MODES OF ADDRESS: TRANSLATION
STRATEGIES OR THE BLACK HOLE

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The title of this paper is perhaps deceptively succint: although it indicates the object of study it does not immediately suggest the transdisciplinary nature of its subject matter. Any consideration of the problems posed and the lexical or syntactical options available when one sets out to translate forms of address from one language to another must necessarily involve some awareness not only of issues of translation theory, but also of a series of questions usually discussed under the rubrics of sociolinguistics, pragmatics and discourse analysis.

The first of these branches of linguistics, frequently described as the 'ethnography of communication', is primarily concerned with the interaction of language and social life, that is, the linguistic expression of social relationships. Different kinds of communicative situation demand differing linguistic skills, among them the ability to recognize, select and use appropriate forms of address. There is obviously a world of difference between the way a patient addresses a respected member of the medical profession, and the forms of speech the same person uses in conversation with a very young child. These kinds of distinction, and the reasons for making them, are central to the subject of pragmatics, defined by David Crystal as:

> the study of language from the point of view of the user, especially the choices he makes, the constraints he encounters in using language in social interactions, and the

effects his use of language has on other participants in an act of communication (1980: 278).

Discourse analysis, too, focuses on the interplay of sensitivity, consciousness and choice that underlie social interactions:

> social roles affect discourse options in terms of who speaks when and what they can talk about, how non-verbal signalling works and how the actual form of utterances is conditioned by the social relationship between the participants (Coulthard 1985: 11).

The overlap between these three fields of enquiry is such that distinctions between them are frequently blurred; in many instances the subject under investigation, the approaches, and the methods of analysis seem to coincide.

While theorists might have some difficulty in describing what constitutes a good or acceptable translation, there is little disagreement about the objective of Translation Studies:

> to produce a comprehensive theory which can be used as a guideline for the production of translations (Lefevere 1978: 234-235).

Newmark points out that:

> translation theory is concerned with the translation method appropriately used for a certain type of text, and it is therefore dependent on a functional theory of language (1988: 5)

and a third authority stresses the fact that this is 'a discipline firmly rooted in practical application' (Bassnett-McGuire 1980: 7). Translation theory, then, purports to offer solutions rather than concepts. It remains to be seen whether it is indeed possible to formulate theories that enable the translator to resolve the specific problem of translating *formas de tratamento* from Portuguese into English and from English into Portuguese.

The question of forms of address, 'the manner of referring to someone in direct linguistic interaction' (Crystal 1980: 13), entails many different factors, some linguistic, others extra-linguistic. The range of possible forms is so vast and the shades of meaning so subtle that adequate translations may not always be found. It might even be argued that some address forms defy translation to the point of becoming 'cultural untranslatables' (Bassnett-McGuire 1980: 32-35).

After all, even native speakers, may not always be confident or comfortable in direct linguistic interactions:

> The Portuguese address system presents differentiations and variations which often have no equivalent in other languages, e.g., German or English. But even native speakers sometimes feel uncertain which variant to select in a given dyad (Braun 1988: 80).

Trudgill makes a similar point for English speakers:

> In some cases there may be considerable uncertainty as to which form is the appropriate one to use – many British people are not certain as to what they should call their parents-in-law, for example – and this may well result in no address-form being used at all (1974: 105-106).

Whether this constitutes a domestic dilemma or a genuine linguistic problem is unclear. In any case, Wardhaugh takes the example a stage further in pointing out one of the ways in which the situation may be resolved:

> The arrival of grandchildren is sometimes seen as a way out, it being easier to call a father-in-law *Grandad* rather than Dad (1986: 261-262).

If such matters place the native speaker in a predicament, how does the translator cope? What issues are involved in rendering forms of address from a source language into a target language? Clearly, if the translator is not thoroughly versed in the intricacies of the address systems of both languages, he or she will produce inept, misleading or completely inaccurate translations.

One of the greatest dangers in cross-cultural communication arises out of the T/V dyad. Brown and Gilman (1972) introduced the symbols T and V to designate respectively the simple or intimate pronominal form of address and the courteous, distant or secondary pronoun respectively (Braun 1988: 8). As Trudgill explains:

> Most European languages, for instance, unlike English which has only *you*, distinguish, especially in the singular, between a polite and familiar second-person (1974: 105-106).

French, Italian, German. Dutch, Swedish, Norwegian, Greek, Russian and Spanish all offer a choice of *you* forms. In the case of Spanish, moreover, the translator must also be acquainted with Latin American

address systems, particularly the familiar second person pronoun *vos*, used in Uruguay, Argentina, certain regions of Chile, and Central America. Portuguese address forms are particularly complex. As Luís F. Lindley Cintra observes:

> É bem conhecida a estranheza que causa no falante de outra língua moderna europeia a complexidade do sistema de formas de tratamento em português (1986: 9).

Thus, translators, teachers and scholars working with Portuguese (especially European Portuguese) are offered a kind of linguistic multiple choice. In addition to the second person familiar pronoun *tu* there is the relatively neutral pronoun *você*, and then a series of *formas nominais* used with a third person verb and ranging from *o senhor/a senhora*, equivalent to the Spanish *usted* or French *vous* but with a built-in gender marker, to the *formas de cortesia* or *cerimónia*: *Vossa Senhoria, Vossa Excelência. Vossa Alteza* (Cunha & Cintra 1984: 292). One aspect in which both Brazilian and Portuguese Portuguese diverge quite considerably from English, is in the importance attributed to honorifics and titles indicative of educational achievement or professional status: *Senhor Doutor, Senhor Engenheiro, Senhor Arquitecto* (Jensen 1981: 60). Let us not forget the popular saying 'Portugal é um país de doutores'.

Before considering specific examples of difficulties posed by address forms, it might be helpful to describe the different circumstances in which direct address forms are required, as well as the factors that condition their selection. João Malaca Casteleiro and colleagues, in their manual *Nível Limiar* (1988), provide several sets of categories into which can be placed speech acts and forms of address. These authors suggest that there are six kinds of relationship in which speech acts may be realised: the *transactional*, which could be a request for information, the *business deal*, contact between an official and a member of the public, the *doctor-patient* consultation or the relationship between priest and penitent; *relações gregárias*, exemplified by keeping on friendly terms with one's neighbours, mixing with a particular social group, or offering assistance to someone in need; *relations with the media*, as in listening to the radio or watching television, writing to the press or using telephone information services; *educational relations*, between teachers and pupils; *professional relations*, consisting of dealings between bosses and workers, management and labour force; and finally, *family relationships*. Within each one of these, specific factors determine the choice of one mode of address in preference to another. These are,

respectively, identity of speakers, their roles, social position, the degree of intimacy between *interlocutors*, and emotional attitude. Identity comprises such elements as gender, age, situation within the family, race, nationality, profession and status. The roles of the speakers are variable, and depend largely on where the interaction is taking place. Social position is less easy to classify, since it may be based on such factors as family background, education and profession; however, between participants in a social interaction there are three possible positions: superiority, equality, inferiority. The degree of intimacy between speakers is subdivided into four categories: *pouco conhecido, conhecido, bem conhecido* and *amigo*. Lastly, under the heading of emotional attitude are *simpatia*, a neutral attitude (which is not the same as indifference), and *antipatia* (Casteleiro *et alii*. 1988: 31-33, 45-46).

Before tackling the question of 'translation strategies', it would be useful to consider the specific object of translation that interests us, modes of address. Which modes of address exist in Portuguese, and how may they be best rendered in English? How much is lost in translation? Is translation always possible?

When translating from Portuguese, the second person verb with or without the pronoun *tu*, the third person verb, with or without *você*, and various nominal forms with a third person verb are all translated as *you*. In Brazilian Portuguese, *você* has virtually taken on the characteristics of a T pronoun:

> The choice made by Brazilians between *você* and *o senhor*, etc., is very similar to the T:V choice in other languages (Jensen 1981: 53).

Thus, instead of a V pronoun, Brazilians use an indirect form of address, that is, a nominal form + third person verb, to express notions of superiority and distance (Azevedo 1981).

When confronted with a translation from Portuguese, the English reader/listener may not always know whether the author/speaker has made a decision, conscious or otherwise, to use either the *tratamento de intimidade* or the preferred address for superior to inferior, or the more neutral form. Various shades of meaning or feeling may have been lost somewhere in the gap between the source language and the target language. At the same time, translating *you* from English into Portuguese and other European languages which contain the T/V dyad may be equally problematic. In European Portuguese, at least in the present day, *tu* is the expected form of address between husbands and wives (or lovers) and brothers

and sisters. But the translator always has a choice. See, for example, these Portuguese, Argentinian and Spanish versions of Mrs Bennet's first words to her husband in Jane Austen's *Pride and Prejudice*:

| 'My dear Mr Bennet', said his lady to him one day, 'have you heard that Netherfield Park is let at last?' | — Meu caro Sr. Bennet – perguntava a este um dia a esposa-, já ouviu dizer que Netherfield Park foi enfim alugado? (1972). | — Meu caro Sr. Bennet- disse-lhe sua mulher um dia-, sabe que Netherfield Park foi finalmente alugado? (1975). |

| La señora Bennet le dijo un día a su marido: — ¿Sabes que Netherfield Park ha sido alquilado al fin? (1956). | — Querido Bennet – decía a éste cierto día su esposa -, ¿has oído que el palacio de Netherfield se ha alquilado al fin? (1961). |

| — Querido Bennet – dijo a éste su esposa un día -, ¿no sabes que ha sido alquilado por fin Netherfield Park? (1984). | — Mi querido señor Bennet – díjole cierto día su señora-. ¿Te has enterado de que, al fin, alquilaron Netherfield? (1987). |

The third person form, both in Portuguese and Spanish, is more in keeping with the usage of the period, exemplified by Mrs Bennet's use of *Mr* + her husband's surname. The Argentinian and Spanish translators' choice of the second person, on the other hand, seems to run contrary to Jane Austen's style and to introduce excessively modern elements into the text; the result is incongruous when set alongside *Mr Bennet*. As we read on, we find in both Portuguese translations, that Mr Bennet, in turn, uses *a senhora* to address his wife. This formality reflects not only the socio-linguistic manners of nineteenth-century England, but also the psychological distance that separates Mrs Bennet from her ironic husband. The Spanish and Argentinian translators both have Mr Bennet address his wife in the second person, and consequently seem to be sacrificing an essential element of the text, the lack of understanding that exists between the Bennets. It is interesting to compare the Austen versions with

translations of an extract from another nineteenth-century novel, *Jane Eyre*:

'My living darling! These are certainly her limbs, and these her features; but I cannot be so blest, after all my misery. It is a dream, – such dreams as I have had at night when I have clasped her once more to my heart as I do now; and kissed her, as thus, and felt that she loved me, and trusted that she would not leave me'.
'Which I never will, sir, from this day' (1847: 286).

— Minha querida, está viva? Estas são sem dúvida os seus membros, e estas são as suas feições. Mas não é possível que eu seja tão feliz, após todo o meu infortúnio. É um sonho, como tantos que tenho tido de noite, em que a aperto uma vez mais contra o coração, como faço agora, e a beijo, assim, e sinto que me ama, e confio que me não abandonará. O que nunca mais farei, senhor, a partir deste dia (1977).

— ¡Juana Eyre! – exclamó-, ¡Adorada mía! ¡Sí, no hay duda, eres tú! A pesar de mi desgracia todavía me siento feliz. Y si es un sueño, Dios quiera que no se acabe y que ella no me abandone jamás.
— No pienso dejarle ya, señor Rochester (1928).

— ¡Mi querida Jane! Sí; eres tú. Pero esto debe de ser un sueño, un sueño como los que tengo cuando imagino que la estrecho contra mi corazón, que me ama y que no me abandonará nunca.
— Desde hoy no le abandonaré, no (1954).

This comparison reveals marked 'divergencies' arising precisely out of the respective translators' readings of the text. In the original English, differences of social class, and of gender are conveyed through Rochester's use Jane's Christian name while she uses *Mr* + surname. The Portuguese translator opts for a reciprocal third person treatment, but the Spanish translators both go for one of social inequality: Rochester the English gentleman is permitted to call his former employee by her Christian name and the second person form of address, but she in turn calls him *sir* and uses the formal third person. This is not necessarily a bad choice; it could be that Rochester is given the *tu* form to show his overwhelming joy on realizing that

his beloved Jane Eyre should be restored to him. Jane, as befits a modest young lady, demonstrates her respect and affection by using the more formal mode of address.

In Portugal, as in certain regions of Brazil, *tu* is the usual form of address used by older people to younger members of the family, by children to their peers, and, in some circumstances, by the younger generation to their parents, grandparents, aunts and uncles, etc. This latter use is readily understandable, since the *tu* form is the one with which toddlers and infants are most familiar. In fact, one technique for teaching children to recognize differences in address is for the parent to refer to himself or herself in a third person:

A mãe vai às compras e tu vais ficar aqui.

In Portugal children may also be addressed as você or in the third person by adults:

O menino vai para a cama.

In Brazilian Portuguese, too, it is not unusual for children to be addressed in the third person:

O que é que ela quer?

As we might expect, different families have different conventions, regardless of their nationality. Consequently some Portuguese teenagers or adults feel quite comfortable addressing a parent as *tu* while others find it more appropriate and respectful to use a third person form. This might be the verb on its own, the third person verb + *você*, or the nominal form *o Pai/a Mãe* + third person verb (Braun 1988: 85). One literary example of this is found in Luís de Sttau Monteiro's novel *Angústia para o Jantar*. Here, in the dialogue between Teresa and Pedro, we see the two forms of address used by mother and son, and we can also see how the English translator of the novel, Ann Stevens, dealt with this non-reciprocity:

— Quando tu eras pequeno, Pedro, passavas muitas horas ao pé de mim. Via-me aflita para evitar que brincasses ao pé do fogão....um dia, quando tiveres filhos, verás como os pais sofrem quando os vêem brincar com o fogo...

'When you were little, Pedro, you used to spend hour after hour at my feet here. i was always worrying about your playing by the fire...'

Pedro sorriu e desapertou o nó dó da gravata.	Pedro smiled and loosened his tie.
— Tenho a impressão de que a mãe quer dizer qualquer coisa e não sabe como começar (1967: 171).	'It seems you have something to say to me, Mother, and don't know how to begin' (1964: 133).

Although the Portuguese construction might seem excessively formal to an English speaker, the Portuguese language has other linguistic devices that permit the speaker to express affection as well as respect. Most usual is the affective diminutive ending:

A vovozinha quer brincar comigo?

This blend of affection and respect may work well in Portuguese, but it does tend to raise difficulties for the translator, who must decide firstly whether or not to remain faithful to the syntax of the original (using free or bound forms of address, according to Braun's definitions 1988: 11), and secondly which is the most appropriate nominal form/term of endearment. Without including the different regional variants, we can distinguish at least nine possible ways of translating the sentence above:

    (a)   Does Grandma want to play with me?
    (b)   Does Gran/Nan want to play with me?
    (c)   Does Granny/Nanny want to play with me?
    (d)   Do you want to play with me, Grandma?
    (e)   Do you want to play with me, Gran/Nan?
    (f)   Do you want to play with me, Granny/Nanny?
    (g)   Grandma, do you want to play with me?
    (h)   Gran/Nan do you want to play with me?
    (i)   Granny/Nanny, do you want to play with me?

Versions (a), (b) and (c) are the most to the original Portuguese syntax, but they are also the least natural and furthest removed from contemporary English, more reminiscent of the exchange between Little Red Riding Hood and the Wolf than a child's invitation to a much loved Grandmother. Such renderings are only acceptable if it is the express intention of the translator to emphasize the old-fashioned, archaic nature of the language and constructions of his text. Versions (d) and (g) convey elements of formality and respect in the relationship, (e) and (h) imply a casual, almost off-hand treatment of the grandmother, while (f) and (i) suggest the greatest warmth and solicitude. The translator may have to choose between formality and

affection, basing his decision on his knowledge of the relationship between the participants in the interaction, and the time and circumstances in which the utterance is made.

Who else would use *tu* in Portugal? Friends of long standing, adults of equal social and professional status, of the same generation and, probably, of the same sex, assuming of course that they 'get on' with each other. Workmates would not automatically choose the second person address, unless they had a friendly relationship outside the workplace. The usual option in Portugal would be:

(i)   *você* + third person verb
(ii)   a + Christian name, in the case of women
(iii) o + Christian name, in the case of men

Phatic communion is frequently initiated by such utterances as *Ó Colega*, particularly in predominantly middle-class working environments like banks and secondary schools, but this does not readily find an equivalent in English. 'Hey colleague' might be less unusual in American English than British English, but it still has the wrong resonances, given the North American tendency to use Christian names irrespective of intimacy or friendship (Brown & Ford 1961; Fasold 1990: 1-38). 'Hey you' verges on the disrespectful, and 'Hey' on its own is too vague, more a means of calling attention to something concrete and visible than of opening a verbal exchange. Standard English usage would be 'Hey' + Christian name between young people who are friends and peers. Otherwise Christian names or titles + surnames would be viewed as more appropriate (Bollinger & Sears 1981: 213-214).

Another use of *tu* occurs in the relationship between owner and pet. To cite Wardhaugh:

> One additional peculiarity of address systems of naming and addressing is that people sometimes give names to, and address, non-humans as well as humans. In a society where people keep a lot of pets of different kinds, there is likely to be a considerable variety of names and forms of address used depending on the kind of pet, eg., horse, cat or gerbil, and the circumstances, eg., whether one is alone with the pet or in public view, feeding it or reprimanding it (1986: 262).

Translating a conversation (one-sided) between owner and pet from English into Portuguese, one might assume that the translator for Portuguese readers would logically opt for the *tu* form. However, according to informants interviewed by Friederike Braun, *você* can be

used as much as *tu* to transmit affection (1988: 44). This use may be compared to one noted by George M. Foster in the Mexican village of Tzintzuntzan, where:

> 'dogs and cats are addressed by the formal second person singular personal pronoun, *usted*, rather than by the informal second person *tu* (1964: 108).

Foster suggests that the formal mode of address is used to remind speakers that although their pets they live in the home and seem to be part of the family, they are not human and they are not members of the family (1964: 114).

Working from Portuguese into English, the affectionate feelings of a pet owner might be best rendered not by a simple *you*, but by diminutives and perhaps even by a judicious use of children' language, *doggie, pussy, walkies*, etc.

While it is common to describe certain modes of address as courtesy forms, it is less usual to talk about disrespectful forms of address. Nevertheless, people are frequently addressed in ways that not only indicate an unequal relationship between addressser and addressee, but also express attitudes of hostility, hatred and contempt. It is precisely this kind of address that is found in José Saramago's novel *Levantado do Chão* when the protagonist João Mau-Tempo and his friends are being interrogated by the PIDE:

> Levantem bem o focinho para vermos se são parecidos com as putas das vossas mães (...) Queres que te parta os cornos, só falas quando eu quiser, não tarda nada que percas a vontade, mas então é que terás mesmo de falar (1980: 154).

In this striking example of Brown and Gilman's 'non-reciprocal power semantic' (1972: 252-282), *levantem* is used with the value of a second person plural, corresponding to the plural of *tu* rather than of *você*; the interrogator repeatedly addresses João in the second person – *queres, falas, percas, terás*, presumably in order to humiliate and intimidate him. This disrespectful treatment is matched and reinforced by the inclusion of such words as *focinho*, 'muzzle' or 'snout', when describing animals, 'mug' when used of human beings, and *cornos*, 'horns'; again customarily used to refer to animals, but also to denote the notion of cuckoldry. The entire utterance is menacing, insulting, crude and vulgar, an unequivocal example of the lowest register of Portuguese. But anyone proposing to translate this extract should, ideally, aim for a correspondingly coarse level of language, with threats, gibes and all:

> Show us your ugly mugs then, so's we can see if you take
> after your f***ing mothers ... D'you want me to smash your
> bloody face in? You'll talk when I say you can, soon you
> won't even want to, but that's when you really will have to
> sing.

The linguistic relationship between torturer and victim is also
exemplified in George Orwell's *Nineteen Eighty-Four*:

> 'You are afraid', said O'Brian, watching his face, 'that in
> another moment something is going to break. your especial
> fear is that it will be your backbone. You have a vivid
> mental picture of the vertebrae snapping apart and the
> spinal fluid dripping out of them. That is what you are
> thinking, is it not, Winston?' (1954: 194).

The translator of the Portuguese edition of *Nineteen Eighty-Four*, L.
Morais, has opted for the second person address:

> — Estás com medo – disse O'Brien, observando-lhe o rosto
> – de que alguma coisa rebente de um momento para o outro.
> O teu receio é que seja a espinha. Tens uma nítida
> impressão mental das vértebras a separarem-se e do líquido
> raquidiano a escorrer. Não é isso que pensas, Winston?
> (1984: 238).

There is no apparent justification for omitting the adjective 'especial',
but the *tu* form does seem appropriate since it indicates a position not
merely of superiority but of total domination. More surprising is the
choice of the second person when Winston responds to the torturer's
questions, although this might be explained in terms of the length of
time he has known (and feared) O'Brien, and his childlike acceptance
of O'Brien's power over him.

The use of this form is not paralleled in José Cardoso Pires' *Balada
da Praia dos Cães* (1982), in which a police inspector interrogates a
young woman about her involvement in a political crime. When speaking
directly to Mena, the inspector uses the third person verb, occasionally
adding an ironic *senhora*. When indulging in masturbatory fantasies
about her, however, he imagines addressing her in the second person.
Mena, on the other hand, answers him with third person verbs and a
notable absence of titles, honorifics or references to his rank, all of which
would seem to point to her indifference to the inspector as an individual
and her complete lack of respect for his professional status. Cardoso Pires
did not arrive at this interplay between modes of address by accident:

it represents his depiction of the balance of power between Mena and the inspector. Although she is locked up in a cell, she still has some defences against the inspector as a man and a policeman. Unfortunately, it is debatable whether this passive resistance is adequately conveyed in Mary Fitton's translation of the novel, *Ballad of Dogs' Beach, Dossier of a Crime* (1986).

The interrogation scenes in António Callado's *Quarup* also show how different modes of address may be used. When Nando and the *camponeses* are arrested by the soldiers, the intimate second person pronoun is used twice, firstly by one of the peasants, Hermôgenes, to an *agent provocateur*:

Tu, hem, Seu Iscariote da peste, traidor (n/d: 347).

and secondly by a soldier to another peasant:

Que é que tu está falando aí? (n/d: 347).

Callado's protagonist, Nando, on the other hand, is always addressed as *senhor*, *o senhor* or *senhor Nando*. (The only occasion when *tenente* Vidigal refers to him as *você*, placing him on equal terms with the other victims, is immediately after he has been tortured). This is probably due to the fact that he was once a friar, and still has strong connections with the Church; he is certainly perceived as a man of education and refinement, and, perhaps more importantly, his interrogators will soon be obliged to release him, given the absence of evidence to prove his complicity in the conspiracy they are trying to fabricate, and because of the pressure being exerted on his behalf by others. At any rate, it is not easy to see how a translator into English would make the differences in address apparent. Utterances directed at Nando might contain the words 'sir', or 'Mr Nando', but the contempt shown for the peasants could perhaps only be expressed by inserting into the English text terms of contempt that are not present in the Brazilian.

If pronouns express power, as we have seen above, they can also express solidarity (Brown & Gilman 1960). Thus political commitment and total solidarity with fellow members of the Communist Party are demonstrated by the predominance of the second person intimate forms used by Maria, the female protagonist of Manuel Tiago's novel *Até Amanhã, Camaradas*:

Maria olhou o camarada com estupefacção.
— Como podes dizer isso, amiguinho? Como podes querer fazer aquilo que proíbes aos outros?

António encolheu os ombros num repelão e falou com uma
ironia mordente e desagradável.
— A camarada Maria quer agora ensinar o padre-nosso ao
vigário... (1980: 115).

Maria is using the *tu* form, in conjunction with the diminutive nominal
forms such as *amiguinho*, to show her solidarity and comradeship.
António, in contrast, while supposedly underlining his solidarity with
the expression 'a camarada Maria', in fact uses the more impersonal
third person to distance himself from her position, and reject her
criticism. One other effect of these disparate forms of address is to
suggest some kind of sexual tension between the characters.

Readers might well expect to find the *tu* of solidarity in the
Portuguese translation of George Orwell's *Animal Farm*, translated
by Maria Antunes as *O Triunfo dos Porcos*. But, contrary to
expectation, Snowball the revolutionary pig prefers the nominal form
Camarada, and *você* + third person verbs. The second person is only
used when Clover, the mare, attempts to comfort her wounded
stable-mate Boxer, perhaps in order to convey greater affection and
heightened emotion (1980: 95).

Lindley Cintra is quite right to describe the Portuguese address
system as:

> simultâneamente uma das riquezas e uma das principais
> dificuldades da língua portuguesa (1986: 35).

For example, *o senhor* may be translated as *you*, but it is sometimes
necessary to add some kind of status/respect marker in order to bridge
the gap between source and target language. Compare, for instance,
the following extract from José Rodrigues Miguéis' short story *Gente
da Terceira Classe* (1982) with its English translation *Steerage*, by
George Monteiro and Carolina Matos (1983):

Aterrorizado com a imobilidade a que, durante três dias e três noites , me vai condenar a escassez de espaço vital, a mim, andarilho de nascença, impedido de andar pelo irlandês da maratona, dirijo-me a um *steward* imberbe no meu mau inglês, que ele entende de resto muito bem:	Fearing the immobility to which, for three days and three nights, I will be condemned out of a scarcity of vital space, I, a born walker, impeded by the Irishman on a marathon – I approach a beardless steward and say to him in poor English, which he nevertheless understands all too well:

— Onde é que eu posso passear a bordo? Aqui não há lugar nem para esticar as pernas. Ele olha-me cortêsmente na fatiota nova, comprada para a jornada, e diz:

'Where can I walk above ship? Here there isn't even enough room to stretch one's legs'. He looks at me courteously, standing there in the new outfit he bought for the trip and says:

— Oh, o senhor pode passear onde quiser. Isto aqui – acrescenta com um jeito desdenhoso – é só para espanhóis e portugueses! (1982: 11).

'But sir, you can walk anywhere you please. The place', he emphasises with a disdainful gesture, 'is only for Spaniards and the Portuguese' (1983: 157).

By including *sir* in this utterance, the translators have gone some way towards complying with Newmark's prescription for a successful translation:

> rendering the meaning of a text into another language in the way that the author intended the text (1988: 5)

One might take issue, though, with 'vital space' (living space?), and the attribution of the new clothes to the steward, when the Portuguese is more ambiguous; they might just as easily have been bought for the journey by the narrator, which would explain more readily why the steward treats him so politely.

Possibly the most difficult forms of address to translate from Portuguese into English are those composed of *o/a* + *senhor/senhora* + name of profession. Faced with a sentence such as:

O senhor engenheiro deseja este livro?

the translator would be hard pressed to find an adequate or convincing English version:

(a) Does the engineer want this book?
(b) Do you want this book, Mr Engineer?
(c) Do you want this book, Engineer
(d) Mr Engineer, do you want this book?
(e) Engineer, do you want this book?

The problem with these options is that none of them sounds particularly English. (a) is ridiculously formal, *Engineer* on its own sounds more like a military rank, and (b) and (c) sound more than a little childish. A more typically English address would be Mr +

surname, or Dr + surname, should the addressee have a doctorate in engineering. But these strategies have the disadvantage of deleting a discourse component, the status/education marker, and are not therefore ideal. Identical problems arise with *Senhor Arquitecto* and *Senhor Doutor*:

> Doutor, como forma de tratamento, é empregado para qualquer pessoa com aparência de intelectual, sobretudo em Coimbra (Kroll 1984: 31).

In the latter case, *doctor* is used equally in English for doctors of medicine and doctors of philosophy, etc. But there is not a specific form of address for solicitors, dentists, or university graduates in general. Mr + surname is considered quite respectful enough. In these circumstances, translators can only opt for the solution, partial and unsatisfactory as it might be, that most closely approaches the spirit of the original and causes least disruption to the flow of the text.

Nowadays professional titles with very few exceptions apply equally to men and women – *Senhor Engenheiro/Senhora Engenheira*. But European Portuguese also has a set of specifically female nominal address forms that denote age, social position, marital status and the degree of intimacy between addressor and addressee:

(a)   Faça favor de dizer, minha senhora.
(b)   Tenha a bondade de dizer, menina.
(c)   A menina deseja mais alguma coisa?
(d)   Menina Teresa, vai vestir esta blusa hoje?
(e)   A Júlia vem ao cinema esta tarde?
(f)   A senhora acha que estas são horas de chegar?
(g)   Senhora Luísa, a que horas èr que vem trabalhar amanhã?
(h)   A Senhora Marques não deve fazer isso.
(i)   A Dona Flor é muito boa cozinheira.
(j)   A Senhora Dona Maria do Carmo gostou ao programa?

English has *Miss*, found mainly in transactional, professional and educational relationships; *Miss* + Christian name would most typically be used by old family retainers to the offspring of the aristocracy, whereas *Miss* + surname is used to young and older women if there is no intimacy. *Mrs* + surname is used for married women of all ages, and *Ms* + surname is usually suggested if the addressee does not wish to be defined in terms of her marital status (and if the speaker feels sufficiently confident about his/her ability to pronounce *Ms* correctly). *Mrs* + husband's Christian name is sometimes found where there is a need to distinguish between female

members of a household or extended family. *Madam* is most commonly used in transactional relations, to express politeness or formality, and in court rooms the official interpreter, if a woman, is still addressed as *Madam Interpreter*. As can be seen from these two lists, there are some points of contact between the two address systems. But equally some forms do not have a real equivalent in English. For instance, home-helps in the British Isles are either called by their first names, or by *Miss/Mrs* + surname. There are no intermediate forms such as *A Maria*/Senhora Maria/Dona Maria + third person verb. Social distance is not always marked in English by forms of address, but more by choice of vocabulary, intonation and physical distance between the participants in a speech act. These factors do not make the task of the translator any easier.

Fewer problems are posed, however, when the translator is called upon to deal with what Roger Bell terms:

> the status position of individuals within a hierarchically organized work group (1976: 99).

One of the best examples of this are military ranks, which have more or less precise equivalents in English: *general*, 'general', *coronel*, 'colonel', etc. Formality between the ranks is found in both Portuguese and English. Note the modes of address used in the following extract from Carlos Coutinho's novel *Uma Noite na Guerra*, which recounts the experience of the Portuguese military in Mozambique:

Seixal:
— Não leve a mal esta maneira de falar, meu capitão. Não me passa pela cabeça faltar-lhe ao respeito. É capitão? É capitão, pronto. Alguma coisa havia de ser. Além disso, consta que é um tipo porreiro.
Capitão Almeida:
— Está bem. Diz lá.
Seixal:
— O meu capitão é um militar profissional, um oficial da Academia. Lá disseram-lhe que vinha para aqui defender a Pátria. Acha que é verdade?
Capitão Almeida:
— Onde é que queres chegar? (1978: 94).

A similar hierarchy is that of the Catholic Church, in which the Pope is addressed as *Vossa Santidade* or 'Your Holiness', Cardinals as *Vossa Eminência* or 'Your Eminence', Archbishops as *Vossa*

Excelência Reverendíssima or 'Your Grace' and Bishops as *Vossa Excelência Reverendíssima* or 'Your Lordship'. The translator's biggest difficulty may be a lack of familiarity with the ceremonious forms of not just the target language but equally of the source language. In fact, the more exalted the office, the easier it is to find the right translation: 'Your Excellency', *Vossa Excelência*, 'Your Highness', *Vossa Alteza*, 'Your Majesty', *Vossa Majestade* (Celso Cunha & Lindley Cintra 1984: 292; Chambers 1947: 1175-1176; Black 1985).

A final aspect that merits some comment is that of social change and its linguistic repercussions. It has been suggested that:

> A whole society which is undergoing social change is also likely to show certain indications of such change if the language in use in that society has (or had) a complex system of address (Wardhaugh 1986: 263).

Wardhaugh is referring to the case of modern China (see also Fasold 1990: 30-33), but what he says might be of some relevance to Portugal. It would be interesting to establish whether socio-political changes in Portugal since 25 April 1974 are reflected in, or have given rise to any process of language change. While it would be naive to assume that the transition from one model of government to another, with concomitant modifications of patterns of social organization, would effect sweeping changes in the population's use of the address system, some alterations may have occurred. There might conceivably be a greater linguistic *nivelação*, reflected in more widespread use of the neutral *você* or of the so-called *forma de salvacão social*, the third person verb with no nominal or pronominal form. Others might feel prompted to cling on to familiar, stratified forms of address in order to reinforce their view of a society in which every one knows his or her place. Curiously, although both of Braun's two (female) Portuguese informants observe certain modifications in the use of forms of address in present-day Portuguese, one of them believes that the *tu* form is now more widely used, while the other refers to an identical process with regard to the frequency of use of the neutral pronoun *você*. While these observations may seem contradictory, Braun suggests that his informant is referring to the reciprocal *você*, which comes to be a relatively intimate address, replacing the indirect forms. Both informants, however, mention a fairly widespread tendency towards greater informality in socio-professional relations (Braun 1988: 97). Nevertheless, Revolution or no Revolution, the correct way to address a university

rector in correspondence is still *Magnífico Reitor*, in stark contrast to the understatement of the simple English 'Sir' (Black 1985: 185-186).

In conclusion, it might be useful to recall Botelho de Amaral's comments on forms of address:

> Considero que a língua portuguesa é rica demais quanto a formas, fórmulas, jeitos e processos de tratamento. Rica demais, porque a abundância de obstáculos não apenas se opõe aos estrangeiros dispostos a aprender a falar ou a escrever o nosso idioma, mas, inclusivamente, dificulta o acesso dos próprios Portugueses ao conhecimento seguro ou correcto da técnica de tratamento (1947: 540-541).

Such processes of address frequently render the translator's task more difficult, but it is also true that they are not always untranslatable. In any case, they not only present a serious intellectual challenge to whoever sets out to translate from one language to another, they also offer the translator the opportunity to demonstrate his knowledge of both languages and, perhaps more important, of the two societies and cultures.

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