Footprints in the text: Assessing the impact of translation on Portuguese historiographical discourse

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In the current context of globalization, there is growing interest in the negative impact that English is having on other languages. That is to say, in addition to the phenomena of "linguistic curtailment" and "linguistic genocide"[1] (Pennycook 13-14) resulting from the substitution of languages by English in multiple situations and domains, contact with English is also causing other languages to change, not merely at the level of lexis but also as regards grammatical structures and discourse patterns. This has already been documented with regard to German popular science (House "Text and Context", "Global English"; Baumgarten et al.), Italian economics texts (Musacchio) and Swedish novels (Gellerstam), not to mention the numerous studies that exist on the more diffuse influence of English on everyday usage in many different languages (e.g. Anderman and Rogers).

In the academic sphere, there is a current of opinion that views English not as the neutral lingua franca it purports to be but rather as a colonizer, or as Swales puts it, a "Tyrannosaurus Rex" intent on "gobbling up the other denizens of the academic linguistic grazing grounds" ("English as T-Rex" 374). The main problem, Swales argues, is that other languages are under pressure to develop scientific or academic varieties modeled on English, which leads them to neglect their traditional discourses of knowledge. This results in "a loss of registral biodiversity" (378) — or as

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[1] "Linguistic curtailment" occurs when the usage of a particular language is restricted, qualitatively and quantitatively due to the favoring of the dominant language in multiple situations. "Linguistic genocide" refers to the disappearance of minority languages as a result of dominance by a more powerful one (see also Cronin, on this subject).

Santos more graphically terms it, "epistemicide" (266). That is to say, traditional discourses of the academy in other languages are gradually modified until they come to resemble the hegemonic discourse in all respects; and although this is often welcomed by the host culture as a sign of modernization and progress, it has also been seen as a form of "linguistic imperialism" (Phillipson, Pennycook), with the apparent universality of English masking "a drift towards Anglo-Saxon norms" (House, "Text and Context" 354).

If we assume, with the Critical Discourse analysts (Kress and Hodge, Kress, Fairclough, *Language and Power, Discourse and Social Change*, Wodak, etc.) that discourses encode ideology in their very structure, then the spread of English academic discourse is indeed a form of cultural colonization that ultimately implies "the imposition of new 'mental structures'" (Phillipson166). It takes place through a process of "calquing", by means of which patterns and structures from the dominant language are crudely imprinted upon the host language, irrespective of the forms of expression habitually used in that language. The term "calque" is of course etymologically related to the Latin word for "heel" (as indeed is obvious in its Romance language cognates), and so these imposed structures might be considered as footprints left by the dominant culture in a text that is otherwise construed according to other discourse norms.

As might be expected, this phenomenon is of interest to Translation Studies scholars who have hypothesized that translation might play an important role in furthering the process of language change (Cronin, *Translation and Globalization*, "The Cracked Looking Glass"; House, "Text and Context", "Global English"; Schäffner and Adab, etc.). That is to say, given the prestigious status of English, we might expect translations from that language to be predominantly source-text oriented, which would greatly increase the likelihood of calques occurring. This is borne out by testimonies such as that of Ieva Zauberga, quoted in Schäffner and Adab (335), who describes how Latvian translators systematically use a source-text oriented approach out of a sense of deference towards the dominant culture ("The Latvian cultural scene is perceived as defective, inferior; translators feel obliged to prove that concepts expressed in major languages can also be expressed in Latvian"). This sense of subaltern status, propitious to calquing, will undoubtedly be experienced in other cultures, with similar results.

Moreover, in many academic fields, much of the new knowledge circulating in the world today has actually been generated in English, which means that terms used in the source text may not even exist in the target language. Calquing is thus often the easiest way to fill a semantic void, as this Arabic science translator asserts:

> As science and technology develop, new English words used to express new concepts, techniques and inventions come into existence […]. This development has brought to Arabic serious linguistic problems of expressing this ever-expanding wave of newly-founded concepts and techniques for which no equivalents in Arabic exist. But while coinage, borrowing, transliteration and other means of transfer made for [sic] a huge bulk of English scientific terminology, translating of [sic] full technical texts from English into Arabic still poses a major intellectual challenge. (Al-Hassnawi, 1)

Although this author seems to be referring exclusively to lexical items, the same principle also applies to grammatical structures (such as nominalizations and impersonal forms, which are core features of English academic discourse but may not necessarily be produced spontaneously in other languages), forms of textual organization (such as the IMRAD[2] model used in scientific research articles) and indeed rhetorical preferences (like the English tendency to explicitly state the topic or theme in first place at all ranks of the text, or the taste for a "plain" rather than highly elaborate academic style). That is to say, calquing may take place at any level and is often the easiest way of dealing with semantic gaps in the target language.

There is evidence that calquing in translation has played a significant role historically in the creation of new discourses. Montgomery describes how the transfer of Hellenistic scientific thought into Syriac, Arabic and Latin tended to involve source-text oriented translation strategies in the early phases:

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[2] i.e. Introduction, Method, Results and Discussion. See Atkinson on the historical development of the research article as a genre.

> In most instances — but particularly that of late medieval Europe — highly literal renderings were done first, reflecting a clumsy yet ardent allegiance to writing. Such clumsiness had many results: its attempted "frozen" qualities helped introduce new words, rank corruptions, new syntactic formations, fertile deformations, even new grammatical constructions into the receiver language. Not all of these introductions survived; in fact, most did not. But such clumsiness shows itself to have been very much a central part of the nativizing process, a revelation of the eager inexpertise and sense of discovery at hand. (Montgomery 184)

Indeed, according to Halliday and Martin (12), the first stages of the nominalization process that lies at the heart of academic discourse in English today actually took place in Greek, and the results were transferred wholesale to Latin and then into the vernacular by literalist translators. Then in the nineteenth century, a similar translation policy seems to have been responsible for transporting those same features into Chinese (Wright) — a process that was so effective that, today, "it is hard to find truly convincing differences" between the discourses of science in English and Chinese (Halliday and Martin 9).

Of course the process of language change does not occur overnight, and calqued forms will initially seem very alien to the target culture. Schäffner and Adab (325) have coined the term "hybrid text" to refer to translated texts containing features (vocabulary, syntactic structures, style, etc.) that clash with target-language conventions:

> A hybrid text is a text that results from a translation process. It shows features that somehow seem 'out of place'/'strange'/ '/unusual' for the receiving culture, i.e. the target culture. These features […] are not the result of a lack of translational competence or examples of 'translationese', but they are evidence of conscious and deliberate decisions by the translator. Although the text is not yet fully established in the target culture (because it does not conform to established norms and conventions), a hybrid text is accepted in its target culture because it fulfils its intended purpose in the communicative situation (at least for a certain time).

These authors go on to suggest that such texts occur either because socio-political changes in a given culture create the need for new or modified text types and/or as a result of the increasing internationalization of communication (325-6). Thus, hybrid texts allow "the introduction into a target culture of hitherto unknown and/or socially unacceptable/unaccepted concepts" and may even constitute "formative elements in the creation of a truly supranational culture" (328).[3]

Contemporary Portuguese historiography contains many examples of hybrid texts, which, while not the direct product of individual translational acts, show signs of having been influenced by contact with English, and may therefore also represent an intermediate stage in a process of linguistic change or colonization. That is to say, despite the existence of a well-defined humanities discourse in Portuguese that is radically different from standard English Academic Discourse (EAD)[4] in style and approach (Bennett, *Academic Writing in Portugal I*, "Ballgame"), calques of English discourse features are now becoming increasingly common in Portuguese history texts, suggesting a gradual approximation to English norms.

In this paper, I present the results of a study designed to test the hypothesis that this change may be due to the impact of translation. That is to say, in the wake of the work undertaken by House ("Text and Context", "Global English") and Musacchio on the influence of translated texts on the discourse of popular science and economics in German/French/Spanish and Italian, respectively, I proposed to examine whether the consistent use of calquing techniques during the translation of history

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[3] Snell-Hornby (108) points out that Schäffner and Adab have redefined a term that has been in use for a long time. In postcolonial studies, "hybrid text" refers to a text written by the former colonial subject in the language of the imperial power, thereby creating a "new language" and occupying a space "in-between". I myself use the term to refer to texts bearing characteristics of more than one discourse (Bennett, "Ballgame" and below).

[4] My claims regarding the characteristics of English Academic Discourse are derived from a survey of the academic style manuals on the market (Bennett, "English Academic Style Manuals"), supplemented by a review of the vast body of literature that exists in the field of descriptive linguistics into how expert academic authors actually do write in practice (cf. periodicals such as Elsevier's *Journal of English for Academic Purposes* and *English for Specific Purposes*, and specialized volumes such as Swales *Genre*

texts from English to Portuguese could be considered responsible for the changes observed in Portuguese historiographical discourse.

Before embarking on a description of this project, however, let us look at just how Portuguese history discourse is changing.

1. The changing discourse of history

I first became aware of the epistemological gulf between the kind of discourse used in the Portuguese and English humanities while working as an academic translator (an activity that I have now been engaged in for some twenty years). Perplexed by the syntactic complexity and high-flown erudite style that I encountered in Portuguese humanities texts, and frustrated by the sheer difficulty of rendering such prose into acceptable English, I embarked on the somewhat ambitious research project designed to establish whether this could in fact be said to constitute a separate discourse, markedly different in style and purpose from the hegemonic English Academic Discourse (EAD).

The project had three separate parts: a) a corpus study of 408 Portuguese academic texts (1,333,890 words) of different genres and disciplines,[5] which were analyzed for the presence of particular discourse features not usually found in EAD;[6] b) a survey of Portuguese researchers in the humanities and social sciences, designed to gauge their perceptions of these differences and find out something about their habits as regards the production of academic texts in English; and c) a review of the (few) academic style manuals existing on the market in Portuguese.[7] The results

Analysis; Hyland *Disciplinary Discourses* and *Academic Discourse*; Flowerdew, etc.).

showed that there does indeed exist a clearly defined discourse of the humanities in Portuguese that not only contains features usually deemed to be unacceptable in EAD, but which also seems to be based on a whole different theory of knowledge. Indeed, this discourse may well prove to be a direct descendant of the grand "Ciceronian" style of rhetoric that fell into disrepute in England during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries but was perpetuated throughout the Catholic world by the Jesuits in their extensive network of schools and colleges.[8]

One of the history texts included in the corpus was a classic article that had been published in Portuguese in 1968, but was now being translated for inclusion in a bilingual edition. It offers an excellent example of what I call the "Traditional" style of Portuguese academic discourse.

Extract 1. The Traditional style (1968)

Enquanto a Europa se desenvolve até à era quatrocentista, à beira do oceano
While Europe develops up to the era of the fourteen hundreds alongside the ocean

mas sem que a sua vida por ele seja penetrado, e sem que por ele se aventure,
but without its life by it being penetrated and without across it venturing,

ao redor do Índico as diferentes populações vão-se interligando pelas vias marítimas
around the Indian Ocean the different populations go interconnecting by sea routes

e as suas economias não dispensam tais conexões longínquas de navegação;
and their economies do not dispense such distant connections of shipping;

o complexo europeu é predominantemente mediterrâneo e não se abre a poente
the European complex is predominantly Mediterranean and is not open to the West,

onde é merely costeiro: a África setentional liga-se ao complexo mediterrâneo,
where it is merely coastal: northern Africa connects to the Mediterranean complex,

[5] These had all been submitted to me for translation during a roughly ten-year period

a ocidental permanence mole de terra firme sem respiração marinha; em contraste
the western (part) remains a mass of firm land without sea breath; in contrast

o Oriente afro-asiático é oceânico.
the Afro-Asian East is oceanic.

Vitorino Magalhães Godinho, 'O oceano Índico de 3000 a.C até o século XVII: história do descobrimento, navios, rotas, supremacias' in *Ensaios*, Vol. 1. Lisbon.

The extract consists of one single sentence that is 93 words long,[9] and which is organized very differently from what would be expected in English, as indicated by the punctuation. There is deferral of the main topic (if indeed a main topic is discernable), inversions for rhetorical effect ("*sem que a sua vida por ele seja penetrada*"/ "*sem que por ele se aventure*"), poetic effusion ("*mole de terra firme sem respiração marinha*") and the use of historical tenses (that is, present and future tenses to refer to events that occurred in the contextualized completed past).

Many of the same features can be found in my second extract, which was written in 1993 but whose author spoke little English and had no understanding of the different discourse norms in operation.

Extract 2. The Traditional style (1993)

E, ainda antes de avançarmos, seja-nos permitido relevar, por um lado,
And, before we advance, let us be permitted to point out, on the one hand,

a dimensão do modo de vida dos que não só em Lisboa, como no Porto
the dimension of the lifestyle of those who, not only in Lisbon, but also in Oporto,

e em outras cidades e vilas litorâneas, se dedicavam aos serviços
and in other coastal cities and towns, dedicated themselves to the services

between 1998 and 2008.

[6] These "Differentiating Discourse Features" (DDFs) included: complex syntax; verbless sentences; high-flown or poetic diction; embedding devices; deferred topic; abstractions;

da fretagem naval, bem como ao transporte de encomendas e ao
of naval freight, as well as to the transportation of goods and to

comércio marítimo, a ponto de uma outra carta régia, também de 1414,
maritime commerce, to the extent that another royal charter, also of 1414,

para evitar burocracias excessivas, aceitar como prova dos
to avoid excessive bureaucracies, accepted as proof of

direitos alfandegários o juramento dos mestres do navios reinóis e dos
customs rights the oath of the masters of Portuguese ships and of the

mercadores que fretassem navios estrangeiros; por outro,
merchants that freighted foreign ships; on the other (hand),

registe-se a já crónica dependência nacional em relação ao
let it be registered the already chronic national dependence in relation to

trigo de fora, designadamente ao do Noroeste Europeu e do Mediterrâneo.
wheat from abroad, namely from northwest Europe and from the Mediterranean.

João Marinho dos Santos. Reproduced with the kind permission of the author.

This extract also consists of a single sentence, 106 words long and heavily subordinated. The factual content is not presented directly, but is embedded in a framework that highlights the interpersonal dimension of the reader/writer relationship ("*E ainda antes de avançarmos, seja-nos permitido relevar…*"); and there is also use of the magisterial "we" form for authorial self-reference.[10]

In contrast, Extract 3, dating from 2007, is by a younger author who was very aware of international expectations and had written the text with a view to publication abroad.

historical tenses, and certain uses of the gerund and personal pronouns. General translatability was also taken into account.

[7] The results of the Corpus study and Survey of Portuguese researchers have been published as articles (Bennett, "Ballgame" and "Academic Writing Practices in Portugal"

Extract 3. Modern Style[11] **(2007)**

As Ordens Militares existiram em toda a Cristandade e não apenas na Terra Santa.
The Military Orders existed in all Christendom and not only in the Holy Land.

Em parte, a sua implantação na Península deve-se à necessidade de aplicar o conceito
In part, their implantation in the Peninsula is due to the need to apply the concept

de cruzada, no âmbito das alterações que marcaram a organização social na viragem
of crusade, in the ambit of the changes that marked the social organization at the turn

do 1º para o 2º milénio.
of the 1st to the 2nd millennium.

Neste trabalho partimos da concepção pluralista da cruzada, que a define como
In this work we start from the pluralist concept of the crusade, which defines it as

uma forma particular de guerra santa cristã, penitencial, associada à peregrinação, mas
a particular form of Christian holy war, penitential, associated to pilgrimage, but

que se manifesta em diversos espaços. Assim, é definida pelas suas origens e
which is manifested in diverse spaces. Thus, it is defined by its origins and

características e não pelo seu destino — Jerusalém.
characteristics and not by its destination — Jerusalem.

Paula Pinto Costa and Maria Cristina Pimenta, "A cruzada e os objectivos fundacionais das Ordens Religioso-Militares em Portugal", *Revista Portuguesa de História*. Universidade de Coimbra, No. 40, 2009, 273-284.

respectively), and all three studies appear in a single volume (Bennett *Academic Writing in Portugal*).

Despite being roughly the same length as the previous extracts (91 words), there are now four sentences and two paragraphs, and the structure is simple, easy to read and to translate. The text is also very direct and to-the-point. These are in fact the opening lines of the article, and we can see that the author goes straight to the point, for the military orders, which is the theme of the text, is mentioned right at the outset. As for the verb tenses, references to completed events in the distant past mostly make use of the past tense, rather than the historical present. It is these features that have led me to present it here as an example of the "Modern" style of Portuguese discourse, identical to EAD in all respects.

While this would seem to indicate clearly that a discourse much closer to EAD is now being produced by at least some scholars in Portuguese history departments, the corpus also contains a number of hybrid texts, with characteristics of both types. For example, the article from which the following extract is taken is mostly in the Modern style, employing a factual rather than erudite tone, with short uncomplicated sentences, everyday vocabulary and direct style. However, although historical events are usually rendered in the past tense (that is to say, using the Portuguese equivalent of either the past simple, past continuous or past perfect), the author does revert to the historic present when describing a battle scene, probably to create a sense of vividness and immediacy. It is noticeable, though, that this is not consistently maintained: the third sentence in the following extract lapses briefly back into the past.

Extract 4. Hybrid Style

Ao tomar conhecimento (tardiamente) do desbarato da linha da frente,
Upon learning (belatedly) of the disarray on the front line,

a batalha de Juan I decide avançar, provavelmente a cavalo e acompanhada
Juan I's battalion decides to advance, probably on horseback and accompanied

pelas duas alas. Lopes (que concentra a sua narrativa nesta segunda fase da
by the two wings. Lopes (who concentrates his narrative on this second phase of the

batalha) realça o aparato da arrancada castelhana. Mas as alas depressa
battle) highlights the Castilian display of starting-off. But the wings quickly

ficaram de fora, pois os obstáculos naturais dificultavam o acesso ao planalto.
got left out, as natural obstacles impeded access to the plateau.

Quanto aos restantes, ao aproximarem-se da posição portuguesa apercebem-se de que
As for the rest, in drawing near to the Portuguese position, they realize that

o combate tem de ser travado a pé. Por isso, os castelhanos desmontam e caminham
the combat has to be done on foot. Therefore the Castilians dismount and walk

umas centenas de metros até alcançar os adversários; ao mesmo tempo,
a few hundred meters until they reach the enemy; at the same time,

cortam as suas lanças.
they cut their spears.

João Gouveia Monteiro: "A Batalha de Aljubarrota (1385): uma Reapreciação". Reproduced with the kind permission of the author.

The text also has a more overtly interpersonal dimension than is usual in English history writing, with many references to author and reader (in the form of first-person singular and plural verb forms and pronouns), rhetorical questions (e.g. "*De que fontes dispomos para a reconstituição do combate de Aljubarrota?*" [What sources do we have available for the reconstitution of the battle of Aljubarrota?]) and interpersonal framing devices (e.g. "*Creio, portanto, que é o momento de voltar a chamar a atenção para…*" [I believe, therefore, that it is the moment to once again call attention to…]). There are also some verbless sentences taking the form of detached subordinate clauses ("*Guerra essa que, em 1367, trouxera até à Península Ibérica…os exércitos inglês do Príncipe Negro…*" [War this that, in 1367, had even brought to the Iberian Peninsula… the English armies of the Black Prince]).

The predominance of such hybrid texts in the corpus (10 of the 19 history texts are in the Traditional style and 9 have been classified as Hybrids) seems to indicate that that Portuguese historiographical discourse is indeed coming under pressure from English, a claim reinforced by the fact that many of the history texts submitted to me for translation since the

corpus was closed have been almost entirely free of the discourse features that characterized the Traditional style. This suggests a growing openness to Anglophone textual conventions on the part of Portuguese history scholars.

It was in the light of these observations that I embarked upon the new project of trying to establish whether these discourse changes could in fact be attributed to the strategies used in the translation of history texts from English into Portuguese. My hypothesis was that, if I could prove that Portuguese historians were exposed to large amounts of academic text translated from English in a "literal" fashion (that is, without the application of what House ["Text and Context" 349; "Global English" 88] calls a "cultural filter"), I would be in a position to suggest that translation has actively influenced the linguistic colonization process in this domain.

Unfortunately, however, the reality has turned out to be somewhat different.

2. The influence of translation on Portuguese historiographical discourse

Unlike the work being carried out by Juliane House and her team at Hamburg University on the influence of English on German, French and Spanish (House "Text and Context", "Global English"; Baumgarten et al.), my primary aim was not to determine *if* Portuguese historiographical discourse is changing — this I have taken as a given — but rather to try to establish whether translation has played a significant role in the process.

However, an initial survey of Portuguese history periodicals revealed little sign of translation activity. A search of the site *Sumários das Publicações Periódicas Portuguesas*[12] ("Abstracts of Portuguese Periodical Publications") hosted by the University of Coimbra yielded a total of 23 journals bearing the words *história*, *histórico* or *histórica* in their titles, whose tables of contents were then perused in an attempt to assess the proportion of translated texts they contained. It was found that, although there were a few articles of foreign authorship in the journals, the policy seemed generally to be one of non-translation; that is to say, the articles

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[8] On Jesuit rhetoric, see Timmermans (122-6) and Conley (152-155).

appeared in the languages in which they had originally been written (moreover, of these, 62.5% were in Spanish, 20.3% in French and only 17.2% in English). Only in one edition of one journal was there any evidence of translation activity at all: the second part of the 2001 volume of *Ler História* (No. 41) is labeled as a bilingual edition, and contains seven articles by authors with English, French, Dutch and Indian names, presented both in Portuguese and in the language in which they were originally written (five in English and two in French). However, this policy is not sustained, for no other editions of this journal are bilingual.

On the other hand, one of the most prominent journals of Portuguese history currently available, the *E-journal of Portuguese History*[13] published by the University of Porto in collaboration with Brown University in the United States, is entirely in English and appears to make systematic use of translation in the opposite direction. That is to say, many of the articles, which are written predominantly by Portuguese academics, seem to have been translated from Portuguese (indeed, the journal acknowledges a translator/reviser on its home page).

I next turned my attention to the library of the Institute of Social and Economic History in the Faculty of Letters, University of Coimbra, in order to determine the proportion of their holdings translated from English into Portuguese. My aim was, first, to consult the Institute's records in order to compile some statistics about the number of translations contained in the library, and second, to consult those works that have been translated into Portuguese from English to determine the translation strategy used (for which I would use the same method as in the earlier corpus study, i.e. assessing the prevalence of Differentiating Discourse Features in the translated texts).

Of the various history institutes in the Faculty of Letters at the University of Coimbra, the Institute of Social and Economic History was chosen as being the one most likely to contain works of foreign authorship (the others were more focused on specifically Portuguese history and therefore might be expected to be dominated by Lusophone authors). In February

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[9] This is in fact not excessive by Portuguese standards. The longest sentence in my corpus is 358 words long, and it is common to find extensive stretches of text in which each

2011, when this research was carried out, this Institute had a total of 21,892 works, of which around 9,000 had been acquired since 1985. As this date roughly coincides with Portugal's accession to the European Community, which marked an important opening-up of the country in cultural terms, it seemed reasonable to concentrate my attentions on those more recent acquisitions.

Interestingly, around 35% of the Institute's holdings acquired since 1985 are of foreign (i.e. non-Lusophone) authorship, which is a considerable proportion by English standards. Of these, an astonishing 78% are untranslated (that is to say, the books are in their original languages) and only 22% are translated (mostly into Portuguese, though there are also translations into French and Spanish).

When we look more closely at the languages involved, interesting patterns begin to emerge. Of the untranslated foreign works, only 18% are in English. Over half (58%) are in French, and there is also a significant presence of Spanish (19%). As for the works that have been translated into Portuguese, 57% are from French and only 32% from English. This means that, of the total holdings, no more than 1.8% are translations from English into Portuguese.

So even though the second part of my hypothesis proved correct (the English-Portuguese translations that do exist have generally been undertaken in a source-oriented manner, with very few signs of DDFs that would indicate the application of a cultural filter), there are clearly not enough of them, in either the periodicals or the libraries, to have affected the discourse. Thus, it is impossible to claim from these findings that English-Portuguese translation has had a significant influence upon discourse change in the field of historiography.

Despite this, the results are nevertheless interesting in themselves. In the case of the periodicals, the authorship of the foreign-language texts offers some curious data. For example, the Spanish articles were almost entirely written by people with Spanish names, just as most of the French articles seemed to have been written by Francophones. In the case of English, however, only seven of the 26 articles had authors with English-sounding names; six were Portuguese historians and 12 appeared to be of other nationalities (their names suggested primarily Slavic, Scandinavian and Indian origins). Hence, it seems that English, unlike Spanish and

French, is predominantly being used in this context as a lingua franca by historians who are not native speakers of the language (indeed, the presence of language errors in some of the titles testifies to this).

Another interesting finding was that these Portuguese periodicals also contain articles by Portuguese scholars written in languages other than Portuguese (11 in French; six in English and two in Spanish). This seems paradoxical, given that the journals seem to be aiming for a Lusophone readership and Portuguese is by far the dominant language in them. However, one possible explanation is that the articles may originally have been written with a view to publication abroad (given the far greater prestige attached to international journals), but had for some reason failed to achieve that goal. These journals may therefore represent something of a "last resort" for Portuguese historians — a value judgment that would also have a bearing on the process of language change.

As regards the volumes in the library of the Institute for Social and Economic History, several interesting observations can be made. First, it is clear from the fact that 78% of the foreign texts in the library are untranslated that Portuguese historians (at least those that work in fields that are not specifically focused on Lusophone culture) are expected to be able to function with several foreign languages. This is borne out by the fact that Portuguese history conferences also tend to include papers in those same four languages (Portuguese, English, French and Spanish), often distributed indiscriminately across sessions in the assumption that participants will be able to cope easily with all of them.[14]

Second, the results for both translated and untranslated texts in the library reveal that it is French not English that has had the greatest influence on Portuguese history research. In addition to the quantitative difference in the holdings, there is also a qualitative one; that is to say, the French and English works (translated or untranslated) kept by the Institute are markedly different in nature. While the works of English authorship tend

sentence is over 70 words long.

to be either classic tomes by high-profile figures (such as Boxer, Hobsbawm and Galbraith) that can scarcely be ignored by historians working in this field, or alternatively, elementary or popular works with a clearly didactic purpose (such as a collection of illustrated books about inventions from the Industrial Revolution), the French works are much more scholarly in nature. In fact, the French holdings are clearly dominated by figures from the *Annales* school of historiography (Fernand Braudel, Phillipe Ariès, Marc Bloch, Jacques Le Goff, Georges Duby, etc.), of whose works multiple editions exist in both French and Portuguese, pointing to a strong influence of this school on Portuguese historical research.

While this clearly does not account for the changes that appear to be taking place in Portuguese historiographical discourse, it may well explain why the traditional discourse in Portuguese has persisted for so long, despite globalization. There are pronounced similarities, in terms of textual organization, style and underlying epistemological framework, between Portuguese humanities writing and that produced in France and Spain, suggesting the existence of an alternative academic discourse community extending across the Romance cultures.

The relationship between these two epistemological paradigms is of particular interest in the light of the debates on linguistic imperialism. Despite the significant challenge to the Anglo-Saxon worldview posed by poststructuralism at the end of the twentieth century, this counter-hegemonic impulse now seems largely to have run out of steam (Anderson). Whether little "niches" of Francophone influence will be maintained in certain restricted academic fields (such as some branches of history, as described here) or whether all will be gobbled up by the insatiable Tyrannosaurus Rex still remains to be seen.

3. Discussion

If translation is not responsible for the changing discourse of history in Portuguese, then clearly some other explanation will have to be found. As Michael Cronin (*Translation and Globalization*, "The Cracked Looking Glass") suggests, the answer is likely to lie in the phenomenon of globalization. That is to say, in today's world, English is so ubiquitous, and mastery of it so essential for professional advancement, that translation

proper may often be by-passed altogether in academic domains. Instead it is "the unconscious imbibing of a dominant language that produces the numerous calques that inform languages from Japanese to German to Irish" (Cronin, "The Cracked Looking Glass" 251).

This does not, however, invalidate the hypothesis that translation is fundamental for language change. Rather, it would seem that translation has ceased to be the exclusive province of professionals, and instead has become a far more diffuse practice that often takes place inside the heads of authors that have intensive contact with a language that is not their own. This is partly supported by the responses given by Portuguese humanities and social science researchers in the Survey mentioned above (Bennett "Academic Writing Practices in Portugal"). Those that wrote directly in English for the purposes of publishing abroad were asked if they consciously altered their discourse when doing so, and 95% replied that they did (they described their English as more succinct, logical and linear than their Portuguese, more oriented to the outside world, more objective; clearer and less verbose, and plainer in terms of diction) (Bennett, "Academic Writing Practices in Portugal" 202-3). It is therefore conceivable that authors that write first in Portuguese and then have their texts translated, or who present those papers at conferences where there are foreign delegates present, may also, consciously or unconsciously, alter their writing style in anticipation of English norms. If so, then the changes that appear to be taking place in Portuguese history discourse may well be due largely to a form of authorial self-censorship, tightly linked to perceptions of linguistic prestige.

It should be pointed out, however, that not all Portuguese researchers view the dominance of English as a good thing. Although many of the respondents in the survey appreciated the clarity and precision of English and the opportunities that it offers for international exposure, others considered EAD to be reductionist and semantically impoverished, and complained of its incapacity to do justice to qualitative or philosophical approaches. The survey also revealed a keen awareness among Portuguese researchers of the consequences of hegemony: respondents complained of the standardization of thought that it entails, the subalternization of work produced by other linguistic communities, the exclusion of non-English-speaking scholars from the international scene and the curtailment of Portuguese as an academic language (e.g. "*desincentivo à criação de um*

corpo lexical próprio em português" ["disincentive to the creation of a specialized lexis in Portuguese"] (Bennett, "Academic Writing Practices in Portugal" 197). Most pertinently, there was also an awareness of the way in which the Portuguese language is being affected by English, with one respondent specifically mentioning how English "colonizes other languages with a jargon that ends up not being translated into the mother tongue" ("*…coloniza as outras línguas com jargão que acaba por não ser traduzido para a língua maternal*") (197).

The extent to which English is in the process of taking over academic production in the humanities is thus of great concern to Portuguese academics, as well as to linguists and translation scholars elsewhere in the world. As we have seen, the phenomenon not only refers to the replacement of Portuguese by English in conferences and publications, leading to linguistic curtailment in certain domains, it also involves the modification of the traditional mode of construing knowledge through repeated calquing. And although this does not appear to be caused by translation proper (which is largely unnecessary in a country where educated people are expected to be fluent in several languages), the authorial self-censorship systematically practiced by Portuguese academics in the pursuit of international recognition seems to be causing the traditional Portuguese discourse of humanities to gradually lose its specificity and become a "mirror-image" (Cronin "The Cracked Looking Glass" 251) of EAD.

In the interests of epistemological diversity, that is something very regrettable indeed.

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Abstract

With its penchant for complex syntax, poetic effusion and high-flown diction, Portuguese historiographical discourse has always been notoriously difficult to translate into English, often requiring extensive reformulation to make it acceptable (or even intelligible) to an Anglophone readership. However, there are now signs that it is changing, with younger scholars producing a prose that is clearer, simpler and more concise — in short, more like the hegemonic discourse familiar to English historians.

As academic writing tends not to be formally taught in Portugal, this shift may be due in part to the pressure exerted by translated texts upon historiographical discourse in Portugal. That is to say, in the present context of globalization, translators working from English into Portuguese are unlikely to feel the need to extensively domesticate the text as do their counterparts operating in the opposite direction. Instead, the textual organisation, sentence structure and even vocabulary are often calqued from the original, leaving "footprints" in the Portuguese text. When these are systematically reproduced in the original writings of Portuguese historians, the result may be a wholesale shift in the norms governing the discourse, with epistemological, as well as stylistic, repercussions.

This paper describes the results of a survey of English historiographical texts in Portuguese translation, focusing upon the nature of the translated material (i.e. text-type and speciality), translation strategy used and potential influence that such texts might have upon the writing style of younger historians.

Keywords

English, Portuguese, historiography, translation, discourse, calque.

Resumo

Com a sua propensão para a complexidade sintáctica, as efusões poéticas e os registos eruditos, o discurso historiográfico português foi sempre muito difícil de traduzir para inglês, requerendo reformulação extensa para o tornar aceitável —

ou mesmo inteligível — para um público anglófono. Todavia, há sinais de mudança, com investigadores mais jovens produzindo uma escrita que é mais clara, mais simples e mais sintética — em suma, mais parecida com o discurso hegemónico utilizado por historiadores anglo-saxónicos.

Uma vez que a escrita académica não é, geralmente, ensinada em Portugal, é possível que tal mudança se deva em parte à pressão exercida por textos traduzidos sobre o discurso historiográfico em Portugal. Quer isto dizer que, no contexto de globalização, os tradutores que trabalham de inglês para português não deverão sentir muito a necessidade de domesticar o texto, ao contrário dos seus homólogos operando no sentido contrário. A organização textual, a estrutura sintáctica e mesmo o vocabulário são, muitas vezes, decalcados do original, deixando "pegadas" no texto português. Quando estas são reproduzidas na escrita original de historiadores portugueses, o resultado poderá ser uma mudança radical nas normas que regem o discurso, com repercussões epistemológicas, além das estilísticas.

Neste artigo, apresentam-se os resultados de um levantamento de textos historiográficos ingleses traduzidos para português, com especial ênfase na natureza da matéria traduzida (ex. género de texto e especialidade), na estratégia de tradução utilizada e na influência potencial que tais textos poderão ter sobre o estilo de escrita de historiadores mais jovens.

Palavras Chave

Inglês, português, historiografia, tradução, discurso, decalque.