

**Universidade Federal de Santa Catarina
Pós-Graduação em Inglês e Literatura Correspondente**

**Retextualizing *Dubliners*:
A Systemic Functional Approach to
Translation Quality Assessment**

Maria Lúcia Barbosa de Vasconcellos

**Tese submetida à Universidade Federal de Santa Catarina para a obtenção
do grau de Doutora em Letras
opção Língua Inglesa e Lingüística Aplicada**

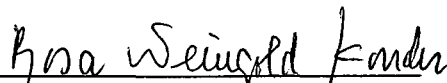
**Florianópolis
Dezembro 1997**

Esta tese foi julgada e aprovada em sua forma final pelo programa de de Pós-Graduação em Inglês para a obtenção do grau de

Doutora em Letras
Opção Língua Inglesa e Lingüística Aplicada ao Inglês

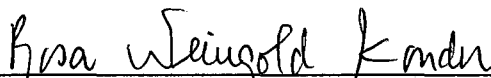


Dra. Barbara O. Baptista
Coordenadora



Dra. Rosa Weingold Konder
Orientadora

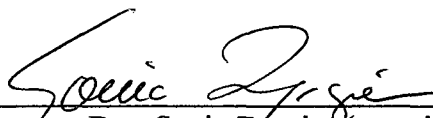
BANCA EXAMINADORA:



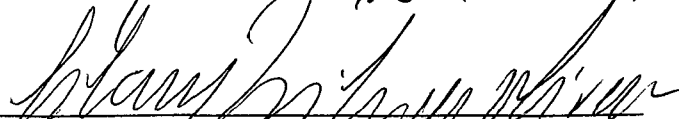
Dra. Rosa Weingold Konder (orientadora)



Dra. Stella Ester Ortweiler/Tagnin (examinadora)



Dra. Sonia Zyngier (examinadora)



Dra. Solange Ribeiro de Oliveira (examinadora)



Dr. Walter Carlos Costa (examinador)

Florianópolis, 12 de dezembro de 1997

To

**Maurício
Marina**

Sérgio

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

As with the academic discussion in my thesis, I also felt the need for a framework within which to place my statements of acknowledgement. I chose systemic linguistics, for its possibilities of analysis of both the potential and the actual, in the light of the paradigmatic axis along which an individual's action can be measured.

Many people have, in different ways, helped me actualize my potential meanings and translate them into coherent discourse. What these people have done has significance in the light of the other things they *could not have done* but *did* and against *the other possibilities available in our semiotic system for the realization of meaningful actions*. In this context, they could have **not** suggested bibliography, **not** lent central books, **not** offered suggestions, **not** read the different versions, **not** discussed exhaustively the lines of the arguments I developed, **not** believed in the meaning of my work, **not** pushed me further, **not** participated in class discussions. In short, they could **not** have got interested.

But **they did**. I am thankful to them.

- **Valeria Herzberg**, who helped me translate my potential meanings into actual behavior.
- **Marina Vasconcellos Leão Lírio**, who shared with me the long hours of work.
- **Prof Dr Thaís N. Diniz, Prof M. Luiza C. do Valle, Prof Gloria Gil, Dr. Suzana L. de Oliveira, Dr. Octavio Lanna de Vasconcellos Filho**, who encouraged me.
- **Prof. Sandra R. Ensslin**, who did a nice job with the visual aspect of my work.
- **Prof. Dr Viviane Heberle and Prof. Dr Désirée Motta Roth**, who shared with me their intellectual company and the hells and heavens of the journey.
- **Prof. Dr Munira Mutran, Prof. Dr José Luiz Meurer, Prof. Mauro Bittencourt, Prof. Maura Dourado, and Prof. Mailce Motta**, who provided crucial bibliography.
- **Prof. Dr José Roberto O'Shea**, who opened his translated text for scrutiny.

- **Profs. Dr Walter Costa and Dr Malcolm Coulthard**, who, respectively, supervised part of my doctorate work and assisted me in the design of the Thesis Project.
- **Prof. Dr Sérgio L. P. Bellei**, who triggered the whole process and contributed valuable suggestions feeding directly into the text.
- **Prof. Dr Rosa Konder**, who, for her scholarly attitude, inspired me and taught me rigour and discipline.

I should also like to express my gratitude to the Universidade Federal de Minas Gerais - UFMG, for a leave of absence for my doctorate work, to my colleagues at DLLE, for making suitable arrangements allowing me to finish this thesis, and to CAPES, for granting me a scholarship. And finally, I would like to thank MY STUDENTS for being energetic interlocutors in the classroom discussions on translation issues. To them, the results of my intellectual efforts.

12 de dezembro de 1997

Abstract

Retextualizing *Dubliners*: A systemic functional approach to translation quality assessment

Maria Lúcia Barbosa de Vasconcellos

**Universidade Federal de Santa Catarina
1997**

**Prof. Dr. Rosa Weingold Konder
Supervisor**

Recent trends in literary translation studies have shown interest in the contacts between literatures and cultures. Therefore, research in this area has concentrated on the close link between translation and culture and on the function of literary translation in the receptor context. Important as these studies are, they seem to overemphasize the cultural aspects while overlooking the linguistic aspects of translation. This thesis argues the case for a particular kind of linguistic analysis, description and assessment of translated literary texts, drawing on Systemic Functional Linguistics (SFL), a semantically-oriented theory of language, as the framework for the investigation. Operating with the concept of translation as *retextualization*, it compares two short stories by Joyce, 'Araby' and 'Eveline' with some published translations into Brazilian Portuguese. The source text (ST) and the translated texts (TTs) are described in terms of *systemic choices* for the special foregrounded configurations emerging to encode ideational and interpersonal meanings. The translators' sensitivity to the meanings selected and realized in the ST and their response to them in terms of the options retextualized underlie the evaluation of the TTs. It is argued that the analysis of literary texts and their retextualizations with regard to how they come to mean, that is, *translational stylistics* informed by the tools of SFL, offers solid grounds for Literary Translation Quality Assessment.

Resumo

Retextualizing *Dubliners*: A systemic functional approach to translation quality assessment

Maria Lúcia Barbosa de Vasconcellos

**Universidade Federal de Santa Catarina
1997**

**Prof. Dr. Rosa Weingold Konder
Orientadora**

Tendências recentes em estudos em tradução literária têm demonstrado interesse em contatos entre literaturas e culturas. Assim, a pesquisa na área tem se concentrado na íntima relação entre tradução e cultura e na função da tradução literária no contexto receptor. Embora de grande importância, tais estudos enfatizam os aspectos culturais, desconsiderando os aspectos lingüísticos da tradução. Esta tese propõe um tipo especial de análise, descrição lingüística e avaliação de textos literários traduzidos, baseando-se no referencial teórico da Lingüística Sistemico-Funcional, uma teoria de linguagem que toma como ponto de partida as significações das expressões lingüísticas. Operando com o conceito de tradução como *retextualização*, este estudo compara dois contos de Joyce, 'Araby' e 'Eveline' com algumas traduções publicadas no Brasil. O texto de partida e os textos traduzidos são descritos em termos de *escolhas sistêmicas*, com especial atenção às configurações que emergem para a codificação de significados interpessoais e ideacionais. A sensibilidade dos tradutores para tais significados selecionados e realizados no texto de partida e sua resposta a eles em termos das opções *retextualizadas* informam a avaliação dos textos traduzidos. Argumenta-se que a análise de textos literários e de suas *retextualizações* em termos de sua forma de significar, ou seja, *estilística translacional* baseada nos conceitos da Lingüística Sistemico-Funcional, oferece um sólido referencial para a avaliação da qualidade de textos literários traduzidos.

CONTENTS

INTRODUCTION	01
CHAPTER 1	18
LINGUISTICS AND TRANSLATION STUDIES: PERSPECTIVES	
1.1 The fuzzy place of Linguistics in Translation Studies (TS)	19
1.2 Of which linguistics do they speak?	21
1.3 The intra- and inter-organism perspectives	23
1.4 What does Systemic Linguistics (SL) do?	26
1.5 <i>Functional</i> Systemic Grammar (FSG)	29
1.6 Translational phenomena in the functional paradigm	34
1.7 Translation and the translator from the FSG perspective	41
1.8 Foregrounding	44
CHAPTER 2	47
SYSTEMIC-FUNCTIONAL LINGUISTICS (SFL) AND TRANSLATION STUDIES (TS)	
2.1 The rationale for the review of literature	48
2.2 Early studies	49
2.3 More recent studies	57
2.3.1 Studies in the textual function of language	58
2.3.2 Studies in the interpersonal and ideational functions of language	66
2.3.3 General studies in a functional approach to language	71
2.4 The contribution of this thesis	81
CHAPTER 3	83
<i>EVELINE</i>: (RE)CONSTRUCTION(S) OF THE SEMANTIC CATEGORY OF MODALITY	
3.1 Introduction	84
3.1.1 Preliminary remarks	84
3.1.2 Aim, scope and procedures	85
3.1.3 Organization	86
3.2 Modality:	87
3.2.1 Categorical vs. modalized assertions	87
3.2.2 The notion of Modality	90
3.2.2.1 Halliday's contribution	90
3.2.2.2 Other relevant approaches	96
3.2.2.3 The terminological issue	104
3.2.3 The framework proposed	105

3.3 Modality in English and in Portuguese	109
3.3.1 Modality in English	110
3.3.2 Modality in Portuguese	113
3.4 Modality in <i>Eveline</i>	117
3.4.1 Implications of the narrative style for the discussion of modality	119
3.4.2 Eveline's logics in the ST:	124
3.4.2.1 The logic of <i>uncertainty</i>	127
3.4.2.2 The logic of <i>obligation</i>	132
3.4.2.3 The logic of <i>desire</i>	136
3.5 Eveline's logics in the TTs	141
3.5.1 The logic of Uncertainty / Prediction in TTs	145
3.5.2 The logic of Uncertainty / Recollection in TTs	150
3.5.3 The logic of Obligation in TTs	155
3.5.4 The logic of Desire in TTs	164
3.6 Other relevant comments	173
3.6.1 Misreadings	173
3.6.2 The modal <i>should</i>	175
3.6.3 An illustration: Paragraph 12	176
3.7 Results and Discussion: a summary of the different configurations	179
3.8 Final Remarks	188
CHAPTER 4	192
ARABY VS. ARABY VS. ARÁBIA: THE ROLE OF THE HUMAN INTERPRETER IN THE PRODUCTION OF MEANING	
4.1 Introduction	193
4.1.1 Preliminary remarks	193
4.1.2 Aim, scope, corpus and analytical procedures	196
4.1.3 Organization	198
4.2 TRANSITIVITY: Definition and basic concepts	198
4.2.1 Transitivity: the grammar of PROCESSES and PARTICIPANTS	199
4.2.2 The Transitive and the Ergative interpretation of the Processes	202
4.2.3 Agency and Causativity	204
4.3 Encoding experience in language: The ST	206
4.3.1 Textualization A: From phenomenon to consciousness	209
4.3.2 Textualization B: From consciousness to phenomenon	214
4.3.3 Textualization C: The fusion	217
4.4 Encoding experience in language: The TT's	219
4.4.1 (Re)textualization A in TT1 and TT2	219
4.4.2 (Re)textualization B in TT1 and TT2	228
4.4.3 (Re)textualization C in TT1 and TT2	231
4.4.4 Summary Tables: (Re)Textualizations A, B, and C in the three texts	232
4.5 An illustration of (Re)textualizations A, B and C at work: <i>Light</i> in ST, TT1 and TT2.	234
4.6 Final remarks	240
CONCLUSION	245
BIBLIOGRAPHY	260
APPENDICES	

Figures and Tables

Figures

Figure 1.1 Halliday's schematic representation of language as social semiotic (1978:69)	31
Figure 1.2 Proposed schematic representation of language as social semiotic in the translational context	39
Figure 3.1 Relation of modality to polarity and mood (Halliday, 1994:357)	91
Figure 3.2 The <i>locus</i> of modality	96
Figure 3.3 Framework proposed: the four areas of modal meaning	107
Figure 3.4 Eveline and the modal meanings foregrounded in ST	124
Figure 3.5 Eveline and the modal meanings foregrounded in TT1	142
Figure 3.6 Eveline and the modal meanings foregrounded in TT2a	143
Figure 3.7 Eveline and the modal meanings foregrounded in TT2b	144
Figure 4.1 The grammar of experience: Types of process in English (Halliday, 1994)	200

Tables

Table 3.1 Simpson's basic components of modality	100
Table 3.2 Eveline's logic in ST	126
Table 3.3 The logic of uncertainty/prediction in TTs	146
Table 3.4 The logic of uncertainty/recollection in TTs	152
Table 3.5 The logic of obligation in TTs	157
Table 3.6 The logic of desire in TTs	165
Table 3.7 Modal meanings in the four "Evelines"	182
Table 3.8 Frequency of occurrences of modality	183
Table 4.1 Material and mental processes: meanings and key participants	201
Table 4.2 Equivalence between the ergative and transitive functions in Material and Mental Processes	206
Table 4.3 (Re)Textualization A: From phenomenon to consciousness: The 'enchantment' Language	232
Table 4.4 (Re)Textualization B: From consciousness to phenomenon: A sense of Agency	233
Table 4.5 (Re)Textualization C: The 'epiphany' clause	233
Table 4.6 Different ways of saying, different ways of meaning	234

ABBREVIATIONS

SFL	Systemic Functional Linguistics
SL	Systemic Linguistics
FSG	Functional Systemic Grammar
SCG	Scale and Category Grammar
ST	Source Text
TT	Translated Text
TS	Translation Studies

INTRODUCTION

The framework created in 'The Name and Nature of Translation Studies' also dissolves the controversy between the linguistic and the literary approach to translation studies. In Holmes' view, the field must not be limited to one specific text-type, nor to one single theoretical approach. On the contrary, the complexity of translating and translation can only be dealt with from an interdisciplinary point of view.

van Leuven-Zwart, 1991

1. Initial remarks

Recent trends in literary translation criticism (or quality assessment) focus on the close link between translation and culture and acknowledge the fact that meaning is always contextual and constructed in each culture according to social-cultural circumstances. The basic assumption, the advocates of this 'cultural turn' say, is that 'culture makes various demands on translations' (Bassnett-McGuire & Lefèvere 1990, preface) and any translation produces changes in a culturally constructed system of meaning as these are transposed to a different linguistic system in which meaning production is determined by different rules, emphases and perspectives. Consequently, research in this area has frequently concentrated on issues like the function of literary translation in the receptor literature both as a powerful transculturation device and as a strategic cultural practice, specially in the context of peripheral countries and minority languages or in the context of countries in the postcolonial situation.

For instance, Simon's studies (1994, 1995) of the social discourse on translation in Quebec/Canada analyze what she calls 'anthropophagic translation'; in Brazil, people like the de Campos brothers view translation as a form of transgression (Campos, H. de, 1975 and 1981) and develop the 'cannibalistic' theory of translation; or Milton (1993), to give another example, analyses what he calls *O poder da tradução*, looking at, among other things, 'a influência que a tradução poderia ter sobre uma cultura' (ibid: 14); and, finally, in Ireland, Cronin (1996) looks at translation within the context of cross-cultural

encounters in Irish history, tackling issues like the nationalist re-appropriation via translation and the feared yet desired contacts with other cultures.

These studies, collectively known as *Function-Oriented Translation Studies*, given greater systematizing of the area, might possibly lead to the establishment of a separate field of research — *translation sociology*, quite legitimate in its own right (Shuttleworth & Cowie, 1997:63), concerned with the political and ideological nature of the act of translating.

However important such studies are, they may not tell the whole story: while legitimately concentrating on cultural issues, they tend to overlook linguistic aspects of translation. From this, it follows that research along these lines can account for the environmental features having a bearing on translation but cannot account for ‘the way in which these environmental features are projected onto the text’ (Halliday, 1978:143). In other words, they cannot establish the connection between situational and lexicogrammatical features coming in as the realization of the external relationships affecting the translational act. A crucial link seems to be missing here in terms of the bidirectionality between language and situation.

It is an established fact that the complexity of translating and translation can only be dealt with from an interdisciplinary point of view. And it is also a known fact that linguistic studies of translation which regard translation as an operation in language alone and are grounded in concepts equating ‘equivalence’ with ‘linguistic sameness’ (Snell-Hornby, 1990:11) are ruled out as they suffer from serious limitations. What is needed then is a kind of linguistic approach to translation studies which can provide for the integration of textual, contextual, generic, semiotic and cultural aspects of the translational process. In the case of literary translation quality assessment, when the basis of appreciation has to be made explicit, focus on language becomes necessary.

This thesis argues the case for a particular kind of linguistic analysis, description and assessment of translated literary texts. Thus it locates itself between a literary, a translational and a linguistic point of view looking at translation from a *functional perspective* and proposing an approach which can integrate the textual, contextual, semiotic and cultural aspects of the translational process.

The term *functional* has a number of meanings in Translation Studies and Linguistics. Elsewhere (Vasconcellos, 1996:165-180), I discuss the various meanings attributed to the term *function* and the various meanings of the so called *functional* approach to language and translation in different frameworks. In this article, I highlight the special significance of the terms in the Hallidayan view of language, whose *functional* orientation is seen both at a macro-level in the *functional component hypothesis* (ideational, interpersonal and textual) and a micro-level in the *microfunctions* or *functional roles* (Actor, Agent, Theme, etc.) derived from the macrofunctions, ‘and which, during the *realization process*, are conflated into bundles corresponding to elements of the surface grammatical structure’(Butler, 1985:228).

In the discussion carried out here, it refers broadly to an approach which:

- i) views interlingual translation as a communicative act serving different purposes in different contextual configurations;
- ii) sees language as a meaning making potential;
- iii) considers the linguistic system as socially functional, and finally;
- iv) accepts the organization of the linguistic system into three levels, one of them being the *semantic system*, whose representation in the grammar has an internal organization into functional components, reflecting the social functions of language.

The emphasis is thus on how the purposes for which language is used and the contexts in which it appears affect the choices language users make, speakers/writers and translators included.

The work draws mainly on Halliday's view of language as meaning potential, and of grammar as 'the powerhouse where meanings are created' (Halliday, 1994a:15). Within this view, 'the grammatical categories [are] explained as the realization of semantic patterns' (ibid:xvii). For its reconciliation of grammar and lexis in a socially and semantically oriented functional theory of language, SFL is seen as a linguistics that can offer significant contributions to TS.

To serve the purpose of studying language as used in translation based on the view of language defined above, I have chosen to place my descriptive, analytical and evaluative comments within the framework of *Systemic Functional Linguistics* (SFL). This linguistic theory is also a social theory in that 'it proposes firstly that it is in the nature of human behavior to build reality and/or experience through complex semiotic processes and secondly, that the principal semiotic system available to humans is their language' (Hasan, 1985:vii). From this perspective, linguistic items play a central role in terms of their function in building meaning. The main concern of language description in these terms is then to account for how language is used, that is, how and why individuals make choices from the syntactic structures and vocabulary available in the repertoire of their language in accordance to the meaning they wish to express. In this sense, a grammatical structure represents 'a configuration that is derived as a whole from the semantic level of which it is the realization (Halliday, 1978:45).

In the case of translation, translators as meaning makers have a special relationship with the reality they model in the sense that they are working with meanings

already selected and TEXTUALIZED¹ in another language. The argument put forward here is that, other things being equal, that is, in the absence of specific objectives guiding the production of the translation in the target situation accounting for manipulations of the source text (ST), sensitivity to the meanings selected and realized in the ST is central for the RETEXTUALIZATION if it is to stand in an effective translational relationship with the previous textualization². This sensitivity, it is argued, will be reflected in the meanings selected and realized in the production of the translation.

Translation quality assessment, therefore, is also affected by the recognition of the meanings produced in the ST against which those meanings produced in the TT will be measured. It is exactly in the understanding and evaluation of texts __ translated or not __ that Halliday's Functional Grammar can be of use. In the quote below, pointing out the different purposes for which one may want to analyze a text, Halliday (1994a:xv) says that 'there are always two possible levels of achievement to aim at':

One is a contribution to the **understanding** (emphasis his) of the text: the linguistic analysis enables one to show how, and why, the text means what it does. In the process, there are likely to be revealed multiple meanings, alternatives, ambiguities, metaphors and so on. This is the lower of the two levels; it is one that should always be attainable provided the analysis is such as to relate the text to the general features of the language __ provided it is based on a grammar, in other words. The higher level of achievement is a contribution to the **evaluation** (emphasis his) of the text: the linguistic analysis may enable one to say why the text is, or is not, an effective text for its own purposes __ in what respects it succeeds and in what respects it fails, or is less successful. This goal is very much harder to attain. It requires an interpretation not only of the text itself but also of its context (context of situation, context of culture), and of the systematic relationship between context and text.

Drawing attention to the characteristics of a linguistic approach that connects the micro with the macro perspective, Halliday highlights two important moments, the descriptive moment, and the evaluative moment. If this is true for any text, it is also true for

¹ The concepts of *textualization* and *retextualization* are defined in Chapter 1, together with other basic concepts and notions used in the thesis.

² In this respect, I share Ivir's view (1996: 156): 'the assumption is that the translator would not have departed from literalness without a valid reason: literal meaning is the starting point from which the translator begins and to which he constantly returns for the verification of his decisions.'

translated texts: While the analysis relates the translated text to the general features of the target language, it may enable one to say why the TT is, or is not, *an effective translated text for its own purposes* __ *in what respects it succeeds and in what respects it fails, or is less successful*. And all of this against the background of the meanings selected and textualized in the source language. That is, the descriptive, the comparative and the evaluative moments integrating contextual parameters and lexicogrammatical features.

2. What this thesis *will not do*, what it *will only partially do*, and what it *will do*

This thesis asks questions regarding the suitability of a particular linguistic framework for Translation Studies. The potentiality of the functional framework, to be elaborated in Chapter 1, is manifold ranging from supplying the terminological apparatus for the definition of the textual phenomenon and the resulting meaning effects produced in the translation, through an interplay of textual features and the situational framework of the translation process, to an integration of textual material into more complex frames and broader perspectives in which they come to function as semiotic signals in larger cultural contexts. In other words, SFL can provide for the integration of textual, contextual, generic, semiotic and cultural aspects of the translational process.

Now that these introductory remarks have been made, suggesting the potentialities of SFL as a framework for TS, I am in a better position to give a more precise account of the scope and aims of this thesis than I possibly was before. This account will show what this thesis, given the possibilities provided by the theoretical

approach I am adopting, *does* attempt to do, what it *only partially* attempts to do and what it *does not* attempt to do at all. This is what I turn to now.

2.1 What this thesis does *not* attempt to do

This thesis is by no means intended to be a complete illustration of the ways systemic linguistics can be applied to translation studies. The potential contribution of the functional approach in terms of the possibilities inherent in the framework to account for the translational phenomenon and for the assessment of translated texts will be elaborated in Chapter 1, where I will discuss the theoretical basis of the application of this view of language to Translation Studies.

However, the interpretative moves towards the context of situation and culture, allowed for within the functional framework, 'will take us further away from the language into more abstract semiotic realms,' as Halliday (1994a:xvi) puts it, constituting a second step in the analysis. Thus it will not be pursued in this thesis. I chose to start with the analysis of the texts in terms of their lexicogrammar, so as to make explicit the interpretation of the meaning of the texts, both ST and TTs. It is important to remember, however, that in the functional context, the grammatical categories are explained as the realization of semantic patterns, facing outwards and providing 'a basis on which to relate the text to the non-linguistic universe of its situational and cultural environment' (ibid:xvii).

Thus while informed by the premise that translations are never done in a vacuum and that the cultural context in which literary translations are made is of fundamental significance for the understanding and evaluation of literary translations in the receptor literature, the thesis is not intended to examine the contextual factors affecting the

production of the translations within their time and place, here included the purposes and function of the translated texts in the target environment. Neither is it intended to elaborate on the role of the translator as the producer of meaning. These issues constitute the second step and open up new possibilities of exploration of the concepts of *context of situation* and *context of culture*, as dealt with in Chapter 1.

2.2 What this thesis *only partially* attempts to do

This thesis partially and in passing attempts to suggest the significance and consequences of the approach to translation teaching and translator training. However, this issue is not highlighted throughout the thesis, as it does not constitute the main focus. Pedagogical implications are discussed in the Conclusion, where the need for future research is pointed out into the possibilities of deriving informed teaching methods from the functional framework.

Potential approaches are suggested but not here developed of ways to sensitize translation students to the bidirectionality between contextual parameters and lexicogrammatical features, including the participants __ the interpersonal component of the translational act __ as well as considerations on the function of the translation in the receptor culture.

2.3 What this thesis *actually does* attempt to do

What it does attempt to do, however, is to suggest a theoretical framework for translation quality assessment: this aim accounts for the fair amount of space given to the discussion of the theory informing the study.

In addition, in an attempt to reconcile theory and practice and following Halliday's claim that the 'test of a theory of language, in relation to any particular purpose, is: does it go?' (1994a: xxx), it attempts to illustrate the approach proposed by looking at the lexicogrammatical features of some source and translated texts with a view to seeing how and why they mean what they do. As suggested by Halliday (ibid:xvi), 'this is a straightforward piece of interpretation which keeps close to the text *while at the same time relating it to its context of situation and culture*' (italics mine).

The selections in meaning informing the choices made from the different options within the ideational and interpersonal systems will be discussed and the effect of special selections will be evaluated. The grammar for this kind of analysis is functional and semantic in orientation so as to provide insights into the meaning and effectiveness of both ST and TTs.

A final comment is worthwhile concerning the analysis of the STs, which served as the starting point for the comparison. It was done especially for the purposes of this thesis. I would like to suggest, however, that other possibilities exist. For instance, a TT could be compared to a ST via analysis already carried out by other people. Taking, for example, Kennedy's (1976) study of Joyce's "The Two Gallants" and looking at the translations based on that analysis of meanings selected in the ST and retextualized in the TTs, the critic could get significant results.

Some basic assumptions underlie the theoretical proposal. These are set out below, together with the research questions which inform the study.

3. Basic Assumptions and Research Questions

Some basic assumptions underlying this study can be summarized as follows:

- i) forms are realizations of meanings: 'ways of saying are ways of meaning' (Hasan, 1984:105);
- ii) a text is *one* of the possible *textualizations* of ideational and interpersonal content from a range of available options, in response to contextual factors;
- iii) a translated text is *one* of the possible *retextualizations* of a text originally actualized in another language;
- iv) evaluation of texts, translated or not, rests on interpretation; interpretation rests on description;
- v) translated texts are amenable to description in terms of systemic choices, against the background of the choices actualized in the source text and in response to contextual parameters of the target situation;
- vi) changes in retextualizations, whether apparently unmotivated or motivated by contextual parameters of the target situation, reflect the translator's attitude towards the source text;
- vii) while guided by the contextual parameters of the target situation, the translator's primary material is the ST, which then can constitute a legitimate beginning for the translational act and a valid frame of reference for translation quality assessment.

From these assumptions, some questions arise:

- i) What picture will emerge from a description of the properties of the ST?
- ii) What sort of foregrounding is achieved?
- iii) How does this foregrounding contribute to the meaning of the text?
- iv) How do the translators respond to this picture?

v) What choices in meaning do they make in their retextualizations?

vi) What is the effect produced by these selections?

vii) How can TTs be evaluated against this analytical framework?

And ultimately,

viii) What is the potential contribution of SFL to TS particularly through the actual analysis of translated texts in grammatical terms, 'with the grammatical categories explained as the realization of semantic patterns' (Halliday, 1994a:xvi)?

The present research was carried out in an attempt to answer these questions dealing with them both theoretically and in an applied fashion, offering samples of analysis to validate the claims made.

4. Selection of Corpus and Analytical procedures

The corpus consists of Joyce's short stories in *Dubliners*, 'Eveline' and 'Araby' and the translations of these texts into Brazilian Portuguese, namely Trevisan's (1982, 1984) and O'Shea's (1993).

The data was selected for one main reason: the nature of the short story as a literary genre, which, in view of its length and nature, lends itself to the kind of linguistic analysis I propose to carry out. The short story is produced as concisely and economically as possible thus allowing for certain linguistic patterns to be highlighted so as to achieve certain effects and reveal particular facts about the participants in the inner situation of the text.

The methodology informing the analysis illustrating the approach to literary translation assessment proposed is centrally comparatist. To guarantee the verifiability of the comparison, some explanation is required. The kind of comparative analytical procedure used includes three consecutive, perhaps partly simultaneous operations: the comparison (the descriptive basis of the evaluation), the evaluative moment and the critical moment. The core of the study is the description which will form the basis for the comparison which in turn will allow for evaluation and assessment. In this sense it is in agreement with the descriptive framework suggested by Broeck (1985:56) for the analysis of literary translation.

Within SFL, the text is seen 'as an actualization of selections from a range of available options, in response to contextual factors' (Butler, 1985:229). Consequently, the comparison carried out has a descriptive basis in terms of systemic CHOICE³. The analytical procedure will consist in an examination, on a comparative basis, of the source and translated texts in terms of options in meaning taken up and realized in the surface structure with a view to showing how and why the texts mean what they do. The core of the study is the description itself. The descriptive statements then constitute the basis for the evaluation of the effects produced by the selections from among the resources available in English and in Portuguese for the realization of those meanings. The analysis of the translators's sensitivity to the meanings selected in the ST and the extent to which different choices create different meanings will inform the assessment of the TT's.

³The concept of choice __ of paradigmatic (either/or) relations __ postulates that each time language is used the user is actualizing some options in *meaning* against the background of other potentialities of the linguistic system and refers to the fact that 'what *is*' derives its significance from *what might have been*' (Halliday 1978: 28). This concept, together with the concept of the 'functional components', is at the heart of Systemic Linguistics: 'the prime characteristics of Systemic Linguistics is that it gives a central place to the concept of choice between alternative meanings in social contexts' (Faucett, Halliday, Lamb and Makkai, 1984: xxii). In fact, being a relational network model of grammar, SL gives equal weight to these paradigmatic relations of choice, to what *might have been but isn't* and to *what is*.

Because of the demand on time and space __ linguistic analysis is both text and time consuming __ selective analysis had to be done. This raised two questions: i) what is the basis for the selection?; ii) is the analysis to be exhaustive in order to validate the statements?

To answer the first question __ the basis for the selection __ I draw on the concept of FOREGROUNDING. While this is not the place to elaborate on this concept (this will be done in Chapter 1) it suffices to say that since i) the mode of expression varies from location to location in the short stories selected, ii) the frequency of this variation provokes the emergence of a pattern, iii) this pattern helps in constructing certain elements of the meaning of the texts, and, finally iv) the variation in linguistic patterning is certainly not arbitrary, we can say that the particular mode of expression is foregrounded by being played against the others and that it correlates with the variation in the kinds of situation found in the story. The analysis of the short stories was carried out with a view to examining that foregrounded configuration.

As for the second question __ the need for exhaustiveness for validation of the statements __ I did not analyze the clauses from every possible linguistic point of view but, again informed by the concept of foregrounding, each clause was analyzed in reference to it. In Chapters 3 and 4, where analysis of the corpora is carried out, both the source and the translated texts are searched and compared for the special foregrounded configurations emerging to encode interpersonal and ideational meanings (Chapter 3 and 4, respectively).

To get to these foregrounded configurations, the texts were examined first at the rank of the CLAUSE. The reason for this is the fact that, in Functional Grammar, the clause is assumed to be the basic unit. The text __ a semantic unit __ is related to the

clause by REALIZATION (Halliday & Hasan, 1976:2), that is, it is realized by clauses.

As Bloor & Bloor (1995:6,7) point out,

in the language itself the clause has a special place in expressing meaning because it is at this rank that we can begin to talk about how things exist, how things happen and how people feel in the world around us. It is also at the rank of clause that we usually use language to interact with others.

What is suggested here is that the clause, as a composite entity, simultaneously realizes meanings of three different kinds, *reflecting* experience, *enacting* interpersonal relationships and *enabling the realization* of the other meanings. Thus it plays a central role constituting the crucial point in the description of a text. As Halliday claims, 'if we want to explore how semantic features are represented in the grammar we look primarily at the structure of the clause' (1994a:19), examining the three kinds of meaning that are embodied in its structure. ✓

This is the principle informing the procedure in the analysis in Chapters 3 and 4. The analysis has its point of origin in the ST, which is described and evaluated first. I carry out what is known as *stylistic analysis*, in the general sense attributed to the term: the application of linguistics to the study of literature⁴. Then, I proceed to the same kind of analysis of the TTs, along the lines suggested by Malmkjaer (1993). In her article 'Who can make *Nice* a Better Word than *Pretty*?', she proposes the concept of 'Translational Stylistics' in the following terms:

By 'translational stylistics' I mean stylistic analysis of translations, involving anything from one translation to any number of Source Texts (STs) and any number of translations of them. Translational stylistics has many uses. Translators and teachers can look to existing translations to see what they have to offer (Lefevère 1981; Toury 1981). Comparisons of different translations of a text can highlight areas of ambiguity in the ST. Such areas of ambiguity are often highly significant, but they can be harder to spot in monolingual stylistics. Comparison can also

⁴Many theorists have elaborated on the benefits of linguistic analysis of literary texts. As an example, I cite Berry's comment, which I think, summarizes the potential contribution (1975:4-5): linguistic analysis can provide analysts 'with evidence in support of their intuitive judgments' (...), can 'help them to put their intuitions into words' by enabling them 'to express their observations about literary works more precisely and less emotively than is often the case in critical writing.'

highlight differences between languages, genres and cultures, which often have serious implications for comparative linguistic, literary and cultural studies.

Malmkjaer distinguishes between *monolingual stylistics* and *translational stylistics*, highlighting the many uses of the latter. What I do in Chapters 3 and 4 is to look at a number of translations of the same STs in an attempt to show how micro-shifts provoke macro-shifts in the total picture of the work as different ways of saying constitute different ways of meaning.

5. The organization of the thesis

Chapter 1 discusses the nature of the contribution of different linguistic approaches to TS. I argue the case for a functional approach to language and translation, in which form and function are interrelated in language use: Systemic Functional Linguistics. An extended version of Halliday's (1978:69) schematic representation of language as social semiotic is proposed for the study of translation as a social semiotic process. This chapter introduces a number of basic concepts (*choice, foregrounding, translation stylistics, translation as retextualization*), which will be drawn upon in the analysis and will underlie the considerations on the literary translation quality assessment. Other concepts like *transitivity* and *modality* will be fully elaborated separately in those chapters dealing specifically with illustrations of their potential usefulness to the analysis and evaluation of translated texts.

Chapter 2 places the association of SFL with TS within a historical context. As analyses have used different versions of SFL at various stages of its development, an attempt is made to explain the limited contribution of earlier studies, based on the Scale

and Category Grammar (SCG) in opposition to the latest studies, carried out after the gradual semanticization of SFL, culminating in the Functional Component Hypothesis, introduced by Halliday in the late sixties and early seventies. The most significant contributions are summarized and the contributions of the present work are suggested.

Chapters 3 and 4 explore the resources of grammar presenting illustrations of the kind of analysis proposed. By focusing on the systems of modality and transitivity, they provide descriptions and critical evaluations of translations of the two short stories selected. The description, evaluation and critical appraisal of the TTs are carried out within the framework proposed. The relation between theory and description runs through these two chapters.

Finally, some concluding remarks are made summarizing the whole work in terms of what I have done, how I have done it, and the conclusions I have reached. Some suggestions for further work are made. A discussion is carried out of the pedagogical implications of the framework proposed, in terms of its potential use for informing a program of instruction for translator training.

CHAPTER 1

LINGUISTICS AND TRANSLATION STUDIES: PERSPECTIVES

Since the translator is concerned exclusively and continuously with meaning, it is not surprising that Hallidayan Linguistics, which sees language primarily as a meaning potential, should offer itself as a serviceable tool for determining the constituent parts of a source language text and its network of relations with its translation.

Newmark, 1988

1.1 The fuzzy place of Linguistics in Translation Studies (TS)

'Translation,' says Holmes (1985:111), 'represents a crucial instance of what happens at the interface between linguistic, literary and cultural codes. So it seems absolutely normal for such divergent disciplines such as linguistics, literary and cultural studies, semiotics, communication theory, philosophy and the like to pay attention to it.' These words point to the interdisciplinary nature of translation studies (TS) and highlight the fact that insights provided by different disciplines might shed light on the translational phenomenon as a whole.

It would then seem *absolutely normal* for linguistics, among the disciplines cited, to be recognized as relevant for translation. However, the issue is far from being satisfactorily settled. While some theorists assert that 'the discipline which the majority of translation theorists draw on most heavily is linguistics' (Malmkjaer,1992:25), it is not yet the case that it holds a central position in the intellectual conversation going on in the field of Literary Translation Studies¹.

This is especially true in relation to translation quality assessment, particularly *literary* translation quality assessment, where linguistic studies are frequently referred to as 'mere linguistic studies', 'narrow linguistic approaches', or 'purely linguistic'. Curiously, expressions such as these are to be found in numerous and even divergent perspectives.

¹ I am referring to 'interlingual translation' (Jakobson 1959/1966), one of the three types of translation, the other being 'intersemiotic translation' and 'intralingual translation'. As mentioned in the *Dictionary of Translation Studies* (82-83), 'working within a semiotic framework, Jakobson defines interlingual translation as 'an interpretation of verbal signs by means of some other language' (1959/1966: 233).

To illustrate this point, some examples are drawn from different sources, including both literary and non-literary translation studies. However different, these sources have something in common: when reviewing previous research in order to create a research space __ 'to establish in the eyes of the discourse community the significance of the research field itself, and the need to situate the actual research in terms of that significance' (Swales, 1990:140-142) __ they end up drawing on what they call the *pure* and *mere* qualities of linguistically oriented theories.

Delisle (1988), for example, in what he calls 'An Interpretive Approach' (the title of his book), discusses the theory and teaching of translation. Obviously, to open space for his approach, he argues that a true theory of translation 'cannot be a simple extension of a *purely* linguistic theory describing language as a system' (ibid:33, italics added). And Lefevère (1975:3), on translation as a form of 'rewriting', mentions the 'purely linguistic aspects of the translation process', which neglect important aspects for the translation of literature.

Within another framework, that of translation as manipulation of literature, Hermans (1984:10) disqualifies linguistics on the grounds that as 'it proved *too restricted in scope* to be of much use to literary studies generally (italics added),' (...) 'it became obvious that it could not serve as a proper basis for the study of literary translation either.

As Ivir (1996:150) points out, 'it was observed that linguistics demonstrably failed in its attempts to deal with the phenomenon of translation, which suggested that its subject matter did not extend to embrace translation and/or that its methods were not suited to tackle this phenomenon.' The more radical perspectives, he goes on to say, even deny that linguistics has any role to play in TS at all.

Bassnett (1980:13), expressing a less radical view, while accepting that 'translation has a central core of linguistic activity', still rejects 'the notion stressed by *the narrowly linguistic approach* (italics added). In Bassnett's 1990 work (11-12), however, in a discussion of the cultural turn in Translation Studies, the potential contribution of linguistics is acknowledged as one among a wide variety of fields which Translation Studies can bring together, provided that linguistics moves on from a formalist approach.

There is, I would suggest, something missing in these comments. They not only do *not* quite define which linguistics they speak of, but they also make use of the term 'Linguistic Approach' in a rather monolithic sense: they reduce the linguistic approach to one single perspective, seemingly ignoring the different trends and characteristics of studies which claim to have language as their object of investigation. One's view of the role of linguistics in translation, it seems to me, depends on what one's view of linguistics is, which is not acknowledged in the positions such as the ones discussed above.

1.2 Of which linguistics do they speak?

The common criticisms underlying those perspectives rejecting the role of linguistics in TS include restriction in scope, limitation of applicability and mainly impossibility to deal with the complexities involved in the translation of literary texts. It can thus be inferred that all these comments are somehow related to what the 1997 *Dictionary of Translation Studies* (Shuttleworth & Cowie) defines as 'any approach which views translation as simply a question of replacing the linguistic units of ST with 'equivalent' TL units without reference to factors such as context or connotation' (94). The issue, however, merits a more careful discussion.

The term 'linguistic approach' used in such a general sense is 'misleading', as Shuttleworth and Cowie (*ibid*) suggest __ in view of the fact that 'modern linguistics seeks to account for these areas (factors such as context or connotation).' From this consideration, two questions remain, though: Of which linguistics do they speak? Of what limitations are they talking about? Obviously the assumption underlying these questions is that 'linguistics is not a monolithic discipline, and there is not just one subject matter and one consistent set of analytical tools (methods) that it employs' (Ivir 1996:150).

Delisle (1988:4) comes close to an answer to these questions when he opposes 'manipulation of language' to 'description of language systems' and when he suggests that (*ibid*:79) the theories that 'have failed to provide a comprehensive explanation of the translation process' are exactly those 'linguistic theories that ignore the meaning of utterances'. This reference to the neglect of the meaning of utterances, mentioned as a kind of limitation of the linguistic approach, points to one of the aspects typical of what is generally known as *formal linguistics*, which is seen as inadequate. This would be a partial answer to the first question posed above.

Another more specific answer is provided by Lefevère who, in his 1992 *Translating Literature* (7-10), offers an analysis of the contribution of linguistics to translation studies, which he calls 'linguistics-based translation thinking'. He points out two aspects which might account for the limited contribution of such studies: i) the dominance of the concept of 'equivalence',² and ii) the consideration of the isolated word

² While it is not the purpose of this introductory discussion to examine the controversial concept of 'equivalence', it is worth noting that, as Lefevère (1992:10) points out, the term 'has become so vague that it hardly denotes anything anymore or, conversely, that it denotes all things to all people.' In fact, recently, theorists have used it with caution, as can be seen in Baker's comments (1992:5): 'The term **equivalence** is adopted in this book for the sake of convenience _ because most translators are used to it _ rather than because it has any theoretical status. It is used here with the proviso that although equivalence can be obtained to some extent, it is influenced by a variety of linguistic and cultural factors

alone or 'the ideal contextless sentence' as the basic unit of translation (ibid:8).

What emerges from the examples above is that, as a rule, the limitations of linguistic studies mentioned can be summarized as follows: i) neglect of meaning; ii) decontextualization and idealization of data; iii) limitations to the confines of the word or of the sentence; iv) concentration on descriptions of language as an abstract system as opposed to language as actualized use in communication; v) descriptions without interpretation of the facts, and, finally, as a consequence, vi) the eradication of every trace of the individual using the language.

Of course, it cannot be denied that linguistic studies of translation based on such characteristics as the ones just mentioned will necessarily regard translation as an operation in language alone and will be grounded in concepts like 'equivalence' as 'linguistic sameness' (Snell-Hornby, 1990:11). In addition, they will not go beyond 'the conception of translation as mere substitution or transcoding' (ibid:85) and will consequently suffer from serious limitations. What I would like to suggest, however, is that most of these limitations can be accounted for by the fact that the linguistic approaches to which they are associated are based on concepts of language as an 'intra-organism' phenomenon, a notion which is part of a distinction proposed by Halliday, the counter-notion being an 'inter-organism' view on language and linguistics (1978:56). It is to this discussion that I turn now.

1.3 The intra- and inter-organism perspectives

and is therefore always relative.' For an illustration of the complications associated with the term, I suggest reading the entry in Shuttleworth & Cowie's 1997 *Dictionary of Translation Studies*.

There are, according to Halliday (ibid:56),

two main perspectives on language: one is the intra-organism perspective, the other is the inter-organism perspective. In the intra-organism perspective we see language as what goes on in the head; in the inter-organism perspective it is what goes on between people.

The key distinction in this quote __ that between what goes on in the head and what goes on between people __ points to opposing views under which language can be studied, that is, 'language as knowledge' and 'language as behavior' (ibid:11). While the former moves toward the realm of psychological studies, considering the human being as an isolated organism and thinking of language knowledge as what this organism knows, the latter moves toward sociology, putting the study of language in the context of its use in society, taking into account 'the fact that people not only speak, but that they speak to each other' (ibid:57).

This distinction has consequences for TS. As Hatim & Mason (1990:31-33) observe, the 'language-and-mind approach' __ an expression bearing similarities with the assumptions of the intra-organism perspective __ whose insights were mainly provided by Chomskyan linguistics, cannot 'form the basis for a useful discussion of translation'. The inappropriateness of the 'language-and-mind approach' is explained in the following terms: i) 'such a perspective was not primarily interested in the representation of lexical and other forms of meaning'; ii) 'it continued to work exclusively on descriptions of grammatical systems'; iii) no unit larger than the single sentence was analyzed, and iv) 'the data was nearly always idealized and de-contextualized' (ibid:32). These perspectives on language, when applied to translation studies, lead to discussions of translation in which the communicative value of the language used, both in the source and in the target situation, is not considered.

In the alternative for the 'intra-organism' perspective, namely the 'inter-organism' view __ 'language man-to-man' or 'language as communication between organisms' (Halliday, 1978:13) __ language is thought of as social behavior and the human being using the language is viewed as an individual organism interacting with other organisms around. As a consequence, linguistic approaches following this orientation see the text 'not as an isolated specimen of language but as an integral part of the world', to use Snell-Hornby's expression (1990:84). Thus translation studies based on them will tend to go beyond 'the rigorously linguistic conception of translation as mere substitution or transcoding' (ibid:85) and account for the complexities involved in translating and translation.

If we take the list of limitations described above and turn it the other way round, it becomes easy to see how 'inter-organism' linguistics can offer contributions to TS: i) it is primarily interested in the representation of meaning; ii) it concentrates on descriptions of language as actualized use in communication; iii) units larger than the single sentence are considered amenable to analysis and taken into account; iv) the data it looks at is contextualized and never idealized; v) interpretation of the facts accompany the descriptions carried out; and, finally, vi) the individual using the language is allowed into the scene. Linguistic study of this kind, developed along inter-organism perspectives, recognizes the larger social determinations of how texts mean.

At first sight, the move towards the social man and his use of language might seem to suggest that one has to go outside linguistics to be able to account for the complexities of language use in communicative contexts. Taking the same assumption into the realm of TS, one might be led to think that it would be necessary to go outside language or linguistics to be able to account for translation as a contextualized communicative event. This is not so, however. It is possible to integrate sociolinguistic

information into the grammar and it is also possible to say meaningful things about translation from within a linguistic framework which, while recognizing the larger social determinations of *how texts mean*, also recognizes the crucial importance of *what texts look like* lexico-grammatically, thus connecting the macro and the micro perspectives. The next section is devoted to the discussion of an approach providing this integration.

1.4 What does Systemic Linguistics do?

Inter-organism linguistics in general has to do with the relationships between language, its users and the context in which they operate. These are also the concerns of the approach to language known as Systemic Linguistics (SL), whose best proponent is the British linguist Michael Halliday. In this theory of language, contextual meaning and the social context of situation in which language activity takes place are emphasized. As Hasan (1985:vii) points out, 'such a linguistic theory is itself also a social theory, for it proposes firstly that it is in the nature of human behavior to build reality and/or experience through complex semiotic processes and secondly that the principal semiotic system available to humans is their language.'

Thus language is seen as 'not only a part of experience, but intimately involved in the manner in which we construct and organize experience' (Halliday & Hasan, 1985:v). That is, language as a *modeling* system, 'enabling human beings to build a mental picture of reality, to make sense of what goes on around them and inside them' (Halliday, 1994a:106).

Systemic Functional Linguistics (SFL) follows the tradition set up by the British linguist J.R. Firth (1935), who drew on insights from the work of the anthropologist B.

Malinowski (1923,1935). The basic assumption running through these perspectives is that context precedes text, or, in other words, 'the situation is prior to the discourse that relates to it' (Halliday & Hasan, 1985:5). This assumption underlies Malinowski's (1923) theory of the 'context of situation', a term coined to refer to the environment of the text, here included not only the immediate environment where the text is produced and consumed but also the total cultural background surrounding the event and the participants in it. While Malinowski's concern was with the explanation of 'culture', Firth, as a linguist, was interested in the cultural background of language. Halliday (Halliday & Hasan, 1985:8) refers to his view with the following words: 'In Firth's view, expressed in the article he wrote in 1935, all linguistics was the study of meaning and all meaning was a function in a context.' From this basis, and from Malinowski's concept of the *context of situation*, Halliday built his functional framework 'with emphasis on the situation, as the context in which texts unfold and in which they are to be interpreted' (Halliday, 1985b:5). 'It is in that sense,' Halliday goes to say, 'or a closely related sense, that we shall be using the term 'context' (ibid). The elaboration of his ideas has been developed from the sixties up to now, with modifications occurring throughout this period.

Halliday (1978:39) views language as basically a *tristratal* system consisting of three components that is, semantics, lexicogrammar and phonology, each constituting a system of potential, a range of alternatives. In this context, the key concept is that of *realization*, each level being the realization of the *higher* level. Thus the lexicogrammatical system (the system of what the speaker *can say*), is the realization of the semantic system (the system of what the speaker *can mean* or the meaning potential), which is itself the realization of the semiotic system (the system of what the speaker *can do* or the behavior potential). In other words, language is viewed as multiple coding, in which there is a relation of realization between the systems: *can say* is the realization of

can mean, which is one form of the realization of *can do*. These are crucial points, which lie at the basis of the difference between SFL and other paradigms.

From this theoretical perspective and considering 'theory as a means of action' (Halliday, 1994a:xxix), the answer to the question __ 'what does Systemic Linguistics do?' __ can now be summarized in terms of its premises and of the different kinds of action it allows: i) Systemic Linguistics has a semantic, not a syntactic basis; ii) it presents no dissociation of grammar and meaning; iii) it seeks to consider and identify the role of the various linguistic items in any text in terms of their function in building meaning; iv) it pays attention to the text as a fundamental linguistic unit; v) it looks at the manner in which linguistic patternings are built up for the construction of the overall text; vi) it puts emphasis on text as an *actualization of choices in meaning from a range of available options*, in response to contextual factors; and, finally, related to the last, vii) it is informed by a fundamentally paradigmatic orientation.

This emphasis on paradigmatic relations underlies the concept of a text as an *actualization* of selections from a range of available options: systemic linguistics is interested both in the *potential* and in the *actual* thus having the advantage of lending itself to 'those applications of linguistics in which we are concerned with what a speaker or writer actually *chooses* to say or write against the background of *what could have been chosen but was not*. In other words, 'the systemic school of linguistics, perhaps more than any other school, stresses the importance of the notion of choice in relation to the paradigmatic axis' (Berry, 1975:61).

This distinction between the actual and the potential is one of the strengths of SL in the sense that it allows for the analysis of texts as one of the possible *textualizations* and of translated texts as one of the possible *retextualizations* against the background of the meaning making potential of the grammar. As Butler (1985:229) points out,

however, it is the *functional basis* of systemic grammars that has been an important factor in their applicability. This *functional* orientation is discussed next.

1.5 Functional Systemic Grammar (FSG)

Halliday makes a distinction between the general orientation of systemic grammar and his *Functional Grammar*. As he explains (1994a:x), while not including 'the systemic part: that is, the system networks and realization statements,' his grammar presents the *functional* part. The claim underlying his grammar is that the functions which language serves are reflected in the organization of the language system itself thus being the ultimate basis for structure. In this respect, Butler (1988:86) points out that,

the novelty of Halliday's model lies in the claim (which we may call 'the functional components hypothesis') that these functions are *not simply extrinsic*, imposed from outside, as uses to which language can be put, but are *integrated into the basic organization of language*, in that they correspond to relatively discrete blocks of options in meaning within the linguistic system (italics mine).

It is this 'novelty' __ the functional components hypothesis __ that accounts for the semanticization of Halliday's grammar since the mid sixties, 'to the point where the system networks which are central to the grammar are themselves said to be semantic' (Butler, *ibid*:96). The metafunctional component hypothesis also lies at the basis of the evolution of the application of systemic linguistics to TS, to be discussed in Chapter 2.

Besides this macro-level perspective, the functional orientation of Halliday's model is also seen 'at a *micro-level* in the microfunctions or functional roles, such as Agent and Affected, Theme and Rheme, which are derived from the macrofunctional strands and which, during the realization process, are conflated into bundles corresponding to elements of the surface grammatical structure' (Butler, 1985:228).

These features offer the possibility of a two-level approach to the understanding of texts: a lower-level achievement (Halliday, 1994a:xv) __ the **understanding** of the text in terms of a linguistic analysis enabling us to show *how*, and *why* the text means what it does __ and a higher- level achievement __ 'a contribution to the **evaluation** of the text: the linguistic analysis may enable one to say why the text is, or is not, an effective text for its own purposes __ in what respects it succeeds and in what respects it fails, or is less successful.' (ibid). Thus the possibility of the systematic relationship between context and text is incorporated into the linguistic system itself. This feature, together with the hypothesis that there is a connection between the metafunctions and the main parameters of the context of situation __ recently referred to as the 'context metafunction hook-up hypothesis' (Hasan, 1995:222, quoted in Torsello, 1996:153) __ accounts for the fact that Systemic Functional Linguistics is becoming an increasingly popular approach to language, in view of the range of the analytical techniques it offers and the variety of applications it has been demonstrated to have.

Butler (1985:228) mentions Halliday's more recent work (up to 1985), in terms of the 'close connection between the linguistic system and other semiotic systems', which will culminate in Halliday's 1994 version of *An Introduction to Functional Grammar*, where he explicitly uses the term *modeling system* to refer to the semiotic nature of the linguistic system. As Butler (ibid) says, 'language is viewed as one of many realizations of the social semiotic, including art forms, religious institutions, and so on'. This move towards the semiotic nature of language is especially interesting to TS in that it allows for the integration, into the linguistic system, of the different factors affecting the translational process, including the participants, in particular the translator as a meaning producing agent. The possibilities inherent in Halliday's framework can be visualized in the figure below.

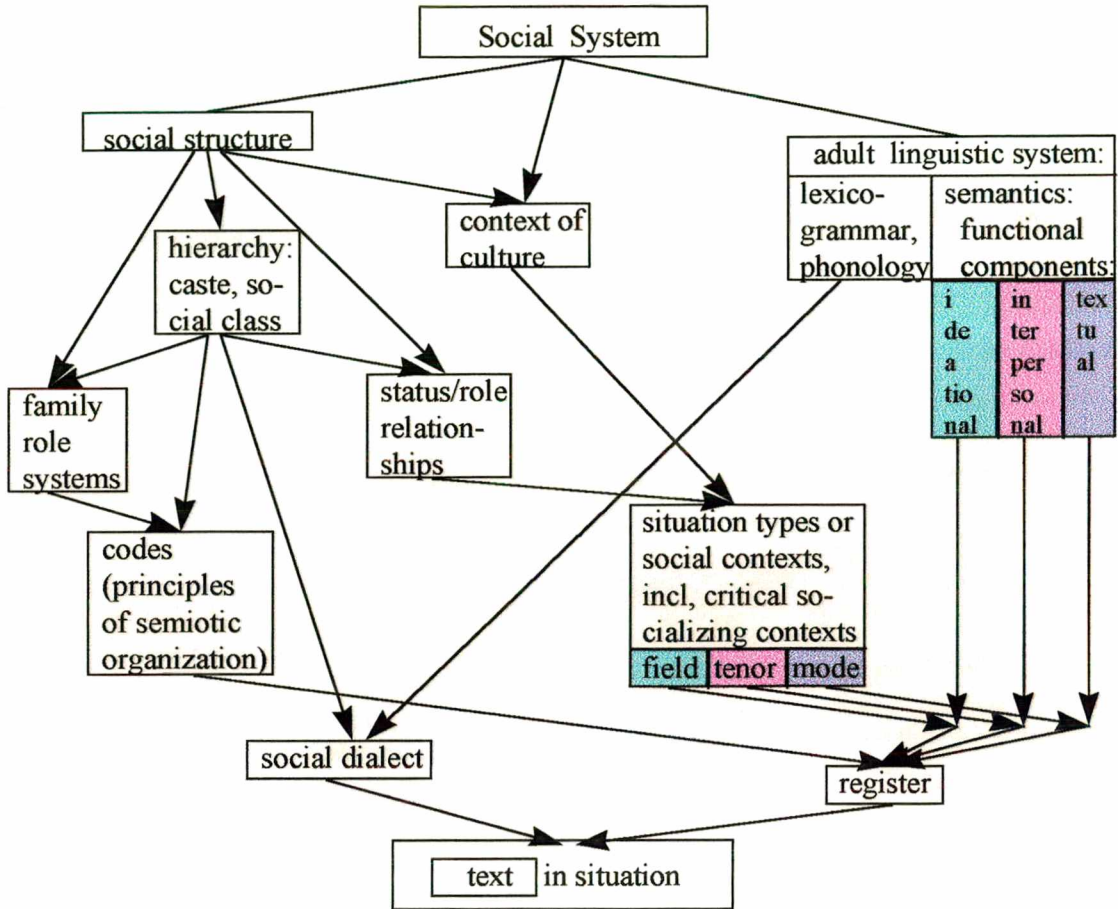


Figure 1.1 Halliday's schematic representation of language as social semiotic (1978: 69)

This figure represents the total sociosemiotic cycle of language which, as Halliday (1978:150) explains, consists of

the series of networks that extend from the social system (the culture as a semiotic construct), through the linguistic system on the one hand and the social context on the other, down to the wording and the sounds and written symbols, which are the ultimate linguistic manifestations of the text.

This relationship of the text to its various levels of meaning is depicted and the main varieties of language, 'social dialect' and 'register', represented as determinants of the text, operating on the selections of meaning within situation types.

As pointed out earlier, the semantic stratum of the linguistic system with its functional components constitutes a key feature in this framework, lying at the basis of

its applicability to a variety of fields, stylistics included. In stylistics, 'the functionally organized networks of meaningful choice available to the speaker or writer' (Butler, 1985:197) lie at the basis of a number of studies in literary stylistics, which is not surprising, if we consider the fact that 'the process of text creation essentially consists in the selection and organization of meanings and their translation into linguistic substance (ibid:197-8).

In addition to the centrality of the functional components of the semantic stratum of the linguistic system proposed by Halliday, the situation type (highlighted in Figure 1.1), constitutes another fundamental construct in the Hallidayan framework. Because it is the environment in which the text comes to life, it accounts for the bi-directionality between the situational features and the particular options in the linguistic system realized in the text. Its semantic configuration is described by Halliday (1978, 1985a, 1994a) as consisting of the categories of *field*, *tenor* and *mode*. Such categories, while activating the sets of options from within the semantic functional components (ideational, interpersonal and textual), are also represented in the lexicogrammar of the text as they are realized by the systems of Transitivity, Mood and Theme. By linking the text 'upwards' to a higher level of meaning and 'downwards' to the sentences which realizes it (1978:70), the situational categories acquire centrality in the functional framework.

This bi-directionality __ from the situation to the text and vice-versa __ is pointed out by Berry (1977:132) as one of the distinguishing features of Systemic Linguistics: 'Systemic Linguistics is more interested than other schools of linguistics in the aspects of situation, ' and, she adds, 'these aspects of situation must be taken into account if we are satisfactorily to account for the form of language.'

However, Berry (ibid:132) goes on to say that in order to account for the forms of a *literary text*, different sets of situation must be considered, which can be summarized as:

- i) the inner situation of the text, on the basis of the functional meanings being communicated;
- ii) the situation of the composition of the work of literature, including here the type of situation in which the writer wrote the piece of work for a specific audience.

Halliday (1985b:7) makes a similar point when he says, discussing the context of situation of the narratives in Malinowski's writings, that 'the context in one sense was created by the stories themselves,' or, when he says (1978:146):

in a fictional text, the field of discourse is on two levels: the social act of narration, and the social acts that form the content of the narration. (...) The tenor is also on two levels, since two distinct sets of role relationships are embodied in the text: one between the narrator and his readership, which is embodied in the narrative, and one among the participants in the narrative, which is embodied in the dialogue.

To the tenor dimension, I would add a third level, that of the relationship between the writer (embedded in the contextual configuration of his historical, geographical and ideological status) and that of the audience he is writing to (also embedded in the contextual configuration of its historical, geographical and ideological status).

Thus a multi-layered analysis can be considered within this framework. This distinction is interesting for the work carried out in the thesis. From among all these possibilities, the present research concentrates on one level, that of the lexicogrammatical features of the source and translated texts, focusing on *the inner situation of the text* and on the functional meanings being produced in the situation delimited by the work itself; however, informing the analytical process is the recognition of the bi-directionality between the lexicogrammatical features and the features of the situation in which the text unfolds.

It has been argued so far that the distinguishing features of Systemic Linguistics make it an applicable theoretical tool for a number of applied studies. A question arises at this point.

1.6 What translational phenomena can be accounted for in the functional paradigm?

A partial answer to this question can be found at the very origins of the theory of context from which Halliday's framework originated. As Hatim and Mason (1990:36) rightly point out,

it is perhaps a striking coincidence that Malinowski's theory of context was originally developed with the translator in mind. Working with people who belonged to a remote culture (Malenesian peoples in the Trobriand islands of the Western Pacific), Malinowski had to face the problem of how to interpret it for the English-speaking reader. The problem became one of translation since the cultures concerned were studied through their emergence in texts (oral tradition, narration of fishing expedition). What was the best method for portraying these texts in English: free translation, literal or translation with commentary? (...) Malinowski opted for translation with commentary. What the extended commentary did was to 'situationalise' the text by relating it to its environment, both verbal and non-verbal.

In 'The Problem of Meaning in Primitive Cultures', Malinowski (1923) refers to this environment within which the text came to life as the 'context of situation', which included not only the immediate surroundings of the speech event but also 'the totality of the culture surrounding the act of text production and reception' (Hatim & Mason, *ibid*: 37). In Malinowski's view, the cultural context is of overall importance in the interpretation of texts.

The same view is held by Halliday himself who, already in 1964 (124), in the context of a discussion of translation within the framework of 'Scale and Category Grammar' (SCG), defined equivalence 'by reference to the task performed by the

language activity and not to its grammar and lexis, in other words by reference to *contextual and not formal meaning*' (italics mine). Although he does not pursue this line of research __ the applicability of his grammar to Translation __ the seeds were there. This association will be dealt with in Chapter 2, where I discuss the applications of Systemic Linguistics to Translation Studies so far carried out.

As is argued in this thesis, since the process of *retextualization* essentially consists in the selection and organization of meanings already textualized in a source language and in their translation into linguistic substance in a target language, the systemic functional model turns out to be a productive framework for studies in translational stylistics. In fact, as quoted in the epigraph of this chapter, Newmark (1988:293) suggests that 'since the translator is concerned exclusively and continuously with meaning, it is not surprising that Hallidayan Linguistics, which sees language primarily as a meaning potential, should offer itself as a serviceable tool for determining the constituent parts of a source language text and its network of relations with its translation.'

The notions of *actual vs potential* and the concept of *choice* are central to the application of SL to TS: translated texts are amenable to description in terms of systemic choice. If we apply what Halliday has said about the range of interests of Functional Grammar to a TS context, we might come up with some interesting remarks. These are Halliday's (1978:57-8) words:

we are interested in what a particular writer has written, against the background of what he might have written _ including comparatively, against the background of other things he has written, or that other people have written.

I am proposing an extension and adaptation so as to include translated texts, as follows:

we are interested in what a particular *translator* has *retextualized*, against the background of what other people have *textualized* and of what *he might have retextualized* _ including comparatively, against the background of *other things* he has *retextualized himself*.

The examination of the translator's work against this kind of background as suggested above potentially includes the notion of *choice* and the consideration of other rewritings he has done. This perspective constitutes another possibility of application of systemic linguistics to Translation Studies, which, while taking into account the wider context of production, still has the advantage of allowing for a 'hook-up', to use Hasan's (1995) term, between the context of situation and the lexicogrammatical features of the text.

I would like to refer now, in more detail, to Newmark's (1988:293-304). discussion of the use of systemic linguistics in translation analysis and criticism. In this article, he attempts to show 'that Halliday's functional approach to language produces many valuable insights into the process and purpose of translation' (303). And, it seems to me, he is successful in his attempt, especially in terms of partial considerations of certain aspects of the functional framework.

Newmark begins by discussing the notion of *cohesion* _ 'the indispensable "cohesive" stage _ and its use by the translator who, working on four levels _ textual, referential, *cohesive* and the level of naturalness _ can profitably draw on the notion to perform his task. As he says, to him cohesion has always been 'the most useful constituent of discourse analysis or text linguistics applicable to translation' (295) and he explains this applicability in terms of the usefulness of a careful analysis of the connectives or missing connectives between sentences in the **ST** and in the **TT**. In addition, his argument goes, cohesion can also be a fundamental tool in the revision stage, in view of the maintenance of the semantic relation between the sentences in the **TT**.

Newmark then goes on to discuss 'a set of descriptive terms' available within the systemic framework which, he suggests, 'enables us to demonstrate the flexibility and multiplicity of grammatical variation' (ibid:294). Among these, he highlights those referring to lexical units (such as the Nominal Group, the Adverbial Group and so on), in which, he says, 'most of the problems are centred' (ibid). Here, he sees a direct applicability of the descriptive apparatus of SL to TS.

Newmark also considers the 'question of the nature of translation' (ibid) by drawing on one specific chapter in *An Introduction to Functional Grammar* (1985), namely 'Beyond the Clause: Metaphorical Modes of Expression'. In this respect, Newmark convincingly argues that, as in metaphor translators always have a choice, 'the numerous examples of metaphorical forms and 'congruent' rewordings could sensitize a translator to the need for frequent recasting' (295). As he says, such sensitization could raise translators' consciousness as to the various ways they can manipulate language, translating, for example, metaphorical wordings into congruent versions. Newmark goes as far as to suggest that this chapter 'could form a useful part of any translator's training course', which I find a fruitful application, especially if one thinks in terms of the *sensitization process*.

However, I find fault with Newmark's view of the contribution of Halliday's *functional* view of language to translation. Elsewhere (Vasconcellos, 1996:165-180), in the context of a discussion of the various meanings attributed to the term '*function*', I point out the difference between the *instrumental view of language function* — the idea of *putting language to certain uses* for certain purposes — and the integration of the idea of function into *the organization of language itself, and especially the idea of function as the foundation to the organization of the semantic stratum of the linguistic system*. As Halliday observes, especially in his 1994 version of *An Introduction to*

Functional Grammar, the metafunctions (particularly the ideational and the interpersonal) are the manifestation in the linguistic system of the two very general purposes which *underlie all uses of language*: to model reality (inner and outer) and to act on others in it. In other words, the functional view of language as a modeling system.

It is exactly this point which Newmark seems to fail to see, as he insists on the distinction between *the use* an individual *makes* of language for expression and *the use* of language *for purposes of communication or of social exchanges*, thus stressing the *instrumental view of function* while missing the semiotic dimension proposed by Halliday. However, Newmark is able to point out some interesting aspects of the association of SFL with TS.

It is exactly the point he missed which I would like to emphasize. In order to discuss this issue, I would like to propose an 'up-side-down' diagram of the Translated Text in Situation, based on Halliday's' schematic representation of language as social semiotic reproduced above. This 'up-side-down' diagram would look like this:

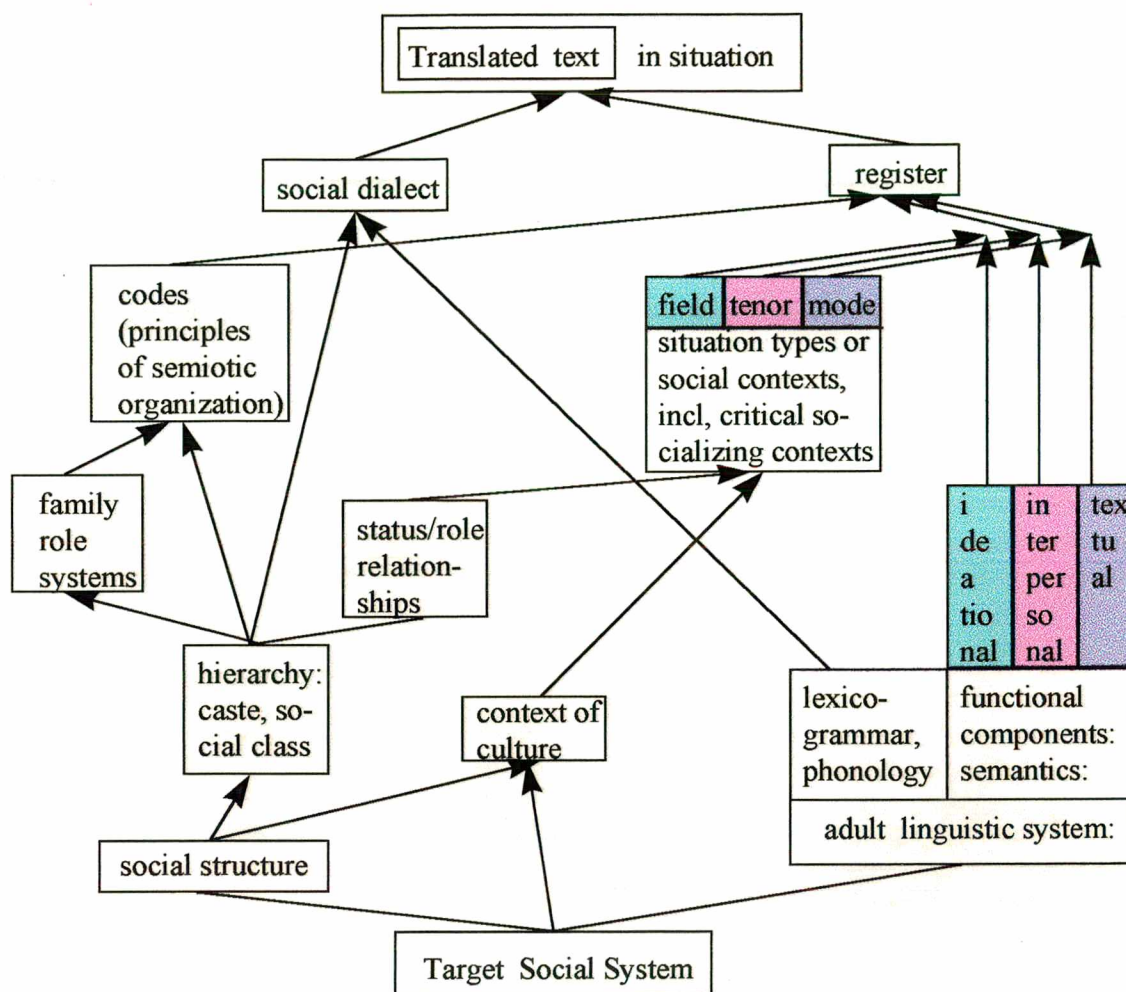


Figure 1.2 Proposed schematic representation of language as social semiotic in the translational context

In comparing Figure 1.2 to Figure 1.1, the first point I would like to make is that in both figures it is the functional components of the semantic stratum of the linguistic system which inform language use both in the source and in the target situation. These components, determining the situational configuration in which the texts come to life, are realized by structures of the Transitivity, Theme, and Mood systems into meaningful lexicogrammatical features. There is thus an intimate relationship between these built-in components and the looks of the texts in the final stage of realization. It is then not just a question of *putting language to certain uses*, as suggested by Newmark.

Other relevant points emerge from the comparison of the two figures. The context of situation merits some attention: while it was said above that the situation is *determinant* of text, here it is suggested that the translated text is *informed by the situation type in which it unfolds*. Obviously, the semantic components of the target situation consist of different configurations from those of the source situation, which will inevitably affect the choices made from the meaning potential of the target language. Especially the *tenor* component will differ, as the situation of the composition of the translated work will vary in terms of the objective of the translation and its specific audience.

However, although informed by this new configuration, the translated text will relate to the source text in a very special manner, in that it will have as its ideational material __ its content __ a representation of reality already *textualized in another language*. This fact is at the basis of the nature and concept of translation I am operating with in this thesis, that of *translation as retextualization*, discussed below.

The consequences of this theoretical position are manifold, but two aspects are relevant to the point I am trying to make: i) if the translated text is representing reality already textualized in another language, it is a legitimate procedure to start the description of texts standing in a translational relationship with a description of the options in meaning selected and realized in the ST; ii) while acknowledging the fact that 'situations vary across cultures' (Halliday, 1964:124), mainly in terms of the participants in the translational act, a picture of the meanings realized in the ST will stand as the background against which the meanings selected and realized in the TT will be measured.

In this context, as Halliday pointed out as early as 1964 (124), "what we can ask about two texts standing in a translational relationship is therefore strictly speaking not

'are these in translation or not', but 'how far are these in translation?'" In the case of literary translations, this relationship is of a special kind because 'no selection of an item or grammatical category can be regarded as final until the context of the whole work is taken into consideration' (ibid:130). Thus the recognition of the centrality of different patternings emerging in texts and contributing to the total meaning of the work, an issue examined in 1.8 below.

These considerations having been made, I am now in a position to discuss the concept of 'translation' and of 'translator' I will be operating with.

1.7 Translation and the translator from the FSL perspective

In his article, 'On analyzing and evaluating written text', Coulthard (1994:2) further develops the concept of *textualization*, drawing on Halliday's textual function of the language: 'I prefer to see any given text as just one of an indefinite number of possible texts, or rather **possible textualizations** of the writer's message' (emphasis his). The key issue in Coulthard's words is the notion that ideational and interpersonal material come into existence - are realized - through the enabling function of the textual component of the semantic stratum of the linguistic system. And in this process of realization different meanings are produced, or *textualized*. Coulthard's comments are placed in the context of the re-introduction of evaluation in the analysis of written text as he proposes to look at 'why one textualization might mean more or better than another' (ibid:1). As he reminds his readers in the opening of his article, quoting Halliday (1985a:xv), 'the higher level of achievement is a contribution to the evaluation of the text'.

This evaluative moment is central to the arguments developed in this thesis, that is, the possibility of quality assessment of alternative translations of literary works through an examination of language. For the moment, however, I would like to illustrate the notion of textualization with an example cited in Leech and Short (1981:27-28) who, quoting Burgess's (1973) distinction between Class 1 and Class 2 novelists, show 'how language creates a particular cognitive view of things'.³ In the first part of the illustration below, Burgess reproduces the opening of Joyce's *A Portrait of the Artist as a Young Man*, and in the second part, he proposes another version __ or *textualization*, in Coulthard's terms __ constituting what he means by Class 1 writers:

[1]

Once upon a time and a very good time it was there was a moocow coming down along the road and this moocow that was coming down along the road met a nicens little boy named baby tuckoo...His father told him that story: his father looked at him through a glass: he had a hairy face. He was baby tuckoo. The moocow came down the road where Betty Byrne lived: she sold lemon platt.

[2]

My earliest recollections are of my father and my mother bending over my cot and of the difference in personal odour that subsisted between my two parents. My father, certainly, did not have so pleasant an odour as my mother. I remember I would be told infantile stories, altogether appropriate to my infantile station. One of them, I seem to recall, was concerned with a cow coming down the lane __ which lane was never specified __ and meeting a child who was called (I am embarrassed, inevitably, to recollect this in maturity) some such name as Baby Tuckoo. I myself, apparently, was to be thought of as Baby Tuckoo. Or was it Cuckoo? It is, of course, so long ago...

³ As Leech and Short explain, "a Class 1 novelist is one 'in whose work language is a zero quality, transparent, unsexuctive, the overtones of connotation and ambiguity totally damped (Burgess, 1973:15).' The Class 2 novelist is one for whom 'ambiguities, puns and centrifugal connotations are to be enjoyed rather than regretted, and whose books, made out of words as much as characters and incidents, lose a great deal when adapted to a visual medium.'" Leech and Short quote this example to develop the argument of the strengths of Stylistic Pluralism, in which they include Halliday's stylistics. Obviously they use another terminology as they are speaking from within a different framework but, basically, they are putting forward similar points, those of the potential of language for creating particular cognitive views of things.

Of course, as Leech and Short say (ibid:28), 'we need not take Burgess's parody too seriously' and we might as well look at the illustrations as alternative conceptualizations. Burgess's extreme example, however, well illustrates Coulthard's point (1994:2) that 'any given text is just one of an indefinite number of possible texts, or rather **possible textualizations** (emphasis his) of the writer's message'. Or, I would also suggest, using Hasan's terms (1984:105), one of an indefinite number of possible 'ways of saying', which necessarily results in one specific 'way of meaning'.

The notion of *textualization*, central to the process of analyzing and evaluating texts, when taken over to the realm of translation studies, acquires even greater significance. The notion of translation as *retextualization* was proposed by Coulthard (see, 1992:11), and explored by Costa (1992b) in his doctoral research. Elaborating on the idea of 'how textualization works in a given language when an original writer sets out to produce a piece of text' (ibid:5), he draws on Coulthard's (1978) expansion of Halliday's ideational content of the clause so as to include the ideational content of the whole text. Thus exploring the possibilities of going from the (macro) ideational to the (macro) textual component, Costa develops the argument that 'through translation a given text acquires its maximum expansion since it transcends the narrow linguistic limits in which it was conceived' (ibid:7). In this transcendence, it becomes the starting point from which the translator sets out to make a new text from an ideational content already textualized in another language.

Within the context of translation as *retextualization*, the translator acquires a central role: he is the producer of the translated text who, at the interface of the ideational/interpersonal dimensions of the target situation in which his translational work is embedded, has to decide *what* and *to whom* to retextualize. The implications and consequences of decisions taken at this interface will affect the selection of meanings to

be realized in his translated text. It must be kept in mind, however, that the translator, as meaning producer, will inevitably draw on the meanings selected and realized in the ST, against which his retextualization will be measured.

As mentioned in the Introduction, however, this semiotic dimension of the translational act __ inherent in the *target context of situation* and yielding a *new field/tenor/mode configuration* __ will not be explored in this thesis: I wanted to investigate the lexicogrammatical features of the texts in their double relation to the so called 'inner situation of the literary text', and to the broader situation of text production both in the source and in the target contexts.

Within the perspective of the analysis of the lexicogrammatical features of the texts, a final comment is now necessary, in relation to the notion of *foregrounding*, informing the descriptive moment of the analysis of the source and translated texts proposed.

1.8 Foregrounding

The first distinction to be made in the discussion of the notion of foregrounding is a central one. As already signaled in Costa's Ph.D. thesis (1992b) 'further research is needed to separate what is mere patterning from foregrounded patterning,' and, 'every attempt in this direction will certainly be valuable.' This thesis proposes to carry the

discussion a little further by elaborating on this distinction.⁴

In *An Introduction to Functional Grammar* (1985/1994a:365-384), Halliday, when describing the patterns that run through the 'silver' text as a whole, makes this comment:

The features that we have been considering are features that we identify through a lexicogrammatical analysis of the text, clause by clause, or clause complex by clause complex. *But their significance in carrying the meaning of the text derives from the way they are woven throughout the whole fabric, both as separate strands and, even more, in interaction one with another.* Not all features, of course, may turn out to be equally important; but there is always likely to be some patterning in the development and combination of ideational, interpersonal and textual meanings __ aspects of transitivity, mood, theme and information, and cohesion __ that constitutes the essence of the text (*italics mine*).

Halliday (1973:116) makes a distinction between *prominence* and *motivated prominence*. While prominence alone refers to quantitative disturbance, regularities or structures that stand out in some way and contribute to the writer's total meaning and to the total meanings of the work will be seen as 'foregrounded'. Thus he defines 'foregrounding' in terms of motivated prominence which has *value in the game*. The patterns emerging from foregrounding, he says, are the aspects which should be analyzed 'with a view to understanding the stylistic impact produced by the text' (*ibid*).

⁴I do not intend to give a full diachronic account of the theory of foregrounding here. However, it is important to say that the term was introduced into the study of literature in the West by Garvin (1964) as a translation from Czech "aktualisace". In Mukarovskij's article, "Standard Language and Poetic Language", published in this collection, the term refers to the function of poetic language, which is not used in the services of communication alone but in order to place in the *foreground* the expressive aspect, the act of speech itself. In this sense, foregrounding is not treated as a deviation from a norm but as the establishment of another order in which regularities of expression occur. This treatment resembles Halliday's view of the concept as 'law-making', in opposition to 'law-breaking' procedure bringing into prominence particular forms of linguistic patterning 'that relate directly to some facet of its literary interpretation' (1978:137). This is also the implication of the meaning assigned to the term by Shklovskij in the essay "Sterne's Tristram Shandy: Stylistic Commentary", (in *Russian Formalist Criticism - Four essays*, Lemon & Reis (Trans.), 1965), Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press): 'defamiliarization', involving the opposition of automatization to perceptibility, through which a 'story' is transformed into a 'plot'. Another interesting account of the concept is Levin's (1965) treatment of external and internal deviation, also viewing foregrounding as a set of patterns standing out and contributing to the meaning of the whole text. A review of the major contributions to the theory of foregrounding, from its roots in Russian formalism, its elaboration in Structuralism and its treatment by British stylisticians can be found in Willie van Peer's (1986) Chapter One in *Stylistics and Psychology. Investigations of Foregrounding*, London: Croom Helm. British stylisticians can be found in Willie van Peer's (1986) Chapter One in *Stylistics and Psychology. Investigations of Foregrounding*, London: Croom Helm.

Another important aspect pointed out by Halliday (ibid:112) is that

if a particular feature of language contributes, by its prominence, to the total meaning of the work it does so by virtue of and through the medium of its own value in the language __ *through the linguistic function from which its meaning is derived. Where that function is relevant to our interpretation of the work, the prominence will appear as motivated* (italics mine).

The italicized section in the quote above points to the key aspects of the analysis illustrating the approach to TS, carried out in Chapters 3 and 4: as Halliday explains elsewhere (1978:137), there is foregrounding of lexicogrammatical or phonological features in a literary text, *when particular forms of linguistic prominence relate directly to some facet of its literary interpretation*. In the short stories analyzed, both in the ST and in the TTs, the effects of linguistic prominence are seen in relation to those functions of language highlighted in each. These functions from which the foregrounded meanings are derived are the *interpersonal* and the *ideational* functions, felt to be central to the interpretation of 'Eveline' and 'Araby'.

After these remarks of a more theoretical nature, let us now proceed to a discussion of the State of the Art in terms of the association of Systemic Functional Linguistics (SFL) with Translation Studies (TS).

CHAPTER 2

SYSTEMIC-FUNCTIONAL LINGUISTICS (SFL)

AND

TRANSLATION STUDIES (TS)

The state of the art of translation studies is better than ever before.

It is not good.

There is so much still to be done.

Holmes, 1988

2.1 The rationale for the review of literature

In Chapter 1, SFL was discussed with a view to explicating both the different possibilities of this paradigm in relation to other schools of linguistics and its potential for accounting for translation and translating. It was argued that i) because of the nature of this linguistic theory, ii) because of the range of phenomena it can account for (language in use in social contexts) and, finally, iii) because of the additional semantic dimensions incorporated into the linguistic system, SFL seems to be an adequate framework within which to develop an approach to translation studies.

From these considerations, we can go on to a discussion of the applications of SFL to TS. The objective is to provide a picture of the state of the art, while locating the present work within the traditions of the SFL/TS association from which it derives, highlighting the contributions it is likely to offer.

I will describe the development of Halliday's thinking about language and language description tracing it back to the Scale and Category Grammar in the early sixties. A distinction is then made between translation studies carried out in the different stages in Halliday's theory. Along this line, some dates and landmarks are important in that they are connected to crucial steps taken by Halliday in the development of his Functional Grammar. The implications and consequences of the different phases in the evolution of SFL will thus constitute the rationale for the discussion on the state-of-the-art in the association of SFL with TS.

Among important shifts in Halliday's model, Butler (1985:45-57) highlights some changes occurring from about 1965 on: i) the emergence of 'Systemic' Linguistics out of the previous Scale and Category Model by 'an advance on Firth's interpretation of the category 'system', which is linked into networks; ii) the interpretation of such networks as representing paradigmatic relations of language which are 'semantically' relevant; iii) the consequent priority given to *paradigmatic relations* in language; iv) the encapsulation of syntagmatic relations in multi-layered structures consisting of functional roles, each contributed by one of the 'functional components of the grammar; and, finally, v) the development of the concept of 'realization' linking systemic choices to structures. All these developments display a gradual orientation towards the semanticization of Halliday's FG. Not mentioned in Butler (1985), the 1994 version of *An Introduction to Functional Grammar* explicitly refers to the notion of language as a 'modeling system', which, to me, is crucial to the understanding of translation and translating. It is argued in this thesis that it is exactly this movement towards the semantically and semiotically oriented systemic functional grammar which can account for the successful and not so successful works in TS deriving from SFL, as the production of meaning gradually became the central concern of the Hallidayan framework.

Sub-divisions will be considered in terms of works carried out within the context of each function of the language __Textual, Ideational and Interpersonal __ and those works developed within the notion of Context of Situation and Context of Culture, central abstract constructs in the functional framework.

2.2 Early studies

Scale and Category Grammar (SCG) (Halliday, 1961) lies at the basis of early applications of the Hallidayan framework to TS. As pointed out by Butler (1985:38-39), SCG built 'the Firthian interpretation of structure and system into a grammatical theory based on four major *categories* (unit, structure, system and class) and three *scales* of analysis (rank, delicacy and exponence) relating the categories to one another and to the textual data to be accounted for.' Thus from the very beginnings of his description of language, Halliday was concerned with accounting for the data, which marks off his framework as data- and use-oriented.

SCG was a productive framework as the categories (unit, structure, *system* and class) set up to account for the data proved to be highly applicable in textual studies (Butler, 1985:193-197). It should be noted that, in this early account, the paradigmatic component was present in the category of *system*, which was to take supremacy later on. However, because of its emphasis on taxonomy, while offering instrumental labels for the analysis of *sentence structures*, SCG failed to embed the text in a larger socio-semiotic context.

In 1964 (125-126), Halliday hinted at the possibility of studying translation within the SCG paradigm, saying that

it is possible to view the *process* of translation as the progressive selection among categories and items in the target language that are recognized on contextual criteria as equivalent to categories and items in the source language, each category and item having a set of potential equivalents range on a scale of probability. We can then construct a model of this 'progressive selection', based on the grammatical scale of rank (*italics original*).

Two important points stand out in the quote above: i) Halliday defines 'equivalence' by reference to contextual and not to formal meaning; and ii) he acknowledges a set of potential equivalents range, which is suggestive of the paradigmatic orientation of his grammar and of the notion of *choice* (becoming more and more significant in the

modifications made in the later accounts): 'the important point is that in each case translation at a given rank presupposes a choice' (ibid:126).

Halliday suggests three stages for the way translating proceeds along this progressive selection at rank scale, or translation at ranks, as he calls it: i) item for item equivalence; ii) reconsideration in the light of the linguistic environment and beyond this to a consideration of the situation; and finally, iii) reconsideration in the light of the grammatical and lexical features of the target language.

This association of Systemic Linguistics to translation was not pursued by Halliday himself but by Catford (1965:vii), who proposed 'general categories to which we can assign our observations of particular instances of translation'.

The importance and impact of Catford's work on translation can be felt in the words with which the series editor presented the book, emphasizing the 'new degree of *precision* into the analysis of what is involved in translation from one language to another', and recommending it as 'a valuable addition to the literature of *a subject which has only recently begun to receive the scientific treatment it deserves*' (italics added). This comment makes sense in the context of the state of Translation Studies at the time (early sixties), when subjective methodologies abounded. In fact, as Gentzler (1993:43) observes, 'a more systematic approach to translation was needed, and the discipline that appeared to have the theoretical and linguistic tools necessary to address the problem was linguistics'.

A similar point concerning the subjective status of Translation Studies was made by van den Broeck in his 1992 review article, 'Translation Theory Revisited', in which he comments on the situation of Translation in the late fifties and early sixties, which 'began to withdraw step by step from the mainly intuitive and often impressionist course it had been taking.' Van den Broeck suggests that 'recent developments in general and

comparative linguistics were making it possible for its new ('scientific') paradigm to emerge' (1992:115). However, his comment is somewhat pejorative as he calls this contribution 'the *intrusion* of linguistics', of which he points out some consequences: the concentration on differences between linguistics systems and the normative character of theories which equated translatability with the possibility of 'correct' translating according to *a priori* conditions.

Within this context, the expressions 'precision' and 'scientific treatment' do justice to Catford's theory which, 'as an attempt at synthesis, is exemplary in its rigor' (Delisle, 1988:37). This is a point which should be made in defense of this approach.

Catford (1965:21-26) distinguishes and defines types of translation in terms of *extent*, *levels*, and *ranks* of translation. In terms of *the extent* of the text translated, translation can be either *full* or *partial* (ibid:21). In the former, 'the entire text is submitted to the translation process: that is, every part of the source language text is replaced by target language text material' (ibid); in the latter, some parts of the ST are left untranslated and are simply incorporated in the TT.

In terms of *levels* of language, translation can be either *total* or *restricted*. He distinguishes 'restricted' from 'total' in that in the former, the *replacement happens only at one level* (phonological, graphological, grammatical and lexical), while in the latter *all levels* of the source language text are replaced by target language material.

In terms of *ranks*, Catford approximates to Halliday's suggestions for the treatment of translation within SCG, discussed above. Here, Catford distinguishes between *rank-bound* vs *unbound* translation. In the former, the selection of target language equivalents is confined to *one rank*, while in the latter, 'equivalences shunt up and down the rank scale' (ibid:25).

Building on these last categories, Catford correlates *unbound translation* with *free translation*, *translation at word rank* with *word-for-word translation*, with *literal translation* being localized somewhere between *unbound* and *word-rank* translation. Although precise in his terminological treatment of these different categories, Catford does not seem to shed new light on translation issues, as he just retakes established concepts, renaming them.

Catford's categories have attracted criticisms of all kinds, remaining, nevertheless, a classic reference in TS. Among such criticisms, we might cite people like Hatim and Mason (1990), Deslile (1988), Bassnett (1980) and Shuttleworth & Cowie (1997).

Hatim and Mason (ibid:36), while acknowledging the emphasis on contextual meaning informing Catford's work, criticize the fact that 'much of the discussion is about *structural contrasts* between language systems, rather than about communication across cultural barriers and about individual, de-contextualized sentences instead of real texts.'

Deslile (ibid:37-38) finds fault with the facts that i) Catford 'attempts to define and explain translation by means of the categories contained in a general theory of language', which is found inadequate; ii) he 'has reformulated in his own fashion the classic definitions of translation without really making them any clearer'; and, finally, iii) Catford's linguistic theory is of very little use 'to the translator struggling to render a text in another language' and to be used 'as a framework for organizing a program of instruction.'

Bassnett (ibid:148) is less categorical and concedes that 'the study contains some insights into the translation process viewed from a particular angle,' but she criticizes it on the grounds that it approaches translation 'not as a discipline in its own right but as a way of exemplifying aspects of applied linguistics.'

Finally, Shuttleworth & Cowie (ibid:153), while including the concepts provided by Catford in various entries of their dictionary, find fault with his concept of *shift*. They are not alone in this criticism. In fact, Catford's insistence that 'formal correspondence' is of relevance to translation studies has been frequently criticized. From the principle of 'formal correspondence', he derived the concept of *shift*, defined as 'departures from formal correspondence in the process of going from the SL (source language) to the TL (target language)' (Catford:73). What Shuttleworth & Cowie (ibid:152-153) disagree with is that the shifts described by Catford are 'grammatical or lexical in nature' and thus cannot account for the 'many minor (or indeed major) deviations from ST' which go beyond the linguistic aspects alone. Catford's category cannot account for *the motivation* for such differences, for instance, an aspect which Shuttleworth & Cowie view as central in translation quality assessment.

The notion of *shift* has been revisited and broadened in a number of studies. Shuttleworth & Cowie (1997:152-153) cite Popovik's (1970) treatment of the concept (now called 'shift of expression'), expanding it 'to account for the widespread nature of their [the 'shifts of expression'] distribution in TTs.' Popovik 'includes not only linguistic phenomena, but also replacements arising from textual, literary or cultural considerations' (Shuttleworth & Cowie, ibid:153), thus widening the range of phenomena covered by the term. It is worthwhile to note here that what Shuttleworth & Cowie define as 'linguistic phenomena' does not include the social-semiotic dimension of Halliday's later account of language.

This dimension is explored in van Leuven Zwart (1989, 1990), who has investigated the precise nature and distribution of shifts resulting 'from the translator's personal stylistic preferences or from the translational policy or norms which are being adhered to' (Shuttleworth & Cowie, ibid:153). It is worthwhile to note that van Leuven

Zwart's work was developed within the functional framework, taking into consideration the functional components of the semantic stratum of the linguistic system.

In Brazil, for instance, Arrojo (1986) and Barbosa (1990), for different reasons, find fault with Catford's model. Arrojo, in the context of a post-modern view of translation, criticizes the very definition Catford (ibid:20) proposes to translation: 'the replacement of textual material in one language (source language) by equivalent textual material in another language (target language)'. This definition, according to Arrojo (ibid:82), insists on the maintenance of some kind of equivalence between **ST** and **TT** to the detriment of the crucial role of the translator's socio-historic context: 'Catford constrói uma teoria que focaliza o processo de tradução em termos de *substituição e equivalencia*, revelando uma concepção de linguagem que não considera os papéis do sujeito e do contexto histórico-social na produção de significados' (italics original). The context of language activity and the individual participating in the meaning production therein are crucial aspects in Halliday's later account of language, his *Functional Grammar*, as discussed in Chapter 1.

Discussing translation procedures, Barbosa (ibid:35-43) gives an account of Catford's categories with tables and graphics offering a visualization of what she calls 'os quatro modelos de Catford' (Catford's four models). But after considering all the relevant facts, she rejects Catford's approach altogether on the grounds that the four categories proposed tend to a high degree of overlapping, which makes their application difficult in theoretical works (ibid:42). To reinforce her arguments, Barbosa (ibid:39) offers a quite convincing visual representation of the overlapping of Catford's four types, in which she shows the correspondences holding between the categories thus downplaying the significance of Catford's extremely detailed and rigorous account of translation.

All in all, these criticisms are not without justification (they might, indeed, well account for the limited and historical success of Catford's approach), for a number of reasons:

- i) it cannot be denied that Catford's model lacks the semiotic and social dimension of Halliday's later views on language, as obviously it does not take into account the metafunctional hypothesis proposed from early seventies on;
- ii) Catford only considers decontextualized portions of texts (see for instance the example provided by his wife, on page 54 or the one provided by his colleague J. Sinclair, on page 60) as illustrations of analysis of translations, these portions reaching the level of the sentence. In an apparent paradox, however, he talks of 'contextual meaning' (ibid:31), and he defines '*meaning* as the total network of relations entered into by any linguistic form' (ibid:35, italics original), situational factors included;
- iii) the categories plays down the complexities involved in translation by asserting that 'the theory of translation is essentially a theory of applied linguistics' (ibid:19). The meaning of the term 'essentially' is reflected in the sub-title of Catford's book, *Linguistic Theory of Translation - An Essay in Applied Linguistics*, which displays the attitude towards translation observed by Bassnett (above);
- iv) some of his categories constitute a somewhat artificial procedure or, as Barbosa (1990:38), points out, 'nenhum destes tipos de tradução parece ser de utilidade prática isoladamente';
- v) Catford's approach is still constrained by the concept of equivalence: 'The central problem of translation practice,' he says, 'is that of finding TL (target language) equivalents. A central task of translation theory is that of defining the nature and conditions of translation equivalence' (ibid:21). However, as Malmkjaer (1987:41) points out, 'since we all know that no equivalent material will be available, no translations are

true or 'faithful' translations', and, says Bassnett (1980:30), 'we are left to ponder only questions concerning 'loss and gain in the translation process'.

An important issue to be considered at this point is that one does not need to be constrained by the concept of equivalence to emphasize the centrality of the relationship that holds between two or more texts which come into contact through translation. I would rather say, with Halliday that 'the total result [of translation] is two texts which stand in mutual relation: each is as it were 'translation of' the other' (1964:123). In fact, in the context of the present research, based on a framework informed by the concept of *choice*, the notion of *equivalence* (materialized in the question 'are these in translation or not?') can be replaced by the notion of *mutual relationship* (materialized in the question 'how are these in translation?'). The latter question, it is claimed here, can be given an answer by the examination of the meanings selected and textualized in the ST, against which, and in the context of all the other variables operating in the translational act, an attempt at evaluating a TT is made possible.

So far I have concentrated on the discussion of Catford's approach to translation as it constitutes the pioneer contribution of Hallidayan linguistics to TS in the early period before the gradual semanticization of the FG. Besides, since Catford's categories have become a point of reference in TS, they deserve a more careful examination in an attempt to understand the impact it had on TS and the reason why it had limited success. Let us now turn to a discussion of more recent work, from the early seventies on, a decade which marks off the functional orientation of Systemic Linguistics.

2.3 More recent studies

From the beginning of the seventies, Halliday (1970:322-361) has been insisting on the 'functional diversity of language reflected in the language system' (ibid:324) and recognizing the basic functional organization of language which is inherent in the grammatical system and determines the form taken by grammatical structure. Since then, the functional components of the semantic stratum of the linguistic system (ideational, interpersonal and textual) have been explored in applied textual studies, specially in the area of monolingual stylistics.

Because 'systemic theory is a way of doing things' (Halliday, 1985b), because of the range of the analytical techniques it offers particularly in its orientation towards the text, and because of the variety of applications it has been demonstrated to have, Systemic Functional Linguistics (SFL) is becoming an increasingly accepted approach to language. Increasingly, too, it is becoming a fruitful approach to TS, explored in applied studies in the area of translational stylistics, as this section will try to demonstrate.

Taking into account Halliday's words (ibid:8) __ 'since language is a semiotic potential, the description of a language is a description of choice' __ one might make the tenable claim that the description of a translation is also a description of choice, the retextualization being a realization of options from interrelated networks of meanings, of which the source text is also a part.

From among the functional components of the semantic stratum, *the textual* component has been most fully explored in TS. In fact retextualizing texts involves specific difficulties, such as *sequencing* and *signaling*, which have merited attention from researchers. It is to this discussion that I turn now.

2.3.1 Studies in the Textual Function of language

Sequencing and Signaling have been explored in works which can be included under the general heading of Translational Stylistics. These two aspects of texture will be treated separately below.

The question of *sequencing* is related to Halliday's notion of 'Thematic Structure'. The Thematic system, a way of achieving texture, is realized by the ordering of elements occurring in the clause. This crucial question of the choice of ordering lies at the core of the speaker/writer's possibilities of manipulating the language. As Halliday states (1994a:334),

the speaker can exploit the potential that the situation defines, using thematic and information structure to produce an astonishing variety of rhetorical effects. *He can play with the system, so to speak.*

Any change in the ordering of Theme and Rheme will produce different effects as each choice will favor a different point of departure: part of the meaning of a message lies in the choice of the element which will occupy first position in the clause. A question arises at this point: *Can the translator play with the system, too?*

This issue is crucial to Translation Studies. From the translator's point of view, the problem lies in the recognition of the functional role of Theme in individual message units and in the possibility of producing retextualizations which follow (or fail to follow) the Thematic structure of the **ST**. From the critic's point of view, translation quality assessment can be carried along the analysis of the Thematic structure of both **ST** and **TT**, with a view to examining the different effects produced by different choices of sequencing on the discourse as a whole. The centrality of Thematic and Information structures in **TS** partially accounts for the fact that a significant number of researches into Translation has drawn upon the textual component of the semantic stratum, as I discuss next.

In the environment of the question posed above __ *Can the Translator Play with the System, too?* __ some researchers have attempted an answer. Among these, some, like Muriel Vasconcellos (1991), have demonstrated to hold a rather radical position, insisting on the fact that if the Thematic structure of the **ST** is severely impaired by syntactic constraints in the target language, then syntax has to yield. Vasconcellos's claim is that, because the initial position of the Theme in the **ST** is relevant for both the structure of the discourse as a whole and for the structure of the message, 'ela *deve* ser mantida na tradução' (1991:110). She goes as far as to equate faithfulness of the **TT** with the maintenance of the informational structure of the **ST**, claiming that it is necessary to overcome syntactic and lexical constraints 'para se chegar a uma tradução fiel e completa' (1991:115). However, despite the evidence provided by the study of 3,826 message units derived from 32 published translations which favored the maintenance of the Thematic structure, she seems to have eventually reached a compromise: in the closing remarks of her 1992 article, the normative tone of her previous claims is dissolved into a healthy questioning of the possibility of producing faithful repetitions of the Thematic structure of **STs**.

Less radical views, including my own, are manifested in scattered articles and book chapters, specially epitomized in the creative title of an article by Trévisé (1986): 'Is it Transferable, Topicalisation?'. This title is suggestive not of a certainty, as that expressed in Vasconcellos's '*deve* ser mantida na tradução,' but of a healthy evaluative attitude, which I share. This view is expressed in my article 'Can the Translator Play with the System, too?' (*Cadernos de Tradução II*, forthcoming), in which I explore the tension between maintenance of the Thematic Structure of the **ST** and the (im)possibility of producing a similar structure in the **TT** due to linguistic, contextual and communicative constraints. The results of my study point to at least three reasons for

alterations found in the TTs (in this case, nine translations, done by undergraduate students, of a short story written in English into Brazilian Portuguese): i) a motivated choice on the part of the translator; ii) utter impossibility of reconciliation between systemic features of the target language and the Thematic organization of the ST; iii) indifference to or unawareness of the importance of Thematic structure on the part of the translators.

These observations echo Baker's (1992) standpoint in that while acknowledging the fact that 'the translator cannot always follow the thematic organization of the original,' she suggests the preservation, where possible, of marked structures, which are never random. Most importantly, commenting on the relationship between Thematic and Information structures, Baker (*ibid*:172) asserts that

what matters at the end of the day is that the target text has some thematic organization of its own, that it reads naturally and smoothly, does not distort the information structure of the original, and that it preserves, where possible, any special emphasis signalled by marked structures in the original and maintains a coherent point of view as a text in its own right.

In fact, Baker (*ibid*) has written a course book on translation, which is basically informed by the Hallidayan approach to language. Baker draws mainly on the textual component, exploring issues related to the various forms of establishing cohesion (including lexical cohesion, reference, substitution, ellipsis, conjunction and collocational patterns), as well as Thematic and Information structures, systematically relating all these topics to translation, 'a discipline which,' she claims, 'has to concern itself with how meaning is generated within and between various groups of people in various cultural settings' (*ibid*:4). Her Chapter 5 is dedicated exclusively to a discussion of Thematic and Information structures in translation.

In my view, the most interesting aspect in Baker's work exploring Thematic structure is her discussion of 'the tension between word-order and communicative

function' and its implications for the translation. Baker (ibid:166-172) points out the fact that 'word-order patterns fulfill a number of functions in all languages', which give different priorities to issues of linear arrangement depending on how fixed the system of word-order is. In view of this fact, she observes that 'translating between languages with different priorities and different types of syntactic restrictions necessarily involves a great deal of skewing of patterns of information flow' (ibid:167). Then, drawing on a number of linguists who have tackled the question of the tension between syntactic and communicative functions, she explores strategies for minimizing linear dislocation, among which she includes: voice change, change of verb, nominalization, and, extraposition (ibid:167-172).

Within the same context, Johns (1992), exploring the principle of end-weight (the placing of longer and heavier structures towards the end of the clause) in one genre in Brazilian Portuguese, academic abstracts, examines translations of these abstracts into English. He notices, among other things, that a special feature of abstracts in Portuguese is the regular fronting of simple verbs __ which does not happen in English __ with the consequent placing of long and complex subjects towards the end of the sentence (the end-weight principle applying). To avoid the unEnglish fronting of verbs in a similar fashion and in an attempt to preserve the subject-before-verb pattern typical of English, many translators end up producing long subjects before the predicate, which results in awkward English renderings. Johns shows how this problem could be avoided by using textual strategies such as the switching from the Portuguese passive to the English active and the insertion of subjects such as *We* or *This paper*.

As can be seen in all these studies, both in the more radical and in the less radical views, the need for an awareness of the Thematic structure of both ST and TT is emphasized. This underlying consensus is interesting because it reinforces Baker's claim

that translation is a discipline 'which has to concern itself with how meaning is generated within and between various groups of people in various cultural settings' (1992:4). The manipulation of the Thematic structure is one of the ways in which meaning is generated.

Another aspect of the Textual function frequently explored in translation studies is linked to the question of *signaling* in discourse, related to the concept of 'cohesion'.

This concept has specially called Newmark's attention (1988:295):

the topic of cohesion, which may have first appeared in Hasan (1968), was expanded in Halliday and Hasan (1976), and revised in Halliday (1985) has always appeared to me to be the most useful constituent of discourse analysis or text linguistics applicable to translation.

Although I do not quite agree with Newmark's opinion about *the most useful constituent applicable to translation* (in fact, the configurations of the ideational and interpersonal functions are equally useful to TS, as I try to demonstrate in Chapters 3 and 4), I have to acknowledge the fact that retextualizing often requires careful handling in the establishment of cohesion.

Indeed, the concept of 'cohesion' has been the concern of a number of studies in translation. This can be accounted for by a number of reasons, such as: i) the difference in the norms guiding the use of cohesive devices in different languages (as pointed out by Baker (1992:190), 'every language has its own devices for establishing cohesive links'); ii) the awareness of the fact that inadequate handling of sequencing and connection may impair the quality of any text, whether translated or not; iii) the fact that 'the study of cohesion', as Blum-Kulka (1986:23) observes, 'lends itself to quantitative analysis' (this feature makes it possible for empirical research to 'ascertain to what extent explicitation is indeed a norm that cuts across translation from various languages and to what extent it is a language pair specific phenomenon' (ibid)). In view of this centrality, the following section will concentrate on studies along this line.

In an investigation of coherence and cohesion in translation, Blum Kulka (1986) analyzes shifts of cohesion and observes a general tendency in translation to raise the level of explicitness, with a consequent increase in the level of redundancy in the target text. This observation leads her to formulate what she calls 'the explicitation hypothesis': 'it might be the case that explicitation is a universal strategy inherent in the process of language mediation, as practiced by language learners, non-professional translators and professional translators alike' (ibid:21). In fact, this hypothesis eventually came to be considered one of the *Universals of translation* (see Shuttleworth and Cowie's *Dictionary of Translation Studies*). Such a process of explicitation may be the result of a conscious desire on the part of the translator to make the TT more easily readable by the target audience, or, simply, may be the inevitable result of the act of translating. Whatever the reason, however, 'the translator simply expands the target language text, building into it a semantic redundancy absent in the original' (Blum-Kulka, ibid:21). Blum-Kulka sets out to outline 'a theoretical and empirical framework for the study of translation within the tradition of discourse analysis and communication studies' (ibid:8), illustrating the shifts occurring in TTs with non-fictional and fictional English/French and English/Hebrew translations.

In this paper, discussing shifts in levels of explicitation through translation, Blum-Kulka calls attention to differences due to stylistic preferences for types of cohesive devices in different languages. She quotes a comparative study between English and Portuguese (Vieira, 1984), delivered at AILA/1984, in which the claim is made that 'cohesive features in Portuguese reflect a stronger need for clarity and a higher degree of specification than English.'

Baker's (1992) course book on Translation, focusing on the language pair English / Arabic, offers an insightful chapter (Chapter 6) on the issue of cohesion and translation.

She highlights the relevance of cohesion to translation studies, illustrating how an understanding of this textual organizing concept can guide some of the decisions translators have to make. She explores issues including those related to reference, substitution and ellipsis, conjunction and lexical cohesion.

After a detailed discussion of all these different aspects, Baker (ibid:201-202) summarizes her account of cohesion in translation with the following words:

Whether a translation conforms to the source-text patterns of cohesion or tries to approximate to target-language patterns will depend in the final analysis on the purpose of the translation and the amount of freedom the translator feels entitled to in rechunking information and/or altering signals of relations between chunks. Whatever the translator decides to do, every option will have its advantages and disadvantages. Following source-language norms may involve minimal change in overall meaning (other factors excluded). On the other hand, noticeable deviation from typical target-language patterns of chunking information and signalling relations is likely to result in the sort of text that can easily be identifiable as a translation because it sounds 'foreign'.

In view of this situation, most translators, Baker (ibid:196) points out, attempt 'to strike a balance between accuracy and naturalness.' In addition to these questions __ related to 'naturalness', 'accuracy', and 'the logic of the text', as she refers to them (ibid:210-212) __ Baker also acknowledges the centrality of stylistic considerations, which may make the handling of cohesion particularly troublesome. Finally, she points out that 'unmotivated shifts in style, a common pitfall in translation, can seriously disrupt the cohesion and coherence of a text' (ibid:211).

After this discussion of the association between the Textual Function of Language and TS, let us now turn to other studies exploring the Interpersonal and Ideational Functions. These two functions have been grouped together for two reasons: First, the number of studies in this area is smaller; and secondly, in some of the studies, the exploration of two functions overlap. The discussion that follows will be devoted to studies along this line.

2.3.2 Studies in the Interpersonal and Ideational Functions

From the mid and late seventies on, Halliday's socio-semantic model establishes a close connection between the linguistic system and other semiotic systems. Language is viewed as one of the many realizations of the social semiotic and as one of the systems human beings can use to model reality. As Halliday explicitly states in 1994 (106), language functions as a modelling system, the clause playing 'a central role, because it embodies a general principle for *modelling experience*' and because of 'the part it plays as a form of exchange between speaker and reader.'

This view of language led Halliday to formulate the Transitivity and Mood systems and their relation to the elements of clause structure. Such formulations at clause level have implications for the analysis of whole texts and for formulating statements about the nature of the structure of connected discourse. These aspects have been extensively explored in monolingual stylistic studies, which has not happened as frequently in *translational stylistic* studies. To my present knowledge, some studies have made an explicit connection between the ideational and the interpersonal functions of language and TS, and they are discussed next. I would like to start with van Leuven Zwart's papers (1989, 1990), and Dourado, Gil & Vasconcellos (1995).

In the investigation of the nature and distribution of shifts in translation, van Leuven Zwart (1989, 1990) looks at an extensive corpus of Dutch translations of Spanish and Spanish-American literature to examine the similarities and the differences between fictional narrative texts and their translations. A member of the 'Manipulation

Group',¹ she accordingly starts from the assumption that shifts are a common trait in translations, in which 'not intended equivalence but admitted manipulation' is the typical condition,' as Snell-Hornby comments (1988/1995:22). From this assumption, van Leuven-Zwart works out a detailed and complex model for the description of shifts, which she develops, as she says, 'in installments' (1990:69). The shifts, says van Leuven-Zwart, can occur at two levels: the microstructural level (involving sentences, clauses and phrases) and the macrostructural level (involving, for example, changes in characterization, style and especially contributing to a change in the narrative standpoint).

For the purposes of the analysis, she makes a distinction between the *story* and the *discourse*, the two dimensions on which shifts can operate. The former refers to the events in the fictional world itself and to issues of focalization or point of view from which those events are presented. The latter includes issues of communication with the reader __ text-reader relationships __ a function established by the narrator, which she subsumes within the interpersonal function of language: 'the way in which the communication between speaker and hearer is established' (1989:172). This distinction is interesting because it allows for a textual presence __ the narrator of both ST and TT __ and for extra textual presences as well __ the translator and the reader of the TT, affecting the production of the translated text, an interesting issue I will not go into in this thesis. It suffices, for my present purposes, that SFL should potentially be able to

¹ 'Manipulation School' or 'Manipulation Group' is a term coined by Lambert (1991:33) used to refer to a number of an international group of scholars broadly in agreement on some basic assumptions about translation of literature, summarized in Hermans (1985:11) words: 'all translation implies a degree of manipulation of the source text for a certain purpose.' The group includes several names such as Even-Zohar (1990), Hermans (1985) van Leuven-Zwart (1989/1990), Toury (1980/1995), Snell-Hornby (1988/1995) and Holmes (1978/1988). The group was named after Hermans' edition of some studies in literary translation, entitled *The Manipulation of Literature*, New York, St. Martin's Press, which published articles by the majority of the scholars cited. literary translation, entitled *The Manipulation of Literature*, New York, St. Martin's Press, which published articles by the majority of the scholars cited.

accommodate such considerations and should be able to account, through the abstract constructs of Context of Situation and Context of Culture, for these variables having a bearing on translation and translating.

From the description and the results of her study, she makes the claim that consistent patterns of shifts on the microstructural level of a translation influence the macrostructural level and thus can affect the 'feel' of the TT as compared to the ST. And she shows this connection, when applying her scheme to texts, by drawing on Halliday's functional framework, the ideational, the interpersonal and the textual functions, via Leech and Short (1981).

As an illustration of this connection between micro and macro features and also of the overlapping and mutual influence of shifts in the ideational and interpersonal functions, van Leuven-Zwart (1990:72) states that 'a shift in the ideational function operating on the story level implies a shift in the interpersonal function on both levels: a different image of the fictional world means a different way of looking at and telling about that world.' And she goes on to show an example from a Dutch translation of *Don Quixote*, in which the rendering of the Spanish 'galeotes' as 'galley scoundrel' (a shift in the ideational level as it represents a way of modelling the reality textualized in the ST) has the consequence of suggesting that the translation's narrator looks upon these characters as criminals (which entails a change in the interpersonal relationship between narrator and reader of the TT, in the sense that he is presented with a closed view where only one interpretation is possible).

Van Leuven-Zwart gives a number of examples illustrating her claim thus reinforcing the argument of the consequences of microstructural shifts on the macrostructure. In this sense, I see similarities between her model and the way I am approaching translation here, though she goes into distinctions and details I do not

attempt in this thesis, such as 'an indication of the lines along which the interpretation of these consequences might be established' (1990:70), the speculations of the translator's preferred strategies, and in the case of an emerging pattern, the norms governing his translational behaviour, norms which are to be found in the cultural community of the TT, producing and consuming similar texts. However, while not downplaying the rigor and precision of her model, I would like to argue that the main issues tackled might well be accommodated into Halliday's framework, particularly within his view of language as social semiotic (1978:69), reproduced and discussed in Chapter 1.

The second paper exploring the Hallidayan functional components in translation studies __ Dourado, Gil & Vasconcellos (1995) __ constitutes, in fact, the work from which the basic concerns informing this thesis stem. The research was carried out under the supervision of Dr. Konder (UFSC) and presented at the XIII Encontro Nacional de Professores Universitários - ENPULI, in Rio de Janeiro 1995, being eventually published in the *Anais* of this congress. In this paper, the notion of *systemic choice* informed the research, which looked at an unpublished translation of Hemingway's 'A Very short Story' into Brazilian Portuguese, Bellei's 'Um conto bem curto'. In fact, this was a tripartite enterprise, in the sense that the same ST and TT were examined by three researchers, from three different aspects, the whole work drawing on Halliday's functional components of the semantic stratum of the linguistic system. The general title was 'Contributions of Systemic Linguistics to Translation Studies.'

The texts are dealt with from the perspective of translation as *retextualization* and the three functional dimensions __ the ideational, the interpersonal and the textual __ inform the analyses of the systemic choices made both in the ST and in the TTs. The first part, 'Who Does What to Whom?', by Gil (ibid:201-212), explores language as a modeling system and the System of Transitivity in the construction of the characters in

the story. The second part, by Vasconcellos (ibid:213-226), 'An Examination of Modality in Hemingways's 'A Very short Story' and a Translation into Portuguese', is carried out in the light of the concept of Modality, linked to the Interpersonal Function of Language. The third part, by Dourado (227-240), 'What Does it Mean to Come First?', explores the possibilities of the tools provided by the Textual function of language.

Gil's paper examines the role of transitivity in character construction in the **ST** and in the **TT**, drawing on Montgomery's (1993:141) claim that 'a major source of textual clues for the constitution of character lies in the transitivity choices into which the characters are inscribed.' After an initial discussion of transitivity as a clue to literary interpretation in terms of 'actancy role' (ibid:203), she analyzes the 'who' in the story, the types of processes and roles they are inscribed into and then she goes on to compare the transitivity systems as explored in the **ST** and in the **TT**. Her results point to the reinforcement of the initial claim that 'the elements of the transitivity system do throw light on character construction', with a word of caution as to the interpretation of statistical data: 'statistical data have to be carefully analysed and interpreted, as statistical percentages *per se* are not indicators of literary foregrounding.' Finally, she points out that, at least as seen from her specific study, 'transitivity does not seem to be an area of conflict for translation.'

Following the trilogy, my study is based on Halliday's assumption that 'when we say that the opinions a person expresses often tell us more about the speaker than about the subjects he is pronouncing on it is likely to be his use of (...) his *musts* and *mays* and *shouldn'ts* that we have in mind' (1970:349). I focus on the *inner situation of the text*, by examining the modals attributed to the characters in the fictional world with a view to examining the extent to which modals can provide information about the characters and can enter into combination in the construction of each protagonist's profile. The

examination of the **TT** is carried out on the same basis, looking at selections among the options available in the Brazilian Portuguese repertoire for the expression of interpersonal meanings, which are then examined against those meanings selected and realized in the **ST**. The results of this study suggest that the **TT** maintains the general tone of the **ST** in relation to the modal meanings selected, whose realization, though formally different, were functionally similar. The formal differences were accounted for not only in terms of the different ways the different languages have to express modality but also in terms of the translator's selections among the possibilities available.

Dourado (*ibid*) examines 'how the clauses are organized, in the light of the Theme-Rheme perspective; how the thematic line in the story is built up, and how the Theme-Rheme structure reflects the author's / translator's underlying concerns' (227). She assesses the importance of *marked* Themes in foregrounding the meaning of the text as a whole and suggests that translators should be aware of the notion of markedness to avoid dislocating stylistic effects since the changing of thematic structure might result in completely different configurations.

The most interesting aspect of the three papers, however, was to test the validity of SFL as a reliable tool for translation quality assessment, having a significant role in what Snell-Hornby (1990:84) calls an 'integrated approach' to translation.

In my research on the application of SFL to TS, I have come across some works which, in one way or another, have drawn upon functional principles though not concentrating on one single aspect. This is what I turn to now.

2.3.3 General studies in a functional approach to language

The first two studies I would like to mention can be related in that, while partly drawing on the systemic framework as the linguistic model offering significant contributions to translation and translating, they suffer from the same limitation: an attempt to provide an all-embracing discussion of the translational phenomenon. I refer to Hatim and Mason's (1990) *Discourse and the Translator* and to Bell's (1991) *Translation and Translating: Theory and Practice*. About the former, Enkvist (1992:124) says that it 'is a book in quest of a subtitle.' As for the latter, although it does have a subtitle, it is still too vague to suggest a specific angle of approach to the issue at stake.

In Hatim and Mason, broader issues (the duty of the translator to the creator of the text, the readers of the text, the commissioner of the text and the translator himself) are discussed together with more localized issues (e.g. how forms of address should be translated). This feature *per se*, the consideration of both broader and local issues, would not be seen as a liability were it not for the consequent loose treatment of complex subjects resulting from this urge to include all and every aspect of translation. For example, this can be seen as soon as we look at the *Contents - 3. Context in Translating: Register Analysis*. As the subheading suggests, Register is to be the focus of attention in this section. However, **user**-related variation (dialect) is included, together with discussion of the configurational components of the Context of Situation, all of which are given a shallow and quick treatment. Another example is the first section in the book - *Issues and debates in translation* - which is meant to 'introduce our topic of discourse and the translator,' as they say. This, however, is mixed with, for example, a trivial mention of the notion of *function*, which they do not contextualize theoretically.

As for Bell's book, a need for a twofold awareness is declared at the outset, that of *linguistic texture* and that of *text processing*, with the consequent link of linguistics with psychology. Again, this connection alone would not be a disadvantage, were it not

for the dispersive character of the multiple headings in the different chapters. In particular, I would like to suggest that, in view of the *intra-* and *inter-organism* perspectives discussed above (Chapter 1), Bell draws on sources which are somewhat incompatible: While considering translation a negotiation of the meaning of texts as a sociolinguistic enterprise (an *inter-organism* perspective), he also feels the need to include an investigation of the translator's knowledge — what he *knows* (an *intra-organism* view). In this sense, Halliday's words (1978:37) referring to Dell Hymes could well be applied to him: 'he is taking the intra-organism ticket to what is actually an inter-organism destination; he is doing 'psycho-sociolinguistics, if you like. There's no reason why he shouldn't; but I find it an unnecessary complication.'

On the other hand, however, both acknowledge the connection between language and culture, and both agree on the choice of a socially and semantically based functional theory of language (SFL), emphasizing the centrality of meaning in translation. And both agree on the fact that SFL can offer a convenient tool to the understanding of how we go about making meanings and how we construct texts. In relation to the use they make of concepts from SFL, some aspects can be highlighted.

In Hatim and Mason's book, Hallidayan notions permeate the discussion of translation as a 'communicative transaction,' which places meaning at the core of the translational activity. In Bell, Chapters 4 and 5 explore the Transitivity, Mood and Theme systems in an attempt 'to make explicit linkages between, on the one hand, selections of options available from within the systems of the code, which are realized in text and, on the other, situational variables' (ibid:195). Particularly interesting is Bell's (ibid:129) referring to the ST as 'the material object on which the translator works, in which the TRANSITIVITY choices have already been made and have been realized through the syntactic and lexical systems of the language in which it was written.'

Equally interesting are his (ibid:146) comments on the centrality of Modality in the sense that 'it is essential for the translator to be able to recognize the strength with which the writer of the source language holds an opinion and to be able to render that in an appropriate manner in the target language text.' The two books, published in the early nineties, are an indication of the gradual recognition, within the field, of the application of SFL to TS.

I turn now to the examination of two Ph.D. theses which draw on functional concepts for the development of their arguments. The first is Costa's thesis (1992) entitled '*A Linguistic Approach to the Analysis and Evaluation of Translated Texts with Special Reference to Selected Texts by J.L.Borges*'. The second is Chunshen Zhu's (1993) thesis '*Structure of Meaning (SOM): Towards a Three-Dimensional Perspective on Translating between Chinese and English*'.

Costa's work plays an important role in my doctorate work as my research extends further the concept of *translation as retextualization* there developed.

The theoretical framework informing Costa's thesis consists of a composite construct drawing on 'distinct but not incompatible viewpoints' (ibid:3), which he handles with rigor and precision: The singling out, borrowing and developing of key concepts from different sources, with which he shows comfortable familiarity, turns out to be an asset in his doctorate work. The compatibility felt among these concepts can be accounted for by a common view of language as a social phenomenon, by an understanding of forms as modes of meaning, or in other words, by a general functional approach, all in accordance with Costa's view of 'translation first and foremost as a textual phenomenon rather than simply a phenomenon occurring at the level of linguistic systems' (ibid:1). In other words, his view of translation as *retextualization*.

The main tools for the analysis and description of the corpus __ a collection of works by Borges translated into English, Portuguese, French, Italian, German and Dutch __ come from Halliday's *An Introduction to Functional Grammar*, which Costa acknowledges as 'an invaluable reservoir of handy concepts, rich in detailed grammatical analysis and full of examples taken from an immensely varied corpus of spoken and written English texts' (ibid:Introduction).

This source, enhanced by Coulthard's (1987) expansion of Halliday's categories to a macrotextual level, constitute what he calls 'the linguistic foundation of an insight I first met in Borges' 'Las traducciones homéricas', namely that all texts are 'provisional' or mere realizations out of an indefinite number of possibilities' (Costa, 1992:3). If texts are 'provisional' translations are then 'doubly provisional' in the sense that they constitute one among varied possibilities of *retextualization* of ideational material already textualized in the source language. In fact, this insight is the cornerstone for the approach to translation which I build upon in this thesis.

Chapter 4 in Costa's thesis, 'Translation Assessment', is also of crucial importance to the work I develop here. As he says in the opening lines, 'despite the recent flourishing of translation studies, translation assessment remains one of the more poorly investigated areas' (ibid:117). With the aim of looking at quality assessment from a non-normative perspective, he raises issues such as the typically normative stance of quality assessors and the at times heavily ideology-loaded quality statements, suggesting that a 'proper assessment policy should include a thorough and unprejudiced examination of existing translations' (ibid:117).

Costa offers a number of criteria for translation assessment, ranging from Graphological Mismatching, through Textual Mismatches, mismatches connected to Thematic Structure and language variation (both use- and user-related), to more macro

considerations of Matching Relations and Lexical Iconicity. A critical and interesting note in his discussion is the recognition that “a fully- fledged and 'definitive' assessment may be an illusion” (ibid: 149) and that, allowing for the presence of the assessor into the scene, any assessment is relative to the assessor's purpose and theoretical stance. Finally, he rounds off his discussion with a suggestion of 'ways in which an assessment can be useful for readers or critics' (ibid:150), one of them being the presentation in table form of the basic data found in the examination of the different translations' (ibid).

Although subscribing to his views on translation quality assessment, I have chosen to continue this line of research in a slightly different manner: I have opted for a specific theoretical framework (SFL) within which to place the assessment statements, concentrating on some lexicogrammatical features of the texts, focusing on what they have to offer to the construction of the meaning of the whole works.

Zhu's (1993) thesis was partially published in the form of two articles, one adapted from his first chapter (1996b:338-355) __ 'From Functional Grammar and Speech Act Theory to Structure of Meaning: A Three-Dimensional Perspective on Translating' __ and the other adapted from his second chapter (1996a:301-324) __ 'Translation of Modifications: About Information, Intention and Effect'.

Starting from a statement of the centrality of textual comparison in translation studies, Zhu (1996b:322) tries to demonstrate 'that the meaning of a text can be better approached as a *structure of meaning*' (italics added; in 1996b, he calls this structure of meaning the SOM of a text). From this basic assumption, he makes the claim that 'the nature of text formation in translation is seen as an operation of information management to create a new structure of meaning [SOM] in the target language to match the original one in the source language' (1996b:354).

Zhu recognizes the essentially *creative* and functional aspect of text formation in translation while acknowledging the fact that the translated text is, in some manner, associated with the original in the source language. He draws on the three-dimensional functional approach put forward by Halliday to account not only for text creation in the source language ('a transactional purpose of conveying ideational information about the world' or 'an interactional need to establish and maintain certain interpersonal (social) relationships', 1996b:340), but also for text creation in the target language, which he explains in terms of the configurations of the context of situation:

activated (inspired or called upon) by the field (e.g. the value of the source language text appreciated or deemed marketable in the target language social environment), one has something to translate (the ideational content); and more or less simultaneously determined by the tenor, one starts to anticipate the target audience, which may be different socially from that of the SL text (the interpersonal consideration). *Then*, with rhetorical modes made available by the lexicogrammatical and phonological / graphological systems of the target language, one sets to and creates a relevant text (exercising the textual function).

Zhu draws upon Speech Act Theory as a means of bringing the *reader* of the translated text into the scene: 'the reader is the customer, is God' (1996b:343), he says. His argument for this combined framework of functional grammar and speech act theory, is that 'the concept of speech act draws our attention to the illocutionary force and the perlocutionary effect of a text in actual communication' (1996b:345). Although an interesting topic, a detailed discussion of the speech act theory is out of place here.

Zhu's understanding of translation as 'a linguistic operation in a textual sense' (1996a:322-323) offers an interesting view. As he sees it, any translation

entails a structural examination of the meaning of the text realized by units on levels lower than the (full) texts, such as the word and sentence, as well as on those higher, such as genre and culture at large. Textual translations perceived as such will not imply bypassing the painstaking analysis and transmission of the informative and stylistic significance of a word or a sentence, which are necessary for a successful rendering of the structure of meaning of the original text as a whole into another language.

The quote highlights the 'painstaking analysis and transmission of the informative and stylistic significance', an issue which bears similarities with the work in *translational stylistics* here proposed, which, in the case of the critic, are a necessary step for a successful assessment of a translated text.

What I find fault with in Zhu's model is that it might have explored further, and with less complication, the possibilities inherent in the Context of Situation. This also seems to be the case with Kiraly's (1995) recent book on translation pedagogy, which combines the Firthian notion of the Context of Situation (CS) with cognitive models. This is what I turn to now.

Kiraly's (1995) model is developed in the context of a recognized need for an effective translation pedagogy. To achieve this goal, he makes the not so sound combination of cognitive and social models, in what he calls a 'two-dimensional social and cognitive approach to translation activity.' In the attempt to improve translator education, he tries to embrace too much in one single model without asking new significant questions. In fact, he applies think-aloud protocols (TAP) as others have done before him (for example, Krings and Gerloff 1986) and tries to combine this psycholinguistic approach with a social model of translation. Here, he draws on the Firthian concept of Context of Situation (CS) to account for the linguistic choices in texts, without mentioning Halliday explicitly.

I see great potential of exploration of the CS in the analysis of the participants involved in the translational act. Kiraly's description of CS in this environment is quite detailed (ibid:56-57): A Context of Situation also includes the human participants and in the translational act he postulates three CS's: the ST CS 1, the TT CS 2, and the translation CS 3. These three dimensions constitute, in my opinion, a fruitful possibility of exploration of the configurations of the context of situation in that it allows for

considerations of the different aspects involving the translational act, here including the various entities and instances having a bearing on the translating activity, such as the translator, the new readership, the client as the starting point of the process, and the objective of the translation in the target culture.

The possibility of the application of the CS to TS is once again evidenced. The potential inherent in the notion of the CS is vast and is still to be further explored in Translation Studies.

A very recent paper by Hale (1997) uses the Hallidayan parameters of situational configuration (field, tenor and mode) in a study of register in the context of court interpreting, which, in an environment different from the works discussed so far, explores the possibilities of SFL in the fashion I have been advocating in this thesis.

The premise underlying the study is that 'the speech behaviour of witnesses can determine the outcome of the case' (37). In this environment, interpreters play a central role in terms of the responsibility for the level of formality of the witness's language, a feature which is valued for its representativeness of the level of education and social class. Register, as the author explains, is a controversial issue in court interpreting for two reasons: i) the fuzziness in the definition of the concept itself, and ii) the lack of consensus among interpreters, lawyers and academics about the question of accuracy in such situations. In view of this picture, she draws on Halliday's notions of register (Halliday & Hasan, 1985:38-39), 'the best known definition of register in linguistic theory,' as she puts it. Working along the dimensions of *field*, *tenor* and *mode*, she examines four Spanish-English Local court proceedings in Sydney, Australia in 1992-1993, which amount to eleven hours of interpreted testimony. Her study shows two tendencies in the data analyzed: 'one relates to raising of the level of formality when interpreting into English, the language of the courtroom, and the other related to

lowering the level of formality when interpreting into Spanish, the language of the powerless participants in this context' (ibid:46). Hale rounds off her discussion by stressing the need for a more consistent and informed treatment of register variation in court, in view of the 'serious and very negative implications', as she points out, 'in forming impressions and - ultimately - deciding the fate of a witness in court' (ibid:52-53).

Still in the field of Interpreting, Gallina (1992) explores the potentialities of the systemic functional approach to simultaneous interpretation. Unfortunately, at the time of the writing of this chapter I could not get hold of the article. I am mentioning it here, however, as another illustration of the application of **SFL** to **TS** and, mainly, as one more evidence of the claim made in this thesis, that because **SFL** offers a wide range of analytical techniques particularly in its orientation towards the text, because of its focus on meaning as a function in context, and because of its central concern with paradigmatic relations and the notion of *choice*, it is becoming an increasingly adopted approach to Translation Studies, explored in a variety of studies, as this section has attempted to demonstrate.

As a final word, I would like to point out the fact that in this review of the literature I have tried to provide not a mere repetition of ideas found in articles and books but a critical appraisal of the application of the Hallidayan framework to **TS**. The significance of this review can be asserted in terms of the absence, both in the literature on the applications of **SFL** and in the literature on **TS**, of a critical assembly of ideas in a similar fashion. Thus I hope this chapter will have contributed some insights into new possibilities of approaches to translation quality assessment.

2.4 The contribution of this thesis

Considering the association of SFL with TS, I do not think the importance of this thesis lies in the presentation of new ideas as such. Its originality can be claimed, though, in view of the suggestion of some tools offered by Systemic Functional Linguistics to *translational stylistics*, which can provide some important insights. Its most general purpose is then to put together research carried out in this field while suggesting a general *functional* frame. An attempt is made at offering a higher vantage point from which to look at the possibilities in the SFL framework to TS, though a full exploration of all the avenues is not carried out here. More specifically, as 'translation assessment remains one of the more poorly investigated areas' (Costa, 1992:117), this thesis hopes to share in the joint effort to push the field a little further in this perspective.

As pointed out before, one of the basic tenets of SFL is its concern with meaning. This is a relevant feature for the arguments developed in this thesis in the sense that, as pointed out by Baker (1992:4) and mentioned above, translation is

a discipline which has to concern itself with how meaning is generated within and between various groups of people in various cultural settings. (...) if translation is ever to become a profession in the full sense of the word, translators will need something other than the current mixture of intuition and practice to enable them to reflect on what they do and how they do it. They will need above all to acquire a sound knowledge of the raw material with which they work: to understand what language is and how it comes to function for its users.

If one believes, as I do, in such a need for something other than the current mixture of intuition and practice, then one might extend the same observations to the translation *critic* __ the one held responsible for translation quality assessment __ who cannot base his/her value judgments on personal taste or general impression alone. As Ross (1992:201) observes,

there is of course nothing wrong with having value judgements; we all have them, after all. However, it does not require a scholar of translation to say that a translation is 'bad' or 'good'

(whatever those terms mean). Surely a more fruitful approach (...) would be to accept translations for what they are (texts which function in a particular way in a particular culture at a particular time) and then, if one wishes to go further than description, to attempt to explain the results; but not, surely, on the basis of 'I think this translation is better than that one'.

It is exactly in an attempt to go further than uninformed subjective statements on translation quality assessment that this thesis proposes an approach focusing on an understanding of what language is and how it comes to function in meaning production both within the same community and over and above linguistic and cultural frontiers.

The studies discussed in this chapter have illustrated various applications of the tools offered by **SFL** to **TS**, especially to translation quality assessment. I have not, I suppose, covered every work already published in the field and certainly many others have, involuntarily, been left out of this review. However, the discussion suffices for the purpose of demonstrating the increasingly recognized value of the tools offered by **SFL** to **TS**.

An interesting aspect in the account above is the number of studies concentrating on the Textual Function of language. While this is indeed a rich source of analytical instruments, the Textual Function is not alone in providing these tools: though little considered in the relevant literature, the Interpersonal and the Ideational function can be further explored, as I will demonstrate in the following chapters. This illustration will form the descriptive core of this thesis, in which I will try to connect theory and practice in my contribution to the field.

In the following chapters, Chapter 3 and Chapter 4, I will illustrate the approach to translation quality assessment I am suggesting here, by exploring, respectively, the possibilities of the Mood System (particularly the System of Modality) and the Transitivity System in coding interpersonal and ideational meanings. Hasan's (1984:105) dictum that 'ways of saying are ways of meaning' will inform the discussion.

CHAPTER 3

***EVELINE*: (RE)CONSTRUCTION(S) OF THE SEMANTIC CATEGORY OF MODALITY**

Doing a study of modality is very much like trying to move in an overcrowded room without treading on anyone's feet.

Perkins, 1983

3.1 Introduction

3.1.1 Preliminary remarks

Benstock (1994:19), commenting on the narrative style of *Dubliners*, says that

what every reader of *Dubliners* is soon aware of is the abrupt transition from the first three stories told in the first-person singular by the central figure to the succeeding twelve stories composed in the third person. The child as innocent narrator of his own material immediately gives way to stories of adults, and the mode of narration shifts as well, as if the Evelines and Marias, the Doyles and Dorans and Duffys cannot be entrusted with their own tales.(...) Past the awkwardness of childhood, they might each prefer to dictate the terms of their particular narrations, but are prevented from doing so in *Dubliners* by a narrational process that usurps their prerogative.

The quote above emphasizes the existence in *Dubliners* of ‘inarticulate characters with their own tale to tell, but little or no capacity in the telling’ (ibid:22). Eveline is the first of these. She is not entrusted with her own tale, a fact which has significant implications for the way Joyce's text is constructed: she can neither anticipate the possibilities of narrative development nor the final outcome of her life. This fact *per se* leaves Eveline in a state of uncertainty, trapped as she is in the confinements of a life described as far from satisfactory. This state of uncertainty, leading to inability to act, ends up contributing to the essence of the text, the so much discussed *paralysis*, a central theme in *Dubliners*.

In fact, during most of the narrative, Eveline lies in the intermediate ground between ‘yes’ and ‘no’, ‘weighing each side of the question’, to use the words with which she is described by the narrating voice, unable to decide on a course of action. As pointed out by Benstock (ibid:20), she is trapped between ‘idyllic scenes from childhood’ colored by lexicogrammatical expressions bringing to the fore her uncertainty towards

the frequency of the past events, and her future, seen as the solution to a most undesirable present situation.

What emerges from these considerations is a sense of the unattainable created by Joyce, the unattainable that had been within the realm of possibility at some time, that might have been but never was due to various forces binding the protagonist. This is, in very general terms, the impact that the text makes. If, as Halliday (1985:345) asserts, 'the purpose of analyzing a text is to explain why it means what it does and why it gives the particular impression that it does', nothing more justified than to attempt to account for why and how *Eveline* means what it does. Equally justified is the investigation of why and how Trevisan's and O'Shea's *Evelines* mean what they do.

To this do, the identification in the texts of the various linguistic items realizing interpersonal meanings is of central importance. Joyce portrays Eveline as a character neither committing herself wholeheartedly to the truth of her propositions nor as a character free to act as she pleases because of internal and external forces imposing upon her. This picture is, obviously, constructed by the selection of certain features of language. It is the inspection of such sets of options, selected with greater frequency than expected, that will constitute the central concern of this chapter.

3.1.2 Aim, scope and procedures

After the introductory remarks, a more precise account of the aim of the present chapter can now be given. It attempts first to provide an analysis of the way Joyce uses the resources of grammar to shape his message and, secondly, to carry out a comparison of this source text (ST) to two published translations into Brazilian Portuguese (BP), namely Trevisan's (1982 and 1984) and O'Shea's (1992).

The basic concept informing the analysis is that of foregrounding. Foregrounding, as defined earlier, refers to environmentally motivated prominence contributing to the writer's total meaning. The patterns that run through Joyce's 'Eveline' as a whole foreground special sets of choices from within the interpersonal function of language, which are made with greater frequency than expected. These patterns are realized through linguistic devices expressing degrees of indeterminacy between the positive and negative poles, constituting what is generally known as the MODALITY system. The foregrounded meanings in 'Eveline', as will be discussed below, are those of *possibility* and *usuality* on the one hand, and those expressing degrees of *inclination* and *obligation* on the other. These are the basic concepts that will inform the discussion in this chapter though a somewhat changed framework will be proposed as explained in 3.2.3 below.

The translated texts (TTs) and ST are compared for the special configurations emerging to encode interpersonal meanings. The analysis will be conducted with a view to explicating the techniques and strategies used by Joyce to shape his message interpersonally and the translators' responses to the meanings selected in terms of their own retextualizations.

3.1.3 Organization of the chapter

The next section, 3.2, provides a definition and discussion of modality, develops a composite analytic framework by drawing on a number of sources and defines the terminology used in this chapter. Section 3.3 discusses the different ways English and Portuguese use to mark modality. These two preliminary sections prepare the way for the central concerns of this chapter, spelled out in 3.4, which applies the modal framework to an examination of the ways in which modal devices are strategically used

by Joyce to shape 'Eveline', and in 3.5, which discusses the responses to those meanings as realized in the two TTs and assesses the effects of the choices retextualized. Finally, the concluding section 3.6 summarizes the arguments of the analysis, relating them to broader aspects of literary translation quality assessment. It offers some account of the ways in which modality can function as a criterion against which translations can be measured. It is argued that by examining the features of the language of the ST and of the TTs, textual and translational strategies for the expression of interpersonal meanings can be uncovered thus making evaluational comments possible, against the broader canvas of functional considerations.

3.2 Modality

This section provides a description of the concepts used as analytical tools in the chapter. The basic distinction to be made at the outset is that between *categorical/modalized* assertions, a distinction I will be operating with in the following discussion.

3.2.1 Categorical vs. modalized assertions

A basic choice facing the speaker every time he uses language is, says Lyons (1977:797), either 'to commit himself to the truth of what he asserts' or to express less than total commitment to it. In the first case, straightforward statements of fact are made by users of language who do not explicitly 'lay claim to knowledge in the utterance itself (ibid:797). In this case, speakers are making *categorical assertions*. In the second case,

they explicitly qualify their commitment to the proposition expressed, in which case they are said to be making *modalized assertions*.

Categorical assertions express the strongest possible degree of speakers' commitment: 'If there is no explicit qualification of our commitment to its [the proposition's] factuality, it will be assumed that we have full epistemic warrant for what we say' (Lyons *ibid*:808). Fairclough (1992:158) accounts for the same distinction in the following terms:

Given some proposition about the world such as 'the earth is flat', one may categorically assert it ('the earth is flat') or deny it ('the earth is not flat'), but there are also available various less categorical and less determinate degrees of commitment to it or against it: 'the earth may be / is probably / is possibly / is sort of flat', for example. This is the sphere of modality, the dimension of the grammar of the clause which corresponds to the 'interpersonal' function of language.

The status of categorical assertions as the strongest possible degree of speakers' commitment is, however, a controversial issue. Though it is not my intention to pursue this controversy in depth, it is worth commenting that some theorists have an opposite view. For example, Palmer (1986:87) argues that 'the declarative does not indicate commitment at all' and that 'markers of modality strengthen the commitment rather than weaken it' (86). He illustrates his argument with an example in which a modality used after a declarative statement in a conversation does not weaken speaker's commitment: *A: John is at home / B: I don't think so / C: Oh yes he certainly is*. Such an argument can, however, be countered. For example, Stubbs (1986:7, *apud* Simpson, 1990:72) points out that modalized forms 'cannot increase the commitment beyond the logical maximum. *What they do is perform the discourse function of responding to a previous utterance*' (italics added).

Another controversial point is the very distinction between categorical and modalized assertions. Some theorists believe that this distinction does not hold. McCarthy (1981:85), for example, says that '*all* messages choose some degree of

modality, even if it is only to make a *neutral* choice of bald assertion' (italics added) and Fairclough (1992:159-161) talks about simple present tense ('is') as realizing a *categorical modality*. While agreeing with them that there is an element of choice in opting for a categorical assertion, I do not subscribe to their view. As I see it, in categorical assertions there is no qualification of the assertion, a quality which is at the basis of and accounts for a modalized assertion. And what is more, categorical assertions do not involve human judgment of ideational material in terms of likelihood, usuality, requirement and desire, as is typical with modality.

Despite the controversy, there is a consensus to which the approach adopted in this dissertation subscribes: modal assertions all are in contrast to categorical assertions which, by force of the factual component of the proposition make it impossible for the speaker to strengthen his commitment any further. As suggested by Simpson (1993:49), perhaps the best solution is to quote Lyons's formulation of the categorical/modalized distinction (Lyons, 1977:808):

Although it might appear that a statement is strengthened by putting the proposition that it expresses within the scope of the operator of epistemic necessity, this is not so, as far as the everyday use of language is concerned. It would be generally agreed that the speaker is more strongly committed to the factuality of 'It be raining' by saying *It is raining* than he is by saying *It must be raining*. It is a general principle, to which we are expected to conform, that we should always make the strongest commitment for which we have epistemic warrant. If there is no explicit mention of the source of our information and no explicit qualification of our commitment to its factuality, it will be assumed that we have full epistemic warrant for what we say.

Therefore, linguistic explicitation of speaker's commitment renders his commitment to the factuality of propositions explicitly dependent on his knowledge (Simpson, 1993:49-50). This is, in fact, the paradox in which the whole system of modal meanings lies: as Halliday (1994:362) puts it, '*you only say you are certain when you are not*'. An illustration of this central issue can be found, for example, in *Eveline (Dubliners, 1969:35)*: 'She *knew* it was that that had given her the palpitations'. In this instance __

know, used in the context of the protagonist's idyllic recollections of her past __ far from indicating Eveline's full commitment to the truth of what she says, shows exactly her lack of confidence concerning the source of her palpitations, submerged as she is in constant doubt and uncertainty. She is trying to interpret past events and her commitment to the factuality of the proposition 'that had given her the palpitations' is explicitly made dependent on her knowledge and perception.

After this initial discussion, we can now turn to a definition of the system of MODALITY. This section is somewhat lengthy, but it will prove important in the discussions in the following sections.

3.2.2 The notion of modality

3.2.2.1 Halliday's contribution

As Halliday is the main source for the framework proposed, I will begin by giving a summary of his systemic account of modality. Halliday's account is spelled out in his *An Introduction to Functional Grammar* (1985:335 / 1994a:356). His framework has been adopted by other scholars of systemic functional orientation, who have build upon Halliday's basic work each contributing his own view. Although there have been different terminologies and approaches to modality, the basic meaning has remained the same, that is, reference to the intermediate degrees of various kinds of indeterminacy falling between the positive and negative poles (Halliday,1994a:88).

Modality is realized by lexicogrammatical items related to the interpersonal function of language and refers broadly to 'the speaker's angle, either on the validity of the assertion or on the rights and wrongs of the proposal' (ibid:362). The terms *assertion* and *proposal* used in the quote above point to a central distinction, that

between two ways of getting from 'yes' to 'no' - to use Halliday's expression (ibid:88). These two ways are related to *propositions* (information exchange) and *proposals* (offers and commands) respectively. The notions of proposals and propositions inform the two major subtypes of modality: Type (1), the speaker's judgment of the *probabilities* of the truth of what he is saying, which Halliday calls MODALITY in an earlier account (1970: 347-349) but later calls MODALIZATION (1985:335 /1994a:357), and Type (2), the *obligation/inclination* involved in what he is saying, which he calls MODULATION (1970, 1985, 1994a). This change of terminology is just an example of some modifications Halliday's account has undergone, as he works on his basic framework along the years. In general, the modifications have been and still are motivated by advances in the levels of depth, comprehensiveness and explicitness his framework tries to contribute.

The diagram below (taken from Halliday, 1994a:357) offers a visualization of the link of modalization to the semantic category of propositions, realized as indicative and of modulation to the semantic category of proposals, realized as imperative:

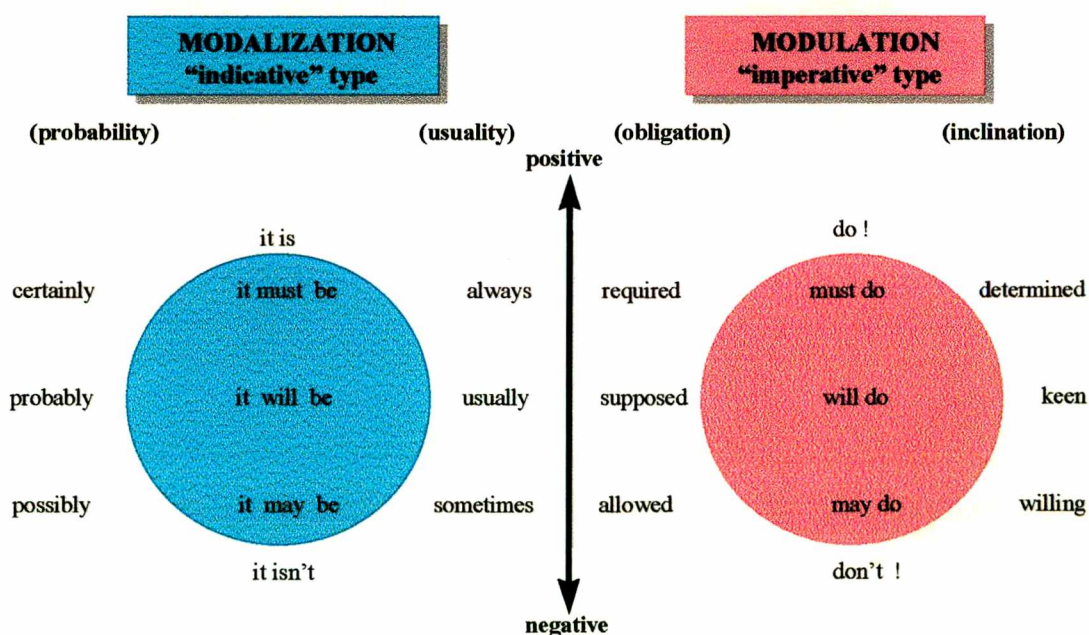


Figure 3.1 Relation of modality to polarity and mood (Halliday, 1994a:357)

When the speaker chooses to make a non-categorical assertion, the process (verb) expressed in the clause is assigned some kind of qualification expressing the speaker's commitment to what he is saying. The diagram above shows clearly the two kinds of qualification, each expressing a different meaning: (i) the degree of speakers' commitment to the truth of what they say and (ii) speakers' attitude towards possible action by themselves or by others. Thus the process can be either (i) *modalized* or (ii) *modulated*. In the first case, the speaker offers some assessment of the probability and usuality of what he is saying and by doing this, he expresses his attitude towards his own speech role as a 'declarer' (1970:349). This is why Halliday associates modalization with the indicative mood. In the second case, the speaker projects some conditions onto the process and brings about changes in the event. This is why Halliday associates modulation with the imperative mood. In fact, there is a direct intervention on the part of the speaker, who 'makes use of modal expressions to impose an obligation, to prohibit, to express permission or consent to the action in question' (Downing & Locke, 1992:382).

In Halliday's earlier accounts of modality (see 1970: 329, 1976: 191, Table II), *usuality* did not appear among the areas of the modal meanings considered. It was not until 1984 that the notion was included among the modal areas, which Halliday did without any explanation for the inclusion. The only approximation of an explanation I could find was in the article "Language as Code and Language as Behavior" (1984): among the options open to respondents facing a demand for information, Halliday considers determinate and *indeterminate* responses, the latter being 'tagged' by the speaker with some assessment of its validity' (ibid:22). This assessment ___ 'it is true only with a certain likelihood, or *only for a certain proportion of the time*' (italics added) ___

is considered as the system of modality, which now also includes the dimension 'sometimes', referred to as 'usuality': 'there are times when that happens' (ibid).

In those earlier accounts of 1970 (351) and 1976 (202), *volitional* meanings were given a different status: they were integrated into modality as *willing* (active modulation) and *compulsion* (a subdivision of Necessity) respectively. In 1984a (335), volitional meanings acquire the status of a category, *Inclination*, a term which is retained in 1994a (358). However, in 1994b (materials from the Summer Conference on Systemic Functional Linguistics held in Leuven in July 1994)¹, Halliday subsumes *inclination* under the more general label *Readiness*, expressing the basic modulation 'me do!', the other subcategory being *ability*. The term *readiness* was used in passing in 1994a (359): "We could recognize a general category of 'readiness' having 'inclination' and 'ability' as subcategories at one end of the scale (can/is able to as 'low'-value variants of will/is willing to). Halliday did recognize this general category, which, interestingly, integrated *ability* __ previously considered to be 'on the fringe' (1994a:359) __ into the the modality system. A similar account is proposed by Konder (1974), who, considering *potentiality* as one of the three fields of nuclear meaning in modality, subdivides this category into the volition-capacity cline (see detailed discussion in 3.2.2.2 below).

Two other distinctions inform the realization of modality. These distinctions concern the *orientation* in the expression of probability and obligation and the *value* set on the modal judgment. In the category of orientation, 'the basic distinction that determines how each type of modality will be realized" (Halliday, 1994a:357), *subjective* and *objective* orientation can be either *explicit* or *implicit*. With the subjective variant, the subjective basis of the judgment or intervention is made clear. With the objective

¹ Materials from this conference are presented in the Appendices.

variant it is concealed with the effect that the speaker *dissimulates* the fact that he is expressing his opinion or directly intervening in the speech event. As for the *value*, the categories are *High, Median* or *Low*. The values of probability are, respectively, *certain, probable*, and *possible*. The values of obligation are, respectively, *required, supposed* and *allowed*. This is, in short, Halliday's account of modality.

However, the concept of modality is somewhat vague and a number of definitions have been proposed, encompassing varied resources for evaluating the content of the discourse. These include the attitude of the speaker, speech acts, subjectivity, non-factivity, non-assertion and other notions such as *doubt, wish, regret, desire* and temporal notions such as *usuality*. In fact, there is common ground underlying them. As Downing and Locke put it (1992:382),

the projection of any of these notions onto the content has the effect of presenting it not as a simple assertion of fact, but colored rather by personal attitude or intervention (...) expressing a relation with reality, whereas a non-modal utterance treats the process as reality.

This is indeed the basic meaning of modality. Downing and Locke (1992:384), however, point to the danger 'that modality may become indistinguishable from 'tentativeness''. They suggest a way out of the potential problem: to adopt a more limited scope, '*taking modality to be basically the expression of possibilities, probabilities, certainty, obligations and permission*', and to take the other elements as reinforcement of the modal meanings.

This is exactly Halliday's (1970:335) view: modalities are not to be confused with other types of speaker's comment which express attitudes which, though part of the interpersonal component in language, do not constitute the speaker's judgment of the status and validity of the thesis. Examples are attitudinal modifiers or intensifiers expressed by adverbs like *generally, frankly, officially, reasonably*. For Halliday, modality is

in fact related to this general category of speaker's comment, part of the 'social role' component in language but constitutes a special category in the sense that it is restricted to those speaker's comments which express assessment of *the probabilities* of what he is saying.

According to Halliday, the system of modality 'may be entered either from the interpersonal or from the ideational component. In fact, the two forms of qualification of the process are possible in relation to the *point of origin of the comment*. If the qualification is part of the semantics of personal participation and derives from the interpersonal function of language, it is said to reside 'in the speaker's own mind' (1970:347) and constitutes what he understands as modality, later called modalization (1985, 1994a). On the other hand, if the qualification of the process is incorporated into the thesis as ideational material - that is, content as interpreted and filtered through the speaker - its point of origin is the ideational component of language and is understood to be what he calls modulation. Halliday spells out this difference clearly (1970:349): 'there is a semantic region where the two functions, the ideational and the interpersonal, overlap, that of speaker's *commentary on the content*' (italics mine). This region is the locus of modality, which can be visualized in the diagram below:

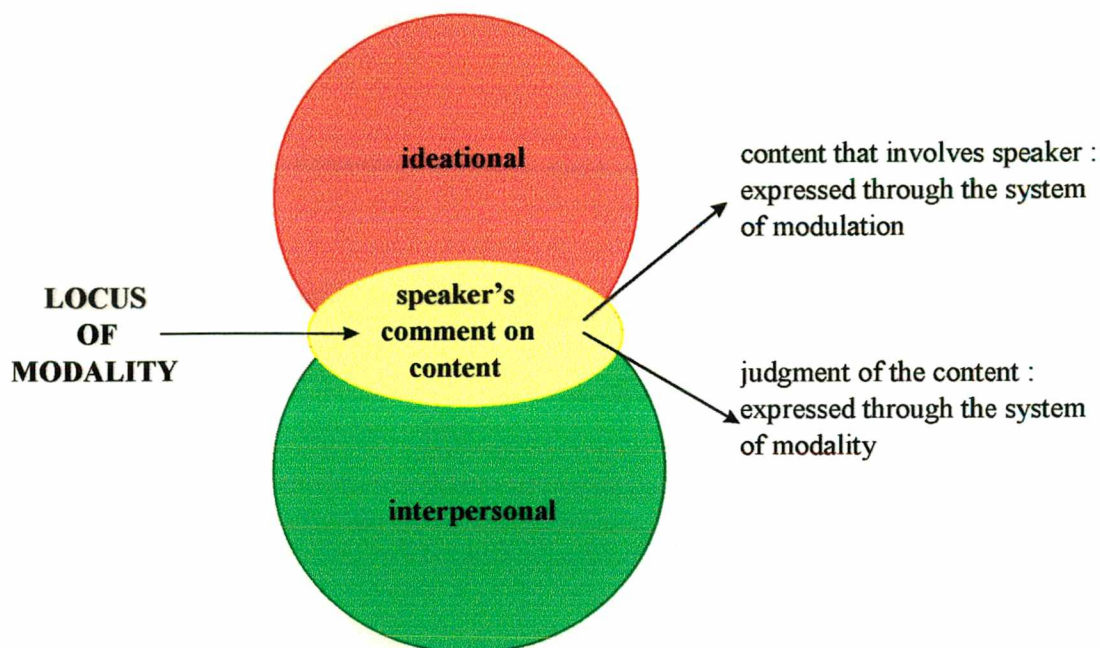


Figure 3.2 The *locus* of modality

The diagram represents the point of intersection in discourse between the significance of reality and the speaker's reaction to it. While the ideational function includes all aspects of content, modulation refers only to those that specifically *involve the speaker and the circumstances surrounding the process*. While the interpersonal function includes all kinds of commentary by the speaker, where his comment specifically relates to the *probability of the content* it is expressed through the system of modality. There is, however, no clearcut division between the two systems. Halliday defines the grammatical and semantic relationship between them as a complex one of the 'same yet different' type. In fact, both systems can be realized by a single syntactic system (the modal operators) able to be entered either from the ideational or from the interpersonal function (1970:350). The two systems being formally identical, the same exponents are used in different functional environments: what marks the distinction is the point of origin of the comment: the ideational or the interpersonal component of the linguistic system.

3.2.2.2 Other approaches to modality relevant to my study

I want to look now at some other approaches to modality which, in my opinion, have contributed interesting aspects to the notion. Among these, I draw special attention to the works by Konder (1974), Lock (1996) and Simpson (1990 and 1993). In this brief discussion, I will attempt to highlight the aspects which are relevant to my purposes in this chapter. However, I am aware of the fact that any brief discussion will surely involve simplifications of the frameworks, which I will try to minimize by situating each perspective with respect to the context in which it was developed, its objectives and scope.

Konder (1974) proposes a semantic approach to the study of modals based on systemic grammar. In this study, the author presents a review of different treatments of modals and modality in the 1970's, pointing out the strengths and weaknesses of each and proposes her own account of modality __ *the degree of speakers' conviction as to the truth of the content of the proposition uttered, be it actual or hypothetical* (translation mine) __ and some semantic criteria for the classification of the English modal auxiliaries. The two criteria adopted were i) the relationship between participants/modal/process and ii) the relationship between the modal and the process.

For the purposes of my analysis, I highlight the effect of the application of her first criterion __ the relationship between participants/modal/process __ which resulted in a definition of the system of modality and in the classification of modal auxiliaries into what she calls three fields of nuclear meaning. Modality is seen as "a system which allows speakers to manifest their degree of conviction as to the truth of the content of the proposition uttered, be it actual or hypothetical' (ibid:49) (translation mine); the three fields of nuclear meaning are *assessment*, *coercion*, and *potentiality*. These nuclear meanings comprise each two categories of potential meaning: probability-possibility for *assessment*; permission-obligation for *coercion* and volition-capacity for *potentiality*.

Three points in Konder's study are worth observing: i) the distinction between speakers' comments which constitute modality and those which do not, that is, those other kinds in which the participant is just an opinion giver (ibid:48); ii) the fact that, when discussing the semantic classification of Halliday's systems of modality and modulation, she does not take *usuality* into account and iii) the inclusion of the element *desire* in the category of potential meaning *volition*, under the nuclear meaning *potentiality*.

The distinction between those speaker comments which constitute modality and those which do not __ the first point to call my attention in Konder's work __ is accounted for by the fact that in modality the speaker accumulates the functions of 'opinion giver', common to all kinds of speaker comment, and evaluator of the truth of his enunciation. This view is in tune with Halliday's consideration of that semantic region where the ideational and the interpersonal functions overlap, that is, speaker's commentary on the content (Halliday, 1976:211), discussed and presented in visual form above). This is an important distinction in that it delimits the scope and range of modality, making the analysis more feasible.

As for the second point, her position can be accounted for in historical terms: she wrote her thesis in 1974, soon after Halliday himself had started the development of his functional account of modality (see 1970 and 1976). As discussed above, he had not included *usuality* among the basic areas of modal meanings, which he did later on. In addition, the title of her work __ "Proposições para uma abordagem semântica dos modais" __ delimits the scope of her thesis, basically concerned with modals, for which she proposes a semantic approach. As is known, modals are not so widely used for frequency as for other modal meanings involving *assessment*, *coercion* and *potentiality*, to use her terms. Interestingly, in this aspect, her account resembles Simpson's,

appearing as late as 1993, which also excludes *usuality*, though not for the same reason. Simpson does not discuss this exclusion of *usuality*, which is included by other theorists like Lock (1996), discussed below. The decision of what to include and exclude from a study of modality is, obviously, closely linked to the context of the study and the definition proposed for the concept.

Concerning the third point to call my attention in Konder's framework __the inclusion of the element *desire* in the category of potential meaning *volition* (see 67) __ an interesting aspect is the consideration of the quality of *latency* present in volition, thus pointing to the possibility of actualization of something that has not yet come into being. This explains the inclusion of volition, in her account, under *potentiality*, varying along the continuum from 'reluctant agreement' to 'vehement disagreement' (71) (translation mine).

Volition is included in most accounts of modality under different labels, which points to the centrality of this notion to the system of modality. For example, Lyons (1977:826) mentions ways of indicating wants and desires subsuming the notion under *deontic* modality; in Halliday (1985, 1994a), the notion appears under *inclination*, which, together with *ability* form the subcategories 'a general category of *readiness*' (1994a:359). The same is true of with Lock (1996:210), where the notion, under the label of *willingness*, is one of the levels of *inclination*. In Simpson's account (1993), *volition* is given prominence acquiring the status of system - the *boulomaic* system.²

Simpson (1993:51), concerned with those features of modality relevant to the analysis of point of view in narrative fiction, offers an interesting schema summarizing

² Simpson's previous account of modality (1990: 67) gives a brief treatment to the notion, peripherally including it under the modal system of obligation, within a general comment of 'speaker's attitude toward the *desirability* (or *nondesirability*) of certain actions of events' (italics mine).

the modal areas integrated into his framework together with the non-linguistic concepts which each category represents. His account constitutes a useful contribution in that he identifies the types of modality found in English, providing a workable modal framework for the conduction of analyses of modality. Simpson's schema is transcribed below:

MODAL SYSTEM	NON-LINGUISTIC CONCEPTS REPRESENTED
Deontic	→ obligation, duty and commitment
Boulomaic	→ desire
Epistemic	→ knowledge, belief and cognition
Perception	→ perception

Table 3.1 Simpson's (1993) basic components of modality

Simpson recognizes three modal systems in English and uses the terminology of philosophical semantics: the deontic, the boulomaic and the epistemic systems. The terms 'epistemic' and 'deontic', derived from Greek *episteme* ('related to knowledge or knowing') and *deon* ('that which is obligatory') (*Webster's Seventh New Collegiate Dictionary 1969*), are concerned respectively with 'the speaker's confidence or lack of confidence in the truth of a proposition expressed' and with 'a speaker's attitude to the degree of obligation attaching to the performance of certain actions' (Simpson, 1993:47-48).³ Simpson's use of these terms is interesting because they encompass both the logic of modal certainty and the logic of duty while avoiding a profusion of terms like possibility, probability, likelihood and obligation, requirement, inclination used in other frameworks, which are potentially confusing. As for 'boulomaic' modality, the term is derived from Greek *boule* (*Webster's Seventh New Collegiate Dictionary 1969*),

³A thorough discussion of the terms 'epistemic' and 'deontic' is found in Lyons, 1977.

meaning will, determination, wish, being thus concerned with the speaker's wishes and desire.

For the purposes of Simpson's analysis, the epistemic system - together with the subsystem *perception* - turns out to be the most important regarding point of view in fiction. But he also highlights the crucial relevance of deontic modality and *boulomaic* modality to the strategies of interaction.

Both kinds of modality are important for my purposes but one aspect is especially interesting - that related to the system *boulomaic* modality. The essential point here is that, being first of all the modal system of 'desire' (ibid:47), *boulomaic* modality is valuable in providing an analytic tool for the investigation of the sources from which the binding forces bearing upon speakers are derived.

In an analysis of modality in *Eveline*, the identification of the binding forces paralyzing the protagonist is of central interest. The possible realizations or grammaticalizations of *boulomaic* modality in English and in Portuguese are discussed below, in section 3.3.

It is important to note that, in specifying the system *boulomaic* modality, Simpson creates another area of modal meaning, whereas Halliday accounts for 'desire' as a modal area in his framework integrating the '*wants to*' component into the *inclination* pole of the modulation continuum, as can be seen in the diagram in 3.2.2 above. Many other theorists have considered the component 'volition' in their account of modals (see, for example, Konder's description of 'reluctant agreement' and 'vehement disagreement', belonging to the same continuum of volition, in 1974:71). The originality of Simpson's contribution lies in the prominence he assigns to the component 'desire', which ends up influencing his choice of the umbrella term used to label the system.

In connection with second language teaching, Lock (1996) offers a pedagogical grammar approached from a functional perspective, that is, grammar is viewed as a resource for creating meaning. The emphasis of his work, he explains, 'is on how the purpose for which language is used and the context in which it appears affect the choices speakers and writers make' (ibid:ix). This statement could well be extended to the context of translation and that of the present study: how the purpose for which language is used *in a translation* and *the receptor* context in which it appears affect the choices *translators* make. This is basically the main issue informing the discussion of this work as a whole.

Lock's treatment of modality is discussed under the heading 'Expressing attitudes and judgments: modal auxiliaries and modality', a title which alone defines the notion as used in his discussion. The word *judgment* is crucial in Lock's framework: He subdivides modality into two basic kinds of judgment, namely i) judgment of degrees of *likelihood* of the information in the clause being true and ii) judgment of degrees of *requirement* for people to perform actions. He, too, locates modality in the areas of meanings 'that lie between *it is so* and *it is not so* or between *do it* and *don't do it*' (ibid:193), thus excluding general attitudinal markers.

Lock's framework is, by force of its pedagogical nature, presented in a clearer form when compared with other accounts. He obviously highlights some aspects at the expense of others, this constituting exactly his contribution to the field. An interesting aspect is his distinction between **a)** the basic modalities - judgment of likelihood and requirement, and **b)** other areas of meaning which can be regarded as kinds of modality - *frequency, inclination, potentiality, and ability* (Ibid:209-212). Which means that the latter are included peripherally in the system of modality.

Lock compares *frequency* to *likelihood* establishing a relationship between these two kinds of modal meaning: 'where likelihood expresses judgments about how probable a state of affairs is, frequency expresses judgments about how *usual* a state of affair is' (ibid:209). Along the same lines, he compares *inclination* to *requirement*: 'where [judgment of] requirement is concerned with the strength of a *directive* to do something, inclination is concerned with the strength of an *offer* to do something' (ibid:210).

These comments establish the difference between 'statements' and 'directives', echoing Halliday's (1994a:356) distinction between the speech functions of the clause, that is, the clause as 'information' - a proposition - and the clause as 'goods-&-services' - a proposal. In the former, some degree of 'probability' or 'usuality' is implied whereas in the latter, some degree of 'obligation' or 'inclination' is at stake. *Usuality* is then included, either peripherally or centrally, among the areas of modal meaning covered by the system of modality. Lock (ibid:216) draws an interesting comparison between his terminology and other alternatives used in the field: from him, I borrow some of these terms for the framework proposed, as will be explained below.

A last comment on approaches to modality goes to Downing and Locke's (1992) perspective. In drawing the *extrinsic/ intrinsic modality* distinction, they group under the same heading (*intrinsic modality*) a number of modal meanings having a feature in common, namely the instrumentality in establishing and maintaining social relations and interaction: 'Through them, speakers influence and control others, and commit themselves to certain courses of action. They may bring about changes in their surroundings, by obligations which are met, permissions given, promises kept and so on' (ibid:389). In this category, *ability* is included as semantically forming part of the linguistic event, expressing, in its positive form, 'nothing prevents x from occurring' and in its negative form, 'something prevents x from occurring'. Downing and Locke

emphasize that this 'something' represents a set of laws applying in the particular case. In this sense, their approach bears similarities to Lyons' (1977) acknowledgment of 'deontic' forces binding the individual, discussed above.

Before moving on to the discussion of the framework proposed for the study of modality, I want to extend my comments on the issue of terminology.

3.2.2.3 The terminological issue

Much has been written about modality. Many terms have been used. What I have tried to demonstrate is how different theorists consider different areas of modal meaning in their account of modality and that, obviously, the difference in scope and approach necessarily leads to differences in the terminology used. Halliday himself acknowledges this fact, reminding his readers of the use of other terms for the same notions he discusses under the labels modalization and modulation: he mentions the use of the terms 'epistemic modality' and 'deontic modality' in philosophical semantics, to refer to modalization and modulation respectively (1994a:357).

The terminological diversification is also discussed by Simpson (1990:66) in terms of the different theoretical positions in several academic disciplines under which modality has come to be studied. Such a difference, he explains, poses a problem in that there is a great deal of terminological disagreement over basic concepts. Some of this disagreement is cited by Simpson (*ibid*:66), adding to those already discussed above:

For instance, one important contrast is referred to variously as 'modality' versus 'modulation' (Halliday, 1970, 1985), 'epistemic' versus 'deontic' modality (Palmer, 1979, 1986), 'epistemic' versus "root" modality (Coates, 1983), 'knowledge' versus 'influence' modality (Young, 1980), and so on.

To this disagreement at the level of the labeling of the systems, variation at the level of the distinction between the different subtypes can be added, ranging from Halliday's *probability/usuality* and *obligation/inclination* continua, through Simpson's *continuum*

of commitment of the epistemic/perception system and continuum of commitment of the deontic/boulomaic system and Konder's three fields of nuclear meaning - assessment, coercion, and potentiality, to Lock's likelihood/frequency and requirement/inclination cline.

Although all of them recognize the *value* and *orientation* of the modality, variation is also found. An illustration is Halliday's (1994a: 357) 'subjective and objective orientations', which are changed into Lock's (1996:215-216) 'personal and impersonal judgments of likelihood or requirement' and Simpson's (1990:71) consideration of the 'subjectivity/objectivity' distinction in modality.

Setting aside the question of terminological differences, the theoreticians discussed all acknowledge this general process of speaker participation in the speech event in terms of the epistemic-deontic distinction, variation being accounted for in terms of exclusion and inclusion of what might be considered areas of modal meanings under those headings. For the purposes of the analysis carried out in this chapter, I will draw upon their accounts, borrowing some views and terminologies to construct the composite framework, to which I turn now.

3.2.3 The framework suggested for the study of Modality

After the discussion, I am now in a position to define the *areas of modal meanings* I will consider in my analysis as well as the *terminology* I will be operating with.

In this section, the account of modality will be an amalgam of the following sources: Halliday (1970, 1984, 1985, 1994a), Konder (1977), Lyons (1977), Kress (1976), Fairclough (1992), Simpson (1990, 1993), Lock (1996). Halliday is the main

source. The aim of the chapter is to propose a modal framework made up from the the notions existing literature to inform the analysis of the texts (both ST and Tts).

I will consider modality as *a semantic category expressing degrees of indeterminacy between the positive and the negative pole covering such notions as likelihood, frequency, requirement and desire, which allows the speaker to participate in the speech event either (i) indicating his attitude towards the content of the message or (ii) intruding into the speech event itself projecting some conditions onto the process.*

Basically, the framework proposes the establishment of 'areas of modal meaning', referring to speaker judgments of likelihood, frequency, requirement and desire. It also takes into account the degrees of speaker commitment to the propositions and proposals modalized, in terms of value - High, Median, Low - relating to strong, median and weak commitment.

As mentioned above, the decision of what to include and what to exclude from a study of modality is linked to one's definition of the concept. Thus I will not be considering attitudinal markers reflecting speakers' comments as an opinion giver alone such as *personally, to my view* and the kind, in the areas of modal meaning explored in my analysis as they constitute comments external to the content of the proposition.

At this point, I should also define the terminology I will be operating with. The most relevant concepts and terminology selected from the previous accounts can be stated as follows: **i)** I use '*epistemic*' and '*deontic*' modality as umbrella terms for the distinction between the two kinds of qualification; **ii)** I borrow from Halliday the verbs *to modalize* and *to modulate*, which I find very adequate to describe the transformation of categorical assertions and directives into intermediate ground meanings; **iii)** I align with Konder in the distinction between speakers' comments which constitute modality and those which do not, that is, those comments in which the participant is just an

opinion giver; iv) from Lock, I borrow the labeling of the basic types of modality - likelihood and requirement; v) for the inclusion of judgment about how usual a state of affairs is, I borrow Halliday's *usuality*; vi) for the expression of *desire*, Simpson's *boulomaic system* is integrated into the framework proposed.

All the categories in the framework, including the categories *desire* and *frequency*, under *Boulomaic System* and *Usuality* respectively, can be realized by modal auxiliaries. This fact constitutes the common denominator underlying all these areas of modal meanings and points to the centrality of modal auxiliaries in the grammaticalization of modality. For visualization, the framework is set out in **Figure 3.3** below:

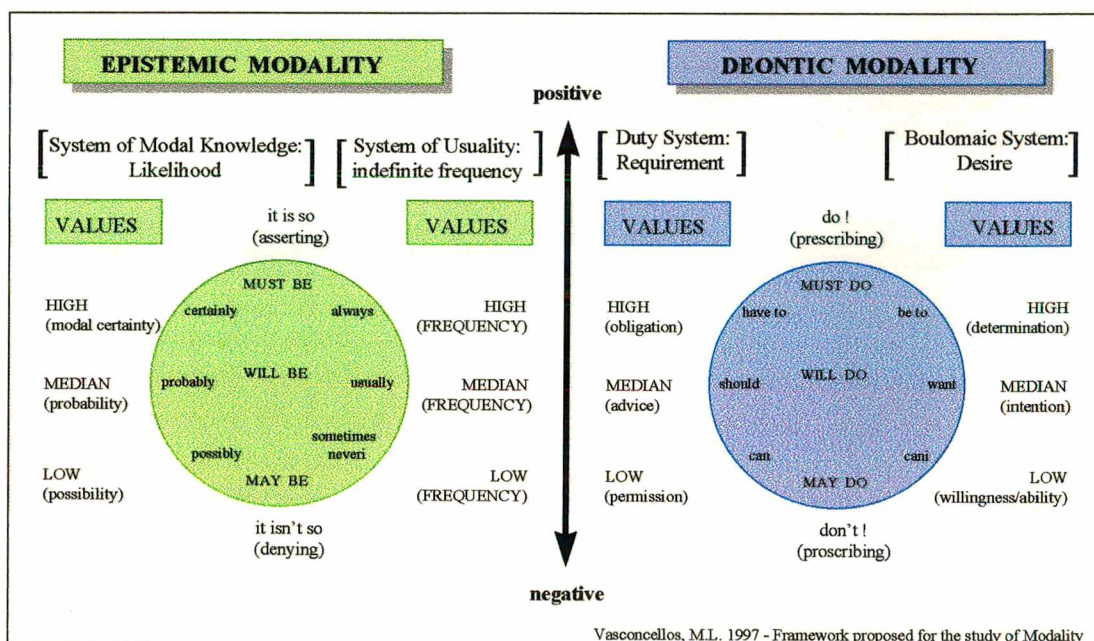


Figure 3.3 Framework proposed: The four areas of modal meaning

As shown in Figure 3.3, *ability* is integrated into the framework as a boulomaic modality of low value since it is considered an area of *modal* ___ as opposed to *factual* meaning ___ close to *willingness* in the sense that it involves some 'intrinsic human control over the events' (the notion of 'intrinsic possibility' is suggested by Quirk et al. 1985:219-220).

This semantic category characterizes the relation of the participant to the process, his ability to carry it out. The underlying implicit notion of *potentiality* pervades this category since in its explicit objective orientation such is the typical meaning (as in *it was possible for a layer of ice to form*). While the integration of *ability* into the modality system is justified by Lock (1996:211) in terms of the form of realization ('because they can be expressed by modal auxiliaries, they are regarded as a kind of modality'), Halliday's latest account (1994b) explains this integration in semantic terms and has *ability* as one of the subcategories of the more general category of *readiness*, the other subcategory being *inclination*. I align with Halliday in the integration of *ability* into the account of modality I propose.

The framework takes into account *the continua of commitment* of the four basic areas of modal meaning: a) epistemic/likelihood, ranging from *modal certainty* to *possibility*; b) epistemic/usuality, ranging from *always* to *never*; c) deontic/duty, ranging from *obligation* to *permission* and d) deontic/boulomaic, ranging from *determination* to *willingness*.

At this point, an explanation is necessary concerning the inclusion of a temporal category __ *usuality* __ in the account of modality. For this, I draw on Quirk et al's distinction between *definite* and *indefinite* frequency (1985:8-64). By *definite* frequency, a measurement of frequency in terms of explicit naming of the times of occurrences is meant (*hourly, daily, once a week, etc.*); by *Indefinite* frequency, a frequency is implied, which does not name explicitly the times by which frequency is measured. The latter (ibid:8-65) includes categories like 'usual occurrence' (*generally, usually*), 'continuous frequency' (*always, constantly*), 'high frequency' (*often, regularly, repeatedly*), 'low frequency' (*seldom, occasionally, never*). The importance of this distinction is that it shows the two different means of accounting for frequency: the category of *indefinite*

frequency is not so much concerned with a temporal qualification of the process as with a more 'impressionistic' view of frequency, one which expresses the speaker's perception of the recurrence of the events.

In Halliday's terms, realizations like those of *indefinite* frequency imply 'both yes and no' (1994a:356) or 'it both is and isn't' (Leuven's seminar, July 1994b). Thus they fall within the semantic region between positive and negative polarity and express the speaker's *judgment* on how frequent a state of affair is or was. In other words, they fall within the province of modality. Hence the inclusion of *usuality* among the four areas of modal meaning considered.

Though not visualized in **Figure 3.3** above, the *orientation* of modality is integrated into my analysis, as it accounts for personal and impersonal judgments made either explicitly or implicitly. The implications of the subjective or objective orientation of the modality are various, being closely related to the responsibility for the judgment expressed and to the source of deontic force binding the individual involved in the modality.

The next section presents a general discussion of the realizations of modality both in English and in Portuguese.

3.3 Modality in English and in Portuguese

For systemic functional linguistics (SFL), both the syntagmatic and the paradigmatic axes constitute central components in language description. The latter, understood as 'the range of options from which a person's language and the culture to which he belongs allow him to select' (Berry, 1975:24), describes the range of possible things that he *can*

do linguistically. This is a basic systemic concept known as *linguistic behavior potential*, that is the underlying organization of language as an interrelated set of options for making meaning.

However, as SFL also looks at language as a *form of doing*, another concept informs the description of language, that of *actual linguistic behavior*, which refers to what people actually *do* linguistically, selecting options in meaning from the *linguistic behavior potential* on particular occasions. This is the *can do* vs. *does* distinction, that is the recognition of the *potential to mean* that lies behind the *actualization* as manifested in text. This distinction will inform the account of what Joyce, O'Shea and Trevisan actually *did* linguistically from the *linguistic behavior potential* available to them. The *can do* part of the distinction is discussed in 3.3.1 and 3.3.2 for English and Portuguese respectively in terms of the possibilities for the realization of modality. The *does* part of the distinction is discussed in 3.4 and 3.5 below where the effects of the *actual linguistic behavior* in the texts will be analysed.

3.3.1 Modality in English

The nature and status of expressions of the semantic category of modality vary from language to language.⁴ Consensus exists, however, about the fact that languages possess ways of expressing speakers' attitude towards the content of their statements, which can be anywhere between commitment and detachment. Though beyond the scope of the

⁴ In this respect, Bybee, J. & Fleischman, S. (Eds.) *Modality in Grammar and Discourse* (1995) offer an interesting discussion of the subject, exploring different aspects of modality, e.g. deontic and epistemic modality, acquisitional matters, the issue of the relationship between the choice of mood and modality and the nature of grammaticalization, all these cross-linguistically. Portuguese unfortunately is not included. The discussions concerning the issue of the meaning of subjunctive mood are, however, applicable to Portuguese in that they focus on factors determining the choice of this mood.

present work, this issue might be of interest to translation studies in the sense that it brings to the fore the possibilities available in the different systems for the grammaticalization of modal meanings. Just to give an interesting example, Spanish has five moods which express 'las distintas actitudes con que el hablante presenta los hechos' (*Compendios Kapelusz -Castellano Actual 1*, 1973:60). Among these, there is a specific mood for the expression of epistemic meanings, the *Potential* mood through which the facts or events are presented 'no como real, sino como posible' (Marin, E. 1969:76-7).

In English, modality is realized in a variety of ways. For example, if the focus is spoken language and all kinds of speaker comment are considered, the intonation contour or tone (Halliday, 1970:331) and the use of the 'hesitation phenomena' (Downing & Locke, 1992:384) will be considered as expressing modality. In the broadest sense of modality, realizations will range from *all* expressions of interpersonal meanings between *it is so/it is not so* and *do it/don't do it*, including all forms of attitudinal markers, the use of non-assertive items. One example is provided by Fairclough (1992:160) who, discussing modality in connection with critical discourse analysis, shows how issues of power and asymmetry in social relations are 'naturalized' through the use of 'a somewhat diffuse range of ways of manifesting various degrees of affinity like *hedges* such as *sort of, a bit*'. His focus is then on the hedging potential of modal expressions. Another example can be found in Downing and Locke (1992:384-385) who, in respect of the pragmatic dimension of modality, point out reasons of politeness or desire to avoid commitment providing the motivation for a modalized rather than a categorical assertion. They discuss modal expressions including certain uses of *if*-clauses as in *if you don't mind my saying so*, the use of the remote past as in *I thought I'd go along with you* and the use of non-assertive items such as *any* as in *He'll eat any kind of vegetable*.

In a more strict sense, taking modality to 'represent the speaker's angle, either on the validity of the assertion or on the rights and wrongs of the proposal' (Halliday, 1994a:362), only expressions realizing degrees of confidence in the truth of the proposition, degrees of frequency, of requirement, of permission and of desire will be considered. A wide range of variants exist, taking into account the distinction between realizations of a *verbal* and of a *non-verbal nature*.

Realizations of a *verbal nature* include lexical verbs expressing epistemic and deontic meanings such as *think, suppose, know, allow, beg, command, wonder, forbid, promise*; lexico-modal auxiliaries such as *be* and *have* and another element + infinitive (*have got to, be bound to, etc.*); lexical verbs expressing wishes and desires of the speaker such as *hope, wish, regret*, which can also be grammaticized in 'constructions in a 'be...to' or 'be...that' framework carrying boulomaic commitment (Simpson, 1993:48).

Grammatically, however, the system of modality has been centrally associated with the modal verbs *can, could, will, would, must, shall, should, may, might, ought to*. This association is justifiable for, as Lewis (1988:101) points out, 'modal auxiliaries allow the speaker to express an attitude to the non-factual and non-temporal elements of the situation', thus introducing the elements of possibility, necessity, desirability, doubt and uncertainty. Modals act upon the time reference of the verbal group in which they occur, taking it to the realm of the possible, probable or necessary in such a way that the time reference of a modal verbal group is not to the time actually experienced but simply to the imaginary. Besides, the modal auxiliaries 'constitute a conveniently delimited class of formal items' (Simpson, 1990:69), which might also account for the attention they have received. Modals, as a single syntactic system, can realize both epistemic and deontic modality (Halliday, 1970:350).

Besides these, there are those realizations collectively known as realizations of a *non-verbal* nature. *Non-verbal realizations* include different resources such as adverbs functioning as modal adjuncts of probability and usuality like *probably, possibly, surely, hopefully, thankfully, obviously*; modal adjectives: *possible, necessary, likely*; modal nouns: *possibility, likelihood, promise, duty, etc.*

Perkins (1983:20), as quoted in Simpson (1990:69), dissatisfied with the disproportionate amount of attention modals have received in linguistics, provides a study designed to encompass a much wider range of modal expressions in English, including modal expressions combining verbally and nonverbally derived adjectives and participles with the structure "be...to" and "be... that" , as in *He's sure to come, I'm certain that he'll come, It's doubtful that he's ill, and It's claimed that they are mad, it is obvious that..., it is suspected that...it is likely that...* Such realizations are treated by Halliday (1994:355) as 'metaphorical representations of a modality, through which speakers 'dissimulate the fact that they *are* expressing their opinion.'

The discussion so far has concentrated on the range of variants for the expression of modality in English. Portuguese has forms roughly comparable to English for the realization of modal meanings. However, 'in spite of the many similarities between English and Portuguese [...], the dissimilarities are far from being negligible and they CAN cause a great deal of trouble[...]' (Konder, 1984:591). The next section is devoted to them.

3.3.2 Modality in Brazilian Portuguese (BP)

As with English, the options available in BP for the expression of modality also comprise realizations of a *verbal* and *non-verbal* nature. The former have formal expression in the

verbal system of the language. However, unlike English, which has a system of modal verbs, BP does not have an exclusive system to express modal meanings. It does have a special mood - the subjunctive - and a set of auxiliary verbs and lexical verbs which do this job grammaticalizing both epistemic and deontic meanings. These are discussed separately below.

The auxiliary verbs expressing modal meanings can be of two kinds: i) the ones considered modal auxiliaries and ii) the ones which are accidentally modal. The first group (i), comprising those considered modal auxiliaries, includes the verbs *poder*, *querer*, *dever*, *saber*, *desejar*, *sugerir*, etc (Cunha & Cintra, 1985:452), which are not clearly distinguished from other verbs as are the modal verbs in English. Like the modals, however, they are used as realizations of both epistemic and deontic modality in periphrastic forms, displaying the following combination: *poder/dever/querer* + *infinitive*. Among these, *querer* is considered the most important realization of volitional meanings in BP, emphasizing the *human will* upon which the idea expressed in the infinitive is dependent (Almeida, 1980:182-183). The second group (ii), those which are accidentally modal, includes *ir*, *vir*, *estar para*, *acabar de*, *começar a*, *deixar de*, *precisar*, *haver de* ou *haver que*, *ter de* ou *ter que*, etc, also in periphrastic forms involving the infinitive. The last item, *ter de/quê*, indicates a future action of obligatory character, independent of the subject's will (Cunha & Cintra, 1985: 449).

The infinitive in BP has a central modalizing role, as pointed out by Almeida (1980:133), who explains this fact in terms of a value which he calls 'the natural prospection of the infinitive construction' (ibid:185). Along the same lines, Barra Rocha (1992:76) stresses the function of the periphrastic phrases of the kind *ir* + infinitive or *estar para*+ infinitive in the realization of the deontic modal notion 'desejar', which is commented on by Cunha and Cintra (1985:385) as expressing strong intention of

carrying out the action. These combinations have, however, overlapping meanings, in that, while expressing volitional meanings they also and obviously express futurity, especially *near future*.

In addition, BP has a system of mood, in which the verbal inflection expresses modality. Within the system of mood, the subjunctive is the generalised marker of modality. As Cunha and Cintra (1985:454) put it,

o subjuntivo é o modo exigido nas orações que dependem de verbos cujo sentido está ligado à idéia de ordem, de proibição, de desejo, de vontade, de súplica, de condição e outras correlatas. É o caso, por exemplo, dos verbos *desejar, duvidar, implorar, lamentar, negar, ordenar, pedir, proibir, querer, rogar e suplicar*.

In fact, there is some translational equivalence between the English modal verbs and the BP subjunctive mood. This mood is formed by a set of verb forms representing an act or state not as a fact but as contingent, or possible or viewed with emotion. As Barra Rocha points out, the subjunctive makes it possible for the speaker to participate in his enunciation: 'veicula a tomada de posição do falante em relação ao processo; (...) comunicando, além da realidade objetiva, também sua posição diante dela, ou avaliando sua probabilidade ou impondo sua vontade ao ouvinte' (1992:56). The forms in *-esse* are especially used in this context.

In certain circumstances, the indicative mood can also express modality especially in the 'futuro do preterito simples', the tense of uncommitted utterances, expressed through the use of the main verb in the forms in *-ria*. Cunha and Cintra (1995:451) point to the use of this tense in 'afirmações condicionadas, quando se referem a fatos que não se realizaram e que, provavelmente, não se realizarão'. Such facts are linked to hypothetical environments, co-occurring with conditional 'if' and are presented as probable consequences of the condition. Other possibilities exist, through the use of periphrastic forms involving *ia + infinitive of main verb* and *iria + infinitive of main*

verb. These alternatives, however, emphasize the immediacy of the future action (Cunha & Cintra, 1985: 449), to the detriment of the predictive and hypothetical character of the realizations with the main verb in forms of *-ria*.

The tense 'pretérito imperfeito do indicativo' is also used to express modality of the *usuality* type, as in the combination *acabava dando-lhe o dinheiro*. As Cunha and Cintra (1985:439) say, this tense 'incorporates an idea of continuity, of duration of the verbal process' (translation mine). This feature explains its use in narratives of past events which are inconclusive, in continuous realization in the line from past to present. This non-perfectness of the action accounts for the denomination of the tense - 'imperfeito', which refers to durative actions, non-limited in time. Cunha and Cintra (ibid:442) point out the relevance of the tense in Free Indirect Speech environments, in which narrator and character are fused in the vivid narration of a fact.

Finally, lexical verbs like *saber*, *desejar (que)*, *esperar (que)* and other verbs considered performative, like *permitir*, *consentir*, *concordar*, *proibir*, *prometer*, expressing epistemic and deontic meanings, are also realizations of modality.

As with English, modalization in BP can also be indicated by *non-verbal* realisations. The modal adverbs (*talvez*, *provavelmente*, *etc.*), the modal adjectives (*provável*, *etc.*), the modal nouns (*probabilidade*, *promessa*, *desejo*, *dever*, *etc.*).

From the definition of modality presented above and the discussion of the meanings included as modal, it will have become clear that, in my analysis, I will be looking at those realizations which 'represent the speaker's angle, either on the validity of the assertion or on the rights and wrongs of the proposal' (Halliday, 1994a:362). Only those expressions realizing epistemic and deontic meanings in terms of degrees of confidence in the truth of the proposition, degrees of frequency, degrees of requirement and permission, and of desire will be considered.

Let us now turn to an examination of the modal meanings realized in Joyce's textualization and in O'Shea's and Trevisan's retextualizations in 3.4 and 3.5 respectively.

3.4 Modality in Joyce's 'Eveline'

In the following discussion of *Eveline*, references are to *Dubliners* (1969). In order to facilitate reference both in this section and in section 3.5 below, the modalized clauses are numbered. The English occurrences are accompanied by the abbreviation ST (Source Text), and, in the comparison, the retextualizations are referred to as TT1 (Translated Text one), TT2a (Translated Text two, first version) and TT2b (Translated Text two, second version).⁵ The occurrences listed include both explicit and elliptical realizations. The latter, indicated with a pair of brackets [], are included on the grounds that though left out they continue to be taken for granted as the discourse continues to require them and they are 'understood' from one clause to the next (Halliday, 1994a:71-72).

As is known, *Dubliners* is Joyce's first major work, set against the background of Dublin at the turn of the 19th century. He describes incidents in the lives of ordinary men and women, made extraordinary by his acute perception. One of these is Eveline, the protagonist of the fourth story in his collection. Leech and Short (1981:346) summarize the 'facts' of this short story in the following terms: 'At the beginning [...] we learn that the title character has consented to run away from home with her lover, Frank. The rest of the story hinges entirely on whether or not she will actually carry out that decision'. Obviously, as Joyce's critics have always demonstrated - there is more than

⁵The reader is advised to read the Source Text and the Translated Texts before proceeding. These texts are found in the Appendices.

these trivial facts to these stories. One of Joyce's recurrent themes, that of *paralysis*, permeates *Dubliners*. In an apparent paradox, it is usually connected with the idea of escaping, a constant in this and other short stories. In *Eveline*, escaping is denied by the protagonist's 'frozen immobility', by a paralysis of body and will, at the end of the story. Joyce himself encouraged a symbolic reading of incidents like this in his work in *Dubliners*, as Brown (1992:xxi) points out: 'My intention,' Joyce wrote in a letter to his editor, 'was to write a chapter of the moral history of my country and I chose Dublin for the scene because that city seemed to me the centre of paralysis.' This is what Joyce said his text would be. This is basically what the critics have said it is. But a question remains though: How does a text mean what it does? Or more specifically, *how do the English textualization and the Portuguese retextualizations mean what they do?* In order to contribute to the understanding of these texts __ how and why they mean what they do __ and to their evaluation __ why they are, or are not, effective texts for their own purposes __ this chapter proposes a kind of interpretation which keeps close to the text, discussing the effects produced by 'the words [which] have been chosen, patterned, and woven together, building a meaningful linguistic texture' (Zyngier, 1994:101). This kind of interpretation, however, also relates the text to its context of situation and of culture and, in this sense, it is not to be mistaken for a 'close reading' of the text, in structuralist terms.⁶

At this point, some comments are required concerning the narrative style in *Eveline*, which has implications and consequences to the realization of modalities. This is what we turn to now.

⁶ Zyngier's remarks on this issue (1994:101) are elucidating: 'it must be stressed that the apprehension of stylistic patterns cannot be dissociated from the cultural repertoire of the reader, lest the argument here may run the risk of being misunderstood as radical structuralism. The perception of patterns depends on cultural factors, that is, the patterns a reader perceives obviously result from ideological assumptions and linguistic and literary experience.'

3.4.1 The implications of the narrative style for the discussion of modality

A discussion of the narrative style in *Eveline* involves a number of aspects and levels of sophistication whose complexities go beyond the scope of this dissertation. Some issues, however, require some comments. The first relates to the temporal structure in *Eveline*. The second refers to speech/thought representation in the narrative.

If doing a study of modality is like trying to walk in a crowded room without treading on anybody's feet, so is doing a study of *Eveline*, which has been commented on in interesting terms by many people. An example suited to our purposes is Konder's (1991) discussion of the complexities of its temporal structure. Konder focuses on the difficulties the temporal structure poses to translators in terms of the structural resources different languages have for the expression of similar temporal concepts. Her discussion points out the fact that, by force of its own nature, the orientation frame of a narrative text is typically that of *past time*, which becomes the referential starting point for the temporal relationships of anteriority and posteriority established. Because the orientation frame is the past time, backshifted tense systems occur. This has consequences for the present study of modalities in the sense that, when modality is expressed in the form of the verb, the orientation frame being the past time, oblique forms of modal auxiliaries __central realizations of the modality system __ are used. The problem posed by the use of oblique forms is that they tend to neutralize the difference between epistemic and deontic meanings: the more remote the environment, the less discrete the meanings of the two systems. Ambiguity arises, permitting overlapping interpretations (Halliday, 1976:203-206).

The second is concerned with the variety of speech and thought representation in the narrative.⁷ In my analysis, *Eveline* can be described as a fictional narrative made of declarative clauses, some modalized in two different ways: either by some epistemic qualification or by some deontic qualification expressing conditions circumscribing the process. The narrative is of a special kind in the sense that though written in the third person it has some authorial modality and does not remain, as is typical, outside the thoughts and feelings of the characters. The consequence of this kind of speech/thought representation is that the narrative is more than a mere indirect rendering. It is rather a form which has signals of the flavour of the original speech or thought although the intervening narrator incorporates into his own voice that of the participants in the story. An example can be found in the one-clause paragraph 5, *She would not cry many tears at leaving the store*. Here, to the complication stemming from the orientation frame of the narrative resulting in the use of the oblique form *would* __ which lends itself both to epistemic and deontic interpretations __ another complication is added originating in the absence of a projecting verb. A simple addition of an expression like *she said to herself* or *she thought* would have disambiguated the source of the comment. I am not suggesting that this device would have improved the text. On the contrary, this feature, which adds to the possibilities of meaning production and is present throughout the stories in *Dubliners*, 'paves the way for the experiments of Joyce's later fiction' (Scholes & Litz, 1969:240). What I am saying, though, is that all of these aspects contribute to

⁷This variety of speech representation in narrative is discussed by Leech & Short (1983: 325-334) under the label *Free Indirect Speech* (FIS). To my knowledge, the most comprehensive study of FIS is provided by Fludernik's (1993) 500-page exhaustive description of free indirect discourse and its signals. This notion, though not the focus of this chapter, will underlie the analysis of what I call a 'blurring of voices', a phenomenon occurring as a result of the absence of explicit projecting verbs thus contributing to the ambiguous status of the epistemic and deontic modalities found in the text.

what Halliday calls a 'blend' (1976:206-207), associated with the remoteness of the environment and enhanced by the 'blurring of voices' between narrator and protagonist.

Still in relation to speech/thought representation in *Eveline*, Hasan's (1985) discussion of 'planes of narration' is welcome into the scene.⁸ Especially relevant is her notion of 'second order representation', which constitutes what she sees as a special kind of the objective plane of narration: the narrator turns out not to be an impartial chronicler, in the sense that he commits himself to what the protagonist actually feels or thinks. In fact, this kind of third-person narrator observes the protagonist from the outside but also turns the objective plane of the narrative into what Hasan calls 'near a surrogate of subjective plane'. It is as if the protagonist were speaking. The effect is then that of a blurring of the objective and subjective planes. 'In-character' perceptions and states are retained, with the effect that the reader is in direct contact with the protagonist's cogitations. This seems to be the case with *Eveline*. This feature constitutes another complicating factor in the attribution of the source of the epistemic judgments and of the deontic forces bearing upon *Eveline*.

The objective status of the narrator as an 'impartial chronicler' in *Eveline* is seen in the opening paragraph, which is introductory in nature and displays a pictorial image of *Eveline*, grammaticized by unqualified processes (verbs) carrying the narrative forward: *she sat watching; was leaned; in her nostrils was the odour; she was tired*. With a sequence of declarative clauses functioning congruently as statements, Joyce sets the scene, which is grammaticized with unambiguous and unmetaphorical expressions of mood. As there is no suggestion that any of it is a matter of opinion, so the clauses are

⁸ Though interesting and enlightening, Hasan's (1985) account of 'planes of narration' is not the aim of this chapter. Her views were brought into the discussion just for the sake of clarification of those elements contributing to the difficulties in the interpretation of epistemic and deontic meanings.

unmodalized. This order of things is maintained until Eveline begins to look dubious and the status of the narrator is disturbed.

The ambivalent status of the narrator in *Eveline* can be seen in as early as paragraph two of the short story. This paragraph opens with categorical assertions establishing the objective plane of the narration but soon displays a clear indication of a shift in the plane of narration, from what Hasan (1985, chapter 3) calls *objective plane*, to what she calls a *near surrogate of the subjective plane*, approximating the reader to Eveline's relation with reality. This part of the paragraph is one of the four moments displaying Eveline's memories in the short story __ idyllic recollections of the past __ the other moments being Eveline's memories of Frank (paragraph seven), of her father (paragraph nine) and of her mother (paragraph ten). Three processes here are qualified by expressions of degrees of usuality: 'Ernest *never* played', 'her father used *often* to hunt them' and '*usually* little Keogh used to keep nix'. These qualifications "tag" (to use Halliday's terms in 1984:22) the speculations with some assessment of their validity: they are '*true only for a certain proportion of time*'.

Diminished certainty as to the frequency of past events as grammaticized in the text points to Eveline's state of uncertainty in relation to the validity of the proposition in her recollection. This evaluation of the evidential status of the proposition alone, which is closely bound up with issues of speaker perspective, is suggestive of the complex status of the narrator. Matters are complicated, though, by reference to the process of *perception* with the verb *seem* in 'they *seemed to have been* rather happy then', which has the effect of modalizing the associated statement (Lee, 1993:138) of 'their having been happy'.

This expression of epistemic modality _ *seem* _ plays a central role here, for it poses problems of interpretation as to the source of the epistemic judgment. Though

integrated into the narrative voice, this modal lexical verb *seem* allows for the interpretation of the *perceiver* in two different ways: i) 'I, the narrator, make the judgment' or ii) 'someone other than me, the narrator, makes the judgment'. The 'objective plane' of the narration implied in the first alternative would be more accordingly grammaticized through a categorical assertion of the kind 'they were very happy then'; the choice of the modalized process is suggestive of the blurring of the two perspectives, Eveline's and the narrator's. What is important for our purposes here is the fact that this feature, established by *seem*, is developed through the many other modalities permeating the text, which foreground special kinds of modal meanings attributable to the protagonist Eveline, and which are basic to the projection of the central themes of the short story. The verb *seem* will be looked at again in the analysis of the treatment given to it in the TTs (3.4 below).

From these considerations it follows that the character Eveline can be considered the source of the epistemic and deontic *judgments* _ it is Eveline that makes the judgments of likelihood, usuality, requirement and desire in the text __ though, as discussed in the opening paragraph of this chapter, she is not entitled with her own narrative. Not being entitled with her own narrative, Eveline is then *not responsible for the categorical assertions in the narrative: these are the narrator's statements*.

In order to have an initial impact of Eveline's relation to the modal meanings in the short story, it is worthwhile to chart her position within the modal framework, in

Figure 3.4 below:

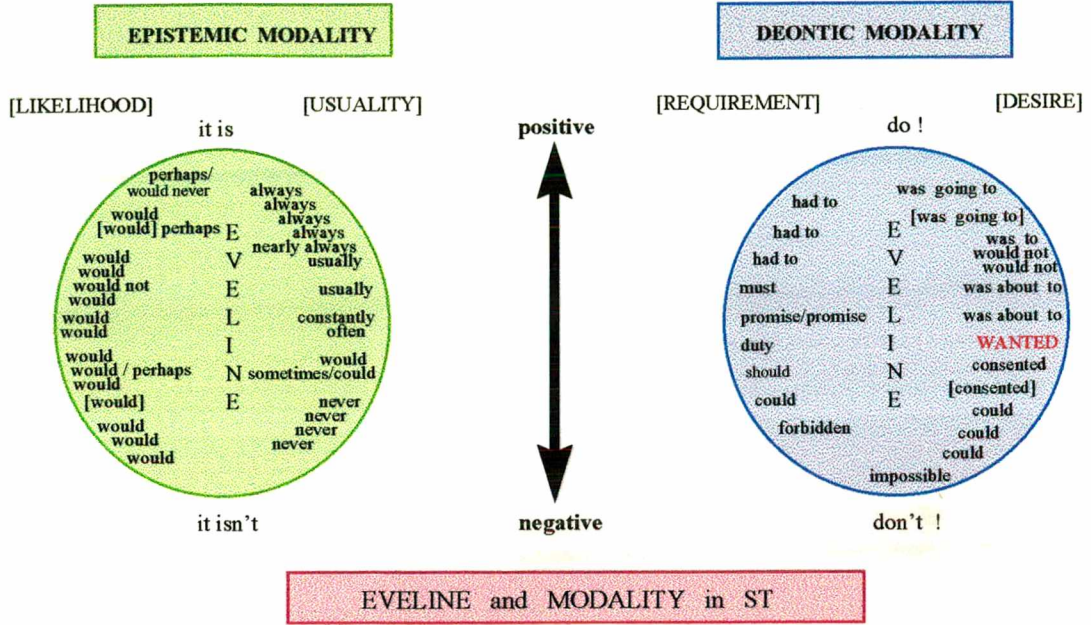


Figure 3.4 Eveline and the modal meanings foregrounded in ST

The picture that emerges from the visualization in Figure 3.4 depicts Eveline trapped, between *the hypothetical projections for her future* and *the idyllic reconstructions of the past*, and between *the deontic forces binding her* and *her desire*. This leads us to say that Eveline's modalities are determined by three basic logics, the logic of *uncertainty* on the one hand, and that of *obligation* and *desire*, on the other hand. These three logics motivate the realizations of the interpersonal meanings in *Eveline*. The next section is devoted to this discussion.

3.4.2 Eveline's logics in the ST

Table 3.2 below presents all the realizations of the three logics in the **ST**, with numbered occurrences. The subsequent references will be to this table. Following it, the discussions will concentrate in each logic separately, that is, the logic of *uncertainty* (subdivided into

prediction and *recollection*), the logic of *obligation* and the logic of *desire*. This will hopefully construct Eveline's profile as depicted in the ST.

UNCERTAINTY / PREDICTION

- 1) *Perhaps* she *would* never see again those familiar objects
- 2) What *would* they say of her at the Stores
- 3) [They *would*] Say she was a fool, *perhaps*
- 4) her place *would* be filled up by advertisement
- 5) Miss Gavan *would* be glad
- 6) But in her new home, (...) it *would* not be like that
- 7) Then she *would* be married - she Eveline
- 8) People *would* treat her with respect then
- 9) He [her father] *would* miss her
- 10) Frank *would* save her
- 11) He *would* give her life, *perhaps* love, too
- 12) Frank *would* take her in his arms
- 13) [would] fold her in his arms
- 14) He *would* save her
- 15) If she went, tomorrow she *would* be on the sea
- 16) He [Frank] *would* drown her

UNCERTAINTY / RECOLLECTION

- 1) Ernest, however, *never* played
- 2) Her father used *often* to hunt them in
- 3) But *usually* little Keogh used to keep nix
- 4) (...) objects from which she had *never* dreamed of being divided
- 5) She had *never* found out the name of the priest
- 6) She had *always* had an edge on her
- 7) When they were growing up he had *never* gone for her
- 8) Harry (...) was *nearly always* down somewhere in the country
- 9) She *always* gave her entire wages
- 10) Harry *always* sent up what he could
- 11) He [her father] was *usually* fairly bad on Saturday night
- 12) In the end he *would* give her the money
- 13) She *always* felt pleasantly confused
- 14) *Sometimes* he [her father] *could* be very nice
- 15) (...) as she heard again her mother's voice saying *constantly*

OBLIGATION

- 1) She *had* to work hard
- 2) She *had* to rush out as quickly as she could
- 3) [her father] *had forbidden* her to have anything to say to him
- 4) after that, she *had* to meet her lover secretly
- 5) her *promise* to her mother,
her *promise* to keep the home together
- 6) She *must* escape
- 7) Why *should* she be unhappy ?
- 8) To show her what was her *duty*
- 9) *Could* she still draw back ?
- 10) It was *impossible*

DESIRE / ABILITY

- 1) Now she was *going* to go away like the others
- 2) [She was *going*] to leave her home
- 3) She had *consented* to go away
- 4) [She had *consented*] to leave her home
- 5) She *would not* cry many tears
- 6) She *would not* be treated as her mother had been
- 7) Then she had to rush out as quickly as she *could*
- 8) But now that she was *about* to leave it
- 9) Set was *about* to explore another life with Frank
- 10) She was to go away with him
- 11) Down in the avenue she *could* hear a street organ playing
- 12) (...) her promise to keep the house together as long as she *could*
- 13) She *WANTED* to live

Table 3.2 Eveline's logics in ST

3.4.2.1 The logic of *uncertainty*

By means of realizations of interpersonal meanings, Joyce shapes Eveline's (and the reader's) continuing states of uncertainty, which accounts for the significant number of expressions of the protagonist's judgment of the likelihood of the validity of her observations. In the context of the grammar of interpersonal exchanges, whenever the speaker states his knowledge explicitly, this means that he is admitting an element of doubt and displaying less than a hundred percent commitment to the propositional information contained in his clause. This is the case with the explicit subjective form of high value probability realized by the lexical verb *know* in a projection clause ('know that'), used by the narrative voice in *Eveline*, which illustrates the 'apparent paradox on which the entire system [of modality] rests - the fact that we only say we are certain when we are not' (Halliday, 1994:362). When realized by the verb *know*, modality is expressed as an attribute of the speaker as it has to do with knowledge.

In *Eveline*, there are two occurrences of *know (that)*: *She knew it was that that had given her the palpitations* (paragraph 6) and *She knew that he was speaking to her* (paragraph 13).⁹ Both, referring to the protagonist's state of doubt, confusion and bewilderment, are significant in the sense that they add to the construction of her state of uncertainty permeating the text. Had Joyce chosen to omit the modalizing verb *know*, he would have rendered Eveline's commitment to the factuality of the proposition the strongest, making it a categorical assertion. It is interesting to compare these occurrences with the following version, in which the lexical verb is deleted: *It was that that had given her the palpitations* and *He was speaking to her*. It is clear that important

⁹ Although they constitute expressions of epistemic modality and refer to degrees of *uncertainty*, the lexical verbs *know* and *seem* are not displayed in Figure 3.4, exploring the dimensions of recollections of the past or projections into the future. Both *know* and *seem* reflect the protagonist's *perception* taking place at the time of the narrative, a fact which places these modalities in a special category.

aspects of meaning are absent in the second version: the source of the palpitations is presented as a fact rather than as a possibility and the statement of Frank's speaking to Eveline is presented as an event at the narrative level, irrespective of her perception of it. This deletion would have produced a significant change in meaning, both from the point of view of the construction of Eveline's profile and of the nature of the narrative as a whole. Thus modalization as used here instals a semantic space which is suggestive of Eveline's uncertainty towards reality and renders her commitment explicitly dependent on her own knowledge, meaning '*this is how I perceive it*'.

The nature of Eveline's state of uncertainty can be divided into two different categories, both relating to speculations: i) speculations about the future, and ii) speculations about the past.

Speculations about the future occur in a hypothetical environment in which the propositional content of the utterances relates to future events, about which Eveline is doubtful. She makes predictions on the basis of certain 'premises'¹⁰ — the existence of the possibility of salvation, grammaticized through the system of modality. Hypothetical situations are then projected as a consequence of her potential leaving. The selection of such meanings in this section of the text inform the lexicogrammatical realizations, which explains the high number of occurrences of epistemic *would* (14 explicit and 2 elliptical realizations), as can be seen in **Table 3.2**.

¹⁰For a more detailed account of *predictions* as opposed to *deductions*, see Lock's (1996: 196 -197) distinction between the notion of *premise*, the basis for developing a prediction, and the notion of *evidence*, the basis for developing a deduction, both considered epistemic modality.

In this modal configuration, epistemic modality is used in the construction of imaginary situations: the time reference of the modal verbal group is not to time actually experienced __ as time here has no actual basis __ but simply to the imaginary. Thus predictive *would* (classified by Halliday 1994b as subjective implicit MEDIAN modality) is used in the textualization of Eveline's musings. In (1), (3) and (11), *perhaps*, a modal adverb, expressing low value epistemic likelihood of implicit objective orientation, enters into 'harmonic combination' with *would* (Lyons, 1977:807), representing the same degree of epistemic commitment, but enhancing the effect of uncertainty and tentativeness as the two 'reinforce each other' (Halliday, 1970:331).

In (15) the prediction is based upon a condition, *if she went*, which is presented as a possible situation. In other words, Eveline links the future occurrence of the state of *being on the sea* to the fulfilment of the condition *going*, leaving open the possibility of it being or not carried out.

Particularly interesting is the sequence of modal meanings associated with the possibility of salvation (10 to 16 above), equated with the idea of leaving home __ from Dublin to Liverpool and from there to Buenos Ayres __ with Frank. If we look at the processes qualified, a curious configuration emerges: the processes proceed from *to save*, through *to give life/ love* culminating in *to save* again, to *to drown*. In this projected situation, Frank first comes up as a potentially liberating entity and ends up as a potentially destructive force. It is worth noticing that all these values are attributed to Frank by Eveline, who projects her dreams of being free from the constraints of her paralyzing life in Dublin into an idealized future situation.

As discussed above, the orientation frame of the oblique modal used in the narrative has the effect of neutralizing the differences between epistemic and deontic meanings. An example is the occurrence in (6), *it would not be like that*, in which the

subjective implicit median *would* lends itself both to epistemic (as an evaluation of likelihood in a predictive environment) and to deontic interpretations (as a realization of low value boulomaic modality). The choice for an epistemic interpretation in this instance is due to the presence of *it* as Subject, as opposed to other instances in which Eveline is inscribed in this function, the latter reinforcing the boulomaic reading. Nevertheless, modal meanings overlap in this instance, as well as in (7), (8), (10), (11), (12) and (13), where traces of volition are left in the realization of *volition-colored hypothetical future*, especially if we consider the hypothetical context in which it occurs. Back in 1933, Jespers³ⁿ (1933:282) already called attention to the employment of *would* indicating volition under a hypothetical condition. This overlapping points to the impossibility of total discreteness in the categorization of the semantic nuances of modals in English.

As the title character is carrying out a dialogue with herself, weighing each side of the question in an attempt to decide, she also speculates about her past, idyllically reconstructed in her memories. Such speculations occur in a context of judgements about how usual certain states of affair had been at a time before the time of the narrative. The realizations take the form of expressions of *usuality*, indicating intermediate degrees of frequency of past events as perceived by Eveline. Frequency, as understood here, refers to a more indefinite perception of the occurrence of affairs, being concerned 'not with numerical indications but with more general impressionistic frequency' (Quirk et al, 1985:542). Indefinite frequency, therefore, indicates recurrent activity without an explicit mention of the times by which the frequency is measured. What is important for the purpose of the analysis here is the suggestion that the entity perceiving time is *unsure of* or *uninterested in* absolute measures. Such occurrences of indeterminacy are suggestive of the idyllic and uncertain character of Eveline's recollections.

Usuality is realized both verbally and non-verbally, by modal auxiliaries and modal Adjuncts of frequency. The most frequent realizations are modal Adjuncts of *indefinite* or *impressionistic* frequency of a non-verbal nature. Among these, the high value implicit objective Adjunct *always* occurs five times. Following, *never*, realizing high value implicit objective epistemic modality of usuality (Halliday, 1994:90), occurs four times in Eveline's recollections. This modal Adjunct is interesting in that it incorporates the negativity into the comment on frequency ('always did not'). Next, median value *usually* (used two times) also refers to Eveline's *perception* of the frequency of events and state of affairs in her past. Finally, *constantly*, *often*, *sometimes* are each used once.

As for verbal realizations, the use of the oblique *would* in this usuality environment (12) deserves attention: The predictive element of modal certainty based on repeated experience in the past does contaminate the qualification of the process *give [the money]*. But at the same time *would* relates to *indefinite or impressionistic frequency* in that it expresses a judgment about *how usual* the event was. This use of *would* realizes subjective implicit usuality of median value (See Halliday, 1994b) and can be glossed as *he often gave her the money*.

Another occurrence of a modal auxiliary is the low value subjective implicit modal *could* (14 above): *Sometimes* he *could* be very nice. Here, meanings of potentiality are associated with an assessment of usuality __ indefinite/impressionistic frequency __ as judged by Eveline and can be glossed as: *it was true only for a certain proportion of the time and only as a certain potentiality*. In other words, 'her father had this potential for being nice and there were times when this happened'. It is interesting to notice that *could* is used in association with the non-verbal realization of usuality *sometimes*, entering into a 'harmonic combination' (Lyons, 1977:807) with it: 'if

each is being used epistemically, [they] are harmonic, in that they both express the same degree of modality', with the effect that the two occurrences reinforce each other¹¹.

3.4.2.2 The logic of *obligation*

The second logic informing the realizations of modality in *Eveline* is the logic of *obligation*, a category of the *deontic* system.. In this short story it is grammaticized through *deontically modulated* clauses. In the context of deontic modality, one question referring to the source of the deontic force acquires significance: what is it that is binding? Typically, *deontic necessity* derives from some cause. As Lyons (1977:824) states,

if X recognizes that he is obliged to perform some act, then there is usually someone or something that he will acknowledge as responsible for his being under the obligation to act in this way. It may be some person or institution to whose authority he submits; or some more or less explicitly formulated body of moral or legal principles; it may be no more than some inner compulsion that he would be hard put to identify and make precise.

In *Eveline's* case, the binding forces can be found in a variety of the potential sources of deontic necessity, among which inner and outer causes are included:

- i) Notions of duty and moral obligation, described in the narrative itself: 'her promise to keep the house together as long as she could'. In paragraph 13, this notion of duty is made prominent in her prayer to God to show her *what was her duty*. Particularly interesting is the word-order in the clause, which echoes *Eveline's* inner question, *What is my duty?*
- ii) Inner compulsion deriving from her vision of her mother's life, also made explicit in the narrative, 'the pitiful vision of her mother's life *laid its spell on the very quick of her being*'. Lexical choices here are especially significant in that they are suggestive of events controlled by some magical force beyond the individual's control;

¹¹ Halliday (1970:331) makes a distinction between i) pairs of verbal and non-verbal elements 'which are felt to be equivalent and thus reinforce each other (as 'concord') when both are present', and ii) pairs 'which are not equivalent and are thus cumulative in meaning'. This occurrence in *Eveline* belongs in the first group.

- iii) The oppressive forces bearing upon women in the Dublin of the time, especially male oppression, which is seen as an equivalent of imperial domination in the political sphere (Brown, 1992:xxiv);
- iv) Colonial subjugation, also discussed by Brown (Ibid:xxvi), is another source of deontic necessity culminating in Eveline's paralysis, which serves as a kind of metaphor for the spiritual condition of the Irish nation as a whole and for the provincial lethargy of Dublin described as a 'disabling social milieu' (Ibid:xxiv).

Given the deontic forces, the intermediate points in the deontic system represent degrees of obligation attaching to 'the state-of-affairs that will obtain if the act in question is performed' (Lyons, 1977:823). These states can be visualized in Table 3.1 and are described as follows:

Deontic requirement is grammaticized in (1), (2) and (4) through the high value modal *had to* expressing an obligation to carry out the acts expressed by *work hard*, *rush out* and *meet her lover secretly*. Such deontic requirements relate to Eveline but are extrinsic in the sense that the condition is imposed by some outer entity other than herself to which she is committed. This *deontic entity* __ here represented by her commitment to the *promise* she had made to her mother to keep the house together, combined with responsibilities derived from her work *duties* as well as *conditions imposed* by her father __ constitutes the source of deontic necessity constraining the protagonist's acts. This deontic modality can be glossed as '*was obliged to*'.

In (3), [*her father*] *had forbidden her to have anything to say to him*, requirement is realized by the lexical verb *forbid*. In this instance, Eveline's father is the deontic source, the binding force constraining her actions.

Compliance with the directive implicit in deontic modality, however, typically depends on the individual, who may eventually not only refuse to comply but also question the very existence of the obligation. This meaning is realized in (7), where the protagonist calls into question her obligation to stay. The occurrence comes up in the

narrative as a clear reverberation of Eveline's voice, although the narrator still makes an attempt at controlling the narrative through the use of the personal pronoun *she*: *Why should she be unhappy?* In this particular instance, the *requirement* is linked to *being unhappy* as if Eveline were doomed to a miserable life by deontic forces beyond her control.

Interestingly, while *staying* is equated with *being unhappy*, *leaving* is equated with *betraying the duties and promises*, as suggested by the realizations of deontic modality through modal nouns in (5) and (8). In (5), the item *promise* is repeated twice. Promising means 'committing oneself, under pain of dishonour, social disapproval or some other such sanction, to some future act or course of action' (Lyons, 1977:742), thus pertaining to the category of the 'be it' component. In the same line, '*duty*' is also suggestive of Eveline's feeling under the obligation to perform the particular action, that is to stay, a deontic necessity that grows stronger and stronger as the narrative approaches its end. The realizations discussed next confirm this interpretation.

First, the subjective deontic modality coded as a modal element in the clause in (6), 'She *must* escape', implies that the degree of speaker involvement in the conditions relating to the proposition ('escape') is high as it is a realization of modulated imperative of high value. In this case, the source of deontic necessity is an internal command, deriving from the 'sudden *impulse* of terror' at the vision of her mother's life: a strong feeling that she must do something to escape that 'life of commonplace sacrifices closing in final craziness'. It is worth noting that the co-text of this modality includes the modalizing nouns *promise* and *duty*, which are part of the forces binding Eveline (see 5 and 8 above).

In (9), *Could she still draw back?*, the protagonist calls into question the strength of her commitment to Frank and the '*intrinsic*' possibility of her drawing back

(the term *intrinsic* is used here in the sense suggested by Quirk et al. 1985:219, as involving 'some kind of human control over the events'). In this connection, it can be paraphrased by *be possible for her to do it*, as in '*Was it still possible for her to draw back?*' In this context, some questions arise as to the deontic sources binding Eveline, such as: 'Were there norms against her doing it?', 'Was she infringing 'duty' laws?', 'Was there anything preventing her from drawing back?'. If we assume that the answer is 'Yes', then this binding force might be said to be represented by a set of laws, whether natural or moral or some other oppressive force.

The final deontic expression of objective explicit orientation in (10), *It was impossible*, expresses Eveline's impossibility to carry out the action of leaving. It is worth observing that Joyce chose the objective orientation for the realization of the modality. He might have chosen the subjective orientation of the modality realized as *could*: *She could not leave*. Had this been chosen, the source of the modality would be felt to be *internal* to the participant, closely linked to her capability. That is, *not leave* would be interpreted as a propriety applicable to Eveline. However, the objectivization of the modality allows for the interpretation of the whole proposition being impossible. That is, the impossibility of leaving being considered as an idea. This realization has the effect of suggesting *external* sources standing in the protagonist's way and of suggesting the dislocation of the responsibility for the (in)action from Eveline to the binding forces in the circumstances. In this sense, another interpretation is possible, casting shades of low requirement/permission onto the process. Again, boulomaic and deontic meanings overlap.

If we examine the co-text in which this final modality occurs, we can see that it appears in a clause immediately following a categorical negation realized by '*No! No! No!*'. This Adjunct of polarity stands alone in the clause in which it is realized, with the

effect of taking the protagonist out of intermediate grounds, and of installing her recognition and acceptance of the final impossibility to leave. With the Adjunct of polarity doubt no longer exists and, at this moment, Eveline is entrusted with the responsibility of her own tale: it is her voice that comes up in the narrative. Paradoxically, the knowledge gained __ the acceptance of the fact that she cannot leave __ far from being liberating turns out to be even more oppressive as she cannot disentangle herself from the circumstances binding her. However, Eveline's sudden insight into reality __ her *epiphany* in the Joycean sense __ remains nevertheless a valuable gain, the experience becoming an end in itself.¹²

The configuration of deontic meanings in *Eveline* is evidence of one of the logics informing the protagonist's (in)action, the logic of *obligation*. From this description, a fact becomes prominent: no matter what is preventing her from leaving __ a set of laws or some other oppressive forces __ this something is binding her and eventually leads to her final paralysis. The protagonist *reacts* to modulated directives and, does not *act* in response to her own wishes. From this idea of *reacting*, there emerges the perception of the peculiar nature of most of the expressions of *desire* in the text, which acquires significance in the total picture of the text.

3.4.2.3 The logic of *desire*

When discussing boulomaic modality, Simpson (1993:48) makes a distinction between 'modal lexical verbs indicating the wishes and desires of the speaker' and 'adjectival and participial constructions in a 'be....to' or 'be...that' framework'. While the former 'are *central* in the boulomaic system' (italics mine), the latter '*can* carry boulomaic

¹² In *Dubliners*, Joyce does not use the word *epiphany*. The notion, however, permeates the short stories, becoming one the basic underlying themes. *Epiphany* is explained in Joyce's *Stephen Hero* (1963: 210-13), the fragmentary first draft of a *Portrait of the Artist as a Young Man*, as the "principle of *whatness*". For a more detailed discussion of the notion, see Tolentino (1989).

commitment' (italics mine). He uses the modal *can* to refer to the latter: the qualification of the process allows for the interpretation of such realizations as *peripheral* __ as opposed to those which are *central* __ in the boulomaic system.

Another distinction is made by Leech (1969:215), that between 'willingness' (denoting a yielding to someone else's will) and 'insistence' (denoting an imposition of one's will on someone else). This distinction is important in that it raises questions related to the identification of what Leech (225) calls 'the insisting party' as opposed to the 'willing party'.

In these two distinctions, what is relevant for my discussion is the examination of the extent to which Eveline plays the 'central' role of the 'insisting party' or, on the other hand, the extent to which she plays the 'peripheral' role of the 'willing party'. This accounts for the difference between those realizations which centrally express the 'me do!' component (Halliday, 1994b), like *wanted*, and those which, though carrying boulomaic commitment, also combine meanings of compliance to requirement, imminence and ability, like *was to go* or *could*. Such is the case of many of the intermediate points representing degrees of boulomaic modality in Eveline. In fact, they are realizations of the protagonist's *reactions* to circumstances rather than of her *action* towards the carrying out of her wishes.

When examined against the background of the other kinds of modality textualized in the ST, realizations of boulomaic modality seem to be equally significant in terms of quantitative turbulence: 13 occurrences are listed above, which, apparently suggest *desire* as one of the main driving forces in *Eveline*. This picture, however, does not stand closer scrutiny. In fact, the *quality* and *nature* of the realizations point to a very special kind of boulomaic modality in Eveline: 12 out of 13 instances are grammaticized in expressions which are not, in Simpson's term, *central* to the boulomaic system, having

overlapping meanings. Except for the realization in (13) __ *She WANTED to live* __ no other realization of boulomaic modality "par excellence" is grammaticized in the text. That is, no other expressions *centrally* indicating the speaker's *desire* and/or *wishes* occur. It is worth observing that this one realization is a subjective implicit boulomaic modality of *median* value. The sole occurrence of *central* boulomaic modality being not of *high* but of *median* value is evidence of the downgraded importance of the component *desire* in the short story. This acquires significance as it supports the claim that *desire* does not constitute the central force in *Eveline*.

In the configuration of boulomaic modality in the text, some other indications support this claim. One is the co-text in which *want to* occurs: this one realization is followed by an assertion of the protagonist's right, *She had a right to happiness*. The word *right*, one of the poles in the dichotomy *duties/rights*, signals once again the nature of boulomaic modality in *Eveline*, which occurs as responses to *rights*, as in the example, and not as genuine expressions of the protagonist's own drives.

More evidence is provided by the realizations in (3) *She had consented to go away*, and (4) [*she had consented*] *to leave her home* (this one elliptical). Here, the lexical verb expressing compliance to requests, *consent*, is another indication of boulomaic modality as a response to *commitments to previous arrangements*: Eveline never *wished* or *decided* to go away but just agreed to do what she acknowledged as an authoritative arrangement. The effect of these choices is to dislocate the volitional components in *Eveline* from the realm of *desire* to that of compliance with and acceptance of prearranged proposals and plans.

The same holds true in two other realizations (one of them elliptical) of median value boulomaic modality which occur with *be going to* in (1) and (2) (*She was going to go away* and *She was going to leave her home*), implicating mid-intention, leaving open

the possibility that the action will not be carried out. Or in the realizations by means of *was (about) to* (8), (9), (10), in which the the periphrastic form describes the state of affairs that will obtain (in Eveline's case, *to leave, to go away, to explore a new life*) if the act in question is performed. However, the repeated use adds the feature of *imminence* to the process. Of course, by force of the boulomaic commitment, the actual fulfillment is dependent on Eveline's making the proposition true or not by bringing about (or by refraining from bringing about) some future action. However, here again overlapping occurs as *was to* is also amenable to deontic interpretations in terms of *requirement*, which keeps the meaning of obligation or arrangement (Jerpersen, 1933:256). This last comment can be taken as more evidence to support the claim that *desire* does not constitute the driving force in *Eveline*.

Determination is realized in (5) and (6), through the deontic *would*, as a remote form of *will*. In this context, *would* is dominated by volitional concepts. The occurrences appear in paragraph 5, *she would not cry many tears*, and in paragraph 6, *she would not be treated as her mother had been*. While they suggest determination, they are also suggestive of a form of *(re)action* as opposed to *action*, in the sense that they are realizations *not* of a wish originating in Eveline's own internal urges but of a response to the binding constraints of her life. The acknowledgment of the necessity of doing *otherwise* is another suggestion that *desire* per se does not constitute the driving force in *Eveline*.

Another problem with these realizations, however high their volitional value is, is that they are also amenable to epistemic interpretations, as realizations of predictions based on certain premises: in this sense, they can be glossed as *there was a possibility that she would not cry* and *that she would not be treated as has mother had been*. In fact, the classification of these occurrences is problematic, which points to the

nondiscreteness in the modal area. The ambiguity remains though, justifying the reading of these realizations, in this context, as *peripheral* within the boulomaic meanings foregrounded in *Eveline*.

The following comment is concerned with the modal notion of *ability*, integrated into the modal framework proposed as a low value realization of boulomaic modality. Like Halliday (1994a:359 and 1994b), who sees *ability/potentiality* as a subcategory of *readiness/inclination*, I associate *ability* to low value volitional meanings in the sense that they involve some kind of human control over events.

In the ST, *ability/potentiality* is realized through the oblique *could* in (7), (11), and (12). In (11), the modal is used with the mental process *hear*, a process of sensing relating to involuntary perception: *Down in the avenue she could hear a street organ playing*. In this respect, Palmer (1986:75) points out the connection between sensation and modality in English: 'the most common way of expressing what one sees, hears, smells, tastes or feels is with the modal *can*; indicating that the speaker has the sensation not that he has the ability to have it.' Similar meanings are realized in (7) *Then she had to rush out as quickly as she could* and in (12) *her promise to keep the house together as long as she could*. Here, too, intrinsic possibility linked to participant capability are expressed in *could*, realizing low value implicit subjective boulomaic modality: The source of the modality is *internal* to the participant.

This is the general picture of the special textual configuration foregrounded in *Eveline*. The analysis carried out so far __ monolingual stylistics __ made those foregrounded meanings explicit and showed how they were the motivating principle underlying the lexicogrammatical choices of the ST. This analysis constitutes the first and basic step for the stylistic analysis of the translated texts __ *translational stylistics* __ in the sense given to the term by Malmkjaer (1993:213), discussed in the

Introduction. As the concept of translation adopted here is that of translation as *retextualization*, then this first analysis is central to the following discussions in the sense that it yields exactly the meanings the translators are to work with. The assumption is then that some sensitivity to this content is crucial to the process of retextualization.

The description and evaluation of the TTs which follow will rest on a comparison between those meanings selected and realized in the retextualizations and those foregrounded in the ST. An assessment is then made of the effects produced by the choices made by the translators.

3.5 Eveline's logics in the TTs

In this section, references to the translated texts are to O'Shea's 1993 edition (**TT1**), Trevisan's 1982 translation published in *O Estado de S. Paulo*, January 1, 1982 (**TT2a**), and Trevisan's 1984 revised edition (third edition),¹³ published by Editora Civilização Brasileira S.A. (**TT2b**).

For an initial impact of Eveline's relation to the modal meanings foregrounded in each TT, Figures 3.5, 3.6, 3.7 below will show the overall effect of the choices in interpersonal meanings retextualized in **TT1**, **TT2a** and **TT2b**, respectively. This is done in an attempt to demonstrate how apparently localized and isolated microshifts bring about shifts in the general configuration of each TT, as different pictures emerge from the different selections.

¹³ The first and second editions were published by Civilização Brasileira in 1964 and 1970 respectively. These were not included in my analysis as I considered the 1982 and 1984 editions (the last ones) sufficient sampling of the work done by Trevisan.

When seen against the patterns foregrounded in the ST, the Eveline constructed in TT1 emerges equally trapped between past and future. Epistemic modality expressing judgement about the likelihood and usuality of events is realized, pointing to the predictive and impressionistic nature of the modal assessment in Eveline. TT1 even enhances the protagonist's state of uncertainty by adding one extra expression of doubt, *quem sabe*. Some deontic meanings, however, are not selected, which has an impact in Eveline's portrayal. The modal configuration in TT1 is set out in **Figure 3.5** below:

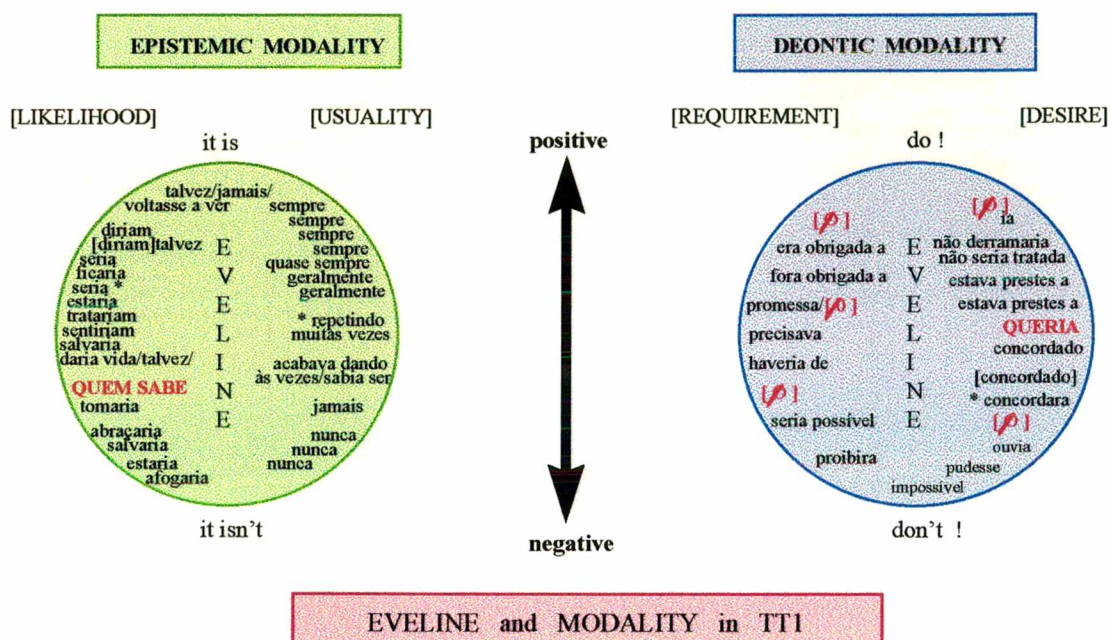


Figure 3.5 Eveline and the modal meanings foregrounded in TT1

The overall effect of the choices in interpersonal meanings retextualized in TT1 is an Eveline somewhat less explicitly constrained by binding forces. As can be seen, deontic meanings of requirement are not realized in three instances. As for boulomaic modality, **Figure 3.5** shows one realization of central status, *queria*, with some realizations of peripheral boulomaic modality either downplayed or omitted altogether. Eveline in TT1

emerges less committed to boulomaic meanings, a picture which diminishes the impact of desire as a driving force in the short story.

While the Eveline constructed in TT2a also emerges trapped between past and future, some significant differences occur producing patterns which indeed alter the construction of her profile. The modal configuration in TT2a is set out in Figure 3.6 below:

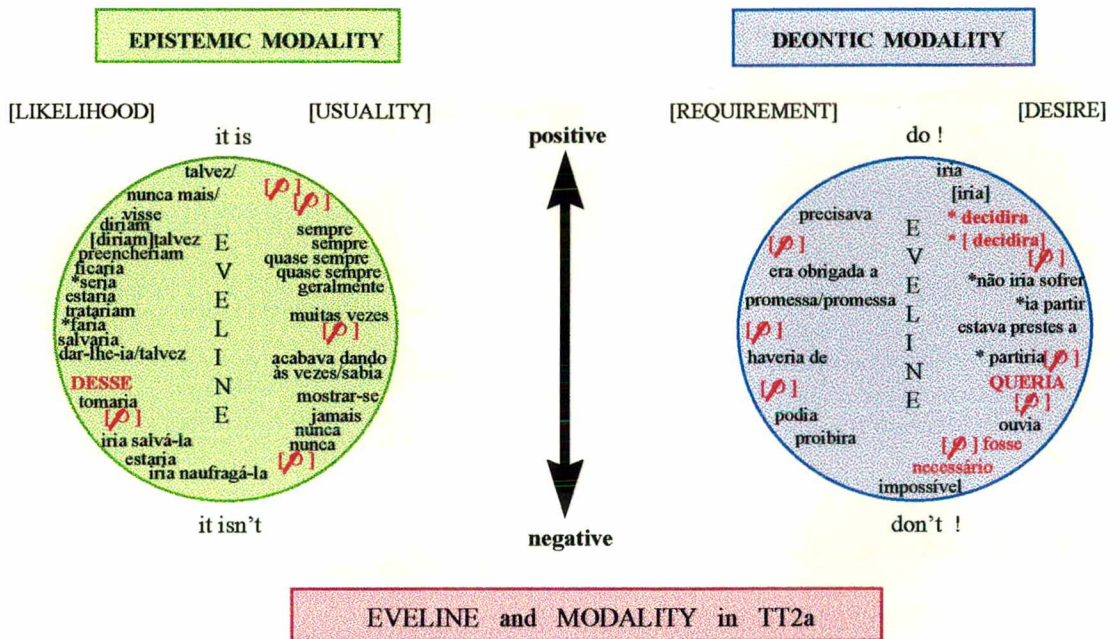


Figure 3.6 Eveline and the modal meanings foregrounded in TT2a

The overall effect of the choices in interpersonal meanings in this retextualization is an Eveline less trapped between past and future, less constrained by deontic forces and **more** committed to central volitional meanings. TT2a creates a different impact and projects a different image. For example, epistemic modality expressing judgment about the usuality of past events is not realized so frequently. Some deontic meanings are not selected either. Peripheral boulomaic meanings are transformed into central ones. These aspects are discussed in detail below.

In comparison with **TT2a**, **TT2b** has undergone some changes in terms of selections in interpersonal meanings. While in **TT2a** different choices produce patterns which significantly affect the contour of the protagonist as constructed in the **ST**, **TT2b** can be said to mean more or better especially in not enhancing Eveline's boulomaic commitment: the realization of the process *decidira* in **TT2a** is here replaced with *havia concordado*, which, in the context of the whole work, reflects echoes of Joyce's Eveline as textualized in the **ST**. The modal configuration in **TT2b** is set out in **Figure 3.7** below:

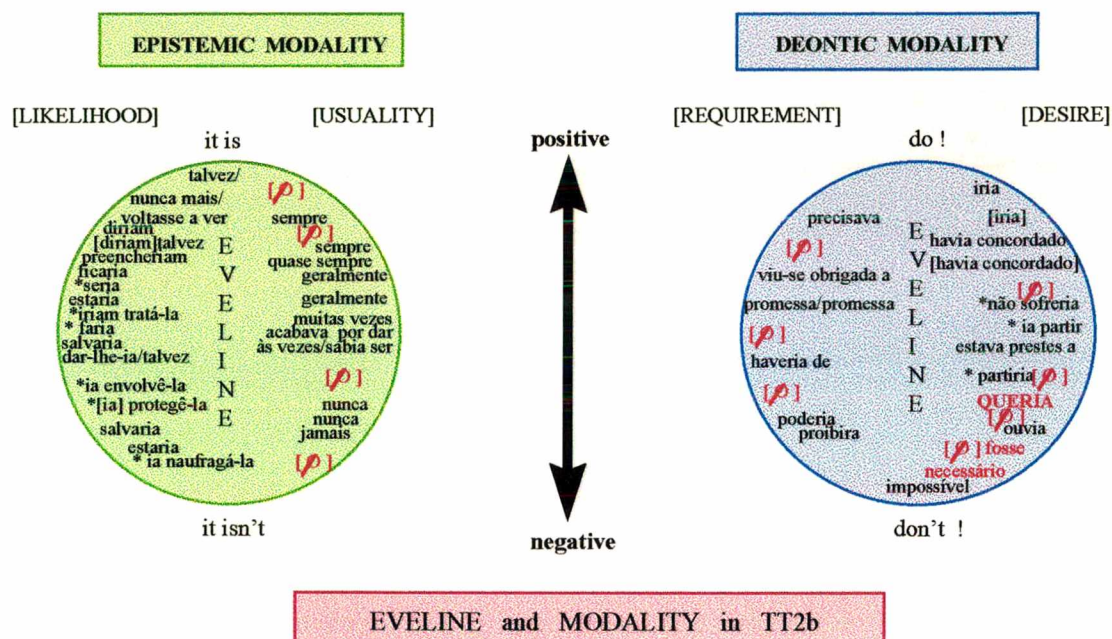


Figure 3.7 Eveline and the modal meanings foregrounded in **TT2b**

Differently from **TT2a**, this Eveline is not so committed to central volitional meaning, the term *central* being used in the meaning suggested by Simpson (1993:48), discussed in 3.4.3 above. She is also less constrained by deontic forces than the **ST** Eveline and she comes up less uncertain about the events in her past.

After this initial presentation, a more detailed discussion of Eveline's logics in the retextualizations is enlightening. The realizations of each logic will be discussed on a

comparative basis. For methodological clarity, comments on realizations of each type of modality will be carried out separately. It must be remembered, however, that they are not to be considered as isolated phenomena: each particular feature of language can only make sense if it is related to the meaning of the text as a whole, to which it contributes 'by virtue of and through the medium of its own value in the language __ through the linguistics function from which its meaning is derived' (Halliday, 1973:112).

3.5.1 Uncertainty and prediction in the TTs

Table 3.3 below presents the configuration of uncertainty/prediction in **TT1**, **TT2a** and **TT2b**. The order and number of occurrences of modality in the **ST** will be kept in the listing of the occurrences in the **TTs**. Where a process of 'de-modulation' occurs will be preceded by [Ø], to indicate absence of qualification of the process. Instances in which elements or clauses are omitted will be signalled by [_____]. Those realizations deserving comments, either for their problematic or interesting nature, will be preceded by an asterisk (*). Following the description, the effects produced by the different selections in meaning against the background of those selections in the **ST** are discussed.

TT1	TT2a	TT2b
<p>1) <i>Talvez</i> jamais voltasse a ver aqueles objetos conhecidos</p> <p>2) O que <i>diriam</i> na loja quando descobrissem que ela fugira de casa</p> <p>3) [<i>Diriam</i>] que era uma idiota, <i>talvez</i></p> <p>4) sua vaga <i>seria</i> preenchida através de um anúncio no jornal</p> <p>5) Miss Gavan <i>ficaria</i> bem satisfeita</p> <p>* 6) Em seu novo lar, (...) tudo <i>seria</i> diferente</p> <p>7) <i>Estaria</i> casada _ ela, Eveline</p> <p>8) As pessoas a <i>tratariam</i> com respeito</p> <p>9) [seu pai] <i>sentiria</i> a falta dela</p> <p>10) Frank a <i>salvaria</i></p> <p>11) <i>Daria</i> uma vida a ela, <i>talvez</i>, <i>QUEM SABE</i>, até amor</p> <p>12) Frank a <i>tomaria</i> nos braços</p> <p>13) [Frank] a <i>abraçaria</i></p> <p>14) Ele a <i>salvaria</i></p> <p>15) Se <i>partisse</i>, amanhã <i>estaria</i> no mar, ao lado de Frank</p> <p>16) ele a <i>afogaria</i></p>	<p>1) <i>Talvez nunca mais visse</i> esses objetos</p> <p>2) Que <i>diriam</i> na Loja ao saberem que fugira com um homem</p> <p>3) [<i>Diriam</i>] que era uma tola, <i>talvez</i>.</p> <p>4) e <i>preencheriam</i> a vaga publicando um anúncio no jornal</p> <p>5) A senhorita Gavan <i>ficaria</i> alegre</p> <p>* 6) Mas em seu novo lar, (...), <i>seria</i> diferente</p> <p>7) <i>Estaria</i> casada, então _ ela, Eveline</p> <p>8) As pessoas a <i>tratariam</i> com respeito</p> <p>* 9) Ela [Eveline] <i>faria</i> falta</p> <p>10) Frank a <i>salvaria</i></p> <p>11) dar-lhe-ia vida, <i>talvez</i> lhe <i>DESSE</i> amor</p> <p>12) Frank a <i>tomaria</i> nos braços</p> <p>Ø 13) [_____]</p> <p>14) Frank <i>iria</i> salvá-la</p> <p>15) Se <i>partisse</i>, amanhã <i>estaria</i> no mar, ao lado de Frank</p> <p>16) <i>iria</i> naufragá-la</p>	<p>1) <i>Talvez nunca mais voltasse</i> a ver aqueles objetos</p> <p>2) Que <i>diriam</i> na loja ao saberem que fugira com um homem?</p> <p>3) [<i>Diriam</i>] que era uma tola <i>talvez</i>.</p> <p>4) <i>preencheriam</i> a vaga publicando um anúncio no jornal</p> <p>5) A senhorita Gavan <i>ficaria</i> contente</p> <p>*6) Mas em seu novo lar, (...), <i>seria</i> diferente</p> <p>7) <i>Estaria</i> casada; ela, Eveline.</p> <p>8) As pessoas <i>iriam</i> tratá-la com respeito</p> <p>*9) ela [Eveline] <i>faria</i> falta</p> <p>10) Frank a <i>salvaria</i></p> <p>11) Dar-lhe-ia vida, <i>talvez</i> amor também</p> <p>12) Frank <i>ia</i> envolvê-la em seus braços</p> <p>13) [Frank <i>ia</i>] protegê-la</p> <p>14) Ele a <i>salvaria</i></p> <p>15) Se <i>partisse</i>, amanhã <i>estaria</i> no mar, em companhia de Frank</p> <p>16) <i>ia</i> naufragá-la</p>

Notational conventions:

<i>italics</i>	form of realization
[_____]	elliptical realization
Ø	non-realization of the modal meaning
*	realization of different modal meaning or of a different perspective
[_____]	omission of whole clause
CAPITALS	additional realization of modal meaning

Table 3.3 The logic of uncertainty / prediction in TTs

As **Table 3.3** shows, **TT1** retextualizes similar meanings of epistemic modality related to *predictions* made on the basis of premises and presented as possible but doubtful future situations. Most realizations take the form of verbs in *-ria*, the tense 'futuro do pretérito', a typical possibility for the realization of such meanings in **BP**. An extra dimension is added with the realization *quem sabe*. **TT2a** presents a slight alteration in the picture as it omits a modalized process in (13), though also enhancing the predictive aspect of the modality by the addition of *desse*. As for **TT2b**, though no extra dimension is added, the modal configuration resembles that of the **ST**.

For *prediction*, especially felicitous is the sequence of realizations in **TT1** (10), (11), (12), (13), (14), and (16), *salvaria*, *daria* uma vida, *tomaria* nos braços, *abraçaria*, *salvaria*, and finally *afogaria*. The use of the 'futuro do pretérito' resulted in a repetition of the final sound *-ria*, which ended up turning into a kind of verbal charm contributing an incantatory effect to the sequence. In other words, the phonological pattern of the inflection is explored, whether consciously or unconsciously, as a meaning-making mechanism backing up the semantic relations produced by the text as a whole.

In contrast, this effect is not produced in **TT2a** and **TT2b**, in which different ways of saying produced different ways of meaning. Both retextualizations show some preference for realizations with periphrastic forms of the kind *ia + infinitive* or *iria + infinitive*, a possibility available in **BP**. These, however, are suggestive of a more 'immediate future action' (Cunha & Cintra, 1985:449) to the detriment of the hypothetical status grammaticized through the 'futuro do pretérito'. Some differences occur between the forms with *ia* and those with *iria*, the former rendering the process as more imminent and less eventual.

In **TT2a**, the effect produced by the phonological sequence in **TT1** is disrupted by a non-retextualization of a whole clause in (13) and realizations through periphrastic

phrases in (14) *iria salvá-la*, and (16) *iria naufragá-la*. In addition, these forms are suggestive of a more immediate future action, a choice which again downgrades the hypothetical status of the prediction. **TT2b** shows a preference for forms in *ia* + *infinitive* in (12), (13) and (16), emphasizing even more the eventual and immediate character of the action at stake, while also affecting the sonority suggested in **TT1**.

The retextualizations of (1), in a manner similar to that of the **ST**, combine three devices of verbal and non-verbal nature, which enter into 'harmonic combination' (Lyons, 1977:807 and Halliday, 1970:331)) to reinforce each other and produce the effect of low likelihood. The four versions are transcribed below, for comparison:

ST Perhaps she would never see again those familiar objects
TT1 Talvez jamais voltasse a ver aqueles objetos conhecidos
TT2a Talvez nunca mais visse esses objetos
TT2b Talvez nunca mais voltasse a ver aqueles objetos

As can be seen, *talvez* (low value implicit objective epistemic modality of likelihood), demanding the use of the subjunctive mood, *voltasse/visse* (expressing both doubt and improbability in hypothetical environments) combines with *jamais*, expressing the idea of 'at no time in the future', or *nunca mais*, with similar effects. All these realizations enter into a harmonic combination reinforcing the single epistemic modality running through the clause.

In (6), the feature of negativity added to the modality in the **ST** is not realized in **TT1**, **TT2a** and **TT2b**:

ST But in her new home (...) it would *not* be like that
TT1 Em seu novo lar (...), tudo seria diferente
TT2a Mas em seu novo lar (...), seria diferente
TT2b Mas em seu novo lar (...), tudo seria diferente

However, the different forms do not select a different meaning as the retextualizations opted for the use of the item *diferente*, which incorporates the meaning of *unlike* or *not the same* thus making up for the change in polarity.

In (9), the retextualization in TT1 realizes meanings similar to those of the ST.

Differences arise though in TT2a and TT2b:

ST He [her father] would miss her
 TT1 [seu pai] sentiria a falta dela
 TT2a Ela [Eveline] faria falta
 TT2b ela [Eveline] faria falta

While the ST sets the case on Eveline's father, the resting point of the proposition, and calls on the reader to acknowledge Eveline's evaluation of the possibility of *her father* missing her, *He would miss her*, a meaning also realized in TT1, TT2a and TT2b rest the case on Eveline: the clause points to the protagonist's evaluation of the possibility of *her* being missed while omitting the source of the process. The result is a change in the nature and the perspective from which the prediction is realized.

In a fashion similar to retextualization (11) in TT1, *desse* in TT2a offers an additional dimension to Eveline's state of uncertainty as the use of the subjunctive contributes nuances of doubt and improbability to the hypothetical environment:

ST He would give her life, perhaps love, too
 TT1 Daria uma vida a ela, talvez, *quem sabe*, até amor
 TT2a Dar-lhe-ia vida, talvez *lhe desse* amor
 TT2b Dar-lhe-ia vida, talvez amor também

These are the realizations in (13). TT2a not only omits the modality but the process all together: *fold her in his arms*, the realization in the ST is part of a sequence of stages in Eveline's growing fantasy culminating in the idea of salvation. This non-realization affects the configuration of the character's portrayal, signifying one less mark of her

uncertainty. **TT2b** realizes the modality and the process in (13), in which the *ST fold* is retextualized as *ia protegê-la*, a realization which reverberates the echoes of the embracing suggested in the *ST*, the only difference here being the character of imminence projected by the use of *ia* + infinitive, as opposed to prediction realized in the form of the epistemic *would*. The occurrences are set out below:

ST [would] fold her in his arms

TT1 [Frank] a abraçaria

TT2a [_____]

TT2b [Frank ia] protegê-la

3.5.2 Uncertainty/ Recollection in the TTs

The logic of uncertainty/ recollections is realized in the *ST* by expressions of *usuality*, showing indeterminacy in relation to time. These choices signal Eveline's state of uncertainty in relation to her past, of which she has an impressionistic perception. Had other choices been made, for example the realization by categorical assertions of time, other meanings would have been signaled, definitely portraying a more harmonic Eveline, at peace with her own past, no longer a binding force preventing her future moves.

This point can be illustrated by the rewriting of (14) in the *ST*, in a demodalized version, which would read like this: *He was very nice*. The reference here is to Eveline's father. Had this choice been made, no doubt would ever have been suggested as to his friendly nature and to the fulfillment of his paternal role. This realization would have had the effect of setting Eveline freer as no unresolved feelings or relations would be pending.

In a similar vein, **TT1** also makes semantically relevant choices from within the possibilities available in **BP** for the (re)textualization of frequency of past actions as perceived by the protagonist. Indeterminacy in relation to time is realized here through

epistemic modality, particularly *usuality*. The realizations are both of a verbal and a non-verbal nature. Non-verbal realizations include Modal Adjuncts such as *nunca*, *muitas vezes*, *geralmente*, *jamais*, *sempre*, *quase sempre* and *às vezes*. Among these, some are modalities of High Value, such as *sempre*, *quase sempre*, *nunca* and *jamais* (*sempre não*); others are of Median Value, such as *geralmente* and *muitas vezes*; still others are of Low Value, such as *às vezes*. This difference in value has the effect of approximating or distancing Eveline from *modal certainty*, depicting the way she felt about each event.

While **TT1** makes choices in meaning similar to those in the **ST**, some variation occurs in **TT2a** and **TT2b**, where some categorical assertions are realized. For easier reference and comparison, **Table 3.4** below presents the configuration of uncertainty/prediction in **TT1**, **TT2a** and **TT2b**.

TT1	TT2a	TT2b
<p>1) Ernest, no entanto, <i>nunca</i> brincava: já estava crescido</p> <p>2) O pai dela <i>muitas</i> vezes enxotava-os com sua bengala de madeira preta</p> <p>3) Mas <i>geralmente</i> o pequeno Keogh montava guarda</p> <p>4) aqueles objetos conhecidos dos quais <i>jámais</i> imaginou separar-se um dia</p> <p>5) Ela <i>nunca</i> viera a saber o nome do padre</p> <p>6) <i>Sempre</i> implicara com ela</p> <p>7) Quando eram crianças, ele <i>nunca</i> havia batido nela</p> <p>8) Harry estava quase <i>sempre</i> ausente, viajando pelo sul do país</p> <p>9) Ela <i>sempre</i> entregava o salário inteiro</p> <p>10) Harry <i>sempre</i> enviava o que podia</p> <p>11) pois <i>geralmente</i> [seu pai] ficava em péssimo estado nas noites de Sábado</p> <p>12) Contudo, <i>acabava</i> dando-lhe o dinheiro</p> <p>13) <i>sempre</i> que ele cantava a canção sobre a jovem que amava o marinheiro</p> <p>14) <i>Às</i> vezes, ele sabia ser agradável</p> <p>* 15) quando voltou a ouvir a voz da mãe <i>repetindo</i> como uma desvairada insistência</p>	<p>1) Ernest, porém, <i>nunca</i> brincava</p> <p>2) Seu pai <i>muitas</i> vezes os expulsava dali, perseguindo-os com sua bengala preta</p> <p>3) Mas <i>quase sempre</i> o pequeno Keogh ficava de guarda</p> <p>4) esses objetos, dos quais <i>jámais</i> sonhara se separar</p> <p>5) Não conseguira saber como se chamava o padre</p> <p>6) <i>Sempre</i> vivera de ponta com ela</p> <p>* 7) Porque era menina, ele <i>nunca</i> se importara com ela quando era criança</p> <p>8) Harry (...) encontrava-se <i>quase sempre</i> no interior</p> <p>9) Empregava na casa todo seu ordenado</p> <p>10) Harry enviava <i>sempre</i> o que podia</p> <p>11) pois <i>geralmente</i> estava embriagado no sábado à noite</p> <p>12) Por fim, <i>acabava</i> entregando-lhe o dinheiro</p> <p>13) ela sentia-se alegremente confusa</p> <p>14) <i>Às</i> vezes, ele <i>sabia</i> mostrar-se agradável</p> <p>15) ao ouvir as voz novamente, gritando com desvairada insistência</p>	<p>1) Ernest, porém, <i>nunca</i> brincava: era grande demais</p> <p>2) Seu pai <i>muitas</i> vezes expulsara-os dali</p> <p>3) Mas <i>geralmente</i> o pequeno Keogh ficava de guarda</p> <p>4) (...) aqueles objetos de que <i>jámais</i> sonhara separar-se</p> <p>5) não conseguira saber como se chamava o padre</p> <p>6) <i>Sempre</i> vivera de ponta com ela</p> <p>* 7) Por ser menina, ele <i>nunca</i> se importara com ela quando criança</p> <p>8) Harry (...) encontrava-se <i>quase sempre</i> viajando pelo interior</p> <p>9) Empregava na casa todo o seu ordenado</p> <p>10) Harry enviava <i>sempre</i> o que podia</p> <p>11) pois <i>geralmente</i> (seu pai) estava embriagado no sábado à noite</p> <p>12) <i>Acabava</i> por entregar-lhe o dinheiro</p> <p>13) ela sentia um agradável embaraço</p> <p>14) <i>Às</i> vezes ele (seu pai) sabia ser agradável</p> <p>15) Estremeceu ao recordar-lhe a voz, gritando em desvairada insistência</p>

Notational conventions:

<i>italics</i>	form of realization
[]	elliptical realization
∅	non-realization of the modal meaning
*	realization of different modal meaning or of a different perspective
[]	omission of whole clause
CAPITALS	additional realization of modal meaning

Table 3.4 The logic of uncertainty / recollection in TTs

In **TT2a**, the verbal realizations of usuality are similarly expressed, as can be seen in (12) and (14), discussed below. Some differences can be noticed though in relation to realizations of non-verbal usuality: four processes in (5), (9), (13) and (15), also discussed below, are not qualified, rendering Eveline's recollections more categorical and less colored by the tricks of memorial reconstructions. The effect is a picture of a past situation with which the protagonist is more at peace, thus suggesting no pending differences to be resolved and, more importantly, no pending questions binding Eveline and contributing to her paralysis. What is important for my argument here is not simply the observation of the fact that *omissions occurred*: what is striking for my purposes is that localized changes result in fundamental changes in the total picture, necessarily depicting another configuration: the non-realization of *usuality* replaced with categorical assertions downplays Eveline's impressionistic assessment of the frequency of past events and affects the role of her hesitation, functioning as a binding force, preventing her movement towards 'life'.

The same comments are valid for the retextualization of usuality in **TT2b**, where the procedure is repeated: Verbal realizations are retextualized accordingly in (12) and (14) and, again, (5), (9), (13) and (15) display a demodalization of the process and categorical assertions replace modalities of usuality portraying diminished uncertainty.

The process of demodalization occurring in (5), (9), (13) can be seen below:

(5)

ST She had never found out the name of the priest

TT1 Ela nunca viera a saber o nome do padre

TT2a Não conseguira saber como se chamava o padre

TT2b Não conseguira saber como se chamava o padre

(9)

ST She always gave her entire wages

TT1 Ela sempre entregava o salário inteiro

TT2a Empregava em casa todo seu ordenado

TT2b Empregava em casa todo seu ordenado

(13)

ST She always felt pleasantly confused

TT1 sempre (...) ela sentia um agradável acanhamento

TT2a Ela sentia-se alegremente confusa

TT2b Ela sentia um agradável embaraço

Verbal realizations of *usuality* found in (12), TT1, TT2a and TT2b, select similar meanings and similar realizations:

ST In the end he would give her the money

TT1 Contudo, acabava dando-lhe o dinheiro

TT2a Por fim, acabava entregando-lhe o dinheiro

TT2b Acabava por entregar-lhe o dinheiro

In *acabava dando-lhe*, notions of repeated experience are conveyed, thus functioning, in the narrative, as a device to realize Eveline's perception of the repetitive character of the action in the past. The combination of the paraphrases *acabar* + *gerund*, with the tense *imperfecto do indicativo* adds meanings of intermittence of behavior to the meaning of indefinite frequency as perceived by the protagonist. As discussed by Cunha & Cintra (1985:440), this tense is used 'para designar fatos passados *concebidos* como contínuos ou permanente' (italics added) or, still, 'um fato impreciso, inacabado, em contínua realização na linha do passado para o present' (ibid:441), in a fashion similar to a moving panorama unfolding before one's eyes.

In the realization in (14), TT1, TT2a and TT2b express the cumulative effect of the double modality both non-verbally (low value *às vezes*) and verbally (*sabia* + *ser*), which is felt to be an enhancement of the degree of indeterminacy. The two realizations enter into 'a harmonic combination' (Halliday, 1979:331), reinforcing the modality. The verbal counterpart, *sabia*, realizes meanings related to the special behavior or habitual characteristic of the participant (here, Eveline's father) in the state of affairs described in the main process, *ser agradável*. It is important to stress, however, that this

characteristic is presented as seen or perceived by Eveline, thus constituting her judgment about the usuality of the event. This can be seen below:

ST Sometimes he could be very nice
 TT1 Às vezes, ele sabia ser agradável
 TT2a Às vezes, ele sabia mostrar-se agradável
 TT2b Às vezes, ele sabia ser agradável

In (15) in TT1, an interesting combination occurs: the non-verbal realization of usuality, *constantly*, and the verbal process *say* are blended into the lexical modal verb *repetir*, which integrates the feature of judgment of the usuality of the event, but does not have any indication of the recurrent character of the action, realized non-verbally in the ST by *constantly*. Thus, while selecting the meaning of repetition, TT1 does not realize the feature of recurrence, which downplays the protagonist's perception of the repetition, maybe felt as unnecessary and even inefficient. The situation is even more problematic in TT2a and TT2b, which omit the features of recurrence altogether. TT2a, however, realizes *repetition in novamente*, as can be seen below:

ST as she heard her mother's voice saying constantly
 TT1 quando voltou a ouvir a voz da mãe repetindo
 TT2a ao ouvir sua voz novamente gritando
 TT2b ao recordar-lhe a voz, gritando

In *(7) TT2a and in *(7) TT2b, an incorrect reading of the informative content of the ST takes place. Comments on this kind of retextualization are made in 3.6.1 below, where the issue of translation errors is discussed.

3.5.3 Obligation in the TTs

The comparison of deontic meanings selected in the ST with those in the TTs makes evident the fact that deontic forces are downplayed in the retextualizations. Some variation occurs in terms of modification of deontic into epistemic meanings or in terms of omission of non-verbal realizations of deontic meanings, which affects the patterns of foregrounding. An illustration of this point is found in TT1 (1), where the deontic modality *had to* realized in the ST is turned into the epistemic modality *é bem verdade que*, where *verdade* functions as the marker of the epistemic meaning. This instance is a realization of objective explicit epistemic modality and colors, so to speak, the proposition 'o trabalho era pesado' with a judgment of its validity. This selection in meaning is obviously different from the deontic *obligation* implicit in *had to*. This contrast can be seen below:

ST She had to work hard
 TT1 É bem verdade que o trabalho era pesado
 TT2a Precisava trabalhar pesado
 TT2b Precisava, é claro, trabalhar pesado

While TT1 realizes an epistemic meaning, TT2a and TT2b realize implicit deontic modality of high obligation through the periphrastic phrase *precisava trabalhar*, the process *precisar* carrying deontic strength. This comment is just an example to illustrate the process of demodulation. Other occurrences will be discussed below. For easier reference and comparison, Table 3.4 presents the configuration of the logic of obligation in the TTs.

<p>TT1</p> <p>Ø 1) É bem verdade que o trabalho era pesado 2) ela <i>era obrigada</i> a sair correndo para o mercado 3) O pai dela (...) a <i>proibira</i> de sequer dirigir-lhe a palavra 4) a partir de então ela <i>fora obrigada</i> a encontrar-se com o namorado às escondidas Ø 5) como que para lembrá-la da <i>promessa</i> que fizera à mãe, [] de preservar o lar unido 6) <i>precisava</i> fugir 7) Por que <i>haveria de</i> ser infeliz ? Ø 8) que lhe apontasse o caminho 9) <i>Seria possível</i> voltar atrás ? 10) <i>Era impossível</i></p>	<p>TT2a</p> <p>1) <i>precisava</i> trabalhar pesado Ø 2) Saia então correndo para fazer compras 3) O pai (...) <i>proibira-a</i> de conversar com ele 4) ela <i>era obrigada</i> a encontrá-lo secretamente 5) como que para lembrar-lhe a <i>promessa</i> que fizera à mãe, <i>promessa</i> de tomar conta da casa Ø 6) [_____] 7) Por que <i>haveria de</i> ser infeliz Ø 8) que lhe mostrasse o caminho certo 9) <i>Podia</i> voltar atrás depois de tudo que ele havia feito ? 10) <i>Era impossível</i></p>	<p>TT2b</p> <p>1) <i>Precisava</i>, é claro, trabalhar pesado Ø 2) Ela então saia correndo fazer compras 3) O pai <i>proibira-a</i> de conversar com Frank 4) depois disso, <i>viu-se obrigada</i> a encontrá-lo às escondidas 5) como que para lembrar-lhe a <i>promessa</i> que fizera à mãe, <i>promessa</i> de tomar conta da casa Ø 6) [_____] 7) Por que <i>haveria de</i> ser infeliz ? Ø 8) que lhe mostrasse o caminho certo 9) <i>Poderia</i> voltar atrás ? 10) <i>Era impossível</i></p>
---	--	--

Notational conventions:

<i>italics</i>	form of realization
[]	elliptical realization
Ø	non-realization of the modal meaning
*	realization of different modal meaning or of a different perspective
[_____]	omission of whole clause
CAPITALS	additional realization of modal meaning

Table 3.5 The logic of obligation in TTs

As **Table 3.5** shows, deontic forces are downplayed in other **retextualizations**: In **TT1** (5), and in **TT1, TT2a/TT2b** (8), a process of demodulation also occurs.

In (5) **TT1**, *como que para lembrá-la da promessa que fizera à mãe, [] de preservar o lar unido*, the deontic modality lexicalized through the modal noun *promessa* is omitted in its second occurrence, which does not occur in **TT2a** and in **TT2b**. This non-realization is interesting for three reasons. First, as discussed above, the item itself bears a strong connotation of commitment, constituting a statement raising expectations of fulfillment of some future action. The act of promising can be seen as an act of 'committing oneself, under pain of dishonour, social disapproval or some other such sanction, to some future act or course of action' (Lyons, 1977:742), thus pertaining to the category of the 'be-it' component. In these terms, the repetition of the item in the **ST** is meaningful in that it adds an extra dimension to the binding forces constraining Eveline.

The second reason relates to the translator's declared norms and strategies when dealing with the **ST**. If we accept the claim that the first indication of these norms and strategies is to be found in his own reflections on the translation process and that a second indication is to be found in his treatment of the text features, then a noteworthy fact emerges. In O'Shea's *Introdução do Tradutor* (1993:15), which precedes his translation, he states that the repetition of words in the **ST** does not necessarily reflect Joyce's scarce linguistic repertoire. On the contrary, it is a mark of his ingenuity. **TT1**, however, does not follow this norm. This fact points to the nature of text production itself (which a retextualization is): the act of (re)writing is somewhat unconscious and things do get astray. Plans might exist, but in the act of actually producing the text some meanings are included and others are excluded many times unconsciously. It also points to another aspect, this time related to translation assessment: the need to look at

retextualizations *as they are* and then try to see how the selections in meaning as retextualized affect the impact the text makes. This last point refers to the effects of the non-realization of the second deontic noun in **TT1**, which, clearly diminishes the force of deontic constraints.

The same applies to the non-realization of another deontic noun, *duty*, in (8), in **TT1**, **TT2a/TT2b**, with a similar effect:

ST to show her what her duty was
TT1 que lhe apontasse o caminho
TT2a que lhe mostrasse o caminho certo
TT2b que lhe mostrasse o caminho certo

Definitely, the use of the noun *caminho* does not carry deontic connotations at all.

In (2), deontic meanings are selected in retextualization **TT1**, but not in **TT2a** and **TT2b**. These are transcribed below:

(2)
 ST She had to rush out as quickly as she could
TT1 ela era obrigada a sair correndo para o mercado
TT2a Saía então correndo para fazer as compras
TT2b Ela então saía correndo para fazer as compras

Ser obrigada a, used in **TT1**, expresses the deontic necessity implicit in *had to*. This realization constitutes one the possibilities available in the modal system of **BP**, others being, for example, *ter de/que* or *precisar*. However, the deontic context surrounding the process *sair correndo* is ignored in **TT2a** and **TT2b**. The effect of this alteration is to downplay the deontic strength attached to Eveline's father as the propelling force behind her action. *Had to*, in this environment, is suggestive of one of the oppressive forces bearing upon women in the Dublin of the time, especially male oppression, which is seen by Brown (1992:xxiv) as 'an equivalent of imperial domination in the political sphere.'

Considering that forms are derived from meanings and that the semantic component of the linguistics system realizes higher semiotic systems, then this lexicogrammatical feature is significant and motivated both in (2) and in (4), transcribed below:

- (4)
 ST she had to meet her lover secretly
 TT1 fora obrigada a encontrar-se com o namorado às escondidas
 TT2a ela era obrigada a encontrá-lo secretamente
 TT2b viu-se obrigada a encontrá-lo às escondidas

Here all the retextualizations realized the deontic meanings expressed in *had to* thus acknowledging the *external* deontic sources deriving directly from Eveline's father's demands.

In (6), however, as suggested by the use of the modal *must*, the source of the deontic necessity is internal, referring to inner compulsion, to the protagonist's urge to act. While TT1 realizes this meaning through *precisar*, TT2a and TT2b do not realize the deontic meaning at all as both the process and the modality are omitted:

- ST She must escape
 TT1 Precisava fugir
 TT2a []
 TT2b []

This absence is significant when seen against the picture of Eveline's sudden memories of her mother's life, which triggers her internal urge to act. The non-realization definitely leaves out the deontic source of the compulsion prompted by Eveline's horror at the vision of the mother's misery.

This is the picture in (3):

- ST [her father] had forbidden her to have anything to say to him
 TT1 o pai dela a proibira de sequer dirigir-lhe a palavra
 TT2a O pai proibira- a de conversar com ele
 TT2b O pai proibira-a de conversar com Frank

A noteworthy fact in the ST is that the deontic requirement expressed in the lexical verb *forbid* is attached to the process *to have anything to say to him*. This textualization highlights the range of Eveline's father's deontic action: it reaches far more internal realms in that Eveline is forbidden not simply to talk to Frank, but to *have anything to say to him*. This nuance is somewhat accounted for in the item *sequer*, associated with the process *dirigir a palavra* in TT1. In TT2a and TT2b, however, this is ignored, as *conversar* refers to the verbal interaction alone, disregarding the connotation suggested in the ST. As regards the tense chosen in the retextualizations, *proibira* adds another modal dimension to the realization: the 'mais-que-perfeito do indicativo' is, according to Cunha & Cintra (1985:445), a marker of modality in that it places the fact as vaguely situated somewhere in the past. Another choice would have been possible in the tense system, the 'pretérito perfeito do indicativo', as in *proibiu*. This realization, however, would indicate a momentaneous action defined in time, which would locate the event in a more definite dimension (ibid:444), which would definitely provoke an imbalance in Eveline's perception of those events.

The deontic modality in (7) calls into question the strength of the obligation attached to the protagonist's staying:

ST Why should she be unhappy?
 TT1 Por que haveria de ser infeliz?
 TT2a Por que haveria de ser infeliz?
 TT2b Por que haveria de ser infeliz?

Staying is equated with '*ser infeliz*'. The validity of the deontic necessity is questioned as the combination of the auxiliary verb *haver* with the infinitive of the main verb preceded by the preposition *de* can express obligation in BP (Cunha & Cintra, 1985:383). This realization is selected from among the possibilities existing for the expression of similar

meanings, other realizations being optionally available, such as *ter que/de*, *dever* or even *precisar*. In all of these, the modal element corresponds to the auxiliary verb combined with the infinitive of the main verb for the expression of notions of duty or moral obligation.¹⁴ While the use of *ter de/que*, *dever* and *precisar* implies future action of an obligatory nature, being realizations of deontic modality of high value, *haveria de* constitutes a realization of deontic modality of *Median value*, the same applying to *should* occurring in the ST. In addition, the realization through *haveria*, also occurring in TT2a and TT2b, is considered less colloquial (Mateus, M.H.M. et al, 1989:199, note 3).

In (9), different retextualizations occur:

ST Could she still draw back?
 TT1 Seria possível voltar atrás?
 TT2a Podia voltar atrás?
 TT2b Poderia voltar atrás?

In '*seria possível voltar atrás*', the protagonist also calls into question the strength of her commitment to Frank and the possibility of her drawing back. As discussed earlier, there is overlap in English between *could* she, as used here, and *be possible for her to*, which accounts for the retextualization in TT1. Another possibility would exist, in the modal verbs *podia* or *poderia*, which are the realizations in TT2a and TT2b respectively, discussed below.

In (9) TT2a, *podia voltar atrás* there is also a mand which is questioned: Eveline's deontic commitment to her arrangements with Frank. This realization could be glossed either as *seria permitido a ela* or as *seria possível para ela*, which points to the

¹⁴ Pontes (1973: 47 and 49) calls attention to the fact that in BP verbs which can combine with the infinitive are considered modal, thus corresponding to the *modal element* in the clause.

ambiguous status of this modality, where deontic and boulomaic meanings overlap. In other words, this is an indeterminate case as it can refer either to Eveline's judgment of the binding forces in the environment or to her relationship to the process in terms of her ability or potential force to carry out the action. As already mentioned, non-discreteness occurs and both the meanings are mutually compatible in the context. When compared to **TT2b**, this retextualization does not present significant differences. The only realization deserving special mention is (9), in which *poderia*, while also calling into question the 'be-it' component of the proposition, codes the deontic modality in such a way that the eventuality of the action is made more prominent — the use of the *futuro do pretérito* renders the prospective value of the action even more distant than what is suggested in **TT2a**.

The retextualizations in (10) select a similar meaning and a similar realization as the one in the ST:

ST It was impossible
 TT1 Era impossível
 TT2a Era impossível
 TT2b Era impossível

The final expression of objective explicit orientation, *era impossível*, expresses the impossibility of the action being carried out at all. The objective orientation for the realization of the modality is chosen with the effect of suggesting the paralysis stemming from *external* deontic sources standing in Eveline's way, significant in the context of Joyce's Dublin as a disabling milieu: The idea of escape, 'that happy consummation denied by a paralysis of body, affect and will' (Brown, 1992:xxxvi), can be said to 'establish a vision of life in the capital [Dublin] which serves as a kind of metaphor for the spiritual condition of the Irish nation as a whole' (ibid). As with the ST, however,

boulomaic and deontic/obligational meanings overlap in the sense that such an impossibility can be interpreted as low prohibition stemming from the circumstances (requirement) and/or as low readiness stemming from the participant's inability to perform the action (related to the boulomaic system). Because of this potential overlapping, the realization is placed in middle position in all the Figures visualizing Eveline and the modal meanings in the four texts.

3.5.4 Desire in the TTs

Let us now discuss the retextualizations of the logic of desire. For the reasons stated in **3.2.3**, *ability* and *potentiality* are included in this category as they are considered to partake of the general meaning of *readiness* underlying all boulomaic modality.

The comparison of boulomaic meanings selected in the **ST** with those in the **TTs** shows that some changes have occurred. For visualization, **Table 3.6** below displays the different retextualizations, which disturb the patterns of foregrounding.

<p>TT1</p> <p>Ø 1) Agora era a vez dela ir embora, 2) <i>ia</i> sair de casa. 3) <i>Concordado</i> em partir 4) [concordado] em deixar a própria casa 5) Ela <i>não derramaria</i> muitas lágrimas 6) <i>Não seria</i> tratada como a mãe o fora.</p> <p>Ø 7) Então ela era obrigada a sair correndo para o mercado 8) mas agora que <i>estava prestes a deixar</i> tudo para trás 9) <i>Estava prestes a começar</i> a explorar uma outra vida ao lado de Frank</p> <p>*10) <i>Concordara</i> em fugir com ele na barca noturna 11) Lá embaixo na avenida <i>ouvira</i> um realejo tocando 12) de preservar o lar unido enquanto <i>pudesse</i> 13) ela <i>queria</i> viver</p>	<p>TT2a</p> <p>1) também ela <i>iria</i> partir 2) [também ela <i>iria</i>]abandonar a casa * 3) <i>Decidira</i> ir embora * 4) [<i>Decidira</i>] abandonar sua casa Ø 5) [_____] * 6) Não iria sofrer como a mãe Ø 7) Saia então correndo para fazer as compras * 8) mas agora que <i>ia partir</i> 9) <i>Estava prestes a tentar</i> uma nova existência com Frank</p> <p>*10) <i>Partiria</i> à noite de navio 11) <i>Ouvia</i>, lá longe na avenida, o som de um realejo *12) de tomar conta da casa enquanto fosse necessário 13) <i>Queria</i> viver</p>	<p>TT2b</p> <p>1) também ela <i>iria</i> partir 2) [também ela <i>iria</i>]abandonar o seu lar 3) <i>Havia concordado</i> em partir 4) [<i>havia concordado</i>] em deixar o seu lar Ø 5) [_____] * 6) Não sofreria como sua mãe Ø 7) Ela então saía correndo para fazer as compras * 8) mas agora que <i>ia partir</i> 9) <i>Estava prestes a tentar</i> uma nova existência com Frank</p> <p>*10) <i>Partiria</i> à noite de navio 11) <i>Ouvia</i>, lá longe na avenida, o som de um realejo *12) de tomar conta da casa enquanto fosse necessário 13) <i>Queria</i> viver</p>
---	--	---

Notational conventions:

italics

[_____]

Ø

*

[_____]

CAPITALS

form of realization

elliptical realization

non-realization of the modal meaning

realization of different modal meaning or of a different perspective

omission of whole clause

additional realization of modal meaning

Table 3.6 The logic of desire in TTs

In (1), a case of de-modulation of the process occurs in **TT1**:

ST Now she was going to go away like the others

TT1 Agora era a vez dela ir embora

TT2a Também ela iria partir

TT2b Também ela iria partir

The median value boulomaic modality realized through *was going to* in the **ST** is retextualized in **TT1** as a categorical assertion, *era a vez dela ir embora*. The mid-intention implied in the modality in English also carries the added dimension of open possibility in relation to the carrying out of the action. As discussed earlier, the periphrastic form describes states of affairs that will obtain *if* the act is performed, that is, *leaving, going away, exploring a new life* will be the case *if* Eveline actually *leaves, goes away* and, as a consequence, *explores a new life*. The retextualization here, however, rests the case on a more categorical basis with the existential *era a vez dela*. While this realization might be considered an asset in terms of downplaying Eveline's boulomaic commitment, it might as well be interpreted as an enhancement of Eveline's state of certainty, which definitely does not belong in the total picture of the protagonist's relation to reality. As regards the forms in *iria + infinitive*, used in **TT2a** and **TT2b**, in section 3.3.2, where a discussion of the repertoire for the expression of boulomaic meanings in **BP** was carried out, it was pointed out that the form *iria* carries connotations of eventually of the future action (Almeida, 1980:213) while incorporating volitional meanings. In this sense, these two retextualizations, are closer to the modal pattern of the **ST**.

In (2), an opposite process occurs in **TT1** in that what was elliptical in the **ST** is made explicit in the retextualization:

ST [she was going] to leave her home

TT1 ia sair de casa

TT2a [também ela iria] abandonar a casa
TT2b [também ela iria] abandonar o seu lar

Ia sair de casa realizes explicitly the elliptical [she was going] with the periphrastic form expressing overlapping meanings of futurity and mid-intention. The form in *ia* emphasizes the *immediacy* of the future action. In **TT2a** and **TT2b** the elliptical form is maintained.

In (3), the retextualizations in **TT1** and **TT2b** are in accordance with the lexical boulomaic modality in the **ST**, expressing the idea of compliance to requests through the lexical verb *concordado*. A striking difference, which has far reaching consequences for the modal configuration of the text, is found in **TT2a**:

ST she had consented to go away
TT1 concordado em partir
TT2a decidira ir embora
TT2b havia concordado em partir

This choice disturbs Eveline' s boulomaic profile because it realizes, through *decidira*, a high value central boulomaic meaning of subjective orientation, which transforms the mitigated command in *consented* in the **ST**: the effect of such a change is to portray a protagonist highly committed to her inner urges to such a degree that her action reaches the realm of *decision*. The selection and retextualization of this meaning puts an end to the uncertainty and runs contrary to the whole text. Appearing as early as paragraph four, it contradicts not only the co-text in which it appears (the next two clauses being *Seria sensato?* and *Tentou pesar os dois lados da questão*) but mainly the very *raison d'être* of the short story.

In (4), the same picture is repeated, as elliptical forms are used:

ST [she had consented] to leave her home
TT1 [concordado] em deixar a própria casa

TT2a [decidira] abandonar sua casa
TT2b [havia concordado] em deixar o seu lar

As discussed in 3.4.2.1, the orientation frame of the modal *would* has the effect of neutralizing the differences between epistemic and deontic meanings. This modal is used in (5), both in the ST and in TT1:

ST she would not cry many tears
TT1 ela não derramaria muitas lágrimas
TT2a [_____]
TT2b [_____]

The choice for a boulomaic interpretation in this environment is accountable in terms of Eveline's being inscribed into the function of Subject (*she* and *ela*), a configuration which rests the case on her intention, indicating volition under a hypothetical condition. Again, the non-discreteness of the modal system in English is emphasized. In TT1, the form in *-ria* ('futuro do preterito simples'/ indicative mood) refers to statements conditioned by hypothetical environments, colored by low volitional meanings.

However, the omission of the whole clause in TT2a and TT2b downplays not only Eveline's boulomaic commitment but also omits important information concerning the nature of this commitment, that is, the suggestion of a feature of *(re)action*, as opposed to *action*, discussed above, which informs the nature of her boulomaic configuration.

In (6), the subjective implicit median *would* is again used in the ST and again considered in TT1, indicating volition under a hypothetical condition:

ST she would not be treated as her mother had been
TT1 não seria tratada como a mãe o fora
TT2a não iria sofrer como a mãe
TT2b não sofreria como sua mãe

TT1 retextualizes a similar meaning, through a realization which is very close to that in the **ST**. In **TT2a** and **TT2b**, the situation is somewhat different: **TT2a**, *não iria sofrer como a mãe*, while still within the scope of boulomaic modality, a change of perspective occurs in that the allusion to the source of her sufferings is omitted. The implications of the choice of the passive in the **ST** and in **TT1**, in relation to the weak character of her psychological makeup and to the bearings of the environment upon her life, are not realized. The same happens in **TT2b**, with a slight difference: *não sofreria como a mãe*, the form in the 'futuro do pretérito', expressing a statement conditioned by hypothetical environments, colored by low volitional meanings, is less suggestive of the *eventual* nature of the prospection in **TT2a**.

In (7), (11) and (12), the **ST** realizes low boulomaic modality, *ability/potentiality/sensation* as the low value modal *could*. The retextualizations give different treatments to this modality, as seen below:

(7)

ST then she had to rush out as quickly as she could

TT1 então ela era obrigada a sair correndo para o mercado

TT2a saía então correndo para fazer as compras

TT2b ela então saía correndo para fazer as compras

(11)

ST she could hear a street organ playing

TT1 lá embaixo na avenida ouvia um realejo tocando

TT2a ouvia, lá longe na avenida, o som de um realejo

TT2b ouvia, lá longe na avenida, o som de um realejo

(12)

ST to keep the house together as long as she could

TT1 de preservar o lar unido enquanto pudesse

TT2a de tomar conta da casa enquanto fosse necessário

TT2b de tomar conta da casa enquanto fosse necessário

In **TT1** (7), *sair correndo para o mercado*, potential physical ability is not grammaticized and the predicator *sair correndo* is not modulated in terms of the relation of the participant to the process as regards her ability and inclination to carry it out. The

consequence of this choice is that Eveline's form of participation in the process is out of the scene, which, by force of the deontic modulation qualifying the verb, *era obrigada a sair correndo*, emphasizes deontic forces alone. In TT1 (11), *ouvia um realejo tocando* and TT1 (12), *preservar o lar unido enquanto pudesse*, low boulomaic modality expressing the protagonist's internal abilities and skills that make it possible for the action to be performed is taken into account. The realization through *ouvia*, also present in TT2a and TT2a incorporates both the extended sensation expressed in the process (the temporal affix *-ia* contributing the continuous aspect) and the inexistence of an obstacle for it to take place. As for *pudesse*, the process *poder* indicates the participant's ability and potentiality. In addition, the use of the subjunctive mood adds another modal dimension to the circumstances. In fact, if we analyze the co-text in which it occurs, we will find the item *enquanto*, which, in itself, does not necessarily require the use of the subjunctive (Barra Rocha, 1992:99 for the so called 'condicionadores do subjuntivo'). However, the use of this mood (the suffix *-esse*) as opposed to, for example, the indicative *podia*, is suggestive of the state of doubt, uncertainty and eventual possibility involved in the performance of the action, here *preservar o lar unido*.

TT2a and TT2b, however, transform low boulomaic ability/ potentiality into deontic modality in (12), *tomar conta da casa enquanto fosse necessário*, in which the relationship of Eveline to the process is neutralized and deontic necessity takes over. While this might be taken as a positive device diminishing Eveline's boulomaic commitment to the course of action and enhancing the deontic power of the constraints — thus adding support to the claim that *desire* is not the foregrounded meaning in the text, this retextualization disrupts the allusion to Eveline's psychological makeup and the focus on her potential ability to endure the burden of the task attributed to her.

The picture of (8) and (9) is set out below:

(8)

ST but now that she was about to leave it

TT1 mas agora que estava prestes a deixar tudo para trás

TT2a mas agora que ia partir

TT2b mas agora que ia partir

(9)

ST she was about to explore another life with Frank

TT1 estava prestes a começar a explorar uma outra vida ao lado de Frank

TT2a estava prestes a tentar uma nova existência com Frank

TT2b estava prestes a tentar uma nova existência com Frank

In TT1, (8) and (9) select the same modal meaning as in the ST: the processes are modulated by the expression of boulomaic modality *estar prestes*. Boulomaic meanings in this kind of realization overlap with meanings of imminence and also carry implications of compliance to the illocutionary force of a directive. In fact, Eveline's boulomaic commitment, as retextualized in TT1, is suggestive of a protagonist who is moved not by inner desires or by spontaneous and conscious inclination to action. On the contrary, the suggestion is of a movement propelled by a special thrust behind her potential action: previous arrangements (the 'so-be-it' component), which, at this point in the story, she intends to fulfill and to which she is bound.

In addition, this realization also suggests the fact that the possibility of compliance is left more open than it would be with, for example, realizations through forms in *-ria*, in which *prediction* would be the preferred interpretation. In BP, the periphrastic phrase *estar prestes a* plus the infinitive can be used to express the imminence of an event or the intention of carrying out the action expressed in the verb. *Prestes a* (*Novo Dicionário Aurélio*) conveys meanings of *willingness*, *readiness* or *imminence*. But, (10) in TT1 (see below) selects only one aspect of these potential meanings, namely that of agreement to previous arrangements: *Concordara em fugir*. While this choice is in accordance with the lexical modulation in *consented/ concordara* in (3) and (4), it moves even further away from the volitional idea into the realm of

meanings of compliance. The lexical verb *concordar* used here expressing compliance to request expressed in the verb 'fugir', gives a clear clue to the deontic status of the modality and contributes to the construction of Eveline in **TT1**, reinforcing the choices in (3) and (4).

In **TT2a** and **TT2b**, *agora que ia partir* (8) and (10), *partiria à noite de navio*, other transformations result from the selection of modal meanings retextualized. First, both realizations omit the feature of imminence, which neutralizes the nuances of threat and unpleasantness permeating in the modal judgment. Secondly, they downplay the rhetorical force of the implied directive, which neutralizes the meaning of compliance to a command neither selected nor retextualized. And thirdly, in (10), *partiria* is closer to epistemic modality related to *prediction*, presented as possible and/but doubtful future courses of action, realized through the tense 'futuro do pretérito'. The set in (10) is laid out below:

- (10)
ST she was to go away with him
TT1 concordara em fugir com ele
TT2a partiria à noite de navio
TT2b partiria à noite de navio

The last central boulomaic modality is realized in the three retextualizations through a process which is recognized in **BP** as 'a expressão própria para a volição', which, interestingly, does not serve the purposes of the expression of futurity in **BP**, as peripheral realizations of boulomaic modality do (Almeida, 1980:213):

- (13)
ST she wanted to live
TT1 ela queria viver
TT2a queria viver
TT2b queria viver

This process can be said to translate, so to speak, *uniquely and centrally* boulomaic meanings. Similarly to the textualization in the **ST**, this the only expression of desire in

Eveline's musings, desire understood as the deliberate, conscious and authentic expression of inner urges towards a certain course of action.

Taking into account the assumption that unless a translation has a different objective in terms of the function of the **TT** in the target context __ which would either be explicitly stated in a preface, for example, or inferred from the translator's motivation as seen in the totality of his works __ it can safely be argued that some of the choices in **TT2a** and **TT2b** appear to be non-motivated, rendering the translated texts less effective in the production of the impact *Eveline* is to produce. In contrast, **TT1** seems to be more in tune with the modal meanings selected and textualized in the **ST**.

From these considerations on individual aspects of the three **TTs**, let us proceed to other comments that prove relevant to the analysis.

3.6 Other relevant comments

This section focuses on three other aspects of the retextualizations which merit attention. These aspects are i) some inadequate readings of the informative content of the **ST** and their consequences; ii) a special use of the modal *should* which, in the context of the theoretical framework proposed here, does not constitute a realization of modality; and finally, iii) excerpts of the four *Eveline's* illustrating the modal configuration in the texts.

3.6.1 Misreadings

Although it is a problematic issue to talk about translation errors in view of the concept of choice (shaped by individual minds and social context) which informs this work, and

although error analysis is beyond the scope of this research, some occurrences deserve attention.

Considering the functional context within which translation is seen as retextualization, the **ST** obviously constitutes the ideational material the translator draws from when translating. Still taking the functional orientation into account, other things being equal, that is, unless other objectives of the translation are stated, the meanings selected and textualized in the **ST** constitute the basic translational material. It follows that, especially in published literary translations, misreadings are problematic.

In the case of literary texts, obviously, 'the numerous echoes of grammatical structure and collocation, and the controlled lexicogrammatical variation, characteristic of a work of literature, need to be reflected in a good translation' (Halliday, 1968:130). These reflections have led me to comment on inadequate readings of the informative/ideational content of the the **ST**.

In the following sets, **TT2a** and **TT2b** display retextualizations which clearly reflect inadequate readings of the **ST**:

ST [he had begun to] say what he *would* do to her only for her dead mother's sake.
TT1 [passara a] dizer o que *faria* com ela não fosse a lembrança da mãe falecida
TT2a [começara a] dizer que *iria* dar-lhe jeito quando a mãe morresse
TT2b [dera para] dizer que só cuidava dela em memória de sua mãe

The retextualization in **TT1** is an adequate reading of the informative content of the **ST**, also selecting similar interpersonal meanings present in the epistemic modal *would*, translated as *faria*, the 'imperfeito do indicativo', one of the possibilities of Portuguese for the expression of epistemic meanings.

Neither **TT2a** nor **TT2b**, however, offers a reasonable rendering of the meanings of the **ST**. **TT2b** presents Eveline's dead mother's memory as accountable for her father's care for her, which is not the case. As for **TT2a**, the retextualization is even

more inadequate as it suggests that Eveline's mother was still alive at the time of the narrative, which again is not the case.

Another illustration of inadequate reading can be found in the set below:

ST When they were growing up he *had never gone for her*

TT1 Quando eram crianças, ele nunca havia batido nela

TT2a Porque era menina, ele nunca se importara com ela quando criança

TT2b Por ser menina, ele nunca se importara com ela quando criança

Again, **TT2a** and **TT2b** retextualize meanings not justified by the **ST**: They present a misreading of the process *go for*, here suggestive of potential aggressive behavior on the part of Eveline's father: nothing in the co-text or context of the whole short story justifies the interpretation of the process as *not caring for*, an uninformed and unjustified reading of the informative content of the **ST**.

3.6.2. The modal *should*

According to the theoretical framework proposed here (see 3.2.3 above), modality is viewed as the semantic category expressing degrees of indeterminacy covering such notions as likelihood, frequency, requirement and desire and it allows the speaker to participate in the speech event in terms of his/her judgment of the content of the message. Thus any realization which does incorporate these features is not here considered a modality.

Paragraph 9 in the **ST** offers an illustration of this claim. In it, the use of *should* might suggest the modal status of the item, on the basis either of formal criteria or of a broader definition of modality encompassing all expressions of interpersonal meanings, attitudinal markers included. The realizations in the four texts are set out below:

ST Strange that it *should* come that very night
 TT1 Estranho que o realejo *surgisse* ali naquela noite
 TT2a Estranho que *viesses* tocar ali naquela noite
 TT2b Estranho que *viesses* tocar ali naquela noite

All these instances follow the same principle: an evaluative expression, *strange*, is used, giving the speaker the role of an opinion giver. Following this expression, a clause is used in which the ST *should* and TT's *subjunctive mood* add to the evaluative status of the comment expressed in the adjective. However, the speaker here is *neither* an evaluator of the truth of his enunciation *nor* a judgment pronouncer on the degrees of indeterminacy as to notions of likelihood, usuality, requirement or desire. On these grounds, it can safely be argued that neither epistemic nor deontic meanings are realized as, according to the criteria adopted, evaluative comments alone do not constitute a modality.

3.6.3 An illustration: Paragraph 12

The final comment in this section goes to an illustration of the modal configurations in the ST and TTs. Paragraph 12 is selected for it displays the highest concentration of modalities in the text. This density can be accounted for in terms of the point of the narrative in which it occurs. At this moment, Eveline is struck by the recollections of the horror of her mother's entire life. These memories have a strong impact on her: she is *impelled* by them to make a move towards liberation, here configured as the possibility of her going away with Frank. Thus this selection of qualified verbal processes is motivated since it is at this point that Eveline's doubt is at its highest.

Eveline's inner struggle is grammaticalized by means of interpersonal structures, which now become more varied: the interrogative is used once as a statement of doubt not as a real question, the process being modulated with degrees of obligation by means of the operator of deontic necessity *should*: 'why *should* she be unhappy?'; the declarative is used elsewhere, sometimes modalized (with an operator of epistemic probability *would* and with the non-verbal modal adverb *perhaps*), sometimes modulated (with an operator of deontic modality), the process then being qualified. At times, factual unmodalised categorical statements are made and finally positive polarity is grammaticalized in the 'be-it' component implied in the imperative ('*Escape!*'). The passages in the ST and in the TTs are transcribed below, for a comparative analysis of the options in meaning selected and (re) textualized. Elliptical forms are included but set off by []. Omissions are signalled by [Ø] :

ST

She stood up in a sudden impulse of terror. *Escape!* She *must* escape! Frank *would* save her. He *would* give her life, *perhaps* [he would give her] love, too. But she wanted to live. Why *should* she be unhappy? She had a right to happiness. Frank *would* take her in his arms, [would] fold her in his arms. He *would* save her.

TT1

Levantou-se num sobressalto de pavor. Fugir! *Precisava* fugir! Frank a *salvaria*. *Daria* uma vida a ela, *talvez*, *quem sabe*, [daria] até amor. E ela queria viver. Por que *haveria* de ser infeliz? Tinha direito à felicidade. Frank a *tomaria* nos braços, a *abraçaria*. Ele a *salvaria*.

TT2a

Num súbito impulso de terror, levantou-se. Fugir! [Ø] Frank a *salvaria*. Dar-lhe-*ia* vida, *talvez* lhe *desse* amor. Queria viver. Por que *haveria* de ser infeliz? Tinha direito à felicidade. Frank a *tomaria* nos braços. [Ø] Frank *iria* salvá-la.

TT2b

Levantou-se num súbito impulso de terror. Fugir! [Ø] Frank a *salvaria*. Dar-lhe-*ia* vida, *talvez* [desse] também amor. Queria viver. Por que *haveria* de ser infeliz? Tinha direito à felicidade. Frank *ia* envolvê-la em seus braços, [ia] protegê-la. Ele a *salvaria*.

As can be seen, out of 12 processes in the ST, only 3 consist of categorical assertions.

These instances express propositions in which the meaning of the positive pole is either i)

asserting: the 'it is so' component indicating that it is a statement __ *She stood up in a sudden impulse of terror; She had a right to happiness.*; or ii) prescribing: the 'be so' component indicating the full strength of the directive __ *Escape!*

The only central boulomaic modality occurs in __ *She wanted to live* __ an internal urge triggered by the memories of her mother's unhappy life. Together with this manifestation of genuine desire, there come six epistemic modalities projecting her wish for happiness onto a hypothetical future, all of them realized through oblique *would*, the sequence both beginning and culminating with the possibility of salvation associated with Frank.

Deontic modality is realized by i) subjective implicit high value *must*, in which the deontic source can be found in the protagonist herself; and ii) subjective implicit median value *should*, in which the deontic force binding her to a state of unhappiness is called into question. In these 2 clauses, Eveline's sense of the need to set herself free is expressed and her doubt as to her obligation in relation to her present life and family is grammaticalized in the rhetorical question *why should she be unhappy?*

In most of the processes in this excerpt, 'modals act upon the time reference of the verbal group in which they occur, taking it to the realm of the possible, probable or necessary' (Hasan, 1985:11-112).

In **TT1**, the same pattern of modal meanings is foregrounded. Similar meanings are selected and retextualized through realizations accordingly chosen among the possibilities available in **BP** for the expression of modal meanings, as discussed above. In this sense, **TT1** can be said to mean in a way similar to the **ST** and even enhance its modal configuration in its addition of one element of epistemic modality (*quem sabe*) and the incantatory effect produced by the sequence of forms in *-ria*: *Frank a salvaria, daria uma vida a ela, Frank a tomaria nos braços, a abraçaria, ele a salvaria.*

The first striking difference observed in **TT2a** and **TT2b** is the fact that they retextualized a smaller number of processes, 10 and 11 respectively. One of these omissions is a process qualified by deontic modality of high value realized through modal *must* in the ST — *she must escape*, not retextualized in either translation. Needless to say, this omission is significant as it affects the modal configuration of the short story.

In addition to this non-realization, **TT2a** also omits one epistemic modality in the sequence referring to Frank's hypothesized actions towards the protagonist's liberation — [*he would*] *fold her in his arms*. This absence is meaningful in the sense that it breaks the process of gradual construction of the protagonist's salvation, culminating in *Frank iria salvá-la*.

Finally, this excerpt exemplifies the concern with an important aspect in written translation, that is, the phonological level. As discussed above, **TT1**'s well-chosen selection of verb tense in the sequence contributes significantly to this effect, a feature not found in the other two retextualizations.

For the characteristics of modal density displayed in the ST and for the treatment given in the retextualizations to the interpersonal meanings realized, this excerpt can be said to epitomize the modal configuration of the four Eveline's thus offering a sample of the global situation of analysis.

After these more localized comments, I am now in a position to offer a picture of the larger context, through a general comparison of the ST and the three retextualizations.

3.7 Results and Discussion: a summary of the different configurations

In discussing the importance of the interpersonal function in the construction of interactional meanings, Francis and Kramer-Dahl (1992) distinguish two kinds of interaction which are relevant in written texts: i) first that 'concerned with the relationship between the writer of the text and its intended audience' (77) and ii) the kind of relationship, 'embedded within the text' (78), between the characters in it.

The distinction made by Francis and Kramer-Dahl is interesting to the present discussion in that it points to the kinds of negotiation established by the interpersonal meanings selected and realized in texts at the two levels. When it comes to *retextualizations*, in particular of literary texts, it proves especially relevant: different interpersonal selections will inevitably affect the negotiation of meanings both inside and outside the universe narrated, in the context of different audiences.

This issue is tackled by van Leuven-Zwart (1990:87), who, dealing with the interpersonal function in the translation of narrative texts, focuses on the effects of microstructural shifts on the macrostructural level, as discussed in Chapter 2. In her discussion, drawing on Halliday's metafunctions via the version presented in Leech and Short (1981), she demonstrates two main points: i) the interpersonal function operates at the microstructural level both at the *story* and at the *discourse* levels, concerning, respectively, focalization (or point of view) and the way in which communication with the reader is established, and ii) all types of microshifts in the interpersonal function analysed in her data resulted in macroshifts operating on the two levels, thus affecting text/reader relationship.

Although not following the same lines (I am not concerned here with narratological descriptive categories), I subscribe to Leuven-Zwart's view that shifts at microlevel, which might be considered apparently isolated phenomena, bring about shifts at macrolevel thus impairing the impact the translated texts make. The point I am making

here is that a clear distinction has to be made between i) an evaluation of translated texts on the sole basis of isolated instances of linguistic/ stylistic occurrences and ii) an evaluation of retextualizations on the basis of the impact *ways of saying* have on *ways of meaning*. The focus is on what Halliday (1994:xv) considers 'the first level of achievement' in any piece of discourse analysis, that is, 'a straightforward piece of interpretation which keeps close to the text *while at the same time relating it to its context of situation and culture*' (ibid:xvi, *italics added*). Within this perspective, the effect in the shifting patterns of foregrounded meanings, which I have been discussing, is what the following overall picture resulting from this description will summarize. A number of interesting facts emerge and these are shown in **Table 3.7** below:

TYPE OF MODALITY \ REALIZATIONS	ST	TT1	TT2a	TT2b	
EPISTEMIC / LIKELIHOOD	perhaps [3]	talvez [3]	talvez [3]	talvez [3]	
EPISTEMIC / PREDICTION	would [16]	forms in - ria [15] voltasse a + infinitive [1] QUEM SABE	forms in - ria [14] [0] form in - isse [1] DRSSR	forms in - ria [11] voltasse a + infinitive [1] iria + infinitive [1] ia + infinitive [3]	
EPISTEMIC / USUALITY (non - verbal)	always [5] never [4] usually [2] often [1] constantly [1] sometimes [1]	sempre [5] nunca [3]; jamais [1] geralmente [2] muitas vezes [1] * repetindo [1] às vezes [1]	sempre [3] [0] [0] nunca [2] [0] jamais [1] geralmente [1]; quase sempre [1] muitas vezes [1] [0] às vezes [1]	sempre [3] [0] [0] nunca [2] [0] jamais [1] geralmente [2] muitas vezes [1] [0] às vezes [1]	
EPISTEMIC / USUALITY (verbal)	would (give) could (be)	acabava + gerund sabia + infinitive	acabava + gerund sabia + infinitive	acabava por + infinitive sabia + infinitive	
DEONTIC / REQUIREMENT (non - verbal)	promise	promessa	promessa	promessa	
	promise	[0]	promessa	promessa	
	duty	[0]	[0]	[0]	
DEONTIC / REQUIREMENT (verbal)	had to	[0]	precisava	precisava	
	had to	[0]	[0]	[0]	
	had to	[0]	era obrigada a	era obrigada a	
	must	[0]	era obrigada a	viu-se obrigada a	
	should	[0]	precisava	[0]	
could	[0]	haveria de	haveria de		
forbidden	[0]	seria possível	podia	podia	
prohibited	[0]	proibira	proibira	proibira	
BOULAMAIC (central)	wanted	queria	queria	queria	
BOULOMAIC (peripheral)	FUTURE TENSE	was going to	[0]	iria + infinitive	iria + infinitive
		[was going to]	ia + infinitive	[iria] + infinitive	[iria] + infinitive
	IMMEDIATE TENSE	was about to	estava prestes a + infinitive	[0]* ia + infinitive	[0]* ia + infinitive
		was about to explore	estava prestes a + infinitive	estava prestes a + infinitive	estava prestes a + infinitive
		was to	[0]* concordara	[0]* form in - ria	[0]* form in - ria
	PREDICTION	would not	form in - ria	[0]	[0]
		would not	form in - ria	iria + infinitive	* form in - ria
	CONSENT	consented	concordado	[0]* decidira	concordado
		[consented]	[concordado]	[0]* [decidira]	[concordado]
	ABILITY	could	[0]	[0]	[0]
		could (hear)	ouvia	ouvia	ouvia
		could	pudesse	[0]* fosse necessário	[0]* fosse necessário
	THEORETICAL IMPOSSIBILITY	impossible	impossível	impossível	impossível

Notational conventions: [0] non-realization of the meaning
 * realization of different modal meaning or of a different perspective
 CAPITALS additional realization of modal meaning
 numbers in brackets number of occurrences

Table 3.7 Modal meanings in the four "EVELINES"

This general picture, a visualization of the modal configuration of the four texts, shows the patterns foregrounded. Let us begin with the properties of the ST, with a brief summary in terms of a numerical configuration. This is significant for, as Halliday remarked, 'there is likely to be some quantitative turbulence, if a particular feature is felt to be prominent; and a few figures may be very suggestive' (1973:117). It is worth remembering, however, that foregrounding cannot be reduced to a simple question of counting: as discussed in the introduction, it is only the 'value in the game' (ibid:116) which accounts for the significance of frequency distribution.

Realizations	VERBAL NATURE									
	MODALS							LEXICAL VERBS		
Frequency	would	could	had to	was (about) to	should	must	was going to	forbid	want	consent
Number of occurrences	19	5	3	3	1	1	2	1	1	1

Realizations	NON - VERBAL NATURE									
	NOUNS			ADJECTIVE	AD.PROB	ADJUNCT USUALITY				
Frequency	promise	duty	impossible	perhaps	always	never	usually	often	constantly	sometimes
Number of occurrences	2	1	1	3	5	4	2	1	1	1

Table 3.8 Frequency of occurrences of modality

As can be seen in the Table, in the ST, modality of a verbal nature is realized most frequently by modal operators. The most frequent is oblique *would* (19 occurrences), followed by *could* (5 occurrences), *had to* (3 occurrences), *was (about) to* (3 occurrences), *should* (1 occurrence), and *must* (1 occurrence). As a quasi-modal, *was going to* also occurs twice (once elliptically) *Would* shows a higher frequency in environments related to predictions about the future, that is, as realization of *epistemic modality*, though such epistemic meanings overlap with volitional meanings thus also

realizing *boulomaic modality*. As pointed out earlier, the more remote the environment, the less discrete the meanings in the systems of epistemic and deontic modality, which allows for the interpretation of such realizations many times as cases of blends or merging. *Could* also occurs once realizing impressionistic frequency __ *usuality* __ and so does *would*, still in the context of *epistemic modality*. In environments related to obligations and duties, *deontic modality*, the occurrences include *had to*, *should*, *must* and *could*. This last modal also occurs in environments of ability/potentiality, thus realizing low-value variants at the end of the scale of *boulomaic modality*. *Was (about) to* and *was going to* also occur in *boulomaic* environments, the former also coding meanings of imminence and the latter merging volitional and futurity meanings.

Modality of a verbal nature is also realized through *forbidden*, *wanted*, *consented*, the first two centrally realize deontic and *boulomaic* meanings, respectively, and the latter realizing meanings of compliance with implied directives.

Non-verbal realizations of modality include deontic nouns (*promise* and *duty*) and one adjective (*impossible*), which carry a very considerable semantic load as the expression of interpersonal rhetoric. *Perhaps* is used 3 times, realizing likelihood, in epistemic contexts. For the realization of *usuality*, modal Adjuncts of frequency are used. The most frequent is *always* (5 occurrences), followed by *never* (4 times), *usually* (2 times) and *often*, *constantly*, *sometimes* (1 time each).

In the analysis of the TTs, the retextualizations do not explore the full possibility that the selections in the ST offer them. If we take into account the fact that in most of the narrative Eveline is 'weighing each side of the question', thus placing herself on intermediate grounds, it is her *should's*, *would's* and *could's* that reveal her indeterminacy. Changes in the configuration of the ST have consequences for the (re)construction of Eveline's profile.

Some general comments can be made about the realizations in the TTs.

Modality of a verbal nature is frequently realized by forms in *-ria* __ the 'futuro do pretérito'. These realizations show a higher frequency in environments related to predictions about the future, as realization of *epistemic modality*, though sometimes overlapping with volitional meanings thus also realizing *boulomaic modality*.

Periphrastic phrases are frequently used, realizing a number of different modal meanings. Such constructions, in which verbal forms are used together with the infinitive, combine the dual role of modality and futurity markers, the two meanings many times overlapping.

The subjunctive mood is used both in periphrastic phrases and in auxiliaries such as *pudesse* or *desse*.

Verbal realizations, in the context of epistemic modality, code *usuality*, for example in *repetindo*, and periphrastic phrases such as *acabava dando* and *sabia ser*.

Modality of a verbal nature is also realized through *precisava*, *proibira*, *queria*, *concordado*. The first two realize deontic meanings, the third realizes central boulomaic meanings and the last one, low boulomaic modality carrying meanings of compliance with implied directives.

Non-verbal realizations of modality include a deontic noun (*promessa*) and one adjective (*impossível*), which also carry a very considerable semantic load as the expression of interpersonal rhetoric. The second deontic noun used in the ST (*duty*) is not coded in any of the TTs. *Talvez* is used, realizing likelihood, in epistemic environments. For the realization of usuality, adverbs of frequency are used: *sempre*, *nunca*, *jamais*, *geralmente*, *muitas vezes*, *às vezes*.

Fundamental differences among the three TTs occur both in terms of the selection or non-selection of the modal meanings and also in terms of the kind of

realization favored. Such differences have the effect of portraying different kinds of the *relation* of the protagonist with reality, both inner and outer reality.

TT1 presents some omissions of modal meanings, the most significant being of the deontic meanings in *promise* and *duty* and in the high value deontic *had to*. These non-realizations downgrade the deontic strength of the forces operating in Eveline's paralysis.

Some selections in meaning, however, add to the modal pattern in the ST: the extra realization of likelihood in *quem sabe* and the creative choice of the sequence in the 'futuro do pretérito' in paragraph twelve discussed above. From this, it can be argued that TT1 constitutes a retextualization which captures the main meanings foregrounded in the ST.

As for TT2a, several omissions occur, disturbing the balance of Eveline between the idyllic reconstruction of the past and the hypothetical projection into the future. To begin with, epistemic modality, especially in relation to *usuality* is underrealized: as discussed above, Eveline's past is referred to in more categorical terms, with the effect of setting her free from entanglements with unresolved past situations. Then, prediction is also non-textualized once, but this can be said to be compensated by the extra realization of likelihood in the explicitation of the process in *desse*. Deontic requirement is downgraded, too, affecting both the power of the environment over Eveline and her commitment with inner forces urging towards some form of action. Other changes occur, such as the transformation of low-value boulomaic *could* into the objectified deontic *fosse necessário*, which alters the protagonist's relationship with her own capabilities in relation to carrying out the process. But, most seriously, this retextualization alters the whole modal configuration of the story by transforming the MEDIAN boulomaic *consented* into HIGH boulomaic *decidira*. As discussed above, this choice invalidates the

whole text in the sense that it establishes, very early in the story, the resolution of the conflict. Thus, it can be safely claimed that **TT2a** does not constitute a retextualization in tune with the sort of foregrounding achieved by the selections in meaning realized in the **ST**.

Finally, in comparison to **TT2a**, **TT2b** can be said to produce a picture which has a more harmonious relationship with the **ST** for, although it also omits several modal meanings, it does not distort the modal configuration as **TT2a** does. However, in comparison to **TT1**, it proves to be less effective by force of the omissions of and changes in modal meanings, and so produces a different pattern, to which the reader will necessarily respond differently.

Coulthard (1994:2) has called attention to the fact that 'we shy away from evaluating the texts of others __ even in the field of translation studies, where alternative translations of major literary works are quite common' and he adds that 'a study of badly written text, or inadequate retextualizations may help us to understand better the nature of successful textualization.' In this chapter, I have tried *not* to shy away from evaluation, but I have done so on firm theoretical grounds, informing my evaluative comments with established criteria, which are not only able to account for the linguistic configuration of the text but mainly able to associate the patterns foregrounded with the whole meaning of the text.

The issue of literary translation quality assessment raises another central question related to the translator himself: Who is the ideal translator of a literary text? The question is tackled by Costa (1984:100-108) who, discussing five translations of the last page of *Ulysses* into different languages, suggests knowledge of literature and of the ways literature is produced in the target language (ibid:10) as the most important characteristic of the ideal translator. This knowledge is also pointed out by Lefevère

(1992:11), who claims ‘the superior position of literary scholars as translators.’ But while Costa admits for this characteristic to be found in writers who excel in their own literary system, Lefevère argues the case for the scholar/translator, whose translations are necessarily grounded in expertise not easily found in non-academic people. While it is not my aim to bring the translator into the scene in this study, in this sense, and on the basis of the description carried out in this thesis, I am in a position to suggest that **TT1** (done by a scholar whose expertise is literary studies, means more and better than **TT2a** or **TT2b** (done by a non-academic translator), a fact which is accountable for in the terms suggested above.

3.8 Final Remarks

In describing the stylistic effects produced by the selections made in the **ST** and comparing them to those made in **TT1** and **TT2** in relation to meanings foregrounded through the system of modality, I am not suggesting that translators *should* necessarily follow the modal configuration found in the **ST**. Nor am I suggesting that a **TT** can be assessed as ‘good’ or ‘bad’ solely in those terms. After all, one has to consider the fact that translators are also bound by deontic constraints that circumscribe conditions upon their work.

What I am suggesting is that insights into the foregrounded meanings of a **ST** which contribute to the meaning of the text and awareness of potential ways available in a given target language for grammaticizing those meanings have a great deal to offer to translation studies both in terms of *evaluating* the decisions translators have made in their retextualizations and even in terms of informing and guiding the decisions

translators have to make.¹⁵ In fact, translational stylistic analysis is more than just a question of discussing "effects" in language and text, it is rather a powerful method for understanding the ways in which all sorts of realities are constructed through language.

Obviously, the selection of the same or of different meanings by translators raises a number of important questions ranging from lack of sensitivity to the meanings foregrounded in the ST, through linguistic constraints, to subjective, textual, literary and ideological motivation informing the translator's decisions. At least three kinds of situations are possible: i) the fact that different selections are made in retextualizations might be suggestive of the translators' unawareness of the meanings foregrounded in the ST: in the absence of a specific motivation informing the shifts occurring in the retextualizations, there would be no justification for the choice of different meanings, especially when those meanings selected and textualized in the ST are the very core of the work of art in question; ii) as discussed in the introduction, translation can be treated as a transculturation practice, as a privileged form of critical reading, with a specific function in the receptor literature: retextualizations can thus be produced deliberately opting for different selections in meaning, in response to demands operating in the translation production; iii) as meanings are *constructed*, it might be the case that they are *constructed* by literary criticism practices both in the source and in the receptor context: these critical practices, acknowledged and accepted by the cultural community concerned, function as a source of 'deontic constraint' impinging on the translator in the

¹⁵ Bell (1991: 146) makes the same point: '*Clearly, it is essential for* the translator to be able to recognize the strength with which the writer of the SLT holds an opinion and to be able to render that in an *appropriate manner* in the TLT'. I find fault, however, with three aspects in his formulation, namely i) his use of the objective implicit modal device 'clearly', which dissimulates the fact that *he* is giving his opinion, ii) his use of the objective explicit deontic modality in *it is essential for*, which establishes a 'be-it-component' in the qualification of the process *recognise*, and finally, iii) the fact that he does not explain what he means by *appropriate*, which affects the validity of his claim.

sense that they are a control mechanism regulating and manipulating the literary system of a given society.

In fact, translation __ specially *literary* translation __ does suffer constraints. This claim is discussed extensively in Lefevère's article "Why waste our time on Rewrites" (1984:232, 233, 234), in which he argues for the recognition of the fact that all rewritings (translation being the typical case) are subject to constraints. Lefevère mentions what he considers to be the five central ones: i) patronage, ii) poetics, iii) the universe of discourse, iv) the language in which the original work is composed and finally v) the original text itself.

Although I do not wish to enter into a discussion of the issue of the variety of constraints having a bearing on translation, it is important to mention that they add to the complexities involved in translating. The obvious consequence of both the acknowledgment and acceptance of this complexity is that no single one-sided perspective can claim to encompass explanatory possibilities covering every aspect of translation __ whether literary or not.

However, the very complexity of the field obviously prevents me from dealing in detail with more than a fraction of it. The fraction I am discussing here is that concerned *with the retextualization of interpersonal material already textualized in another language*. Whatever the objective and function of the translation in the target context, the analytical procedure for translation quality assessment would clearly benefit from a careful analysis of the translator's sensitivity to those meanings foregrounded in the ST. Careful analysis of the effects of selections in meaning grammaticized in the texts, carried out along the lines of translational stylistics, is a reliable tool informing the comparative study of translations: after the understanding of how the source text means what it does,

considerations of other kinds and nature could follow in the analysis of the selections of the meaning retextualized.

Modality is suggested as a criterion against which translations can be measured. In the first sections, the concept is discussed with a view to establishing the framework adopted in the present study. Then, an analysis is carried out of the sets of options foregrounding degrees of indeterminacy in the source text. The foregrounded meanings are found to be those of *likelihood*, *usuality*, *requirement* and *desire*. Finally, a comparison is carried out of the meanings foregrounded in the translated texts against those foregrounded in the source text. A general picture emerging from the analysis is presented and discussed, with a view to linking the particular options selected to the overall meaning of the translated texts in terms of the main protagonist's relationship with the reality portrayed in the story. As demonstrated, the microstructural shifts have an effect on the macrostructural level of the translated texts.

It is argued that sensitization to the reading of literary texts and their translations - here defined as *retextualizations* - in terms of *how they come to mean* can result in a contribution to the understanding and evaluation of those texts. In other words, *Translational Stylistics* - as defined in the introduction, can offer solid theoretical grounds for literary translation quality assessment.

A literary text, however, may obviously be textualized in such ways that different dominant patterns other than Modality are foregrounded. The purpose of the next chapter is to introduce another dimension of meaning and, in doing so, give one more illustration of the analysis and evaluation of translated texts using the analytic tools provided by systemic functional linguistics as proposed in this work.

CHAPTER 4

***ARABY* vs. *ARABY* and *ARÁBIA*: The Role of the Human Interpreter in the Production of Meaning**

Ways of saying: Ways of meaning
Hasan, 1984

Coding creates reality
Lee, 1992

4.1 Introduction

4.1.1 Preliminary remarks

All language use encodes representations of the world. On the basis of this assumption, this chapter focuses on the view of language as a modeling system which 'enables human beings to build a mental picture of reality, to make sense of what goes on around them and inside them' (Halliday, 1994a:106). More specifically, it is primarily concerned with the ways in which abstract concepts, such as *perception* and *causality* are given concrete expression in language, which is viewed as a defining framework for experience.

On the assumption that 'ways of saying [are] ways of meaning' (Hasan, 1984:105), and that reality is created in the act of coding, the notion of language as a modeling system is especially important for the arguments I put forward in this chapter. This importance can be seen in two different but interrelated senses: i) when dealing with translated texts, we are necessarily dealing with a different kind of representation as the translator is encoding, in another language, a representation of reality already coded, or TEXTUALIZED, in a previous language for a specific audience. This fact has implications for the selection of meanings he will make for his RETEXTUALIZATION, not only with regard to the ways he (re)models the textual reality - the source text - but also with regard to the new audience for his translated text; ii) within the universe of the short story itself, Joyce chose to present the reality he is portraying through the eye and voice of a specific character that models his experience of the world in very specific

ways. The linguistic resources used to code these special perspectives on reality seem to be motivated and meaningful and should therefore be taken into account by the translators.

Various resources are available for the representation of reality and different selections are made from the language potential in different texts. The grammatical system which embodies the general principle for modeling experience is TRANSITIVITY, the system which 'construes the world into a manageable set of process types' (Halliday, 1994a:106). By expressing PROCESSES (to be discussed in 4.2.1 below), transitivity realizes the experiential component of the IDEATIONAL function of language. 'In serving this function, language gives structure to experience, and helps to determine our way of looking at things' (Halliday, 1970:143).

The linguistic system of Transitivity 'has proved a useful analytic tool in both stylistics and critical linguistics ever since Halliday's influential analysis of William Golding's *The Inheritors*' (Simpson, 1993:95), published in 1971 and reprinted in 1973. Halliday's account of transitivity has been adopted many times for the stylistic analysis of literary texts, 'since it places agents, actions, processes and patients in various relations to each other' (Stubbs, 1994: 204). In addition, as Halliday (1973:166) suggests,

the analysis of the transitivity choices into which the protagonist is inscribed by the author will reveal the aspects of the linguistic resources used to disclose the special version of things that a character has as well as those used to effect the shift of his perception of reality.

Various textual studies grounded in the transitivity system have been carried out since the 1970's and 1980's (Butler, 1985:193-201), and in the 1990's transitivity continues to be drawn upon for the investigation of ways of encoding the experience of reality in language and to account for the foregrounding of certain meanings in texts. As an illustration of the earlier period, a paper by Kennedy (1976) demonstrates Halliday's

framework at work in the analysis of a passage from Conrad's *The Secret Agent* and another from *Dubliners*, the short story entitled 'Two Gallants'.¹ In both studies, the aim is 'to bring out the significance of passages and the author's intention by revealing a semantically motivated pattern of language functions' (Kennedy, 1976:23).

Four recent studies can be cited: i) Lee's (1992:49-64) comparison of the connection between language and world-view in Golding's *The Inheritors* and in Faulkner's *The Sound and the Fury*; ii) Montgomery's (1993:127-142) analysis of character in Hemingway's 'The Revolutionist'; iii) Simpson's (1993:86-118) re-examination of the issue of encoding experience in language, in which he develops some illustrations of his own; and, finally, as mentioned in Chapter 2, iv) Dourado, Gil and Vasconcellos (1997:200-242), in which a preliminary evaluation of the potential of SFL as an analytical tool for translation quality assessment is made. In this composite paper, the study of a translation of Hemingway's 'A Very Short Story' into Brazilian Portuguese, one section is devoted to the examination of the transitivity choices in the TT's as seen against those meaning selections made in the ST (Gil:210-212). In this section, Gil follows the 'who does what to whom' axiom of transitivity analysis which reveals the foregrounded ideational meanings forming the dominant paradigm in the passage.

This chapter extends the study carried out in Gil's work (*ibid*) by applying the techniques there used to the analysis of two Brazilian Portuguese translations of Joyce's *Araby*. I will examine *Araby* and the translations on the assumption that the narrative is

¹ In the study of 'Two Gallants', the relationship between the two characters is indicated by special choices made from the transitivity system. Butler (1985:200) summarizes this study in these terms: 'He [Kennedy] investigates the correlation between certain linguistic features and the characters of the two main protagonists, Corley and Lenehan. Kennedy shows that most of the clauses with Lenehan as a participant contain intransitive action verbs, relational verbs or verbs of perception. (...) On the other hand, clauses with Corley as a participant have approximately equal numbers of transitive and intransitive action verbs, and few relational or perception verbs. The effect of these transitivity choices is to present Lenehan as a listener and observer, while Corley is seen as actor and speaker.'

not a reminiscence but a *re-experience of events*, grammaticalized in very special patterns.

4.1.2 Aim, scope, corpus and analytical procedures

The analysis carried out here, a corpus-based comparative translational stylistic study, is designed to answer the question underlying the title of the chapter, which might be stated in the following terms:

- i) What is the role of the human interpreter in the production of meaning?

From this basic question, other questions arise:

- ii) How is meaning produced in/through language?
- iii) In the short story analyzed, what are the process-participant configurations?
- iv) In terms of the variable *causation*, is the process brought about from within or from outside the protagonist? Is it brought about by that participant or by some other entity?
- v) How are the meanings selected in the transitivity system realized in the TTs?
- vi) What is the role of the translator in the production of meanings?

The issue of meaning production is tackled here in terms of the notion of language as a modeling system. This notion is of central importance in Translation Studies. If we assume that the production of any text involves the construction of a new reality, this is even truer in the case of translation, where the translator is, necessarily, modeling reality already modeled in another language. Thus the analysis of the realities constructed through language can be effected through an analysis of the choices from the ideational systems of transitivity.

The decision to analyze *Araby* and its Portuguese translations in the light of the transitivity system stems, in addition, from the fact that the patterns standing out in the text express semantic options in the ideational function of language. The foregrounding

of these options contributes to the interpretation of the meanings of the story as a whole thus proving to have ‘value in the game,’ to use Halliday's expression again (1973:166).

I propose to examine the lexicogrammatical features in *Araby* (ST) used to encode both the protagonist's initial representation of the world and the change of his conceptualization of outer and inner reality. To do this, I analyze two particular configurations of transitivity used in the different codings of the protagonist's experience: i) the processes of the external world (whose grammatical categories are those of MATERIAL processes), and ii) the processes of consciousness (whose grammatical categories are those of MENTAL processes). Salient choices of special material processes, non-goal-directed clauses, allow for an ERGATIVE interpretation complementing the standard transitive analysis: the ergative patterns, those yielded by the interpretation of the processes in terms of *causation*, as opposed to *extension*, as is the case with the standard transitive interpretation, are examined in terms of the INSTIGATION of the process and in terms of the representation of AGENCY.

Drawing on Halliday (1994a:162-172):

- (i) I make use of the notion of Agency and of the functions Medium and Agent and examine the material processes in which the narrator is engaged with a view to seeing whether the process is brought about by that participant or by some other entity;
- (ii) I look at the mental processes in which the first person narrator participates, examining *the direction* in which the process is encoded. My claim is that in one kind of textualization, which I call **Textualization A**, the direction is from the phenomena in the world to the protagonist's consciousness, whereas in another kind, which I call **Textualization B**, the process is encoded in the opposite direction, that is, from the protagonist's consciousness to phenomena in the world (see discussion in 4.3 below);

(iii) drawing on the *animate/inanimate Agent* distinction, I examine the nature of the semantic roles expressed by the Subject in the clauses. In Joyce's text, alternative realizations of semantic roles attribute power to inanimate entities in material processes, apparently removing the feature of Agency from the surface realization of the processes.

Based on the description of the linguistic structure, I seek to interpret the motivation for the use of this particular patterning and to assess its significance. After the analysis of the ST, I will examine the meaning selections made in the two translations considered against the background of those selections made in the ST and in the options available in the linguistic repertoire of Brazilian Portuguese.

The analysis is conducted in a linear manner following the organization of the short story into paragraphs, in chronological order.

4.1.3 Organization

The following section, 4.2, introduces the system of Transitivity and the basic concepts and terminology informing the discussion. Section 4.3 applies the transitivity model to the analysis of Joyce's 'Araby'. Section 4.4 extends the same model to translational stylistics, by examining the options in meaning selected and retextualized in TT1 and TT2. Section 4.5 offers a comparative illustration by analyzing the lexical element *Light* and the semantic roles it realizes in the ST, TT1 and TT2. Finally, the potential of the Transitivity System as an analytic tool for translation quality assessment is discussed.

4.2 TRANSITIVITY: Definition and basic concepts

4.2.1 Transitivity: the grammar of PROCESSES and PARTICIPANTS

Transitivity shows how speakers/writers organize the cognitive realities of experience and encode in language their mental picture of these realities. The way in which transitivity expresses the ideational function is by means of PROCESSES. Halliday (1994a:106) defines processes as the 'goings-on' reality consists of. Explaining in more detail this special use of the term 'process' in the Hallidayan context, Bloor and Bloor (1995:110) say that

the term Process as a technical term in Systemic Functional Grammar has a slightly different meaning from its everyday usage. As we have said, it is used in two senses: (i) to refer to what is going on in the whole clause, and (ii) to refer to that part of the proposition encoded in the Verbal Group. This is a little confusing perhaps, but that is how the terms are used by Halliday.

The key distinction emphasized here is that between two levels of reference, both to the encoding of the proposition through the Verbal Group and to the meaning in the whole clause. In addition to this, it is worthwhile highlighting the fact that it is through the Processes and their configurations of Participants and Circumstances that reality is modeled by speakers/writers.

As Halliday (1994a:108) explains, 'perceptually the phenomenon is all of a piece; but when we talk about it we analyze it as a semantic configuration.' 'In this interpretation of what is going on,' he continues, 'there is a doing, a doer, and a location where the doing takes place' (ibid). These three aspects constitute the three components of the semantic configuration, which he defines as: (i) the Process itself; (ii) the Participants in the Process; and (iii) the Circumstances associated with the Process. 'These,' Halliday sums up, 'provide the frame of reference for interpreting our experience of what goes on' (ibid).

Halliday distinguishes different kinds of processes capable of modeling experience in different ways. They are Processes of *doing*, *happening*, *feeling*, *being*, *saying*, *existing*, and *behaving*. The classification of processes is in accordance with what they represent. From this follows the distinction in terms of Process types, each Process having a grammar of its own: Material Processes, Mental Processes, Relational Processes, Verbal Processes, Existential Processes and Behavioral Processes. **Figure 4.1** below, reproduced from the cover of the 1994 edition of Halliday's *An Introduction to Functional Grammar*, provides a visualization of the types of process in English, representing the 'grammar of experience'.

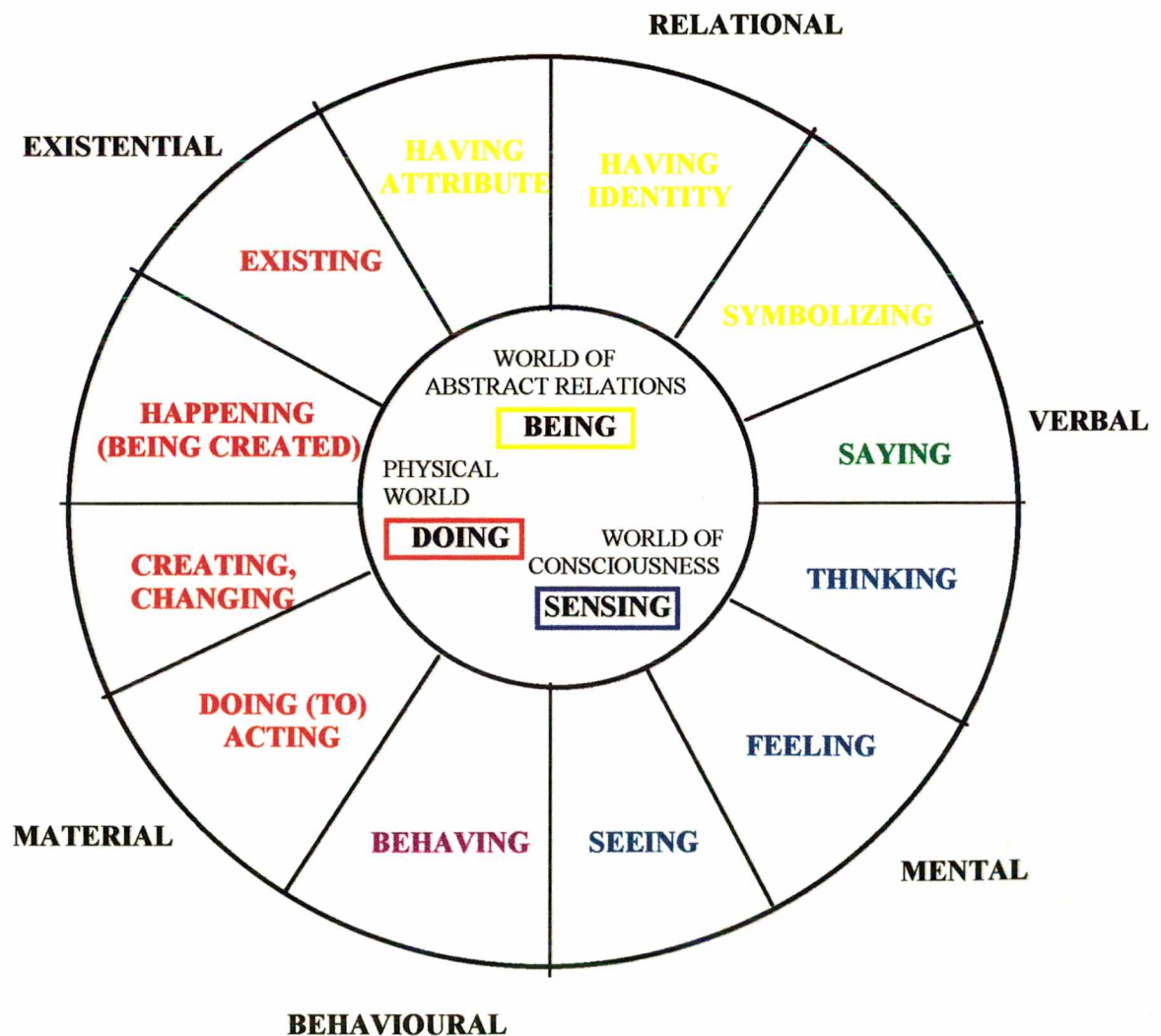


Figure 4.1 The grammar of experience: types of process in English (Halliday, 1994)

The above Figure reproduces all the processes a speaker can use to organize his/her perception of reality, his/her experience of inner or outer worlds. As Halliday (1994a:108) says, 'this tripartite interpretation of processes' (process, participants, circumstances) constitutes 'a pattern that in some form or other is probably universal among human languages' and explains in a general way how phenomena of the real world are represented as linguistic structures. For the purposes of my analysis, MATERIAL and MENTAL processes are the main focus: particular situations are encoded through material processes having inanimate entities at Subject (a function in the Mood structure) or through mental processes with the phenomenon being sensed at Subject, while others, depicting a second moment in the protagonist's view of reality, are encoded by means of mental processes into which the protagonist is inscribed in the role of Senser. **Table 4.1** below presents a summary of the process types particularly relevant to my work and the participant functions associated with them (Halliday, 1994a:143):

Process Type	Category meaning	Participants
Material: action event	'doing' 'doing' 'happening'	Actor, Goal
Mental: perception affection cognition	'sensing' 'seeing' 'feeling' 'thinking'	Senser, Phenomenon

Table 4.1 Material and mental processes: meanings and key participants

As the Table shows, within the category of Mental processes, three subtypes are distinguished, namely, *perception* (seeing, hearing), *affection* (liking, fearing) and *cognition* (thinking, knowing, understanding). This distinction is crucial to my analysis: the distribution of mental processes throughout the narrative in *Araby* is significant to the construction of the protagonist as a more conscious and less self-deluded being, as I

demonstrate below. While *perception* and *affection* are involuntary and feeling-oriented, mental processes of *cognition* have the property of crediting the entity functioning in them with the power to *understand* or to *cognize* the phenomena of experience.

As regards the participants, Halliday (1985a:108) points out that

in a clause of mental process, there is always one participant who is human; this is the one that 'senses'(...); the significant feature of such a participant is that of being 'endowed with consciousness (...). Which creatures we choose to endow with consciousness when we talk about them may vary according to who we are, what we are doing or how we are feeling at the time.

In *Araby*, the investigation of the protagonist's trajectory towards knowledge as depicted in the narrative reveals a special distribution of mental processes, into which the boy is gradually inscribed.

The participant functions are part of the basic components of the standard analytic model of Transitivity, based on the variable of *extension*. Another component can be added, which concerns the ways in which *agency* and *causation* relate to the process expressed by the clause. This extra dimension in the framework reflects ERGATIVE forms of clause organization.

4.2.2 The Transitive and the Ergative interpretation of the Processes

In 'Notes on Transitivity and Theme in English' Part 3, Halliday (1968:182) discusses the ergativity phenomenon as a pattern of transitivity under the heading 'Transitivity Reconsidered': clauses are 'describable not primarily in terms of action and goal but rather in terms of *cause* and *effect*'. A distinction is made not in terms of types of process, but in terms of a single type of process-participant relation based on one variable, the variable of causation.

This issue is further developed by Halliday in 1985/1994a, where an interpretation of transitivity is offered through which the structural functions can be generalized across clause types. At this level of interpretation, while each type of process is recognized as having a grammar of its own, the processes all can be said to have the same grammar in the sense that 'there is just one generalized representational structure common to every English clause' (Halliday, 1994:162), that is, the ergative system.

What is at issue in the ergative form of organization of the clause is the *source* of the process, whether it is represented as being caused from outside or from within, as self-caused. The basic question in the ergative analysis is: '*Some participant is engaged in a process; is the process brought about by that participant, or by some other entity?*' (ibid:163) As pointed out by Halliday (1985:145), 'the patterns yielded by this second interpretation is known as the 'ergative' pattern.'

The structural functions in this semantic model are obligatory MEDIUM (or Affected participant, as it is referred to in 1968:195) and optional AGENT (or causer participant, 1968:195). The obligatory MEDIUM is discussed by Halliday (1994a:163) in terms of being the key figure, 'the entity through *the medium of which* the process comes into existence' (italics added). The optional participant, the AGENT, functions as an external cause, in which case the process is said to be engendered from outside. The two participants are 'distinguished according to the extent to which there is a tendency for the causer of the action to be identical with the affected as is the case in self-engendered processes' (Halliday, 1968:185).

Clauses in which the 'doer' is exorcised from the process are neither active nor passive and are called MIDDLE clauses. As Davidse puts it (1992:109) 'within the ergative paradigm, the middle, expressing only the process and its central participant, has a very specific value: its experiential structure neutralizes the features *self-instigated* or

externally instigated.' Consequently, the ergative middle is characterized by an essential vagueness leaving open the question whether or not the process is self-instigated or externally instigated. This feature constitutes a useful tool in the hands of speakers or writers who choose to play with the possibilities inherent in this ambiguity.

An example can be found in *Araby*, where a passage involving the protagonist and the girl he loves explores the communicative function of ergativity (Paragraph 3). This passage depicts a scene in which an alternative representation of reality is offered, exorcising the 'doer' from the process:

Her dress swung as she moved her body and the soft rope of her hair tossed from side to side.

In these two non-goal-directed clauses, the processes appear *endogenous*, in Simpson's term (1993:100). That is to say, they seem to be brought about by the single participant associated with them, the MEDIUM (the essential participant in both clauses, the one primarily involved in the action is, respectively, *her dress* and *the soft rope of her hair*), uninduced by an external cause or AGENT. The effect of this alternative representation is to bring to the fore the power of the external world bearing on the narrator's modeling of reality: the boy models the outside reality in a way that is suggestive of the strength of his impressions, which he is at the time not only unable to cognize but under which he is spellbound. This form of representation creates the illusion that the process is self-engendered, which contributes to the magical effect of the scene. Other passages in *Araby* exhibit similar patterns, as discussed below.

4.2.3 Agentivity and Causality

A noteworthy point is made by Lee (1992:7) about the notion of agentivity and the related notion of causality:

The notion of agentivity is encoded universally. This fact indicates that the concept is fundamental to the human world-view. Whether a particular situation is encoded as an agentive or a non-human agentive event is often a matter of perspective and interpretation concerning the extent of the speaker's responsibility for the event, rather than an 'objective' property of the situation.

What Lee is saying here is that there are differences in terms of how the speaker sees the situation, and this is related to the question of which participant is seen as the main instigator or agent of the transaction. He goes on to say that 'the assignment of agency is problematic, since it implies questions of responsibility for the transaction' (ibid:11). This last point is especially relevant to the issues I raise in the discussion of *Araby*. In this short story, the phenomenon of causativity is coded in significant ways: the feature of AGENCY is treated in such a way that sometimes its mention is avoided thus mitigating responsibility for the events and at others it is coded by an INANIMATE AGENT, bringing about special effects (see 4.3.1 below).

My argument is that the shift of the young narrator's perception of reality and his construal of a sense of personal agency in his way from self-delusion to 'epiphany' is partly codified in the grammar of causativity².

As Halliday points out (1968:195-196), the ergative functions Medium (or Affected) and Agent (or Causer) have equivalents in specific transitive terms for each of the process types. The process types which are of interest for my analysis are material and mental processes. Table 4.2 below shows this equivalence:

² The word 'epiphany' is used here in Joyce's special literary sense of a '*sudden spiritual manifestation, whether in the vulgarity of speech or of gesture or in a memorable phase of the mind itself*' (Stone, 1969:362). Basing their use of the term on this view, critics have applied the notion of epiphany to those moments in a *Dubliners* story when some sort of revelation takes place. In 'Araby', the trivial dialogue overheard by the boy at the bazaar, for example, precipitates his insight into the vanity of his romantic quest and into his own situation.

ERGATIVITY	Medium	Agent
TRANSITIVITY		
Material	Actor Goal	Actor Initiator
Mental	Senser	Phenomenon

Table 4.2 Equivalence between the ergative and transitive functions in Material and Mental Processes

The Agent is equivalent in material processes to Actor (if there is a Goal) or to Initiator of the process; in mental processes to Phenomenon, if the process is encoded in one direction, from phenomenon to consciousness. As for the Medium, it is equivalent, in material processes, to Actor (in middle clauses, those with only one participant) or to Goal (in effective clauses, those with the feature of ‘agency’) and in mental processes, to Senser.

The crucial point in such ways of representing reality is the fact that the speaker/writer may choose to put in an Agent or not, or in the case of mental processes, to choose to encode the process in either direction - from phenomenon to consciousness or from consciousness to phenomenon. In the analysis of a text, it is interesting to see whether the ‘cause-&-effect’ aspect of processes is emphasized and if so, which pattern is predominant within this configuration. This is what I examine in *Araby* in the section below.

4.3 Encoding experience in language: the ST

In this section, references to *Dubliners* are to the Viking Critical Library edition (1969), unless otherwise stated.

The following account of the events in *Araby*, whose narrator is the highly sensitive boy in the story, is suggested by Stone (1969:349):³

A young boy becomes fascinated with his boyfriend's sister, begins to dwell on her soft presence, and eventually adores her with an ecstasy of secret love. One day the girl speaks to him - it is one of the few times they have ever exchanged a word - and asks him if he is going to Araby. She herself cannot go, she tells him, for she must participate in a retreat. The boy says if he goes he will bring her a gift. The boy arranges with his aunt and uncle that he will go to the bazaar on Saturday evening. Saturday evening arrives but the boy's uncle is late from work and the boy wanders at loose ends through the empty upper reaches of his house. Then at nine o'clock the uncle finally returns. He has forgotten the bazaar and tries to put the boy off, but the aunt insists that he give the boy money and he finally agrees. The word 'Araby' sets the uncle's mind working and he remembers a poem which is not present on the surface of the short story. Still it is there, in absence. When the boy finally visits the bazaar he is disillusioned by its tawdriness and by a banal conversation he overhears, and he buys no gift. Instead he feels 'driven and derided by vanity' and his eyes burn with 'anguish and anger'. The boy's reactions seem exaggerated but he is reacting not to the immediate external events but to sudden and deeply disturbing insights: his worshipped Madonna is only a girl, like the ordinary girl who stands before him at the fair and he is just a common boy.

The narrator models his experience of inner and outer reality as if *re-experiencing* rather than *recollecting* those moments of his life, a re-experience which coincides with the narrational moment. The effect of this mode of presentation, in which the reporting-self is the experiencing-self, is that the narrator does not start with a clear-cut view of the environment. In fact, in a fashion similar to the narrator in the three first short stories in *Dubliners*,

although there are many indications that the boy in all three cases is intelligent and perhaps even precocious, he is hampered by a pronounced lack of preparation - to encounter reality (usually for the first time) and to immediately turn reality into fiction without the self-conscious awareness of an intentional storyteller (Benstock, 1994:13)

The boy's difficulty in turning reality into fiction does not allow for an orderly narrative. Rather, what he produces is an immediate transfer of the impressions of the outside world into the linearity of the narrative without the mediation of a cognizing mind. This is the crucial feature of the mode of narration occurring in a large portion of *Araby*. As there is no a priori reason why his experiences of the world should have been structured

³The reader is advised to read the Source Text and the Translated Texts before proceeding. These texts are found in Appendix II, where, for easier reference, the paragraphs are numbered.

the way they are in the text, the patterns are significant, reflecting the limits of the narrator's view of inner and outer reality at the beginning of the story.

Another distinct moment, however, occurs in the narrative, corresponding to a different perception of inner and outer reality: instead of immediate impressions of internal and external worlds, a shift in the lexicogrammatical pattern points to an interpretation and cognition of events.

These distinct moments favor particular configurations in which different perspectives are realized. I call these different forms of textualization '**The Enchantment Language**' (from now on referred to as **Textualization A**) and '**The Interpretation Language**' (from now on referred to as **Textualization B**).⁴

My argument is that **Textualization A** encodes a representation of reality which makes the state of confusion of the narrator explicit and does not display a sense of agency in controlling internal and external events. As for **Textualization B**, the shift in the lexicogrammatical patterns points to a construal of a sense of personal agency which displays an *interpretation* of reality as perceived by a now disillusioned but conscious human being. The distinction can be seen at the lexicogrammatical level, as I demonstrate below.

An important notion in the characterization of **Textualization A** and **Textualization B** is that of *Agency*. As Downing and Locke (1992:115) put it, the notion of agency 'is a complex one which includes such features as animacy, intention, motivation, responsibility and the use of one's energy to bring about an event or initiate a process.' Among the resources available in English to avoid mention of Agency or to

⁴This analysis was inspired by Halliday's (1973) seminal study of the transitivity structures in Golding's *The Inheritors*, in which he identifies three languages, A, B, and C, realizing different representations of experience: these languages express 'not only the content of the narrative but also the abstract structure of the reality through which that content is interpreted' (ibid:121).

mitigate responsibility for the events are: the passive, the use of non-specific subjects, impersonal constructions, ergatives and inanimate subjects (Stubbs, 1994:204). Some of these features are present in **Textualization A**, which is characterized by the occurrence of i) a number of material processes with inanimate Agents at Subject; ii) a number of ergative constructions, and iii) some mental processes of Affection or Perception. These lexicogrammatical features realize meaning selections portraying the representation of an idealized reality, which the protagonist can neither understand nor act upon. As a result, the sense of personal Agency is dissolved.

As regards **Textualization B**, in this set of textualization options a change of pattern occurs: i) a number of material processes of the *volitional* kind occur, with 'I' as Actor at Subject, ii) mental processes of *cognition* are textualized, with 'I' as Senser at Subject. This configuration realizes meaning selections portraying a representation of inner and outer reality which now the boy can both understand and act upon.

In addition to these two types of textualization, a third type occurs at the very end of the short story, establishing the presence of the narrator's emerging self. The lexicogrammatical configuration is significant in that it encodes linguistically the finally achieved epiphany: the narrator is at one with himself and the world. This textualization, here called the '**Fusion Language**', is referred to as **Textualization C**.

The next section develops this discussion illustrating the arguments by reference to the numbered paragraphs in the ST.

4.3.1 Textualization A: From phenomenon to consciousness

Textualization A can be symbolized by the narrator's state of bewilderment and enchantment, textualized in Paragraph 9:

The syllables of the word Araby (...) cast an Eastern enchantment over me.

In terms of the ergative interpretation, that is, in terms of the variable causation, this clause has an inanimate Agent as Initiator at Subject (in a Material process) and the nodal participant - the Medium - at Goal. This configuration depicts a modeling of reality in the direction from phenomenon to consciousness, the impressions of the world bearing strongly upon the perceiving entity, in this case not connected with the notion of Agency.

In fact, the high proportion of non-human Subjects, realizing the role of inanimate Agents is the first striking feature of **Textualization A**. From the initial paragraph, which sets the geographical scene for the story, inanimate Agents are realized as Subject in clauses which have a *presentative textual function*. Thus the following sequence of inanimate Agents occurs:

North Richmond Street, being blind, was a quiet street except when The Christian Brothers' School set the boys free. An uninhabited house of two storeys stood at the blind end, detached from its neighbours in a square ground. The other houses of the street, conscious of the decent lives within them, gazed at one another with brown imperturbable faces.

With regard to *presentative constructions* as the ones occurring in this paragraph, a distinction is made in Bolinger (1977), where a discussion is carried out on the meaning of the presence or absence of the item *there* in existential clauses. Bolinger establishes a contrast between instances in which *there* is deleted (i) and those in which it is inserted (ii) (ibid:93-94):

the first presents something on the immediate stage (brings something literally or figuratively BEFORE OUR PRESENCE) whereas the second presents something to our minds (brings a piece of knowledge into consciousness) (his emphasis).

The key distinction here is that between presentation *to the eyes* vs. presentation *to the mind*. While the latter involves mental operations, the former involves presenting the impressions of the moment directly in such a way that the impact caused on the reader is

that of a vivid, or ‘staged’ description of the scene. In fact, Bolinger (ibid:95) observes, ‘the more vividly on the stage an action is, the less appropriate *there* becomes.’

This observation is particularly suited to the situation in Paragraph 1, in which the non-use of *there* and the use of presentative constructions such as *was* and *stood* brings to the fore the nature of the narrative in ‘Araby’: the boy is *not recollecting* experiences, presenting an orderly narrative in which appreciation of what is mentioned is emphasized; on the contrary, he is *re-experiencing* the phenomenon itself, receiving directly the impressions of the world around him. This special configuration of presentative constructions reinforces the effect of the inanimate Agent-at-Subject pattern, with which it enters in combination adding to the impact the text has on the protagonist and on the reader.

The inanimate Agent-at-Subject pattern continues in the ST in Paragraph 2:

Air, musty from having been long enclosed, hung in all rooms
The waste room was littered with old useless paper
The wild garden contained a central apple tree

In Paragraph 3, inanimate Agents also appear:

dusk fell
the houses had grown sombre
the lamps of the street lifted their feeble lanterns
the cold air stung us
our bodies glowed
our shouts echoed in the silent street
the career of our play brought us through the dark muddy lanes
odours arose from the ashpits
light from the kitchen windows had filled the area

All these realizations have the effect of attributing power to inanimate entities. Take, for example, the case of *the lamps of the street*, *the cold air* and *odours*, inscribed in processes of ‘doing’, namely, *lifting*, *stinging* and *arising*. Such inanimate Agents textualized in the ST occur in **Textualization A**, describing the effects of the world upon the boy. At moments like these, he is not the Agent, but is at the mercy of his

impressions. The world is the powerful entity capable of operating on him, capable of bringing about changes in his states. External reality reaches the narrator in the direction *from phenomenon to consciousness*, the lexical realization thus grammaticalizing the absence of a sense of personal Agency.

Still in Paragraph 3, the inanimate-Agent-pattern is repeated in the picture which depicts the scene of Mangan's sister, his adored girl, standing on the doorstep of her house:

*Her dress swung
the soft rope of her hair tossed from side to side*

The entities *dress* and *rope* appear to take on a life of their own, being able to carry out actions. In clauses like these, called middle clauses, the external causer is not realized. Of course, they are initiated by the entity *she*, being caused by her movements. This is not grammaticalized, though. The effect is to portray the boy as enchanted by the scene, at the mercy of the spell cast by *her dress* and *the soft rope of her hair*. This choice is significant in that, as Lee (1992:185) points out, 'whether a particular situation is encoded as agentive or a non-agentive event is often a matter of perspective rather than an objective property of the situation.' In this specific case, the significance lies in the fact that the selection points to the boy's perspective and to his impression of reality at that point in his life.

Inanimate-Agent structures also occur in Paragraph 9, whose final lines portray a picture of the girl in clauses encoding a representation of the world bringing to the fore the passive role of the boy as an experiencer of the visual sensations:

The light from the lamp opposite our door caught the white curve of her neck, lit up her hair that rested there and, falling, lit up the hand upon the railing. It fell over one side of her dress and caught the white border of a petticoat, just visible as she stood at ease.

impressions. The world is the powerful entity capable of operating on him, capable of bringing about changes in his states. External reality reaches the narrator in the direction *from phenomenon to consciousness*, the lexical realization thus grammaticalizing the absence of a sense of personal Agency.

Still in Paragraph 3, the inanimate-Agent-pattern is repeated in the picture which depicts the scene of Mangan's sister, his adored girl, standing on the doorstep of her house:

*Her dress swung
the soft rope of her hair tossed from side to side*

The entities *dress* and *rope* appear to take on a life of their own, being able to carry out actions. In clauses like these, called middle clauses, the external causer is not realized. Of course, they are initiated by the entity *she*, being caused by her movements. This is not grammaticalized, though. The effect is to portray the boy as enchanted by the scene, at the mercy of the spell cast by *her dress* and *the soft rope of her hair*. This choice is significant in that, as Lee (1992:185) points out, 'whether a particular situation is encoded as agentive or a non-agentive event is often a matter of perspective rather than an objective property of the situation.' In this specific case, the significance lies in the fact that the selection points to the boy's perspective and to his impression of reality at that point in his life.

Inanimate-Agent structures also occur in Paragraph 9, whose final lines portray a picture of the girl in clauses encoding a representation of the world bringing to the fore the passive role of the boy as an experiencer of the visual sensations:

The light from the lamp opposite our door caught the white curve of her neck, lit up her hair that rested there and, falling, lit up the hand upon the railing. It fell over one side of her dress and caught the white border of a petticoat, just visible as she stood at ease.

This passage is discussed in detail in section 4.5 below. For the moment, it suffices to point out the fact that once again the language form chosen is suggestive of the state of enchantment to which the boy is bound. This interpretation is confirmed by the next sequence of clauses in Paragraph 4, in which, contrary to the pattern discussed so far, the boy is inscribed into the semantic role of Agent; this, however, happens only as an irresistible response to the appeal she exerts on him. He is, so to speak, driven by some force he can neither resist nor understand:

When *she* came out on the doorstep, *my heart* leaped. *I* ran to the hall, (*I*) seized my books and (*I*) followed her. *I* kept her brown figure always in my eye and, when *she* came near the point where *our ways* diverged, *I* quickened my pace and (*I*) passed her.

All these instances of *I* realizing the role of Agent do not constitute a real case of personal Agency, but they show the boy *reacting to or yielding to the enchantment*, since *her name was like a summons to all [his] foolish blood* (last line in Paragraph 4).

The fact that the realization of *I* as Agent does not constitute a real case of personal agency raises the very important issue of automatic interpretation of linguistic forms. As suggested in my discussion, the choices in language form *per se* do not lead automatically to fixed interpretations, but have to be seen against the meanings of the total work.

Evidence for the interpretation of her figure as an irresistible summons can be found in other clauses in Paragraph 5, in which inanimate Agents, connected with images of Mangan's sister, are at Subject in material clauses, projecting the angle of telling adopted in **Textualization A**:

Her image accompanied me
Her name sprung to my lips

These occurrences point, once again, to the non-volitional feature of the boy's encoding of reality.

Still In Paragraph 5, a noteworthy fact happens: some mental processes of *cognition* are textualized:

*(...) I myself did not understand
I did not know*

At first sight, these occurrences might be automatically read as instances of **Textualization B**. This is not the case, though. These mental processes appear in association with *negative* polarity: *not* understand, *not* know (the latter being repeated in Paragraph 7). This is suggestive of a cognizing process on the making, that is, an attempt at understanding which does *not* occur at this point but which might be likely at a later stage. In fact, still in Paragraph 6, the protagonist *could see so little*, although he *heard* (6), *wished* (9, 10), *hoped* (9) and *saw* (12), mental processes of perception and affection in which awareness is marginal and not fully conscious: what is happening at several points in the visual/auditory field reaches the boy without being fully attended to.

The inanimate-Agent-at-Subject pattern, however, appears as far as Paragraph 12, where, in his second vigil, the boy hears the children's cries at a distance and models his impression linguistically as *Their cries reached me*.

In Paragraph 14, however, there are lexicogrammatical indications that the situation is changing: *I could interpret these signs* is the herald to **Textualization B** in that it explicitly realizes the beginning of the boy's process of cognition.

4.3.2 Textualization B: From consciousness to phenomenon

Up to this moment, the lexicogrammatical features of the short story point to the existence of signs in the world the boy cannot interpret, that is, *uncognized* facts under whose spell he is bound. From now on, evidence exists of signs he can interpret, that is,

cognized facts on which he operates to bring about changes in his perception of himself and of the world. There is a change in the directionality of his perception, which is now from phenomena in the world to his consciousness, awareness gradually becoming central.

The effect of this textualization is to suggest *a growing* sense of **Agency**: Appreciation and consciousness are built into the boy's analysis of events in the outside world, which is realized through the lexicogrammatical features of the text.

This interpretation which can be confirmed by realizations in Paragraph 17, where a set of material processes occur, in which the boy is inscribed into the role of Actor (in transitive terms), or of Agent (in ergative terms), as the *animate I* at Subject:

I held a florin tightly in my hand
I strode down Buckingham Street
I took my seat in a third-class carriage
I remained alone
I passed out on to the road

This different assignment of semantic role is suggestive of the expression of growing responsibility for the processes: while the material processes in Paragraph 4 (discussed above) are but a yielding to the enchantment to which he falls victim, the textualizations here show an orientation towards explicit expression of a process that is represented as being caused from within.

At this point, these are, however, still intermingled with instances of

Textualization A (Paragraph 17):

The sight of the streets (...) recalled to me the purpose of my journey
a large building which displayed the magical name

Effects of enchantment still intrude into these clauses, which display the from-phenomena-to-consciousness pattern.

The pattern of **Textualization B** is to gain momentum in Paragraph 18 , where the boy *finds himself* in a big hall where sights and noises, instead of *reaching* him, as encoded in previous clauses, are *perceived by him*, who *recognizes* things and *listens to* very material things, such as the falling of coins on a salver:

I found myself in a big hall
I recognised a silence
I listened to the fall of coins

The two last clauses depict auditory impressions, which in **Textualization A** had been represented in the direction from-phenomena-to-consciousness, as in *Their cries reached me* or in existential clauses as in *There was no sound in the house*.

At the beginning of Paragraph 19, *Remembering with difficulty* (a non-finite clause in which the Subject I can be retrievable) places the boy in a central position in the cognizing process as the cognizing Agent, though he occupies this position *with difficulty*. This role is confirmed by the next clause of cognition, *I remarked their English accents*.

Paragraph 22 provides the final confirmation of the **Textualization B** pattern:

I knew my stay was useless
I allowed the two pennies to fall against the sixpence

A mental process of cognition - *know*- establishes the boy's new state of disillusionment, of maturity and understanding of the facts of life: the thing apprehended - that his stay is useless- is at the semantic role Phenomenon, thus confirming the directionality of the encoding. As regards the second clause- *allowed* - establishes the boy's new state of external causation of events, upon which he can exert his influence.

This pattern develops into a full-fledged state-of-affairs in which true perception and interpretation are built into the boy's analysis of inner and outer reality, into his analysis of the events in the outside and inside worlds.

4.3.3 Textualization C: The fusion

A third kind of textualization is found at the end of the short story, **Textualization C** (the '**The Fusion Language**'). This textualization establishes the presence of the narrator's newly emerged self and can be represented by the protagonist's remarks in the last Paragraph:

I saw myself as a creature driven and derided by vanity

The lexicogrammatical features chosen to encode the meaning selections in this clause epitomize the boy's 'epiphany', marking the definite boundaries between illusion and reality as perceived by the boy. The reflexive structure in the clause above deserves some discussion.

In structures like this the Subject relates to the process as a participant that fulfills both the role of the entity *that causes* and of the entity *that is affected* by that process. In *saw myself*, *see* describes a mental process that is centered on the same entity, the Medium, which, in this clause combines the two ergative functions of Medium and Agent, or affected and causer.

I saw myself might be thought of as a two-participant form, since a reflexive expression is transitive syntactically. But, as Halliday (1968:189) points out, since no receptive form (*He was seen by himself*) exists, there is evidence that this is a *middle* form, with affected participant (the Medium) only, the reflexive pronoun having no

separate function. Which has the effect of returning the very act of *seeing* onto the only and nodal participant in this process.

If we examine the *whole* clause in which the reflexive form occurs, we can see that the entity *vanity* appears as a participant functioning as external cause (*Vanity* as the entity doing *the driving* and *the deriding*). This situation, however, is not represented with an explicit passive construction as it is realized with elliptical Subject and Predicator [*I was*]. An interpretation for this elliptical grammaticalization might be that, in this clause (the ‘epiphany’ clause), the mention of the external Agent (*Vanity*) is subordinated to the perception of the Medium/Agent *I*, thus being subsumed under the independent clause *I saw myself*. Although the *by Adjunct* inscribes *vanity* as Agent, it is part of the function Phenomenon in the mental process *see*:

<i>I</i>	<i>saw</i>	<i>myself as a creature driven and derided by vanity</i>
(Sensor)	(mental process)	(Phenomenon)

This is an indication of the change of perception of things on the part of the boy, who now *consciously visualizes* his former, self-deluded being as a prisoner of an enchantment. *Vanity* is now an element of the boy’s perception, *I saw*, realizing the participant *I* as the *Senser*, now in full control of the situation. The boy is able to shape reality in the direction *from-consciousness-to-phenomenon*. He is now in a position to understand the ordinary character of his own being and existence as well as of the girl he once worshipped.

This section has presented a reading of the ST in terms of the transitive and ergative interpretation of the ideational configuration. The next section will analyze the response to these foregrounded meanings in terms of the selections made in TT1 (O’Shea’s 1993 edition) and TT2 (Trevisan’s 1984 revised edition).

4.4 Encoding experience in language: the TTs

In the analysis of the translated texts, my concern is with the linguistic options selected by the translators, their relation to the total meaning of the work as well as their relation to the meanings selected in the ST. In other words, I focus on the translated texts as *two possible retextualizations in Portuguese of ideational content already textualized in English*. It is argued that sensitization to the meanings selected in the ST is crucial because, other things being equal, this is the basic material translators work from.

4.4.1 (Re)Textualization A in TT1 and TT2

In (Re)textualization A, the first aspect to call attention is the translations of the title of the short story:

ST Araby
 TT1 Araby
 TT2 Arabia

In accordance with the interpretation in *ergative* terms, *Araby* turns out to be the most important *external causer*, a power operating on and controlling the boy. It is worthwhile to notice that the semantic role in which the word is inscribed throughout the short story is in accordance with its use as the title, in that it is the causative entity affecting the whole story.

As pointed out in the annotated edition of *Dubliners* (1992:250), this item bears connotations such as:

Araby. Poetic name for *Arabia*. Throughout the 19th century, the orient was a principal object of European romance and fantasy, in which images of exoticism, sensuality (...) and prodigious wealth were all involved.

The association of romance, fantasy and sensuality suggested by the word *Araby* suits well the boy's idealized view of his beloved girl and explains his assertion that *the syllables of the word Araby cast an Eastern enchantment over him*. To maintain this association seems to have been O'Shea's decision in his choice of *Araby* for the title of **TT1**. Trevisan's choice, however, reflects another decision: the choice of *Arabia* leaves out the poetic use suggested above.

In **(Re)Textualization A**, the boy's cognitive orientation causes him to construct an interpretation of experience in terms of an external agent engendering the processes. The first striking feature in the **ST** is the high proportion of non-human subjects, realizing the role of inanimate agent. This aspect is examined in the translated texts, where the situation is not exactly the same as in the **ST**. As suggested by the epigraph to this chapter, *ways of saying are ways of meaning* (Hasan, 1984:105). Thus the linguistic devices used by the translators sometimes foreground different meanings, as I go on to show now.

TT1 displays a clear tendency towards the use of clauses in which the insertion of *havia* fulfills the textual presentative function. This is not found in **TT2**, which, however, also alters the configuration of the pattern, as discussed below. With regard to *presentative constructions*, it is worthwhile to remember the comments above on Bolinger's distinction (1977) between instances of the non-use and the use of *there* in existential clauses (ibid:93-94): presentation *to the eyes* vs. presentation *to the mind*. While the **ST** displays a clear preference for the non-use of *there*, emphasizing the *re-experiencing* nature of the boy's narrative and the impact of the vivid impressions of the

world bearing upon him, the retextualizations realize different meanings. Thus in paragraph 1:

ST An uninhabited house of two storeys stood at the blind end, detached from its neighbours in a square ground

TT1 Havia no fundo do beco uma casa de dois andares desabitada construída no meio de um terreiro quadrado (...)

TT2 Uma casa de dois andares, desabitada e isolada de ambos os lados, bloqueava-lhe uma das extremidades.

Here, the retextualizations display different ways of conceptualizing reality. **TT1** realizes explicitly the existential *havia*, thus suggesting, according to Bolinger's distinction, a mental operation as opposed to a description of vivid sensory phenomena. **TT2** favors the realization of inanimate Agents by the Subject but, in terms of the transitive form of organization of this specific clause, a different process was chosen: *bloqueava-lhe*. The material process *bloquear* depicts a certain kind of activity since it features a non-human Actor (or an inanimate Agent in ergative terms) *acting* upon the environment.

The lexical realizations of the meanings in Paragraph 2 in the TTs display the following picture: in general the pattern of Subjects realizing inanimate Agents is found but, some differences occur. These can be seen in the sets below:

ST *Air*, musty from having been long enclosed, hung in all rooms.

TT1 *O ar* que pairava em todos os cômodos era pesado

TT2 Nos cômodos longamente fechados flutuava *um odor de mofo*

ST *The waste room* behind the kitchen was littered with old useless paper

TT1 *O depósito* que havia atrás da cozinha estava entulhado de papel velho

TT2 *O quarto de despejo*, atrás da cozinha, estava abarrotado de papéis velhos

ST *The wild garden* behind the house contained a central apple tree

TT1 No centro do quintal abandonado que havia atrás da casa, via-se uma macieira

TT2 *O quintal abandonado atrás da casa* tinha no centro uma macieira

TT1 realizes inanimate Agents in *O ar* (*que pairava em todos os cantos*), and *o depósito* (*que havia atrás da cozinha*). As for *the wild garden*, the Agent of the relational process in the ST, it becomes an Adjunct in *no centro do quintal abandonado que havia atrás da*

casa. However, TT1 still constructs an agentless clause since *via-se* is a possibility for encoding impersonal agentless constructions in Portuguese. TT2 keeps the same pattern of inanimate Agents in: (flutuava) *um odor de mofo; o quarto de despejo; o quintal abandonado*.

In Paragraph 3, inanimate Agents also appear in the TTs, attributing power to inanimate entities in material processes, some differences occurring, as can be seen below:

SET 1

ST *When the short days of winter came, dusk fell*

TT1 *Ao chegarem os curtos dias de inverno, anoitecia*

TT2 *Ao chegarem os dias curtos de inverno, o crepúsculo caía*

SET 2

ST *the houses had grown sombre*

TT1 *as casas estavam sombrias*

TT2 *as casas se encontravam mergulhadas na sombra*

SET 3

ST *the lamps of the street lifted their feeble lanterns*

TT1 *os lampiões da rua erguiam suas luzes fracas*

TT2 *os postes erguiam a luz pálida de suas lanternas*

SET 4

ST *the cold air stung us*

TT1 *o ar frio ardia na pele*

TT2 *Aguilhoados pelo vento gélido*

SET 5

ST *we played until our bodies glowed*

TT1 *brincávamos até brilhar de suor*

TT2 *brincávamos até nos esbrasearmos*

SET 6

ST *our shouts echoed in the silent street*

TT1 *nossos gritos ecoavam nas ruas desertas*

TT2 *nossos gritos ecoavam na rua silenciosa*

SET 7

ST *the career of our play brought us through the dark muddy lanes*

TT1 *nossas brincadeiras levavam-nos às ruelas escuras e lamacentas*

TT2 *o curso de nossos brinquedos conduziam-nos às vielas escuras*

SET 8

ST *odours arose from the ashpits*

TT1 *rescendia o cheiro dos buracos usados para despejar cinzas*

TT2 *quintais, impregnados do cheiro fétido das fossas*

SET 9

ST *light from the kitchen windows had filled the area*

TT1 *a luz das janelas das cozinhas iluminava o exterior*

TT2 *a luz das cozinhas projetava-se através das janelas*

From the comparison, we see points of convergence and points of divergence. In set 1, **TT1** keeps the pattern of the inanimate Agent in the first clause, but favors the realization by a structure in which no Medium exists, or, in a second interpretation, it might be said to be conflated with the process itself, in the meteorological process *anoitecia*. **TT2** maintains the pattern in *o crepúsculo caía*.

Set 2 offers no significant change. The same occurs in set 3, with effective clauses and inanimate Agents in the three texts, namely *the lamps, os lampiões e os postes*.

As for set 4, **TT2** favors a realization by a *passive* effective clause, having the inanimate Agent realized with a by-Adjunct, *pelo vento gélido*, with the Medium (nós) ellipted. **TT1** replaces the Medium *us* by the Complement *na pele*, which can be taken as a metonym.

Set 5 presents three different lexical realizations. **ST** has the middle, one-participant structure *our bodies glowed*, which leaves the causative agent of the process *sweat* unrealized. **TT1**, once again, made the external cause explicit, in the non-finite clause *brilhar de suor*, the Agent realized by the Complement of the Predicator, producing a more transparent kind of language. **TT2** also chooses a non-agentive structure though having the elliptic Subject (nós) realizing the Medium.

Set 7 presents no significant change in that the three texts keep the pattern of inanimate Agents, *the career of our play*, *nossas brincadeiras* and *o curso de nossos brinquedos*.

Set 8 is noteworthy in that both translators seem to have felt the urge to make the meaning explicit for Brazilian audiences. Thus item *ashpits*, an Adjunct in the ST participating as an inessential element in the Middle clause *odours arose*, is unpacked into complex nominal groups, TT1 presenting the longer one, which, however, keeps the pattern of inanimate Subjects. TT2 realizes a different meaning which foregrounds *os quintais*, receiving the attribute *impregnados do cheiro fétido das fossas*, expressed in the non-finite clause.

Set 9 is discussed in section 4.5 below, which focuses on the role played by the lexical item *light* in the three texts.

The translations select the same meanings and realize them in a similar way, using ergative constructions:

ST *her dress swung*
 TT1 *o vestido balançava*
 TT2 *o vestido rodava*

ST *the soft rope of her hair tossed from side to side*
 TT1 *seus cabelos macios balançavam acompanhando o movimento do corpo*
 TT2 *a macia trança de seus cabelos saltava de um ombro para o outro*

These retextualizations have the Medium at Subject and, being middle clauses, suppress the feature agency, with the effect that the process seems to be self-caused. The encodings in Portuguese also project the meaning of enchantment selected and realized in the ST.

Evidence for the interpretation of Mangan's sister as an irresistible summons can be found in several clauses in which the Subject realizes the role of inanimate Agent in

material clauses, projecting the angle of telling adopted in **Textualization A**, both in the **ST** and in the **TTs**:

ST *Her image* accompanied me even in places most hostile to romance
TT1 *Sua imagem* acompanhava-me até em locais menos propícios ao romance
TT2 *Sua imagem* acompanhava-me mesmo em lugares menos românticos

ST *Her name* sprung to my lips
TT1 *O nome dela* vinha-me aos lábios
TT2 *Seu nome* brotava-me dos lábios

All these impressions converge in a sensation of *confused adoration*, an expression which appears in the clause ... *how I could tell her of my confused adoration*, standing in a hypotactic relation to the clause *I did not know* (Paragraph 5). This clause has the following translations:

ST how I could tell her of my confused adoration
TT1 de que modo poderia expressar minha *confusa adoração*
TT2 de que modo revelaria minha *tímida adoração*

In this specific instance the selection of meaning made in **TT1** and its lexical realization *confusa* is in accordance with the whole meaning of the text, while the realization in **TT2** is not. The item *tímida* is presented in the dictionary by Aurélio Buarque de Holanda (1975:1378) as synonymous with *acanhada*, *receosa*, which realize meanings unrelated to *confusion*, the basic property of the boy's state in **(Re)textualization A**.

It is worthwhile observing that there are some mental processes in Paragraph 5 which have the boy inscribed into the role of Agent/Senser. The reader's expectation might be then that the process is encoded in the direction *from consciousness to phenomenon in the world*. However, where cognition should take place, the process is *negated* or *downgraded*, denying the expected conscious structure imposing upon the perception of phenomena. Examples are the clauses:

ST strange prayers and praises which I myself *did not understand*

TT1 preces e louvores estranhos que *nem eu mesmo era capaz de compreender*

TT2 em estranhas preces e rogos *que eu mesmo não compreendia*

ST I thought *little* of the future

TT1 *Pouco* me preocupava o futuro

TT2 *Pouco* me preocupava o futuro

ST I *did not know* whether I would speak to her or not

TT1 *Não sabia* sequer se um dia conversaria com ela

TT2 *Não sabia* se falaria ou não com ela

This is repeated in Paragraphs 6 and 7 in the three texts, as illustrated below. It is interesting to notice that, for example, in the first set, while **TT1** negates the perception process, **ST** and **TT2** equally downgrade it. Such differences are significant in the sense that by ‘saying’ differently, they ‘mean’ differently:

ST I was thankful that I could see *so little*

TT1 Felizmente eu *não enxergava muito bem*

TT2 Agradava-me *enxergar tão pouco*

ST I was so confused that *I did not know* what to answer

TT1 fiquei tão confuso que *não soube o que responder*

TT2 fiquei tão encabulado que *não soube o que responder*

Still in Paragraph 6, there is a single instance of a non-negated mental process:

ST I *heard* the rain impinge upon the earth

TT1 *Eu ouvia* a chuva violando a terra

TT2 *Eu ouvia* a chuva bater contra a terra

This might be taken as a herald for **Textualization B**. However, it turns out to be a *perception* process, ‘an involuntary state, which does not depend on the agency of the perceiver. In fact, the perceiver receives the *auditory sensation non-volitionally*’ (Downing & Locke, 1992:126). In Paragraph 12, the former pattern reappears in the clauses:

ST *Their cries reached me* weakened and indistinct

TT1 *Seus gritos chegavam-me* abafados e irreconhecíveis

TT2 *Seus gritos chegavam-me* amortecidos

These are alternative realizations for the forms *I heard their cries*/*Eu ouvi seus gritos*. The choice in Paragraph 12 has the effect of foregrounding the boy's hesitation towards his painful self-knowledge and of still marking the non-volitional feature of his encoding of reality. In Paragraph 14, repeating the recurrent oscillation, perception processes are realized by the verb *to hear*:

ST At nine o'clock *I heard* my uncle's latchkey in the halldoor. *I heard* him talking to himself and *heard* the hallstand rocking when it received the weight of his overcoat. I could interpret these signs.

TT1

Às nove horas *ouvi* o ruído da chave de meu tio na porta da rua. *Ouvi-o* resmungar algumas palavras e [] o cabideiro balançar sob o peso de seu sobretudo. *Sabia muito bem como interpretar esses sinais*.

TT2

Às nove horas, *ouvi* o ruído da chave de meu tio na porta de entrada. *Escutei-o* resmungar e o [] porta-chapéus balançar ao peso de seu casaco. *Sabia interpretar esses sinais*.

Bolinger's (1977:7) comment on the function of repetition is relevant to this discussion: when the item is not ellipted (in this case, the process *heard*), the effect is that of *separation*, the actions are perceived as discrete parts of a sequence, that is, they are perceived as conceptually separated. Thus, in 'Araby', repetition is motivated. However, neither **TT1** nor **TT2** follow the repetition pattern of **ST**: the occurrence of *heard* before *hallstand* was omitted in both retextualisations. This procedure points to the translators' tendency to make implicit connections more evident or, on the contrary, to delete parts which, from an informative point of view, while not conveying new *factual* information, do play a central role in the text by adding nuances otherwise unnoticed.

The clause *I could interpret these signs* is retextualized in both **TT1** and **TT2** in a manner which confirms the pattern in the **ST**, taken as the boundary between **Textualization A** and **Textualization B**.

4.4.2 (Re)Textualization B in TT1 and TT2

The clause *I could interpret these signs* changes the directionality of the perception: from consciousness to phenomenon. In fact, when material processes reappear in Paragraph 17, the boy is inscribed in the role of Actor, in transitive terms, or of Agent, in ergative terms, appearing in the *animate* Subject *I*. The realizations in the TTs, though in different formal configurations including finite and non-finite clauses, select the same semantic role for the boy, as can be seen in the comparison below:

ST *I held a florin tightly in my hand as I strode down Buckingham Street*
TT1 [Eu] Segurei firme o florim que ganhara, enquanto descia Buckingham Street
TT2 [Eu] Apertando na mão o florim que recebera, descii a rua Buckingham

ST *I took my seat in a third-class carriage...*
TT1 [Eu] Tomei assento num vagão de terceira classe
TT2 [Eu] Acomodei-me num vagão de terceira classe

ST *I passed out on to the road ...*
TT1 [Eu] Desembarquei e caminhei rua abaixo
TT2 Ao descer [the non-finite clause implying the Subject I]

As the story unfolds, the state of enchantment gradually disappears from the lexicogrammatical features of the ST. This disappearance is made evident in the comparison between two instances of cognition of reality encoded differently in Paragraphs 17 and 19, the latter being closer to the end of the short story and to the boy's 'epiphany':

ST *The sight of the streets (...) recalled to me the purpose of my journey*
ST *Remembering with difficulty why had come*

Effects of enchantment still intrude into the first clause above, which attributes the source of the cognition - *recalling* - to external causes, *the sight of the streets*. The latter, though encoded in an non-finite clause, places the boy in a central position in the cognizing process: the cognizing agent can be clearly retrieved in the clause *why I had*

come. He does, however, occupy this position *with difficulty*. The translations display the following picture:

TT1 A visão das ruas (...) trouxe de volta à minha mente o propósito de minhas escapadas

TT1 Com dificuldade de lembrar a razão de minha presença na feira

TT2 As calçadas (...) deram um novo alento ao propósito de minha viagem

TT2 Recordando com dificuldade o motivo que me trouxera

TT1, in a manner similar to the **ST**, selects the idea of *recalling* encoded in the causative structure *trouxe de volta à minha mente*, that is, *made me remember*. Unlike **TT1**, **TT2** though keeping the source of the process outside the boy, omits the aspect of the *from-phenomenon-to-consciousness* cognition, replacing it by the process *dar alento*, a lexical item whose referential domains point to *motivating forces* rather than *cognizing activities*. In the second set, however, the *I-Agent* is implicit in the encodings in both **TTs**.

As discussed above, **Textualization A** favors the representation of auditory impressions in the direction *from phenomenon to consciousness*, as in *their cries reached me*, or with the perceiver omitted, as in the existential clause *There was no sound in the house*. In this respect, the retextualizations behave differently. **TT1** does not use this pattern, since its final stage in the realization process yields the following lexical configuration: *Reinava ali o silêncio de uma igreja após uma missa*, which also occurs in **TT2**: *Reinava ali o silêncio de um templo vazio*.

The new pattern of realizations in **Textualization B**, describing moments of agency, inscribes the boy into the role of *perceiver* and *interpreter* of the world. The **TTs** are as follows:

In Paragraph 18:

ST I listened to the fall of the coins

TT1 Ouvi o ruído das moedas

TT2 Eu ouvia o tilintar das moedas caindo

In Paragraph 19:

ST I examined the porcelain vases

TT1 [eu] examinei uns vasos de porcelana

TT2 [eu] examinei alguns vasos de porcelana

ST I remarked their English Accents

TT1 [eu] notei que tinham sotaque inglês

TT2 notei-lhes o sotaque britânico

ST [I] listened vaguely to their conversation

TT1 pus-me a escutar vagamente a conversa

TT2 e [eu] ouvi imprecisamente o que diziam

In Paragraph 22:

ST Though I knew my stay was useless

TT1 Embora soubesse que era inútil ficar ali

TT2 Embora [eu] soubesse que era uma atitude inútil

As the comparison shows, the general tendency in the TTs is towards the selection of the same pattern as that in ST. Verbs like *examinei*, *notei*, *soubesse* are mental processes implying a human cognizing Agent, encoding the process in the direction *from consciousness to phenomenon*. A special clause deserves attention: *I listened vaguely to their conversation*. The process in the clause, *to listen*, in this context in clear opposition to the involuntary process *hear*, has an implicit element of choice and responsibility in its referential domain. It is the volitional act of listening introducing the conversation whose banality contributes to the boy's disturbing insight concerning his worshipped girl and his own nature. In this clause, I see the Adjunct *vaguely* as performing the task of presenting the volitional act in a seeming ordinary and casual way, in a last attempt to resist confrontation with reality.

Portuguese has the option of two verbs available in the system for auditory impressions: *ouvir* and *escutar*. *Escutar* refers to the state of attentiveness and readiness to hear: 'tornar-se ou estar atento para ouvir, exercer o sentido da audição' (*Novo Dicionário Aurélio*:558). *Ouvir* refers to the very sense of hearing: 'perceber pelo

sentido da audição' (ibid:1012). Thus the selections made by the translators constitute their choices and have implications for the meanings they want to convey. Where Joyce chooses to encode the situation by a volitional process (*I listened to the fall of the coins*), both translators choose *ouvia*. This choice leaves out the volitional aspect of the process. This is repeated in TT2 in the clause introducing the conversation at the bazaar: *ouvi imprecisamente o que diziam*. If you consider the act of perception on a cline having the two poles *phenomenon and consciousness*, *ouvir* could be said to occupy an intermediate position in the direction of consciousness.

Except for the occurrences discussed above, all these instances point towards the boy's epiphany, which can be symbolized by the clause *I saw myself as a creature driven and derided by vanity*. This clause marks the boundary of what I call **(Re)Textualization C**, the language of fusion, to which I turn now.

4.4.3 (Re)Textualization C in TT1 and TT2

The (re)textualizations are transcribed below:

ST I saw myself as a creature driven and derided by vanity

TT1 vi a mim mesmo como uma criatura comandada e ludibriada pela vaidade

TT2 eu me vi como uma criatura tangida e ludibriada por quimeras

The TTs realize the same meaning as that in the ST. In a manner similar to the ST, the retextualizations indicate the change of perception of things on the part of the boy, who now *consciously visualizes* his former, self-deluded being as a prisoner of an enchantment.

The reflexive character of the process in the clauses confirms my interpretation of the Subject, elliptical or not, realizing the conflation of the Agent/Medium function in *eu me vi* and *[eu] vi a mim mesmo*.

The meaning selections in **ST**, **TT1** and **TT2** are presented in the Tables below with examples of the different semantic configurations in the texts.

4.4.4 Summary Tables: (Re)Textualizations A, B and C in the three texts

Table 4.3 shows a comparison between the configurations of **(Re)Textualization A** in the three texts. Ergative constructions and inanimate Agents at Subject in material processes are found in **ST**, **TT1** and **TT2**:

ST Her dress swung Their cries reached me Her image accompanied me The syllables of the word 'Araby' ... cast an eastern enchantment over me
TT1 O vestido balançava Seus gritos chegavam-me Sua imagem acompanhava-me (...) as sílabas da palavra Araby... produzindo em mim um encantamento oriental
TT2 O vestido rodava Seus gritos chegavam-me Sua imagem acompanhava-me (...) as sílabas da palavra Arabia ... atiravam-me num encanto oriental

Table 4.3 (Re)Textualization A: From phenomenon to consciousness

Table 4.4 shows a comparison between the configurations of **(Re)Textualization B** in the three texts. In the examples selected, the features of human Agents at Subject in mental processes of cognition occur in **ST**, **TT1** and **TT2**.

ST I could interpret these signs I remarked their English accents I knew my stay was useless I listened to the fall of coins
TT1 Sabia muito bem como interpretar esses sinais Notei que tinham sotaque inglês Embora soubesse que era inútil ficar ali [Eu] ouvi o ruído das moedas
TT2 Sabia interpretar esses sinais Notei-lhes o sotaque britânico Embora soubesse que era uma atitude inútil Eu ouvia o tilintar das moedas caindo

Table 4.4 (Re)Textualization B: From consciousness to phenomenon

Table 4.5 below shows a comparison between the configurations of (Re)Textualization C in the three texts. In the examples selected, the conflation of Agent and Affected (or Medium) in a mental process of cognition is (re)textualized in ST, TT1 and TT2.

ST I saw myself as a creature driven and derided by vanity
TT1 Vi a mim mesmo como uma criatura comandada e ludibriada pela vaidade
TT2 Eu me vi como uma criatura tangida e ludibriada por quimeras

Table 4.5 (Re)Textualization C: The ‘epiphany’

Table 4.6 below shows differences in meaning deriving from different ways of saying, *italics* highlighting the changes. In the examples selected, in the first clause of (Re)Textualization A (from phenomenon to consciousness), an alteration in the representation of reality is found in TT2, which realizes a human Agent at Subject. In

(Re)Textualization B (from consciousness to phenomenon), **TT1** and **TT2** downgrade the protagonist's sense of agency by having inanimate Agents (*o silêncio*) at Subject thus ignoring the meaning selection of the **ST**. A similar disregard for the human agency is found in **TT2** with *alguém gritou* at Subject. As for the causative construction, *I allowed the two pennies to fall*, the inscription of *I* as Initiator At Subject is not found in **TT1**, where *os dois pennies* bring back the configuration of **(Re)Textualization A**.

A - From phenomenon to consciousness	
ST	The cold air stung us
TT1	O ar frio ardia na pele
TT2	<i>Aguilhoados pelo vento gelido</i>
B - From consciousness to phenomenon	
ST	I heard a voice call ... that the light was out I allowed the two pennies to fall against the sixpence in my pocket I recognised a silence like that which pervades a church after a service
TT1	Ouvi uma voz gritar que as luzes seriam apagadas <i>Os dois pennies tilitavam</i> dentro do meu bolso ao se chocarem contra a moeda de seis pence <i>Reinava ali o silêncio</i> de uma igreja após uma missa
TT2	<i>Alguém gritou</i> que a luz fora desligada [Eu] Soltava as moedas dentro do bolso, fazendo-as bater uma na outra <i>Reinava ali o silêncio</i> de um templo vazio

Table 4.6 Different ways of saying, different ways of meaning

4.5 An illustration of (Re)textualizations A, B and C at work: *Light* in the ST, TT1 and TT2.

A final comment is worthwhile in relation to an inanimate entity inscribed either as Agent or as Adjunct throughout the short story: *Light*. By observing the points of the story at which it appears as well as the clauses in which it is inscribed, we can accompany the boy in his journey from self-delusion to self-knowledge. It appears as early as Paragraph 3, as *Agent: I*

Light from the kitchen windows had filled the areas.

This is an effective clause (one that includes the feature agency), whose process is active, and in which the Subject realizes the role of Agent. The clause textualized in the ST represents the boy's perception of the world as encoded in the direction *from phenomenon to consciousness*, at a point in his life when he is at the mercy of his impression of reality.

The second occurrence of *Light*, still in Paragraph 3, appears in an effective passive clause where it is inscribed once again into the role of Agent:

She was waiting for us, her figure defined by the light from the half-opened door.

This feature acquires growing importance in Paragraph 8, in which the boy's beloved girl is portrayed in such a way as to suggest the strong impression she makes on him:

The light from the lamp opposite our door caught the white curve of her neck, lit up her hair that rested there and, falling, lit up the hand upon the railing. It fell over one side of her dress and caught the white border of a petticoat, just visible as she stood at ease.

In this clause, *light* occurs in an effective active clause, inscribed once again into the role of Agent/Subject. The perceiving entity is the boy: It is the boy who sees this scene. However, the scene is encoded as if it were engendered by *the light*, which turns out to be the external agency able to produce special effects and to trigger the boy's

enchantment. It is as if the whole scene were surrounded by light, like a neon sign circling an apparition and conferring a special character to the situation.

This scene is to return again, in the boy's recollections, in Paragraph 12:

I looked over at the dark house where she lived. I may have stood there for an hour, seeing nothing but her brown-clad figure cast by my imagination, touched discreetly by the lamplight, at the curved neck, at the hand upon the railings and at the border below the dress.

Once again, *the light* appears inscribed as Agent in an effective passive clause, representing the external agency bearing upon the boy's impressions. In Paragraph 22, however, the situation is not so clear-cut:

I heard a voice call that the light was out.

Two interpretations are possible, but it is important to remember that whichever interpretation, the clause is embedded in another clause having the Agent/(human)Senser *I* at Subject. This fact is significant in that the direction of the process is now *from consciousness to phenomenon*. In the first interpretation, we can consider that *light* appears in a middle construction, that is, a one-participant construction, with the Subject realizing the role of Medium, the only participant in the process. An interesting aspect about the interpretation of the clause as an ergative middle is that it is ambiguous as to the agency of the process of turning the light out, since a middle construction tends to neutralize the features self-engendered or engendered by an external agency.

In the second interpretation, *light* might be said to occur in an effective passive construction, to which it is always possible to put the question *who by?* In this passive construction, the Agent is realized with the *by Adjunct*, which now ceases to be **the light**. If the light was put out, it was by an external agency, though this is not grammaticalized. If so, which external agency? The answer to this question is not made explicit in the text, which leaves room for the attribution of agency to different entities,

such as the workers at the fair or, at a symbolic level of interpretation, even to the boy himself. In a way, the boy's understanding of his real condition, his epiphany, might have led him to *turn out the light*, so to speak, and demystify reality. In this sense, he also contributed to produce the *darkness* which followed after the light was out: the final scene depicts him immersed in the absence of that light glittering around his perceptions of the world and producing a glamour fantasized, by not real:

Gazing up *into the darkness*, I saw myself as a creature driven and derided by vanity.

In the darkness, he is able to see himself and the facts of the world: inner and outer reality is now cognized, represented and encoded in the direction *from consciousness to phenomenon* in such a way that the semantic roles are conflated onto one single participant: the boy now grown painfully mature. This is the instant of personal agency which I call **Textualization C**, in which the language of fusion realizes the boy's epiphany.

The two translators favored different interpretation of the clauses in which *Light* occurs, as I go on now to discuss.

The entity *Light* is inscribed as inanimate Subject realizing the ergative role *Agent* in material processes. The occurrences in Paragraph 3 of both TT1 and TT2 display the same pattern, that is: the active effective clause having the Agent *Light* as Subject is also translated into Portuguese metaphorically, whereas the clause with the passive process, in which the ST realizes the role of *Agent* with a *by Adjunct*, is translated in such a way as to remove the feature agency from the participant *Light*:

ST

light from the kitchen windows had filled the areas
She was waiting for us, her figure defined by the light from the half-opened door

TT1

A luz das janelas das cozinhas iluminava o exterior
Ela esperava por nós, com sua silhueta recortada na luz da porta entreaberta.

TT2

A luz da cozinha projetava-se através das janelas

A silhueta de seu corpo recortava-se *na luz da porta entreaberta*.

In the second clause of both translations, *Light* becomes a Location Circumstance thus losing its status of agency. This is felt even strongly in TT1, where it is not only inscribed into a circumstantial (*na luz da porta entreaberta*), but is also downgraded further by being realized as post-modifier of *silhueta*. Of course there is some difference in meaning, content and emphasis. In both cases, *silhueta* appears as Subject, in a non-finite clause in TT1 and in a finite clause in TT2. In TT2 it even seems to engender the process by itself as suggested in the reflexive construction. The consequence is that *Light* is pushed into the background while *silhueta* comes to the fore.

The occurrences in Paragraph 8 repeat the pattern of metaphorical transfer observed in the ST:

ST

The light from the lamp opposite our door caught the white curve of her neck, lit up her hair and rested there and, falling, lit up the hand upon the railing. It fell over one side of her dress and caught the white border of a petticoat, just visible as she stood at ease.

TT1

A luz do lampião do outro lado da rua roçava-lhe a curva nêvea do pescoço, iluminava os cabelos que ali repousavam, e, descendo, alcançava os dedos agarrados ao corrimão. Escorregava pelo vestido e revelava a ponta branca da anágua, visível somente quando ela erguia o corpo.

TT2

A luz do poste diante de nossas casas roçava a curva nêvea de seu pescoço, inflamando-lhe os cabelos. Alcançava, mais abaixo, sua mão sobre a grade e revelava, ao tocar-lhe o vestido, a ponta do saiote que se deixava entrever em sua languida postura.

In both translations, *A luz* embodies the feature of agentivity thus realizing the same meanings as those in the ST. *A luz* is at Subject in the retextualizations, as an inanimate Agent, bringing to the fore the pattern typical of (Re)Textualization A: from

phenomena in the world to consciousness, outside reality making a strong, magical and unintelligible impression on the protagonist.

Paragraph 12 of the ST depicts the adored and idealized girl as a figure cast by the boy's imagination. TT1 keeps the same image and so does TT2:

ST *the brown-clad figure cast by my imagination, touched discreetly by the lamplight*

TT1 *a figura vestida de marrom criada pela minha imaginação, suavemente delineada pela luz do lampião*

TT2 *sua imagem num vestido marrom, tocada de leve pela luz.*

The three realizations converge in the choice of an effective passive structure, having the Medium at Subject and the Agent expressed with a *by Adjunct*. A fact is noteworthy: *her figure* is the nodal participant (the Medium) in the three clauses in which the copular [was] and [estava, era] is not made explicit.

This situation is changed, however, in the last but one Paragraph of the short story: one of the translations realizes slightly different meanings. The ST has the participant *I* inscribed as Subject realizing the role of Agent/Senser in a mental process of perception; TT1 made the same selection of meaning with the Agent/Senser implicit; TT2, however, shows a different option favoring an interpretation of reality which displays the boy's participation as an active Senser and cognizing entity:

ST

I heard a voice call from one end of the gallery that the light was out

TT1

Ouvi uma voz gritar que as luzes seriam apagadas.

TT2

No fundo da galeria, alguém gritou que a luz fora desligada.

Another fundamental difference refers to the consequences of the choice of the lexical realization *the light was out* in the ST and those made in TT1 and TT2: *as luzes seriam apagadas* and *a luz fora desligada*. Both the oblique form *seriam*, which would

translate back as *would be*, and the past form *fora* install an explicit effective passive clause, though with unrealized by-Adjuncts.

While the concision of Joyce's realization leaves it to the reader to locate both the source and the nature of the process, the translations disambiguate the structure. Another possible realization would be *a luz estava apagada*, with a copula and a Subject Complement, the oblique form *estava*, accounted for by the nature of the narrative. This realization, approaching the one in the ST, would allow for the one-participant construction with the Medium at Subject, thus installing *The Light* as the nodal participant. In addition, it would leave room for the ambiguity as to the source and nature of the process.

I am not suggesting here that this is a wrong or inadequate procedure, though. Moreover, it is not my aim to find fault with the TTs, demonstrating the original's qualities by highlighting the inadequacies of the translations and finally suggesting a translation of my own, as is typically done in translation criticism. My point is to show how different realizations produce different meanings and how a translation involves the construction of a new reality.

4.6 Final Remarks

I would like to close this chapter by making it clear once again that, in a manner similar to Lefevere's (1992:6) stand, my analysis 'tries to deal with translation in a way that goes beyond right or wrong'. Although I use analytical tools different from those suggested by Lefevere, I fully agree with him because I also take the translation of literature as

taking place not in a vacuum in which two languages meet but, rather in the context of all the traditions of the two literatures. It also takes place when writers and their translators meet, an encounter in which at least one of the parties is a human being, made of flesh and blood and provided with an agenda of his or her own. Translators mediate between literary traditions, and they do so with some goal in mind, other than that of “making the original available” in a neutral, objective way. Translations are not produced under perfect laboratory conditions. Originals are indeed made available, but on the translators’ terms, even if these terms happen to produce the closest literal (faithful) translation.

Lefevere goes on to say that the translators’ terms are not necessarily their own in the sense that they ‘are constrained by the times in which they live, the literary traditions they try to reconcile, and the features of the languages they work with’(ibid:6).

Having agreed with his view I need to amend it: however constrained the translator is by cultural, literary or linguistic considerations, he always *chooses from among the possibilities available to him*. Whether this choice is conscious or unconscious, motivated or not, it is present. Though not explicitly committing himself to a functional approach to translation to explain the decisions a translator must make, Lefevere acknowledges the element of *choice* in the process: what he calls the translator’s ‘power to construct the image of one literature for consumption by the readers of another’(ibid:6) is but a manifestation of choice made by the translator in his rewriting of the source text.

The new text derives from the translator’s interpretation of the ST meanings, his decisions as to the selections he will make and the forms he will choose for the realizations of his meanings from among the syntactic possibilities available to him. Extra-linguistic considerations such as, the objective of the translation, the context of reception of the new text and cultural, temporal and historical concerns also bear on his decisions. These decisions take place in the ideational/interpersonal interface and are prior to the retextualization.

However, as I mention in the Introduction, ‘the assumption is that the translator would not have departed from literalness without a valid reason: literal meaning is the starting point from which the translator begins and to which he constantly returns for the verification of his decision’ (Ivir, 1996:156). In the terminology and theoretical perspective adopted in this thesis, this would be similar to saying that sensitivity to the meanings selected and realized in the ST is crucial for the translator’s work, whatever his further decisions as to the objectives of the translated text in the target situation.

It is thus from within this non-normative perspective that I have explored the lexicogrammatical features of *Araby* and the translations. I have examined the choices made by Joyce to encode *the construal of agency in the grammar* and those choices made by O’Shea and Trevisan, which sometimes realized similar and sometimes different meaning selections.

I have dealt separately with the experiential component of the ideational function. I tried, however, never to lose sight of the ways the three metafunctions interact in the shaping of the text’s special character. The isolation of the ideational component is due to the fact that stylistic significance proved to lie in the narrator’s representation of reality. The patterns which emerged from the analysis pointed to a basic separation of processes into two types: ‘those that are regarded as due to an external cause, an Agency other than the person or object involved, and those that are not’ (Halliday, 1973:134).

My description of the ST has tried to show how the resources for the expression of Agency are manipulated so as to portray the boy’s movement towards self knowledge. The different manners in which his universe is made meaningful are encoded in special types of textualizations. In them, patterns emerge which confirm the gradual construction of the narrator’s sense of personal agency, culminating with his epiphany.

In the analysis of the TTs, my concern has been with the linguistic options selected, their relation to the total meaning of the work as well as their relation to the meanings selected in the ST. In other words, I have focused on the translated texts as *two possible retextualizations in Portuguese of ideational content already textualized in English*.

The number of points of convergence between the three texts leads to the assertion that, given the ideational content first textualized in English and then retextualized in Portuguese, the TTs constitute what seems to me appropriate translations of Joyce's *Araby* in that similarities in the meanings selected can be recognized. Differences in the encodings can be explained by a number of reasons, including the translator's reading and interpretation of Joyce's text, the selection of the meanings to be encoded in the TT, the cultural and linguistic constraints, and, finally, the general objective of the translation which informs the decisions.

An illustration of the potential of the transitivity model as a fruitful analytical tool in translational stylistics has been provided. To this effect, section 4.2 is largely theoretical in nature, introducing the basic concepts informing the analysis, which draws mainly on Halliday's transitivity system (1985, 1994a) realizing the ideational function of the language. The mechanisms through which reality is modeled are discussed with a view to emphasizing the notion that ways of saying are ways of meaning (Hasan, 1984:105), central to the understanding and assessment of any text, translated texts included.

A comparison is carried out between Joyce's *Araby*, O'Shea's *Araby* and Trevisan's *Arabia*. This comparison has a descriptive basis in terms of *systemic choices* and attempts to show, through an investigation of regular foregrounded patterns: i) how reality is represented in the ST through meaning selections made from within the

ideational function of language, and ii) how the translators' responses to such meaning selections are reflected in their retextualizations.

From the descriptive statements, the effects produced by the selections in the TTs are evaluated. It has been suggested that an awareness of the foregrounded transitivity patterns in the ST is crucial in translation, particularly in translation of literary texts.

**CONCLUSION:
AND FROM HERE, WHAT NEXT?**

Coming to the end of a research project of this kind, one is always struck by the vast quantity of material that has been left unsaid.

Hewson & Martin, 1991

In the context of an apology for an interdisciplinary approach to Translation Studies, Snell-Hornby (1991:21) points out that 'the political and intellectual climate of our time would seem to favor the study of translation.' 'We are living,' she says, 'in a time of international dialogue [in which] communication and mobility continue to increase, and the perspective of intellectual interest is both international and cross-cultural.'

Such factors, she asserts, would be 'the ideal basic conditions for the translator and the translation scholar to develop an interdiscipline, which is not entirely utopian' (ibid). However, as I have tried to show in my initial remarks, the issue of interdisciplinary cross-influence is still far from settled.

This is specially true in the case of the contribution of linguistics to Translation Studies. This picture, so I have argued, may be accounted for by at least two factors: i) a concentration of research on larger issues such as the cultural aspects and the function of literary translation in the receptor literature both as a powerful transculturation device and as a strategic cultural practice; and ii) an inadequate application of linguistic theories which regard translation as an operation in language alone and are grounded in concepts equating 'equivalence' with 'linguistic sameness'.

It has been argued that these cultural studies, quite legitimate in their own terms, may not tell the whole story: while concentrating on cultural issues, they tend to overlook linguistic aspects of translation. In addition, it has been recognized that such linguistic approaches as the ones mentioned above (described here as 'intra-organism' perspectives on language description) are necessarily ruled out as they suffer from limitations to describe translation.

In view of the need for a kind of linguistic approach to translation studies able to provide for the integration of textual, contextual and cultural aspects of the translational

process and to account for the way in which such environmental features having a bearing on translation are projected onto the text, this thesis has argued the case for a particular kind of linguistic analysis, description and assessment of translated literary texts, locating itself between a literary, a translational and a linguistic point of view. These issues are discussed in Chapter 1.

A proposal is made to approach translation from the framework of Systemic Functional Linguistics, which, it has been argued, can contribute crucial tools to translation quality assessment. Translation is viewed as *retextualization*, whereby selections in meaning realized in the ST among the possibilities available in the source repertoire are taken to be part of the ideational material from which the translator builds his retextualization, also making selections from among the options available in the target system for the realization of similar meanings. The argument put forward was that sensitivity to the meanings selected and realized in the ST is central for the retextualization, if the TT is to stand in an effective translational relationship with the ST.

In view of the possibilities of application of the Hallidayan framework to translation quality assessment, a selection had to be made in terms of the areas the present work would explore. Thus, a section is devoted to a definition of the scope of the research, in terms of what this thesis *would not attempt to do*, what it *would only partially attempt do*, and what it *would really do*: This thesis is by no means intended to be a complete illustration of the ways systemic linguistics can be applied to translation studies. As stated, it would not take the interpretative moves towards the context of situation and culture, allowed for within the functional framework. Thus while acknowledging the fact that translations are never done in a vacuum and that the cultural context in which literary translations are made is of fundamental significance for the

understanding and evaluation of literary translations in the receptor literature, this thesis would not examine the contextual factors affecting the production of the translations, here included the purposes and function of the translated texts in the target environment. Neither was it to elaborate on the role of the translator as the producer of meaning. These issues would constitute a second step, exploring the potentialities of the *Context of Situation* and *Context of Culture*.

In a similar fashion, this research would only attempt to suggest the significance and consequences of the reflections here carried out to translation teaching and translator training, future research being needed into the possibilities of deriving informed teaching methods from the functional framework. However, it is argued, the sensitization of translation students to the bidirectionality between contextual parameters and lexicogrammatical features, including here the human participants __ the interpersonal component of the translational act __ as well as considerations on the function of the translation in the receptor culture, is potentially fruitful. Such pedagogical implications are briefly discussed below.

Subject to this proviso, the scope of the thesis is delineated: to suggest the application of a theoretical framework for translation quality assessment and to illustrate the approach proposed by looking at the lexicogrammatical features of some source and translated texts with a view to examining how and why they mean what they do. In other words, an analysis of source and translated texts is carried out in grammatical terms, 'with the grammatical categories explained as the realization of semantic patterns' (Halliday, 1994:xvi). The focus is the selections in meaning informing the choices made from the different options within the ideational and interpersonal systems both in the ST and in the TTs contexts, with a view to explicating the effects of special selections in textualizations and retextualizations alike.

Thus the methodology guiding the thesis throughout is informed by a description in terms of *systemic choice*, the term choice being used in the context of paradigmatic (either / or) relations: 'what *is* derives its significance from what *might have been*' (Halliday, 1978:28). Another crucial concept informing the analysis is that of *foregrounding*. As pointed out by Halliday (1978:149), 'much of the meaning of a text resides in the sort of *foregrounding* that is achieved by this kind of *environmentally motivated* prominence (certain sets of options are favored or selected as a realization of particular elements in the social context with greater frequency than expected on the assumption of unconditioned probability).' It is important to stress once again that the notion of prominence as used here refers to the establishment of regularities from which special patterns emerge (*positive* foregrounding) and *not* as departure from a norm (negative foregrounding). That is, prominence as *law-making* as opposed to *law-breaking*. Finally, drawing on Malmkjaer's notion of *translation stylistics*, I look at the textualizations and retextualizations of two specific texts in an attempt to show how micro-shifts provoke macro-shifts in the total picture of the work, as a consequence of the fact that different ways of saying are different ways of meaning.

The methodological procedures can be thus summarized: a comparison of the STs and TTs selected, examining the special configurations emerging to encode interpersonal and ideational meanings, with a view to explicating the techniques and strategies used by the writer of the ST to shape his message and the translators' responses to the meanings selected in terms of their own retextualizations. 'What analysis can do', says Halliday (1973:133) is establish certain regular patterns, on a comparative basis, in the form of differences which appear significant over a broad canvas.' This is exactly what the illustrations in Chapter 3 and 4 have tried to demonstrate.

The corpus selected for the analysis consists of translations of two short stories selected from Joyce's *Dubliners*, 'Eveline' and 'Araby', done by Trevisan (1982,1984) and O'Shea (1993).

Following the Introduction, Chapter 1 discusses some linguistic approaches to TS, in an attempt to account for the limited nature of the contribution of the so-called 'intra-organism' linguistics as opposed to the possibilities inherent in the so-called 'inter-organism' linguistics. By explaining the relationship between different elements of grammar and the way they interact to create meanings in context, I argue the case for a functional approach to language and translation, in which form and function are interrelated in language use: Systemic Functional Linguistics. SFL has been chosen as a framework within which statements relevant to our understanding of the nature and function of translation can be made. It is argued that i) because of the nature of this linguistic theory, ii) because of the range of phenomena it can account for (language in use in social contexts) and, finally, iii) because of the additional semantic dimensions incorporated into the linguistic system, SFL seems to be an adequate framework within which to develop an approach to translation studies. An extended version of Halliday's (1978:69) schematic representation of language as social semiotic is proposed for the study of translation as a social semiotic process. While providing a general orientation to FG, Chapter 1 discusses a number of basic concepts: i) the concept of *choice* within a systemic framework, ii) the concept of *foregrounding*, iii) the concept of *translation stylistics*, and, finally, iv) the concept of *translation as retextualization*.

From these considerations, in Chapter 2, I discuss the association of SFL with TS on a historical perspective. As different studies have used different versions of SFL in the various stages of its development, an attempt is made to explain the limited contribution of earlier studies, based on the SCG as compared to more successful later

studies, carried out after the gradual semanticization of SFL, culminating in the Functional Component Hypothesis. Probably many other works published in this area might have been, involuntarily, left out of this review. However, the discussion has sufficed to demonstrate the increasingly recognized value of the tools offered by SFL to TS. An interesting aspect evidenced in this account is the number of studies concentrating on the Textual Function of language. While this is indeed a rich source of analytical instruments, the Textual Function is not alone in providing these tools: though little considered in the relevant literature, the Interpersonal and the Ideational function can be further explored, as I have tried to demonstrate in Chapters 3 and 4.

In chapter 3, the focus is on the exploration of the system of modality. An introductory section discusses a number of approaches to modality, proposing an analytic framework drawing on different references, Halliday being the main source. The ways English and Portuguese use to mark modality are also discussed. 'Eveline' is examined both in the source and in the retextualized versions, a comparison being carried out in terms of the options taken within the context of the interpersonal function of language. The protagonist's relationship with the speech event into which she is inscribed is looked at, as an expression of her relation with the reality portrayed in the short story. The last section in the chapter summarizes the arguments of the analysis, relating them to broader aspects of literary translation quality assessment. It offers some account of the ways in which modality can function as a criterion against which translations can be measured. It is argued that by examining interpersonal features of the language of the ST and of the TTs, textual and translational strategies for the expression of interpersonal meanings could be uncovered thus making evaluational comments possible, against the broader canvas of functional considerations.

Chapter 4 focuses on the relation between theory and description by examining the workings of transitivity functions in the production of ideational meaning, realizing the ideational metafunction, specially its experiential component. Language is explored as a modeling system of reality. In this connection, certain aspects of the short story 'Araby', perceived as more salient or highlighted than others, are analyzed for the realizations of ideational meanings both in the ST and in the TTs. As Halliday's account of transitivity has been found adequate for the purposes of the analysis carried out, it is used in full. A brief discussion of the system of transitivity is provided, with the various categories of process, their participants and circumstances, including phenomena such as causativity and ergativity. The examination of ideational meanings, foregrounded through the transitivity system, has allowed for the analysis of the transitivity choices into which the main protagonist is inscribed in the ST. The description has revealed the aspects of the linguistic resources used to bring to light his special vision of inner and outer reality as well as those linguistic resources effecting the shift in his perception of reality. The response to these meanings, in terms of the meanings selected and realized in the retextualizations (TT1 and TT2) have then been evaluated.

From the details of the analyses carried out in these two chapter, I would like to point out some significant facts. First, the fact that a general picture has emerged from the analyses, linking the particular options selected to the overall meaning of both STs and TTs, in terms of the main protagonists' relationship with inner and outer reality as portrayed in the stories, with the consequent effect of microstructural shifts on the macrostructural level of texts.

Secondly, the fact that translation quality assessment would clearly benefit from a careful analysis of the translator's sensitivity to those meanings foregrounded in the ST. Careful analysis of the effects of selections in meaning grammaticized in the texts, carried

out along the lines of translational stylistics is a reliable tool informing a comparative study of translations: after the understanding of how the source text means what it does, considerations of other kinds and nature could follow in the analysis of the selections of meaning retextualized.

From these considerations, it can be safely argued then that sensitization to the reading of literary texts and their translations - here defined as *retextualizations* - in terms of *how they come to mean* can result in a contribution to the understanding and evaluation of those texts. In other words, *Translational Stylistics* - as defined in the introduction, can offer solid theoretical grounds for literary translation quality assessment.

At this point, some observations are worthwhile. In describing the stylistic effects produced by the selections made in the STs and comparing them to those made in the retextualizations analyzed in relation to meanings foregrounded through the systems of modality and transitivity, I am not suggesting that translators *should* necessarily follow the modal configurations emerging in the ST. Nor am I suggesting that a TT can be assessed as 'good' or 'bad' solely in those terms.

What I am suggesting is that insights into the foregrounded meanings of a ST which contribute to the meaning of the text and awareness of potential ways available in a given target language for grammaticizing those meanings have a great deal to offer to translation studies both in terms of *evaluating* decisions translators have made in their retextualizations and even in terms of informing and guiding decisions translators have to make. In fact, translational stylistic analysis is more than just a question of discussing "effects" in language and text, it is rather a powerful method for understanding the ways in which all sorts of realities are constructed through language.

This is specially important for the arguments I put forward in this chapter in two different but interrelated senses: i) when dealing with translated texts, we are necessarily dealing with a different kind of representation as the translator is encoding, in another language, a representation of reality already coded, or *textualized*, in another language for a specific audience. This fact has implications for the selection of meanings he will make for his *retextualization*, not only with regard to the ways he re-models the textual reality - the source text - but also with regard to the new audience for his translated text; ii) within the universe of the literary text, the source text writer chooses to present the reality he is portraying through the eyes and voices of specific characters (many times mediated by a narrating voice) that model their experience of the world and their relation to it in very specific ways. The linguistic resources used to code these special perspectives on reality seem to be motivated and meaningful thus justifying inspection of the treatment given to them in the TT's.

The descriptive core of this thesis has explored some aspects of SFL in the context of translational stylistics, that is, the bidirectional character of the relationship between text and context, as illustrated in Chapters 3 and 4. Many other research possibilities are open for further exploration into the applicability of the functional framework to translation studies. Some of these are suggested below.

Further Research: And from here, what next?

As stated in the epigraph of this concluding chapter, 'coming to the end of a research of this kind, one is always struck by the vast quantity of material that has been left been unsaid.' In an attempt to mitigate this feeling, I will make some suggestions as to a number of other things that could have been said, but were not. Most of my suggestions,

however, will concentrate on further possibilities of explorations of the ideational and interpersonal functions, as well as on those of the abstract constructs of Context of Situation and Context of Culture.

The textual function of language is one of the most explored areas in the connection SFL / TS. Some other investigations, however, could look at lexical aspects such as lexical cohesion, under- and over-lexicalization, lexical specificity and collocational patterns, which constitute troublesome points in translation. To my knowledge, not much has been done on these topics and research here would be welcome.

As regards the ideational function, the *logical component* could also be explored in TS. One line of inquiry within translational stylistics might be a comparative analysis carried out in terms of the meanings foregrounded through the expression of fundamental logical relations as encoded in language. Hypotactic and paratactic projections in a narrative might be explored with a view to understanding how language is used to represent reality. In 'A Painful Case', for instance, the journalistic intrusion into the protagonist's life could be looked at in these terms.

The Context of Situation could be usefully employed in TS. A study of the effects of changes in the field, tenor and mode of the target situational context would allow for the inclusion of considerations on issues like the new audience, the purpose of the translation, the role of the translator in the production of (new) meanings.

Closely associated to this, a fruitful area of investigation would be the study of register in the inner situation of literary texts in a source language as compared to that of retextualizations. Along similar lines, dialectal differences, referred to, in the Hallidayan framework as *user-related variation*, constitutes another area which merits attention.

From the situational framework of both source and target contexts, the researcher could proceed to the broader canvas of the more abstract construct of the *Context of Culture*. In his discussion of the applications of Systemic Linguistics to Translation Studies, though not referring specifically to this abstract construct, Newmark (1988: 299-301), spent some three pages developing the idea that 'culture is an aspect of the social in language.' And he illustrates his point by referring, for example, to some culture-bound items 'holding intercultural and interlinguistic relations between China and England', such as 'dragons, kindly and protective in Chinese, labeful in English; (...) and 'mourning [being] black in English but white in Chinese' (ibid:299). He develops his discussion along the axis of 'the degree to which the cultural expression is to be explained in the translation, which may range from not at all, through a few hints, to a full explanation in terms of functional (neutral) or even TL cultural equivalents.' A discussion of his argument is out of place here but the quote suffices to demonstrate that, though not explicitly alluding to Halliday's framework of language as social semiotic, Newmark is sensible to the cultural implications of the Hallidayan approach to language and their consequences to translation studies.

As stated above, the situation of a literary text is special in the sense that at least two perspectives are taken into account: the situation of the writer/translator producing his text to his specific audience and that of the inner situation of the text. To these, I would like to add another dimension, located in the interface of the other two: that of the narrator, both of ST and TT, in his relationship both with the characters in the fictional world and with the reader of the text. Research into this dimension could explore issues of point of view and narrative, as suggested by Simpson (1993, chapters 3 and 4) in monolingual stylistics, who explores the extent to which changes in transitivity and modality affect the narrational stance. This aspect could be extended to translational

stylistics, with comparisons made between STs and TTs. Shifts in modes of speech and thought presentation will probably interfere with the fiction narrational control, that is, the way narrators, as textual presences, orient their narratives towards the reader.

The suggestions presented for areas of further research, if looked at from the perspective of the student/translator instead of that of the critic, could well feed into a program of instruction for translation training or could, at least, inform the posture of those interested in and involved with translator training. Which leads us to a brief discussion of the integration of research along the lines suggested in this thesis and translation teaching, which I turn to next.

Pedagogical IMplications / APplications: The contributions of SFL

As suggested in this subheading, a distinction is useful here between pedagogical IMplications and pedagogical APplications of the socio-semiotic framework proposed by SFL: IMplications, as I see it, would refer to theoretical stances informing one's view of translation and translator training, while APplications would refer to an organized body of instructional procedures ready for classroom use. While in my actual classroom work I already explore the analytic toolkit offered by SFL (in terms of a systematic approach to translation tasks and reflections on retextualizations made by students), I would rather talk about pedagogical IMplications of the functional approach both to language description and to translation studies.

For one thing, the view of translation informing the teaching will affect the pedagogical procedures and the way courses and classes are conducted. In the context of *translation as retextualization*, the first crucial implication is the sensitization of students to the fact that the source text is nothing but one the *possible realizations of*

ideational/interpersonal material, which has the healthy consequence of breaking the chains of what I call the 'source syndrome': the translated text will then be *one of the possible retextualizations* of the source material, which allows for the understanding of translation as a meaning making activity, taking place in a different situational configuration from that of the source context.

This awareness of the different configurations of the context of situation, however, does not eliminate the necessary sensitivity to the meanings selected and realized in the ST. In this sense, teaching activities oriented towards the description of those meanings in terms of systemic *choice* is one fundamental step in the process of retextualization. These considerations, together with an understanding of the situational configurations of both source and translated texts, will sensitize students to the necessary definition of the specifics of the *field, tenor and mode* of the translational situational configuration, which will affect the meaning selection and realization in the TT. From this understanding, it follows that students will be better equipped to manipulate the translated texts accordingly, but with a sense of awareness of the motivation behind and responsibility for the shifts they produce in their retextualizations.

Besides these general theoretical postures informing the teaching activity, of course more specific courses of action can be designed. A nice illustration of explorations of the textual component can be found in Baker (1992, specially chapter 5 and 6), where she explores the role of Thematic structure and cohesion in translated texts. Most importantly, she believes, as I do, that academic courses, while including practical training in how to do the particular job at hand __ translating, in this case __ should also include a 'strong theoretical component' (Baker, 1992:1). Her teaching suggestions encourage students to 'reflect on what they do, how they do it, and why they do it in one way rather than another' (2). As I see it, this is exploring the socio-semiotic

dimension of translation and translating. To this, Systemic Functional Linguistics can contribute interesting analytic tools for a systematic training in the field.

Final Remarks

The research carried out here should have theoretical as well as practical relevance. In addition to highlighting significant aspects of retextualization __ the application of the concepts of modality and transitivity, relatively underexplored in TS __ it should also have raised questions regarding the nature of the theoretical framework adopted. Indeed, the kind of framework suggested in this thesis can be further explored, and I hope the research developed here will lay the foundations for subsequent theoretical refinements and adjustments.

I would like to close this thesis by making it clear once again that my analysis tries to deal with translation in a way that goes beyond right or wrong. As I discussed in the final remarks in Chapter 4, I subscribe to Lefevere's belief that translation, in special literary translation does not take place in a vacuum but in the context of the traditions of the languages and literatures involved. It also takes place in that special encounter between writers and their translators, both embedded in their individual and historical contexts. Whatever the kind and purposes of this encounter, however, the translator always *make choices from among the possibilities available to him*. Whether the choice is conscious or unconscious, motivated or not, it is always present.

As I have tried to demonstrate, there are many areas in which the 'analytic toolkit' suggested and assembled here can contribute and there are many areas in which it can be improved. There is obviously a great deal of research to be done but we can now see more clearly the areas in which it is needed.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

If I mention the names of those whose ideas I have borrowed, it is not to claim their authority, but to express indebtedness and to give the reader some hint of what to expect.

Halliday, 1978

- Baker, M. (1992). *In other words. A course book on translation*. London: Routledge.
- Bell, R.T. (1991). *Translation and translating - Theory and practice*. London/ NY: Longman.
- Blum-Kulka, S. (1986). Shifts of cohesion and coherence in translation. In J. House & S. Blum-Kulka (Eds.), *Interlingual and intercultural communication: Discourse and cognition in translation and second language acquisition studies*. Tübingen: Gunter Narr.
- Catford, J.C. (1965). *A Linguistic theory of translation*. Oxford: University Press
- Costa, W.C. (1992a). The translated text as re-textualization. In R.M. Coulthard (Ed.), *Ilha do Desterro* 28, *Studies in translation*, 133-153. Florianópolis: Editora da UFSC.
- Costa, W. C. (1992b). *A Linguistic approach to the analysis and evaluation of translated texts with special reference to selected texts by J.L. Borges*. Unpublished PhD Thesis, University of Birmingham.
- Dourado, M. R. , Gil, G. & Vasconcellos, M. L. (1995). Contributions of systemic linguistics to translation studies. In *Anais do XIII Encontro Nacional de Professores Universitários de Língua Inglesa - Enpuli* (pp. 200-240) . Rio de Janeiro: Editora da PUC.
- Gallina, S. (1992). Cohesion and the systemic functional approach to text: Application to political speeches and the significance for simultaneous interpretation. In *The Interpreter's Newsletter* 4, 62-71.
- Hale, S. (1997). The treatment of register variation in court interpreting. In *The Translator*, 3 (1), 39-54. Manchester, UK: St. Jerome.
- Halliday, M. A. K., A. McIntosh & P.D. Stevens (Eds.). (1964). *The Linguistic science and language teaching*. London & New York: Longman.
- Hatim, B. & Mason, I. (1990). *Discourse and the translator*. London & New York: Longman.
- Johns, T. (1992) . It is presented initially: Linear dislocation and interlanguage strategies in Brazilian academic abstracts in English and Portuguese. In *Ilha do Desterro* 27 , J.L. Meurer (Ed.). *Text analysis / Análise de Texto* (9-32). Florianópolis: Editora da UFSC.
- Kiraly, D.C. (1995). *Pathways to translation: Pedagogy and process*. London: The Kent State University Press.
- Leuven-Zwart, K. van.(1989). Translation and original: Similarities and dissimilarities I. *Target* 1 (2), 151-181.

- Leuven-Zwart, K. van. (1990). Translation and original: Similarities and dissimilarities II. *Target* 2 (1), 69-95.
- Malmkjaer, K. (1987). Translating concrete poetry. In *Ilha do Desterro*, 17 - *Translation/Tradução*. Florianópolis: Editora da UFSC.
- Newmark, P. (1988). The use of systemic linguistics in translation analysis and criticism. In R. Steele & T. Threadgld (Eds.) *Language Topics: Essays in Honour of M.A.K. Halliday* (pp. 293-304). Amsterdam: John Benjamins.
- Trévisé, A. (1986). Is it transferable, topicalisation? In E. Kellerman & M. Sharwood Smith (Eds.), *Cross linguistic influence in second language acquisition*. New York: Pergamon.
- Vasconcellos, M. L. (1987) *The eye/I upon the event: the narrative voice in Penn Warren's All the king's men*. Unpublished M. A. dissertation. Universidade Federal de Minas Gerais - UFMG, Belo Horizonte/MG.
- Vasconcellos, M. (1991). Tema e foco na tradução. In M. Coulthard & C.R. Caldas-Coulthard (Orgs.), *Tradução: Teoria e Prática* (pp. 55-78). Florianópolis: Editora da UFSC.
- Vasconcellos, M. (1992). Text and translation: The role of theme and information. In J.L. Meurer (Ed.), *Ilha do Desterro* 27, 45-66. Florianópolis: Editora da UFSC.
- Vasconcellos, M. L. (1996). 'Function' revisited: Expanding the role of translation in the receptor context. In M.H.C. Torres, M. Furlan, W.C. Costa (Orgs.). *Cadernos de Tradução* 1, 165-179. Florianópolis: Editora da UFSC
- Vasconcellos, M. L. (1997). An examination of modality in Hemingway's 'A very short Story' and a translation into Portuguese. In *Anais do XIII Encontro Nacional de Professores Universitários de Língua Inglesa* (pp. 213-226). Rio de Janeiro: Editora da PUC.
- Vasconcellos, M.L. (press). Can the translator play with the system, too?' In *Cadernos de Tradução* 2. Florianópolis: Editora da UFSC
- Zhu, Chunshen. (1993). *Structure of meaning (SOM): Towards a three-dimensional perspective on translating between Chinese and English*. Nottingham: University of Nottingham. [Ph.D. Thesis].
- Zhu, Chunshen. (1996a). *Translation of modifications: About information, intention and effect*. In *Target* 8 (2), 301-324. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.
- Zhu, Chunshen. (1996b). From functional grammar and speech act theory to structure of meaning: A three-dimensional perspective on translating. *Meta* 41 (3), 338-355. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.

- Almeida, J. de. (1980). *Introdução ao estudo das perífrases verbais de infinitivo*. Assis: SP: ILHPA-HUCITEC.
- Arrojo, R. (1986). *Oficina de tradução. A teoria na prática*. São Paulo: Ática.
- Aubert, F. (1994). *As (in)fidelidades da tradução*. Campinas: Editora da Unicamp
- Barbosa, H.G. (1990). *Procedimentos técnicos de tradução*. São Paulo: Pontes.
- Barra Rocha, M. (1992) *O modo subjuntivo em português - Um estudo contrastivo com o italiano*. Unpublished Master's thesis, Faculdade de Letras da Universidade Federal de Minas Gerais.
- Bassnett, S. & A. Lefevere (Eds.). (1990). *Translation, history and culture*. London/New York: Pinter.
- Bassnett-McGuire, S. (1980/1991). *Translation studies*. London & New York: Routledge.
- Bellei, S. L. P. (1988). *The Raven*, by Machado de Assis. In *Luso-Brazilian Review*, XXV, (2). Winconsin: University Press.
- Benstock, B. (1994). *Narrative con / texts in Dubliners*. London: The Macmillan Press.
- Berry, M. (1975). *Introduction to systemic linguistics: 1 Structures and systems*. London: Batsford
- Berry, M. (1977). *Introduction to systemic linguistics: 2 Levels and links*. London: Batsford.
- Bloor, T. & Bloor, M. (1995). *The functional analysis of English - A Hallidayan approach*. London / New York: Arnold.
- Bolinger, D. (1977). *Meaning and form*. London: Longman
- Bolt, S. (1981). *A Preface to James Joyce*. London: Longman.
- Broeck, R. van den. (1985). Second thoughts on translation criticism. In T. Hermans (Ed.), *The manipulation of literature - Studies in literary translation* (pp.54-62). London / Sydney: Croom Helm.
- Broeck, R. van den. (1992). Translation theory revisited. *Target* 4 (1), 111-120.
- Butler, C.S. (1985). *Systemic linguistics: Theory and applications*. London: Batsford
- Butler, C.S. (1988). Pragmatics and systemic linguistics. In *Journal of Pragmatics* 12,

83-102. North-Holland: Elsevier Science.

- Bybee, J. & Fleischman (Eds.). (1995). *Modality in grammar and discourse*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.
- Campos, H. de. (1981). Transluciferação mefistofáustica. In *Deus e o diabo no Fausto de Goethe*. São Paulo: Perspectiva.
- Carter, R. (Ed.). (1982). *Language and literature: An introductory reader in stylistics*. London: George Allen & Unwin.
- Coates, J. (1983). *The semantics of the modal auxiliaries*. Beckenham, England: Croom Helm
- Costa, W. C. (1984). A última página do *Ulysses* em 5 traduções. In *Ilha do Desterro*. 12 - *James Joyce*, 100-110. Florianópolis: Editora da UFSC.
- Coulthard, R.M. (1987). Evaluative text analysis. In R. Steele & T. Threadgold (Eds.), *Language topics: Essays in honour of Michael Halliday* (pp. 181-190). Amsterdam: John Benjamins.
- Coulthard, M. (1991). Research into translation: The importance of text analysis in the teaching of translators. In Proceedings of the XI ENPULI. São Paulo: Unimarco Editora e Publicidade S/C Ltda, 60-66.
- Coulthard, M.R. & C.R. Caldas-Coulthard (Orgs.). (1991). *Tradução: teoria e prática*. Florianópolis: Editora da UFSC.
- Coulthard, R.M. (1992). Linguistic constraints on translation. In *Ilha do Desterro* 28 - *Studies in translation / Estudos de tradução*, 9-23. Florianópolis: Editora da UfSC.
- Coulthard, R.M. (1994). On analysing and evaluating written text. In M. Coulthard (Ed.), *Advances in written text analysis*. London & New York: Routledge.
- Cronin, M. (1996). *Translating Ireland: translation, languages, cultures*. Cork: University Press.
- Cunha, C. & Cintra, L. (1985). *Nova gramática do português contemporâneo* (2ª ed.). Rio de Janeiro: Nova Fronteira.
- Davidse, K. (1992). Transitivity/ergativity: the Janus-headed grammar of actions and events. In M. Davies & L. Ravelli (Eds.), *Advances in systemic linguistics. Recent theory and practice* (pp. 105-135). London: Pinter.
- Deely, J. (1982). *Introducing semiotic. Its history and doctrine*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press.

- Delisle, J. (1988). *Translation: An interpretive approach*. P. Logan & M. Creery (Trans.). Ottawa: University Press.
- Downing, A. & Locke, P. (1992). *A university course in English grammar*. London: Prentice Hall.
- Egins, S. (1994). *An introduction to systemic linguistics*. London: Pinter
- Enkvist, N. E. (1992). [Review of *Discourse and the translator*]. In *Target* 4 (1), 126-127.
- Even-Zohar, I. (1978). The position of translated literature within the literary polysystem. In J.S. Holmes et al. (Eds.) *Literature and translation: New perspectives in literary studies* (pp. 117-127). Leuven: Acco.
- Fairclough, N. (1992). *Discourse and social change*. Cambridge: Polity Press.
- Faucett, R. P., M.A.K. Halliday, S.M. Lamb & A. Makkai (Eds.). (1984). *The semiotics of culture and language*. 1. *Language as social semiotic*. London: Frances Pinter.
- Fawcett, R. P. & Young, D. J. (1988). *New developments in systemic linguistics*. 2. *Theory and application*. London: Pinter.
- Firth, J. R. (1935). The technique of semantics. In *Transactions of the philological society*. Reprinted in Firth 1951 (pp.7-33).
- Firth, J. R. (1951). *Papers in linguistics: 1934-1951*. Oxford: University Press.
- Francis, G. & Kramer-Dahl, A. (1992). Grammaticalizing the medical case history. In M. Toolan (Ed.), *Language, text and context. Essays in stylistics* (pp. 56-90). London and New York: Routledge.
- Francis, G. & Sinclair, J. (1994). 'I bet he drinks carling black label': A riposte to Owen on corpus grammar. In *Applied Linguistics*, 15, 2, 190-200. Oxford: University Press.
- Fries, P. H. (1985). How does a story mean what it does? A partial answer. In J. D. Benson & W. S. Greaves (Eds.), *Systemic perspectives on discourse*, 1, *Selected Theoretical Papers from the 9th International Systemic Workshop* (pp. 295-321). Norwood/New Jersey: Ablex.
- Garvin, P. (1964). *A Prague School reader on esthetics, literary structure and style*. Washington: Georgetown University Press.
- Gentzler, E. (1993). *Contemporary translation theories*. London & New York: Routledge.

- Gordenstein, A. & Costa, W. C. (Eds.). (1984) *Ilha do Desterro*, 12, James Joyce. Florianópolis: Editora da UFSC.
- Grose, K. (1975). *James Joyce*. London: Evans Brothers.
- Halliday, M.A.K. (1961). Categories of the theory of grammar. In *Word*, 17, 241-92.
- Halliday, M. A. K. (1968). Notes on transitivity and theme in English - Part 3. In *Journal of Linguistics*, 4 , 179-216.
- Halliday, M. A. K. (1970). Functional diversity in language as seen from a consideration of modality and mood in English. *Foundations of Language* 6 , 322-361.
- Halliday, M. A. K. (1971). Linguistic function and literary style: an inquiry into the language of William Golding's *The Inheritors*. In S. Chatman (Ed.), *Literary style: a symposium* (pp. 330-68). New York: Oxford University Press. Reprinted in Halliday, M. A. K. (1973) *Explorations in the function of language* (pp. 103-140). London: Arnold.
- Halliday, M. A. K. (1973). *Explorations in the functions of language*. London: Arnold.
- Halliday, M.A.K. (1974). Language as social semiotic. In Makkai, Adam and Makkai, V.B. (Eds.) *The First LACUS Forum*. Columbia, S. Carolina: Hornbeam Press
- Halliday, M.A.K. (1976). Kress, G. R. (Ed.), *System and function in English*. Oxford: University Press.
- Halliday, M.A.K. & Hasan, R. (1976). *Cohesion in English*. London: Longman.
- Halliday, M. A. K. (1978). *Language as social semiotic. The social interpretation of language and meaning*. London: Arnold.
- Halliday, M. A. K. (1984). Language as code and language as behaviour: A systemic-functional interpretation of the nature and ontogenesis of dialogue. Halliday, S. M. Lamb, A. Makkai (Eds.). *The semiotics of culture and language*. 1. *Language as social semiotics* (pp.3-15). London: Pinter.
- Halliday, M. A. K. (1985/1994a). *An introduction to functional grammar*. London: Arnold.
- Halliday, M. A. K. (1994b). Materials from the Summer Conference on Systemic Functional Linguistics held in Leuven, July 1994 (provided in the appendices).
- Halliday, M.A.K. & Hasan, R. (1985). *Language, context, and text: Aspects of language in a social-semiotic perspective*. Oxford: University Press.
- Halliday, M.A.K. (1985b). Systemic background. In J.D.Benson & W.S. Greaves (Eds.)

- Systemic perspectives on discourse, 1, Selected theoretical papers from the 9th International Systemic Workshop* (pp. 1-15). Norwood/New Jersey: Ablex.
- Hasan, R. (1984). Ways of saying: ways of meaning. In R. P. Fawcett et al. (Eds.) *The semiotics of culture and language. 1. Language as social semiotic* (pp. 105-162). London: Printer.
- Hasan, R. (1985). *Linguistics, language and verbal art*. Oxford: University Press.
- Hatim, Basil & Mason, I. (1990). *Discourse and the translator*. Singapore: Longman.
- Hatim, B & Mason, I. (1997). *The translator as communicator*. London: Routledge.
- Hermans, T. (Ed.). (1985). *The manipulation of literature: Studies in literary translation*. New York: St. Martin's Press.
- Hodgart, M. (1978). *James Joyce: A student's guide*. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul.
- Hodge, R. & Kress, G.R. (1988). *Social semiotics*. Cambridge: Polity Press.
- Holmes, J. (1985). The state of two arts: Literary translation and translation studies in the west today. In H. Buhler (Ed.), *Proceedings from X FIT*. Vienna: Wilhelm Braumuller.
- Holmes, J. (1988). The name and nature of translation studies. In *Translated! Papers on Literary Translation and Translation Studies*. Amsterdam: Rodopi.
- House, J. & Blum-Kulka, S. (Eds.). (1986). *Interlingual and intercultural Communication: Discourse and Cognition in Translation and Second Language Acquisition Studies*. Tübingen: Gunter Narr Verlag.
- House, J. (1976). *A Model for translation quality assessment*. Tübingen: Gunter Narr Verlag.
- Ivir, V. (1996). A case for linguistics in translation theory. In *Target* 8 (1), 149-158.
- Jakobson, R. (1959/1966). On linguistic aspects of translation. In R. A. Brower (Ed.), *On translation* (pp. 232-239). Harvard: University Press.
- Jespersen, O. (1933). *Essentials of English Grammar*. London: Allen & Unwin Ltda.
- Johnson, W. A. (1982). Joyce's *Dubliners* and the futility of modernism. In *James Joyce and Modern Literatures*. S. Stead & W.J. Mac Cormack (Eds.). London: Routledge.

- Joyce, J. (1963). *Stephen Hero*. New York: New Directions.
- Joyce, J. *Dubliners*. (1969). R. Scholes & A. Walton Litz (Eds.). New York: The Viking Press.
- Joyce, J. (1982). *Eveline. Um conto de James Joyce*. H. Trevisan (Trans). In O Estado de São Paulo, São Paulo, Janeiro 31.
- Joyce, J. (1984). *Dublinenses* (3ª ed.). H. Trevisan (Trans.). Rio de Janeiro: Civilização Brasileira.
- Joyce, J. (1992). *Dubliners*. [With an Introduction and Notes by Terence Brown]. London: Penguin Books.
- Joyce, J. *Dublinenses*. (1993). J. R. O'Shea (Trans.). São Paulo: Editora Siciliana.
- Kennedy, C. (1976). Systemic grammar and its use in literary analysis, *MALS Journal, New Series*, 1, 17-38. Reprinted in Carter (1982) (pp.83-99).
- Kies, D. (1992). The uses of passivity: suppressing agency in *1984*. In M. Davies and L. Ravelli (Eds.), *Advances in systemic linguistics. Recent theory and application* (pp. 229-250). London: Pinter Publishers.
- Kiraly, D. C. (1995). *Pathways to translation: Pedagogy and process*. Kent, Ohio and London: The Kent State University Press.
- Konder, R. (1974). Proposições para uma abordagem semântica dos modais. Unpublished thesis submitted to the Universidade Federal de Santa Catarina for the degree of Livre Docente. Florianópolis/SC.
- Konder, R. (1984). It is possible: A study in the modals of possibility in English and in Portuguese. In *Anais do VENPULI*, 2 (pp.579-592). São Paulo: PUC/SP.
- Konder, R. (1991). Interpretação da estrutura temporal em *Eveline*: no original e na tradução. In M. Coulthard & C.R. Caldas-Coulthard (Eds.), *Tradução: teoria e prática* (pp. 89-102). Florianópolis: Editora da UFSC.
- Lacau, M. H. P. M. & Rosetti, M. V. M. (1973). *Compendios Kapelusz - Castellano actual - lenguaje y comunicacion*. Buenos Aires: Editorial kapelusz
- Lee, D. (1992). *Competing discourses. Perspective and ideology in language*. London, New York: Longman.
- Leech, G.N. (1969). *Towards a semantic description of English*. London: Longman.
- Leech, G. N. & Short, M. H. (1981). *Style in fiction. A linguistic introduction to English fictional prose*. New York: Longman.
- Lefevère, A. (1975). *Translating poetry: Seven strategies and a blueprint*. Amsterdam:

Van Gorcum, Assen.

- Lefevère, A. (1984). Why waste our time on rewrites? The trouble with interpretation and the role of rewriting in an alternative paradigm. In T. Hermans (Ed.), *The Manipulation of literature - Studies in literary translation* (pp. 215-243). New York: St. Martin's Press.
- Lefevère, A. (1992). *Translating literature: Practice and theory in a comparative literature context*. New York: The Modern Language Association.
- Lemon, L. T. & Reis, M. (1965). *Russian formalist criticism: four essays*. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press.
- Levin (1965). Internal and external deviation in poetry. In *Word*, 21, 225-237.
- Leuven-Zwart, K. van & T. Naaijken (Eds.). (1991). *Translation studies - The state of the art . Proceedings of the First James S Holmes Symposium on Translation Studies*. Amsterdam: Editions Rodopi B.V.
- Lewis, M. (1988). *The English verb - An exploration of structure and meaning*. London: Language Teaching Publications.
- Lock, G. (1996). *Functional English grammar. An introduction for second language teachers*. Cambridge: University Press.
- Lörscher, W. (1991). *Translation performance, translation process and translation strategies: A psycholinguistic investigation*. Tübingen: Gunther Narr Verlag.
- Lyons, J. 1977. Causativity and Transitivity. In *Semantics* 2, 488-493. London: Cambridge University Press.
- Malinowski, B. (1923). The problem of meaning in primitive languages. Supplement to Ogden, C.K. & Richards, I.A. *The Meaning of Meaning*. London & New York: Routledge & Keagan Paul.
- Malinowski, B. (1935). *Coral gardens and their magic* (Vol. 2). London: Allen & Unwin.
- Malmkjaer, K. (1992). The relevance of translation studies. In M. Coulthard (Ed.), *Ilha do Desterro* 28 - *Studies in translation / Estudos de tradução*, 25-36. Florianópolis: Editora da UFSC.
- Malmkjaer, K. (1993). Who can make *nice* a better word than *pretty*? Collocation, translation, and psycholinguistics. In M. Baker, G. Francis and E. Tognini-Bonelli (Eds.), *Text and technology: In honour of John Sinclair* (pp. 213-232). Amsterdam / Philadelphia: Benjamins.
- Malmkjaer, K. (1993). Underpinning translation theory. In *Target* 5 (2), 133-148.

- Marin, E. (1969). *Gramatica Espanola*. Mexico D. F. : Editorial Progreso.
- Mateus, M. H. M. et al. (1989). *Gramática da lingua portuguesa*. (3ª ed.). Lisboa: Editorial Caminho.
- McCarthy, M. (1991). *Discourse analysis for language teachers*. New York/Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Milton, J. (1990). *Past and present trends in literary translation studies*. Tese de Doutorado, USP/SP.
- Milton, J. (1993). *O Poder da tradução*. São Paulo: Ars Poetica.
- Montgomery, M. (1993). Language, character and action: A linguistic approach to the analysis of character in a Hemingway short story. In J. Sinclair, H. Hoey & G. Fox (Eds.), *Techniques of description: Spoken and written discourse* (pp. 127-142). London: Routledge.
- Mukarovsky, J. (1964). Standard language and poetic language. In Garvin (1964:17-30).
- Nestrovsky, A. (Ed.). (1992). *riverrun. Ensaio sobre James Joyce*. Rio de Janeiro: Imago.
- Niranjara, T. (1992). *Siting translation: History, post-structuralism, and the colonial context*. Berkeley/Los Angeles/Oxford: University of California Press.
- Palmer, R. (1986). *Mood and modality*. Cambridge Textbooks in Linguistics. Cambridge University Press.
- Paz, Octavio. (1971). *Traducción: literatura y literalidad*. Barcelona: Tusquets Editor.
- Peer, W. V. (1986). *Stylistics and psychology. Investigations of foregrounding*. London/Sydney: Croon Helm.
- Perkins, M. (1983). *Modal expressions in English*. London: Frances Pinter.
- Pontes, E. (1973) *Verbos auxiliares em portugues*. Petropolis: Editora Vozes.
- Popovic, A. (1976). The concept 'Shift of Expression' in translation analysis. In J. S. Holmes, F. de Hann, & A. Popovic (Eds.), *The nature of translation* (pp. 78-87). The Hague: Mouton.
- Robyns, C. (Ed.). (1994). *Translation and the (re)production of culture: Selected papers of the CERA Research Seminars in Translation Studies 1989-1991*. Leuven: the CERA Chair for Translation, Communication and Cultures.
- Rose, M. G. (Ed.). (1987). *Translation excellence assessment, achievement, maintenance*. American Translators Association Scholarly Monograph 1. Binghamton (N.Y.): University Center at Binghamton (SUNY).

- Ross, J. (1992). Review of J.S. Holmes (Ed.) *Translated! papers on literary translation and translation studies*, 1988. In S. Gillespie (Ed.), *Translation & Literature*. 1 (198-201). Edinburgh: University Press.
- Scholes, R. & Litz, A. W. (Eds.). (1969). *James Joyce - Dubliners - text, criticism, and notes*. New York: The Viking Press.
- Scholes, R. (1982). Decoding Papa: 'A Very short story' as a work and text. In *Semiotics and interpretation* (pp. 110-126). New Haven / London: Yale University Press.
- Shklovsky, V. (1965). Art as technique. In Lemon & Reis (1965:3-24).
- Shuttleworth, M. & Cowie, M. (1997). *Dictionary of translation studies*. Manchester, UK: St. Jerome.
- Simon, S. (1994). *Le Trafic des langues: Traduction et culture dans la littérature québécoise*. Montréal: les Editions du Boréal
- Simon, S. (Ed.). (1995). *Culture in transit: Translating the literature of Quebec*. Montréal: Véhicule Press.
- Simpson, P. (1990). Modality in literary-critical discourse. In W. Nash (Ed.), *The writing scholar - Studies in academic discourse* (pp. 63-94). London: Sage.
- Simpson, P. (1993). *Language, ideology and point of view*. London, New York: Routledge.
- Snell-Hornby, M. (1990). *Translation studies: An integrated approach*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.
- Snell-Hornby, M. (1990). A critique of translation theory in Germany. In S. Bassnett & A. Lefevere (Eds.) *Translation, history and culture*. London: Pinter.
- Snell-Hornby, M. (1991). Translation studies - Art, science or utopia?. In K. van Leuven-Zwart & T. , Naaijken (Eds.), *Translation studies - The state of the art . Proceedings of the First James S Holmes Symposium on Translation Studies* (pp.13-23). Amsterdam: Rodopi.
- Snell-Hornby, M., F. Pöchhcker & K. Kaindl (Eds.). (1994). *Translation studies: An interdiscipline*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.
- Stone, H. (1969). 'Araby' and the writings of James Joyce. In R. Scholes and A.W. Litz (Eds.) *James Joyce - Dubliners - Text, criticism and notes* (pp. 344-367). New York: The Viking Press.
- Stubbs, M. (1986). A matter of prolonged fieldwork: Notes towards a modal grammar of English. In *Applied Linguistics*, 7, (1), 1-25.

- Stubbs, M. (1994). Grammar, text and ideology: Computer-assisted methods in the linguistics of representation. In *Applied Linguistics*, 15 (2). Oxford: University Press.
- Swales, J. (1990). *Genre Analysis*. Cambridge: University Press.
- Threadgold, T. (1986). The Semiotics of Volosinov, Halliday and Eco. In *American Journal of Semiotics*, 4, 3-4, 107-142.
- Tirkkonen-Condit, S. (Ed.). (1991). *Empirical research in translation and intercultural studies*. Tübingen: Gunter Narr Verlag.
- Tolentino, M. V. F. (1989). *Dubliners- The journey westward*. Unpublished Master's Dissertation, Faculdade de Letras da Universidade Federal de Minas Gerais, Belo Horizonte/MG.
- Toolan, M. (Ed.). (1992). *Language, text, and context. Essays in stylistics*. London & New York: Routledge.
- Torsello, C. T. (1996). On the logical metafunction. In *Functions of Language* 3 (2), 151-184. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.
- Toury, G. (1980). *In search of a theory of translation*. Tel Aviv: Porter Institute for Poetics and Semiotics.
- Toury, G. (1989). Well, what about a linguistic theory of literary translation? *Bulletin CILA* 49, 102-105.
- Toury, G. (1995). *Descriptive translation studies and beyond*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.
- Tyndall, W. T. (1978). *A reader's guide to James Joyce*. New York: Farrar, Strauss and Giroux.
- Vieira, E. (1984). Comparative stylistics applied to translation from English to Portuguese. Paper delivered at AILA, 1984, quoted in Blum-Kulka (1986:19).
- Vladimir, I. (1996). A case for linguistics in translation theory. In *Target* 8, 149-157. Amsterdam: Benjamins.
- Zyngier, S. (1994). Introducing literary awareness. In *Language Awareness* 3 (2), 95 - 108.
- Zyngier, S. (1996). Free indirect discourse: Models and voices. Communication Session at the XXVIII SENAPULLI, Ouro Preto / MG.

DICTIONARIES

- *Dictionary of translation studies* (1997). Shuttleworth, M. & Cowie, M. Manchester: St. Jerome.
- *Novo dicionário Aurelio* (10ª ed) (1975). Rio de Janeiro: Nova Fronteira.
- *Collins Cobuild English language dictionary* (1987). London/Glasgow: Collins.
- *Webster's seventh new collegiate dictionary* (1969). Massachusetts: Merriem.
- *Novo Michaelis- Dicionário ilustrado*. (1958) (9ª ed). Sao Paulo: Melhoramentos.
- *The New Michaelis- Illustrated dictionary*. (9th ed.). (1958). SP: Melhoramentos.
- Buarque de Holanda Ferreira, A. (1975). *Novo dicionário da língua portuguesa*. Rio de Janeiro: Nova Fronteira.
- Dubois et al. (1973). *Dicionário de lingüística*. São Paulo: Cultrix.

APPENDIX I

EVELINE

Source Text and Translated Texts

Eveline

ST - Joyce

1 She sat at the window watching the evening invade the avenue. Her head was leaned against the window curtains and in her nostrils was the odour of dusty cretonne. She was tired.

2 Few people passed. The man out of the last house passed on his way home; she heard his footsteps clacking along the concrete pavement and afterwards crunching on the cinder path before the new red houses. One time there used to be a field there in which they used to play every evening with other people's children. Then a man from Belfast bought the field and built houses in it—not like their little brown houses but bright brick houses with shining roofs. The children of the avenue used to play together in that field—the Devines, the Waters, the Dunns, little Keogh the cripple, she and her brothers and sisters. Ernest, however, never played: he was too grown up. Her father used often to hunt them in out of the field with his blackthorn stick; but usually little Keogh used to keep *nix* and call out when he saw her father coming. Still they seemed to have been rather happy then. Her father was not so bad then; and besides, her mother was alive. That was a long time ago; she and her brothers and sisters were all grown up; her mother was dead. Tizzie Dunn was dead, too, and the Waters had gone back to England. Everything changes. Now she was going to go away like the others, [was going] to leave her home.

3 Home! She looked round the room, reviewing all its familiar objects which she had dusted once a week for so many years, wondering where on earth all the dust came from. Perhaps she would never see again those familiar objects from which she had never dreamed of being divided. And yet during all those years she had never found out the name of the priest whose yellowing photograph hung on the wall above the broken harmonium beside the coloured print of the promises made to Blessed Margaret Mary Alacoque. He had been a school friend of her father. Whenever he showed the photograph to a visitor her father used to pass it with a casual word:

—He is in Melbourne now.

4 She had consented to go away, to leave her home. Was that wise? She tried to weigh each side of the question. In her home anyway she had shelter and food; she had those whom she had known all her life about her. Of course she had to work hard both in the house and at business. What would they say of her in the Stores when they found out that she had run away with a fellow? [They would say] Say she was a fool, perhaps; and her place would be filled up by advertisement. Miss Gavan would be glad. She had always had an edge on her, especially whenever there were people listening.

—Miss Hill, don't you see these ladies are waiting?

—Look lively, Miss Hill, please.

5 She would not cry many tears at leaving the Stores.

6 But in her new home, in a distant unknown country, it would not be like that. Then she would be married—she, Eveline. People would treat her with respect then. She would not be treated as her mother had been. Even now, though she was over nineteen, she sometimes felt herself in danger of her father's violence. She knew it was that that

had given her the palpitations. When they were growing up he had **never** gone for her, like he used to go for Harry and Ernest, because she was a girl; but latterly he had begun to threaten her and say what he **would** do to her only for her dead mother's sake. And now she had nobody to protect her. Ernest was dead and Harry, who was in the church decorating business, was nearly **always** down somewhere in the country. Besides, the invariable squabble for money on Saturday nights had begun to weary her unspeakably. She **always** gave her entire wages—seven shillings—and Harry **always** sent up what he could but the trouble was to get any money from her father. He said she used to squander the money, that she had no head, that he wasn't going to give her his hard-earned money to throw about the streets, and much more, for he was **usually** fairly bad of a Saturday night. In the end he **would** give her the money and ask her had she any intention of buying Sunday's dinner. Then she **had to** rush out as quickly as she **could** and do her marketing, holding her black leather purse tightly in her hand as she elbowed her way through the crowds and returning home late under her load of provisions. She had hard work to keep the house together and to see that the two young children who had been left to her charge went to school regularly and got their meals regularly. It was hard work—a hard life—but now that she **was about to** leave it she did not find it a wholly undesirable life.

7 She **was about to** explore another life with Frank. Frank was very kind, manly, open-hearted. She **was to go** away with him by the night boat to be his wife and to live with him in Buenos Ayres where he had a home waiting for her. How well she remembered the first time she had seen him; he was lodging in a house on the main road where she used to visit. It seemed a few weeks ago. He was standing at the gate, his peaked cap pushed back on his head and his hair tumbled forward over a face of bronze. Then they had come to know each other. He used to meet her outside the Stores every evening and see her home. He took her to see *The Bohemian Girl* and she felt elated as she sat in an unaccustomed part of the theatre with him. He was awfully fond of music and sang a little. People knew that they were courting and, when he sang about the lass that loves a sailor, she **always** felt pleasantly confused. He used to call her Poppens out of fun. First of all it had been an excitement for her to have a fellow and then she had begun to like him. He had tales of distant countries. He had started as a deck boy at a pound a month on a ship of the Allan Line going out to Canada. He told her the names of the ships he had been on and the names of the different services. He had sailed through the Straits of Magellan and he told her stories of the terrible Patagonians. He had fallen on his feet in Buenos Ayres, he said, and had come over to the old country just for a holiday. Of course, her father had found out the affair and had **forbidden** her to have anything to say to him.

—I know these sailor chaps, he said.

8 One day he had quarrelled with Frank and after that she **had to** meet her lover secretly.

9 The evening deepened in the avenue. The white of two letters in her lap grew indistinct. One was to Harry; the other was to her father. Ernest had been her favourite but she liked Harry too. Her father was becoming old lately, she noticed; he **would** miss her. **Sometimes** he **could** be very nice. Not long before, when she had been laid up for a day, he had read her out a ghost story and made toast for her at the fire. Another day, when their mother was alive, they had all gone for a picnic to the Hill of Howth. She remembered her father putting on her mother's bonnet to make the children laugh.

10 Her time was running out but she continued to sit by the window, leaning her head against the window curtain, inhaling the odour of dusty cretonne. Down far in the avenue she **could** hear a street organ playing. She knew the air. Strange that it should come that very night to remind her of the **promise** to her mother, her **promise** to keep the home together as long as she could. She remembered the last night of her mother's illness; she was again in the close dark room at the other side of the hall and outside she heard a melancholy air of Italy. The organ-player had been ordered to go away and given sixpence. She remembered her father strutting back into the sickroom saying:

—Damned Italians! Coming over here!

11 As she mused the pitiful vision of her mother's life laid its spell on the very quick of her being—that life of common-place sacrifices closing in final craziness. She trembled as she heard again her mother's voice saying **constantly** with foolish insistence:

—Derevaun Seraun! Deveraun Seraun!

12 She stood up in sudden impulse of terror. Escape! She **must** escape! Frank **would** save her. He **would** give her life **perhaps** love, too. But she wanted to live. Why **should** she be unhappy? She had a right to happiness. Frank **would** take her in his arms, fold her in his arms. He **would** save her.

13 She stood among the swaying crowd in the station at the North Wall. He held her hand and she **knew that** he was speaking to her, saying something about the passage over and over again. The station was full of soldiers with brown baggages. Through the wide doors of the sheds she caught a glimpse of the black mass of the boat, lying in beside the quay wall, with illumined portholes. She answered nothing. She felt her cheek pale and cold and, out of a maze of distress, she prayed to God to direct her, to show her what was her **duty**. The boat blew a long mournful whistle into the mist. If she went, tomorrow she **would** be on the sea with Frank, steaming towards Buenos Ayres. Their passage had been booked. **Could** she still draw back after all he had done for her? Her distress awoke a nausea in her body and she kept moving her lips in silent fervent prayer.

14 A bell clanged upon her heart. She felt him seize her hand:

—Come!

15 All the seas of the world tumbled about her heart. He was drawing her into them: he **would** drown her. She gripped with both hands at the iron railing.

—Come!

16 No! No! No! **It was impossible**. Her hands clutched the iron in frenzy. Amid the seas she sent a cry of anguish!

—Eveline! Evvy!

17 He rushed beyond the barrier and called to her to follow. He was shouted at to go on but he still called to her. She set her white face to him, passive, like a helpless animal. Her eyes gave him no sign of love or farewell or recognition.

Eveline

TT1 - O'Shea

1 Ela sentou-se à janela para ver a noite invadir a avenida. Encostou cabeça na cortina e o odor de cretone empoeirado encheu-lhe as narinas. Sentia-se cansada.

2 Poucas pessoas por ali passavam. O sujeito que morava no fim da rua passou o caminho de casa; ela ouviu seus passos estalando na calçada de concreto e em seguida rangendo sobre o caminho coberto com cascalho em frente às casas vermelhas. Tempos atrás havia ali um terreno baldio onde eles brincavam toda noite com os filhos dos vizinhos. Mais tarde, um indivíduo de Belfast comprara o terreno e construía casas—mas não eram casas pequenas e escuras como aquelas em que eles moravam; eram casas vistosas de tijolo e com telhados luzidios. As crianças que moravam na avenida costumavam reunir-se para brincar naquele terreno—crianças das famílias Devine, Water, Dunns, o pequeno Keogh, que era manco, ela e seus irmãos e irmãs. Ernest, no entanto, nunca brincava: já estava crescendo. o pai dela muitas vezes enxotava-os do terreno com sua bengala de madeira preta; mas geralmente o pequeno Keogh montava guarda e dava o alarme quando avistava o homem se aproximando. Apesar de tudo, consideravam-se bastante felizes naquela época. Seu pai ainda não estava tão mal e, além disso, a mãe ainda estava viva. Isso tudo acontecera há muito tempo; ela, seus irmãos e irmãs tinham crescido; a mãe estava morta. Tizzie Dunn também morrera e a família Water havia retornado à Inglaterra. Tudo se modifica. Agora era a vez dela ir embora, como os outros, ia sair de casa.

3 Casa! Correu os olhos pela sala, revendo todos os objetos conhecidos, por ela espanados uma vez por semana há tantos anos, e perguntou-se de onde vinha tanta poeira. Talvez jamais voltasse a ver aqueles objetos conhecidos dos quais jamais imaginou separar-se um dia. Contudo, durante todos aqueles anos ela nunca viera a saber o nome do padre cuja fotografia amarelada se encontrava pendurada na parede acima da pianola quebrada, ao lado da gravura em louvor à beata Margarida Maria Alacoque. O padre fora colega de escola do pai dela. Sempre que mostrava a foto a uma visita ele repetia mecanicamente a mesma frase:

—Ele está em Melbourne agora.

4 Concordado em partir, em deixar a própria casa. Teria sido uma decisão sensata? Tentou analisar cada lado da questão. Em casa ao menos tinha um teto e comida; vivia entre pessoas que conhecia desde criança. É bem verdade que o trabalho era pesado, tanto em casa quanto no emprego. O que diriam na loja quando descobrissem que ela fugira de casa com um sujeito qualquer? Que era uma idiota, talvez; e sua vaga seria preenchida através de um anúncio no jornal. Miss Gavan ficaria bem satisfeita. Sempre implicara com ela, especialmente quando havia gente em volta.

—Miss Hill, não está vendo estas senhoras esperando?

—Mexa-se, Miss Hill, por favor!

5 Ela não derramaria muitas lágrimas por deixar a loja.

6 Em seu novo lar, num país distante e desconhecido, tudo seria diferente. Estaria casada—ela, Eveline. As pessoas a tratariam com respeito. Não seria tratada como a mãe o fora. Mesmo agora, que estava com mais de dezenove anos, sentia-se às

vezes ameaçada pela violência do pai. Sabia que tinha sido isso a causa daquelas palpitações. Quando eram crianças ele nunca havia batido nela, conforme batia em Harry e em Ernest, porque ela era menina; mas ultimamente passara a ameaçá-la e a dizer o que faria com ela não fosse a lembrança da mãe falecida. E agora não havia mais ninguém para protegê-la. Ernest estava morto e Harry, que trabalhava com decoração de igrejas, estava quase sempre ausente, viajando pelo sul do país. Além do mais, o inevitável bate-boca sobre dinheiro todo sábado à noite começava a deixá-la exausta, mais do que qualquer outra coisa. Ela sempre entregava o salário inteiro—sete shillings—e Harry sempre enviava o que podia mas o problema era conseguir arrancar dinheiro do pai. Ele dizia que ela desperdiçava dinheiro, que não tinha juízo, que não lhe daria o seu dinheiro suado para ser jogado fora, e dizia muito mais, pois geralmente ficava em péssimo estado nas noites de sábado. Contudo, acabava dando-lhe o dinheiro e perguntava-lhe se ia ou não comprar as provisões para o jantar de domingo. Então ela era obrigada a sair correndo para o mercado, segurando firme a bolsa preta de couro enquanto abria caminho na multidão com os cotovelos, e voltava para casa tarde, carregada de pacotes. Trabalhava pesado para manter a casa em ordem e garantir às duas crianças que haviam ficado sob os seus cuidados a oportunidade de freqüentar a escola devidamente alimentadas. O trabalho era pesado—uma vida difícil—mas agora que estava prestes a deixar tudo para trás não considerava a vida que levava de todo indesejável.

7 Estava prestes a começar a explorar uma outra vida ao lado de Frank. Frank era um homem bom, viril, amoroso. Concordara em fugir com ele na barca noturna para tonar-se sua esposa e viver ao seu lado em Buenos Aires, onde ele possuía uma casa à espera dela. Com que nitidez se recordava da primeira vez em que o vira! Ele alugava um quarto numa casa na rua principal, que ela costumava freqüentar. Tudo parecia ter acontecido há apenas algumas semanas: ele parado no portão, com o boné no cocuruto da cabeça e o cabelo despenteado caído sobre a testa bronzeada. Então começaram a se conhecer melhor. Ele costumava esperá-la todas as noites à porta da loja para acompanhá-la até em casa. Levou-a para assistir *The bohemian girl* e ela ficou radiante por sentar-se ao lado dele num setor do teatro onde não costumava ficar. Ele adorava música e tinha uma voz razoável. As pessoas notavam que os dois estavam namorando e, sempre que ele cantava a canção sobre a jovem que amava o marinheiro, ela sentia um agradável acanhamento. Ele gostava de chamá-la de *Poppens*, carinhosamente. A princípio a idéia de ter um namorado não passara de uma empolgação, mas logo começou a gostar dele de verdade. Frank contara-lhe histórias de países distantes. Começara a vida como taifeiro ganhando uma libra por mês a bordo de um navio da Allan Line com destino ao Canadá. Disse-lhe também os nomes de todos os navios em que viajara bem como de diversas companhias de navegação. Velejara pelo estreito de Magalhães e contara-lhe histórias a respeito dos terríveis habitantes da Patagônia. Estabelecera-se em Buenos Aires, dizia ele, e voltara à velha terra natal apenas para passar férias. o pai dela, obviamente, descobrira o namoro e a proibira de sequer dirigir-lhe a palavra.

—Conheço bem esses marinheiros—ele dizia.

8 Um dia o pai discutira com Frank e a partir de então ela fora obrigada a encontrar-se com o namorado às escondidas.

9 A noite aprofundava-se na avenida. o reflexo branco de duas cartas que tinha ao colo se tornava indistinto. Uma era para Harry; a outra, para o pai. Ernest era seu irmão preferido mas também gostava de Harry. O pai estava ficando velho, dava para notar; sentiria a falta dela. Às vezes, ele sabia ser agradável. Há pouco tempo, quando

ficara acamada um dia inteiro, ele lera para ela um conto de terror e preparara-lhe umas torradas. Em outra ocasião, quando a mãe ainda estava viva, fizeram juntos um piquenique em Hill of Howth. Lembrava-se do pai colocando o chapéu da mulher para divertir as crianças.

10 Estava chegando a hora mas ela continuava sentada à janela, com a cabeça encostada na cortina, aspirando o cheiro de cretone empoeirado. Lá embaixo na avenida ouvia um realejo tocando. Conhecía a canção. Estranho que o realejo surgisse ali naquela noite, como que para lembrá-la da promessa que fizera à mãe, de preservar o lar unido enquanto pudesse. Lembrou-se da noite em que a mãe morrera. Era como se estivesse novamente no quarto fechado e escuro do outro lado do hall e lá fora ouvisse a melancólica canção italiana. Na ocasião, deram seis pence ao tocador de realejo e pediram-lhe que fosse embora. Lembrou-se do pai voltando ao quarto da enferma com um andar emproado, exclamando:

—Italianos desgraçados! o que eles querem aqui?

11 Enquanto divagava, a visão deplorável da vida que a mãe levava tocou-a no fundo da alma—uma vida de sacrifícios banais culminando em loucura. Estremeceu quando voltou a ouvir a voz da mãe repetindo com uma desvairada insistência:

—Derevaun Seraun! Derevaun Seraun!

12 Levantou-se num sobressalto de pavor. rugir! Precisava fugir! Frank a salvaria. Daria uma vida a ela, talvez, quem sabe, até amor. E ela queria viver. Por que haveria de ser infeliz? Tinha direito à felicidade. Frank a tomaria nos braços, a abraçaria. Ele a salvaria.

.....

13 Lá estava ela no meio da multidão ondulante na estação de embarque de North Wall. Ele segurava-lhe a mão e ela sabia que estava se dirigindo a ela, repetindo alguma coisa a respeito das passagens. A estação estava repleta de soldados carregando malas marrons. Através dos largos portões do embarcadouro ela podia ver o vulto negro do navio, atracado ao longo do cais com as vigias iluminadas. Ela nada respondia. Sentia o rosto pálido e frio e, num labirinto de aflição, rezou pedindo a Deus que lhe guiasse, que lhe apontasse o caminho. O navio lançou dentro da névoa um silvo longo e triste. Se partisse, amanhã estaria no mar ao lado de Frank, navegando em direção a Buenos Aires. As passagens dos dois já estavam compradas. Seria possível voltar atrás depois de tudo o que ele fizera por ela? A aflição que sentia lhe provocava náuseas e ela continuava a mover os lábios rezando fervorosamente em silêncio.

14 Um sino repicou em seu coração. Deu-se conta de que ele lhe agarrara a mão:

—Vem!

15 Todos os mares do mundo agitavam-se dentro de seu coração. Ele a estava levando para esses mares: ele a afogaria. Agarrou-se com as duas mãos às grades de ferro.

—Vem!

16 Não! Não! Não! Era impossível. Suas mãos agarraram-se ao ferro em desespero. No meio dos mares ela deu um grito de angústia!

—Eveline! Evvy!

17 Ele correu para o outro lado do cordão de isolamento e a chamou, para que o seguisse. Gritaram para que fosse mas ele continuava a chamá-la. Ela o encarava com

o rosto pálido, passivo, como um animal indefeso. Seus olhos não demonstravam qualquer sinal de amor, saudade, ou gratidão.

Eveline

TT2a - Trevisan

1 Sentada à janela, observava o crepúsculo invadir a avenida. Reclinara a cabeça na cortina e sentia o odor poeirento do cretone. Estava cansada.

2 Poucas pessoas cruzavam a rua. O morador da última casa passou a caminho do lar. Ouviu seus passos ressoarem na pedra da calçada e depois esmagarem o cascalho diante das novas casas de tijolo vermelho. Antigamente, havia ali um terreno baldio onde, ao entardecer, costumava brincar com as crianças dos vizinhos. Mais tarde, um homem de Belfast comprara o terreno e construía casas nele—não pequenas e escuras como aquela em que morava—, mas casas de tijolo claro e telhados luzidios. As crianças da avenida brincavam juntas nesse terreno: os Devines, os Waters, os Dunns, o pequeno Keog, que era coxo, ela, seus irmãos. Ernest, porém, nunca brincava. Já era muito crescido. Seu pai muitas vezes os expulsava dali, perseguindo-os com sua bengala negra. Mas quase sempre o pequeno Keog ficava de guarda e dava o alarma quando ele aparecia. Apesar de tudo, pareciam felizes então. O pai não era tão mau e, além disso, a mãe ainda vivia. Isso fora há muitos anos. Ela, os irmãos e irmãs, tinham crescido. A mãe estava morta. Tizzie Dunn também estava morta e os Waters haviam retornado à Inglaterra. Tudo muda. Agora, ela também iria partir, abandonar a casa.

3 Lar! Correu os olhos pela sala, revendo os móveis familiares; que há tantos anos espanava toda semana, perguntando-se de onde afinal podia vir tanta poeira. Talvez nunca mais visse esses objetos, dos quais jamais sonhara se separar. Entretanto, em todos esses anos não conseguira saber como se chamava o padre, cuja fotografia amardada pendia da parede sobre o harmônio quebrado, ao lado do quadro colorido das promessas feitas a Santa Margarida Maria Alacoque. Fora colega de escola de seu pai, que, ao mostrar a fotografia a uma visita, dizia casualmente:
—Está em Melbourne agora.

4 Decidira ir embora, abandonar sua casa. Seria sensato? Tentou pesar os lados da questão. Bem ou mal, tinha em casa abrigo e comida. Vivia entre pessoas que sempre conhecera. É claro que precisava trabalhar pesado na casa e no balcão. Que diriam na Loja ao saberem que fugira com um homem? Que era uma tola, talvez, e preencheriam a vaga publicando um anúncio no jornal. A senhorita Gavan ficaria alegre. Sempre vivera de ponta com ela, especialmente quando havia estranhos por perto.

—Senhorita Hill, não vê que essas senhoras estão esperando ?

—Por favor, senhorita Hill, apresse-se

[5]

6 Mas em seu novo lar, num país desconhecido e longínquo, seria diferente. Estaria casada então—ela, Eveline. As pessoas a tratariam com respeito; não iria sofrer como sua mãe. Mesmo agora que já estava com dezenove anos, sentia-se às vezes ameaçada pela violência do pai. Sabia ser essa a causa de suas palpitações. Porque era menina, ele nunca se importara com ela quando criança, como fazia com Harry e Ernest. Nos últimos tempos, porém, começara a ameaçá-la e a dizer que iria dar-lhe jeito quando a mãe morresse. E agora não tinha ninguém para protegê-la. Ernest morrera e Harry, que trabalhava na decoração de igrejas, encontrava-se quase sempre no Interior. Além disso, as inevitáveis discussões por causa de dinheiro, nas noites de sábado, começavam a

fatigá-la insuportavelmente. Empregava na casa todo seu ordenado—sete xelins— e Harry enviava sempre o que podia, mas o difícil era arrancar algum dinheiro do pai. Dizia que ela desperdiçava, que não tinha cabeça, que não daria seu dinheiro, duramente ganho, para ser jogado fora, e muitas outras coisas, pois geralmente estava embriagado no sábado à noite. Por fim, acabava entregando-lhe o dinheiro e perguntava se pretendia comprar comida para o domingo. Saía então correndo para fazer compras, Comprimindo na mão a bolsa de couro preto, enquanto abria caminho pela multidão e retornava para casa dobrada ao peso dos pacotes. Trabalhava pesado para manter a casa arrumada e cuidar que as duas crianças deixadas ao seu encargo se alimentassem direito e não chegassem atrasadas na escola. Era trabalho duro— vida dura—, mas agora, que ia partir, não julgava essa vida tão indesejável.

7 Estava prestes a tentar uma existência nova com Frank. Frank era amável, humano, de coração aberto. Partiria à noite, num navio, para tornar-se sua esposa e ir com ele viver em Buenos Aires, onde um lar os aguardava. Com que nitidez recordava-se de quando o vira pela primeira vez! Estava hospedado numa casa da rua principal, que ela costumava visitar. Parecia ter acontecido há apenas algumas semanas. Estava parado no portão, o boné atirado para trás, os cabelos caindo sobre o rosto bronzeado. Conheceram-se. Toda noite ia esperá-la na porta da loja e acompanhava-a até em casa. Levou-a a assistir A Jovem Boêmia e ela sentiu-se enlevada ao ver-se em companhia dele na parte mais elegante do teatro, onde nunca fora antes. Ele gostava imensamente de música e cantava um pouco. Todos sabiam que estava namorando e, quando Frank cantava aquela canção sobre a jovem que amava um marinheiro, ela sentia-se alegremente confusa. Brincando, ele a chamava de minha papoula. No princípio experimentara a emoção de ter um namorado; depois começara a amá-lo. Ele sabia histórias sobre lugares longínquos. Principiara como grumete, viajando para o Canadá num navio da Allan Liner, com o soldo de uma libra por mês. Disse-lhe os nomes dos navios em que havia trabalhado e das diferentes companhias. Tinha passado pelo estreito de Magalhaes contava histórias sobre os terríveis patagônios. Fixara-se em Buenos Aires e voltara à velha pátria apenas para passar as férias. O pai, naturalmente, descobrira o caso e proibira-a de conversar com ele. "Conheço esses marinheiros", dizia.

8 Um dia, teve uma discussão com Frank e depois disso ela era obrigada a encontrá-lo secretamente.

9 A noite aprofundava na avenida. A alvura das duas cartas que estavam em seu regaço tornava-se indistinta. Uma era para Harry; a outra, para o pai. Ernest fora seu preferido, mas gostava também de Harry. Notara que o pai estava ficando velho; ela faria falta. As vezes, ele sabia mostrar-se agradável. Há pouco tempo, quando ela ficara de cama por um dia, o pai tinha lido uma história de fantasmas e preparado torradas na lareira. Uma outra vez, no tempo em que a mãe ainda vivia, tinham ido a um piquenique na colina de Howth. Recordava-se dele pondo o chapéu da mulher para divertir as crianças.

10 O tempo corria e ela continuava sentada junto à janela com a cabeça apoiada na cortina, aspirando o odor do cretone poeirento. Ouvia lá longe, na avenida, o som de um realejo. Era uma ária conhecida. Estranho que viesse tocar ali naquela noite, como para lembrar-lhe a promessa que fizera à mãe, promessa de tomar conta da casa enquanto fosse necessário. Recordou-se da noite em que a mãe morrera. Viu-se novamente no quarto fechado e sombrio, no outro lado do vestibulo, ouvindo, lá fora, uma melancólica canção italiana. Deram seis pence ao dono do realejo e pediram que fosse embora. Recordava-se do pai, retornando empertigado ao quarto da enferma, dizendo:

—Malditos italianos! Vir justamente aqui!

11 Enquanto divagava, a pesarosa visão da vida de sua mãe feria-a na própria carne: uma existência de sacrifícios banais, terminada em loucura. Estremeceu ao ouvir sua voz novamente gritando com desvairada insistência:

—Derevaun Seraun! Derevaun Seraun!

12 Num súbito impulso de terror, levantou-se. Fugir! Frank a salvaria. Dar-lhe-ia vida, talvez lhe desse amor. Queria viver. Por que haveria de ser infeliz? Tinha direito à felicidade. Frank a tomaria nos braços. Frank iria salvá-la.

13 Estava parada no meio da multidão na estação de embarque de North Wall. Frank apertava-lhe a mão e repetia muitas vezes algo a respeito das passagens. A estação estava repleta de soldados carregados de seus equipamentos. Pelos largos portões da gare viu, de relance, a massa escura do navio, atracado à molhe com as vigias iluminadas. Ela nada respondia. Sentia o sangue fugindo do rosto e, numa angustiada indecisão, pedia a Deus que a orientasse, que lhe mostrasse o caminho certo. Se partisse, amanhã estaria no mar em companhia de Frank, navegando para Buenos Aires. As passagens estavam reservadas. Podia voltar atrás, depois de tudo que ele havia feito? A angústia provocava-lhe náusea e seus lábios moviam-se numa prece fervorosa.

14 A sineta do cais retiniu em seu coração. Ele apertava-lhe a mão:

—Vem!

15 Os mares do mundo envolviam seu coração. Frank a arrastava para dentro dele: iria naufragá-la. Com as duas mãos, agarrou-se na grade de ferro:

—Vem!

16 Não! Não! Não! Era impossível. Suas mãos crispavam-se, desesperadamente. O vórtice que a engolfava lançou um grito de angústia.

—Eveline! Evvy!

17 Frank precipitou-se para o outro lado da barreira e gritou-lhe que o seguisse. Pedia-lhe que se movesse, mas continuava a chamar por ela. Eveline o fitava com o rosto pálido, inerte, como um animal passivo. Não havia em seus olhos sinal de amor, saudade ou reconhecimento.

Eveline

TT2b - Trevisan

1 SENTADA à janela, contemplava o crepúsculo invadir a avenida. Recostara a cabeça na cortina e sentia o odor poeirento do cretone. Estava cansada.

2 Poucas pessoas cruzavam a rua. O morador da última casa passou a caminho do lar. Ouviu os passos ressoarem na pedra da calçada e depois esmagarem o cascalho diante das casas de tijolos vermelhos. Antigamente havia ali um terreno baldio onde, ao entardecer, ela brincava com as crianças dos vizinhos. Mais tarde, um homem de Belfast comprara o terreno e construíra casas nele—não como aquela em que morava, pequena e escura, mas casas de tijolos claros e telhados luzidios. As crianças da avenida costumavam brincar naquele terreno: os Devines, os Waters, os Dunns, o pequeno Keog, que era manco, ela, seus irmãos. Ernest, porém, nunca brincava: era grande demais. Seu pai muitas vezes expulsara-os dali, perseguindo-os com sua bengala preta, mas geralmente o pequeno Keog ficava de guarda e dava o alarme quando ele aparecia. Apesar de tudo, pareciam ter sido felizes nessa época. O pai não era tão mau e, além disso, sua mãe ainda vivia. Muitos anos haviam passado. Ela seus irmãos e irmãs, tinham crescido. Sua mãe estava morta. Tizzie Dunn também morrera e os Waters haviam retornado à Inglaterra. Tudo se modifica. Agora, também ela iria partir, abandonar o seu lar.

3 Lar! Correu os olhos pela sala, revendo os móveis familiares, que ela ano após ano espanava todas as semanas, perguntando-se de onde poderia vir tanta poeira. Talvez nunca mais voltasse a ver aqueles objetos de que jamais sonhara separar-se. Entretanto, em todos esses anos não conseguira saber como se chamava o padre cuja fotografia amarelada pendia da parede sobre o harmônio quebrado, junto à gravura colorida em louvor à Santa Margarida Maria Alacoque. Fora colega da escola de seu pai e este, ao mostrar a fotografia a uma visita, costumava dizer:

—Está em Melbourne agora.

4 Havia concordado em partir, em deixar o seu lar. Seria sensato? Tentou pesar os prós e contras de sua decisão. Bem ou mal, tinha em casa abrigo e comida. Vivia entre pessoas que sempre conhecera. Precisava, é claro, trabalhar pesado em casa e no emprego. Que diriam na loja ao saberem que fugira com um homem? Que era uma tola, talvez, e preencheriam a vaga publicando um anúncio no jornal. A senhorita Gavan ficaria contente. Sempre vivera de ponta com ela, especialmente quando havia alguém por perto.

—Senhorita Hill, não vê estas senhoras esperando?

—Por favor, senhorita Hill, esperte-se.

[5]

6 Mas em seu novo lar, num país desconhecido e longínquo, tudo seria diferente. Estaria casada; ela, Eveline. As pessoas iriam tratá-la com respeito, não sofreria como sua mãe. Mesmo agora, aos dezenove anos, era às vezes ameaçada pela violência do pai. Sabia que era essa a causa de suas palpitações. Por ser menina, ele nunca se importara com ela quando criança, como fizera com Harry e Ernest. Nos últimos tempos, porém, dera para ameaçá-la e dizer que só cuidava dela em respeito à memória de sua mãe. E já

não havia ninguém para protegê-la. Ernest estava morto e Harry, que trabalhava na decoração de igrejas, encontrava-se quase sempre viajando pelo interior. Além disso tudo, as inevitáveis discussões por causa de dinheiro nas noites de sábado começavam a fatigá-la de modo insuportável. Empregava na casa todo o seu ordenado —sete xelins — e Harry enviava sempre o que podia, mas era difícil arrancar alguma coisa do pai. Dizia que ela desperdiçava, que não tinha cabeça, que não daria seu dinheiro, duramente ganho, para ser jogado fora, e coisas ainda piores, pois geralmente estava embriagado no sábado à noite. Acabava por entregar-lhe o dinheiro, perguntando-lhe se ia ou não comprar mantimentos para o almoço de domingo. Ela então saía correndo fazer as compras, comprimindo na mão a bolsa de couro preto, enquanto abria caminho através da multidão. Voltava para casa carregada de pesados pacotes. Trabalhava para manter tudo arrumado e fazer com que as duas crianças, deixadas a seu cargo, se alimentassem direito e não se atrasassem para a escola. Era trabalho duro, vida dura, mas agora que ia partir, não a julgava uma vida totalmente indesejável.

7 Estava prestes a tentar uma existência nova com Frank. Ele era amável, humano, tinha um grande coração. Partiria à noite, de navio, para tornar-se sua esposa e com ele viver em Buenos Aires, onde um lar os aguardava. Com que nitidez recordava-se de quando o encontrara pela primeira vez! Estava hospedado numa casa da rua principal, que ela costumava freqüentar. Parecia ter acontecido há apenas algumas semanas. Estava parado no portão, o boné atirado para trás, os cabelos em desalinho sobre a testa bronzeada. Foram apresentados. Todas as noites, ia esperá-la à saída da loja e acompanhava-a até em casa. Levou-a a assistir *A Jovem Boêmia* e ela ficou enlevada ao ver-se em companhia dele numa parte do teatro em que nunca fora antes. Frank gostava imensamente de música e tinha alguma voz. Todos sabiam que estavam namorando e quando Frank cantava a canção sobre a jovem que amava um marinheiro, ela sentia um agradável embaraço. Brincando, ele chamava-a de minha papoula. Nos primeiros dias, experimentara a emoção de ter um namorado; depois, começara a amá-lo. Frank sabia histórias sobre lugares distantes. Principiara como grumete, viajando para o Canadá num navio da Allan Line, com o soldo de uma libra por mês. Disse-lhe os nomes dos navios em que havia trabalhado e das diferentes companhias de navegação. Atravessara o Estreito de Magalhães e contou-lhe histórias sobre os terríveis patagônios. Fixara-se em Buenos Aires e voltara à velha pátria apenas para passar as férias. O pai naturalmente descobrira o caso e proibira-a de conversar com Frank.

"Conheço esses marinheiros", disse ele.

8 Os dois homens tiveram uma discussão e depois disso, viu-se obrigada a encontrá-lo às escondidas.

9 A noite adensava na avenida. A alvura das duas cartas em seu bolso tornava-se indistinta. Uma era para Harry; a outra para o pai. Ernest fora o preferido, mas gostava também de Harry. Notara que o pai estava ficando velho; ela fazia falta. Às vezes, ele sabia ser agradável. Há pouco tempo, ela passara um dia na cama, doente, e ele havia preparado torradas na lareira e lido uma história de fantasmas. Era distraí-la. De outra vez, no tempo em que a mãe ainda vivia, tinham ido todos a um piquenique na colina de Howth. Recordava-se dele pondo o chapéu da mulher para divertir as crianças.

10 O tempo corria e ela continuava sentada à janela com a cabeça apoiada na cortina, aspirando o poeirento odor do cretone. Ouvia, lá longe na avenida, o som de um realejo. Estranho que viesse tocar ali naquela noite, como para lembrar-lhe a promessa que fizera à mãe, promessa de tomar conta da casa enquanto fosse necessário. Recordou-se da noite em que a mãe morrera. Viu-se novamente no quarto fechado e

escuro, no outro lado do vestibulo, ouvindo, lá fora, melancólica canção italiana. Reviu a figura do pai, retornando empertigado ao quarto da enferma, exclamando:

— Malditos italianos! Vir justamente aqui!

11 Enquanto divagava a pesarosa visão da vida de sua mãe feria-a na própria carne: uma existência de sacrifícios banais terminada em loucura. Estremeceu ao recordar-lhe a voz, gritando em desvairada insistência:

— Derevaum seraum! Derevaum seraum!

12 Levantou-se num súbito impulso de terror. Fugir! Frank a salvaria. Dar-lhe-ia vida, talvez também amor. Queria viver. Por que haveria de ser infeliz? Tinha direito à felicidade. Frank ia envolvê-la em seus braços, protegê-la. Ele a salvaria.

13 Em meio ao povo na movimentada estação de embarque de North Wall, Frank apertava sua mão e tentava repetidamente dizer-lhe algo a respeito das passagens. A estação estava repleta de soldados com sacos de viagem de pano marrom. Pelos largos portões do embarcadouro viu de relance a massa escura do navio, atracado à molhe com as vigias iluminadas. Não respondia a Frank. Sentia o sangue fugir de seu rosto e, em angustiada indecisão, pedia a Deus que a orientasse, que lhe mostrasse o caminho certo. O navio lançou um longo e triste apelo no nevoeiro. Se partisse, amanhã estaria no mar em companhia de Frank, navegando para Buenos Aires. As passagens estavam reservadas. Poderia voltar atrás, depois de tudo o que havia feito por ela? A angústia provocava-lhe náuseas e seus lábios moviam-se numa prece fervorosa.

14 A sineta do cais retiniu em seu coração. Frank puxou-a pela mão:

—Vem!

15 Turbilhonando, os mares do mundo envolviam seu coração. Frank arrastava-a para eles: ia naufragá-la. Com ambas as mãos, agarrou-se às grades de ferro:

—Vem!

16 Não! Não! Não! Era impossível. Em desespero, suas mãos crispavam-se. Do vórtice que a submergia, lançou um grito de angústia.

—Eveline! Evvy!

17 Frank precipitou-se para o outro lado da barreira e gritou-lhe que o seguisse. Ordenavam-lhe que se movesse, mas continuava a chamar por ela. O rosto pálido, inerte, Eveline fitava-o como um animal condenado. Não havia em seus olhos sinal de amor ou de saudade. Parecia nem mesmo reconhecê-lo.

APPENDIX II

ARABY

Source Text and Translated Texts

Araby

ST - Joyce

1 North Richmond Street, being blind, was a quiet street except when the Christian Brothers' School set the boys free. An uninhabited house of two storeys stood at the blind end, detached from its neighbours in a square ground. The other houses of the street, conscious of decent lives within them, gazed at one another with brown imperturbable faces.

2. The former tenant of our house, a priest, had died in the back drawing-room. Air, musty from having been long enclosed, hung in all the rooms, and the waste room behind the kitchen was littered with old useless papers. Among these I found a few paper-covered books, the pages of which were curled and damp: *The Abbot*, by Walter Scott, *The Devout Communicant* and *The Memoirs of Vidocq*. The wild garden behind the house contained a central apple-tree and a few straggling bushes under one of which I found the late tenant's rusty bicycle-pump. He had been a very charitable priest; In his will he had left all his money to institutions and the furniture of his house to his sister.

3 When the short days of winter came dusk fell before we had well eaten our dinners. When we met in the street the houses had grown sombre. The space of sky above us was the colour of ever-changing violet and towards it the lamps of the street lifted their feeble lanterns. The cold air stung us and we played till our bodies glowed. Our shouts echoed in the silent street. The career of our play brought us through the dark muddy lanes behind the houses, where we ran the gauntlet of the rough tribes from the cottages, to the back doors of the dark dripping gardens where odours arose from the ashpits to the dark odorous stables where a coachman smoothed and combed the horse or shook music from the buckled harness. When we returned to the street light from the kitchen windows had filled the area. If my uncle was seen turning the corner we hid in the shadow until we had seen him safely housed Or if Mangan's sister came out on the doorstep to call her brother in to his tea we watched her from our shadow peer up and down the street. We waited to see whether she would remain or go in and, if she remained, we left our shadow and walked up to Mangan's steps resignedly. She was waiting for us, her figure defined by the light from the half-opened door. Her brother always teased her before he obeyed and I stood by the railings looking at her. Her dress swung as she moved her body and the soft rope of her hair tossed from side to side.

4 Every morning I lay on the floor in the front parlour watching her door. The blind was pulled down to within an inch of the sash so that I could not be seen. When she came out on the doorstep my heart leaped. I ran to the hall, seized my books and followed her. I kept her brown figure always in my eye and, when we came near the point at which our ways diverged, I quickened my pace and passed her. This happened morning after morning. I had never spoken to her, except for a few casual words, and yet her name was like a summons to all my foolish blood.

5 Her image accompanied me even in places the most hostile to romance. On Saturday evenings when my aunt went marketing I had to go to carry some of the parcels. We walked through the flaring streets, jostled by drunken men and bargaining women, amid the curses of labourers, the shrill litanies of shop-boys who stood on guard by the barrels of pig's cheeks, the nasal chanting of street-singers, who sang a *come-all-you* about O'Donovan Rossa, or a ballad about the troubles in our native land. These noises converged in a single sensation of life for me: I imagined that I bore my chalice safely through a throng of foes. Her name sprung to my lips at moments in strange prayers and praises which I myself did not understand. My eyes were often full of tears. I could not tell why and at times a flood from my heart seemed to pour itself out into my bosom. I thought little of the future. I did not know whether I would ever speak to her or not or, if I spoke to her, how I could tell her of my confused adoration. But my body was like a harp and her words and gestures were like fingers running upon the wires.

6 One evening I went into the back drawing-room in which the priest had died. It was a dark rainy evening and there was no sound in the house. Through one of the broken panes I heard the rain impinge upon the earth, the fine incessant needles of water playing in the sodden beds. Some distant lamp or lighted window gleamed below me. I was thankful that I could see so little. All my senses seemed to desire to veil themselves and, feeling that I was about to slip from them, I pressed the palms of my hands together until they trembled, murmuring: *O love ! O love !* many times.

7 At last she spoke to me. When she addressed the first words to me I was so confused that I did not know what to answer. She asked me was I going to *Araby*. I forgot whether I answered yes or no. It would be splendid bazaar, she said; she would love to go.

'And why can't you?' I asked.

8 While she spoke she turned a silver bracelet round and round her wrist. She could not go, she said, because there would be a retreat that week in her convent. Her brother and two other boys were fighting for their caps and I was alone at the railings. She held one of the spikes, bowing her head towards me. The light from the lamp opposite our door caught the white curve of her neck, lit up her hair that rested there and, falling, lit up the hand upon the railing. It fell over one side of her dress and caught the white border of a petticoat, just visible as she stood at ease.

'It's well for you,' she said.

'If I go,' I said, 'I will bring you something.'

9 What innumerable follies laid waste my waking and sleeping thoughts after that evening ! I wished to annihilate the tedious intervening days. I chafed against the work of school. At night in my bedroom and by day in the classroom her image came between me and the page I strove to read. The syllables of the word *Araby* were called to me through the silence in which my soul luxuriated and cast an Eastern enchantment over me. I asked for leave to go to the bazaar on Saturday night. My aunt was surprised and hoped it was not some Freemason affair. I answered few questions in class. I watched my master's face pass from amiability to sternness; he hoped I was not beginning to idle. I could not call my wandering thoughts together. I had hardly any patience with the serious work of life which, now that it stood between me and my desire, seemed to me child's play, ugly monotonous child's play.

10 On Saturday morning I reminded my uncle that I wished to go to the bazaar in the evening. He was fussing at the hall-stand, looking for the hat-brush, and answered me curtly:

‘Yes, boy, I know.’

11 As he was in the hall I could not go into the front parlour and lie at the window. I left the house in bad humour and walked slowly towards the school. The air was pitilessly raw and already my heart misgave me.

12 When I came home to dinner my uncle had not yet been home. Still it was early. I sat staring at the clock for some time and, when its ticking began to irritate me, I left the room. I mounted the staircase and gained the upper part of the house. The *high cold empty gloomy* rooms liberated me and I went from room to room singing. From the front window I saw my companions playing below in the street. *Their cries* reached me weakened and indistinct and, leaning my forehead against the cool glass, I looked over at the dark house where she lived. I may have stood there for an hour, seeing nothing but the brown-clad figure cast by my imagination, touched discreetly by the lamplight at the curved neck, at the hand upon the railings and at the border below the dress.

13 When I came downstairs again I found Mrs Mercer sitting at the fire. She was an old garrulous woman, a pawnbroker's widow, who collected used stamps for some pious purpose. I had to endure the gossip of the tea-table. The meal was prolonged an hour and still my uncle did not come. Mrs Mercer stood up to go: She was sorry she couldn't wait any longer, but it was after eight and she did not like to be out late, as the night air was bad for her. When she had gone I began to walk up and down the room, clenching my fists. My aunt said:

‘I'm afraid you may put off your bazaar for this night of Our Lord.’

14 At nine o'clock I heard my uncle's latchkey in the hall door. I heard him talking to himself and I heard the hallstand rocking when it had received the weight of his overcoat. I could interpret these signs. When he was midway through his dinner I asked him to give me the money to go to the bazaar. He had forgotten.

‘The people are in bed and after their first sleep now,’ he said.

15 I did not smile. My aunt said to him energetically:

‘Can't you give him the money and let him go? You've kept him late enough as it is.’

16 My uncle said he was very sorry he had forgotten. He said he believed in the old saying: *All work and no play makes jack a dull boy*. He asked me where I was going and, when I had told him a second time he asked me did I know *The Arab's Farewell to his Steed*. When I left the kitchen he was about to recite the opening lines of the piece to my aunt.

17 I held a florin tightly in my hand as I strode down Buckingham Street towards the station. The sight of the streets thronged with buyers and glaring with gas recalled to me the purpose of my journey. I took my seat in a third-class carriage of a deserted train. After an intolerable delay the train moved out of the station slowly. It crept onward among ruinous houses and over the twinkling river. At Westland Row Station a crowd of people pressed to the carriage doors; but the porters moved them back, saying that it was a special train for the bazaar. I remained alone in the bare carriage. In a few minutes the train drew up beside an improvised wooden platform. I

passed out on to the road and saw by the lighted dial of a clock that it was ten minutes to ten. In front of me was a large building which displayed the magical name.

18 I could not find any sixpenny entrance and, fearing that the bazaar would be closed, I passed in quickly through a turnstile, handing a shilling to a weary-looking man. I found myself in a big hall girdled at half its height by a gallery. Nearly all the stalls were closed and the greater part of the hall was in darkness. I recognised a silence like that which pervades a church after a service. I walked into the centre of the bazaar timidly. A few people were gathered about the stalls which were still open. Before a curtain, over which the words *Café Chantant* were written in coloured lamps, two men were counting money on a salver. I listened to the fall of the coins.

19 Remembering with difficulty why I had come I went over to one of the stalls and examined porcelain vases and flowered tea-sets. At the door of the stall a young lady was talking and laughing with two young gentlemen. I remarked their English accents and listened vaguely to their conversation.

‘O, I never said such a thing!’

‘O, but you did!’

‘O, but I didn’t!’

‘Didn’t she say that?’

‘Yes, I heard her.’

‘O, there’s a ... fib!’

20 Observing me the young lady came over and asked me did I wish to buy anything. The tone of her voice was not encouraging; she seemed to have spoken to me out of a sense of duty. I looked humbly at the great jars that stood like eastern guards at either side of the dark entrance to the stall and murmured:

‘No, thank you.’

21 The young lady changed the position of one of the vases and went back to the two young men. They began to talk of the same subject. Once or twice the young lady glanced at me over her shoulder.

22 I lingered before her stall, though I knew my stay was useless, to make my interest in her wares seem the more real. Then I turned away slowly and walked down the middle of the bazaar. I allowed the two pennies to fall against the sixpence in my pocket. I heard a voice call from one end of the gallery that the light was out. The upper part of the hall was now completely dark.

23 Gazing up into the darkness I saw myself as a creature driven and derided by vanity; and my eyes burned with anguish and anger.

Araby

TT1 - O'Shea

1 A North Richmond Street, por ser uma rua sem saída, era tranqüila exceto no horário em que a Christian Brother's School dispensava os meninos. Havia no fundo do beco uma casa de dois andares desabitada, construída no meio de um terreno quadrado, separada das casas vizinhas. As outras casas da rua, ciosas das vidas decentes que abrigavam, olhavam-se com suas imperturbáveis fachadas escuras.

2 O antigo inquilino da casa em que morávamos, um sacerdote, morrera na sala dos fundos. O ar que pairava em todos os cômodos era pesado devido à pouca ventilação e o depósito que havia atrás da cozinha estava entulhado de papel velho. Entre a papelada encontrei alguns livros de bolso, cujas páginas estavam enrugadas e úmidas: *The abbot*, de Sir Walter Scott, *The devout communicant* e *The memoirs of Vidocq*. Gostei mais deste último porque tinha as folhas amareladas. No centro do quintal abandonado que havia atrás da casa via-se uma macieira e alguns arbustos esparsos, sob um dos quais encontrei, enferrujada, a bomba de encher pneu de bicicleta que pertencia ao antigo inquilino. Tinha sido um padre bastante caridoso; em seu testamento deixara todo o seu dinheiro para instituições de caridade e a mobília da casa para a irmã.

3 Ao chegarem os curtos dias de inverno anoitecia bem antes de acabarmos o jantar. Quando nos reuníamos mais tarde na rua as casas estavam sombrias. O pedaço do céu sobre nós era violeta e em direção ao mesmo os lampiões da rua erguiam suas luzes fracas. O ar frio ardia na pele e brincávamos até brilhar de suor. Nossos gritos ecoavam na rua deserta. Nossas brincadeiras levavam-nos às ruelas escuras e lamacentas que havia atrás das casas onde brincávamos de corredor polonês, correndo dos chalés até os portões dos fundos dos quintais escuros e encharcados, onde recendia o cheiro dos buracos usados para despejar cinzas, e de lá até os estábulos mal-iluminados e com odor forte, onde às vezes um cocheiro escovava um cavalo ou extraía música das ferragens das rédeas. Quando voltávamos para nossa rua a luz das janelas das cozinhas iluminava o exterior. Caso meu tio fosse visto dobrando a esquina escondíamos-nos na sombra até termos certeza de que ele havia entrado em casa. E se a irmã de Mangan viesse ao batente da porta chamar o irmão para tomar o chá, de nosso esconderijo na sombra ficávamos observando enquanto ela olhava para um lado e para o outro. Esperávamos para ver se ficaria ali fora ou se voltaria para dentro de casa e, caso ficasse, saíamos do esconderijo e nos encaminhávamos resignadamente até os degraus da porta da casa de Mangan. Ela esperava por nós, com sua silhueta recortada na luz da porta entreaberta. O irmão sempre fazia um pouco de pirraça antes de obedecê-la e eu ficava encostado ao corrimão olhando para ela. O vestido balançava quando ela se mexia e seus cabelos macios balançavam acompanhando o movimento do corpo.

4 Todas as manhãs eu me deitava no chão da sala da frente para vigiar a porta da casa dela. Deixava apenas um dedo da persiana aberto para não ser visto. Quando ela aparecia à porta meu coração dava um salto. Eu corria até o hall, agarrava os livros e partia atrás dela. Não tirava os olhos de sua silhueta marrom e, quando se aproximava o

ponto em que nossos caminhos se cruzavam, eu apertava o passo e passava por ela. Isso repetia-se todas as manhãs. Nunca havia trocado com ela mais do que uma ou duas palavras e mesmo assim, para o meu sangue tolo, seu nome era um apelo irreversível.

5 Sua imagem acompanhava-me até em locais menos propícios ao romance. Nas tardes de sábado quando minha tia ia ao mercado eu era convocado a acompanhá-la para ajudar a carregar as sacolas. Caminhávamos pelas ruas fulgurantes, acotovelando-nos com bêbados e mulheres que pechinchavam, em meio aos xingamentos dos operários, aos gritos agudos dos meninos que anunciavam mercadorias e ofertas montando guarda sobre as barricadas de carne de porco, e à voz anasalada dos cantores de rua, que interpretavam canções populares sobre O'Donovan Rossa ou baladas a respeito dos problemas da nossa terra. Aqueles sons convergiam para mim numa única sensação de vida: eu imaginava que conseguia carregar meu cálice a salvo através de uma multidão de inimigos. O nome dela vinha-me aos lábios em dados momentos formando preces e louvores estranhos que nem eu mesmo era capaz de compreender. Meus olhos enchiam-se de lágrimas (eu não sabia por que) e às vezes uma torrente parecia transbordar meu coração e desaguar no meu peito. Pouco me preocupava o futuro. Não sabia sequer se um dia conversaria com ela e, se o fizesse, de que modo poderia expressar minha confusa adoração. Mas meu corpo era como uma harpa e seus gestos e palavras eram como dedos correndo pelas cordas.

6 Certa noite fui até a sala dos fundos, onde o padre tinha falecido. Era uma noite chuvosa e escura e reinava na casa um silêncio absoluto. Através de uma vidraça quebrada eu ouvia a chuva violando a terra, as incessantes agulhas de água divertindo-se nos canteiros encharcados. Brilhava ao longe um lampião, ou uma janela iluminada. Felizmente eu não enxergava muito bem. Era como se os meus sentidos desejassem estar velados e, sentindo-me prestes a perdê-los, apertei com força uma palma da mão contra a outra, até ficarem trêmulas, murmurando *Amor! Amor!* inúmeras vezes.

7 Finalmente ela falou comigo. Diante das primeiras palavras que me dirigiu fiquei tão confuso que não soube o que responder. Perguntou-me se eu pretendia ir ao *Araby*. Não me recordo se respondi sim ou não. Vai ser uma feira e tanto, ela disse; e acrescentou que adoraria ir.

— E por que não vai? — perguntei.

8 Enquanto falava ela girava continuamente uma pulseira de prata que usava. Não podia ir, respondeu, porque seu colégio faria retiro naquela semana. O irmão dela e dois outros meninos estavam naquele momento brigando por causa de seus bonés e eu era o único ali, ao lado do corrimão. Ela se apoiava na barra do corrimão, pendendo a cabeça para o meu lado. A luz do lampião do outro lado da rua roçava-lhe a curva nítida do pescoço, iluminava os cabelos que ali repousavam e, descendo, alcançava os dedos agarrados ao corrimão. Escorregava pelo lado do vestido e revelava a ponta branca da anágua, visível somente quando ela erguia o corpo.

— Você é que tem sorte — ela disse.

— Se eu for — eu disse — trago alguma coisa pra você.

9 Quantas fantasias tomaram conta dos meus pensamentos a partir daquela noite, estivesse eu acordado ou dormindo! Minha vontade era aniquilar os dias que me separavam da ida à feira. Os deveres escolares irritavam-me. À noite em meu quarto e de dia na sala de aula a imagem dela interpunha-se entre meus olhos e a página que me esforçava em ler. No silêncio que fazia tão bem a minha alma eu pensava ouvir as sílabas da palavra *Araby* sendo cantadas produzindo em mim um encantamento oriental. Pedi

permissão para ir à feira no sábado à noite. Minha tia ficou surpresa e disse que esperava não se tratar de uma reunião da maçonaria. Passei a responder a poucas perguntas durante a aula. Notei que a atitude de meu professor passara da amabilidade à preocupação; disse que fazia votos de que eu não estivesse ficando preguiçoso. Não conseguia concatenar meus pensamentos. Não tinha mais muita paciência com as tarefas da vida cotidiana que, intrometendo-se entre mim e meus desejos, pareciam brincadeiras de criança, daquelas bem monótonas, bem chatas.

10 Na manhã de sábado lembrei meu tio que desejava ir à feira à noite. Ele estava todo nervoso diante do cabideiro do hall procurando a escova de chapéus e respondeu rispidamente:

— Já sei, menino, já sei.

11 Como ele se encontrava no hall não pude ir me deitar em frente à janela da sala da frente. Saí de casa de mau humor e segui sem a menor pressa em direção à escola. O ar estava cortante de tão frio e meu coração já se enchia de dúvidas.

12 Quando voltei para casa na hora do jantar meu tio não havia chegado. Ainda era cedo. Sentei-me e fiquei olhando para o relógio durante algum tempo, mas o tique-taque começou a me irritar e então saí da sala. Subi as escadas e percorri a parte superior da casa. Os quartos vazios e frios e soturnos provocavam em mim uma sensação de liberdade e saí de quarto em quarto cantando. Da janela da frente vi meus companheiros brincando na rua, lá embaixo. Seus gritos chegavam-me abafados e irreconhecíveis e, encostando a testa no vidro gelado, olhei para a casa escura onde ela morava. Devo ter ficado de pé ali durante uma hora, vendo apenas a figura vestida de marrom criada pela minha imaginação, suavemente delineada pela luz do lampião, a curva do pescoço, os dedos presos ao corrimão e a barra do vestido.

13 Quando voltei para o andar de baixo encontrei Mrs. Mercer sentada diante da lareira. Era uma mulher idosa e faladeira, viúva de um agiota, que colecionava selos para colaborar com uma obra de caridade. Fui obrigado a ouvir os mexericos à mesa do chá. O lanche prolongou-se por mais de uma hora e nada de meu tio chegar. Mrs. Mercer levantou-se para partir; disse que sentia muito não poder ficar mais, mas já passava das oito e ela não gostava de estar fora de casa tarde da noite, pois o sereno fazia-lhe mal. Quando ela se foi, comecei a caminhar de um lado ao outro da sala, com os punhos cerrados. Minha tia disse:

— Acho que você vai ter de adiar sua ida à feira.

14 Às nove horas ouvi o ruído da chave de meu tio na porta da rua. Ouvi-o resmungar algumas palavras e o cabideiro balançar sob o peso de seu sobretudo. Sabia muito bem como interpretar esses sinais. Quando ele estava no meio do jantar pedi-lhe dinheiro para ir à feira. Ele havia se esquecido do assunto.

— A essa hora já está todo mundo na cama, no segundo sono — ele disse.

15 Não esbocei o menor sorriso. Minha tia disse com firmeza:

— Será que você não pode dar logo o dinheiro e deixar o menino ir? Ele se atrasou por sua culpa.

16 Meu tio pediu desculpas por haver esquecido que eu ia à feira. Disse que acreditava no velho ditado que dizia que quem só trabalha e nunca se diverte torna-se um chato. Perguntou-me aonde ia e quando repeti a informação que acabara de dar,

perguntou-me se conhecia o poema "The arab's farewell to his steed".* Quando saí da cozinha ele estava prestes a recitar os primeiros versos tendo minha tia como platéia.

17 Segurei firme o florim que ganhara, enquanto descia Buckingham Street rumo à estação. A visão das ruas reluzentes de gás e repletas de pessoas fazendo compras trouxe de volta à minha mente o propósito da minha escapada. Tomei assento num vagão de terceira classe num trem vazio. Após uma demora intolerável o trem partiu lentamente da estação. Arrastou-se entre casas caindo aos pedaços e atravessou o rio cintilante. Na estação de Westland Row uma multidão comprimiu-se contra as portas do vagão; mas os cobradores empurraram as pessoas para trás, dizendo que aquele era um trem especial com destino à feira. Continuei sozinho no vagão. Dentro de poucos minutos o trem estacionou ao lado de uma plataforma de madeira, improvisada. Desembarquei e caminhei rua abaixo, vendo no mostrador iluminado de um relógio que faltavam dez minutos para as dez. Diante de mim estava o imponente pavilhão exibindo a palavra mágica.

18 Não consegui encontrar nenhum guichê onde pudesse comprar uma entrada por seis pence e, com medo de que a feira já estivesse fechando, passei rapidamente pela borboleta, entregando um shilling a um velho aparentando cansaço. Ingressei num grande saguão circundando a meia altura por uma galeria. Quase todas as barracas estavam fechadas e a maior parte do recinto estava às escuras. Reinava ali o silêncio de uma igreja após uma missa. Caminhei timidamente até o centro da feira. Algumas pessoas estavam diante das poucas barracas que ainda se encontravam abertas. Em frente a uma cortina, sobre a qual as palavras *Café Chantant* apareciam em letras luminosas e coloridas, dois sujeitos contavam dinheiro numa bandeja. Ouvi o ruído das moedas.

19 Com dificuldade de lembrar a razão de minha presença na feira, fui até uma das barracas e examinei uns vasos de porcelana e uns aparelhos de chá ornados de flores. À porta da barraca uma jovem conversava e ria ao lado de dois rapazes. Notei que tinham sotaque inglês e pus-me a escutar vagamente a conversa.

— Ah, eu nunca disse uma coisa dessas!

— Ah, disse, sim!

— Ah, não disse, não!

— Ela não disse?

— Disse. Eu ouvi.

— Ah, que... lorota!

20 Percebendo a minha presença a moça aproximou-se e perguntou-me se desejava comprar alguma coisa. O tom de voz dela não era dos mais convidativos; parecia ter falado comigo mais por obrigação. Olhei humildemente para dois grandes jarros perfilados como sentinelas orientais ao lado da entrada escura da barraca e murmurei:

— Não, obrigado.

21 A jovem mudou a posição de um dos jarros e voltou para a companhia dos dois rapazes. Continuaram a falar do mesmo assunto. Uma ou duas vezes a moça olhou para mim por cima do ombro.

22 Embora soubesse que era inútil ficar ali, permaneci por uns momentos em frente à barraca, para fingir que estava realmente interessado nas mercadorias. Então dei meia-volta lentamente e caminhei pelo centro do pavilhão. Os dois pennies tilintavam

* "O adeus do árabe a seu corcel" (N. do T.).

dentro do meu bolso ao se chocarem contra a moeda de seis pence. Ouvi uma voz gritar do fundo da galeria que as luzes seriam apagadas. A parte superior do pavilhão estava agora completamente às escuras.

23 Olhando para a escuridão lá em cima vi a mim mesmo como uma criatura comandada e ludibriada pela vaidade; meus olhos queimavam de angústia e de raiva.

1 A Rua North Richmond, uma rua sem saída, era muito tranqüila, exceto na hora em que a Christian Brother's School liberava os alunos. Uma casa de dois andares, desabitada e isolada de ambos os lados, bloqueava-lhe uma das extremidades. As outras residências, cômicas das vidas decentes que abrigavam, fitavam-se com imperturbáveis fachadas escuras.

2 O antigo inquilino de nossa casa, um sacerdote, havia morrido na sala dos fundos. Nos cômodos longamente fechados fluava um odor de mofo e o quarto de despejo, atrás da cozinha, estava abarrotado de papéis velhos. Entre eles encontrei algumas brochuras com as páginas úmidas e onduladas: *O Abade*, de Walter Scott, *O Devoto Comungante* e as *Memórias de Vidosq*. Gostei mais deste último por causa de suas folhas amareladas. O quintal abandonado, atrás da casa, tinha no centro uma macieira e alguns arbustos esparsos, sob um dos quais encontrei a bomba enferrujada da bicicleta do antigo morador. Tinha sido um padre muito piedoso e, no testamento, deixara todo seu dinheiro para instituições de caridade e a mobília da casa para a irmã.

3 Ao chegarem os curtos dias de inverno, o crepúsculo caía antes que tivéssemos terminado o jantar. Quando saíamos à rua, as casas se encontravam mergulhadas na sombra. O pedaço de céu sobre nós era de um violeta cambiante, contra o qual os postes erguiam a pálida luz de suas lanternas. Agulhoados pelo vento gélido, brincávamos até nos esbrasearmos e nossos gritos ecoavam na rua silenciosa. O curso dos brinquedos conduzia-nos às vielas escuras e lamacentas atrás de nossas casas, onde desafiávamos os rudes moradores dos barracos, aventurando-nos até os portões de quintais sombrios e úmidos, impregnados do cheiro fétido das fossas, ou aproximando-nos de estábulos escuros e odorosos, onde, por vezes, um cocheiro escovava e lustrava seu cavalo ou fazia tilintar os arreios de fivelas metálicas. Ao retornarmos à nossa rua, a luz das cozinhas projetava-se através das janelas, nos pequenos terraços. Se percebíamos meu tio virando a esquina, ocultávamo-nos num lugar escuro até termos certeza de que entrara em casa. E se a irmã de Mangan vinha à porta chamá-lo para o chá, continuávamos escondidos, observando-a perscrutar a rua, para ver se desistia. Se não tornava a entrar, deixávamos o esconderijo e, resignadamente, dirigimo-nos à escada da casa de Mangan, no alto da qual ela nos esperava. A silhueta de seu corpo recortava-se na luz da porta entreaberta. Mangan relutava sempre antes de obedecer e eu ficava junto à balaustrada, contemplando-a. O vestido rodava quando ela movia o corpo e a macia trança de seus cabelos saltava de um ombro para outro.

4 Todas as manhãs, sentava-me no assoalho da sala da frente para vigiar a porta da sua casa. Levantava a cortina apenas alguns centímetros a fim de que ninguém pudesse me descobrir. Meu coração disparava ao vê-la surgir à porta. Corria para o vestibulo, apanhava meus livros e seguia-a. Conservava sua figura Morena sempre à vista e, ao nos aproximarmos do ponto em que nossos caminhos divergiam, apressava o andar e passava à sua frente. Isto repetia-se todas as manhãs. Nunca havia falado com ela, a não ser algumas frases ocasionais e, no entanto, para o meu sangue inebriado seu nome era um apelo irresistível.

5 Sua imagem acompanhava-me mesmo nos lugares menos românticos. Nas noites de sábado, quando minha tia ia fazer compras no mercado, eu a acompanhava para ajudar com os pacotes. Caminhávamos pelas ruas iluminadas, acotovelando-nos com os bêbados e as mulheres que pechinchavam, em meio às imprecações dos trabalhadores, aos gritos dos garotos que montavam guarda às barricadas cheias de cabeças de porco e à voz fanhosa dos cantores de rua, que interpretavam uma canção popular sobre O'Donovan Rossa ou uma balada a respeito dos problemas do país. Todos esses ruídos convergiam numa única sensação vital para mim: imaginava conduzir meu cálice incólume, através de uma multidão de inimigos. Certos momentos, seu nome brotava-me dos lábios em estranhas preces e rogos que eu mesmo não compreendia. Meus olhos enchiam-se de lágrimas (não saberia dizer a razão) e, às vezes, uma torrente parecia transbordar meu coração e inundar-me o peito. Pouco me preocupava o futuro. Não sabia se falaria ou não com ela e, se o fizesse, de que modo revelaria minha tímida adoração. Meu corpo, porém, era uma harpa cujas cordas vibravam às suas palavras e gestos.

6 Certa noite, fui à sala dos fundos onde o padre havia morrido. Era uma noite chuvosa e a casa estava em completo silêncio. Através de uma vidraça quebrada, eu ouvia a chuva bater contra a terra, as finas e incessantes agulhas de água tamborilando nos canteiros encharcados. Bem longe, brilhava uma luz ou janela iluminada. Agradava-me enxergar tão pouco. Os meus sentidos todos pareciam embotar-se e, a ponto de desfalecer, apertei as mãos até meus braços começarem a tremer, murmurando: *Ó amor! Ó amor!*

7 Afinal, ela falou comigo. As suas primeiras frases, fiquei tão encabulado que não soube o que responder. Perguntou-me se eu pretendia ir ao *Arábia*. Não me recordo se respondi ou não, Ela disse que adoraria ir, pois devia ser uma esplêndida quermesse.

— E por que não vai? — perguntei.

8 Enquanto falava, ela fazia girar um bracelete de prata. Não poderia ir porque seu colégio faria retiro naquela semana. Nesse momento, seu irmão e dois outros meninos brigavam por causa dos bonés e encontrava-me sozinho junto à balaustrada. Ela se apoiara numa das barras e inclinava o corpo em minha direção. A luz do poste diante de nossas casas roçava a curva nívea de seu pescoço, inflamando-lhe os cabelos. Alcançava, mais embaixo, sua mão sobre a grade e revelava, ao tocar-lhe o vestido, a ponta do saiote que se deixava entrever em sua lânguida postura.

— Você é que devia ir — afirmou ela.

— Se eu for — prometi — trarei uma lembrança para você.

9 Acordado ou sonhando que loucas e intermináveis fantasias consumiram meus pensamentos a partir dessa noite! Queria suprimir os fastidiosos dias de espera. Os deveres da escola irritavam-me. A noite, no quarto, durante o dia, na aula, sua imagem interpunha-se entre meus olhos e a página que me esforçava em ler. No silêncio em que minha alma vagava luxuriosamente, as sílabas da palavra *Arábia* atiravam-me num encanto oriental. Pedi permissão para ir à quermesse no sábado à noite. Minha tia surpreendeu-se e disse esperar não se tratasse de uma reunião da franco-maçonomia. Na aula, quase não respondia às questões. De amável, o olhar do professor tornava-se severo. "Espero que não esteja ficando preguiçoso", disse ele. Não conseguia ordenar meus pensamentos errantes. Quase não tinha paciência para suportar os deveres cotidianos que, interpondo-se entre mim e meu desejo, pareciam brinquedos de criança, brinquedos desagradáveis e monótonos.

10 Na manhã de sábado lembrei a meu tio que desejava ir à quermesse. Ele atarefava-se junto ao porta-chapéus, procurando a escova e respondeu rispidamente:

— Já sei menino, já sei.

11 Como ele se encontrava no vestibulo, não pude ir à sala da frente postar-me à janela. Senti que o mau humor imperava na casa e fui desanimado para a escola. Fazia um frio implacável e meu coração já se mostrava receoso.

12 Meu tio não havia chegado, quando voltei para o jantar. Ainda era cedo. Sentei-me e fiquei olhando para o relógio, mas seu tique-taque acabou por me irritar e saí da sala. Subi a escada e ganhei o andar superior da casa. Os cômodos frios, desertos e escuros aliviaram-me a tensão. Atravessei-os cantando. Da janela da frente, vi meus companheiros brincando na rua lá embaixo. Seus gritos chegavam-me amortecidos e confusos. Apertando a testa contra o vidro gélido, olhei para a casa de tijolos escuros em que ela Morava. Devo ter ficado ali quase uma hora, vendo apenas, retida na memória, sua imagem num vestido marrom, tocada de leve pela luz na curva do pescoço, na mão sobre a grade, na barra do vestido...

13 Ao descer, encontrei a senhora Mercer sentada junto à lareira. Era uma velha mexeriqueira, viúva de um usurário, que colecionava selos usados com um objetivo piedoso qualquer. Tive de suportar sua tagarelice durante o chá. O lanche prolongou-se por mais de uma hora e meu tio não chegava. A senhora Mercer levantou-se para ir embora. Sentia não poder esperar mais, disse ela, mas passava das oito e não gostava de estar fora de casa até muito tarde, pois o ar frio fazia-lhe mal. Quando saiu, comecei a andar pela sala com os punhos cerrados.

— Talvez tenha de desistir da quermesse por esta noite de Nosso Senhor — renunciou minha tia.

14 Às nove horas, ouvi o ruído da chave de meu tio na porta de entrada. Escutei-o resmungar e o porta-chapéus balançar ao peso do seu casaco. Sabia interpretar esses sinais. Na metade do jantar, pedi-lhe que me desse o dinheiro para ir à quermesse. Ele havia esquecido.

— Todo mundo já está na cama e no segundo sono — disse ele.

15 Não ri. Minha tia interveio enérgica:

— Por que não dá logo o dinheiro e o deixa ir? Já o fez esperar muito tempo.

16 Meu tio declarou sentir muito ter se esquecido. Disse que acreditava no velho ditado: "Só trabalho e nenhum prazer é que faz de Jack um triste rapaz Indaguei-me aonde ia e quando tornei a explicar, perguntou-me se conhecia *O Adeus do Árabe ao seu Corcel*. Quando eu saía pela cozinha, ele começava a recitar os primeiros versos do poema para minha tia.

17 Apertando na mão o florim que recebera, desci a rua Buckingham. As calçadas iluminadas e repletas de compradores que deixavam as lojas deram novo alento ao propósito de minha viagem. Acomodei-me num vagão de terceira classe no trem deserto. Após insuportável demora, o trem se moveu vagarosamente. Arrastou-se entre casas em ruínas e sobre o rio cintilante. Na estação de Westland Row, a multidão comprimiu-se contra as portas do vagão, mas os fiscais fizeram-na recuar, dizendo que aquele era um trem especial para a quermesse. Permaneci sozinho no vagão. Minutos depois o trem parou diante de uma plataforma improvisada. Ao descer, vi no mostrador iluminado de um relógio que faltavam dez minutos para as dez. Diante de mim estava o imenso edifício, ostentando o magico nome.

18 Não encontrei nenhum guichê de seis pence e, com medo de que a quermesse fosse fechar, passei rapidamente por uma das borboletas, pagando um xelim ao porteiro de ar fatigado. Ingressei num vasto saguão, circundado à meia altura por uma galeria. Quase todas as barracas estavam fechadas e parte do saguão achava-se às escuras. Reinava ali o silêncio de um templo vazio. Caminhei timidamente para o centro do edifício. Algumas pessoas estavam reunidas diante das barracas ainda abertas. A frente de uma cortina, sobre a qual se desenhava em lâmpadas coloridas o nome *Café Chantant*, dois homens contavam dinheiro numa bandeja. Eu ouvia o tilintar das moedas caindo.

19 Recordando com dificuldade o motivo que me trouxera, aproximei-me de uma das barracas e examinei alguns vasos de porcelana e aparelhos de chá ornados de flores. Na porta da barraca uma jovem conversava e ria com dois rapazes. Notei-lhes o sotaque britânico e ouvi imprecisamente o que diziam:

— Ó, eu nunca disse isso!

— Ó, disse sim!

— Não disse!

— Ela não disse?

— Sim, eu ouvi.

— Ó, que mentiroso!

20 Percebendo minha presença, a jovem aproximou-se e perguntou-me se desejava comprar alguma coisa. O tom de sua voz não era encorajador. Parecia ter falado comigo por obrigação. Olhei humildemente para dois grandes jarros que, como sentinelas orientais, postavam-se à sombria entrada da barraca murmurei:

— Não, obrigado.

21 A jovem mudou a posição de um dos vasos e retornou aos rapazes. Voltaram à discussão anterior. A jovem olhou-me uma ou duas vezes por sobre o ombro.

22 Embora soubesse que era uma atitude inútil, permaneci algum tempo diante da barraca, para acentuar a impressão de que estava realmente interessado naqueles objetos. Finalmente voltei-me e caminhei devagar para o meio do saguão. Soltava as moedas dentro do bolso, fazendo-as bater uma na outra. No fundo da galeria, alguém gritou que a luz fora desligada. A parte superior do saguão estava agora completamente apagada.

23 Fitando a escuridão, eu me vi como uma criatura tangida e ludibriada por quimeras. Meus olhos queimavam de angústia e ódio.

APPENDIX III

REALIZATIONS OF MODALITY SYSTEMS IN ENGLISH

**Source: M.A.K. Halliday 1994b
Summer School ISFC 94
University of Leuven
July 25-29 1994**

Realizations of modality systems in English (1)

TYPE	POLARITY		ORIENTATION		MANIFESTATION		VALUE	REALIZATION
probability	positive		Subjective	implicit	neutral	outer: high	must	
usuality	"		"	"	"	"	must	
probability	"		"	"	"	outer: low	can, may	
usuality	"		"	"	"	"	can, may	
probability	"		"	"	"	median	will	
usuality	"		"	"	"	"	will	
probability	"		"	"	oblique	outer: high	should, ought to	
usuality	"		"	"	"	"	should, ought to	
probability	"		"	"	"	outer: low	could, might	
usuality	"		"	"	"	"	could, might	
probability	"		"	"	"	median	would	
usuality	"		"	"	"	"	would	
probability	"		"	explicit	"	outer: high	I know, am convinced	
"	"		"	"	"	outer: low	I suspect	
"	"		"	"	"	median	I think	
probability	"		Objective	implicit	"	outer: high	certainly	
usuality	"		"	"	"	"	always	
probability	"		"	"	"	outer: low	possibly, perhaps	
usuality	"		"	"	"	"	sometimes, occasionally	
probability	"		"	"	"	median	probably	
usuality	"		"	"	"	"	usuality	
probability	"		"	explicit	"	outer: high	it's certain	
"	"		"	"	"	outer: low	it's possible	
"	"		"	"	"	median	it's likely, probable	
usuality	"		"	"	"	"	it's usual	

M O D U L I Z A T I O N

Note also:

"non-modalized, positive", e.g. is, do

"non-modalized, negative", e.g. isn't, don't

Realizations of modality (2)

TYPE	POLARITY	ORIENTATION	MANIFESTATION	VALUE	REALIZATION
probability	negative	subjective	implicit	outer: high	can't
usuality	"	"	"	"	can't
probability	"	"	"	outer: low	may not, needn't
usuality	"	"	"	"	may not
probability	"	"	"	median	won't
usuality	"	"	"	"	won't
probability	"	"	"	outer: high	couldn't
usuality	"	"	"	"	couldn't
probability	"	"	"	outer: low	might not, mightn't
usuality	"	"	"	"	might not
probability	"	"	"	median	wouldn't
usuality	"	"	"	"	wouldn't
probability	neg: direct	"	explicit	outer: high	I know ... not
"	"	"	"	outer: low	I suspect ... not
"	"	"	"	median	I think ... not
"	neg: transf.	"	"	outer: high	I can't conceive
"	"	"	"	outer: low	I'm not convinced
"	"	"	"	median	I don't think
"	negative	objective	implicit	outer: high	certainly not/not possibly
usuality	"	"	"	"	never (= 'always not')
probability	"	"	"	outer: low	possibly not/not certainly
usuality	"	"	"	"	not always / sometimes not
probability	"	"	"	median	probably not/not probably
usuality	"	"	"	"	usually not/not usually
probability	neg: direct	"	explicit	outer: high	it's certain ... not
"	"	"	"	outer: low	it's possible ... not
"	"	"	"	median	it's likely ... not
usuality	"	"	"	"	it's usual ... not
probability	neg: transf.	"	"	outer: high	it's not possible
"	"	"	"	outer: low	it's not certain
"	"	"	"	median	it's not likely
usuality	"	"	"	"	it's not usual

M O D U L I Z A T I O N

Realizations of modality (3)

TYPE	POLARITY	ORIENTATION	MANIFESTATION	neutral	VALUE	REALIZATION
obligation	positive	subjective	implicit	neutral	outer: high	must, have to
r'ness: inclination	"	"	"	"	"	must, have to, will
obligation	"	"	"	"	outer: low	can, may ('insist')
r'ness: inclination	"	"	"	"	"	will
r'ness: ability	"	"	"	"	"	can
obligation	"	"	"	"	median	should, had better
r'ness: inclination	"	"	"	"	"	will, want to
obligation	"	"	"	oblique	outer: high	ought to
r'ness: inclination	"	"	"	"	"	would, had to
obligation	"	"	"	"	outer: low	would, might
r'ness: inclination	"	"	"	"	"	would
r'ness: ability	"	"	"	"	"	could
obligation	"	"	"	"	median	should
r'ness: inclination	"	"	"	"	"	would, + like to, rather
obligation	"	"	explicit	"	outer: high	I insist (that you ...)
"	"	"	"	"	outer: low	I'll let (you ...)
"	"	"	"	"	median	I want (you to ...)
"	"	objective	implicit	"	outer: high	required to
r'ness: inclination	"	"	"	"	"	determined to
obligation	"	"	"	"	outer: low	allowed to
r'ness: inclination	"	"	"	"	"	willing to, prepared to
r'ness: ability	"	"	"	"	"	able to
obligation	"	"	"	"	median	supposed to
r'ness: inclination	"	"	"	"	"	keen to, inclined to
obligation	"	"	explicit	"	outer: high	it's necessary
"	"	"	"	"	outer: low	it's permissible
"	"	"	"	"	median	it's desirable

M O D U L A T I O N

Realizations of modality (4)

TYPE	POLARITY	ORIENTATION	MANIFESTATION	VALUE	REALIZATION
obligation	negative	subjective	implicit	outer: high	mustn't, can't
r'ness: inclination	"	"	"	"	won't, can't (= 'insist on not')
r'ness: ability	"	"	"	"	can't (= 'unable to')
obligation	"	"	"	outer: low	needn't
r'ness: inclination	"	"	"	"	won't (= 'willing not to')
obligation	"	"	"	median	shouldn't, had better not
r'ness: inclination	"	"	"	"	won't, don't want to
obligation	"	"	oblique	outer: high	ought not to
r'ness: inclination	"	"	"	"	wouldn't
r'ness: ability	"	"	"	"	couldn't
obligation	"	"	"	outer: low	(needn't)
r'ness: inclination	"	"	"	"	wouldn't
obligation	"	"	"	median	shouldn't
r'ness: inclination	"	"	"	"	wouldn't, + like to
obligation	neg: direct	"	explicit	outer: high	I insist ... don't
"	"	"	"	outer: low	I'll let ... not
"	"	"	"	median	I want ... not to
"	neg: transf.	"	"	outer: high	I won't let ...
"	"	"	"	outer: low	I don't insist
"	"	"	"	median	I don't want ... to
"	negative	objective	implicit	outer: high	required not to/not allowed to
r'ness: inclination	"	"	"	"	determ'd not to/not prepared to
r'ness: ability	"	"	"	"	not able to
obligation	"	"	"	outer: low	allowed not to/not required to
r'ness: inclination	"	"	"	"	prepared not to/not determ'd to
obligation	"	"	"	median	supposed not to/not supposed to
r'ness: inclination	"	"	"	"	inclined not to/not inclined
obligation	neg: direct	"	explicit	outer: high	necessary not to
"	"	"	"	outer: low	permissible not to
"	"	"	"	median	desirable, better + not to
"	neg: transf.	"	"	outer: high	not permissible to
"	"	"	"	outer: low	not necessary to
"	"	"	"	median	not desirable to

M O D U L A T I O N