confidence can we have in an ascription, if the linguistic mechanism behind the results remains a mystery? (ibid:104)

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[3] The cusum technique involves comparing two aspects of habitual language use (typically sentence length with short and vowel-initial words) within a given text. The cumulative sum (the sum of the deviations from the average) of each habit is plotted in a graph and by visually examining the graphs the analyst can tell whether the sample is homogeneous (by one single author) or not. This technique has been criticised as unreliable (see, for example, Chaski 1999). However, it is mentioned here because it is one of the few that have been applied to the work of translators as well as authors (see below).

In the case of cusum, because the linguistic habits taken into account are usually initial vowel words and two and three-letter words, any explanations would be indeed risky. In other cases, however, they can be more straightforward. As a case study, Craig uses the results of an attribution test using a technique known as *discriminant analysis*.[4] The analysis is based on the frequency of the 155 most common words in the corpus, excluding some too strongly associated with subject matter or difficult to disambiguate. The texts to be tested are three tragedies associated with the English Renaissance dramatist Thomas Middleton and they are compared with other plays by Middleton and by other playwrights of the same period. The results indicate that Middleton is the author of one of the three tragedies while the other two seem to be of mixed authorship.

The lexical items with the biggest and most consistent differences in frequency between Middleton and the others are given heavier weights: these can be considered the most significant discriminators. Craig then examines instances of the ten most relevant discriminators in their context and describes their stylistic function. He notes that there are three deictics ('there', 'now' and 'that' in the demonstrative case) which are significantly more frequent in Middleton's texts compared to others and Craig interprets this as an "anaphoric economy of communication", associated with familiarity and characters implying common ground (ibid: 111). Conjunctions such as 'and', 'or', 'but', 'for' and 'that' are unusually infrequent in Middleton, something that Craig associates with a "rather casual and impulsive" mode of address (ibid).

The fact that a pattern of linguistic habits seems to fulfil a specific function should not necessarily mean that the habits themselves are deliberate. In Middleton's case, deictics may have been used spontaneously as part of an effort to use familiar and casual language, which does not mean that he was aware of using 'there' and 'now' more frequently than his contemporaries.

Craig's results seem to confirm that a relationship can be established between the most significant patterns of linguistic habits and certain stylistic characteristics of the work of

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[4] Discriminant analysis involves designing a function to separate predefined groups of observations, which can then be used to classify groups whose membership is not known. The classification is based on the frequencies of a group of very common words.

a particular author. However, there is an obvious qualitative difference between the literary relevance of the patterns highlighted in Craig's analysis and the patterns of transitivity highlighted in Halliday's analysis (Halliday 1971). Besides, what is prominent when computed in statistical terms may not always be prominent to the reader, which means that the effect of automatic stylistic habits is probably registered only subliminally.

Stylistic habits and rhetorical choices in translation

Because patterns of linguistic habits may not be obviously prominent to readers, not even to attentive readers such as translators, and because they are largely beyond the conscious control of the writer, we could hypothesise that they will not be consistently reproduced in translation. It would not be surprising to find the translator's linguistic habits interacting with those of the author or even taking over in terms of prominence.

This hypothesis is supported in a study by Farringdon (1996) where a translation by Henry Fielding is compared (using cusum) with a sample of his original writing showing that the linguistic habits in the two samples are consistent. Farringdon (ibid: 110) concludes that what happens in a translation is that:

> Another person's actual utterance is being partly paraphrased ... and the original utterance, in re-presentation, is being 'filtered through' someone else's language habits, and thus subtly and unconsciously altered (*formally*, not in substance).

The results of Mikkhailov and Villikka (2001), reported in the previous chapter, are much less encouraging, although the fact that they used more traditional and less sophisticated methods of authorship attribution (vocabulary richness and comparisons of most frequent words and keywords) makes them also less reliable. The results of the comparison of frequency word lists is particularly unreliable because the lists are very short (including only 40 words, compared to 155 in Craig 1999), they did not take the precaution of eliminating words that are closely associated with the subject matter and did not use any tags to separate grammatical functions.

Burrows (2002) carried out a study along the same lines as Farringdon's but with a larger corpus and using an authorship attribution technique similar to that applied by Craig (ibid) known as the *Delta* procedure. This technique is also based on frequencies of common words but applies multivariate statistical methods and is therefore much more reliable than the crude comparison made by Mikkhailov and Villikka (2001). Burrows compared several translations of Juvenal's *Tenth Satire* with original work by some of the translators, some of whom were also famous poets (among them John Dryden and Samuel Johnson). One of the tests carried out by Burrows is designed to answer the following question: from which of the fifteen versions of Juvenal's *Tenth Satire* does each of the sub-corpora (each including original work by Dryden, Shadwell, Vaughan and Johnson) differ least?[5] The results point to the right translation in three cases but fail, although very narrowly, in one case. Burrows concludes that, although the translators' texts are decidedly more like each other than is usual in literary composition, some translators still betray their identity (ibid: 687-689). As an explanation for the most ambiguous cases, Burrows suggests that some translators may be so sensitive to their task that their own stylistic signatures completely disappear behind the image of the foreign author whose work they are representing (ibid).

In sum, very little has been done in terms of analysis of stylistic habits in translation and more research is needed before any conclusions can be reached. At the level of rhetorical choices, we can expect translations to reproduce the source text's foregrounded patterns. However, a translation necessarily involves a number of shifts. In van Leuven-Zwart's study, 70% of all translations from Spanish into Dutch showed a percentage of shifts of approximately 100%, i.e. one shift per transeme (van Leuven-Zwart 1990: 88).[6] These shifts are brought about by the translator and although some may be language bound, others reflect the translator's interpretation of the original text and the strategy adopted during the process of translation (van Leuven-Zwart 1989: 154). We can assume that most strategies will be directed at reproducing the same effects as the source text, but others may be specifically adapted to the target text

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[5] Burrows' study involves several tests and for reasons of space only one of them is referred to here.
[6] Van Leuven-Zwart, following Dik's *Functional Grammar*, recognises two types of transemes: a state of affairs transeme including a predicate and its arguments and a satellite transeme which is an adverbial specification or amplification of the state of affairs transeme (Leuven-Zwart 1989:155-156).

audience, such as the strategies of exotization or naturalisation described above, or deliberate instances of explicitation or implicitation. These are the exclusive domain of the translator, and as such can be considered the translator's rhetorical choices.

The style *of* translation

Baker describes style as "a kind of thumb-print that is expressed in a range of linguistic – as well as non-linguistic – features", and it includes, apart from open interventions, the translator's choice of what to translate (when the choice is available to the translator), their consistent use of specific strategies, and especially their characteristic use of language, their "individual profile of linguistic habits, compared to other translators" (2000: 245).

For Baker, then, style has multiple layers and involves extra-linguistic elements, the choice of what to translate, as well as linguistic elements: consistent strategies and linguistic habits. Baker is primarily concerned with the latter, which she describes as "subtle, unobtrusive linguistic habits which are largely beyond the conscious control of the writer and which we, as receivers, register mostly subliminally" (ibid: 246). Baker's 'linguistic habits' are then very similar to Milic's stylistic options and she subscribes to the view that stylistic choices can have literary relevance, in the sense that they can reveal something of interest in terms of the translator's cultural and ideological positioning (see Chapter One). I have argued above that some of the translator's consistent strategies can be considered rhetorical choices: therefore it could be argued that these are also an integral part of Baker's model, although she does not elaborate on this aspect.

Another view of style in relation to translation and translators is offered by Malmkjær (2003). Malmkjær distinguishes 'stylistic analysis' from the 'study of style'. The latter involves the "consistent and statistically significant regularity of occurrence in text of certain items and structures, or types of items and structures, among those offered by the language as a whole" and can be done without any considerations of meaning (Malmkjær 2003: 38). Stylistic analysis, on the other hand, is concerned with the semantics of text and involves a first stage, the study of *how* a text means what it does,

and can involve a second stage, the study of *why* the text is shaped in its particular way given certain extralinguistic factors that restrict the writer's freedom of choice (ibid). It seems that the main difference between the two branches of stylistics is their concern with meaning. Malmkjær seems to subscribe to a dualist view of style and to the idea that stylistic choices ('the study of style') have no literary relevance.

Translation stylistics, according to Malmkjær, is "concerned to explain why, *given the source text,* the translation has been shaped in such a way that it comes to mean what it does" (Malmkjær 2003: 39). In her illustration of a translational stylistic analysis, Malmkjær (ibid) starts by offering information on the author of the source text (Hans Christian Andersen) and on the reception of his work in translation (from Danish into English). She then proceeds to give some background information on the translator whose work she will focus on (Henry William Dulcken) and on how his translations differ from others, in this case by retaining material that other translators edit out because it might be considered unsuitable for the target audience. Dulcken also seems reluctant to use religious terminology that makes direct reference to (the Christian) God and it is on this that Malmkjær focuses in her analysis. Two types of explanation are provided for these shifts. One is 'linguistic good manners'; these account for (39) cases where the name of the deity is used in vain in the source text, for example, to express surprise, which was considered more offensive in England than in Denmark in the first half of the 19th Century. The explanation offered for the other cases (59), where the name of God is used in the source text in expressions of gratitude or supplication, is the different conceptions of the relationship between humans and God in the Danish and English society of that period. Any indications of a close relationship between humans and God would have been seen as out of place in the English context. Apart from cultural context, Malmkjær also brings in the personal histories of Andersen and Dulcken as explanatory factors, although the biographical information on Dulcken is scarce, which means that Malmkjær can only speculate about his motivations.

Malmkjær's view of style in relation to translation differs from Baker in two regards. The first one is what they see as the primary element of style: Baker focuses on stylistic habits whereas Malmkjær focuses on rhetorical choices. However, while Malmkjær discards stylistic habits as not relevant, Baker also recognises the relevance of rhetorical

choices, in the sense of translation strategies. The translation patterns described in Malmkjær (2003) are explained mainly in terms of cultural differences, although she also suggests that the translator's personal history could have a role in the explanation. It seems that the kind of patterns highlighted by Malmkjær correspond to what Baker calls consistent strategies, although for them to qualify as an element of the translator's style in Baker's sense of the word, they should be consistent across translations of texts by different authors. In this sense, Baker's concept of style could be seen as encompassing that of Malmkjær.

The second way in which the two models differ is in the place assigned to the source text. Malmkjær's methodology could be called source-text oriented and Baker's target-text oriented. Baker's methodology starts by establishing stylistic patterns in several translations by the same translators, and then proceeds to filter the possible variables that may be affecting such patterns. It is at this stage that the source texts are analysed to check whether a particular pattern can be attributed to the style of the translator or is simply carried over from the source texts, as a feature of the source language in general, the poetics of a particular group, or the style of the author (Baker 2000: 258).

Baker and Malmkjær's different methodologies can be explained in part by the different corpora used in each study, Malmkjær's is a parallel corpus of source texts by one particular author and their translations by one translator, while Baker's includes only target texts by two different translators. However, the different methodologies also reflect different conceptualisations of 'style' in relation to translation: Malmkjær sees it as a way of *responding* to the source text, Baker sees it as stylistic idiosyncrasies that remain consistent across several translations *despite* the differences in the source texts. In brief, it could be said that Malmkjær is concerned with the style of the text, and Baker with the style of the translators.

Writing about authorial style in fiction, Short (1996: 327) describes style as

> a way of writing … [which] distinguishes one author's writing from that of others, and is felt to be recognisable across a range of texts written by the same writer.

This definition can be adapted to refer to the translator's style as follows: a way of translating which distinguishes one translator's work from that of others and is felt to be recognisable across a range of translations by the same translator.

The translator's style will be reflected at the level of stylistic habits and rhetorical choices, in the form of consistent strategies. Some strategies will have been triggered by specific characteristics of a particular source text, and therefore will be relevant only to that particular text, but others may prove to be consistent across several translations by the same translator, in which case they might reflect the translator's general approach to translation or a personal way of dealing with systemic differences between the source and target languages. This type of strategy will be part of the translator's stylistic repertoire.

Revealing a coherent pattern of stylistic habits and rhetorical choices would be interesting in that it would demonstrate that translation involves more than a skilled reproduction of artistic writing; it involves a subjective element that is artistically motivated, in the sense that it contributes to the text's functions at the ideational, interpersonal or textual levels. However, Baker (2000: 258) points out that:

> Identifying linguistic habits and stylistic patterns is not an end in itself: it is only worthwhile if it tells us something about the cultural and ideological positioning of the translator, or of translators in general, or about the cognitive processes and mechanism that contribute to shaping our translational behaviour.

In order to explore potential motivations in terms of the translator's cultural and ideological positions, it is necessary to take into account extralinguistic factors that might explain why a translator has adopted a certain approach instead of another. The extra-linguistic factors that are likely to have an effect on the translator's style are: the socio-economic context, the translator's background, the translator's project, the translator's position, and the horizon of translation. The concepts of *project* and

position in relation to a translator's work, as well as that of *horizon of translation* are borrowed (and adapted) from Berman's model for translation criticism (1995).[7]

According to Berman, the translator's position includes the translator's conception and perception of what it means to translate, what are the purposes and forms of translation (ibid: 74). This position, he argues, can be reconstructed from the translations themselves, where that position is implicit, and from the translator's explicit statements, and it is linked to the translator's position concerning the source and target language and to the translator's position in relation to literary writing (ibid: 75). An example of how a translator's position may influence their stylistic preferences is provided by Kenny (2001: 187), who suggests that the absence of normalisation of creative lexical forms in translations by Malcolm Green may have something to do with "Green's personal translation agenda of 'relieving German letters of its stodgy image'".

The translator's project is the articulated aim of the translation and is determined by the translator's position as well as by the specific particularities of the work at hand. The translator's project involves the choice of texts to be translated; the decisions on how these texts are to be presented (in a bilingual or monolingual edition, for example); the inclusion or not of paratexts; and finally, the 'mode' of translation, which can be revealed only by examining the translations themselves (ibid: 76). Although Berman does not mention this, it is important to note that many of these decisions are sometimes part of the translator's brief and have to do with a particular publisher's agenda rather than with the translator's own preferences (see Kenny 2001: 209). The term 'project' will be used here specifically to refer to decisions that are known to be made by the translator (and not, for example, the publisher). In addition, I will use 'project' not to refer to the making of each specific translation but in a more general sense, to refer to

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[7] Berman's work has been extremely valuable in that it has emphasised the need to study the translating subject . It should be noted, however, that Berman's ultimate interest is not the translator's work *per se*, but rather how the value of the *source text* is affected by the translation. Berman (1995: 73) stresses the need to ask the question: "who is the translator?", but clarifies that this question is not directed at eliciting the same information as the question "who is the author?" According to Berman, in the author's case, the critic is interested in the author's life, his or her psychological profile, or the existential questions that might have illuminated his or her work. In the translator's case, the critic is interested in the translator's mother tongue; whether he or she has any other 'significant' profession, such as teacher; if he or she has written 'original' works, etc. (ibid: 73-74).

the translator's general choice of texts and their overall tendencies in the use of paratexts.

The translator's horizon is the set of linguistic, literary, cultural and historical discourses that exist at the time when the translation is carried out and are therefore bound to influence the translator's way of thinking and acting (ibid: 79). Another factor that inevitably affects the translator's work, although Berman does not address it in any detail, is the socio-economic context in which the translations are carried out. Translators work under different conditions, depending on a range of factors such as deadlines and other contractual stipulations (when such a contract exists), the possibility of collaboration with the author, the experience of copy-editors, other professional demands of the translators, and so on. These factors can vary considerably from one country to another, from one publisher to another, and even from one translator to another, since more experienced and established translators will be obviously in a stronger position to negotiate terms of work.

Conclusion

In literary translation, style has been traditionally considered the exclusive domain of authors and their 'originals'. If the concept of style has not been applied to the work of translators, this is a result of translation having been traditionally seen as a derivative, rather than a creative activity. In this chapter, I have argued that the notion of style needs to be reclaimed and applied to the work of translators as literary artists. To this end, we have looked at how style is defined in literary stylistics, and at the essential components of style, before proposing a model where this concept can be applied to the translator's work. The model of translator's style proposed here is based upon that outlined by Baker (2000), and involves two stages. The first stage involves disclosing stylistic patterns that can be attributed to the translator, and the second one involves exploring the context of production in order to contextualise and interpret the findings. In the next chapter, the precise methods and techniques to be applied in such a model are described in detail.

3   Methodology: a data-driven approach to style

> (...) language is exceptionally rich in patterning
> and if you are looking for something specific you
> will usually find it unless your reasoning and
> intuition have both deserted you. (Sinclair 2003:

Introduction

In this chapter, I revisit the definition of 'corpus' offered in Chapter One in order to discuss in more detail the characteristics that differentiate a corpus from any other collection of texts. I offer an overview of the theoretical principles and practical considerations that are involved in the design and compilation of a corpus, before focusing on the process of design and compilation of the Corpus of Translations by Peter Bush (CTPB) and the Corpus of Translations by Margaret Jull Costa (CTMJC) that are the object of this study. Different approaches and methods in corpus analysis are discussed. The approach adopted for the purposes of the present study is described as data-driven and as making use of both quantitative and qualitative methods. We then turn our attention to the specific procedures used for data retrieval. In order to offer plausible explanations for the results, these have to be contextualised. The final section explains briefly how extra-textual information was collected and analysed for such purposes.

What is a corpus?

There is no unanimous agreement on the necessary and sufficient conditions for a collection of texts to be a corpus. Different definitions emphasise different aspects of this resource. The definition offered by McEnery and Wilson (1996: 87), for example, emphasises representativeness: "a body of text which is carefully sampled to be maximally representative of a language or language variety". The problem with making representativeness the defining characteristic of a corpus is that it is very difficult to evaluate and it will always depend on what the corpus is used for. Leech (1992: 106) opts for a more flexible 'definition': "a helluva lot of text, stored on a computer". Here,

the emphasis is obviously on size and medium, but no criterion is offered as to what differentiates a corpus from other collections of texts; Leech seems to imply that there is no need for such a distinction. Meyer (2002: xii) emphasises medium and purpose: "a body of text made available in computer-readable form for purposes of linguistic analysis".

The definition I have adopted here is that offered by Bowker and Pearson (2002: 9): "a large collection of authentic texts that have been gathered in electronic form according to a specific set of criteria". This definition brings together all the characteristics highlighted in the definitions mentioned above and is more flexible than that offered by McEnery and Wilson (1996). According to Bowker and Pearson's definition, there are four aspects that differentiate a corpus from other collections of texts: size, authenticity of the data, means of storage and selection criteria. Authentic data is generally understood as naturally occurring data, that is, not originally created or elicited for the purpose of linguistic analysis. Selection criteria are related to both representativeness and purpose. The assumption is that the corpus is intended to be "used as a representative sample of a particular language or subset of that language" (Bowker and Pearon 2002: 9). However, in making selection criteria and not representativeness the defining characteristic, Bowker and Pearson allow for a certain flexibility that reflects more accurately the fact that corpus representativeness is always dependent on the purpose for which it is used and on the specific linguistic features under study. For example, a corpus that represents accurately the distribution of a common feature - say, pronouns - in a certain language subset may not represent accurately a more rare feature, such as the use of reported speech, in the same subset. Generally, corpora are intended to be long-term resources and to be used for a variety of studies, so representativeness cannot be ensured at the design stage. The reference to means of storage in Bowker and Pearson's definition is instrumental in differentiating current corpus linguistics from a longer-established tradition of manually analysing collections of texts - in some cases also relatively extensive - for purposes of extracting data. Regarding size, Bowker and Pearson only indicate that a corpus should be 'large'. Giving more precise indications of size is problematic because whether a corpus is 'large' will depend on what it tries to represent. As a common-sense criterion, Bowker and Pearson suggest: "a greater number of texts than you would be able to easily collect and read in printed form" (2002: 10).

Corpus design

Theoretical considerations: representativeness and sampling strategies

As mentioned above, representativeness is a function of the aim of the corpus; in other words, it depends on *what* we want to represent. Kenny (2001: 106) notes that the notion of representativeness generally applied in corpus linguistics is borrowed from the theory of statistical sampling, where knowledge of a whole, the target population, is inferred from knowledge of a part, the sample. In sampling theory, a population is understood as "the set of *all possible* values of a variable" (Woods *et al* 1986: 49). However, as Kenny observes, this definition cannot be straightforwardly applied to the kind of research carried out in corpus linguistics, where "representativeness is typically imputed to data collections themselves, and there is generally no single variable on the basis of which the target population can be defined" (2001: 106). Besides, as Atkins *et al* (1992: 4) point out, "there is no obvious unit of language (words? sentences? texts?) which is to be sampled and which can be used to define the population". Using texts as the units in a population seems to be the most common approach. McEnery and Wilson (1996: 96), for example, talk about "populations of texts", and according to Biber (1993: 243), defining the target population involves deciding what texts are included and excluded (setting the boundaries of the population), the categories of texts and how these are defined (organising the population). But, Kenny notes, "there is no foolproof way of fixing boundaries to what can be considered texts in a given language" (2001: 106). In studies of narrative fiction, as is the present case, texts can be whole short stories or novels, but when the object of study is spoken language, the start and end of a text are not so clear cut.

The bottom line in corpus design, as Biber points out, is that the parameters of a fully representative corpus cannot be determined at the outset (1993: 256). Biber (ibid) and Atkins *et al* (1992: 6) recommend proceeding in a cyclical fashion, building a provisional corpus first and only attempting to control the balance afterwards, with feedback from the corpus users. Woods *et al* (1986: 55) also note that most investigators work with limited resources and that for exploratory studies

it would be extravagant to demand sufficient resources for sampling to be carried out in the required fashion. Therefore, the pragmatic solution is:

> … to accept the results of each study, in the first place, as though any
> sampling had been carried out in a theoretically 'correct' fashion. If these
> results are interesting…. there is time enough to question how the sample
> was obtained and *whether this is likely to have a bearing on the validity
> of the conclusions reached.* (Woods *et al* 1986: 55)

However, there are ways in which the researchers can and should attempt to ensure the reliability and replicability of results. In the first place, it is essential to describe carefully how the sample was selected (Woods *et al* 1986: 56) and to publish a detailed list of what is included in the corpus (Sinclair 1991: 13). In addition, every possible attempt has to be made to ensure that the corpus includes the full range of variability in that population and that there is a certain balance among the different values in the range (Biber 1993). Range and balance will depend on a thorough definition of the target population and the sampling methods chosen (ibid: 243). In order to establish which texts belong to the target population, texts can be categorised according to external or internal criteria. External criteria are situationally defined, they relate the text to the context and mode of production. The determining factors are, for example, registers, genres, regional varieties, and so on. Internal criteria are linguistically defined, based on counts of linguistic features. External distinctions tend to take precedence because the identification of salient linguistic features requires a pre-existing representative corpus of texts for analysis (Biber 1993: 245) and, in practice, texts are often selected on external criteria only. However, this is far from ideal, as Atkins *et al* (1992) point out:[1]

> A corpus selected entirely on internal criteria would yield no information
> about the relation between language and its context of situation. A corpus
> selected entirely on external criteria would be liable to miss significant

[1] See also Simon (2002), who shows that the British National Corpus, despite its aim to characterise the state of contemporary British English, and as a result of having been compiled on the basis of external criteria only, also includes evidence of Irish English.

variation among texts since its categories are not motivated by textual (but by contextual) factors (Atkins *et al* 1992: 5).

A combination of criteria can be achieved if we proceed in a cyclical fashion, starting by selecting texts according to external distinctions and then, through empirical investigation, refining the selection in order to attain a more adequate balance of internal, linguistic features (Biber 1993).

Once a selection criterion has been decided upon, we need to find an appropriate sampling frame. A sampling frame is an "operational definition of the population, an itemized listing of population members from which a representative sample can be chosen" (ibid: 244). For written published texts, the most commonly used frame is a comprehensive bibliographical index. The next step is deciding on the sampling methodology, which involves deciding on the number of texts per text type, samples per text, and words per sample. In order to avoid covert or overt bias, texts are sometimes selected using random sampling techniques. These are procedures that allow "every element in the population a known probability of being selected in the sample" (Woods *et al* 1986: 52).One such method is known as stratified sampling and it involves identifying subgroups (strata) within the target population and sampling each of them using random techniques (Biber 1993: 244). This method has been commonly used in corpus linguistics, and is the one recommended by Biber who claims that "stratified samples are almost always more representative than non-stratified samples (and they are never less representative)" (ibid). However, McEnery and Wilson (1996: 65) point out that:

> strata, like corpus annotation, are an act of interpretation on the part of
> the corpus builder because they are founded on particular ways of
> dividing up language into entities such as genres which it may be argued
> are not naturally inherent within it.

Stratified sampling can be applied across texts as well as within texts, using the typical structural divisions such as chapters, sections and paragraphs. This brings up the question of whether to use full texts or text extracts. On the one hand, text extracts allow better coverage of a language. Since occurrences of new types (different words)

decrease throughout the course of a text, the frequency of new types is consistently higher in cross-text samples than in single-text samples (Biber 1993: 252). In addition, having extracts of equal length facilitates statistical comparisons between texts. On the other hand, few linguistic features of a text are evenly distributed throughout the text (Sinclair 1991: 19; Stubbs 1996: 32). Empirical investigation of the distribution of linguistic features within texts indicates that "frequency counts for common linguistic features are relatively stable across 1,000 word samples, while frequency counts for rare features (…) are less stable and require longer text samples to be reliably represented" (Biber 1993: 249). Kennedy (1998: 74) notes that even samples of 2,000-5,000 words, which are reliable for many linguistic studies, may not be so for studies of discourse, "where larger samples involving cohesion or the characteristics of introductory, developmental and concluding sections of texts may be needed."

In studies of style, the use of full texts is generally recommended:

> The need to control stylistic parameters leads to the concern with a
> unified authorial effort and consistent style. Similarly, if the corpus is to
> provide the basis for studies of cohesion, discourse analysis, and text
> linguistics - all linguistic patterning beyond the sentence or paragraph -
> then the integrity of the samples as textual units ought to be taken into
> consideration. (Atkins *et al*, 1992: 2).

Practical considerations: time and text availability

Apart from theoretical considerations, when designing a corpus it is important to bear in mind the restrictions imposed by text availability and time. Building a corpus is a time-consuming process, especially when the texts are not already available in electronic format. Making electronic copies of substantial parts of a publication generally requires the consent of the copyright holder. The process of identifying who the copyright holder is, contacting them and negotiating permissions can itself take up valuable time. Small corpus-building projects are generally carried out with limited funding, which means that when publishers require payment of royalties for the use of certain texts, these texts have to be left out. This problem can be avoided by using material for which the copyright has

expired, although this has to be assessed against the benefits of being able to describe contemporary texts and say something about translation and translators today.

After permission is cleared, the texts need to be converted to electronic form. Kenny estimated that scanning the texts for a corpus of approximately 2 million words takes around 38 hours, and this is only a fraction of the time required to edit and proof-read a corpus of that size, which Kenny estimates takes around 320 hours (2001: 118, 119). If the corpus is annotated and aligned, that will add several hours more per text.

Structural mark-up, linguistic annotation and alignment

A basic distinction is made between structural mark-up and linguistic annotation of corpora. Structural mark-up provides descriptive information about the texts. Using SGML (Standard Generalized Mark-up Language) or XML (eXtensible Mark-up Language) it is possible to annotate the corpus with information about paragraph breaks, subdivisions, titles, footnotes, and so on. Extra-textual information (for example, author, publisher, date of publication) is usually included in the form of a header, that is, a separate file associated with the text but stored separately. The Text Encoding Initiative (TEI)[2] provides a set of guidelines for encoding extra-textual and structural information which are intended as a standard for the representation of electronic texts to be used in research and teaching (Sperberg-McQueen and Burnard 2002).

The recording of basic extra-textual information is essential: not only does it allow researchers to associate the textual patterns revealed with elements of the context of situation, but it also ensures the transparency and replicability of the methodology. What is 'basic' in terms of extra-textual information will depend on the type of text. In the case of published fiction, for example, it would include name of author, publisher, date of publication, edition, whether it is translated, and if so, by whom. Kenny (2001: 119) also notes that the recording of attributes takes on greater

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[2] See http: //www.tei-c.org/ (last accessed on 16th May, 2005).

importance as a corpus grows and the number of users of the corpus grows. Full standardised documentation is important when the corpus is a resource shared by many users.

Linguistic annotation can take several forms, the most common being part-of-speech tagging, usually carried out automatically by computer programs called 'taggers' on the basis of statistical information (likelihood that a given part-of-speech will occur in a given context) or rules of grammar written into the tagger. Taggers can have accuracy rates exceeding 95% (Meyer 2002: 91). Syntactic information can also be inserted using automatic parsers, although accuracy rates are only 70% to 80% at best (ibid). Procedures for semantic and discourse tagging are also being explored (see Garside *et al* 1997), but they are not widely used as yet.

Meyer (2002: 81) claims that for a corpus to be "fully useful" to potential users, it needs to be annotated. Other researchers, however, favour the use of 'raw' texts. Tognini-Bonelli, for example, points out that in a tagged or parsed corpus, the categories of analysis are not derived from the data itself but imposed by the linguist on the basis of pre-existing theories (2001: 73-74). This means that a restriction is already imposed on the findings, because anything that may challenge pre-existing assumptions will not be revealed. Research using large corpora of authentic texts has led linguists to revise many long-established assumptions in linguistics. A concrete example is provided by Sinclair (1991) and concerns the role of the word 'of'. This word has generally been classified as a preposition, but corpus evidence shows that while prepositions are principally involved in combining with following nouns to produce prepositional phrases, the main role of 'of' is to combine with preceding nouns to form nominal groups. Therefore, describing 'of' as a preposition requires us to believe that "the word which is by far the commonest member of its class … is not normally used in the structure which is by far the commonest structure for the class" (ibid: 83). The advantage of using linguistic annotation, on the other hand, is that it can make certain searches far more precise or far more general than would otherwise be possible. From a purely stylistic point of view, it may be worth comparing the use of past and present tense in a particular corpus, and this would not be possible unless the corpus was tagged. At the end of the day, the

decision of whether to annotate a corpus or not will depend on what we are searching for.

When the corpus is a parallel corpus, its usability is greatly enhanced by aligning the source and target texts. The alignment process consists of associating source text units with the corresponding target text units, which allows them to be retrieved together using a parallel concordancer. Several computational techniques have been developed to align parallel corpora automatically or semi-automatically at paragraph, sentence and word level (for an overview of research done in this area see Oakes and McEnery, 2000).

Design of CTMJC and CTPB

The aim of this study is to show that the stylistic preferences of a translator can be traced in the translation product, and to find out whether those preferences can tell us something about the translator's approach to his or her task. According to the definition of translator's style proposed in Chapter Two, revealing stylistic patterns that can be attributed to a translator would involve:

- identifying stylistic patterns across translations by the same translator of a variety of source texts, preferably by different authors;
- comparing these patterns against the source texts to establish that they are not reflecting source language preferences and are not determined by systemic differences between source and target languages; and
- comparing results with the work of other translators in order to determine whether the patterns differentiate the work of the translator in question from that of others.

In the first place, then, we need a parallel corpus made of translations of a variety of source texts carried out by the same translator. For purposes of comparison we would need, as a minimum, another parallel corpus of translations into the same language (and preferably from the same language) by a different translator. The more diverse the style of the source texts, the more likely it is that the patterns found across the translations could be attributed to the translator (and not, for example, to source-text characteristics or the author's style). Arguably, it would be desirable to have one or more source texts

by the same author, or group of authors, translated by the same two translators. Winters' studies of the style of two translators, for example, are based on a corpus consisting of one English source text and two German translations by two different translators done in the same year (2004a, 2004b, 2005). Despite the obvious advantage of keeping the source text variable constant, this model has the disadvantage of being difficult to replicate. In contrast, the model proposed here could be replicated using the work of almost any translator who has translated two or more different authors.

Having clearly established the aim of the corpora to be built, the next step was to define, or rather, narrow down, the target population. This process started with the selection of the narrative genre, made on the assumption that this genre offers more freedom with regard to stylistic choices and therefore it would be easier to identify translator-specific preferences. As Kenny (2001: 112) points out, literary texts are claimed to give full rein to the creative potential of language while other text categories draw on a reduced linguistic potential. However, no extensive contrastive investigations have been carried out that would enable us to ascertain with confidence whether this is indeed the case (ibid). The choice of literary texts also offers some practical advantages: they are commercially available and generally well documented in terms of, for example, author, translator, data of publication, publisher and copyright holder.

The next step was to select the direction of translation and the translators whose work was to be analysed. The choice of source and target languages is necessarily limited by the linguistic competence of the researcher (Kenny 2001: 111). Another important factor in this case was the availability of corpora from which comparative data could be extracted. English was chosen as the target language for this reason.

Margaret Jull Costa and Peter Bush were selected for a number of reasons, mainly having to do with the number and wide range of authors they have translated, and with the similarities in their cultural and professional backgrounds. The extent and diversity of their translation output was important to ensure that, even if permission for only a few texts was obtained, it would still be possible to ensure stylistic diversity across the source texts. Both Margaret Jull Costa and Peter Bush have translated from Spanish and Portuguese, and it was thought that including translations from more than one language would diminish the probability that any consistent patterns would be due to systemic

differences between source and target languages. They have also translated work produced in very different cultural backgrounds, and in the case of Margaret Jull Costa, in different historical periods. Regarding the translators' own cultural and professional backgrounds, both are British and have lived in Great Britain for most of their adult lives. Neither of them has an explicitly endorsed political agenda - such as feminist or minoritising translation - in relation to their professional work. This meant that differences in their style would be unlikely to be due to different translation traditions or to allegiance to different schools of thought. Finally, they are both highly acclaimed translators who have obtained prestigious awards for their translations, which meant that issues of quality were not likely to have any impact in my analysis.[3] Both Margaret Jull Costa and Peter Bush were contacted to request their permission to use their translations for the purposes of this study.

In the case of Margaret Jull Costa's translations, the sampling frame was a list of translations provided by the translator. In the case of Peter Bush, the list was put together on the basis of searches on the World Wide Web. Given our interest in a unified 'authorial' effort and consistent style (Atkins *et al* 1992: 2), it was decided that it would be important to have access to the full texts in electronic form. Although electronic copies made for purposes of research and private study generally fall under the terms of fair dealing, Olohan (2004: 50) notes that where whole works of literature are being scanned, copyright permission is likely to be required. In the present case, the translators hold the copyright for their translations and had authorised their use. However, publishers reserve the right to deny permission to make electronic copies,[4] so their permission was also requested. Kenny (2001: 115) notes that copyright holders introduce an element of self-selection into the corpus, therefore no attempts at stratified sampling were made at this stage. Rather, bearing in mind that permission needed to be granted for both source and target texts, an attempt was made to obtain authorisation for as wide a selection of works as possible.

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[3] More detailed information on the translators and their translations is provided in Chapter Six.
[4] This is generally established in the first pages of contemporary literary and academic publications.

Permission was requested for 18 translations by Margaret Jull Costa and most of their source texts (by 13 different authors);[5] and for 10 translations by Peter Bush and their source texts (by 5 different authors).[6] When permission had been granted for all the source and target texts in the list of translations by Peter Bush and for the work of six of the authors whose work was translated by Margaret Jull Costa, I decided to proceed with the analysis. Many of the translations by Margaret Jull Costa were published by the Random House group, which has a blanket policy of refusing requests to make electronic copies for research purposes. In one case, although permission was obtained for source and target texts, the source text was out of print. The final selection of texts was made with a view to ensuring that the corpus represented as far as possible the full range of variability in the work of each translator.

The full contents of the Corpus of Translations by Peter Bush (CTPB) and the Corpus of Translations by Margaret Jull Costa (CTMJC) are listed in Appendix A. Each corpus contains five source texts, by five different authors, and their translations. Peter Bush is represented with four translations from Spanish and one from Portuguese; Margaret Jull Costa with three translations from Spanish and two from Portuguese. In CTPB all the source texts were published from the 1980s onwards. In CTMJC, the dates of publication of the source texts span more than a century, from 1880 to 1993. All the translations were published in the last twenty years, the earliest being the first part of Goytisolo's autobiography, translated by Peter Bush as *Forbidden Territory,* published in 1989. With this exception and that of Paz's short story, *The woolf, the woods and the new man* (in CTPB), all the other texts are novels or novellas.

Corpus building: data capture, editing, mark-up and alignment

With the exception of the works by Mário de Sá-Carneiro and Eça de Queiroz, which have been published in electronic form by the Projecto Vercial,[7] all the other texts had to be converted to electronic form. The optical character recognition

[5] No permission was required for the work of Eça de Queiroz and Mário de Sá-Carneiro because their copyright had expired. Eça de Queiroz died in 1900 and Mário de Sá-Carneiro in 1916. According to Portuguese law (Decreto-Lei nº 334/97) copyright expires 70 years after the death of the author (http: //alumni.deec.uc.pt/~stranger/copyright.htm, last accessed on 15th May, 2005).
[6] These figures reflect the fact that the list of translations by Margaret Jull Costa is longer and includes work by a wider range of authors than that of translations by Peter Bush.
[7] See http: //web.ipn.pt/literatura// (last accessed on 15th May 2005).

(OCR) program used was Finereader 6.0 Professional. The program was 'trained' for each specific text. This involved recognising and manually correcting saved recognition patterns for the first 10 to 15 pages. Finereader highlights cases where the text is not particularly clear, so the scanned and recognised pages were visually inspected for errors on the screen before the text was saved. All recognised texts were first saved as Rich Text Format files (.rtf), preserving their basic layout and format, such as font type and page breaks. The texts were then spell-checked and edited using Word for Windows. Edits consisted of removing page breaks and redundant paragraph breaks and spaces.

It was decided that, at this stage, only minimal structural mark-up would be added to the texts, while remaining open as to the possibilities of adding more structural information or part-of-speech annotation at a later stage. The structural features marked up in the texts themselves were: headings, notes and italics. The tags used were SGML-type tags: <head>…</head> for headings, and <i>…</i>, for italics. The tags for notes include information on the type of note and the person responsible for it. For example, <note type=preface resp=author> signals the beginning of a preface written by the author. Front and back matter was stored separately from the main body of the text. After the tags were inserted, one copy of the texts was saved as a text file so that it could be processed using software such as Wordsmith Tools and ParaConc (described below).

The texts by Sá-Carneiro and Eça de Queiroz were converted from .pdf files to Word documents, tagged and stored. It emerged later that the electronic version of *Lúcio's Confession* by Sá-Carneiro published by Projeto Vercial did not reproduce a great number of the italics found in printed versions. This meant that I had to compare the electronic version with a printed copy of the text used for the translation and then insert the missing tags manually. This type of problem is not uncommon when the texts are not digitised following a standard procedure, which is one of the reasons why the Text Encoding Initiative insists on the need to document in full not only the text's characteristics but also information on the digitisation process itself.

CTPB and CTMJC were aligned using ParaConc (version 1.0, build 265),[8] a parallel concordancer and aligner. The aligning technique used by ParaConc is based on the premise that long sentences in one language are more likely to be translations of long sentences in the other, while short sentences in one language are more likely to be translations of short sentences in the other. Several types of alignment are allowed: for example, one sentence to one sentence (substitution), one sentence to none (deletion), one sentence to two (expansion), and so on. This technique has the advantage of not making any assumptions about the lexical content of the sentences and therefore can be used with any language pairs.[9] The main problem with programs based on sentence length is that once they have accidentally misaligned a pair of sentences, they tend to be unable to correct themselves and get back on track before the end of the paragraph (Simard *et al* 2000: 41). As a result, in literary texts, where it is common to find one sentence being translated as two or more, and vice versa, the risk of misalignment is greater.[10] In most texts, and inevitably in long texts such as whole novels, the alignment has to be corrected manually.

In principle, ParaConc can align texts of any length, but one pair of texts in CTPB (BOST and BOTT) presented problems because of the high number of paragraphs (1,328 in BOST and 1,155 in BOTT). This was solved by dividing the text in two parts. The results of the automatic alignment were generally very satisfactory. ParaConc uses colour coding to indicate the number of sentences within a larger unit, which facilitates the manual correction process. Numbers and other "alignment markers", such as dates, cognates, or punctuation marks, can be highlighted when the researcher views the aligned text, which also facilitates the correction process. Although it is possible to merge and split segments, and sentences within segments so as to correct the alignment, no edits can be done on the texts themselves. This is a disadvantage because when working with scanned texts it is not uncommon to come across a few recognition errors that could otherwise be corrected at this stage. As the program stands, any corrections

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[8] The version used for this project is still a beta version, i.e. the software has not been officially released to the public. ParaConc is distributed by Athelstan (http: //www.athel.com/para.html, last accessed on 18th May, 2005).
[9] Other aligning techniques, called linguistic or rationalistic, start by pairing lexical units which make up phrases, eventually accompanied by their dependency structures (Oakes and McEnery 2000).
[10] If the corpus has been annotated with SGML tags, ParaConc gives the user the option of using these tags in order to facilitate the alignment. In my experience, however, the best results were obtained with plain text versions.

would involve re-starting the alignment process and manual correction from the beginning.

Corpus analysis

Corpus-based and corpus-driven approaches

In general corpora have been used in translation studies as a testing-ground for pre-existing theories, in order to find quantitative data to support a certain hypothesis. Tognini-Bonelli (2001) calls this the corpus-based approach, and contrasts it with the corpus-driven approach, which starts from the observation of instances of authentic data and arrives at statements of a theoretical nature about the language or culture in question.

Tognini-Bonelli points out that corpus linguistics has offered insights into language that have challenged the underlying assumptions behind many well established theoretical positions in the field (ibid: 48). One of the long-held assumptions that corpus evidence has challenged, for instance, is that of the division between lexis and grammar.[11] Tognini-Bonelli (2001) argues that the main shortcoming of corpus-based studies is that it foregoes the potential to challenge theories and descriptions that were formulated before large corpora became available to inform language study. According to Tognini-Bonelli, corpus-based linguistics gives priority to the pre-existing theoretical statement and, rather than account for the variability of naturally occurring language, it attempts to "insulate it, standardise it and reduce it" (ibid: 67). The corpus-driven approach, on the other hand:

> builds up the theory step by step *in the presence of the evidence*, the
> observation of certain patterns leads to a hypothesis, which in turns leads
> to the generalisation in terms of rules of usage and finally finds
> unification in a theoretical statement (ibid: 17)

[11] A concrete example of the link between lexical meaning and syntactical patterns is provided by the word 'lap': when this word is used to refer to a part of the body, it is generally preceded by a preposition followed by a possessive adjective ('on your lap'), when the same word is used with a different co-text, it generally has a different meaning (Sinclair 2003: 73-80).

71

Although it may be useful for clarification purposes, the distinction proposed by Tognini-Bonelli is far too simplistic. As Tognini-Bonelli herself acknowledges, there is no such a thing as pure induction (ibid: 85), and intuition inevitably plays a part in any kind of research, from the selection of the phenomenon to be investigated to the interpretation of the results. Besides, there are no grounds to assume that corpus-based research will not be committed to the integrity of the data as a whole or aim to be comprehensive with respect to corpus-evidence, as Tognini-Bonelli seems to suggest (ibid: 84). Examples to the contrary are numerous in corpus-based translation studies (see, for example, Kenny 2001; Olohan 2001, 2003; Laviosa 1998b; Laviosa-Braithwaite 1997). The use of pre-existing hypotheses is not a problem in itself, as long as the exceptions to the norm are also accounted for and as long as we are prepared to revise our theories in the light of the data when this is required (Saldanha 2004).

Rather than categorising this study as corpus-based or corpus-driven, I will use the more general description of data-driven. This implies that it will be based on actual, authentic instances of language in context, and that it will accept and reflect the evidence (Sinclair 1991: 4-5). Another aspect of the methodology that can be described as data-driven is that, although we have a theoretical framework and a research question, I will not put forward any concrete hypotheses to be tested: the hypotheses will emerge from the data.

In studies of style, it is not possible to find and account for every possible pattern that is prominent in a given text or texts. Rather, we focus on one or a few stylistic patterns which, if they are prominent and have literary relevance, should be able to say something about the text or corpus as a whole. Spitzer (1948), in an essay that has had enormous influence in literary research until this day, argues that the smallest detail of language can disclose the 'soul' of a work. Literary analysis proceeds from the "awareness of having been struck by a detail" (ibid: 27). The first observation, which according to Spitzer, should be the result of reading and re-reading the text, triggers what he calls the philological circle. This philological circle, for which Spitzer is famous, is a data-driven technique to literary study, whereby the scholar starts by observing details about the "superficial appearance" of a particular work, then groups the details and seeks to integrate them into a creative principle; and finally makes the return

trip to all the other groups of observation in order to "find whether the 'inward form' one has tentatively constructed gives an account of the whole" (ibid: 19).

A key aspect of Spitzer's model is that the process starts from the observation and then moves on to the linguistic-literary explanation. An alternative mode of approach would be to first put forward a hypothesis based on our literary insight and then try to find evidence for or against it. The problem with this approach is that, given the great diversity of stylistic features and functions in a text, we run the risk of looking too narrowly into those areas where confirmatory evidence is likely to be found and, consequently, of focusing on those results that confirm the hypothesis and ignoring those that contradict it. An analysis of specific linguistic features necessarily shows a partial view of the data, so it is important that the selection of the features themselves is as impartial as possible. Hence the benefits of applying the data-driven principle of letting the data 'speak for itself' and approaching the corpus with few expectations as to what we may find. Only when we have observed certain patterns can we start proposing hypotheses and testing for factors that could be causing those effects.

So as to be true to this methodology, the information available on the two translators was not used to guide the analysis. Although I had established contact with the two translators and was aware of their writings on translation, I did not discuss their work with them or read their papers before the data had been analysed and I had reached my own conclusions. Had I proceeded in any other way, my search for stylistic patterns would not have been guided only by my intuition (which is inevitable) but also by the translators' insights.

Quantitative and qualitative approaches to data analysis

The use of corpora in linguistic research generally involves classifying and counting linguistic features and has therefore been considered the realm of quantitative analysis. However, the use of corpora does not exclude qualitative analysis, and Olohan notes that a combination of both approaches is desirable "if fuller descriptions of linguistic and translational phenomena are to be given and reasons suggested for their occurrence" (2004: 86). According to McEnery and Wilson, quantitative analysis "enables one to separate the wheat from the chaff" but "the picture that emerges … is necessarily less

rich than that obtained from qualitative analyses" (1996: 62-63). The aim of qualitative analysis is a complete detailed description and, "since it is not necessary to make the data fit into a finite number of categories" (ibid: 62), it enables very fine distinctions to be drawn.

Halliday (1971: 343) notes that, in stylistic investigations, whatever subsequent operations are performed, there has nearly always been some counting of linguistic elements in the text. Literary scholars have argued that style cannot be reduced to counting because it is a manifestation of the individual. But, Halliday argues, "if there is such a thing as a recognizable style, whether of a work, an author, or an entire period or literary tradition, its distinctive quality can in the last analysis be stated in terms of relative frequencies" (ibid). However, counting is not enough, because "what cannot be expressed statistically is foregrounding: figures do not tell use whether a particular pattern has or has not 'value in the game'" (ibid: 344).

In this study, quantitative methods will be used in the first stage in order to identify the stylistic features to be studied and to test whether they form consistent patterns and can be said to distinguish the work of the two translators. Qualitative analysis will then be used in order to establish whether the linguistic patterns are indeed foregrounded; in other words, if their prominence is motivated.

Quantitative methods in corpus linguistics vary widely, and can go from simple frequency counts to complex statistical techniques including significance tests. There are different views on the usefulness and reliability of significance tests in corpus linguistics. Many linguists highlight the need to demonstrate that any differences or similarities revealed are not due to chance, especially since sampling procedures cannot always guarantee representativeness (McEnery and Wilson 1996; Meyer 2002). However, the statistical tests used in corpus linguistics are generally those designed for use in the social sciences (Meyer 2002: 120), and transferring the methodology to a field where the nature of the data is essentially different presents some problems. For example, the most powerful tests used in the social sciences (parametric tests) assume that the data are normally distributed, which is often not true of linguistic data (Oakes 1998: 11; McEnery and Wilson 1996: 70). Non-parametric tests, such as chi-square, on the other hand, are unreliable with small frequencies. Besides, as Danielsson (2003)

points out, statistical tests in many cases do not show anything that cannot be revealed by simply comparing raw frequencies. Danielsson argues that, if something is recurrent in a text, it is there for a reason, but it cannot be expected that the reason may be discovered in a simple calculation, because "the distribution of words in texts is far more complex than a mathematical formula can perceive" (ibid: 114). Likewise, Halliday, whose theory of literary relevance is at the basis of the model I propose here, suggests that: "A rough indication of frequency is often just what is needed: enough to suggest why we should accept the analyst's assertion that some feature is prominent in the text, and to allow us to check his statements" (Halliday 1971: 344).

In this study statistical tests were not deemed necessary; however, we did have to go a step beyond raw frequencies. In the first place, it was important to compare results across texts of different lengths and corpora of different sizes, so frequencies had to be normalised. In the second place, a very simple statistical technique known as cross-tabulation was used. This capability can be found in any statistical package, such as Microsoft Excel (where it is called Pivot Tables). Cross-tabulation allows the analyst to arrange the data in particular ways to discover associations between two or more variables (Meyer 2002: 125). The use of cross-tabulation in this study is exemplified in the next section.

Data retrieval

Basic statistics

Two pieces of software were used to carry out the analysis: Wordsmith Tools[12] (version 3.0) for obtaining basic statistics and creating wordlists, and ParaConc for retrieving parallel concordances. The first step was to obtain basic statistical information using the Wordlist function in Wordsmith Tools. Wordlist creates two different lists of words (types) for a given text or corpus (an alphabetically ranked list and a frequency ranked list) and a table providing general statistical information. Tables 3.1 and 3.2 summarise some of the statistical information obtained for CTPB and CTJMC respectively.

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[12] Wordsmith Tools was developed by Mike Scott and is distributed by Oxford University Press (http://www.oup.co.uk/isbn/0-19-459400-9, last accessed on 18th May, 2005).

CTPB	Tokens		Sentences		Average sent. length	
	ST	TT	ST	TT	ST	TT
BP	10,508	10,831	514	586	19.50	18.01
BS	25,716	27,394	1,001	1,189	11.47	11.30
BP	61,713	64,831	1,808	2,564	20.13	17.88
BG	83,349	83,518	1,930	2,081	35.54	33.51
BB	32,691	35,413	1,559	1,586	18.64	19.98
Total	**213,977**	**221,987**	**6,812**	**8,006**	**22.84**	**21.39**

Table 3. 1 Basic statistical information for CTPB

CTMJC	Tokens		Sentences		Average sent. length	
	ST	TT	ST	TT	ST	TT
JCV	21,856	23,622	940	1,228	13.61	12.76
JCSC	26,334	29,942	1,412	1,250	12.90	14.78
JCSF	36,073	38,506	1,806	1,903	15.58	16.48
JCQ	20,393	23,538	754	811	20.34	19.12
JCVI	18,838	20,926	866	1,288	14.67	13.36
Total	**123,494**	**136,534**	**5,778**	**6,480**	**15.09**	**15.15**

Table 3. 2 Basic statistical information for CTMJC

'Tokens' are the number of running words, as opposed to 'types' (different words) in a text. The first thing we notice is that CTMJC is much smaller than CTPB. This was a result of including whole texts rather than text samples and will require the use of normalised rather than raw frequencies when making comparisons across texts and corpora. In all cases, the target texts are longer than the source texts. It has been suggested that this may be a typical feature of translations and that it may reflect a potentially universal tendency towards explicitation in translation (Baker 1996: 180). However, Klaudy and Károly (2005) argue that the length of source and target texts depends on whether the languages are synthetic or analytic.[13] English is a more analytic language than Spanish and Portuguese, which may explain why source texts are shorter

[13] Analytic languages tend to use syntax to convey information that is encoded via inflection in synthetic languages. Languages are rarely purely analytic or synthetic, they tend to combine elements of both types.

than target texts in CTPB and CTMJC. It is interesting to note, in any case, that the number of words in the target texts in CTMJC shows an increase of 10.5% in relation to the source texts, while in CTPB the increase is 3.7%. This could be indicating a tendency towards explicitation in Margaret Jull Costa's translations.

The number of sentences is generally higher in the target texts in both corpora. The average sentence length in the translations is generally quite similar to that of the source texts.

Parallel concordances

The bulk of the analysis carried out in this study involved looking at words in italics and within quotation marks, which were retrieved using ParaConc. Italics were tagged, so searching for '<i>*' retrieved all italics start tags followed by any other symbol. The search for quotation marks was slightly more complex because I was interested only in those uses of quotation marks that shared the same functions as italics. The quotation marks I was interested in were those used, for example, to highlight titles, names, words mentioned rather than used, foreign words, distance (for example scare quotes), specialist terms, etc. However, instances of quotations per se, were irrelevant for our purposes. By 'quotations' I mean here reported speech and thought, citations, and in general, all instances of language presented by the narrator as having been first uttered or written in a different fictional or real context.

Because the concordancer simply looks for strings of symbols and not functions (unless these are tagged) it was not possible to automatically filter out irrelevant instances. One of the main advantages of ParaConc, however, lies in the possibility to search for regular expressions, which allowed me to narrow down the number of relevant concordances. Regular expressions are patterns for a text string. A regular expression indicates, in general terms, what characteristics the text must have to fit a certain pattern: so, for example, the regular expression "colou?r" matches 'color' and 'colour', and "[a-z]+" matches any non-zero sequence of lower case letters.

In order to distinguish quotations proper from other word sequences within quotation marks I needed to find a distinguishing trait of one or the other group that could be

encoded using regular expressions. The one feature that was found to be constant in the expressions I was interested in was that they were generally shorter than 6 words. This cut-off point was established after several trials. This process was greatly facilitated by simple searches for quotation marks in the source texts. Neither Spanish nor Portuguese use quotation marks for dialogue or contractions, therefore it was possible to retrieve quotation marks from the source texts using a simple search.

The regular expression used to retrieve words within quotation marks was:

    (\b'(\w+\s){0,5}\w+'\b and \"(\w+\s){0,5}\w+\")

This expression identifies all instances of single or double quotation marks enclosing one to six words. In the case of single quotation marks the expression requires that the first one be preceded by a word boundary and the last one followed by a word boundary, where a word boundary can be, for example, a space or a punctuation mark. Concordances retrieved in this way were not all relevant, but because of their limited number it was possible to filter out irrelevant instances manually.

Italics and quotation marks were retrieved from each source and target text in both corpora. Chapter Five includes a small study of patterns of 'that/zero' variation after reporting verbs SAY and TELL. Relevant instances of these lemmas were also retrieved using Paraconc. The concordances in ParaConc can be sorted by user-defined categories, which are created by attaching labels to each concordance line. This facility was used in order to delete repeated concordances retrieved from source and target texts, for example, when italics were included in both versions.

Cross-tabulation

The concordances were saved as text and converted into tables in Microsoft Word. The tables were then copied into two Microsoft Excel spreadsheets (one for each translator) and instances of italics and quotation marks were classified according to:

- author of the source text

- whether the italics or quotation marks were carried over from the source texts, omitted in the target text, added in the target text, or replaced by one another (e.g. italics in the source texts replaced by quotation marks in the target text).
- functional categories, that is, the purposes for which italics or quotation marks were used; for example, to highlight titles, foreign words, names (a detailed list is provided in Chapter Four).

Further classification was required in order to find patterns within each functional category. So, for example, in order to establish patterns in the use of highlighted foreign words in each corpus all the instances were classified according to, among others, the following variables:

- L-ST = language of the highlighted lexical item in the source text: fr (for French), en (for English), etc.
- L-TT = language of the highlighted lexical item in the target text: fr, en, etc.
- Dict = whether the item in question appears in the Collins English Dictionary: y (for yes), n (for no), or 'diff-m' (yes, but with a different meaning).

Cross-tabulation was then used in order to arrange the data in different ways so as to test the effect of each variable. For example, it was thought that the degree of assimilation of a word of foreign origin into the English language would have an effect on whether the translator, upon finding such a word in the source text, would retain it or replace it by an English word. The degree of assimilation is not easy to assess, but inclusion in a reputable English dictionary, such as the Collins English Dictionary, can be used as a rough indication of assimilation. Therefore, in order to test this hypothesis, a Pivot Table was created in Excel in which the data was ordered first according to variable *L-ST*, followed by *Dict* and *L-TT*. Table 3.3 shows the results for French items in the source texts in CTPB.

There are a total of 22 French lexical items in the source texts in CTPB. Eleven of these are not included in the Collins English Dictionary. Most of these (9) are left in French in the target texts, and two are replaced by English words. Of the 11 items included in the dictionary, seven are kept in French in the target texts, and the other four (fr-diff) are replaced by different French words.

L-ST	Dict	L-TT	Total
fr	n	en	2
		fr	9
	n Total		11
	y	fr	7
		fr-diff	4
	y Total		11
fr Total			22

Table 3. 3 Example of cross-tabulation in CTPB

L-ST	Dict	L-TT	Total
fr	y-diff-m	en	1
	diff-m Total		1
	n	en	12
		fr	3
	n Total		15
	y	en	10
		fr	15
	y Total		25
fr Total			41

Table 3. 4 Example of cross-tabulation in CTMJC

Table 3.4 shows the results for French items in the source texts in CTMJC. There are a total of 41 French lexical items in the source texts in this corpus. There is one word which is included in the dictionary but with a different meaning. This item is replaced by an English word. There are 15 French lexical items that are not included in the dictionary, most of these (12) are replaced by English words in the target texts. There are 25 items that are included in the dictionary, 15 of these are kept in French in the target text and 10 are replaced by English words.

In sum, based on these results, Peter Bush seems to keep the French words found in the source texts and whether the words have been lexicalised (as measured by their inclusion in an English dictionary) does not seem to have a significant impact on his decision. Margaret Jull Costa, on the other hand, tends to replace French words with English words unless the French words are used in English. However, these results show a partial view of the data. If we were to bring other variables into account, such as source text, we would see that most French words (15) in CTPB appear in one text (BGST) and 40 of the 41 French words in source texts in CTMJC are equally divided between two of the five source texts (JCQST and JCSCST). In other words, the patterns are not consistent across the texts in each of the corpora.

Retrieval of foreign words

An initial look at the different uses of italics and quotation marks in CTPB and CTMJC showed that consistent differences in the choices made by the two translators could be revealed only in relation to emphatic italics and italics and quotation marks highlighting foreign words. In the case of emphatic italics, all relevant instances were recalled using parallel concordances. In the case of foreign words, the concordancer could only retrieve those that were highlighted using italics or quotation marks. The initial results indicated that highlighted source language words were more common in Peter Bush's translations than in Margaret Jull Costa's translations. However, no conclusions could be derived from these results. It was still possible that Margaret Jull Costa (or Peter Bush, for that matter) used source language words without setting them off by italics or quotation marks. Therefore, a more exhaustive search for foreign words had to be carried out so as to validate the results presented.

In corpora with minimal mark-up such as the ones compiled for this project, the search for foreign words is neither an easy nor a quick task. The corpus-analysis software available depends exclusively on graphic features for retrieval. Since foreign words had not been tagged and it is impossible to identify them purely on the basis of graphic characteristics, the only alternative is to use wordlists. The alphabetically-ranked wordlists created by Wordsmith Tools were used for this purpose but the foreign words had to be identified manually. Because Wordsmith wordlists neutralise all typographical differences - between upper and lower case, for example, and most importantly in this case, between roman and italic type - it was not possible to exclude italicised words and retrieve only foreign words in roman type. This meant that the foreign words retrieved from the wordlists necessarily overlapped with those retrieved from concordances of italicised items.

The manual retrieval of foreign words from wordlists is extremely time-consuming compared to, for example, the retrieval of graphically-marked features such as italics. Nevertheless, the availability of an alphabetically-ranked wordlist made it much faster than a purely manual retrieval of foreign words would have been. In fact, the possibility of producing wordlists automatically made the process quick enough for it to be cost

effective, in a way that reading through the novels pencil-in-hand would not have been (See Kenny 2001: 130-2 for a similar problem in identifying creative forms).

Apart from being time-consuming, the manual identification of foreign words is prone to human error. The analyst will inevitably miss some, although this risk can be minimised by adopting a careful and systematic approach. In order to ensure the highest possible degree of precision and recall, the process was carried out in stages, starting with a very inclusive approach, to maximise recall, and ending with a very strict and restricted filter, to maximise precision. The first stage involved going through the lists and identifying any potential foreign words, keeping an open mind and always resorting to context whenever in doubt. The identification was made purely on the basis of the researcher's intuition as a habitual and proficient user of English. A single list was created for all the target texts in both corpora so as to avoid any possible bias from the researcher's expectation that foreign words would be more common in one corpus than another. Each time a word of foreign origin was detected, a concordance was produced for that word so as to 1) identify in which text/s it appeared and, if in more than one, how many times it appeared in each; and 2) establish whether the word was a proper noun, a personal title, or part of a foreign language quotation or title, in which case it was left out. Then the relevant concordances were copied to an Excel table, with an indication of the associated text file and translator.

The second stage involved the participation of a native speaker who went through the lists filtering out words that were undoubtedly of common use in English. The last stage consisted of looking up the remaining words in the Collins English Dictionary and leaving out all those that were recorded in the dictionary. Judging the degree of assimilation of foreign words in a language is a rather complex matter. A native-speaker's intuition is probably too subjective. A reputable dictionary makes an informed and - arguably - less partial guide, but dictionaries do not always accurately reflect usage. However, the aim here is not to delve deeply into the nature of foreign words but rather to have a reliable indication of whether foreign words are more common in one corpus or another, and for this purpose a combination of both methods was deemed sufficient.

Comparative data

As indicated in Chapter Two, for a stylistic feature to be prominent, it has to be more or less frequent than expected. This expectation may be determined by a relative norm of comparison, such as provided by a comparable corpus. Halliday (1971: 343) argues that, even in the absence of such a norm, we can trust our expectancies, as readers, because they are based on our awareness of the probabilities inherent in the language. According to Halliday, our ability to perceive a statistical departure "is itself evidence of the essentially probabilistic nature of the language system" (ibid).

Notwithstanding the validity of Halliday's argument, the increasing availability of different types of corpora puts at our disposal more sophisticated ways of assessing the prominence of a linguistic feature. One such way is using reference corpora - also known as control corpora - to determine what is 'normal' and what is characteristic of a specialised corpus (see, for example, Stubbs 1996: 69-70; and Kenny 2001). Munday (1997) points out that control corpora are instrumental in order to check the "markedness" of the target texts, that is to gauge whether any translation shifts are the result of the typical "idiolect" of the translator or adherence to typical TL patterns.

An adequate reference corpus for our purposes would be a corpus of translations of Spanish and Portuguese narrative prose into English by many different translators. A fully comparable corpus against which to judge the results from CTPB and CTMJC was not available. The Translational English Corpus (described in Chapter One), which includes twenty one translations from Spanish and Portuguese, would have been suitable for our purposes, but italics are not tagged in that corpus, so comparative data could not be extracted from it. COMPARA, a bi-directional parallel corpus of Portuguese and English narrative, was thought to provide a reasonable point of reference.

The main problem with using COMPARA as a control corpus was that all the translations are from Portuguese, while only three of the ten translations in CTPB and CTMJC are from that language. However, given that Spanish and Portuguese are closely related languages, and the fact that the results to be compared would be those for the English texts only, this was not thought to be a major drawback. Another difference to bear in mind is that the texts in COMPARA are extracts (30 % of the total number of

words) and not full texts as in CTMJC and CTPB, but since the results are normalised, this was not a primary concern. In other respects, COMPARA is a very good source of comparative data. At the time of writing, it includes 34 English translations (totalling 700,554 tokens) of 33 different Portuguese texts, and 24 Portuguese translations (675,466 tokens) of 22 different English texts.[14] The translations into English were carried out by 16 different translators and, with one exception, they were all published in the last 30 years. Finally, an important advantage of using COMPARA was that it is freely accessible via the World Wide Web through an on-line concordancer, and that instances of emphatic italics and foreign words have been tagged, so they were easily retrievable.[15]

Analysis of interview data

As pointed out in Chapter Two, in order to explore potential motivations in terms of the translators' cultural and ideological positions, it is necessary to go beyond the textual data and look at the context of translation. For this, we need to resort to extratextual material. In the study of the translator's style, then, as in the study of translational norms (Toury 1987: 91), we need to resort to two sources of information: 1) the translated texts themselves and 2) extratextual, semi-theoretical or critical formulations; such as prescriptive theories, critical appraisals, statements made by translators, editors, publishers, and so forth. The information obtained from the analysis of the translations themselves should be verified against the information obtained from external sources (and vice versa). This procedure is commonly known in the social sciences as triangulation, and it involves checking the results obtained using one method of investigation or source of data against those obtained using another method or source (Bryman 2001: 274).

Information about the translators and their work was obtained from published academic papers by the translators and from interviews carried out by the researcher. The analysis of these data involved, first, reading the translators' papers and identifying recurring themes and specific comments that might shed light on the motivations for the stylistic

[14] COMPARA is an on-going project and texts are constantly being added to it.
[15] More information on the corpus is available from the website: http: //www.linguateca.pt/COMPARA/, last accessed on 21st May, 2005.

patterns revealed by the textual analysis. The interview schedules were then designed with the aim of exploring in more detail some of the opinions voiced by the translators in their writings, and eliciting their views on the results from the study.

King (1994: 16) argues that the qualitative research interview is the most appropriate when "a quantitative study has been carried out, and qualitative data are required to validate particular measures or to clarify and illustrate the meaning of the findings". Therefore, this method was adopted in the present research. The interviews were semi-structured, so, while the researcher had a set of questions, these were not necessarily asked in a fixed order and other questions arose during the interviews.[16] In semi-structured qualitative research interviews the interviewees are not expected to passively respond to questions but are given the space and encouraged (to some extent) to shape the course of the interview. In this way, the interviewer can assess what matters are of most concern to the interviewee on a particular subject.

The interviews were recorded, with the permission of the translators, and transcribed.[17] The interview data was then organised according to the themes that had been previously identified in the translators' writings. No new relevant themes emerged from the interviews, but they did help to flesh out some of the views expressed in the papers and were invaluable in validating the results of the textual analysis.

Conclusion

In this chapter I have described the methodological steps involved in an investigation of translators' style according to the model proposed in Chapter Two. The first step consists in building a corpus designed specifically for the purposes of studying the style of a particular translator. Data were retrieved and analysed using a data-driven approach, where - to put it in Sinclair's (1991: 27) words - we "plod through the detail" until a pattern emerges. No hypotheses are put forward as to where stylistic patterns may be found and what these may tell us about the translators' approaches. Rather, the hypotheses emerge from the data and are then tested for the effects of different variables

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[16] For a more detailed description of this interviewing method see Breakwell (1990).

[17] The interviews are not reproduced in full for reasons of confidentiality. Excerpts from the interviews reproduced in this thesis were approved by the two translators.

to establish whether the patterns can be attributed to the translators' stylistic preferences. The process of describing stylistic patterns involves both quantitative and qualitative analyses. The first stage involves counting instances and classifying them, taking into account all possibly relevant variables. At the second stage, a more in-depth, qualitative analysis is carried out in order to determine whether the patterns revealed in the first instance have literary relevance. To this effect, the function of each instance in its context is considered and the overall effect of the stylistic preferences in relation to the underlying functions of language are assessed. Comparative data obtained from a reference corpus are used in order to determine to what extent each translator's behaviour conforms with, or differs from, that of other translators. Finally, the results are interpreted in the light of information about the translators and the context of translation. Information about the translators is obtained from metatexts and interviews with the translators.

4 The use of emphatic italics as a stylistic device in translations by Margaret Jull Costa

> Of all the conventions of print that make no objective sense, the use of italics is the one that puzzles most. How *does* it work?
>
> Truss (2003: 145)

Introduction

This chapter introduces italics, the typographical feature upon which the bulk of the research presented here is based. After explaining how the use of italics can reveal areas of interest to researchers in translation studies, I offer a brief overview of the conventions for using italics as established in English, Spanish and Portuguese style guides. I provide a classification of italics and quotation marks according to their function and present an overview of the uses of italics and quotation marks in the two corpora. I then focus on instances of omission and addition of italics and quotation marks in the translations. My findings suggest that the only two features that appear to differentiate the work of the two translators are italics used for emphasis and italics and quotation marks highlighting foreign words. The rest of this chapter deals with one specific function of italics, that of emphasis. Emphatic italics are very common in the Corpus of Translations by Margaret Jull Costa (CTMJC) but not in the Corpus of Translations by Peter Bush (CTPB). I first present quantitative results describing patterns of use in source texts and translations in CTMJC. Drawing on systemic-functional linguistics and speech act theory, I then discuss the communicative function of emphatic italics in English. A second look at the results based on this discussion leads to an analysis that is more refined in qualitative terms. I finish by highlighting the potential implications of the patterns revealed in terms of the two translators' styles.

Why italics?

Traditionally, typography has not been seen as directly relevant to linguistics or translation studies. In recent years, however, experts from the fields of typography and

applied linguistics have started to explore the links between the two disciplines (see, for example, Crystal 1998 and Walker 2001). In translation studies, the work of Schopp (1996, 2002) calls attention to the relevance of typographical knowledge for translators. As Schopp (1996) points out, the availability of sophisticated text processing software has entailed more responsibilities for translators in all matters concerning the formatting of the translation product.

Typography refers to the visual organisation (or *articulation*, in typographic terminology) of written language. A text's visual organisation will inevitably have an impact on how it is understood and interpreted by readers; it may facilitate readability or highlight some piece of information at the expense of others. This impact is more obvious in certain types of texts, a typical example being advertising material. Certain typographic features, such as font size and layout, are also more obviously significant than others. Edwards and Walker (1995, reported in Walker 2001) show how characteristics such as font size, layout, colour and print quality in bilingual texts can be indicative of the different status of the languages represented. Certain fonts can have rather specific cultural connotations of which translators need to be aware; the use of the *Fette Fraktur* type, for example, is associated with neo-Nazism (Schopp 2002: 275). The effects of other features may be more subtle but nonetheless significant. This is the case with italics and capital letters. Given the strict and conventional typesetting rules that apply to the literary narrative genre, italics are one of the few extralinguistic devices that can call the reader's attention to particular forms, and also one of the few that the text's originator (author/translator), rather than the text producer (typesetter), has control over.

Walker (2001: 12) remarks that italic type can be used for a number of communicative functions depending on the context including:
- distinction (for example, when used for a book title),
- differentiation (for example, when used to denote a foreign word), and
- emphasis (to draw attention to a particular word).

The first function mentioned by Walker is what Fowler calls the "decorative" use of italics (Fowler 1965: 313); in other words, italics are used - in the same way that any other type or type-size might be used - to distinguish parts of the text (prefaces, chapter

headings, dedications, etc.). In some cases, the change in type may have another communicative purpose beyond that of distinction. In CTPB, for example, there are two texts where whole sections are in italics in the source and target versions: Goytisolo´s *Coto Vedado* and Onetti's *Para esta noche.* The italics in these cases mark a change in the narrative voice and in the fictional point of view. However, a different font could probably have been used to the same effect. In published literary texts, matters of presentation are generally beyond the control of the translators; therefore, this use of italics will not concern us here.

Italics used for differentiation, however, can highlight areas of potential interest for the translation studies scholar. Foreign words are of obvious interest to translators. In translations, source language words that are not translated, for example, may point to culture-specific elements. Hermans notes that "it is precisely with respect to the cultural embedding of texts ... that the Translator's voice often directly and openly intrudes into the discourse to provide information deemed necessary to safeguard adequate communication with the new audience" (1996a: 29). Italics can also differentiate words or terms that are mentioned rather than used, some of which may be instances of self-reflexiveness or self-referentiality. These are described by Hermans (ibid) as cases where the language's economy is exploited through wordplay and similar devices or where reference is made to the particular language in which the text is written. Example 4.1 illustrates the differentiating function of italics. Here, the highlighted words are foreign and used self-referentially. The author, Juan Goytisolo, compares the terms for 'firefly' in Spanish and Catalan. The translator, Peter Bush, by leaving the words in the original language, has chosen a solution that does disturb - at least to some extent - the illusion of transparency.

E.4.1   BGST: ... la belleza misteriosa del término "luciérnaga" frente a la
                 grosería y miseria del "cuca de llum" local
                 BGTT: ... the mysterious beauty of the term *luciérnaga* as opposed to
                 the miserable obscenity of the local *cuca de llum*

In terms of stylistic significance, however, maybe the most interesting function of italics is the third one listed by Walker: emphasis. In English, italics are sometimes used to convey in print what is usually conveyed by a change of tempo or tone in speech, as in

example 4.2. Spanish and Portuguese also use italics for emphasis but, as will be revealed in this study, not so frequently and not always for the same communicative purposes as in English.

E.4.2   JCVST: Me dijeron que antes vivía en Nueva York: usted debe de estar muy enferma

JCVTT: I was told that before, you lived in New York: you *must* be ill.

The two functions of italics described above are quite different from each other and so are the potential issues they raise concerning the translator's style. The fact that the data to be retrieved will fall under categories that seem to be connected to each other only by their typographic realisation may raise some questions as to the wisdom of taking italics as a starting point. On the other hand, the diversity of the data retrieved can be an advantage. In Chapter Three, I described this as a data-driven study that attempts to let the data speak for itself rather than find evidence to confirm hypotheses. The absence of pre-existing hypotheses makes the exploration of the data much less predictable. In any data-driven analysis some of the searches will produce uninteresting results or results that, because of a number of circumstances, cannot be explained within the limits of the research project where they were first revealed. The risk of not finding eloquent patterns can never be completely eliminated. However, observing one feature that can illuminate several potentially interesting but relatively unrelated areas reduces the risk of an unfruitful search, because the absence of patterns in one area does not necessarily imply an absence of patterns in another area. It is likely that in some areas no pattern will be found, or the data will be too scarce to point in any specific direction, or it may be that interesting stylistic patterns are found in more that one area. If the latter is the case, it will be interesting to see if and how the stylistic effects brought about by these patterns, assuming that they do have such effects, interact with each other.

The functions of differentiation, distinction and emphasis described above are very broad categories that have served here to explain why the use of italics has been chosen as a point of departure. However, in order to describe the range of functions that italics have been found to perform in each of the corpora, we need a more fine-grained model. The following section offers a more detailed description of the functions of italics in

English as well as in Spanish and Portuguese. This description will provide the basis for a typology of italics that will be used in order to present the results in a systematic way.

As we will see, the results show that in many cases italics in the target texts replace quotation marks in the source text, and vice versa. This is because there is a certain amount of overlap between the functions performed by italics and quotation marks. For this reason, it was necessary to include quotation marks in the analysis, and those functions of quotation marks that are sometimes shared by italics are also described below.

A typology of italics and quotation marks according to their functions

To my knowledge, with the exception of Slancarova (1998) and López Folgado (2000), there have been no descriptive studies (cross-linguistic or of any other kind) of the use of italics in English, Spanish or Portuguese. López Folgado (2000) focuses on the use of italics in translations from English into Spanish. The model developed by López Folgado deals with emphatic italics only, and his classification seems limited to the examples he presents; therefore it was thought inadequate to account for the more diverse data presented here. Slancarova (1998) compares the use of italics in English and Czech. Slancarova's classification is based on the use of italics prescribed by different style guides and on the evidence from her corpora. This approach is adopted in the current study.

Typography has a long-standing prescriptive tradition (Walker 2001: 87), which explains the considerable authority that style manuals have held since they first appeared in the last decade of the nineteenth century. The most popular manuals, as Walker remarks, have sometimes assumed the status of a national standard and can be seen as representing a body of knowledge that reflects contemporary practice (ibid). Those that fall in the category of standard works in the UK are, according to Walker (2001: 89):

- *Hart's Rules for Compositors and Readers at the University Press Oxford, by H. Hart.* Last edition: 1983.

- *Authors' and Printers' dictionary*, by F.H. Collins. The last edition was edited by Ritter (2000) under the title *The Oxford dictionary for writers and editors*.
- *Copy-Editing: the Cambridge handbook for editors, authors and publishers*, by J. Butcher. Last edition: 1992.

In 2004 Cambridge published another guide, *The Cambridge Guide to English Usage* (Peters 2004), which is designed to be more than a style manual for editors, authors and publishers. This new guide presents a more flexible view of style than previous ones and includes elements of typographic house style along with linguistic issues of style. Another advantage of *The Cambridge Guide* is that, apart from linguistic principles and typographic rules, it takes into account usage evidence. Peters (2004:vii) highlights that it is the first guide of its kind to use corpora and computerised texts as primary sources of data on current English.

It has been suggested that "Romance" and "Germanic typographic cultures" may have different preferences in relation to the use of italics (Schopp, personal communication). Therefore, it is important to note where the conventions differ from one language to another or where contradictory traditions co-exist in a single language. This would help us to determine whether the omission or addition of italics and quotation marks in the target texts can be explained as the result of different typographical conventions, or whether it marks a more meaningful intervention on the part of the translator.

Martínez de Sousa (2001) notes that, in Spanish, publishers' style guides have not been that common. His *Manual de Estilo de la Lengua Española,* published in 2001, was one of the first of its kind. The few sources of information previously available were dictionaries (of typography, orthography, writing and style) and editing manuals, many written by Martínez de Sousa himself. His *Diccionario de tipografía y del libro* (Martínez de Sousa 1974) contains the most comprehensive description of uses of italics and quotations marks that I have been able to find and therefore has been used as a reference here, instead of the *Manual de Estilo*. There are also a few journalistic style guides that have become established as authorities in the area, such as the *Manual de español urgente* published by Agencia Efe (1989), and the style guides published by newspapers such as *El País* (1990) and *ABC* (1993). The situation in Brazilian Portuguese is similar; the best-known style guides are those produced by *O Estado de*

São Paulo (Martins 2003), a Brazilian newspaper, and the publisher Editora Abril (1990). In European Portuguese, the *Prontuário Ortográfico da Língua Portuguesa* (Bergström and Reis 1997) is often cited as an authority.

Table 4.1 summarises the recommendations for the use of italics and quotation marks in the English, Spanish and Portuguese reference works mentioned above. Only those functions that are relevant to the present study are mentioned. There are other uses listed in the style guides that were not included because they are either specific to a certain type of document (e.g. the use of italics for parties in legal cases) or because they do not occur in the corpus (e.g. the use of italics to highlight archaisms). It should be noted that, in order to provide a clear picture and a classification that could be used as a framework to present the corpus data, it was necessary to summarise and adapt the general recommendations found in the guides to the specific cases found in the corpora. As a result, the picture presented in Table 4.1 simplifies to some extent the content of the guides.

Most guides coincide in recommending italics to distinguish 'main titles', such as titles of books, periodicals, and other publications, as well as plays, films and other works of art. The category 'secondary titles' refers to articles, chapters in books and, in general, titles of shorter compositions, including songs. It is generally agreed that quotation marks should be used in these cases. Names of ships, trains, airplanes are usually italicised in all three languages. The use of italics for artistic names, nicknames and names of pets and other animals, on the other hand, is mentioned only in Spanish and Portuguese styles guides.

'Foreign words' is the only category for which italics are recommended in all the guides, even if sometimes quotation marks are also mentioned. Foreign words are a rather thorny issue because of the difficulty in defining them. Some guides specify - rather vaguely - that they are those that have not been incorporated in the lexicon of the language, sometimes directing the reader to specific dictionaries (such as *The Oxford Dictionary for Writers and Editors*) for further reference. Others include lists of foreign words that should or should not be italicised. Some guides mention Latin expressions and abbreviations separately.

	English				Spanish				Portuguese		
	Hart's Rules	*Oxford dictionary*	*Cambridge handbook*	*Cambridge Guide*	*Dicc. de tipografía*	*Manual de Agencia Efe*	*Libro de El País*	*Libro de ABC*	*Manual de O Estado de SP*	*Manual da Editora Abril*	*Prontuário Ortográfico*
Main Titles	I	I	I	I	I		I	QM	I	I	I
Secondary Titles	QM	QM		QM	QM		I	QM		QM	QM
Names of ships, trains, etc.	I		I	I	I		I	QM		I	
Names of animals, nicknames, artistic names, etc.					I		I/QM	QM	I	QM	
Foreign Words	I	I	I	I/QM	I	I/QM	I/QM	I	I	I	I/QM
Words etc. mentioned rather than used	QM	I	I/QM	I	I/QM	I	I	I	I/QM	QM	I/QM
Emphasis		I	I	I/QM	I/QM		I/QM		I/QM	I/QM	I/QM
Distance			QM	QM	QM	QM	I	QM	I		I/QM
Neologisms				I		QM	I/QM	QM			
Specialist terms	QM		I	I/QM							
Slang/ Dialectal use	QM				I				I		
Citations	QM	QM	QM	QM	QM	QM	QM	QM	QM	QM	QM
Quotations in foreign languages			QM		QM		QM	QM		I/QM	
Motto or slogan									QM		

Table 4. 1 Uses of italics and quotation marks listed in style guides and dictionaries in English, Spanish and Portuguese

Recommendations are less consistent regarding how to distinguish words, letters and expressions that are mentioned rather than used. Typical examples are words that are defined or explained, or when a writer comments on their form, pronunciation or how they are used in a particular context. Although this specific function of italics does not appear listed as one of the uses of italics in most of the Spanish guides (those by El País, ABC and Agencia Efe), the guide themselves still use italics for this purpose.

The use of italics for emphasis is discussed in more detail below. Guides are generally vague about this function, in some cases mentioning it together with non-literal meanings (El País 1990) and in others failing to distinguish it from words mentioned rather than used (Martins 2003).

With the term 'distance' I refer to the effect produced, for example, by scare quotes, used when the writer wants to comment on an inappropriate choice of words, convey an ironic tone or simply signal that the word or expression used is not what the writer him or herself would have chosen. The English guides tend to refer to these as scare or sneer quotes and the Spanish and Portuguese guides talk specifically about irony and second or figurative meaning. However, it was noted during the analysis that it is not always possible to differentiate these cases from others where writers simply want to point out that the word or expression used is not their own. What all these cases have in common is the effect of detachment between the writer and the use of the word or expression in question, and this is why I chose to include them all under the category 'distance'.

All guides agree on the use of quotation marks for reported speech and thought as well as citations, although it should be pointed out that dashes - and not quotation marks - are used to set off dialogue in both Spanish and Portuguese. The guide by Editora Abril (1990) is the only one to recommend distinguishing foreign quotations with italics as well as quotation marks, although this is a common use of italics in source texts in CTPB and CTMJC. The categories of neologisms, technical terms, dialectal uses, mottoes and slogans are self-explanatory and too infrequent in CTPB and CTMJC to justify individual analysis.

Martínez de Sousa (2001: 38) remarks on the uniformity of criteria applied by journalistic style guides and points out that in terms of lexis and orthography there are

hardly any differences between the recommendations of the different guides. However, I found that Spanish is the language where there is least agreement on the use of italics and quotation marks. The *ABC* style manual, for example, prescribes quotation marks in almost all cases where *El Pais* prescribes italics. Walker (2001: 100) also remarks on the "consensus about the treatment of particular house style conventions in manuals written around the same time, for the same kind of publication". To prove her point, Walker takes a selection of (English) manuals from the last hundred years and does a small survey of the rules given for the treatment of everyday conventions such as dates, book titles, quotation marks, emphasis and so on. The survey does show a high degree of consensus and little change over that period. Concerning italics, 14 of the 24 guides recognise the use of italics for emphasis, while the rest do not list emphasis among the functions of italics (ibid: 101-102). As can be seen from Table 4.1, the more modern editions of the *Oxford Dictionary* and the Cambridge style guides also tend to advocate the use of italics for emphasis. *Hart's Rules* seems at odds with the Oxford and Cambridge, however; probably because it is the earliest and has not been regularly updated to reflect the changes brought about by the use of text processing software. The relatively recent option of actually writing in italics (instead of underlining what is supposed to be rendered by typographers in italics, as used to be the custom) seems to have resulted in a much more frequent use of that type. The *Prontuário Ortográfico* (Bergström and Reis 1997: 52) actually specifies that, although quotation marks can be used for rare or foreign words, emphasis, non-literal uses and words mentioned rather than used, they should be replaced by italics in printed texts.

Despite the notorious influence that style guides have had and the fact that they are still regularly quoted as authorities, Walker (2001: 86) observes that "their influence and authority at the end of the twentieth century is not as great as it was at the beginning". From the 1980s onwards, writers have gained more control over the visual organisation of the documents they produce by typesetting and formatting them at their desktops (ibid: 97). Decisions such as which words to mark as foreign, where to use emphasis or where to quote reported speech are likely to be left to the authors and translators.

An overview of italics in CTMJC and CTPB

Table 4.2 summarises the total number of occurrences of italics and quotation marks in the source and target texts for the two corpora. As this table shows, most of the target text occurrences of italics and quotation marks in both corpora have been carried across from the source texts. However, there are also cases of addition, i.e. instances of italics and quotation marks in the target texts that do not correspond to instances of italics or quotation marks in the source texts; and of 'omissions', instances that appear in the source text but are not reproduced in the target texts. Table 4.2 shows that although both translators add and omit italics, Jull Costa tends to omit more italics and quotation marks than Bush. However, these general frequencies, without taking into account the functions that italics are performing in each case, can say very little about the translators' strategies.

	CTMJC		CTPB	
	Source Texts	Target Texts	Source Texts	Target Texts
Total number of italics	**298**	**271**	**277**	**341**
Carried across	173	173	229	229
Omitted	113	n/a	43	n/a
Added	n/a	82	n/a	98
Replaced by quotation marks	12	n/a	5	n/a
Replacing quotation marks	n/a	16	n/a	14
Total number of quotation marks	**133**	**91**	**126**	**108**
Carried across	49	49	92	92
Omitted	68	n/a	20	n/a
Added	n/a	30	n/a	11

Table 4. 2 Overview of the use of italics and quotation marks in CTMJC and CTPB

From our point of view, instances of omissions and additions are the most interesting, since these are the cases where the translator's choices differ from those of the author. It is in these instances that the translator's own voice may be heard more clearly. Tables 4.3 and 4.4 show the distribution of omitted and added italics and quotation marks according to their function in the two corpora. In these tables, cases where italics or quotation marks are carried across or where one typographical signal replaces another were not included. Added italics and quotation marks were counted together, as were omitted italics and quotation marks.

Additions in CTMJC	
Emphasis	39
Foreign words	38
Mentioned rather than used	13
Foreign/mentioned rather than used	7
Distance	3
Titles	4
Names	3
Other	2
Distance/foreign words	2
Foreign language quotation	1
Total added	112
Omissions in CTMJC	
Names	64
Foreign words	58
Emphasis	34
Distance	15
Other	4
Mentioned rather than used	3
Titles	2
Names/mentioned rather than used	1
Total omitted	181

Table 4. 3 Distribution of added and omitted italics according to their function in CTMJC

Additions in CTPB	
Foreign words	75
Mentioned rather than used	11
Foreign/mentioned rather than used	7
Names	6
Titles	4
Other	3
Distance	3
Total added	109
Omissions in CTPB	
Foreign words	30
Names	18
Titles	5
Distance	4
Mentioned rather than used	4
Foreign language quotation	1
Other	1
Total omitted	63

Table 4. 4 Distribution of added and omitted italics according to their function in CTPB

The two most important findings revealed by these tables are:

1) The foreign words category figures prominently in both corpora. Italics and quotation marks distinguishing foreign words are:

- the most commonly omitted and added in CTPB,
- the second most commonly added in CTMJC,
- the second most commonly omitted in CTMJC.

2) Italics for emphasis (quotation marks are never used for this purpose) figure prominently in CTMJC but not in CTPB, and

3) The names category figures prominently among omissions in CTMJC.

A closer look at the results reveals that the only features that appear to differentiate the work of the two translators are italics used for emphasis and highlighted foreign words. Therefore, these uses of italics will be the main focus of the analysis. Before we focus

on emphatic italics and foreign words, however, I will provide a brief overview of the results concerning other uses of italics.

There is a great deal of overlap between the functions performed by italics and quotation marks in the two corpora. Foreign words can be mentioned rather than used, as in example 4.1 above. Words mentioned rather than used can also, for example, be names or specialist terms. In example 4.3, "young master" is quoted as having been said by someone other than the narrator, but, at the same time, the words are mentioned rather than used, and there is also an element of distance (disapproval).

E.4.3   BBTT: The porter's willing because he wants to carry my case, wants to run and open the lift for me, wants to call me 'young master' and say the good son returns home.

In our discussion of style guides, we noted that italics and quotation marks tend to be used to distinguish names of animals, nicknames and artistic names in Spanish and Portuguese but not in English. This is the reason for the high number of omissions of italics and quotation marks distinguishing names in CTMJC and CTPB. This is a clear case where the differences between source text and target texts are due to system-oriented typographical conventions rather than individual stylistic preferences. A potentially interesting avenue of research would involve looking at how names are translated or whether the translator tends to explicate those names that might be unfamiliar to the target reader. A closer look at the instances retrieved from CTPB and CTMJC, however, did not reveal any clear patterns in this regard. Besides, a study of names would have required an investigation of italicised and non-italicised names, the latter being more difficult to retrieve.

The use of italics to mark words mentioned rather than used is much more common in the target texts than in the source texts of the two corpora. In most cases the corresponding words in the source texts are also mentioned rather than used and there is no apparent reason why italics or quotation marks have not been used (see example 4.4). Admittedly, in this example and in most cases where no italics or quotation marks are used in the source text, the fact that the word is mentioned rather than used is also signalled by textual devices. In example 4.4 "ahora" and "now" are introduced,

respectively by "la palabra" and "the word". In other cases the verb CALL is used. The more frequent use of italics and quotation marks to mark these cases in English could be simply a reflection of a norm that is more strictly observed in certain typographic cultures than in others. It could also be evidence of explicitation in translation, since the metalinguistic function is clearer when italics or quotation marks are used. However, overall, no clear trends were noted that would differentiate the work of the two translators.

E.4.4   BOST: No estoy disparatando, piense en la palabra ahora.
          BOTT: I'm not being stupid, just think of the word "now".

Titles were found to be particularly common in certain texts, such as *Forbidden Territory* in CTPB and *Lúcio's Confession* in CTMJC. The two translators generally follow the same strategy: titles of literary works and periodicals that are in their original language (be that the source language or any other) in the source text, are kept in that language in the translated text. The few that appear in translation in the source text are generally replaced by the corresponding existing translation in English. Titles of reference works and fictional titles (i.e. belonging to the fictional world of the narrator) are generally translated. Instances of explicitation were observed in both corpora. For example, in CTPB we find "*Verde Olivo*" rendered as "the army magazine" (in BPTT), and "*Juegos de Mano*" as "my first novel, *Juegos de Manos*" (in BGTT). In CTMJC, "read Faublas" is rendered as "read *Les Amours du Chevalier de Faublas*" (in JCQTT), and "seu volume Diadema" as "his volume of poems, *Diadem*" (in JCSCTT). Explicitation is relatively more common in CTMJC, where 8 out of 40 titles are accompanied by explicitation, compared to 7 out of 178 titles in CTPB.

No overall strategies were observed in relation to italics and quotation marks signalling distance. In the vast majority of cases, the target texts reproduce the italics and quotation marks used for this purpose in the source texts. Foreign quotations occur mostly in one source text in CTPB (*Forbidden Territory*) and they are generally reproduced in the same language (French, Catalan and Arabic) in the target text. Other uses of italics, such as specialist terms, dialectal uses and mottoes, were too rare to be counted separately. These are grouped under 'Other' in Table 4.4.

Emphatic italics in CTMJC

A first look at the results

Appendix B provides a complete list of instances of emphatic italics in CTMJC. The number of italics added, omitted and carried across from the source texts are summarised in Table 4.5 below. There are 172 instances of italics in the source texts and 177 in the target texts. Most of the 177 occurrences in the target texts have been carried across from the source text but 22 % (39 instances) are additions. From the point of view of the source texts, approximately 20% of all emphatic italics (34 instances) have been omitted. The added italics are clearly not compensating for the omitted italics: while the addition of italics is a recurrent phenomenon in 4 of the 5 translations, 32 of the 34 omissions are concentrated in one file pair. Cases of italics carried across from the source texts are not evenly distributed between the texts either, approximately 96% of the instances belong to the text by Sá-Carneiro and its translation.

	File pair	Total
Added	JCQ	6
	JCSC	13
	JCV	16
	CVI	4
Total added		39
Carried across	JCQ	4
	JCSC	133
	JCV	1
Total carried across		138
Omitted	JCQ	2
	JCSC	32
Total omitted		34

Table 4. 5 Emphatic italics added, omitted and carried across in CTMJC

We note that Jull Costa tends to reproduce italics used for emphasis, although not in all cases, and that she regularly adds typographical emphasis to her texts. This is in stark contrast to what we find in CTPB, where there is only one instance of italics for emphasis in the translations and this instance is carried across from the source text (BGST). During the interview, Bush explains that he doesn't actually like using italics, and that he tries to bring the emphasis using other stylistic resources.

The use of italics for emphasis has sometimes been associated with poor style. Fowler (1965: 313) describes it as "a primitive way of soliciting attention". Truss, in a 'Zero Tolerance' guide to punctuation that has become very popular thanks to her humorous approach, warns readers that:

> Like the exclamation mark, however, italics should be used sparingly for the purposes of emphasis - partly because they are a confession of stylistic failure, and partly because readers glancing at a page of type might unconsciously clock the italicised bit before starting their proper work of beginning in the top left-hand corner (2003: 147).

Although it may be true that italics can be overused, I would like to argue here that the view of italics as a stylistic failure is simplistic in that it ignores the fact that italics perform an important communicative function. In order to understand what the use or avoidance of emphatic italics tells us in terms of a writer's or a translator's style, it is first necessary to understand the communicative function performed by emphatic italics.

The communicative function of emphatic italics

None of the English style guides mentioned above discusses in any detail when italics should be used for emphasis and when not, or what is meant by emphasis. Only Fowler (1926, 1965), whose *Dictionary of Modern English Usage* is also one of the standard style guides in Britain (although addressed to writers rather than typographers), devotes any substantial attention to this question, and he points out that there is more to emphatic italics than just 'good' or 'bad' style. On the one hand, Fowler (1965: 313) expects the "practised writer" to know that "it is an insult to the reader's intelligence to admonish him periodically by a change of type that he must now be on the alert". On the other hand, Fowler (ibid) also recognises that "italics have definite work to do when a word or two are so printed", and he lists - among other uses - cases where the italics may be saying to the reader:

a) 'This word, and not the whole phrase of which it forms part, contains the point'
b) 'This word is in sharp contrast to the one you may be expecting'

c) 'These two words are in sharp contrast'

d) 'If the sentence were being spoken, there would be a stress on this word'

e) 'This word wants thinking over to yield its full content'

This is probably one of the first attempts to describe the communicative function of emphatic italics in a text and Fowler's is still, to the best of my knowledge, the only English style guide that addresses the issue.[1] In what follows, I try to look in more depth at the role of emphatic italics, bringing in insights from information structure theory and speech-act theory.

The first thing to be pointed out regarding the function of italics is that - as noted by, among others, McAteer (1990) and López Folgado (2000) - they facilitate understanding and the interpretation of the intended meaning. McAteer (1990), in a study that compares readers' interpretations in passages where italics and capitals are sometimes used and sometimes not, demonstrates that italics can actually lead readers to adopt one of two possible interpretations. Facilitating understanding is a tendency commonly attributed to translators. This observation is at the basis of the 'explicitation' and 'simplication' hypotheses that have been put forward as potential translation universals (see Chapter One). However, the communicative function of italics is more complex than that. The physical salience of a word signals its informational salience and therefore it can be used to signal a marked information structure. Information structure refers to the way that given and new information is organised in a message (Halliday 1967). Given information represents the common ground between speaker and hearer and acts as a reference point to which the new information can be related. In an unmarked information structure, given information precedes new information. Within each information unit, a certain element or elements are selected as points of prominence within the message. These are the information focus or foci. What is focal is 'new' information, in the sense that the speaker presents it as not being recoverable from the preceding discourse. This does not necessarily mean that it has not been previously mentioned, although this is often the case.

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[1] The latest edition of Fowler's Modern English, edited by Burchfield (1996) is not an exception.

According to Halliday (ibid), information structure in English is realised by intonation patterns. In the unmarked option, one information unit is one clause, but clause and information unit are not necessarily co-extensive; the information unit is actually a phonological unit, realised by (and co-extensive with) the tone group, with the tonic accent - what we usually perceive as stress - falling on the new information (ibid). In general, the tonic falls on the final accented lexical item of a tone group. In this case we can speak of unmarked focus. When the tonic falls anywhere else, the focus is marked. In (hypothetical) example 4.5.a, if the information focus is unmarked, the tonic accent will fall on 'listened'. If the stress is placed on any other part of the sentence, this will become the 'marked' information focus, as in examples 4.5.b and 4.5.c (the symbol // marks the boundary of a tonic unit and the tonic accent is underlined when the focus is marked)

E.4.5.a   //he has listened //
E.4.5.b   //he has listened //
E.4.5.c   //he has listened //

The question now is what happens in written language if information focus is marked through intonation and stress? According to Halliday and Hasan (1976: 325), the information system is a feature only of spoken English. However, Baker (1992) argues that analysing written language in terms of given and new is feasible. Syntactic patterns and punctuation can be used to distinguish between new and given information and typographical signals are commonly used to indicate stress. Thus, the italics in example 4.6, which place the hypothetical example provided above in context, perform their function of emphasis by association with the prosodic patterns of English. In other words, they reproduce in written form the focal stress that is conveyed prosodically in spoken English. The fact that italics, a typographical feature, are used in order to mark information focus, is probably evidence of the essentially prosodic (as opposed to syntactic or lexical) nature of the information system in English.

E.4.6   JCVST: That's why he warns her to listen to what her body is telling her. 'As I think I mentioned before, the body is governed by very idiosyncratic rules.'

It's clear that *he* has listened to her body, through the stethoscope that is.

Halliday (1967: 204) points out that new information does not have to be new in the literal sense of the word; the focal information may be a feature of mood rather than cognitive content, as when a speaker confirms an asserted proposition (see example 4.5.c). It may also be a matter of contrast with what has been said before or what might be expected (ibid: 206), as in example 4.6. Halliday notes that in any information unit that is non-initial in a discourse, recoverable information tends to be represented anaphorically, for example by using items of extralinguistic, situational reference, such as pronominals and demonstratives (ibid). When reference items are used anaphorically, 'new' is always to be interpreted as 'contrastive', i.e. as contrary to some alternative. Prominence in any closed system (such as pronouns, verbal auxiliaries and prepositions) is inherently contrastive, therefore the information focus on such items also implies contrast (ibid: 207). We could say that in example 4.5.c, 'has' marks a contrast with other possibilities such as 'has not listened' or 'will listen'. However, when the speaker confirms something, the focal information is a feature of mood, not of cognitive content. In these cases, what is emphasised is the speech function of the information unit, i.e. whether it is a command, request, confirmation, contradiction, etc.

Halliday does not go as far as providing a classification of information focus according to whether the focus is contrastive, a feature of mood or of cognitive content. For the purposes of this study, a distinction along these lines was considered useful, so I propose to distinguish here between three types of italics used to signal information focus. It should be noted, however, that some cases present an important degree of ambiguity, so the classification inevitably involves an element of subjectivity. Besides, this classification was devised specifically for the purposes of dealing with the data from this study and should not be taken as a comprehensive classification of information focus.

Arguably, information focus is inherently contrastive, not only because it imposes a distinction between given and new, but also because by selecting any one element as new, it is necessarily excluding others (in this sense, language itself is inherently contrastive). However, the information presented as new can be marked as cumulative to - rather than as opposed to - what has preceded, as in example 4.7. In other cases,

although a contrast is somehow implicit, it is not possible to pin down the unrealised possibilities that the new information excludes, as in example 4.8.

E.4.7   JCSCTT: I was filled by the desire to caress them, to possess them - in order to *satisfy* my feelings of tenderness…

E.4.8   JCSCTT: … actors - even the greatest, like Bernhardt or Novelli - were never more than mummers, mere intellectuals who *learned* their parts…

In examples 4.7 and 4.8, it could be said that the focus lies in the lexical content of the words highlighted. Therefore, these cases will be differentiated from those where the information focus is contrastive in the sense that it belongs to a closed system (as in example 4.6) or because the context makes the list of possibilities a closed set, as in example 4.9.

E.4.9   JCVTT: 'What do you mean "*civil* war"; we're the military!'

The third type of information focus I would like to distinguish is that which Halliday describes as a feature of mood. If we look at this kind of emphasis from the perspective of speech act theory, we could call this kind of emphasis 'illocutionary', in the sense that it highlights the illocutionary force (or function) of the information unit. Hervey (1998: 11) defines the illocutionary function of an utterance as "the performative intention which the utterance serves". In example 4.10, by stressing 'are', the speaker is emphasising the intention of confirming. Illocutionary focus may imply a contrastive focus in some cases (for example when the intention is to confirm or concede), however, the term 'contrastive focus' will be reserved here for those instances where the stress does not affect the illocutionary function of the speech act.

E.4.10   JCVTT: There *are* some soldiers here, but they act as a kind of guarantee.

So far we have described how information structure is realised in English. However, as Baker points out, in some languages stress and intonation are not available as devices to signal new information (Baker 1992: 151). Romance languages tend to have more

constant intonation patterns and therefore tend to resort to other means to mark information status (see, for example, Vallduvi and Engdahl 1996). Spanish and Portuguese, for instance, have a freer word order than languages such as English, and therefore exploit this freedom to mark information status. However, prosody is also used in those languages (see, for example, Face 2002). Another way of marking information focus is to use illocutionary particles, particularly when the speaker wants to emphasise the illocutionary function of the utterance.

According to Hervey (1998), there are three categories of units which are capable of forming sentences and endowing them with illocutionary functions: illocutionary particles, prosodic features (intonation and stress) and sequential focus (i.e. word order). Illocutionary particles are sentential units whose function consists in marking sentences for particular communicative purposes. They "look like words" but are different from them in that their meaning is illocutionary (ibid: 15). Examples are 'please' in English, 'schon' in German and 'ojalá' in Spanish. Hervey suggests that some languages tend to make predominant use of one or the other category (ibid). The prominent use of intonation is characteristic of English, whereas the prominent use of illocutionary particles is characteristic of German. In Spanish and Portuguese the tendency is to use sequential focus. However, illocutionary particles also exist in those languages, although Hervey *et al* note that they are even less common than in English (1995: 74).

In translation, it is important to take into account the preferred systems in each language. With regard to French-English translation, Hervey and Higgins suggest that "what is expressed in French through sequential focus, perhaps in combination with illocutionary particles, is often most idiomatically expressed in English through voice stress and intonation alone" (2002: 107). Concerning Spanish-English translation, Hervey *et al* stress the different uses of illocutionary particles in the two languages. The scarcity of illocutionary particles in Spanish means that "the most idiomatic rendering of Spanish sentences containing no illocutionary particles is frequently by English sentences marked by illocutionary particles" (1995: 74). Nevertheless, given that English, despite using more illocutionary particles than Spanish and Portuguese, still uses intonation prominently, Hervey and Higgins' observation about French-English translation is also valid for Spanish-English and Portuguese-English translation.

Whatever the case, we should not forget that the three possibilities (illocutionary particles, intonation and sequential focus) are available in all the languages under discussion. In example 4.11 (where the source text for part of example 4.5 is provided), the information focus is marked by the use of the affirmative 'sí', an illocutionary particle, after the second person pronoun 'él'.

E.4.11   JCVST: Se ve que él sí ha escuchado, a través del estetoscopio se entiende.
          JCVTT: It's clear that *he* has listened to her body, through the stethoscope that is.

Before moving on to have a second look at the data, I would like to make a brief remark regarding the concept of markedness when italics are used to signal information focus. The distinction between marked and unmarked information in spoken English as presented by Halliday (1967) suggests that whenever the focus is on the last accented lexical item of the tone group, it is unmarked, because this is the default location for the tonic segment. However, it happens in spoken discourse that sometimes we place 'extra' stress on the tonic segment, and it happens in writing that the focus is italicised despite being the last accented lexical item in a clause. In the context of the analysis presented here, I would like to argue that whenever italics are used to signal information focus, this can be considered as marked, since the 'default' or unmarked realisation would be non-italicised.

A second look at the results

We noted above that when italics are used for emphasis in the source text they tend to be carried across to the target texts in CTMJC, omissions being relatively rare. However, emphatic italics are used only in two of the source texts. What is a constant feature in four of the translations is the addition of italics. What is more, 38 of the 39 instances of italics added in the translated texts mark information focus, whereas in the source texts the emphasis created by the italics seems to be predominantly of a different kind. Jull Costa, probably guided by her native speaker intuition (since she claims not to be aware of any particular tendency in her use of italics), is using a typically English stylistic resource to create an effect that, if present in the source text, is realised by

different means. In other words, if these italics are intended to recreate the same marked information structure found in the source text, then they are doing so by a process of 'compensation in kind' (Hervey and Higgins 1992), since italics are not used in the source text for this purpose. Compensation is understood here as "a technique for making up for the loss of a source text effect by recreating a similar effect in the target text through means that are specific to the target language and/or the target text" (Harvey 1995: 66). Compensation in kind occurs when one type of textual effect in the source text is made up by another type in the target text (Hervey and Higgins 1992: 35). In CTMJC, 17 instances of added italics could be said to be employed to this effect. A good example is 4.11, discussed above, where the italics in English are used to recreate the effect produced by the illocutionary particle 'sí' in Spanish. In another case (example 4.12), the italics compensate for information focus that is marked through syntactic means. Here, the Portuguese places the verb 'existe' (exists) in the rightmost position within the clause complex, which is the 'default' place for new information in Portuguese as in English. This tendency towards a 'left to right' form of organisation in the information unit, where new and more complex information tends to be placed at the end, is called the end-focus principle (Halliday 1967: 205, Baker 1992: 145-146). Although it is not possible to reproduce this effect syntactically in English, because the word order is less flexible, thanks to English's more flexible intonation patterns, the same effect is re-created by using italics to indicate that the stress should be on the verb 'is'.

E.4.12 JCSCST: Não lhe sei explicar - contudo pressinto, tenho a certeza, que essa ação existe.

JCSCTT: I'm not sure I can explain, but I sense, indeed I'm sure, that there *is* a connection.'

In all the other instances (22), compensation does not seem to be the aim of the translator (see example 4.13).

E.4.13 JCVST: -Volví para encontrarme con eso y no con esto.

JCVTT: 'I came back to find *that* not *this*.(...)'

Given the size of the corpus and the relatively short stretches retrieved by the parallel concordancer, it is not possible to account for displaced or generalized compensation

(Harvey 1995).[2] It is worth noting, however, that information focus does not lend itself well to displaced compensation because focus is a matter of placing. In other words, the loss of emphasis in one information unit cannot really be compensated by emphasis on another unit. Nevertheless, the cumulative effect of the regular use of italics, which we describe below as evoking informal, involved language, could possibly be compensating for the loss of a similar effect realised by some other means in the source text.

All the instances of italics marking information focus have been classified according to whether the focus is contrastive, or emphasises the illocutionary force or lexical content. The most common type of added emphasis (20 instances) is that which affects the illocutionary function of the information unit (see examples 4.10 and 4.12), followed by contrastive focus (16 instances, see examples 4.9, 4.11, and 4.13). Only 2 of the added italics could be said to highlight the semantic content of a word and these cases are not clear-cut. In example 4.14, it could be argued that it is the meaning of 'know' that is being emphasised, but at the same time, the aim may be to stress the force of the acknowledgement.

4.14   JCSCST: Em face de todas as pessoas que eu sei que deveria estimar...
        JCSCTT: Face to face with all the people I *know* I should value...

If we look at the emphatic italics in the source texts, we find that the vast majority appear in one text, *A Confissão de Lúcio* by Mário de Sá-Carneiro. There is only one instance in the text by Valenzuela, where the italics have been carried across to the translation and they mark information focus. In Queiroz's text, there are 6 instances of emphatic italics in the source text. Only in two cases could they be said to mark information focus. In one case the italics are carried across, and in the other they are omitted. In the case where they have been omitted (example 4.15) it could be argued that, because the italicised pronoun 'ele' (he) is repeated in two consecutive sentences, the information loses its novelty and the emphasis becomes more affective than

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[2] Instances of displaced compensation occur at a point in the target text that is a long distance from the source text loss (Harvey 1995: 83). Generalized compensation occurs "where the target texts includes stylistic features that help to naturalize the text for the target reader and that aim to achieve a comparable number and quality of text effects, without these being tied to any specific instances of source text loss" (ibid: 84).

informational. We could also argue that Jull Costa compensates for the affective emphasis by translating 'perpetuamente' (literally: perpetually) with "again and again from that moment on", thus emphasising the idea of constant and long-term recurrence. There are four other cases in Queiroz's text where the emphatic italics do not mark information focus, as in example 4.16 below.[3] This other type of emphatic italics is frequently used by Sá-Carneiro and is briefly discussed below.

E.4.15   JCQST: Era *ele*, outra vez! E foi *ele*, perpetuamente!
JCQTT: It was *him*, again! And it was him again and again from that moment on!

E.4.16   JCQST: Então, alucinado, sentindo atrás rugir a turba, abandonado de todo o socorro humano - *precisei de Deus!*
JCQTT: Mad with fear and beyond all human help, with the crowd roaring at my heels, I needed God!

In the text by Sá-Carneiro there are 165 cases of emphatic italics. In 68 instances the italics mark information focus. Of these, 19 have been omitted in the translations and 49 have been carried across, although 9 of these have been shifted, i.e. they have been reproduced in the translation but not over the exact same words. In 10 of the 19 cases of omission, the omission has been partly compensated, for example using cleft clauses, repetition, illocutionary particles such as 'indeed', or by applying the principle of end focus, as in example 4.17. Here, "nesse" ('in that one') is translated by "being part of that ending".

E.4.17 JCSCST: *Nesse*, contudo, nunca eu me figurava.
JCSCTT: However, I never imagined myself being part of that ending.

In the 68 examples under consideration, the focus, when marked in the source text, never affects the illocutionary force of the information unit. In some cases (16) it is contrastive, and in most (50) it calls attention to the lexical meaning of the highlighted

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[3] The italicised segment in the source text is translated as 'I needed God!'.

word.[4] This is worth noting because emphasis on lexical content is the least frequently found in the translations. Jull Costa tends to highlight either the illocutionary function or the contrastive aspect of the focus. This may explain why most of the omissions of italics marking information focus (15 out of 19) are of italics highlighting lexical content. Finally, it should be noted also that it is in the translation of Sá-Carneiro's text that we find the one instance of added emphatic italics not marking information focus (see example 25 in Appendix B).

In the remaining 97 instances of emphatic italics in Sá-Carneiro's text, the emphasis does not affect the information structure of the text. Broadly speaking, we could describe this other type of emphasis as affective rather than informational, but it is difficult to single out a more specific trait that could characterise all these instances of emphasis. However, it is important to clarify on what basis such cases have been differentiated from those that have been classified as marking information focus. In all cases where italics serve the purpose of emphasis but do not mark information focus (as in example 4.18 and 4.19), the highlighted text comprises more than one word, and, in most cases a whole clause.

E.4.18   JCSCST: E então foi o mistério... o fantástico mistério da minha vida...
Ó assombro! ó quebranto! *Quem jazia estiraçado junto da janela, não era Marta - não! -, era o meu amigo, era Ricardo... E aos meus pés - sim, aos meus pés! - caíra o seu revólver ainda fumegante!...*
JCSCTT: And then the Mystery happened...the fantastic Mystery of my life.
To my amazement, to my grief, *the person lying stretched out by the window was not Marta, no, it was my friend, it was Ricardo. And at my feet, yes, at my feet, lay his revolver, still smoking!*

E.4.19   JCSCST: ...o tinham vergastado sem dó nem piedade com umas vergastas horríveis - *frias como água gelada -*...
JCSCTT: ... that they had beaten him mercilessly with terrible scourges - *cold like ice water,* ...

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[4] There are also two cases of compound focus where the primary focus is contrastive and the secondary lexical or vice-versa. Compound focus is explained and illustrated (example 4.19) below.

Information focus, as understood here following Halliday (1967), does not usually extend over more than one lexical item because it necessarily implies de-accenting the rest of the tone group, with the only exception being cases where there is a secondary focus. The system of information focus introduces a binary pattern of given (pretonic) and new (tonic). The given element is optional, but not so the new element. As a result, if there is one lexical item in the tone group, this will be the new element. Although we have generally referred to focal words, the actual stress (in spoken language) occurs on the tonic syllable of the lexical item which constitutes the focus. This type of stress is never maintained over consecutive syllables. The only instances where two consecutive words can bear the tonic accent is 1) when they belong to two tone groups and in the first one the tonic is on the final item and in the second one the given (not accented) element has been omitted, or 2) when there is a second point of focus following the first one and marking information that is subsidiary or given but to be noted. An example (4.20) of the latter is provided below. Here, in the source text, there is contrastive focus between two words: "senti" (felt) and "adivinhei" (guessed). In the target text, the equivalent two words are also contrasted, but the word immediately preceding the first word, "never", is also emphasised. This creates a compound focus where one item ("never") emphasises the illocutionary function of the information unit and the other, "felt", is contrastive. According to Halliday, in these instances, the first element constitutes the primary focus. This argument is based on tonality, and it is not so clear whether it can be applied to written language.

E.4.20   JCSCST: A verdade, por consequência, é que as minhas próprias ternuras, nunca as *senti*, apenas as *adivinhei*.
JCSCTT: The truth, therefore, is that I have *never felt* my own tender feelings, I have only *guessed* at their existence.

The cases that have been classified as not marking information focus are different from these cases of compound focus in that the italicised text extends over whole constituents: main clauses, adjuncts and complements. In these cases the emphasis is spread over a few words and therefore loses its focus, as in examples 4.18 and 4.19. However, there are some ambiguous cases (12) where, although the italics highlight whole constituents, the focus seems to be on one particular word (see example 4.21). These cases generally involve repetitions where one element is changed the second time

the phrase is repeated, and therefore the focus is on this particular element rather than on the whole constituent. However, even if we count these instances as cases of information focus - as they have been in the figures mentioned here - the number of italics not marking information focus is still considerably higher than those marking information focus in the source texts.

4.21   JCSCST: É a vida simples, *a vida útil*, que se escoa em nossa face.
         JCSCTT: It's the simple life, *the useful life,* slipping by us,...

It would be certainly interesting to analyse in more detail the communicative function of italics in cases where they are not marking information focus, but that is beyond the scope of this project, whose focus is the translator's - and not the author's - style. Given that the cases of emphatic italics not marking information focus happen in the translations only when carried across from the source text, they cannot be considered as a stylistic feature of Jull Costa's translation. From our point of view, what is worth noting is only that Jull Costa tends to reproduce them (76 instances), with a few cases of omissions (13) and shifts (8).

There are altogether 17 cases of shifts. In two cases only, the emphasis is placed on a different segment within the same unit, as in example 4.22, where the source text emphasises 'dela' (of her) and the target text emphasises 'all'. In all the others cases, what has been modified is the extent of the emphasis. In three cases the emphasis in the target text applies to a longer segment, as in example 4.20 above and 4.23 below.

E.4.22   JCSCST: - Olha que fomos amantes *dela*...
          JCSCTT: 'Look, we were *all* her lovers...'

E.4.23   JCSCST: Por isso, como outrora, descia-me a mesma ânsia de a ver, de a ter
          junto de mim para estar bem certo de que, pelo menos, *ela existia.*
          JCSCTT: That was why, as before, I became filled by the old longing to see
          her, to have her near me in order to be absolutely sure *that she did at least*
          exist.

In most cases (12), however, the target text emphasises a shorter segment than the source text, as in example 4.24. The result is a more focused or narrower emphasis. As a

consequence, in many cases, what was not a case of marked information focus in the source text has become marked information focus in the translation. This is consistent with the general trend towards emphasis marking information focus in the translations.

E.4.24   JCSCST: ...- não pensara sequer em lhas fazer, *não pensara em coisa alguma.*

JCSCTT: ... , it did not even occur to me to do so, *nothing* occurred to me.

Remarks on narrative style and the use of emphatic italics

It is important to remember that one text in CTMJC, *Industrias y andanzas de Alfanhuí,* by Sánchez Ferlosio, does not include any instances of emphatic italics, either in its source or target versions. A possible explanation for this exception resides in the different narrative style of this novel compared to the others. Both the texts by Queiroz and by Sá-Carneiro are narrated in the first person. They both relate very disturbing personal experiences, described from a subjective point of view in a highly involved tone. *Industrias y andanzas de Alfanhuí* is narrated in the third person and the style is considerably more detached. Although the fictional world is presented through the eyes of the main character, the descriptive focus is on matters external to the character, with brief glimpses into the character's inner world. The texts by Valenzuela and Valle-Inclán are also narrated in the third person, but they differ from Sánchez Ferlosio's in that they include comparatively much more dialogue and this is where the emphatic italics are used. In the translation of the text by Valle-Inclán, where all the italics are added, they always appear in conversations. In the text by Valenzuela, where all but one of the emphatic italics have been added, the italics appear in dialogues in 76.5 % of cases.

COMPARA, our reference corpus, contains extracts of two translations by Margaret Jull Costa that are not included in CTMJC: *The Relic* and *The Great Shadow* (by Queiroz and Sá-Carneiro respectively). The same patterns described above concerning the use of italics in CTMJC are reproduced in those two novels. In the source text of *The Great Shadow* there are 33 instances of italics marking information focus and 'affective' emphasis that are carried across from the source text and one instance of added italics marking information focus. *The Relic* contains 9 instances of added italics marking

information focus, and in all cases the emphasis is either contrastive or it affects the illocutionary function of the information unit. In *Veronika decides to Die,* Jull Costa's translation of a book by the Brazilian writer Paulo Coelho, I also found several cases of italics. In this case I did not have the source text available to verify whether they had been carried across from the source text or not, but the italics were of the type commonly used by Jull Costa. On the other hand, in *The Double,* a translation of a novel by José Saramago, I did not find any italics. *The Double,* like *Industrias y andanzas de Alfanhuí,* is narrated in the third person and in Saramago's text the narrator is taking an even more detached and objective perspective on the fictional world being presented. In addition, Saramago's style involves a very minimal use of typographical devices, without quotation marks or even periods in dialogues, and very long paragraphs. Therefore, italics here would be a very visible intervention by the translator.

I would like to suggest here that another interesting aspect of the function performed by emphatic italics is that, because they are actually signalling a prosodic feature, the effect is reminiscent of spoken language. As a consequence, this function is generally associated with a more informal and involved tone of language. In example 4.25, the Spanish uses exclamation marks in order to convey the enthusiasm with which the words are spoken. Because an exclamation mark placed after the title of the play in English would have looked out of place, Jull Costa emphasises the illocutionary function of the speech act by italicising the modal 'must'. When the emphatic italics appear in the narrative, as in example 4.26, they bring forward the echo of the narrator's 'voice', and therefore bring the narrator closer to the reader, by establishing a more informal, conversational tone, as when the narrator addresses the reader directly.

E.4.25   JCVIST: -Xavier, tienes que ver su última obra: ¡El Paso de las Caídas!
         JCVITT: 'Xavier, you *must* see his latest work: The Fallen.

E.4.26   JCVIST: ... and there, in that pale half-glow, I saw the paunchy figure
         stretched out in the hammock, dressed, as always, in yellow silk and clutching
         his kite to his breast! It was *him*, again!

It would seem then, that the use of emphatic italics is probably a common but not a constant feature in Jull Costa translations, and the presence or absence of italics is

probably related to the rendering of the fiction, particularly in terms of point of view and descriptive focus (Leech and Short 1981).

Summing up, the italics added by the translator always fulfil a specific communicative function, which is that of highlighting information focus, while the emphasis created by italics in the source text tends to be affective rather than informational. The cases of omissions and shifts also reveal a preference for italics marking information focus. In addition, we have observed that the emphasised words in Jull Costa's translations tend either to reinforce the illocutionary force of the information unit or create contrastive focus, rather than highlight lexical content. Finally, it was pointed out that the use of italics is a recurrent but not constant feature in Jull Costa's translations and that this seems to be related to the narrative point of view and descriptive focus of the text.

Comparative data

Although the difference between Bush and Jull Costa's preferences regarding emphatic italics is clear from the data presented above, it is still not possible to say whether Jull Costa's use of italics qualifies as frequent (or Peter Bush's as infrequent) compared to other translators or to non-translated English. The problem with comparing CTPB and CTMJC only is that neither can be taken to be the norm. To produce a more valid statement of relative frequency, we need to compare the results with a larger corpus representing a wider range of uses.

The corpus to be used for this purpose is COMPARA. This corpus was described in some detail in Chapter Three, so here I will recall just some features of the corpus, namely those that can help us evaluate the strength and limitations of our results. COMPARA is a bi-directional parallel corpus; thus, one of the advantages of this corpus is that it allows us to compare the results with other translated texts as well as with non-translated English texts of the same genre. The first important limitation to note is that comparable source texts are available for only one of the source languages represented in CTMJC and CTPB. The texts in COMPARA are extracts (30 % of the total number of words) and not full texts as in CTMJC and CTPB, but this does not affect the validity of the results because all frequencies are normalised per 30,000

words.[5] Four of the translations in COMPARA are by Margaret Jull Costa (and two of them are included in CTMJC in full). They were excluded from the analysis. In COMPARA, all instances of 'emphasis' have been tagged and, using the online concordancer, it is possible to retrieve all such instances. However, upon close inspection, it became clear that the criteria applied in COMPARA are slightly different from the criteria applied here: cases that are categorised as 'distance' or 'words mentioned rather than used' in CTMJC and CTPB, are categorised as emphasis in COMPARA (see example 4.27). Therefore, these instances had to be excluded.

E.4.27   ST: he told me one day that he intended adding the title of *«philosopher»* and
          perhaps that of *«saint»* to his epitaph...

          TT: ele me comunicou, certo dia, que tencionava acrescentar o título de
          «filósofo» , e talvez o de *«santo»* , ao seu epitáfio...

	COMPARA		CTMJC	CTPB
	Non-translated English texts	Translated texts [6]	Translated texts	Translated texts
Number of words in corpus	502,337	516,743	136,534	221,987
Number of texts in corpus	21	29	5	5
Average No of words per text	23,920	17,819	27,307	44,397
Texts with emphatic italics	19	12	4	1
Total emphatic italics	561	57	177	1
Normalised emphatic italics per 30,000 words	33.5	3.3	38.9	0.1

Table 4. 6 Comparative data for emphatic italics

Table 4.6 allows us to compare the corpora in terms of size and provides a summary of the results. In the non-translated English texts in COMPARA, there are a total of 561

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[5] Biber *et al* (1998: 264) recommend that frequency counts should be normed to the typical text length in a corpus. 30,000 words is the approximate average length of all the texts included in COMPARA, CTMJC and CTPB.
[6] The figures and results presented in this column are taken from the translated English files in COMPARA excluding those translated by Margaret Jull Costa.

instances of emphatic italics distributed across 19 of the 21 texts included in the corpus. The normalised number of italics is 33.5. The text that has the highest number of occurrences (133) is *Through the Looking Glass*, by Lewis Carroll. Given that italics facilitate understanding, it is not surprising that they are more common in children's literature. If we remove this text on the basis that it belongs to a rather different genre, the total number of emphatic italics decreases to 428 and the normalised frequency to 25.5. Among the corpora of translated texts, CTMJC, with 38.9 emphatic italics per 30,000 words is the only one that approximates (and actually exceeds) the number of emphatic italics in non-translated texts in COMPARA. The figures for translated texts in COMPARA and CTPB are considerably lower. However, the overall number of instances of emphatic italics in CTMJC is highly inflated by the number of occurrences in the translation of the text by Sá-Carneiro, where we saw that the use of emphatic italics is a distinctive characteristic of the author's style. In Table 4.7 we present only the results for added italics in the translated texts. The differences in this table are less pronounced, but the normalised frequency of emphatic italics in CTMJC is still five times higher than in COMPARA translations. In brief, we can say that the use of emphatic italics is a prominent stylistic feature in CTMJC, and a likely trait of the translator's style.

	COMPARA	CTMJC	CTPB
Number of words in corpus	516,743	136,534	221,987
Total added emphatic italics	30	39	0
Normalised added emphatic italics	1.7	8.6	0

Table 4. 7 Comparative data for added emphatic italics

Conclusion

In this chapter I have suggested - and hopefully demonstrated - that the use of italics in translation can reveal areas of interest to translation studies scholars. I presented a functional classification of italics and quotation marks and offered an overview of their occurrences in the Corpus of Translations by Margaret Jull Costa and the Corpus of Translations by Peter Bush. I then focused on the use of italics for emphasis, which was

found to be the second most common use of italics in CTMJC but practically non-existent in CTPB. The frequencies in both corpora were later compared with frequencies obtained from the reference corpus, COMPARA, which allowed us to establish that Jull Costa adds emphatic italics in her translations to a far greater extent than one would expect in translations from Portuguese to English.

In Chapter Two, the translator's style was defined as a way of translating which distinguishes one translator's work from that of others and is felt to be recognisable across a range of translations by the same translator. The evidence presented here suggests that the use of emphatic italics is a common feature across a range of Jull Costa's translations and this feature distinguishes her work from that of other translators. I also suggested that the translator's style would consist of linguistic habits and rhetorical choices. Emphatic italics certainly belong to the category of 'rhetorical choices', since they represent deliberate choices intended to produce a certain effect.

Following Halliday (1971) the literary relevance of a particular linguistic feature can be explained by reference to the linguistic function from which its meaning is derived. In Halliday's model there are three functions of language - textual, interpersonal and ideational - all of which were described in Chapter Two. The emphatic italics commonly used by Jull Costa were described in terms of their communicative function as marking information focus. The distinction between new and given information belongs to the textual function of language. It is a distinction that allows for the organisation of the text in a way that it is coherent and understandable. In other words, the addition of emphatic italics results in a higher degree of explicitness at the textual level. The fact that a certain piece of information is presented as new does not seem to affect the ideational function of language because, in principle, it has no effect on the propositional content of the message. However, the fact that the focus is marked does affect the interpersonal function of the text in more than one way. It was argued above that italics, because of their association with spoken and, in particular, conversational language, can have an effect upon the level of formality and involvement conveyed by the text. In addition, by highlighting what part of the message the reader should pay more attention to, italics facilitate comprehension and guide interpretation. From a cross-linguistic perspective, bearing in mind that Spanish and Portuguese do not rely as much as English on prosodic patterns for highlighting information focus, the addition of

italics can be seen as an effort to produce an idiomatic and fluent text. In sum, the stylistic effects of emphatic italics could be described as: decreasing the level of formality, reflecting involvement on the part of the speaker/narrator, facilitating interpretation and increasing idiomaticity.

Before going on to discuss other linguistic features, I would like to point out the necessary limitations of the conclusions reached at this stage. It is important to remember here that style is a relational concept and that we are talking about the style of a translator and not of the text. The fact that the use of italics is a prominent feature of translations by Jull Costa as compared to those by other translators, does not mean that the use of italics is a prominent feature in each of the texts of the corpus.

5   The use of foreign lexical items and explicitation in CTMJC and CTPB

> ... every word has its own history, not to be confused with that of any other. But what repeats itself in all word-histories is the possibility of recognizing the signs of a people at work, culturally and psychologically.
>
> Spitzer 1948: 8

Introduction

This chapter presents evidence of the use of foreign lexical items and explicitation in translations by Jull Costa and Bush. As indicated in Chapter Four, italics and quotation marks that highlight foreign items tend to be subject to more changes in translation than other uses of these typographic devices. Here, I will have a closer look at the use of italics to highlight foreign lexical items, taking into account the number of different lexemes involved in additions and omissions, their linguistic origin and, in cases of omissions of italics and quotation marks, whether the foreign item itself is omitted or retained. In so doing, I render the picture more complex, showing, among other things, that Jull Costa is less likely than Bush to introduce foreign items in her translations. I also supplement the data obtained from concordances of italicised and quoted lexical items, with additional data extracted from a list of all foreign items - highlighted and non-highlighted - in the two translation corpora, and compare the results with data from the reference corpus, COMPARA.

This predominantly quantitative analysis is complemented by a qualitative analysis in which some examples are discussed in detail. The findings suggest that the two translators tend to retain source language words when these are instances of self-referentiality or culture-specific items, and that Jull Costa tends to accompany the use of source language words with explicitation. Finally, a small study looking at the use of the connective 'that' after reporting verbs SAY and TELL is carried out in order to explore the two translators' use of explicitation along a different parameter of variation. The chapter ends with a discussion of the stylistic significance of the use of cultural borrowings and explicitation in translation.

Before presenting a detailed analysis of foreign words in CTMJC and CTPB however, it is important to clarify what I mean by 'foreign' and to indicate how such items are actually counted in the current analysis.

When is a foreign word a foreign word?

As noted in Chapter Four, foreign words represent the one category consistently associated with the use of italics in all the style guides surveyed. The guides also point out that italics should be used only to distinguish foreign words that have not been incorporated into the English language; that is to say, words that have not been 'Anglicized' in Hart's words (Hart 1983: 24) or 'naturalized' in those of Ritter and Butcher (Ritter 1981: 200, Butcher 1992: 14). But the question of *when* a word can be considered assimilated into the English language is a vexed one. *Hart's Rules* includes a full list of anglicised words and of foreign words that should be italicised. The *Cambridge Handbook* provides some guidelines and refers authors to the *Oxford Dictionary for Writers and Editors* for help in ambiguous cases. The *Oxford Dictionary for Writers* includes naturalised and foreign words among its entries, indicating which ones should be italicised and which not. However, the dynamic character of language, particularly in an age of rapidly increasing interlinguistic contact, means that any attempts at providing a list of naturalised and non-naturalised foreign words at a specific time in history will soon become outdated. Besides, as Peters (2004: 296) notes, "dictionaries themselves wrestle with the problem and their conclusions are sometimes inscrutable", which is why "some authorities leave it to individual writers and editors to decide, depending on the readership". It would be reasonable to expect translators to be trusted with the decision of which words should be distinguished as foreign, although this may depend on several factors, such as editorial policy and experience of the translator. Jull Costa (personal communication) has stated that the use of italics in her translations is entirely up to her and not to the editor. Bush, on the other hand, occasionally discusses these decisions with the editors and even the authors, although any changes introduced at the editing stage require his approval (Bush 2002: 28).

In this study, foreign words are retrieved from a list of concordances of typographically highlighted items and from unlemmatised, un-tagged wordlists where typographical differences are eliminated. In the first case, the issue of deciding what is a foreign word is not a problem to the researcher, who only records the decision made by the translator. In the second case, the ultimate criterion is inclusion in a standard, comprehensive, English dictionary (the Collins English Dictionary). Although the criterion applied in a dictionary will probably reflect the subjective judgement of the lexicographers involved in making the dictionary, it provides an informed and reliably independent standard against which the data can be assessed.

Counting foreign words

Before presenting the results of the current study it is important to note that not only are single words considered, but also idiomatic sequences of words - such as 'wishful thinking' or 'à l' anglaise' - as well as other instances where two or more foreign words are introduced at a particular point in the source text or translation as one unit, even when, by other standards, they may not be considered a 'multi-word unit'. Example 5.1, particularly challenges the boundaries of even a broad understanding of multi-word units. Although 'Cherchez la femme' is a complete sentence with a main verb in the imperative, an implied subject and an object, it was counted as one 'lexical item'.[1] The grammatical form of that unit is, for the purposes of this study, not relevant. What is relevant is that it is introduced in the text as a single lexical choice, the representation of one 'concept' or 'idea' which the author and the translator thought is better conveyed in a foreign language. If it had been considered as three distinct foreign words, this would artificially inflate the number of foreign items in the text.

E.5.1   JCSCTT: The crime was, as the newspapers of the time no doubt put it, a 'crime of passion', a case of *Cherchez la femme.*

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[1] The term 'lexical item' is used here as a fairly general category that can cover multi-word units as well as single words (see Sinclair 1998), and that represents a first abstraction away from the word forms found in a corpus. Thus a particular word form, or a sequence of discrete words, in a corpus, can be seen as an instance (or token) of a lexical item (a semantically interpreted type). It is almost synonymous with the term 'lexeme' (see Kenny 2001:74-75), but is additionally characterised by fluid boundaries (see Sinclair ibid).

The process of counting how many different foreign lexical items occur (highlighted or not) in the translations in CTPB and CTMJC has been relatively straightforward in most cases. Note, however, that in some cases the same foreign lexical item occurs (one or more times) in two different texts, and therefore the sum of different lexical items per translation and the overall count for the whole corpus will differ. In some of these cases, the same lexical item is treated differently in different contexts. For example, there are four instances of 'coupé' in the source texts in CTMJC. This French word is retained in the target text in three instances and once translated as 'carriage'. Thus, although it counts as one type in the total number of French foreign words in source texts in CTMJC, from the target texts' point of view, it counts as one French type translated by an English word, and as one French type retained in the target texts in three instances. In another case, the same lexical item, 'soirée', is used in different contexts with rather different meanings: as a modifier of 'gravata' (cravat) in 'gravata de soirée', and on its own, to refer to an evening social event (in two instances). Although there is an obvious semantic link between the two uses, they were counted separately. It could be argued that 'soirée' in 'gravata de soirée' is not a lexical item in itself but part of a larger unit constituting a single lexical item; and from the point of view of translation, the unit of meaning is 'gravata de soirée' (translated as 'white cravats' in JCQTT). Another case worth mentioning here is that of 'contos de réis' (a former Portuguese currency) and the shortened form 'contos'; these were considered variants of a single lexical item. Finally, it should be noted that quotations in foreign languages and titles were excluded from this analysis.

Highlighted foreign items in CTPB

Appendix C provides a list of all the concordances containing highlighted foreign items in CTPB. Table 5.1 gives a general overview of the typographic treatment of such items in the corpus. The first thing we notice in Table 5.1 is that the number of added italics is much higher than that of italics carried across or omitted. Added italics are also more evenly distributed among the texts: they appear in all five translations. Italics omitted and carried across are a feature of only 3 of the 5 translations and 79.3% of all omitted

italics and 73.3 % of all italics carried across are accounted for by one text pair (Bush-Goytisolo). These general figures already point in the direction of a pattern which will become clearer as I describe the results in more detail - taking into account variables such as number of different items and language of origin, and as a qualitative dimension is added to the analysis.

	Text-pair	Total
Added italics	BB	15
	BG	30
	BO	23
	BP	2
	BS	12
Total added italics		82
Italics carried across	BG	22
	BP	2
	BS	6
Total italics carried across		30
Omitted italics	BG	23
	BO	4
	BP	2
Total omitted italics		29
Italics replacing quotation marks	BG	3
	BO	2
	BS	1
Total italics replacing quotation marks		6
Omitted quotation marks	BO	1
Total omitted quotation marks		1

Table 5. 1 Italics and quotation marks highlighting foreign words in CTPB

As mentioned in Chapter Three on methodology, the technique used here to examine the effect of different variables is cross-tabulation. I will first describe the results from the perspective of the source text, describing italics omitted and carried across in the translation, before focusing on added italics. The results will be grouped according to languages, since the linguistic origin of the highlighted lexical item is key in the discussion of possible patterns. Both the number of different lexical items and total number of occurrences per file are taken into account. Table 5.2 shows all instances of quotation marks and italics omitted and carried across from the source texts, grouped

according to the linguistic origin of the highlighted lexical item in the source and target texts.[2]

	Ling. origin of lexical item in ST	Ling. origin of lexical item in TT	Number of different items	Total occurrences
Omitted quotation marks	French	English	1	1
Total omitted quotation marks			**1**	**1**
Omitted italics	English	English	4	6
	French	English	1	1
		French	5	5
	Total French		6	6
	Latinisms	English	3	3
		Latinisms	7	11
	Total Latinisms		10	14
	Other	Other	3	3
Total omitted italics			**23**	**29**
Italics carried across	Catalan	Catalan	3	3
	English	English[3]	1	1
		French	1	1
	Total English		2	2
	Spanish	Spanish	1	1
	French	French	7	9
	Latinisms	Latinisms	4	4
	Shuar	Shuar	1	5
	Other	Other	5	6
Total italics carried across [4]			**23**	**30**

Table 5. 2 Highlighted foreign lexical items in source texts in CTPB, grouped by linguistic origin

The cases where the italics in the target text replace quotation marks in the source text generally involve source language words (and in one case a Catalan word) which are distinguished in the source text for reasons other than their foreignness; for example, because they are mentioned rather than used, or have a restricted use, as in example 5.2.

[2] Note that, for purposes of consistency, what is recorded in Tables 5.2, 5.3, 5.7 and 5.8, as well as in Appendices C and D, is the linguistic origin, and not the language, of the lexical items in the concordance. In some cases, the items have been lexicalised in the target language, in which cases they will not have been italicised in the target texts.
[3] This is a case where an English lexical item ('one cent') is italicised in the source text because of its foreign origin, but also because it is mentioned rather than used, and is kept in italics in the target text for the second reason. See example 5.5.
[4] No instances of quotation marks highlighting foreign words were carried across to the target texts.

E.5.2   BSST: Tras comprobar aparatosamente la carga de su Smith and Wesson,
         "mitigüeso" para los lugareños, …

         BSTT: After ostentatiously checking his Smith and Wesson, known to the
         locals as his *mitigueso*, …

In the target text, however, the italics also fulfil the function of signalling that the lexical item is in a language other than English. Therefore, for the purposes of the analysis presented here, these instances will be described together with cases of added italics (Table 5.3), since they all share the function of highlighting a foreign word which is not distinguished as such in the source text.

A similar situation arises in relation to the Spanish word 'felipes' (example 5.3), which is italicised in the source and target texts of Goytisolo's autobiography. 'Felipes' refers to the members of a political party, the 'Frente de Liberación Popular', as is made clear in the translation. The form 'felipes' plays on the acronym of the party's name (FLP) and on the proper name 'Felipe'. Although it is not a standard word in Spanish, it is not a foreign word either, and it is probably its non-standard nature which justifies the use of italics in the source text. In the target text, however, the word stands out mainly because of its foreign character. In this sense, this is a similar case to that of 'mitigüeso' in example 5.2. Therefore, although this item is included on Table 5.2 for the sake of completeness, it is not counted among foreign words highlighted in the source text, but among italicised source language words in the target texts.

E.5.3   BGST: … sin saber que su anonimato ocultaba al futuro fundador de los
         felipes, el diplomático Julio Cerón:…

         BGTT: … unaware that this anonymous man, Julio Cerón, was the diplomat
         and future founder of the *felipes*, the *Popular Liberation Front.*

As we can see from Table 5.2, there are 15 occurrences of 13 distinct French lexical items italicised in the source texts, most of them appearing in Goytisolo's *Coto Vedado* and 2 in Paz's *El lobo, el bosque y el hombre nuevo.* The only italicised French word that Bush has translated using an English word is 'hélas', translated as 'alas'. In all the other cases the same French items have been used in the translations. However, in 5 of

those cases the italics have been left out in the target text. A likely reason is that the words in question - 'chaise-longue', 'amateur', 'déjà vu', 'gourmet' and 'soufflé' - have been assimilated into the English language: all of them are found in the Collins English Dictionary. None of the 7 different lexical items that have been kept in italics in the target text appears in the Collins English Dictionary.

There is another French word ("toilette", in Onetti's *Para esta noche,*) which is distinguished using quotation marks and has been translated by an English expression ('making herself up'). This word has entered the Spanish and English languages from French, but has evolved differently in the two languages, eventually acquiring rather different meanings in each of them.

The second most common foreign items are of Latin origin: there are 14 italicised Latinisms (used in a total of 18 instances), all of them in Goytisolo's text. Only 4 have been reproduced and italicised in the translation; another 7 (11 occurrences) have been reproduced without italics. The remaining 3 Latinisims have been translated using English words (see example 5.4).

E.5.4   BGST: ... el alcance grandioso de su influencia y *nolens, volens*, los estragos de su contaminación.
BGTT: ... the grandiose extent of its influence and, willy-nilly, the ravages of contamination.

It is likely that the criterion applied by Bush in order to decide when to retain Latinisms and when to italicise them is the same applied in relation to French words: whether they have been incorporated into the English language and, if so, to what degree. However, this is not such a clear-cut case: all the Latinisms that are kept without italics in the translation are to be found in the Collins English Dictionary, but so are 1 of the 3 replaced by English words and 2 of the 4 that are kept in italics.

There are also 6 italicised English lexical items (8 occurrences in total) in the source texts. Four of them (amounting to 6 instances) have been reproduced in the target text without any indication of their foreign status in the source text. The italics are kept in

one instance, but this is because the lexical item in question is being mentioned rather than used (see example 5.5). In one case, Bush compensates for the loss in the source text by using French instead (see example 5.6). This is a case of 'parallel compensation', understood here, following Harvey (1995: 72), as compensation that effectively overrides the loss in the same place as the loss occurs.

E.5.5   BSST: Onecén es el nombre de un santo de los gringos. Aparece en sus
          moneditas y se escribe separado con una letra "te" al final. *One cent.*
          BSTT: Onecén is the name of a gringo saint. It appears on their little coins and
          is written in two words with a "t" on the end. *One cent.*

E.5.6   BPST: ... rogaba con toda mi alma ... que nunca, jamás, *never*, ¿me oyes,
          Dios?, me encontrara con uno de ellos, alguien que me pudiera identificar.
          BPTT: ... I prayed fervently ... that never, *jamais de la vie*, listening God?
          should I meet up with any of them, anyone who might recognise me.

There are 3 italicised Catalan words in the text by Goytisolo, and in the 3 cases the words are reproduced with italics in the target text. However, other Catalan words are used in the source text without being italicised. It is quite likely that the italics used in 2 of those instances are not highlighting the foreign nature of the words,[5] but the fact that the words are mentioned rather than used (see example 5.7), as is the case with Spanish words (see example 5.8). If we compare examples 5.7 and 5.8 we see that the italicised Catalan word 'xarnegos' and the Spanish 'pelmas' (translated as 'bore') are used in the same way. Note also that Bush leaves out the italics in the second case.

E.5.7   BGST: ...vivían marginados y discriminados por los autóctonos, marcados con
          la etiqueta despectiva de *xarnegos*.
          BGTT: ...they were marginalized and discriminated against by the indigenous
          population, marked out with the insulting label of *xarnegos*.

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[5] See below; the use of Catalan in Goytisolo's autobiography probably reflects the mixture of Catalan and Spanish spoken in his native Barcelona.

E.5.8   BGST: … Morente y Menéndez Pidal -y al que Mariano se ha apresurado a
          incluir en la categoría infamante de los *pelmas*-
          BGTT: … Menéndez Pidal-whom Mariano rapidly assigned to the thankless
          category of bore-

Apart from English words, Latinisms, French and Catalan words, there are in the source
texts 9 italicised foreign lexical items (totalling 14 occurrences). These are words of
Arabic, German, Italian, Russian and Shuar[6] origin and they are always reproduced in
the translation: 3 of them without italics ('intelligentsia', 'prima donna' and 'samizdat')
and 6 with italics ('Familienroman', 'signor', 'bersagliere', 'razzias', 'muzhik', 'anents').
The criterion applied is likely to be the same as with Latinisms and French words:
degree of assimilation in English. Intuitively, the words in the first group are generally
more common than those in the second group, but the only two words not recorded in
the Collins English Dictionary are the German 'Familienroman' and the Shuar 'anents'.

Summing up, Bush's strategy in relation to foreign words highlighted in the source text
seems to be to reproduce the item itself, occasionally leaving out the italics. If English
words are excluded, out of the 51 instances of foreign lexical items in the source text,
46 (90.2 %) have been reproduced in the target text. However, only 27 (54%) of the 50
italicised foreign items in the source text have retained their italics in the translation. I
have suggested that the reason for omitting or reproducing italics is probably related to
the degree of assimilation of those words and expressions in the English language. It is
common practice to stop italicising loan words when their use becomes widespread,
although, as pointed out above, the question of when a word becomes lexicalised is
somewhat problematic. Dictionary evidence has been offered here only as a rough
indication of assimilation into the language: dictionaries tend to reflect prescriptive
norms rather than usage, and the translator's decisions are probably guided by native-
speaker intuition rather than dictionary evidence.

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[6] Also known as Jivaro, a language spoken in Ecuador by the Shuar people
(http://www.ethnologue.com/show_language.asp?code=JIV, last accessed on 25th March, 2005).

Table 5.3 shows all instances of italics that have been added in the translation or which replace quotation marks, grouped according to the linguistic origin of the italicised lexical item in the source and target texts.

	Ling. origin of lexical item in TT	Ling. origin of lexical item in ST	Number of different items	Total occurrences
Added italics	Catalan	Catalan	2	4
	Spanish	Spanish	19	37
	French	Spanish	8	9
		French	1	4
		Portuguese	1	1
	Total French		10	14
	Portuguese	Portuguese	8	10
	Shuar	Shuar	4	10
	Other	Other	2	7
Total added italics			**45**	**82**
Italics replacing quotation marks	Catalan	Catalan	1	1
	Spanish	Spanish	4	5
Total italics replacing quotation marks			**5**	**6**

Table 5. 3 Highlighted foreign lexical items in target texts in CTPB, grouped by linguistic origin

It is interesting to note that French words are sometimes used in the target texts as translations of Spanish and Portuguese words (see example 5.9). There are 9 French items (10 instances in total) translating source language items. Three of those (representing 4 instances), occur in the translation of Goytisolo's text, which is where most source-text French words are found. It is possible that these words are compensating for the 3 cases where the italics differentiating French words in the source text are left out in the target text ('chaise-longue', 'amateur', 'déjà vu'), since the absence of italics has made these words less visible. However, there are also 5 italicised French lexical items in the translation of Onetti's text, and only one highlighted French word was found in its source text. A somewhat more likely explanation is, then, that the added French words are compensating for English words found elsewhere in the source texts. There are 2 English words in Goytisolo's text and 2 (each occurring twice) in Onetti's text, and it is in these texts that we find most of the added italicised French words: 3 in Goytisolo's text and 5 in Onetti's. In any case, this is only a tentative explanation. It could well be that the added French words in Bush's translations are

simply the best way of translating certain source language concepts in the given context (see example 5.9).

E.5.9   BOST: … dio un paso en la luz mostrando de golpe su cara, como en un calculado efecto de teatro,…
BOTT: … and stepped forward into the light, suddenly revealing his face, like some premeditated *coup de théâtre*,…

In *Turbulence*, the translation of Buarque's text, we find one italicised French lexical item -'en route'- translating a Portuguese expression - 'no caminho' - and 4 instances of the French word 'chaise-longue', also italicised,[7] translating a different French word in the source text, 'bergère', which is not italicised in the source text. Both French words are recorded in the Collins English Dictionary; 'bergère' is defined as a type of armchair, and 'chaise-longue' as a reclining long chair; and both are also recorded in the Aurélio Portuguese Dictionary with similar definitions. A possible explanation for Bush's choice might be that 'bergère' is not so common in English as to be recognised by most readers, although it may also be a simple matter of taste.

In all other cases of added italics the same word is used in the source text but without italics. These are mostly source language words (Spanish and Portuguese), although we also find words of Catalan, Shuar and Arabic origins. There are 23 Spanish lexical items[8] (42 occurrences) distributed among the four translations from that language (without including the word 'felipes' mentioned above), and 8 Portuguese words (10 occurrences) in the translation of Buarque's text. Table 5.4 shows the distribution of source language words per translated text, including total number of occurrences, total number of different lexical items and normalised frequency.[9] The normalised frequency

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[7] Note that the same word is used in the translation of Goytisolo's text (where it has been carried across from the source text) without italics.
[8] One of these items, 'pensión', appears in two different texts BOTT and BGTT.
[9] In this table, the word 'felipes' is counted among the source language words retained in BGTT, on the basis that it is a Spanish word italicised in the target text. Note also that, because one item appears in two different texts (see footnote 8), the source language items total 33 in this table.

per 30,000 words is the most reliable indicator in this case because of the different lengths of the texts.[10]

	Occurrences		Distinct lexical items	
Translation	Total	Norm. freq.	Total	Norm. freq
BBTT	10	8.5	8	6.8
BGTT	18	6.5	14	5.0
BOTT	20	9.2	7	3.2
BPTT	2	5.5	2	5.5
BSTT	3	3.3	2	2.2
Total CTPB	**53**	**7.2**	**33**	**4.4**

Table 5. 4 Distribution of source language items in translated texts in CTPB

It would seem, then, that the use of italicised source language items is a consistent pattern in Bush translations. Some of those items are words and expressions that are mentioned rather than used, as in example 5.2, but the vast majority are culture-specific items (see example 5.3). The tendency to retain culture-specific elements is also reflected in the use of Catalan and Shuar words in the translations of the works by Goytisolo and Sepúlveda respectively. Those languages co-exist with Spanish in the source cultures and the fact that the Catalan and Shuar words in question are not italicised in the source texts might reflect their common use in the linguistic communities where the novels take place.

The story in Sepúlveda's *Un viejo que leía historias de amor* takes place in the Amazonian region where the Shuar live. In the English text 5 Shuar words (appearing altogether 15 times) are italicised. In the source text only one of them is italicised: 'anents', a term that refers to certain ritual chants and is repeated five times. The other four words are: 'yahuasca', an indigenous plant; 'shapul', a type of parakeet; 'natema', an hallucinogenic drink made from yahuasca roots; and 'tzanza', the Shuar word for a sloth.

Goytisolo was born in Barcelona and *Coto Vedado* tells the story of his life from his childhood until his marriage to Monique Lange. Although Goytisolo's immediate family

[10] For purposes of consistency, all results are normalised per 30,000 words, which is the approximate average length of all the texts included in CTPB, CTMJC and COMPARA (the reference corpus).

spoke Spanish, this was a "diluted" Spanish as he would later discover, and many people in his environment (his grandparents for example) spoke Catalan or a mixture of both languages.[11] Apart from the Catalan words that are italicised in both source and target texts, which were mentioned above, in *Forbidden Territory* (the English version of *Coto Vedado*) there are 3 italicised Catalan lexical items (5 occurrences) that appear without italics in the source text: 'cuca de llum', 'Generalitat' and 'riera'. The lexical item 'cuca de llum' (firefly) is mentioned rather than used in the source text, where it is compared to its Spanish equivalent 'luciérnaga' (see example 4.1). Both 'cuca de llum' and 'luciérnaga' appear within quotation marks in the source text and italicised in the target text. 'Generalitat' refers to the local government and could therefore qualify as a culture-specific item. The case of 'riera' (stream) is quite different because it could have been directly translated into English without semantic loss. However, it is still a stylistically significant choice in the source text, where it offers an example of the "diluted" Spanish to which Goytisolo refers (see example 5.10).

E.5.10   BGST: ... se extravió al salir de la estación en el camino de la riera y llegó a casa turbada...

BGTT: ... she left the station on the way to the *riera* and reached home flushed...

If we consider all the words that are source-culture related together, adding words of Shuar and Catalan origin to the list of Spanish and Portuguese words kept in the translations, we have an even clearer pattern (see Table 5.5) showing that Bush tends to punctuate his translations with linguistic items that belong to the source culture.[12]

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[11] Goytisolo describes this situation in *Coto Vedado*.
[12] Ambiguous cases, where it is possible that the different linguistic origin of the words is one of the reasons for highlighting them in the source text (as in example 5.7) were excluded. Only Catalan and Shuar words not italicised in the source texts are considered.

	Occurrences		Distinct lexical items	
Translation	**Total**	**Norm. freq**	**Total**	**Norm. freq.**
BBTT	10	8.5	8	6.7
BGTT	23	8.3	17	6.1
BO TT	20	9.2	7	3.2
BPTT	2	5.5	2	5.5
BSTT	13	14.2	6	6.6
Total CTPB	**68**	**9.2**	**40**	**5.4**

Table 5. 5 Distribution of source culture lexical items in translated texts in CTPB

Before moving on to look at the Corpus of Translations by Margaret Jull Costa I need to mention two other words highlighted as foreign in the translations of Goytisolo's text. These words are: *nesrani* and *maaxún*, the latter repeated 6 times. 'Nesrani' is the word for 'Nazarene' in Arabic (Sameh Fekry Hanna, personal communication) and is used in Moroccan Arabic to designate a Christian or white person. 'Maaxún' is also a Moroccan dialect word, and it refers to a kind of intoxicating substance.

Highlighted foreign items in CTMJC

Appendix D provides a list of all the concordances containing highlighted foreign items in CTMJC. Table 5.6 gives a general overview of the typographic treatment of such items in the corpus. The first thing to call our attention in Table 5.6 is that the number of omitted and added italics and quotation marks is much higher than the number of italics and quotation marks carried across. Only 19.4 % of all the italics and quotation marks in the source texts (compared to 54.5 % in CTPB) have been kept or replaced by each other in the translations. The second thing we notice is the uneven distribution of frequencies in each category across texts. Italics have been carried across from only two of the five texts and omissions are also concentrated in the same two text-pairs. Additions are a feature of four of the five translations, but 71% are accounted for by one translation. What is more, frequencies do not correlate with text-lengths, so uneven distribution cannot be attributed to varying sample sizes. The text-pairs where italics are more frequently omitted are the same ones where they are more frequently added, which, at first sight, seems to indicate a possible process of compensation. However,

when we look at the language of the foreign items, we find that this is not a plausible explanation.

	Text pair	Total
Omitted italics	JCQ	36
	JCSC	21
	JCV	1
Total omitted italics		58
Added italics	JCQ	27
	JCSC	7
	JCSF	3
	JCV	1
Total added italics		38
Added quotation marks	JCSC	6
	JCV	3
Total added quotation marks		9
Italics carried across	JCSC	4
	JCQ	3
Total italics carried across		7
Quotation marks carried across	JCQ	4
	JCSC	2
Total quotation marks carried across		6
Italics replacing quotation marks	JCQ	1
Total replacements		1

Table 5. 6 Italics and quotation marks highlighting foreign words in CTMJC

In tables 5.7 and 5.8 the results are grouped according to the language of the lexical items in the source and target texts. As in the previous section, the results are first described from the perspective of the source text (italics and quotation marks omitted and carried across in the translation), followed by a description of added italics and quotation marks. As in CTPB, we find that where italics are replacing quotation marks, the highlighted words are source language lexical items that are being distinguished for reasons other than their foreignness in the source text, therefore these instances are discussed together with added italics. There are also four instances (similar to the case of 'felipes' found in CTPB) where Portuguese words are highlighted using quotation marks in the source text, and they are retained within quotation marks in the target texts, where the quotation marks also fulfil the function of highlighting the fact that the lexical item is in a language other than English. Although, for purposes of consistency, these

instances are included in Table 5.7 together with other cases of italics carried across, they will be counted among highlighted foreign words in the target text and not in the source text.

	Ling. origin of lexical item in ST	Ling. origin of lexical item in TT	Number of different items	Total occurrences
Omitted italics	English	English	9	12
	French	English	20	24
		French	8	11
	Total French[13]		28	35
	Other	English	1	4
		Other	2	7
	Total Other		3	11
Total omitted italics			**40**	**58**
Italics carried across	French	French	5	5
	Latinisms	Latinisms	1	1
	Portuguese[14]	French	1	1
Total italics carried across			**7**	**7**
Quotation marks carried across	Portuguese	Portuguese	4	6
Total quotation marks carried across			**4**	**6**

Table 5. 7 Highlighted foreign lexical items in source texts in CTMJC, grouped by linguistic origin

As in CTPB, most italicised foreign items in the source texts in CTMJC are of French origin: there are 30[15] different French lexical items, totalling 40 instances (see Table 5.7), most of them in the texts by Queiroz (20) and Sá-Carneiro (19). In most instances (24), French lexical items have been translated using English words. In 16 instances, the same French items are reproduced in the translation, but of these, only 5 have also retained the italics. With three exceptions ('lavallière', 'sud-express', and 'cherchez la

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[13] The total number of French lexical items italicised in the source text is actually 25, but 'soirée' (referring to a social event) is once translated by an English word and once kept in French; 'boudoir' is once translated by an English word and twice kept in French; and 'coupé' is once translated by an English word (carriage) and kept in French in three instances.

[14] This is a Portuguese expression ('já visto') translated by a French expression 'déjà vu'. The italics in the Portuguese are probably used for the purpose of emphasis.

[15] Twenty-five instances (see footnote 13) where the italics have been omitted in the target texts and 5 where the italics have been carried across.

femme') [16] all the French items retained in the target texts appear in the Collins English Dictionary. In most cases, these lexical items - 'table d'hôte', 'boulevard', 'mise-en-scène', to name just a few - have been assimilated into the English language, although they still retain their foreign flavour. Eleven of the 20 different French items that are replaced by English words do not appear in the Collins dictionary (for example, 'scie' and 'ereinements'); others, however, are not uncommon in English (for example 'rendez-vous' and 'ateliers'), which suggests that it is not only their familiarity in English that is guiding Jull Costa's decision.

There are also 9 italicised English words in the source texts (a total of 12 instances), also in the texts by Queiroz (6) and Sá-Carneiro (3). Jull Costa reproduces them in the translations without indicating that they were in English in the source text. In one case, a more modern spelling of the word is used ('tram' instead of 'tramway'). In another, the English word is not translated literally: 'danças de *girls* inglesas' is rendered as 'English dancers' (in JCSCTT).

Apart from French and English words, there are 4 words of other origins (including 1 Latinism), occurring a total of 12 times, all of them in the text by Queiroz. Two of them are reproduced in the target text without italics: 'coolie', from Urdu, and 'chin chin', from Chinese. 'Yamen', also from Chinese, is rendered variously as 'office', 'State office', 'offices of the State' and 'imperial office'. It is interesting to note, though, that 'yamen' is recorded in the Collins English Dictionary.

Although both Jull Costa and Bush have generally applied the same strategy when translating English words in the source texts, they differ in their approach where other foreign words are concerned. The results presented above suggest that Jull Costa is less likely than Bush to retain foreign lexical items. We saw in Tables 5.2 and 5.7 that Bush had kept 90.2 % of all instances of foreign words (excluding English and source language words) in the source text, while Jull Costa retains only 46.1%. However, this evidence comes from a minority of the texts in the two corpora, so it is not possible to

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[16] Their meaning is in all cases clear from the context and 'sud-express' (referring to a train) appears italicised and without capitals in the source text, but with initial capital and without italics (Sud-Express) in the target text, thus becoming a name rather than a foreign word.

generalise from it. The particular characteristics of the source text themselves may have triggered the translators' different approaches. It is important to point out, for example, that the texts by Queiroz and Sá-Carneiro, where the vast majority of the italicised French words in CTMJC are concentrated, were written at the end of the 19th Century and beginning of the 20th Century respectively. At that time, France - specifically Paris - functioned as the epicentre of the arts world. Paris was a vibrant social centre for artists and intellectuals from around the world and, as a result, the French language was associated with fashion, refinement and the artistic vanguard. The French expressions that would be commonly used in both Portuguese and English then may not be familiar to contemporary readers in either of those languages, even though they may still be recorded in dictionaries.

	Ling. origin of foreign item in TL	Ling. origin of foreign item in SL	Number of different items	Total occurrences
Added quotation marks	Portuguese	Portuguese	1[17]	6
	Spanish	Spanish	1	3
Total added quotation marks			**2**	**9**
Added italics	Spanish	Spanish	2	2
	French	French	1	1
		Portuguese	6	8
	Total French		7	9
	Latin	Spanish	1	1
		Latin	1	1
	Total Latin		2	2
	Portuguese	Portuguese	4	25
Total added italics			**15**	**38**
Italics replacing quotation marks	Portuguese	Portuguese [18]	1	1
Total italics replacing quotation marks			**1**	**1**

Table 5. 8 Highlighted foreign lexical items in target texts in CTMJC, grouped by linguistic origin

[17] The lexical item in question is 'tu', which appears between quotation marks in the translations, but not always in the source text. So this lexical item is counted twice, once in Table 5.8 as a case of added quotation marks, and once in Table 5.7 as a case of quotation marks carried across.
[18] The word in question is 'fado' and it refers to a traditional musical composition; the reason why quotation marks are used in the source text is that the whole title of the song is quoted ("Fado da Cotovia"). See example 5.30.

Table 5.8 summarises instances of added italics and quotation marks highlighting foreign words in CTMJC. There are 6 different French lexical items[19] that are used in altogether 8 instances to translate Portuguese words and expressions. There is also a case where Jull Costa has italicised a French word, 'boutade', that is used without italics in the source text. Given that French words in the source texts have in many cases been omitted in the translation, or used without italics, it is possible that such added French words have been included for purposes of compensation. However, the 9 instances of italicised French lexical items (all of them in the translations of Sá-Carneiro and Queiroz's texts) and the 5 French words that have been kept in italics in the target text (see Table 5.7) add up to only 14 occurrences, compared to 40 in the source texts. Therefore, if compensation was indeed the aim, it would have been only partially achieved. Still, there could be many more cases of displaced compensation that are not revealed because italics are not used, as in example 5.11, where the use of "risqué" to translate "ladinas" compensates for the loss of the French "cocottes" (translated as "ladies of the night"). Interestingly enough, the word "cocotte" is actually recorded in the Collins English Dictionary.

E.5.11   JCQST: O sonho de Vladimira era habitar Paris; e fazendo ferver
delicadamente olhas de chá, pedia-me histórias ladinas de *cocottes* …
JCQTT: Vladimira's dream was to live in Paris and, while she delicately
prepared the tea, she would beg me to tell her risqué stories about Parisian
ladies of the night …

In the previous section I suggested that added French words in two target texts in CTPB could be compensating for the English words found in the source texts, as the number of omissions of French words would not have justified the number of added French words. In CTMJC the translation of French words by English words is much more common and occurs in the same texts where French words are added, so our first hypothesis has to be that the additions are compensating for other omitted French words.

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[19] All the added italicised French words appear in the Collins English Dictionary, with one exception: 'à l'anglaise', in " steak à l'anglaise", an expression that would nevertheless be easily understood by English-speaking readers.

A shared characteristic of the two corpora is that the majority of italicised foreign words in the target texts are words that have been kept in the source language in the translation. Table 5.8 records 32 instances of Portuguese words in the target texts. To this we should add the 6 instances of Portuguese words that appear within quotation marks in the source text and which are reproduced in the translation, as shown in Table 5.7. The quotation marks in the source text indicate that the words are being mentioned rather than used (see example 5.12 below). The same Portuguese words are used in the target text, and here, the words would have been distinguished, because of their foreign status, even if the quotation marks had not been used in the source text (as in example 5.13).

E.5.12   JCQST: Sei duas palavras importantes, general: "mandarim" e "chá".
          JCQTT: 'I know two important words, General: "mandarin" and "chá".'

E.5.13   JCSCTT: … nos nossos amplexos, eu e Marta tratávamo-nos por tu.
          JCSCTT: … in our embraces, Marta and I called each other "tu".

So, in total, there are 38 occurrences of highlighted Portuguese words and 5 of highlighted Spanish words in the translations in CTMJC. However, apart from being concentrated mostly in one text (almost 70% are accounted for by the translation of Eça de Queiroz's *O Mandarin*), those 43 occurrences represent in fact only 12 different lexical items (see Table 5.9). This is quite different from what we found in CTPB, where there were a total of 53 source language items representing 33 different forms distributed among the five translations (compare tables 5.4 and 5.9).

Even though the normalised frequency for all occurrences of source language items is higher in CTMJC than in CTPB, this conceals the fact that the number of different lexical items is considerably lower in CTMJC, as the normalised frequencies of different source language lexical items reveals. What is more, and this is also concealed by the normalised totals offered in Table 5.9 and 5.4, the distribution is considerably more even across texts in Table 5.4 than in Table 5.9. If we compare the results for each text in the two corpora, we note that the normalised frequency for 4 of the texts in

CTMJC (including JCVITT, which has no highlighted source language words) is lower than the lowest frequency in all CTPB target texts (2.2 in BSTT).

	Occurrences		Distinct lexical items	
Translation	Total	Norm. freq.	Total	Norm. freq
JCSFTT	2	1.5	2	1.5
JCSCTT	8	8.0	2	2.0
JCQTT	30	38.2	7	8.9
JCVTT	3	3.8	1	1.3
Total CTMJC	43	9.4	12	2.6

Table 5. 9 Distribution of source language items in translated texts in CTMJC

It seems, then, that what was a consistent pattern in translations by Bush, is not so in translations by Jull Costa. But the differences between the use of source language words in the translations by Bush and Jull Costa are not only quantitative but also qualitative in nature. The communicative function of source language items in the translation is explored in more detail below. Here, I will limit myself to pointing out that 5 of the 12 different forms in CTMJC are names of currency: 'real', 'tostão', 'conto' and 'mil-réis' in Portuguese, and 'real' in Spanish. The latter is used only once, but different forms of the Portuguese terms are repeated several times in the translation of Queiroz's text and account for 25 of the 30 occurrences of these terms in JCQTT. Bush, on the other hand, never italicises currency terms. There are several instances of such terms in CTPB: 5 instances of 'pesos' (3 in Paz's text and 2 in Onetti's), 4 instances of 'pesetas' (in Goytisolo's), and 2 instances of 'sucres' (in Sepúlveda's). In all cases the same terms are used in the translations without being italicised.

The wider diversity of source language words in Bush's translations compared to Jull Costa's translations is probably a reflection of Jull Costa's greater reluctance to use foreign words. Jull Costa not only seems more reluctant to carry across to the translation words of other foreign origins found in the source text that might not be familiar to the target reader, but also avoids using source language words. However, I have looked here only at those foreign words that are highlighted either by italics or quotation marks. I observed above (example 5.11) that Jull Costa used one French word without italics ('risqué') to translate a Portuguese word ('ladinas') and it could well be that she also

keeps source language words but does not italicise them. If this was the case, it would drastically change the picture offered by the results so far. For this reason, it was decided that a more exhaustive search for foreign words should be carried out so as to validate the results presented.

Non-highlighted foreign items in CTPB and CTMJC

The remaining foreign lexical items in CTPB and CTMJC were extracted from an automatically generated wordlist following the procedure outlined in Chapter Three. In the first stage, 227 candidates were identified in CTPB and 163 in CTMJC using alphabetically ranked wordlists. After the lists were checked by a native English speaker, 84 items were retained in the CTPB list and 31 in the CTMJC list. These lists can be found in Appendices E and F respectively. At this stage it was already clear that counting non-italicised and italicised foreign words was not going to change significantly the patterns already observed. After filtering out all instances occurring in the Collins English Dictionary, the total number of foreign items in CTPB was reduced to 52 (with one item appearing in 2 texts) and in CTMJC to 11 (see Tables 5.10 and 5.11).

CTPB	
Translation	Total
BPTT	4
BBTT	5
BSTT	8
BOTT	5
BGTT	31
Total	**53**

Table 5. 10 Foreign lexical items retrieved from wordlist in CTPB

CTMJC	
Translation	Total
JCSFTT	2
JCSCTT	4
JCQTT	5
JCVTT	0
JCVITT	0
Total	**11**

Table 5. 11 Foreign lexical items retrieved from wordlist in CTMJC

In CTMJC the foreign items retrieved from the wordlist are distributed across 3 of the 5 translations and in CTPB across all 5 translations. Some of those items were repeated, so in CTMJC the total number of instances of foreign items is 22 and in CTPB 90. The fact that at all stages we find a considerable gap between the results for the two corpora demonstrates that the difference in the total number of foreign words in CTPB and

CTMJC exists independently of whether more or less strict criteria are applied in the identification of such words.

As explained in Chapter Three, because Wordsmith wordlists neutralise all typographical differences, the foreign words retrieved from the wordlists necessarily overlap with those retrieved from concordances of italicised items. As a result, although the results are invaluable in the sense that they completely rule out the possibility that Jull Costa might be using more foreign words but without italics, in substance, they add very little to the findings already mentioned. In CTMJC, 10 of the 11 items are italicised, in other words, the only new foreign word revealed is 'meseta' (see example 5.29). In CTPB, 46 of the 52 foreign words are italicised. Those written in roman type are one French word, 'palafitte' (stilt house) and the following 5 Spanish words:

- calles (streets),
- chicha (an alcoholic drink)
- chirimoya (custard apple)
- partituras (music scores)
- prú oriental (a drink)

The reason why Bush has chosen to italicise certain items but not the ones listed above is not obvious. Both 'capirinha' and 'chicha', for example, are culture-specific items belonging to the same semantic field; yet, the first one is italicised and the second one is not. Another interesting case is that of 'chaise-longue', a word that appears italicised in one translation (BBTT) but not in another (BGTT). It is in cases like these where the possible influence of editorial policy has to be considered. In Chapter Six I discuss in some detail what Bush himself has to say about his interaction with editors and other participants in the translation process, and about the use of italics to highlight foreign words. However, it is worth noting here that, although there may be occasions where a copy-editor italicises words Bush has left in the source language, any editorial changes must meet his approval.

Comparative data

Although the difference between Bush and Jull Costa's preferences regarding the use of source language words in their translations should be, by now, quite clear, I have not established whether either or both patterns of usage is in any way stylistically prominent. In order to do that, a relative norm of comparison is needed. COMPARA will be used as such a norm here, but it should be noted that some of the drawbacks pointed out regarding the use of COMPARA as a reference corpus are more relevant here than in the previous study on emphatic italics. In particular, the fact that the texts in COMPARA are extracts, and therefore generally shorter than those in CTPB and CTMJC, and the fact that they have been taken from the beginning of books, will have an impact upon the comparability of the results. As Biber (1993: 252) points out, "occurrences of new types decrease throughout the course of a text. The frequency of new types is consistently higher in cross-text samples than in single-text samples". As a result, everything else being equal, we could expect the normalised frequency of different foreign items in COMPARA to be higher than in CTPB and CTMJC. On the other hand, the only words marked as foreign in COMPARA are those that are italicised, while in CTPB and CTMJC foreign words within quotation marks have also been counted for the purposes of the current analysis, although these account for a very small percentage of the total. Besides, as noted in Chapter Three and Chapter Four, COMPARA contains translations from Portuguese only, whereas CTPB and CTMJC also contain translations from Spanish, a fact that further compromises comparability, although in less predictable ways. With these caveats, then, the results from COMPARA will be offered here (see Table 5.12) only as a rough indication of how the patterns found in Bush and Jull Costa's translations compare with other translations from Portuguese into English.

It was decided that only results concerning the use of source language words in the translations would be compared because that is where a clear pattern emerged in CTPB and where a clear difference was observed between CTPB and CTMJC. Non-italicised words were not counted because they cannot be retrieved from COMPARA.

	COMPARA	CTMJC	CTPB
Number of words in corpus	516,743	136,534	221,987
Total number of occurrences of SL lexical items in TTs	177	43	53
Total number of different SL lexical items in TTs	66	12	33
Normalised frequency of different lexical items	3.8	2.6	4.4

Table 5. 12 Comparative data for source language words used in translations

A total of 177 instances of foreign words were found in COMPARA, representing 66 different lexical items. The normalised frequency is 3.8, lower than that in CTPB (4.4) and higher than that in CTMJC (2.6).[20] Although the differences are not striking, it is interesting to note that the results from CTPB and CTMJC point in different directions in relation to the results from COMPARA. It is also important to remember that normalised totals average out differences in the distribution across files. In CTMJC, almost 60% of all occurrences of source language words are concentrated in one translation while one of the five texts contains no source language words. In COMPARA almost half (13) of the 29 extracts used for this study contain no foreign words,[21] and approximately a third (23) of all occurrences are accounted for by one translation.

Jull Costa seems to deviate slightly more from the norm than Bush. This was also the case in the study of emphatic italics, which suggests that, compared to the work of other translators, and along the stylistic parameters considered here, the style of Jull Costa is more marked than that of Bush. In other words, in relation to the two features investigated so far, Jull Costa's translations are less similar than Bush's translations to other translations from Portuguese.

[20] Note that, if we were to include, in the results for CTPB, those words of Shuar and Catalan origin that are not italicised in the source text but are italicised in the translation, then the normalised frequency for CTPB increases to 5.3.

[21] Translations by Margaret Jull Costa included in COMPARA were left out.

The translations by Jull Costa included in COMPARA were excluded from the analysis. It is interesting to note, nevertheless, that the results obtained in the two translations by Jull Costa that are not part of CTMJC are consistent with those presented above. In one of them, the translation of another text by Sá-Carneiro (*The Great Shadow*), only one source language word was found: 'tu' used self-referentially and in conjunction with 'address as'. In the other one, a translation of a text by Eça de Queiroz (*The Relic*), there are several more source language items (8), but they are again mainly currency terms (contos, réis, tostões, coroas, libras, escudos). The only words not related to currency are 'fado', which also appears in CTMJC, and 'saudade', a Portuguese word that is typically cited as an example of a word with no equivalents in other languages and which Jull Costa introduces as 'that most Portuguese of sentiments' (see example 5.14).

E.5.14 … fazendo os meus ais bem chorosos - suspirei o fado mais sentido da saudade portuguesa

… my voice trembling tearfully, I sighed out the *fado* that best expresses that most Portuguese of sentiments: *saudade*.

The communicative function of source language items in translations

Instances of self-referentiality

In CTPB and CTMJC source language items in the translations can be roughly categorised into two types: cases of self-reflexiveness or 'self-referentiality' (Hermans 1996a), and culture-specific items. These two categories, however, are not mutually exclusive. Cases of self-referentiality often involve words mentioned rather than used. These do not always pose a problem for the translator (see example 5.15). A problem arises only when there is no equivalent in the target language, as is the case of 'tu' in example 5.13 above, or when there is an explicit or implicit reference to the linguistic system the word or expression belongs to (see example 5.16). In the first case, it is the cultural or linguistic specificity of the word that poses the problem and not the fact that it is mentioned rather than used, so these cases will be considered together with culture-specific items. The second case presents instances of what Hermans (ibid) calls cases of

self-reflexiveness or self-referentiality involving the medium of communication itself. Hermans mentions as "obvious cases" of self-referentiality those where texts "affirm being written in a particular language", or "exploit their idiom through polysemy, wordplay and similar devices" (ibid:29). In example 5.15, the second instance of 'reconocerlo' is used to refer to the word itself, but because there is no reference to the linguistic system that word belongs to, or to other signifiers in that system, it can be easily translated by the English word 'recognize'. This is not so in example 5.16. Here, the speaker explains (despite several interruptions by his interlocutor, which have been omitted here) that the word 'mandarin' comes from the Portuguese 'mandar', and it is clear from the dialogue that this is the language spoken by his interlocutor, whose voice is also that of the narrator. As a result, translating 'mandar' with an English word would result in an incongruity.

E.5.15   JCVST: ... enciende rápido la lámpara sobre la mesita de luz y sonríe aliviada al reconocerlo a Alfredi. Y reconocerlo es la palabra porque el médico-taxista lleva puesta (mal) una barba postiza blanca.
JCVTT: ... she quickly turns on the bedside light only to smile with relief when she recognizes Alfredi. And 'recognize' is the right word since the doctor-cum-taxi driver is at this point wearing a (clumsily applied) false white beard.

E.5.16   JCSCTT: "Mandarim" [...] É o nome que no século XVI os navegadores do seu país, [...] deram aos funcionários chineses. Vem do seu verbo [...] Do seu lindo verbo "mandar"...
JCSCTT: "Mandarin" [...] It's the name the sixteenth-century navigators from your country [...] gave to Chinese officials. It comes from the verb [...] From that lovely verb of yours "mandar" - to command.

Another typical case of self-referentiality involving the medium of communication itself is that of example 4.1, mentioned above, where Goytisolo compares the "beauty" of the Spanish word 'luciérnaga' with the "misery" of the equivalent in Catalan, 'cuca de llum'. In example 5.17, we find a case of wordplay: 'Mercado' (literally: market) is a play on another word 'Mercader', which means 'tradesman' and is the surname of the teacher

mentioned in the example.[22] The teacher is introduced earlier in the source text as "El profesor de matemáticas, llamado Mercader" and in the translation as "The math teacher, Mercader".

E.5.17   BGST: ... alguien -tal vez el mismo profesor- observó escrita en la pared la palabra Mercado seguida de un termino despectivo.
BSTT: ... somebody -perhaps the teacher himself- noticed the word *Mercado* written on the wall followed by a swear word.

Hermans argues that cases of self-referentiality are likely to trigger the intrusion of the translator's voice in the narrative text. This is what happens in these cases, where the translator's strategy involves retaining the source language reference. Sudden departure from the language of the translation is bound to remind the readers that they are reading a translation. It is difficult to imagine solutions that would avoid revealing the linguistic displacement that results from the process of translation. Still, Hermans' analysis of cases of self-referentiality in translations of the Dutch novel *Max Havelaar* by Multatuli shows that translators' strategies can vary significantly, from very visible interventions, such as paratextual notes, to complete erasure of the problematic passages.

In all the cases of self-referentiality involving the medium of communication itself, both translators have opted for a solution that does disturb, to some extent, the illusion of transparency, but does so in such a way as to minimise that disruption, avoiding footnotes or long explanations. However, Jull Costa, in example 5.16, intervenes to provide a gloss for the Portuguese word that is mentioned, and she does the same in the only other case where a word is mentioned rather than used and reference is made to the linguistic system to which it belongs. The word in question is 'chá', and Jull Costa renders it as "the word for tea, 'chá'" (in JCQTT). Bush, on the other hand, leaves the words to stand for themselves in all cases, without providing glosses.

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[22] Following Hermans' (1996a) model, this could also be a case of 'contextual overdetermination'. This notion is briefly explained in Chapter Two.

Culture-specific items

With the exception of words that are used self-referentially, the other source language items found in Bush's and Jull Costa's translations can be described as culture-specific, in the sense that they reflect the absence - at least from the translator's point of view - of a target text item that, given the context, can perform the same function as that performed by the source item in the source text. Culture-specific items will be understood here as:

> ... textually actualized items whose function and connotations in a source text
> involve a translation problem in their transference to a target text, whenever
> this problem is a product of the nonexistence of the referred item or of its
> different intertextual status in the cultural system of the readers of the target
> text (Aixelá 1996:58).

Paradoxically, the cultural specificity of an item is not determined by the culture the item belongs to, but by the culture it is absent from. The non-existence of, or different value assigned to, the given item in the target culture, however, also depend on the context in which it appears, and ultimately, on the subjective judgement of the person who is faced with the task of assessing whether the degree of specificity is such that an item can be considered 'untranslatable', thus justifying the use of a term that is foreign in the context in which it is used. The context is important because the polysemous nature of words means that the same item may be culture-specific in one context and not in others, depending on the specific function that it fulfils in each. A typical example is the Spanish word 'señora', which is used several times in one of the translations by Jull Costa and twice in a translation by Bush. 'Señora' is used to refer politely to an adult woman and - as opposed to 'señorita' - generally implies that the woman is married. 'Señora' can also be used as a form of address, either as a vocative or as a title. The term 'señora', depending on the context, can be the equivalent to the English terms: 'woman', 'lady', 'Mrs', 'madam'. In CTMJC it is translated several times as 'woman' and 'lady' (see examples 5.18 and 5.19).

E. 5.18   JCVIST: Aquella pobre señora creía lo contrario, y continuó: ...

JCVITT: Naturally, the poor woman did not share my opinion, but went on:...

151

E. 5.19   JCSFST: La señora, aunque había bailado con él en los teatros de París...

JCSFTT: Although the lady had danced with him in the theatres of Paris...

In Valenzuela's *Bedside Manners* the word 'señora' is used in such a way that it becomes a culture-specific element. Example 5.20 shows how the term is first introduced, as used by a maid, María, in order to address the main character in the story. Jull Costa opts for keeping the Spanish word. She does not provide a gloss or add any form of contextual information, but the word is included in the Collins English Dictionary and most English–speaking readers can be expected to be familiar with it. Besides, it appears in the text preceded by 'address as', leaving clear its function in the text.

E.5.20   JCVST: ella ... ni se había dirigido a María al llegar, ni le había dicho su nombre ni le había hecho pedido alguno. María por lo tanto la llama Señora, y ella se siente bien como Señora, en la cama, sin ganas de moverse.
JCVTT: she hadn't even spoken to María when she got there, hadn't even introduced herself or asked her for anything. María therefore addresses her as 'Señora' and she enjoys being the 'Señora', lying in bed, with no desire to move.

Valenzuela's novel takes place in an unnamed country but the atmosphere is reminiscent of the author's native country: Argentina. It is still common in Argentina for maids to refer to their employers as 'señora'. Before the main character is thus addressed by the maid, the narrator refers to her as "una mujer" ("a woman") but from that moment on she becomes the 'señora' both in the source and target texts, and we never know her name. In the source text, apart from the first two instances (illustrated in example 5.20) 'señora' is not capitalised. In the target text, however, the word is used with initial capital, which highlights the fact that it is a title (see example 5.21).

E.5.21   JCVST: - ... Como corresponde, señora.
Por qué no me dejará tranquila, se pregunta la tal señora,...
JCVTT: ... Exactly what you need, Señora.'
Why won't she leave me in peace? the Señora wonders,...

The term is also imbued with connotations that effectively describe the woman's situation in relation to that of other characters: she is a middle class woman who is seriously out of touch with the events unfolding around her. None of the available English equivalents mentioned above can be used in all the instances where 'señora' is used (compare examples 5.20 and 5.21 with 5.18 and 5.19), and it is this 'gap' in the target language that makes 'señora' a culture-specific item in this particular context.

The degree of repetition of a culture-specific term in a certain text is another factor that may influence the translator's decision. Ivir (1987: 38) notes that repetition facilitates the success of cultural borrowing, because it gives the receivers of the translation the opportunity to absorb both the form of the expression and its cultural content.

Bush, like Jull Costa, translates 'señora' as 'lady' or 'woman' in most cases, but he also keeps the Spanish word in one instance (see example 5.22). Note that the context in this case is not so informative: although it can be assumed that the average English–speaking reader will be familiar with this word, it may not be so clear why a woman may be 'annoyed' at being referred to as 'señora'.

E.5.22   BOST: Ossorio consiguió un tono agresivo para decir:
         - Si se puede hablar sin reservas me gustaría hablarte. O podemos salir. No
         conozco a la señora.
         Sabía que la palabra señora iba a crispar a la mujer,...
         BOTT: Ossorio managed an aggressive tone of voice. 'If we can talk here
         quite freely I would like to talk to you. Or we can go out. I don't know the
         señora.' He knew the word *señora* would annoy the woman;...

While in Jull Costa's translation the use of 'señora' was heavily determined by its context, this case strikes us as more of a subjective choice; the word is not repeated outside the example, and 'lady' could also have been a valid choice.

Aixelá notes that "faced with the difference implied by the *other*" translators have a wide range of strategies at their disposal, and these range from conservation, "acceptance of the difference by means of the reproduction of the cultural signs in the

source text", to naturalisation, "transformation of the other into a cultural replica" (1996: 54). At the 'conservation' end of the scale there is what Aixelá (ibid: 61) calls "repetition", where translators keep as much as they can of the original reference. He observes that, "paradoxically, this 'respectful' strategy involves in many cases an increase in the exotic ... character of the CSI [culture-specific item]", its linguistic form is alien to the reader and therefore establishes a certain cultural distance. At the 'naturalisation' end of the continuum we find strategies such as the replacement of source-culture references with target-culture references, and even more extreme strategies such as "autonomous creation", where target-culture specific items are inserted in the translation. For the purposes of this study, instead of the term 'repetition', which is rather vague, I will use 'cultural borrowing'. This is the term used by Hervey and Higgins (1992), who also describe a similar, if less complex, scale between 'exoticism' and 'cultural translation'. Cultural borrowing, as defined by Hervey and Higgins (ibid) has the additional advantage of being more general, encompassing cases where what Aixleá calls 'repetition' is accompanied by definition or explanations.

The reasons that lead translators to opt for a particular strategy can be very complex. Aixelá discusses an extensive list of explanatory factors that is, nevertheless (and necessarily), an open list. It includes, among others: degree of linguistic prescriptivism of the target culture; nature and expectations of potential readers; nature and aim of the initiators; working conditions, training and social status of the translator; previous translation; canonisation; transparency of the culture-specific element; ideological status; and relevance. Some of these factors are constant in the case of Jull Costa's and Bush's translations, while others are particular to the text in which culture-specific items are found.

Despite the existence of conditioning factors, even when everything else is equal, translators will still offer different solutions, based on their own subjective judgement. This can be demonstrated by comparing the approaches adopted by Bush and Jull Costa when dealing with very similar culture-specific terms, such as formal and informal forms of address. In the novels by Onetti and Sá-Carneiro, which are translated by Bush and Jull Costa respectively, the formal and informal forms of address in Spanish and Portuguese are used self-referentially in various instances. Although both translators

reproduce in the translations the actual source language forms ('usted' and 'tu' in Spanish and 'você' and 'tu' in Portuguese), they generally differ in the choice of verb introducing them (see examples 5.23 and 5.24). The Spanish 'trataremos de' and the Portuguese 'tratávamos por' both mean 'address as'. The lemmas in the two languages are cognates; surface differences in the examples below are explained partly by the fact that the Spanish verb is marked for future tense, while the Portuguese verb is in the past tense. Bush translates the Spanish as "use 'usted' to each other", whereas Jull Costa opts for the more explicit "address each other as 'tu'", making clear that what is being discussed is a form of address.

E.5.23 BOST: Siempre, en todo caso, nos trataremos de usted.

  BOTT: ... we must always use *usted* to each other.'

E.5.24 JCSCTT: ... eu e Ricardo não nos tratávamos por tu,

  JCSCTT: ... Ricardo and I never addressed each other as 'tu',

In Sá-Carneiro's text there are 6 occurrences of 'tratar por tu', with small variations and including one instance where 'tu' is replaced by the anaphoric 'assim' (similar to the English 'so'); in all cases Jull Costa uses one of two equally explicit options: 'address each other as "tu"' or 'call each other "tu"'. Technically, these cases do not count as explicitation, since the idea of 'addressing' is also present in the Portuguese 'tratar por', and in the Spanish 'tratar de'. It is only when contrasted with the choice of 'use' in the translation by Bush, that Jull Costa's lexical choice strikes us as more explicit. In example 5.25, however, the solution adopted by Jull Costa involves two explicitating shifts: first, 'você' is qualified as 'formal', and second, 'call each other' is added before 'tu' in a place where the source text is much more vague.

5.25 JCSCTT: E olha, fica combinado: de hoje em diante acabou-se o "você". Viva o "tu"!
  Literally: And look, it's agreed: from today onwards there's no more "você". 'Viva' the "tu"!
  JCSCTT: Look, from now on, we'll have no more of this formal "você" business. From now on we call each other "tu".

Arguably, Bush's translation in example 5.23 above could be described as involving an implicitating shift, since 'use' is less specific than 'tratar'. In two other cases the verb used in the Spanish text is 'tutear', meaning 'to address someone using the familiar form', and in both cases Bush opts for 'use', followed by 'tú' in one case and by 'usted' in another. Only in one case (example 5.26) could it be argued that there is explicitation; the more formal character of 'usted' is indirectly explicitated by the addition of 'polite' to the two other adjectives conveying the concept of 'mansedumbre': 'meek' and 'mild'. Whether explicitation was indeed the motive for this shift, however, is not obvious.

E.5.26   BOST: Y esa manera de no tutear, un poco burlona y esa mansedumbre, tan segura de que no la voy a dejar...

Literally: And that way of not 'tutear', slightly mocking, and that meekness, so sure that I am not going to leave her...

BOTT: And the rather sarcastic way she kept using *usted*, so polite, meek and mild, so sure I'm not going to leave her,...

The translation of forms of address shows how even in similar situations, the two translators' approaches can differ in subtle, but rather revealing ways. This is confirmed by the fact that this difference is part of a more general trend in the way Bush and Jull Costa deal with culture-specific items.

In CTMJC, apart from the case of 'señora' described above, there are several currency terms in the translation of Eça de Queiroz's *O Mandarim* which are also repeated several times. These are generally reproduced in the translation without the addition of glosses, although the meaning is clear from the context and they are repeated often. The only instance of a currency term in Spanish is accompanied by explicitation (see example 5.27). Note that the term itself is not explained, but clarification is indirectly provided by replacing the preposition 'con' (similar to 'with') in the Spanish with the more explicit 'earning' in the English.

E.5.27   JCSFST: Así entró Alfanhuí de boyero en Moraleja, con doce reales cada día.

JCSFTT: And so Alfanhuí became the oxherd in Moraleja, earning twelve *reales* a day.

There are three other culture-specific terms among the source language items in CTMJC: 'guardia civil', 'meseta' and 'fado'. The first one also offers an interesting example of explicitation (see example 5.28, the added information in the target text is highlighted in bold). In the source text, 'guardia civil' is a collocate of 'color', and it is an unusual collocate for that node, an instance of what Kenny calls 'creative collocation' (Kenny 2001:134-141). In the target text, Jull Costa borrows the Spanish term and, although she does not define it, she provides two important pieces of information, namely, that a 'guardia civil' wears a uniform, and that this uniform is green. What is more, the metonymy in the source text is rendered as a simile in the target text, so the comparative element is also more explicit (see Weissbrod 1992).[23]

E.5.28 JCSFST: En un rincón había una montaña de botellas, color guardia civil, cubiertas de polvo.

JCSFTT: In one corner there was a pile of dusty bottles, **green as a** *guardia civil's* **uniform**.

Although the word 'meseta' is not included in the Collins English Dictionary, the Oxford Spanish Dictionary offers as translation: 'plateau', 'tableland' and 'meseta' itself. The same dictionary offers as an example: "la meseta castellana" and as a possible translation "the Castilian plateau or meseta or tableland". In the translation by Jull Costa, the 'meseta' in question is the 'Castilian meseta', a fact which is made explicit by adding the qualifier 'Castilian' before 'meseta' in 2 of the 3 instances where this word is used (see example 5.29). The Castilian meseta is probably the most distinctive geographical feature of the Iberian peninsula and it is not uncommon to find that word used in English to describe that particular feature of the Iberian landscape, as a quick search for 'meseta' among English pages in the World Wide Web demonstrates. This, and the fact that 'meseta', when preceded by the word 'Castilian', appears as part of a

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[23] A simile is a comparison where the similarity is directly expressed using terms such as, 'like', 'as' or 'similar to'. Metonymy is a figure of speech where a thing, concept, person, or group is represented by something closely associated with it.

proper name designating a geographical area, may be why Jull Costa chose not to italicise it.

E. 5.29   JCSFST: ... pero las urracas se quedan siempre, antiguas påjaras de la meseta
JCSFTT: ... but the magpies stay, ancient birds of the **Castilian** meseta.

The fado is a Portuguese traditional song genre that is currently experiencing a revival, so it may be familiar to English-speaking readers. In any case, the meaning of 'fado' is clear from the context and even more so since the translation specifies that it is a tune (something that is implicit in the Portuguese 'repenicando à viola'). Interestingly enough, apart from adding information, the translation also omits information, since Jull Costa keeps the word 'fado' but not the full title of the song (see example 5.30; the added information in the target text is highlighted in bold and the omitted information in the source text is underlined). It is important to note, however, that although less information is provided in the target text, this does not hinder comprehension. If anything, it facilitates comprehension by restricting the number of unfamiliar elements that the reader will be confronted with.

E.5.30   JCQST: o mesquinho tenente de quinze mil réis de soldo, ria com a D.
Augusta, repenicando à viola o _"Fado da Cotovia"_.
JCQTT: that happy and insignificant lieutenant with his fifteen _mil-réis_ a
month, laughing with Dona Augusta and picking out **the tune of** a _fado_ on his
guitar.

In sum, it could be said that Jull Costa borrows culture-specific items only when strictly necessary and ensures that the reader is provided with enough information to work out the meaning of the foreign words. Sometimes the information provided by the context in the source text itself is deemed enough, as in example 5.20. Other times, the translator adds relevant information, although not usually in the form of intra-textual glosses as such, but rather in the form of contextual 'clues' that make the foreign lexical item easier to understand.

The higher number and variety of culture-specific terms in CTPB seem to be indicative of a willingness to let the source culture shine through in the translation. Although in some cases the source language words represent culture-specific items for which there is no close equivalent in English, for example, 'capirinha',[24] or almogávares;[25] in others it would have been possible to offer an English translation. One example is 'tómbola', which can be translated as 'tombola', but where Bush has chosen to use the Spanish spelling (see example 5.31);[26] another is 'bachillerato',[27] which despite being to some extent culture-specific, can be translated as 'secondary school' in certain contexts (see example 5.32).

E.5.31 BGST: había ganado una insignia no sé si de la UGT o el PSUC en una tómbola…

BGTT: she had won a UGT or PSUC badge in a *tómbola*,…

E.5.32 BGST: Apoyándonos uno en el otro, llegamos a concluir nuestro bachillerato paticojo sin demasiados tropiezos.

BGTT: By helping each other, we managed to finish our crippled *bachillerato* without too many mishaps.

Bush's strategy differs from that of Jull Costa not only in that he is more likely to use cultural borrowings but in that he rarely adds information that will clarify the meaning of borrowed terms. In CTPB there are 36 different source language terms that can be considered culture-specific, and intra-textual glosses are provided for only 3 of them: 'felipes' (see example 5.3 above), 'equis' (rendered as equis-viper) and 'chicha' (see example 5.33). If Catalan and Shuar culture-specific terms are also taken into account, then intra-textual glosses are provided for 5 of the 46 culture-specific items to be found in Bush's translations. The word 'tzantzas' is glossed as 'the sloths' and the word 'yahuasca' as 'yahuasca plant'.

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[24] A typical Brazilian cocktail made with the local sugar cane rum, limes, sugar and ice.
[25] Specially trained Spanish soldiers famous for their role in the Christian reconquest of Spain during the 13th Century.
[26] Note that in this example Bush also maintains the acronyms without explaining them.
[27] Qualification obtained when finishing secondary school in Spain and certain Latin American countries.

E.5.33   BSST: … cuando éstos se adormecían bajo los efectos de la chicha y de la natema…

BSTT: …once they had fallen asleep, overcome by chicha **beer** and *natema…*

Apart from intra-textual glosses, Bush uses two other types of strategies that are slightly closer to the naturalisation end of the continuum. One of them is what Aixelá (1996) calls orthographic adaptation, and it is used in the following cases: the Spanish 'mitigüeso', rendered as 'mitigueso', and the Shuar 'tzanza', rendered as 'tzantza'.[28] 'Mitigüeso' is a localism, and Bush (personal communication) explains that he thought the 'ü' was not necessary for the English-speaking reader to understand the wordplay with 'Smith and Wesson' (see example 5.2). 'Tzantza' is the most common transliteration in English for the respective Shuar word.

The other strategy is one that is not discussed by Aixelá and involves replacing the source-culture reference with another reference that also belongs to the source language culture but is more familiar to the target text readers. This occurs in two instances: 'torero' (bullfighter) is used instead of the more specific 'diestro', and 'zapateado' (a typically Spanish kind of tap dancing) is used to stand for 'taconeo'. In both cases the words used in source and target text are close synonyms, but the words chosen by Bush appear in the Collins English Dictionary, while those used in the source text do not. It seems then, that Bush is deliberately trying to retain the source-culture elements in his translations but also bearing in mind the familiarity that readers may have with the source culture. In this regard, it is also interesting to note two cases where Bush uses source-language nouns to translate source-text adjectives : 'espacios selváticos' (areas in the selva) is rendered as 'selva'; and 'coro de sardanistas' (chorus of sardana-dancers) is rendered as 'choral sardana'.

Where no explicitation accompanies the cultural borrowing, sometimes the meaning is nonetheless clear from the context. Nevertheless, the terms are generally left to stand for themselves and contextual information is not always enough to make out the meaning of

[28] Although 'yaya' corresponds to 'iaia' in BGST, this is because the translation conforms to the 1985 edition of Goytisolo's *Coto Vedado*, where the author uses 'yaya'.

the foreign items, as in example 5.34.[29] This situation never arises in relation to any of the culture-specific items found in CTMJC.

E.5.34   BGST: ... su apellido no es catalán y de probable ascendencia gitana. Su desconfianza ancestral del payo explicaría en este caso su actitud defensiva ante la vida, ...

BGTT: ... his surname isn't Catalan and sounds gypsyish. His ancestral distrust of *el payo* would in this case explain his defensive attitude to life,

Summing up, the higher frequency of source language items in Bush's translations reflects a tendency towards the conservation of culture-specificity that is more marked than in Jull Costa's translations. Admittedly, this is not a comprehensive account of culture-specific references; cases of naturalisation, for example, have not been discussed. Nevertheless, the concordances of italicised items and the extraction of foreign items from wordlists have provided us with a comprehensive list of cultural borrowings and demonstrated that they are considerably more common in Bush's translations than in Jull Costa's translations.

We observed as well that Jull Costa tends to add contextual information that would help the reader understand the meaning of the culture-specific items. Bush adds such information in proportionately far fewer cases. The addition of information for purposes of clarifying a certain source language item was described as 'explicitation'. In the next section I discuss in more detail the concept of explicitation and present the results of a complementary study that was carried out in order to further investigate explicitating shifts in CTPB and CTMJC.

What is 'explicitation' after all?

The concepts of 'explicitness' and 'explicitation' have been a recurring topic in the present work. Explicitation was briefly introduced in Chapter One, where it was

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[29] 'Payo', according to the Diccionario de la Real Academia Española, can be a word used by gypsies to designate "someone not belonging to their race" (my translation).

described as a tendency to spell things out in translation, rather than leave them implicit. In Chapter Four, I suggested that the addition of italics marking information focus in translations from Spanish into English resulted in a higher degree of explicitness in the target text. Finally, I described as explicitation certain instances of added information accompanying source language items. It is time, then, to explain in more detail what 'explicitation' is.

This concept has been widely used in translation studies, in particular in relation to norms and universals of translation (see Laviosa 2002, and House 2004). One of the first and most commonly cited works on explicitation in translation is that by Blum-Kulka (1986, cited here in a 2000 reprint), who suggests that shifts of cohesion in translation can result in a higher or lower degree of explicitness in the text. The shifts in the level of explicitness can be explained by either "differences in stylistic preferences for types and cohesive markers in the two languages involved in translation" (Blum-Kulka 2000: 299) or constraints imposed by the translation process itself. Blum-Kulka refers to the first alternative as the 'stylistic preference hypothesis' and to the second one as the 'explicitation hypothesis', formulated as follows: "The process of interpretation performed by the translator on the source text might lead to a TL text which is more redundant than the SL text. This redundancy can be expressed by a rise in the level of explicitness" (ibid: 300).

Klaudy and Károly (2005: 15) propose a notion of explicitness that encompasses more than just shifts of cohesion, including, for example:

> when a SL unit with a general meaning is replaced by a TL unit with a more
> specific meaning; when the meaning of a SL unit is distributed over several units
> in the TL; when new meaningful elements appear in the TL text; when one
> sentence in the ST is divided into two or several sentences in the TT; or, when SL
> phrases are extended or "raised" to clause level in the TT, etc.

Klaudy and Károly (2005) also suggest that explicitation (and implicitation) can be automatic operations or conscious strategies, and they distinguish between optional and obligatory explicitation. The latter is necessitated by differences in the system of the

two languages involved and is generally a symmetrical operation, in that explicitation in one direction (from L1 to L2) is matched by implicitation in the other direction (from L2 to L1). Optional explicitation is not necessitated by systemic linguistic differences, but by differences in language use, discourse structure and background information (ibid). In this regard, Klaudy and Károly propose the "asymmetry hypothesis", according to which optional explicitation in one direction is not always counterbalanced by implicitation in the opposite direction.

House (2004) evaluates the work done so far on explicitation and proposes a model that also distinguishes between obligatory and optional "explicitizing". Obligatory explicitation occurs as a result of the language-specific nature of syntactic and semantic structures, while optional explicitness results from the dislocation in terms of time and place brought about by the translation, and involves an adaptation (or "cultural filtering") to local genres in the target culture reception situation. (ibid).

Blum-Kulka (2001), House (2004), and Klaudy and Károly (2005) all seem to agree on the existence of explicitation due to linguistic constraints. House and Klaudy and Károly call this obligatory explicitation (or explicitizing, in House's words), while Blum-Kulka accounts for it under her 'stylistic preferences' hypothesis (although she does not clarify whether she is referring only to obligatory shifts or to optional shifts as well). However, whereas House suggests that optional explicitizing is a phenomenon related to cultural norms, and in particular genre conventions, Blum-Kulka's explicitation hypothesis implies that explicitation is a result of a cognitive process inherent to any translation situation and therefore a likely candidate for a translation universal. Klaudy and Károly also locate research on the relationship between explicitation and implicitation firmly in the field of translation universals.

In this work, explicitation[30] has been used to refer to optional and deliberate strategies applied by individual translators. It is beyond the scope of this paper to discuss the

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[30] The same phenomenon has been referred to as explication (O'Connell 2003), explicitizing (House 2004) and explicitation (Blum-Kulka 2001; Øverås 1998; Baker 1996). The latter is the more commonly used term and the one that is adopted here for the sake of clarity and simplicity.

potential universality of these tendencies; however, to the extent that I present evidence pointing to the existence of individual trends in the use of this strategy, it seems reasonable to suggest that any conclusions with regard to the generalisability of explicitation will have to allow for a certain margin of variation due to individual preferences.

Olohan and Baker (2000: 142) define explicitation as "the spelling out in a target text of information which is only implicit in a source text". This correspondence between explicitness in the target text and implicitness in the source text seems to be one of the defining characteristics of explicitation. Thus the references to a "semantic redundancy that is absent in the original" (Blum-Kulka 2001:301), or to the explicit rendering of "implicit, co-textually recoverable ST material" (Øverås 1998: 574). In these formulations of explicitation, the notion of 'implicitness' and 'explicitness' are taken for granted. This is not a problem when the move from implicitness to explicitness is obvious, as in example 5.28, where information on a certain colour is implicit in the source text and spelled out in the target text. However, and in particular in relation to culture-specific references and instances of self-referentiality, the information can be 'explicit' in the source text and nevertheless require explicitation for readers of the target text.[31] In example 5.16, for instance, the information elicited in the target text through the provision of an English equivalent for the Portuguese 'mandar' is not 'implicit' but 'explicit' in the source text, since for Portuguese readers the meaning of the verb will be clear. Another example is the use of the optional connective 'that' in translations from Spanish or Portuguese into English, which is the object of the study presented below. Olohan and Baker (2000) report that the use of the optional 'that' after the reporting verbs SAY and TELL is far more frequent in translations of narrative into English than in non-translated English narrative, and interpret this as evidence of explicitation. However, as can be seen in example 5.35, the use of 'that' in English does not necessarily imply a shift whereby something that is implicit in the source text is made explicit in the target text, as Olohan and Baker's definition of explicitation, quoted above, implies. In example 5.35, the link between the reporting verb and its object is also made explicit in the source text by the (obligatory) use of the connective 'que' in

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[31] Blum-Kulka (2001) discusses shifts of coherence (including the treatment of culture-specific references) separately from shifts of cohesion, and her definition of explicitation applies only to cohesion.

Spanish. Explicitation, in this instance, can be said to occur in relation to less explicit options in the target language (the omission of 'that'), rather than in relation to implicitness in the source text.

E.5.35   CSFST: La madre perdonó a su hijo; pero el niño dijo que quería ser disecador...

CSFTT: The mother forgave her son, but the boy said that he wanted to be a taxidermist...

The fact that there is explicitation does not mean that the target text is more informative than the source text. The degree of informativeness of a certain item may depend on the pragmatic information available to the reader. An example is provided by Bush's rendering of 'chicha' as 'chicha beer' (example 5.33). 'Chicha' is a fermented beverage, traditionally made from maize and sometimes from rice. Its alcohol percentage can vary, sometimes it can be made as a soft drink, although in the particular context where 'chicha' is used in Sepúlveda's text, it refers to an alcoholic beverage. In this case, there is a certain piece of information that is implicit in the source text and is made explicit in the target text: 'chicha' contains alcohol. However, if we were to measure the level of informativeness of the concept in its source and target contexts, it is not clear that we would find that it has 'increased' in the target text. The item "chicha", on its own, might be much more informative to a source text reader than the item "chicha beer" to a target text reader. And I say 'may' because where references are highly specific to a local culture, as in this case, establishing a degree of informativeness even within a linguistic community is difficult.

In short, the comparison of degrees of 'explicitness' and 'informativeness' across languages is more complex than has been granted in the literature. It is particularly problematic in those cases where the world knowledge of the readers may have an impact on the degree to which an item can be understood in its context. Offering a new, refined model of explicitation is beyond the scope of this project, so I will limit myself to drawing attention to the problems with the existing models and to qualifying the concept of explicitation as it is applied to the strategies described here, so as to prevent the above-mentioned problems from affecting the clarity and coherence of my

exposition. The term 'explicitation' will be used here not to refer to shifts from implicitness in the source text to explicitness in the target text, but to a decision whereby a certain, optional, piece of information is spelled out in the target text and this results in a text that is more explicit, *from the implied target reader's perspective*, than it would have been had the information been left implicit. The information in question may or may not be spelled out in the source text, and where it is not, this does not mean that the source text is less informative to source-text readers. I will not make any assumptions as to the resulting comparative degrees of informativeness in the source and target texts. In other words, I will use the term explicitation, but without making claims as to the resulting shifts in semantic redundancy between source and target texts. Explicitation will be conceived as a strategy that will have an effect upon the readability and ease of comprehension of a text in its own right, and not in relation to the source text.

With these reservations in mind, I will suggest here that Jull Costa tends to adopt explicitation as a strategy more frequently than Bush. So far, this tendency has been evident in the addition of italics for emphasis, marking information focus, and in the addition of information providing the reader with contextual clues about the meaning of culture-specific source language words that are kept in the translation. To further explore this hypothesis, I will report on a study that compares the frequency of the optional 'that' following reporting verbs SAY and TELL in CTMJC and in CTPB. The assumption is that a tendency to use the optional connective 'that', rather than leaving it out, results in increased explicitness in the target text.

The use of the optional connective after reporting verbs was chosen as the object of this study for two reasons. First, the availability of comparative data in the form of findings from previous studies (Baker and Olohan 2000; Baker 2000; and Kenny 2005) meant that I would be able to draw more reliable and informative conclusions than if I had no frame of reference. Second, the findings discussed so far in this thesis have revealed deliberate strategies of the type I have referred to as rhetorical choices, and no evidence has been provided concerning the type of stylistic habits that are expected to be automatic and therefore more difficult to control. Olohan and Baker (2000: 143) suggest that a higher incidence of optional 'that' provides evidence of "inherent, subliminal

processes of explicitation" because "translators clearly do not adopt a conscious strategy of spelling out optional syntactic elements such as that in reporting clauses". On this basis, it was initially expected that the results from the current study could provide evidence of stylistic habits.

In the following I first review the existing literature on the use of optional 'that' in translation, before presenting and analysing data from CTMJC and CTPB.

The use of 'that' after SAY and TELL: further evidence of explicitation?

The more frequent use of optional (or redundant) syntactical elements in translated text than in non-translated text has been proposed as a possible manifestation of explicitation as an inherent feature of translation (Olohan and Baker 2000; Olohan 2001). In English, one of these optional syntactic features is the connective 'that' introducing reported clauses, as in "I said that I hadn't finished it yet" (in JCSCTT), which could have also been written as 'I said I hadn't finished it yet'.

As mentioned above, Olohan and Baker (2000) report that the use of the optional 'that' after the verbs SAY and TELL is considerably more frequent in translations of narrative into English than in non-translated English narrative.[32] Olohan (2001) provides additional evidence that the language of English translations makes explicit grammatical and lexical relations which are less commonly made explicit in original English. Kenny (2005) looks at the use of 'that' in reporting structures with the verb SAY in translations of German fiction into English. Kenny's results are consistent with Olohan and Baker's finding for translated English in general. In addition, by using a parallel corpus, Kenny is able to assert that the inclusion of 'that' is not motivated by the use of the - also optional - connective 'dass' in German, which suggests that the more frequent use of the connective in translated English is not due to 'interference' from the source language.

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[32] The evidence on translated narrative comes from the Translational English Corpus (TEC). At the time of data collection, TEC consisted of approximately 3.5 millions words. The evidence on non-translated English was obtained from a comparable subset of the British National Corpus that was put together specifically to match TEC in terms of composition. The study reported in Olohan (2001) was carried out using a later version of TEC, with 6.4 million words. The subset of BNC texts was expanded to match this new version.

Although these three studies indicate that the use of the optional 'that' in reporting structures is a common feature in English translated narrative in general, Baker (2000) suggests that it may also be a linguistic habit that is more commonly used by certain translators than by others. In her initial exploration of stylistic preferences in translations by Peter Bush and Peter Clark (see Chapter One), Baker finds a marked difference between the two translators in this respect. A comparison with the results for TEC and BNC reported by Olohan and Baker (2000) showed that Peter Clark was very close to the patterning of translated English and Bush much closer to the patterning of non-translated English.

A higher degree of explicitness is only one of the potential motivations for the use of 'that' instead of 'zero' to introduce reported speech. In a comprehensive review of the linguistic literature on 'that/zero' variation in English, Olohan and Baker point out a wide range of formal and cognitive factors that have been claimed to influence the exclusion or inclusion of 'that', including:

- the level of formality: inclusion of 'that' is preferred in more formal, and less 'subjective', styles;
- the matrix verb: the omission of 'that' is more common with high frequency verbs, such as 'say' and 'tell';
- potential ambiguity: 'that' is preferred in cases where its absence would result in ambiguity;
- structural complexity: the omission of 'that' is more common in brief and simple clauses;
- cognitive complexity: being a more explicit option, 'that' is favoured in cognitively more complex environments (Rohdenburg 1996).

The need for clarity and explicitness is the underlying motive in the last three factors. In particular, Olohan and Baker (ibid) draw attention to Rohdenburg's (1996) claim that adding the connective is preferred in contexts that involve a greater processing effort. This suggests that the motivation for the prevalence of 'that' in translated English could be at least partially explained in terms of the level of cognitive complexity involved in

translation (Olohan and Baker 2000: 149). In translated texts, however, there is always the possibility that a certain pattern of repetition is determined by the influence of the source language/texts. This is precisely the possibility explored by Kenny (2005), using a parallel corpus of literary texts translated from German into English (GEPCOLT). German, like English, has an optional connective, "dass", which can be used to introduce reporting structures. Kenny's (ibid) results show that when 'that' is used in reporting structures with SAY in the English translations, roughly only half the time is there a corresponding "dass" in the source texts. In cases where the English uses a zero-connective, however, 80% of the time there is also a zero-connective in the German text. In other words, the use of optional 'that' in English translations from German does not seem to be determined by the use of the 'dass' connective in German, although patterns of omission of 'that' do tend to reflect patterns of omission of 'dass'. Furthermore, the replacement of 'dass' with 'that' was more common than the replacement of 'dass' with zero, which suggests that the tendency is to explicitate rather than implicitate.

The situation in translations from Spanish and Portuguese is rather different: reported speech introduced by the verbs DECIR and DIZER (the closest equivalents to SAY and TELL in Spanish and Portuguese respectively) actually requires the use of the connective 'que' in most cases.[33] Therefore, in this study, apart from counting instances of SAY and TELL followed by 'that' in the translations, I will also look at the corresponding source text to account for literalness as another potential motivation for the use of the connective in the English translations.

Concordances for each form of the verbs (*say, says, said,* etc.) were retrieved, and relevant concordance lines were then identified, a process which involved discarding other instances, for example:

- SAY and TELL followed by non-clausal complements ('Don't you say "hallo"?', in BOTT)
- SAY and TELL introducing reported speech ('they said with a shudder: "This doesn't bode well ... "', in JCSFTT)

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[33] See Butt and Benjamin (2000: 288, 446 and 450) and Mira Mateus *et al* (1983: 414-416) for a description of the rare exceptions to this rule in Spanish and Portuguese, respectively.

- SAY and TELL as phrasal and prepositional verbs ('...being able to tell an *ipê* from a *carvalho*', in BBTT)
- formulaic, lexicalised expressions ('To tell the truth, I cannot say...', in JCVITT)

Table 5.13 sums up the results for the lemma SAY. The total number of concordances of SAY retrieved in CTPB was 840, of which 129 were found to be relevant, that is, involved the optional 'that' construction. The 'that' connective is used in only 25 of those cases; that is, in approximately 20% of the cases where it is possible. In CTMJC, the total number of instances of SAY was 385, of which 34 were found to be relevant. The verb SAY is, then, considerably less frequent in CTMJC than in CTPB, and reporting structures using this verb are also comparatively less common. The 'that' connective has been used in 22 instances; that is, in approximately 65% of the cases where it was optional. Although Jull Costa uses fewer reporting structures with the verb SAY, when she does use them she tends to also use the connective 'that'.

| | | Number of instances where the reporting structure with SAY | | |
		can be followed by 'that'	is followed by 'that'	is replacing a construction with 'que' in the source text
CTPB	Total	129	25	126
	Percentage	100%	19.4%	97.7%
CTMJC	Total	34	22	23
	Percentage	100%	64.7%	67.6%

Table 5. 13 Use of 'that' in reporting structures with SAY in CTPB and CTMJC

Having a look at the source text concordances we find that, in CTPB, in 126 of the 129 cases where the 'that' connective is possible in the target texts, a 'que' connective was used in Spanish and Portuguese (although not always following DECIR/DIZER). In the three cases where 'que' is not used in the source text (where the author has used direct speech, free direct speech, or a more general reference to the speech act) Bush used SAY and omitted 'that' (see example 5.36).

E. 5.36   BGST: Conocía, dijo, a una vieja solterona...

Literally: He knew, he said, an old spinster...

BGTT: He said he knew an old spinster...

I suggested above that one of the reasons for a tendency to use 'that' in English translations from Spanish and Portuguese would be a preference for literal translations. In CTMJC, however, the use of 'that' is not necessarily related to the use of 'que' in the source texts: of the 34 instances where 'that' is optional in the target texts, only 23 cases correspond to instances where the connective 'que' is used in Spanish and Portuguese. Of the 11 instances where the reporting structure with SAY in English does not correspond to a reporting structure with 'que' in the source texts, 'that' is used in the target text in 6 cases (see example 5.37). In percentage terms, the use of a reporting structure with optional 'that' in Jull Costa's translations mirrors a reporting structure with 'que' in the source texts in 67.6 % of all cases, and in Bush's translations in 97.7 % of all cases.

E.5.37   JCVST: en el Ministerio de Defensa se dice 'La cosa no pasará de acá',

JCVTT: in the Ministry of Defence it is said that the matter will go no further,

Finally, there are 7 instances where Jull Costa omits the connective 'that' although 'que' is used in the source texts. That is to say, Jull Costa omits the connective in English in approximately 30% of the cases where it is used in the source text. In short, although the 'that' connective is more common in CTMJC than in CTPB this does not necessarily mean that this is because Jull Costa tends to translate literally where she finds a reporting structure with 'que' in Spanish or Portuguese.

Table 5.14 sums up the results for the lemma TELL. This is a much less common verb than SAY. TELL occurs 263 times in CTPB, 68 of which are relevant here. In these 68 cases, TELL is followed by the optional 'that' roughly 40% of the time (27 instances). In this corpus, although TELL is more frequently followed by 'that' than SAY, the use of 'that' is still less common with TELL than is the use of the zero connective Among the source text concordances, the connective 'que' appears in 62 instances. Only in one case does Bush use 'that' where there is no 'que' in the source text.

		Number of instances where the reporting structure with TELL		
		can be followed by 'that'	is followed by 'that'	is replacing a construction with 'que' in the source text
CTPB	Total	68	27	62
	Percentage	100%	39.7%	91.2%
CTMJC	Total	30	25	27
	Percentage	100%	83.3%	90%

Table 5. 14 Use of 'that' in reporting structures with TELL in CTPB and CTMJC

In CTMJC there are 166 instances of TELL, of which 30 are relevant here. In more than 80% of those cases (25 instances), 'that' has been used. In percentage terms, the use of 'that' after TELL is twice as common in CTMJC than in CTPB. In the source texts, 'que' is used in 27 out of the 30 cases where 'that' is possible in the target texts. In the 3 cases where there is no reporting structure followed by 'que' in the source texts, the translator has nevertheless used TELL followed by the connective 'that', as in example 5.38.

E.5.38   JCVIST: ... exigidle secreto sobre lo que vais a confiarle.

Literally: ... demand her secret about what you are going to confide to her.

JCVITT: ... tell her that what you have to say must remain secret.

There are also 5 instances of reporting verbs followed by 'que' in the source texts that were translated by TELL not followed by the connective 'that' (see example 5.39).

E.5.39   JCSFST: ... y el pobre gallo, con la boca torcida, le dijo que sabía muchas cosas...

JCSFTT: ... the poor cockerel, its mouth all twisted, told him it knew many things

Although these figures are too low to allow for generalisations, they suggest that, although Jull Costa tends to use 'that' after the reporting verb TELL more often than Bush, this does not reflect a tendency towards literal translation.

Table 5.15 shows the percentage of times the optional 'that' was used in CTPB and CTMJC compared with the results from GEPCOLT reported by Kenny (2005), and those from BNC and TEC reported by Olohan and Baker (2000). The comparison with GEPCOLT is only possible for the lemma SAY, since Kenny (2005) does not report on 'that/zero' variation after TELL. The results for CTPB and CTMJC differ from those in GEPCOLT to approximately the same degree, but in opposite directions. The patterns of that/zero variation in translations by Bush most resemble those of non-translated English (BNC results), while the patterns of that/zero variation in translations by Jull Costa most resemble those of translated English (TEC results). The use of the optional 'that' in CTMJC is even more frequent than in TEC translations, which suggests that the stylistic preferences of both Bush and Jull Costa concerning use of the optional 'that' are prominent compared to the norm for translations into English.

	CTPB	CTMJC	GEPCOLT	BNC	TEC
SAY	19.4%	64.7%	42%	23.7%	50.2%
TELL	39.7%	83.3%	N/a	41%	62.7%

Table 5. 15 Comparative data on 'that/zero' variation

These results suggest that, even if an overall preference for 'that' rather than 'zero' after SAY and TELL is a characteristic of translated English, this is a very broad generalisation and it is important to allow a margin for considerable variation across individual translators' styles. This is also supported by Baker's (2000) findings.

These results also add to the evidence that suggests that Jull Costa's translations tend towards explicitation. As observed above, the use of the 'that/zero' connective in translations from Spanish and Portuguese shows that a definition of 'explicitation' based on the assumption that there is some information that is 'implicit' in the source text, does not always apply. In the great majority of cases, the link between the reporting verb and the reported clause that is made explicit by the 'that' connective is explicit in the source text. In this case, it is the norm for non-translated English that provides a standard against which the use of 'that' can be considered explicitation. Intralinguistic comparison may, in general, be a more reliable method for assessing explicitation, although source texts should be used to account for source-language shining through. In

other words, this study further demonstrates the advantages of combining parallel and comparable corpora in translation studies, as argued by Kenny (2005) and Olohan (2004), among others.

Finally, these findings add to the evidence provided by Kenny (2005), according to which the tendency to use the optional 'that' rather than a 'zero connective' in translated English is probably not a result of source-language shining through. This is supported by the fact that Bush shows an overall preference for the 'zero connective' despite translating from languages where the connective is obligatory in most cases, and that Jull Costa, despite a marked preference for including the optional 'that' after SAY, is less likely than Bush to mirror source-text reporting constructions.

Conclusion

In this chapter I have presented findings describing the use of foreign lexical items and patterns of that/zero variation after SAY and TELL in CTMJC and CTPB. As to the first set of results, it was initially observed that the omission and addition of quotation marks and italics distinguishing foreign words was common in both corpora. A closer look at the results showed that the only consistent pattern concerning foreign lexical items in either of the two corpora was the relatively common use of source language words in the corpus of translations by Peter Bush. Source language words in translations by Jull Costa were not so common and were mainly concentrated in one translation. The data obtained from our reference corpus, COMPARA, suggests that Jull Costa uses fewer source language words and Peter Bush more source language words than is the norm in translations from Portuguese into English. However, this was presented as a very tentative generalisation because the differences in the composition and the tagging procedures of the core (CTPB and CTMJC) and reference (COMPARA) corpora mean that the results are not fully comparable.

Source language items in CTPB and CTMJC were then divided into two categories: instances of self-referentiality and culture-specific items. A qualitative analysis of these two groups revealed that Bush is more likely than Jull Costa to use cultural borrowings as a strategy for dealing with culture-specific terms. Jull Costa is less likely to use

lexical items that are unfamiliar to the reader; and when she does, she provides contextual information that facilitates their understanding. This is in line with what was suggested in the conclusion to the previous chapter, namely that the use of emphatic italics in translations by Jull Costa could be indicative of a tendency to facilitate readability. I therefore suggested that these patterns may be evidence of what has been described in the literature as a tendency towards 'explicitation'. It was argued, however, that measuring explicitation across languages is not as straightforward as previous studies seem to grant. In particular, it was pointed out that explicitation does not necessarily entail an increase in semantic redundancy in relation to the source text.

In order to provide more evidence for the hypothesis that Jull Costa's translations are more explicit than Bush's, I carried out a short study looking at patterns in the use of the optional connective 'that' after reporting verbs SAY and TELL. The results supported the hypothesis: Jull Costa tends to use the 'that' connective far more often than Peter Bush. When compared with the results for translated and non-translated narrative in English reported in Olohan and Baker (2000), they showed that Jull Costa's translations were, in this respect, more similar to translated English than to non-translated English. This is the opposite to what we found for patterns in the use of emphatic italics and foreign words in translations by Jull Costa: these patterns were more similar to non-translated English than to translated English.

As a stylistic marker, the use or avoidance of foreign words belongs to the category of 'rhetorical choices', since it represents deliberate decisions made by the translator. Some may argue that certain words are impossible to translate, but that is only within a rather narrow understanding of translation. If we consider options such as omissions as valid translation choices, then the decision to not translate a certain word must be considered deliberate. The addition of contextual information or intra-textual glosses can likewise be considered deliberate. The use of the optional 'that' to introduce reported speech, on the other hand, has been described as an automatic habit (Olohan and Baker 2000; Baker 2000). However, as we will see in Chapter Six, this is not necessarily the case. The use or omission of 'that' can be a conscious, deliberate decision by the translators, dictated by their knowledge of different systemic resources and stylistic conventions in the source and target languages, and by native speaker intuition.

In terms of stylistic significance, I would like to argue here that the use of source language words, and in particular cultural borrowings, affects the ideational function of the translation. By choosing to use a foreign form to represent a particular phenomenon the writer/translator places the phenomenon outside - or at least removed from - the implied reader's experience of the world. By translating it, the writer is bringing the phenomenon within the realm of what is familiar to the implied reader. The choice of more familiar and more explicit renderings in the translation also has effects at the textual level, producing a more cohesive and coherent text than would otherwise have been produced.

I would like to stress here, as I have done in Chapter Four, that none of the stylistic markers described is actually pervasive enough (in the case of cultural borrowings and emphatic italics) or salient enough (in the case of that/zero variation) to be considered a prominent stylistic feature of the individual texts themselves. It is only when we take several translations into consideration, and when these are compared to the work of other translators, that those features appear as prominent and as having stylistic relevance.

The results presented in this chapter and in Chapter Four have revealed patterns in the work of Bush and Jull Costa that have effects on the ideational, interpersonal and textual functions of the translated texts, in other words, that are stylistically relevant. In the next chapter, I discuss what these stylistic traits tell us about the translators themselves, and attempt to offer possible explanations as to what motivates the translators' decisions.

6   Motivations: style as audience design

> I... insist on style as, from the standpoint of producer and receiver, the recognizable, repeatable, preservable sign of an author who reckons with an audience.
>
> Edward Said (1979: 163)

Introduction

This chapter brings together the theoretical model of translator's style proposed in Chapter Two with the results described in Chapters Four and Five. The main aim of this chapter is to interpret these results and find plausible explanations for the translators' motivations. First, the stylistic patterns revealed by the analyses are summarised. This is followed by a note on the reception of Bush's and Jull Costa's translations and a description of the different factors that may have an effect on each translator's approach, namely: the translator's background, the socio-economic context, the horizon of translation, the translator's project and the translator's position. The translators' perceptions regarding the stylistic patterns revealed by the results are also discussed.

Two models are presented as potential explanatory frameworks for interpreting the results: the foreignisation/domestication dichotomy (Venuti 1995/1998) and audience design in translation (Hatim and Mason 1997/Mason 2000). The first one is rejected on the basis that it is not replicable and entails unwarranted claims concerning translators' ideologies. I argue that translator behaviour is better explained in terms of degrees of mediation (Hatim and Mason 1997), and introduce the theory of audience design in order to explain the motivations underlying the translators' different approaches. The chapter ends with a brief consideration of how Bush and Jull Costa's individual backgrounds might have influenced their style.

Preliminary remarks on stylistic effects

The results presented in Chapter Four showed that Jull Costa tends to add emphatic italics in her translations. It was argued that, in English, emphatic italics have the role of marking information focus by conveying typographically the prosodic patterns that are used to mark information focus in spoken language. Italics add cohesiveness to a text by highlighting what is new (as opposed to given) information (Halliday 1967) and, as shown by McAteer (1990), they facilitate and guide interpretation. Italics also have an effect upon the level of formality and involvement conveyed by the text because they bring into the written text features of spoken, conversational language. Reliance on the prosodic patterns that are conveyed typographically by italics is a typical feature of English, so the use of italics can also reflect an effort to produce an idiomatic text.

The results presented in Chapter Five showed that Jull Costa tends to use fewer cultural borrowings than Bush and that, when she does use them, she also tends to accompany them with explicitation, generally in the form of contextual clues rather than definitions and explanations. The stylistic effects of these preferences are in line with those of emphatic italics. Cultural borrowings, especially if unfamiliar to the reader, can be expected to disturb the reading experience and increase the difficulty involved in processing the information. The choice of more familiar and more explicit renderings, however, helps to produce a more coherent text. Jull Costa's more frequent use of the connective 'that' after reporting verbs SAY and TELL further confirmed the tendency towards explicitation. It was noted, however, that a preference for more explicit renderings does not necessarily mean that the translation is more informative than the source text.

Bush's translations were found to be generally devoid of emphatic italics. Cultural borrowings, on the other hand, were more common than in Jull Costa's translations and rarely accompanied by explicitation. Cultural borrowings remind the reader of the foreignness of the text: by using a foreign form to represent a particular phenomenon the translator places the phenomenon outside, or at least removed from, the implied reader's experience of the world. Concerning the use of 'that' after reporting verbs SAY and TELL, Bush tends to omit the connective. The pattern of 'that/zero' variation in

Bush's translations was found to follow closely that of non-translated English. As we will see, this is a deliberate strategy specifically directed at adapting the text to the norms of the target language.

The different strategies applied by the two translators were shown to form a coherent pattern: they were consistent across all or most of the translations, and they serve communicative functions that complement one another. As well as being coherent, these patterns were shown to have literary relevance, in the sense that they contribute to the function of the texts at the ideational, interpersonal or textual levels. Although statistical tests have not been used for the reasons described in Chapter Three, the comparisons of normalised figures with data obtained from reference corpora allow us to speak, in most cases, of a certain degree of prominence. Assuming that COMPARA is a valid point of reference for our corpus, the use of emphatic italics in both Jull Costa's and Bush's translations can be said to deviate from the norm in contemporary translations from Portuguese into English, although in different directions. In this regard, Jull Costa's translations tend to approximate the norm in non-translated English narrative, where italics are far more common than in translated English.

The use of cultural borrowings in Bush's translations does not seem to be particularly prominent; rather, it is the absence of cultural borrowings in Jull Costa's translations that stands out. However, if we focus on 'that/zero' variation, Bush's translations do deviate from the norm for translated English as measured by Olohan and Baker (2000). The differences between the patterns of 'that/zero' variation in CTPB and CTMJC are striking. In the case of source-language items, however, it is difficult to gauge the significance of deviations simply by comparing normalised figures. This is where qualitative analyses play an important role. By looking at specific instances in context, and in relation to the corresponding source text unit, we can assess what other possibilities are available to the translator and to what degree the choices are contextually determined. Upon close inspection of source language items in their context, I was able to determine that Bush's criterion for deciding when the cultural specificity of an item warrants non-translation seems to be more flexible than that applied by Jull Costa.

It should be stressed, however, that emphatic italics and source language words were not so frequent that they would appear as foregrounded stylistic patterns in each of the texts: the patterns emerged as prominent only when several texts were considered together and in relation to the work of other translators.

The reception of Jull Costa's and Bush's translations

The successful careers enjoyed to date by Bush and Jull Costa, and the numerous awards they have received (see next section) are testimony to a very positive reception of their work in general. In this section, I look at reviews of the translations in order to find out what aspects of the translations have been instrumental in ensuring the approval of critics and readers. A detailed and comprehensive description of reviews is beyond the scope of this study; however, by conducting searches on the World Wide Web and with the help of the two translators themselves, who forwarded me copies of reviews, it was possible to gather enough material to have a general impression of how the translations were described by reviewers.

Reviews of Jull Costa's translations are overwhelmingly positive. Among the qualifiers used to describe the translation product or the mode of translation, 'fluent/ly' and 'elegant/ly' are the most common and summarise the main qualities generally highlighted in the reviews. Others are: solid, clear, flowing, smooth, mellifluously, breezes right along, successfully, competent, admirable, delightfully, limpid, accurate, patient, inventive, eloquently, beautifully, lucid, graceful, clearly and lovingly. The translator herself is described as competent, talented, redoubtable, "the premier translator of Portuguese literature into English today" (in www.bookfinder.us, last accessed on 16th March, 2005), a "translator's translator, if there ever was one" (International Herald Tribune, 17th July, 1996) and - concisely but eloquently -: "dynamite" (RALPH, January 2001).

Some hints at criticism are to be found in a qualification of "successfully" as "albeit quite literally" and one reviewer finds that the translation is "confident" but that it

"homogenizes Eça's more exuberant moments" (The Times Literary Supplement).[1] The few reviews that devote more space to a critique of the translator's work generally praise the translations for reading as if originally written in English and for managing to convey the "spirit" of the original. One anonymous reviewer finds him or herself returning to Jull Costa's prize-winning version of Pessoa's *The Book of Disquiet* because "it breathes with Pessoa's breath" (www.babelguides.com, last accessed on 16th March, 2005). Henry Sheen (The New Statesman, 7th May 2001) describes Jull Costa's achievement as "giving the impression that Queiroz might have written the English himself." Nick Caistor (The Independent)[2] sees her "as determined to push Pessoa into English sense", unlike another translator of the same book, who "follows the American school translation, and mostly leaves the original words to struggle as best as they can to find meaning in English." Tom Earle (The London Magazine, November 2002) gives credit to the translator's "skill and tact in handling the tricky problems posed by Portuguese names, of people and places, and by the technical vocabulary of the Church. These [...] are treated simply and naturally without the need for footnotes". Wendy Lesser (www.chronicle.com, last accessed on 16th March, 2005) compares Esther Allen and Jull Costa's versions of Javier Marías' work. Lesser finds that the there is a subtle difference having to do with "Allen's receptive American ear" and "Costa's [sic] uncanny ability to locate Anglo-Saxon equivalents for Latinate terms", and concludes by saying that "if pressed" she would say that "Allen's Marías sounds more like a Spaniard, Costa's [sic] more like a native English speaker".

Reviews of Bush's work were more difficult to find, which might be due to the fact that, with the exception of Goytisolo, the other writers he has translated have not had such an impact in British and American literary circles. The vast majority of the reviewers were positive, but those who were negative were more vocal than in reviews of Jull Costa's translations. Among the qualities highlighted we find the following: highly - and appropriately - idiomatic; affective; draws one into the world of the narrator; fluent and accurate; well translated; conveys both style and world well; fine; skillful; reads very, very well; sure-footed; smooth and natural; deftly conveys the lyrical, complex,

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[1] The date of publication is not available. This is the case in several of the reviews that were made available to me by the translators.
[2] Date unavailable.

rhapsodic style [of the source text]; superb. It is interesting to note that two of the reviewers refer to Bush's successful rendering of the "world" of the source text. Like in the reviews of Jull Costa's translation, we find an emphasis on readability, although maybe less on smoothness. This last impression is reinforced by some of the negative comments made by some of the reviewers, who claim that the translation "does not quite capture the easy-going quality of the original",[3] that "Bush somehow alters the subtlety and unaffectedness of Buarque",[4] and that "the colloquial register and Spanish sentence structure seem to work at cross purposes" (Handbook of Latin American Studies, http://lcweb2.loc.gov/, last accessed 19th April, 2005). The colloquial register is also mentioned by another reviewer: "the translation is slightly more colloquial than the original".[5]

One reviewer comments that Bush sounds "British", but in general we do not find reviews stressing the 'English-sounding' quality of the translations, as was the case in reviews of Jull Costa's translations. This is consistent with our findings and with what the translators declare to be their aims in translation.

Consideration of motivations

In Chapter Two I argued, following Baker (2000: 258), that finding stylistic patterns is only worthwhile when they can tell us something about the translators themselves, their cultural and ideological positioning. In order to do this, our findings need to be placed in the context of what we know about the translators in question - their background, position and project -, the horizon of translation, and the socio-economic context in which the translations have been produced. This information was obtained from the translator's writings and in interviews carried out by the researcher. The data thus obtained not only allow us to put forward explanations concerning motivations, but also to triangulate our findings by matching results from the textual study with the translators' own thoughts on their approach.

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[3] Date and source unavailable.
[4] Date and source unavailable.
[5] Date and source unavailable.

The translator's background

Peter Bush

Peter Bush was born in Lincolnshire in 1946. He describes his interest in foreign languages and literatures as arising from a feeling of dislocation with English, caused by the realisation, at 5 years of age, that his rural working-class accent was not acceptable at the state school he had started to attend (Bush 1999, 2003). As a result: "I was to be made to feel a stranger to what was my own way of expressing myself" (Bush 1999: 180). He later studied Spanish and French at Cambridge University and obtained a Doctor of Philosophy degree from Oxford University. After teaching Spanish for several years at different London schools, frustrated by an educational policy that prevented him from enacting a curriculum that responded positively to the cosmopolitan urban communities where he taught, and probably encouraged by the successful and enjoyable experience of his first literary translation (Goytisolo's *Forbidden Territory*), Bush decided to switch careers and become a freelance literary translator. Faced with a limited job market for literary translators, he took the initiative of promoting foreign authors, such as Juan Goytisolo and Juan Carlos Onetti, among publishers such as Quartet and Bloomsbury. Since then, Bush has established himself as a successful literary translator. In 1995 the American Literary Translators Association gave him the Best Translation Award for his translation of Luis Sepúlveda's *The Old Man Who Read Love Stories* and in 1997 he won the Valle-Inclán Prize for the translation of Goytisolo's *The Marx Family Saga*.

Parallel to his freelance translating career, Bush has held several academic posts. He was Professor of Literary Translation first at Middlesex University and then at the University of East Anglia. From 1998 to 2003, he was the director of the British Centre for Literary Translation. Despite his successful academic career, Bush became increasingly disappointed with the fact that "university ideals of scholarship privilege a disconnection from 'doing it' in a tradition of scientific objectivity that belittles the practising subject" (Bush 2002a: 21). Two years ago he took early retirement from the University of East Anglia and the Centre for Literary Translation and moved to Barcelona, where he works full time as a literary translator, writer and researcher.

Among other, personal, reasons, he mentions the need to distance himself from academia because he feels that what he wants to do, intellectually and creatively, cannot be done within academia (personal communication). Bush is now seeking to devote more time to translation and writing about translation, as well as to find new authors, and publishers for these authors, and making "new voices enter the culture of the English speaking world" (ibid).

Margaret Jull Costa

Margaret Jull Costa was born in 1949 and grew up in Surrey. Her travels around Spain in her early twenties motivated her to do a degree in Hispanic and Latin American Studies followed by a Master of Arts at Stanford University. She later taught English as a Foreign Language in Portugal and England, and got involved in the publishing industry, working as copy-editor, reader and editorial assistant. She also collaborated in the compilation and editing of various monolingual and bilingual dictionaries and references works for publishers such as Macmillan, Longman, Larousse, Oxford University Press and Bloomsbury. Jull Costa modestly describes how she became a literary translator as a mixture of luck and persistence, which involved writing to all likely UK publishers. Soon after her first assignment, however, literary translation became her main activity, and her success is attested by an impressive list of prizes. She won, among others, the 1992 Portuguese Translation Prize for *The Book of Disquiet* by Fernando Pessoa and the 2000 Weidenfeld Translation Prize for *All the Names* by José Saramago.

Although she has never pursued a career as an author, Jull Costa also writes poetry, some of which has been published. While Jull Costa herself rarely mentions this aspect of her literary career in her own writing or when talking about her translations, I believe this is an important factor to be taken into account, since the sensitivity developed by Jull Costa as a poet is bound to feed into her translation work, and vice-versa.

Jull Costa has not held full-time academic positions but has been involved in activities related to academia, as a Member of the Arts Council of England's Translation

Committee, as reviews editor of *In Other Words* (the journal of the UK Translators Association), and in giving workshops, seminars and lectures at different universities.

The socio-economic context

The fact that both Jull Costa and Bush translate Iberian and Latin American literature into English is significant because they deal not only with the same languages and cultures but also with the same literary markets. It is well known that the proportion of output accounted for by translations in the British and American publishing industry is small: only 3% of all titles are translations, compared to 30% or 40% in France or Spain and 80% or 90% in Iran or Brazil (Bush, 2005). This situation presents obvious disadvantages for literary translators in the United Kingdom, whose work is less in demand and who rarely see any benefits in terms of royalties. In this sense, earning a living from literary translation, as Jull Costa has done for a number of years and Bush is doing now, can be seen as an important achievement in itself.

The legal status of translation in copyright law and the contractual arrangements regulating the translator's work are also very unsatisfactory: translation is defined as a derivative work whose controlling rights are in the hands of the foreign writer (Venuti 1995). This situation, however, is not peculiar to the Anglo-American literary market, but much more widespread. Within the limits imposed by this situation, Jull Costa's and Bush's highly acclaimed translations have earned them a certain authority that we can imagine has an impact on their relationship with publishers, authors and literary agents. When asked about their dealings with publishers and editors, both translators described them as generally smooth, with only the occasional, anecdotal, disagreement. It is clear that both translators negotiate their terms with self-confidence. They generally work with reasonable deadlines, from a few months to a whole year. This is particularly important because, in Bush's words, it allows the translation to "mature", and because both translators sometimes work on more than one project at a time.

Both translators are able to choose the works they translate. When translating contemporary works, both Bush and Jull Costa consult with the authors, sometimes sending them entire drafts (in the case of, for example, Goytisolo and Valenzuela) and

185

sometimes consulting on specific questions (in the case of, for example, Saramago and Onetti). However, it is clear that the consultation is done on the translators' terms, and that they assert their right to make the final decision.

Notwithstanding their 'privileges' in their relationships with publishers, and although the final version of the text will always require the translators' approval, they have less influence on aspects of 'presentation'. Their opinion on the translation of titles, for example, is not always borne in mind and their names do not always appear on the book cover.

The horizon of translation

Venuti argues that the imbalance in the trade of translations between English and other languages has resulted in British and American cultures that are "aggressively monolingual, unreceptive to the foreign" (1995: 15). The unreceptiveness of the Anglo-Saxon literary market to translations is also noted by Bush (1999, 2005). Anglo-Saxon literary culture has also been described as showing a marked preference for plain styles. Bush describes it as a "marketplace of good taste where the subjective and the awkward, the radical and the foreign are silenced by the pulsating, finely tuned antennae of our well-bred and in-bred normalizers" (1999: 177).

The preference for plain styles, combined with a disinclination towards foreign literatures, results in a preference for transparent and fluent translations, translations that read as if written in English and do not betray their foreign origin. Both Venuti (1995) and Fawcett (2000) document the favourable impression that fluency makes on the reviewers of translations. Fawcett observes that the most common criticism in reviews of translations is "source-text contamination" (ibid: 296).

Despite the low popularity of translations among British and American readerships, compared to other foreign literatures, translations from Spanish are relatively well received. Callahan (2001: 427) notes that many successful Spanish novels are translated into English relatively quickly. According to Bush, the influence of Latin American fiction in English translation has altered the canon and encouraged writers to experiment

with narrative (2001: 434). Bush attributes the impact that translations of Latin American fiction have had in English to the 1960s boom of Hispanic American literature and three generations of thoughtful translators who, like Suzanne Jill Levine, Carol Maier and Anne Wright, have endeavoured to make such literature more visible in English-speaking cultures. The translation of Portuguese literature, on the other hand, is described by Harland as "at best a very patchy process" (2001: 441), and that of Brazilian literature seems to have followed a similar pattern. Translations of Brazilian literary works are difficult to obtain, they are published in small print runs, and retranslations are common (Gonçalves Barbosa 2001: 443).

The current academic discourse on translation prioritises a set of values that is not always consistent with those high on the agenda of publishers and the general public.[6] One of the most influential figures in translation studies is Lawrence Venuti (1995, 1998), who is a staunch critic of "domesticating" translations that read fluently and stress intelligibility. According to Venuti, good translations are "foreignising" or "minoritising", they foreground the linguistic and cultural differences of the source-language text and make the translator visible.

The evaluation and practice of literary translation in some academic circles has also been influenced by postmodernist ideas that question the very idea of originality, stress the instability of meaning and reject as essentialist any attempts at casting translation in terms of equivalence of any sort. Other translation theorists (for example, those working in descriptive translation studies, polysystems theory, skopos theory and relevance theory) have stressed the role that translations play in the target culture. The influence of descriptive, functionalist and communicative approaches, together with that of postmodernist theories, has resulted in a general movement towards the valorization of literary translations as artistic creations in their own right and a more flexible view of what constitutes an accurate or faithful translation.

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[6] It should be noted, though, that the public opinion is presented here mainly as described and understood by academics themselves.

The translator's project

The fact that Jull Costa has worked as a full-time translator for longer than Bush probably explains her longer and more varied list of translations, with over 50 book-length translations and almost as many short stories and essays. Nevertheless, Bush has been extremely prolific for a part-time translator, with over 30 translated novels, 16 short stories and several poems to his credit.

Jull Costa declares that she likes to translate as wide a variety of authors as possible, because "it stretches your capabilities" (personal communication). Her list of translations confirms this, she has translated 19th century Portuguese writers, best-sellers of popular literature by Brazilian writer Paul Coelho, contemporary Nobel prize winner José Saramago, and Basque writer Bernardo Atxaga. She translates from Spanish and Portuguese in about equal measures.

Although Jull Costa chooses the translations she accepts, Bush has been more active in suggesting foreign authors to publishers. The translations of Onetti's work, for example, were carried out at Bush's initiative. Bush has also been active in promoting foreign literature, for example through documentaries, and together with the author, Nuria Amat, he has recently done a promotional tour for his translation *Queen Cocaine*. The list of authors translated by Bush is somewhat less varied than in the case of Jull Costa: around half of his translations are of works by Juan Goytisolo and Juan Carlos Onetti. The translation of Buarque's novel is one of two translations from Portuguese on his list.

Bush (1997b: 14) points out that "most commercial publishers … prefer not to have learned prefaces or pages awash with footnotes that ghettoize translation in restricted markets", and this is one aspect of the translation's presentation on which both he and Jull Costa agree with their publishers. They both believe that the translations should speak for themselves and dislike the academic flavour of introductions, prefaces, or footnotes.

Jull Costa's translations generally do not contain notes, introductions or afterwords by the translator, although they usually include brief notes of acknowledgement. On the

few occasions where Jull Costa has written prefaces, for example for the translations of works by Eça de Queiroz, she discusses the authors and their work, but does not comment on the translation itself. Jull Costa's translations generally do not include footnotes either. The only exceptions are to be found in a book not included in CTMJC: *The Book of Disquiet*, by Fermando Pessoa. The translator explains that she used these footnotes to clarify the identity of certain people who "would be completely unknown to an English reader" (Jull Costa, personal communication).

Paratexts in translations by Peter Bush are also rare. A notable exception is the translation of Paz's short story, *The Wolf, the Woods and the New Man*. This translation was published together with the translation of the script for the film *Strawberry and Chocolate,* which was based on Paz's story, and an interview with the author, also carried out by Bush. The purpose of the book is to tell the story of the film rather than to present the short story in translation.

Nevertheless, both Bush and Jull Costa have written about translation in articles published in academic journals and edited volumes, and here they do talk about how they understand and approach translation, offering examples from their work. Bush has written extensively about literary translation in articles that delve deep into theoretical questions while at the same time remaining firmly grounded in translation practice. A recurring theme in his academic writing is the neglect that the subjective and writerly nature of literary translation suffers in an academic environment too focused on the construction of abstract models, computer analyses and error analysis (see, for example, Bush 1997b and 2002a).

In her writings on translation Jull Costa does not take an academic approach. Although the current theoretical debates on translation inform her writing, she writes from the perspective of a practitioner rather than a theorist. Her articles show a concern with quality and with translation as the production of a work of art that requires a delicate balance between creativity and compromise. Jull Costa describes translation as an interpretative art, and likens the process of translation to that of performing music or drama, where excellence resides in being true to the spirit of the composer or character one is representing but which inevitably, to succeed, requires performers to bring out something of themselves (Jull Costa 1999).

The translator's position

In this section I describe how the two translators position themselves in relation to translation. I first comment on those positions that are shared between Jull Costa and Bush, and then on those where the two translators diverge. More attention is paid to aspects of divergence because it is expected that they will provide the key to finding what motivates the translators' different styles.

Aspects of convergence

The aspects of convergence between the positions adopted by the two translators have been grouped here into four topics: views concerning domestication and foreignisation, the translators' visibility, the translators' subjectivity and translation as compromise.

Views on foreignisation and domestication

Neither Bush nor Jull Costa support Venuti's call for foreignising translations. Bush (1997a: 116) questions Venuti's "polemically over-eager characterisation of swathes of literary translators as belle-lettristic assimilators" and points out that: "The violence of non-translated language is absolute; the ethnocentric violence of translation is relative" (ibid: 117).

Jull Costa's opinion is that "this vaunted preservation of foreignness is too often an excuse for poorly edited and possibly over-literal translations" (1999: 211). At the same time, she also rejects the negative connotations of 'domestication':

> That makes the translator sound like some kind of horsebreaker or lion
> tamer, cracking the whip and forcing the other language to submit to
> English sounds and forms and culture, producing a kind of tame,
> emasculated English in the process. (ibid)

The translator's visibility

The lack of introductions and footnotes in Bush's and Jull Costa's translations does not derive from a wish to remain invisible. Rather, it stems from their belief that translations should be assessed and enjoyed on the same terms as any other piece of literary writing in the target language, and not as a special form of writing that needs to be explained and justified.

In their writings on translation, both translators regret the lack of recognition of the translator's role and stress the need to recognise the translator's creativity and subjectivity, which they see as inevitably having an impact on the translation. Jull Costa is critical of publishers who play down the fact that a book is a translation "so as not to put off the fearful, parochial British public" (1999: 210). Bush, talking about the book-reviewing press in the United-Kingdom, notes that "translation is usually invisible, only allowed visibility to be shot down" (1999: 177).

The translator's subjectivity

Bush and Jull Costa do not only recognise the inevitability of the translator's mark in the text, they also acknowledge that this mark bears the imprint of their own subjectivity. According to Jull Costa: "A translator reveals him or herself through his or her translations"; and she gives an example: "Giovanni's [Pontiero] delicacy and tact in dealing with another language and culture reveals his courteous, meticulous, self-effacing nature" (Jull Costa 1997a: 133).

The question of the translator's subjectivity is also one of the main themes in Bush's writing about translation:

> Readings and writings are performed from within a subjective
> consciousness that reacts inevitably subjectively: words evoke memories
> and emotions, words and language from an autobiographical repertoire
> that is unique. The release of this autobiographical stream is *inevitable*:

professional translators struggle to harness it critically (Bush forthcoming a).

Translation as compromise

There is a certain resemblance in the way Jull Costa and Bush describe the basic compromise that is at the basis of any translation. For Bush, "the art of a professional literary translator " resides in the creation of "writing that is in deep communication with the original work and at the same time has *a life of its own* in a different language" (Bush 2003: 53, my emphasis). For Jull Costa, a translation should aim to "have *a life of its own* while still remaining true to the original" (Jull Costa 1999: 22, my emphasis). The compromise, then, could be said to be between accuracy and *vitality*.

It would not be an exaggeration to say that Jull Costa and Bush share the same philosophy regarding translation. But the similarities do not end there. In reading their articles it is interesting to note that they tend to use similar words and sometimes metaphors to describe their work. Apart from their insistence of translations needing to have a "life of their own", they both refer to editing as an "endless" process, and stress the importance of the rhythm and the music of language. Describing the process of translating Saramago's style, Jull Costa says that "once you plunge in, then the rhythm just carries you along" (Jull Costa, personal communication) and Bush states that "the force driving the translation is the music of the words" (Bush 2002a: 22).

Aspects of divergence

The differences between Jull Costa's and Bush's positions are subtle, but nonetheless significant. They have been grouped around three topics: the translator's visibility, the foreignisation and domestication debate, and conceptions of readership. I would like to stress here that my intention is not to present the two translators as taking opposite stances, which they do not, but to show that, although agreeing on a basic orientation, there are some differences in terms of the emphasis placed on certain aspects of their projects.

The translator's visibility

Notwithstanding her objections to the lack of attention paid to the translator and her criticism of publishers who "play down" the fact that a book is a translation, Jull Costa acknowledges that, paradoxically, "often the mark of a good translation is when a reader does not even realise that he is or she is reading a translation" (1999: 209). Although she believes that the work of translators should be more recognised, this does not prevent her from aiming at invisibility "in the sense that our style and that of the author should be invisibly fused to create this new thing - the translation" (ibid). In her view, "the best translations have the stamp of individuality on them, but a dual individuality - that of author and translator" (ibid).

Bush, on the other hand, thinks that 'visible' and 'invisible' are simply "not very helpful" categories to be applied to the translator's work. He points out that they come from an American academic tradition in which the majority of translations are published by university presses and have introductions and footnotes by the translator, making the translator very visible; but this is because the market for translations in the United States is by and large the University course market (Bush, personal communication).

Views on foreignisation and domestication

Concerning the debate on foreignisation and domestication, Bush again is critical of the dichotomy itself, while Jull Costa criticises foreignisation as a practice and rejects domestication as a label. Bush objects to the dichotomy because it does not reflect what translators are basically worried about when translating (personal communication) and because it unfairly dismisses the work of a great number of translators as assimilationist (1997a). However, this does not prevent him from criticising the positive image that 'domesticating' translations have, as is clear from ironic assertion that "a good translation assimilates the original to the needs of a politely literate society" and that "translators who use their translations to challenge cultural authority and to rupture the target language will deserve the ignominy of their bad reviews" (Bush 1999: 179).

Jull Costa, on the other hand, objects to foreignisation as a translation practice, on the basis that the source text is not foreign to the original audience (Jull Costa 1999: 211). Her intention is to produce a piece of writing that gives the reader "the illusion that he or she is hearing and reading the original writer". This does not mean, she clarifies, that she is "in favour of ironing out genuine linguistic quirks", rather she thinks that her job is "to convey those quirks in English so that they look like 'quirks' rather than clumsy literal translations or some kind of half-fledged language, neither Portuguese, Spanish or whatever nor English" (Jull Costa 1999: 211).

The need for the target text to read as an original is not something that comes across as one of Bush's main priorities. Writing about the difficulties of rendering Onetti's language in English, he claims that the translator "has to resist the weight of conventional English pressing down on the brain" and "avoid the influence of commonsense commonplaces of the sort 'that sounds like English', 'it should read as if it were originally written in English' " (1999: 182). These comments, though, should not be taken out of their context: Bush is specifically talking about translating Onetti, an author whose style he describes as "disturbing" and "not comfortable to live with" (ibid).

Conceptions of readership

The third aspect in which the two translators differ is in how they conceptualise their relationship towards their readership. Bush's position is that "although the translator will inevitably think about the eventual readerships for his translation, the reader he must translate for is himself, as no-one else will be so embedded in the struggle between original and nascent text" (Bush 2002a: 23). According to Bush, the translator's reading is essentially different from that of the common reader and translators cannot re-create the experience of the original readers because: first, is it not possible to analyse the experience of the source text readers; and second, it is not possible to re-create that imponderable in a reader in another language (Bush 2002a: 30). Bush illustrates his point by pointing out that the experience of a Colombian and a Spanish reader of García Márquez' *A hundred years of solitude* is obviously very different, and an American

reader might be more familiar with the historical background of the novel than a Spanish reader.

This does not mean that Bush will not think of his potential readership. Bush (2002) tries to recreate the process of decision-making in the translation of a novel by Goytisolo, and one of the questions that comes up in that process is: "Can the translator assume readers of Juan Goytisolo or readers at large will know something about Spain and bullfighting?" (ibid: 26). He also declares that he "expects readers to have a reasonable level of French" (ibid: 27). Another point made by Bush is that readers are patronised. He argues that British newspapers, unlike their Spanish or French counterparts, very rarely publish anything that needs to be read twice for it to be understood (personal communication).

We can read in Bush's discourse a willingness to challenge his readers. Jull Costa, on the other hand, sees it as her challenge "to make them stop thinking that translations are not worth reading, that they are not, somehow, the real thing" (personal communication). Her strategy, however is not to challenge her readers but to reach out to them. In doing so, she also has the author's interest at heart:

> Any good translator feels a huge responsibility towards his or her author
> … Since English is the main world language and therefore the biggest
> market in the world, authors are obviously keen to be translated into
> English. I am very aware that my translations *are their entrée into this
> market and this new readership* (Jull Costa, personal communication, my
> emphasis).

The translators' views on the stylistic patterns revealed by this study

Jull Costa generally agrees with the basic assumption underlying this study: that translators have an individual style. However, she has also stated that the translator's and the author's style should be "*invisibly* fused" (Jull Costa 1999: 209, my emphasis). So, although Jull Costa recognises the existence of two styles, she hopes that they are inextricably linked, so that the reader cannot tell them apart.

Bush, on the other hand, finds that theories that try to describe what constitutes the 'voice' of the translator or the style of the translator are often "simplistic" (Bush forthcoming b). He also has serious doubts as to the efficacy of quantitative corpus-based analyses to handle the complex creativity of literary translation (Bush 2002a; Bush forthcoming b).

Concerning the use of source language words, Jull Costa maintains that she uses such foreignisms only when the concept does not exist in English "but it's very rare". She does not like using them, and as justification she offers, simply: "because I am a translator". Regarding the use of 'você' and 'tu' she expects most people to know that the distinction between formal and informal forms of address exist in other languages. When she is less confident as to what readers may be able to infer, she avoids confronting them directly with language they may not understand. In an article on translating Luisa Valenzuela (Jull Costa 1997b: 21), she describes her solution to a case of self-referentiality in the source text: "desde que salí de Buenos Aires ni un poco de los ídem pasaron por mis pulmones", here 'Buenos Aires' is used to refer to the city and to the literal meaning of the words (good airs). Jull Costa provides as a possible translation: "since I left Buenos Aires not one breath of the aforementioned has passed through my lungs". However, she argues: "I didn't feel I could necessarily rely on readers knowing that the literal translation of Buenos Aires is 'good airs', so she renders the sentence as: "since I left Buenos Aires not one breath of good, fresh air has passed through my lungs", and compensates with a word play on the word 'air' later in the sentence. Jull Costa also gives a hypothetical example: faced with the Spanish word 'tertulia' (an informal gathering where art, literature, philosophy or politics are discussed), she would try to explain the word upon first use, so that readers would recognise and understand the word in Spanish, and then leave it in.

Bush, on the other hand, when asked about the use of source language words in the translation, asks in return: "how does one determine what the readers' reactions are like?" The tendency is to avoid referring the reader to a dictionary, but "why not? some readers like to look up things in the dictionary and find out what the meaning of the foreign word is". In relation to the use of Catalan and French words in Juan Goytisolo's biography, Bush explains that he is in favour of preserving the multilingual nature of the

text. He is confident the readers will be able to derive the meaning from the context and "anybody who reads Goytisolo is probably going to know some French if they've been through High School and University in the States or in the UK".

Bush (2002a) mentions an intervention of the copy-editor who italicises some source language words that he had decided to retain in his translation *A Cock-Eyed Comedy*. Asked about whether his general preference would be not to italicise foreign words, Bush notes that italics make a word stand out as being foreign, and therefore they appear as exotic, but in certain contexts, in multilingual societies, they are not foreign or exotic. It is clear that considerations of readers' familiarity with the source language and culture are very present in the translators' decisions to use source language words or not, but that does not mean that they are likely to make the same decisions: while Jull Costa sees it as her job to find a way around the cultural or linguistic gap, Bush is more willing to make his readers make the effort themselves.

When I point out that he never uses italics for emphasis, Bush does not seem to be aware of this being a characteristic of his translations. As a possible explanation, he offers: "I suppose I don't really like using italics for emphasis, I try and bring in the emphasis using other forms of emphasis." Jull Costa, when asked about her more frequent use of italics, immediately refers to spoken language and the rhythm of English, where certain words are emphasised, unlike Spanish, for example, where the rhythm is "all in one line". She is aware that guides about 'how to write' discourage the use of italics for purposes of emphasis, although she does not seem too concerned about their advice. Still, she acknowledges that she tries to avoid emphatic italics by structuring the sentence in such a way that the structure itself marks where the emphasis should fall, but "sometimes it is not possible, and *if it's important that the reader knows if it's this way or that way,* I will use them" (my emphasis). It is clear that Jull Costa is aware that italics can guide interpretation, although her main motivation for using them is conveying intonation patterns.

Finally, concerning the use of the connective 'that' after reporting verbs, Jull Costa expresses some surprise when I tell her that she uses it more often than Bush. She does not follow a deliberate strategy in this regard, but "it's not entirely unconscious, because I am conscious of thinking, do I need 'that' there? Sometimes it reads more fluently

without the 'that' ". And again she refers to the rhythm and how something 'sounds': "It's a kind of arbitrary decision but it depends mainly on how it sounds to me ....It has to do with rhythm ...our speech is full of redundancy."

Bush, who is familiar with Baker's (2000) study, does not express surprise but states that it is not an automatic habit; on the contrary, it is deliberate and motivated by differences in the source and target linguistic systems:

> That's a very conscious thing, when I edit my translations, I pay
> particular attention to that, because ... in French and in Spanish, or in
> Romance languages the 'that' in reported speech is a necessity, it has to
> be there. It doesn't have to be there in English and the difficulty in
> English is that you can get too many 'thats'.

This remark by Bush is particularly interesting because it contradicts one of the assumptions in Olohan and Baker's (2000) study of explicitation, namely that the use of 'that' after reporting verbs is not a strategy consciously adopted by translators and which can therefore be taken to reveal "subliminal" processes of explicitation (ibid: 143). Olohan and Baker's reasoning seems to be that, if it is not a conscious choice for other writers, it should not be a conscious choice for translators either. This is not necessarily so; decisions that emerge intuitively to authors may be deliberated upon by translators. Note, however, that Bush makes explicit reference to the editing stage, so it may well be that his first inclination is to use the optional 'that' more frequently, as other translators seem to do, and edit them out at a later stage.

It is also interesting to note a comment made by Bush, not in relation to this particular study, but concerning explicitation in general: "the aim is not to explain meaning, to elucidate, to deliver a supplement to the text" (1997b: 14). He suggests that readers can always resort to imagination, as they do when they see foreign films.

The views and explanations provided by Jull Costa and Bush in relation to the use of emphatic italics, source language words and explicitation are consistent with the conclusions reached in Chapters Four and Five. This is important because it shows that

the methodology applied to reveal patterns of choice is adequate, and that plausible inferences were made regarding the stylistic effects of such patterns.

Foreignisation versus domestication

In view of the stylistic effects described above and of the main areas of divergence between the two translators' positions, two models present themselves as potential candidates for explaining the results in terms of motivation: the foreignisation versus domestication model (Venuti 1995/1998) and that of audience design in translation (Hatim and Mason 1997/Mason 2000). Venuti's model, however, presents two important problems. The first one is a practical, methodological problem: the model is not designed in such a way as to be replicable. Tymoczko (2000) points out that the terminology is not used consistently: what is described as foreignising in Venuti's earlier work (Venuti 1995) becomes minoritising in his later work (1998) and both terms are used interchangeably with 'resistant translation'.[7] What is more, while individual examples of foreignising and domestication are plentiful, Venuti does not provide a tight definition of the concepts nor any indication of what are the necessary and sufficient conditions for a translation to be domesticating or foreignising (Tymoczko 2000: 36). This is even more problematic if we take into account that many of the foreignising strategies that Venuti proposes, such as the use of archaisms or of registers that will clash with their context, are not foreignising in themselves, at least not in the sense of reminding the readers of the foreignness of the text. Tymoczko notes that trying to argue that the categories are to be defined by their function does not take us very far either because the functions of minoritising (or resistant or foreignising) translations are quite variable. In some cases, the strategies that Venuti discusses could be given other, equally valid, justifications. For example, Venuti (1998) cites as minoritising strategies his use of syntactical inversions characteristic of 19th-century English and of syntactic and lexical choices typical of the prose of writers in the Gothic

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[7] Although Venuti (1998) does not justify this change in terminology, it is quite likely that it was motivated by what he perceives as misunderstandings of his theory. Foreignising was not intended to be understood as over-literalness or "a transparent representation of an essence that resides in the foreign text", but a disruption of the cultural codes that prevail in the target language (Venuti 1995: 20). This idea is probably better captured by "minoritising" as a strategy that aims to promote cultural innovation by preferring 'minor variables' over the major form, the standard dialect.

tradition in British and American literature. But, after all, the source text themselves *are* Gothic and from the 19th century. Bush (2002) describes how, in order to translate Goytisolo's *Carajicomedia*, which includes sections set in the 16th and 17th centuries, he draws on St. James Bible and Shakespeare to produce archaic English: does this make his a minoritising approach?

A foreignising approach, claims Venuti, can also be revealed by the choice of texts to be translated, depending on whether they challenge the contemporary canon of foreign literature in the target language. But, what exactly counts as "challenging the contemporary canon of foreign literature in the target language"? In the list of authors translated by Jull Costa we find José Saramago, an author who is challenging enough to warrant the following title in a review article: "Prose experimenters may please themselves, but what about the hapless reader? Adam Mars-Jones struggles with José Saramago's *The Double*" (The Observer, Sunday July 25, 2004). Even if literary critics struggle with his prose, Saramago is a Nobel Prize winner and the only Portuguese writer "who enjoys any major success today" in English translation (Harland 2001: 442). Jull Costa has also translated Bernardo Atxaga, a Basque writer who has received little recognition in the Anglo-American market and is described by Michael Eaude as "a writer charged … with exporting a threatened culture around the world" (The Guardian, Saturday October 20, 2001), but whose style is crystal clear and simple. The works of both Atxaga and Saramago, and many other writers translated by Jull Costa, have, in their own different ways, a claim to be considered "minority literature". On that basis, Jull Costa's translations could be described as "minoritising". But then what do we make of her translations of popular best-sellers by the Brazilian writer Paulo Coelho? Do they invalidate her claim to minoritising translation?

Among the foreignising strategies that Venuti (1998: 85) recognises in Banana Yoshimoto's *Kitchen,* translated by Megan Backu, are "many italicised Japanese words scattered throughout the text". However, there is nothing in Venuti's work that would help us determine whether the instances of cultural borrowings in Bush's - or even Jull Costa's - translations are sufficient to qualify their approaches as foreignising. Faced with so many unanswered questions, one is inclined to agree with Tymoczko when she suggests that "ultimately the recognition of Venuti's concept of *resistance* is less

dependent on identifiable criteria or specific functions pertaining to translation than on somewhat arbitrary personal judgements" (2000: 37).

The second problem with Venuti's model is of a more theoretical - or, indeed, ideological nature. It relates to the unquestioned association of domesticating strategies with a hegemonic ideology, and of foreignising ones with democratic geopolitical relations, and, what is even more problematic, the lack of evidence or, indeed, justification, to support such assumptions. Tymoczko (2000: 35) notes that Venuti tends to "assert things rather than argue for them or present evidence for them", an observation that is also made by Pym (1996) and Bennett (1999). The lack of justification is particularly troubling if we take into account the far-reaching claims that are made in relation to the effects that foreignisation and domestication can have and the responsibility that Venuti places on the translators themselves. In Venuti (1995) the main argument is that domesticating translations into English, by producing a transparent and fluent discourse, make translators invisible and therefore support Anglo-American hegemonic cultural values, while foreignising translations achieve their democratic aims by making translators visible. The powers and responsibility that Venuti attributes to the translators are not negligible. He goes as far as claiming that: "the translator's invisibility is thus a weird self-annihilation" (ibid: 8), and accuses translators who produce fluent translations of being reactionaries in pursuit of a "cultural narcissism that is imperialist abroad and conservative at home" (ibid: 9).

Venuti's claims do not take into account the socio-economic context that Venuti himself describes in so much detail. After all, it is those translators who, unlike Venuti, earn their living translating, who are more likely to produce the 'domesticating' translations that publishers require. Besides, Venuti's claims are unwarranted. Jull Costa, for example, with more than fifty highly successful translations of a wide range of authors from South America, Spain and Portugal to her credit, has undeniably contributed more than most of her contemporaries to calling the attention of English-speaking readers to foreign literatures. It seems misguided to suggest that by refusing to adopt a foreignising strategy she is actually reinforcing the marginal status of translations in Anglo-American culture. I have argued that Jull Costa favours fluency in her translations, but I cannot describe them as domesticating because this would trigger a

whole set of ideological associations that I do not believe are relevant in this case, and because to do so might appear to validate a model that I believe is flawed.

Interestingly enough, Venuti himself does not use the term 'domesticating' either in his review of Jull Costa's translation of a novel by Javier Marías (New York Times Book Reviews).[8] Instead, he praises her for capturing the style of the original, for her "precise rendering", and for an "English analogue that is as resonant as the Spanish".

Degrees of mediation

Rather than presenting the translators as either domesticators or foreignisers, it is possible to describe their approaches in terms of different degrees of mediation, that is, in terms of "the extent to which translators intervene in the transfer process, feeding their own knowledge and beliefs into the processing of the text" (Hatim and Mason, 1997).[9] In this model, the relaying of a text-world to receivers operating in a different cultural and linguistic environment is part of a global text strategy characterised by greater or lesser degrees of mediation. Thus, strategies are not placed under one or the other category, but along a continuum. This allows a flexibility of which Venuti's model is devoid. The degrees of mediation model provides a general explanatory framework, within which strategies still need to be classified according to the textual and contextual characteristics of the source text.

Hatim and Mason (1997) offer examples of minimal, maximal and partial mediation.[10] When there is minimal mediation, the characteristics of the source text are made entirely visible, with few or no concessions to the reader. A maximally mediated translation constitutes a radical departure from the source text. In the example provided, a coherent pattern of choice involving shifts of cohesion, lexical meaning and transitivity results in

[8] Date unavailable.
[9] Note that Hatim and Mason do not present their model of degrees of mediation as an alternative to Venuti's model. Nor do they see the two models as mutually exclusive.
[10] These are not presented as three distinct categories but as illustrations of how certain types of shifts imply a more or less radical departure from the source text and from socio-textual norms prevalent in the target culture.

the transformation of a source text where history is portrayed as the result of personal commitment, to one that downplays human agency in the making of history. Hatim and Mason also provide an example of a partially mediated translation where the translator intervenes only as much as is "compatible with easy intelligibility" (ibid: 161). The shifts in this particular translation affect the distance between text producer and receiver. Hatim and Mason suggest as a potential motivation that the values attached to particular textual features in the intertextual environment of source and target texts may be different and, as a result, unintended effects are relayed by an unmediated translation (ibid). The same explanation is offered by Jull Costa when she argues that "if at all possible" culture-specific references have to be translated, because "they mean different things in different contexts" (Jull Costa, personal communication).

Along the degrees of mediation scale, both Bush's and Jull Costa's translations can be classified as partially mediated. However Costa's translations are more mediated than Bush's. It is possible to go a step further in the search for motivations by using the model of audience design in translation suggested by Hatim and Mason (1997) and Mason (2000).

Audience design in translation

Mason (2000: 4) presents audience design as a further refinement to skopos theory, first postulated by Vermeer (1978) and Reiss and Vermeer (1984). According to skopos theory, translation, like any other human action, has a purpose. The word 'skopos' is adopted as a technical term for the aim or purpose of a translation, as defined by the commission and if necessary adjusted by the translator (Vermeer 1989, cited here in a 2000 reprint, page 230). The translation methods and strategies are determined by the intended purpose of the target text. Skopos theory has been criticised for not being particularly suited for literary translation, due to the special status of a literary work of art, whose function is more complex than skopos theory grants (see Schäffner 1998).[11] Vermeer (2000) argues, however, that skopos theory has a much wider conception of

[11] This is not the only criticism of skopos theory, but the one I believe is most relevant to how that theory is applied here. Schäffner (1998) offers a general overview of criticisms of skopos theory. See also Vermeer (1989).

the translator's task than is implied by that criticism. In relation to literary translation, he cites fidelity and the preservation of the breadth of interpretation of the source text as possible goals (skopos). The translator's accountability is also made part of the equation. In fact, Vermeer argues that "what we are talking about is no less than the ethos of the translator" (ibid: 231).

The translation's function (or skopos) is, nevertheless, one of many factors shaping the translation product and therefore, on its own, would lead to a necessarily partial account. Mason (2000) argues that skopos, together with consideration of prevalent socio-textual practices (including motivated departures from them), and audience design, are all relevant to an adequate description of the translation event. Audience design can account for the interpersonal dimension of meaning, while socio-textual practices will account for the intertextual dimension (ibid: 6).

The basic tenet of audience design is that style is oriented to people, rather than functions (Bell 2001). Style is a matter of response to an audience (responsive design), although it can also be used in order to create a situation (initiative design). Bell (1984) recognises four audience roles, according to whether the persons in the audience are known, ratified or addressed:

- Addressees: known (or expected, in mass communication), ratified and addressed;
- Auditors: known and ratified interlocutors who are not directly addressed;
- Overhearers: known to be present but not ratified;
- Eavesdroppers: not known.

The effect of each audience member is graded according to role distance, addressees having most influence and eavesdroppers least. There is also another group, who are absent but have an important influence on speaker's attitudes: referees. Referees possess such salience for the speaker that, even if they are not physically present, they influence speech in a way that echoes the effect they would have as second person addressees (ibid: 186). Referee design can involve a speaker shifting to identify more strongly with their own ingroup (rather than the hearer's), or towards the language of an outgroup with which they wish to identify (Bell 2001:147). Bell also acknowledges the existence of other, non-personal, factors that influence style shift, among which topic and setting

are the most important. Still, Bell argues, even these non-personal factors can derive their force from their association with particular audiences (1984: 181).

A detailed exposition of audience design as applied to spoken interaction is not relevant here, but it should be noted that it is a more flexible theory than at first appears. It can explain, for example, how different speakers in one speech community may use different linguistic variables to mark their response to the same addressee, and how both convergence and divergence in relation to the addressee's style can be used in order to persuade the addressee in difference circumstances. Bell (1984) also explains that audience design does not imply that speakers deliberately plan their shifts or even that they are conscious of an associated addressee when style-shifting.

Applying Bell's notion to translation, Mason postulates that "The translator's overall design … will normally consist of judgements concerning how the target text is to position itself vis-à-vis the socio-textual practices of the target culture and/or judgements concerning values from the source text" (2000: 6). Audience design in translation is more similar to media communication than to personal interaction. The translation's audience shares with the media audience some referee-like characteristics: the audience is unspecific (an imagined or perceived class of persons) and cannot provide effective, equal-term feedback. Mason argues that it is the referee group that provides the link between the interpersonal and the intertextual components of the translation audience:

> For the translator is aware of the socio-textual practices of target
> language referee groups: the genres appropriate to particular occasions of
> communication and the discourses belonging to social groups. And in
> many cases, according to their skopos, translators will wish their output
> to conform to the expectations of users and to be accepted as viable
> instances of the established practices of the target culture. In others … it
> is the element of source language cultural and socio-textual practices
> which the translation skopos seeks to preserve. (2000: 18)

In relation to literary translation, the term 'audience' can be understood as synonym of readership (see Şerban 2003: 16-17). A translation's readership, however, is less predictable even than the media audience: it may not be so large, but it is potentially far more heterogeneous. As a result, it is more difficult for translators to make warranted assumptions about the audience. Readerships extend far beyond the immediate cultural environment in which the source (or target) text is embedded. This is precisely the point made by Bush when he questions the possibility of recreating the experience of the original reader. However, Vermeer argues: "Ultimately, even a communication 'to the world' has a set of addressees", as long as one believes that one is expressing oneself in a 'comprehensible' way (2000: 227). In this respect, the notion of skopos and audience design ties in with the concept of style as proposed by relevance theory:[12]

> Choice of style is something that no speaker or writer can avoid. In aiming at relevance, the speaker must make some assumptions about the hearer's cognitive abilities and contextual resources, which will necessarily be reflected in the way she communicates, and in particular in what she chooses to make explicit and what she chooses to leave implicit. (Sperber and Wilson 1986: 218).

According to relevance theory, stylistic differences are simply differences in the way relevance is achieved. Different styles reflect, for example, the way in which information is backgrounded or foregrounded, a greater or lesser reliance on implicatures, or a greater or lesser reliance on poetic effects (ibid: 224).

I believe that audience design provides a particularly suitable explanatory framework for the stylistic patterns revealed in this study. However, this should not be understood as a claim that audience design (or the skopos theory to which it is related) is the one and only theory capable of explaining translators' stylistic patterns. Different patterns may be better explained using different models.

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[12] The main thesis in relevance theory is that human communication creates an expectation of optimal relevance: "An assumption is relevant in a context if and only if it has some contextual effects in that context" (Sperber and Wilson 1986: 122). However, relevance is a matter of degree, and having contextual effects is not sufficient for optimal relevance. Two conditions have to be fulfilled: the contextual effects have to be large and the processing effort required small (ibid: 125). Relevance theory has been applied to translation by Gutt (2000).

Translator's style as audience design

In relation to a corpus of Romanian literature translated into English and published in Britain, Şerban (2003: 202) suggests that the addressees are British readers of literature in general, and of translated literature, in particular. The auditors are other native speakers of English, and the overhearers other speakers and learners of English as a foreign language. It is useful to consider also the role of the publisher (or the translation commissioner in other circumstances) and of the author (particularly when he or she speaks the target language). As long as the publisher commissions a translation with the aim of offering it to the general public or a specific group thereof, we can assume that the main addressees of the translation are the readers, while the publishers are ratified participants but not directly addressed (i.e. auditors). Authors can also be placed in the same category. This mapping of audiences' roles will be adopted here as a starting point, with the understanding that it may not be suitable for other translation situations and it may be revised as the model of audience design in translation is further developed.

When describing the translators' positions, I noted differences in their attitudes to their readerships that are key to a coherent explanation of their different stylistic patterns. I would not go as far as saying that Jull Costa and Bush have different readerships in mind. They both translate for a rather educated English-speaking readership that is prepared to read translated literature, including 'difficult' writers such as Goytisolo or Saramago.[13] They differ, however, in terms of how far they will go to meet the audience on its own terms and their willingness to align themselves occasionally with the source culture and present translated language as the language of an "out-group".

Jull Costa wants her translations to be acceptable in the terms established by the target culture, her translations are driven by a desire to make their reading a pleasurable experience, which is not interrupted by encounters with information, such as source language words, that the readers cannot process in their own cognitive environment.[14]

[13] It is very likely that the translators also adapt their style of translation according to each author. Here, however, I am concerned with the more general trends that can be perceived in their avowed position and in stylistic patterns that are consistent across translations.

[14] The term 'cognitive environment' is borrowed from Sperber and Wilson, who define it as the set of facts that an individual is capable of representing mentally and accepting as true or probably true (1986: 39).

Jull Costa explicitly states that she does not want the person reading the translation "to come across things which may distract them from their reading experience" (personal communication). However, as explained in Chapter Four, this does not mean that the target text will have been simplified or that it will be more informative than the source text. Although no evidence is provided here concerning lexical or syntactical simplification, as already mentioned, Jull Costa herself explicitly states that she respects authors' linguistic quirks (Jull Costa 1999: 211). However, when there is a cultural gap that would prevent the target text reader from making relevant assumptions, then she is likely to mediate, providing an intratextual gloss or adding contextual information. A tendency to maximise informativeness can also be observed in her use of emphatic italics marking information focus and, arguably, in her preference for including rather than omitting the 'that' connective after SAY and TELL.

Jull Costa is very responsive to the socio-textual practices of the target language: she strives to produce a text that captures the rhythms and fluency of the English language. When translating dialogue, Jull Costa mentions that she keeps asking herself "Is this what the character would say if the character were speaking an equivalent English?" (1999: 207). This explains her use of emphatic italics, as a typically English device for marking information focus and one that reproduces spoken English prosody, and her tendency to explicitate by providing contextual information that does not disturb the reading process. Emphatic italics are also associated with conversational, involved, language which can also be instrumental in diminishing the distance between the narrator of the translation and the reader. Jull Costa sees it as her responsibility - and her challenge - to convince readers that translations can be as good as 'original' writing. This requires meeting - or even surpassing - readers' expectations. A translation that attracts readers is also evidence of co-operation with the author, because it opens up new markets for his or her work.

Bush, on the other hand, is driven by a desire to introduce new foreign authors to Britain's literary market, and is ready to challenge readers to shift out of their usual patterns to read them. This does not mean that he is prepared to sacrifice idiomaticity; after all, he takes particular care to reproduce non-translated English patterns of 'that/zero' variation. It does, however, mean that, here and there, he will diverge from the reader's language and confront them with a language that is not their own, reminding

them that the text has originated in another language. Vermeer (2000: 227) points out that, when thinking of the translations' addressees, "one surely often uses one's own (self-evaluated) level as an implicit criterion", and, as indicated above, Bush acknowledges doing this when he says that "the reader he must translate for is himself" (Bush 2002a: 23).

The influence of the translator's background

In her search for motivations for the patterns found in her study, Baker (2000) goes one step further than I have gone here, and provides tentative explanations based on translators' backgrounds. If we are to account for the translator's subjectivity, bringing in biographical detail into our explanations is inevitable. However, this is a rather risky exercise, where the researcher is very much in danger of going beyond what the findings themselves can support. Therefore, I will limit myself here to pointing out some of the potential links that could be established between the two translators' styles and their different backgrounds, without going as far as claiming that these are indeed the explanations behind the translators' approaches to translation.

In the case of Bush, his desire to keep visible the cross-linguistic nature of translation and the multilingual nature of some source texts is consistent with his above-mentioned endeavours, while a deputy head-teacher, to respond positively to cosmopolitan urban realities (Bush 2002b: 56). As we have also seen, Bush (1999, 2002b) describes his interest in foreign languages and literatures as emerging from his own feeling of dislocation with English. This might explain why Bush tries to foster the acceptance of linguistic diversity, and why, as a translator, he actively promotes multilingual and marginal discourses.

In the case of Jull Costa, it is her experience teaching English, her own writing, and maybe also her experience as an editor and a lexicographer, that might have influenced her approach to translation. Among the qualities of a good translator, Jull Costa mentions "a thorough knowledge of and a relish for the original language, but, of equal, and probably of more importance, is a thorough knowledge of and a relish for their own language" (Jull Costa 1999: 208). Teaching a language, writing poetry and editing are

activities that help us develop a particular sensibility towards the linguistic mechanisms that are responsible for the creation of fluent and coherent texts.

Although I have presented both translators as working within the same horizon, Bush's more direct involvement in academic life might make academic discourse a more powerful influence upon his work than it is for Jull Costa. Although Bush's approach could not be described as seeking visibility, he might have been influenced by the generally positive evaluation of less mediated texts in the academic literature.

These are just some of the links that might prove relevant in an examination of how the translators' backgrounds influence their style. These are topics that were not discussed in the interviews with the translators and therefore there is no ground for suggesting that the associations are any more than tentative.

Conclusion

This chapter has provided an interpretation of the results that is coherent with the definition of the translator's style proposed in Chapter Two and that takes into account all the different factors described in that chapter as likely to influence the translator's style. The translators' statements on their positions vis-à-vis translation, as gathered from their writings and from interviews, and their perceptions concerning the stylistic patterns revealed by the results, supported the findings reported in Chapters Four and Five. The information provided by the extra-textual data also allowed us to put forward informed and plausible explanations of what factors motivate the translators to take the particular approach revealed by their stylistic patterns. The model of audience design in translation was found to provide an adequate framework in which to explain translators' motivations. Jull Costa's style was found to be more influenced by the textual practices prevalent in the target culture. She tries to reach her audience on its own terms, which leads her to produce a more mediated text. Bush, on the other hand, sometimes diverges from the textual practices favoured by the target audience and confronts his audience with elements that are marked as belonging to a different speech community. At the same time, he is very careful to obey target language conventions in other respects.

Finally, some of the aspects of the translators' backgrounds that might have had an important influence on their approaches to translation were discussed.

As a final remark, I would like to stress here that the picture provided by the results from this study is necessarily partial: the stylistic traits described here are a few in a complex network of linguistic features that constitute a translator's style, and the motivations we have highlighted are only some of the many factors influencing the translator's approach. If I believe, with Spitzer (1948), that a key to the 'soul' of a work can be found in the detail, this does mean that a few details can provide a comprehensive picture of that 'soul'.

Conclusion

Implications of the present study for research in translation studies

Norms versus individual styles

In Chapter One I argued that corpus-based translation studies has tended to focus on norms and neglect the study of variation. It was pointed out that several studies of normalising tendencies seem to indicate an important effect from translators' individual preferences. The three stylistic features studied here: emphatic italics, source language words and use of the optional connective 'that' after SAY and TELL, showed important differences between the work of two translators: Margaret Jull Costa and Peter Bush. The differences found are all the more important because Peter Bush and Margaret Jull Costa are two contemporary translators who belong to the same translation tradition and work with the same literary genres and the same literary cultures. These findings are, thus, a clear warning against the "universalising impulse" in some corpus-based translation studies (see Kenny 2001: 70).

It is important to note, however, that norms played an important role in the present study, because it is only against the background of regularities that certain particularities can be established. In other words, this has been a good example of what Kenny describes as the "self-correcting" nature of corpus linguistics (ibid). Corpora lend themselves well to the investigation of global patterns, sometimes to the detriment of individual texts; but the statistical basis of corpus linguistics and the possibility to use subsequent corpora to revise the findings from an initial corpus can redress the imbalance (ibid).

The fact that important and consistent differences were found that could not have been predicted on the basis of external factors, such as genre, historical period, literary tradition and the like, also shows the importance of taking into account internal criteria in corpus building, particularly when the aim of the corpus is to establish regularities. Most translation corpora are built around external distinctions, but once internal

distinctions can be identified against the background of the more general patterns, it is possible to refine our selections if we want to attain a balance of internal, linguistic features.

The aim of the present study was not only to show that there were individual differences in the way translators approach their task, but to show that such differences can be attributed to what I have called translator's style. In Chapter Two I proposed a definition of translator's style and a model for the study of translators' stylistic profiles. Following that model, apart from identifying the stylistic features mentioned above, I was also able to show that they were prominent; that is to say, they were consistent across several translations by the same translators and differentiated the work of that translator from that of other translators. For this purpose, it was important to distinguish between those features that were a function of the source texts and those that were consistent across the work of one translator. For example, source language words were found to be a consistent stylistic feature in Peter Bush's translations, but French words in the translations seemed to be used in order to compensate for the use of English words in the source texts.

In Chapter Two it was argued that, in studies of style, demonstrating that a certain feature is statistically prominent is not enough. The prominence has to be shown to be stylistically relevant. The literary relevance of the stylistic patterns identified was demonstrated by looking at the examples in their context and drawing from different linguistic and translation theories in order to explain their communicative function. The use of emphatic italics, for instance, was described as adding to the level of cohesiveness at the textual level, guiding interpretation, and bringing forward the echo of the narrator or a character's voice, thus creating an involved tone reminiscent of conversational language.

In brief, I believe this study has shown that a translator's work is characterised by stylistic preferences forming a consistent and stylistically meaningful pattern of choice that distinguishes his or her translations from that of other translators. In terms of motivations, it was argued that the stylistic patterns revealed in this study reflect differences in the way the translators conceptualise their audience and in the way they

position themselves in relation to their audience. It was argued that Margaret Jull Costa tends to accommodate her style to the expectations of the audience, while Peter Bush is more ready to confront his audience with a text that occasionally reminds the readers of its foreign origin.

Information focus and typographical linguistics

When an existing theory is applied to interpret new data, a two-way process is triggered, where the theory enriches the data and the data enriches the theory. New data can provide further validation of a theory, extend its scope, prompt a revision, and sometimes questions its validity. Halliday's theory of information structure and information focus, for example, was elaborated with the aim of describing spoken language. Here, following Baker's (1992) suggestion, it has been used to cover new ground, namely, the use of typographical features in written language. By the same token, this represents a step forward in typographical linguistics, an area that has just begun to be explored. In Chapter Four, I quote Truss (2003: 145) as describing italics as the most "puzzling" of those conventions of print that "make no objective sense". I hope to have shown here that italics used for emphasis do make sense. Italics play an important role at the textual level, by adding cohesion and guiding interpretation, and at the interpersonal level, by making the language less formal and more involved.

The translation of culture-specific references

This study has also contributed to the discussion of self-referentiality and culture-specific references in translation. We saw, for instance, that not all of the strategies used for dealing with culture-specific elements in CTPB and CTMJC could be accounted for by the models proposed by Aixelá (1996) or Hervey and Higgins (1992). As Aixelá (1996) notes, classifications are proposed for methodological purposes rather than as objective descriptions of pre-existing classes, so borderline cases of a fuzzy or overlapping nature are bound to appear. In this study, two strategies were revealed that represent such borderline cases. One of those strategies was the translation (in CTPB) of source-culture specific references ('diestro' and 'taconeo') using source language words

that are close synonyms to the ones used in the source text ('torero' and 'zapateado'), but that are more likely to be familiar to target readers. Secondly, it was noted that, although explicitation of culture-specific references was common in Jull Costa's translations, this never involved intra-textual glosses,[1] but more subtle, contextual clues. To the best of my knowledge, this is a tendency that has not yet received much attention in the literature.

Explicitation

The data presented here has also prompted a revision of the concept of explicitation. In particular, it was observed that the information that is made explicit in the target text is not necessarily implicit in the source text, and that if there is an increase in the level of semantic redundancy in the target text, this is not necessarily vis-à-vis the source text. In the case of explicitation at the textual level, whether one form is more or less explicit can depend on the availability of alternative options (for example, the omission or inclusion of connectives) in a certain language. Any analysis of explicitation at the ideational and interpersonal levels (for example, concerning culture-specific references or forms of address), needs to take into account the larger context, and audiences in particular. In other words, lexical and pragmatic explicitation is a function of the interaction with the reader.

Audience design

The theory of audience design (Bell 1984) has only recently been applied to translation. The work of Mason (2000) has served to illustrate the importance of audience design in translation and its explanatory power. The work of Şerban (2003) applies the theory of audience design to explain shifts at the level of deixis and presupposition in a corpus of literary translations from Romanian into English. Şerban concludes that the shifts have an overall effect of distancing the audience from the characters, events and ideas presented in the text. Audience design is shown to be quite consistent across the whole corpus, although the distancing tendency is more marked in translations by Romanians

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[1] Intra-textual glosses are, nevertheless, used for explaining source language words used self-referentially.

and published in Romania than in translations by English native speakers, published in the UK. This suggests that the place of publication and mother tongue of the translators may have an impact on audience design. Șerban (ibid: 205) notes that it is "translator assumptions about audience, rather than the actual characteristics of the addressees, auditors, and so on" that explain the different degrees of distance. The results presented here provide further evidence to support Șerban's conclusion. My findings show that, even when the actual audiences can be expected to be very similar, translators' assumptions about their audiences can still differ, not only in the way they conceptualise their audience, but also in what they see as their main responsibility towards their audience.

Evaluation of methodology

Contextualisation

Apart from being able to filter variables like source-text style and source-language interference, the use of comparative data enabled me to gauge the prominence of stylistic features, and the use of interviews and metatexts allowed me to contextualise results and offer plausible explanations in terms of translators' motivations. Mason (2000: 17) raises two important methodological issues in relation to the study of audience design that I believe are equally relevant to the study of translators' styles: representativeness -how can we demonstrate that a phenomenon is typical or even significant within a text?- and motivation -how can we show that this phenomenon is attributable to a particular motivation on the part of the translator? The second issue has been addressed by reference to the translators' writings about their own work, and by interviews carried out with the translators in which they have discussed their general priorities and concerns in relation to their task, as well as their impressions about the results. Bearing in mind that translators do not work in isolation and that their decisions are guided by more than their subjective judgement, the translators' work and their opinions have been considered against a larger background, including prevalent socio-economic conditions and the horizon of translation.

Representativeness and comparability

Mason suggests that machine-readable corpora and automatic text interrogation are a viable way forward to address the issue of representativeness. In this study, automatic text interrogation has been used in order to produce reliable frequency counts, and comparative data from larger reference corpora or studies based on such corpora have been used in order to provide a relative norm of comparison. However, the use of corpora does not necessarily guarantee representativeness, and the still limited availability of translation corpora means that the results are not always fully comparable.

Notwithstanding my efforts to achieve balance in the core corpora, I was constrained by factors such as text availability and the need to get permission from copyright holders. In general, there are no reasons to believe that the composition of the corpora used here is manifestly biased. Nevertheless, there is room for improvement, particularly concerning the difference in size between the two corpora. At the time when the analyses were carried out, this could not be remedied, but clearance of copyright permission is a long process, and I am now in a position to add more texts to CTMJC. This would allow me to further explore the results for consistency across different texts. However, it should be noted that, because the total frequencies are normalised, if more texts were added to CTMJC and the number of different source language words increased along the same ratio as recorded in the five texts already included, this would make no difference to the results presented. Regarding the results for emphatic italics, if CTMJC had exactly the same number of words as CTPB, and no more instances of emphatic italics were found than those already recorded, the overall normalised frequency of added emphatic italics would still be higher than in the other two corpora: 5.2, compared to 1.7 in COMPARA and 0 in CTPB.

The problems of using COMPARA as a reference corpus were highlighted at several stages in our research, but no better corpus was available for our purposes. In any case, as Halliday (1971) argues, our own expectations, based on our linguistic experience, generally provide a good way of assessing prominence, and in this case the data support our expectations. The main limitation of COMPARA as a reference corpus for our

purposes is that it includes translations only from Portuguese, while the core corpora include translations from Spanish as well, but there is no reason to believe that translations from Spanish would differ significantly from translation from Portuguese along the parameters studied here.

Subjectivity

Kenny (2001: 71) reminds researchers who use corpora and corpus linguistics techniques that they have not found "the key to a completely objective treatment of their object of enquiry". Not only are corpora the products of human beings, and thus "reflect the views, presuppositions, and limitations of those human beings" (Tymoczko 1998: 654), but they are interrogated by human beings, who will bring their presuppositions and views into the analysis and interpretation of the results. At several stages in my investigation, I called attention to the fact that the categories and classifications offered were the product of subjective interpretation. Subjectivity is, to some degree, an inevitable component in any kind of scientific enquiry. However, if the aim is to offer generalisations that go beyond the specific examples observed and to provide a firm basis for further research in the area, it is important to attempt to ensure reliability and replicability. Following Krippendorff (1980), Carletta *et al* (1997) distinguish three different tests of reliability, ordered according to increasing strength: stability, a coder's judgments should not change over time; reproducibility, different coders should agree on the coding; and accuracy, the coding should be done in the same way as some known standard. When there are no pre-existing standards, as was often the case with classifications carried out in this study, it is not possible to measure accuracy. Stability was tested by revisions of the codes at different stages of the research. Although some revisions entailed changes in the coding, these never affected more than a very small percentage of all cases. Reproducibility was tested to some degree by sharing the data with my supervisor, who has generally agreed on the categories identified and on the classification of individual instances.[2]

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[2] When reliability is statistically tested, it is never expected that results will be 100% reliable. A reliability measure of 0.8, where 0 means no agreement and 1 means complete agreement, is considered acceptable, and a result higher than 0.67 allows for tentative conclusions to be drawn (Carletta *et al* 1997).

In order to ensure replicability, the contents of the corpora and the methodologies used have been described in as much detail as possible and the evidence has been made public in the form of examples and appendices, thus allowing for suggested improvements and alternative interpretations.

Suggestions for further research

If Spitzer's notion of a philological cycle (1948: 19) is applied to this study, it could be said that the stages of observing details, grouping them and seeking to integrate them into a "creative principle" have been completed. The next stage, then, is to make the "return trip" to all the other groups of observations in order to provide a more comprehensive account of the artist's work as a whole (ibid). The first stage has been carried out using a data-driven approach, which meant that no hypotheses were offered before empirical observations were collected and analysed. Once the philological cycle is set in motion, however, our first insights into the creative principle cannot be left aside, and hypotheses are necessarily based on more clearly defined expectations. Nevertheless, we should always follow the principles of accepting and reflecting the evidence (Sinclair 1991), and be always ready to revise the hypotheses in the light of new data.

Having identified audience design as an important motivation in the translators' approaches to their task, it should be possible to test more specifically for evidence of audience design at work in the two corpora. It would be interesting, for example, to carry out a more exhaustive investigation of culture-specific elements to see what other strategies, apart from cultural borrowings, are applied by each translator. Likewise, an exploration of other strategies for marking information focus would be worthwhile. Such an exploration could start by looking at the use of illocutionary particles in the two corpora. Given the striking differences in the use of the optional 'that' connective in reporting structures, and the evidence of explicitation, the use of other connectives and maybe other cohesive markers is another promising avenue for research in the two corpora.

It was briefly noted above that typographical linguistics is an emerging discipline and there is much uncharted territory to explore in that area. In Chapter Four I mentioned briefly that there seemed to be some divergences in the source and target texts in the two corpora among the use of italics and quotation marks for purposes of signalling distance and distinguishing words mentioned rather than used. It was suggested that these differences might be due to either different typographical conventions or translation effects. Comparisons with translations from English into Spanish and Portuguese may provide some answers.

According to the model outlined in Chapter Two, the translator's style would be reflected in rhetorical choices, used deliberately for the purposes of producing a certain effect, and automatic stylistic habits, of the kind that are generally used in forensic stylistics. In this study, only rhetorical choices have been revealed. This is partly a result of the decision to take the use of italics as a starting point in our analysis. Italics are used either in compliance with typographical conventions or in order to deliberately distinguish an item from its context. The study of 'that/zero' variation after reporting verbs SAY and TELL, on the other hand, was carried out under the assumption that the use or omission of 'that' was likely to be an automatic linguistic habit (Olohan and Baker 2000, and Baker 2000). However, during the discussion of the results with the translators, they both claimed to make conscious decisions in this regard. Bush, in particular, described it as part of the editing process, which suggests that his infrequent use of the optional 'that' is a correcting tendency, and a rhetorical choice motivated by considerations of idiomaticity.

In Chapter Two it was hypothesised that the stylistic habits that are manifest in a person's writing will also be revealed in their translations because they are automatic rather than deliberate. What that hypothesis did not take into account is that translation is a much less spontaneous process than writing. Jull Costa, who has considerable experience as a poet and a translator, notes that (1997b: 23):

> It seems to me that [writing an original text] begins as a largely
> unconscious process and becomes progressively more conscious,
> whereas translation starts as a more conscious activity - translating

someone else's words into equivalent words in another language -which,
if the translation is to have a life of its own, must then become
unconscious, with the translator allowing the text being translated to
become part of his/her own unconscious mind.

Other studies have shown that automatic habits remain constant across the translations
and 'original' writing produced by the same person (Farringdon 1996, Burrows 2002).
However, further research is needed to explore what habits remain constant and whether
there are any automatic habits that are typical in translation but not in other types of
writing and vice versa. More research is also needed along the lines of Craig (1999) in
order to explore the stylistic relevance of stylistic habits and whether they can form a
coherent pattern of choice together with rhetorical choices.

Finally, it goes without saying that the model outlined and tested here could be used to
study the work of other translators. Cumulative evidence of translators' stylistic profiles
would serve to highlight the artistic creativity of translators and, in the long term, it may
help to change the way we approach the very notion of style in relation to translation.

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Appendix A - Works included in CTPB and CTMJC

Corpus of Translations by Peter Bush (CTPB)		
Source text title, publisher and date of first publication	**Author**	**Target text title, publisher and date of first publication**
Estorvo (Companhia das Letras, 1991)	**Chico Buarque**	*Turbulence* (Pantheon, 1992)
Coto Vedado (Alianza Editorial, 1985)	**Juan Goytisolo**	*Forbidden Territory: The Memoirs of Juan Goytisolo 1931-1956* (Quartet, 1989)
El lobo, el bosque y el hombre nuevo (Ediciones Era, 1991)[1]	**Senel Paz**	*The Wolf, the Woods and the New Man* (Bloomsbury, 1995)[2]
Para esta noche (Arca, 1966)[3]	**Juan Carlos Onetti**	*Tonight* (Quartet Books, 1991)
Un viejo que leía novelas de amor (Tusquets Editores, 1993)	**Luis Sepúlveda**	*The Old Man Who Read Love Stories* (Souvenir, 1993)

[1] The scanned edition was published in 1997 by Txalaparta Editorial.
[2] In Bush, Peter (1995) *Strawberry and Chocolate,* London: Bloomsbury.
[3] A previous edition was published in 1943 by Editorial Poseidon. The translation, however, is based on this second edition, published by Arca, which contains several changes made by the author himself.

Corpus of Translations by Margaret Jull Costa (CTMJC)

Source text title, publisher and date of first publication	Author	Target text title, publisher and date of first publication
O Mandarim (Livraria Chardron, 1880)[4]	**Eça de Queiroz**	*The Mandarin* (Dedalus, 1993)
A confissão de Lúcio (Assírio & Alvim, 1914)[5]	**Mário de Sá-Carneiro**	*Lúcio's Confession* (Dedalus, 1993)
Realidad Nacional desde la cama (Grupo Editor Latinoamericano, 1993)	**Luisa Valenzuela**	*Bedside Manners* (Serpent's Tail, 1995)
Industrias y andanzas de Alfanhuí (Destino, 1961)	**Rafael Sánchez Ferlosio**	*Adventures of the Ingenious Alfanhuí* (Dedalus, 2000)
Sonata de Primavera (Espasa, 1933)[6]	**Ramón del Valle-Inclán**	*Spring Sonata* (Dedalus, 1997)

[4] The edition used in the corpus was published in *Obras integrais de Eça de Queirós*, a CD released in 1996 by Projeto Vercial (http://www.ipn.pt/literatura, last accessed on 19th April, 2005).
[5] The edition used in the corpus was published in *Obras de Poetas Portugueses: Séculos XIX-XX*, a CD released by Projeto Vercial (http://www.ipn.pt/literatura). The printed version that was used in order to insert missing italics in the electronic text was a 1998 reprint of the 1914 edition by Assírio & Alvim.
[6] First published in 1904. The translation, however, is based on the 1933 edition by Espasa, of which the 1999 edition used here is a reprint.

Appendix B - Emphatic italics in CTMJC

Key:

A =   author
Q =   Eça de Queiroz
V =   Luisa Valenzuela
SC =   Mário de Sá-Carneiro
VI =   Ramón del Valle-Inclán
Add =   added italics
CAc =   italics carried across
Omt =   omitted
MIF =   marked information focus
Cont =   Contrastive Focus
LexC =   (Focus on) lexical content
IllocF = (Focus on) illucutionary force
comp =   compensation
n/a =   not applicable
< =   indicates a shift whereby the category before the symbol '<' applies to the source text, and the category after the symbol applies only to the target
          text (e.g. "n/a < MIF" means that the emphatic italics signal marked information focus in the target text but not in the source text)

Note: In this and other appendices containing material derived from concordances the length of the example is generally that retrieved by the concordancer, which explains why some words at the beginning and end of the examples are not reproduced in full. In some cases where the co-text was considerably more extensive than needed, the examples were shortened due to space constraints.

	A	Source segment	Target segment	Class 1	Class 2	Class 3	Class 4
1.	Q	Era a ele, ao seu branco bigode tártaro, à sua pança cor de oca, que todo um sacerdócio recamado de oiro estava oferecendo, ao roncar do órgão, a Eternidade dos louvores!.	. as offering up an Eternity of praise to \<i\>him\</i\>, to his drooping white moustaches an ...	Add	MIF	Cont	comp
2.	Q	. O sr. Teodoro do Ministério do Reino?	. ... rmured: 'Senhor Teodoro? \<i\> The \</i\> Senhor Teodoro from the Minist ...	Add	MIF	Cont	n/a
3.	Q	. - Faça uma coisa. Procure a família de Ti Chin-Fu.	. ... aled yellow Cossack teeth: 'What you \<i\>can\</i\> do is find Ti Chin-Fu's family. ...	Add	MIF	IllocF	comp
4.	Q	. \</i\> - Pequim é um monstro!	. ... found myself alone . . . 'Peking \<i\>is\</i\> something of a monster! ' said Cam ...	Add	MIF	IllocF	n/a
5.	Q	. \</i\> - A ave hǎ-de voltar ao ninho - murmurei eu enternecido. E, afastando-me a esconder uma lágrima, ia resmungando furioso:	. ... Ne revient pas . . . 'This bird \<i\>will\</i\> return to the nest,' I murmured tend ...	Add	MIF	IllocF	n/a
6.	Q	. - O que é isso, senhor?	. ... , I leapt avidly from the bed: 'What \<i\> is \</i\> all this about, sir? ' I shou ...	Add	MIF	IllocF	n/a
7.	Q	. ... , com o seu papagaio nos braços! Era \<i\> ele \</i\>, outra vez! E foi \<i\> ele \< ...	. It was \<i\>him\</i\>, again!	CAc	MIF	Cont	n/a
8.	Q	. ... ão diminuía a trágica negrura do facto: \<i\> eu assassinara um velho \</i\>! Pouco ...	. But it did not detract from the tragic blackness of the fact: \<i\>I had murdered an old man!	CAc	n/a	n/a	n/a
9.	Q	. ... nguentados aos damascos vermelhos: - \<i\> Preciso matar este morto \</i\>! E, to ...	. \<i\>'I must kill that corpse!'\</i\>	CAc	n/a	n/a	n/a
10.	Q	. ... o espírito como um ferro inarrancável - \<i\>que eu tinha assassinado um velho \</i\>! ...	. The supreme horror consisted in the idea that fixed itself in my mind like a blade that could not be shifted: \<i\>I had murdered an old man!	CAc	n/a	n/a	n/a
11.	Q	. ... Era \<i\> ele \</i\>, outra vez! E foi \<i\> ele \</i\>, perpetuamente! Foi ele em ...	. And it was him again and again from that moment on!	Omt	MIF	Cont	comp
12.	Q	. ... , abandonado de todo o socorro humano - \<i\> precisei de Deus! \</i\> Acreditei n'E ...	. Mad with fear and beyond all human help, with the crowd roaring at my heels, I needed God!	Omt	n/a	n/a	n/a

13.	SC	Assim determinei abrir-me inteiramente com Ricardo, dizer-lhe as minhas angústias, e suplicar-lhe que me contasse tudo, tudo, que pusesse termo ao mistério, que preenchesse os espaços vazios da minha memória.	. ... im all my fears, and to ask him to tell <i>me</i> everything as well, so that we might ...	Add	MIF	Cont	n/a
14.	SC	Contudo, ignoro se é felicidade maior não se existir tamanho instante.	. ... estly say that the greater happiness is <i>not</i> to experience such a moment. Thos ...	Add	MIF	Cont	n/a
15.	SC	. se ela tem segredos para todos, menos para ele... como eu queria... como eu a queria para mim... Nesse caso..	. ... everyone but him. . . as I wanted <i>her</i> to do with me. . . the way I w ...	Add	MIF	Cont	comp
16.	SC	. Fora isto: pareceu-me vagamente que eu era o meu drama - a coisa artificial - e o meu drama a realidade.	. ... was this: it seemed to me vaguely that <i>I</i> was my play - that is, the artificia ...	Add	MIF	Cont	n/a
17.	SC	. Não lhe sei explicar - contudo pressinto, tenho a certeza, que essa relação existe.	. ... ut I sense, indeed I'm sure, that there <i>is</i> a connection.' I mumbled a reply ...	Add	MIF	IllocF	comp
18.	SC	. - Homem! que diabo significa isto?	. ... rushed into my room shouting: 'What <i>is</i> all this about, man? Are you crac ...	Add	MIF	IllocF	comp
19.	SC	. Não importa que me acreditem, mas só digo a verdade - mesmo quando ela é inverossímil.	. ... t may seem, what I am about to tell you <i>is</i> the absolute truth. My confession ...	Add	MIF	IllocF	comp
20.	SC	. uma certeza lúcida me restava pressentida fosse como fosse, havia em todo o caso um motivo real no arrepio de medo que me varava a todo o instante.	. ... ertainty: regardless of all that, there <i>was</i> a real motive behind the tremor of f ...	Add	MIF	IllocF	n/a
21.	SC	. Entanto, coisa bizarra, no seu corpo havia mistério - corpo de esfinge, talvez, em noites de luar.	. ... contrary. Oddly enough though, there <i>was</i> something mysterious about his body, ...	Add	MIF	IllocF	n/a
22.	SC	. Quem seria... quem seria?... Como sucedera <i>tudo aquilo?</i>...	. ... Who could she be? Who <i>could</i> she be? How had all that happened?	Add	MIF	IllocF	n/a
23.	SC	. - Acho que não devem discutir o papel da voluptuosidade na arte porque, meus amigos, a voluptuosidade é uma arte - e, talvez, a mais bela de todas.	. ... ity in art, for, my friends, sensuality <i>is</i> an art, possibly the most beautiful ...	Add	MIF	IllocF	n/a

24.	SC	. Em face de todas as pessoas que eu sei que deveria estimar - <i> em face de todas as pessoas por quem adivinho ternuras </i> - assalta-me sempre um desejo violento de as morder na boca!	. ... ! Face to face with all the people I <i>know</i> I should value -<i>face to face with ...	Add	MIF	LexC	n/a
25.	SC	. E, nessa tarde, fui-o por instantes, acredito..	. ... hat afternoon, for a matter of moments, <i>I was beautiful</i>, I think. I had ju ...	Add	n/a	n/a	comp
26.	SC	. Em todo o caso, olhe que é lamentável a banalidade dos <i>outros</i>..	. ... What I do know is that the banality of <i>others</i> is always something to be regretted. ...	CAc	MIF	Cont	n/a
27.	SC	. Ao som de uma música pesada, rouca, longínqua - <i>ela</i> surgiu, a mulher fulva..	. ... sound of heavy, hoarse, distant music, <i>she</i> appeared, the woman with red hair. ...	CAc	MIF	Cont	n/a
28.	SC	. Invejava-o por <i>ela</i> me haver pertencido.	. ... envied him! </i> I envied him because <i>she</i> had belonged to me. . . to me. ...	CAc	MIF	Cont	n/a
29.	SC	. se é Marta quem lhe conta tudo... se ele conhece tudo só porque <i>ela</i> lho diz...	. ... . he only knows all about it because <i>she</i> tells him. . . she keeps secre ...	CAc	MIF	Cont	n/a
30.	SC	. É por <i>eles</i>, coitados, que não podem sentir a sua beleza.	. ... ow my work is good. I feel sorry for <i>them</i>, poor things, because they can't see ...	CAc	MIF	Cont	n/a
31.	SC	. É que <i>essas</i< andavam na vida, e eu aprazia-me com elas numa ilusão.	. ... n inferior creatures. It was because <i>they</i> were involved in life and I was happ ...	CAc	MIF	Cont	n/a
32.	SC	. A verdade, por consequência, é que as minhas próprias ternuras, nunca as <i>senti</i>, apenas as <i>adivinhei</i>.	. ... The truth, therefore, is that I have <i> never felt</i> my own tender feelings, I have only <i>guessed</i> at their existence.	CAc	MIF	Cont	n/a
33.	SC	. . É a vida simples, <i>a vida útil</i>, que se escoa em nossa face.	. ... hy life! It's the simple life, <i>the useful life</i> slipping by us, right u ...	CAc	MIF	LexC	n/a
34.	SC	. "Entretanto estes desejos materiais - ainda lhe não disse tudo - não julgue que os sinto na minha carne; <i>sinto-os na minha alma.</i>	. ... these physical desires in my flesh, but <i>in my soul</i>. Only with my soul could ...	CAc	MIF	Cont	n/a

35.	SC	. Ela prova como fatos que se nos afiguram bem claros são muitas vezes os mais emaranhados; ela prova como um inocente, muita vez, se não pode justificar, porque a sua justificação é inverosímil - <i>embora verdadeira<?i>.	. ... cause what he has to say is impossible, <i>albeit true</i>. Thus, in order to be belie ...	CAc	MIF	Cont	n/a
36.	SC	. ... ão referia-se à possibilidade de fixar, <i>de guardar</i>, as horas mais belas da nos ...	. In fact we often spoke of those extraordinary moments and he would talk then of the possibility of fixing, of <i>keeping</i> the most beautiful moments of our lives - ablaze with either love or fear - and thus be able to see them and feel them again.	CAc	MIF	LexC	n/a
37.	SC	. é que eu via melhor a sua boa disposição - o seu orgulho, o seu júbilo, <i>o seu triunfo...</i>	. ... l-disposed he was, how proud, jubilant, <i>triumphant</i>. Marta grew more and more indi ...	CAc	MIF	LexC	n/a
38.	SC	. Com efeito a sua carne de forma alguma me repugnava numa sensação de enjoo - a sua carne só me repugnava numa sensação de monstruosidade, de <i>desconhecido</i>: eu tinha nojo do seu corpo	. ... ather with a sense of monstrousness, of <i>strangeness</i>. I felt sickened by her body in the ...	CAc	MIF	LexC	n/a
39.	SC	. Era uma linda mulher loira, muito loira, alta, escultural - e a carne mordorada, dura, <i>fugitiva</i>.	. ... tall and statuesque with firm, subtle, <i>fugitive</i> flesh. Her blue eyes seemed alway ...	CAc	MIF	LexC	n/a
40.	SC	. "A <i>maioria</i>, meu caro, a <i>maioria</i>.	. ... The <i>majority</i>, my dear, the <i>majority</i>. . . those poor unfortunates. ...	CAc	MIF	LexC	n/a
41.	SC	. "A <i>maioria</i>, meu caro, a <i>maioria</i>.	. ... The <i>majority</i>, my dear, the <i>majority</i>. . . those poor unfortunates. ...	CAc	MIF	LexC	n/a
42.	SC	. saltava agora por entre labaredas, rasgando-as: emaranhando, <i>possuindo</i>, todo o fogo bêbado que a cingia.	. ... flames, tearing at them, ensnaring and <i>possessing</i> them as they twined drunkenly about ...	CAc	MIF	LexC	n/a
43.	SC	. Enfim, eu entrara naquela sala tal como se, ao transpor o seu limiar, tivesse <i>regressado</i> a um mundo de sonhos.	. ... s if, as I crossed its threshold, I was <i>returning</i> to a world of dreams. That's why ...	CAc	MIF	LexC	n/a

5

44.	SC	. Ao contrário: ela parecia-me bem real, bem simples, bem <i>certa</i>.	. ... e very real, very straightforward, very <i>right</i>. But, alas, a strange obsession s ...	CAc	MIF	LexC	n/a
45.	SC	. . E, em face de quem as pressentia, só me vinham desejos de carícias, desejos de posse - para <i>satisfazer</i> os meus enternecimentos, sintetizar as minhas amizades.	. ... ess them, to possess them - in order to <i>satisfy</i> my feelings of tenderness, to make m ...	CAc	MIF	LexC	n/a
46.	SC	. As sensações bizarras tinham-me desaparecido por completo, e eu <i>via</i> agora nitidamente a sua esposa.	. ... tially disappeared completely and now I <i>saw</i> his wife clearly. She was a beaut ...	CAc	MIF	LexC	n/a
47.	SC	. Assim, se eu não <i>vejo</i> erguida certa obra cujo plano me entusiasma, é seguro que a não consigo lançar,	. ... So much so that if I can't physically <i>see</i> a particular project that I feel kee ...	CAc	MIF	LexC	n/a
48.	SC	. Pois em breve todos os espectadores evidenciavam, em rostos confundidos e gestos ansiosos, que um ruivo sortilégio os varara sob essa luz de além-Inferno, sob essa luz <i>sexualizada</i>.	. ... by that light from beyond Hell, by that <i>sexualised</i> light, they were all transfixed as i ...	CAc	MIF	LexC	n/a
49.	SC	. Sabia bem o que significava tudo aquilo. Isto só: <i>Arte</i>.	. ... t it all boiled down to one thing only: <i>Art</i>. For Gervísio started from the pr ...	CAc	MIF	LexC	n/a
50.	SC	. ... alar - que talvez mesmo conheça -, a do <i>já visto</i>. Nunca lhe sucedeu ter vis ...	. To put it still more clearly, this feeling is similar, albeit in reverse, to another of which you've probably heard - which you may even have experienced - that of <i>d j^ vu</i>.	CAc	MIF	LexC	n/a
51.	SC	. Por mais que diligenciasse referir toda a minha tortura à nossa mentira, ao nosso <i>crime</i> - não me lograva enganar.	. ... my torment to the lie we lived, to our <i>crime</i>, I could not deceive myself. I wa ...	CAc	MIF	LexC	n/a
52.	SC	. Dois dias depois, sem prevenir ninguém, sem escrever uma palavra a Ricardo, eu tive <i>finalmente</i> a coragem de partir.	. ... thout even writing a note to Ricardo, I <i>finally</i> had the courage to leave.	CAc	MIF	LexC	n/a

53.	SC	. E no meio destas frases incoerentes, <i>impossíveis</i>, arrastava-me correndo numa fúria para os aposentos da sua esposa, que ficavam no segundo andar.	. ... And in the midst of these incoherent, <i>impossible</i> words, he dragged me with him and ra ...	CAc	MIF	LexC	n/a
54.	SC	. Só a adoraria pelos enternecimentos que a sua <i>gentileza</i> me despertasse: pelos seus dedos trigueiros a apertarem os meus numa tarde de sol, pelo timbre subtil da sua voz, pelos seus rubores - e as suas gargalhadas.	. ... ly love her for the tenderness that her <i>kindness</i> awoke in me, for her fair fingers squee ...	CAc	MIF	LexC	n/a
55.	SC	. Depois de muito se conversar sobre teatro e de Gervásio ter proclamado que os actores - ainda os maiores, como a Sara, o Novelli - não passavam de meros cabotinos, de meros intelectuais que <i>aprendiam</i> os seus papéis, e de garantir - "creiam os meus amigos que é assim"	. ... re than mummers, mere intellectuals who <i>learned</i> their parts, and after he had assure ...	CAc	MIF	LexC	n/a
56.	SC	Com efeito, nunca me <i>vi</i> "admitido" em parte alguma.	In fact, I never <i>saw</i> myself as belonging anywhere.	CAc	MIF	LexC	n/a
57.	SC	. Daí, uma ânsia estonteada, <i>uma ânsia sexual</i> de possuir vozes, gestos, sorrisos, aromas e cores!.	. ... where this giddy longing comes from, a <i>sexual longing</i> to possess voices, gestures ...	CAc	MIF	LexC	n/a
58.	SC	. ... oras a esgueirar-se em minha face... <i>A morte real</i> - apenas um sono mais de ...	. </i>Real death</i> will merely mean a deeper sleep.	CAc	MIF	LexC	n/a
59.	SC	. Todo eu tremia, mas o poeta nunca os estranhava - <i>nunca os via</i>; ou, se os via, era só para se rir, para os acompanhar.	. ... over, but he never remarked upon them, <i>he never saw them</i>, or if he did, he wo ...	CAc	MIF	LexC	n/a

7

60.	SC	. Entretanto nunca podia deixar de pensar numa circunstância: a complacência inaudita de Ricardo - <i>a sua infâmia</i>.	. ... ir: Ricardo's astonishing complacency - <i>his shameless complacency</i>. Had thing ...	CAc	MIF	LexC	n/a
61.	SC	. - juro-lhe - <i>se não fosse haver a certeza absoluta de que todos morremos, eu, não me "vendo" morto, não acreditaria na minha morte...</i>[1]	. ... lieve in my own death, because I cannot <i>see</i> myself dead. ' I smiled at this ...	CAc	MIF	LexC	n/a
62.	SC	. que tanto lhe repugnava?... <i>O matrimónio?</i> Mas seriam eles casados?...	. ... idea he found utterly repellent? <i>Marriage</i>. But were they in fact married? ...	CAc	MIF	LexC	n/a
63.	SC	. É outra coisa mais vaga - imponderável, translúcida: <i>a gentileza.</i>	. ... t, something imponderable, translucent: <i>kindness</i>. Oh, but I find that in everythin ...	CAc	MIF	LexC	n/a
64.	SC	. De onde provinha, <i>onde existia?.</i>	. ... dowy woman? Where had she come from, <i>where had she existed? </i> I had been t ...	CAc	MIF	LexC	n/a
65.	SC	. que ternura infinita me desceu para essa rapariguinha que nunca mais encontrei - <i>que nunca mais poderia encontrar</i> porque, na minha alegria envaidecida, nem sequer me lembrara de ver o seu rosto.	. ... hat young girl whom I never met again - <i>whom I never could meet again</i> because, p ...	CAc	MIF	LexC	n/a
66.	SC	. - É isto só: - disse - <i>não posso ser amigo de ninguém.</i>	. ... tone of voice: 'It's this,' he said, <i>'I cannot be anyone's friend</i>	CAc	n/a	n/a	n/a
67.	SC	. <i>A minha alma não se angustia apenas, a minha alma sangra.</i>	. ... aware of my soul. It's horrible! <i>My soul does not merely feel anguished, it bleeds</i>.	CAc	n/a	n/a	n/a
68.	SC	. <i> Em face dos meus olhos abismados eu só tinha agora o <i>fauteuil</i> vazio.	. ... ntil she had disappeared completely. <i>All that remained before my horrified eyes ...	CAc	n/a	n/a	n/a
69.	SC	. Luís de Monforte ouviu-as como se as estranhasse - <i>mas não por elas próprias, só por virem da minha parte</i>; e respondeu-me chocado,	. ... onforte listened to them as if bemused, <i>not because of the questions themselves, bu ...	CAc	n/a	n/a	n/a

[1] The verb 'vendo' (seeing) is highlighted by quotation marks because it is within an italicised segment. The same verb is highlighted using italics in the near context, see example 46.

70.	SC	. Eis pelo que nunca me sucedeu coisa alguma. <i>Nem mesmo o que sucede a toda a gente</i>.	. ... at's why nothing ever happens to me. <i>Not even the things that happen to everyone ...	CAc	n/a	n/a	n/a
71.	SC	. As dores morais transformam-se-me em verdadeiras dores físicas, em dores horríveis, que eu sinto materialmente - <i>não no meu corpo, mas no meu espírito</i>.	. ... rrible pain that I can physically feel, <i>not in my body, but in my spirit</i>. I ...	CAc	n/a	n/a	n/a
72.	SC	. Era antes esta incerteza: a minha obsessão seria uma realidade, existiria realmente no meu espírito; <i>ou seria apenas um sonho que eu tivera e não lograra esquecer, confundindo-o com a realidade?</i>	. ... did it really exist in my mind, <i>or was it just a dream I'd had and been unable to forget, confusing it with reality?</i>.	CAc	n/a	n/a	n/a
73.	SC	. <i>Escoava-se por nós uma impressão de excesso.</i>	. ... e soul that both burned and soothed. <i>An impression of excess passed only fleeti ...	CAc	n/a	n/a	n/a
74.	SC	. E como um <i>medium</i> no estado hipnótico eram outras as frases que eu proferia - <i>talvez só as que ela me obrigava a pronunciar</i>.	. ... uld come out with other words instead - <i>perhaps the words she obliged me to speak</i>. ...	CAc	n/a	n/a	n/a
75.	SC	. <i>Ricardo trouxera-a de Paris?</i>.	. ... erally, stunned. Was it possible? <i>Ricardo had brought her with him from Paris? ...	CAc	n/a	n/a	n/a
76.	SC	. <i>Ricardo estimava-o tanto...</i>	. ... en with Serge? Of course. . . <i>Ricardo held him in such high esteem</i>. ...	CAc	n/a	n/a	n/a
77.	SC	. <i>O beijo de Ricardo fora igual, exactamente igual, tivera a mesma cor, a mesma perturbação que os beijos da minha amante.</i>	. ... s hands. . . and kissed me. <i>Ricardo's kiss was the same, exactly the same, as ...	CAc	n/a	n/a	n/a
78.	SC	. Sim, quando voltamos ao palacete, após termos passado por minha casa, já Marta regressara, <i>e notei mesmo que já tinha mudado de vestido</i> -	. ... t gone to mine, Marta was already back, <i>and I noticed that she had even changed her ...	CAc	n/a	n/a	n/a
79.	SC	. Somos todos álcool, todos álcool! - <i>álcool que nos esvai em lume que nos arde!</i>	. ... We are like alcohol, pure alcohol - <i>and like alcohol we evaporate in the flame ...	CAc	n/a	n/a	n/a

80.	SC	. "Separamo-nos...<i>"Essa tarde foi a mais bela recordação da minha vida!...</i>.	. ... e went our separate ways . . . <i>That afternoon constitutes the most beautiful memory of my entire life!</i>	CAc	n/a	n/a	n/a
81.	SC	. E então, numa ânsia, corria a casa do artista, a vê-la, a certificar-me da sua realidade - a certificar-me de que nem tudo era loucura: <i>pelo menos ela existia.</i>	. ... myself that not everything was madness: <i>that at least she did exist</i>. Ricardo ...	CAc	n/a	n/a	n/a
82.	SC	. . e me aturdia os sentidos - <i>mos não deixava ver</i>, embora eu tivesse a certeza de que eles me existiam bem lúcidos.	. ... irely enfolded me and dulled my senses, <i>that did not let me see my senses,</i> altho ...	CAc	n/a	n/a	n/a
83.	SC	. acabou de perturbar: <i>essa mulher não tinha recordações; essa mulher nunca se referira a uma saudade da sua vida</i>.	. ... And it was then that another, even odder fact occurred to me: <i>that woman had no memories; she never ever spoke nostalgically of some earlier event in her life</i>.	CAc	n/a	n/a	n/a
84.	SC	. <i>E só com o espírito te possuí materialmente!</i>	. ... oming sexualised, had become matter. <i>And thus I possessed you physically with my ...</i>	CAc	n/a	n/a	n/a
85.	SC	. Pelo contrário: era até muito possível que esse beijo mo tivessem dado na face - como o beijo de Ricardo, <i>o beijo semelhante aos de Marta</i>...	. ... been on my cheek, like Ricardo's kiss, <i>the kiss that so resembled Marta's kisses</i>/ ...	CAc	n/a	n/a	n/a
86.	SC	. De resto, no caso presente, que podia valer a noite fantástica em face do nosso encontro - <i>desse encontro que marcou o princípio da minha vida?</i>	. ... ht have in comparison with our meeting, <i>the meeting that marked the beginning of my ...</i>	CAc	n/a	n/a	n/a
87.	SC	. <i>Quem jazia estiraçado junto da janela, não era Marta - não! -, era o meu amigo, era Ricardo... E aos meus pés - sim, aos meus pés! - caíra o seu revólver ainda fumegante</i>!...	. ... <i>the person lying stretched out by the window was not Marta, no, it was my friend, it was Ricardo. And at my feet, yes, at my feet, lay his revolver, still smoking!</i>	CAc	n/a	n/a	n/a
88.	SC	. Logo, ela devia-me ter visto: <i>logo eu devia-a ter visto quando</i> - lembrava-me muito bem - olhara para trás, por sinal em frente de um grande prédio em construção.	. ... e. Therefore, she must have seen me: <i>therefore I must have seen her</i> when, opposite ...	CAc	n/a	n/a	n/a

89.	SC	. <i>Logo eu só poderia ser amigo de uma criatura do meu sexo, se essa criatura ou eu mudássemos de sexo</i>.	. ... t possess a creature of our own sex. <i>Therefore, I could only be the friend of a creatu ...	CAc	n/a	n/a	n/a
90.	SC	. Apenas só agora, indubitavelmente, as lágrimas lhe desciam pelo rosto; <i>mas não era diversa da primeira dor que as provocava</i>.	. ... he tears started to flow down his face, <i>though the pain that caused them was no differ ...	CAc	n/a	n/a	n/a
91.	SC	. <i>E todos sabemos que tu já o sabes</i>!.	. ... . me and all of us, do you hear? <i>And we know that you know! </i> Tha ...	CAc	n/a	n/a	n/a
92.	SC	. ...<i>Em face dos meus olhos abismados eu só tinha agora o <et><i>fauteuil</i> vazio...</i>..	. <i>All that remained before my horrified eyes was the empty armchair.	CAc	n/a	n/a	n/a
93.	SC	. E esta sensação descera-me tão forte, essa tarde, que num relâmpago me voou pelo cérebro a ideia rubra de o assassinar - para satisfazer a minha inveja, o meu ciúme: <i>para me vingar dele!</i<	. ... him - to satisfy my envy, my jealousy: <i>to avenge myself on him! </i> B ...	CAc	n/a	n/a	n/a
94.	SC	. Metiam os bicos debaixo das asas, mas logo acordavam assustadas pelos jorros dos projectores que iluminavam as "estrelas", pelos saltos do compadre... <i>Pois como esses pobres bichos, também a minha alma anda estremunhada</i>	. ... ne of their fellow chickens. . . <i>Well, my soul is just like those poor creatu ...	CAc	n/a	n/a	n/a
95.	SC	. . E numa alucinação, não podia conceber que nenhum dos homens que eu vira um dia junto dela não tivesse passado pelo seu corpo - <i>e sabendo-o o marido</i>: Luís de Monforte, Narciso do Amaral, Raul Vilar.	. ... r side had also passed through her body <i>and with her husband's knowledge</i>: Lu's ...	CAc	n/a	n/a	n/a
96.	SC	. ... piedade com umas vergastas horríveis - <i>frias como água gelada</i>, acrescentara na s ...	. And one day a mulatto prisoner - doubtless a fantasist - told me that they had beaten him mercilessly with terrible scourges - <i>cold like ice water</i>, he had added in his pidgin tongue.	CAc	n/a	n/a	n/a

97.	SC	. De maneira que a realidade inquietante era esta: aquela mulher erguia-se aos meus olhos como se não tivesse passado - <i>como se tivesse apenas um presente!</i>	. ... to my eyes as someone who had no past, <i>who had only a present! </i> I tried in v ...	CAc	n/a	n/a	n/a
98.	SC	. <i>Com esta resolução voltou-me toda a lucidez.</i>	. ... self be carried wherever it took me. <i>With that decision I recovered all my former ...	CAc	n/a	n/a	n/a
99.	SC	. <i>Oh! tu hás-de-me escutar!</i>	. ... Listen to me! Listen to me! <i>You must listen to me! </i>' Will-l ...	CAc	n/a	n/a	n/a
100.	SC	. E, pelo lado de Marta, igual procedimento - <i>como se tivessem pejo de aludir ao seu amor.</i>	. ... It. And with Marta it was the same - <i>as if they were embarrassed to mention the ...	CAc	n/a	n/a	n/a
101.	SC	. também como se se tratasse de uma irrealidade; de qualquer coisa que eu já soubesse, <i>que fosse um desenlace</i>.	. ... something I already knew about, <i>as if it were the predictable dénouement of a play.</i>	CAc	n/a	n/a	n/a
102.	SC	. Ele escrevera-mo na sua primeira carta; mas sem juntar pormenores, muito brumosamente - <i>como se se tratasse de uma irrealidade</i>.	. ... y vaguely, without going into details - <i>as if he were describing something unreal< ...	CAc	n/a	n/a	n/a
103.	SC	. não era possível possuir aquele corpo inteiramente por uma impossibilidade física qualquer: <i>assim como se <hi>"ela"</hi> fosse do meu sexo</i>!	. ... al obstacle prevented me from doing so, <i>as if she and I were of the same sex! </ ...	CAc	n/a	n/a	n/a
104.	SC	. Por isso, as longas horas fastidiosas passadas no tribunal, eu só as vi em bruma - como sobrepostas, <i>a desenrolarem-se num cenário que não fosse precisamente aquele em que tais horas se deveriam consumar</i>...	. ... f superimposed one on top of the other, <i>being played out on a stage that wasn't quite the one on which such hours should have been spent</i>.	CAc	n/a	n/a	n/a
105.	SC	. E quando o fazia, logo me emendava, <i>corando como se viesse de praticar uma imprudência</i>.	. ... so, I would immediately correct myself, <i>blushing furiously as if I had committed some dr ...	CAc	n/a	n/a	n/a
106.	SC	. <i>Mas nem por isso retrocedera!</i>	. ... she walked along, must have seen us. <i>But even that had not made her turn back! ...	CAc	n/a	n/a	n/a

107.	SC	. ... rbante - chegar-lhe a lembrança de que, <i>não sabe quando nem onde</i>, já esteve naq ...	. Has it never happened to you that you visit a country or a place for the first time and - like a distant recollection, vague and troubling - you are assailed by the thought that - <i>where or when you don't know</i> - you have already been in that country, gazed on that scene?	CAc	n/a	n/a	n/a
108.	SC	. Via tudo em redor de mim, via tudo quanto me cercava projectado no espelho. <i>Só não via a minha imagem.</i>	. ... hing around me reflected in the mirror, <i>but I could not see my own image. .. ...</i>	CAc	n/a	n/a	n/a
109.	SC	. - <i>Mas no fim de contas quem é esta mulher?...</i>	. ... m a dream, I found myself wondering: <i>'Who exactly is this woman? '</i> For I ...	CAc	n/a	n/a	n/a
110.	SC	. <i>Mas, estreitando-te ela, era eu próprio quem te estreitava.. </i>	. ... fection by ordering Her to be yours! <i>But when she embraced you, it was me embrac ...</i>	CAc	n/a	n/a	n/a
111.	SC	. ... surge-me como o passado de um outro. <i>Permaneci, mas já não me sou</i>. E até à mort ...	. <i>I am still here, but I am no longer myself</i>.	CAc	n/a	n/a	n/a
112.	SC	. E procurando de novo aclará-las a mim próprio, assaltou-me de súbito este receio: <i>seriam elas originadas pelo outro amante?</i>	. ... his fearful thought suddenly seized me: <i>could they have their origins in the other lover?</i>.	CAc	n/a	n/a	n/a
113.	SC	. ... mim, também a vida parara - ele vivera <i>também o momento culminante</i> a que aludi na ...	. Life had stopped for him as it had for me, he too had experienced that <i>culminating moment</i> I referred to in my introduction.	CAc	n/a	n/a	n/a
114.	SC	. a uma grande sala escura, pesada, <i>ainda que jorros de luz a iluminassem</i>, Ao entrar	. ... ature - led me into a large room which, <i>despite the shafts of light pouring into it</i> ...	CAc	n/a	n/a	n/a
115.	SC	. Em face de todas as pessoas que eu sei que deveria estimar - <i>em face de todas as pessoas por quem adivinho ternuras</i> - assalta-me sempre um desejo violento de as morder na boca!	. ... I should value -<i>face to face with all the people for whom I sense I feel some tenderness</i>	CAc	n/a	n/a	n/a
116.	SC	. Pelo teu afecto eu trocaria tudo - <i>mesmo o meu segredo</i>.	. ... ffection I would give away everything - <i>even my secret</i>. Come!' What happen ...	CAc	n/a	n/a	n/a

13

117.	SC	. <i>Desciam-nos só da alma os nossos desejos carnais.</i>	. ... in the depths. We were all soul. <i>Even our carnal desires descended to us from ...	CAc	n/a	n/a	n/a
118.	SC	. num grande esforço, numa grande concentração, poderia explicar coisa alguma, esquecer tudo. <i>Esquecer é não ter sido</i>.	. .I could simply resolve to give up trying to explain it and instead just forget about it completely. <i>For when you forget something, it's as if it never existed</i>.	CAc	n/a	n/a	n/a
119.	SC	. Não foi uma sensação de pavor, <i>foi uma sensação de orgulho</i>.	. ... It wasn't a feeling of terror, it was <i>a feeling of pride</i>.' However, when ...	CAc	n/a	n/a	n/a
120.	SC	. . <i>Declarara-mo, e eu não me tinha admirado</i> - não tinha admirado como se houvesse uma razão que justificasse, que exigisse esse regresso.	. ... nd yet he had decided to go back. <i>He had told me so and I had not even been ...	CAc	n/a	n/a	n/a
121.	SC	. <i>Todas as cores enlouqueciam na sua túnica.</i>	. ... , starry tumults of reflected light. <i>Her tunic was colour gone mad. </i> If yo ...	CAc	n/a	n/a	n/a
122.	SC	. ... bem chegados um ao outro... <i>de mãos dadas</i>.	. ... ck. . . close together. . . <i>holding hands</i>. For our fingers would imm ...	CAc	n/a	n/a	n/a
123.	SC	. Entretanto o que é necessário é saber vibrar esses espasmos, <i>saber provocá-los</i>.	. ... how to kindle those waves of pleasure, <i>how to provoke them</i>. And that is pre ...	CAc	n/a	n/a	n/a
124.	SC	. Inundava-o um perfume denso, arrepiante de êxtases, silvava-o uma brisa misteriosa, <i>uma brisa cinzenta com laivos amarelos</i> - não sei por que, pareceu-me assim, bizarramente -, aragem que nos fustigava a carne em novos arrepios.	. ... n. A mysterious breeze blew through it, <i>a grey breeze blotched with yellow</i> - ...	CAc	n/a	n/a	n/a
125.	SC	. <i>Porém, dessas vezes, eu encontrava-me sempre a tratar por tu, não Marta, mas Ricardo</i>.	. ... ld, I began to commit sudden lapses. <i>However, on those occasions, I found myself add ...	CAc	n/a	n/a	n/a
126.	SC	. um verdadeiro ciúme dele próprio.<i>Invejava-o!</i> Invejava-o por ela me haver pertencido..	. ... a jealousy, a real jealousy of him. <i>I envied him! </i> I envied him because ...	CAc	n/a	n/a	n/a

127.	SC	. . E, pela minha parte, num enleio injustificado, faltava-me sempre a coragem para insistir - \<i\>perturbava-me como se viesse de cometer uma indelicadeza.\</i\>	. ... lll never had the courage to insist - \<i\>I felt as awkward as if I had just made an indelicate remark.\</i\>	CAc	n/a	n/a	n/a
128.	SC	. . \<i\>Eu é que lhos mostrava sempre!\</i\>	. ... She would always tell me afterwards. \<i\>I just introduced her to them! \</i\> Yes ...	CAc	n/a	n/a	n/a
129.	SC	. . Por acaso olhei para o espelho do guarda-vestidos e \<i\>não me vi reflectido nele!\</i\>	. ... ed to glance in the wardrobe mirror but \<i\>I wasn't there! \</i\> It's true. I sa ...	CAc	n/a	n/a	n/a
130.	SC	. Porém, em face do um torpor físico que me invadira tudo, deixara-me ficar estendido no leito, imerso numa profunda modorra, \<i\>numa estranha modorra de penumbra..\</i\>	. ... in bed, plunged in a profound lethargy, \<i\>a strange, shadowy lethargy\</i\>. Ah ...	CAc	n/a	n/a	n/a
131.	SC	. E não receio avançar muito afirmando que ela não impressionava a nossa vista, mas sim o nosso tacto. \<i\>Se de súbito nos arrancassem os olhos, nem por isso nós deixaríamos de ver\</i\>. E depois - eis o mais bizarro	. ... ect our sight as our sense of touch. \<i\>If our eyes had been suddenly torn from us ...	CAc	n/a	n/a	n/a
132.	SC	. Com efeito, se ela não se ocultasse de mim, \<i\>se apenas se ocultasse dos outros\</i\>, eu seria o primeiro.	. ... she did not hide these things from me, \<i\>if she only hid them from the others\</i\>, ...	CAc	n/a	n/a	n/a
133.	SC	. Enquanto que eu, por mais que me esforce, nunca poderei retribuir nenhum afecto: \<i\>os afectos não se materializam dentro de mim!\</i\>	. ... never be able to return any affection: \<i\>affections simply do not manifest themselves in me ...	CAc	n/a	n/a	n/a
134.	SC	. a diferença que eu notava na fisionomia do meu amigo - \<i\>fisionomia que se tinha difundido\</i\>,	. ... physiognomy lay in that change alone - \<i\>it had become more diffuse\</i\>. That was i ...	CAc	n/a	n/a	n/a
135.	SC	. Entretanto não pude ver o seu desenho - vi só que era um brasão dourado e, ao mesmo tempo - coisa mais estranha -, \<i\>pareceu-me que eu próprio já recebera um sobrescrito igual àquele\</i\>.	. ... ame time - and this was even stranger - \<i\>it seemed to me that I myself had received ...	CAc	n/a	n/a	n/a

136.	SC	. <i>Era como se houvesse guardado o meu espírito numa gaveta...</i>	. ... ure that they were perfectly intact. <i>It was as if I had put my spirit away in a ...	CAc	n/a	n/a	n/a
137.	SC	.. <i>Sim, em verdade, era como se não vivesse quando estava longe de mim.</i>	. ... er to pass on, however mechanically. <i>It was as if she simply did not exist when ...	CAc	n/a	n/a	n/a
138.	SC	. Era como se tal nos não pudesse acontecer - <i>tal como se nós nos não beijássemos..</i>	. ... such a thing could never happen to us - <i>it was as if we were not in fact kissing e ...	CAc	n/a	n/a	n/a
139.	SC	. Mas ela - naturalmente também, suponho - respondia iludindo as minhas perguntas; mais: <i>como se não me percebesse...</i>	. ... uld elude my questions, more than that, <i>it was as if she did not understand them</ ...	CAc	n/a	n/a	n/a
140.	SC	. O mais infame, o mais inacreditável, porém, era que <i>sabendo ele</i>, a sua amizade, as suas atenções, por mim e pelo russo aumentassem cada dia.	. ... meful, most unbelievable fact was that, <i>knowing all this</i>, his friendship, his affec ...	CAc	n/a	n/a	n/a
141.	SC	. Mas olhando-o melhor - <i>olhando-o pela primeira vez realmente</i> - sorri para mim próprio: o desconhecido apenas tinha do conde russo o ser alto e louro..	. ... But when I looked at him properly - <i>looked at him properly for the first time</i> ...	CAc	n/a	n/a	n/a
142.	SC	<i>Nesse</i>, contudo, nunca eu me figurava.	However, I never imagined myself being part of that ending.	Omt	MIF	Cont	comp
143.	SC	Assim <i>a</i> mandei beijar esse outro... Warginsky, tens razão, Warginsky...	So I sent her off to embrace that other... it was Warginsky, yes, you're right, Warginsky.	Omt	MIF	Cont	n/a
144.	SC	durante alguns dias como se ingenuamente, confiadamente, <i>Ricardo</i> houvesse exigido que eu e a sua companheira nos tratássemos por tu.	a few days afterwards as if, ingenuously, trustingly, Ricardo had demanded that his wife and I call each other 'tu'.	Omt	MIF	Cont	n/a
145.	SC	era bem claro - não se podia, <i>não se devia</i> dar.	And, this much was clear, that was the one way it could not, indeed should not, take place.	Omt	MIF	Cont	comp
146.	SC	. ... antecipadamente, me <i>vejo</i> ou não <i>vejo</i> nelas. Por exemplo: uma coisa ond ...	. . When I think about possible situations in my life, I look ahead and I either see myself in them or I don't.	Omt	MIF	LexC	comp
147.	SC	. ... uma existência, eu, antecipadamente, me <i>vejo</i> ou não <i>vejo</i> nelas. Por exe ...	. . When I think about possible situations in my life, I look ahead and I either see myself in them or I don't.	Omt	MIF	LexC	comp

148.	SC	. ... Olhe, meu amigo, até hoje ainda me não <i>vi</i> no meu futuro. E as coisas em que ...	. Look, my friend, up until now I've never even been able to see myself in the future at all.	Omt	MIF	LexC	comp
149.	SC	Em suma, tínhamos aportado. Agora sim: <i>vivíamos</i>.	We had, it appeared, finally reached port. We were, at last, really living.	Omt	MIF	LexC	comp
150.	SC	Pois só o <i>comércio</i> condenara a versão nova da minha peça: com efeito, em vez de ser um ato	For it was commerce alone that had condemned the new version of my play.	Omt	MIF	LexC	comp
151.	SC	Pormenor curioso: nesse momento eu não tinha a sensação de que eram <i>impossíveis</i> as palavras que ele me dizia;	A curious detail: at the time I did not feel that his words were impossible. I merely thought them full of a terrible anxiety...)	Omt	MIF	LexC	comp
152.	SC	As suas feições bruscas haviam-se amenizado, acetinado - <i>feminilizado</i>, eis a verdade -	His sharp features had softened, acquired a satiny - indeed, a womanly - sheen and, even	Omt	MIF	LexC	comp
153.	SC	. não era possível possuir aquele corpo inteiramente por uma impossibilidade física qualquer: <i>assim como se <hi>"ela"</hi> fosse do meu sexo</i>!	. ... al obstacle prevented me from doing so, <i>as if she and I were of the same sex! </ ...	Omt	MIF	LexC	n/a
154.	SC	. ... eu futuro. E as coisas em que me não <i>vejo</i>, nunca me sucederam. Perante tal ...	. And the things I can't see, never happen.'	Omt	MIF	LexC	n/a
155.	SC	. Ao contrário: integrava-se sempre com a dele reforçando, <i>aumentando</i> em pequenos detalhes as suas teorias, as suas opiniões.	. On the contrary, she always agreed with him, reinforcing what he said, bolstering his theories and opinions with small points of her own.	Omt	MIF	LexC	n/a
156.	SC	Ah! mas como <i>possuir</i> uma criatura do nosso sexo?...	But how can one possess a creature of one's own sex?	Omt	MIF	LexC	n/a
157.	SC	não tinha admirado como se houvesse uma razão que justificasse, que <i>exigisse</i> esse regresso.	it was almost as if there were some reason that justified, that demanded that return.	Omt	MIF	LexC	n/a
158.	SC	quando despertei deste pesadelo alucinante, infernal, que fora só a realidade, <i>a realidade inverosímil</i> - achei-me preso num calabouço	when I awoke from that terrible, frantic nightmare, which, however unlikely, was, in fact, reality, I found myself in a cell in a State prison,	Omt	MIF	LexC	comp
159.	SC	Hoje, a prisão surgia-me como um descanso, <i>um termo</i>...	Prison seemed to me to offer an opportunity for rest, an ending.	Omt	MIF	LexC	n/a

160.	SC	e assim satisfazer, isto é, <i>retribuir sentindo</i> as minhas amizades.	and thus satisfy, that is, reciprocate my friendships emotionally.	Omt	MIF	LexC	n/a
161.	SC	nos primeiros dias, eu não soube retrair um certo embaraço ao empregar o novo tratamento - <i>tratamento que me fora permitido</i>.	I could not help feeling an initial awkwardness when using the new form of address - a form I had been given full permission to use.	Omt	n/a	n/a	comp
162.	SC	Porém, nele, eu sabia que tudo isso era verdadeiro, sentido. Quando muito, <i>sentido já como literatura</i>.	But I knew that everything Ricardo said was true and deeply felt. At least, deeply felt in the same way literature is deeply felt.	Omt	n/a	n/a	comp
163.	SC	ainda não falara do novo ato da minha peça, razão única por que decidira regressar a Lisboa contra todos os meus projectos, <i>contra toda a minha vontade</i>.	contrary to all my plans, contrary to my own wishes, I had not yet mentioned the new act I had written for the play, my sole reason for returning to Lisbon.	Omt	n/a	n/a	n/a
164.	SC	que Marta é como se fora a minha própria alma. Pensamos da mesma maneira; igualmente sentimos. <i>Somos nós-dois</i>...	Marta is like a part of my own soul. We think the same way, we feel the same way. We are Us.	Omt	n/a	n/a	comp
165.	SC	. E creia, <i>é tão grande a minha confiança nesta superstição que</i> - juro-lhe - <i>se não fosse haver a certeza absoluta	. ... And so great is my confidence in this superstition that, were I not absolutely sure that we all must die, I swear I would not believe in my own death	Omt	n/a	n/a	n/a
166.	SC	Com efeito, o que mais me exacerba esta tortura infernal é que, em verdade, a minha alma chega muitas vezes a pegar no sono, <i>a fechar os olhos</i> -	Because what makes this infernal torment worse is that my soul often does manage to drop off, to close its eyes	Omt	n/a	n/a	n/a
167.	SC	é no entanto uma vida bizarra - <i>mas de uma bizarria às avessas</i>.	is nevertheless bizarre - but again in a topsy-turvy way.	Omt	n/a	n/a	n/a
168.	SC	e quando ela se ergueu eu notei, duvidosamente notei, que calçava umas estranhas sandálias, nos pés nus... <i>nos pés nus de unhas douradas...</i>	and when she stood up, I noticed, with some trepidation, that she was wearing strange sandals on her bare feet...and that her toenails were painted gold.	Omt	n/a	n/a	n/a
169.	SC	E são apenas fatos que eu relatarei. <hi>Desses fatos, quem quiser, tire as conclusões</hi>. Por mim, declaro que nunca experimentei.	, and facts are all I will give. People may draw what conclusions they like from these facts. For my part, I have never tried to do so.	Omt	n/a	n/a	n/a

170.	SC	Julgava-o tão meu amigo... parecia-me tão espontâneo... tão leal... <i>tão digno dum afecto</i>... E enganou-me...	I thought he was such a good friend...he seemed so spontaneous, so loyal, so worthy of my affection. And I was wrong,	Omt	n/a	n/a	n/a
171.	SC	Mas noutro qualquer. <i>Outro qualquer</i>, porém, só podia dar-se por meu intermédio.	I imagined some other ending. That other ending, however, could only take place with my intervention.	Omt	n/a	n/a	n/a
172.	SC	sinto uma verdadeira excitação sexual - <i>mas de desejos espiritualizados de beleza</i> - ao mergulhar as minhas pernas	I must confess I feel real sexual excitement - an excitement in which desire has been ennobled by beauty.	Omt	n/a	n/a	n/a
173.	SC	. Quem seria... quem seria?... ... Como sucedera <i>tudo aquilo </i>?	. ... Who could she be? Who <i>could</i> she be? How had all that happened?	Omt	n/a	n/a	n/a
174.	SC	. De novo, ungindo-me de Europa, alastrando-me da sua vibração, se encapelava dentro de mim Paris - <i>o meu Paris</i>, o Paris dos meus vinte e três anos..	. ... me, and Paris rose up within me again - <i>my</i> Paris, the Paris I had first known w ...	Shift	MIF	Cont	n/a
175.	SC	. - Olha que fomos amantes <i>dela</i>.	. ... ss, to scream at him: 'Look, we were <i>all</i> her lovers. . . me and all of ...	Shift	MIF	Cont	n/a
176.	SC	. A verdade, por consequência, é que as minhas próprias ternuras, nunca as <i>senti</i>, apenas as <i>adivinhei</i>.	. ... The truth, therefore, is that I have <i>never felt</i> my own tender feelings, I have only <i>guessed</i> at their existence.	Shift	MIF	Cont < Cont/ IllocF	n/a
177.	SC	. ... minha dor, o meu tédio. De forma que <i>gastar tempo</i> é hoje o único fim da minha e ...	. . So <i>wasting</i> time is now the one aim of my empty life.	Shift	MIF	LexC	n/a
178.	SC	como aquilo que menos poderia esperar, <i>como uma impossibilidade</i>.	as if it were the last thing I could have expected, <i>an impossibility</i>.	Shift	MIF	LexC	n/a
179.	SC	. Daí a minha angústia - <i>daí o meu ciúme</i>.	. ... t was the main source of my anxiety, of <i>my jealousy</i>. I often tried to make ...	Shift	MIF	LexC	n/a
180.	SC	. E ao possui-la, eu sentia, <i>tinha nela</i>, a amizade que te devera dedicar - como os outros sentem na alma as suas afeições.	. ... possessed her, I felt that I possessed <i>in her</i> the friendship I owed to you, t ...	Shift	MIF	LexC, Cont < Cont	n/a
181.	SC	. de a ter junto de mim para estar bem certo de que, pelo menos, <i>ela existia</i>.	. ... near me in order to be absolutely sure <i>that she did at least exist</i>. When I t ...	Shift	MIF <n/a	Cont,LexC < n/a	comp

182.	SC	. Entanto agora já não podia duvidar: `<i>`vencera`</i>`. Atravessara a Praça da Concórdia, monumental e aristocrática, tilintante de luzes.	. ... ith lights, I could doubt it no longer, `<i>`I had succeeded`</i>`. Again, I pl ...	Shift	MIF < n/a	LexC < n/a	n/a
183.	SC	. `<i>`E, sobretudo, o que pensam das luzes.`</i>`	. ... about what happens later on. . . `<i>`especially the lights`</i>`. ' The American wom ...	Shift	n/a	n/a	n/a
184.	SC	Não importa que me acreditem, mas só digo a verdade - `<hi>`mesmo quando ela é inverossímil`</hi>`	However unbelievable it may seem, what I am about to tell you `<i>`is`</i>` the absolute truth.	Shift	n/a < MIF	n/a < IllocF	n/a
185.	SC	. Sim, sim: nem me admirara, nem lhe falara do meu esquecimento, nem lhe fizera perguntas - não pensara sequer em lhas fazer, `<i>`não pensara em coisa alguma`</i>`.	. ... , it did not even occur to me to do so, `<i>`nothing`</i>` occurred to me. The mystery remai ...	Shift	n/a < MIF	n/a < Cont	n/a
186.	SC	. ... essa a sua maior preocupação na vida - `<i>`a arte da sua vida.. . `</i>` Escutando ...	. He told me that this was his one obsession in life - `<i>`his art`</i>`.	Shift	n/a < MIF	n/a < LexC	n/a
187.	SC	. apenas como se fosse indelicado, `<i>`como se fosse estranho da minha parte tocar nesse assunto`</i>`.	. ... reacted as if it were indelicate, even `<i>`odd`</i>`, of me to touch on the subject. I ...	Shift	n/a < MIF	n/a < LexC	n/a
188.	SC	. . Achei- A... sim, `<i>`criei-A! criei-A!`</i>`... Ela é só minha - entendes? -	. ... I found Her, yes, I created Her, `<i>`created`</i>` Her. She is mine a ...	Shift	n/a < MIF	n/a < LexC	n/a
189.	SC	. Sim, porque fora esta a minha impressão total: os seus traços fisionómicos haviam-se dispersado - `<i>`eram hoje menores`</i>`.	. ... features had become somehow scattered, `<i>`diminished`</i>`. His voice had changed too, and h ...	Shift	n/a < MIF	n/a < LexC	n/a
190.	SC	. Sim, `<i>`pela minha loucura`</i>`; não receio escrevê-lo.	. ... n to its logical extreme - mad. Yes, `<i>`mad`</i>`, I'm not afraid to write the word. ...	Shift	n/a < MIF	n/a < LexC	n/a
191.	V	La señora lo ve, no es un sueño aunque el mayor parece considerarla a ella un sueño, menos que un sueño, una nada, una mugrita despreciable.	The Señora sees it and sees that it's no dream, although the Major seems to consider `<i>`her`</i>` a dream, or even less than a dream, a nonentity, a despicable speck of dirt.	Add	MIF	Cont	comp
192.	V	Se ve que él sí ha escuchado, a través del estetoscopio se entiende.	It's clear that `<i>`he`</i>` has listened to her body, through the stethoscope that is.	Add	MIF	Cont	comp
193.	V	"¡¡¡Nada de civil: militar!!!"	'What do you mean "`<i>`civil`</i>` war";	Add	MIF	Cont	comp

194.	V	Estas son las fuerzas especiales de nuestro país, y acá estamos nosotras, unas privilegiadas como dicen los señores militares, con un lugar sin haberlo peleado para nada.	These are <i>our</i> country's special forces, and here we are, privileged women, as the soldiers tell us, enjoying a place among them that we didn't even have to fight for.	Add	MIF	Cont	n/a
195.	V	Quiere que la dejen en paz, quiere y no quiere hurgar un poco más en la memoria, quisiera querer hurgar un poco más, y sobre todo descubrir por qué quisiera hurgar y qué busca en su propia mente, como si estuviera de regreso en el desván de su	She wants to be left in peace, she both wants and doesn't want to do a little more rummaging around in her memory, she'd like to want to do a little more rummaging, and above all to find out <i>why</i> she wants to rummage and <i>what</i> sh	Add	MIF	Cont	n/a
196.	V	Quiere que la dejen en paz, quiere y no quiere hurgar un poco más en la memoria, quisiera querer hurgar un poco más, y sobre todo descubrir por qué quisiera hurgar y qué busca en su propia mente, como si estuviera de regreso en el desván de su	She wants to be left in peace, she both wants and doesn't want to do a little more rummaging around in her memory, she'd like to want to do a little more rummaging, and above all to find out <i>why</i> she wants to rummage and <i>what</i> sh	Add	MIF	Cont	n/a
197.	V	-Volví para encontrarme con eso y no con esto.	'I came back to find <i>that</i> not <i>this</i>.	Add	MIF	Cont	n/a
198.	V	-Volví para encontrarme con eso y no con esto.	'I came back to find <i>that</i> not <i>this</i>.	Add	MIF	Cont	n/a
199.	V	El mío debe de ser mal de sauce llorón.	<i>I</i> must have "weeping willow sickness".'	Add	MIF	Cont	comp
200.	V	-Nuestro país.	You mean in <i>our</i> country.'	Add	MIF	Cont	n/a
201.	V	-Militares hay, sí, y son una garantía. <s>A mucha honra.	'There <i>are</i> some soldiers here, but they act as a kind of guarantee.	Add	MIF	IllocF	comp
202.	V	-No p-u-e-d-o.	'I <i>can't</i>.'	Add	MIF	IllocF	comp
203.	V	-Leyes muuuuy propias, reconoce la señora por decir algo.	'<i>Very</i> idiosyncratic,' agrees the woman, just to say something.	Add	MIF	IllocF	comp
204.	V	Me dijeron que antes vivía en Nueva York: usted debe de estar muy enferma.	I was told that before, you lived in New York: you <i>must</i> be ill.	Add	MIF	IllocF	n/a
205.	V	-Voy a contestar después de todo.	'I <i>am</i> going to answer it after all.	Add	MIF	IllocF	n/a
206.	V	-¿Vi alguna medialuna, acaso?	'I didn't even <i>see</i> a croissant.	Add	MIF	LexC	n/a
207.	V	Pero no se preocupe, <i> nosotros <i> tomaremos medidas muy pronto para evitar el estallido.	But don't worry, <i>we</i> will soon be taking steps to avoid any uprising.'	CAc	MIF	Cont	n/a

208.	V-I	-Xavier, tienes que ver su última obra: ¡El Paso de las Caídas!	... for her old major-domo. 'Xavier, you <i>must</i> see his latest work: The Fallen. I ...	Add	MIF	IllocF	comp
209.	V-I	¡Vos sois cristiano.	... that any Christian would respect. You <i>are</i> a Christian . . . ' Bowing de ...	Add	MIF	IllocF	comp
210.	V-I	Aquella niña era una santa, y viéndome a tal extremo desgraciado, no tenía valor para mostrarse más cruel conmigo.	... ight faint away in my arms! That girl <i>was</i> a saint; seeing me so very unhappy, ...	Add	MIF	IllocF	n/a
211.	V-I	-¡Sois brujo..	... io withdrew to the window again. 'You <i>are</i> a sorcerer. They're right. ...	Add	MIF	IllocF	comp

Appendix C - Highlighted foreign lexical items in CTPB

Key:
A =   author
B =   Chico Buarque
G =   Juan Goytisolo
O =   Juan Carlos Onetti
P =   Senel Paz
S =   Luis Sepúlveda
I-Add =   italics added
I-CAc =   italics carried across
I-Omt =   italics omitted
Q-Omt =   quotation marks omitted
Q < I =   quotation marks replaced by italics
L-ST =   linguistic origin (of lexical item) in source text[1]
L-TT =   linguistic origin (of lexical item) in target text
ca =   Catalan
es =   Spanish
pt =   Portuguese
en =   English
fr =   French
la =   Latinism
sai =   Shuar[2]
o =   other language

[1] See Chapter 5, footnote 2.
[2] For purposes of consistency, ISO 639 language codes have been used here; 'sai' stands for South American Indian, it is a collective language code that encompasses a collection of languages associated with that geographic region.

	A	Source segment	Target segment	Class1	L-ST	L-TT
1.	G	Un día tomó el tren de Caldetes, para ir a vernos; pero, aunque conocía bien el trayecto, se extravió al salir de la estación en el camino de la riera y llegó a casa turbada, balbuciente, sin bolso ni dinero, acompañada de unos desconocidos que, al verla perdida y sola, se habían apiadado de ella.	she left the station on the way to the \<i\>riera\</i\> and reached home flushed, out of bre	I-Add	ca	ca
2.	G	Las visitas de tío Leopoldo, igualmente regulares, eran mucho más breves: se hacía recoger por el Rata o Alfredo en la estación de Caldetes y subía la riera en tartana, con el maletín en el que guardaba sus libros así como el tabaco, salchichón y aceite reservados a su consumo personal.	on in Caldetas and he would come up the \<i\>riera\</i\> in the buggy with the bag where he k	I-Add	ca	ca
3.	G	las esposas de los ministros del Gobierno y Generalitat-permitían leer al trasluz sus verdaderos sentimientos.	nd beautify the wives of government and \<i\>Generalitat\</i\> ministers-allowed one to read their	I-Add	ca	ca
4.	G	\</note\> Sea lo que fuere, el otoño transcurrió ya en la casa de la Sentema, frente al pequeño establecimiento termal de agua caliente situado al borde de la riera.	small hot-water spa on the edge of the \<i\>riera\</i\>.Our new home had a terraced gar	I-Add	ca	ca
5.	G	El día siguiente, el padre director de Estudios me convocó a su despacho y pidió que escribiera la palabra Mercado en una hoja de papel.	s office and asked me to write the word \<i\>Mercado\</i\> on a sheet of paper.Although I	I-Add	es	es
6.	G	José Agustín había ido a Barcelona a preparar sus exámenes de ingreso al bachillerato y mi padre se disponía a regresar también, a fin de hacerse cargo de la ABDECA.	prepare for his entrance exams for the \<i\>bachillerato\</i\>, and my father was getting ready to	I-Add	es	es
7.	G	Durante aquel crudo invierno del cincuenta y tres, lleno de acontecimientos y novedades, recibí en la pensión de donde me albergaba la visita inesperada de Mariano.	unexpectedly visited by Mariano in the \<i\>pensión\</i\> where I was staying.I was surpr	I-Add	es	es
8.	G	No sé cómo pudimos salir del local dado nuestro estado ni cómo arrastré a Lucho al dormitorio de mi pensión en donde, nada más llegar, se desplomó sobre una de las camas y me impidió dormir a mí en la otra con la violencia de sus ronquidos.	ow I dragged Lucho to the bedroom in my \<i\>pensión\</i\> where he collapsed on one of the bed	I-Add	es	es

9.	G	El incidente parecía olvidado cuando alguien -tal vez el mismo profesor- observó escrita en la pared la palabra Mercado seguida de un termino despectivo.	ps the teacher himself-noticed the word <i>Mercado</i> written on the wall followed by a sw	I-Add	es	es
10.	G	Hombre de orden e inquieto por las convulsiones que sacudían a Barcelona en vísperas de la Semana Trágica, el abuelo había sostenido con entusiasmo la política represiva de Antonio Maura contra los agitadores y revoltosos que osaban perturbar la paz social.	that shook Barcelona on the eve of the <i>Semana Trágica</i>, my grandfather enthusiasti	I-Add	es	es
11.	G	Este bisabuelo poseyó una biblioteca histórico-castrense, alguno de cuyos volúmenes -diccionarios latinos, una crónica ilustrada de los almogávares- fueron a parar a casa.	naries, an illustrated chronicle of the <i>almogávares</i>-ended up in our house.Grandmoth	I-Add	es	es
12.	G	Apoyándonos uno en el otro, llegamos a concluir nuestro bachillerato paticojo sin demasiados tropiezos.	ther, we managed to finish our crippled <i>bachillerato</i> without too many mishaps. </p> <p	I-Add	es	es
13.	G	De una manera un tanto provocadora, me había informado de que era judío -su familia paterna pertenecía en realidad a la comunidad chueta mallorquina- y su desprecio a los tabús y convenciones sociales me impresionó fuertemente.	father's family belonged in fact to the <i>chueta</i> community of Majorca-and his contemp	I-Add	es	es
14.	G	Su desconfianza ancestral del payo explicaría en este caso su actitud defensiva ante la vida, su individualismo arraigado y tenaz.	gypsyish.His ancestral distrust of <i>el payo</i> would in this case explain his	I-Add	es	es
15.	G	Sin embargo, unas horas más tarde, Lucho apareció en la pensión con expresión preocupada.	some hours later, Lucho appeared in the <i>pensión</i> with a worried look on his face.	I-Add	es	es
16.	G	visto a través de la linterna multicolor de Macondo con sus levitaciones, brujas, abuelas sabias, niñas prodigiosas, lluvias de sangre, galeones varados en un bosque de ceibas-, no sólo en los espacios selváticos o antillanos sino también en tierras tan cicateras y reacias a esa clase de maravillas y portentos como la leonesa o gallega.	-tree wood-not only to the heart of the <i>selva</i> or the Indies but also to lands as p	I-Add	es	es
17.	G	Los sábados y domingos salía a bailar con los milicianos, había ganado una insignia no sé si de la UGT o el PSUC en una tómbola y me acuerdo muy bien de que, comentando con	n, she had won a UGT or PSUC badge in a <i>tómbola</i>, and I well remember that, when she	I-Add	es	es

		nosotros las nuevas del frente, dijo: "Muerto Durruti, guerra perdida".				
18.	G	integrado en una especie de coro de sardanistas o bailarines eslavos,	smile, integrated into a kind of choral <hi>sardana</hi> or slave dance, you, I,	I-Add	es	es
19.	G	como a ese toro recién estoqueado por el diestro al que la cuadrilla empuja hábilmente a arrodillarse para que aquél culmine su faena con un limpio y eficaz remate, al momento en que, con voz ahogada por las lágrimas, sin hacer caso de las protestas piadosas de la otra, soltó la inconcebible palabra.	bull that has just been stabbed by the <i>torero</i> and is now pushed skilfully by his t	I-Add	es	es
20.	O	El, usted, no toma alcohol.	aiter and laughed. 'I want an anis. He, <i> usted </i>, doesn't drink alcohol.'	I-Add	es	es
21.	O	Fue a la pensión y se quedó allí.	ith him on those nights. He went to the <i> pensión </i> and stayed there.' He l	I-Add	es	es
22.	O	Nunca nadie sospechó que viviera en la pensión, puedo volver a la pensión y quemar unas cuantas cosas,	body ever suspected that I lived in the <i>pensión</i>. I can go back to the <i>	I-Add	es	es
23.	O	Nunca nadie sospechó que viviera en la pensión, puedo volver a la pensión y quemar unas cuantas cosas,	he <i>pensión</i>. I can go back to the <i> pensión </i> and burn a few things;	I-Add	es	es
24.	O	a él que cruzaba la ciudad hasta la pensión, quemaba en el cuarto de baño	the man crossing the city to get to the <i> pensión </i>, in the bathroom burnin	I-Add	es	es
25.	O	, le pagó y caminó lentamente en dirección contraria a la de la pensión hasta que el coche desapareció en la calle del costado,	walked in the opposite direction to the <i> pensión </i> till the car disappeare	I-Add	es	es
26.	O	Entonces dio vuelta y llegó a la puerta de la pensión -nadie en la calle,	ned round and walked to the door of his <i> pensión </i> - nobody in the street,	I-Add	es	es
27.	O	, sorprendido de pronto por el griterío y las vivas cerca del mostrador.	denly surprised by the shouting and the <i> 'Vivas!' </i> near the bar. 'Let's s	I-Add	es	es
28.	O	Ossorio tomó el café de un trago y alargó el brazo hacia la mujer: - Dame. Te voy a calentar las manos	towards the woman about to abandon his <i> usted </i>. 'Come on. Let me warm y	I-Add	es	es
29.	O	Sabía que la palabra señora iba a crispar a la mujer,	the <i> señora.' </i> He knew the word <i> señora </i> would annoy the woman; h	I-Add	es	es
30.	O	Siempre, en todo caso, nos trataremos de usted.	one thing straight, we must always use <i>usted</i> to each other.' She nodded	I-Add	es	es

31.	O	Y esa manera de no tutear, un poco burlona y esa mansedumbre, tan segura de que no la voy a dejar como una vieja amante que sabe que quedan sobre la tierra y la cama dos o tres trucos infalibles.	And the rather sarcastic way she kept using \<i> usted \</i>, so polite, meek and mild, so sure I'm not going to leave her,	I-Add	es	es
32.	O	Habíamos quedado en que no nos íbamos a tutear- dijo	ght we'd agreed we weren't going to use \<i> tú \</i>,' he replied. 'Oh, that's r	I-Add	es	es
33.	O	y entornó los ojos avanzando con los labios alargados-. \<s>Usted, usted, usted .	d her eyes and stretched out her lips. \<i> 'Usted, usted, usted . . .' \</i> The	I-Add	es	es
34.	O	No conozco a la señora.	you. Or we can go out. I don't know the \<i> señora.' \</i> He knew the word \<i> s	I-Add	es	es
35.	O	Durmió unas noches en la pensión pero no sé dónde está.	ive, but not shaking. 'He slept in the \<i> pensión \</i> for a few nights but I	I-Add	es	es
36.	O	, cuya bocina se inclinaba con forma y color de campánula.	of which had the shape and colour of a \<i> campanula \</i>. He turned to look at	I-Add	es	es
37.	O	siguen gritando un rato con ruidos de sillas arrastradas y gritos de mujeres que dicen vivas y aplauden.	airs, and the women clap and shout out, \<i> 'Viva!' \</i>. The owner remains ther	I-Add	es	es
38.	P	de la cálida suciedad dde sus calles, del bullicio de los habaneros?	those dirty, warm streets and bustling \<i>habaneros\</i>? What would you do in a	I-Add	es	es
39.	P	y me deleitó con un vertiginoso taconeo que cortó de repente.	menco' and he regaled me with a dashing \<i>zapateado\</i> which he ended abruptly	I-Add	es	es
40.	S	Era uno de los contados sobrevivientes a una mordedura de equis, y eso había que celebrarlo con la Fiesta de la Serpiente.	w people ever to survive the bite of an \<i>equis\</i>-viper, and this rare event	I-Add	es	es
41.	S	y al intentar asirlo nuevamente sintió los colmillos ardientes de una equis entrando en su muñeca	ieve it he felt the red-hot fangs of an \<i>equis\</i>-viper go into his right wri	I-Add	es	es
42.	G	En un momento en que el arribismo de alguno de tus primeros amigos empezaba a mostrar la hilaza,	itic literary forms. At a time when the \<hi>arrivisme\</hi> of some of your first	I-Add	es	fr
43.	G	El arribismo de que dan muestra se ennoblece, es verdad, con la referencia a Maquiavelo: Mariano y nuestro joven son por estas fechas devotos admiradores de \<i>El príncipe\</i>.	ls. " It is true that his example of \<i>arrivisme\</i> is ennobled by references to Machiav	I-Add	es	fr
44.	G	Cuando Jaime Gil de Biedma menciona en 1955 en las páginas de su \<i>Diario\</i> un bureo nuestro en compañía de un limpia	-legionnaire, emphasizing my "excessive \<i>mauditisme\</i>," he leaves out an essential fact: m	I-Add	es	fr

o ex legionario, borracho, agitanado y siniestro subrayando mi "malditismo excesivo" prescinde de un hecho esencial: mi sexualidad -salvo muy raras excepciones del lado femenino- nunca fue burguesa o de buenas maneras.

45.	G	El Pouilly se llenaba hasta los topes de curiosos, drogadictos, borrachos.	The Pouilly was filled to the brim with <i>voyeurs</i>, drug addicts, and drunks.Custo	I-Add	es	fr
46.	O	posible-mente fuera del país y agente provocador, el rostro	Lebet, possibly out of the country, an <i> agent provocateur </i>, a young face	I-Add	es	fr
47.	O	Yo voy a estar arriba hasta la mañana, encárguese de la gente del "First and Last", carta blanca.	out the people from the First and Last, <i> carte blanche.' </i> He left withou	I-Add	es	fr
48.	O	cara, como en un calculado efecto de teatro, la cabeza oscura,	ealing his face, like some premeditated <i> coup de théâtre </i>, his dark, bear	I-Add	es	fr
49.	O	Tú querías llegar al hecho consumado -dijo Farla, cabeceando hacia la alfombra	in his eyes. 'You wanted to make it a <i>fait accompli </i>,' said Farla, nodd	I-Add	es	fr
50.	O	y sosegarse en el escote	s in her neck and coming to rest on her <i>décolletage </i>. 'You know, he wasn	I-Add	es	fr
51.	B	Mas a esta hora ela já se levantou, já lavou o rosto, já esquentou o leite, misturou aveia, e o mais provável é que esteja sentada na bergère da sala, lendo uma revista de modas.	oats, and it's more likely she's on her <i>chaise-longue</i> in the lounge, reading a fashion mag	I-Add	fr	fr
52.	B	Com um pano no nariz abrirá a porta por dentro, e o porteiro terá de assistir ao atropelo de bombeiros e policiais desvirtuando a sala de visitas, empurrando a bergère, avançando pelo corredor, invadindo o quarto da minha mãe, escancarando as janelas e esbarrando na porta do banheiro.	gh the living room, banging against the <i>chaise-longue</i>, advancing down the corridor, invadi	I-Add	fr	fr
53.	B	Dou tempo para ela se instalar de volta na bergère, e ligo de novo.	e.I give her time to get back to the <i>chaise-longue</i>, then ring again.This time I let	I-Add	fr	fr
54.	B	Torno a ligar, e mamãe deve estar sentada na bergère, folheando uma revista de modas que não são mais para ela, e talvez por isso se irrite com o telefone.	back, and Mummy must be sitting on her <i>chaise-longue</i>, leafing through a fashion magazine,	I-Add	fr	fr
55.	G	, subir en busca de hachís o maaxún a la sombra propicia de la alcazaba	of the citadel in search of hashish or <hi>maaxún</hi>. From the momen	I-Add	o	o

56.	G	un curso completo de terapia freudiana por el precio de un vaso de maaxún.	ian therapy for the price of a glass of \<hi>maaxún\</hi>.\ \ Fertile, germi	I-Add	o	o
57.	G	de té con menta, absorbiste una dosis endiablada de maaxún	t when you absorbed an enormous dose of \<hi>maaxún\</hi> dissolved in a glass of	I-Add	o	o
58.	G	: el maaxún te proyectaba fuera de ti, del minúsculo cafetín	s of threatening Congolese orchids: the \<hi>maaxún\</hi> cast you out of yourself	I-Add	o	o
59.	G	mientras medineabas y te extraviabas en busca de maaxún o hachís, camino de ese elusivo tribunal	andered and got lost in your search for \<hi>maaxún\</hi> or hashish, en route to	I-Add	o	o
60.	G	Sólo después de muerto, de mi encuentro inesperado con él, vivo, real, casi de carne y hueso la noche en que deliré por la excesiva absorción de maaxún, pude juzgarlo con mayor objetividad y experimentar incluso por él un ramalazo de insospechada ternura.	t I was delirious after taking too much \<i>maaxún\</i>, could I judge him more objectively	I-Add	o	o.
61.	G	Castellano en Cataluña, afrancesado en España, español en Francia, latino en Norteamérica, nesrani en Marruecos y moro en todas partes, no tardaría en volverme a consecuencia de mi nomadeo y viajes en ese raro espécimen de escritor no reivindicado por nadie, ajeno y reacio a agrupaciones y categorías.	sh in France, a Latin in North America, \<i>nesrani\</i> in Morocco, and a Moor everywhere, a	I-Add	o	o
62.	B	Daqui até lá é uma boa distância, e no caminho há o meu antigo bairro, as ruas onde eu andava antes de me casar, farmácias, padarias, bancas de jornal, homens e mulheres com quem eu tratava, sabendo o nome de cada um.	It's a good way from here to there, and \<i>en route\</i> is my old neighbourhood, the	I-Add	pt	fr
63.	B	Lembro-me do instante em que ele ergueu o copo, agitou o copo seco com uma rodela de limão grudada no fundo, e fez menção de se levantar para reforçar a caipirinha.	, and said he was going to recharge the \<i>caipirinha\</i>.He threatened to take his feet ou	I-Add	pt	pt
64.	B	Arranquei-lhe o copo e fui preparar a caipirinha dupla.	from him and went off to make a double \<i>caipirinha\</i>.The alcohol that took my friend i	I-Add	pt	pt
65.	B	Tendo feito um estágio no jardim botânico, minha irmã gosta de andar pelo arvoredo ao largo da casa, podendo distinguir o ipê do carvalho, da oiticica, do jequitibá ou da maçaranduba.	ide of the house, being able to tell an \<i>ipê\</i> from a \<i>carvalho\</i>, an \<i>oitici	I-Add	pt	pt

66.	B	Lembro-me de dias inteiros tomando caipirinha, eu e ele nesta beira de piscina.	r whole days we spent together drinking <i>caipirinhas</i> by the edge of this pool.I have a	I-Add	pt	pt
67.	B	Tendo feito um estágio no jardim botânico, minha irmã gosta de andar pelo arvoredo ao largo da casa, podendo distinguir o ipê do carvalho, da oiticica, do jequitibá ou da maçaranduba.	being able to tell an <i>ipê</i> from a <i>carvalho</i>, an <i>oiticica</i>, a <i>jequitibá<	I-Add	pt	pt
68.	B	Tendo feito um estágio no jardim botânico, minha irmã gosta de andar pelo arvoredo ao largo da casa, podendo distinguir o ipê do carvalho, da oiticica, do jequitibá ou da maçaranduba.	n <i>ipê</i> from a <i>carvalho</i>, an <i>oiticica</i>, a <i>jequitibá</i> or a <i>maçarand	I-Add	pt	pt
69.	B	Tendo feito um estágio no jardim botânico, minha irmã gosta de andar pelo arvoredo ao largo da casa, podendo distinguir o ipê do carvalho, da oiticica, do jequitibá ou da maçaranduba.	<i>carvalho</i>, an <i>oiticica</i>, a <i>jequitibá</i> or a <i>maçaranduba</i>.She also	I-Add	pt	pt
70.	B	Tendo feito um estágio no jardim botânico, minha irmã gosta de andar pelo arvoredo ao largo da casa, podendo distinguir o ipê do carvalho, da oiticica, do jequitibá ou da maçaranduba.	i>oiticica</i>, a <i>jequitibá</i> or a <i>maçaranduba</i>.She also looks after the palm tre	I-Add	pt	pt
71.	B	A criançada faz olé, e corre ao pátio para festejar o velho, que bebe o underberg de pernas cruzadas.	raking was impossible.The kids shout <i>'Olé!'</i> and run over to the yard to cheer	I-Add	pt	pt
72.	B	Dá tchau andando, datilografando o ar com a mão esquerda, e eu lhe digo para esquecer meu endereço antigo, pois pretendo me instalar num apart-hotel.	n the escalator.She walks off saying <i>'Chao,</i>' typing the air with her left hand	I-Add	pt	pt
73.	S	Los tzanzas no hacen más que dormir colgando de los árboles'.	e <i>tzantas</i>, the sloths. 'Why the <i>tzantzas</i>, my brother? They spend	I-Add	sai	sai
74.	S	Antes de responder, tu compadre Nushiño se largará un sonoro pedo para que ningún perezoso tzanza lo escuche, y te dirá que hace mucho tiempo un jefe shuar se volvió malo y sanguinario.	nd Nushiño will fart noisily so no lazy <i>tzantas</i> will hear him, and will t	I-Add	sai	sai
75.	S	Al final de la celebración bebió por primera vez la natema, el dulce licor alucinógeno	e celebration he had his first drink of <i>natema</i>, the sweet hallucinogenic	I-Add	sai	sai
76.	S	cuando éstos se adormecían bajo los efectos de la chicha y de la natema,	len asleep, overcome by chicha beer and <i>natema</i>, in an ecstasy of hallucin	I-Add	sai	sai
77.	S	Con lianas y bejucos fabricó dos jaulas de tejido cerrado, y al tenerlas listas buscó plantas de yahuasca.	hen they were ready he went looking for <i>yahuasca</i>plants. After that he cr	I-Add	sai	sai
78.	S	con el zumo de las raíces de yahuasca conseguido a golpes de	flesh of the fruit with juice from the <i>yahuasca</i> roots he'd	I-Add	sai	sai

		mango	beaten out wi			
79.	S	Se veía a sí mismo con el cuerpo pintado con los tonos tornasolados de la boa, y sentado frente al río para recibir los efectos de la natema.	river to experience the effects of the <i>natema</i>. Opposite him, something	I-Add	sai	sai
80.	S	, el dulce licor alucinógeno preparado con raíces hervidas de yahuasca.	ur prepared by boiling the roots of the <i>yahuasca</i> plant, and in the dream	I-Add	sai	sai
81.	S	una pareja de guacamayos oro y azul, y otra de loritos shapul, apreciados por habladores	of blue and gold macaws and another of <i> shapul </i> parakeets, prized as goo	I-Add	sai	sai
82.	S	Tu compadre Nushiño te dirá que los shuar sólo buscan matar a los perezosos tzanzas.	e Shuar kill for killing's sake are the <i>tzantas</i>, the sloths. 'Why the <i	I-Add	sai	sai
83.	G	e sus labios el nombre siniestro de los <i>rabassaires</i> y las siglas fatídicas de la FAI.	Uncle Ignacio came to see you and you heard for the first time on his lips the sinister name of the <i>rabassaires</i> and the ominous initials, FAI.	I-CAc	ca	ca
84.	G	marcados con la etiqueta despectiva de <hi>xarnegos</hi>. Las condiciones miser	marked out with the insulting label of <hi>xarnegos</hi>. The wretched conditio	I-CAc	ca	ca
85.	G	funciones habituales de la tradicional <i>iaia</i> catalana: acompañaba a Luis a la esc	Grandmother Marta had not yet shown the first signs of absentmindedness, and she fulfilled the usual functions of the Catalan <i>yaya</i>. She used to take Luis to the infants' school at the top of Anglí Street and, at home, she read him, with inexhaustible patience the little books in the <i>Marujita</i> collection that we both consumed so voraciously.	I-CAc	ca	ca
86.	S	e separado con una letra "te" al final. <i>One cent</i>. <p><q> - Algo me dice	n in two words with a "t" on the end. <i>One cent</i>.' 'My friend, I don't t	I-CAc	en	en
87.	P	no de los presentes y que nunca, jamás, <i>never</i>, ¿me oyes, Dios?, me encont	end on everyone present and that never, <i>jamais de la vie</i>, listening God?	I-CAc	en	fr
88.	G	mato ocultaba al futuro fundador de los <i>felipes</i>, el diplomático Julio Cerón: cuando	Although we were disappointed by his coldness, we listened devotedly, unaware that this anonymous man, Julio Cerón, was the diplomat and future founder of the <i>felipes</i>, the Popular Liberation Front. I saw him again ten years later, after he left prison, when he was confined to a town in Murcia where I went to meet him, I remember, in the company of Ricardo Bofill.	I-CAc	es	es

89.	G	ió que era hora de partir.Había un <i>meublé</i> al lado, dijo, y allí podríamos trat	There was a <i>meublé</i> next door, she said, and we could conclude our respective activities there more discreetly.	I-CAc	fr	fr
90.	G	scudillers y aspecto vago, sugerente de <i>meublé</i> me convienen: Gil de Biedma me ha ac	and vaguely suggestive <i>meublé</i> appearance appeal to me: Gil de Biedma	I-CAc	fr	fr
91.	G	vergüenza y preocupa: soy objetivamente <i>une ordure</i>, le escribo; pertenezco sin	" I am ashamed and worried by my social status as a 'young gentleman" emphasized by time spent with Alfredo and the peasants: I am objectively <i>une ordure</i>, I write to her; I belong unwillingly to the camp of <i>les ordures</i>.	I-CAc	fr	fr
92.	G	ina y sabuesa intuición, sacó a relucir <i>avant la lettre</i> la perversa eventualidad	the sensitive intuitions of bloodhounds, showed off <i>avant la lettre</i> the perverse eventuality of my <i>defects</i> and <i>weaknesses</i>.	I-CAc	fr	fr
93.	G	spetuosa, de la causticidad puntual del <i>causeur</i>.Catolicismo, moral, jerarquía e	The first taught him to ask questions that would nourish his naive philosophical anxieties; the second, the art of witty, disrespectful contradiction, the caustic timing of the <i>causeur</i>.	I-CAc	fr	fr
94.	G	dolece de ese prurito literario mundano <i>d'étre à la page</i> ilustrativo para una pari	suffered from that mundane literary itch <i>d'être à la page</i> illustrative, for a Parisian woman used to Genet, of our incurable provincialism,	I-CAc	fr	fr
95.	G	cribo; pertenezco sin quererlo al bando <i>des ordures</i>.¿Qué puedo hacer para	" I am ashamed and worried by my social status as a 'young gentleman" emphasized by time spent with Alfredo and the peasants: I am objectively <i>une ordure</i>, I write to her; I belong unwillingly to the camp of <i>les ordures</i>.	I-CAc	fr	fr
96.	G	onique y para mí el proustiano matiz de <i>faire catleya</i>.Durante el día, le mue	acquires for Monique and myself the Proustian dimension of <i>faire catleya</i>.	I-CAc	fr	fr
97.	G	e varios años -hasta la aparición de la <i>gauche divine</i> y sus elegantes refugios de	and for several years-until the <i>gauche divine</i> appeared with its elegant haunts in the hills	I-CAc	fr	fr
98.	G	dir la noche a la entrada sórdida de un <i>meublé</i>.Del mismo modo imperceptible qu	was good-bye time on the sordid steps to some <i>meublé</i>.	I-CAc	fr	fr
99.	G	n a menudo a puñetazos y la llegada del <i>panier à salade</i> ponía a todo el mundo en d	Customers' disputes would often come to blows and the arrival of the <i>panier à salade</i> put everybody to flight.	I-CAc	fr	fr
100.	G	gnado conceder una indulgencia plenaria <i>in articulo	In payment for his faithful, assiduous service to the ecclesiastical	I-CAc	la	la

		mortis</i> para él, sus colate	cause, Pope Leon XIII had deigned to grant a plenary indulgence <i>in articulo mortis</i> to him, his relatives, and descendents for three generations. The certificate bearing his photograph, stamp, and signature gleamed pompously from its frame on the wall at Torrentbó.			
101.	G	, por fortuna no esenciales.Con el <i>nihil obstat</i> de la censura volví a Destin	I returned to Destino with the <i>nihil obstat</i> of the censor and signed the contract for publication during the summer of fifty-four, although for planning reasons, it only appeared at the beginning of the following year.	I-CAc	la	la
102.	G	dos muchachas lesbianas sorprendidas <hi>in fraganti</hi> en alguno de los do	s activities: two lesbian girls caught <hi>en flagrante</hi> in one of the scho	I-CAc	la	la
103.	G	protonotarios, obispos residenciales e <hi>in partibus</hi> revestidos de sus c	protonotaries, bishops in residence and <hi>in partibus</hi> dressed up in their	I-CAc	la	la
104.	G	enosa de mi propia voz, liquidación del <i>Familienroman</i> en aras de la honestidad personal y	the painful conquest of my own voice, the destruction of the <i>Familienroman</i> on the altar of personal honesty and subjective authenticity.	I-CAc	o	o
105.	G	tocada con su estrafalario sombrero, de <i>bersagliere</i> travestido u oficiala de la tropa vo	Mlle De Vitto's flat was on the ground floor of a silent cul-de-sac off the rue de Varenne: the owner or, more correctly, the tenant was a tall, straight, mustachioed woman, untidily dressed, with a strange, rather warlike air, especially with the extravagant hat that made her look like a transvestite <i>bersagliere</i> or an officer in the Garibaldi volunteers.	I-CAc	o	o
106.	G	bitación, los libros objeto de nuestras <i>razzias</i> eran leídos, comentados, discutidos	There, next to the beautiful, spacious, well-appointed library in his room, the books-the fruit of our <i>razzias</i>-were read, discussed, and commented on passionately and at length.	I-CAc	o	o
107.	G	ción.Quería averiguar cómo era ese <i>signor</i> Castelletto: su familia, educación,	She wanted to find out about that <i>signor</i> Castelletto: his family background, education, artistic inclinations, whether he had means.	I-CAc	o	o
108.	G	obra de algunos creadores procede de un <i>Familienroman</i> concebido para paliar un desengaño o	structures the work of some creators comes from a <i>Familienroman</i> conceived in an effort to overcome a disappointment or protect oneself from an attack.	I-CAc	o	o

109.	P	urón: no sirve. ¿Qué es eso de escribir <i>mujic</i> en lugar de guajiro? Denota	ourself: it's no good. Why do you write <i>muzhik</i> instead of peasant? You've	I-CAc	o	o
110.	S	hasta la orilla del río. Ahí, entonando <i>anents</i>, lo lavaba, adornaba y per	him to the river bank. There, intoning <i>anents</i>, she washed, adorned and p	I-CAc	sai	sai
111.	S	mpañando a sus anfitriones entonaba los <i>anents</i>, los poemas cantos de grat	iors, and with his hosts he intoned the <i>anents</i>, songs of thanksgiving for	I-CAc	sai	sai
112.	S	sentían más el amor, y por lo tanto los <i>anents</i> que acompañaban el acto re	, so that there was more feeling in the <i>anents</i> accompanying the act. No,	I-CAc	sai	sai
113.	S	sin dejar en ningún momento de entonar <i>anents</i>, poemas nasales que descri	th of the hearth, continuously intoning <i>anents</i>, nasal poems describing th	I-CAc	sai	sai
114.	S	chonta. <p>Al día siguiente, entonando <i>anents</i> de saludos hacia aquellas	lm honey. The following day, intoning <i>anents</i> to accompany them in their	I-CAc	sai	sai
115.	G	migos mordaces e implacables de todo el <i>establishment</i> literario, envueltos en querellas in	Bitter, implacable enemies of the whole literary establishment-enveloped in internecine quarrels and ferocious splits	I-Omt	en	en
116.	G	del Régimen se avecinaba.En pleno <i>wishful thinking</i>, envié una carta cifrada a	In the heyday of wishful thinking, I sent a coded letter to the members of the Bar Club, bringing them up-to-date with my contacts and activities; but the code was transparent as I deduced from the anxious reply they sent me.	I-Omt	en	en
117.	O	alible precisión, como en un partido de <i>basketball</i>, abriéndose de pronto	without pausing, with infallible precision, like a basket-ball game, suddenly opening up	I-Omt	en	en
118.	O	la misma fría curiosidad de antes en el <i>hall</i>, con una sonrisa de contenid	by the woman who had been sitting on the stool behind the counter, now looking in the same cold curious way as she had in the entrance hall, with a smile of restrained suspicion,	I-Omt	en	en
119.	O	arcas de cal en el piso de la cancha de <i>basketball</i>, donde sólo quedaba la	and in a very short space of time dirt had broken up the whitewashed lines on the basket-ball court and only the empty swimming-pool remained	I-Omt	en	en
120.	O	con desconfianza la luz encendida en el <i> hall </i>, atrás de las cortinas de	and opened up, looking suspiciously at the light on in the hallway behind the curtains over the front door.	I-Omt	en	en
121.	G	a novelística norteamericana, a través, <i>hélas</i>, de sus pobrísimas versiones argenti	Thanks to Eduardo Cote and Hernando Valencia I discovered the North American novel, alas, through very poor Argentinian translations: from Dos Passos to Hemingway, Madrid was just	I-Omt	fr	en

one moveable feast.

#		Source	Translation			
122.	G	bien merecido solaz.Tumbada en la <i>chaise-longue</i>, con el eterno rosario de cuentas ne	Stretched out on the chaise longue, with her eternal rosary of beads in her hand, she remained absorbed in the computation of her prayers and pills while Genara and Eulalia discussed their affairs, podding beans or peas into a basket in the shade of the eucalyptus trees in the garden.	I-Omt	fr	fr
123.	G	: pero el, desconfiando quizá del joven <i>amateur<i> que disfrazaba su condescendencia con o	I must, add in self-defense that, in spite of my ideas then about an artist's manner and appearance, I issued the invitation to Arbó: but he declined it, alleging overwork and scant liking for nocturnal activity, and perhaps, he mistrusted the young amateur who disguised his condescension with the opportunist's obsequious manner.	I-Omt	fr	fr
124.	G	, masones, judíos.Una sensación de <i>déjà vu</i> me hizo interrumpir la leída con	A sensation of déjà vu made me break off my reading with a feeling of bitterness and displeasure.	I-Omt	fr	fr
125.	P	la llamada sopa del oeste, pues algunos <i>gourmets</i>, en cuanto ven el maíz,	for whenever some gourmets see sweet corn, they think they see covered	I-Omt	fr	fr
126.	P	rada el segundo plato en un pulverizado <i>souflé</i> de mariscos, ornado en la	a well-beaten sea-food soufflé, bedecked by a quadrille of prawns	I-Omt	fr	fr
127.	G	n seguida al punto de corregir a menudo <i>in mente</i> a los profesores encargados d	Except for geography and history, in which I immediately shone to the point of correcting my teachers, at least mentally, my marks were usually average.	I-Omt	la	en
128.	G	térrita veinte definiciones latinas del <i>jus naturalis</i> y nuestro joven se somete	The university rector forces them to memorize with an undaunted smile twenty Latin definitions of natural justice and this youth submits unflinchingly to the loathsome test.	I-Omt	la	en
129.	G	el alcance grandioso de su influencia y <i>nolens, volens</i>, los estragos de su contami	time the grandiose extent of its influence and, willy-nilly, the ravages of contamination.	I-Omt	la	en
130.	G	io social y educativo muy poco propicio <i>a priori</i> al cultivo de las letras no	The literary vocation, both mine and my brothers', brought out of a social and educational milieu that was a priori not very favorable to the cultivation of literature perhaps cannot be explained without the existence of an anguished need to recover from early traumas and disappointment.	I-Omt	la	la

131. G	nte del modelo real.Este cambio de <i>status</i> implica un distanciamiento tácito, e	This change in status implies a tacit distancing from the latter, the end of your previous subordination to his overwhelming, oppressive personality.	I-Omt	la	la
132. G	ación primordial -declive paulatino del <i>status</i> social de la familia, rechazo de la	That a similar stimulus and initial situation-the gradual decline of our family's social status, rejection of the father figure, the sudden, brutal disappearance of our mother - have had such a different influence on myself and my younger brother should give some hasty and often dogmatic adepts of psychoanalysis a cause for reflection.	I-Omt	la	la
133. G	castellano conquistaría a la inversa un <i>status</i> único: ser el enemigo con quien breg	Spanish was reduced almost entirely to an instrument of literary toil and inversely would attain a unique status: to be my opponent in intricate unarmed combat, the sensual ferocity of which would give way after <i>Don Julián</i> to a happy love affair.	I-Omt	la	la
134. G	do, realizar la gran obra literaria que <i>a posteriori</i> me justificaría.Mi	It had the advantage of giving me a year's breathing space: the times on the Pretext of continuing my legal studies, to complete the great literary, work that would provide a posteriori justification.	I-Omt	la	la
135. G	independencia de criterio le convertían <i>a priori</i> en un intermediario ideal.	As I had no friend or supporter with influence in die ministry, I went and saw Dionisio Ridruejo, whom I did not know personally but whose reputation for honesty and independence of judgment converted him a priori into an ideal intermediary.	I-Omt	la	la
136. G	versal, a veces con curiosos argumentos <i>ad hominem</i> - afeminamiento de Rousseau,	Brother Pedro's face, fussy and maternal like a broody hen-he had the arduous task of rebuffing on cyclostyled sheets almost the whole of world philosophy-sometimes with strange ad hominem arguments whether it was Rousseau's effeminacy, or Nietzsche's madness-in the name of the principles, as solid as they were eternal, of the doctrine elaborated by Aristotle and St. Thomas of Aquinas.	I-Omt	la	la
137. G	vación privilegiado ha podido verificar <i>ad nauseam</i> las	vantage point she has been able to witness ad nauseam the	I-Omt	la	la

		vanidades, zancadillas,	vanity, stratagems, envy, and wretchedness of the ever-grotesque literary tribe-will be a tremendous help,			
138.	G	ver de alguna manera la exigencia de un \<i>modus vivendi\</i> compatible con la escritura	\ \ while my objective in living outside Spain was still in force-and consequently I had to resolve somehow the requirement of a modus vivendi compatible with writing-the idea of establishing regular contact with left-wing	I-Omt	la	la
139.	G	En la universidad de entonces es una \<i>rara avis\</i>.Los contactos e intercamb	This is a rara avis in the university of the day.	I-Omt	la	la
140.	G	rancesa no sólo te forjan un envidiable \<i>status\</i> de meritorio y bragado conquistador	Monique has been telephoning you regularly since you arrived with the twenty-sixth Badajoz Infantry Regiment and these calls from a Frenchwoman not only give you the enviable status of a deserving, tough Hispanic conqueror	I-Omt	la	la
141.	G	primer puente entre nuestro grupo y la \<i>intelligentzia\</i> europea, de haber sentado las bases	The certainty that I had built the first bridge between our group and the European intelligentsia, that I had laid the bases for close, fruitful cooperation, gave my escape to Paris, I thought, a collective transcendence, and I was thus in a way transformed into a kind of ambassador.	I-Omt	o	o
142.	G	de los tambores y cornetas con aires de \<i>prima donna\</i>.Al otro lado del patio,	A terrific ceremony: the priest flutters about the altar to the sound of drums and cornets like a prima donna.	I-Omt	o	o
143.	G	as de poemas de Alberti: esa especie de \<i>samizdat\</i> no reproducía, como un lector de hoy	Alberti's poems: that kind of samizdat did not reproduce, as a reader today might imagine, .	I-Omt	o	o
144.	G	del término "luciérnaga" frente a la grosería y miseria del "cuca de llum" local	to the miserable obscenity of the local \<i>cuca de llum\</i>.For one reason or anot	Q < I	ca	ca
145.	G	a la belleza misteriosa del término "luciérnaga" frente a la grosería y miseria del "cuca de llum" local.	ce to the mysterious beauty of the term \<i>luciérnaga\</i> as opposed to the miserable obscenit	Q < I	es	es
146.	G	Habían venido a buscarle de noche, según me contaría luego, pero, previendo el peligro de los "paseos", solía dormir en casa de los abuelos y prefirió entregarse él mismo a las autoridades legales.	, but he had foreseen the danger of the \<i>paseos\</i> and used to sleep in our grandparent	Q < I	es	es
147.	O	una muchacha de cuerpo grande con las manos entre papeles diciéndole "Aló", mientras lo miraba y sonreía con sus ojos	rame, her hands sorting packets, saying \<i> 'Aló' \</i> to him while her round ey	Q < I	es	es

		redondos."				
148.	O	cuando él entró lo miró sonriendo, tenía los ojos hundidos y redondos, y dijo: "Aló".	m, her eyes round and sunken, and said, <i>'Aló.' </i> He wanted to call her 'Al	Q < I	es	es
149.	S	Tras comprobar aparatosamente la carga de su Smith and Wesson, "mitigüeso" para los lugareños,	and Wesson, known to the locals as his <i>mitigueso</i>, he enveloped himself i	Q < I	es	es
150.	O	Ella había arreglado el diván con ropa de cama y estaba haciendo su "toilette" frente al espejo antes de acostarse cuando él llamó en la puerta.	She had put bedclothes over the sofa and was making herself up in front of the mirror before going to bed when he knocked at the door.	Q-Omt	fr	en

Appendix D - Highlighted foreign lexical items in CTMJC

Key:

A =	author
Q =	Eça de Queiroz
SC =	Mário de Sá-Carneiro
SF =	Rafael Sánchez Ferlosio
V =	Luisa Valenzuela
I-Add =	italics added
I-CAc =	italics carried across
I-Omt =	italics omitted
Q-Add =	quotation marks added
Q-CAc =	quotation marks carried across
Q < I =	quotation marks replaced by italics
L-ST =	language (of lexical item) in source text
L-TT =	language (of lexical item) in target text
es =	Spanish
pt =	Portuguese
en =	English
fr =	French
la =	Latinism
o =	other language

	A	Source segment	Target Segment	Class 1	L-ST	L-TT
1.	Q	e dizia-me o seu culto por Dumas filho..	speak to me of her veneration for Dumas <i>fils</i>.I would roll up one long slee ...	I-Add	pt	fr
2.	Q	e embrulhado num robe-de-chambre de seda da Índia, através da galeria, dando aqui e além um olhar aos meus Fortunys e aos meus Corots, entre alas silenciosas de	tuny and by Corot, heading for my steak <i>à l'anglaise</i>, served up on blue and g ...	I-Add	pt	fr

		lacaios, dirigia-me ao bife à inglesa, servido em Sèvres azul e ouro.				
3.	Q	- Que me diz a cento e cinco, ou cento e seis mil contos?	...and five or a hundred and six thousand <i> contos </i>?A mere bagatelle I know ...	I-Add	pt	pt
4.	Q	Por outro lado, há sobre este globo coisas prodigiosas: há vinhos de Borgonha, como por exemplo o <i> Romanée-Conti </i> de 58 e o <i> Chambertin </i>, de 61, que custam, cada garrafa, de dez a onze mil réis; e quem bebe o primeiro cálice, não hesitará, para beber o segundo,	ost, per bottle, between ten and eleven <i> mil-réis </i> and, having drunk one gla ...	I-Add	pt	pt
5.	Q	Ora todas estas coisas, Teodoro, estão para além, infinitamente para além dos seus vinte mil réis por mês.	ch, far beyond the reach of your twenty <i> mil-réis </i> a month ...You...	I-Add	pt	pt
6.	Q	Esta atitude de resto convém ao bacharel; ela mantém a disciplina num Estado bem organizado; e a mim garantia-me a tranquilidade dos domingos, o uso de alguma roupa branca, e vinte mil réis mensais.	equate supply of clean linen and twenty <i> mil-réis </i> a month.I cannot deny ...	I-Add	pt	pt
7.	Q	Rezo, é verdade, a Nossa Senhora das Dores: porque, assim como pedi o favor do senhor doutor para passar no meu acto; assim como, para obter os meus vinte mil réis, implorei a benevolência do senhor deputado; I	f a deputy in order to secure my twenty <i> mil-réis </i> a month, so I require som ...	I-Add	pt	pt
8.	Q	Todas as noites eu caía, em êxtases de místico, aos seus pés cor de jaspe. Todas as manhãs lhe alastrava o regaço de notas de vinte mil reis: ela repelia-as	...each morning I would fill her lap with 20-<i>mil réis</i> notes, which she would refuse...	I-Add	pt	pt
9.	Q	Mas eram cento e tantos mil contos, oferecidos à luz de uma vela de estearina, na Travessa da Conceição, por um sujeito de chapéu alto, apoiado a um guarda-chuva..	eing offered one hundred or so thousand <i>contos</i> by the light of a tallow candle, in...	I-Add	pt	pt
10.	Q	Enfim são seis mil contos .	et's call it a hundred and six thousand <i>contos</i>.Come on, Teodoro, there's the be ...	I-Add	pt	pt
11.	Q	Porque, se lamenta como particular a ofensa, o roubo e as pedradas que o meu hóspede sofreu, como ministro do Império vê a a doce oportunidade de extorquir à vila de Tien-Hó, em multa, em castigo da injúria feita a um estrangeiro, a vantajosa soma de trezentos mil francos, ou,	f our wise friend Meriskoff, fifty-four <i>contos de réis</i> in the currency of your own ...	I-Add	pt	pt

		segundo os cálculos do nosso sagaz Meriskoff, cinquenta e quatro contos de réis na moeda do seu belo país!				
12.	Q	Cento e seis mil contos sobre Londres, Paris, Hamburgo e Amsterdão, sacados a seu favor, excelentíssimo senhor!. ..	>, sir!One hundred and six thousand <i>contos </i> drawn on the banks of London, Pari ...	I-Add	pt	pt
13.	Q	se prostrariam diante de mim como diante de um Cristo, de um Maomé ou de um Buda, se eu lhes sacudisse junto à face cento e seis mil contos sobre as praças da Europa!	r eyes the one hundred and six thousand <i>contos</i> drawn on all the major banks of Euro ...	I-Add	pt	pt
14.	Q	Deixe-me resumir, Teodoro: a morte desse velho Mandarim idiota traz-lhe à algibeira alguns milhares de contos.	l fill your pockets with a few thousand <i>contos</i>.From that moment on you can thum ...	I-Add	pt	pt
15.	Q	Não se pode arrancar assim a um Estado uma personalidade do valor de cento e seis mil contos, sem lhe perturbar o equilíbrio..	...man worth one hundred and six thousand <i>contos</i> from a country without upsetting the ...	I-Add	pt	pt
16.	Q	. E são cento e cinco ou cento e seis mil contos; não me lembro, mas tenho-o nos meus apontamentos.	nd five or one hundred and six thousand <i>contos</i>, I can't quite remember how much, bu ...	I-Add	pt	pt
17.	Q	Eu, indignado, lá lhe dava outros cartuchos, mais rolos, molhos de moedas de meio real enfiadas em cordéis..	ave him more rolls, bags and strings of half-<i>real</i> coins threaded together.The trun ...	I-Add	pt	pt
18.	Q	humilhei-me à Madame Marques, aceitei-lhe o bife córneo; e passei essa primeira noite de riqueza bocejando sobre o leito solitário - enquanto fora o alegre Couceiro, o mesquinho tenente de quinze mil réis de soldo, ria com a D. Augusta, repenicando à viola o "Fado da Cotovia".	significant lieutenant with his fifteen <i>mil-réis</i> a month, laughing with Dona Augusta...	I-Add	pt	pt
19.	Q	Fui, com uma quinzena coçada, realugar o meu quarto na casa da Madame Marques: e voltei à repartição, de espinhaço curvo, a implorar os meus vinte mil réis mensais, e a minha doce pena de amanuense!.	office, my spine bent, to beg for my 20 <i>mil-réis</i> a month and my beloved quill!...	I-Add	pt	pt
20.	Q	Setecentos e vinte!.	me off it!'Seven hundred and twenty <i>réis </i>!And the bulls, the lordly s ...	I-Add	pt	pt
21.	Q	Outra tipóia, lançada a trote, apinhada de gente festiva, quase me atropelou naquela abstracção em que eu ficara com os meus setecentos e vinte na palma da mão suada.	cted state, my seven hundred and twenty <i>réis</i> still clutched in my sweaty palm....	I-Add	pt	pt
22.	Q	Enterrei a mão na algibeira ajoujada de milhões e tirei o	nd pulled out the only coins I had: 720 <i>réis</i>!The	I-Add	pt	pt

3

		meu metal: tinha setecentos e vinte!	coachman slapped the horse's ...				
23.	Q	- São dez tostões, meu amo!	'To the bullfight!''That'll be ten <i>tostões</i>, sir!'I looked with repugnance a ...	I-Add	pt	pt	
24.	Q	Porque a certeza de que os meus vinte mil réis por mês e o meu jeito encolhido de enguiço, me excluíam para sempre dessas alegrias sociais, vinha-me então ferir o peito - como uma frecha que se crava num tronco, e f	certain knowledge that my measly twenty <i> mil-réis </i> a month and my pipsqueak...	I-Add	pt	pt	
25.	Q	- São cento e seis mil contos, senhor!	...said:'One hundred and six thousand <i> contos </i>, sir!One hundred and si ...	I-Add	pt	pt	
26.	Q	. Compreende a satisfação inenarrável que haverá, para os cinco dedos de um cristão, em percorrer, palpar estas maravilhas macias; - mas também percebe que não é com o troco de uma placa honesta de cinco tostões que se pagam as contas destes querubins.	...but you must also be aware that you can't pay the bills of such angels with an honest five <i> tostão </i> piece.	I-Add	pt	pt	
27.	Q	Aqui está o seu caso, estimável Teodoro. Vinte mil réis mensais são uma vergonha social!	s way, dear Teodoro: a salary of twenty <i> mil réis </i> a month is a social scand ...	I-Add	pt	pt	
28.	Q	à espera que lhe chegue o prato rico da <i> charlotte russe </i>.As felicidades ...	And I became resigned to my fate, like someone at a <i> table d'hôte </i> meal chewing patiently on a mouthful of dry bread while he waits for them to serve up a delicious <i> charlotte russe </i>.	I-CAc	fr	fr	
29.	Q	...E ia-me resignando, como quem a uma <i> table d'hôte </i> mastiga a bucha de pã ...	And I became resigned to my fate, like someone at a <i> table d'hôte </i> meal chewing patiently on a mouthful of dry bread while he waits for them to serve up a delicious <i> charlotte russe </i>.	I-CAc	fr	fr	
30.	Q	admirar os pequenos chineses declinando <i> hora, horæ. . .</i> E depois do refeitó ...	In the afternoon I would visit the school and marvel at the sight of little Chinese children declining <i>hora, horare</i> and, after	I-CAc	lt	lt	
31.	Q	s pelo rio Azul a Tien-Tsin num pequeno <i> steamer </i> da Companhia Russel.Eu ...	The voyage to Shanghai on the <i>Ceylon</i> proved calm and monotonous and we journeyed from there up the Blue River to Tientsin in a small steamer belonging to the Russell Company.	I-Omt	en	en	
32.	Q	bárbaro: compreendo a repugnância de um <i> gentleman </i> em assassinar um contemp ...	I'm no barbarian; I understand a gentleman's repugnance at the thought of killing a contemporary. The spilling of blood soils the hands with shame and the death throes of a human body are	I-Omt	en	en	

			horrible to see.			
33.	Q	um cheiro de pó de arroz, de fêmea e de <i> punch </i>...Quando voltei à Tra ...	half-naked, feeling as if body and soul were evaporating, dissolving, in that sultry atmosphere permeated by the smell of rice powder, women and punch.	I-Omt	en	en
34.	Q	nte indiferente.Quando o capitão do <i> steamer </i>, um <i> yunkee </i> impude ...	As we passed Nanking, the captain of the steamer, an impudent Yankee with a face like a goat, suggested that we stop to visit the monumental ruins of the old city of porcelain, but I refused with a terse shake of my head, not even raising my sad eyes from the muddy waters of the river.	I-Omt	en	en
35.	Q	ia com três oficiais da Embaixada o seu <i> whist </i> sacramental, e Camilloff, ao ...	That night, whilst Meriskoff played his obligatory game of whist with three embassy officials on the other side of the room, and Camilloff	I-Omt	en	en
36.	Q	uando o capitão do <i> steamer </i>, um <i> yunkee </i> impudente de focinho de chi ...	As we passed Nanking, the captain of the steamer, an impudent Yankee with a face like a goat, suggested that we stop to visit the	I-Omt	en	en
37.	Q	lacências de uma dançarina dando-lhe um <i> cottage </i> entre árvores - eu, por um ...	So I attempted to bribe the sweet Mother of all Men, like some fat banker trying to win over a dancer by buying her a cottage in the country, and in response to that priestly suggestion, I had a cathedral built, made entirely of white marble.	I-Omt	en	en
38.	Q	...de cetim cor de avelã descobriam ricas <i> babouches </i> amarelas pespontadas a p ...	My nut-brown satin trousers revealed splendid yellow slippers sewn with pearls and a glimpse of stocking sprinkled with tiny black stars.	I-Omt	fr	en
39.	Q	itar a China numa curiosidade ociosa de <i> touriste </i>: toda a paisagem dessa pr ...	I had not come to visit China as a tourist, out of idle curiosity, and I felt glumly indifferent to the landscape of that province,	I-Omt	fr	en
40.	Q	quim.A camisinha de gaze, bordada a <i> soutache </i> de filigrana de oiro, col ...	Her gauze petticoat edged with embroidered gold filigree clung to her small, firm breasts.	I-Omt	fr	en
41.	Q	...um de barbas nevadas e túnica azul, na <i> toilette </i>do antigo Jove, habitando...	pranks on each other - one in the guise of old Jove, in a white beard and blue tunic, inhabiting the luminous heights, where he is	I-Omt	fr	en
42.	Q	...toque a campainha, seja um forte!O <i> abat-jour </i> verde da vela punha uma...	The green shade on the candle cast a shadow round about.	I-Omt	fr	en
43.	Q	a mão, pisando subtilmente na ponta das <i> babouches </i> de cetim as ruazinhas ar ...	At that hour, fan in hand, I would tiptoe along the airy garden paths in my satin slippers, push open the door of the Pavilion of	I-Omt	fr	en

Discreet Repose and call:

44.	Q	s de chá, pedia-me histórias ladinas de <i> cocottes </i>, e dizia-me o seu culto p ...	Vladimira's dream was to live in Paris and, while she delicately prepared the tea, she would beg me to tell her risqué stories about Parisian ladies of the night and speak to me of her veneration for Dumas <i>fils</i>.	I-Omt	fr	en
45.	Q	apopléctico, atirava-me para o fundo do <i> coupé </i> - e lá ia às Janelas Verdes, ...	Afterwards I would heave my bloated body into my carriage seat and set off for Rua das Janelas Verdes, where I kept a bevy of women in the most exquisite Islamic style, in a garden fit for a sultan's seraglio. They would dress me in a tunic of cool, perfumed silk and I would abandon myself to the basest of passions.	I-Omt	fr	en
46.	Q	aletós caros onde alvejava a gravata de <i> soirée </i>!Oh! tipóias, apinhadas...	Oh, you young men making your happy way to the opera house, in your expensive overcoats and gleaming white cravats!	I-Omt	fr	en
47.	Q	s aventuras fantásticas: dei-me como um <i> touriste </i> curioso, tomando apontame ...	I passed myself off as an inquisitive tourist, travelling through the world taking notes.	I-Omt	fr	en
48.	Q	nca, entrava pelo braço de Camilloff no <i> boudoir </i> da generala.Era alta e ...	The moon was already filling the gardens with delicious light when Camilloff led me, refreshed and in white tie and tails, into his wife's private sitting room.	I-Omt	fr	en
49.	Q	os canais, farejada pelos cães; e o meu <i> coupé </i> bem forrado fazia-me arrepia ...	The ebony ceiling of my palace made me think of the Mandarin's family sleeping beside canals, nosed and sniffed at by dogs, and my well-upholstered coupe made me shiver at the thought of those long, aimless treks along waterlogged roads, in a harsh Asian winter.	I-Omt	fr	fr
50.	Q	ndecer, aninhados em rendas, ao gás das <i> soirées </i>, - e para outros usos secr ...	But don't worry, Teodoro, nowadays no right-thinking mama would dream of putting them to such harsh and ruinous use; their sole purpose is to be displayed, resplendent, cupped in lace, lit by the gaslight of soirees ..	I-Omt	fr	fr
51.	Q	obre coxins de cetim cor de pérola, num <i> boudoir </i> em que a mobília era de po ...	If it was hot, I would spend the rest of the day reclining on cushions made of satin the colour of pearls, in a boudoir furnished with fine Dresden china and enough flowers to make a garden worthy of Tasso's Armida.	I-Omt	fr	fr
52.	Q	m engenhoso e delicado poema de rendas, <i> baptistes	Today, Teodoro, their clothes are more like a symphony, a	I-Omt	fr	fr

		</i>, cetins, flores, jóias,...	delicate, ingenious poem of laces, batistes, satins, flowers, jewels, cashmeres, gauzes and velvets.			
53.	Q	obre o espesso tapete sírio, até ao seu <i> boudoir </i> - ela estava escrevendo, m ...	One day, I tiptoed into her boudoir unannounced, across the thick Syrian carpet. She was sitting there writing, deep in thought, one little finger in the air.	I-Omt	fr	fr
54.	Q	s e direitos:vastas, fofas calças de <i> foulard </i> cor de rosa de ninfa, que...	Her loose foulard trousers, pale as a nymph's thigh, that fell in folds about her slender ankles and her yellow silk stockings, gave her the graceful look of a figure in a seraglio. Her feet were so small I could fit only three fingers of my hand into her tiny slipper.	I-Omt	fr	fr
55.	Q	ltidões desconhecidas, as desilusões do <i> bulevar </i>: e o meu mal interior ia c ...	the melancholy of unknown multitudes and the disappointments of the boulevard, my inner malaise continued to grow.	I-Omt	fr	fr
56.	Q	l saiu com a sua escolta cossaca para o <i> yamen </i> do príncipe Tong, a informar ...	when the General had left with his Cossack escort in order to visit Prince Tong's office and discover the whereabouts of the Ti Chin-Fu family,	I-Omt	o	en
57.	Q	a missão cristã. . . . Eu partia para o <i> yamen </i> imperial a fazer uma severa...	í went at once to the imperial office to lodge a serious complaint with Prince Tong regarding	I-Omt	o	en
58.	Q	ue passava o dia inteiro a percorrer os <i> yamens </i> do Estado, teve de provar p ...	whole days trailing from one State office to another, had first to prove that his	I-Omt	o	en
59.	Q	o levando a um trote arquejante para os <i> yamen </i> do Estado; precede-os uma cr ...	Then along comes a mandarin's sedan chair carried by coolies dressed all in blue, their pigtails flying, racing along at a gruelling pace to the offices of the State.	I-Omt	o	en
60.	Q	as, dois cossacos, toda uma populaça de <i> coolies </i>.Ao deixar a muralha da ...	The next day I set off for Tien-Hó with my respectful interpreter Sá-Tó, a long caravan of carts, two Cossacks and a throng of coolies.	I-Omt	o	o
61.	Q	a Bondade Preferida; e uma população de <i> coolies </i> transportava da Legação ru ...	a throng of coolies ran from the Russian Legation to the pavilions of the Forbidden City and from there to the Court of Archives bearing stretchers that groaned beneath the weight of piles of ancient documents.	I-Omt	o	o
62.	Q	istocrática cadeirinha de mandarim, que <i> coolies </i> vestidos de azul, de rabic ...	Then along comes a mandarin's sedan chair carried by coolies dressed all in blue, their pigtails flying, racing along at a gruelling pace to the offices of the State.	I-Omt	o	o

63.	Q	mpacientesE ordenara logo aos \<i\> coolies \</i\> que entrincheirassem a por ...	He had at once ordered the coolies to barricade the door with the carts, forming a defensive semicircle, the way the Tartars used to do.	I-Omt	o	o
64.	Q	es; depois erguiam-se, galhofavam, e um \<i\> cooly \</i\> vestido de luto branco servi ...	Groups of mournful people were walking along carrying smoking tapers in portable burners. Women in rags rolled about on carpets, howling with grief, then got up and stood joking amongst themselves whilst a coolie, dressed in white mourning, served them tea from a huge pot shaped like a bird.	I-Omt	o	o
65.	Q	ente à cozinha da estalagem.Os meus \<i\> coolies \</i\>, acocorados sobre os calca ...	My coolies were sitting on their heels, their teeth chattering with terror. The two Cossacks accompanying me were sitting impassively by the fire, smoking their pipes, sabres drawn and ready on their knees.	I-Omt	o	o
66.	Q	bre a fronte abaixada, fiz gravemente o \<i\> chin-chin \</i\>- É adorável, é ...	I did not greet the General's wife with: \<i\>Bonjour, Madame\</i\>, instead, bending from the waist, I pressed my clenched fists to my temples and made a low bow chin-chin style.	I-Omt	o	o
67.	Q	humilhei-me à Madame Marques, aceitei-lhe o bife córneo; e passei essa primeira noite de riqueza bocejando sobre o leito solitário - enquanto fora o alegre Couceiro, o mesquinho tenente de quinze mil réis de soldo, ria com a D. Augusta, repenicando à viola o "Fado da Cotovia".	a Augusta and picking out the tune of a \<i\>fado\</i\> on his guitar.It was only the fo ...	Q < I	pt	pt
68.	Q	Sei duas palavras importantes, general: "mandarim" e "chá".Ele passou a sua mão de fortes...	'I know two important words, General: "mandarin" and "chá".'	Q-CAc	pt	pt
69.	Q	to.. . Para tudo isto dispõe da palavra "chá".É pouco.Não pude negar - qu ...	My honoured guest wishes to marry a lady from Ti Chin-Fu's family, to continue the vast influence exercised by the Mandarin, to replace the late lamented gentleman both domestically and socially, and to achieve this, all you have is the word "chá".	Q-CAc	pt	pt
70.	Q	ciente e grave:- Do seu lindo verbo "mandar"...Resta-lhe portanto "chá ...	'From that lovely verb of yours "mandar" - to command.	Q-CAc	pt	pt
71.	Q	bo "mandar"...Resta-lhe portanto "chá". É um vocábulo que tem um vasto pap ...	So that leaves you with the word for tea, "chá", a word that does indeed play an immensely important role in Chinese life, but would still not be enough, I fear, to deal with all social occasions.	Q-CAc	pt	pt

72.	SC	Sorri da boutade.	i> myself dead.'I smiled at this <i>boutade</i>.Some vague acquaintances came in ...	I-Add	fr	fr
73.	SC	Isto é: a ideia fixa que ele me enclavinhava no espírito alterara-se essencialmente.	aken another direction.That is, the <i>idée fixe</i> planted in my mind by that mys ...	I-Add	pt	fr
74.	SC	Entretanto a minha ideia fixa volvera-se-me num perfeito martírio,	hat he wanted to write.Meanwhile my <i>idée fixe</i> had become a real torment to m ...	I-Add	pt	fr
75.	SC	Curiosa personalidade essa de grande artista falido, ou antes, predestinado para a falência.	urious figure, that of the great artist <i>manqué</i>, or rather, of the artist doomed to...	I-Add	pt	fr
76.	SC	você bem vê, para mim já essa arte passou.	now, I find that kind of art distinctly <i>passé</i>.It holds no interest for me.. ...	I-Add	pt	fr
77.	SC	Um par de amorosos do grande mundo entrava a refugiar-se no célebre estabelecimento, quase deserto pelo inverno.	ad fallen.A pair of lovers from the <i>beau monde</i> entered to find shelter in th ...	I-Add	pt	fr
78.	SC	Não podendo mais resistir à ideia fixa;	...yours...'Unable to resist my <i>idée fixe</i> any longer, sensing that my mi ...	I-Add	pt	fr
79.	SC	a distribuição, de pormenores alguns da <i>mise-en-scène</i>.Da mais ligeira coisa, enfim....	I would not attend rehearsals nor would I be involved in casting or in any discussions about the <i>mise en scène </i>.	I-CAc	fr	fr
80.	SC	O crime era, como devem ter dito os jornais do tempo, um "crime passional". <hi>Cherchez la femme</hi>.	put it, a 'crime of passion', a case of <i>Cherchez la femme</i>.What's more the victim ...	I-CAc	fr	fr
81.	SC	..."pensionista do Estado", de barbichas, <i>lavallière</i>, cachimbo - sempre calado e oco, olh ...	And Fonseca, for his part, was a poor little painter from Madeira, 'an ex-public servant' with a scrubby beard, who wore <i>lavallière</i> cravats and smoked a pipe. He was a silent, vapid fellow, always staring nostalgically into space, longing perhaps for his lost island.	I-CAc	fr	fr
82.	SC	alar - que talvez mesmo conheça -, a do <i>já visto</i>.Nunca lhe sucedeu ter vis ...	To put it still more clearly, this feeling is similar, albeit in reverse, to another of which you've probably heard - which you SC may even have experienced - that of <i>déjà-vu</i>.	I-CAc	pt	fr
83.	SC	frequentávamos bastante os teatros e os <i>music-halls</i>, numa ânsia também de sermos agitado ...	We often took the opportunity to plunge back into normal life and forget about ourselves, frequenting theatres and music halls out of a desire to feel part of such intensely contemporary places, so European, so glamorous.	I-Omt	en	en
84.	SC	...É que, não sei se reparou, em todos os <i>music-halls</i> tornaram-se agora moda estes bailado ...	'The reason is, I don't know if you've noticed it, but now all the fashionable music halls put on these dances performed by	I-Omt	en	en

			troupes of English girls.			
85.	SC	as...Na Porta Maillot, tomamos o <i>tramway</i> para Montparnasse, começando Gervási ...	At the Porte Maillot, we took the tram to Montparnasse and Gervásio said:	I-Omt	en	en
86.	SC	o Olímpia, assistíamos a umas danças de <i>girls</i> inglesas misturadas numa revista, qu ...	Thus, one night in the Olympia, we were watching some English dancers who were appearing in a review there, when Ricardo asked me:	I-Omt	en	en
87.	SC	...Falou-se de modas, discutiuse teatro e <i>music-hall</i>, com muita arte à mistura.E quem ...	We talked about fashion, discussed the theatre and the music hall, with a great deal of chat about art thrown in.	I-Omt	en	en
88.	SC	.Marta regressara.Erguia-se do <i>fauteuil</i> nesse instante...Ao dirigir-m ...	She was once more sitting in the armchair.	I-Omt	fr	en
89.	SC	agora o <et><i>fauteuil</i> vazio...</i>..	<i>All that remained before my horrified eyes was the empty armchair.	I-Omt	fr	en
90.	SC	resentei outro dia dá amanhã uma grande <i>soirée</i>.Você está convidado.- Eu!?...	'By the way, that American woman I introduced to you the other day is giving a big party tomorrow and you're invited.	I-Omt	fr	en
91.	SC	lustração nem cultura, vindas por certo dos <i>basfonds</i> do vício e do crime.Ap ...	They clearly had little to recommend them, being creatures without learning or culture, coming no doubt from the lower depths of vice and crime.	I-Omt	fr	en
92.	SC	or Aniceto Sarzedas, nos seus terríveis <i>ereintements</i> contra todos os contemporâneos.M ...	with humour provided by Aniceto Sarzedas' unrelentingly savage attacks on his contemporaries.	I-Omt	fr	en
93.	SC	esposa de Ricardo, que se assentara num <i>fauteuil</i> ao fundo da casa, em um recanto, de...	My eyes had automatically fixed on Ricardo's wife, who had sat down in an armchair towards the back of the room, in a corner, so that I alone was in the position of being able to see both her and the pianist.	I-Omt	fr	en
94.	SC	duas costureiras - decerto - saídas dos <i>ateliers</i> da Rua da Paz.Tinham embrulhos n ...	They were in fact two seamstresses who had doubtless just left one of the workshops on the Rue de la Paix.	I-Omt	fr	en
95.	SC	..Só a vi ao jantar.Tinha um vestido-<i>tailleur</i>, de passeio...Agora todas...	She was dressed in a tailored suit, as if she had been out for a walk.	I-Omt	fr	en
96.	SC	elíssimas, nos seus paradoxos, nas suas <i>blagues</i>. Uma criatura superior - ah!sem...	He was a brilliant conversationalist, lovable despite his many solecisms, despite his mistakes (which he would defend passionately and always successfully), despite his repellent but nonetheless glorious opinions, despite his paradoxes, his lies.	I-Omt	fr	en
97.	SC	losos, ainda que longos; e o chapéu, um <i>bonet</i> de	and his hat, a woollen beret, whilst certainly odd, was no	I-Omt	fr	en

		fazenda - esquisito,	different from that worn by many artists.			
98.	SC	Era uma das *scies* de Gervásio Vila-Nova: elogiar	This was one of Gervásio Vila-Nova's many affectations: heaping praise on the latest pseudo-literary movement,	I-Omt	fr	en
99.	SC	ensava-se ali bem o Paris cosmopolita - *rastaquouère* e genial.Até à meia-noite, danço ...	It was the quintessence of cosmopolitan Paris - brilliant, opulent and gaudy.	I-Omt	fr	en
100.	SC	nde empenho em o acompanhar, e marcamos *rendez-vous* para a noite seguinte, na Closerie,...	As usual, I protested, like the idiot I still was, and declared that, on the contrary, I had every intention of going with him, and we arranged to meet the following night at ten in the Closerie.	I-Omt	fr	en
101.	SC	ecidi espioná-la.Uma tarde tomei um *coupé* e, descidas as cortinas, mandei-o pa ...	One afternoon I hired a coupé and ordered the driver to wait near her house. I sat inside with the curtains drawn.	I-Omt	fr	fr
102.	SC	pos era o dominador.Por fim o nosso *coupé* estacou em face de um magnífico palá ...	At last our coupé pulled up outside a magnificent mansion on the Avenue du Bois de Boulogne. It was fantastically lit from within by a blaze of light filtered through red silk curtains.	I-Omt	fr	fr
103.	SC	ada...Eu tomara em Biarritz o *sud-express* para Lisboa. Eles faziam viagem no m ...	I caught the Sud-Express for Lisbon in Biarritz, they happened to be travelling on the same train, and ever since then..	I-Omt	fr	fr
104.	SC	Homem, escusas de ficar todo atrapalhado, titubeante, vermelho como uma malagueta, quando te enganas e me tratas por tu.	barrassed when you accidentally call me "tu". You don't have to stammer and turn...	Q-Add	pt	pt
105.	SC	Nas nossas entrevistas íntimas, nos nossos amplexos, eu e Marta tratávamo-nos por tu.	In our intimate conversations, in our embraces, Marta and I called each other 'tu'.	Q-Add	pt	pt
106.	SC	Ora, sabendo-me muito distraído, eu receava que alguma vez, em frente de Ricardo, me enganasse e a fosse tratar assim.|	Now, knowing how distracted I had become, I was afraid that at some point I would forget myself and address her as 'tu' in front of Ricardo.	Q-Add	pt	pt
107.	SC	Porém, dessas vezes, eu encontrava-me sempre a tratar por tu, não Marta, mas Ricardo.	occasions, I found myself addressing as 'tu' not Marta, but Ricardo*.And eve ...	Q-Add	pt	pt
108.	SC	Apesar de grandes amigos e de íntimos amigos, eu e Ricardo não nos tratávamos por tu, devido com certeza	Although we were great friends and very close, Ricardo and I never addressed each other as 'tu', doubtless due	Q-Add	pt	pt
109.	SC	Ora, por esta época, eu encontrei-me por vezes de súbito a tratar o meu amigo por tu. E quando o fazia,	However, at that time, I would occasionally find myself calling my friend 'tu'. And when I did	Q-Add	pt	pt
110.	SC	ombinado: de hoje em diante acabou-se o "você".Viva o "tu"!É muito mais ...	Look, from now on, we'll have no more of this formal "você" business.	Q-CAc	pt	pt
111.	SC	m diante acabou-se o "você".Viva o "tu"!É muito mais	From now on we call each other "tu".	Q-CAc	pt	pt

	natural......				
112. SF	En un rincón había una montaña de botellas, color guardia civil, cubiertas de polvo	was a pile of dusty bottles, green as a <i>guardia civil's</i> uniform. Next to	I-Add	es	es
113. SF	Así entró Alfanhuí de boyero en Moraleja, con doce reales cada día.	And so Alfanhuí became the oxherd in Moraleja, earning twelve <i>reales/i> a day.	I-Add	es	es
114. SF	Luego curtió los parches sobre el mismo cuerpo de la criada.	with fresh cat skin, curing the patches <i>in situ </i> on the maid's body. Of w	I-Add	es	lt
115. V	El mayor la mira sorprendido, y sorprendido in fraganti;	The Major looks at her surprised, as if caught <i>in flagrante</i>;	I-Add	lt	lt
116. V	Trae una botella de champán, una larga copa de las llamadas <i> flute </i> que el mayor examina cuidadosamente, orgulloso de saberle el nombre, y un copón colmado con un líquido rojo y viscoso.	He snaps his fingers and the ADC reappears, this time with a tray bearing a bottle of champagne, one of those tall glasses known as flute-glasses, which the Major carefully examines, proud that he knows the name, and a mug filled with a red, viscous liquid.	I-Omt	fr	fr
117. V	María por lo tanto la llama Señora, y ella se siente bien como Señora, en la cama, sin ganas de moverse.	...María therefore addresses her as 'Señora' and she enjoys being the 'Señora', lyin ...	Q-Add	es	es
118. V	María por lo tanto la llama Señora, y ella se siente bien como Señora, en la cama, sin ganas de moverse.	er as 'Señora' and she enjoys being the 'Señora', lying in bed, with no desire to move....	Q-Add	es	es
119. V	Su como habrían dicho en aquellos lejanos cursos de teatro que la señora tomó antes de irse del país, antes de ser señora y mucho mucho muchísimo antes de meterse en la cama.	e leaving the country, before she was a 'Señora' and long, long, long before she got int ...	Q-Add	es	es

12

Appendix E - Foreign items in CTPB retrieved from wordlist

Note: Lexical items in bold are those not found in the Collins English Dictionary

agent provocateur	**gauche divine**	peignoir
almogávares	habanera	**pensión**
aló	habanero	pesetas
anents	**in articulo mortis**	peso
arrivisme	**in partibus**	pesos
avant la lettre	**ipê**	plaza
bachillerato	jacaranda	ponchos
bersagliere	**jamais de la vie**	**prú oriental**
birettas	**jequitibá**	**rabassaires**
caipirinha	kef	rara avis
calles	kepi	**riera**
capybaras	**luciérnaga**	royal pinciana
carapaces	**maaxún**	samizdat
carvalho	**maçaranduba**	sardana
caudillo	**mauditisme**	selva
causeur	**meublé**	señor
chao	**mitigueso**	señora
charlotte	muzhik	**shapul**
chicha	**natema**	soffits
chirimoya	**nesrani**	sorghum
chueta	**oiticica**	**tómbola**
cuca de llum	olé	**tú**
curare	pacas	**tzantzas**
equis	**palafitte**	**usted**
être à la page	**panier à salade**	viva
faire catleya	**partituras**	**xarnegos**
familienroman	**paseos**	**yahuasca**
felipes	**payo (el payo)**	**yaya**

Appendix F - Foreign items in CTMJC retrieved from wordlist

Note: Lexical items in bold are those not found in the Collins English Dictionary

à l'anglaise	**lavalière**
biretta	**mandar**
boutade	**meseta**
calèche	milréis
chá	palanquins
chaise	peignoirs
charlotte russe	postillion
cherchez la femme	quinze
conto	real
fado	réis
fiacres	spermaceti
fils	**tostão**
foulard	**tu**
guardia civil	viaticum
hora, horare	**você**
kepi	

Appendix G - Use of 'that' after SAY and TELL in CTPB

SAY

	A	Source segment	Target segment	que/0	that/0
1.	O	Dijo que otro se había matado y que a éste no lo conocía, que había oído la voz.	... 't say anything,' she replied. 'He said that another one had killed himself, th ...	que	that
2.	O	Dijo que era un plazo postrero.	... in sky blue nodding her head. 'He said that his time would soon be up	que	that
3.	O	Dijo que si no venían a traerle una cosa, era un plazo postrero, dijo.	... ight now? He killed himself. He said that if they didn't come and bring him ...	que	that
4.	O	Dijo que ahora se moría mucha gente y cuando se fue nos dimos cuenta que estaba borracho.	... w, that he had heard his voice. He said that lots of people were dying now and ...	que	that
5.	O	-Dijiste que querías poder mostrar al Ministerio..	... If we'd woken Cot up.' 'You said that you wanted to be able to show the ...	que	that
6.	O	-Dijo que no podía esperar más.	... án's face at the same time. 'He said he couldn't wait any longer. How w ...	que	that
7.	O	Dicen que Cot, dice Valdivia, que Cot ordenó que la policía fuera vigilada.	Valdivia says that Cot ordered the police to be put under watch.	que	that
8.	O	Pero estuvo diciendo que de esta noche no pasaba, que ya no tenía donde meterse.	... e he'd saved his life. But he kept saying that he had nothing left after tonight, ...	que	that
9.	O	¡No darse cuenta que el frasquito debía tener veneno! Si empiezan a decir que nosotras lo envenenamos.	.ontained poison! What if they start saying that we poisoned him . . . ?' ...	que	that

10.	G	explotó de repente para decir que Cela era un autor tiránico que no concedía a sus personajes ni siquiera el derecho de respirar.	.tive novel and he suddenly exploded to say that Cela was a tyrannical author who d ...	que	that
11.	G	oro para que me entregara la carta y dise que no me la puede dar yo hoy no le puedo ser útil a consecuencia de mi enfermedar	... gold pesos to give me the letter and he say that he can't give it me i no use to yo ...	que	that
12.	G	Decir que no elegí la lengua sino que fui elegido por ella sería el modo más simple y correcto de ajustarme a la verdad.	... emptiness of a lengthy exile.To say that I did not choose the language but ...	que	that
13.	G	Alguien pregunta si te gustaría ser novio de ella y respondes orgulloso que sí.	... ant to be her boyfriend and you proudly say that you would.Friends o ...	que	that
14.	G	en la niñez, tus padres solían decir que habías sido un regalo de los Magos de Oriente y tú creías ser nativo del día de Reyes hasta	... uring your childhood your parents would say that you were a present from the Three ...	que	that
15.	G	obsesionada con la idea de lavarse los pies antes de salir de casa, temerosa, decía, de que la muerte la pillara en la calle, como a una mujer que conoció,	... feet before leaving the house-she would say that death might catch her in the stree ...	que	that
16.	G	El día siguiente, al salir del colegio, José Agustín dijo que papá quería hablarme.	... he next day, after school, José Agustín said that Father wanted to speak to me....	que	that
17.	G	Dijo que deseaba tratar de un asunto personal conmigo y, aunque el objeto de su comunicación	... of the clandestine opposition.He said that he wanted to discuss a personal ma ...	que	that
18.	G	Quiso examinar el instrumento, pulsó las cuerdas, dijo que su asistente era aficionado a la música.	... ng the instrument, plucked the strings, said that his aide was fond of music....	que	that
19.	G	esposo, dije que yo también desearía caer enfermo y, sin poder contenerse, me dio una merecida bofetada;	... I was feeling uncared for by her and I said that I would like to fall ill too, sinc ...	que	that
20.	G	El tipo ese dice que mi compadre me echó mano y	... d left again with me.That fellow says that my	que	that

		toda esa vaina, comentó lacónicamente.	companion touched me up, the wh ...		
21.	G	con andares de loca, diciendo que se le había ido el oremus y bisbiseando, como un conjuro, la oración a San Antonio:	... the passage to another like a madwoman, saying that she had gone out of her mind and m ...	que	that
22.	B	Ou dirá que é a cabeça do irmão da patroa que está em jogo.	... a matter of life and death. Or he'll say that madam's brother's head is on the b ...	que	that
23.	B	Eu entendi e disse que ia continuar pensando nela do mesmo jeito, a vida inteira.	... sted separating. I understood her and said that I'd go on thinking about her the s ...	que	that
24.	B	Meu cunhado diz que o negão pelo menos era um profissional, não tremia a mão.	... an the big blackie. My brother-in-law says that at least the blackie was a profess ...	que	that
25.	B	Mas diz que ele, que conhece melhor o chefe, garante que se eu arrumar outras peças daquela categoria, o chefe é capaz de me pagar com duas malas.	... twice the value of the jewels. But he says that he knows the boss better and can g ...	que	that
26.	S	La mujer se le fue con un fotógrafo ambulante y dicen que ahora vive en Zamora.	... with a travelling photographer and they say she's living in Zamora. Perhaps the ...	que	0
27.	S	Dicen que los monos mataron al colono y a uno de ellos.	... three talking at the same time. They say the monkeys killed the settler and one ...	que	0
28.	S	El asunto es que el colono los guió sin problemas hasta las inmediaciones de la cordillera del Yacuambi, y dicen que ahí los atacaron los monos.	... ntains without any difficulty, and they say they were attacked there by monkeys. ...	que	0
29.	S	Decían los lugareños que la sudadera le empezó apenas pisó tierra luego de desembarcar del Sucre,	... o never stopped sweating. The locals said the sweating started as soon as he step ...	que	0
30.	S	En todo caso, fueron muy pocos besos porque la mujer, o respondía con ataques de risa, o señalaba que podía ser pecado.	... ther responded with fits of laughter or said they must be sinful. Ardent kisses. ...	que	0

31.	S	Al entregar la piel, los shuar declararon que no eras de ellos, pero que eras de ahí.	... When you gave them the skin the Shuar said you weren't one of them, but you belong ...	que	0
32.	P	"¿Pero no decías que era un contrarrevolucionario?	... h keeping an eye on. ' 'But didn't you say he was a counter-revolutionary? ' was ...	que	0
33.	P	Me habló de cualquier cosa, y al despedirnos, me colocó una mano en el hombro y me pidió que no nos dejáramos de ver.	... e would put his hand on my shoulder and say we shouldn't lose sight of one another. ...	que	0
34.	P	Después de esto podrás decir que has comido como un real cubano, y entras, para siempre, en la cofradía de los adoradores del Maestro, faltándote, tan sólo, el conocimiento de su obra".	... Paradiso, chapter seven. Now you can say you've eaten like a real Cuban, and joi ...	que	0
35.	P	Bruno llevaba razón, Ismael se equivocaba cuando decía que a esta gente había que analizarla caso por caso.	... was right, and Ismael was wrong when he said you had to consider these cases individ ...	que	0
36.	P	"Antes voy a precisarte algunas cuestiones porque no quiero que luego vayas a decir que no fui claro.	... ngs clear because I don't want you then saying you were under some misapprehension. ...	que	0
37.	O	[pm]-Y bueno. No vas a decir que de mí no se daba cuenta, también.	... the dark. 'All right but you can't say he didn't think about me as well. ...	que	0
38.	O	Casi diría que no sabe nada.	... sn't know anything. I would almost say he doesn't know anything.' 'I'l ...	que	0
39.	O	Y vos decís que era alto, con un traje gris a rayas.	... ht have known,' said Morasán. 'You say he was tall and was wearing a grey-stri ...	que	0
40. 0	O	Dicen también que tiene en el escritorio el decreto poniendo a la policía política bajo la dirección de	... he ash from his lapel. 'They also say he's got a decree in his desk putting t ...	que	0
41.	O	"Si llega alguien tengo tiempo de esconderme, si abren en lo de la francesa digo que olvidé la llave del Club de Ajedrez, o digo cualquier cosa".	... ey open up the Frenchwoman's place I'll say I forgot the Chess Club key or somethin ...	que	0

42.	O	, para decir que quiero no estar solo, simplemente, esta noche, que espero una seña, un	... not the s's from her mouth, to say I want not to be alone, just tonight, t ...	que	0
43.	O	Usted dice que es su cosa porque hace rato que está en eso.	... till he was behind the desk. 'You say it's your speciality because you've bee ...	que	0
44.	O	-No quieren dejarme salir porque dicen que es orden suya.	... s>'They won't let me leave because they say those are your orders. They don't ...	que	0
45.	O	Pero muchas veces dijo que se iba a matar si nadie venía y no se mató y decía que mañana.	... hen he didn't kill himself and he would say tomorrow would do.' The other w ...	que	0
46.	O	Pero muchas veces dijo que se iba a matar si nadie venía y no se mató y decía que mañana.	... e kept saying things. But he often said he was going to kill himself if no one ...	que	0
47.	O	pregunto: "¿Se movió el ropero?", y ella dice que sí, todavía con miedo.	... her, "Did the wardrobe move?" and she said it did, still scared. But I wasn' ...	que	0
48.	O	Contesté que Barcala había escapado y que salíamos a buscarlo, no le dí importancia al asunto, dije que ya se arreglaría.	... I didn't think it at all important, I said it would sort itself out. ' ...	que	0
49.	O	Ella dijo que no; entonces el hombre movió la mesa y, un poco la cama, y levantó la alfombra	... o aka Santana to the girl. She said she didn't; the man then moved the t ...	que	0
50.	O	y Barcala enmudeció porque decía que el judío era un espía.	... g smile, and Barcala shut up because he said the Jew was a spy. And that midday ...	que	0
51.	O	"No se acuerda, pensó, que hace unas horas dijo que a la Caporala le dieron baile.	... ,' he thought, 'that a few hours ago he said they took la Caporala for a ride. ...	que	0
52.	O	¿Sabe que no le entendí nada? De todas las estupideces que dijo que había hecho con Tersut.	... ll? Not one of the stupid things you said you did to Tersut. But as I told y ...	que	0
53.	O	Y si te decía que eras linda no era por la cara que tenés.	... never what they seemed. And if he said you were pretty it wasn't because of yo ...	que	0

54.	O	-No se me ocurría que ibas a venir -agregó omo dijiste que estabas buscando un pasaje.	... re going to come,' he remarked, 'as you said you were looking for a boat out. ' ...	que	0
55.	O	-En la salita está el hombre ese, Max, que dice que usted lo espera.	'That man, Max, is in the waiting-room, he says you're expecting him.'	que	0
56.	O	Dice que hubo un tiroteo en el First	he says there was a shoot-out at the First.	que	0
57.	O	Dice que mataron a Torry y que hay otro muerto	He says they killed Torry and someone else was killed.	que	0
58.	O	-Dice Martins que diga qué es lo que quiere.	'Martins says you should say what you want.'	que	0
59. C	O	Ahora dice que tenía una muchacha que se murió.	'Now he says he had a girl and she's died.'	que	0
60.	O	Decía que esperaba a alguno que lo iba a salvar y hablaba y hablaba.	... w, he wasn't drunk or mad. He kept saying he was expecting someone to come and sa ...	que	0
61.	G	Con una voz que era casi un susurro, dijo que iba a contarme un cuento, pero empezó en seguida a besuquearme y hacerme cosquillas.	... n a voice that was almost a whisper, he said he was going to tell me a story, but be ...	que	0
62.	G	los mayores, me llamó a su lado y dijo que quería confesarme, aunque seguí al pie de la letra sus instrucciones y busqué, aturdido y confuso.	... he adults, he called me to his side and said he wished to hear me confess. Although ...	que	0
63.	G	Dije que sí y las facciones de su rostro seco, aguileño, chupado, se afinaron y aguzaron aún con perfiles de ave de presa.	... dent with Grandfather was true.I said it was and his cold, gaunt, hawk-nosed ...	que	0
64.	G	Alguien ha dicho que puedes morir por falta de aire.	... macks the guilty parties.Someone said you might die through lack of air....	que	0
65.	B	melhor ainda uma filha, que dizem que é mais ligada ao pai.	... a son; better still a daughter, people say a daughter is closer to her father. I ...	que	0

66.	B	Irritado com o capitalismo, dirá que não sabe para que serve um banco, se não libera dinheiro nem para uma cliente aleijada.	... efused. Irritated by capitalism he'll say he can't think why banks exist, if they ...	que	0
67.	B	Então dirá que na gaveta da mesa da portaria ele tem o telefone da filha mais velha, o que para o inspetor será suficiente.	... 't interest the inspector. Then he'll say he's got the eldest daughter's telephon ...	que	0
68.	B	continuava o mesmo, e ela dizia que eu era criança e confundia tudo. mas eu tinha certeza que aquele cheiro era da cabeça	... he smell stayed the same, and she would say I was just a kid and got everything wro ...	que	0
69.	B	Ela dirá que, se ninguém der um basta nessas festas, os dois vão acabar morando num conjugado.	... t,' not a thought in his head. She'll say if no one puts an end to the parties, t ...	que	0
70.	B	ponto; dirá que se não pintar a grana, o irmão da dondoca leva chumbo no meio dos cornos.	... s who gets straight to the point; he'll say if they don't come up with the goods, t ...	que	0
71.	B	Ela ficará com a voz mais fina, e dirá que já foi humilhante vir morar num apartamento de dois quartos,	... Her voice will get thinner and she'll say it was humiliating enough moving to a t ...	que	0
72.	B	Talvez suba com o marido para o quarto, e tirando a roupa diga que passou quatro horas numa pensão amarela de uma cidade-dormitório, mas não sei se o marido vai acreditar ou prestar atenção.	... oom, and, as she sheds her clothes, may say she spent four hours in a yellow boardi ...	que	0
73.	B	O do Diário Vigilante vai fazer outra pergunta, mas ela o interrompe e diz que trabalha no 204 há quinze anos,	... mething else, but she interrupts him to say she's been working at number 204 for fi ...	que	0
74.	B	Encontrando a mala, vai interfonar e interpelar o porteiro, que dirá que a mala é minha, e aprumando o colete subirá para guardá-la onde mamãe bem entender.	... l the porter on the intercom, and he'll say the case is mine; straightening his wai ...	que	0

75.	B	O porteiro quer porque quer carregar a mala, quer correr para me abrir o elevador, quer me chamar de patrãozinho e diz que o bom filho à casa torna.	... me, wants to call me 'young master' and say the good son returns home. A black wh ...	que	0
76.	B	Lendo como sempre o pensamento do irmão, ela dirá que o tratamento médico sai das economias dela.	... s always her brother's thoughts, she'll say the medical treatment comes out of her ...	que	0
77.	B	O porteiro dirá que a viúva era de família muito boa e bem relacionada, o que não interessará ao inspetor.	... about the occurrence. The porter will say the widow came from a good, well-connec ...	que	0
78.	B	Interfona para a casa 16 e diz que há um cidadão dizendo que é irmão da dona da casa.	... He calls number 16 on the intercom to say there's a gentleman here who says he's ...	que	0
79.	B	Digo que podem me matar, e consigo despertá-la.	... eople after me, and she says 'Yes.' I say they may kill me, and manage to stir he ...	que	0
80.	B	É um edifício de três andares que pouca gente nota, e quem nota não gostaria de morar nele, mas quem mora nele diz que dali só sai para o cemitério.	... there, but the people who do live there say they'll only leave for the cemetery. ...	que	0
81.	B	uma baixinha com cara de índia e lenço na cabeça, ... investe contra o zelador, gritando "diga que conhece meu filho, miserável!".	... and attacks the concierge, shouting out 'Say you know my son, you miserable so-and-s ...	que	0
82.	B	Imagino que o delegado tenha dito que já providenciara um cerco aos receptadores, ou que mandara investigar o amante da arrumadeira.	... affair. I imagine the chief of police said he'd already organised surveillance of ...	que	0
83.	B	E disse que nunca se viu empregado ligar para astrologia, ainda por cima crioulo, que nem signo tem.	... orter to switch that rubbish off. And said he'd never heard of a servant switching ...	que	0

84.	B	E quando ela falou que o filho é sério e trabalhador, justo naquele instante o rapaz apareceu na portaria, e a câmera o pegou descendo na calçada com uma sunga de borracha, imitando pele de onça.	... more on television. And just when she said her son was honest and hardworking, the ...	que	0
85.	B	Era alguns anos mais velho e dizia que eu tinha um futuro.	... He was a few years older than me and said I had a future. He spent his time rea ...	que	0
86.	B	Disse que eu também devia renunciar às terras, mesmo que para isso tivesse de enfrentar minha família, que era outra bosta.	... and and died in a railway station. He said I should also give up my land, even if ...	que	0
87.	B	Ela atendia e dizia que eu estava no trabalho, dando plantão, mas ele não acreditava muito.	... idered inconvenient. She answered and said I was at work, night-duty, but he didn' ...	que	0
88.	B	Até que num fim de tarde minha ex-mulher voltou do médico com uma cara horrível, bateu a porta do quarto e disse que tinha tirado o filho.	... face, she slammed the bedroom door and said she'd put an end to the child. In flo ...	que	0
89.	B	Um dia, na sauna, meu amigo disse que os antigos chamavam esses banhos de lacônicos.	... lse. One day, in the sauna, my friend said the ancients called them laconical bath ...	que	0
90.	B	Um dia ela voltou do médico, puxou-me pela mão até o quarto, estava muito corada e disse que havia dado positivo, estava esperando um filho.	... the bedroom, she was very red-faced and said the results were positive, she was expe ...	que	0
91.	B	O rapaz tem uma mancha de mercúrio cromo na cabeça enfaixada, agita uma flanela, e diz que o jantar está na mesa.	... n his bandaged head, he waves a rag and says dinner's on the table. When I go in t ...	que	0
92.	B	Meu cunhado fala "merda", afasta o prato com um resto de pele e espinhas de peixe, e diz que está até hoje com o gosto do ferro no céu da boca.	... away with some fish skin and bones, and says even now he's got a taste of metal in h ...	que	0
93.	B	O ex-pugilista indica-me com a metralhadora, e diz que também nunca deu nada por mim, julgava-me	.oxer points the machine gun at me, and says he didn't take me seriously either, rec ...	que	0

		um ladrão de bolsas, um malandrinho, um pé-rapado.			
94.	B	Meu cunhado diz que esse era o mais perigoso, porque estava totalmente dopado.	... oked like a surfer. My brother-in-law says he was the most dangerous one, because ...	que	0
95.	B	Interfona para a casa 16 e diz que há um cidadão dizendo que é irmão da dona da casa.	.om to say there's a gentleman here who says he's brother to the lady of the house. ...	que	0
96.	B	Um sujeito atrás de mim diz que também é de jornal e pergunta "afinal a bichona era artista ou o quê?".	... in their trunks. ' A fellow behind me says he's from the newspapers as well and as ...	que	0
97.	B	Meu cunhado, com um pouco de farofa na boca, diz que teve duas entrevistas com a psicóloga da garota.	... r-in-law, a bit of manioc in his mouth, says he's had two exchanges with the girl's ...	que	0
98.	B	Tapa uma narina para assoar a outra, e conta que com ele só restaram as crianças.	... nostril in order to blow the other, and says he's only got the kids left. Those ot ...	que	0
99.	B	Diz que o amigo tem uma casa de campo vizinha ao nosso sítio, mas desistiu do veraneio porque a região anda muito mal freqüentada.	... ra with a That's right, isn't it? ' He says his friend has a house in the country n ...	que	0
100.	B	Diz que o amigo diz que deixei nosso sítio virar um antro de vagabundos.	... because the area's gone downhill. He says his friend says I let our farm turn int ...	que	0
101.	B	Respira fundo e diz que o apresentei esta noite a membros de uma grande organização, mas o ruivo já não presta atenção ao que ele diz; levanta-se, contorna a mesa, pára diante de mim sem me fitar, e seu olho esquerdo é de vidro.	... everyone. He takes a deep breath and says I introduced him earlier that evening t ...	que	0
102.	B	Diz que o amigo diz que deixei nosso sítio virar um antro de vagabundos.	... a's gone downhill. He says his friend says I let our farm turn into a doss-house. ...	que	0
103.	B	Minha irmã dirá que é para eu ligar mais tarde, e o marido dirá que basta de me dar dinheiro.	... 'll think I'm on the phone. My sister says I should ring back later and her husban ...	que	0
104.	B	Saca um relógio antigo tipo cebola, e diz que tenho	... out an old-fashioned pocket watch, and says I've	que	0

10

		cinco minutos para sumir do mapa.	got five minutes to disappear from ...		
105.	B	O grisalho diz que é sempre assim, que em toda família que se preze existe um porra-louca.	... ith the words 'This is him. ' Greyhair says it's always the same, every self-respec ...	que	0
106.	B	Diz que está na sua hora e beija a mão da magrinha, rogando-lhe que permaneça sentada.	... legs, without leaning on the sofa. He says it's time to go, and kisses the skinny ...	que	0
107.	B	Diz que mamãe tem andado tão sozinha, nem empregado ela quer, só tem uma diarista que às terças e quintas vai lá, mas diarista mamãe acha que não é companhia.	... p and asks if I've visited Mummy. She says Mummy has been so lonely, she doesn't e ...	que	0
108.	B	Meu cunhado manda o copeiro de volta, e diz que minha irmã precisa espairecer.	... rother-in-law sends the butler out, and says my sister needs to relax. I try to im ...	que	0
109.	B	Meu cunhado diz que ninguém guarda um milhão de dólares em casa, aliás ninguém mais usa cofre dentro de casa.	... house empty-handed. My brother-in-law says nobody keeps a million dollars at home, ...	que	0
110.	B	A magrinha diz que teve dó do garotão, aquele com cara de surfista.	... conversation short. The skinny woman says she was sorry for the youth, the one wh ...	que	0
111.	B	A secretária eletrônica diz que ela está na Alfândega, telefone tal, e que após o sinal é para deixar o recado.	... ing my ex-wife. Her answering machine says she's at the Customs House, on such and ...	que	0
112.	B	Ela se levanta e diz que está atrasada, diz "fica à vontade", não sabe se sorri, molha os lábios com a língua, leva os cabelos para trás da orelha e vai.	... on her whenever I want. She gets up, says she's running late, says 'Stay as long ...	que	0
113.	B	Finalmente minha ex-mulher estala a língua e diz que sente muito, mas não vê por onde me ajudar.	... y ex-wife finally clicks her tongue and says she's very sorry but she can't see how ...	que	0
114.	B	Antes de me largar com a mala no posto, o gêmeo diz que o chefe foi mesmo com a minha cara.	... and the case at the bus-stop, the twin says the boss liked my face. And that his ...	que	0
115.	B	Em seguida a magrinha aprova a psicóloga, e diz que	... nny woman backs up the psychologist and says	que	0

				que	0
		a garota precisa elaborar as suas fantasias.	the kid needs to work out her fantasies ...		
116.	B	Faço sim com a cabeça, querendo mudar de assunto, e a magrinha diz que os jornais precisavam incrementar a notícia, pois não tinha graça publicar que os ladrões saíram desta casa de mãos abanando.	... hange the subject, and the skinny woman says the newspapers had to embroider the sto ...	que	0
117.	B	Meu cunhado diz que nesse ponto os jornais foram decentes, respeitaram minha irmã.	... a spoonful of each. My brother-in-law says the newspapers were decent about that a ...	que	0
118.	B	Conta que os patrões nunca aparecem, mas quando aparecerem vão ter um bom dum aborrecimento.	... the living room and the bedrooms. He says the owners never come but when they do ...	que	0
119.	B	Ela diz que é coisa pouca, que já enfiou tudo numa mala, e que o boy da butique depois entrega a mala no apart-hotel.	... ve got some clothes in her house. She says there's not very much, that she's alrea ...	que	0
120.	B	Sem esperar resposta, despeja as jóias na mesa e diz que correspondem exatamente à descrição que minha irmã lhe fez.	... spreads the jewels out on the table and says they fit exactly the description my sis ...	que	0
121.	B	Ele diz que isso não deu nos jornais, mas a magrinha garante que toda a cidade comenta o caso.	... ls to the crooks, and I nod again. He says this didn't come out in the newspapers ...	que	0
122.	B	A magrinha bate três vezes na madeira de seu espaldar, e diz que no próximo assalto convém receber os bandidos na porta com um milhão de dólares.	... its her wooden backrest three times and says the next robbery they must welcome the ...	que	0
123.	B	Quando meu amigo me deixou em casa, ainda me lembro dele dizendo que não achou grandes coisas, a antropóloga.	... d dropped me home, I still remember him saying he didn't rate the anthropologist. I ...	que	0
124.	B	Meu cunhado quer me defender e diz que sou meio artista, dá-me um soco nas vértebras e diz "não é mesmo?".	... My brother-in-law tries to defend me by saying I'm something of an artist, slapping me ...	que	0

125.	B	a magrinha diz que os jornais precisavam incrementar a notícia, pois não tinha graça publicar que os ladrões saíram desta casa de mãos abanando.	... e story, because there's no interest in saying the thieves left the house empty-handed ...	que	0
126.	B	Depois apanha uma garrafa de uísque atrás do encosto e diz que meu cunhado, não dá para confiar nem na bebida dele.	... a bottle of whisky from behind the seat saying you can't trust my brother-in-law, let ...	que	0
127.	G	Conocía, dijo, a una vieja solterona del Septième Arrondissement que alquilaba habitaciones a los estudiantes por una cifra módica: él mismo había ocupado una de ellas antes de vivir con su compañera y podía servirme de introductor.	... to find me somewhere to lodge.He said he knew an old spinster in the Septième ...	0	0
128.	G	se encargaron de recordarme de modo abrupto las restricciones y límites de la realidad: la obra les interesaba, me dijeron; pero en las circunstancias	... imits and restrictions of reality: they said they were interested in the work, but i ...	0	0
129.	B	Lembro-me do instante em que ele ergueu o copo, agitou o copo seco com uma rodela de limão grudada no fundo, e fez menção de se levantar para reforçar a caipirinha.	... slice of lime stuck to the bottom, and said he was going to recharge the caipiri ...	0	0

TELL					
	A	Source segment	Target segment	que/o	that/o
1.	S	"-Dígale al hijo de puta que, como no deje el retrato en donde estaba, le meto los dos cartuchos de la escopeta y le vuelo los huevos.	... d to control his fury and speak out. 'Tell that bastard that if he doesn't put the ...	que	that

2.	S	Tu compadre Nushiño te dirá que los shuar sólo buscan matar a los perezosos tzanzas.	... on of pain. Your friend Nushi–o will tell you that the only animals the Shuar kil ...	que	that
3.	S	Sin dejar de llorar lo abrazaron, le entregaron provisiones, y le dijeron que desde ese momento no era más bienvenido.	... ey embraced him, gave him supplies, and told him that from that moment he was no lon ...	que	that
4.	S	Un mandato desconocido le dictaba que matarla era un imprescindible acto de piedad, pero no de aquella piedad prodigada por quienes están en condiciones de perdonar y regalarla.	... ncio and Miranda. An inner voice was telling him that to kill her was an act of nece ...	que	that
5.	P	y entonces le dije (le dije, no le prometí), que al próximo Diego que se atravesara en mi camino lo defendería a capa y espada,	... ngue out when he noticed me; and then I told him (I told, didn't promise) that I wou ...	que	that
6.	O	"Poder decirle que no pido nada más que no estar solo esta noche, la piel caliente y una sola palabra perdida que yo pueda recoger,	... ingly caressed. I just want to tell her that all I ask is not to be alone t ...	que	that
7.	O	<s>Todo eso que inevitablemente va a perder, no un día, no si le digo de repente que le maté al padre, sino que lo va perder día a día, por el solo hecho de vivir,	... that, not on one day, not if I suddenly tell her that I killed her father, but she'l ...	que	that
8.	O	Quería más allá de los tachos de basura y decirle que era aquella la última posibilidad de salvarse, que si no podían quedarse allí ya no había lugar a donde ir y q	... passage, past the rubbish tips, and to tell her that it was the last possible chanc ...	que	that
9.	O	Cómo decirle que había removido cielo y tierra para conseguir un pasaje, que había suplicado,	... lly little moustache. How could he tell him that he had moved heaven and earth ...	que	that
10.	O	Con decirle que vas de mi parte.	... re. You can trust him. Just tell him that I've sent you. ' 'I ...	que	that

11.	O	¿Eh? Y el general, fíjese, me contó Valdivia, le contestó que como la policía política había estado siempre bajo las órdenes de él,	... And the general, according to Valdivia, told him that the political police had alway ...	que	that
12.	O	Porque Valdivia me dijo que Gary le había dicho al general que habría que mandar aviso urgente a la policía política y estar prevenidos y ver cómo lo tomaba usted.	... >Listen to this. Because Valdivia told me that Gary had told the general that ...	que	that
13.	O	Porque Valdivia me dijo que Gary le había dicho al general que habría que mandar aviso urgente a la policía política y	... >Because Valdivia told me that Gary had told the general that he should send an urge ...	que	that
14.	O	-Pero ¿qué va a hacer? Ya le dije que mi marido no está.	... . 'What do you want? I just told you that my husband isn't in.' ...	que	that
15.	O	sin prisa, como si no supiera, como si todo no le estuviera diciendo que si los hombres volvían a revisar y la patrona decía sonriendo: "No se llama Santana;	... he didn't know, as if everything wasn't telling her that if the men checked up again an ...	que	that
16.	O	una noticia de Ossorio, que su instinto le había estado diciendo que Ossorio era más importante que Barcala y toda la gente arrinconada en la Casa del Partido.	... of Ossorio, that his instinct had been telling him that he was more important than Bar ...	que	that
17.	G	Un señor con un panamá se destocaba al cruzarse con nosotros y, bromeando, decíamos a la abuela que estaba prendado de ella y pretendía ser su novio.	... when he passed us and we would jokingly tell Grandmother that he was in love with he ...	que	that
18.	G	: enterado por Gutiérrez de que preparaba otro, se obligó a interceder y sacarme del atolladero a cambio de mi promesa verbal	... jo to defend my book fully: he had been told by Gutiérrez that I was preparing anoth ...	que	that

19.	G	Monique Lange me dijo en un castellano aproximativo que su jefe Dionys Mascólo quería conversar conmigo y me preguntó si hablaba francés.	... ile very precisely.Monique Lange told me in rudimentary Spanish that her boss ...	que	that
20.	G	Me dijo, sin ninguna agresividad ni reproche, que la víspera le vieron en un bar del barrio borracho como una cuba y	... th a worried look on his face.He told me in an even tone, unreproachfully, th ...	que	that
21.	G	Una de nuestras vecinas se había asomado asimismo a mirar y dijo que el pueblo era ya de "los nuestros".	.ome out to have a look as well and she told us that the village now belonged to "ou ...	que	that
22.	G	Tu madre te sorprende una vez, retira suavemente tu mano y dice que no hay que hacerlo.	... caught you, gently moved your hand and told you that you shouldn't do it.The ...	que	that
23.	G	llegado el momento de irme, en un signo de connivencia dirigido a mí, lo despedirá también de forma un tanto abrupta, como dándome a entender que el terreno está libre.	... farewell to him rather abruptly, as if telling me that the way is clear.When I r ...	que	that
24.	B	Ao acompanhar o delegado à porta, meu cunhado cuidou de lhe dizer que naquela noite sua mulher estava voando para o estrangeiro, mas voltaria em breve e deixara lembranças.	... e out, my brother-in-law was careful to tell him that his wife was flying abroad tha ...	que	that
25.	B	Penso em lhe avisar que hoje os moleques dos limões não vêm, mas sinto imenso cansaço.	... xpecting other passengers. I think to tell him that today the kids with the limes ...	que	that
26.	B	E desde a descida da serra algum impulso me dizia que hoje eu iria acabar ligando para minha ex-mulher.	... rom the mountains some impulse has been telling me that today I'd end up ringing my ex- ...	que	that
27.	S	Dile que soy un buen ciudadano.	... counted out, adding:'The very idea! Tell him I'm a law-abiding citizen. ' The ...	que	0

28.	S	Y conste que siempre la tengo cargada.	... into him and blow his balls off. And tell him my gun is always loaded. ' The in ...	que	0
29.	S	- El caso es, doctor, que los amigos aquí presentes no me creen cuando les digo que soy muy macho.	... my friends here don't believe me when I tell them I'm really macho. I've told the ...	que	0
30.	S	hablan de ti llamándote el Cazador, y les respondes que eso no es cierto, porque los cazadores matan para vencer un miedo que los enloquece y los pudre por dentro.	... n talk about you as the hunter, and you tell them it's not true, because hunters kil ...	que	0
31.	S	Y si está pensando en el arma, le aseguro que los shuar no la tienen, pues lo encontraron muy lejos del lugar de su muerte.	... you're thinking about the weapon, I can tell you the Shuar haven't got it, because t ...	que	0
32.	S	Algo le decía que el animal no estaba lejos.	... Something told him the animal wasn't far away. She ...	que	0
33.	S	Los repetidos golpes de algo voluminoso cayendo en el agua le indicaron que estaban cerca de un brazo de río o de un arroyo crecido.	... of something massive hitting the water told him they were near a tributary of the r ...	que	0
34.	S	Regresó hasta el grupo orientándose por el olor a tabaco y les comunicó que había encontrado un lugar para pasar la noche.	... the group by the smell of tobacco, and told them he'd found a place where they coul ...	que	0
35.	S	El caso es que les he dicho que me dejo sacar todos los dientes, uno por uno y sin quejarme.	... n I tell them I'm really macho. I've told them I'll have all my teeth taken out o ...	que	0
36.	S	Y, bueno, el colono les dijo que no importaba.	... ly think about stealing. The settler told them it didn't matter. The gringos w ...	que	0
37.	S	y las débiles palabras de Nushiño le decían que llegaba el momento de pagar la deuda contraída cuando lo salvaron luego de la mordedura de la serpiente.	... whites, and Nushi–o's feeble voice was telling him the moment had come to repay the de ...	que	0

17

38.	P	¿No me irás a decir que estás celosito?	... 'Why are you looking like that? Don't tell me you're jealous? ' 'I saw you gettin ...	que	0
39.	P	"Un amigo mío al que no se le nota nada y que también te conoce, te vio en un encuentro provincial de no me acuerdo qué y me dijo que eras de Las Villas, como Carlos Loveira".	... meeting of some committee or other and told me you were from Las Villas like Carlos ...	que	0
40.	P	Pero sí, tengo moral, alguna vez te declaré que soy patriota y lezamiano.	... that. But I do have my moral code, I told you once I'm a patriot and a Lezama Lim ...	que	0
41.	P	Reapareció, aclarando que John Donne era un poeta inglés totalmente desconocido entre nosotros, y que él,	... e an unfinished wall. ' He reappeared, telling me John Donne was an English poet who w ...	que	0
42.	O	Dígale que estoy con las dos mujeres en el restaurante.	... 'All right,' he sighed with a smile. 'Tell him I'm with the two women in the resta ...	que	0
43.	O	Y si cuando salís alguno te invita para ir, le decís que no podés, que tu mamá no te deja y que tenés costumbre de dormir solita.	... you to go with them as you're leaving, tell him you can't, that your mother won't l ...	que	0
44.	O	pensé que estabas planeando ponerme un revólver en el pecho y decirme que te quedabas de cualquier modo.	... planning to stick a gun in my ribs and tell me you were going to stay anyway. ...	que	0
45.	O	-Le dije que hiciera un experimento con el tango - dijo Ramón sin variar la sonrisa.	... nd and the club towards him. 'I told him I was going to experiment with the ...	que	0
46.	O	Me dijiste que tenías ese título para una novela.	... to him, "'Love-bitten dust. " You told me you'd got that title for a novel. ...	que	0
47.	O	Le contaba a una persona que estabas esperando un pasaje y que yo estaba seguro de que te iban a dar nomás el pasaje.	... hought I wouldn't see you again. I told someone you were waiting for a passage ...	que	0

48.	O	Contesté que Barcala había escapado y que salíamos a buscarlo, no le dí importancia al asunto, dije que ya se arreglaría.	... ack from chasing after Barcala. I told them Barcala had escaped, that we were ...	que	0
49.	O	[pm] -El verdulerito les dijo que yo estaba aquí y vinieron -dijo Barcala-.	... io's head. 'The greengrocer fellow told them I was here and they came,' said Ba ...	que	0
50.	O	Bueno, el Jefe tenía algo aquella mañana sentado delante del gran mapa en la pared cuando me dijo que yo tenía toda su confianza.	... in front of the big map on the wall and telling me he had every confidence in me. ...	que	0
51.	O	Podés imaginar tonos y subtonos para escuchar cómo te digo que no pueden quedarse aquí.	... half-tones you like as you listen to me telling you you can't stay here. I'm expe ...	que	0
52.	B	Ela vai entrar com a freguesa na loja, mas eu toco seu ombro e explico que não posso me registrar sem bagagem num apart-hotel, com a roupa toda lambuzada e a barba por fazer, uma pinta de marginal que concierge nenhum vai deixar subir.	... omer, but I tap her on the shoulder and tell her I can't book into a hotel without a ...	que	0
53.	B	Digo que estou metido numa encrenca séria, e ela diz "sei".	... tically as if she's got a bad line. I tell her I'm in a tight corner, and she says ...	que	0
54.	B	Digo que tem gente me seguindo, e ela diz "sim".	... ight corner, and she says 'I know. ' I tell her there are people after me, and she ...	que	0
55.	B	E disse que eu devia fazer igual ao escritor russo que renunciou a tudo.	... said just that: 'You're a turd. ' And told me I should imitate the Russian writer ...	que	0
56.	B	Depois ela me contou que pretendia conhecer o Egito, falou de sua experiência no cinema, como continuísta, e no fim da festa botou taro para mim.	... teach me an African dance. She later told me she intended to get to know Egypt, s ...	que	0
57.	B	Vivia lendo os jornais, as revistas especializadas, depois me contava que era tudo mentira.	... en specialist magazines, and afterwards told me they were all lies. He received le ...	que	0

58.	B	E diz que seu irmão gêmeo, que conhece melhor o mercado, preveniu o chefe de que esta mala continha duas vezes o valor das jóias.	... n brother, who knows the market better, told the boss the suitcase contained twice t ...	que	0
59.	B	A índia responde à Rádio Primazia que prenderam o filho porque ele estava sem documento.	... never seen such a thing. ' The Indian tells Radio Primazia they arrested her son be ...	que	0
60.	B	Já estou dormindo quando ouço o telefone novamente, e desta vez imagino que o ruivo diga ao copeiro que é uma questão de vida ou morte.	... in, and this time I imagine the redhead tells the butler it's a matter of life and de ...	que	0
61.	B	A magrinha, afirma que se trata de gente com ligações poderosas.	... e'd got the file on the squatters. He tells the skinny woman they're people with po ...	que	0
62.	B	Agora o delegado nos comunica que o caso do sítio nas montanhas é mais grave do que suspeitava.	... r regards. Now the chief of police is telling us the situation on the farm in the mou ...	que	0
63.	G	y, al volver, advertido por un chivato de una grave infracción al silencio, quiso saber quiénes habían armado bulla.	... nutes and when he came back an informer told him that the rule of silence had been b ...	0	that
64.	O	-De parte de Estévez, es urgente.	... to the telephone near the entrance. 'Tell him it's Estévez and it's urgent.' ...	0	0
65.	O	Usted no viene a decirme buena pesca. ¿Qué?	... said Morasán. 'You didn't come to tell I've got a good haul, did you?' ...	0	0
66.	G	A primeros de diciembre había recibido una carta de Castellet: me anunciaba su intención de pasar quince días en París y requería mi ayuda para encontrarle alojamiento.	... I had received Castellett's letter: he told me he was to spend a fortnight in Paris ...	0	0
67.	G	Según oímos decir a mi padre, Barcelona había sido liberada por los requetés.	... urses and oaths at it.Our father told us Barcelona had been liberated by Carl ...	0	0

| 68. | G | A veces duermes allí y, cuando te llevan a ver a tu madre, enferma últimamente de hidropesía, te anuncian la llegada de un hermanito. | ... as just fallen ill with dropsy, you are told you have got a baby brother. You ... | 0 | 0 |

Appendix H - Use of 'that' after SAY and TELL in CTMJC

	A	Source segment	Target segment	que/0	that/0
SAY					
1.	VI	Hablando con verdad, no puedo decir que éste sea mi siglo.	… y . . . To tell the truth, I cannot say that this is really my century . . . …	que	that
2.	VI	-Hablando de las procesiones, el sacristán de las Madres me dijo que tal vez este año no saliesen las que costea y patrocina mi Señora la Princesa.	… essions, the sacristan from the convent said that perhaps this year the floats paid …	que	that
3.	V	Y (y quizá tenga razón) le explica que sí claro, militares hay y a mucha honra, este es un club de	… explains that, yes, she's delighted to say that there are soldiers, this is one of …	que	that
4.	V	María veloz cual saeta determina que la deuda asciende a 000 nacionales.	… Swift as an arrow, María says that the debt has now risen to 27, …	que	that
5.	V	Por sobre todo ese revuelo se hace oír el mayor Vento, sereno, diciendo que esto es inadmisible.	… the calm voice of Major Vento is heard saying that this cannot be tolerated. Tha …	que	that
6.	SF	El maestro se quedó un momento sorprendido y luego dijo que sí. Alfanhuí conocía bien la leña.	… r was somewhat taken aback, but then he said that he would. Alfanhuí knew about f …	que	that
7.	SF	. La madre perdonó a su hijo; pero el niño dijo que quería ser disecador y tuvieron que mandarlo de aprendiz con un maestro taxidermista.	… The mother forgave her son, but the boy said that he wanted to be a taxidermist and …	que	that
8.	SC	Escuso de lhe dizer que foi justamente a "impossibilidade" que se realizou..	… ace. Time passed. I need hardly say that it was precisely that "impossibili …	que	that
9.	SC	E não receio avançar muito afirmando que ela não impressionava a nossa vista, mas sim o nosso tacto.	… on't think it would be going too far to say that it did not so much affect our sigh …	que	that

1

10.	SC	Disse-me que em Lisboa muita gente perguntava por mim, que apenas vagamente se sabia que eu estava em Paris por alguns portugueses que tinham vindo à Exposição.	… lay only days before I vanished.He said that a lot of people in Lisbon had aske …	que	that
11.	SC	Deve ter dito que, no fundo, a verdadeira culpada do meu crime for a Marta, a qual desaparecera e que a polícia, segundo creio, procurou em vão.	… a truly brilliant case.It must be said that, basically, the real culprit of my …	que	that
12.	SC	Que não a concluíra ainda, que não me satisfazia.	… to the point: give me your play.'I said that I hadn't finished it yet, that I w …	que	that
13.	SC	Que nunca lhe falara, que apenas o conhecia de vista e, sobretudo, que admirava intensamente a sua obra.	… e wrote Embers.. . 'I said that I had never spoken to him, but kne …	que	that
14.	SC	E o poeta concluiu que tudo aquilo mais lhe parecia hoje uma visão de onanista genial do que a simples realidade.	… ings we had witnessed.And the poet said that it seemed more like the vision of …	que	that
15.	SC	Lembrava-me numa reminiscência vaga: na sua carta o meu amigo não me escrevera propriamente que se tinha casado.	… his letter my friend had never actually said that he had got married.That is, h …	que	that
16.	SC	- Sabe, meu querido Lúcio - uma vez contara-me o escultor -, o Fonseca diz que é um ofício acompanhar-me.	… ar Lœcio,' he said to me once, 'Fonseca says that going around with me is an art in …	que	that
17.	VI	Dice que será el último, porque está casi ciega.	… try it on. She made it herself. She says it will be the last one she makes, beca …	que	0
18.	V	-Sí, el del caballo, claro. Dicen que la carne de caballo es muy nutritiva. El caballo de los milicos que cayó muerto ¿no lo oyó? Ya deben de estar carneándolo nuestros muchachos. Estaban preparados, algunos hasta tenían facón. ¡Cachá el lomo, Patri! /	… Yes, from the horse. They say horse meat's very nutritious. The ho …	que	0
19.	V	-¿Yo? ¿Yo? Y bueno, digamos que soy el que vino a acabar con esta farsa. O al menos con los farsantes, con	… 'Me? Well, let's just say I'm the one who came to put an end to t …	que	0

		todos los farsantes. En lo posible.			
20.	V	Además parece que está lleno de mendigos, de desalojados durmiendo en las calles céntricas. Un espanto.	… reason for that. What's more they say it's full of beggars, of homeless peopl …	que	0
21.	V	-Están de maniobras porque en el cuartel ya no hay más seguridad, dicen, dicen que las empalizadas están podridas. En el club, en cambio, todo está bien organizado, ordenado, dicen. ¿De qué se preocupa?	… the barracks isn't safe any more, they say the timber in the stockade is rotten. …	que	0
22.	SF	y tuvo que irse de la escuela porque el maestro decía que daba mal ejemplo.	… to leave the school because the teacher said he was setting a had example. His mo …	que	0
23.	SC	. O Ricardo de Loureiro.	…Ricardo de Loureiro. He said you hadn't written to him once since yo …	que	0
24.	V	Ella hubiera querido decir no la disculpo nada, váyase, pero la civilidad gana la partida y le dice	… Señora.' She'd like to say that no, she doesn't forgive her, but p …	0	that
25.	V	Capricornio o Leo. No por eso estoy más predispuesta que otros a la duda o al autocuestionamiento, pero conozco a fondo la verdadera ambivalencia.	… gn of Capricorn or Leo, which is not to say that I'm any more inclined than others …	0	that
26.	V	En las altas esferas del gobierno y en el Ministerio de Defensa se dice 'La cosa no pasará de acá', pero se temen graves hechos de sangre, confrontaciones entre el pueblo y las tropas rebeldes".	In the corridors of power in the government and in the Ministry of Defence it is said that the matter will go no further, but others fear bloody confrontations between the people and the rebel troops.'	0	that
27.	SC	Contudo, ignoro se é felicidade maior não se existir tamanho instante.	… their own lives. I cannot honestly say that the greater happiness is not …	0	that
28.	SC	Por exemplo: uma coisa onde nunca me vi, foi na vida - e diga-me se na realidade nos encontramos nela?	… n life itself - anyway could you really say that what we have is a life? But le …	0	that
29.	SC	E daí, quem sabe se eles é que têm razão.	… ates. . . But then, who is to say that they aren't right. . . an …	0	that
30.	V	-Están de maniobras porque en el cuartel ya no hay más	… 'They're on manoeuvres because they say the	0	0

		seguridad, dicen, dicen que las empalizadas están podridas. En el club, en cambio, todo está bien organizado, ordenado, dicen. ¿De qué se preocupa?	barracks isn't safe any more, they ...		
31.	V	la señora Carla le recomendó mucho cuidar de esta señora que necesita descanso vaya una a saber por qué, no parece enferma.	... Señora Carla said I should take extra care of this woman because she needs to rest, though God knows why, she doesn't look ill.	0	0
32.	V	Antes de irme sabía, ahora el enemigo no está más o dice no estar y está y yo ya no sé dónde estoy parada.	... enemy's no longer there, or at least he says he isn't, but he is and I just don't kn ...	0	0
33.	SF	decían, porque, aunque de jóvenes se habían dicho de éste o de aquél, ya como no se uncían, ni labraban,	... when the oxen were young, people would say they belonged to this man or that, now ...	0	0
34.	SC	Jantei com os meus amigos. Despedi-me cedo pretextando um ligeiro incómodo.	... I dined with my friends but left early saying I was feeling slightly unwell. I hu ...	0	0

TELL					
	A	Source segment	Target segment	que/0	that/0
1.	VI	-Decid a vuestra Señora la Princesa Gaetani toda mi gratitud, y que me hospedo en el Colegio Clementine.	... ive my grateful thanks to your lady and tell her that I will be staying at the Colle ...	que	that
2.	VI	Os abrirá una vieja, y le diréis que deseáis hablarle: Con esto sólo os hará entrar.	... will open the door to you, and you will tell her that you wish to speak to her. Th ...	que	that
3.	VI	-Conviene saber que el Nazareno y el Cirineo son los mismos que había antiguamente.	... we had left the room: 'I should just tell you that the figures of Our Lord and of Simon the Cyrenian are the originals.	que	that
4.	V	Carla le había dicho que María la iba a atender bien, no le había aclarado ni quién era María, a ella no le interesó	... g about anything - yet. Carla had told her that Maria would take excellent car ...	que	that

				que	that
5.	V	- Doña Carla me dijo que usted viene de afuera, por eso no sabe cómo aumenta todo acá.	... a long time, haven't you? Dona Carla told me that you'd been abroad, that's why y ...	que	that
6.	V	Me dijeron que antes vivía en Nueva York: usted debe de estar muy enferma. Gran ciudad, Nueva York, dicen.	... My country. Our country. I was told that before, you lived in New York: you ...	que	that
7.	V	María se encrespa y le dice que los diarios ahí no entran, porque están muy caros,	... . María gets angry and tells her that newspapers aren't allowed at t ...	que	that
8.	V	El, sin perder la compostura, le hace saber que a lo simbólico sólo puede accederse a través de lo imaginario.	... point.' Unruffled, he tells her that one can only gain access to th ...	que	that
9.	V	A la señora este tipo de bromas no le causa gracia. Le hace saber a María que debería darle vergüenza abusar así de ella y burlarse de los muy graves problemas del país.	... such jokes in the least bit funny, She tells Maria that she should be ashamed of abu ...	que	that
10.	SF	<p><s>, y me ponía muy triste y me avergonzaba tenerles que decir que no te conocía. <s>	... ally sad then and be ashamed to have to tell them that I'd never even met you. <s>I ...	que	that
11.	SF	redondo. Le contaron que aquel olmo retenía los vientos en su copa y los aprisionaba durante siete días y siete noches.	... ch a huge, round elm tree grew. They told him that the elm tree held the winds ca ...	que	that
12.	SF	Era un mendigo robusto y alegre, y me contó que le germinaban las carnes de tanto andar por los caminos, de tanto caerle el sol y la lluvia y de no tener nunca casa.	... He was a sturdy, jolly beggar and he told me that the reason his flesh germinated ...	que	that
13.	SF	nunca casa. Me dijo que en el invierno le nacían musgos por todo el cuerpo y otras plantas de mucho abrigo, como en la cabeza,	... se he had never lived in a house. He told me that in winter, moss and other prote ...	que	that
14.	SC	Eu punha-me a animá-lo; a dizer-lhe inferiormente que urgia pôr de parte essas ideias abatidas.	... I would try to cheer him up, would tell him abjectly that he must put aside suc ...	que	that
15.	SC	Ora eu lembrava-me muita vez de que essa triste aventura havia de ter um fim.	... my life at one point. I would often tell myself that this sad affair would have ...	que	that

5

16.	SC	Contara-me que fora essa a sua maior preocupação na vida - a arte da sua vida..	... to see them and feel them again. He told me that this was his one obsession in l ...	que	that
17.	SC	E um dia um prisioneiro mulato - decerto um mistificador - disse-me que o tinham vergastado sem dó nem piedade com umas vergastas horríveis -	... atto prisoner - doubtless a fantasist - told me that they had beaten him mercilessly ...	que	that
18.	SC	Confessou-me que expiava igualmente um crime de assassínio.	... nguished-looking, tall and lean. He told me that he too was in prison for a murd ...	que	that
19.	SC	Falei-lhe da sua obra, que admirava, e ele contou-me que lera o meu volume de novelas e que, sobretudo, lhe interessara o conto chamado João Tortura.	... about his work, which I admired, and he told me that he had read my volume of short ...	que	that
20.	SC	O meu interesse hoje em gritar que não assassinei Ricardo de L oureiro é nulo.	... I have absolutely no interest now in telling the world that I did not murder Ricardo ...	que	that
21.	Q	Esquecia-me dizer-lhe que mudámos de padeiro:	... Opoponax' .. . Oh, and I forgot to tell you that we've changed baker's. The ...	que	that
22.	Q	Devo anunciar-lhe que o nosso bom Sá-Tó aqui apareceu, de volta de Tien-Hó,	... alabash jam . . . I'm pleased to tell you too that Sá-Tó got back safely from ...	que	that
23.	V	<s>Me dicen que la ciudad está muy cambiada; <s>he escuchado otras cosas,	... see what's going on around me. <s>They tell me the city's changed a lot; <s>I've he ...	que	0
24.	V	Alguien le dijo a ella hace poco, sin embargo, le dijo que más vale no pensar ni recordar.	... told her so a little while ago, they'd told her it was better not to think or remem ...	que	0
25.	SF	Un día el niño se puso a hablar con él, y el pobre gallo, con la boca torcida, le dijo que sabía muchas cosas, que lo librara y se las enseñaría.	... e poor cockerel, its mouth all twisted, told him it knew many things and that, if th ...	que	0
26.	SF	Su madre lo encerró en un cuarto con una pluma, un tintero y un papel, y le dijo que no saldría de allí hasta que no escribiera como los demás.	... om with a pen, an inkwell and paper and told him she wouldn't let him out until he h ...	que	0

27.	SC	Disseram-lhe que eu não estava, mas Ricardo, sem ouvir, precipitou-se no meu quarto a gritar-me:	... on he himself came to find me. They told him I was not at home, but Ricardo paid ...	que	0
28.	VI	Una vez en la casa, rogadle que os escuche, y exigidle secreto sobre lo que vais a confiarle.	... ce inside, ask her to listen to you and tell her that what you have to say must rema ...	0	that
29.	VI	-... Monseñor Ferrati, me anunciaba el designio que de otorgarme el capelo tenía Su Santidad.	... which my friend Monsignor Ferrati first told me that His Holiness planned to make me ...	0	that
30.	Q	Cedi. E ordenei a Sá-Tó que fosse propor à turba uma copiosa distribuição de sapeques - se ela consentisse	... ' I gave in and told Sá-Tó to go and tell the mob that we would make a generous d ...	0	that